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**Consensus Function of Agenda-Setting**

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**News Media Roles in Bridging Communities:**

**Consensus Function of Agenda-Setting**

by

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## **Dedication**

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, Higgins, Joyce and Pharis, for their love,  
encouragement and support

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## **News Media Roles in Bridging Communities:**

### **Consensus Function of Agenda-Setting**

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Technological, political and economical developments have fostered the spread of transnational media since the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Despite that, most studies of media effects are still nationally bound. This dissertation discusses some of the effects that both national and transnational news media can have on people's thoughts and feelings. It explores the particular effect of consensus building as a consequence of second level agenda-setting. The main focus of this dissertation is how national and transnational news media can bring different demographic groups closer in their perceptions of major topics in the news.

This dissertation analyzes consensus building effects through the European Union's reaction to the attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States. It analyzes how the use of national and transnational media brought EU demographic groups in closer agreement regarding the attributes of the terrorism issue and of the Muslim and

Arab communities, as they related to the events of 9-11 and its aftermaths for the EU community. This study is based on a secondary data analysis of a survey conducted in the close aftermath of 9-11. It is an extensive replication of Shaw and Martin's (1992) consensus model based on a cross-national analysis of 15 European Union nations and their patterns of national and transnational news media use among four demographic groups in relation to the substantive and affective dimensions of attribute agendas regarding the aftermath of 9-11.

This study found evidence that national media bring the segments of society to closer agreement regarding the attributes of terrorism and the attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities. This was especially true for those indicating they used national television. Transnational media also have some potential for similar effects, though less than for national media. Borders still matter but it will be interesting in the future to see if the increasing availability of transnational media translates into increased influence as well.



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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

On September 11, 2001, terrorists launched a major attack on American soil, hijacking four civilian airplanes and striking The World Trade Center, the Pentagon and rural Pennsylvania. Across the Atlantic, in Europe, people closely followed the developing events through the lenses of the news media. They watched, read and listened to information about the attacks and its consequences for their countries and themselves. They used both national and transnational media for information on the aftermath of 9-11. This dissertation explores the influences that national and transnational news media reporting had on European populations. In particular it focuses on the consensus building function of agenda-setting, on how national and transnational media built a dialogue among European Union individuals with different demographic characteristics (men and women, younger and older, lower and higher education, metropolitan/urban and rural population). It focuses on how these media brought these groups closer together in how they thought about the issue of terrorism and the Muslim and Arab communities in the aftermath of 9-11.

The mass media are a cornerstone of democratic society and play an important role in the sharing of important information for the political and social system as well as being a place for reflection and discussion among members of society. Through its presentation of images and ideas, it has the potential to influence the public's thoughts, feelings and even actions.

In the field of communication, the 1960s and 70s brought a return to the idea that the mass media can have a powerful effect on people. These effects, however, are not seen as universal nor direct (Severin & Tankard, 2001). It is within this conceptualization that agenda-setting theory was established, demonstrating that media can have a powerful effects in what people know and think about, and how they think about it, although not all messages have the same effect nor does the effect occur under all conditions. This study conducts a second level agenda-setting analysis of the presentation of detailed information about terrorism as it related to the events of 9-11. It specifically analyzes the consensus building consequence of agenda-setting within the European Union population as they accessed information about the events in America and its consequences in Europe. The dramatic characteristics of events of that day, its abnormal nature, and closer ties between Europe and the United States highlighted the necessary contingent conditions for increased agenda-setting influence: a need for orientation and the unobtrusiveness of the events in America. All of these elements of agenda-setting theory will be examined in detail in a subsequent chapter.

Most agenda-setting studies in particular, and media studies in general, have restricted the analysis of influence flow either locally or nationally. That is to say, they analyze the influence of city, state or national media on that population's thoughts, feelings and actions. Some studies within the international communication arena have compared media effects cross-nationally, although the locus of the analysis is still primarily nationally bound. That is to say, they analyze the effects of media from one

country on that country's population comparative to media effects of a second country on that second country's population. Although these level of analyses are important and yield essential contributions to the understanding of communication and the impact of media on people's lives, they overlook an emerging source of influence, that of transnational media.

Recent technological advancements, coupled with political and economical circumstances, have increased people's access to communication and news media across national boundaries. This increased and faster availability calls for a deeper understanding of where media influences are originating. This study expands on previous agenda-setting studies by conducting an analysis of the consensus building function of both media that are nationally bound (national media) and media produced outside the boundaries of the country that it also receives (transnational media). In particular, this study analyzes this communication process under the prism of European reactions to the attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States, as a case study.

Communication studies tackling transnationalism have usually analyzed the influence of media in a micro-level analysis. Many of the communication studies dealing with transnationalism are concerned with diasporic populations, and how they maintain ties to their countries of origin through media use, and adapt to country of settlement with aid of media (King & Wood, 2001; Bailey, Georgiou & Harindranath, 2007). This study seeks to expand on previous literature by conducting a macro, survey-based, analysis, with the understanding that the use of transnational media is not restricted to

diasporic or to migrant populations. I am interested in analyzing how people from certain countries are influenced by media not originating in those countries.

To answer these questions about media influence, this study conducts a secondary analysis of Flash Eurobarometer survey, a topical telephone-based survey requested by the European Commission for External relations of the European Union, conducted two months after the events of 9-11. This survey questioned people from the 15 European Union countries on issues related to the attack on American soil and its consequences in Europe. The questionnaire contained questions related to public opinion on terrorism and on the Muslim and Arab communities, as well as the necessary demographic variables and national and transnational media use variables.

Approximately 1,000 interviews per country were conducted. This study centers its analysis on that survey in order to compare the consensus building influence of national and transnational media.

## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Background: Agenda-Setting**

Harold Lasswell (1960) described the basic functions of the communication process performed by mass media as surveillance of the environment, transmission of social heritage and correlation of societal groups in responding to the environment. Within this last function, correlation, mass media potentially function to aid mobilization and prevent threats to social stability by connecting different groups of society in response to the environment, or more properly a pseudo-environment. Correlation may also provide a dysfunction by increasing social conformism and preventing social change if there is lack of criticism (Wright, 1960). Functions relate to the consequence of “a certain routine, regular and standardized components of communication” (Wright, 1974, p. 209) and focus on a phenomena occurring within a social system which affect and are of consequence to society (De Fleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1982). The news media then, by presenting its audience with a limited set of issues and a particular representation of these issues, function to provide agreement on important issues and a general perception of how to understand those issues. These presentations by the news media provide at least a common ground on which divergent groups of society may deliberate and discuss (Shaw & Martin, 1992; McCombs, 1997).

Many communication and public opinion studies focus on differences, on conflict of power and interests, and indeed so do the news media. While differences exist and should not be ignored, there is much need to understand how communities can come together and share common ground for deliberation on aspects of life that impact these

communities. This study argues that the news media may provide such a consensus function. There is a need to focus our understanding of the consensus building role of mass media at the national level, where opposing groups of society are brought together in the deliberation of important issues and attributes of those issues that require public and government action. This necessity is also emphasized at an international level, where opposing communities and societies need a common ground for the understanding of worldwide issues, a deeper understanding of the self and its relations with the other, and how communities and societies relate to the similar and to the different.

The term consensus comes from the Latin word *cōnsēnsus*, which means to “feel together,” and is used in English to mean an “opinion or position reached by a group as a whole” or a “general agreement or accord: government by consensus” (The American Heritage Dictionary, 2000). In political science, the concept has been used to indicate agreement on “‘fundamental values’ or ‘rules of the game’ considered essential for constitutional government” (McClosky, 1964, p. 362). McClosky (1964) emphasized the general agreement aspect of consensus, the shared beliefs. He said it does not, however, refer to “an abstract or universal state of mind, but to a measurable state of consensus around values that can be specified” (p. 363). McClosky indicated that consensus can more easily be reached on certain issues and values than others, stating that issues within the political arena, for example, are more likely to reach consensus than issues within the economic arena (McClosky, 1964).

The concept of consensus is used in this present study to describe general agreement on specific issues and attributes of those issues. This study does not argue that consensus would be achieved at all times, nor that it is completely universal. Nor does it argue that people would have the same reasoning for achieving such consensus or that this building of consensus would result in people having the same solutions for how these issues should be acted upon. It is a thesis of this study, though, that the news media can function as a bridge between different segments of society and community to provide common ground for deliberation on the issues of the time.

Agenda-setting studies in general examine community building and bridging through access to mass media, and the news media in specific (McCombs, 1997). Agenda-setting or creating consensus is an outcome of the prioritization of the selection and presentation of issues and attributes of those issues. On any given day, and indeed for any stretch of time, there are several societal issues and attributes of those issues that compete for the attention of the public, the media and government. This competition and society's limited attention capacity "make it imperative to develop substantial consensus about which issues top the agenda" (McCombs, 1997, p. 434). The news media has a special position to help different groups in society to achieve consensus. Agenda-setting isn't necessarily an intentional objective of news media organization, although it can certainly be so. However, intentionally or unintentionally, the news media have been shown to influence the public's agenda, as demonstrated in hundreds of agenda-setting studies over decades. This does not mean that the news



media are the only social institution promoting consensus between opposing members of society, and indeed there are other institutions and factors influencing consensus building. It does mean, however, that the mass media in general and news media in specific function to correlate different groups of society and have a role in bridging communities.

The news media may then be reducing differences between various segments of society, emphasizing consensus on perceptions of issues. Within the context of political information, by correlating different segments of society in terms of the priorities that need to be addressed, the news media may be providing an important function in concentrating the community's and government's efforts toward social action (López-Escobar, Llamas & McCombs, 1998). This study focuses on the consensus building function of agenda-setting, on how the news media can reduce group differences, bring together opposing segments of society, bridge communities and help "the community at large achieve consensus on the priority issues of the day" (McCombs, 1997). Given this potential, the news media have a responsibility to include in its discourse issues and positioning within those issues that are pertinent to all ends of the community at large.

Consensus building is a powerful effect of mass media but it is not universal nor does it happen at all time. Academic understanding and conceptualization of mass media effects has changed over time. Media were originally seen as powerful, in conceptualizations such as what is now known as the Magic Bullet theories, then in a limited-effects model conceptualization, and more recently seen as powerful once again

(albeit not for everyone, and not at all times). Powerful mass media effects theories under the scope of what has been called the Magic Bullet theory, or hypodermic needle theories, emerged in the Post World War I period and assumed that stimuli designed by mass media producers are “received in a uniform way by every member of the audience, and that immediate and direct responses are triggered by such stimuli” (De Fleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1982, p. 141).

With more systematic studies of mass media effects in the 1940s, scholars turned toward the Limited-Effects model, which centers on socio-psychological barriers to media effects and focuses on specific types of communication messages and publics (Severin & Tankard, 2001). In 1940, Lazarsfeld and colleagues organized a seminal study, known as the Erie County voting study, to demonstrate the powerful effects that the media had on people’s voting decisions. What they found instead was that there were processes in place, such as primary group ties, that diminished the effects of the media (De Fleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1982). Following the advances of cognitive psychology, the studies under this conceptualization of media effects understood that mass communication faced several resistance factors that changed its influence over people.

The 1960s and 1970s presented another shift in perspectives on media effects, restoring the significance of mass media effects on people, although not to the same degree as conceptualized under the Bullet Theory approach. Noelle-Neumann brought back the notion that the mass media can have a powerful effect on people, however, this effect is not seen as an universal effect nor as a direct one (Severin & Tankard,

2001). McCombs and Shaw indicated with their agenda-setting theory that the media can have a powerful effect on what people know, although this is not universal, as certain messages are more likely to have an effect than others, nor always, as the effects are related to an individual's need for information from the media (McCombs, 2004). It is under this latter perspective of mass media effects, within the agenda-setting theory conceptualization of media effects that the consensus building consequence of agenda-setting falls. This theoretical perspective emphasizes the powerful and important effect that the mass media have on society, and it understands that there are specific conditions that lead people to be influenced by the media and move towards a social consensus.

Consensus building is explained under the scope of agenda-setting theory, as a consequence of agenda-setting effects. Agenda-setting at its first-level (also called agenda-setting of objects or traditional agenda-setting) states that the news media's presentation of the news, in its given importance, emphasis and salience will influence the public's opinion of the prominence of those issues (McCombs, 2004). Through the selection and emphasis on certain issues, while de-emphasizing others, the news media present to the public a hierarchy of importance of issues of the time, which is then transferred to the public's perception that those are, indeed, the issues of importance of the day. Thus, the picture of the world, in terms of issues and objects, presented by the news media influences the audience's perception of events. The news media's agenda of issues (or objects) sets the public's agenda of issues (or objects).

In their seminal agenda-setting study, conducted during the 1968 American presidential campaign, McCombs and Shaw found a high correlation between the major items emphasized among the campaign issues presented by the news media and the voters' decisions of what were the important issues of the time (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). They found that audiences, when accessing the news media, not only are informed about the issues and stories of the day, but also take cues from the media on how much importance to give these issues in their own personal agenda (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). First level agenda-setting can be summarized by Cohen's much cited statement that the press (or the news media) "may not be successful in telling its readers what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about " (Cohen, 1963, p. 13). Agenda-setting is thus an elaboration of Walter Lippmann's thesis that the news media provide the audience a window of images that determines how we see the world beyond our direct experience, a situation that creates a pseudo-environment (Lippmann, 1922). It is to that pseudo-environment that the audience reacts and forms an opinion, as opposed to the environment de-facto.

Since the 1968 election campaign study, agenda-setting theory, at its first level, has been replicated in many different settings and contexts. Hundreds of studies have explored and expanded on agenda-setting research, and have found substantial evidence for this theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1993). The theory has also proven to be a useful way to understand media effects in countries other than the United States, such as Spain, Japan, Argentina, Germany and many others (McCombs, 2004). In a seminar

discussing the international replication of agenda-setting, which is now widespread, scholars identified political and media conditions that need to be satisfied in order for agenda-setting effects to occur: a “reasonably open political system and a reasonably open media system” (McCombs, 2004, p. 37). The European Union member countries, the locus of this present study, generally fulfill these conditions of openness.

Across 40 years of exploration, agenda-setting theory has evolved in different conceptual directions, geographical locations, and scope. McCombs has presented a theoretical map of agenda-setting theory, with a systematic (not historical) categorization of five stages of the studies under its theoretical umbrella (McCombs, 2004). The first stage is categorized as agenda-setting of objects, or first level agenda-setting, which has been explained earlier in this segment on the literature. The second stage of agenda-setting theory introduced contingent conditions that explain when the transfer of salience from the media agenda to the public’s agenda occurs, delimiting when the agenda-setting effects occur (McCombs, 2004).

Among these contingent conditions, an individual’s need for orientation directly correlates with his/her attention to the mass media’s agenda. The greater the need for orientation, the more correlated will be the media’s agenda and the audience’s agenda. Need for orientation is defined by two other concepts: relevance and uncertainty. When individuals don’t have all the information they feel they need about a subject (high uncertainty) and feel that the subject is of importance to them (relevance) the individual will have a high need for orientation, and be more disposed to media influence,

specifically its agenda-setting influence. Unobtrusive issues, where the individual has little or no personal experience, are more likely to be transferred from the media's agenda to the public's agenda, as opposed to obtrusive issues, where individuals have some personal experience. Contingent conditions can be either audience characteristics, such as need for orientation, or media characteristics, such as competition between newspapers and television (McCombs, 2004).

This study analyzes the consensus building consequence of agenda-setting within the specific case of the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 on American soil. This study examines how national and transnational media provided a general consensus on the attributes of the terrorism issue and on the attributes of Muslim and Arab communities for an audience in the European Union. The specific characteristics of these issues, as well as the timing and locus of this study, abide with the necessary contingent conditions under which agenda-setting effects occur. The event of September 11 was highly covered by worldwide media and, indeed, the strike of the second airplane on the World Trade Center was broadcast live on television throughout the world. The issue of terrorism, or terrorist attack, can be considered to be mainly unobtrusive, since the setting of this study is the European Union countries, in 2001. Unobtrusive issues have greater impact on public opinion in terms of the transfer of salience from the media agenda to the public's perception of those issues, in comparison to those issues the public have directly experienced (McCombs, 2004). The abnormal nature of the 9-11 attacks, as well as the close political and social connections between the European

Union and the United States, enhanced the relevance of information about the events and the related issues to the European population. It is possible to say that, in general, there was a large need for orientation. Many European countries had a recent history of terrorist attacks at the time of the United States' attacks, and have had more incidents since. European media, as well as worldwide media, heavily covered the events of 9-11 and its related issues, although the coverage had different traits depending on the country (Pludowski, 2007).

Studies have demonstrated that the consequences of agenda-setting, at its first and second levels, have important implications beyond the mass media's influence on the audience's perception of reality. Agenda-setting studies have demonstrated that the news media affect people's cognitions, their attitudes and opinions and have implications for personal behavior (McCombs, 2004). Opinion formation and priming, together with attribute salience and direction of opinion, can be linked to consequences in behavior (McCombs, 2004). The fifth stage of McCombs' categorization of agenda-setting studies indicates the important consequences that agenda-setting has on the audience, such as opinion formation, opinion change and implications for personal behavior. Agenda-setting has also been found to have important consequences and implications for society, as has been demonstrated by consensus building studies of agenda-setting.

Scholars have found consensus, or general agreement, to be one of the consequences of news media agenda-setting. Individuals with different characteristics

(such as race, age and gender, for example) that are exposed to the issues and attributes of those issues presented by the media's agenda are pulled towards a social consensus. This collective influence of mass media, as presented through the consensus building consequences of agenda-setting, is a consequence at the societal level. The news media also exercise the function of correlation in addition to providing the function of surveillance of the environment, which contributes to people's understanding of the environment (be it de-facto or the reaction to the pseudo-environment). The differences in attitudes and opinions between diverse groups in society (such as men versus women, young versus old, low education versus high education), often highlighted in studies of public opinion, diminish as these individuals increase their news media exposure, which in turns increases the agreement between agendas (McCombs, 2004).

Studies of the consensus building consequence of agenda-setting have explored the similarities that arise when people are exposed to and use the same news media, such as local or national television. Demographics are generally applied in media studies and social science studies in general, to highlight differences in a social phenomenon. For example, when analyzing the public's opinion about a political candidate, gender, age, race and other demographics are often summoned to indicate the differences in opinion. Studies of the consensus building consequence of agenda-setting assume that these diverse demographic groups in society are different and look for circumstances,



such as news media use, when these differences are reduced. This consequence is of importance to the social system.

Shaw and Martin (1992) found that the very use of the news media can build consensus among the opposing demographic groups, enhancing agreement about important public issues and reducing the gap within segments of society. This was the first study conducted on this specific consequence of agenda-setting. Using data from a statewide survey in North Carolina, as well as content analysis data from newspapers in the state, they found that as individuals increased their newspaper reading (also replicated for television), the level of agreement on the important issues of the day increased within different gender, racial, age and education groups (Shaw & Martin, 1992). The news media may bring a dialogue between otherwise disparate groups by reducing the gap within these different social groups regarding current important issues.

Table 1 provides an example of some of Shaw and Martin’s findings.

**Table 1: Correspondence of the issue agendas among demographic subgroups by frequency of newspaper readership**

Demographic subgroups	Zero Days Reading	One to Three Days Reading	Four to Seven Days Reading
Gender	.55	.80	1.00
Race	.55	.15	1.00
Age	.80	.80	1.00

Data from Shaw and Martin’s consensus building study (1992)

In their consensus building study, Shaw and Martin found that the issue agendas of men and women who did not read the local newspaper at all had a moderate correlation (.55), that is, they agreed with each other moderately on the important issues of the time. Men and women who were occasional readers of the local newspaper had a very high correlation (.80), and those who were heavy newspaper readers were in perfect agreement (correlation =1.00). As men and women increased their newspaper readership, they also increased their agreement among each other on the important issues of the day. This same pattern, increased agreement regarding the issue agenda with increasing newspaper readership, also was seen between the black and white population and younger and older population. The main distinction for race and age, however, remained between the non-users of the newspaper and the heavy readers of the newspaper. In sum, use of the local newspaper increased agreement among the gender, race and age demographic subgroups on the important issues of the day.

Ching-Yi Chiang (1995) replicated Shaw and Martin's original study on consensus building. Chiang expanded the concept to an international setting with a study of Taiwan's 1992 legislative election. Chiang differed in the demographic subgroups analyzed, having included the geographic groups of Taiwanese and Mainlanders and she excluded race and age. These findings generally supported the hypothesis that increasing exposure to the news media leads to an increased consensus about the most important issues perceived within each social group (Chiang, 1995).

Esteban López-Escobar, Juan Pablo Llamas and Maxwell McCombs conducted a third study on agenda-setting and community consensus building in Spain (1998). The first phase of this study explored consensus building of prioritized social issues within the first level of agenda-setting framework. The second phase of this study expanded the research to consensus building in relation to the attributes of political candidates, that is, within the second level of agenda-setting framework. Second level agenda-setting, also known as attribute agenda-setting, deals with the transference of salience of an object's attributes from the media agenda to the public's agenda. For the two phases of this study, the authors used survey data from Navarra, Spain's parliamentary elections and an analysis of local newspaper and television coverage of the issues and their attributes. The demographic variables analyzed in this study were age, gender, education and ideology (or political affiliation), excluding income and race. Overall, the findings supported their hypotheses that increased exposure to the news media corresponded to an increased consensus among the different demographic groups of the public agenda of issues and the public agenda of the candidates' attributes (López-Escobar et al. , 1998).

A variation of Bernard Cohen's famous statement cited earlier may be the best way to describe the second level of agenda-setting: the media may not be very successful in telling us what to think, but they are very successful in telling us what to think about (first level of agenda-setting) and how to think about it (second level of agenda-setting) (McCombs, 2004). Each issue, or object, presented by the news media

has several attributes, or “characteristics and properties that fill out the picture of each object” (McCombs, 2004, p. 70). When the news media present an object, certain attributes, properties or traits of that object are emphasized while others are de-emphasized. The media’s selection and presentation of an object’s attributes are thus transferred to the public’s agenda and affects how the public thinks about the object. Second level agenda-setting, or agenda-setting of attributes, analyzes how the news media’s particular representation of issues and other objects affects the public’s perception about those issues or objects.

Studies on second level agenda-setting have demonstrated that the attributes emphasized in the news affect how people think about the object, in other words, a transfer of salience of attributes from the media agenda to the public agenda of attributes (Ghanem, 1997). Studies have also suggested that the attributes emphasized in the news affect the salience of that object on the public agenda, defining “compelling arguments in the media message” (Ghanem, 1997, p. 4). Second level agenda-setting studies have also been replicated internationally and are gaining ground in communication studies analyses (McCombs, 2004).

In a recent second level agenda-setting study, Craft and Wanta (2004) analyzed the influence that American local newspaper and television coverage of 9-11 had on the public’s perception of terrorism issues. Much like this present study, the authors focused on the attributes of a single issue, terrorism in its aftermath of 9-11. Their results offered some support for the second level agenda-setting, a result statistically

significant ( $p=.714$ ,  $p<.05$ ) with the removal of one of the attributes, specifically length of war, from the analysis (Craft & Wanta, 2004). The authors also took into consideration media use as a variable, as does this present study, and their results once again showed limited support (Craft & Wanta, 2004). Craft and Wanta did not conceptualize their second level agenda-setting study of the influences of 9-11 coverage in terms of the consensus building consequence of agenda-setting. But they did re-emphasize media exposure as an important factor in correlating the media agenda of attributes with the public's agenda of attributes.

This dissertation is based on the three previous consensus building studies mentioned earlier (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995; López-Escobar et al., 1998). All three of these studies focused on the first level of agenda-setting, and the study in Spain also expanded it to include the second level of agenda-setting. This dissertation focuses strictly on consensus building at the second level of agenda-setting. At the second level, the consensus building consequence of agenda-setting suggests an important function of the news media in creating common ground for the deliberation about the characteristics of issues and objects, aiding mobilization on what aspects of an issue needs consideration.

This study focuses on the attacks of September 11th, 2001 on American soil, an event that raised awareness about the issue of terrorism. This study focuses on the attributes of terrorism and their transference from national and transnational media agenda to the agenda of an audience in the European Union. It also differentiates

between attributes of the issue of terrorism in general and attribute of the Muslim and Arabic community, as they are related to the issue of the events of 9-11. Specifically, it looks at how, through the use of the news media, divergent groups within each of the 15 European Union countries came together in consensus about the attributes of the terrorism issue and of the Muslim and Arabic community. This study assumes that terrorism was an issue high on the European Union audience's agenda, and it focuses on the second level agenda-setting effects. A study from the European Commission provides grounds for such assumption.

A survey conducted by Eurobarometer between October and November 2001 on behalf of the European Commission probed European Union respondents on the priorities of actions that the European Union should be taking at that time, a general question presented as a proxy to the Most Important Issue (MIP) question often asked in first level agenda-setting studies (Eurobarometer, 2001). Ninety-one percent of the respondents said that "Maintaining peace and security in Europe" should be a priority, followed by unemployment (90%), organized crime and drug trafficking (89%), and fighting poverty (89%) (Eurobarometer, 2001). That same survey found that there was a growth in fear about terrorism, and 86% of the European Union respondents said they feared terrorism personally after September 11<sup>th</sup>. That was 10 percentage points higher than a survey conducted the previous year by that same organization (Eurobarometer, 2001). This public opinion research indicates the issue of terrorism and fear of attacks was a salient issue on the European Union public's agenda.

Although this study is not conducting an analysis of agenda-setting at the first level, it is safe to say that the events of 9-11 received extensive coverage in Europe and that the public followed those concerns closely. This analysis assumes then that the European community was influenced at the first level of agenda-setting when it comes to the issues relating to the 9-11 attacks. It seeks to expand on the study of the consensus building consequence of second level agenda-setting on the attributes of issues. It analyzes the influence of national and transnational news media in bridging the communication gap by conducting a cross-national comparative analysis of 15 countries. It focuses on the effects of media coverage of the aftermath of 9-11 on 15 European Union countries. It focuses on the attributes of the issue terrorism and attributes of the Muslim and Arabic community as it relates to the case of 9-11.

Attributes of the issue (terrorism) and attributes of a community (the Muslim and Arabic community) are conceptualized as being different in terms of their attribute dimensions. Ghanem (1997) delineated four major dimensions of media frames and attributes: topics, presentation, cognitive attributes and affective attributes. She defined the cognitive dimension as dealing with “general cognitive categories that might shed a light on whether the media and the audience are thinking about the problem in the same way” (Ghanem, 1997, p. 13), and the affective dimension as dealing with “the public’s emotional response that may result from media coverage” (Ghanem, 1997, p. 12). McCombs identified the dimensions of attributes in terms of substantive (distinct

characteristics such as ideology and personality) and affective (such as positive and negative). He said that media effects might differ when the attributes are explored within these different dimensions (McCombs, 2004). The substantive dimension closely relates to the cognitive dimension and is reflected in the beliefs about aspects of an object, such as changes in awareness and knowledge. The affective dimension relates to feelings about an object.

López-Escobar et al. assessed both the substantive and affective dimensions of second level agenda-setting in the second phase of their study of consensus building. They described the substantive dimension as descriptive categories, in their case relating to attributes of political candidates, and the affective dimension as an appraisal of those political candidates, reflecting media's tone when presenting these candidates (López-Escobar et al., 1998). They found greater support for consensus building within the second level of agenda-setting for the affective dimension, as opposed to the substantive dimension, although both provided support for their hypotheses.

Attributes themselves can be differently understood when the analysis focuses on the object as an issue versus on the object as a person, such as a political candidate, or a community, such as the Muslim community. Craft and Wanta (2004) stated that, when dealing with an issue, "attributes are consequences, and not the type of characteristics – such as intelligence or experience – that would be the focus of second level agenda-setting regarding a person,"(p. 460). With the intention of having an in-



depth understanding of consensus-building at the second level of agenda-setting at both the national and transnational levels, I propose to test these different types of attributes through two measurements. The first one is the analysis of consensus-building as a consequence of attribute agenda-setting regarding an issue, specifically, the attacks of 9-11 and terrorism. The second is the analysis of consensus-building as a consequence of attribute agenda-setting regarding a community, the Muslim and Arab community.

Based on previous studies of consensus building (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995) and focusing on consensus building as a consequence of second level agenda-setting (López-Escobar et al., 1998), I propose to test the following hypothesis about the second level of agenda-setting, more specifically the attributes of an issue, terrorism. This first hypothesis focuses on the use of national media by audiences in each of the 15 European Union countries in building consensus among different segments of societies.

*H1: Increased use of national news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to an issue.*

As previously noted, the specific case of this study is the events of 9-11 and their resulting implications. The coverage of the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, did not focus solely on the issue of the terrorist attacks and its consequences. Coverage also focused on the Muslim and Arab communities. Therefore, I propose to test the following hypothesis about the second level of agenda-setting, more specifically the attributes of

a community, the Muslim community. This second hypothesis also focuses on the use of national media by audiences in each of the 15 European Union countries in building consensus among different segments of societies.

*H2: Increased use of national news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to a community.*

Radio, television and press have different inherent characteristics, both within the specificities of the medium itself, and in how the audience accesses and processes the information they provide. In terms of agenda-setting effects, they differ also in terms of the magnitude of agenda-setting influence and in terms of the optimal time-lag (Wanta, 1997). According to Wanta (1997), “the agenda-setting process is not uniform across different news media” (p. 151). This present study explores consensus building with the use of television and press, as did the three previous studies on consensus building on which this study is based on (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995; López-Escobar et al., 1998). It also expands on previous literature by adding an analysis of the influence of radio in consensus building. However, there is no basis in the literature for proposing a hypothesis about radio that is parallel to H1 and H2. Therefore, I pose a research question, whether there are differences in the consensus building consequence of second level agenda-setting (for both issue and community) between the different national media: television, radio and press.

*RQ 1: Are there differences in the influence among the different national media on consensus building among demographic subgroups at the second level of agenda setting?*

### **Chapter 3: Theoretical Background: Transnationalism**

This study argues that ideas, images, social imagery and communities flow across different levels of localities. This study examines how media are often the conduit for such flow. These movements occur through media dissemination across and within geographical and geo-cultural spaces. This flow is not unidirectional; it is often multi-directional, counter-directional and hybrid. However, media productions and messages are sent and received at the local, national, regional and transnational levels. If we understand that the media, through their presentation of images and a pseudo-environment, influence our thoughts, feelings and actions about those images and pseudo-environment, it is also necessary to understand that these influences may be originating from multiple levels of localities.

Straubhaar (2007, p. 80) argued that current television operates in several dimensions of geographic and cultural systems, including “global, transnational, cultural-linguistic spaces, geo-cultural regions, nation, global metropolises, states/provinces and localities.” Although Straubhaar was mainly focused on television, it is possible to argue that other media also operate within and across these different localities in interconnected and interdependent societies. Print media has historically crossed national boundaries more easily, although many nations have laws restricting international ownership of print media. For internet news, restrictions on foreign based news and information are even harder to enforce. Television media has faced more political limitations to cross-border transmission and reception, because it is closely

linked with national sovereignty and the nation-state (Chalaby, 2005c) and its public airways use. Television media is also, however, increasingly deterritorialized. With recent technological and political developments, access to print, radio and television originating at a multiple localities is easier and cheaper.

The European Union, the locus of this analysis, provides an interesting case for these different dimensions of multileveled localities of television broadcasting. Nations that have had strong local and national television broadcasting for decades, built on the concept of the nation speaking to its own nationals (Chalaby, 2005a), are experiencing the expansion of cross-border transmission. Cross-border transmission and reception is a relatively new phenomenon in Europe. It wasn't until the 1980s that television transmission expanded from public service channels to commercial stations and from terrestrial broadcasters to cable and satellite (Dahlgren, 2000). And indeed, this has been a rapid change. Nowadays, in some areas of Europe, most of the households access television via cable and/ or satellite, and some of these channels are transnational in nature (Dahlgren, 2000).

With the European Union's diverse population and increased population of migrants, its audiences now have access to local, national, and transnational programs that are aimed at clusters of cultural-linguistic populations, geo-cultural regions and others. In terms of technology, broadcast satellites and fiber optic cables allow for instant and far reaching circulation of television (Chalaby, 2005b). Political changes have also fostered the growth of transnational television. The EU's Television Directive signed

a treaty in 1989 ensuring access to television broadcasting across national boundaries and impeding restrictions “against the reception and retransmission of programs from other member states”(Schlesinger, 1993, p. 17). Indeed, the availability of television produced and often transmitted from outside the nation-state boundaries is increasing in volume and importance in Europe. Chalaby has differentiated between four types of transnational channels in Europe: ethnic channels, multi-territory operations, pan-European channels and networks (Chalaby, 2005a). There are more than 60 ethnic channels alone, which are stations addressing an “audience of migrants with a common linguistic and cultural background” (Chalaby, 2005a, p. 159). There are, for example, several channels “targeted to both Turkey and a Turkish audience in Europe since the early 1990s” (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 75).

Pan-European channels, which have a cross-border feed span over 50 territories and can reach “more than 90 million households” (Chalaby, 2005a, p. 164). The European Union has strongly encouraged Pan-European channels. It issued a policy document, *Television Without Frontiers*, drawing a causal connection between Pan-European television and the creation of a European community identity (Schlesinger, 1993). *Eurosud* is an example of a transnational Pan-European television news magazine program. It was co-produced by journalists from three countries and broadcast to several countries in Europe (Laborde & Perrot, 2000). This initiative, which started in 1986, ended after 42 episodes due to lack of financial sustainability (Laborde & Perrot, 2000).

These transnational television broadcasts (ethnic channels, multi-territory operations, Pan-European channels and networks) differ in intent, content, audience, relation with local issues and culture, and in their business models. The result is a much more complex arena of television transmission and reception. European Union television is still local and nationally centered to a great extent, but is also being increasingly transmitted and received outside the boundaries of the nation-state. It is important to state that audiences often prefer domestic programs (Buonanno, 2008), and these types of programs will continue to exist. Studies have indicated that most audiences from the lower middle class and below demonstrate a preference for television products that are at the local and national levels first, and those that are culturally and language related second (Straubhaar, 2007). Straubhaar also indicated that, although there is a preference for television that is culturally proximate, “most members of society are also interested in some amount of diversity and difference as well” (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 27).

The amount of programming that originates from across national borders is growing. According to Dahlgren (2000), “Viewing patterns will remain quite nationalist, though less so among young viewers” (p. 31). If we have media products and messages originating from different levels of localities, and most people prefer local and national media but are interested in diversity, who is the audience for media originating outside of the national domain? How do people choose and negotiate these media from different origins? In what context are audiences more prone to use media originating at

the different levels? And what is the effect that these presentations of ideas and images by media originating from multi-leveled locations have on the audience's perception of issues and attributes of those issues?

Many of the communication studies dealing with transnational focus on media use by diasporic populations. These studies focus on diasporic populations' use of transnational media to maintain ties to their countries of origin. These studies mainly focuses on two types of media use in terms of adaptation, settlement and identity: the use of homeland media use within their host countries (transnational media), and their use and relation to host country's media use (national or local media) (King & Wood, 2001; Bailey, Georgiou & Harindranath, 2007). As Straubhaar (2007) put it, "diasporas of people from China, various African cultures, India, and Pakistan, among others around the world, now serve as audiences for producers from 'home'" (p. 106). These diasporic populations maintain linguistic and cultural ties to their "home" media, while also using more geographically proximate local and national media. However, the distinction between home country and host country, country of origin and country of settlement, is increasingly complex, as people move and migrate at increasing rates and with different levels of identifications with these different nations.

Another audience for transnational media is "international and multicultural" (Chalaby, 2005a, p. 164). This audience is distinct from the diasporic population as it might not be displaced from country of origin, but still maintains ties and cultural background with other countries. That audience could be a second or third generation



decendent, or it could be a person who has lived for a period of time in another country and still maintains interest and cultural proximity with cross-national media. Another type of transnational media audience has been identified as corporate elites, or a “small elite with truly globalized cultural capital” (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 27). This audience is different in that it might not have personal ties to the country where the media originates from, the transnational media, but might still identify with the cosmopolitan aspect of the information or messages obtained from the transnational media, or may profit from the ties and capital created with the information obtained from transnational media.

One must not ignore the transnational media audience driven by curiosity, or a need for a diverse point of view, or the need for information and knowledge that its national media are not supplying. Although this audience may not be a loyal audience, nor subscribers of transnational media and using it on a long term basis, they are still being exposed to thoughts, ideas and images from transnational media. With media from different origins increasingly available at a cheaper and faster rate, this audience may increasingly turn to their transnational media sources. This audience, though, is still limited in their capability to understand the language of such transnational media, a geo-linguistic proximity, and their exposure or knowledge of where and how to access such media, which may be related to education and social economic positioning.

In a study investigating the London based Turkish-speaking community’s response to the coverage of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 events, Robins and Aksoy identified

that “the demand for more and varied information becomes especially significant in times of international tension and crisis” (2005, p. 29). This group accessed both national and transnational media to make sense of the events of 9-11, finding a range of information, ideas, and images that impacted how they saw themselves, in how they saw the “other” and how they saw the reliability of the sources themselves (Robins & Aksoy, 2005).

The transnational media audience is diverse in its reasoning for using such media, and the combination of media originating from different levels of localities it uses. Audiences in general are diverse in terms of the combination of media from different levels of localities that they choose, be it local, regional, national or transnational media. Straubhaar (2007) stated that audiences “feel competing sets of proximities or attractions to programs from different places” (p. 5). Audiences of print, radio, television and the internet have interests which at different times may more closely relate to and be covered by local, regional, national or transnational media. Audiences are not static. Advancements in technology and political and economic models have increased the potential for such audiences to move from one level of media to another, based on their interests and needs. If media use is not static, then the effects of using multi-locality media should be examined.

A person in Waco, TX (USA), can access his local newspaper, the *Waco Tribune Herald*, given he has the financial resources and interest. That same person can access a more regionally oriented newspaper, the *Dallas Morning News* for example. The same

goes for national news, perhaps the *New York Times*. The same individual can also have access to newspapers that relate to his cultural-linguistic interests and familiarity, perhaps a German or Mexican newspaper. This newspaper can probably be accessed in print, with a greater time delay, or through the internet, faster and cheaper. That same person could have an affinity to reggae music, and may access radio from Jamaica for such purposes. That person may have ties to the Baptist community in Brazil, and access niche media from that country. Each of these media may be affecting this individual, in how he sees himself, in how he sees the other, in what he thinks about, and in how he thinks about issues and attributes of those issues.

Straubhaar argued that globalization added layers of television flow and consumption, which is not exclusively local, national nor transnational, but a combination of these layers. He stated that “while that may reduce somewhat the salience of local and national to many people, most people will continue to have strong local and national identities, even as they gain other layers as well” (2007, p. 82).

Although these various levels of media locality may influence people’s perception of issues and communities, this current study is mainly concerned with national and transnational media use. It focuses on the effects of using media originating in the nation-state and beyond the nation-state.

Globalization, as observed in current societies, accentuates the availability of this plethora of media originating from different levels of localities, their use and the effects.

Globalization - the interconnectedness and interdependence of cultures, economies and

politics - is not a new phenomenon. However, the extent to which the world has been compressed and the intensity of this interconnection has increasing consequences for society.

The term globalization started being used in the 1960s to describe the rapid political and economical interconnection and interdependence (Held & McGrew, 2003). Generally, globalization is conceptualized as actions taken in one locality influencing another at a distance, the actual shortening of space and time dimensions, and the “shrinking world”, along with other concepts of faster and more intense global connections (Held & McGrew, 2003, p. 3). It denotes the “expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of interregional flows and patterns of social interaction” (Held & McGrew, 2003, p. 4). Straubhaar (2007) defined it as “the worldwide spread, over both time and space, of a number of new ideas, institutions, culturally defined ways of doing things and technologies (p. 81). Technology is important, as advancements and innovations in telecommunications (such as fiber optic cables and satellites) enabled the faster and longer diffusion of information from one country to another, with a truly global potential (Chalaby, 2005b). The concept of globalization, although viewed differently by many sociologists and communication scholars in terms of its structure and effects, marks a fundamental shift in paradigm in a need to look beyond the nation-state (Sinclair, 2004). As Sinclair explains it, “The concept of globalization was adopted as it became necessary to see each nation-state and its various systems – cultural as well as economic and political – in a world context,

a new reality in which supranational institutions were having their influence in shaping national structures and processes to an extent never quite known before” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 65).

Although there is a need to understand and conceptualize communication in terms of global influences and networks, media scholars differ in terms of how the flows occur, their intensity, directionality and effects. Among the different views of globalization, the perception of homogenization and heterogeneity are of particular interest to this study, especially in how it relates to transnational media effects. Some media scholars see the influence of globalization in terms of cultural imperialism, in an unequal power relation between western nations exerting their culture in less powerful nations, seeing that media flowing from more powerful nations tend to create a cultural hegemony. In another perspective, media scholars see this relation in terms of a multifold flow and influences, more in terms of heterogeneity. As Straubhaar (2007) pointed out, “To define the overall tendency of television systems throughout the world as globalization gives global phenomena too much emphasis compared with phenomena that are more precisely transnational, geo-cultural, or cultural-linguistic – national, regional or even local” (p. 80). To understand these different perceptions related to globalization, it is important to see the social-political trends of the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards, as it relates to communication as well.

In the 1960s and 1970s, after the decolonization and recent political independence of many African and Asian nations, scholars turned their attention to the

economical and ideological power influences of some nations over others, a neo-colonial power (Lechner & Boli, 2004). Within the cold war nomenclature, the word was divided between capitalist affiliation (first world), socialist/ communist affiliation (second world) and outside the scope of influence (third world). The view of dependency theory presented their analysis as manifestations of unidirectional and hegemonic power, from the economical and politically dominant countries to countries in the periphery. Dependency theory analyzed world power relations from the perspective of developing countries, which maintained a dependency (often financial) to former colonial or to subsequent international/ imperial powers (Straubhaar, 2007). The 1980s brought about the subsequent World System approach, adding new layers to the unidirectional core-periphery approach of dependency theory, analyzing the world division of labor within different cultural systems. In this perspective, there is also a dominant flow. More recent conceptualization of world relations presents an understanding of the multi-directionality flow of influence and networks, working within a globalized world, often even emphasizing the heterogeneous.

In global and international communications, theoretical trends follow a similar perspective. In terms of communications, the dominant theoretical perspective has shifted from one of cultural imperialism in the 60s and 70s to a more current one of a multidimensional flow of influences in theories such as cultural hybridity, glocalization and transnationalism. It is important to say, however, that the view of cultural imperialism, or westernization, is still very much alive. Papastergiadis (2000) explained

the lack of consensus about the reconfiguration of the local and global, and the different interpretations of globalization. Within a cultural imperialist and homogenization perspective, the view of globalization is seen as “a formation of a total and integrated economic system, with greater level of polarization between the peripheries and more sophisticated forms of integration between the centers of power.” Within a multidimensional and perhaps heterogeneity perspective, the view of globalization is “seen as stimulating greater political interaction between states and promoting diversity in cultural identity” (Papastergiadis, 2000, p. 77).

Hallin and Mancini (2004) explained the perspective of globalization as a homogenization force transmitted by world economic powers and received by less powerful countries and communities. The authors explained that these forces resulted in a minimization of cultural and structural differences and was a trend in the direction of a homogeneous structure of the public sphere. They stated that “in their products, in their professional practices and cultures, in their systems of relationships with other political and social institutions, media systems across the world are becoming increasingly alike” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 25). They note that, under the homogeneity prism of globalization, cultural imperialism has to be seen as a more complex interaction and system of dependency among different countries, but the direction of the flow is still seen as coming from more dominant and economically and politically powerful countries to those less so, especially in terms of commercialism and professionalization of media systems (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). In terms of news media,

they point out that “the global expansion of the market society has clearly diminished the differences between nationally distinct systems of media and political communication” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 41). They say this convergence could lead to complete homogenization, or stop short of it; however, the direction of the flow of influence is clear. Tomlinson (2003) said that those who analyze the effects of globalization within this homogenizing perspective tend to interpret it as an extension of western cultural imperialism, typically associated with “the destruction of cultural identities, victims of the accelerating encroachment of a homogenized, westernized, consumer culture” (p. 269). He refutes that perspective, and says it is misleading and overly broad to assume there ever existed a fragile, autonomous and well defined local cultural identity being overtaken by western cultural imperialism.

A contradictory perspective of globalization is seen as a significant force in “creating and proliferating cultural identity” (Tomlinson, 2003, p. 270). This perspective requires a more complex understanding of the process of globalization, one which accounts for unpredictability and an understanding of counter-flows that could be just as influential as the flows themselves. Some scholars have challenged the idea of one culture homogenizing other cultures, or of an imposing core culture exercising unilateral power over peripheral cultures in a one-way flow (Khiabany, 2003; Uimonen, 2003; Straubhaar, 2007). They believe that the networked society reaffirms the dual and contradictory aspects of modernity: globalization and individualization.



Held and McGrew (2003) explained the heterogenic perspective with the understanding that globalization has provided an interconnection of social networks beyond national and regional boundaries, and that this “does not mean that the global necessarily displaces or takes precedence over local, national or regional orders of social life. Rather, the point is that the local becomes embedded within more expansive sets of interregional relations and networks of power” (p. 3). Within this perspective, globalization is seen as an enabler, helping groups of people more easily tap into social and cultural networks that are not necessarily bound to their geographical location. Sinclair (2004) stated that identities, once a construction legitimized and perpetuated by the dominant forces of the nation-state are now disintegrated “in favor of more heterogeneous identities, which, although local in character, are able to communicate with their counterparts in other countries” (p. 73). Moreley and Robins (1995), conceptualize identity, within a heterogeneous globalization perspective, as being plural, rather than cohered, stating that “it must be about positions and positioning in local and global space: about contexts of bodily existence and about existence in mediated spaces” (p. 40). This does not mean that the nation-state is overtaken and displaced by the global, or transnational, but that communities within the boundaries of the nation-state are more able to connect, maintain and even create ties outside the boundaries of the nation-state, reinforcing and perhaps even creating new transnational identities.

Transnational media can be seen as both an enabling force for these multiples ties, as well as a consequence of this more heterogeneous aspect of globalization. Chalaby (2005b) explained it by saying that “an international reach is no longer the preserve of Western-based conglomerates, as an increasing number of smaller media companies from the developing world are expanding overseas, from Multichoice in South Africa to Zee Network in India” (p. 30). This could mean, for example, that a person maintaining ties to India (be it in terms of migration, cultural interest, economic interest, or others) but living in Europe, can tap into the social network resources that Zee TV provides, maintaining and perhaps creating a transnational identity. This does not mean that this transnational identity is static, nor the only identity. This person could also maintain identity with, say, England, as a country, Europe, as a region, or even a gender, class or otherwise, but that this is another layer of identity. Straubhaar stated that cultural globalization is perhaps better understood in terms of theories of hybridization or glocalization, stating that:

In hybridization, global forces bring change, but that change is adapted into existing ways of doing things via a historical process in which existing local forces mix with the new global ones, producing neither a global homogenization nor authentic local culture, but a complex new hybrid with multiple layers of culture, where older, traditional forms may persist alongside new ones. This situation is neither a complete resistance to rejoice about nor a complete loss of identity to despair about but a complex contradiction of both continuity and change. (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 6).

This current study identifies more closely with Straubhaar’s positioning.

Individuals accessing transnational media, regardless of what type of transnational

media audience they might be (diasporic population, international, multicultural, corporate elite, in need of diversity or others), tap into a resource that originates beyond their nation-state. And by tapping into that resource, these individuals are exposed to ideas, images and representations of the self and of others that might influence their thoughts, feelings and actions toward those transnational presentations. This influence might reinforce their local identities, but it might also bring those individuals to more closely identify themselves with others who might also be accessing those transnational media outside the boundaries of the nation-state.

In the case of the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, for example, a Muslim Frenchman might tap into transnational media that are Islamic oriented, for example. The use of transnational media might bring this individual more closely together – in terms of his perception of the issues of September 11<sup>th</sup>, and the attributes of those issues – to other individuals also accessing this transnational media, say in England, than he is to his next-door neighbor. This individual might identify himself as French, perhaps male and of higher education, but the use of the transnational media might bring him more closely together with another audience for this Islamic-centered media. The individual accessing the transnational media from France might have a different self-identity than the other individual accessing this media from England, as other factors influence his self perception and identification and his perception of others. The use of transnational media might, though, bridge these individuals from different localities in a common ground for dialogue. Thus, the use of transnational media does not mean a

homogenization of culture and of identity nor does it negate national and local media use, but it emphasizes the heterogeneity, the hybrid and the glocal. Thus, this study explains globalization and transnationalism in terms of this more recent conceptualization of world relation, with the understanding of a multi-directional flow of influence, networks and information working within a globalized world.

It is important to consider transnationalism in studies of cross-national media influence on people's perception. Straubhaar (2007) described this process of transnationalization, saying it "points out the salience of forces that cross borders, but it also makes clear that borders persist. The use of transnational still strongly implies that in many areas, national borders exist to be crossed" (p. 106). It is not that people, information, ideas and media did not cross national borders before, having to a large extent pre-dated the construction of nation-states (Vertovec, 1999), but it is the extent of this border-crossing and the multidirectional flow of these crossings that make transnationalism so currently relevant. As Kraidy (2005) stated, the prefix "trans" suggests moving through spaces and across borders, not merely between points.

Researchers in the interdisciplinary area of transnationalism have tried to explain processes taking place in a nation but transcending national boundaries, as well as its causes and effects (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998). The flows of these transnational practices have increased in unprecedented ways in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and early 21<sup>st</sup> century. Transnationalism has been explained, within the social science realm, as the "multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states"

(Vertovec, 1999, p.447). Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) linked the concept of transnationalism to “occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementation” (p. 219). Within their understanding, transnationalism should be organized within economic, political and socio-cultural arenas (Portes et al., 1999). This current study focuses more on the socio-cultural arena of transnationalism, specifically the news media and its effects.

Smith (2005) has defined the study of transnationalism as a discipline that seeks to “analyze the social organization and consequences of the complex interconnectivity of cross-border networks in multiple fields of social practice,” (p. 235). The focus of transnationalism studies vary from processes relating to media, demography, sociology, transmigration, diaspora, and many others. Transmigration dominates the discourse among anthropologists and sociologists (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998), who are interested in large population displacements and the consequences for individuals and social structures, including politics, economics, war, social mobility and many others. These groups of migrants are called transmigrants not only because they have been displaced geographically, across borders, but because they are intensely and constantly interconnected transnationally by communication, by money transfers, by travel, and other ways.

There is an argument that transnationalism and the influence of transnational communication has been exaggerated, in the sense that this is not a new phenomena. Barkan (2007), for example, reminds us of the importance that letters sent overseas had

to those receiving them, over a century ago, and their “powerful effect within the context of that period, opening up worlds to the recipients and luring many into migrating as well, ” (p. 11). While it is true that cultures and countries have long had interconnections, and that people have, for centuries, interacted and moved between cultures, it is the extent and speed of today’s interconnectedness of people, ideas and products across national borders that emphasize the condition of transnationalism. Although these are not new phenomena, they are now intensified through technology, which assists in the connection of social networks (Vertovec, 1999). Recent technological advancements have increased communication exchange within and across national boundaries, for interpersonal communication and mass communication. News media from other countries are increasingly accessible through the internet, mail, cable, and satellite. Smith (2005) said that there are currently more ways of interacting across space, both geographically across nations and socially across different social classes. Technology, coupled with political and economical circumstances, has facilitated mobility and increased ties within and across countries.

Communication studies tackling transnationalism have usually analyzed the influence of media in a micro-level analysis. A large body of communication scholars have been concerned with a particular use of transnational media, that of diasporic populations or migrant population and how they negotiate their identities, ties and adaptation with the multi-locational media use (Castles, 2000; King & Wood, 2001; Robins & Aksoy, 2005; Bailey et al., 2007). According to King and Wood (2001), media

present images that are a source of information for potential migrants; they influence reception and inclusion in the host country and how migrants see themselves. By using media from dispersed locations, migrants are able to create and maintain transnational communities and function in those distinct realities (King & Wood, 2001). These studies have usually been conducted within the cultural studies framework, and are usually qualitative in nature. Other communication scholars studied the paradigm shift of this increased interconnectiveness and reach of transnational media, how they relate to other levels of media use and how they relate to its audience's identity (Sinclair, 2004; Chalaby, 2005a; Chalaby 2005b; Straubhaar, 2007).

This current study seeks to expand on previous literature by conducting a macro, survey-based analysis, with the understanding that the use of transnational media is not restricted to diasporic or to migrant populations. As Bailey and Georgiou (2007) have stated, "transnational bonds no longer have to be cemented by migration or by exclusive territorial claims" (p.13). As people have increasing ties and interests in culture and, indeed, media, originating from across their national boundaries, it is necessary to broaden the analysis of transnational media use to a general population, and not only diasporic, migrant, or bi-cultural populations. I am interested in studying how different people use transnational media and how that use, compared to national media use, affects them.

Media in general and the news media in particular are institutions or players in the transnational arena. Intentionally, media corporations have long crossed national

boundaries, establishing presence in multiple countries. With deregulations and privatization increasingly taking place in the international arena since the 1980s, coupled with technologies such as wireless communication and satellite, transnational media have taken a greater presence (Gershon, 1997; Chalaby, 2005b). In terms of transnational corporations, it is increasingly common to have news media in one country being owned by a company overseas. Such is the case of global media mogul Rupert Murdoch and his News Corp. There is, undeniably, an interesting dynamic between the ownership by a company from one country and its use by audiences of another one, even if news is being produced specifically for that audience by journalists from their home-countries. But perhaps even more interesting is the case of transnational media that are produced in one country and reach an audience across national boundaries, which is the case of the already mentioned Zee TV, Brazilian TV Globo and others. Accessing French newspaper in England, be it print or the internet, for example, ensures a transnational participation of that news organization, intentionally or not. Listening to Spanish radio in Portugal, for example, also assigns that news organization a transnational character. With satellites, cables, internet, radio and even more dispersion of print (through cheaper imports), news media have the potential to reach transnational audiences at a faster and cheaper rate, intentionally or not. And the effects of such viewership should be addressed through the scope of transnationalism.

Straubhaar (2007) has argued that television is, in most cultures and nations, a dominant framework for cultural forums and discussions. As nation states were created



in late 1700s, media gained importance for creating a sense of national communities. In the United States, for example, the 18<sup>th</sup> century colonial press influenced, through their geographic agenda, the culture and identity of the new American nation (McCombs, 1997). The sense of national community was then first emphasized through the press, later with radio and, since the 1950s with the emergence of television, this role has been dominated by television (Straubhaar, 2007). Indeed, it is possible to think of television as the face of a nation, although other media are still related to what Lasswell (1960) called the function of transmission of social heritage, social norms and values.

Media have increasingly, since the 1980s, surpassed national boundaries and, with that, so has the flow of influence and of communities. Television definitely provides an interesting example for the character of transnational media. The BBC, CNN, Al Jazeera, Zee TV, and TV Globo, to cite a few, can all be thought of as transnational media, although their target audiences vary as regional or global. Media flow and reception are structured within local, national, regional and global systems and these different spatial forces interact in hybrid, multilayered level of influence on cultural identity. It is possible to understand a national flow of ideas and information through the use of national media, as well as a transnational flow of ideas and information through the use of transnational television, as a multilayered influence.

I argue here that the use of news media from different countries can be understood as transnational practice. I argue that the very use of transnational media, through its flows of images and ideas, has the potential to bring together a community.

Appadurai, in his seminal book "Modernity at Large" (1996), has highlighted the scenario where transnational media, in their various forms, often transcends the nation-state and generates new connections and communities among local, national and transnational audiences. In articulating the dimensions of global cultural flows of social imagery, Appadurai (1996) has coined the terms ethnoscaples, technoscaples, fianancescaples, mediascaples and ideoscaples. The concepts of mediascaples and ideoscaples are related to the study of transnational media's influence on people indifferent countries, and how it can be affecting people beyond national borders into a consensus of thought and perhaps even actions.

Mediascaples refer to the production and dissemination of information across the globe, as well as the images created and presented by these media. What is most important is that these mediascaples offer "large and complex repertoires of images, narratives, and ethnoscaples to viewers throughout the world, in which the world of commodities and the world of news and politics are profoundly mixed"(Appadurai, 1996, p. 35). By experiencing these media, in their various forms and localities, audiences are being influenced by the information and images they present, which results in a complex presentation and representation of the world. Media, by presenting a window of images of the world, the pseudo-environment as described by Walter Lippmann or the shaddows in the wall as described by Plato in the Myth of the Cave, help shape people's perception and narratives of themselves and of others. With the use of transnational media, these images and ideas are being presented with a view

originating outside of a nation's boundaries, which adds to the complexity of the perception of issues, of self, and of others.

The increased availability of transnational media within national spaces may be building a transterritorial consensus of issues and attributes among people of different countries or diverse demographics within those countries, and altering our perception of where influences on public opinion might be coming from. Individuals from different countries, for example, one living in Portugal and another in Sweden, despite their differences in culture, background, and physical location, might be closer together cognitively through exposure to transnational media than they are to their next-door neighbors. Their identities are reinforced, and perhaps even formed, with an additional transnational layer of influence, namely through transnational news media.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries there was a preoccupation with borders and nation-states. A sense of identity became increasingly tied to nationalities and idioms. However, there have always been struggles and competing interests. As Papastergiadis (2000) stated, "National identity has always sought to subordinate the competing sources of identifications that jostled within its domain and pushed against its borders," (p. 82). And indeed, to national media was entrusted what Lasswell has called the function of transmission of social heritage (Lasswell, 1960), a communal sense of belonging centered in the national territory. As Robins and Aksoy (2005) put it "Identities are abstract national inventions" (p. 22), but they are not irrelevant, nor static, nor fixed within national boundaries. Papastergiadis (2000) stated that identities

are formed and secured in opposition to another, in a differentiation between the understanding of the self and the understanding of the other. Tomlinson (2003) shared this perspective, stating that cultural identity is “based around specific, usually politically inflected, differentiations: gender, sexuality, class, religion, race and ethnicity, nationality” (p. 272). Within this understanding of identity, individuals are composed of multiple identities that are “mobilized within different cultural discourses” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 74).

The 20<sup>th</sup> century already brought an enhanced interflow of nations, although embedded in national frames (Fraser, 2003). In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the state is intertwined with the transnational and global. That does not mean the end of the state. We live in a world with increased spatial mobility where “the correspondence between geographical space(s) and social realities among people differently situated is not understandable with concepts bound to the nation state” (Sorensen, 2003, p. 456). Sorensen states that, although these concepts need to be looked at transnationally, this does not mean that nation-states are not important. The author stated that their influence lie in mediating “the flows of transnational investment, cultural production, grassroots activities and migration though their boundaries,” (Sorensen, 2003, p. 456). Borders still matter. However, Papastergiadis (2000) explained that cultural identity is “never confined to the space of an enclosed segment, nor is it projected onto an open plane, but it is formed through the practice of bridging both differences and similitude between the self and

the other” (p. 98). These differentiations and similarities occur both within national boundaries and across national boundaries.

Tomlinson (2003) understood that nation-states contain populations with multiple and complex identities and that this complexity “does not by any means necessarily entail the diminishing significance of identification with the nation: identity is not a zero-sum game. But it does suggest that the way in which national identity is experienced within globalization is, like everything else, in flux” (p. 276). As Smith and Guarnizo (1998) stated, “Personal identity formation in transnational social spaces can best be understood as a dialectic of embedding and disembedding which, over time, involves an unavoidable encumbering, disencumbering, and re-encumbering of situated selves. Identity is contextual but not radically discontinuous” (p. 21).

In that sense, loyalty to a transnational community, presented by the use of transnational news and the fostering of transnational networks, adds the layer of transnational identity. If we understand that identities are in flux, fluid and malleable, it is possible to understand that, through networks, bridges and connections, individuals are able to reinforce and perhaps construct new understandings of the self, and how they see themselves in relation to the other, in multi-leveled locations: at the local, regional, national and transnational levels. Media, both at national and transnational levels, may be providing this bridge between communities and reinforcing, if not helping build, new identities. These new identities are not the only or dominant identity, but another layer of identity that works within particular cultural contexts. Multilayered

identities and hybrid identities are not new phenomena. But efforts once set forward by nation-states to centralize fluid and negotiable identities may be weakened by the constant global flow of ideas and images.

Europe in general, and the European Union in specific, provides an interesting case of the flows and ties of identities, in their multi-leveled, hybrid and multi-location positioning, as well as the boundaries and restrictions they face. European Union members are also the locus of this current study's analysis. And indeed, within the European Union, a transnational unit, there are complex local, regional and national identity relations. With long-standing and increased migration flows within the continent and outside the continent, European Union residents have also maintained a transnational and transcontinental identity. Nation-based identities have long been challenged in many parts of Europe that, according to Painter (2002), have historically undermined the confounds of identity within nation-states. Examples are "the demands for Catalan, Basque and Galician autonomy or independence in Spain, while in the United Kingdom, Scottish, Welsh and Irish identities have provided the basis for a nationalist challenges to a unitary United Kingdom state" (Painter, 2002, p. 97).

These heterogeneous identities confined within the nation-state and dominated by a would-be homogeneous identity enforcement have, in many countries in Europe, generated social and political instabilities. Added to that dynamic is the grouping in an economic and political regional unit, the European Union. As Schlesinger (1993) stated, supranational pressures are exerted on nations from above "in the form of the

European community with its goals of economic and political integration,” and from below, as by residents with secessionists tendencies (p. 9). The European Union has developed policies to promote a transterritorial (although regional, within the European Union) sense of identity, specifically emphasizing the potential to tap into identity formation through media, and television in specific. This is a difficult endeavor, as it would require identifying who belongs in the European Community identity, and how similar and different they can be. Europe is increasingly multicultural and multi-ethnic, and it includes many religious affiliations as well, which makes it extremely difficult to enforce a European Community identity as such.

European Union nations are home to immigrants from many regions, both Europe and from other continents as well. Many European Union populations maintain ties to communities across their national boundaries and maintain a transnational identity as well. National media provide a link to national identity, and conversely transnational media provides a link to transnational identities. Transnational media in Europe may be bridging such communities, providing a transnational social network, while maintaining and possibly adding to a multilayered identity.

The selection of news stories each are determined by organizational news judgment, influenced by their geographical location and internal cultures, and by the events that take place in that particular country. Some European countries, for example, enforce equal opportunity policies aimed at including ethnic minorities in workplaces – England and the BBC are an example - and that has influenced how these news

organizations present issues and images in their news stories of the day (King & Wood, 2001). Some European countries have chosen to enforce diversity in the structures of their media companies, while others do not, and this affects the news production presented by these different media outlets. Laborde and Perrot (2000) have stated that in Europe, "Each country has its own distinctive televisual identity embedded in its organization, its functioning and its programmes" (p. 94). This means that media in different countries covering the same stories may have different focuses and also a different approach to including or excluding political and social ideas, which could result in different effects on their users. This study assumes then, that in general, national news media organizations from different countries will have different organizing principles in how they present the news stories of the day, and that these presentations will, in turn, have their own unique effects on public opinion.

News media from different members of the European Union, the locus of this study, may then be presenting information on a similar issue from different perspectives. In turn, this study understands that transnational media may be providing a different perspective of those issues for an audience located in those European Union countries. And, expanding on the consensus-building literature of agenda-setting, this study understands that transnational news media will also pull individuals with different characteristics who are exposed to these media towards a social consensus.

Thus, based on previous studies of consensus building (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995) and focusing on consensus building as a consequence of second level



agenda-setting (López-Escobar et al., 1998), I propose to expand on the literature by testing the following hypothesis on the influence of transnational news media in building consensus about the attributes of an issue, terrorism. This third hypothesis focuses on the use of transnational media by audiences in each of the 15 European Union countries in building consensus among its opposing segments of societies.

*H3: Increased use of transnational news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to an issue.*

National and transnational media also presented, in their coverage of 9-11 and its aftermaths, the attributes of the attributes of the Muslim community as well. Europe has an increasingly large Muslim community and many countries face internal challenges of segregation, integration and xenophobia. Considering the diverse composition and social inclusion of Muslim communities in European Union nations, as well nation's different political and economic relations with Muslim communities outside of their nations, it is possible to believe that media from different countries presented attributes of the Muslim community, as they related to the events of 9-11, with different perspectives. It is thus important to analyze how the different national media presented the attributes of the Muslim community relating to the issue of 9-11 and to see the effects of transnational media in providing a consensus on attributes of a community with the understanding that, with increased interconnections and ties provided by transnational media, communities within the boundaries of the nation-

state are more able to connect, maintain and even create ties outside the boundaries of the nation-state.

Therefore, I propose to test the following hypothesis regarding the attributes of a community, the Muslim community. This hypothesis focuses on the use of transnational media by audiences in each of the 15 European Union countries in building consensus among diverse segments of societies.

*H4: Increased use of transnational news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to a community.*

As stated previously in the literature, since the 1980s there has been an increased availability of transnational media across the globe. These transnational media may differ in purpose, scope and business models, and how they integrate the local as well. Individuals in European Union member-countries now have faster and cheaper access to radio, print, television, and internet news media originating beyond their national boundaries. Individuals who have access to different transnational media may choose to access these different transnational media for different purposes, and at different times. They might choose to mix-and-match national and transnational news media, they might pick and choose from a transnational radio stations from one country and a transnational TV stations from another locality. Understanding that different media use might have different effects on its audiences, I ask the following research questions:

*RQ 2: Are there differences in influence among the different transnational media on consensus building among demographic subgroups at the second level of agenda-setting?*

Previous scholars have indicated that audiences still prefer local or nationally produced media content (Straubhaar, 2007; Buonanno & Radice, 2008). Although audience preference may be for media produced at the national level, individuals use, and increasingly so, transnational media. This study seeks then to compare the influence of national and transnational media in terms of their influence in creating consensus among opposing segments of society. Therefore I ask the following research question:

*RQ 3: Do national and transnational media have different levels of influence in terms of consensus building for European audiences?*

As individuals from different countries are influenced by both national and transnational flows of ideas and images, it is possible to see that transnational media might have different effects in individuals from different countries, as they negotiate their identities being mobilized within their different and complex cultural discourses. This study analyzes the influence of these national and transnational media's presentation of the same issue and attributes of that issue, specifically terrorism as it related to the events of 9-11, and attributes of a community, specifically the Muslim community as it related to the events of 9-11. These audiences may be receiving information and a presentation about the same issues, but those issue presentations

might differ depending on the country or media. These audiences are also receiving the presentation of those issues and communities within their local context and negotiated within those multiple localities of flows of images and ideas. Lastly, understanding that local flows and identifications still matter, and that individuals may be negotiating their understandings and perceptions of those issues and communities in a complex manner, I ask the following research question:

*RQ 4: If there are differences in the influence of news media among individuals from different European countries, what would explain those differences?*

## Chapter 4: Methodology

### DATA

This study employed a secondary data analysis to test the hypotheses and address the research questions stated previously in the literature and presented here in a summary.

To test consensus building at the second level of agenda-setting relating to the use of national media, I propose the following two hypotheses:

*H1: Increased use of national news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to an issue.*

*H2: Increased use of national news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to a community.*

To test consensus building at the second level of agenda-setting relating to the use of transnational media, I propose the following two hypotheses:

*H3: Increased use of transnational news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to an issue.*

*H4: Increased use of transnational news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to a community.*

I am also examining the four following research questions, related to national and transnational news media use and the consensus building consequences of second level agenda-setting:

*RQ 1: Are there differences in influence among the different national media on consensus building among demographic subgroups at the second level of agenda-setting?*

*RQ 2: Are there differences in influence among the different transnational media on consensus building among demographic subgroups at the second level of agenda-setting?*

*RQ3: Do national and transnational media have different levels of influence in terms of consensus building for European audiences?*

*RQ4: If there are differences in the influence of news media among individuals from different European countries, what would explain those differences?*

The data utilized to answer the hypotheses and research questions originated from Flash Eurobarometer 114, a topical telephone-based survey requested by the European Commission for the External Relations section of the Directorate General of the European Union and conducted by EOS Gallup Europe, currently called Gallup Europe. The study, named “International Crisis,” was conducted in the aftermath of the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 and probed European Union populations on issues related to the attacks in the United States (Flash Eurobarometer, 2001). The researchers surveyed populations of each of the 15 European Union member countries at the time of the study, November 2001, consisting of Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Spain, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Austria, Portugal, Finland, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Calculations of consensus for this study are based only on the public opinion data. Most agenda-setting studies, at the first level and second, compare the issues and attributes of the public's agenda, usually through a content analysis of the media, with public opinion on these issues. Some even include a complete triangulation with secondary data sources and official records on the issue (Higgins, 2005). However, the nature of the media analyzed in this study complicates the application of a content analysis. This study analyzes the influence of national news media use in 15 European Union countries. It also analyzes the influence of transnational news media, which have not been identified in the data obtained as to the specific origin of those media. Therefore, following the example of Shaw and Martin's (1992) analysis of television influence on consensus building, I compared agreement on attributes of issues and community between those who reported use of press, television, and radio, both local and transnational, and those who reported not using press, television, and radio, both local and transnational. This allowed me to analyze the level of agreement between demographic subgroups, which is the core relationship modeled in the three previous studies on consensus building (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995; López-Escobar et al., 1998).

Using pre-existing data, as is the case of the secondary analysis conducted here, allowed me to have access to a large set of data. A total of 14,986 interviews were conducted in the 15 countries mentioned, a sample of approximately 1,000 interviews per country. Conducting a primary survey and collecting data of this scope would have

been cost-prohibitive. Counting on the expertise of the research organization responsible for the data collection of this study, Gallup Europe, for this secondary data-analysis eliminated collection problems in assembling cross-national data and assured a representative sample for this study. Gallup strictly complies with ISO norms, the ICC/ESOMAR code and WAPOR standards of ethical research (Gallup Europe, 2008). Conducting a secondary data analysis, using the existing materials provided by German Social Science Infrastructure Services (GESIS), also allowed me to concentrate my efforts on the analysis, and expand on previous literature on consensus building, by analyzing consensus building both at a cross-national and a transnational level.

Conducting a secondary analysis, though, does come with a cost. It is limited to the availability of the data collected by the organization, which may have conducted the survey with purposes different than the objectives of the secondary analyst. Kiecolt and Nathan (1985) stated that a potential shortcoming of a secondary data analysis is the form in which data may be available, being available at the aggregate level when the researcher is focusing on a specific group or individual level, for example. Scholars have also pointed out the importance of verifying the data, its quality, and accessing all necessary supporting documentation of the data with the intent of identifying errors in data collection (Hyman, 1972; Kiecolt & Nathan, 1985; Becker, 1989). In data available for this study, the level of aggregation was compatible with the intended consensus building analysis. Supporting documentation assuring the quality of the data has also been reviewed for this secondary analysis.



Poindexter and McCombs (2000) identified, as another disadvantage of a secondary data analysis, the lack of a chance to intervene on question-wording, sample frames and procedures. The wording of the questionnaire did, indeed, pose some restrictions to this study, as exemplified by the lack of follow-up as to the origins of the transnational media accessed by the participants of this study. However, the quality of the questionnaire was acceptable and it possessed, within the same data-set, all the necessary variables for the analysis of consensus building consequence of agenda-setting.

After searching extensively for available data containing the three main variable groups (a set of dichotomized demographics, media exposure and public opinion) with a cross-national and transnational approach, I located the Flash Eurobarometer 114 “International Crisis” study. I requested the data-set from the GESIS Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences on March 25<sup>th</sup>, 2008. I paid a minimum fee and received the data-set through FTP in the requested SPSS format, along with the questionnaire and supporting documentation of the study. The study being analyzed here was conducted by 15 EOS Gallup Europe Institutes, managed and organized by the Directorate General Press & Communication, Unit B. Participants of this study were randomly selected and interviewed by telephone. Within each of the 15 national samples, the participants were representative of the continental population aged 15 and over. The specific research organization, along with their field-dates and number of interviews by country, are indicated on Table 2.

**Table 2: Research organization, field-dates and number of interviews per country**

<b>Country</b>	<b>EOS Gallup Europe Institute</b>	<b>Field-dates</b>	<b>Number of interviews</b>
Belgium	Dimarso	11/13/01- 11/21/01	959
Denmark	Gallup	11/14/01 – 11/19/01	1000
Germany	Emnid	11/14/01 – 11/17/01	1001
Greece	ICAP	11/14/01 – 11/22/01	1000
Spain	Demoscopia	11/16/01 – 11/20/01	1007
Finland	Suomen Gallup	11/14/01 – 11/16/01	1001
France	Sofres	11/14/01 – 11/17/01	1007
Ireland	Irish Mktg Surveys	11/13/01 – 11/20/01	1000
Italy	Doxa	11/15/01 – 11/19/01	1001
Luxemburg	ILReS	11/15/01 – 11/23/01	1000
Netherlands	NIPO	11/15/01 – 11/22/01	1002
Austria	Österreichisches Gallup	11/16/01 – 11/20/01	1000
Portugal	Metris	11/13/01 – 11/20/01	1002
Sweden	Svenska Gallup	11/14/01 – 11/19/01	1000
United Kingdom	NOP	11/13/01 – 11/22/01	1006

As a whole, the study used in this analysis was conducted between November 13 and 23 of 2001. The time frame of this study is appropriate to analyze the effects of media coverage of the events of September 11, 2001, on public opinion, being a little over two months after the event. According to McCombs (2004), the necessary time-lag for transference of issues and attributes from media agenda to the public agenda typically ranges from four to eight weeks. However, the time-lag varies across media sources. Wayne and Hu (1994) have found that TV coverage, for example, had an optimal time-lag ranging from one to two weeks, whereas newspapers ranged from three to four weeks, and magazine had an optimal time-lag of eight weeks. The point at

which the effects of local, regional and national news disappear ranged from eight to 26 weeks (Wayne & Hu, 1994). Although neither McCombs (2004) nor Wayne and Hu (1994) mention the ideal time-lag of effects for transnational news media, it is possible to say that the time frame of this study falls within the optimal time-lag range and before the decay point identified in previous studies. The interviews were conducted between eight and nine weeks after event of September 11, 2001. It is useful to note that, at the beginning of these interviews, November 13, 2001, the Northern Alliance had entered Kabul, Afghanistan, as retaliation for the attacks on US soil (Flash Eurobarometer, 2001).

## **MEASUREMENT AND OPERATIONALIZATION**

Three main groups of variables are necessary for the hypotheses and research questions of this study: a set of dichotomized demographics or social groups; media exposure or use; and, public opinion or attribute salience. It is also necessary to have a location variable, specifically the 15 European Union member countries, which I have controlled to conduct my cross-national analysis. These variables replicate the basic model for the measurement of the consensus building consequence of agenda-setting (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995; López-Escobar et al., 1998), but with the basic difference that this dissertation investigates second level agendas whereas the previous studies primarily examined first level agendas.

## Demographics

In most agenda-setting studies, and communication studies in general, demographics are analyzed to state and explain differences of opinion. In this study, I replicate the conceptualization of previous consensus building agenda-setting studies (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995; López-Escobar et al., 1998) by assuming a general difference of opinion between the demographic subgroups and explore media exposure to explain increased agreement between demographic subgroups. In other words, agreement between demographic subgroups increases with the use of news media. As in the studies I replicate here, the demographic groups have been dichotomized *a posteriori*, for the analysis of subgroup consensus.

The three previous studies of the consensus building function of agenda-setting found inconsistencies as to which demographic subgroups followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with media use. It is possible that these inconsistencies were related to the specific national settings of these studies, since Shaw and Martin analyzed consensus building within the United States (1992), Chiang analyzed it in Taiwan (1995) and López-Escobar et al. analyzed it in Spain (1998). Compared to the three previous studies on consensus building, I replicate the choices of gender, age and education as demographics for this analysis.

Shaw and Martin's study found an increase in consensus within gender and within age on issue salience with frequency of exposure to newspapers, but not within education. Of these three demographic groups, only age was found to have an

increased agreement on issue salience with increased exposure to TV (Shaw & Martin, 1992). Chiang's study found increased consensus within gender and within education groups on issue salience with increased exposure to newspapers. Age was not tested (Chiang, 1995). When testing for television influence, neither of the tested groups presented an increased consensus in Taiwan, which Chiang attributed to the country's limited openness of its television media system (Chiang, 1995). López-Escobar, Llamas & McCombs's study found increased consensus within gender and within education on issue salience with increased attention to newspapers, but not within age. For television, only the education sub-groups increased consensus on issue salience with increased attention to the media (López-Escobar et al., 1998).

On the second level of agenda-setting, these authors found increased consensus in the substantive dimension for age with increased attention to newspapers, and for gender, education and age with increased attention to television. For the affective dimension of second level agenda-setting, they found increased consensus among gender and education with increased attention to newspapers, and for gender, education and age with increased attention to television (López-Escobar et al., 1998). Thus, I replicate the choices of gender, age and education in 14 new national frameworks, settings different than the countries previously analyzed. I also replicate these choices within Spain, the locus of López-Escobar et al. (1998) study.

## Gender

The demographic variable gender has a clear dichotomized operational definition in the survey, and respondents were measured as “male” or “female.” Forty-eight percent of the total respondents are male and 52% are female. The distribution of males and females by country is presented in Table 3.

**Table 3: Male and Female distribution by country, percentages rounded**

Country	Gender	
	Male	Female
Belgium	47%	53%
Denmark	52%	49%
Germany	46%	54%
Greece	48%	52%
Spain	48%	52%
France	48%	52%
Ireland	49%	51%
Italy	48%	52%
Luxemburg	45%	55%
Netherlands	48%	52%
Austria	48%	53%
Portugal	48%	52%
Finland	48%	52%
Sweden	46%	54%
United Kingdom	49%	52%

## Age

The respondents of this survey were asked to state their exact age. I collapsed the reported age of the respondents into two groups, dichotomizing the demographic variable *a posteriori* into “younger” and “older” subgroups. The operational definition of “younger” is those respondents who reported their age as being between 15 through 42

years old, roughly 49% of the respondents. Thirty-seven respondents refused to state their age. The operational definition of “older” is respondents who reported their age as being between 43 and 98 years old, roughly 51% of the respondents. The distribution of younger and older demographic subgroups by country is presented in Table 4.

**Table 4: Younger and Older distribution by country, percentages rounded**

Country	Age	
	Younger	Older
Belgium	44%	56%
Denmark	46%	54%
Germany	44%	56%
Greece	48%	52%
Spain	54%	46%
France	51%	49%
Ireland	56%	44%
Italy	54%	46%
Luxemburg	49%	51%
Netherlands	51%	49%
Austria	48%	52%
Portugal	52%	48%
Finland	48%	52%
Sweden	45%	56%
United Kingdom	50%	50%

## Education

Education was measured in the survey in a differently than most questionnaires.

Respondents were asked to state their age when they finished their full time education.

The demographic variable was thus dichotomized *a posteriori* into “lower” and “higher” subgroups. The operational definition of “lower” education group is those who reported

having finished their full time education between “never having gone to full time school” and “being up to 18 years-old when they finished full time education”, roughly 54% of the respondents. The operational definition of “higher” education is those reporting “being 19 years-old and older when they finished full time education”, roughly 46% of the respondents. The division is thus a proxy for high school or less (lower) and undergraduate education or higher (higher), although it is understood that these are approximations and an individual could be of untraditional age completing their primary or secondary education. Those who refused to answer, approximately 2% of the respondents (232 cases), were excluded from the analysis. The distribution of lower and higher education subgroups by country is presented in Table 5.

**Table 5: Lower and Higher education distribution by country, percentages rounded**

Country	Education	
	Lower	Higher
Belgium	53%	47%
Denmark	23%	77%
Germany	60%	40%
Greece	65%	35%
Spain	60%	40%
France	50%	50%
Ireland	60%	40%
Italy	62%	38%
Luxemburg	52%	48%
Netherlands	43%	57%
Austria	61%	39%
Portugal	68%	32%
Finland	40%	60%
Sweden	44%	57%
United Kingdom	73%	27%



## **Locality**

The three previous studies that this study replicates measured consensus building among demographic subgroups, such as income, race, ideology and geography (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995; López-Escobar et al., 1998). This study expands on the previous literature by also including in the analysis locality as a demographic group. Sociologists have long used locality as an organizing principle for understanding human relations. Urban and rural sociology is a normative discipline within sociology that is currently dominated by political economy and globalization, on one hand, and the meaning of those localities on people's lives, on the other (Dickens, 2000).

Understanding that the use of national and transnational news media may aid in the creation of dialogue among rural and urban population subgroups, I include locality as a demographic being analyzed in this study, a variable accounting for a spatial relation.

As the review of literature and hypotheses and research questions have indicated, this study is concerned with different levels of spatial analysis: the national, the regional and the transnational. The demographic locality allows for an additional level of spatial analysis, the rural and urban/metropolitan areas within each of the countries analyzed. Dickens (2000) has stated the need of understanding the role of locality within the context of a global world, especially when focusing on culture and identity, which is among the aims of this study.

For this survey, the research organizations categorized type of locality as "metropolitan zone", "other town/ urban centre" and "rural zone," which were coded

by the interviewers and included in the data-set. This analysis has collapsed the two categories “metropolitan zone” and “other town/ urban centre,” which were recoded into one category called “Metropolitan/Urban” and compared it with “Rural” population localities. This division is congruent with concepts of social identity, as well as divisions made for political, social and economic analytical purposes. Roughly 66% of the respondents were identified as being from a “Metropolitan/Urban” locality, and nearly 34% of the respondents were identified as being from a “Rural” locality. Seven respondents were not identified in terms of their locality. The distribution of metropolitan/urban and rural locality subgroups by country is presented in Table 6.

**Table 6: Metropolitan/urban and rural population distribution by country, percentages rounded**

Country	Locality	
	Metropolitan /Urban	Rural
Belgium	66%	34%
Denmark	68%	32%
Germany	73%	27%
Greece	59%	41%
Spain	75%	25%
France	75%	25%
Ireland	55%	45%
Italy	80%	20%
Luxemburg	41%	60%
Netherlands	75%	25%
Austria	65%	35%
Portugal	35%	65%
Finland	74%	26%
Sweden	81%	19%
United Kingdom	70%	31%

The dichotomized demographic variables of gender, age, education and locality were used to answer all four hypotheses, as well as Research Question 1, Research Question 2 and Research Question 4.

### **Media Exposure**

The next set of variables needed for the analysis of the consensus-building function of agenda-setting is media exposure variables. Each of the three previous studies on which this study is based measured media exposure differently. Shaw and Martin (1992) measured media exposure by frequency of exposure to newspaper or TV, operationally defined by reported use of zero days a week, one to three days a week and four to seven days a week. Chiang (1995) measured media exposure by frequency of exposure, operationally defined by reported amount of time spent with the media per day, later grouped into low and high users of both newspapers and television. López-Escobar et al. (1998) measured media exposure in terms of level of attention to political information in the media, divided into three groups for both newspapers and television exposure. All three studies compared the level of consensus between two or three levels of media use.

Media exposure is measured in this study through a bivariate question that asked the respondents about their use of various media for information on the events in Afghanistan, Pakistan and the United State in the aftermath of 9-11 and their impact in

Europe. Respondents were asked to state, from a presented list, which media they used and deemed reliable. This closed-ended question asked the respondents about their use of ten different sources of information. Of those sources, this study is concerned with six specific sources of information, three within the national arena (used to investigate Hypotheses 1 and 2, as well as Research Questions 1, 3 and 4) and three within the transnational arena (used to investigate Hypotheses 3 and 4, as well as Research Questions 2, 3 and 4). The remaining four media or interpersonal sources of information included in the questionnaire, namely “television reports and discussions with experts,” “non stop news television channels,” “internet websites,” “your colleagues, friends, family,” were not included in this analysis, due both to their small number of responses and not being able to compare the national and transnational media use for those specific items.

The operational definition of national media exposure is the use of the national press news, national television news and national radio news. The previous studies that I am replicating here were concerned with exposure to both newspapers and television at the local or national levels. This study expands on the previous literature by also analyzing consensus building through the use of national radio. It included national radio because of its reach into different segments of population beyond those reached by newspapers and television, and because of the particularities of information transmission and reception through this medium. I am analyzing all three national media (national press, national television and national radio) within each of the 15

European Union member countries. In these analyses, I examine all countries combined and each of the 15 countries separately. Overall, 65% of the respondents stated they use the national press news for information, 82% of the respondents stated they use national TV news for information and 59% stated they use national radio news for information. The distribution of national media use by country is presented in Table 7.

**Table 7: Distribution of national media use by country, percentages rounded**

Country	National Media Use		
	National Press news	National TV news	National Radio news
Belgium	71%	85%	74%
Denmark	78%	92%	71%
Germany	76%	88%	78%
Greece	35%	69%	18%
Spain	58%	81%	55%
France	61%	73%	57%
Ireland	64%	86%	72%
Italy	57%	79%	38%
Luxemburg	61%	58%	56%
Netherlands	76%	80%	67%
Austria	67%	79%	58%
Portugal	47%	87%	32%
Finland	82%	93%	70%
Sweden	77%	91%	66%
United Kingdom	69%	91%	66%

Expanding on previous literature, this study also analyzes consensus building through the use of transnational media. The operational definition of transnational media exposure is the use of press news, television news and radio news from countries

other than where the respondent resides, for information on the events in Afghanistan, Pakistan and US and their impact in Europe, relating to the aftermath of 9-11.

Transnational press, television and radio are available in many countries, especially in Europe. Such is a reality of a globalized world.

**Table 8: Distribution of transnational media use by country, percentages rounded**

Country	Transnational Media Use		
	Transnational Press news	Transnational TV news	Transnational Radio news
Belgium	38%	60%	28%
Denmark	24%	45%	10%
Germany	21%	32%	13%
Greece	4%	7%	3%
Spain	7%	13%	3%
France	16%	19%	8%
Ireland	26%	68%	15%
Italy	13%	18%	6%
Luxemburg	51%	82%	41%
Netherlands	35%	41%	19%
Austria	18%	47%	14%
Portugal	10%	25%	3%
Finland	12%	29%	7%
Sweden	16%	37%	6%
United Kingdom	13%	29%	6%

Thus, the analysis of consensus building through the use of transnational press, television and radio within each of the 15 European Union member countries is a valuable addition to the communication literature in general and agenda-setting and media effects literature in particular. In these analyses I examine all countries combined and each of the 15 countries separately. Overall, 20% of the respondents stated they

used transnational press news, 37% stated they used transnational television news and 12% stated they used transnational radio. The distribution of these transnational media use by country is presented in Table 8.

### **Public Opinion: Attribute Salience**

The third set of variables needed for measuring the consensus building function of agenda-setting is opinion salience. This study is measuring consensus at the second level of agenda-setting, both for attributes of an issue (Hypotheses 1 and 3) and attributes of a community (Hypotheses 2 and 4). A conceptual distinction between issue and community is made.

In measuring attributes of an issue, the public is asked to create a hierarchy of importance for attributes related to response measures to the attacks of 9-11. This can be understood at the second level of agenda-setting as the substantive dimension of an issue. The substantive dimension of second level agenda-setting describes to beliefs about aspects of an object, where changes in awareness and knowledge occur. The particular issue of this current study, the object of this study, is terrorism, as it relates to the attacks of September 11, 2001. The attributes of the issue terrorism measured are consequences of the issue in terms of policy responses to the attacks, such as humanitarian actions, financing reconstruction, diplomacy and others. The affective dimension of second level agenda-setting relates to feelings about an object. In this study, the measurement of attributes of a community is considered an affective

dimension. In this study the participants are asked to state their opinions about the affective attributes of the Muslim and Arab community, as a consequence of the 9-11 attacks. They are probed on affective attributes such as condemnation, distrust, judgment and others. The particular issue, for this affective dimension, is also the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> as a political issue, and the attributes are the affective reactions toward the Muslim and Arab communities as a consequence of the attacks.

In their study on consensus building, López-Escobar et al. (1998) also distinguished between the substantive and affective dimensions of second level agenda-setting, although their study related to only characteristics of politicians. The authors found greater support for consensus building within the second level agenda-setting for the affective dimension, in comparison to the substantive dimension, although both provided support for their hypotheses (López-Escobar et al., 1998).

The operational definition of attribute salience regarding an issue, the substantive dimension, is the hierarchy of importance of the attributes related to measures that respondents deemed the European Union should take in response to the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>. Respondents were asked, in a closed-ended itemized question, to express their opinion regarding the importance of each item on a four point scale. The specific question from the survey being used in the analysis to measure salience of attributes of an issue is indicated in Table 9.



**Table 9: Attribute of an issue question wording**

Q.7: The European Union has taken or will soon take measures to respond to the current international crisis. Do you think that it is (Essential, Necessary, Not really necessary, to be excluded that the European Union) (one answer per item):	
A.	Multiplies actions so as to prevent the conflict from extending to other countries than Afghanistan?
B.	Increases humanitarian assistance to the victims of the current conflict?
C.	Supports restoration of democracy in Afghanistan?
D.	Massively finances reconstruction in Afghanistan?
E.	Launches a specific action plan for air safety of passengers in Europe and the rest of the world?
F.	Takes measures to improve cooperation between police services and judicial bodies at a European level?
G.	Encourages political and cultural relations between Europe and the Arabic countries?
H.	Improves with the European territory the quality of relationships between Muslim communities and local populations?

The value “essential” has been used in this analysis to rank the hierarchy of importance of the attributes of the issue. Forty-four percent of the respondents stated that it would be essential to conduct multiple actions to prevent extension of the conflict to other countries (item a); 46% of the respondents stated it would be essential to increase humanitarian assistance to the victims (item b); 42% stated it would be essential to support restoration of democracy in Afghanistan (item c); 24% stated it would be essential to massively finance reconstruction in Afghanistan (item d); 52% stated it would be essential to launch a specific action plan for air safety (item e); 42% said it would be essential to take measures to improve cooperation between police services and judicial bodies in Europe (item f), 31% said it would be essential to

encourage political and cultural relations between Europe and Arabic countries (item g); and 34% stated it would be essential to improve the quality of relationships between Muslim communities and local populations within the European territory (item h). The distribution of the substantive dimension of attribute salience of an issue, those that deemed the attribute to be “essential,” by country is presented in Table 10.

**Table 10: Distribution of salience of attributes of issue terrorism by country**

Country	Essential							
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Belgium	39%	28%	27%	12%	40%	37%	22%	26%
Denmark	36%	39%	41%	25%	40%	22%	24%	33%
Germany	36%	29%	28%	13%	30%	34%	21%	19%
Greece	43%	60%	48%	38%	63%	51%	46%	45%
Spain	25%	45%	37%	21%	49%	44%	31%	29%
France	54%	41%	46%	16%	51%	52%	32%	34%
Ireland	55%	65%	56%	34%	72%	57%	50%	52%
Italy	53%	45%	41%	20%	65%	41%	34%	35%
Luxemburg	37%	31%	31%	19%	50%	38%	25%	24%
Netherlands	52%	46%	46%	30%	47%	47%	31%	37%
Austria	48%	53%	38%	20%	47%	38%	31%	32%
Portugal	43%	50%	37%	21%	54%	44%	31%	31%
Finland	31%	36%	36%	11%	34%	30%	21%	19%
Sweden	70%	68%	67%	40%	67%	42%	44%	48%
United Kingdom	44%	60%	53%	33%	67%	50%	22%	54%

The operational definition of attribute salience regarding a community, the affective dimension, is the hierarchy of agreement of attributes related to the Muslim and Arab community, as a consequence of the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>. Respondents were asked, in a closed-ended itemized question, to express their agreement for each of five statements on a four-point scale. The specific survey

question being used in the analysis to measure salience of the attributes of a community is indicated in Table 11.

**Table 11: Attribute of a community question wording**

Q. 8: Finally, I am going to read out some opinions heard on the street or in the media about the present situation in the USA and in Europe as a result of the terrorist attacks. Can you tell me if you (Totally agree, agree, disagree, totally disagree) with the following statements:?	
A.	The Muslim community on the whole has sufficiently condemned the terrorist attacks of September 11.
B.	Further to the September 11 attacks, one can understand some distrust toward the Muslim community in Europe.
C.	One can not judge the Arabic world based on terrorist acts perpetrated by a few individuals.
D.	Terrorists do not act like real Muslims.
E.	The real motivations of the terrorists had nothing to do with religion.

The values “totally agree” and “agree” have been collapsed to determine an aggregated agreement regarding the attributes of the community. The combined agreement is used in this analysis in the rank order of the hierarchy of importance of these statements, or the importance of each of the attributes of a community. These categories were collapsed due to the low number of “totally agree” responses. Table 12 presents the total distribution of the attribute salience of a community.

**Table 12: General distribution of agreement on attributes of a community**

	Attribute A	Attribute B	Attribute C	Attribute D	Attribute E
Totally Agree	14%	21%	48%	36%	31%
Agree	41%	48%	38%	35%	29%
Disagree	30%	20%	9%	12%	23%
Totally Disagree	8%	6%	3%	4%	9%
DK/ NA	7%	5%	3%	12%	8%

Below is an example from cross-tabulations used for the consensus analysis, in this case comparing the distributions of values “totally agree” and the combined agreement “totally agree and agree” for attributes of a community. Table 13 specifies the frequencies of women in Belgium who totally agreed and the combined agreement on each of the attributes of a community, for those using transnational press and not using transnational press for information.

**Table 13: Frequency of agreement on attributes of a community by women in Belgium who used transnational press and those who did not use transnational press**

Belgium	Women			
	Totally Agree		Combined Totally Agree/ Agree	
	Transnational Press	Not Transnational Press	Transnational Press	Not Transnational Press
Item A	18	23	105	128
Item B	34	67	137	218
Item C	77	95	153	220
Item D	67	81	136	190
Item E	67	76	118	168

The collapsed category “totally agree and agree,” represents agreement on the attributes of a community and used to rank order the importance of the attributes of a community. Fifty-five percent of the respondents stated they totally agreed/agreed that the Muslim community has sufficiently condemned the attacks of September 11 (A); 69% stated they totally agreed/agreed that one can understand some distrust toward the Muslim community in Europe (B); 85% said they totally agreed/agreed that one can’t judge the Arabic world based on terrorist acts of a few individuals (C); 72% said they totally agreed/agreed that terrorists do not act like real Muslims (D); and 60% said they totally agreed/agreed that the real motivations of the terrorists was not religion (E). Table 14 presents the distribution of attribute salience of a community by country.

**Table 14: Distribution of salience of attributes of the Muslim community by country**

Country	Combined Agreement (totally agree and agree)				
	A	B	C	D	E
Belgium	47%	70%	73%	67%	58%
Denmark	54%	77%	86%	68%	44%
Germany	62%	69%	86%	76%	69%
Greece	45%	55%	76%	55%	52%
Spain	48%	72%	87%	66%	59%
France	62%	60%	87%	79%	59%
Ireland	55%	74%	89%	76%	57%
Italy	48%	74%	82%	72%	71%
Luxemburg	51%	67%	84%	77%	69%
Netherlands	60%	66%	90%	74%	58%
Austria	53%	69%	87%	65%	65%
Portugal	54%	61%	79%	71%	54%
Finland	52%	79%	90%	76%	59%
Sweden	63%	80%	95%	74%	54%
United Kingdom	68%	66%	88%	79%	69%

## **MISSING DATA**

The missing data within each demographics have been identified within that specific segment of this dissertation. Within all 14,986 interviews and all countries combined, a total of 37 respondents did not specify their age, 232 respondents did not specify their education and 7 respondents were not identified in terms of their locality. There was no missing data for the gender demographics. These missing data, especially within the education group, affected the possibility of conducting the rank order correlation comparison in certain countries, influencing in the small bases for comparison.

In addition to the missing demographic data, the Spearman's rho correlation calculation could not be done within specific countries in certain segments of the analysis. These instances when the correlations calculations were missing were more common for the calculations for Hypotheses 3 and 4, which relate to the use of transnational media. In certain countries, such as Greece for example, the use of transnational media was not too common. As Table 8 shows, 4% of the respondents in Greece indicated they used transnational press news, 7% indicated they used transnational TV news and 3% indicated they used transnational radio news. When certain demographic subgroups were being compared in their correlation of the hierarchy of attributes among those who used the specific media and then again for those who did not use that specific media within those countries, the base of the cross-correlations was too small for any meaningful comparison.

Again using Greece as the example, when comparing correlations between lower and higher education populations in that country on the hierarchy of the attributes, only 16 (3%) of the lower education respondents used transnational press news, while 627 (98%) of that same demographic subgroup did not use transnational press news; only 18 (5%) of the higher education respondents used transnational press news, while 325 (95%) of that same demographic subgroup did not use transnational press news. Fourteen respondents in Greece (1%) refused to answer the question related to education. These bases, when segmented by the respondents' hierarchy of the attributes of an issue and attributes of a community, are too small for any meaningful comparison. Thus, some results focused on the cross-national comparison of the 15 countries analyzed in this study will have missing data, due to the small bases for meaningful comparison.

Two criteria were used for omitting the Spearman's rho comparison of some demographic subgroups in certain countries within each of the results section. If in two or more attribute categories the frequency of responses were less than 10, then the comparison was omitted for that country. For example, when testing for the correlations on attributes of a community between men and women in Spain with the use of transnational radio, the frequency of women who used transnational radio and totally agreed/agreed with attribute category A was 4, and the same group agreeing with category B was 7, with C was 9, with D was 5 and with E was 7. In this comparison,

Spain was omitted due to the lack of possibility of any meaningful comparison. The second criterion looked into the missing demographics within each country and takes that into account on whether they would affect the results obtained. If it seems clear that the rank order correlation could be shifted one way or another due to these missing data, then the results for that specific country and demographic were omitted. For example, in Finland, 22 respondents did not identify their education level. When testing the correlation on attributes of a community between the education subgroups using transnational radio, 14 of the lower education group using transnational radio totally agreed/ agreed with statement A, 15 totally agreed/ agree with statement B and 10 with statement E. The rank order for this group could easily have been shifted if it wasn't for the 22 missing data and, therefore, the results were omitted in such cases.

When the results are presented with the combined four demographics and all of the 15 countries, they should add to a total of 60 comparative correlations (between those who used the media and those who did not use the media). However, when the correlation calculations from certain countries are missing due to the small bases, then the total comparative correlation is adjusted not to include those countries.



## **ANALYSIS OF CONSENSUS BUILDING AT THE SECOND LEVEL AGENDA-SETTING**

Agreement between each of the demographic subgroups on the attribute agendas was measured using Spearman's rho rank-order correlation. Most agenda-setting studies use Spearman's rho to calculate the level of agreement between agendas. Spearman's rho varies from -1 (perfect negative correlation) to +1 (perfect positive correlation). The magnitude of the correlations has been classified in the following way. Correlations between 0 and less than .20 is considered a slight correlation, almost negligible (positive or negative), from .20 to under .40 is considered a low correlation, a definite but small relationship (positive or negative), from .40 to under .70 is considered a moderate correlation, but substantial relationship (positive or negative), and .70 to .99, a very high correlation, very dependable relationship (positive or negative) (Guilford, 1956).

Throughout the analysis, the pattern of correlations among those demographic subgroups on the attributes is compared between those stating they used the specific media and those that stated they did not. Within each of the analysis tables, for those countries that follow the hypothesized pattern of increased correlation with the media use, these countries cells are represented by a highlighted cell. Those countries that present a much higher correlation among the demographic subgroups that stated they used the specific media are marked by asterisks. The criteria for determining if the increase is high is whether there is an increase in correlation magnitude category, explained in the previous paragraph. So, if for those who stated they did not use a

specific media their correlation was classified as moderate but for those who stated they used that specific media their correlation was classified as high, then this country was marked by an asterisk and categorized as a high increase. Alternatively, whenever correlations among the demographic subgroup using the specific media was at least .15 higher than for those not using the specific media, then this country was marked by an asterisk and categorized as a high increase.

The appropriate significance test for determining whether two correlation coefficients are statistically different from each other is known as Fisher r-to-Z transformation, or Fisher's z prime transformation of r (Cohen, Cohen, West & Aiken, 2003). This test would assess the significance of the differences between correlations among the dichotomized demographic subgroups stating they used the tested media in comparison to the correlations among the dichotomized demographic subgroups stating they did not use the tested media. However, when Spearman's Rho's sample size is small Fisher r-to-Z transformation may be incorrect (Ogus, Yazici & Gurbuz, 2007). The authors stated that "for sample sizes less than 25, Fisher's z transformation should be used with caution, if at all" (Ogus et al., 2007, p. 849). In this study, although the sample per country is quite large and representative, with about 1,000 respondents per country, the sample size of used in the Spearman's Rho, that is the number of items for the comparison, is small (n= 8 for attributes of an issue and n= 5 for attributes of a community). However, due to high correlations among all groups, the criterion of a

higher correlation with higher media use is a conservative test of the Shaw and Martin' hypothesis (1992).

As a precautionary measure not to emphasize the differences in correlation between those who used the media and those who did not use the media, a type I error, I randomly selected a sample of 10 correlations combinations (out of 720) and used the Bonferroni's correction to test the stability of the rankings. Bonferroni is a very conservative measurement that adjusts for multiple comparisons. In a comparison between the rank instability and the results from the Spearman's rho rank order correlation, 50% of the sample ruled against the possibility that the pattern found in increased or decreased correlation could be due to rank instability. However, even when rank instability could be a factor it does not explain to the full extent the pattern of increased correlation. Conducting a Pearson product moment correlation of the actual percentages of responses corresponding to the salience of attribute which would have a sample size of approximately 1,000, as opposed to the samples of 5 or 8 for the rank order correlation, indicates that for all of those combinations indicating rank instability could have played a role in the ranking, Pearson correlation followed exactly the same pattern as Spearman's rho.

For example, in Sweden, Spearman's rho correlation between lower and higher education population on attributes of a community not using national TV was .83 and for those using national TV it was 1.00. This correlation combination follows the

hypothesis of increased correlation with the media use. The Bonferroni's correction for those not using national TV indicated that in 15/20 correlations rank instability could have played a part, and for those using national TV 4/20 indicated instability. These results, compared with Spearman's rho pattern of increase, indicate that instability could have played a role. However, when conducting Pearson's correlation, lower and higher education population in Sweden presented a correlation of .70 for those not using national TV and .98 for those using national TV, following the same pattern as the hypothesis once again, and actually a less conservative measurement than Spearman's rho. In a comparison of the results from this sample between Pearson's correlation and Spearman's rho rank order correlation indicates that Spearman's rho is a more conservative measure than Pearson in 8 out of 10 of the cases. And in 70% of the cases, Pearson's correlation was more likely to favor the study's hypothesis than Spearman's rho.

All three previous consensus building studies that I am replicating have focused on the first level of agenda-setting and the one conducted in Spain expanded it to the second level agenda-setting (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995; López-Escobar et al., 1998). This study focuses strictly on the second level of agenda-setting. The general issue in this study is the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, on American soil; an event elevated the issue of terrorist attacks and terrorism. The events of 9-11, as well as their aftermaths, received heavy coverage by news organizations worldwide. The events of 9-

11, the issue of terrorism, and attributes relating to the issues emphasized by the events, had vast coverage in Europe and in the European Union member countries analyzed in this study. Both national and transnational news organization spent much energy in the coverage of these events. A study previously mentioned in the literature section of this dissertation focused that European member populations prioritized safety and indicated a fear of terrorism in the immediate aftermath of 9-11 (Eurobarometer, 2001), indicating that these issues were salient in this public's agenda. This study moves then to a deeper understanding of the second level agenda-setting influence of national and transnational media in the European Union.

This study conducts a cross-national comparison between the 15 European Union countries analyzed, and the role of media use in creating consensus among otherwise disparate demographic subgroups within those countries. It also presents a macro-level analysis of transnational media's influence in fostering consensus. Most studies on transnationalism have used a qualitative approach to explain the influence of transnational media on specific groups. Expanding on the transnationalism literature, this study conducts a quantitative analysis of transnational media use in influencing consensus building among the different demographic subgroups, replicated within each of the 15 European Union countries.

In sum, this dissertation is an extensive international replication of the Shaw and Martin model that encompasses 15 countries in Western Europe and patterns of use of

three national news media and use of three transnational news media among four demographic groups as they relate to both the substantive and affective dimensions of attribute agendas regarding the aftermath of 9-11.

## **Chapter 5: National Media and Consensus on Issue Attributes**

The results segment of this dissertation is segmented into five different chapters. In the first four chapters of the results segment (Chapters 5 through 8), this study analyzes and responds to each of the four hypotheses. This study analyzes and responds to each of the four research questions posed in the fifth chapter of the results segment (Chapter 9).

This initial chapter relates to the national media's effect on consensus building on issue attributes. Chapter 6 deals with the national media's effect on consensus building on attributes of a community. Chapter 7 is concerned with transnational media's effect on consensus building on issue attributes. Chapter 8 is concerned with transnational media's effect on consensus building on attributes of a community. Chapter 9 presents a comparison of the different media's influence in terms of consensus building among the various demographic subgroups.

Each chapter begins with the presentation of the overall results of media influence in consensus building on the specific attributes, by demographics. They then follow with more details on the specific medium's influence, television, press and radio. Each chapter continues with more details on the specific media by demographics and then the detailed presentation of consensus building by country. The chapters end with

a general comparison on the above elements in terms of media's influence in consensus building.

Following the model established by Shaw and Martin (1992), the building blocks for these analyses are the comparison of demographic subgroups – for example, men and women – for two levels of media use. These comparisons are made for four sets of demographic subgroups (gender, age, education and locality) and their use of three different national media and three different transnational media (television, press and radio) in 15 different countries.

### **NATIONAL MEDIA AND CONSENSUS ON ISSUE ATTRIBUTES**

Hypothesis 1 of this dissertation stated that as diverse groups within each of the European Union countries used news media originating from their countries, their national media, they would be brought into a consensus about the attributes related to the issue of terrorism in the aftermath of the events of 9-11.

*H1: Increased use of national news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to an issue.*

This hypothesis was generally supported in the analysis of the issue attribute salience correlations of all 15 countries of this study when considering all three national

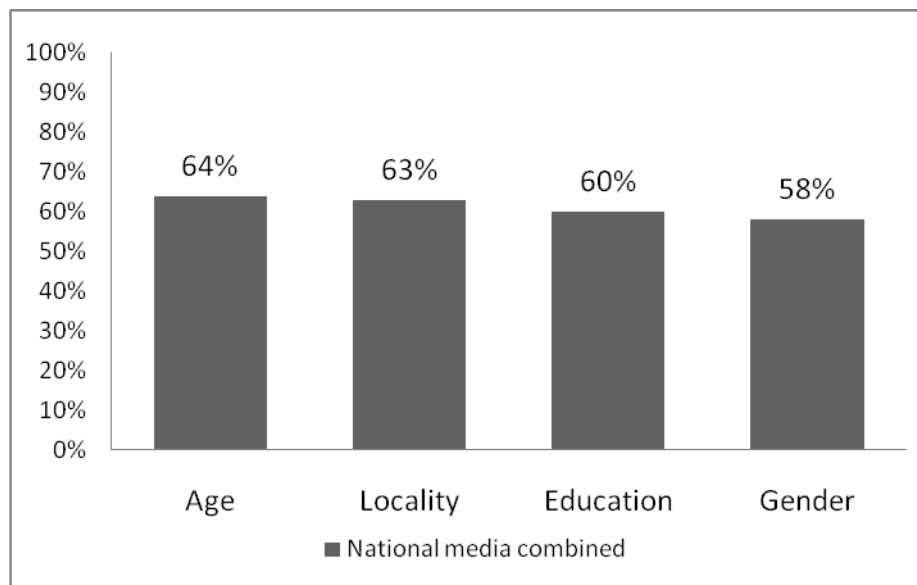


media together, national television, national radio and national press. Overall, 61% of the 174 calculated correlations (originating from the maximum 15 countries x 4 demographics x 3 national media deducting the missing correlations) for all three national media followed the expected pattern of increased consensus among the four demographics combined (locality, gender, age and education combined) on attributes of the issue terrorism, supporting Hypothesis 1.

This analysis found a very strong level of consensus regarding the attributes of the issue terrorism for those using national television for news about the aftermath of 9-11. With all four demographics combined (locality, gender, age and education), 89% of the 55 calculated correlations yielded support for Hypothesis 1 with national television use, a very strong level of support. For those using the national press for news about the aftermath of 9-11, this analysis found some support for increased consensus on the attributes of the issue terrorism. With all four demographics combined (locality, gender, age and education), 53% of the 60 correlations supported Hypothesis 1 for use of the national press. For those using national radio for news about the aftermath of 9-11, this analysis found some support for increased consensus on attributes of the issue terrorism, albeit rather weak support. With all four demographics combined (locality, gender, age and education), 44% of the 59 calculated correlations supported Hypothesis 1 with the use of national radio, rather weak support.

Concentrating on the demographics, all four demographics presented similarly strong support for Hypothesis 1 with all three national media (television, press and radio) combined, as is demonstrated in Graph 1. Increased correlations on attributes of the issue terrorism between younger and older population in each of the 15 countries with the use of national media for information on the aftermath of 9-11 was slightly more frequent than for the other three demographics (locality, education, and gender).

**Graph 1: Increased consensus on attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of the three national media combined by demographics**



Although combined national media use demonstrated an increased salience on the attributes of the issue terrorism that was quite evenly distributed when analyzing it by demographics, a deeper analysis of each of the national media (national television, national press and national radio) raises some differences. In the following segment, I

will present the degree of convergence on the European agenda of attributes of an issue by use of each of the three national media.

### **National Television**

Hypothesis 1 was strongly supported by those who stated they used national television news for information relating to the aftermath of 9-11. Overall, 89% of the 55 possible correlations indicated an increased consensus on the substantive attributes of the issue terrorism, within each of the four demographic subgroups (locality, gender, education and age). This finding is congruent with the Spain study which this dissertation replicates (López-Escobar et al., 1998). In that study the authors also found increased consensus within the substantive dimension of attributes of an object between the age, education and gender demographic subgroups with exposure to regional television news (López-Escobar et al., 1998).

This current study expands on the previous literature by analyzing the influence of national media in building consensus among metropolitan/urban and rural localities, which has shown to be quite fruitful. In 12 out of the 12 correlations calculated, metropolitan/urban and rural social groups have been brought closer together in consensus regarding the attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of national television. With gender as the demographic, in 14 out of the 15 calculated correlations,

men and women have been brought closer together in consensus regarding attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of national television. With age as the demographic, in 13 out of the 15 calculations younger and older social groups have been brought closer together in agreement on the attributes of the issue. With education as the demographic, in 10 out of the 13 calculated calculations lower and higher education population subgroups have been brought closer together in consensus on the substantive attributes of the terrorism issue.

A closer look at the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes for the terrorism issue among metropolitan/urban and rural localities with exposure to national TV indicates that all of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of that news media. Table 15 presents the distribution of correlations among the locality demographic subgroups on the attributes of the issue terrorism for those who stated they did not use national television and for those who stated they used national television. Although all the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus, four presented a particularly high increase of consensus, namely Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and Austria.

In Germany, the correlation between metropolitan/urban and rural population on attributes of an issue went from 0 for those not using national TV news, which indicated no correlation, to .88, a very high correlation, between those using national TV. In the Netherlands and Austria, correlations between the locality demographic

subgroups went from moderate for those stating they did not use national TV to very high for those using national TV news. In the Netherlands, the correlations went from .52 for those not using national TV to .84 for those using national TV. In Austria, the correlations went from .65 for those not using national TV to .88 for those using national TV. Belgium also presented a high increase, going from .70 among those who did not use national TV news to .90 among those who used national TV news. Denmark, Finland and the UK could not be calculated due to the small bases in these countries.

**Table 15: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among metropolitan/ urban and rural localities population by national television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National TV Use	National TV Use
Belgium*	0.70	0.90
Denmark	-	-
Germany*	0.00	0.88
Greece	0.87	0.88
Spain	0.88	0.99
France	0.83	0.86
Ireland	0.86	0.96
Italy	0.93	0.98
Luxemburg	0.86	0.95
Netherlands*	0.52	0.84
Austria*	0.65	0.88
Portugal	0.86	0.95
Finland	-	-
Sweden	0.74	0.81
UK	-	-
All Countries Combined	0.98	0.98

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Locality (recoded – dichotomized) = D6, National Television Use/ Not National Television Use (recoded) = Q5E

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

With gender as the demographic, almost all of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national television news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 16 presents the distribution of correlations among the gender demographic subgroups on the attributes of the issue terrorism for those who stated they did not use national television and for those who stated they used national television.

**Table 16: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among men and women by national television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National TV Use	National TV Use
Belgium*	0.51	0.90
Denmark	0.73	0.85
Germany*	0.33	0.79
Greece	0.76	0.90
Spain	0.92	1.00
France	0.93	0.86
Ireland	0.73	0.79
Italy	0.79	0.88
Luxemburg	0.83	0.93
Netherlands	0.68	0.76
Austria*	0.71	0.95
Portugal*	0.58	0.98
Finland*	0.45	0.81
Sweden*	0.65	0.86
UK	0.90	0.98
All Countries Combined	0.98	0.93

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Gender = D1, National Television Use/ Not National Television Use (recorded) = Q5E

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

With the use of national television, every country but one demonstrated the expected pattern of higher correlation among men and women on attributes of the issue terrorism. France was the exception and the only country which did not demonstrate the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of the national media. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among men and women on attributes of an issue with the use of national TV, six indicated a particularly high increase, namely Belgium, Germany, Austria, Portugal, Finland and Sweden.

Germany once again indicated quite a steep increase of consensus on attributes of an issue, with a low correlation among men and women not using national television news (.33) to a very high correlation for those using national television (.79). Four other countries presented a moderate correlation among men and women on attributes of an issue for those not using national television news (Belgium .51, Portugal .58, Finland .45 and Sweden .65) and went to a very high correlation among this demographic using national television news for information about the aftermath of 9-11 news (Belgium .90, Portugal .98, Finland .81 and Sweden .86). Austria also presented quite a high increase, having gone from .71 among men and women who did not use national television to .90 for those using national television news.

With age as the demographic, more than three-fourths of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national television news for information on the

aftermath of 9-11. Table 17 presents the distribution of correlations among younger and older population subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use national television and for those who stated they used the national television.

**Table 17: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among younger and older population by national television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National TV Use	National TV Use
Belgium	0.92	0.98
Denmark*	0.60	0.90
Germany*	0.22	0.82
Greece	0.77	0.88
Spain*	0.76	0.95
France	0.90	0.90
Ireland	0.84	0.82
Italy*	0.66	0.98
Luxemburg	0.83	0.97
Netherlands*	0.26	0.79
Austria*	0.79	0.97
Portugal	0.86	0.98
Finland*	0.46	0.79
Sweden*	0.71	0.90
UK*	0.73	0.98
All Countries Combined	0.98	0.98

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Age (recoded dichotomized) = D2, National Television Use/ Not National Television Use (recoded) = Q5E

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

Thirteen of the countries presented an increased consensus among younger and older population subgroups on attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national television news. France and Ireland were the exception, being the two countries not



demonstrating the expected pattern of increased correlation among younger and older population with the use of the national media. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among younger and older population on attributes of an issue with the use of national TV, nine indicated a particularly high increase, namely Denmark, Germany, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, Finland, Sweden and the UK.

Germany and Finland indicated a very high increase in consensus on attributes of an issue, indicating a low correlation among younger and older population subgroups not using national television news (.22 and .46 respectively) and a very high correlation among this population using national television news (.82 and .79 respectively).

Denmark and Italy indicated a moderate correlation among younger and older populations not using national television news (.60 and .66 respectively) and a very high correlation among this population subgroups using national television news (.90 and .98 respectively). Spain, Austria, Sweden and the UK also presented quite an increase in consensus on attributes of an issue among younger and older population not using national television (.76, .79, .71 and .73 respectively) to those using national television news (.95, .97, .90 and .98 respectively).

With education as the demographic, a little over three-fourths of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the issue with the use of national television news. Table 18 presents the distribution of correlations among lower and higher education social groups on the attributes of the

terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use the national television and for those who stated they used national television.

**Table 18: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among lower and higher education population by national television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National TV Use	National TV Use
Belgium*	0.66	0.93
Denmark	-	-
Germany*	-0.12	0.90
Greece	0.90	0.71
Spain	0.83	0.92
France*	0.64	0.90
Ireland	0.88	0.91
Italy	0.95	0.95
Luxemburg	0.93	0.92
Netherlands*	0.24	0.83
Austria*	0.78	0.93
Portugal*	0.60	0.98
Finland	-	-
Sweden*	0.45	0.76
UK*	0.52	0.86
All Countries Combined	0.93	0.93

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, National Television Use/ Not National Television Use (recoded) = Q5E

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

For the use of national television, 10 out of 13 countries demonstrated the expected pattern of increased consensus. Denmark and Finland could not be calculated due to their small bases. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among lower and higher education populations using national television, eight presented a particularly high increase.

Germany indicated a very steep increase, shifting from a slight negative correlation among lower and higher education population not using national television news (-.12) to a very high positive correlation on attributes of an issue among lower and higher education population using national television news (.90). In the Netherlands, lower and higher education populations not using national television news presented a low positive correlation on attributes of an issue (.24) and a very high positive correlation on attributes of an issue (.83) for those using national television news.

Belgium, France, Portugal, Sweden and the UK indicated a moderate correlation among lower and higher education population subgroups not using national television news (.66, .64, .60, .45 and .52 respectively) and a very high correlation among these population subgroups using national television news (.93, .90, .98, .76 and .86 respectively). Austria also presented quite an increase in the correlation on attributes of an issue among lower and higher education population not using national television news (.78) to those using national television news (.93). Greece, Italy and Luxemburg did not follow the expected trend of increased consensus on attributes of the terrorism issue among the education subgroups with the use of national television news for information on the aftermaths of 9-11.

A comparison between the four demographic subgroups indicated that locality identified the subgroups more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the substantive dimension of attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national television news. All of the countries analyzed indicated an increased correlation

between metropolitan/ urban and rural populations on attributes of an issue with the use of national television news.

Gender was the second demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the substantive dimension with the use of national television news, with 93% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among men and women with the use of the media. Age was the third demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on attributes of an issue with the use of national television news, with 87% of the calculated countries presenting an increased correlation among younger and older population with the use of the media. Education was the demographic groups least likely to be brought closer together in consensus on attributes of an issue with the use of national television news, although still 77% of the calculated countries presented an increased correlation among lower and higher education populations with the use of the media.

The countries that consistently presented increased consensus on attributes of an issue on all four demographic subgroups with the use of national television news were Belgium, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, Austria, Portugal and Sweden. Also noteworthy is the fact that Germany and Austria consistently indicated, within all of the four demographic subgroups, a steep increase of consensus on the attributes of an issue for those who used national television news for information on the aftermaths of 9-11.

## **National Press**

Hypothesis 1 was also supported by those who stated they used national press news for information relating to the aftermath of 9-11, although not as strongly as those who indicated they used national television news. Overall, 53% of the 60 possible correlations indicated an increased consensus on the substantive dimension, the attributes of the issue terrorism, within each of the four demographic subgroups (locality, gender, education and age) with the use of national press. In the Spanish study which this dissertation is replicating, the authors also found less support for their hypothesis of increased consensus of the demographic subgroups with the use of national newspaper than for their hypothesis of increased consensus of the demographic subgroups with the use of national television (López-Escobar et al., 1998). In that study the authors found strong support for increased consensus within the substantive dimension of attributes of an object between the age subgroups, but modest between the education and gender subgroups, with exposure to a national newspaper (López-Escobar et al., 1998).

This current study also found stronger support for increased consensus on the substantive dimension of attributes of the terrorism issue among the age subgroups with the use of national press news. In 10 out of the 15 correlations, younger and older age groups were brought closer together in consensus regarding attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of the national press. With education as the demographic,

this study also found strong support for increased consensus on the substantive dimension. In 9 out of the 15 countries, lower and higher education subgroups were brought closer together in agreement on the attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national press news. With locality as the demographic, in 7 out of 15 countries, metropolitan/urban and rural localities increased their consensus on attributes of an issue with the use of the national press. With gender as the demographic, a weaker support for increased consensus on the attributes of an issue was found, although there was still some support and in 6 out of the 15 countries men and women were brought closer together in their perception of the attributes of terrorism.

A closer look at the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism issue among metropolitan/urban and rural localities with exposure to the national press indicates that about half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of national press for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 19 presents the distribution of correlations among the locality demographic subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use the national press and for those who stated they used the national press.

Seven out of 15 countries indicated an increased consensus among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups on attributes of an issue with the use of national press news, namely Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands,

Finland and the UK. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among the two localities subgroups on attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national press news, the Netherlands indicated a particularly high increase. In the Netherlands, metropolitan/urban and rural populations indicated a moderate correlation on attributes of an issue for those not using national press news (.64) and a very high correlation for those using national press news for information about the aftermath of 9-11 (.81).

**Table 19: Degree of convergence on agenda of attributes of an issue among metropolitan/ urban and rural localities population by national press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Press Use	National Press Use
Belgium	0.99	0.86
Denmark	0.92	0.95
Germany	0.76	0.88
Greece	0.90	1.00
Spain	1.00	0.95
France	0.93	0.92
Ireland	0.98	0.82
Italy	0.92	0.97
Luxemburg	0.95	0.95
Netherlands*	0.64	0.81
Austria	0.93	0.93
Portugal	0.98	0.98
Finland	0.86	0.97
Sweden	0.81	0.77
UK	0.90	0.93
All Countries Combined	1.00	1.00

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Locality (recoded – dichotomized) = D6, National Press Use/ Not National Press Use (recoded) = Q5A

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

With gender as the demographic, fewer than half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national press news for information on the aftermath of 9-11.

Table 20 presents the distribution of correlations among the gender subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use national press and for those who stated they used national press.

**Table 20: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among men and women by national press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Press Use	National Press Use
Belgium	0.88	0.90
Denmark*	0.59	0.76
Germany	0.80	0.72
Greece	0.88	0.77
Spain	0.95	0.90
France	0.92	0.89
Ireland	0.95	0.76
Italy	0.90	0.86
Luxemburg	0.95	0.95
Netherlands	0.79	0.80
Austria	0.93	0.93
Portugal	0.98	0.99
Finland*	0.65	0.86
Sweden	0.79	0.77
UK	0.88	0.93
All Countries Combined	0.98	0.93

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Gender = D1, National Press Use/ Not National Press Use (recoded) = Q5A

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media



Forty percent of the countries demonstrated the expected pattern of higher correlations among men and women on attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national press news, namely Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Portugal, Finland and the UK. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among the gender subgroups on attributes of an issue with the use of the national press, two indicated a particularly high increase: Denmark and Finland.

In both Denmark and Finland, correlations among men and women on attributes of an issue was moderate for those indicating they did not use national press news for information about the aftermath of 9-11 (.59 and .65 respectively) and, for those indicating they used national press news, the correlations were high (.76 and .86 respectively).

With age as the demographic, more than half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national press news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 21 presents the distribution of correlation among younger and older population subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use national press and for those who stated they used national press.

Two-thirds of the countries indicated a higher correlation among younger and older population subgroups on attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national press news, namely Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Luxemburg, the

Netherlands, Austria, Portugal and Finland. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among the age subgroups on attributes of an issue with the use of national press, the Netherlands once again indicated a particularly high level of consensus.

**Table 21: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among younger and older population by national press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Press Use	National Press Use
Belgium	0.90	0.95
Denmark	0.83	0.95
Germany	0.76	0.83
Greece	0.81	0.93
Spain	0.90	0.90
France	0.90	0.86
Ireland	0.81	0.93
Italy	0.91	0.90
Luxemburg	0.95	0.99
Netherlands*	0.38	0.72
Austria	0.86	0.95
Portugal	0.95	0.97
Finland	0.80	0.81
Sweden	0.84	0.74
UK	0.95	0.93
All Countries Combined	1	1

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Age (recoded dichotomized) = D2, National Press Use/ Not National Press Use (recoded) = Q5A Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

In the Netherlands, younger and older population subgroups not using national press news for information about the aftermath of 9-11 indicated a low correlation on attributes of the issue terrorism (.38), while those using national press news indicated a high correlation on attributes of the issue (.72).

With education as the demographic, more than half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence with the use of national press news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 22 presents the distribution of correlations among lower and higher education subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use national press and for those who stated they used national press.

**Table 22: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among lower and higher education population by national press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Press Use	National Press Use
Belgium	0.88	0.90
Denmark	0.93	0.79
Germany	0.77	0.90
Greece	0.64	0.67
Spain	0.90	0.88
France	0.90	0.83
Ireland	0.83	0.74
Italy	0.91	0.95
Luxemburg	0.90	0.97
Netherlands*	0.10	0.83
Austria*	0.74	0.93
Portugal	0.92	0.93
Finland	0.87	0.98
Sweden	0.88	0.74
UK	0.84	0.74
All Countries Combined	1.00	0.90

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, National Press Use/ Not National Press Use (recoded) = Q5A

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

Sixty percent of the countries demonstrated the expected pattern of higher correlations among lower and higher education population on attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national press news, namely Belgium, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Austria, Portugal and Finland. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among lower and higher education populations using national press, two presented a particularly high increase: the Netherlands and Austria.

The Netherlands once again indicated a high increase of consensus with the use of the national press, among lower and higher education populations. In that country, lower and higher education subgroups not using the national press news for information about the aftermath of 9-11 indicated an almost negligible correlation on attributes of the issue terrorism (.10), while those using national press news indicated a very high correlation on attributes of the issue (.83). In Austria, lower and higher education subgroups not using national press for information on the aftermath of 9-11 indicated a correlation of .74 and those using national press indicated a correlation of .93 on attributes of the terrorism issue.

A comparison of the four demographic subgroups indicated that age was the subgroup more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the substantive dimension of attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of national press news. In two-thirds of the countries younger and older population subgroups presented a higher correlation on attributes of an issue with the use of national press. Education was the

second demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the substantive dimension with the use of national press news, with 60% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among lower and higher education population. Locality was the third demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of national press, with 46% of the countries presenting an increased correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural populations. Gender was the demographic group least likely to be brought closer together in consensus on attributes of an issue with the use of national press news, where only 40% of the countries indicated an increased correlation among men and women.

The countries that consistently presented increased consensus on attributes of an issue on all four demographic subgroups with the use of national press news were the Netherlands and Finland. Also noteworthy is the fact that the Netherlands revealed, within three demographic subgroups (locality, age and education), a very large increase of consensus on attributes of an issue for those who used national press news for information about the aftermath of 9-11.

### **National Radio**

This study also found support for Hypothesis 1 among those who stated they used national radio news for information relating to the aftermath of 9-11, although a weaker level of support in comparison to those who used national television and national press

news. Overall, 44% of the 59 possible correlations indicated an increased consensus on the substantive dimension, the attributes of the terrorism issue within each of the four demographic subgroups (locality, gender, education and age) with the use of national radio news. The analysis of consensus building with the use of this specific medium, radio, is an expansion to the previous research on consensus building consequences of agenda-setting (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995; López-Escobar et al., 1998).

The analysis of consensus building on the substantive dimension of attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national radio news found some support among the locality subgroups. In 7 out of 14 calculated countries, metropolitan/urban and rural populations have been brought closer together in consensus regarding attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national radio news. With education as the demographic, this study found similar support for increased consensus on the substantive dimension with the use of national radio news. In 7 out of 15 countries, lower and higher education subgroups were brought closer in consensus about attributes of an issue with the use of national radio. With age as the demographic being analyzed, in 6 out of 15 countries younger and older populations increased consensus on attributes of an issue with the use of national radio. Similarly, with gender as the demographic, in 6 out of 15 countries men and women increased consensus on attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of national radio news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 23 presents the distribution of correlations among the locality demographic subgroups on the attributes

of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use the national radio and for those who stated they used the national radio.

The countries that followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of national radio were Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Finland and the UK. Of the countries following the expected increase of correlations with the use of national radio, Denmark and Finland are noteworthy for their high increase of consensus.

**Table 23: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among metropolitan/ urban and rural localities population by national radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Radio Use	National Radio Use
Belgium	0.86	0.90
Denmark*	0.71	0.98
Germany	-	-
Greece	0.90	0.56
Spain	0.95	0.88
France	0.90	0.99
Ireland	0.92	0.86
Italy	0.93	0.99
Luxemburg	0.95	0.95
Netherlands	0.79	0.84
Austria	0.92	0.81
Portugal	1.00	0.97
Finland*	0.70	0.97
Sweden	0.90	0.83
UK	0.88	0.93
All Countries Combined	1.00	0.98

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Locality (recoded – dichotomized) = D6, National Radio Use/ Not National Radio Use (recoded) = Q5C

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

In Denmark, correlations among metropolitan/urban and rural populations on attributes of an issue for those indicating they did not use national radio news was .71, whereas those indicating they used national radio news presented a correlation of .98, both very high correlations. In Finland, the correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural populations on attributes of an issue for those indicating they did not use national radio news was .70, whereas those indicating they used national radio news presented a correlation of .97, both very high correlations.

With gender as the demographic, fewer than half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of national radio news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 24 presents the distribution of correlations among the gender demographic subgroups on the attributes of the issue terrorism for those who stated they did not use national radio and for those who stated they used national radio.

Forty percent of the 15 calculated countries indicated the expected pattern of higher correlation among men and women on attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of national radio news, namely Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Finland and Sweden. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among men and women using national radio news, three presented a particularly high increase: Belgium, Denmark and Finland.

In Denmark and in Finland, correlations among men and women indicating they did not use national radio were .67 and .46 respectively and correlations among this



demographic group indicating they used national radio were very high (.86 and .85 respectively). In Belgium, correlations among men and women on attributes of an issue for those indicating they did not use national radio news was .76, whereas those indicating they used national radio news presented a correlation of .93, both very high correlations.

**Table 24: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among men and women by national radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Radio Use	National Radio Use
Belgium*	0.76	0.93
Denmark*	0.67	0.86
Germany	0.58	0.72
Greece	0.90	0.70
Spain	0.93	0.89
France	0.86	0.91
Ireland	0.92	0.86
Italy	0.92	0.79
Luxemburg	0.95	0.93
Netherlands	0.83	0.76
Austria	0.98	0.95
Portugal	0.97	0.95
Finland*	0.46	0.85
Sweden	0.71	0.83
UK	0.95	0.90
All Countries Combined	0.98	0.93

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Gender = D1, National Radio Use/ Not National Radio Use (recoded) = Q5C

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

With age as the demographic, also fewer than half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism

issue with the use of national radio. Table 25 presents the distribution of correlations among the age subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use national radio and for those who stated they used national radio.

**Table 25: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among younger and older population by national radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Radio Use	National Radio Use
Belgium	0.91	0.97
Denmark	0.90	0.83
Germany*	0.61	0.90
Greece	0.93	0.63
Spain	0.92	0.88
France	0.90	0.85
Ireland	0.90	0.83
Italy	0.98	0.81
Luxemburg	0.93	0.95
Netherlands*	0.49	0.78
Austria	0.88	0.93
Portugal	0.93	0.88
Finland*	0.74	0.90
Sweden	0.90	0.79
UK	0.95	0.93
All Countries Combined	1.00	1.00

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Age (recoded dichotomized) = D2, National Radio Use/ Not National Radio Use (recoded) = Q5C

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

In 40% of the 15 countries, correlations among younger and older population subgroups on attributes of an issue were higher for those indicating they used national radio news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. The countries presenting the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of national radio news were

Belgium, Germany, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Austria and Finland. Of those countries, three indicated quite a high increase of consensus among younger and older subgroups with the use of national radio: Germany, the Netherlands and Finland.

In Germany and in the Netherlands, correlations among younger and older populations indicating they did not use national radio were .61 and .49 respectively and correlations among this demographic group indicating they used national radio were very high (.90 and .78 respectively). In Finland, correlations among younger and older subgroups on attributes of an issue for those indicating they did not use national radio news was .74, whereas those indicating they used national radio news presented a correlation of .90, both very high correlations.

With education as the demographic, almost half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national radio news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 26 presents the distribution of correlations among the education demographic subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use national radio and for those who stated they used national radio.

Forty-seven percent of the countries indicated the expected pattern of greater correlations among lower and higher education population subgroups on attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national radio news, namely Belgium, Germany, Ireland, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Austria and Finland. Of those countries indicating

an increased correlation among lower and higher education subgroups using national radio news, four indicated a particularly high increase: Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and Finland.

**Table 26: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among lower and higher education population by national radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Radio Use	National Radio Use
Belgium*	0.76	0.92
Denmark	0.81	0.68
Germany*	0.59	0.93
Greece	0.78	0.68
Spain	0.95	0.83
France	0.88	0.76
Ireland	0.90	0.92
Italy	0.98	0.76
Luxemburg	0.78	0.90
Netherlands*	0.58	0.76
Austria	0.83	0.86
Portugal	0.95	0.88
Finland*	0.72	0.90
Sweden	0.76	0.62
UK	0.83	0.71
All Countries Combined	0.98	0.90

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, National Radio Use/ Not National Radio Use (recoded) = Q5C

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

Once again In Germany and in the Netherlands, correlations among lower and higher education populations indicating they did not use national radio were moderate (.59 and .58 respectively) and correlations among this demographic group indicating

they used national radio were very high (.93 and .76 respectively). In Belgium and in Finland, correlations among lower and higher education subgroups on attributes of an issue for those indicating they did not use national radio news were .76 and .72 respectively, whereas those indicating they used national radio news presented correlations of .92 and .90, all very high correlations.

A comparison of the four demographic subgroups indicated that locality was the subgroup more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the substantive dimension of attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of national radio news. In half of the countries metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups presented a higher correlation on attributes of an issue with the use of national radio. Education was the second demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the substantive dimension with the use of national radio news, with 47% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among lower and higher education population with the use of the media. Age and gender were the demographic subgroups least likely to be brought closer together in consensus on attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of national radio news, with 40% of both countries demonstrating an increased correlation among younger and older populations and men and women with the use of the media for information on the aftermath of 9-11.

The countries that consistently presented increased consensus on attributes of an issue among all four demographic subgroups with the use of national radio news

were Belgium and Finland. Also noteworthy is the fact that Finland indicated, within all four demographic subgroups (locality, gender, age and education), a steep increase of consensus on attributes of an issue for those who used national radio news for information about the aftermath of 9-11.

### **Comparison of Media**

Overall, this study found good support for the hypothesis that increased use of national news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to an issue. This was particularly true among those subgroups indicating they used national television news, although this study also found support for this hypothesis among those subgroups where the use of national press and national radio were indicated. Table 27 presents a summary of the results in support of Hypothesis 1, reporting the percentage of countries following the expected pattern of increased consensus on attributes of an issue with the use of national media by each of the demographic subgroups.

**Table 27: Percentage of countries supporting Hypothesis 1 by national news media and demographic groups**

DEMOGRAPHIC SUBGROUPS	NATIONAL MEDIA		
	TV news	Press news	Radio news
Locality	100%	47%	50%
Gender	93%	40%	40%
Age	87%	67%	40%
Education	77%	60%	47%

In general, age and locality were the demographic subgroup most likely to be brought to a higher level of consensus on attributes of an issue with the use of national media. For locality, this is especially true for those using national television news, where 100% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus among metropolitan/urban and rural populations with that media use. Gender was the demographic subgroup least likely to be brought to a consensus on attributes of an issue with the use of national media overall, although 93% of the countries presented an increased consensus among men and women with the use of national television news. Among all of the demographics, Hypothesis 1 was strongly supported for those stating they used national television news, and supported less strongly among those stating they used national press news and national radio news.

## Chapter 6: National Media and Consensus on Community Attributes

Hypothesis 2 of this dissertation stated that as diverse groups within each of the European Union countries used news media originating from within their countries, their national media, they would be brought closer together into a consensus about the attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities as they related to the events of 9-11.

*H2: Increased use of national news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to a community.*

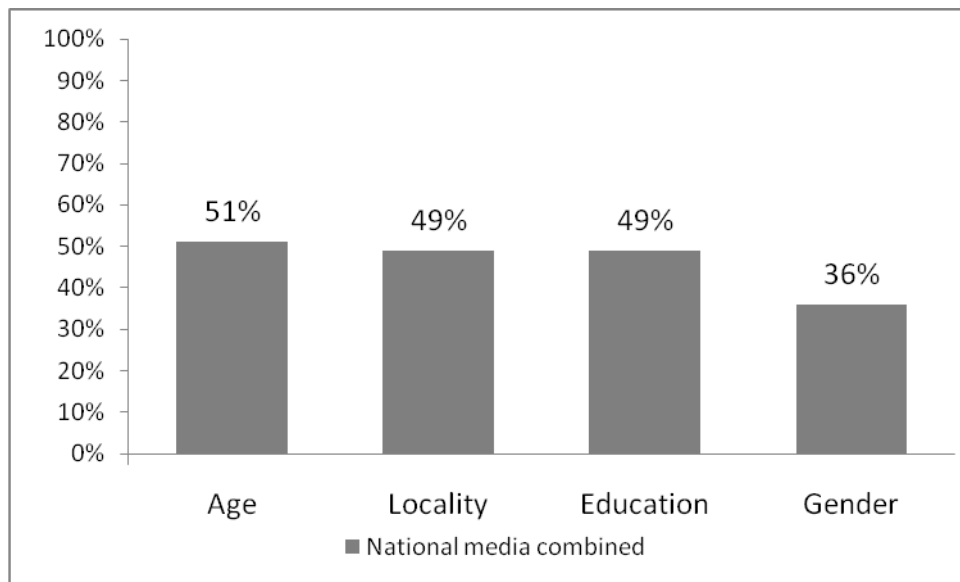
This hypothesis was modestly supported in the analysis considering all three national media together: national television, national radio and national press. Overall, a little under half of all the calculated correlations (46% of 172 correlations) for all three national media in each of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus among the demographic subgroups (education, age, locality and gender) on attributes of the Muslim and Arab community. Compared to Hypothesis 1 related to consensus building on the attributes of an issue, fewer correlations followed the expected pattern of increased consensus on the attributes of a community with national media use.

This analysis found, though, strong support in consensus building on attributes of a community for those using national television news about the aftermath of 9-11. Across all four demographics combined (education, age, locality and gender), 63% of the



calculated 57 correlations yielded support for Hypothesis 2 with national television use. For those using the national press for news about the aftermath of 9-11, some support was also found for consensus building on attributes of a community. With all four demographics combined (education, age, locality and gender), 44% of the 59 calculated correlations supported Hypothesis 2 with the use of national press. For those using national radio for news about the aftermath of 9-11, weak support was found for increased consensus on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities. With all four demographics combined (education, age, locality and gender), only 30% of the 56 calculated correlations supported Hypothesis 2 with the use of national radio.

**Graph 2: Increased consensus on attributes of the Muslim Community with the use of three national media combined according to demographic**



Much as for Hypothesis 1, concentrating on the demographic analysis with all three national media (television, press and radio) combined indicates that the four demographics presented a similar support for Hypothesis 2. Graph 2 demonstrates that.

Increased correlations regarding attributes of the Muslim community, as related to the events of 9-11, between younger and older population in each of the 15 countries with the use of national media for information was slightly more frequent, once again, than for the other three demographics (education, locality and gender).

Although with combined national media use the increased salience of the attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities was quite evenly distributed, especially between age, locality and education (a little less so for gender) some differences arise by countries. In the following segment, I will present the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes related to a community with the use of each of the national media.

### **National Television**

Hypothesis 2 was strongly supported by those who stated they used national television news for information relating to the aftermath of 9-11. Overall, 63% of the 57 correlations indicated an increased consensus on the affective dimension, the attributes of the Muslim community, within each of the four demographic subgroups (education, age, locality and gender). This finding is similar to the finding of the study conducted in Spain which this dissertation replicates (López-Escobar et al., 1998). In the study in Spain, the authors also found increased consensus within the substantive dimension of

attributes of an object between the age, education and gender demographic subgroups with exposure to television (López-Escobar et al., 1998).

It is, however, among the education subgroups that this analysis found the strongest consensus building consequence of agenda-setting on attributes of a community with the use of national television. In 10 out of 12 countries, lower and higher education social groups have been brought closer in consensus about attributes of the Muslim community with the use of national television. With age as the demographic, in 10 out of 15 countries, younger and older population have been brought closer together in consensus about attributes of a community with the use of national television. With locality as the demographic, in 8 out of the 15 countries, metropolitan/urban and rural social groups have been brought closer together in consensus about attributes of a community with the use of national TV. With gender as the demographic, in 8 out of 15 countries, men and women have been brought closer together in consensus on attributes of a community with the use of national television.

A closer look at the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities among lower and higher education populations with exposure to national television indicates that four-fifths of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of that news media. Table 28 presents the distribution of correlations among the education demographic subgroups

on the attributes of a community for those who stated they did not use national television and for those who stated they used national television.

**Table 28: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among lower and higher education population by national television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National TV Use	National TV Use
Belgium	0.58	0.70
Denmark	-	-
Germany*	0.50	0.90
Greece*	0.83	0.98
Spain*	0.70	0.90
France	0.60	0.70
Ireland*	0.50	0.80
Italy	0.90	0.90
Luxemburg	0.98	0.90
Netherlands*	0.40	0.70
Austria	-	-
Portugal	0.83	0.90
Finland	-	-
Sweden*	0.83	1.00
UK*	0.43	0.70
All Countries Combined*	0.70	0.90

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, National Television Use/ Not National Television Use (recoded) = Q5E

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

Of the ten countries following the expected pattern of increased consensus on attributes of a community with the use of national press, seven indicated a particularly high increase in consensus. In Germany, correlations between lower and higher education populations on attributes of a community went from .50 for those not using

national TV news, which indicated a moderate correlation, to .90, a very high correlation, for those who stated they used national TV. Much like in Germany, in Ireland and in the Netherlands, correlations among lower and higher education populations for attributes of a community went from a moderate correlation for those indicating they did not use national TV news (.50 and .40, respectively) to a very high correlation for those indicating they used national TV news for information (.80 and .70 respectively). In Greece, Spain, and Sweden, correlations among lower and higher education also indicated quite an increase, having gone from .83, .70, and .83, respectively, for those indicating they did not use national television news to .98, .90, and 1.00, respectively, for those indicating they used national television news.

With age as the demographic, more than half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national television news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 29 presents the distribution of correlations among the age demographic subgroups on the attributes of a community for those who stated they did not use national television and for those who stated they used national television.

With the use of national television, 67% of the countries demonstrated the expected pattern of higher correlation among younger and older population subgroups on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities. Of the ten countries indicating an increased correlation with the use of national TV, eight indicated a particularly high

increase, namely Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece, France, the Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden.

**Table 29: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among younger and older population by national television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National TV Use	National TV Use
Belgium*	0.30	0.90
Denmark*	0.50	1.00
Germany*	0.68	0.90
Greece*	0.80	1.00
Spain	0.90	1.00
France*	0.68	0.90
Ireland	0.80	0.80
Italy	0.83	0.70
Luxemburg	1.00	0.90
Netherlands*	0.50	0.90
Austria	1.00	0.60
Portugal*	0.30	0.90
Finland	0.90	0.90
Sweden*	0.70	1.00
UK	0.50	0.60
All Countries Combined	0.90	0.90

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Age (recoded dichotomized) = D2, National Television Use/ Not National Television Use (recoded) = Q5E

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

In Belgium and in Portugal, correlations between younger and older populations on attributes of a community were low for those indicating they did not use national TV (both =.30), and very high for those indicating they used national TV news for information on the aftermath of 9-11 (both =.90). In Denmark, Germany, France, and the Netherlands, correlations between younger and older populations on attributes of a

community were moderate for those indicating they did not use national TV for news (.50, .68, .68 and .50, respectively), and very high for those indicating they used national TV news for information on the aftermath of 9-11 (1.00, .90, .90 and .90, respectively). In Greece and Sweden correlations between younger and older populations also indicated quite an increase, having gone from .80 and .70, respectively, for those indicating they did not use national TV to a perfect positive correlation (1.00) for those indicating they used national TV for information on the aftermath of 9-11.

With locality as the demographic, more than half of the calculated countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national television news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 30 presents the distribution of correlations among the locality demographic subgroups on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use national television and for those who stated they used national television.

Fifty-three percent of the countries presented an increased consensus among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national television news. The countries that indicated an increased correlation with the media use were Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Finland and Sweden. Of those countries, five indicated a particularly high increase of correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural population

subgroups with the use of national television, namely Belgium, Germany, France, the Netherlands and Portugal.

**Table 30: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among metropolitan/urban and rural population by national television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National TV Use	National TV Use
Belgium*	0.83	1.00
Denmark	0.88	1.00
Germany*	0.70	0.90
Greece	0.90	0.90
Spain	0.90	0.90
France*	0.70	0.90
Ireland	1.00	1.00
Italy	0.83	0.70
Luxemburg	0.98	0.90
Netherlands*	0.58	1.00
Austria	1.00	0.90
Portugal*	0.33	0.90
Finland	0.93	1.00
Sweden	0.90	1.00
UK	0.68	0.60
All Countries Combined	1.00	0.90

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Locality (recoded – dichotomized) = D6, National Television Use/ Not National Television Use (recoded) = Q5E

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

In Portugal, once again, correlations between metropolitan/urban and rural population on attributes of a community went from .33 for those not using national TV news, a low correlation, to .90, a very high correlation, for those who stated they used national TV. In the Netherlands, correlations between metropolitan/urban and rural populations on attributes of a community went from .58 for those not using national



television news, a moderate correlation, to 1.00, a perfect positive correlation, for those who stated they used national television news. In Belgium, Germany, and France, correlations between metropolitan/urban and rural populations also demonstrated an increase, with .83, .70 and .70, respectively, for those who did not use national TV news, to 1.00, .90 and .90, respectively, for those who used national TV news for information about the aftermath of 9-11.

With gender as the demographic, a little over one-half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the community with the use of national television news. Table 31 presents the distribution of correlations among the gender demographic subgroups on the attributes of a community for those who stated they did not use national television and for those who stated they used national television.

The countries that presented an increased correlation among men and women using national television news were Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Spain, France, Portugal, Sweden and the UK. Of those countries, four indicated a particularly high increase with the use of national television news for information about the aftermath of 9-11.

The United Kingdom indicated a very steep increase for attributes of a community, having a low correlation among men and women not using national television news (.23) and a very high correlation among men and women using national

television news (.98). Belgium and Portugal also indicated a steep increase, having a moderate correlation among men and women not using television news (.63 and .40) and a very high correlation among men and women using national television news for information about the aftermath of 9-11 (1.00 and .90). In Spain, the correlations went from .70 among men and women not using national television news to 1.00 for those using national television news.

**Table 31: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among men and women by national television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National TV Use	National TV Use
Belgium*	0.63	1.00
Denmark	0.90	1.00
Germany	0.80	0.90
Greece	0.83	0.70
Spain*	0.70	1.00
France	0.98	1.00
Ireland	0.98	0.90
Italy	0.98	0.60
Luxemburg	1.00	0.90
Netherlands	0.98	0.90
Austria	1.00	0.98
Portugal*	0.40	0.90
Finland	0.90	0.90
Sweden	0.90	1.00
UK*	0.23	0.98
All Countries Combined	1.00	0.90

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Gender = D1, National Television Use/ Not National Television Use (recoded) = Q5E

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

A comparison between the four demographic subgroups indicated that education was the subgroup more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national television news. Within that demographic, 83% of the countries indicated an increased correlation among lower and higher education populations on the affective dimension with the use of national television news. Age was the second demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension with the use of national television news, with 67% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among younger and older populations. Locality and gender were the demographic subgroups least likely to be brought closer together in consensus on attributes of a community with the use of national television news, although still more than one-half of the countries within each of these demographics (53% of the countries in each) presented an increased correlation.

The countries that consistently presented increased consensus on attributes of a community on all four demographic subgroups with the use of national television news were Belgium, Germany, France, Portugal and Sweden. It is interesting to note that Belgium, Germany, Portugal and Sweden also consistently presented increased consensus on attributes of an issue, on all four demographic subgroups, with the use of national television news.

## **National Press**

Hypothesis 2 was also somewhat supported by those who stated they used the national press for information regarding the aftermath of 9-11, although not as strongly as those indicating the used national television news. As a whole, 44% of the 59 possible correlations indicated an increased consensus on the affective dimension, the attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities, within each of the four demographic subgroups. In the Spanish study being replicated here, the authors also found less support for their hypothesis of increased consensus of the demographic subgroups with the use of national newspaper than for their hypothesis of increased consensus of the demographic subgroups with the use of national television, within the affective dimension (López-Escobar et al., 1998). The authors found increased consensus among gender and education demographic subgroups but not within age demographic subgroups (López-Escobar et al., 1998).

Unlike the Spanish study, this study found less support for increased consensus on the affective dimension of attributes of a community among the gender subgroups with the use of national press news. Within education and locality demographic subgroups, however, this study found stronger support for Hypothesis 2. In 9 out of 15 countries, metropolitan/urban and rural populations have been brought closer together in consensus about attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national press. With education as the demographic, this study also found some support for increased consensus on the affective dimension. In 6 out of the 14 calculated

countries, lower and higher education subgroups have been brought closer together in agreement on the attributes of a community with the use of national press news. With age as the demographic, in 6 out of 15 countries younger and older populations increased consensus on attributes of a community with the use of national press. With gender as the demographic, a weaker support for increased consensus on the attributes of a community was found, although still in 5 out of the 15 countries men and women were brought closer together in their perception of the attributes the Muslim and Arab communities.

A closer look at the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among the lower and higher education population with exposure to national press indicates that 43% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of national press information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 32 presents the distribution of correlations among the education demographic subgroups on the attributes of a community for those who stated they did not use the national press and for those who stated they used the national press.

Six out of 14 countries indicated an increased consensus among lower and higher education populations on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national press, namely Germany, Greece, France, Italy, Luxemburg and Austria. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among the two education groups with the use of national press, three presented a particularly high increase.

**Table 32: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among lower and higher education population by national press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Press Use	National Press Use
Belgium	0.70	0.70
Denmark	-	-
Germany	0.68	0.70
Greece*	0.70	0.90
Spain	0.90	0.90
France*	0.40	0.60
Ireland	0.90	0.80
Italy*	0.70	0.90
Luxemburg	0.98	1.00
Netherlands	0.50	0.50
Austria	0.68	0.70
Portugal	0.90	0.90
Finland	1.00	1.00
Sweden	1.00	1.00
UK	0.83	0.70
All Countries Combined	0.90	0.90

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, National Press Use/ Not National Press Use (recoded) = Q5A

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

In Greece, France, and Italy, lower and higher education populations presented much higher correlations on attributes of a community with the use of national press news (.90, .60 and .90, respectively) than for those who did not use the national press news (.70, .40 and .70, respectively).

With age as the demographic, fewer than half of the countries followed the pattern of increased consensus on the agenda of attributes of a community with the use

of national press news. Table 33 presents the distribution of correlations among the age subgroups on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use national press and for those who stated they used national press.

Forty percent of the 15 countries demonstrated the expected pattern of higher correlations among younger and older populations on attributes of a community with the use of national press news, namely Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy and the Netherlands.

**Table 33: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among younger and older population by national press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Press Use	National Press Use
Belgium*	0.70	0.90
Denmark	0.90	1.00
Germany*	0.70	0.90
Greece*	0.70	0.90
Spain	1.00	1.00
France	0.70	0.70
Ireland	0.90	0.88
Italy	0.60	0.68
Luxemburg	0.90	0.90
Netherlands	0.78	0.90
Austria	1.00	0.83
Portugal	0.90	0.90
Finland	0.90	0.90
Sweden	1.00	1.00
UK	0.60	0.60
All Countries Combined	0.90	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Age (recoded dichotomized) = D2, National Press Use/ Not National Press Use (recoded) = Q5A

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

Among the countries indicating an increased correlation with the use of national press, three presented quite a steep increase. In Belgium, Germany and Greece, younger and older population subgroups indicated much higher correlations on attributes of a community with the use of national press news (all with a .90 correlation) than for those who did not use the national press news (all with a .70 correlation).

With locality as the demographic, more than half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national press news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 34 presents the distribution of correlations among the locality subgroups on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use national press and for those who stated they used national press.

Sixty percent of the 15 countries indicated a higher correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national press news, namely Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Luxemburg, Austria and Sweden. Among the countries indicating an increased correlation with the use of the national press, five indicated quite a steep increase.

In Germany, France, Italy and Sweden, metropolitan/urban and rural subgroups not using national press news for information about the aftermath of 9-11 indicated



moderate correlations on the attributes of a community (.60, .40, .68 and .58, respectively), while those using national press news indicated very high correlations on attributes of a community (.83, .70, .90 and 1.00, respectively). In Belgium, correlations between metropolitan/urban and rural subgroups also presented quite a steep increase from those not using national press news for information (.70) and those using national press news for information (1.00).

**Table 34: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among metropolitan/urban and rural population by national press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Press Use	National Press Use
Belgium*	0.70	1.00
Denmark	0.90	1.00
Germany*	0.60	0.83
Greece	1.00	1.00
Spain	0.90	0.98
France*	0.40	0.70
Ireland	1.00	0.90
Italy*	0.68	0.90
Luxemburg	0.90	0.98
Netherlands	0.90	0.90
Austria	0.90	0.98
Portugal	0.90	0.70
Finland	1.00	1.00
Sweden*	0.58	1.00
UK	0.70	0.60
All Countries Combined	0.90	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Locality (recoded – dichotomized) = D6, National Press Use/ Not National Press Use (recoded) = Q5A

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

With gender as the demographic, a little over one-fourth of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national press news. Table 35 presents the distribution of correlations among the gender subgroups on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use the national press and for those who stated they used the national press.

**Table 35: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among men and women by national press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Press Use	National Press Use
Belgium	0.90	0.90
Denmark	0.90	1.00
Germany*	0.68	0.90
Greece*	0.38	1.00
Spain	1.00	0.90
France	0.90	0.90
Ireland	0.90	0.98
Italy*	0.60	0.90
Luxemburg	1.00	1.00
Netherlands	0.90	0.90
Austria	0.98	0.90
Portugal	0.90	0.80
Finland	1.00	0.90
Sweden	1.00	1.00
UK	1.00	0.60
All Countries Combined	0.90	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Gender = D1, National Press Use/ Not National Press Use (recoded) = Q5A

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

Of those countries following the expected trend of higher correlations with the use of the media, three presented quite a steep increase. In Greece, the correlation among men and women on attributes of a community were very low for those who did not use national press news (.38) and, for those who stated they used national press news the correlation was a perfect positive correlation (1.00). In Germany and in Italy, correlations among men and women on attributes of a community were moderate for those indicating they did not use national press news (.68 and .60, respectively) and, for those indicating they used national press, the correlations were very high (both .90).

A comparison between the four demographic subgroups indicated that locality was the subgroup more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension of attributes of Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national press news. In 60% of the countries metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups presented a higher correlation on attributes of a community with the use of national press. Education was the second demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension with the use of national press news, with 43% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among lower and higher education population. Age was the third demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of the national press, with 40% of the countries presenting an increased correlation among younger and older populations with the use of the national media. Gender was the demographic group least likely to be brought closer together in

consensus on attributes of a community with the use of national press news, where only 33% of the countries indicated an increased correlation among men and women with the use of the media for information on the aftermath of 9-11.

The countries that consistently presented increased consensus on attributes of a community on all four demographic subgroups with the use of national press news were Germany and Italy.

### **National Radio**

This study found some support for Hypothesis 2 by those who stated they used national radio news for information relating to the aftermath of 9-11, although weaker support in comparison to those who indicated the use of national television and national press news for information about the aftermath of 9-11. Overall, only 30% of the 56 possible correlations indicated an increased consensus on the affective dimension, the attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities, within each of the four demographic subgroups (locality, gender, education and age) with the use of national radio news.

The analysis of consensus building on the affective dimension of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national radio news found stronger support among the age subgroups. In 7 out of 15 countries, younger and older populations have been brought closer together in consensus of attributes of a community with the use of national radio news. With locality as the demographic, in 5 out of the 15 countries, metropolitan/ urban and rural population subgroups were

brought closer in consensus on attributes of a community with the use of national radio. With gender as the demographic, in only 3 out of 15 countries men and women increased consensus on attributes of a community with the use of national radio. Similarly, with education as the demographic, in only 2 out of 11 countries lower and higher education population increased consensus on attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of national radio news for information on the aftermath of 9-11.

A closer analysis of the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes among lower and higher education populations indicates that 18% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of national radio news. Table 36 presents the distribution of correlations among the education subgroups on the attributes of a community for those who stated they did not use national radio and for those who stated they used national radio.

In only 18% of the 11 countries, correlations among lower and higher education populations on attributes of a community were higher for those indicating they used national radio news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. The countries that followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of national radio were France and the UK. Both of these countries presented quite an increase in consensus on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national radio.

In France, the correlation for lower and higher education populations for those not using national radio was low, .30, and, for those using national radio, the correlation was very high, .70. In the UK, the correlation for those who did not use national radio was .70 and for those who indicated they used national radio the correlation was .90.

**Table 36: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among lower and higher education populations by national radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Radio Use	National Radio Use
Belgium	-	-
Denmark	1.00	1.00
Germany	1.00	0.90
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France*	0.30	0.70
Ireland	0.80	0.80
Italy	0.90	0.60
Luxemburg	1.00	1.00
Netherlands	0.50	0.50
Austria	-	-
Portugal	0.90	0.90
Finland	1.00	0.98
Sweden	1.00	1.00
UK*	0.70	0.90
All Countries Combined	0.90	0.90

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, National Radio Use/ Not National Radio Use (recoded) = Q5C

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

With age as the demographic, a little under half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national radio news for information on the

aftermath of 9-11. Table 37 presents the distribution of correlations among the age subgroups on the attributes of a community for those who stated they did not use national radio and for those who stated they used national radio.

**Table 37: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among younger and older population by national radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Radio Use	National Radio Use
Belgium*	0.40	0.90
Denmark	0.90	1.00
Germany*	0.08	1.00
Greece	1.00	1.00
Spain	0.90	0.90
France	0.70	0.68
Ireland	0.80	0.90
Italy	0.90	0.50
Luxemburg	1.00	0.90
Netherlands*	0.70	0.90
Austria	1.00	0.60
Portugal	0.90	0.98
Finland	0.90	0.90
Sweden	1.00	1.00
UK	0.60	0.70
All Countries Combined	0.90	0.90

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Age (recoded dichotomized) = D2, National Radio Use/ Not National Radio Use (recoded) = Q5C

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

Forty-seven percent of the 15 countries indicated the expected pattern of higher correlation among younger and older population on attributes of the Muslim and Arabic community with the use of national radio news, namely Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal and the UK. Of the countries indicating an increased

correlation among younger and older population subgroups with the use of national radio news, three presented a particularly high increase.

In Germany, the correlation among younger and older populations indicating they did not use national radio was almost negligible (.08) and among this demographic group indicating they used national radio news the correlation was a perfect 1.00. In Belgium, the correlation among younger and older populations on attributes of a community for those indicating they did not use national radio was moderate (.40) and for those indicating they used national radio news the correlation was very high (.90). In the Netherlands, the correlations among the age subgroups also increased from .70 between younger and older populations not using national radio news to .90 between those using national radio news for information on the aftermaths of 9-11.

With locality as the demographic, 33% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national radio news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 38 presents the distribution of correlations among the locality subgroups on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use national radio and for those who stated they used national radio.

In 33% of the 15 countries, the correlations among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups on attributes of a community were higher for those indicating they used national radio news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. The countries



presenting the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of national radio news were Belgium, Germany, France, Finland and Sweden. None of the countries that demonstrated an increased correlation on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national radio news had a steep increase.

**Table 38: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among metropolitan/urban and rural population by national radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Radio Use	National Radio Use
Belgium	0.90	1.00
Denmark	1.00	1.00
Germany	0.80	0.90
Greece	0.90	0.80
Spain	0.90	0.90
France	0.68	0.70
Ireland	0.98	0.98
Italy	0.90	0.68
Luxemburg	1.00	1.00
Netherlands	1.00	1.00
Austria	0.90	0.70
Portugal	0.90	0.70
Finland	0.90	1.00
Sweden	0.90	1.00
UK	1.00	0.60
All Countries Combined	0.90	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Locality (recoded – dichotomized) = D6, National Radio Use/ Not National Radio Use (recoded) = Q5C

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

With gender as the demographic, 20% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence with the use of national radio news. Table 39 presents

the correlation distribution among the gender subgroups for those who stated they did not use national radio and for those who stated they used national radio.

**Table 39: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among men and women by national radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO National Radio Use	National Radio Use
Belgium	0.90	1.00
Denmark	1.00	1.00
Germany	0.90	0.90
Greece*	0.60	0.90
Spain	1.00	1.00
France	1.00	0.98
Ireland	1.00	0.90
Italy	0.90	0.70
Luxemburg	1.00	0.90
Netherlands	1.00	1.00
Austria	0.90	0.90
Portugal	0.90	0.90
Finland	1.00	0.90
Sweden	1.00	1.00
UK*	0.60	0.90
All Countries Combined	0.90	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Gender = D1, National Radio Use/ Not National Radio Use (recoded) = Q5C

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

The three countries with the expected pattern of greater consensus among men and women on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national radio news were Belgium, Greece and the United Kingdom. Only two presented a particularly high increase. In Greece and the UK, men and women indicating they did

not use national radio news for information presented a correlation of .60 and, for those indicating they used national radio news the correlations were both .90.

A comparison of the four demographic subgroups indicated that age was the subgroup more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of national radio news. In 47% of the countries younger and older population subgroups presented a higher correlation on attributes of a community with the use of national radio. Locality was the second demographic group most likely to be brought closer together with 33% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among metropolitan/ urban and rural population with the use of the medium. Gender and education were the demographic subgroups least likely to be brought closer together. With gender as the demographic, 20% of the countries indicated an increased correlation with the use of national radio, while with education as the demographic 18% of the calculated countries indicated an increased correlation. None of the countries consistently presented increased consensus on attributes of a community on all four demographic subgroups with the use of national radio news.

### **Comparison of Media**

Overall, this study found some support for the hypothesis that increased use of national media, specifically national television news, corresponds to increased consensus among the demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to a community.

This study found weaker support for this hypothesis among those who stated they used national press and national radio.

Compared with Hypothesis 1, fewer countries provided support for Hypothesis 2. In general, there was greater support for the hypothesis that the use of national media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups on attributes relating to an issue, the substantive dimension, than for the hypothesis that the use of national media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups on attributes relating to a community, the affective dimension. As a whole, 61% of the calculated correlations supported Hypothesis 1, compared to 46% of the calculated correlations which supported Hypothesis 2.

Table 40 presents a summary of results in support of Hypothesis 2, reporting the percentage of countries following the expected pattern of increased consensus on attributes of a community with the use of national media by each of the demographic subgroups.

**Table 40: Percentage of countries supporting Hypothesis 2 by national news media and demographic groups**

DEMOGRAPHIC SUBGROUPS	NATIONAL MEDIA		
	TV news	Press news	Radio news
Age	67%	40%	47%
Education	83%	43%	18%
Locality	53%	60%	33%
Gender	53%	33%	20%

In general, age was the demographic subgroup most likely to be brought to a consensus on attributes of the Muslim and Arab community with the use of national media overall, but favoring those who used national TV news. In 83% of the countries, lower and higher education population were brought closer together in consensus on the attributes of a community with the use of national TV news, also strongly supporting Hypothesis 2. However, in only 18% of the countries, this same demographic was brought closer in consensus with the use of national radio news. Gender was the demographic subgroup least likely to be brought to a consensus on attributes of a community with the use of national media, although still 53% of the calculated countries presented an increased consensus among men and women with the use of national television news. With all of the demographics, Hypothesis 2 was supported for those stating they used national television news, supported to a lesser degree for those who stated they used national press news and less strongly for those stating they used national radio news.

## Chapter 7: Transnational Media and Consensus on Issue Attributes

Hypothesis 3 of this dissertation stated that as diverse groups within each of the European Union countries used news media originating from countries other than the ones they live in, that is, transnational media, they would be brought closer into a consensus about the attributes related to the issue of terrorism, in the aftermath of the events of 9-11.

*H3: Increased use of transnational news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to an issue.*

This hypothesis was weakly supported by the analysis of the issue attribute salience across all 15 countries of this study, considering all three national media together: transnational television, transnational radio and transnational press. Overall, only 37% of the 135 correlations for all three transnational media and each of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus among the demographic subgroups for locality, gender, age and education combined on attributes of the issue terrorism. Analyzing the influence of transnational media on the consensus building consequence of agenda-setting is an expansion of the previous literature. The three previous studies conducted on consensus building consequences of agenda-setting analyzed the influence of national and local media, specifically television and

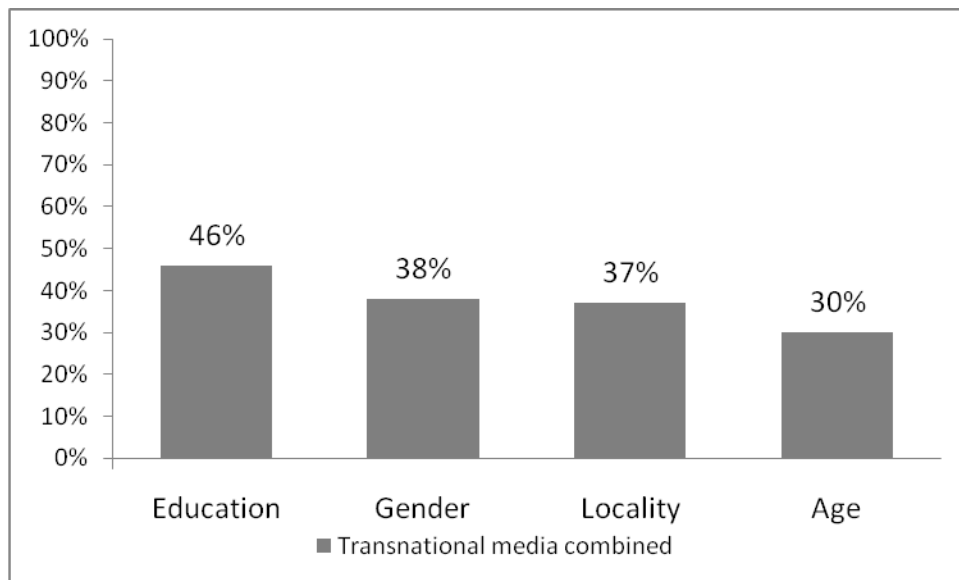
newspaper on consensus building (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995; López-Escobar et al., 1998), and this current study expands it in analyzing transnational media as well. Also, as previously indicated on the literature review of this study, conducting the analysis of transnational media influence in a macro, survey based, analysis, is also expands the previous literature on transnational media effects.

This analysis found moderate support regarding consensus on attributes of the terrorism issue for those using transnational television for news about the aftermath of 9-11. With all four demographics combined (locality, gender, age and education), 54% of the 54 correlations yielded support for Hypothesis 3 with transnational television use. Only weak support was found for increased consensus on attributes of the terrorism issue for those using the transnational press for news about the aftermath of 9-11. With all four demographics combined (locality, gender, age and education), 29% of the 48 calculated correlations supported Hypothesis 3 with use of the transnational press. Weak support was also found for increased consensus on attributes of the terrorism issue for those using transnational radio for news about the aftermath of 9-11. With all four demographics combined (locality, gender, age and education), 21% of the 33 calculated correlations supported Hypothesis 3.

Concentrating on the demographics with all three transnational media (television, press and radio) news combined, consensus building on the attributes of an issue was more likely to occur for the education demographic subgroups, followed by

gender, locality and then age, as demonstrated in Graph 3. However, the increased correlations on attributes of the terrorism issue within all four demographic subgroups (education, gender, locality and age) were similar in terms of the percentages of countries following the expected pattern with the use of all three transnational media combined.

**Graph 3: Increased consensus on attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of the three transnational media combined according to demographic**



Although with combined transnational media use the increased salience of the issue of terrorism was somewhat evenly distributed among the demographic groups, within each of the transnational media (transnational television, press and radio) some differences arise. In the following segment, I will present the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue with each of the transnational media.



## **Transnational Television**

Hypothesis 3 was strongly supported by those who stated they used transnational television news for information relating to the aftermath of 9-11. Overall, 54% of the possible correlations indicated an increased consensus on the substantive dimension, the attributes of the terrorism issue, across the four demographic subgroups combined (education, gender, locality and age).

A closer look at the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism issue among lower and higher education populations with exposure to transnational television indicates that close to three-fourths of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of that news media for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 41 presents the distribution of correlations among the education demographic subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use transnational television and for those who stated they used transnational television.

Some 73% of the countries presented a higher correlation between the education demographic indicating they used transnational television news for information about the aftermaths of 9-11, namely Belgium, Germany, Ireland, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and the UK. Of those countries following the expected pattern of increased consensus, three presented a particularly high increase of consensus, namely Ireland, the Netherlands and Sweden.

**Table 41: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among lower and higher education population by transnational television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational TV Use	Transnational TV Use
Belgium	0.83	0.88
Denmark	-	-
Germany	0.83	0.94
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France	0.86	0.71
Ireland*	0.62	0.99
Italy	0.97	0.92
Luxemburg	0.85	0.89
Netherlands*	0.77	0.97
Austria	-	-
Portugal	0.95	0.98
Finland	0.90	0.86
Sweden*	0.71	0.86
UK	0.76	0.79
All Countries Combined	0.93	0.93

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, Transnational Television Use/ Not Transnational Television Use (recoded) = Q5F

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

In Ireland, the correlation between lower and higher education populations on attributes of an issue went from .62 for those not using national TV news to a very high .99, correlation between those who stated they used transnational TV. In the Netherlands and Sweden, the correlations went .77 and .71, respectively, for those who stated they did not use transnational television news to .97 and .86, respectively, for those who stated they did use transnational TV news for information about the aftermath of 9-11.

With gender as the demographic, almost half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of transnational television news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 42 presents the distribution of correlations among the gender demographic subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use transnational television and for those who stated they used transnational television.

**Table 42: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among men and women by transnational television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational TV Use	Transnational TV Use
Belgium	0.88	0.90
Denmark	0.79	0.79
Germany	0.73	0.59
Greece	0.88	0.63
Spain	0.98	0.82
France	0.90	0.74
Ireland*	0.76	0.95
Italy	0.90	0.95
Luxemburg	0.95	0.93
Netherlands	0.78	0.79
Austria	0.95	0.95
Portugal	0.95	0.98
Finland *	0.55	0.70
Sweden	0.86	0.86
UK	0.88	1.00
All Countries Combined	0.98	0.98

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Gender = D1, Transnational Television Use/ Not Transnational Television Use (recoded) = Q5F

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

With the use of transnational television, 47% of the countries demonstrated the expected pattern of higher correlation among men and women on attributes of the terrorism issue, namely Belgium, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Finland and the UK. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among men and women on attributes of an issue with the use of transnational TV, two indicated a particularly high increase, namely Ireland and Finland.

In Finland, the correlation on attributes of an issue among men and women who indicated they did not use transnational television news was .55 and for those who indicated they used transnational television news the correlation was .70). In Ireland, agreement among men and women who indicated they did not use transnational television was .76 and for those who indicated they used transnational television the correlation was .95.

With locality as the demographic, more than half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence with the use of transnational television news. Table 43 presents the distribution of correlations among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use transnational television and for those who stated they used transnational television.

Fifty-four percent of the 13 countries presented an increased consensus among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups on attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of transnational television news, namely Belgium, Denmark, Germany,

Ireland, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and Portugal. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation on attributes of an issue with the use of transnational TV, three indicated a particularly high increase.

**Table 43: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among metropolitan/urban and rural population by transnational television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational TV Use	Transnational TV Use
Belgium	0.86	0.92
Denmark *	0.83	0.98
Germany*	0.64	0.97
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France	0.98	0.82
Ireland	0.90	0.98
Italy	0.97	0.40
Luxemburg	0.92	0.93
Netherlands*	0.79	0.95
Austria	0.91	0.88
Portugal	0.95	0.97
Finland	0.95	0.84
Sweden	0.83	0.79
UK	0.98	0.83
All Countries Combined	1.00	0.83

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Locality (recoded dichotomized) =D6, Transnational Television Use/ Not Transnational Television Use (recoded) = Q5F

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

In Germany, the correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups on attributes of an issue for those not using transnational television news was .64 and the correlation for those using transnational television news was .97, a very high correlation. Correlations among metropolitan/urban and rural populations on attributes of an issue presented quite an increase as well in Denmark and the

Netherlands, where the correlations went from .83 and .79, respectively, for those not using transnational television news to .98 and .95, respectively, for those using transnational television news.

With age as the demographic, a little less than half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the issue with the use of transnational television news. Table 44 presents the distribution of correlations among younger and older populations on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use transnational television and for those who stated they used the transnational television.

With the use of transnational television, 47% of the 15 countries demonstrated the expected pattern of higher agreement among younger and older populations on attributes of the terrorism issue, namely Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg and Sweden. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among younger and older populations using transnational television, two presented a particularly high increase.

Germany and Sweden both indicated a steep increase of correlation on attributes of an issue among younger and older population, presenting a correlation of .74 and .76, respectively, for those not using transnational television news, and .90 and .92, respectively, for those using transnational television news.

**Table 44: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among younger and older population by transnational television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational TV Use	Transnational TV Use
Belgium	0.92	0.97
Denmark	0.77	0.86
Germany*	0.74	0.90
Greece	0.90	0.58
Spain	0.90	0.58
France	0.95	0.79
Ireland	0.85	0.95
Italy	0.95	0.97
Luxemburg	0.79	0.93
Netherlands	0.76	0.62
Austria	0.93	0.90
Portugal	0.98	0.92
Finland	0.83	0.62
Sweden*	0.76	0.92
UK	0.98	0.93
All Countries Combined	0.98	1.00

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Age (recoded dichotomized) =D2, Transnational Television Use/ Not Transnational Television Use (recoded) = Q5F

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

A comparison between the four demographic subgroups indicated that education was the subgroup more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the substantive dimension of attributes of the younger and older population on attributes of the terrorism issue, namely issue with the use of transnational television. In 73% of the countries, lower and higher education populations were more likely to be brought closer together in consensus with the use of transnational television. Locality was the second demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the substantive dimension with the use of transnational television news,

with 54% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural population with the use of the media. Age and gender were the demographic groups least likely to be brought closer together in consensus in the substantive dimension with the use of transnational television news, although still roughly half of the countries (47% in both demographics) presented an increased consensus with the use of the media for information on the aftermath of 9-11.

The countries that consistently presented increased consensus on the attributes of an issue (the substantive dimension) among all four demographic subgroups with the use of transnational television news for information about the aftermath of 9-11 were Belgium and Ireland.

### **Transnational Press**

Hypothesis 3 was only weakly supported by those who stated they used transnational press news for information relating to the aftermath of 9-11. Overall, 29% of the 48 possible correlations indicated an increased consensus on the substantive dimension, the attributes of the terrorism issue, within each of the four demographic subgroups (locality, gender, education and age) with the use of transnational press news.

A closer look at the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism issue among lower and higher education populations with exposure to the transnational press indicates that 30% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of transnational press news for information on the



aftermath of 9-11. Table 45 presents the distribution of correlations among the education demographic subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use the transnational press and for those who stated they used the transnational press.

**Table 45: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among lower and higher education population by transnational press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Press Use	Transnational Press Use
Belgium	0.90	0.83
Denmark	-	-
Germany	0.92	0.66
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France	0.92	0.69
Ireland	0.79	0.60
Italy	0.98	0.92
Luxemburg	0.92	1.00
Netherlands*	0.70	0.88
Austria	-	-
Portugal	0.98	0.58
Finland	-	-
Sweden	0.74	0.60
UK	0.78	0.79
All Countries Combined	0.93	0.95

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, Transnational Press Use/ Not Transnational Press Use (recoded) = Q5B

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

Three out of 10 countries indicated an increased consensus among lower and higher education population subgroups on attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of the transnational press, namely Luxemburg, the Netherlands and UK. The

Netherlands demonstrated a steep increase. Among the lower and higher education populations who did not use transnational press news the correlation was .70 whereas those indicating they used transnational press news presented a .88 correlation.

With gender as the demographic, 36% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of transnational press news. Table 46 presents the distribution of correlations among the gender subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those saying they did not use transnational press and for those saying they used transnational press.

**Table 46: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among men and women by transnational press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Press Use	Transnational Press Use
Belgium	0.88	0.94
Denmark	0.74	0.79
Germany	0.64	0.39
Greece	-	-
Spain	1.00	0.54
France	0.86	0.93
Ireland	0.86	0.76
Italy	0.88	0.84
Luxemburg	0.95	0.98
Netherlands	0.71	0.81
Austria	0.95	0.93
Portugal	0.95	0.67
Finland	0.71	0.40
Sweden	0.74	0.73
UK	0.99	0.76
All Countries Combined	0.93	0.92

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Gender = D1, Transnational Press Use/ Not Transnational Press Use (recoded) = Q5B

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

Thirty-six percent of the 14 calculated countries demonstrated the expected pattern of higher correlation among men and women on attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of transnational press news, namely Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxemburg and the Netherlands. Greece could not be calculated due to its small base.

With locality as the demographic, a little over one-fourth of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of transnational press news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 47 presents the distribution of correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use transnational press and for those who stated they used transnational press.

Of the countries indicating an increased correlation among the locality subgroups on attributes of an issue with the use of transnational press, Italy indicated a particularly high steep in consensus. In Italy, metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups not using transnational press news for information about the aftermath of 9-11 indicated a correlation on attributes of the issue terrorism of .83, while those using transnational press news indicated a correlation on attributes of the issue of .99.

**Table 47: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among metropolitan/urban and rural population by transnational press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Press Use	Transnational Press Use
Belgium	0.93	0.85
Denmark	0.84	0.95
Germany	0.89	0.57
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France	0.96	0.73
Ireland	0.90	0.81
Italy*	0.83	0.99
Luxemburg	0.93	0.93
Netherlands	0.88	0.90
Austria	0.90	0.68
Portugal	0.95	0.83
Finland	-	-
Sweden	-	-
UK	0.93	0.91
All Countries Combined	0.98	0.88

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Locality (recoded dichotomized) =D6, Transnational Press Use/ Not Transnational Press Use (recoded) = Q5B

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

With age as the demographic, fewer than one-fourth of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the issue terrorism with the use of transnational press news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 48 presents the distribution of correlations among younger and older population subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use transnational press and for those who stated they used transnational press.

**Table 48: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among younger and older population by transnational press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Press Use	Transnational Press Use
Belgium	0.90	0.93
Denmark	0.79	0.71
Germany	0.90	0.70
Greece	-	-
Spain	0.98	0.60
France	0.93	0.78
Ireland	0.90	0.80
Italy	0.95	0.93
Luxemburg	0.90	0.97
Netherlands	0.70	0.64
Austria	0.93	0.74
Portugal	0.95	0.86
Finland	0.79	0.70
Sweden	0.78	0.86
UK	-	-
All Countries Combined	0.98	0.95

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Age (recoded dichotomized) =D2, Transnational Press Use/ Not Transnational Press Use (recoded) = Q5B

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

A comparison between the four demographic subgroups indicated that gender was the subgroup more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the substantive dimension of attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of transnational press news for information about the aftermath of 9-11. In 36% of the countries men and women presented a higher correlation on attributes of an issue with the use of transnational press. Education was the second demographic group most likely to be brought closer together with the use of transnational press news, with 30% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among lower and higher education

populations with the use of the media. Locality was the third demographic group most likely to be brought closer together with the use of transnational press news, with 27% of the countries presenting an increased correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural populations with the use of the media. Age was the demographic group least likely to be brought closer together, where only 23% of the countries indicated an increased correlation among younger and older population with the use of the media for information on the aftermath of 9-11.

None of the countries consistently presented increased consensus on attributes of an issue among all four demographic subgroups with the use of transnational press news. However, The Netherlands and Luxemburg presented an increased consensus on attributes of an issue in three of the four demographic subgroups with the use of transnational press news (in the Netherlands, locality, education and gender; for Luxemburg, age, education, and gender).

### **Transnational Radio**

This study found weak support for Hypothesis 3 among those who stated they used transnational radio news for information relating to the aftermath of 9-11. However, support was still found in some countries and within all of the demographic subgroups. Overall, 21% of the 33 possible correlations indicated an increased consensus on the substantive dimension, the attributes of the terrorism issue, within each of the four demographic subgroups (locality, gender, education and age) with the use of

transnational radio news. The analysis of consensus building with the use of this specific media, radio, is an expansion to the previous consensus building consequence of agenda-setting studies (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995; López-Escobar et al., 1998). The analysis of transnational radio is also an expansion on the previous transnational media studies.

A closer analysis of the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism issue among lower and higher education populations with exposure to transnational radio indicates that over one-quarter of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of transnational radio news. Table 49 presents the distribution of correlations among the education demographic subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use the transnational radio and for those who stated they used the transnational radio.

In two of the 7 countries, correlations among lower and higher education population subgroups on attributes of an issue were higher for those indicating they used transnational radio news for information on the aftermath of 9-11, namely France and the Netherlands. Of the countries following the expected increase of correlation with the use of transnational radio, the Netherlands presented a particularly high increase of consensus. There, the correlations for lower and higher education populations on attributes of an issue for those indicating they did not use transnational radio news was .67 whereas those indicating they used transnational radio news presented a correlation of .90.

**Table 49: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among lower and higher education population by transnational radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Radio Use	Transnational Radio Use
Belgium	0.93	0.74
Denmark	-	-
Germany	0.93	0.60
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France	0.83	0.90
Ireland	0.93	0.54
Italy	0.98	0.90
Luxemburg	0.93	0.89
Netherlands*	0.67	0.90
Austria	-	-
Portugal	-	-
Finland	-	-
Sweden	-	-
UK	-	-
All Countries Combined	0.93	1.00

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, Transnational Radio Use/ Not Transnational Radio Use (recoded) = Q5D

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

With gender as the demographic, a little over one-fourth of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of transnational radio news for information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 50 presents the distribution of correlations among the gender demographic subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use transnational radio and for those who stated they used transnational radio.



**Table 50: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among men and women by transnational radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Radio Use	Transnational Radio Use
Belgium	0.90	0.88
Denmark	0.81	0.34
Germany	0.83	0.28
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France	0.88	0.67
Ireland	0.88	0.54
Italy	0.90	0.45
Luxemburg	0.93	0.95
Netherlands	0.76	0.81
Austria	0.97	0.92
Portugal	-	-
Finland	-	-
Sweden	0.65	0.77
UK	0.93	0.52
All Countries Combined	0.98	0.95

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Gender = D1, Transnational Radio Use/ Not Transnational Radio Use (recoded) = Q5D

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

Three of the 11 countries indicated the expected pattern of higher correlation among men and women on attributes of the issue with the use of transnational radio news, namely Luxemburg, the Netherlands and Sweden. Greece, Spain, Portugal and Finland could not be calculated due to their small bases.

With locality as the demographic, fewer than one-fourth of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes with the use of transnational radio news. Table 51 presents the distribution of

correlations among the locality demographic subgroups on the attributes of the issue for those who stated they did not use transnational radio and for those who stated they used transnational radio.

**Table 51: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among metropolitan/urban and rural localities by transnational radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Radio Use	Transnational Radio Use
Belgium	0.92	0.80
Denmark	-	-
Germany	-	-
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France	-	-
Ireland	0.93	0.75
Italy	-	-
Luxemburg	0.86	0.95
Netherlands	0.83	0.73
Austria	0.90	0.79
Portugal	-	-
Finland	-	-
Sweden	-	-
UK	0.93	0.46
All Countries Combined	0.98	0.93

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Locality (recoded dichotomized) =D6, Transnational Radio Use/ Not Transnational Radio Use (recoded) = Q5D

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

In only one of the 6 countries, namely Luxemburg, was the correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups on attributes of an issue higher for those indicating they used transnational radio news.

With age as the demographic, again only one country followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes with the use of transnational radio news. Table 52 presents the distribution of correlations among the age demographic subgroups on the attributes of the terrorism issue for those who stated they did not use transnational radio and for those who stated they used transnational radio.

**Table 52: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of an issue among younger and older population by transnational radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Radio Use	Transnational Radio Use
Belgium	0.90	0.77
Denmark	0.90	0.35
Germany	0.86	0.73
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France	0.93	0.92
Ireland	0.90	0.54
Italy	-	-
Luxemburg	0.93	0.90
Netherlands	0.76	0.86
Austria	0.98	0.85
Portugal	-	-
Finland	-	-
Sweden	0.76	0.66
UK	-	-
All Countries Combined	0.98	1.00

Attributes of an issue = Q7 A through Q7H (Essential only), Age (recoded dichotomized) =D2, Transnational Radio Use/ Not Transnational Radio Use (recoded) = Q5D

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

Eleven percent of the nine countries indicated the expected pattern of greater correlation among younger and older population subgroups on attributes of the

terrorism issue with the use of transnational radio news, namely the Netherlands. All countries combined also followed the expected pattern of increased consensus among younger and older population with the use of transnational radio, although the increase was quite small.

A comparison between the four demographic subgroups shows that few subgroups in any country were more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the substantive dimension of attributes of the terrorism issue with the use of transnational radio news. A pattern of increased consensus was found in only three countries for gender, in two for education, and one each for age and locality. Interestingly, the Netherlands presented an increased consensus on the attributes of the terrorism issue for three of the demographic subgroups: age, education and gender.

### **Comparison of Media**

Overall, this study found some support to the hypothesis that increased use of transnational news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the European agenda of attributes related to an issue. This was particularly true among those subgroups where the use of transnational television news was indicated, where more than half of all the calculated countries (with all four demographics combined) were brought closer in consensus. This study also found some support for this hypothesis among those four demographic subgroups where the use of

transnational press and transnational radio were indicated, although a much weaker support than where the use of transnational television was indicated.

Compared with Hypothesis 1, fewer calculated countries indicated a support for Hypothesis 3. In other words, in general, there was greater support for the hypothesis that the use of national media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups on attributes relating to an issue (substantive dimension), than for the hypothesis that the use of transnational media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups on attributes relating to an issue (substantive dimension). As a whole, 61% of the calculated correlations supported Hypothesis 1 (national media), compared to 37% of the calculated correlations which supported Hypothesis 3 (transnational media).

Table 53 presents a summary of results for Hypothesis 3, with the percentage of countries following the expected pattern of increased consensus on attributes of an issue with the use of transnational media among each of the demographic subgroups.

**Table 53: Percentage of countries supporting Hypothesis 3 by transnational news media and demographic groups**

DEMOGRAPHIC SUBGROUPS	TRANSNATIONAL MEDIA		
	TV news	Press news	Radio news
Education	73%	30%	29%
Gender	47%	36%	27%
Locality	54%	27%	17%
Age	47%	23%	11%

In general, education was the demographic subgroup most likely to be brought to a consensus on attributes of an issue with the use of national media. This is especially true for those using transnational television news, where 73% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus among lower and higher education population with that media use. Age was the demographic subgroup least likely to be brought to a consensus. With all of the demographics, Hypothesis 3 received at least moderate support for those stating they used transnational television news, and less strongly for those stating they used transnational press news and transnational radio news.

Compared with Hypothesis 1, fewer countries indicated support for Hypothesis 3. In other words, in general, there was greater support for the hypothesis that the use of national media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups on attributes relating to an issue (substantive dimension), than for the hypothesis that the use of transnational media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups on attributes relating to an issue (substantive dimension). As a whole, 61% of the correlations supported Hypothesis 1 (national media), compared to 37% of the correlations which supported Hypothesis 3 (transnational media).

## Chapter 8: Transnational Media and Consensus on Community Attributes

Hypothesis 4 of this dissertation stated that as diverse groups within each of the European Union countries used news media originating from countries other than the ones they live in, that is, transnational media, they would be brought closer into a consensus about the attributes related to the Muslim and Arab communities in the aftermath of the events of 9-11.

*H4: Increased use of transnational news media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes related to a community.*

This hypothesis was only weakly supported in the analysis of the community attribute salience of all 15 countries when considering all three national media together: transnational television, transnational press, and transnational radio. Overall, 35% of the 150 correlations for all three transnational media in the 15 countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus among the demographic subgroups (education, age, locality and gender) on attributes of the Muslim and Arab community. In general, compared to Hypothesis 3 about consensus building on the attributes of an issue, almost the same proportion of correlations followed the expected pattern of increased consensus on the attributes of a community with the use of transnational media news. Compared with Hypothesis 2, also on consensus building on the attributes

of a community, but with the use of national media, fewer correlations followed the expected pattern of increased consensus on attributes of a community with the use of transnational media news.

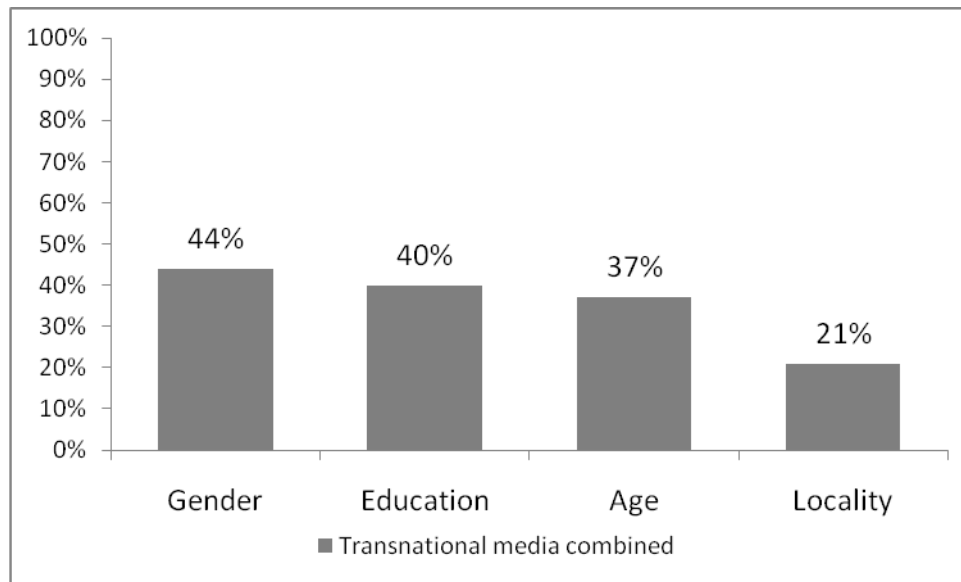
This analysis found stronger support in consensus building on attributes of a community for those expressing the use of transnational television news about the aftermath of 9-11. With all four demographics combined (education, age, locality and gender), 49% of the 55 correlations yielded support for Hypothesis 4 with transnational television use. For those using the transnational press for news about the aftermath of 9-11, weaker support was found for consensus building on attributes of a community. With all four demographics combined (education, age, locality and gender), 27% of the 51 correlations supported Hypothesis 4 with the use of transnational press. For those using transnational radio for news about the aftermath of 9-11, weak support was also found for increased consensus on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities. With all four demographics combined (education, age, locality and gender), 27% of the 44 correlations supported Hypothesis 4 with the use of transnational radio.

Concentrating on the demographics, three of the demographics presented similar support for Hypothesis 4, namely education, age and gender. However, with locality as the demographic, weaker support for Hypothesis 4 was found with all three transnational media combined (television, press and radio), as demonstrated in Graph 4. Increased correlations between men and women on attributes of the Muslim



community with the use of transnational media were slightly more frequent than for the other three demographics (education, age and locality).

**Graph 4: Increased consensus on attributes of the Muslim Community with the use of three transnational media combined according to demographic**



Although with combined transnational media use increased agreement on the attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities were quite evenly distributed, especially between gender, education and age (less so for locality) some differences do arise by countries. In the following segment, I will present the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes related to a community with the use of each of the transnational media.

## Transnational Television

A closer look at the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities among men and women with exposure to transnational television indicates that over one-half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus. Table 54 presents the distribution of correlations among men and women on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use transnational TV and for those who stated they used transnational TV.

**Table 54: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among men and women by transnational television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational TV Use	Transnational TV Use
Belgium	0.90	1.00
Denmark	1.00	1.00
Germany*	0.70	1.00
Greece	0.70	0.78
Spain	1.00	1.00
France	0.90	0.98
Ireland	0.88	0.90
Italy*	0.68	0.98
Luxemburg*	0.70	1.00
Netherlands	0.90	0.98
Austria	1.00	0.68
Portugal	1.00	0.98
Finland	0.90	0.80
Sweden	1.00	0.90
UK*	0.68	0.98
All Countries Combined	0.90	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Gender = D1, Transnational Television Use/ Not Transnational Television Use (recoded) = Q5F

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

Some 60% of the countries presented a higher correlation between the subgroups indicating they used transnational TV news for information about the aftermath of 9-11, namely Belgium, Germany, Greece, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and the UK. Of the countries following the expected pattern of increase, four indicated quite a steep increase of consensus among men and women.

In Italy and in the UK, the correlations between men and women on attributes of a community went from moderate correlations for those stating they did not use transnational television news (both with a correlation of .68) to a very high correlation for those stating they used transnational television news (both with a correlation of .98). In Germany and in Luxemburg, the correlations between men and women on attributes of a community went from .70 in both countries for those who stated they did not use transnational television news to a perfect positive correlation of 1.00 in both countries for those who stated they used transnational television news.

With education as the demographic, more than half of the calculated countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational television news. Table 55 presents the distribution of correlations among the education demographic subgroups on the attributes of a community for those who stated they did not use transnational television and for those who stated they used transnational television.

**Table 55: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among lower and higher education population by transnational television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational TV Use	Transnational TV Use
Belgium	0.58	0.70
Denmark	-	-
Germany	0.90	1.00
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France	0.70	0.50
Ireland	0.80	0.80
Italy*	0.70	1.00
Luxemburg	0.98	1.00
Netherlands*	0.50	0.70
Austria	0.70	0.70
Portugal	1.00	0.83
Finland	-	-
Sweden	1.00	0.90
UK*	0.60	0.90
All Countries Combined	0.90	0.90

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, Transnational Television Use/ Not Transnational Television Use (recoded) = Q5F

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

With the use of transnational television, 55% of the countries demonstrated the expected pattern of higher correlation among lower and higher education population on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities, namely Belgium, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and the UK. Of the six countries indicating an increased correlation among lower and higher education population on attributes of a community with the use of transnational TV news, three indicated a particularly high increase.

In the Netherlands and in the UK, correlations between lower and higher education population on attributes of a community were moderate for those indicating

they did not use transnational TV (.50 and .60, respectively), and .70 and .90, respectively for those indicating they used transnational TV news. In Italy, correlations between lower and higher education populations on attributes of a community increased from .70 for those stating they did not use transnational television news to a perfect 1.00 for those stating they used transnational television news.

With age as the demographic, little less than half of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational television news. Table 56 presents the distribution of correlations among the age demographic subgroups on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use transnational television and for those who stated they used transnational television.

Forty-seven percent of the countries presented an increased consensus among younger and older population subgroups on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational television news, namely Germany, France, Ireland, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Portugal and the UK. From the seven countries indicating and increased correlation among younger and older population with the media use, two presented quite a steep increase.

In the UK, correlations among younger and older population subgroups on attributes of a community were .60 for those who stated they did not use transnational TV and were .98 for those who stated they used transnational TV.

**Table 56: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among younger and older population by transnational television exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational TV Use	Transnational TV Use
Belgium	0.90	0.83
Denmark	1.00	1.00
Germany	0.90	1.00
Greece	1.00	0.33
Spain	1.00	0.75
France*	0.70	0.90
Ireland	0.80	0.90
Italy	0.90	0.48
Luxemburg	0.98	1.00
Netherlands	0.90	1.00
Austria	1.00	0.68
Portugal	0.90	1.00
Finland	1.00	0.88
Sweden	1.00	1.00
UK*	0.60	0.98
All Countries Combined	0.90	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Age (recoded dichotomized) =D2, Transnational Television Use/ Not Transnational Television Use (recoded) = Q5F

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

With locality as the demographic, over one-quarter of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the community with the use of transnational television news. Table 57 presents the distribution of correlations among the locality demographic subgroups on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use transnational television and for those who stated they used transnational television.

**Table 57: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among metropolitan/urban and rural populations by transnational TV exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational TV Use	Transnational TV Use
Belgium*	0.68	0.90
Denmark	1.00	1.00
Germany*	0.50	0.70
Greece	-	-
Spain	0.90	0.70
France	0.70	0.83
Ireland	0.90	0.90
Italy	0.70	0.58
Luxemburg	0.98	0.90
Netherlands	0.90	1.00
Austria	0.90	0.83
Portugal	0.90	0.90
Finland	1.00	0.73
Sweden	0.90	0.88
UK	0.60	0.70
All Countries Combined	0.90	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Locality (recoded dichotomized) =D6, Transnational Television Use/ Not Transnational Television Use (recoded) = Q5F

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

With the use of transnational television, 36% of the 14 countries demonstrated the expected pattern of higher correlations among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups on the attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities. The countries that presented an increased correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups using transnational television news were Belgium, Germany, France, the Netherlands and the UK. Of those countries, two indicated a particularly high increase with the use of transnational television news. In Belgium and in Germany, correlations among metropolitan/urban and rural population subgroups on attributes of

a community were .68 and .50, respectively for those indicating they did not use transnational television news and were higher for those indicating they used transnational television news (.90 and .70, respectively).

A comparison between the four demographic subgroups indicated that gender was the subgroup more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational television news. Within that demographic, 60% of the countries indicated an increased correlation among men and women on the affective dimension with the use of transnational television news. Education was the second demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension with the use of transnational television news, with 55% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among lower and higher education populations with the use of the media. Age was the third demographic groups most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension with the use of transnational television news with 47% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among younger and older populations. Locality was the demographic subgroup least likely to be brought closer together in consensus on attributes of a community with the use of transnational television news, although still more than one-quarter of the countries within this demographic (36% of the countries) presented an increased correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural populations.



The countries that consistently presented increased consensus on attributes of a community on all four demographic subgroups tested with the use of transnational television news were Germany, the Netherlands and the UK.

### **Transnational Press**

In a closer look at the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among men and women with exposure to transnational press indicates that 36% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of transnational press information on the aftermath of 9-11. Table 58 presents the distribution of correlations among men and women on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use transnational press and for those who stated they used transnational press.

Some 36% of the calculated countries indicated an increased consensus among men and women on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational press, namely Germany, France, Italy, Portugal and the UK. Of the countries indicating an increased correlation with the use of transnational press, three presented a particularly high increase.

In the UK, men and women who indicated they did not use transnational press news presented a correlation of .60 on attributes of a community, while those who indicated they used transnational press news presented a much higher correlation (.88).

In Germany and in Italy, men and women who indicated they did not use transnational press news presented a correlation of .70 in both countries and those who indicated they used transnational press news presented a correlation of 1.00 and .90, respectively.

**Table 58: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among men and women by transnational press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Press Use	Transnational Press Use
Belgium	0.90	0.90
Denmark	1.00	1.00
Germany*	0.70	1.00
Greece	-	-
Spain	1.00	0.68
France	0.90	1.00
Ireland	0.90	0.90
Italy*	0.70	0.90
Luxemburg	1.00	0.98
Netherlands	0.90	0.90
Austria	1.00	0.93
Portugal	0.90	0.98
Finland	0.90	0.70
Sweden	1.00	0.90
UK*	0.60	0.88
All Countries Combined	1.00	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Gender = D1, Transnational Press Use/ Not Transnational Press Use (recoded) = Q5B

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

With education as the demographic, closer to half of the countries followed the pattern of increased consensus on the agenda of attributes of a community with the use of transnational press news. Table 59 presents the distribution of correlations among

the education subgroups on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use transnational press and for those who stated they used transnational press.

**Table 59: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among lower and higher education population by transnational press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Press Use	Transnational Press Use
Belgium*	0.70	0.90
Denmark	-	-
Germany	0.90	0.90
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France*	0.60	0.83
Ireland	0.80	0.90
Italy	0.98	0.70
Luxemburg	1.00	0.90
Netherlands	0.80	0.70
Austria	-	-
Portugal	0.90	0.83
Finland	-	-
Sweden	1.00	0.90
UK	0.70	0.80
All Countries Combined	0.90	0.90

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, Transnational Press Use/ Not Transnational Press Use (recoded) = Q5B

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

Forty percent of the 10 countries demonstrated the expected pattern of higher correlation among lower and higher education population on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational press news, namely Belgium, France, Ireland and the UK. Among the countries indicating an increased correlation with the use of transnational press news, two indicated quite a steep increase.

In France, the correlation among lower and higher education population on attributes of a community was .60 for those who stated they did not use the transnational press news but, for those stating they used transnational press news, the correlation was .83. In Belgium, the correlation among lower and higher education populations on attributes of a community was .70 for those stating they did not use the transnational press and .90 for those stating they did use the transnational press for information on the aftermath of 9-11.

With age as the demographic, a little over one-fourth of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of the transnational press news. Table 60 presents the distribution of correlations among the age subgroups on the attributes of a community for those who stated they did not use the transnational press and for those who stated they used the transnational press.

Twenty-nine percent of the 14 countries indicated a higher correlation among younger and older population subgroups on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational press news, namely France, Ireland, Italy and Luxemburg. Among the countries indicating an increased correlation with the use of transnational press, two indicated quite a steep increase. In France and in Italy, younger and older population subgroups indicating they did not use transnational press news presented a correlation of .70 in both countries, while those indicating they used

transnational press news indicated a much higher correlation (.98 and 1.00, respectively).

**Table 60: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among younger and older population by transnational press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Press Use	Transnational Press Use
Belgium	0.90	0.40
Denmark	1.00	0.90
Germany	0.90	0.90
Greece	-	-
Spain	1.00	0.88
France*	0.70	0.98
Ireland	0.88	1.00
Italy*	0.70	1.00
Luxemburg	0.98	1.00
Netherlands	0.90	0.90
Austria	0.90	0.83
Portugal	0.90	0.80
Finland	0.90	0.90
Sweden	1.00	0.98
UK	0.60	0.43
All Countries Combined	0.90	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Age (recoded dichotomized) =D2, Transnational Press Use/ Not Transnational Press Use (recoded) = Q5B

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

With locality as the demographic, only one country, Luxemburg, followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational press news. Table 61 presents the distribution of correlations among the locality subgroups on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use the transnational press and for those who stated they used the transnational press.

**Table 61: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among metropolitan/urban and rural population by transnational press exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Press Use	Transnational Press Use
Belgium	0.90	0.70
Denmark	1.00	0.90
Germany	0.90	0.78
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France	0.70	0.43
Ireland	1.00	1.00
Italy	0.70	0.70
Luxemburg	0.70	1.00
Netherlands	0.98	0.70
Austria	1.00	0.83
Portugal	0.90	0.78
Finland	1.00	0.60
Sweden	1.00	0.98
UK	0.68	0.68
All Countries Combined	0.90	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Locality (recoded dichotomized) =D6, Transnational Press Use/ Not Transnational Press Use (recoded) = Q5B

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

A comparison between the four demographic subgroups indicated that education was the subgroup more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension of attributes of Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational press news. In 40% of the countries lower and higher education population subgroups presented a higher correlation on attributes of a community with the use of the transnational press. Gender was the second demographic group most

likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension with the use of transnational press news, with 36% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among men and women. Age was the third demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of the transnational press, with 29% of the countries presenting an increased correlation among younger and older populations with the use of the media. Locality was the demographic group least likely to be brought closer together in consensus on attributes of a community with the use of transnational press news, where only a single country indicated an increased correlation among metropolitan/urban and rural populations.

### **Transnational Radio**

This study found very little support for Hypothesis 4 by those who stated they used transnational radio news for information relating to the aftermath of 9-11, weaker general support in comparison to those who used transnational television and proportionally the same as those who used the transnational press news for information about the aftermath of 9-11. Overall, only 27% of the 44 correlations indicated an increased consensus on the affective dimension, the attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities, within each of the four demographic subgroups (locality, gender, education and age) with the use of transnational radio news.

A closer analysis of the degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities among men and women indicates that 33% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of transnational radio news. Table 62 presents the distribution of correlations among the men and women on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use transnational radio and for those who stated they used transnational radio.

**Table 62: Degree of convergence on European agenda of attributes of a community among men and women by transnational radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Radio Use	Transnational Radio Use
Belgium	1.00	1.00
Denmark	1.00	1.00
Germany	1.00	0.88
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France	0.90	1.00
Ireland	0.90	0.70
Italy*	0.70	0.88
Luxemburg	0.98	1.00
Netherlands	0.90	1.00
Austria	0.98	0.60
Portugal	-	-
Finland	0.90	0.88
Sweden	1.00	0.63
UK	0.68	0.50
All Countries Combined	1.00	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Gender = D1, Transnational Radio Use/ Not Transnational Radio Use (recoded) = Q5D

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

In 33% of the 12 countries, correlations among men and women on attributes of a community were higher for those indicating they used transnational radio news. The



countries that followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of transnational radio were France, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands. One of these countries, Italy, indicated quite a steep increase of consensus. The correlations among men and women for those not using transnational radio was .70, and for those using transnational radio was .88.

With education as the demographic, a little under one-quarter of the calculated countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational radio news. Table 63 presents the distribution of correlations among the education subgroups on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use transnational radio and for those who stated they used transnational radio.

Twenty-two percent of the 9 countries indicated the expected pattern of higher correlation among lower and higher education population on attributes of the Muslim and Arabic community with the use of transnational radio news, namely France and Ireland. In France, the correlation among lower and higher education populations indicating they did not use transnational radio was .60) and among those using transnational radio news was .98. In Ireland, the correlation among lower and higher education populations on attributes of a community for those indicating they did not use transnational radio was .80 and for those indicating they used transnational radio news the correlation was .95.

**Table 63: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among lower and higher education population by transnational radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Radio Use	Transnational Radio Use
Belgium	0.70	0.63
Denmark	-	-
Germany	0.90	0.88
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France*	0.60	0.98
Ireland*	0.80	0.95
Italy	0.70	0.38
Luxemburg	1.00	0.70
Netherlands	0.80	0.30
Austria	0.70	0.70
Portugal	-	-
Finland	-	-
Sweden	-	-
UK	0.70	0.10
All Countries Combined	0.90	0.90

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Education (recoded dichotomized) = D3, Transnational Radio Use/ Not Transnational Radio Use (recoded) = Q5D

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

With age as the demographic, 33% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational radio news. Table 64 presents the distribution of correlations among the age subgroups on the attributes a community for those who stated they did not use transnational radio and for those who stated they used transnational radio.

**Table 64: Degree of convergence on European agenda of attributes of a community among younger and older population by transnational radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Radio Use	Transnational Radio Use
Belgium*	0.70	1.00
Denmark	1.00	1.00
Germany	0.90	0.88
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France*	0.70	0.90
Ireland	0.80	0.90
Italy	0.70	0.70
Luxemburg	0.98	1.00
Netherlands	0.90	0.40
Austria	0.90	0.68
Portugal	0.90	0.90
Finland	0.90	0.73
Sweden	1.00	0.73
UK	-	-
All Countries Combined	0.90	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Age (recoded dichotomized) =D2, Transnational Radio Use/ Not Transnational Radio Use (recoded) = Q5D

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

In 33% of the 12 countries, correlations among younger and older population subgroups on attributes of a community were higher for those indicating they used transnational radio news. The countries presenting the expected pattern of increased consensus with the use of transnational radio news were Belgium, France, Ireland and Luxemburg. Of those countries indicating the increased correlation among younger and older population using transnational radio news, two presented a particularly high increase. In Belgium and France, the correlations on attributes of a community among younger and older populations using transnational radio news were much higher (1.00

and .90, respectively) than for those stating they did not use transnational radio news (both .70).

With locality as the demographic, 18% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community with the use of transnational radio news. Table 65 presents the correlation distribution among the locality subgroups on the attributes of a community for those saying they did not use transnational radio news and for those saying they used transnational radio news.

**Table 65: Degree of convergence on the agenda of attributes of a community among metropolitan/urban and rural population by transnational radio exposure**

COUNTRY	NO Transnational Radio Use	Transnational Radio Use
Belgium	0.90	0.90
Denmark	1.00	0.90
Germany	0.90	0.70
Greece	-	-
Spain	-	-
France*	0.70	0.90
Ireland	1.00	0.70
Italy	-	-
Luxemburg	0.90	1.00
Netherlands	0.98	0.70
Austria	0.90	0.68
Portugal	0.90	0.83
Finland	1.00	0.73
Sweden	-	-
UK	0.60	0.58
All Countries Combined	1.00	1.00

Attributes of a community= Q8 A through Q8E (Combined agreement), Locality (recoded dichotomized) =D6, Transnational Radio Use/ Not Transnational Radio Use (recoded) = Q5D

Highlighted cells indicated accordance to expected pattern of increased consensus with media use

\*Indicates a high increase of consensus from the group who did not use the media to the group that did use the media

- Indicates the country could not be calculated due to small bases

Only two of the 11 countries indicated that the expected pattern of greater correlation among metropolitan/ urban and rural populations on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational radio news, namely France and Luxemburg. In France, metropolitan/urban and rural populations indicating they did not use transnational radio news for information presented a correlation of .70, and, for those indicating they used transnational radio news, the correlation was much higher (.90).

A comparison between the four demographic subgroups indicated that age and gender were the subgroups more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension of attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational radio news. In 33% of the countries, younger and older population subgroups and men and women presented a higher correlation on attributes of a community with the use of transnational radio. Education was the next demographic group most likely to be brought closer together in consensus on the affective dimension with the use of transnational radio news, with 22% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among lower and higher education populations. Locality was the demographic subgroup least likely to be brought closer together in consensus on attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities with the use of transnational radio news, with 18% of the countries indicating an increased correlation among

metropolitan/urban and rural population with the use of transnational media for information on the aftermath of 9-11.

### **Comparison of Media**

Overall, this study found some support for the hypothesis that increased use of transnational media, especially for transnational television news, corresponds to increased consensus among the demographic subgroups regarding the European agenda of attributes related to a community. This study found weak support this hypothesis among those who stated they used transnational press and transnational radio.

Compared with Hypothesis 3, about the same proportion of countries supported Hypothesis 4. In other words, in general, there was about the same support for the hypothesis that the use of transnational media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups on attributes relating to an issue, the substantive dimension, and for the hypothesis that the use of transnational media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups on attributes relating to a community, the affective dimension. As a whole, 37% of the correlations supported Hypothesis 3, compared to 35% of the calculated correlations which supported Hypothesis 4.

Compared with Hypothesis 2, fewer countries supported Hypothesis 4. In other words, there was greater support for the hypothesis that the use of national media

corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups on attributes relating to a community, the affective dimension, in comparison to the hypothesis that the use of transnational media corresponds to increased consensus among demographic subgroups on attributes relating to a community, the affective dimension. As a whole, 46% of the correlations supported Hypothesis 2, compared to 35% of the correlations which supported Hypothesis 4.

Table 66 presents a summary of results for Hypothesis 4, with the percentage of countries following the expected pattern of increased consensus on attributes of a community with the use of transnational media by each of the demographic subgroups.

**Table 66: Percentage of countries supporting Hypothesis 4 by transnational news media and demographic groups**

DEMOGRAPHIC SUBGROUPS	TRANSNATIONAL MEDIA		
	TV news	Press news	Radio news
Gender	60%	36%	33%
Education	55%	40%	22%
Age	47%	29%	33%
Locality	36%	8%	18%

In general, gender was the demographic subgroup most likely to be brought to a consensus on attributes of the Muslim and Arab community with the use of transnational media. This is especially true for persons using transnational television news, where 60% of the countries followed the expected pattern of increased consensus among men and women with that media use. Locality was the demographic

subgroup least likely to be brought to a consensus on attributes of a community with the use of transnational media, with only 8% of the countries indicating increased consensus among metropolitan/urban and rural population with the use of transnational press news. With all of the demographics, Hypothesis 4 was mainly supported among persons using transnational television news, but weakly supported for those who stated they used transnational press news and transnational radio news.



## **Chapter 9: Comparison of Media Influence in Consensus Building**

This chapter analyzes each of the four research questions posed in this dissertation.

Research question 1 relates to the potential of consensus building effect in each of the national media (radio, television and press). Research question 2 relates to the potential of consensus building effect in each of the transnational media (radio, television and press). Research question 3 assesses if national or transnational media possesses a greater potential in consensus building. Research question 4 assesses if consensus building was more likely to occur in some of the 15 countries analyzed rather than others. Each segment begins with an overall answer to the questions and continues with some additional details and comparisons.

The research questions analyzed in this study were:

*RQ 1: Are there differences in influence among the different national media on consensus building among demographic subgroups at the second level of agenda-setting?*

*RQ 2: Are there differences in influence among the different transnational media on consensus building among demographic subgroups at the second level of agenda-setting?*

*RQ3: Do national and transnational media have different levels of influence in terms of consensus building for European audiences?*

*RQ4: If there are differences in the influence of news media among individuals from different European countries, what would explain those differences?*

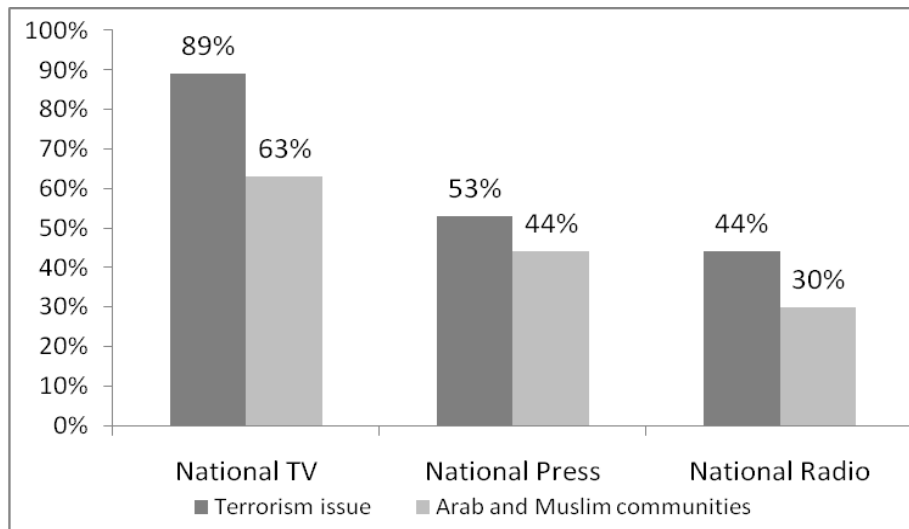
### **RESEARCH QUESTION 1**

Research question 1 asked if there were differences among the different national media (radio, television and press) in the patterns of expected levels of agreement at the second level of agenda-setting within the various demographic subgroups. This analysis has found that, indeed, there are differences in consensus depending on national media use. National television news was by far the most powerful medium in terms of consensus building for both the substantive and affective dimensions of second level agenda-setting. National press news was the second most powerful medium in bringing the different demographic subgroups closer together in their perceptions of the attributes of terrorism and of the Muslim and Arab communities. National radio news was the weakest medium in terms of consensus building among the four demographic groups (education, age, gender and locality) on the substantive and affective dimensions of second level agenda-setting.

These findings are analogous to the findings of the Spanish study of consensus building at the second level of agenda-setting (López-Escobar et al., 1998). In the Spanish study, the authors also found that television was more likely to influence the segments of society in consensus building than newspapers, both for the substantive and affective dimension of second level agenda-setting.

Graph 5 presents the percentage of countries that followed the expected trend of increased consensus with the use of the national media.

**Graph 5: Influence of each national medium (television, press, and radio) in building consensus among the combined demographic subgroups on attributes of the issue terrorism and the Arab and Muslim communities**



As Graph 5 clearly indicates, all three national media had a stronger influence in consensus building among the four demographic subgroups on the attributes of an issue, the terrorism issue (substantive dimension) than on the attributes of a community (affective dimension). For both the substantive and affective dimensions of second level agenda-setting, however, the national media follow the same trend, where national television news is the strongest, followed by national press news and lastly, national radio news.

Deeper analysis of the demographics, which was presented extensively in the results sections for Hypotheses 1 and 2, highlights some minor differences in the influence of these national media. But the trend illustrated in Graph 5 is dominant.

The countries that consistently presented an increased correlation within each of the four demographic subgroups (education, age, gender and locality) with the use of national television news, on both attributes of an issue (the substantive dimension) and attributes of a community (the affective dimension) were Belgium, Germany, Portugal and Sweden. Also noteworthy are the Netherlands and Spain, which both had increased correlations among each of the four demographic subgroups with the use of national television news on attributes of an issue and also presented increased correlations among three of the four demographic subgroups with the use of national television news on attributes of a community.

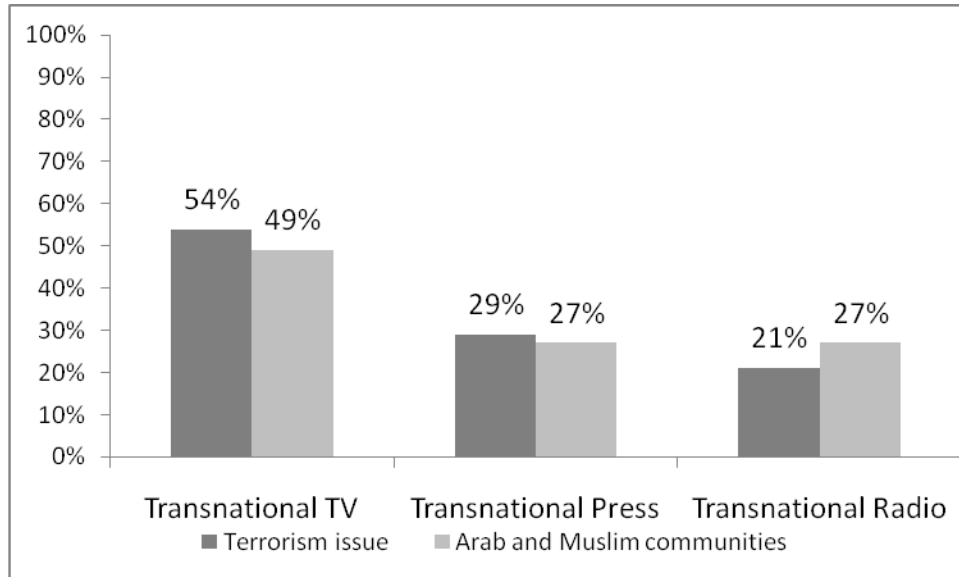
In summary, national television news was by far the most powerful medium in terms of consensus building for both the substantive and affective dimensions of second level agenda-setting.

## **RESEARCH QUESTION 2**

Research question 2 asked if there were differences in influence among the different transnational media (radio, television and press) within demographic subgroups at the second level of agenda-setting. Indeed, television news, both national and transnational, was the strongest medium for consensus building on the attributes of an issue and attributes of a community. Transnational press news and transnational radio news were the weaker transnational media. Both of these media had about the same percentage of countries following the expected trend of increased consensus among the

demographic subgroups. Graph 6 presents the percentage of countries that followed the expected trend of increased consensus with the use of the transnational media.

**Graph 6: Influence of each transnational medium (television, press, and radio) in building consensus among the combined demographic subgroups on attributes of the issue terrorism and the Arab and Muslim communities**



Graph 6 indicates that both transnational television news and transnational press news had a stronger influence within the four demographic subgroups on the attributes of an issue, the terrorism issue (substantive dimension) than on the attributes of a community (affective dimension). However, these differences were quite small for both transnational TV and the transnational press. For those indicating they used transnational radio news, a higher percentage of the countries followed the expected trend of increased consensus on attributes of a community (affective dimension) than for attributes of an issue (substantive dimension). Overall, transnational television was the strongest, and the transnational press and transnational radio were very similar in

their influence. There was little difference between the attributes of an issue and the attributes of a community

Deeper analysis of the demographics, which was presented extensively in the results sections for Hypotheses 3 and 4, highlights some minor differences in the influence of these national media. But the trend illustrated in Graph 6 is dominant.

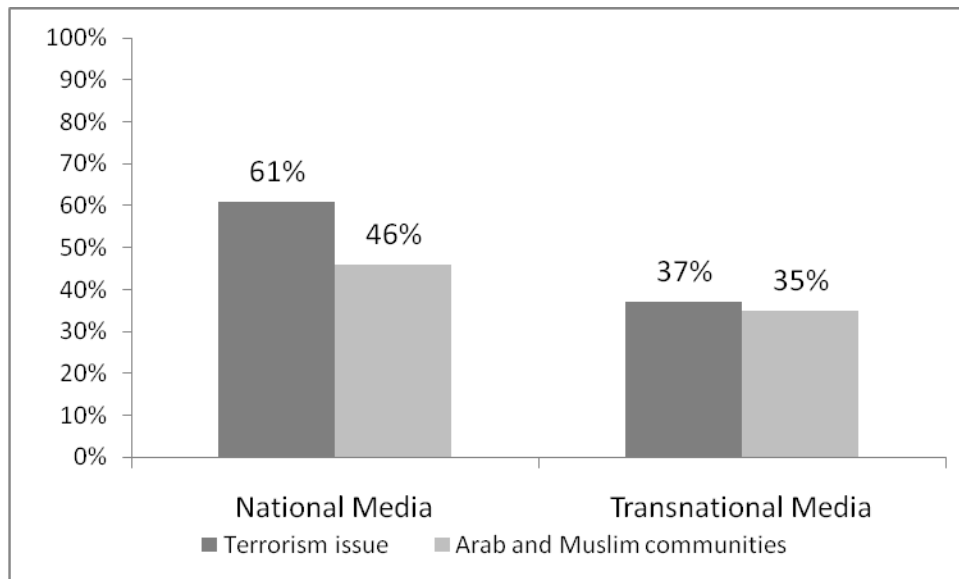
None of the countries consistently presented an increased correlation within each of the four demographic subgroups (education, age, gender and locality) with the use of transnational television news on both attributes of an issue (the substantive dimension) and attributes of a community (the affective dimension). However, Belgium had an increased correlation on each of the four demographics on attributes of an issue with the use of transnational TV news, and an increased correlation on three out of the four demographic subgroups on the attributes of a community with the use of transnational TV. Both Germany and the Netherlands indicated an increased correlation on three out of the four demographic subgroups on the attributes of an issue and on all four demographics on attributes of a community for those using transnational TV.

In line with Research question 1, transnational television news was the strongest transnational medium in terms of consensus building for both the substantive and affective dimensions of second level agenda-setting. The transnational press and transnational radio were very similar to each other on both dimensions of second level agenda-setting.

### RESEARCH QUESTION 3

Research question 3 asked if national media and transnational media present different levels of influence across these European Union member countries. This analysis has found that, indeed, national media have a more powerful influence in bridging the segments of society. Transnational media also presented a pattern of consensus building, but the pattern was weaker and mainly concentrated in transnational television news. Graph 7 presents the percentage of countries that followed the expected trend of increased consensus on attributes of an issue and attributes of a community with the use of national and transnational media.

**Graph 7: Influence of national and transnational media in building consensus among the combined demographic subgroups on attributes of the issue terrorism and the Arab and Muslim communities**



National media, as is clearly seen in the graph, had a stronger influence compared to transnational media in consensus building among the four demographic

subgroups on both attributes of the issue terrorism and attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities. National media combined (national television, national press and national radio) had a stronger influence on attributes of an issue, the substantive dimension, than on attributes of a community, the affective dimension. Transnational media combined (transnational television, transnational press and transnational radio) had about the same influence on the attributes of an issue, the substantive dimension, and attributes of a community, the affective dimension.

Deeper analysis of the demographics, which was presented extensively in previous chapters, highlights some minor differences in the relative influence of these media. But the trend illustrated in Graph 7, the larger role of national media, is dominant.

#### **RESEARCH QUESTION 4**

Research question 4 asked if there are differences in the influence of news media among the different European countries. In the analysis of the patterns of increased agreement across all national media combined (national TV, national press and national radio) on attributes of an issue and attributes of a community, some countries definitely were more likely than others to demonstrated the expected trend.



Table 67 presents the percentages of correlations by country which followed the expected pattern of increased consensus on attributes of an issue and attributes of a community for those who stated they used national media and by those who stated they used transnational media. In Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Portugal and UK, segments of society were more likely to be brought closer together for attributes of an issue and of a community with the use of national media. In only three countries, again the Netherlands and France, plus Luxemburg, was there greater agreement with the use of transnational media.

**Table 67: Percentage of calculated correlations following the expected pattern of increased consensus on both attributes of an issue and of a community combined for those using national media and for those using transnational media by country**

COUNTRY	National Media (issue and community)	Transnational Media (issue and community)
Belgium	87%	46%
Germany	87%	35%
Denmark	70%	24%
Netherlands	67%	58%
Finland	57%	7%
Greece	52%	25%
UK	52%	45%
France	50%	52%
Portugal	50%	28%
Sweden	46%	21%
Austria	45%	0%
Italy	42%	38%
Luxemburg	38%	67%
Spain	35%	0%
Ireland	33%	42%

Highlighted cells indicate that 50% or more of the calculated correlations in that country followed the expected pattern of increased consensus with the media use

Some differences in the likelihood of following the expected pattern of increased agreement arise once the results are segmented by the attributes of an issue and attributes of a community. Table 68 indicates the countries that follow the expected pattern of increased consensus on attributes of an issue within each of the demographics and by each of the national media.

**Table 68: Countries following the expected pattern of increased consensus among the four demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes of an issue with the use of national media**

Country	National TV				National Press				National Radio			
	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender
Belgium	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
Denmark	0	X	X	0	0	0		0		0		0
Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	X	0	0
Greece	0	0		0	0	0	0					
Spain	0	0	0	0								
France		0	0							0		0
Ireland		0	0	0	0						0	
Italy	0	0		0		0	0			0		
Luxemburg	0	0		0	0		0		0		0	
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Austria	0	0	0	0	0		0		0		0	
Portugal	0	0	0	0	0		0	0				
Finland	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweden	0	0	0	0								0
UK	0	X	0	0		0		0		0		

0 means followed the expected increase of consensus  
Blank means does not follow the expected increase of consensus  
X means missing data, not able to calculate

Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, and Finland were more likely to show increased agreement on the attributes of an issue with the use of national media news. Spain, France, Ireland and Sweden were the least likely countries to move closer together on the attributes of an issue with the use of national media news.

Table 69 repeats this analysis for the attributes of a community.

**Table 69: Countries following the expected pattern of increased consensus among the four demographic subgroups regarding the agenda of attributes of a community with the use of national media**

Country	National TV				National Press				National Radio			
	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender
Belgium	0	0	0	0	0	0			0	0	X	0
Denmark	0	0	X	0	0	0	X	0	0			
Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Greece	0		0		0		0	0			X	0
Spain	0		0	0		0					X	
France	0	0	0	0		0	0			0	0	
Ireland			0					0	0			
Italy					0	0	0	0				
Luxemburg						0	0					
Netherlands	0	0	0		0				0			
Austria			X			0	0				X	
Portugal	0	0	0	0					0			
Finland		0	X							0		
Sweden	0	0	0	0		0				0		
UK	0		0	0					0		0	0

0 means followed the expected increase of consensus

Blank means does not follow the expected increase of consensus

X means missing data, not able to calculate

Belgium, Germany and France were more likely to be brought closer together on the attributes of a community with the use of national media news. Luxemburg, Austria and Finland were the least likely to be brought closer together regarding the attributes a community with the use of national media news.

Table 70 repeats the analysis of increased on attributes of an issue for the transnational media.

**Table 70: Countries following the expected pattern of increased consensus among the four demographic subgroups regarding the European agenda of attributes of an issue with the use of transnational media.**

Country	Transnational TV				Transnational Press				Transnational Radio			
	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender
Belgium	0	0	0	0	0			0				
Denmark	0	0	X			0	X	0		X	X	
Germany	0	0	0							X		
Greece		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Spain		X	X			X	X		X	X	X	X
France								0		X	0	
Ireland	0	0	0	0								
Italy	0			0		0			X	X		
Luxemburg	0	0	0		0		0	0		0		0
Netherlands		0	0	0		0	0	0	0		0	0
Austria			X				X				X	
Portugal		0	0	0					X	X	X	X
Finland				0		X	X		X	X	X	X
Sweden	0		0		0	X				X	X	0
UK			0	0	X		0		X		X	

0 means followed the expected increase of consensus  
Blank means does not follow the expected increase of consensus  
X means missing data, not able to calculate

Luxemburg and the Netherlands were more likely to move closer together on the attributes of an issue with the use of transnational media news. Austria, Greece and Spain were the least likely countries to have their opposing demographic groups to be brought closer together in consensus on the attributes an issue with the use of transnational media news.

Table 71 repeats the analysis for attributes of a community for transnational media.

**Table 71: Countries following the expected pattern of increased consensus among the four demographic subgroups regarding the European agenda of attributes of a community with the use of transnational media.**

Country	Transnational TV				Transnational Press				Transnational Radio			
	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender	Age	Local.	Edu.	Gender
Belgium		0	0	0			0		0			
Denmark			X				X				X	
Germany	0	0	0	0				0				
Greece		X	X	0	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Spain			X			X	X		X	X	X	X
France	0	0		0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
Ireland	0			0	0		0		0		0	
Italy			0	0	0			0		X		0
Luxemburg	0		0	0	0	0			0	0		0
Netherlands	0	0	0	0								0
Austria							X					
Portugal	0							0			X	X
Finland			X				X				X	
Sweden										X	X	
UK	0	0	0	0			0	0	X			

0 means followed the expected increase of consensus  
Blank means does not follow the expected increase of consensus  
X means missing data, not able to calculate

France and Luxemburg were more likely to have their opposing demographic groups be brought closer together in consensus on the attributes of a community with the use of transnational media news. Denmark, Spain, Austria, Finland and Sweden were the least likely countries to have their opposing demographic groups to be brought closer together in consensus on the attributes a community with the use of transnational media news.

Interestingly, it is a cluster of five northern European countries – Belgium, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, France, and Germany – that are especially prominent in

Tables 67 – 71, a set of findings that opens the door to future research about cultural and regional differences.

## Chapter 10: Summary and Discussion

Harold Lasswell (1960) identified three key functions of mass communication: surveillance of the environment, correlation of society, and transmission of culture. Focusing on the second of these functions, the correlation of society – that is, the creation of consensus – Shaw and Martin (1992) developed and tested a research design grounded in agenda-setting theory whose central proposition is that the agendas of demographically diverse groups in society will come into closer agreement with increased exposure to the news media.

This dissertation is a broad and systematic replication and expansion of Shaw and Martin's original research as well as the previous studies in Taiwan and Spain. This study tests Shaw and Martin's proposition on consensus in 15 Western European countries, examining four demographic group's (gender, age, education and locality) use of six different news media (national and transnational TV, national and transnational press, and national and transnational radio) for two different second-level agendas (attributes of an issue and attributes of a community). Altogether this is a total of nearly 700 tests (720 minus small amounts of missing data here and there for various countries) of the Shaw and Martin proposition, a series of tests that elaborates in detail Lasswell's identification of the consensus role of the media.

The contributions of this research include:

- Identification of the news media most likely to be associated with increased agreement on the public agenda of attributes for a major topic. Most importantly, this research is the first study to draw upon the literature on transnational news media for agenda-setting research in general and examination of the Shaw and Martin model in particular. This is an important theoretical addition.
- Examination of the relative impact of all these media, both national and transnational, on the substantive and affective attributes of a major topic. These findings expand our knowledge about increased agreement on the public agenda of attributes with increased exposure to the news media, an association examined in only one previous study (López-Escobar et al., 1998). These findings also add to the previous general literature in agenda-setting on the relative roles of substantive and affective attribute agendas.

Both of these contributions are significant theoretical additions to the literature.

Agenda-setting theory, at first and second level, have a well documented finding that as individuals increase their exposure to the news media they also increase the correspondence between their agenda and the media's agenda (McCombs, 2004). In other words, the higher the individual's news media's exposure is, the greater the agenda-setting effect is. Studies on consensus building consequence of agenda-setting also draw on that concept, stating that with increased exposure to the news media, opposing demographic subgroups are drawn closer together in their agreement of the



important issues and the attributes of those issues. This is especially true when comparing those who are exposed to the news media and those who are not exposed to the news media. In other words, opposing demographic subgroups increase their correlation on the salience of issues and attributes as they increase their news media exposure. This is not to say that news media alone caused the increased consensus, as causality was not directly established by the Shaw and Martin original consensus building study (1992). It is to say, however, that increased consensus among demographic subgroups is strongly correlated, in many cases, with the use of news media.

Beginning with an overview of this dissertation's findings, Table 72 distinguishes between national and transnational media overall and between substantive attribute agendas (the attributes of an issue) and affective attribute agendas (the evaluative attributes of a community). The combination of these concepts creates four macro-settings which we can examine the percentage of comparisons in which increased exposure to news media is associated with increased agreement on the attribute agenda.

**Table 72: Percentage of calculated countries with increased consensus on attribute agenda and affective agenda among the four demographic subgroups with use of national and transnational media.**

<b>MEDIA</b>	<b>Substantive Attribute agenda</b>	<b>Affective Attribute agenda</b>
National media	61%	46%
Transnational media	37%	35%

In terms of media, use of the national media is associated with increased levels of agreement far more frequently than transnational media. For national media, increased agreement occurs more frequently for the substantive attribute agenda whereas there is little difference regarding agreement on the agendas for transnational media. The major locus of effects occurs for national media and substantive attributes agendas.

This study indicates that the news media, though their representation of the world, flows of images, ideas and social imagery, can function to provide common ground for dialogue among divergent groups of society. However, it is definitely not the case that this can occur under any circumstance. The contingent conditions for this effect are elaborated in the details of this research. It is interesting to note that, in the questionnaire’s wording, respondents were asked about what information sources they were using for information on the events related to the aftermath of 9-11 and that they deemed reliable. They selected from a list containing national and transnational

television news, national and transnational press and national and transnational radio.

The inclusion of the concept of reliability within that question wording is important and it enhances the validity of the responses, as it excludes eventual television scanning and focuses more precisely on the sources these individuals use to get informed.

Differences in tendencies to bring segments of society closer together surfaced as the study systematically considered the convergence of four sets of variables: different origins of media (national and transnational media), different news media forms (television, newspaper and radio), the different dimensions of attributes (substantive and affective) and different demographic groups (gender, age, education and locality). Table 73 is a general summary across all 15 Western European countries for these indicators. This table presents the percentage of countries that demonstrated increased levels of agreement among each of the four demographic subgroups with the use of each of media forms, media origin and dimension of the attributes.

**Table 73: Percentage of countries showing increased consensus among the four demographic subgroups on the substantive and affective dimensions of attributes with the use of national and transnational media and each news media form.**

Demo-graphic groups	Substantive dimension (terrorism issue)						Affective dimension (Muslim and Arab communities)					
	National Media			Transnational Media			National Media			Transnational Media		
	TV	Press	Radi o	TV	Pres s	Radio	TV	Pres s	Radio	TV	Press	Radi o
Education	77%	60%	47%	73%	30%	29%	83%	43%	18%	55%	40%	22%
Age	87%	67%	40%	47%	23%	11%	67%	40%	47%	47%	29%	33%
Gender	93%	40%	40%	47%	36%	27%	53%	33%	20%	60%	36%	33%
Locality	100%	47%	50%	54%	27%	17%	53%	60%	33%	36%	8%	18%

The different demographic subgroups were more likely to share the agendas of attributes of an issue and attributes of a community with the use of national media. In general, 54% of the comparisons followed the expected pattern of increased consensus among the four demographic subgroups with the use of national media. This is congruent with the idea that people prefer media products that are culturally and linguistically proximate (Straubhaar, 2007) and that perhaps these culturally proximate products are most likely to influence the audience. However, the fact that this study found evidence that transnational news media were associated with greater consensus about a third of the time demonstrates the need to further study the impact of these increasingly available media.

Considering the different news media form, one of the most important elaborations here of the consensus function of the mass media was the finding that television was by far the medium more likely to influence each of the four demographic subgroups. In 64% of the comparisons, demographic subgroups increased their consensus on the attributes of an issue and attributes of a community with the use of national and transnational television news. In table 73, it's possible to see that national television had a stronger influence in building consensus, where 76% of the calculated correlations indicated increased consensus on the substantive and affective dimensions. Transnational television, however, influenced consensus building, and in 51% of the comparisons, the demographic subgroups were more likely to be brought closer together.

Straubhaar (2007) stated that television, specifically national television broadcasts, is a dominant framework for cultural forums. The topic of this study, the attacks of 9-11 in the United States and their repercussions among European Union populations, were very unique in terms of its television broadcasting in Europe. Perhaps the nature of television, highly visual and easily transmitting the emotions of those experiencing the events, helps explain the greater influence of television here, compared to press and radio. Many television stations throughout the European Union nations rescheduled their programs and such images were repeatedly presented. The particular tragic images and ideas presented by television, national and transnational, had a stronger influence in the European Union population in building consensus than the press and radio.

This study also replicated agenda-setting's theoretical distinction between the substantive and affective dimensions at the second level of agenda-setting. In the case of this study, the substantive dimension is defined by the attributes of the terrorism issue, as seen by the European Union population. The affective dimension is defined by the attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities, as seen by the European Union population. This study found greater support for increased consensus on the substantive dimension (51% of the comparisons) for those who used national and transnational media, compared to 41% for the affective dimension among those who used national and transnational media. López-Escobar et al. (1998) found greater support for the affective dimension of second level agenda-setting than for the substantive dimension.

In their study, the affective dimension related to appraisal of political candidates and the substantive dimension related to candidate's characteristics.

It is possible that this current study's definition of the dimensions, with the affective relating to evaluations of a community and substantive relating to an issue, both outside the scope of an election and relating to the events of 9-11, may have influenced the difference in the results. In this current study, however, in both dimensions we see the impact of national and transnational media in building consensus, but somewhat higher for the substantive dimension.

The contingent conditions from agenda-setting theory of obtrusive and unobtrusive issues also help explain why the different demographic subgroups were more likely to be brought closer together on the substantive dimension than on the affective dimension. The European Union as a region has experienced an increased flow of Muslim and Arab immigrants in recent decades. Although these groups are still minorities in all of the European Union countries analyzed in this study and their presence vary by country, their increased presence make it more likely that the participants of this study already have some personal experience with the Muslim and Arab communities. The affective dimension was associated with the attributes of the Muslim and Arab communities, which is a more obtrusive topic. Obtrusive topics are those where individuals have some personal experience and are less likely to show agenda-setting effects.

The substantive dimension was associated with the attributes of the terrorism issue, as it related to the events of 9-11. Since this study deals with the European Union population's reactions to the events of 9-11, it is highly unlikely that the respondents of this study had any personal experience with the issue. Although some of the countries within the European Union have had terrorist attacks, the attacks perpetrated before the duration of this survey had very different contexts. Some of these countries have had terrorist attacks occur after the duration of this survey, then within contexts more parallel to the events of 9-11, but that was after this survey was conducted. However, the past terrorist attacks experienced in this region bring relevance to the terrorism issues. High relevance and unobtrusive issues make it more likely that they will be transferred from the media's agenda to the public's agenda. The high need for orientation on the issues related to 9-11 and its repercussion in Europe is a contingent condition for the agenda-setting effects, and helps explain some of the impacts of media in this particular event, but not all. Television is often the preferred media for breaking news and abnormal events such as the 9-11 attacks often draw population to this media. The need for orientation among people following the events of 9-11 may be a significant part, but not all of the explanation for the impact of TV in consensus building.

Among the demographic analyses, this study expanded on previous consensus building studies by including locality as a demographic group being analyzed. This study showed that national media were quite likely to bring metropolitan/urban and rural populations closer together. With the use of national media, metropolitan/urban and

rural populations were brought closer together in consensus on attributes of an issue in 63% of the comparisons. Also with the use of national media, metropolitan/urban and rural populations were brought closer together on attributes of a community in 49% of the comparisons. Perhaps the nature of this demographic, being that the differences between these two levels of localities are best understood within the national boundaries, makes it more likely to be influenced by national media, when compared to transnational media.

Among the 15 countries of the European Union, certain countries were more likely than others to have their demographic subgroups be brought closer together with media use. In Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Portugal and UK, demographic subgroups were more likely to be brought closer together for attributes of an issue and of a community with the use of national media. In Luxemburg, the Netherlands and France the opposing segments of society were more likely to be brought closer together in consensus of attributes of an issue and of a community with the use of transnational media. Table 74 presents the percentage of comparisons within each of the countries that followed the expected pattern of increased consensus among all four demographic subgroups on the substantive dimension and the affective dimension of attribute agenda-setting. This table also indicates the percentage of its population that is Muslim in each of these 15 countries and the estimate of the total Muslim population as of 2009 (The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2009).



**Table 74: Percentage of population identified as Muslim and Muslim population by country; percentage of calculations by country indicating increased consensus among the four demographic subgroups on the substantive and affective dimensions of attributes with the use of national and transnational media combined.**

COUNTRY	Percentage of population Muslim*	Estimate 2009 Muslim population*	Substantive Dimension (Terrorism issue)	Affective Dimension (Muslim/ Arab community)
France	6.0%	3,554,000	26%	33% (5)
Netherlands	5.7%	946,000	83% (1)	21%
Germany	5.0%	4,026,000	59%	42% (2)
Austria	4.2%	353,000	38%	10%
Belgium	3.0%	281,000	71% (2)	39% (3)
Greece	3.0%	310,000	43%	46% (1)
Luxemburg	3.0%	13,000	63% (4)	8%
UK	2.7%	1,647,000	45%	26%
Denmark	2.0%	88,000	61% (5)	37% (4)
Sweden	2.0%	149,000	43%	27%
Spain	1.0%	650,000	25%	25%
Italy	<1%	36,000	41%	17%
Finland	0.5%	24,000	69% (3)	10%
Ireland	0.5%	22,000	38%	13%
Portugal	0.1%	15,000	42%	23%

\*Data from "Mapping the Global Muslim Population", a 2009 report by The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life.

- Highlighted cells, combined with the number in parenthesis, indicate the rank of the country according to its percentage of calculations following the expected pattern of increased consensus on substantive dimension or affective dimension.

Table 74 shows that in almost all of the countries, with the exception of France and Spain, demographic subgroups were more likely to be brought closer together on the substantive dimension than on the affective dimension. With the countries organized according to the percentage of Muslim population, it is interesting to note that the ranking of the top five countries according to the percentage with the expected pattern of increase closely parallels their ranking in terms of Muslim populations. But many other countries deviate from this pattern as do the affective rankings.

**Table 75: Freedom of press score by country; percentage of calculations by country indicating increased consensus among the four demographic subgroups on the substantive and affective dimensions of attributes with the use of national and transnational media combined.**

COUNTRY	Freedom of the Press score*	Substantive Dimension (Terrorism issue)	Affective Dimension (Muslim/ Arab community)
Netherlands	13	83% (1)	21%
Belgium	12	71% (2)	39% (3)
Finland	10	69% (3)	10%
Luxemburg	12	63% (4)	8%
Denmark	11	61% (5)	37% (4)
Germany	16	59%	42% (2)
UK	19	45%	26%
Greece	29	43%	46% (1)
Sweden	11	43%	27%
Portugal	16	42%	23%
Italy	32	41%	17%
Austria	21	38%	10%
Ireland	15	38%	13%
France	22	26%	33% (5)
Spain	24	25%	25%

\*Data from "Freedom of the Press", a 2009 report by the Freedom House.

- Highlighted cells indicate better freedom of the press.

- The number in parenthesis, indicate the rank of the country according to its percentage of calculations following the expected pattern of increased consensus on substantive dimension or affective dimension.

It also interesting to note some cultural, geographical and media differences among these 15 European Union countries that help explain why certain countries were more likely to be brought closer together in consensus on either attributes of an issue or attributes of a community than others. A comparison of the freedom of the press in each of those countries and increased consensus among the demographic subgroups in each country shows that the five countries more likely to have their demographic

subgroups be brought closer together in consensus on the substantive dimension are also the countries with some of the best press freedom, according to the 2009 report by the Freedom House (Freedom House, 2009). Table 75 showed the percentage of comparisons within each of the countries that followed the expected pattern of increased consensus among all four demographic subgroups on the substantive dimension and the affective dimension of attribute agenda-setting. This table also showed the press freedom ranking, according to the Freedom House. The lowest the ranking, the better the country scores in freedom of the press.

The comparison indicates that the countries with better freedom of the press were also the countries more likely to have their demographic subgroups be brought closer together in the substantive dimension of second level agenda-setting. However, such pattern is not true for the countries more likely to have their demographic subgroups be brought closer together in the affective dimension of second level agenda-setting.

Another interesting aspect is that, the five countries (Netherlands, Belgium, Finland, Luxemburg and Denmark) more likely to have their demographic subgroups be brought closer together on the substantive dimension (issue attribute) are located in the northern section of the continent. Three of these countries, namely the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg share national borders. Belgium and Luxemburg both became independent from the Netherlands in the early 1800s. The five countries (Greece,

Germany, Belgium, Denmark and France) more likely to have their demographic subgroups be brought closer together on the affective dimension (community attribute) are more scattered throughout the continent. Four of these five countries share their borders with Germany, namely France, Belgium and Denmark).

This study was limited to an analysis consistent with a secondary data-analysis. Conducting a secondary data-analysis provided me with many benefits, but a few limitations as well. Aside from an indication on whether the survey participants had accessed national television, national press, national radio, transnational television, transnational press and transnational radio for information on the aftermath of 9-11, there was no further information on the specific media accessed. It would be interesting to have further survey based studies on transnational media indicating either what the specific medium accessed is or at least its nationality. This survey also did not include the religious affiliation of its respondents. Due to the nature of the events of 9-11 and the issues being analyzed by this present study, it would have been interesting to study divergent religious groups, as one of the demographics.

In the years since this survey, technological advancements and globalization have enhanced the interconnectedness of people, ideas and products across national boundaries. Communication has also increased within and across national boundaries. News media have surpassed national boundaries, purposively or not. Some news media are available in many countries, as is the case of BBC and CNN. News media originating

from developing countries have also found an audience outside their countries, as is the case of Brazilian TV Globo and Indian Zee TV. The presentation of the self and others through the lenses of these transnational media impact the opinion of the audience receiving them. It is essential to look at the effects that transnational media have on the population. This study looked at transnational news media's potential to bridging a dialogue among groups who might otherwise not have common grounds for it. Further studies should look at the potential for identity formation through the use of transnational media, a transnational identity. A deeper look into the transmission of ideology through transnational media, especially of those originating from the developing world, could yield interesting understanding of the flow of ideas.

Appadurai (1996) suggested that being exposed to images and ideas presented by transnational media could bring people together into a community beyond national borders. This study found strong evidence that national media have the potential to bring segments of society closer together and that transnational media also have a potential of being an avenue for dialogue among demographic subgroups. As more transnational media become available across national borders, it is important to assess its influence. Yes, borders still matter, but the influence of transnational institutions most likely is increasing within national boundaries.

## Appendix A: Question wording from questionnaire

### Demographics:

- **Gender:** “Sex (1) male; (2) female”
- **Age:** “Exact age ( )( ) years old; (00) (REFUSAL/ NO ANSWER)”
- **Education:** “Age when finished full time education: (EXACT AGE IN 2 DIGITS) ( )( ) years old; (00) (REFUSAL/ NO ANSWER); (01) (NEVER WENT TO FULL TIME SCHOOL); (99) STILL AT FULL TIME SCHOOL”
- **Locality:** “Type of locality: (1) Metropolitan zone; (2) other town/ urban centre; (3) rural zone”

### Media exposure (National and Transnational):

- “At the moment all media are covering the events in Afghanistan, in Pakistan, in the U.S.A., as well as their impact in Europe and the rest of the world. Amongst the information sources that I am going to mention, which one(s) do you use and seem reliable to you...? (a) the (NATIONALITY) press; (b) the press of other countries; (c) the (NATIONALITY) radio; (d) the radio of other countries; (e) (NATIONALITY) television news; (f) television news of other countries; (g) television reports and discussions/ with experts; (h) nonstop news television channels; (i) internet websites; (j) your colleagues, friends, family; (k) (Other) (SPECIFY); (l) (DK/NA)”
- Note: for media exposure question, only options “a” through “f” were used, as explained in the methodology section.

### Public Opinion

- **Attributes of an issue (terrorism):** “The European Union has taken or will soon take measures to respond to the current international crisis. Do you think that it is (Essential-1, Necessary-2, Not really necessary or-3, to be excluded that the European Union-4, (DK/NA)-4) (ROTATE) (READ OUT – ONE ANSWER PER ITEM): (a) multiplies actions so as to prevent the conflict from extending to other

countries than Afghanistan? (b) increases humanitarian assistance to the victims of the current conflict? (c) supports restoration of democracy in Afghanistan? (d) massively finances reconstruction in Afghanistan? (e) launches a specific action plan for air safety of passengers in Europe and the rest of the world? (f) takes measures to improve cooperation between police services and judicial bodies at a European level? (g) encourages political and cultural relations between Europe and the Arabic countries? (h) improves with the European territory the quality of relationships between Muslim communities and local populations?”

- **Attributes of a community (Muslim and Arab):** “Finally, I am going to read out some opinions heard on the street or in the media about the present situation in the U.S.A and in Europe as a result of the terrorist attacks. Can you tell me if you (Totally agree-1, agree-2, disagree-3, totally disagree-4, DK/NA-5) with the following statements:? (READ OUT – ONE ANSWER PER ITEM): (a) The Muslim community on the whole has sufficiently condemned the terrorist attacks of September 11; (b) Further to the September 11 attacks, one can understand some distrust toward the Muslim community in Europe (c) One cannot judge the Arabic world based on terrorist acts perpetrated by a few individuals; (d) Terrorists do not act like real Muslims; (e) The real motivations of the terrorists had nothing to do with religion.”

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## **Vita**

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