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**INTERMEDIA AGENDA SETTING EFFECTS BETWEEN  
INTERNET BULLETIN BOARDS AND TRADITIONAL NEWS  
MEDIA IN U.S. AND KOREAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS**

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by

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Kwangok Jang and Kwangyun Park, my wife, Kyung-ran Kim, and my daughter, Jinna K. Jang.

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**INTERMEDIA AGENDA SETTING EFFECTS  
BETWEEN INTERNET BULLETIN BOARDS AND  
TRADITIONAL NEWS MEDIA IN U.S. AND KOREAN  
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS**

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2010

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This comparative research looks at intermedia agenda-setting effects between Internet bulletin boards and traditional news media, such as daily newspapers and broadcasting, in both the United States and Korea. By examining this intermedia relationship and the flow of influence by Internet bulletin boards on traditional media during presidential campaigns in the two countries, this dissertation study attempts to extend our knowledge of intermedia agenda-setting research. In addition, it also investigates, in reverse, the effects of daily newspapers and broadcasting on Internet bulletin boards. Finally, attention is given to different types of discussion cultures in the two countries.

Results of this dissertation research indicated that there are intermedia relationships between Internet bulletin boards and traditional news media, such as newspapers and broadcasting, at the first and second levels of agenda setting using cross-

lagged correlation comparisons. More specifically, at the first level of agenda setting in the United States, the results explained only the influence of newspapers on Netizen opinions posted on Internet bulletin boards. In summary, the results concerning issue agenda in the United States indicate that the U.S. Netizen concentrates more on the issue agenda of newspapers than of broadcasting. In the second level of agenda setting in the United States, cross-lagged correlation comparisons not only indicated the influence of both newspapers and broadcasting on opinions posted on Internet bulletin boards, but they also clarified it in this research. Formerly, there was no attempt to examine attributes of the intermedia agenda-setting functions of the U.S. media. This research now provides an explanation of the apparent relationship between traditional media and the Internet.

At the first level of agenda setting in Korea, the result of the cross-lagged correlation suggested that Korean newspaper and broadcasting issue agenda influenced Netizen opinions on Internet bulletin boards. As the result of second-level agenda setting in Korea showed earlier, cross-lagged correlation comparisons presented intermedia agenda-setting functions between both newspapers and broadcasting, and Internet bulletin boards with each other. These findings contrast with results in the United States.

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# **Chapter 1**

## **Introduction**

The Internet, as a dominant communication tool for the replication of traditional news media, has introduced new challenges to the field of mass communication research and the development of communication technology. Many scholars today believe that the Internet will likely replace traditional news media — specifically, people who regularly use the Internet to keep up with current events watch less broadcast news or spend less time reading newspapers. As the Internet has become more popular as a communication tool, its impact on the political process has attracted considerable attention from researchers in the field of political communication.

In politics, the Internet serves as a valuable tool for discussion about political candidates and issues. Moreover, use of the Internet for political deliberation and participation has developed as an interactive function. For instance, a meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO) was held in Seattle at the end of November 1999 to discuss international trade rules. World leaders discussed many differences in the perspectives of developing and industrialized nations with regard to free trade and its impact on nations. More important than the WTO discussions, however, was the triumphant moment in world media reporting of a crucial watershed for modern political popular protest movements that occurred as a result of widespread Internet use. In an attempt to garner support for protests against globalization before the WTO discussions

began, activists used Internet-based multimedia to promote their cause and received an estimated 1.5 million hits during the conference week (Downey and Fention, 2003). Subsequently, communication researchers examined how activists used the Internet as a campaign tool and the Internet effect among activists (Eagleton-Pierce, 2001).

The Internet, generally regarded as a public sphere or forum for unrestricted political discussions, funnels and forms public opinion and affects coverage by the traditional media (Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee, 2005). Most researchers have found the Internet to be a technological blessing that achieves “democratization” of information flow through two-way communication and encourages the public to participate in political deliberations (Papacharissi, 2002).

Internet users who surf and act online with a certain political or social perspective are referred to as *Netizens*,<sup>1</sup> a term coined by Michael Hauben in 1997. According to Hauben, Netizens who use and know about the Internet have a self-imposed responsibility to make certain that the development of the Internet is constantly improved for the purpose of encouraging free speech and open access (Hauben, 1997). Netizens not only constitute a passive audience affected by the traditional media, but also serve as active creators of messages on the Internet. Netizens are more specifically defined as individuals who are actively involved in online communities, such as the Internet bulletin board and usenet, and utilize the Internet to participate in activities of social capital made possible by cyberspace networks.

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<sup>1</sup> The word *Netizen* seems likely to be defined in two ways. First, the Netizens used in this dissertation are people who use the Internet as a way of participating in political society. Second, the Netizen is an Internet user who is trying to contribute to the use and growth of the Internet.



In recent years, Korean Netizens have become frequent and robust cyberspace activists. For that reason, they have been chosen as the focus of this study that examines the growth of the Internet to support Korean political functions. Netizens operate independently from traditional mainstream news media such as newspapers and broadcasting. Their activities provide an insightful setting for investigating the role of alternative media in the contemporary political process.

Joyce (2007), who investigated the impact of the Internet and new media technology on democracy, pointed out that Korean Netizens heavily influenced the results of the 2002 Korean presidential election. Through close observation of participatory or alternative media such as *OhmyNews*, Joyce considered the feasibility and profitability of the model of participatory or alternative media and suggested opportunities for expanding the model to other similar media.

During the same time period, Song (2007) explored features of independent media on the Internet and concluded that online news services in Korea, such as *OhmyNews* and *PRESSian*, have a variety of remarkable features deserving systematic analysis. These online news services operate independently of traditional media corporations and are managed by a small number of ideologically progressive personnel. The services are highly successful in attracting public attention and, as a result, are able to exert strong influence on public opinion in the offline world. Two of the services became particularly visible in the summer of 2002, when Korea was swamped with disputes over one of the most politically and ideologically sensitive issues in the country, anti-U.S. sentiment,

after a tragic accident in June when a U.S. armed forces vehicle killed two teenage girls during a military exercise.

Subsequently, candlelight assemblies and protests were organized in urban areas and the accident became an issue of widespread political concern in Korea. The candlelight protests, in turn, provoked ferocious debates and rhetorical exchanges between progressives and conservatives. Eventually the incident became a focal point in a closely contested presidential election in December 2002, in which the liberal candidate Moo-Hyun Roh defeated his conservative opponent Hoi-Chang Lee. After the 2002 Korean presidential election, Korean journalists started to pay more attention to alternative media on the Internet and Internet bulletin boards and to regard these sites as worthy of observation.

Song (2007) noted that while this case demonstrates a variety of interesting aspects related to the contemporary political process, the role of news media is particularly intriguing because the candlelight assemblies and presidential election took place amid radical changes in the Korean media environment, especially the formation of several Internet-based news outlets and Internet forums that presented alternative perspectives. Public access to these alternative voices in cyberspace changed the landscape of the news media in Korea, as well as traditional concepts about alternative publications in general. In particular, *OhmyNews* and Agora on Daum, an alternative online news startup and Internet political forum, achieved considerable success by garnering millions of visits a day and being recognized as one of the most influential news organizations nationwide — as well as one of the most influential Internet bulletin

boards. The rapid success of *OhmyNews* and Agora on Daum paved the way for others to follow suit. The emergence and success of alternative online news services and Internet bulletin boards then challenged the ascendancy of major national newspapers — mostly conservative in Korea — in shaping public opinion. Coverage of the deaths of the two girls and the presidential election in 2002 is considered a turning point for the rise of alternative online media in Korea.

From this perspective, the emergence and growth of Netizens presaged a new direction for public opinion research. The Internet serves as a public sphere in which people have opportunities to express their opinions and discuss certain issues, known as Netizen agendas. Chief among characteristics of the Internet as a public sphere, setting it apart from traditional media such as broadcasting and newspapers, is its interactivity (Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee, 2005).

Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo (2002) have suggested that communication researchers need to explore the Internet and computer-mediated communication (CMC) as a new line of research for the reexamination of mass communication structure and theory. In an age of the information society, communication technological innovations such as the Internet have the capability to disseminate messages instantly. In particular, the Internet raises the question of whether the agenda-setting theory is as relevant and applicable in the age of new media as it has been in the age of traditional media. Because the Internet has the capability to transmit information dynamically from senders to receivers, communication researchers have assumed that traditional theories of mass communication can also be applied to online communication.

This dissertation attempts to extend the agenda-setting effect to the Internet. One aspect of agenda-setting theory is based on how the media agenda is set and who sets that agenda. Researchers have tried to understand the factors that shape the media agenda, and studies of intermedia agenda setting explore the relationship or influence of mass media agendas on each other (Lopez-Escobar, Llamas, McCombs, and Lennon, 1998). In recent years, while there have been many studies on intermedia agenda setting in mass media research, little attention has been given to the intermedia influence between Internet and traditional news media, such as newspapers and broadcasting (Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo, 2002; Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee, 2005).

Specifically, this dissertation compares and studies presidential elections in Korea and the United States to determine whether the intermedia agenda-setting function occurred between existing media, such as newspapers and broadcasting, and Internet bulletin boards. In the case of the United States, research has found that existing media have an agenda-setting effect on the Internet (Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo, 2002). In Korea, research on the intermedia agenda-setting function between newspapers and the Internet has been undertaken but was limited to newspapers alone, without regard for broadcasting (Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee, 2005).

In recent years, both print and broadcast journalists in Korea have started to pay attention to Netizen opinions expressed on the Internet to determine public thinking about issues. Additionally, Korean journalists use Netizen opinions as news sources in their coverage, and those opinions are referred to as *citizen journalism* (Joyce 2007). While Netizen opinions do not represent the total public, their views are considered to be of

sufficient value that Korean journalists in traditional media pay attention to postings on Internet bulletin boards.

However, mass communication researchers have identified anonymity and online accountability as major problems with Internet newsgathering (Singer, 1996). Accuracy and verification issues arise when discussing Internet information such as a Netizen's opinion posted on Internet bulletin boards. In fact, the most serious problem for journalists when using online information for newsgathering is the credibility of the Internet.

Garrison (2000a) argued that thoughts differ regarding the credibility of Internet information gathered in different countries. The U.S. journalists have generally negative attitudes about using the Internet to gather information due to source credibility. However, the Korean journalists believe that online news sources are worth notice. The difference between the U.S. and Korean journalistic culture in the news rooms provides a general knowledge of the different cognitions of Americans and Koreans regarding the use of Internet information as a credible source for journalistic work. In this dissertation, the divergent views of journalists in the two countries can indirectly be explained by the intermedia agenda-setting effect between traditional media such as newspapers and broadcast networks, and Internet bulletin boards, in the United States and Korea.

Meanwhile, subject matter posted on the Internet is manually organized under various topics so that users can search by categories and find recent postings on particular issues in Korea. This approach differs significantly from U.S. Internet searches, in which subject matter is sorted automatically and arranged by the most recent date. In Korea,

political dialogue on the Internet includes various spaces, responses to portal news, and permanently established discussion squares for all kinds of Internet bulletin boards, blogs, and newsgroups. Based on this arrangement, the Internet has become the most popular space for citizens to participate in political debate. Online discussions preserve in writing their views by topic on bulletin boards for later reference by the general public, thereby leading to the formation of public opinion. In addition, Internet bulletin boards serve as focal points for recording opinions of people in other parts of the world.

As Ryfe (2005) pointed out, political debate formulated on the Internet has not yet been systematically examined. The study undertaken for this dissertation seeks to overcome that research gap by (1) examining intermedia agenda-setting effects between traditional media and the Internet covering presidential campaigns in the United States and Korea, and (2) exploring intermedia agenda-setting effects in regard to issues and attribute agenda setting.

Specifically, this comparative research looks at intermedia agenda-setting effects between Internet bulletin boards and traditional news media, such as daily newspapers and broadcasting, in both the United States and Korea. By examining this intermedia relationship and the flow of influence by Internet bulletin boards on traditional media during presidential campaigns in the two countries, this dissertation study attempts to extend our knowledge of intermedia agenda-setting research. In addition, it also investigates, in reverse, the effects of daily newspapers and broadcasting on Internet bulletin boards. Finally, attention is given to different types of discussion cultures in the two countries.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Theoretical Foundation**

#### **The Theory of Agenda Setting**

For more than three decades, agenda setting has been examined at several stages in the mass communication process pursuant to the seminal Chapel Hill study by McCombs and Shaw (1972) that proposed agenda-setting theory. The agenda-setting theory asserts that news coverage in mass media can influence the salience of objects on the public agenda. Their research was the first systematic study of the agenda-setting hypothesis. They studied agenda setting in the presidential campaign of 1968, hypothesizing that “the mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes toward the political issues.” The basic assumption was that if the mass media highlighted some issues, those issues would be perceived as important in the mind of the audience (the transfer of salience from the media to the public). McCombs and Shaw found a high correlation (.97) between emphasis in the media on an issue and audience perception of that issue as important, indicating an agenda-setting effect.

Funkhouser (1973) also examined the relationship between news coverage and public perception of the importance of issues using Gallup polls in which people were asked about the most important problems (MIP) in America. For media content, he counted the number of articles on each issue that appeared in three weekly news

magazines, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*. Funkhouser found a high correlation (.78) between public opinion and media content.

Agenda-setting effects on local public issues, as well as on presidential elections and national portraits of public opinion, were also studied. Smith (1987) examined the relationship between the public agenda and the news agenda based on news coverage of the *Louisville Times* from 1974 to 1981, and found significant agenda-setting effects (.65).

Several studies of agenda-setting effects investigated the time span before those effects appeared among the public. For example, Winter and Eyal (1981) compared stories on the front page of the *New York Times* with public opinion from 1954 through 1976 and found strong agenda-setting effects, especially over a four-to six-week period, that was interpreted as “the optimal effect span or peak association between media and public emphasis of an issue.” Subsequently, Wanta (1997) discussed different optimal effect spans of various kinds of media.

Later second-level agenda setting studies of an election in Spain conducted by McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, and Rey (1997) extended the traditional cognitive agenda-setting theory into the field of the attitudinal effects of mass communication. Both traditional agenda-setting effects and attribute agenda-setting effects affirm that the transfer of salience for elements prominent on the media agenda become prominent over time on the public agenda. In other words, while first-level agenda setting expresses how media coverage influences what the public thinks about, second-level agenda setting



explains the attitudinal dimension of media effects: how the public thinks about it (Ghanem, 1997).

Unlike traditional agenda-setting effects that focus on the transfer of salience from the media to the public, attribute agenda-setting effects relate to the transfer of “attribute” salience from the media to the public (Kiousis, Bantimaroudis, and Ban, 1999; McCombs, 2005). *Attributes* are defined as “characteristics and traits that fill out the picture of each object” (McCombs, Lopez-Escobar, and Llamas, 2000, p.79). Regarding the media messages, attributes are also referred to as “the set of perspectives or frames that journalists and the public employ to think about each object” (Ghanem, 1997, p.5). Attribute agenda setting occurs when a certain issue is covered and the news media select some of its attributes to be emphasized while downplaying or ignoring others, thereby influencing public perception of those issues. To clarify the difference between traditional and attribute agenda setting, McCombs (2005) pointed out that the media can be successful not only in telling us what to think about, but also in telling us how to think about it.

Attribute agenda setting is considered to be similar to *framing*, in terms of how the mass media define an individual issue. Framing research explores how the media cover an issue by applying certain interpretive frameworks (called *frames*), and how media framing influences people’s understanding of issues. Both attribute agenda setting and framing emphasize the depiction of characteristics of certain issues or topics in news content. Attribute agenda setting, however, is a natural extension of the original concept. As early as the 1970s, McCombs stated that attributes of an issue or candidate, as well as

the issue or candidate itself, can be treated as items of an agenda. According to Takeshita (2005), attribute agenda setting and framing effects provide alternative ways of explaining media effects in the attitudinal dimension. Attribute agenda setting clarifies how the heightened salience of certain attributes of a given object leads to the individual's attitude toward that object.

The second-level agenda is further divided into two main dimensions — substantive and affective (Kiousis, Bantimaroudis, and Ban, 1999; McCombs, Lopez-Escobar, and Llamas, 2000). The *substantive dimension* is defined as characteristics of news that help us cognitively structure news and discern among various topics, while *affective attributes* are factors that elicit emotional responses from the audience. In second-level agenda setting studies that examine images of political candidates, the substantive dimensions are generally the candidates' ideologies, qualifications, and personalities. Accordingly, the affective dimensions are the tones — positivity, negativity, and neutrality — of candidates' images presented in news reports.

Research on agenda-setting effects looks at the transmission of object and attribute salience from the press to the public in regard to issues, political figures, and other topics that have significant consequences for people's attitudes and opinions. Agenda-setting theory has identified three distinct consequences of agenda setting on attitudes and opinions: (1) forming an opinion, (2) priming opinions about public figures through an emphasis on particular issues, and (3) shaping an opinion through an emphasis on particular attributes. McCombs (2005) pointed out that recent agenda-setting effect

studies have returned to a line of research about attitudes and opinions as dependent variables.

In particular, priming studies seek fundamental answers for the formation of opinions. Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder (1982) suggested that some opinion formation is based on issues presented in the media. By setting the agenda for an election campaign, the media determine the criteria by which presidential candidates will be evaluated, a process referred to as *priming*. Priming occurs when the media attend to some issues and not others and thereby alter the standards by which people evaluate election candidates (Severin and Tankard, 2001).

Priming not only focuses on issues selected by the media but at the same time goes one step further by examining the role of the media in influencing or altering the “evaluative” dimension of the audience. Iyengar, Peter, and Kinder (1982) found that the media set the criteria by which people are able to assess the presidential candidates’ ability. Then Iyengar and Kinder (1987) formalized this process as priming effects, which set guidelines that people use for making their opinions. When linked, agenda-setting effects and priming seem to work together to elucidate the role of the media as opinion organizers.

### **Intermedia Agend-Setting Formation**

Another stage of agenda-setting theory has been introduced that asks the question, “If the press sets the public agenda, who sets the media agenda?” (McCombs and Bell, 1996). This stage includes intermedia agenda setting, or the influence of various news media on each other. The question of who sets the media agenda is key in the intermedia agenda-setting process. Agenda-setting researchers have concentrated on the relationship between media as a possible answer to the question “Who sets the media agenda?” *Intermedia agenda setting* is defined as the influence that the news agendas of different news organizations have on each other (Danielian and Reese, 1989). Intermedia agenda setting states that a particular medium can serve as one of several sources that can affect another medium’s agenda. Therefore, intermedia agenda-setting researchers have explored the hypothesis that the media agenda of one news organization can influence that of another news organization (Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee, 2005).

Early research of intermedia agenda setting investigated the relationship between newspapers and news agencies. One of the first explorations was a case study by White (1949), who examined the news selection behavior of a Midwestern wire news editor named Mr. Gates. Hirsch (1977) found that the news adoptive pattern of the news editor unconsciously reflected those of the news wire service. Whitney and Becker (1982) further observed the influence of the wire service on the agenda of local media.

Another study on intermedia agenda-setting theory investigated the news coverage of state government (Atwater, Fico, and Pizante, 1987), in which researchers found similar news judgments made by wire services, newspapers, and radio and television stations based on an examination of patterns in story origination across media

over time. Reese and Danielian (1989) explored the intermedia agenda-setting process among daily newspapers and network television, and found that *New York Times* coverage of the drug issue was followed by that of the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*. Moreover, their findings showed that the *New York Times* played an intermedia agenda-setting role for network television. Typically, the daily newspaper leads network television, rather than the reverse. In addition, Protes and McCombs (1991) found that major newspapers have an intermedia agenda-setting function for the news agenda of local newspapers and television news. Semetko, Blumler, Gurevitch, and Weaver (1991) showed the influence of political parties and the media themselves on American and British election coverage.

Most intermedia agenda-setting research has dealt with political news and the political power of news-oriented media. Recent intermedia agenda-setting research, however, has been expanded to include political advertising. Roberts and McCombs (1994) found that the agenda of political advertising influenced election coverage in newspapers and television news programs during the 1990 Texas gubernatorial election. Lopez-Escobar, Llamas, McCombs, and Rey (1998) replicated the Roberts and McCombs study on intermedia agenda setting in a Spanish election. Their investigation was the first research to extend intermedia agenda-setting effect to the first and second levels of agenda-setting theory. They found that the intermedia agenda-setting effect of newspaper political advertising influenced television and newspaper news. Their research implied that a series of intermedia relationships similar to those found in the United States existed in a Spanish setting as well.

The pattern of news coverage that defines the media agenda results from the norms and traditions for journalism and the daily interactions among news organizations. Consequently, the news agenda is highly homogeneous across all news media. Most studies about this homogeneity have been based on traditional agenda-setting effects.

Against that background, this dissertation research will expand the domain of intermedia agenda setting into the Internet and consider whether the norms and customs of traditional journalism can be applied to the Internet.

### **Agenda-Setting Research in Different Media**

The original agenda-setting hypothesis proposed a moderate media influence on social cognition – how individuals learned about important issues of the day. Extensive media coverage supplied media consumers with salience cues about the relative importance of these issues. Conceptually, agenda setting involves social learning of the relative importance of issues through the coverage those issues receive in the news media. Agenda setting has been the focus of hundreds of studies, the vast majority of which have found support for the idea that the public learns the relative importance of issues from the amount of coverage given to issues in the news media. In short, the more coverage that an issue receives, the more members of a community perceive the issue to be important (Wanta, 1997; Wanta, Golan, and Lee, 2004).

Agenda setting, then, takes place at an early stage of public opinion, a stage in which the public becomes aware of a potential problem. Indeed, awareness of a problem is a necessary first step before problem solutions can be proposed and implemented.

As mentioned above, recent studies have looked at the influence of media coverage at a more detailed level. In a 1997 study of second-level agenda setting in Spanish elections, McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, and Rey discuss Lippmann's concept of "the world outside and the pictures in our heads." Citing this idea as the theory from which agenda setting evolved, researchers noted that agenda setting takes place when the pictures "painted" by the media are transferred into the heads of the public (Golan and Wanta, 2001). These "second-level" agenda setting studies suggest that attributes linked to newsmakers influence the attributes that members of the public link to newsmakers. Thus, the "agenda of attributes" covered in the media set the "agenda of attributes" for the public.

Second-level agenda setting offers new challenges and opportunities for mass communication researchers by implying a deeper, more thorough processing of information in media content. While the first level examines the transmission of issue salience cues from media coverage of issues to public concern with issues, the second level investigates the transmission of attributes in the news from media coverage of these attributes to the public's recall of the same attributes – a much more subtle level (Wanta, Golan, and Lee, 2004).

Wanta (1997) detailed how the rise and fall of coverage about issues on the mass media agenda relate to the public agenda. Three differences in effects across the media

were examined. First is the magnitude of effect. A strong case can be made for both television and newspapers having a stronger agenda-setting influence on individuals than do other types of media.

Second is the optimal time lag in which the agenda-setting effects occur. Several previous studies (Stone and McCombs, 1981; Winter and Eyal, 1981; Zucker, 1978) have addressed this issue. None, however, has attempted to examine the differences in time lag for different mass media simultaneously.

Third is decay of the agenda-setting effect. Given the fact that individuals have a limited ability to retain information, it is likely that agenda-setting effects waste away differently for issue information presented in print and broadcast media. Obviously, individuals do not remember everything they read in the newspaper nor everything they view on television, especially as new information becomes available to replace old. In other words, an individual's memory of information gained from the news media decays over time.

Taking another perspective, previous research also has noted the possibility of differences among the news media. Several researchers (McClure and Patterson, 1976; Tipton, Haney, and Basehart, 1975) found that newspapers correlate better than television with voter agendas. Shaw and McCombs (1977) argued that television news might have a stronger short-term impact, but newspaper content may have a more consistent effect across longer periods of time. Zucker (1978), on the other hand, argued that at the national level, the public may be more influenced by the three network newscasts than by newspapers because of television's accessibility.



Other research has tested for differences in agenda-setting effects between users of traditional printed newspapers and Internet-based newspapers, and there is good reason to expect such differences. Graber's influential (1988) study of news reading concluded that the most important criteria used by newspaper readers when choosing stories to read are the presence of story importance cues supplied by editors and the match between story topics and their own interests. Participants in Graber's study indicated the stories that caught their attention. Subsequent analysis of these reports revealed that people use article location, size of headlines and visuals, and story length and repetition to help guide their decisions. When asked about articles they missed, study respondents noted the relatively low prominence of those stories in the newspapers. Newspaper-supplied cues are not the entire picture. Graber reported that interest in a topic can easily override the prominence criteria, though. For example, crime stories were more popular than international stories, regardless of the relative prominence of the two topics in the paper. Overall, however, Graber reported that 72% of reading comes from the first section of the paper, the one typically heavy in national, international, and political news.

Two differences in the presentation of news in print and online media may be especially relevant to the agenda-setting process because they alter the traditional ways that editorial decisions might influence the issue agendas of newspaper readers (Althaus and Tewksbury, 2002). The first stems from the relative flexibility of Internet-based news formats: Online news sites encourage users to be highly selective in their consumption of news content provided by editors (Heeter et al., 1989; Williams, Phillips, and Lum, 1985). Traditional formats for printed newspapers, on the other hand, define a hierarchy

of stories by arranging them linearly in rough order of importance from the front to inside pages (Graber, 1988). This approach to structuring the news requires readers to undertake a relatively inefficient page-by-page search for stories of interest to them. As a consequence, readers of printed newspapers are likely to be exposed to stories that they might not have been actively seeking, particularly if those stories appear on the front page. In contrast, online newspapers tend to organize the news into topical categories that draw readers immediately to stories that are most likely to fit their information preferences (Dozier and Rice, 1984; Fico, Heeter, Soffin, and Stanley, 1987; Heeter, Brown, Soffin, Stanley, and Salwen, 1989). This tendency limits the possibility that online readers will be exposed to particular stories deemed important by a newspaper's editorial staff.

Second, due to constraints on the ways that news reports can be presented on the Internet, most conventional story-importance cues applied in printed newspapers are not suitable for use in Internet-based newspapers. For instance, the small size of computer monitors relative to printed newspaper pages puts a premium on condensing as much information as possible into a viewing area the size of a single screen, leaving little room for large headlines or visual cues about story length. Although Internet-based news formats may suggest their own importance criteria – such as the linear order in which story headlines are arranged in indexed story lists – to date, the presence or use of such cues has received little attention by researchers (Althaus and Tewksbury, 2000).

Agenda setting affects different individuals in varying degrees. It is obvious that an individual does not use the same type of information processing for television as for

newspapers. Scholars have long argued that the mental processing of information changes for each medium. In his controversial book *Understanding Media*, McLuhan argued that each medium has fundamental and unique characteristics and that the information distributed by the media was much less important compared to the medium itself. McLuhan (1964, p.7) stated that “the personal and social consequences of any medium – that is, of any extension of ourselves – result from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by each extension of ourselves or by any new technology.”

This dissertation study focuses on a comparison of intermedia agenda-setting effects between traditional media, such as newspapers and broadcasting, and the Internet for the purpose of determining which news media have intermedia agenda-setting effects on the news agenda. In fact, this research explores the intermedia agenda-setting influence of Internet bulletin boards on traditional news media, as well as the influence of traditional media on Internet bulletin boards. This investigation also examines both the first and second levels of agenda setting.

## **Chapter 3**

### **The Internet and Political Effects**

#### **Characteristics of Media**

More than three decades ago, McLuhan (1964) categorized media by the level of involvement each demanded from individuals. Television and newspapers were at opposite ends of his continuum. McLuhan called newspapers “hot” because they provided a great deal of detail and left readers with little to add from their own experience or knowledge. According to McLuhan, a hot medium extended a single sense in “high definition,” but required the receiver to have low involvement with the message. Television, however, was a “cool” medium because it provided little detail, but extended several senses. A cool medium requires the receiver of a message to have high involvement with the message.

Several differences between television news and newspapers affect how individuals process information transmitted by the two media. Television news has an advantage in that it is more visually oriented and employs more types of information than newspapers. Newspapers have an advantage, though, because readers can process the information they glean at a time when it is most convenient and at a pace that is best suited to them. Both of these factors are important (Wanta, 1997).

Previous research has suggested that visual information is more easily processed than verbal information. Son, Reese, and Davie (1987), for example, found that visuals can improve recall of television news stories. Culbertson (1974) found that photographs were rated more emotional than verbal descriptions, indicating that visual information may have a more powerful emotional impact on individuals than the written word. Television also utilizes the additional element of sound. By employing sound, visuals, and motion, television provides viewers with a greater variety of information than newspapers. Because television has more types of information to process than newspapers, information from newscasts may have a more powerful agenda-setting effect on viewers than newspapers have on readers. Newspapers, on the other hand, may have a stronger agenda-setting effect than television for several reasons. Whereas television inundates viewers with several types of information, newspapers offer a significant advantage: namely, newspapers are a more permanent source of information. Although television offers viewers sight, sound, and motion, newspapers give readers a source of news available at any time.

Wanta (1997) pointed out that the permanency of newspapers is important for two reasons. First, readers can deal with information contained in newspapers at their own pace. Unless viewers tape news broadcasts, they must watch and process the evening news while it is being broadcast. Second, readers can return to newspapers at more than one point in time while viewers must watch and process information from the evening news only while it is being broadcast. If a viewer is distracted, even for just a moment, the viewer cannot return to the broadcast at a later time to review the story. The missed

segment is gone forever. Readers, however, can skip stories or even entire sections and return to them whenever they want. These two factors are important advantages in the agenda-setting process.

The research on newspapers suggests that readers read the newspaper whenever it is convenient for them — at various times during the day. Because readers read the news when they want to and at their own pace, information contained in the newspaper may have a more powerful effect on them than television news. Television research, however, suggests that although viewers now have more potential news sources than ever before, most continue to view the evening news at traditional times. Viewers demonstrate little control over when they watch the news or how the news is paced. Broadcast news, therefore, may have less of an effect on individuals than print media (Wanta, 1997).

Several researchers have studied different agenda-setting effects in various media, in particular between newspapers and broadcast news (Wanta, 1997). Few scholars, though, have compared the different agenda-setting effects relative to the Internet that are likely to differ from other traditional media, such as newspapers and broadcasting.

Since the advent of the Internet, media must now compete not only with one another both online and offline but also with a host of newcomers, including nonmedia entrepreneurs who provide web-content services. Furthermore, the development of content services on the Internet is moving so rapidly that repeated research snapshots must be taken to track changes in how the media react in this fast-changing competitive online media environment. The Internet is a great source of news because it is available twenty-four hours a day and Internet users do not have to wait for a newspaper or

newscast to find a story that interests them. Online news users can choose directly and immediately from a great variety of content. They do not need to rely on the necessarily more narrow selections of a newspaper editor or television news director.

From the point of view of Internet users, Flanagin and Metzger's (2000) research demonstrates that people rely heavily on the Internet for gathering information. They found that the Internet was used "to get information" more than were books, magazines, television, newspapers, the telephone, electronic mail, or face-to-face communication. In addition, information seeking was by far the strongest motive for Internet use in their study. Using the Internet today, one can research stocks, find information on myriad organizations and special interest groups, search the yellow pages, or purchase books, airline tickets, automobiles, and even homes. The trend is clearly toward the availability of more and more diverse information available via the Internet and, it would seem, toward greater reliance on that information as well (Pew Research, 2000).

The Internet differs from other technologies used for information retrieval in key ways, however, and they can affect its reliability, credibility, and verity as an information source (Flanagin and Metzger, 2000). The Internet's structure, designed specifically to avoid central control, or vulnerability to the failure of any specific part, spawned the popular phrase "information wants to be free" to describe the free-flow of information that takes place over the Internet. Indeed, on the Internet anyone can be an author. As Beacham (1995, p.18) puts it, "the Internet represents the real information revolution...one that removes the governmental and corporate filters that have so long been in place with traditional mass media."

Yet freedom of information also introduces the increased potential for error or exploitation. Whereas newspapers, books, magazines, and television all undergo certain levels of factual verification, analysis of content, and editorial review, by and large Internet information is subject to no such scrutiny. Internet sites that parallel their print counterparts, such as major newspapers and periodicals, invoke the same editorial processes as their print forms, but they constitute only a small portion of the information available over the Internet. More common is less formal information generated by special interest groups, individuals, and organizations — for which the level of editorial review is not explicit. As Gilster (1997, p.35) warns, “One of the challenges of Internet publishing is that it turns our conventional expectations, built upon years of experience with newspapers and magazines, on their head. We can no longer assume that the appearance of a publication is necessarily relevant to the quality of its information.” As a result, editorial functions that were formerly the responsibility of the information producer or publisher now fall upon the shoulders of the media consumer.

### **Competing Media**

Starting with the pioneering work on the displacement effect of radio on the print medium by Lazarsfeld (1940), media scholars over the years have investigated displacement effects with the advent of every new form of technology, including television (Mendelsohn, 1964), cable television (Kaplan, 1978; Sparkes, 1983), VCR



(Henke and Donahue, 1989), and computer-mediated communication (Finhoults and Sproull, 1990; James, Wotring, and Forrest, 1995; Robinson, Barth, and Kohut, 1997). The emphasis of displacement theory is the amount of time individuals spend on different media types. Based on the argument that people have a limited amount of time to spend on the consumption of various media, displacement theorists argue that use of different media is driven by a zero sum game in a competition between audience and revenue resources. In other words, the viewing or reading of one particular medium leads to a reduction in the amount of time spent by an individual on another medium. The introduction of a new medium, therefore, reduces the amount of time individuals allocate to existing media, ultimately leading to the displacement of such media. The competition-oriented notion is also present in media constancy theory (McCombs, 1972). This theory points out the limited resources in the media landscape that lead to competition, which occurs when there is an overlap in the resources used by different media. Kayany and Yelsma (2000) indicate that when several attempts to consume the same limited resources are present in the environment, the use of resources by one species constrains the availability of resources to other forms. Recent research, for example, raises the question: “Are online media displacing the informational and entertainment function of TV?” Respondents are asked to focus on the increase or decrease in time spent on traditional media after starting to use online media.

## **The Internet as a Mass Medium**

The Internet came into being about forty years ago as ARPANET, for use by the U.S. Department of Defense. Initially, the new technology was installed to provide a secure and survivable communication network for organizations involved in defense-related research (Anthes, 1994; Kling, 1996). Based on the Internet's origin, many early studies often examined its technical development instead of its uses and effects.

From the middle of 1990's, however, the Internet evolved into an unprecedented development in the world of communication. The Internet has become a new mass medium that differs significantly from the traditional communication forms used previously (Truetzschler, 1998). For the past several years, in accordance with the rapid development of the Internet, mass communication scholars have begun to study the Internet as a research subject.

In addition to increasing the research related to Internet use, mass communication researchers have explored questions of how and why the Internet should be studied. In 1996, Newhagen and Rafaeli responded to the question of why communication researchers should study the Internet in a special symposium about the Internet published in the *Journal of Communication*:

All forms of content are congregating on line. So are people. The rates of growth, conservatively estimated at over 5% a month several years going, are astounding. Big business, as well as garden variety entrepreneurs, is not blind to this. None of these – novelty, volume, head counts, or

prospects of future profits – is distinct communication phenomena, nor do they serve to set the Net apart from communication as we have known it. Instead, we should search for the communication dimensions in our inquiry, with an eye to finding less ephemeral, more robust concepts. Those, I believe, are the things we would want to study. (Newhagen and Rafaeli, 1996, p.4)

With regard to an increasing number of studies related to the Internet, Stempel and Stewart (2000, p.541) wrote “the Internet appears to be a mixed blessing. It offers new opportunities for both audience research and content analysis, yet old problems researchers have encountered over the years remain.” They pointed out that the Internet as a new source for information and communication technology provides both opportunities and challenges for communication researchers.

Shaw, Hamm, and Knott (2000) estimated that because the Internet supplies more opportunities for people to connect, the age of mass communication will come to an end. The authors asserted that traditional mass communication theory has to be reconsidered to explain new information and communication technology and social systems in an effective way. Weaver (2000) offered a comparable concept about the Internet in a review of mass communication research:

Methods alone won't make our research more interesting or insightful. We still need to develop useful new concepts and theoretical approaches to build on those that presently exist. To be sure, many of our existing concepts and theories are still useful in spite of the rapid changes in communication technologies and patterns. Agenda-setting, cultivation, dependency theory, framing, indexing, information processing, knowledge gap, priming, the spiral of silence, the

third-person effect and others can still be useful approaches in our new computerized communication environment, but to remain useful these ideas must be refined and supplemented by other new concepts and theories. (Weaver, 2000, p.14)

Indeed, the Internet has introduced new aspects of information and communication technology that make it different from other mass media. In 1996, Morris and Ogan noted that mass communication researchers may have missed the entire field of computer-mediated communication, as well as the Internet, staying instead with traditional forms of print media and broadcasting that fit much more conveniently into models for appropriate research topics and theories of mass communication (Morris and Ogan, 1996). The argument was that if mass communication scholars continued to ignore the research potential of the Internet, their theories about communication would become less useful. Conceptualization of the Internet as a mass medium became mired at that time in questions about what constitutes a mass audience and mediating technology. In other words, mass communication researchers now need to explore the Internet as a new field to reexamine mass communication structure and theory.

The Internet is a complex and multifaceted medium that accommodates many different configurations of communication. The Internet follows a source-message-receiver feature similar to the traditional mass-communication model, sometimes relying on traditional patterns and at other times creating entirely new configurations. The messages of the Internet can range from traditional journalistic news stories created by a reporter and editor, as in print and broadcast media. Internet stories can be created over a

long period of time by many people, or simply document conversations, such as comments posted on Internet bulletin boards (Morris & Ogan, 1996).

Morris and Ogan (1996) explored four categories into which producers and Internet audiences may be grouped: (a) one-to-one asynchronous communication (e-mail), (b) many-to-many asynchronous communication (electronic bulletin boards such as Internet bulletin boards), (c) one-to-one, one-to-few, one-to-many synchronous communication organized around a topic, construction of an object, or role playing (chat rooms), and (d) asynchronous communication, which is characterized by the receiver's need for information (websites).

Finally, Morris and Ogan (1996, p.40) defined the *Internet* as follows: "Not only have theoretical models constrained research, but the most basic assumptions behind researchers' theories of mass media effects have kept them from being able to see the Internet as a new mass medium." Therefore, the Internet is thought to have become a mass medium — especially Internet bulletin boards, which are ripe for mass communication research.

James, Wotring, and Forrest (1995) suggested five possible reasons that Internet bulletin boards have become popular: (1) Internet bulletin boards own a large audience, (2) Internet bulletin boards are fast in sending and retrieving messages, (3) Internet bulletin boards offer ease in posting messages in terms of, (4) weak gatekeepers, (5) a lot of topics, issues, and interests, and low cost. Furthermore, regarding the characteristics of Internet bulletin boards, Newhagen and Rafeli (1996) maintained that when participating

in online communication such as Internet bulletin boards, the reader – audience member – receiver model has a lot more responsibility.

### **The Internet and Its Audience**

Even though it has been argued that the Internet can be seen as a medium of mass communication and its users as a mass audience (Morris and Ogan, 1996; Roscoe, 1999), Internet use can also be thought of as a type of mass behavior, similar in many respects to choosing TV programs or publications (Webster and Lin, 2002). Understanding these characteristics can enhance views about the new medium and its potential to affect society.

Access to computer-mediated communication technologies, such as the Internet, has expanded informational and interactive capabilities. With widespread use of such technologies, communication researchers are seeking to gain insights about the personal and social features that affect why people use computer-mediated communication and how outcomes of computer-mediated communication relate to behavior (Papacharissi and Rubin, 2000).

Morris and Ogan (1996) suggested that attention be directed toward motives that influence people to use the Internet, and that the Internet as a mass medium has the ability to fulfill interpersonal and mediated needs. Morris and Ogan (1996) also explored levels of audience activity as a vital element of Internet bulletin boards and recommended

that audience activity be included in the study of Internet communication. Owen (1997) noted that Internet bulletin boards post a number of issues and special events that together have a mass appeal, so that the Internet can be seen as mass medium and its users as a mass audience.

Another issue related to Internet audiences or users concerns the interchangeability of producers and receivers of content so that audiences can also produce messages (Morris and Ogan, 1996). In this context, access to online information is not generalized, but among those who do have access, it is equal to all. Those with entree to online information have additional tools to be more active as citizens and participants in the public sphere. Therefore, communication research should pay attention to active audiences on the Internet.

Considering the active audience from a political perspective, several researchers have studied the extent to which the Internet is linked to political attitudes. In general, Internet users report high levels of self-efficacy, the belief that one has the power to manage prospective situations, for example, in terms of influencing government officials and the political process (Bonchek, 1997). Those who have high self-efficacy may rely on the Internet because it offers individuals a forum to voice their views to government officials and like-minded individuals. Those with high self-efficacy have been found to be more involved in politics and consequently are more likely to vote and engage in other political activities (Pinkleton and Austin, 1998). Internet users are also more politically interested (Johnson and Kaye, 1998, 2000) and more likely to vote (Hill and Hughes, 1998; Katz, 1997) than the general public. Furthermore, politically active Internet users

score higher on these measures than general users (Hill and Hughes, 1998). According to Johnson and Kaye (1998) and Katz (1997), while Internet users may believe they have the power to influence the government, they do not necessarily express confidence in the government to carry out policies, and Internet users report high levels of political distrust.

Empirical research of online political communities completed by Hill and Hughes (1998) found interesting features with regard to the political tendencies of Internet users in the United States. Hill and Hughes determined, through political and demographical research on Usenet and AOL groups, that conservatives were the online minority among Internet users. A later study by Papacharissi (2002) found that conservatives dominated online political discourse, even though liberals were the online majority. She said “this implies that the virtual sphere is politically divided in a manner that echoes traditional politics, thus simply serving as a space for additional expression, rather than radically reforming political thought and structure” (Papacharissi, 2002, p.14).

Another critical issue involves how interconnectedness affects political discussion in regard to audience fragmentation. The explosive increase in the number of news channels may lead to a decrease in social cohesion. The Internet has many characteristics that encourage audience fragmentation, including the ability of users to focus on many different opinions (Webster and Phalen, 1997). In addition, the number of people whom Internet opinions can reach may vary, and may become smaller as the Internet grows to be more fragmented. Breaking down of the Internet audience can be observed in threads found on Internet bulletin boards and newsgroups and in the even more disjointed discussion style observed on the Internet bulletin board. Special small groups on Internet



bulletin boards attract users who want to focus the discussion on certain issues, providing opportunities for specialized debate among people who have a few things in common. As Internet audiences subdivide into smaller and smaller discussion groups, such as threads on AOL message boards, the ideal of a public sphere that connects many Internet users may evade much of the online audience (Papacharissi, 2002).

## **Political Effects and Participation**

### *The possibility of the Internet as a public sphere*

As the Internet has become a popular mass medium, its impact on political processes, such as political campaigns and elections, has attracted substantial attention from communication researchers, politicians, and civic activists. At the same time, the Internet has provided a public sphere for unrestricted political discussions (Song, 2007). The Internet's growth spurt has led to forecasts and concerns about potential impacts of the Internet on political processes.

Communication researchers have usually explored the relationship between traditional media or motivation to use media and political attitudes. McLeod and Becker (1974) found that using television to judge candidates and keep up with issues was linked to the most political effects. Other studies found that those who use the media for surveillance and voter guidance report high levels of political interest and political knowledge, as well as a high likelihood to vote (Becker 1976; Garramone, 1985).

New communication technologies provide information and tools that may expand the role of the public in social and political fields. The enlargement of online political groups and activity definitely reflects political uses of the Internet. Some mass communication researchers who are proponents of the Internet in politics have foreseen that online discussions will increase political participation and pave the way for a democratic utopia (Bowen, 1996; Browning, 1996).

In the initial stages of the Internet, utopian outlooks envisioned computer-mediated political communication facilitating grassroots democracy and bringing people all across the world closer together. From that perspective, geographical boundaries could be overcome and “diasporic utopias” thrive (Pavlik, 1994). Pavlik predicted that anonymity on the Internet could assist a person to overcome identity boundaries and communicate more freely and openly, thus promoting a more enlightened exchange of ideas.

The public has also envisioned open exchanges of political thoughts and ideas on the Internet, such as those that took place in ancient Greek agoras or town halls of the colonial period. These views are closely tied to democratic ideals that call for citizen participation in public affairs. Jones (1997, p.22) argued that the Internet as cyberspace promotes a “new public space” made up of people and “conjoining traditional mythic narratives of progress with strong modern impulses toward self-fulfillment and personal development.”

On the other hand, Papacharissi (2002, p.11) pointed out that “it should be clarified that a new public space is not synonymous with a new public sphere.” She

commented on the concept of public space and a public sphere on the Internet: “As public space, the Internet provides yet another forum for political deliberation and as public sphere, the Internet could facilitate discussion that promotes a democratic exchange of ideas and opinions.” Papacharissi noted that virtual space enhances discussion and democracy and described the political function of the Internet as a public sphere. She asserted that while the Internet and its information technology hold the promise of invigorating the public sphere, several features of the Internet and new technology simultaneously curtail and augment that potential. According to Papacharissi (2002, p.9): “First, the data storage and retrieval capabilities of Internet-based technologies infuse political discussion with information otherwise unavailable. At the same time, information access inequalities and new media literacy compromise the representativeness of the virtual sphere. Second, Internet-based technologies enable discussion between people on far sides of the globe, but also frequently fragmentizes political discourse. Third, given the patterns of global capitalism, it is possible that Internet-based technologies will adapt themselves to the current political culture, rather than create a new one. The Internet and related technologies have created a new public space for politically oriented conversation.”

Habermas (1962, 1989), advocate of the public sphere concept, traced the development of the public sphere in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and its decline in the twentieth century. He saw the public sphere as a domain of social life in which public opinion could be formed from reasonable public discussion (Habermas, 1991). Eventually, Habermas (1989) asserted that informed and logical discussion could

lead to public consensus and decision making, thus representing the best of the democratic tradition.

Meanwhile, because it provides an effective and strategic communication platform that enables people to disseminate relevant and appropriate information and share their opinions through Internet bulletin boards, weblogs, and listservs, the Internet plays a vigorous role in spurring activities. Especially, the Internet supplies people with an opportunity not only to search for and exchange information but also to debate current issues with others who have similar as well as dissenting opinions (Nah, Veenstra, and Shah, 2006).

### ***Political participation on the Internet***

The Internet offers its users an easy and efficient means of political participation. In general, *political participation* means taking part in activities related to politics, such as donating to a political campaign or attempting to persuade others how to vote. This involvement is the main reason why the Internet has a huge impact on political efficacy. Also, Internet users can easily express their political opinions via Internet bulletin boards and e-mail lists (Lee, 2006).

As for political participation, research has attempted to explain the effects of Internet use by questioning whether the Internet can promote or impede engagement in public life. For instance, Shah, Cho, Eveland, and Kwak (2005) examined the relationship between Internet use and individual-level engagement, finding that

informational uses of the Internet were positively related to participation in community life as mediated through various forms of political expression. People can use the Internet as news sources in the same way they might use newspaper and television news, but they can also use the Internet to exchange information and political viewpoints via online discussion networks such as Internet bulletin boards. According to Sotirovic and McLeod (2001, p.287), “It is the content of the media and not the medium per se that matters for political participation.” Some research has found that the Internet as a news source leads to increased face-to-face political talk, eventually culminating in engagement in public life (Shah, Cho, Eveland, and Kwak, 2005).

Kenski and Stroud (2006) examined the relationships between Internet access and exposure to information about the U.S. presidential campaign and political efficacy, knowledge, and participation and found that these political elements are indicators of an appropriately functioning democracy. Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) noted that political participation is related to levels of engagement in a democratic system that has consequences with regard to equity. Their research found that investigations of political participation have shown a strong connection with a number of demographic variables, including education, income, and age. The role of computer-mediated forums — such as Internet bulletin boards, weblogs and chat rooms — has come to support that political discussion.

Meanwhile, other scholars have noted advantages and disadvantages of the Internet in terms of political participation. Among the more optimistic studies, Price and Cappella (2002) found that political participation on Internet discussion forums increased

political engagement, measured by voting and civic participation. In the same way, Shah, Cho, Eveland, and Kwak (2005) found favorable effects of civic messaging — discussions about community affairs over emails — with regard to engagement in community activities. Weber, Loumakis, and Bergman's study (2003) found that the Internet contributes to increases in political participation. Empirical research suggests the need for some skepticism about the quality of political discussion on the Internet, however, and whether opportunities for online discussions will be incorporated by traditional political organizations (Norris, 2003; Tsaliki, 2002). In addition, individuals who search for political information on the Internet are likely those who are already attracted to politics. Therefore, some scholars have concluded that the Internet does not affect political involvement (Graber, 1996; Norris, 2001). Because the Internet is a medium on which individuals determine their level of exposure to political content, they are not necessarily motivated to search for a broad variety of political information online. Thus, current aspects of political participation are likely to remain unchanged (Kenski and Stroud, 2006).

Another viewpoint about political participation on the Internet as set forth by Resnick (1997) observes that through the fluid and unstructured political communication of Internet bulletin boards, newsgroups, and listservs, a multidimensional political society is reproduced. Equally, Alexander (1999) argued that online networking reinforces political participation in community politics. He suggested that interactive communication and discussion forums on the Internet improve the level of public discourse on issues and increase involvement in public affairs. Also, he asserted that

online communication forums, such as Internet bulletin boards, offer public space for deliberation and delivery of political communication. Brants, Huizenga, and Van Meerten (1996) noted that Internet communication forums have become popular for enhancing political participation.

Moreover, activity on Internet bulletin boards, such as posting opinions and even reading, can be viewed the political participation. Internet bulletin boards provide an ideal forum for Netizens of all ideologies and nationalities to express their thoughts. Klein (1999) suggested that the Internet supplies a new public space for many-to-many communication through such media as Internet bulletin boards and newsgroups. He argued that because of low cost, ease of access, and broad diffusion possibilities, Internet bulletin boards and forums offer opportunities for increased citizen networking, cultivation of skills, and participation in public affairs. Klein asserted, therefore, that the Internet reduced barriers of space, time, and cost for particular civic networks and that Internet forums and bulletin boards promoted association.

Indeed, while traditional media provide their audiences with limited opportunities to present their views, the Internet bulletin board and Internet forums act as an electronic soapbox supplying anyone the opportunity to express an opinion. While Internet pundits concede that the quality of debate found on Internet bulletin boards may not always be high, the discussions are lively and vivacious (Whillock, 1997).

Some researchers have investigated the correlation between online discussions and political engagement with those offline. The opportunities that online discussions create may help in the diffusion of political activities, possibly allowing more

heterogeneity in discussion partners — which is particularly important for extending support for a movement (Knoke, 1990). Supplemented by existing social connections, these online networks may provide strong recruitment possibilities for political activities. Nonetheless, online discussion may also create a similar view of engagement without the advantages attributed to real-world connections, adding some complexity to the question of a connection between online discussion and political engagement offline (Nah, Veenstra, and Shah, 2006).

### **Agendas on the Internet**

When the uses of the Internet as a mass medium are explored, questions arise about the nature of its communicative content. As commercial providers increase on the Internet, and more political information is provided, the problem of who sets the agenda for the Internet, namely the Netizen agenda, also becomes a concern.

Owen (1997, p.12) noted that “a functional definition of the Internet Bulletin Board is to conceptualize an actual bulletin board.” He explained that an *Internet bulletin board* is composed of a topic or special interest heading with various subheadings that ask for participant feedback on various issues of the day. Also, participants on the Internet bulletin board can post their responses to the official header or respond to the message of another “poster,” thus creating threads or conversations. There may be, at any given time, other participants on an Internet bulletin board who choose not to post a



responding message but simply wish to observe or “lurk” on a specific topic or issue. Gatekeeping is usually conducted by an administrator to ensure that proper decorum or “netiquette” is maintained on an Internet bulletin board.

Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee (2005, p.60) noted that “the Netizen is not only an audience who is affected by the existing media, but also an active creator of messages. However, it is important to note that the existing media are still the main source of issues. Through the existing media, the Netizens gain information about an issue and perceive the issue salience.” In other words, while some people simply seek specific information they need, others construct their own community and play an active role on the Internet in the interest of that community.

Poster (1995) argued that rational discussion, reminiscent of a public sphere, can rarely prevail and consensus achievement is not possible on the Internet, specifically because identity is defined very differently online. He recognized, though, that the Internet decentralizes communication while ultimately enhancing democracy. In fact, Netizens enjoy unrestricted freedom of expression on the Internet.

From this perspective of the agenda on the Internet, Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee (2005, p.58) observed: “Various opinions about public issues are posted on the Internet bulletin boards by Netizens, and the opinions then form an agenda in which other Netizens can perceive the issue salience. As such, it is assumed that not only does the Internet function as the public space, but it can also function as a medium for forming Internet users’ opinion.”

## **Differential Internet Culture in the United States and Korea**

### ***Credibility on the Internet***

Credibility is another issue with traditional media and new media such as the Internet. Although many people depend on the Internet for gathering information, the freedom of Internet information takes on an increased potential for error and exploitation. Referring to Internet credibility, Morris and Ogan (1996, p.43) declared that “traditional mass media make certain claims about the veracity of their information. The Internet makes few such claims at the moment, and it is possible that the concept of credibility will also change as a result.”

The concern over the public’s faith in the media stimulated a host of studies in the late 1980s examining media credibility. The research suggested that the credibility crisis itself lacked credibility, and that the public had a largely favorable impression of the media. Furthermore, attention shifted away from media credibility to source and message credibility (Gaziano, 1986). Also, a few studies have examined whether demographics influence judgments of media credibility. In fact, these studies suggest that males, with high levels of education, and income tend to be the most critical of the media in general (Mulder, 1981; Robinson and Kohut, 1988). On the other hand, some studies suggest that one’s view of a medium’s credibility is strongly related to how often one uses it. Researchers suggest that people judge their preferred medium as the most credible (Wanta and Hu, 1994; Rimmer and Weaver, 1987).

Meanwhile, the studies on the credibility of traditional news media and Internet information sources have not produced consistent findings in the United States. Looking at the delivery of political messages via the Internet and traditional news media, Johnson and Kaye (1998) found that Internet users judged online political information sources as more credible than their traditional media counterparts. However, in another research of Internet users, Internet news sources were not judged as significantly more credible than traditional sources (Pew Research, 1999). Findings indicated that there was only a slight tendency for people to believe that more accurate information could be found online rather than in the daily newspaper and broadcasting news.

Additionally, while there are few empirical studies on the credibility of traditional news media and the Internet, Park (2005) found that the Korean audience perceives traditional news sources as more credible than Internet news. She maintained that the credibility of newspapers and broadcasting news are keys to the public's overall perception of news media credibility, whereas that of the Internet is not.

From the different perspective, journalists have long had news-reporting problems such as inaccurate and incomplete information, unreliable sources, deceptive and misleading information providers. Mencher (2006, p.309) said, "The source is the reporters' life blood. Without access to information through the source, the reporter cannot function."

Recently, growing numbers of journalists have used the Internet as a reporting tool. The principal reasons for doing so involve not only the speed at which information may be retrieved, but also the scope and depth of that information. Although knowledge

acquired through the Internet is abundant, easy, and comprehensive, it can differ from that acquired through other media sources. The Internet usually has a free flow of information that may be unlike that obtained through other media (Flanagin and Metzger, 2000), including online fraud and misinformation. Morris and Ogan (1996, p44) estimated that “traditional mass media have addressed the issue within their organizations, hiring editors and fact checkers to determine what information is accurate. Source credibility will vary on the Internet, with commercial media sites carrying relatively more credibility and unknown sources carrying less. A much greater burden will be placed on the user to determine how much faith to place in any given source.”

Chan, Pan, and Lee (2003) try to demonstrate empirically the connection between credibility of journalist evaluations of news sites and their professional self-understanding. Past research on attitudes of journalists toward the Internet is descriptive (Garrison, 2000a), while more explanatory research of Internet news credibility focuses mostly on citizens as the evaluators (Bucy, 2003; Flanagin and Metzger, 2000; Johnson and Kay, 1998; Schweiger, 2000).

Research about diffusion of new information technology among journalists, such as use of the Internet, has increased. For instance, Maier (2000) stated that the Internet was slowly being adopted in newsrooms for gathering news information. Similarly, Garrison (2000b) has explored new information technology adoption in newsrooms, concluding that the process of diffusion was not complete.

Moreover, research about the ramifications of journalists’ use of electronic mail and ListSerts shows that although online journalists in the United States overwhelmingly

use e-mail instead of the postal service to conduct both professional and personal business, it is unlikely that many are logging on to electronic discussion groups to talk about ethical issues. Ruggiero (2001) suggests that the ability of ListServes to inform may reflect their perceived ineffectiveness and consequent underutilization by journalists

Lynch (1998a, 1998b) explained that the Internet and online journalism provide journalists with a new set of ethical questions to consider. Her research focused on chat rooms such as Internet bulletin boards, immediacy, corrections, archiving, and plagiarism. Lynch (1998b, p.42) also declared that “the web community is antiestablishment and skeptical about the status quo. It assumed that information should be free-flowing, unrestrained and open to interpretation – assumptions that thwart the old media’s traditional role as gatekeeper and protector of the public’s right to know.”

A journalist finds background information via e-mail or interactions with the audience in a chat room like Internet bulletin boards. The Internet also offers convenient access to a broader range of international news outlets, particularly benefiting newsrooms without adequate resources for foreign news coverage (Chan, Pan, and Lee, 2003).

The Internet challenges mainstream journalism, however, by facilitating alternative methods of news production and dissemination. It supplies a platform for the rise of online news services, ranging from those provided by commercial portals to those operated by unconventional “online journalists”<sup>2</sup> or Netizens. Basically, online news is different from traditional news in the skills, judgments, and routines used to produce it

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<sup>2</sup> The term *online journalism* is used interchangeably with *citizen journalism*, which is user-generated journalism and participatory journalism. These terms describe the model by which users create news content and share it online.

(Ianzito, 1996; Stein, 1999). Some researchers thus declare that the shift from print to online newspapers involves changes in the very definition of news, as well as in information infrastructure, structural relationships among journalists, sources, and audiences (Boczkowski, 2000).

In another point of view about Internet reliability, Garrison (2000a) maintained that thoughts vary about source credibility of Internet information gathered in different countries. In fact, most journalists, primarily those in the United States, have generally negative attitudes about using the Internet to gather information due to source credibility, information reliability, and difficulty in verifying facts.

These ideas provide a general understanding of the different perceptions of Americans and Koreans regarding the Internet, particularly the Internet bulletin board, as a credible source for journalistic work. The divergent views of journalists in the two countries can indirectly distinguish the intermedia agenda-setting effect between traditional media such as newspapers and broadcast networks, and Internet bulletin boards, in the United States and Korea.

### ***Environment of the Internet in the United States and Korea***

Morris and Ogan (1995) suggested studying the cultural influence of the message that is produced on the Internet. *Culture* is a collective noun meaning a system of people living in a region who are involved in its values, attitudes, beliefs, customs, and thoughts.

As a matter of fact, the Internet is recognized as the globalization medium in the communication field.

Giddens (1990, p.64) said that “globalization is the process of strengthening the worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local events are shaped by circumstances at other places in the world.” People in any country can connect to newspapers or broadcasting in foreign countries through the Internet. Therefore, the Internet can influence the culture of one nation by exposing it to the unique culture of another.

In this context, McChesney (1995, p.13) indicated that:

...Bulletin boards, and the information highway more generally, do not have the power to produce political culture when it does not exist in the society at large....Given the dominant patterns of global capitalism, it is far more likely that the Internet and the new technologies will adapt themselves to the existing political culture rather than create a new one.

Groups of Netizens in the same culture are brought together by common interests, and perhaps try for the attainment of cultural goals. For instance, Ishii and Ogasahara (2007) examined how Internet communities affect real-world personal relations in a cross-cultural survey conducted in Japan and Korea. Their research suggested that the gratifications of Internet communities control the effects of Internet communities on social participation. In other words, in Korea, personal relations through the Internet community are connected with real-world personal relations, but this is not the situation

in Japan. Their study implies that the effects of the Internet are culture specific and that the Internet community can utilize a different function in different cultural environments.

In addition, Ishii and Ogasahara (2007) presented anecdotal evidence showing that the Internet has different social and cultural functions in each country. For example, it was reported that the Internet played an important role in the victory of Moon-Hyun Roh, former president of Korea, in the 2002 presidential election there. On the other hand, the most popular Internet bulletin board in Japan, Ni-Channeru<sup>3</sup> does not supply a forum for critical, political, and social discussion.

Many mass communication researchers have discussed the utopia and dystopia of the Internet. Such a dichotomy of ideas emphasizes the technology aspect of the Internet and overlooks the fact that the Internet is a social technology that depends on a social and cultural background. Hill and Hughes (1998) asserted that the technological potential for Internet communication does not guarantee that people from different cultural circumstances will be more understanding of each other. Indeed, they cite several examples of miscommunication.

Moreover, Hermeking (2006, p.194) argued that the diffusion of the Internet in the world is associated with several hard factors such as technical infrastructure and income per capita. He asserted that economic development is just one factor in diffusion of the Internet, saying: “A close look at highly developed countries like France or Japan

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<sup>3</sup> *Ni-channeru* is Channel 2, the most popular online community site in Japan. Ni-channeru, as it is pronounced in Japanese, was founded in 1999 by Hiroyuki Nishimura.



with their relatively moderate Internet usages reveals that some cultural soft factors play an even more important role.”

The circumstances and features of the Internet in the United States and Korea occupy different positions, since both have evolved in different social and cultural environments. A previous study suggests that the purposes and gratifications of the Internet community, such as Internet bulletin board activity, differ across various cultures. The study suggests that Korean people much more effectively take advantage of the Internet community for real-world or offline activities (Ishii and Ogasahara, 2007). In addition, Korean students, in comparison to their U.S. counterparts, use the Internet largely for participation in online communities (Park and Jun, 2003).

This cultural dissimilarity on the Internet can be illustrated through individualism and collectivism perspectives. A meta-analysis study on individualism and collectivism (Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier, 2002) found that Koreans are less individualistic, but not necessarily more collectivistic than in people in the United States. The concepts of individualism and collectivism have been widely used to explain differences across cultures in various fields (Hui, Triandis, and Yee, 1991; Triandis, Brislin, and Hui, 1988). Many researchers have sought to validate Hofstede’s dimensions and to explore their theoretical and practical contributions. Hofstede’s dimensions have been used as a framework for cross-cultural inference and generalization (Au, 1999).

Hofstede (1980, 1984, and 2001) demonstrated how the constructs of individualism and collectivism can be characterized in people’s social perceptions and behavior. In individualistic cultures, people are autonomous and independent from their

in-groups or society. Their personal goals are usually valued over the goals of their in-groups or society. Also, their behaviors are usually based on their own attitudes rather than the norms of their in-groups or society. In contrast, people in collectivistic cultures are interdependent within their in-groups or society. Priority in collectivistic cultures is given to the goals of in-groups or society at large. Actually, people in collectivistic cultures behave according to the norms of their in-groups or society. In summary, collectivists tend to do what they are expected to do, whereas individualists tend to do what they enjoy doing (Triandis, 1995).

People are deeply influenced by cultural values and norms. Many researchers have classified cultures around the world into assorted categories, the most general one being Western versus Oriental culture. The Western cultural value involves individualism and low context while the Oriental ascribes collectivism and high context (Kim, Pan, and Park, 1998). Individualism and collectivism is a cultural-level variable referring to the extent to which a member of a culture tends to have an independent versus interdependent perception of the self (Hofstede, 1980).

In the basic tenets of cultural dimensions, the concepts of individualism and collectivism have helped illuminate and explain differences among cultures under the assumption that people in the same culture are largely homogeneous. This supposition is evidenced by the vast amount of literature using these ideas to explain differences in communication patterns and content, business practice, and preferences for communication styles and persuasive message appeals (Cho, Kwan, Gentry, Jun, and

Kropp, 1999; de Mooij, 1998; Hall, 1984; Han and Shavitt, 1994; Hofstede, 1983, 1994; Miracle, Chang, and Taylor, 1992).

In the communication research field, individualism and collectivism have served as a useful means to compare communication style and content across cultures (de Mooij, 1998; Hofstede, 1980, 1983). Generally speaking, individualistic cultures tend to engage in low-context communication that is straightforward, explicit, and direct. In contrast, collectivistic cultures are likely to have highly context-dependent communication that is abstract, implicit, and indirect (Hall, 1976, 1984).

Despite not being the polar opposite of U.S. culture (Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier, 2002), Korean culture provides important differences and fascinating similarities to U.S. culture. Korean culture has been characterized as being under the influence of Confucianism (Chen and Chung, 1994; Kim, 1994). Specifically, in Korean in-groups and society, collective goals and harmony in interpersonal relationships take precedence over individual goals and achievements.

In this context, there are two reasons why I chose to compare the United States and Korea in this dissertation research. First, both countries are the leading nations in terms of Internet usage. According to an OECD report, Internet subscribers per 100 inhabitants of the two countries are well above the OECD average (OECD, 2001). Second, both countries are culturally very different from one another, because the United States is generally individualistic whereas Korea is traditionally collectivistic.

In the collectivistic culture of Korea, people tend to keep silent about their own opinions of real-life organizations. Instead they participate actively in anonymous online

discussions. And because Netizen opinions on the Internet influence activity offline, such as demonstrations, traditional media journalists pay attention to the Internet forum. In this Internet culture of Korea, a noticeable chain of events took place in 2002. The Internet has proven to be a particularly useful communication tool in civil society over the course of various election campaigns, especially the 2002 presidential election campaign, and in mobilizing social movements through which periodic social protests and demonstrations in the streets of Seoul are not rare occurrences (Rhee and Kim, 2004).

Meanwhile, beginning in 1996 in the United States, the Internet emerged as a major nontraditional medium used in political communication and campaigns (Johnson, Braima, and Sothirajah, 1999). Not only were candidates maintaining campaign websites, but nonprofit organizations also used the Internet to inform the public about the issues agenda. Recently, the Internet has been considered the norm for political communication and campaigns, and the number of websites with political information has rapidly increased. As the amount of political content on the Internet has grown, so have the percentages of Americans accessing political information on the Internet. Looking at online political behavior, the Pew Internet and American Life Project found that 18% of Americans said that they used the Internet for election campaign news in 2000 (Kohut, Green, Keeter, and Toth, 2000). In 2004, 29% of Americans said that they used the Internet for political news (Rainie, Cornfield, and Horrigan, 2005).

Finally, online forums, organized as Internet bulletin boards, are another powerful communication tool for interactive efforts. They especially widen opportunities for user-to-user communication. As shown in the discussion above, while political communication

developed into the Internet bulletin board of commercial portal sites in Korea, the political candidate or organization website is centered in terms of the U.S. political perception of the Internet. This illustrates the differences in the political cultures of the Internet in the United States and Korea.

Regardless of the specific format, the Internet has become prominent and paved a new way of mass communication. Netizens take part in political debates within the public sphere there. In addition, the Internet has received the attention of traditional media journalists. The Internet also acts as a news medium. Over the course of a political campaign, the issue agenda and the attribute agenda of political candidates are produced on the Internet and diffused through the existing media.

In light of the increased potential for the Internet to be a source of information about political campaigns, this dissertation study explores how the Internet as a mass medium can influence the formation of public opinion and how the Internet bulletin board, as a public sphere, can provide a place in which news is produced about political issues.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Hypotheses and Methodology**

#### **Hypotheses**

I argue in this dissertation that the intermedia agenda-setting function of existing media, such as newspapers and broadcasting, and the Internet is different from the traditional intermedia agenda-setting process. Therefore, this research examined the intermedia agenda-setting influence on Internet bulletin boards by traditional media during presidential campaigns in the United States and Korea for both issue and attribute agenda-setting effects. The study also explored the possibility of a reverse influence, that of the Internet bulletin board on newspapers and broadcasting.

As mentioned previously, Netizens assume the role of message producers by participating in Internet forums, as well as the role of mass audience. The influence of traditional media is still strong, and they remain the major source of issues. Although the Internet is growing as a source of information, Netizens use traditional media to gain the issues agenda, which will then be discussed on Internet bulletin boards. Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo (2002) set forth the assumption that the Netizen agenda on the Internet bulletin board has been influenced by news coverage in traditional media. Accordingly, this dissertation research assumes that traditional media, such as newspapers and broadcasting, influence the Netizen issue agenda debated on Internet bulletin boards at the first level of agenda setting. Also, the opposite relationship, which is that the Netizen

agenda influences the media agenda, is assumed as well. On the other hand, traditional media journalists use the Internet to acquire information for their articles — in fact, actively using Internet bulletin boards to gather news sources. Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee (2005) made the assumption that candidate attributes posted on Internet bulletin boards influence candidate attributes presented in newspapers. Also, Netizen opinion about candidate attributes can be influenced by traditional media. Therefore, I propose that newspaper and broadcasting coverage in the United States and Korea are correlated with Internet bulletin boards in second-level agenda setting.

Based on the background above, this dissertation explores the following set of hypotheses.

#### Intermedia Agenda Setting: Internet and Newspapers

H 1-1. In the United States, the issue agenda of the daily newspaper will influence the issue agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

H 1-2. In Korea, the issue agenda of the daily newspaper will influence the issue agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

H 1-3. In the United States, the attribute agenda of the daily newspaper will influence the attribute agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

H 1-4. In Korea, the attribute agenda of the daily newspaper will influence the attribute agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

## Intermedia Agenda Setting: Internet and Broadcasting

H 2-1. In the United States, the broadcasting issue agenda will influence the issue agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

H 2-2. In Korea, the broadcasting issue agenda will influence the issue agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

H 2-3. In the United States, the broadcasting attribute agenda will influence the attribute agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

H 2-4. In Korea, the broadcasting attribute agenda will influence the attribute agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

Parallel hypotheses are presented here for the U.S. and Korea for ease of comparison. However, in order to explicitly examine the possibility that some of these relationships may prove to be the reverse of what is hypothesized here, the analysis of the data will be grounded in cross-lagged correlation analysis, which systematically compares the hypothesized relationship with the reverse time-order relationship. The details of this methodology are presented later in this chapter.

## **Methodology**

The main purpose of this study is to explore intermedia agenda setting between Internet bulletin boards and traditional news media covering presidential election



campaigns in both the United States and Korea. It also compares the intermedia agenda-setting effects in the two countries.

### ***Data collection and measurement***

To examine intermedia agenda-setting effects, a content analysis was conducted. Daily newspapers and broadcasting were selected as the traditional news media. One U.S. daily newspaper and one Korean daily newspaper were picked: the *New York Times* and *Chosunilbo*. Founded in 1851, The *New York Times* is the most respected and influential newspaper for distinguished journalism in the world. It is the flagship of The *New York Times* Company, whose interests include other newspapers such as the *Boston Globe*, magazines, and broadcast and electronic media. In 2009, circulation of the *New York Times* was 1,038,000 copies on weekdays and 1,451,000 copies on Sundays. *Chosunilbo* is arguably the largest circulation daily newspaper, with 2,300,000 copies in 2008, and is the most influential newspaper in Korea. It is also the oldest newspaper in the country, first published in March 1920. Like other leading daily newspapers in Korea, it is part of a mammoth media group, publishing not only the main paper but also a weekly news magazine, monthly magazine, women's monthly, children's daily, and sports daily. Its editorial tone is independent and conservative.

One U.S. broadcast news organization and one Korean broadcast news organization were selected: NBC (National Broadcasting System) and KBS (Korean Broadcasting System). NBC was the first major broadcast network in the United States,

formed in 1926 by RCA (Radio Corporation of America). NBC has ten owned and operated stations and about two hundred affiliates nationwide. It is one of the world's leading media companies in the development, production, and marketing of entertainment, news, and information to global viewers. KBS (Korean Broadcasting System), which commenced Korea's first television broadcasting in 1961, is a premier public broadcaster and the largest of three major Korean television networks. In fact, KBS is a public organization that receives public funding from the Korean Government, but is independently managed. There are eighteen regional stations and eleven overseas bureaus, as well as eight subsidiary companies such as KBS Media, which manages the local and global marketing of KBS content.

For the Internet media agenda, content analysis was conducted on one U.S. Internet bulletin board and one Korean Internet bulletin board: a news channel message board on AOL in the United States and Agora on Daum from the Korean portal site. In 1995, AOL made its debut and then merged with Time Warner to create AOL Time Warner in 2001. AOL was founded in 1983 as Quantum Computer Services. The news channel message boards (known as bulletin boards) play a vigorous role among communities in AOL and U.S. Internet society. They are a major way to engage in lively debate, exchange information, or discuss Netizen popular topics. Daum was chosen because it is one of the most well-known Internet portal sites in Korea. It was set up in 1995, and an Agora, a discussion forum, was initiated on it in 1997. Daum is most famous for Agora, all-encompassing community forums where virtually all controversies in Korea begin. Because Agora is Korea's largest discussion board, it's not uncommon

for most news sources to be labeled as “from Agora, Daum.” From social to political issues, if it’s hot, it’s being discussed by the masses at Agora. The discussion board is leveraged by Daum to anchor its brand value as Korea’s largest and fastest source and thus the major generator of social issues and arouser of public opinion, to maintain its position in the market.

To measure the media agendas in daily newspapers and broadcasting in similar fashion, the unit of analysis was the news story related to the presidential campaigns in each country. With respect to the Internet, the netizen agenda about the presidential campaign in each country, which means opinions and discussion posted on the Internet bulletin board, was measured as the unit of analysis.

To examine intermedia agenda setting for the issue agenda in the United States, a content analysis during January 15 – February 5, 2008, the early part of the election year in which the presidential primaries take place, reviewed traditional media news coverage and the Internet bulletin board’s thread opinions. Twelve issues – economy, education, foreign policy, environment, healthcare, immigration, racial issues, taxes, the Iraq war, national security and terrorism, women, and campaign conduct – were identified and coded. Meanwhile, for the purpose of examining the intermedia relationships for the issue agenda in Korea, issues were identified in a content analysis performed during November 27 – December 18, 2007. Newspaper and broadcasting news coverage, as well as the Internet bulletin board’s thread opinions, were analyzed. Twelve issues – economy, education, foreign policy, environment, disparity of wealth dissolution, peace of Korean

Peninsula, regionalism, illegal campaigns, corruption scandal, change of power, women, and campaign conduct – were identified and coded.

In terms of the second-level agenda setting, the agenda of the substantive attributes in traditional media news coverage and opinions posted on Internet bulletin boards during presidential campaigns were content analyzed in the United States and Korea, respectively. The substantive attribute agenda depicted the presidential candidates. Six categories — personality, ideology, morality, experience, leadership, and competence — were selected and coded for each country.

Data for the content analysis were gathered from multiple online news databases: Lexis-Nexus for the *New York Times*, Vanderbilt television news archive for NBC in the United States, and KINDS (Korean Integrated News Database System) for *Chosunilbo* and KBS in Korea. Also, to collect opinions on Internet bulletin boards of the two countries, the computer program<sup>4</sup> NetCollector was used.

The number of articles or opinions and the number of issues mentioned in each country's media and Internet are shown in Tables 4-1 and 4-2.

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<sup>4</sup> The computer program was made only for this dissertation by Kang who is a computer engineer in Korea.

**Table 4-1 Total Number of Articles and Agendas in the United States**

	Articles	Issue Agendas	Attribute Agendas			Combined Candidates
			B. Obama	H. Clinton	J. McCain	
<i>NYT</i>	358	535	154	150	132	436
<b>NBC</b>	217	308	75	71	65	211
<b>AOL</b>	7092	5594	1966	1720	1614	5300

**Table 4-2 Total Number of Articles and Agendas in Korea**

	Articles	Issue Agendas	Attribute Agendas			Combined Candidates
			Myung-bak Lee	Dong-young Chung	Hoi-chang Lee	
<i>Chosunilbo</i>	390	567	139	73	61	273
<b>KBS</b>	208	390	187	121	98	406
<b>Daum</b>	7542	7845	2906	2395	2469	7770

Specifically, the total number of opinions on the Korean Internet bulletin board, Daum, was 90,506 during the presidential campaigns. I randomly selected 7,542 of those opinions, however, one-twelfth times the total number, for their equity with the total number of 7,092 U.S. Internet bulletin board opinions. In Korea, the Internet bulletin board, especially Agora on Daum, is more popular than the political forum of other Internet services such as blogs and the websites of political candidates. However, while there are several political forums in the United States, individual blogs operate as places of political discussion for a sizable audience. This point provides a difference in the total

number of postings on the Internet bulletin boards between the United States and Korea. However, the Internet bulletin boards provide a public sphere providing a mass audience that participates in discussions about political issues in the online forum in both countries.

The U.S. and Korean data were coded by three Korean graduate students who majored in mass communication and journalism in the United States. To test inter-coder reliability, this dissertation used Holsti's (1969) reliability coefficient. To determine inter-coder reliability, three coders coded 10% of the total news stories in the traditional media and opinions posted on Internet bulletin boards in the United States and Korea. Training sessions familiarized the three coders with the purpose of the content analysis research, the content to be coded and the codebook to be used. Ethical criteria relevant to the content analysis study also were highlighted during the training session. Furthermore, inter-coder reliability tests were conducted to improve the consistency of data coding.

Holsti's reliability coefficient for the analysis of the issues was .87 for the newspapers, .88 for broadcasting, and .81 for the Internet in the United States, while the coefficients in Korea were .91 for newspapers, .87 for broadcasting, and .83. Holsti's reliability coefficient for the analysis of the candidate attributes was .86 for newspapers, .83 for broadcasting, and .82 for the Internet in the United States, while coefficients were .89 for newspapers, .88 for broadcasting, and .85 for the Internet in Korea. The Holsti's reliability coefficient for the Internet in the United States and Korea was relatively low due to the large number of opinions on the Internet bulletin boards in both countries. However, all of these are acceptable levels – a minimum level of 80% – of agreement among coders (Riffe, Lacy, and Fico, 1998).

### *Time span*

To examine the intermedia agenda-setting relationships between Internet bulletin boards and traditional media during the Korean presidential election, the stories of newspapers and broadcasts, and the opinions posted on Internet bulletin boards, were collected from November 27, 2007, through December 18, 2007 — the official presidential campaign period in Korea. In the United States, the 2008 Iowa Caucus was held on January 3, 2008, and the New Hampshire Primary on January 8, 2008, respectively. Super Tuesday primaries for both parties in nineteen states, Democratic primaries in three states, and a Republican primary in one state, were held on February 5, 2008. Generally, Iowa caucus results are a barometer of how a candidate is doing, but they also affect media coverage. A poor showing in Iowa and New Hampshire can be a disaster to struggling candidates, as the results become a national news story. For the United States, therefore, data on newspapers and broadcasting and opinions posted on Internet bulletin boards were obtained from January 15, 2008, through February 5, 2008.

This period was selected because it is close in time to the period studied in Korea. Also, the U.S. Netizens were more active more around Super Tuesday than around other political events on AOL's news channel message board, posting their opinions more on AOL at this period. In the United States, the total time span was selected so it would be approximately the same as Korea.

Traditional research about intermedia agenda setting has been concerned about the time span (Stone and McCombs, 1981; Winter and Eyal, 1981; Wanta and Hu, 1994;

Shoemaker, Wanta, and Leggett, 1989) and recent research about intermedia agenda setting between traditional media and the Internet bulletin board has continued to measure the time span using several methods (Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo, 2002; Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee, 2005). Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo (2002) traced the time-span range for the influence of news media coverage during the 1996 presidential campaigns from one day to one week. Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee (2005) found a time span of four days in the Korean general election campaigns. Their research suggested that the time span for examining intermedia influence between newspapers and the Internet should be shorter than when examining traditional media because news or information between traditional media and the Internet is exchanged rapidly.

Therefore, this dissertation study tracked a time span of one week, taking into account preliminary analysis, previous research and presidential campaigns. The issue agenda characteristics of presidential campaigns are more continuous than other topics in the mass media and the Internet. The time span for analysis was determined as three time parts in both countries. In Korea, the Time 1 period was November 27 - December 3, the Time 2 period was December 4 – December 10, and the Time 3 period was December 11 – December 18. In the United States, the Time 1 period was January 15 – January 21, the Time 2 period was January 22 – January 28, and the Time 3 period was January 29 – February 5.



### *Cross-lagged correlation analysis*

In this dissertation research, intermedia agenda-setting effects between Internet bulletin boards and traditional news media were examined using cross-lagged correlation analysis across different time spans. Initially, cross-lagged correlation was used in an agenda-setting study, known as the Charlotte study, during the 1972 U.S. presidential election (Shaw and McCombs, 1977). Generally, the strategy for this analysis is to compare the correlation between the media agenda at Time 1 and the public agenda at Time 2 with the correlation between the public agenda at Time 1 and the media agenda at Time 2, to determine whether the media affect public opinion at a later date, or vice versa.

Indeed, cross-lagged correlation can investigate how Internet bulletin boards and traditional news media influence one another. Not only can it assess the significance of the intermedia agenda-setting effect, but it can also compare the strength of the intermedia agenda-setting effect between Internet bulletin boards and traditional news media.

In similar fashion, this dissertation measured the intermedia agenda-setting influence of political campaign news coverage between the daily newspapers and the network television news channels by using the cross-lagged correlation analysis. This cross-lagged correlation analysis was used as a benchmark, enabling the comparison of the intermedia agenda-setting effect of the Internet bulletin boards and traditional media.

The assessment of cross-lagged correlation strength is based on the following categories found in Williams (1986):

<.20 = slight correlation; almost negligible relationship  
.20 to .40 = low correlation; definite but small relationship  
.40 to .70 = moderate correlation; substantial relationship  
.70 to .90 = high correlation; marked relationship  
>.90 = very high correlation; very dependable relationship.

Cross-lagged correlation analyses, which allow causal inferences to be made from correlation data, were selected to test the hypotheses. Generally, cross-lagged correlation supposes that if X causes Y more than Y causes X, then  $PX_1Y_2$  should be higher than  $PX_2Y_1$ . Conversely, if Y causes X more than X causes Y, then  $PX_2Y_1$  should be higher than  $PX_1Y_2$  is also assumed (Campbell and Kenny, 1999). Lopez-Escobar and colleagues (1998, p.233) insisted that the cross-lagged correlation analysis provides two advantages for testing hypothesis:

First, two competing hypotheses can be examined simultaneously. We can assess not only the hypothesized relationship between the independent variable at Time 1 and the dependent variable at Time 2, but also the strength of the hypothesized relationship vis-à-vis a hypothesis asserting exactly the opposite. Second, both of these hypotheses can be assessed based on the Rozelle-Campbell baseline, which is the level of correlation to be expected on the basis of the auto correlations and synchronous correlations alone.

Rozelle and Campbell (1969) suggested a method for using cross-lagged correlations to evaluate possible causality between two variables. Six correlations are

calculated: between Variable One at Time One and Variable One at Time Two (PX1X2), between Variable Two at Time One and Variable Two at Time Two (PY1Y2), between Variable One at Time One and Variable Two at Time One (PX1Y1), between Variable One at Time Two and Variable Two at Time Two (PX2Y2), between Variable One at Time One and Variable Two at Time Two (PX1Y2), and between Variable Two at Time One and Variable One at Time Two (PY1X2). Basically, these correlations explained a cross-lagged correlation, auto correlations, and synchronous correlations.

The analysis in this dissertation focused on the relationship of PX1Y2 and PY1X2, which indicated the levels of influence of independent and dependent variables. One of those correlation values being greater than the other would not indicate a unidirectional influence. In fact, both variables could be affected by other influences not taken into account. Therefore, Rozelle and Campbell (1969) suggested the scheme in which auto correlations and synchronous correlations are used to calculate a baseline value. The formula for the Rozelle-Campbell baseline value is as follows;

$$\frac{PX1Y1 + PX2Y2}{2} \sqrt{\frac{(PX1X2)^2 + (PY1Y2)^2}{2}}$$

Cross-lagged correlations are evaluated relative to the Rozelle-Campbell baseline calculation. If both correlations of PX1Y2 and PY1X2 are above the baseline, this indicates that the two variables influenced each other reciprocally. If one of those two correlation values is above the baseline while the other is not, there is evidence that one variable influenced the other, but not the reverse.

There are two advantages to using cross-lagged correlations with the Rozelle-Campbell baseline calculation (Dunn, 2009). First, the communication researcher can compare both cross-lagged correlations simultaneously to evaluate a direction in which agenda-setting influences are evident. Second, the Rozelle-Campbell baseline calculation supplies a standard by which to assess the cross-lagged correlations. Since this baseline is determined by auto correlations and synchronous correlations, it is unique to each variable and each time period under analysis.

### ***Presidential Campaigns in the United States and Korea***

Two major parties presented candidates for the Korean presidential campaign in 2007. The Grand National Party was the conservative party and the United New Democratic Party was the liberal party. The former mayor of Seoul, Myung-bak Lee, was the official Grand National Party candidate. The former minister of unification, Dong-young Chung, was the official candidate for the United New Democratic Party. The third candidate was former Grand National Party chief Lee Hoi-chang, who quit the party to run as an independent. The Korean presidential election was held on December 19, 2007, and the official presidential campaign began on November 27, 2007.

The United States presidential election of 2008, the fifty-fifth consecutive quadrennial election for president and vice-president of the United States, was held on November 4, 2008. The Democratic National Convention took place in Denver, Colorado, on August 25-28, 2008, and nominated Barack Obama. The Republican

National Convention was held in Saint Paul, Minnesota, on September 1-4, 2008, and nominated John McCain. Because the research period of this dissertation study took in the presidential primary election held before Super Tuesday, Hillary Clinton was included in the analysis as the major candidate of the Democratic Party.

Regarding the use of the Internet by candidates, Barack Obama was particularly noted for his Internet usage to unite supporters and make his policies known. Obama's use of the Internet targeted 18 to 29 year olds, which is the age group most dependent on new media for political information about the presidential election. Through Internet political forums and social network services, such as Twitter and Facebook, Obama built relationships with his supporters. Finally, Obama's campaign was more active than his opponent the campaigns of John McCain and Hillary Clinton.

One facet that the United States and Korean presidential elections have in common is that the president is elected by a direct election system. These two countries have very different direct presidential election systems, though. In Korea, the candidate who receives the greatest number of votes is elected. In contrast, the U.S. president is elected by an *electoral college*, a term used to describe the 538 presidential electors who are elected by popular vote in each state on Election Day. If a candidate for president receives the votes of more than 270 presidential electors, that candidate becomes the president.

Finally, this dissertation study seeks to extend our knowledge about the intermedia agenda-setting function between traditional media and the Internet. Specifically, by comparing cross-lagged correlations between traditional media and the

Internet bulletin boards of two countries, the United States and Korea, this research examines the role and the importance of the Internet in the intermedia agenda-setting effect. The investigation also explores the interaction effect of traditional news media and Internet bulletin boards as information sources.

## Chapter 5

### Results

This chapter reports the comparisons of content analyses for traditional media and Internet bulletin boards in the United States and Korea. In addition, the results are presented for cross-lagged correlations of the first and second-level agendas during three time periods in both countries.

#### Results of Content Analyses in the United States

##### *Issue Agendas in the U.S. Media*

Table 5-1 presents the issue agenda in a U.S. newspaper over three time periods. Mentions of the twelve main issues in the *New York Times* numbered 142 in Time 1, 156 in Time 2, and 237 in Time 3. In Table 5-1, news about the economy was the dominant issue in the *New York Times* coverage from Time 1 to Time 3 (25.35% in Time 1, 16.03% in Time 2, and 21.52% in Time 3). In contrast, healthcare (3.52%) and women's issues (2.82%) received the least amount of coverage during Time 1. Yet news coverage of those two topics steadily increased and by the campaign's end in Time 3, those themes had become more important issues in the *New York Times*. Meanwhile, the percentage of news stories about taxes and campaign conduct continuously decreased. The percentage of news stories about the racial issue (7.04% in Time 1, 7.05% in Time 2, and 12.24% in

Time 3) greatly increased, becoming a major subject by the end of the investigative period. While news coverage of immigration increased from 4.93% in Time 1 to 8.97% in Time 2, the number of news stories about immigration in the *New York Times* during Time 3 (3.80%) was limited. Likewise, news coverage about education, foreign policy, the environment, the Iraq war, and national security and terrorism showed similar features from Time 1 to Time 3.

**Table 5-1 Issue Agenda in U.S. Newspaper**

	<i>NYT T1 (N = 142)</i>		<i>NYT T2 (N = 156)</i>		<i>NYT T3 (N = 237)</i>	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Economy</b>	1	25.35	1	16.03	1	21.52
<b>Campaign Conduct</b>	2	13.38	3	9.62	5	9.28
<b>Taxes</b>	3	11.27	7	7.69	9	5.06
<b>Foreign Policy</b>	4	9.16	2	12.82	4	9.71
<b>Racial Issue</b>	5	7.04	8	7.05	2	12.24
<b>Iraq War</b>	6.5	6.34	5.5	8.33	7	6.75
<b>National Security &amp; Terrorism</b>	6.5	6.34	9.5	5.77	8	5.91
<b>Immigration</b>	9	4.93	4	8.97	10	3.80
<b>Education</b>	9	4.93	11	5.13	11	3.38
<b>Environment</b>	9	4.93	12	4.49	12	2.95
<b>Healthcare</b>	11	3.52	5.5	8.33	3	11.81
<b>Women</b>	12	2.82	9.5	5.77	6	7.60

Table 5-2 shows the issue agendas in U.S. broadcasting through three time periods. Mentions of the twelve main issues on NBC totaled 62 in Time 1, 91 in Time 2, and 155 in Time 3. The key issues from Time 1 to Time 3 were the economy and



campaign conduct, but the racial topic and the Iraq war were also major concerns through three time periods.

**Table 5-2 Issue Agenda in U.S. Broadcasting**

	NBC T1 (N = 62)		NBC T2 (N = 91)		NBC T3 (N = 155)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Economy</b>	1	22.58	3	16.48	2	17.42
<b>Racial Issue</b>	2.5	16.13	2	20.88	5	9.68
<b>Campaign Conduct</b>	2.5	16.13	1	26.37	1	19.36
<b>Taxes</b>	4	9.68	8	3.30	8	5.81
<b>Education</b>	5	8.07	11.5	2.20	10.5	3.23
<b>Iraq War</b>	6.5	6.45	4	8.79	3	10.97
<b>Women</b>	6.5	6.45	5	6.60	6	9.03
<b>Environment</b>	8	4.84	8	3.30	12	0
<b>Healthcare</b>	9.5	3.23	8	3.30	4	10.32
<b>National Security &amp; Terrorism</b>	9.5	3.23	8	3.30	7	7.10
<b>Foreign Policy</b>	11.5	1.61	8	3.30	9	3.87
<b>Immigration</b>	11.5	1.61	11.5	2.20	10.5	3.23

In Table 5-2, news about education (8.07%) and the racial issue (16.13%) received significant broadcast coverage in Time 1, while those same two topics were minor issues in Time 3, dropping to 3.23% and 9.68% respectively. In contrast, news coverage about healthcare, the Iraq war, and national security and terrorism rose continuously. By the end of the presidential campaign, those issues had become more important. Meanwhile, percentages of news articles on NBC about the environment and

taxes steadily declined from Time 1 to Time 3. News articles about foreign policy, immigration, and women showed a similar pattern from Time 1 to Time 3.

Table 5-3 shows the issue agenda posted on a U.S. Internet bulletin board from Time 1 to Time 3. The largest percentage of opinions posted on AOL by U.S. Netizens during Time 1 centered on taxes (16.69%) and the racial issue (16.17%). Opinions about the economy (13.72%) and national security and terrorism (12.44%) represented the second largest set of opinion percentages posted on the Internet bulletin board during Time 1. Topics receiving the lowest percentage of opinions on the same Internet bulletin board in Time 1 were immigration (2.26%) and women's issues (1.68%).

Over time, opinions about taxes continuously decreased from 16.69% in Time 1 to 14.97% in Time 2, and to 8.82% in Time 3. Yet opinions about immigration rose significantly during the presidential campaign, from 2.26% in Time 1 to 14.59% in Time 2, but dropped slightly to 10.85% in Time 3. Although the percentage of Iraq war opinions on Internet bulletin boards increased from 4.51% during Time 1 to 16.33% in Time 2, postings dropped to 7.04% in Time 3. Postings about education, foreign policy, the environment, healthcare, and campaign conduct showed similar trends from Time 1 to Time 3.

**Table 5-3 Issue Agenda on U.S. Internet Bulletin Board**

	AOL T1 (N = 1552)		AOL T2 (N = 2125)		AOL T3 (N = 1917)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Taxes	1	16.69	2	14.97	6	8.82
Racial Issue	2	16.17	10	4.99	7	7.67
Economy	3	13.72	5	10.40	1	17.16
National Security & Terrorism	4	12.44	8	6.12	2	16.38
Healthcare	5	9.41	9	5.84	5	10.54
Education	6	7.35	4	11.01	11	1.88
Environment	7	7.09	6	6.73	10	2.19
Foreign Policy	8	4.70	11	1.37	3	11.01
Iraq War	9	4.51	1	16.33	8	7.04
Campaign Conduct	10	4.00	12	1.27	9	5.58
Immigration	11	2.26	3	14.59	4	10.85
Women	12	1.68	7	6.40	12	0.89

***Obama's Substantive Attribute Agenda in the U.S. Media***

This research examined depictions of presidential candidates at the second level of agenda setting. Table 5-4 shows the content analysis results of Barack Obama's substantive attribute agenda in the *New York Times*. The number of mentions for the six substantive attributes was 37 in Time 1, 42 in Time 2, and 75 in Time 3. In Time 1, the most frequent news coverage concerned depictions of Obama's leadership. Obama's ideology was the second most frequently represented attribute, with personality coming in third on the *New York Times* agenda in Time 1. Morality and experience were less

frequently mentioned. In Time 1, each accounted for 16.22%. Competence was barely addressed.

**Table 5-4 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Barack Obama in U.S. Newspaper**

	<i>NYT T1 (N = 37)</i>		<i>NYT T2 (N = 42)</i>		<i>NYT T3 (N = 75)</i>	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Leadership</b>	1	24.32	1	42.86	1	46.67
<b>Ideology</b>	2	21.62	5	2.38	6	4.00
<b>Personality</b>	3	18.92	2	26.19	3	13.33
<b>Morality</b>	4.5	16.22	3.5	14.29	4.5	10.67
<b>Experience</b>	4.5	16.22	3.5	14.29	2	14.67
<b>Competence</b>	6	2.70	6	0	4.5	10.67

Throughout the presidential campaign, Obama’s leadership was a dominant substantive attribute, increasing from 24.32% in Time 1 to 42.86% in Time 2 and 46.67% in Time 3. Meanwhile, the proportion of news coverage about Obama’s ideology dropped significantly, from 21.62% in Time 1 to 2.38% in Time 2 and 4.00% in Time 3. News coverage about Obama’s competence barely changed from Time 1 to Time 2, from 2.70% in Time 1 to 0% in Time 2, but then it rose to 10.67% in Time 3. Throughout the campaign period, news coverage about Obama’s personality, morality, and experience was consistently limited.

This research examined depictions of Obama at the level of substantive attribute agenda setting with regard to news coverage by NBC. Table 5-5 summarizes the findings. Depictions of Obama’s ideology and leadership were the first and second most frequently

mentioned attributes, and his personality and experience were the next. Obama’s morality received little attention in Time 1, while his competence was barely depicted.

**Table 5-5 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Barack Obama in U.S. Broadcasting**

	NBC T1 (N = 16)		NBC T2 (N = 25)		NBC T3 (N = 34)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Ideology</b>	1	37.50	2	20.00	5	5.88
<b>Leadership</b>	2	31.25	1	56.00	1	47.06
<b>Personality</b>	3.5	12.50	3.5	8.00	3	17.65
<b>Experience</b>	3.5	12.50	3.5	8.00	4	8.82
<b>Morality</b>	5	6.25	5.5	4.00	6	0
<b>Competence</b>	6	0	5.5	4.00	2	20.59

On NBC, the proportion of coverage about Obama’s ideology was prominent on the substantive attribute agenda in Time 1. Then it dropped significantly, from 37.50% in Time 1 to 20.00% in Time 2 and 5.88% in Time 3. The proportion of news coverage about Obama’s leadership increased from 31.25% in Time 1 to 56.00% in Time 2, and then dropped significantly to 4.00% in Time 3. News coverage about Obama’s competence increased from 0 % in Time 1 to 4.00% in Time 2 and 20.59% in Time 3.

**Table 5-6 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Barack Obama  
on U.S. Internet Bulletin Board**

	AOL T1 (N = 368)		AOL T2 (N = 813)		AOL T3 (N = 785)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Personality</b>	1	26.36	4	12.55	4	16.56
<b>Experience</b>	2	25.54	6	2.21	1	27.39
<b>Ideology</b>	3	20.92	1	27.06	2	25.73
<b>Morality</b>	4	13.59	5	9.35	3	18.47
<b>Competence</b>	5	7.88	3	22.39	6	5.35
<b>Leadership</b>	6	5.71	2	26.45	5	6.50

Finally, this dissertation examined a U.S. Internet bulletin board at the second-level of agenda setting for depictions of Obama as a presidential candidate. Table 5-6 summarizes the substantive attribute agenda of Obama on AOL over the three time periods. In Time 1, opinions about Obama’s personality and experience were the most frequent. A dramatic change on Obama’s experience occurred after Time 1 (25.54%), plummeting to 2.21% in Time 2 and then rising to 27.39% in Time 3. Opinions about Obama’s leadership and competence were lowest in Time 1, increasing substantially in Time 2, and dropping back again in Time 3. During the overall presidential campaign, opinions about Obama’s ideology and morality followed a similar trend.

### ***Clinton's Substantive Attribute Agenda in the U.S. Media***

Table 5-7 presents the result of the content analysis of presidential nominee Hillary Clinton's substantive attribute agenda in the *New York Times*. The total number of mentions for the six main items on the substantive attribute agenda was 28 in Time 1, 31 in Time 2, and 91 in Time 3. In Time 1, news coverage depicting Clinton's personality was the most frequent, followed by her leadership and ideology. Mentions of Clinton's competency and morality were few, and her experience appeared the least.

The proportion of news coverage devoted to Clinton's personality was dominant on the substantive attribute agenda during the entire presidential campaign, accounting for 28.57% of the articles in Time 1, 38.71% in Time 2, and 24.18% in Time 3. Coverage about her leadership was also fairly high, rising from 21.43% in Time 1 to 35.48% in Time 2 and 36.36% in Time 3. Interestingly, the percentage of news coverage about Clinton's ideology and competence declined dramatically between Time 1 (from 17.86% and 14.29%, respectively) and Times 2 (3.23% and 0%) and 3 (3.30% and 8.79%). Over all three time periods, coverage of Clinton's morality and experience showed little change.

**Table 5-7 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Hillary Clinton in U.S. Newspaper**

	<i>NYT T1 (N = 28)</i>		<i>NYT T2 (N = 31)</i>		<i>NYT T3 (N = 91)</i>	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Personality</b>	1	28.57	1	38.71	2	24.18
<b>Leadership</b>	2	21.43	2	35.48	1	36.26
<b>Ideology</b>	3	17.86	5	3.23	6	3.30
<b>Competence</b>	4	14.29	6	0	4.5	8.79
<b>Morality</b>	5	10.71	4	9.68	3	18.68
<b>Experience</b>	6	7.14	3	12.90	4.5	8.79

Table 5-8 presents the content analysis of Clinton’s substantive attribute agenda on NBC to compare print media to broadcast media. The total number of mentions related to the six main items on the substantive attribute agenda was 12 in Time 1, 21 in Time 2, and 38 in Time 3. Results for Time 1 indicate that news coverage of Clinton’s ideology was most frequent in U.S. broadcasting. Her leadership and morality were the second and third most frequently covered items during Time 1. Clinton’s experience and competence were few in Time 1, while the nominee’s personality was barely mentioned.



**Table 5-8 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Hillary Clinton in U.S. Broadcasting**

	NBC T1 ( <i>N</i> = 12)		NBC T2 ( <i>N</i> = 21)		NBC T3 ( <i>N</i> = 38)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Ideology</b>	1	41.67	5.5	4.76	3	10.53
<b>Leadership</b>	2	25.00	1	57.14	1	55.26
<b>Morality</b>	3	16.67	5.5	4.76	6	2.63
<b>Experience</b>	4.5	8.33	3.5	9.52	4.5	5.26
<b>Competence</b>	4.5	8.33	3.5	9.52	4.5	5.26
<b>Personality</b>	6	0	2	14.29	2	21.05

Clinton's ideology as a substantive attribute on NBC dropped dramatically from 41.67% in Time 1 to 4.76% in Time 2, but then rose again to 10.53% in Time 3. Meanwhile, NBC news coverage about the nominee's leadership more than doubled from Time 1 (25.00%) to both Time 2 (57.14%) and Time 3 (55.26%). Clinton's personality was the least frequently mentioned item in the entire group of stories on NBC news during Time 1 (0%). Her personality jumped, however, in Time 2 (14.29%), and climbed even higher in Time 3 (21.05%). During the three time periods, NBC news coverage about the nominee's morality, experience, and competence remained low.

**Table 5-9 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Hillary Clinton  
on U.S. Internet Bulletin Board**

	AOL T1 (N=412)		AOL T2 (N = 588)		AOL T3 (N = 720)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Experience</b>	1	29.13	6	4.08	2	25.28
<b>Ideology</b>	2	23.79	1	30.95	4	11.25
<b>Personality</b>	3	22.82	4	14.29	3	24.31
<b>Leadership</b>	4	11.89	2	24.32	1	26.11
<b>Competence</b>	5	8.50	3	18.54	5	10.42
<b>Morality</b>	6	3.88	5	7.82	6	2.64

Table 5-9 summarizes depictions of Clinton as a presidential nominee on a U.S. Internet bulletin board over the three time periods. The total number of Netizen opinions on the six main substantive attributes was 412 in Time 1, 588 in Time 2, and 720 in Time 3. As Time 1 shows, Clinton’s experience was the most frequent substantive attribute mentioned. Of particular interest, depictions of the nominee’s experience was first during Time 1 (29.13%), but plummeted in Time 2 (4.08%) and rose again in Time 3 (25.28%). Meanwhile, mentions of Clinton’s leadership went from 11.89% in Time 1 to 24.32% in Time 2, and then to 26.11% in Time 3 – finally becoming the first agenda item for Netizens in Time 3. Overall from Time 1 to Time 3, opinions posted on AOL regarding the nominee’s personality, ideology, morality, and competence showed similar trends.

### ***McCain's Substantive Attribute Agenda in the U.S. Media***

This research examined depictions in U.S. newspapers of presidential candidate John McCain at the second level of agenda setting, Table 5-10 shows the content analysis results for McCain's substantive attribute agenda in the *New York Times*. The total number of mentions for the six main substantive attributes was 38 in Time 1, 22 in Time 2, and 62 in Time 3. News coverage of McCain's ideology and leadership was most prominent in Time 1. McCain's morality and competence constituted the next most frequent agenda, with the candidate's personality and experience being the least during Time 1.

**Table 5-10 Substantive Attribute Agenda of John McCain in U.S. Newspaper**

	<i>NYT T1 (N = 38)</i>		<i>NYT T2 (N = 22)</i>		<i>NYT T3 (N = 62)</i>	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Ideology</b>	1	21.05	2	15.63	4.5	8.07
<b>Leadership</b>	1	21.05	1	50.00	1	38.71
<b>Morality</b>	3.5	15.79	3.5	12.50	2	20.97
<b>Competence</b>	3.5	15.79	6	3.13	4.5	8.07
<b>Personality</b>	5.5	13.16	3.5	12.50	3	19.36
<b>Experience</b>	5.5	13.16	5	6.25	6	4.84

McCain's leadership dominated the news coverage during the entire presidential campaign, from 21.05% in Time 1 to 50.00% in Time 2 and 38.71% in Time 3. Meanwhile, the proportion of news coverage about McCain's ideology gradually decreased from Time 1 (21.05%) to Time 2 (15.63%), and even further in Time 3

(8.07%). Coverage about the candidate’s personality changed only slightly, from 13.16% in Time 1 to 12.50% in Time 2 and 19.36% in Time 3, while coverage of the candidate’s morality, experience, and competence followed similar trends.

**Table 5-11 Substantive Attribute Agenda of John McCain in U.S. Broadcasting**

	NBC T1 (N = 15)		NBC T2 (N = 14)		NBC T3 (N = 36)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Personality</b>	1	40.00	6	0	3	13.89
<b>Leadership</b>	2	33.33	2	21.43	1	50.00
<b>Ideology</b>	3	13.33	4.5	7.14	2	25.00
<b>Morality</b>	4.5	6.67	3	14.29	6	0
<b>Experience</b>	4.5	6.67	1	50.00	5	2.78
<b>Competence</b>	6	0	4.5	7.14	4	8.33

Table 5-11 presents a comparison of the substantive attribute agenda for McCain on NBC. Total number of mentions for the six main substantive attributes was 15 in Time 1, 14 in Time 2, and 36 in Time 3. During Time 1, depictions of McCain’s personality were the most frequent, followed by the candidate’s leadership and his ideology. Coverage of McCain’s morality and experience were the same in Time 1, while his competence was barely depicted.

McCain’s personality was dominant in Time 1 (40.00%), plummeting to 0% in Time 2, and rising somewhat to 13.89% in Time 3. Meanwhile, the proportion of news coverage devoted to McCain’s leadership fluctuated from Time 1 (33.33%) to Time 2

(21.43%), and again to Time 3 (50.00%). The proportion of news coverage on NBC about McCain's morality changed from 6.67% in Time 1 to 14.29% in Time 2, and down to 0% in Time 3. During the entire campaign period, news coverage relating to McCain's ideology, experience, and competence on NBC news was minimal.

**Table 5-12 Substantive Attribute Agenda of John McCain on U.S. Internet Bulletin Board**

	AOL T1 (N = 382)		AOL T2 (N = 577)		AOL T3 (N = 655)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Ideology</b>	1	25.13	4	11.44	1	24.73
<b>Personality</b>	2	23.30	5	9.71	5	7.48
<b>Experience</b>	3	19.11	6	3.81	3	19.54
<b>Competence</b>	4	14.14	2	22.36	6	5.80
<b>Leadership</b>	5	13.61	1	30.68	4	18.17
<b>Morality</b>	6	4.71	3	22.01	2	24.28

Moving to Internet bulletin boards, Table 5-12 shows content analysis results for the substantive attribute agenda on AOL over three time periods. Depictions of McCain's ideology and personality received the most attention in Time 1. On AOL, depictions of McCain's ideology dropped from 25.13% in Time 1 to 11.44% in Time 2, rising again to be the top agenda item in Time 3 at 24.73%. Netizen opinions about McCain's leadership and competence increased from Time 1 (13.61% and 14.14%, respectively) to Time 2 (30.68% and 22.36%), with a drop in Time 3 (18.17% and 5.80%). Depictions of McCain's personality fell from 23.30% in Time 1 to 9.71% in Time 2, and 7.48% in

Time 3. In sharp contrast, depictions on AOL of McCain's morality rose from 4.71% in Time 1 to 22.01% in Time 2, and to 24.28% in Time 3. Opinions about his experience were limited throughout the presidential campaign.

### **Results of Cross-Lagged Correlation in the United States**

#### ***Results of Cross-Lagged Correlations for Issue Agenda between the New York Times and NBC in U.S. Media***

To provide a set of benchmark measures for the patterns of intermedia agenda setting between the traditional media and AOL's news channel message board, I will first present in this dissertation an analysis of the intermedia relationship between those traditional media, the *New York Times*, and NBC.

**Figure 5-1 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the issue agenda between the *New York Times* and NBC in the United States**

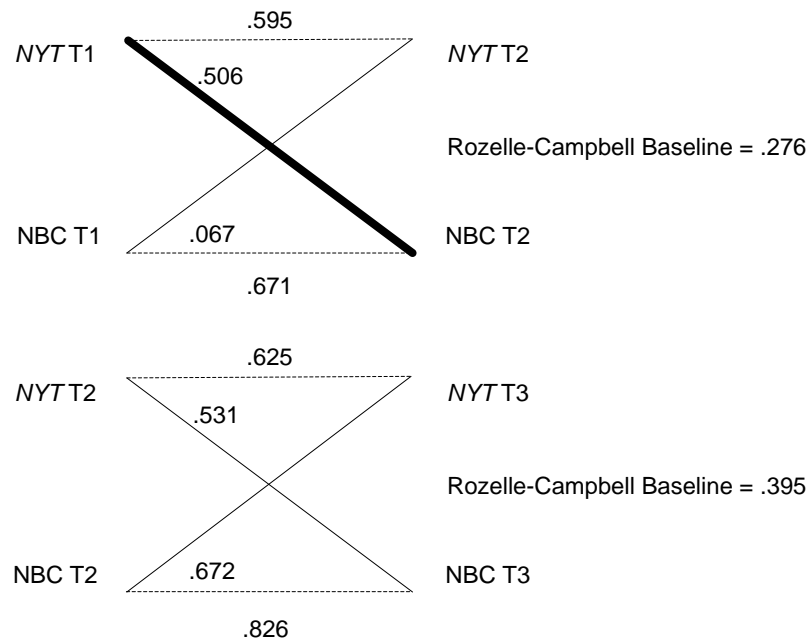


Figure 5-1 presents the cross-lagged correlation results for the issue agenda, which explores the intermedia agenda setting between newspapers and broadcasting in the United States. The results illustrate that the issue agenda of the U.S. daily newspaper under study influences the issue agenda of broadcasting in the United States.

There is a moderate correlation of .506 between the *New York Times* issue agenda in Time 1 and the NBC issue agenda in Time 2, while the correlation of .067 indicated the lack of relationship between the NBC issue agenda at Time 1 and the *New York Times* issue agenda in Time 2. Because the Rozelle-Campbell baseline is .276, there was no reciprocity. This result suggests that the *New York Times* issue agenda in Time 1 influenced the NBC issue in Time 2.

There was a moderate correlation of .531 between the *New York Times* issue agenda in Time 2 and the NBC issue agenda in Time 3. A certain degree of reciprocal influence was present, however, because the influence of the NBC issue agenda in Time 2 on the *New York Times* issue agenda in Time 3 (.672) also exceeded the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .395.

***Results of Cross-Lagged Correlations for Issue Agenda between Traditional Media and the Internet in the United States***

Figure 5-2 shows cross-lagged comparisons regarding intermedia influence between the traditional media issue agenda and the Netizen issue agenda in the United States. The results provide evidence that the U.S. newspaper issue agenda influenced the issue agenda posted on the U.S. Internet bulletin board.

The correlation of -.138 shows a negative relationship between the *New York Times* issue agenda in Time 1 and the Netizen agenda of AOL in Time 2. Likewise, the correlation of -.084 shows a negative relationship between the Netizen agenda of AOL in Time 1 and the *New York Times* issue agenda in Time 2. There is no evidence of influence on each other.

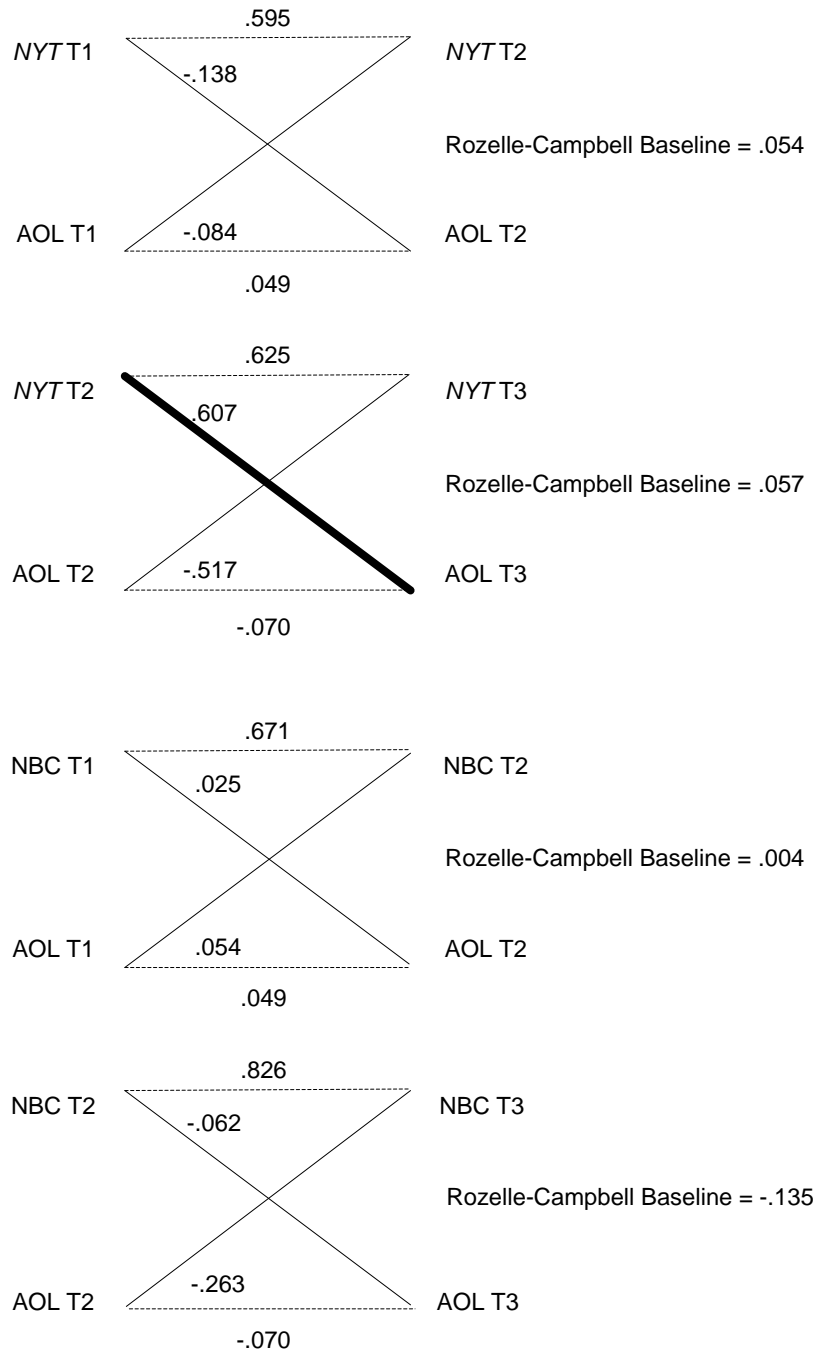
There is a correlation of .607 between the *New York Times* issue agenda during Time 2 and the Netizen agenda on AOL during Time 3. There is a negative correlation of -.517 between the Netizen agenda of AOL during Time 2 and the *New York Times* issue



agenda during Time 3. This result suggests that the *New York Times* issue agenda in Time 2 influenced the Netizen agenda of AOL in Time 3. Therefore, H 1-1, which suggested that the issue agenda of the daily newspaper will influence the issue agenda of the Internet bulletin board in the United States, is strongly supported.

Cross-lagged correlation also was used to examine intermedia agenda-setting effects between broadcasting and the Internet bulletin board in the United States, with no evidence of influence on each other found. Figure 5-2 shows the relationships between the U.S. broadcasting issue agenda and the Netizen agenda on AOL. All the correlations are very low and two are negative. These results do not support H 2-1, which suggested that in the United States, the broadcasting issue agenda will influence the issue agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

**Figure 5-2 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the issue agenda between the traditional media and Internet in the United States**



*Cross-Lagged Correlations for Substantive Attributes of Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, and John McCain between the New York Times and NBC*

To provide a set of benchmark measures for the patterns of intermedia agenda setting between the traditional media and AOL, this research will first analyze the intermedia relationship between the *New York Times* and NBC at the second-level of agenda setting.

The results of the cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attributes of Obama, Clinton, and McCain demonstrated intermedia agenda-setting effects between the *New York Times* and NBC during the 2008 presidential campaign in the United States. Specifically, the cross-lagged correlations analyses of all of the candidates indicated that the *New York Times* influences NBC. There is evidence that the *New York Times* is the leading paper as the primary intermedia agenda setter at the second level of agenda-setting while the depiction of McCain on NBC partially influenced the *New York Times*.

**Figure 5-3 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of Barack Obama between the *New York Times* and NBC in the United States**

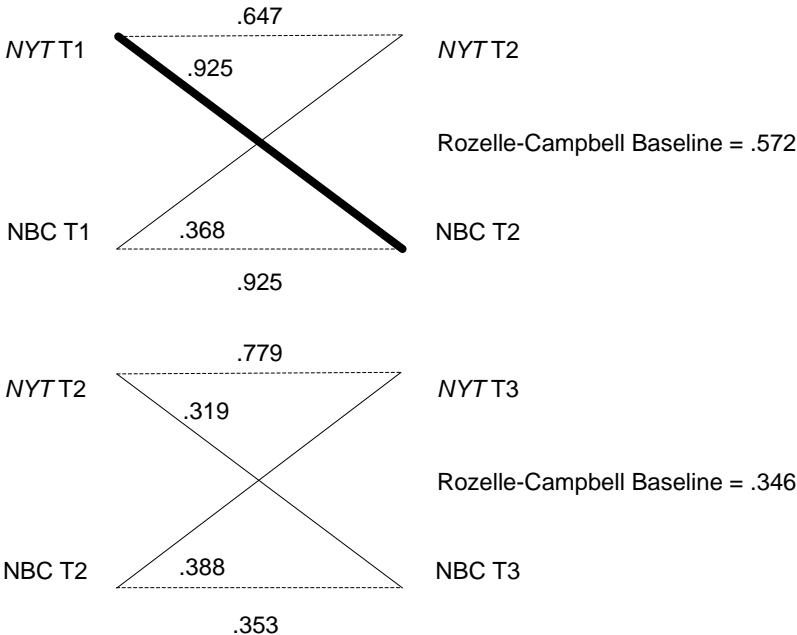


Figure 5-3 shows strong evidence of a correlation between the depictions of Barack Obama in the *New York Times* and those presented on NBC between Time 1 and Time 2. The first cross-lagged correlation between descriptions of Obama in the *New York Times* during Time 1 and those reported on NBC in Time 2 was .925, showing no evidence of reciprocal influence.

In the second cross-lagged correlation shown in Figure 5-3, the correlation between the depictions of Obama on NBC in Time 2 and those in the *New York Times* in Time 3 was .388. This correlation was over the Rozelle-Campbell of .346, while the correlation of .319 between the *New York Times* in Time 2 and NBC in Time 3 was

slightly below the Rozelle-Campbell baseline. However, the small difference between the two correlations suggests reciprocity.

**Figure 5-4 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of Hillary Clinton between the *New York Times* and NBC in the United States**

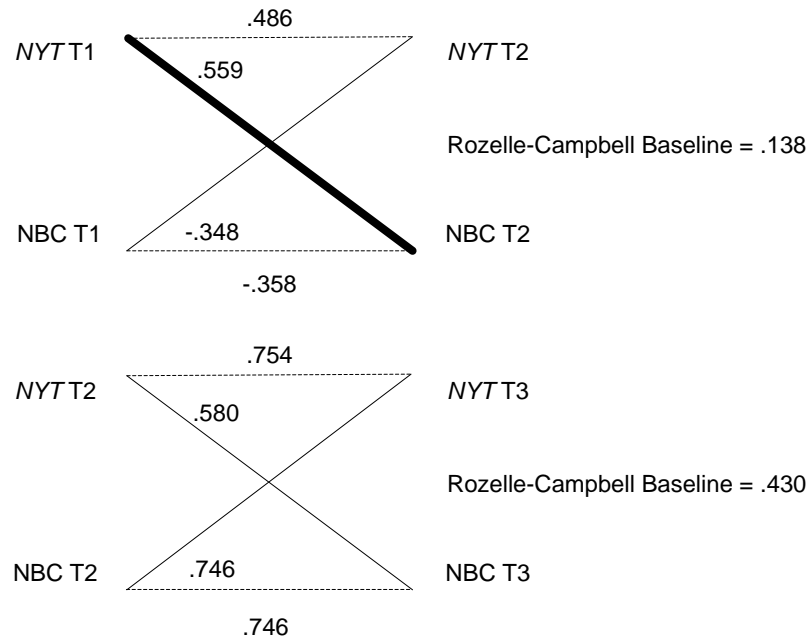


Figure 5-4 offers results of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute agenda of Hillary Clinton in the United States. The results illustrate that the *New York Times* is the primary intermedia agenda setter on NBC between Time 1 and Time 2 at the second-level of agenda setting. In the first cross-lagged correlation shown in Figure 5-4, a moderate correlation of .559 existed between the descriptions of Clinton in the *New York Times* during Time 1 and the substantive attribute agenda on NBC in Time 2. Also, the reverse cross-lagged correlation of -.348 between the substantive attribute agenda on

NBC in Time 1 and the depiction of Clinton on the *New York Times* in Time 2 was negative, while the Rozelle-Campbell baseline was .138. This result is evidence of the intermedia agenda-setting influence of the *New York Times* on reports of NBC through depictions of the candidate.

The correlation of .580 between the description of Hillary Clinton in the *New York Times* during Time 2 and those on NBC during Time 3 is moderate. The correlation of .746 between the depiction of Clinton on NBC in Time 2 and those in the *New York Times* in Time 3 is high. Both correlations were over the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .430, however, thus suggesting reciprocity.

**Figure 5-5 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of John McCain between the *New York Times* and NBC in the United States**

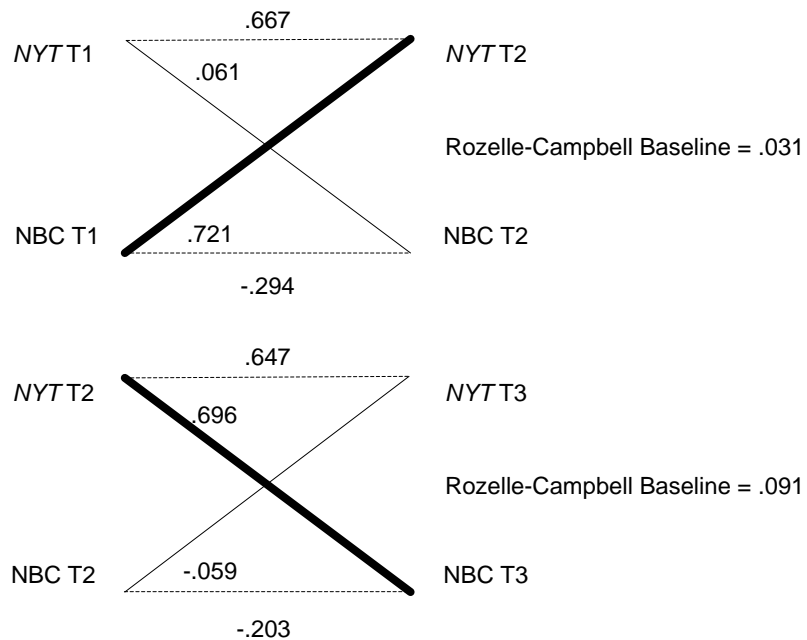


Figure 5-5 shows results of the cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute agenda of John McCain in the United States. The results provide evidence that the substantive attributes of McCain presented in the *New York Times* influenced the attributes of McCain reported on NBC in the United States between Time 2 and Time 3.

In the first cross-lagged correlation presented in Figure 5-5, the correlation is .061 between the *New York Times* substantive attribute agenda in Time 1 and the depiction of McCain on NBC in Time 2. However, the correlation of .721 shows a relationship between the depiction of McCain on NBC in Time 1 and the substantive attribute agenda in the *New York Times* in Time 2. This is evidence that NBC at Time 1 influenced the *New York Times* at Time 2.

While the correlation between the depiction of McCain in the *New York Times* during Time 2 and those on NBC in Time 3 was .696 in the second cross-lagged correlation test, there was a negative relationship between the depiction of McCain in NBC at Time 2 and those in the *New York Times* at Time 3, with a correlation of -.059. Because the Rozelle-Campbell is .091, this result is evidence of intermedia agenda setting during the periods.

***Cross-Lagged Correlations for the Substantive Attributes of Barack Obama between Traditional Media and the Internet***

Figure 5-6 shows results of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of Barack Obama in terms of the influence of traditional media on the attributes of Obama posted on Internet bulletin boards.

The correlation between the depictions of Obama on AOL in Time 1 and those in the *New York Times* during Time 2 was .029. The correlation between the depiction of Obama in the *New York Times* during Time 1 and those on AOL during Time 2 was .580. Although both correlations exceed the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of -.056, the large difference suggests that the *New York Times* influenced AOL.

In the second cross-lagged correlation, Obama's substantive attribute agenda in the *New York Times* at Time 2 compared with the Netizen agenda posted on AOL during Time 3 resulted in a correlation of -.029. The reverse correlation was -.319. This result establishes no evidence of intermedia agenda setting during those periods.



**Figure 5-6 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of Barack Obama between the traditional media and Internet in the United States**

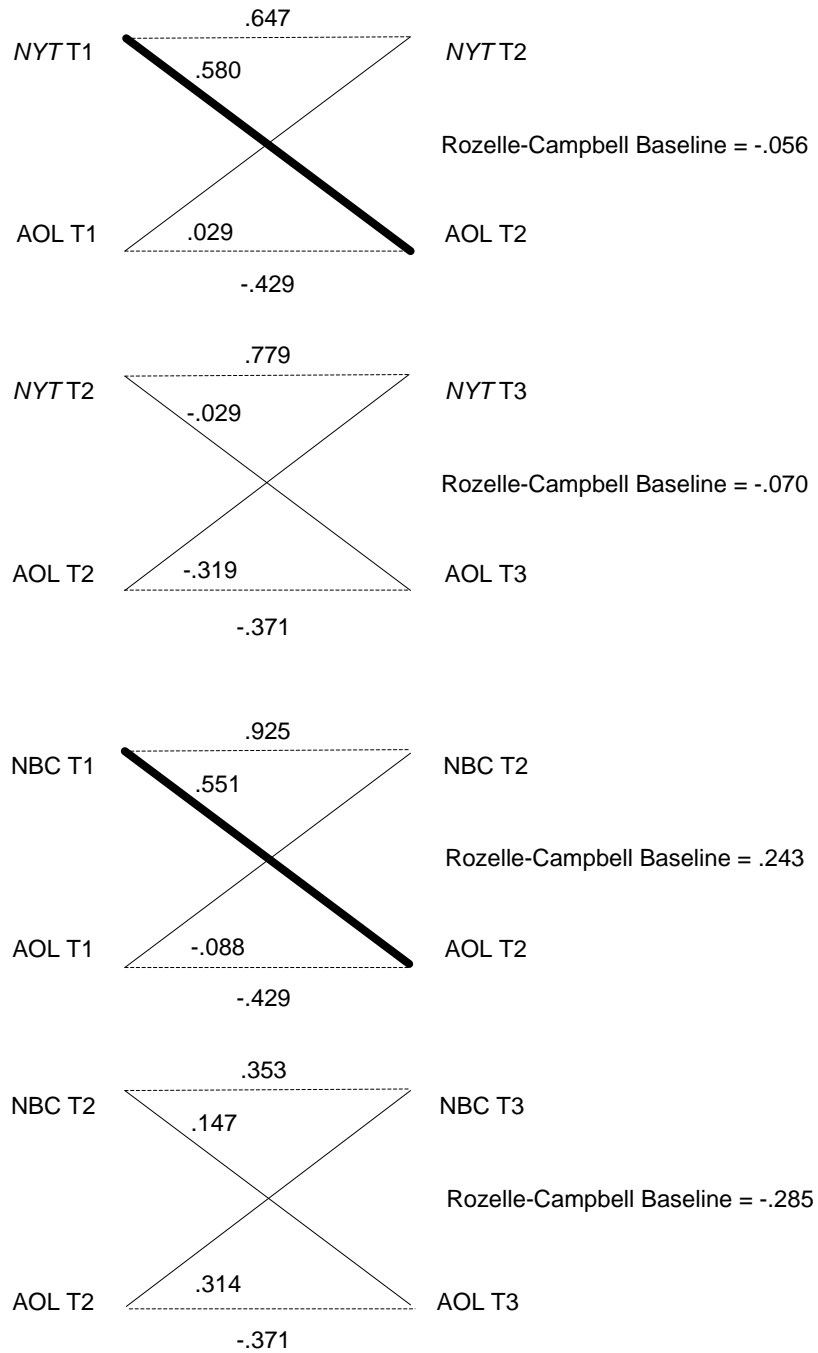


Figure 5-6 shows results of cross-lagged correlations between depictions of Barack Obama on NBC and those represented on AOL. The correlation between the depictions of Obama reported by NBC in Time 1 and those posted on AOL in Time 2 was .551, with no evidence of reciprocal influence. This moderate correlation exceeds the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .243, while the correlation of -.088 between Internet bulletin boards in Time 1 and broadcasting in Time 2 is below the Rozelle-Campbell baseline. This result suggests that depictions of Obama on NBC in Time 1 influenced depictions of Obama on AOL in Time 2. Therefore, this finding strongly supports H 2-3, suggesting that in the United States, the broadcasting attribute agenda setting will influence the attribute agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

In the final cross-lagged correlation shown in Figure 5-6, although there is a slight correlation of .147 between the depiction of Obama on NBC in Time 2 and those on AOL in Time 3, there also was a low correlation of .314 between the depictions of Obama on AOL in Time 2 and those on NBC in Time 3. This result suggests some degree of reciprocal influence, however, because the Rozelle-Campbell baseline is -.285.

### ***Cross-Lagged Correlations for the Substantive Attributes of Hillary Clinton between Traditional Media and the Internet***

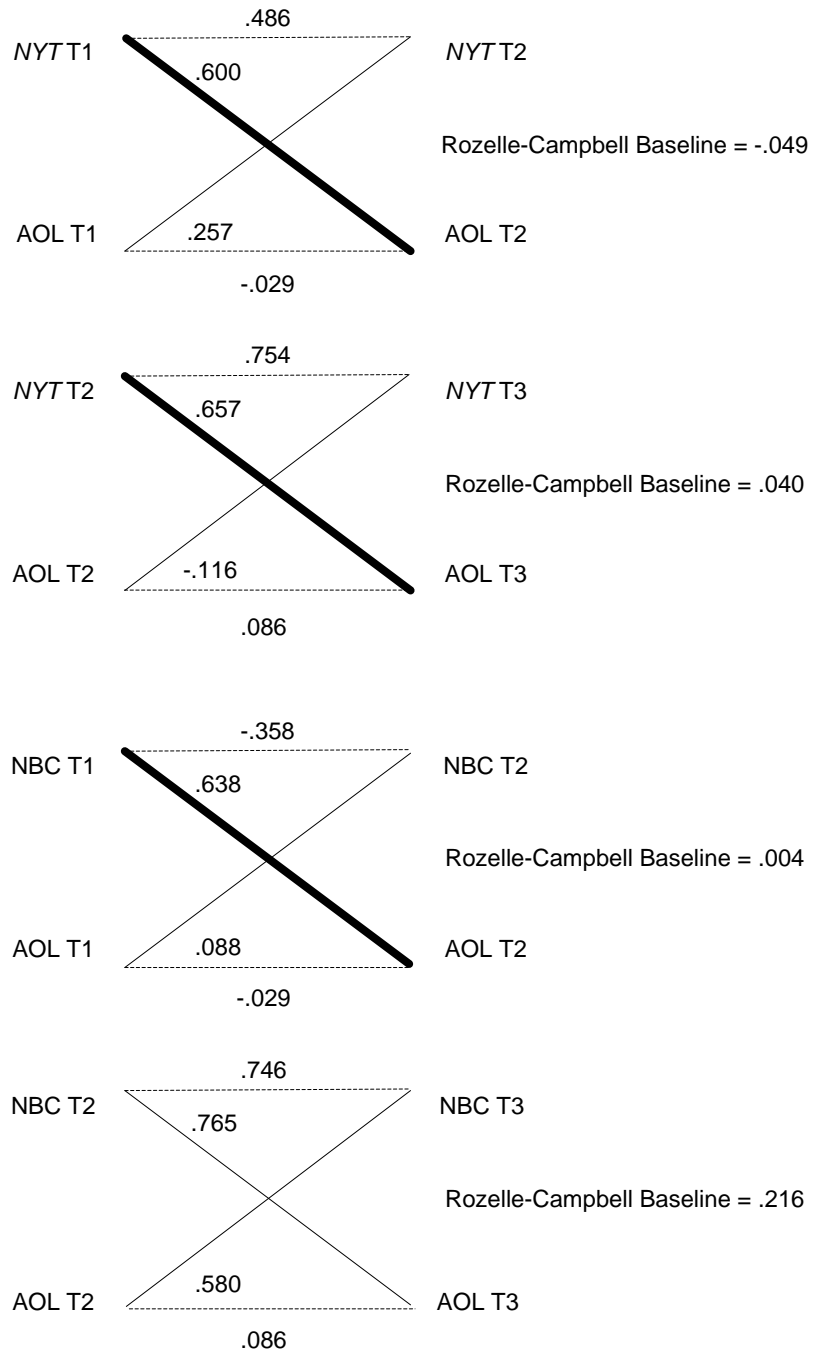
Figure 5-7 shows the results of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attributes of Hillary Clinton, suggesting that the substantive attributes of Clinton

presented in traditional media such as the *New York Times* influenced the attributes of Clinton posted on AOL.

The correlation of .600 between the depictions of Clinton in the *New York Times* in Time 1 and those on AOL in Time 2 are moderate. Although the correlation between the depiction of Clinton on AOL in Time 1 and those in the *New York Times* in Time 2 was .257, and both correlations exceed the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of -.049, the large difference suggests evidence of substantive attribute agenda influence.

In the second cross-lagged correlation in Figure 5-7, there was a moderate correlation of .657 between depictions of Clinton in the *New York Times* in Time 2 and the Netizen agenda posted on AOL in Time 3. The reverse correlation of -.116 between the Netizen substantive attribute agenda on AOL in Time 2 and depictions of Clinton in the *New York Times* at Time 3 was negative, while the Rozelle-Campbell baseline was .040. This result is evidence of intermedia agenda-setting effects in terms of influence by the *New York Times* on depictions of Clinton by Netizens on AOL. Therefore, H 1-3, which suggested that the attribute agenda of the daily newspaper in the United States will influence the attribute agenda of the Internet bulletin board, is supported.

**Figure 5-7 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of Hillary Clinton between the traditional media and Internet in the United States**



Hillary Clinton's substantive attribute agenda on NBC during Time 1 compared with the Netizen agenda posted on AOL during Time 2 resulted in a moderate correlation of .638. Although the correlation of the Netizen agenda posted on AOL during Time 1 with NBC's substantive attribute agenda in Time 2 (.088) exceeded the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .004, this result again suggests intermedia influence.

In the final cross-lagged correlation shown in Figure 5-7, the correlations between the depiction of Clinton on NBC during Time 2 and those on AOL during Time 3 are evidence of reciprocal influence, because both correlations exceed the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .216.

### ***Cross-Lagged Correlations for the Substantive Attributes of John McCain between Traditional Media and the Internet***

Figure 5-8 shows the results of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attributes of John McCain and indicates that depictions presented in the *New York Times* influenced attributes of McCain posted on AOL.

The first analysis in Figure 5-8 includes a cross-lagged correlation of .717 between depictions of McCain in the *New York Times* during Time 1 and those posted on AOL during Time 2, with no evidence of reciprocal influence. This high correlation exceeds the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .063, while the correlation of .029 between AOL at Time 1 and the *New York Times* at Time 2 is below the Rozelle-Campbell

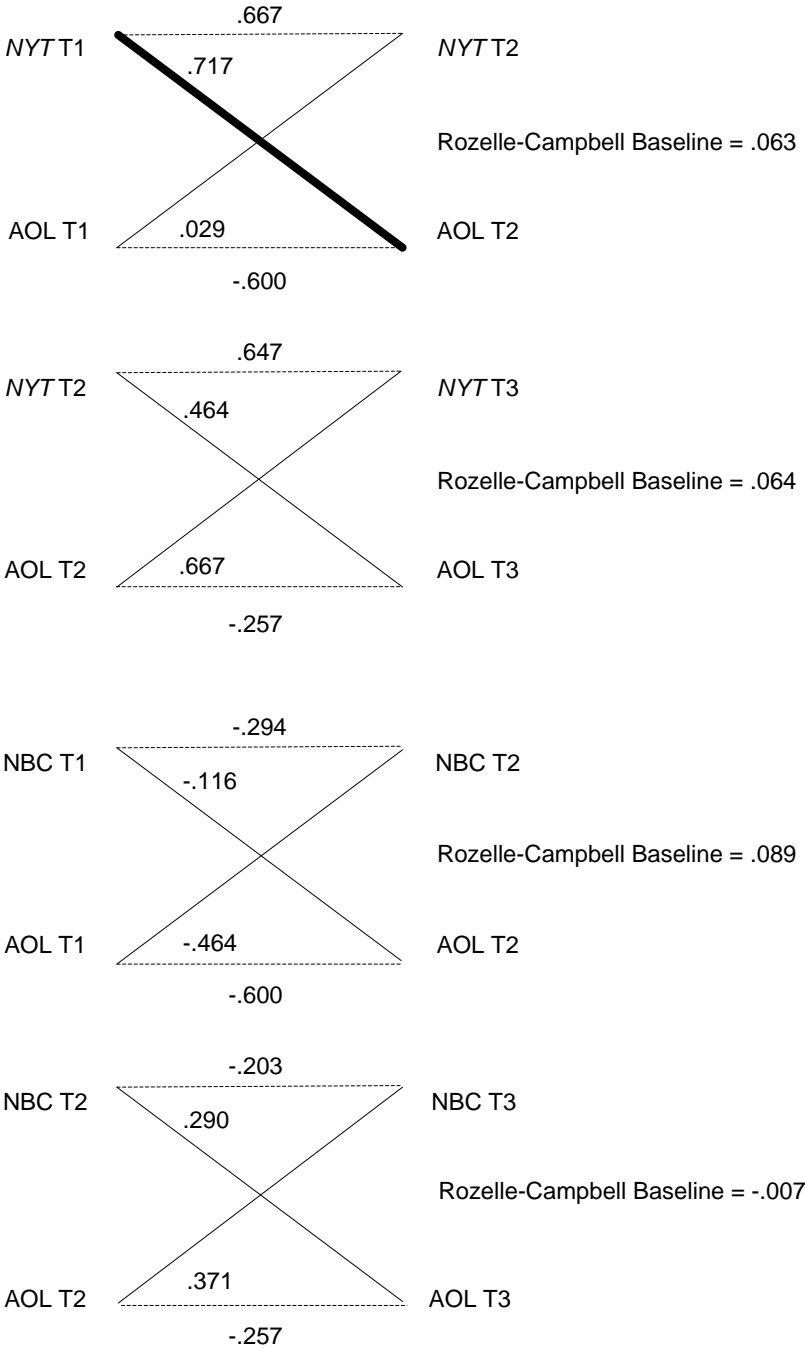
baseline. This result suggests that depictions of McCain in the *New York Times* during Time 1 influenced depictions of McCain on AOL during Time 2, indicating a significant relationship about substantive attribute agenda setting effects between newspapers and Internet bulletin boards in the United States. This finding supports H 1-3 as well, suggesting that the attribute agenda of the daily newspaper will influence the attribute agenda of the Internet bulletin board in the United States.

The correlation of .464 between depictions of McCain in the *New York Times* in Time 2 and on AOL in Time 3 is moderate, as is that between depictions of McCain on AOL in Time 2 and in the *New York Times* in Time 3 at .667. Both correlations exceed the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .064. This result implies the lack of substantive attribute agenda-setting effects on depictions of McCain.

In the third cross-lagged correlation analysis, John McCain's substantive attribute agenda on NBC during Time 1 compared with Netizen agenda posted on AOL in Time 2 showed a correlation of -.116. The reverse correlation was -.464, while the Rozelle-Campbell baseline was .089. This result indicates no evidence of intermedia agenda setting.

In the final cross-lagged correlation analysis in Figure 5-8, a low correlation of .290 was found between depictions of McCain on NBC in Time 2 and those on AOL in Time 3. A low correlation of .371 between depictions of McCain on AOL during Time 2 and those on NBC during Time 3 is also shown. This result indicates some degree of reciprocal influence, however, because the Rozelle-Campbell baseline is -.007. Therefore, H 2-3 is not supported.

**Figure 5-8 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of John McCain between the traditional media and Internet in the United States**



## Results of Content Analyses in Korea

### *Issue Agenda in Korean Media*

Table 5-13 shows the issue agenda in a Korean newspaper from Time 1 to Time 2 and to Time 3. The total number of mentions of the twelve main issues in *Chosunilbo* was 174 during Time 1, with 206 stories during Time 2 and 187 in Time 3. As the table shows, the most frequent issue agenda in Time 1 was the economy, followed by peace in the Korean Peninsula and a corruption scandal.

**Table 5-13 Issue Agenda in Korean Newspaper**

	<i>Chosunilbo</i> T1 (N = 174)		<i>Chosunilbo</i> T2 (N = 206)		<i>Chosunilbo</i> T3 (N = 187)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Economy</b>	1	34.48	1	23.79	1	27.27
<b>Peace in Korean Peninsula</b>	2	12.07	5	6.80	9	3.21
<b>Corruption Scandal</b>	3	10.92	2	23.30	2	22.46
<b>Change of Power</b>	4	8.62	6	5.34	7.5	3.74
<b>Regionalism</b>	5	8.05	4	10.68	3	10.16
<b>Foreign Policy</b>	6	7.47	3	15.05	5	8.56
<b>Illegal Campaigns</b>	7	6.32	8	3.88	10	2.67
<b>Education</b>	8.5	4.02	7	4.37	6	5.35
<b>Campaign Conduct</b>	8.5	4.02	9.5	1.94	4	9.63
<b>Disparity of Wealth</b>	10	2.30	11.5	1.46	12	1.07
<b>Dissolution Women</b>	11	1.72	11.5	1.46	11	2.14
<b>Environment</b>	12	0	9.5	1.94	7.5	3.74



In *Chosunilbo* coverage from Time 1 to Time 3, news about the economy was the most frequent issue — 34.48% in Time 1, 23.79% in Time 2, and 27.27% in Time 3 — even though concerns about education, environment, regionalism, and a corruption scandal increased from Time 1 to Time 2 but were limited in Time 3. Conversely, news about the disparity of wealth dissolution, peace in the Korean Peninsula, illegal campaigns, and change of power slightly decreased through the same time periods. Meanwhile, the percentage of news stories about foreign policy increased from 7.47% in Time 1 to 15.05% in Time 2, but slightly decreased to 8.56% in Time 3. The number of news stories about campaign conduct became more prominent in Time 3 (9.63%), while it remained a minor issue in Time 1 (4.02%) and Time 2 (1.94%). Trends of news coverage about women were similar: from 1.72% in Time 1 to 1.46% in Time 2, and 2.14% in Time 3.

Table 5-14 summarizes issue agendas in Korean broadcasting from Time 1 to Time 3. The total number of mentions about the twelve main issues on the KBS agenda was 75 in Time 1, 127 in Time 2, and 162 in Time 3. The news coverage gradually increased over the three time periods. In Table 5-14, critical issues for Time 1 to Time 3 of KBS were the economy, corruption scandal, and regionalism. In contrast, disparity of wealth dissolution, change of power, and women received the least amount of news coverage through the three time periods.

**Table 5-14 Issue Agenda in Korean Broadcasting**

	<b>KBS T1 (N = 75)</b>		<b>KBS T2 (N = 127)</b>		<b>KBS T3 (N = 162)</b>	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Economy</b>	1	24.00	2.5	14.17	2	21.61
<b>Corruption Scandal</b>	2	17.33	1	31.50	1	22.22
<b>Regionalism</b>	3	16.00	2.5	14.17	5.5	8.03
<b>Illegal Campaigns</b>	4	13.33	6	6.30	4	10.49
<b>Campaign Conduct</b>	5	10.67	4	11.81	5.5	8.03
<b>Environment</b>	6	5.33	5	7.87	3	11.73
<b>Foreign Policy</b>	7	4.00	10.5	1.58	9.5	1.85
<b>Education</b>	9	2.67	8.5	3.15	8	6.80
<b>Disparity of Wealth</b>	9	2.67	12	0.79	11.5	0
<b>Dissolution Change of Power</b>	9	2.67	10.5	1.58	9.5	1.85
<b>Peace in Korean Peninsula</b>	11	1.33	7	3.94	7	7.41
<b>Women</b>	12	0	8.5	3.15	11.5	0

Table 5-14 shows that news coverage about the economy (24.00%) and the corruption scandal (17.33%) were most frequent during Time 1 and they remained the dominant topics in Time 2 and Time 3. News coverage of regionalism, illegal campaigns, and campaign conduct was also frequent. Issues with the least reporting percentage from KBS in Time 1 were peace in the Korean Peninsula (1.33%) and women (0%). The topic of peace in the Korean Peninsula on KBS increased slightly after Time 2 (3.94% in Time 2 and 7.41% in Time 3), while the percentage of news coverage on women's issues

remained small or nonexistent — from 3.15% in Time 2 to 0% in Time 3. Similar trends were found from Time 1 to Time 3 for news coverage about education, foreign policy, the environment, disparity of wealth dissolution, and change of power.

Table 5-15 presents issue agendas posted on the Korean Internet bulletin board from Time 1 to Time 3. The number of postings gradually increased over the time periods.

**Table 5-15 Issue Agenda on Korean Internet Bulletin Board**

	<b>Daum T1 (N = 1954)</b>		<b>Daum T2 (N = 2019)</b>		<b>Daum T3 (N = 3872)</b>	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Corruption Scandal</b>	1	16.17	2	16.00	1	19.29
<b>Illegal Campaigns</b>	2	15.56	5	10.01	4	11.49
<b>Economy</b>	3	13.92	4	11.29	2	15.39
<b>Change of Power</b>	4	11.41	10	3.42	11	2.04
<b>Disparity of Wealth</b>	5	10.44	3	13.27	12	1.06
<b>Dissolution</b>						
<b>Peace in Korean Peninsula</b>	6	9.72	8	5.50	7	6.53
<b>Women</b>	7	5.68	12	1.34	10	3.13
<b>Regionalism</b>	8	4.91	1	18.77	3	14.90
<b>Environment</b>	9	4.09	11	1.78	9	3.59
<b>Campaign Conduct</b>	10	3.99	6	7.78	5	9.17
<b>Education</b>	11	2.46	9	4.56	8	4.78
<b>Foreign Policy</b>	12	1.64	7	6.29	6	8.63

As Table 5-15 shows, the largest percentages of postings on Daum in Time 1 were the corruption scandal (16.17%) and illegal campaigns (15.56%), with the economy and change of power being the next most frequently posted topics. Issues that had the least number of postings on Daum in Time 1 were education (2.46%) and foreign policy (1.64%).

Meanwhile, the corruption scandal postings on Internet bulletin boards remained the dominant topic: from 16.17% in Time 1 to 16.00% in Time 2, and 19.29% in Time 3. Opinions about regionalism increased during the presidential campaign, from 4.91% in Time 1 to 18.77% in Time 2, with a slight decrease to 14.90% in Time 3. In addition, although postings about the disparity of wealth dissolution on Internet bulletin boards increased from 10.44% in Time 1 to 13.27% in Time 2, the topic dropped significantly to 6.53% in Time 3. Netizen opinions about education, foreign policy, and campaign conduct also increased over the three time periods, with a similar trend found during the presidential campaign for postings about the environment, peace in the Korean Peninsula, and women.

### ***Myung-bak Lee's Substantive Attribute Agenda in Korean Media***

This research examined descriptions of presidential candidates in Korean newspapers in terms of the substantive attribute agenda. Table 5-16 shows the content analysis results of Myung-bak Lee's substantive attribute agenda in *Chosunilbo*. The total for the six main substantive attributes in the newspaper was 40 during Time 1, 55 in Time

2, and 44 in Time 3. In Time 1, news coverage regarding the morality of Myung-bak Lee was most frequent, with personality being the second most frequent attribute followed by his competence. The leadership of Myung-bak Lee was mentioned less frequently in Time 1 (12.50%). The ideology and experience of Myung-bak Lee were the least frequently mentioned topics in Time 1, at 10.00% each.

**Table 5-16 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Myung-bak Lee in Korean Newspaper**

	<i>Chosunilbo</i> T1 (N = 40)		<i>Chosunilbo</i> T2 (N = 55)		<i>Chosunilbo</i> T3 (N = 44)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Morality</b>	1	32.50	1	54.55	1	59.09
<b>Personality</b>	2	20.00	2	14.55	2	15.91
<b>Competence</b>	3	15.00	6	1.82	5	4.55
<b>Leadership</b>	4	12.50	4	10.91	5	4.55
<b>Ideology</b>	5.5	10.00	3	12.73	3	11.36
<b>Experience</b>	5.5	10.00	5	5.45	5	4.55

The proportion of newspaper coverage devoted to the morality of Myung-bak Lee was a prominent substantive attribute during the entire presidential campaign, increasing from 32.50% in Time 1, to 54.55% in Time 2, and to 59.09% in Time 3. The proportion of news coverage about Myung-bak Lee's competence also dropped significantly, from 15.00% in Time 1 to 1.82% in Time 2, and 4.55% in Time 3. In addition, the proportion of news coverage about Myung-bak Lee's experience and leadership gradually decreased respectively from 10.00% and 12.50% in Time 1 to 5.45% and 10.91% in Time 2, with 4.55% and 4.55% in Time 3. During the overall presidential election campaign period,

news coverage regarding the personality and ideology of Myung-bak Lee remained unchanged.

Table 5-17 shows the results of the content analysis of Myung-bak Lee's substantive attribute agenda on KBS. The number of news items related to the six main substantive attributes on KBS showed a gradual increase from 50 in Time 1, to 68 in Time 2, and 69 in Time 3.

**Table 5-17 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Myung-bak Lee in Korean Broadcasting**

	<b>KBS T1 (N = 50)</b>		<b>KBS T2 (N = 68)</b>		<b>KBS T3 (N = 69)</b>	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Morality</b>	1	38.00	1	44.12	1	34.78
<b>Ideology</b>	2	30.00	5.5	0	5	5.80
<b>Personality</b>	3	14.00	3	17.65	4	10.15
<b>Experience</b>	4	8.00	4	7.35	3	13.04
<b>Leadership</b>	5	6.00	2	30.88	2	31.88
<b>Competence</b>	6	4.00	5.5	0	6	4.35

During Time 1, the morality and ideology of Myung-bak Lee were first and second most frequent in news coverage, respectively, followed by his personality. Descriptions of his experience and leadership received little attention in Time 1, while his competence was barely represented.

Broadcast news coverage about the morality of Myung-bak Lee, like that of newspapers, was a dominant substantive attribute throughout the entire presidential

election campaign period. The proportion of depictions of Myung-bak Lee's morality was 38% in Time 1, 44.12% in Time 2, and 34.78% in Time 3. The proportion of news coverage about ideology plummeted from 30.00% in Time 1 to 0% in Time 2, with a slight increase to 5.80% in Time 3. Meanwhile, although there were fewer news stories about Myung-bak Lee's leadership in proportion to the entire group of news stories, there was a gradual increase from 6.00% in Time 1 to 30.88 in Time 2, and to 31.88% in Time 3. During the three time periods, Korean broadcast news coverage concerning Myung-bak Lee's personality, experience, and competence remained unchanged.

**Table 5-18 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Myung-bak Lee on Korean Internet Bulletin Board**

	<b>Daum T1 (N = 550)</b>		<b>Daum T2 (N = 865)</b>		<b>Daum T3 (N = 1491)</b>	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Leadership</b>	1	29.45	5	11.10	5	8.45
<b>Ideology</b>	2	24.36	3	21.04	2	23.14
<b>Morality</b>	3	15.27	2	21.85	1	26.02
<b>Competence</b>	4	13.09	6	5.67	3	20.19
<b>Personality</b>	5	10.55	1	28.44	6	7.58
<b>Experience</b>	6	7.27	4	11.91	4	14.62

At the second level of agenda setting, this dissertation examined depictions of Myung-bak Lee as a presidential candidate on the Korean Internet bulletin board. Table 5-18 presents the substantive attribute agenda of Myung-bak Lee in Daum from Time 1 to Time 3. Through the three time periods, the number of postings gradually increased,

with those in Time 3 being three times those in Time 1. During Time 1, opinions concerning the leadership and ideology of Myung-bak Lee were the first and second substantive attribute agendas, respectively. Depictions of the leadership of Myung-bak Lee dropped from 29.45% in Time 1 to 11.10% in Time 2, and to 8.45% in Time 3. Also, postings about Myung-bak Lee's morality were dominant during the three time periods, gradually increasing from 15.27% in Time 1 to 21.85% in Time 2, and to 26.02% in Time 3. Similarly, postings about the experience of Myung-bak Lee increased slightly, from 7.27% in Time 1 to 11.91% in Time 2, and to 14.62% in Time 3. The personality of Myung-bak Lee was the least frequent topic in Time 1 (10.55%), but rose in Time 2 (28.44%) and dropped again in Time 3 (7.58%). On the topic of competence, there was a fluctuation from 13.09% in Time 1 down to 5.67% in Time 2, and then up to 20.19% in Time 3.

### ***Dong-young Chung's Substantive Attribute Agenda in Korean Media***

Table 5-19 summarizes the content analysis results of Dong-young Chung's substantive attribute agenda in *Chosunilbo*. The total number of news items on the six main substantive attributes was 32 in Time 1, 24 in Time 2, and 17 in Time 3. As Time 1 shows, coverage concerning the description of Dong-young Chung's personality was the most frequent, with his ideology and the experience being the next most frequent, followed by his morality and competence. The leadership of Dong-young Chung received the least amount of news coverage in Time 1.



**Table 5-19 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Dong-young Chung in Korean Newspaper**

	<i>Chosunilbo</i> T1 (N = 32)		<i>Chosunilbo</i> T2 (N = 24)		<i>Chosunilbo</i> T3 (N = 17)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Personality</b>	1	34.38	1	33.33	1	23.53
<b>Ideology</b>	2.5	15.63	1	33.33	3.5	17.65
<b>Experience</b>	2.5	15.63	3	16.67	3.5	17.65
<b>Morality</b>	4.5	12.50	5	4.17	5	11.77
<b>Competence</b>	4.5	12.50	6	0	6	5.88
<b>Leadership</b>	6	9.38	4	12.50	1	23.53

Coverage about the personality of Dong-young Chung was the most dominant substantive attribute agenda during the presidential election campaign, from 34.38% in Time 1 to 33.33% in Time 2, and 23.53% in Time 3. Chung's ideology and experience were also dominant substantive attributes during the presidential election campaign, at 15.63% and 15.63% in Time 1, 33.33% and 16.67% in Time 2, and 17.65% and 17.65% in Time 3, respectively. Coverage of the candidate's ideology and experience of during Time 1 and Time 3 were the same. News coverage about the leadership of Dong-young Chung increased from 9.38% in Time 1 to 12.50% in Time 2, and 23.53% in Time 3. Even though the topic was the least frequently mentioned agenda item in Time 1, it became the major substantive attribute in Time 3. During the presidential campaign, news coverage about the morality and competence of Dong-young Chung showed minimal changes from Time 1 to Time 3.

**Table 5-20 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Dong-young Chung  
in Korean Broadcasting**

	KBS T1 (N = 33)		KBS T2 (N = 45)		KBS T3 (N = 43)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Leadership</b>	1	45.46	1	51.11	1	46.51
<b>Experience</b>	2	18.18	5	6.67	2.5	13.95
<b>Ideology</b>	3	15.15	3	11.11	5.5	6.98
<b>Personality</b>	4	9.09	4	8.89	4	11.63
<b>Morality</b>	5.5	6.06	2	17.78	2.5	13.95
<b>Competence</b>	5.5	6.06	6	4.44	5.5	6.98

Table 5-20 shows a content analysis summary of Dong-young’s substantive attribute agenda from Time 1 to Time 3 in the broadcast media. The total number of mentions on the six main substantive attributes on KBS was 33 in Time 1, 45 in Time 2, and 43 in Time 3. In Time 1, news coverage concerning the leadership of Dong-young Chung was most frequent in Korean broadcast news. The experience and ideology of Dong-young Chung were the second and third most frequently represented news topics in Time 1, with his personality, morality, and competence receiving little attention in Time 1.

The leadership of Dong-young Chung as a substantive attribute on KBS was dominant in all three time periods: 45.46% in Time 1, 51.11% in Time 2, and 46.51% in Time 3. Dong-young Chung’s experience fluctuated during the presidential election campaign at 18.18% in Time 1 followed by 6.67% in Time 2, and up to 13.95% in Time 3. The proportion of news coverage depicting Dong-young Chung’s ideology gradually

decreased from 15.15% in Time 1 to 11.11% in Time 2, and down to 6.98% in Time 3. By contrast, the proportion of news coverage about Dong-young Chung's morality increased after Time 1, and became high in Time 2 (17.78%), up from Time 1 (6.06%), and Time 3 (13.95%). During the entire campaign, news coverage regarding the candidate's personality and competence remained minor.

**Table 5-21 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Dong-young Chung on Korean Internet Bulletin Board**

	Daum T1 (N = 545)		Daum T2 (N = 733)		Daum T3 (N = 1117)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Morality</b>	1	27.52	5	9.96	2	23.90
<b>Personality</b>	2	20.73	2	24.01	1	26.86
<b>Leadership</b>	3	19.08	3	18.69	5	11.46
<b>Ideology</b>	4	13.76	1	25.78	3	20.23
<b>Competence</b>	5	10.46	4	17.19	4	13.25
<b>Experience</b>	6	8.44	6	4.37	6	4.30

Table 5-21 summarizes Dong-young Chung's substantive attribute agenda as a presidential candidate on Korean Internet bulletin boards over three time periods. In Time 1, the morality of Dong-young Chung was the top ranking substantive attribute. Depictions of his morality changed dramatically, however, from 27.52% in Time 1 to 9.96% in Time 2, and then back up to 23.90% in Time 3. Meanwhile, postings about Dong-young Chung's personality steadily increased from 20.73% in Time 1 to 24.01% in Time 2, and 26.86% in Time 3, becoming the most frequently mentioned attribute in Time 3. The ideology of Dong-young Chung fluctuated from 13.76% in Time 1 to

25.78% in Time 2, and 20.33% in Time 3. Postings about the candidate’s leadership gradually decreased from 19.08% in Time 1 to 18.69% in Time 2, and to 11.46% in Time 3. Over the three time periods, postings about the competence and experience of Dong-young Chung on Daum were limited.

***Hoi-chang Lee’s Substantive Attribute Agenda in Korean Media***

Table 5-22 shows content analysis results of Hoi-chang Lee’s substantive attribute agenda in *Chosunilbo*. Total number of mentions on the six main substantive attributes was 27 in Time 1, 18 in Time 2, and 16 in Time 3. Coverage of the personality of Hoi-chang Lee was dominant in Time 1, while articles about his ideology were second most frequent in Time 1. The number of articles about Hoi-chang Lee’s leadership and competence were the same in Time 1, while his morality and experience received little attention.

**Table 5-22 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Hoi-chang Lee in Korean Newspaper**

	<i>Chosunilbo</i> T1 (N = 27)		<i>Chosunilbo</i> T2 (N = 18)		<i>Chosunilbo</i> T3 (N = 16)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Personality</b>	1	33.33	2	38.89	1	25.00
<b>Ideology</b>	2	18.52	1	44.44	3.5	18.75
<b>Leadership</b>	3.5	14.82	3	11.11	3.5	18.75
<b>Competence</b>	3.5	14.82	5.5	0	6	0
<b>Morality</b>	5	11.11	4	5.56	1	25.00
<b>Experience</b>	6	7.41	5.5	0	5	12.50

News coverage on the personality of Hoi-chang Lee made it the top ranking substantive attribute during the presidential campaign, with 33.33% in Time 1, 38.89% in Time 2, and 25.00% in Time 3. News coverage about the ideology of Hoi-chang Lee ranked top in Time 2, jumping from 18.52% in Time 1 to 44.44% in Time 2, but then dropping to 18.75% in Time 3. Because Hoi-chang Lee's morality increased substantially after Time 2, it ranked first in Time 3. Postings about the competence of Hoi-chang Lee were 14.82% in Time 1 but disappeared in Time 2 and Time 3 at 0%. During the three time periods, postings about the experience and leadership of Hoi-chang Lee followed similar trends.

**Table 5-23 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Hoi-chang Lee in Korean Broadcasting**

	<b>KBS T1 (N = 28)</b>		<b>KBS T2 (N = 33)</b>		<b>KBS T3 (N = 37)</b>	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Leadership</b>	1	42.86	1	51.52	1	54.05
<b>Experience</b>	2	28.57	5	6.06	4	8.11
<b>Ideology</b>	3	10.71	3.5	12.12	2	16.22
<b>Morality</b>	4.5	7.14	3.5	12.12	4	8.11
<b>Competence</b>	4.5	7.14	6	0	4	8.11
<b>Personality</b>	6	3.57	2	18.18	6	5.41

Table 5-23 shows the substantive attribute agenda of Hoi-chang Lee during the three time periods. Number of mentions on the six main substantive attributes on KBS was 28 in Time 1, 33 in Time 2, and 37 in Time 3. In Time 1, news coverage about the leadership of Hoi-chang Lee was most frequent, while his experience came in second and

his ideology third. The candidate's morality and competence had similar rankings in Time 1, while his personality received the least attention.

The leadership of Hoi-chang Lee ranked first in Time 1 and after Time 2. The proportion of articles about his experience in Time 3 was a mere 8.11%. The same was true for morality and competence in Time 3, even though articles about his experience in Time 1 were 28.57%. The personality of Hoi-chang Lee remained at the bottom in Time 1 (3.57%) and in Time 3 (5.41%) but ranked second in Time 2 (18.18%). Over the three periods, the ideology and morality of Hoi-chang Lee followed a similar trend. News coverage about his competence fluctuated from 7.14% in Time 1 to 0% in Time 2, and to 8.11% in Time 3.

**Table 5-24 Substantive Attribute Agenda of Hoi-chang Lee on Korean Internet Bulletin Board**

	<b>Daum T1 (N = 614)</b>		<b>Daum T2 (N = 608)</b>		<b>Daum T3 (N = 1247)</b>	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
<b>Experience</b>	1	32.57	6	6.74	3	17.56
<b>Ideology</b>	2	19.71	2	21.38	1	26.30
<b>Competence</b>	3	17.75	5	11.02	6	6.10
<b>Personality</b>	4	12.05	1	27.47	4	15.24
<b>Leadership</b>	5	10.26	3	17.76	5	10.43
<b>Morality</b>	6	7.66	4	15.63	2	24.38

At the second level of agenda setting, I examined depictions of Hoi-chang Lee on Internet bulletin boards. Table 5-24 presents the content analysis for the substantive

attribute agenda of Hoi-chang Lee on Daum during the presidential campaigns.

Descriptions about his experience in Time 1 were first on the agenda at 32.57% on the Korean Internet bulletin board. Second on Daum was his ideology at 19.71% in Time 1. Depictions of Hoi-chang Lee's experience on Daum dropped from 32.57% in Time 1 to 6.74% in Time 2, even though that attribute ranked third in Time 3 at 17.56%. The proportion of Netizen opinions about Hoi-chang Lee's ideology ranked second in Time 1 and Time 2 at 19.71% and 21.38% respectively, while it rose to first in Time 3 at 26.30%. During the three periods, depictions of Hoi-chang Lee's competence fell from 17.75% in Time 1 to 11.02% in Time 2, and down to 6.10% in Time 3. The topic of morality among Netizen opinions greatly increased from 7.66% in Time 1 to 15.63% in Time 2, and up to 24.38% in Time 3. Meanwhile, postings on Daum about Lee's personality and leadership followed a similar pattern, increasing from Time 1 to Time 2 but decreasing in Time 3 (15.24% and 10.43%, respectively).

## **Results of Cross-Lagged Correlations in Korea**

### ***Results of Cross-Lagged Correlations for Issue Agenda between Chosunilbo and KBS in Korean Media***

In this dissertation, I analyze the intermedia agenda-setting relationship between *Chosunilbo* and KBS to provide benchmark measures for the patterns of intermedia agenda setting between the traditional media and Agora on Daum in Korea.

**Figure 5-9 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the issue agenda between the *Chosunilbo* and KBS in Korea**

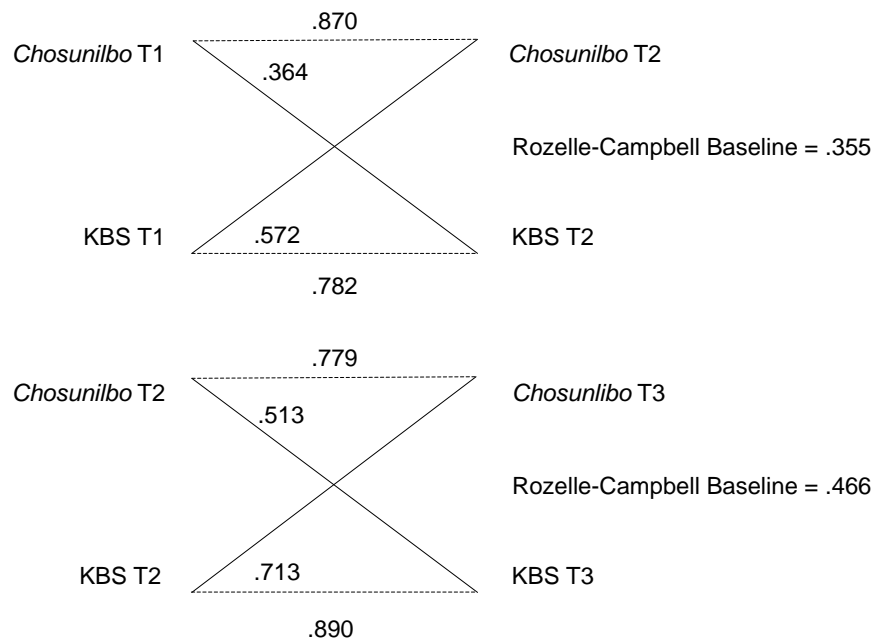


Figure 5-9 illustrates the cross-lagged comparisons regarding the intermedia influence between the *Chosunilbo* issue agenda and the KBS issue agenda in Korea. The correlation of .364 shows a relationship between the *Chosunilbo* issue agenda in Time 1 and the KBS issue agenda in Time 2. Likewise, the correlation of .572 shows a relationship between the KBS issue agenda in Time 1 and the *Chosunilbo* issue agenda in Time 2. The Rozelle-Campbell baseline is .355, suggesting reciprocity.



The correlation of .513 between the *Chosunilbo* issue agenda during Time 2 and the KBS issue agenda during Time 3 was lower than the correlation of .713 between the KBS issue agenda in Time 2 and the *Chosunilbo* issue agenda in Time 3. Because both correlations exceed the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .466, however, there is evidence of reciprocity. In fact, the results indicate that *Chosunilbo* is not the primary intermedia issue agenda setter in Korea, as is the *New York Times* in the United States.

### ***Results of Cross-Lagged Correlations for Issue Agenda between Traditional Media and the Internet in Korea***

Figure 5-10 shows the cross-lagged correlation results for the issue agenda to examine intermedia agenda setting between traditional media and the Internet bulletin board in Korea. The results explain the influence of newspapers and broadcasting on Netizens' issue agenda on the Korean Internet bulletin board.

There was a moderate correlation of .438 between the *Chosunilbo* issue agenda in Time 1 and the Daum issue agenda in Time 2, while the low correlation of .221 indicated a relationship between the Daum issue agenda at Time 1 and the *Chosunilbo* issue agenda at Time 2. Because the Rozelle-Campbell baseline was .305, this result suggests that the Korean newspaper issue agenda at Time 1 influenced the Netizen agenda on Korean Internet bulletin boards in Time 2. Therefore, this finding supports H 1-2, suggesting that

in Korea, the issue agenda of the daily newspaper will influence the issue agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

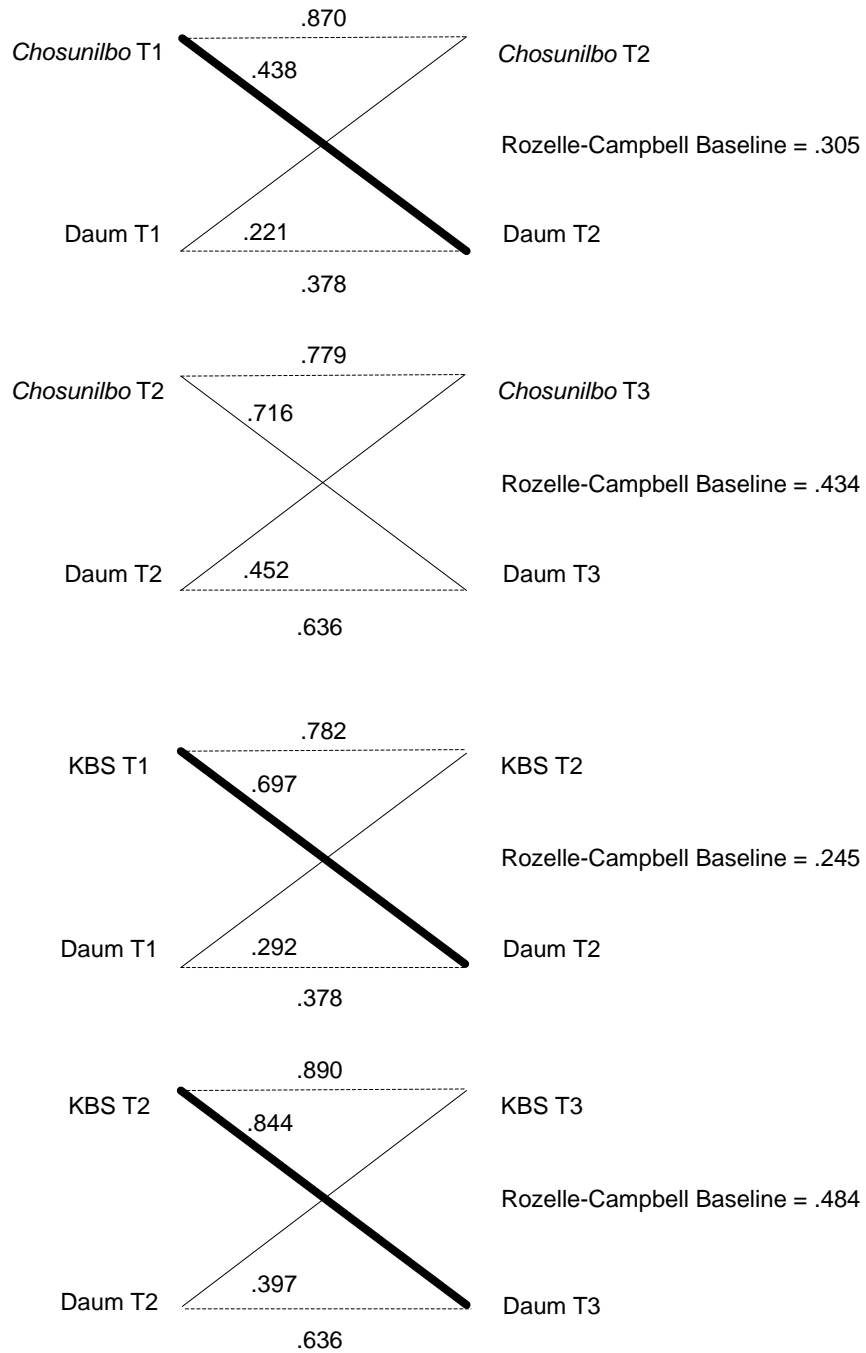
There was also a high correlation of .716 between the *Chosunilbo* issue agenda at Time 2 and the Daum's Netizen agenda at Time 3. A degree of reciprocal influence was present, however, because the influence of the Netizen issue agenda in Time 2 on the newspaper issue agenda in Time 2 (.452) exceeded the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .434. Although there was reciprocity, the higher correlation was between the newspaper issue agenda in Time 2 and the Netizen agenda in Time 3. The results do not support H 1-2, which proposed that the issue agenda presented in the Korean daily newspaper would be likely to influence the issue agendas posted on the Korean Internet bulletin board during the presidential campaigns.

Figure 5-10 shows evidence of influence between broadcasting and the Internet bulletin boards. A moderate correlation of .697 between the Korean broadcast issue agenda in Time 1 and the Netizen agenda on Daum in Time 2 was higher than the correlation of .292 between the Daum issue agenda in Time 1 and the KBS issue agenda in Time 2. Although both correlations were over the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .245, the results suggest intermedia agenda-setting.

The high correlation of .844 between the KBS issue agenda in Time 2 and the Daum's Netizen agenda in Time 3 was higher than the correlation of .397 between the Daum's Netizen agenda in Time 2 and the KBS issue agenda in Time 3. This result indicates strong evidence of influence by the Korean broadcast issue agenda on the Netizen agenda of Korean Internet bulletin boards because it exceeds the Rozelle-

Campbell baseline of .484. In fact, this finding supports H 2-2, which suggested that in Korea, the broadcast issue agenda would influence the issue agenda of the Internet bulletin board. This result does not support the opposite relationship of H 2-2, though, indicating that the issue agendas posted on the Korean Internet bulletin board are likely to influence the issue agendas reported on Korean broadcasting during presidential campaigns.

**Figure 5-10 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the issue agenda between the traditional media and Internet in Korea**



***Cross-Lagged Correlations for Substantive Attributes of Myung-bak Lee, Dong-young Chung, and Hoi-chang Lee between Chosunilbo and KBS***

To provide benchmark measures for the patterns of intermedia agenda setting between the traditional media and Agora on Daum, this research also analyzed the intermedia relationship between *Chosunilbo* and KBS at the second-level agenda setting.

The results of the cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attributes of Myung-bak Lee, Dong-young Chung, and Hoi-chang Lee demonstrated intermedia agenda-setting effects between *Chosunilbo* and KBS during the Korean presidential campaign in 2007. Particularly, the cross-lagged correlations analyses of the three major candidates indicated that the intermedia influence of KBS was slightly stronger than the *Chosunilbo*.

**Figure 5-11 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of Myung-bak Lee between the *Chosunilbo* and KBS in Korea**

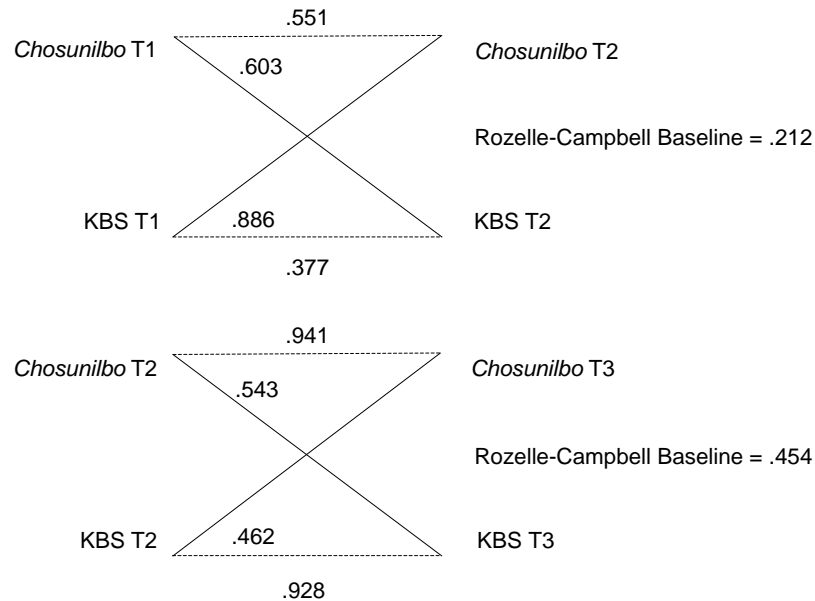


Figure 5-11 shows results of the cross-lagged correlations between the substantive attribute of Myung-bak Lee represented on *Chosunilbo* and those reported on KBS in Korea. The correlation between the depictions of Myung-bak Lee on *Chosunilbo* in Time 1 and those on KBS during Time 2 was .603. With the correlation between the depiction of Myung-bak Lee on KBS during Time 1 and those on *Chosunilbo* during Time 2 being .886, there is evidence of reciprocal influence. Both correlations exceed the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .212.

In the second cross-lagged correlation, Myung-bak Lee's substantive attribute agenda in *Chosunilbo* at Time 2, compared with KBS substantive attribute agenda about Myung-bak Lee during Time 3, resulted in a correlation of .543. The reverse correlation

was .462, while the Rozelle-Campbell baseline was .454. This result indicates no evidence of intermedia agenda setting during this time.

**Figure 5-12 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of Dong-young Chung between the *Chosunilbo* and KBS in Korea**

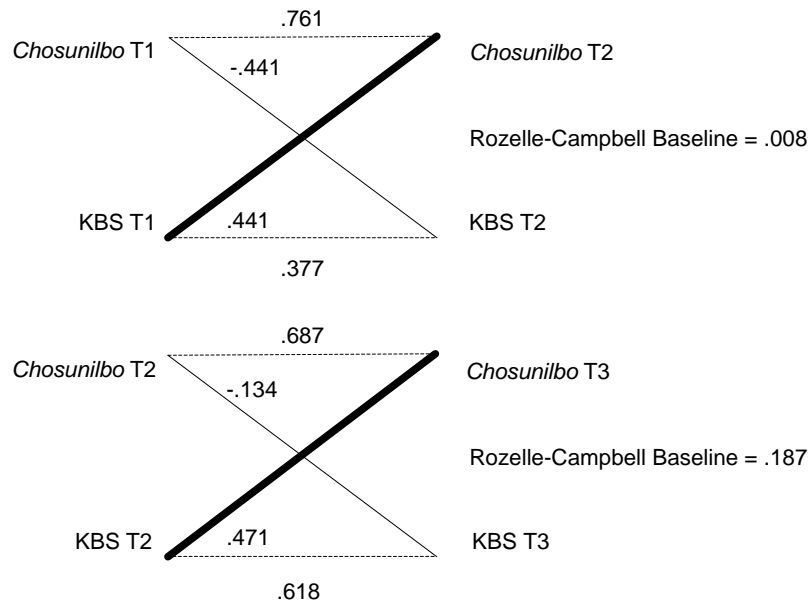


Figure 5-12 shows results of the cross-lagged correlations between depictions of Dong-young Chung in *Chosunilbo* and those on KBS. The correlation between descriptions of Dong-young Chung reported by KBS in Time 1 and those represented in *Chosunilbo* during Time 2 was .441, with no evidence of reciprocal influence. This moderate correlation exceeds the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .008, while the negative correlation of -.441 between *Chosunilbo* in Time 1 and KBS in Time 2 is below the baseline. The result implies that descriptions of Dong-young Chung on KBS in Time 1 influenced depictions of Dong-young Chung in *Chosunilbo* during Time 2.

In the second cross-lagged correlation analysis presented in Figure 5-12, the result shows the same pattern as in the period of Time 1 to Time 2 for *Chosunilbo* and KBS. There was a moderate correlation of .471 between depictions of Dong-young Chung on KBS during Time 2 and Dong-young Chung's substantive attribute agenda in *Chosunilbo* during Time 3. The reverse correlation of -.134 between the substantive attribute agenda in *Chosunilbo* during Time 2 and depictions of Dong-young Chung on KBS during Time 3 was negative, while the Rozelle-Campbell baseline was .187. This result indicates evidence of intermedia agenda-setting effects in terms of influence by KBS on depictions of Dong-young Chung by the substantive attribute agenda in *Chosunilbo*.

**Figure 5-13 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of Hoi-chang Lee between the *Chosunilbo* and KBS in Korea**

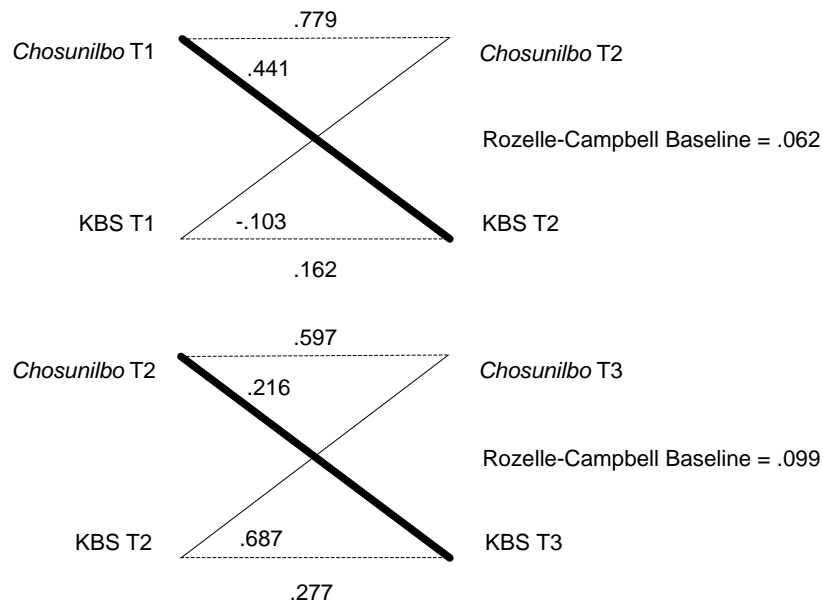




Figure 5-13 shows the results of cross-lagged correlation analysis for the substantive attributes of Hoi-chang Lee and indicates that descriptions appearing in *Chosunilbo* influenced attributes of Hoi-chang Lee reported on KBS. There is a cross-lagged correlation of .441 between depictions of Hoi-chang Lee in *Chosunilbo* during Time 1 and those on KBS during Time 2, with no evidence of reciprocal influence. This moderate correlation exceeds the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .062, while the correlation of -.103 between KBS at Time 1 and *Chosunilbo* at Time 2 is below the Rozelle-Campbell baseline.

In the second cross-lagged correlation, Hoi-chang Lee's substantive attribute agenda in *Chosunilbo* during Time 2, compared with the substantive attribute agenda about Hoi-chang Lee reported on KBS in Time 3, showed a correlation of .216. The reverse correlation was .687. While the Rozelle-Campbell baseline was .099, this result suggests intermedia agenda setting.

#### ***Cross-Lagged Correlations for the Substantive Attributes of Myung-bak Lee between Traditional Media and the Internet***

Figure 5-14 shows the consequence of a cross-lagged correlation analysis for the substantive attributes of Myung-bak Lee in Korea. The results suggest that the substantive attributes agenda of Myung-bak Lee posted on Korean Internet bulletin boards had an influence on the substantive attribute agenda of Myung-bak Lee presented in traditional media, such as newspapers and broadcasting.

The correlation between depictions of Myung-bak Lee in *Chosunilbo* during Time 1 and those on Daum in Time 2 was .406, and the correlation between the depiction of Myung-bak Lee on Daum in Time 1 and those on *Chosunilbo* in Time 2 was .200. Both correlations exceed the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .178.

In the second cross-lagged correlation analysis shown in Figure 5-14, there was strong evidence that descriptions of Myung-bak Lee on a Korean Internet bulletin board in Time 2 influenced depictions of Myung-bak Lee in Korean newspapers in Time 3, with no reciprocity. In addition, the correlation of .880 between depictions of Myung-bak Lee on the Korean Internet bulletin board in Time 2 and those in Korean newspapers in Time 3 exceed the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .405. The correlation of .200 between *Chosunilbo* in Time 2 and Daum in Time 3 were below the Rozelle-Campbell baseline. This result therefore provides support for the opposite relationship of H 1-4, indicating that in terms of attribute agendas, the Korean Internet bulletin board is likely to have an intermedia agenda-setting function on the Korean daily newspaper during presidential campaigns.

**Figure 5-14 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of Myung-bak Lee between the traditional media and Internet in Korea**

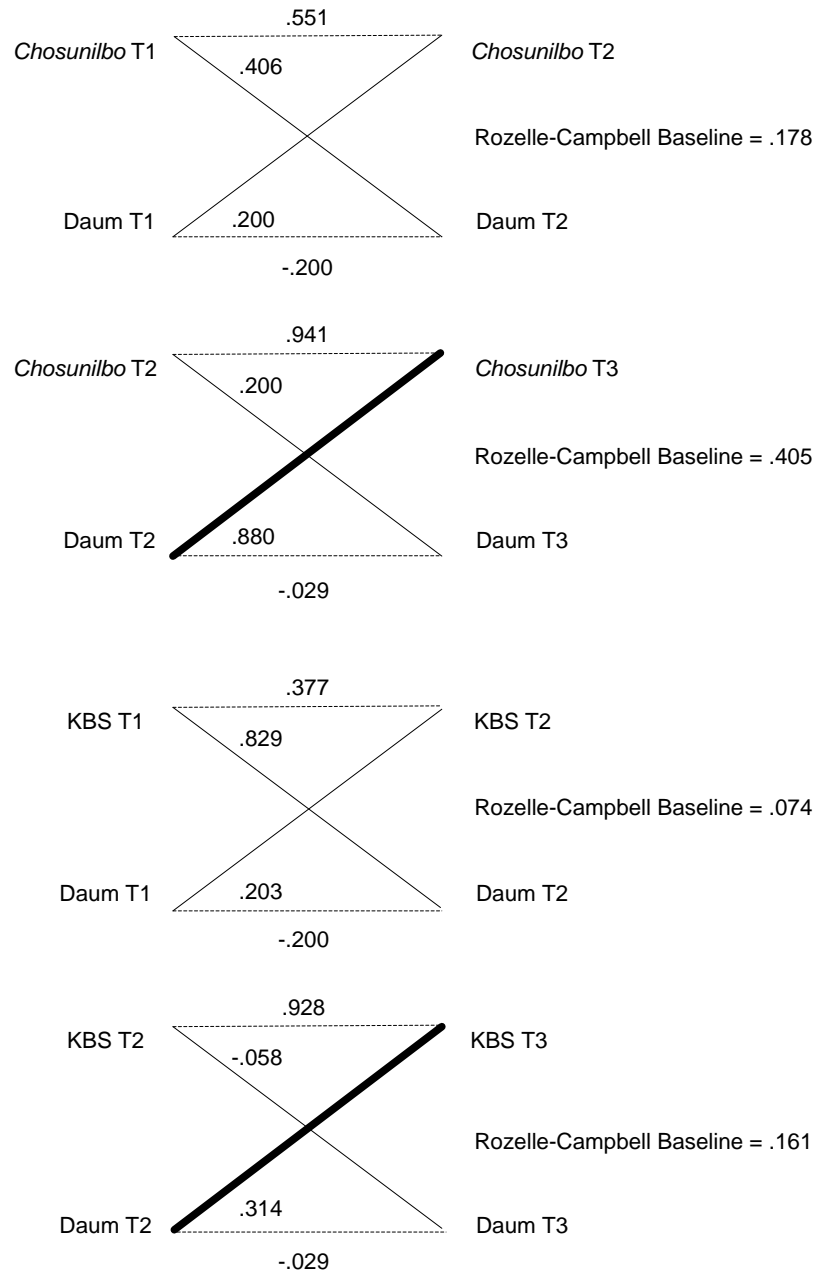


Figure 5-14 includes the consequences of cross-lagged correlation analysis between depictions of Myung-bak Lee on KBS and those posted on Daum. Although the correlation between descriptions of Myung-bak Lee on KBS in Time 1 and those on Daum in Time 2 was high at .829, there was a low correlation of .203 between depictions of Myung-bak Lee on Daum in Time 1 and those on KBS in Time 2. This result suggests some modest degree of reciprocal influence though, because both correlations exceed the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .074.

During the period under final investigation in Figure 5-14, the correlation between descriptions of Myung-bak Lee posted on Daum in Time 2 and those reported on KBS in Time 3 was .314, showing no evidence of reciprocal influence. This correlation exceeds the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .161, while the correlation of -.058 between the depictions of Myung-bak Lee on KBS in Time 2 and those on Daum in Time 3 was below the Rozelle-Campbell baseline. This result suggests that the depictions of Myung-bak Lee on Daum in Time 2 influenced those on KBS in Time 3. In fact, the opposite relationship of H 2-4 is strongly supported, suggesting that in terms of attribute agendas, Korean Internet bulletin boards are likely to have an intermedia agenda-setting function on Korean broadcasting during presidential campaigns.

***Cross-Lagged Correlations for the Substantive Attributes of Dong-young Chung between Traditional Media and the Internet***

Figure 5-15 shows the results of cross-lagged correlation analysis for the substantive attribute agenda of Dong-young Chung in Korea. The correlation between representations of Dong-young Chung in *Chosunilbo* during Time 1 and those on Daum in Time 2 was .265. The correlation between Daum at Time 1 and *Chosunilbo* at Time 2 is .029. The Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .279 is bigger than both correlations.

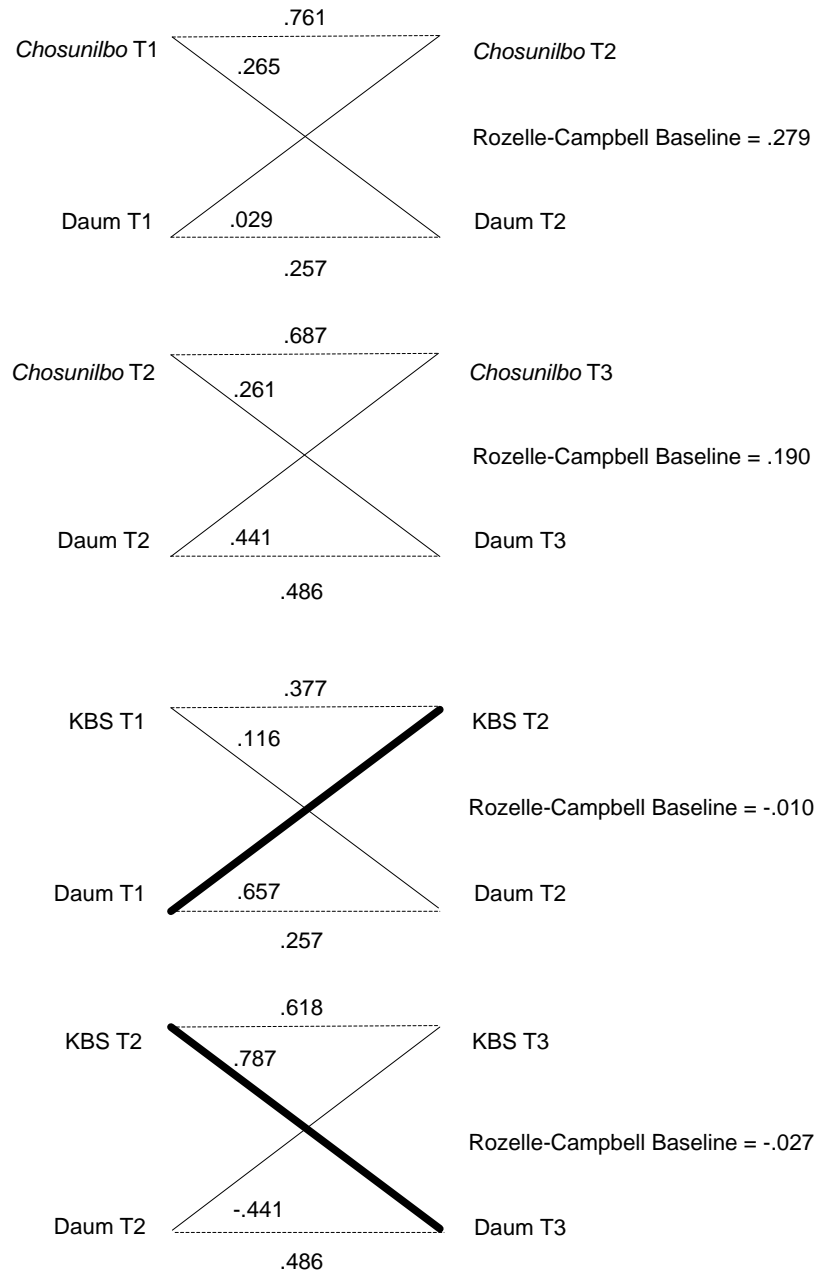
The correlation of .441 between the depictions of Dong-young Chung on Daum in Time 2 and those in *Chosunilbo* in Time 3 is moderate. The level of correlation between descriptions of Dong-young Chung in *Chosunilbo* in Time 2 and those on Daum in Time 3 was low at .261. Both correlations exceed the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .190. This result suggests reciprocity.

In the third cross-lagged correlation analysis, the substantive attribute agenda of Dong-young Chung on KBS in Time 1 with the Netizen agenda on Daum in Time 2 resulted in a correlation of .116. Although the reverse cross-lagged correlation was .657 and both correlations were over the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of -.010, the large difference suggests intermedia influence.

The last cross-lagged correlation analysis, the correlation between the depictions of Dong-young Chung on KBS in Time 2 and those on Daum in Time 3 was .787, with no evidence of reciprocal influence. This high correlation exceeded over the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of -.027, while the correlation of -.441 between Daum at Time 2 and KBS at Time 3 was below the Rozelle-Campbell baseline. This outcome indicates that descriptions of Dong-young Chung on KBS in Time 2 influenced those on Daum in Time

3. This finding strongly supports H 2-4, suggesting that broadcasting attribute agenda will influence attribute agenda of the Internet bulletin board in Korea.

**Figure 5-15 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of Dong-young Chung between the traditional media and Internet in Korea**



***Cross-Lagged Correlations for the Substantive Attributes of Hoi-chang Lee between Traditional Media and the Internet***

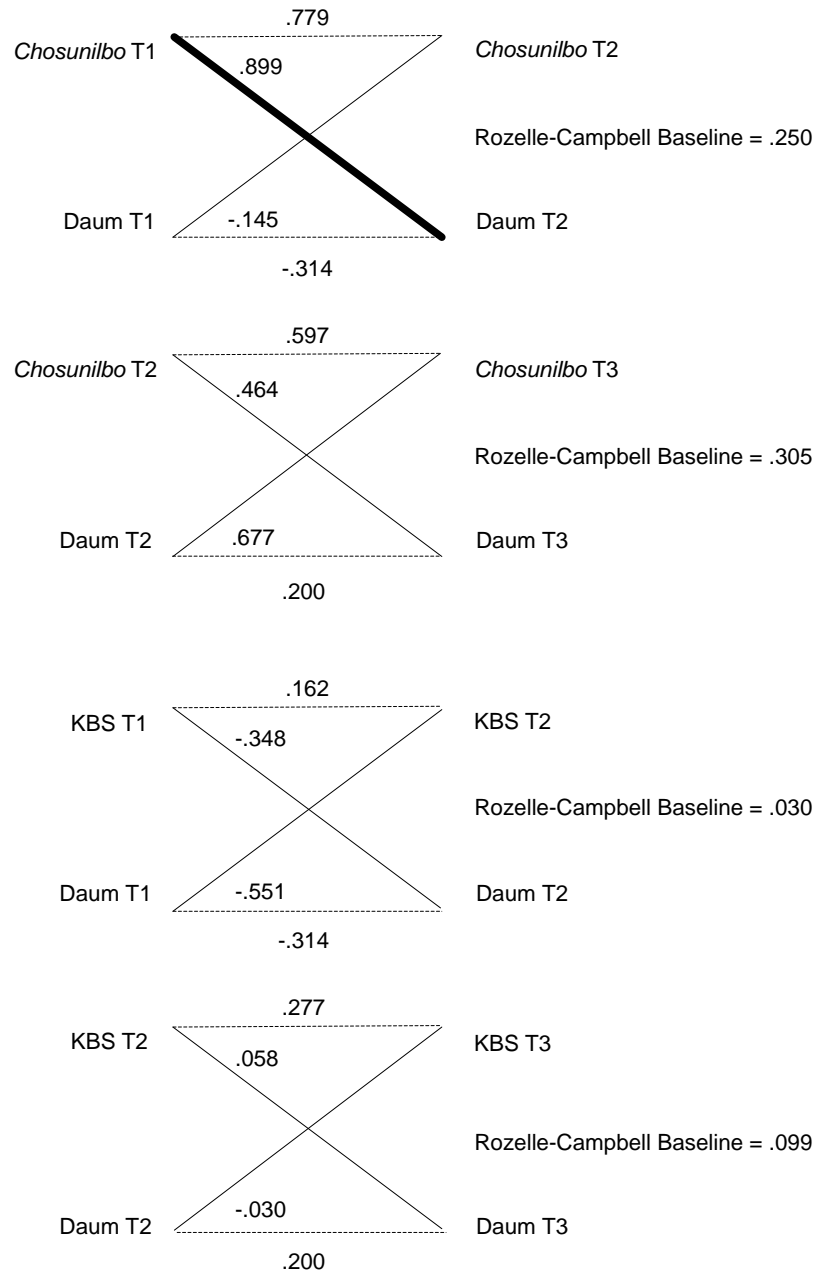
Figure 5-16 shows results of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute agenda of Hoi-chang Lee in Korea. The findings support the idea that the substantive attributes of Hoi-chang Lee presented in traditional media, such as *Chosunilbo*, influence the attribute of Hoi-chang Lee posted on Daum in Korea.

In the first analysis in Figure 5-16, there was a very high correlation of .899 between descriptions of Hoi-chang Lee in *Chosunilbo* during Time 1 and Netizen agenda on Daum in Time 2. The reverse cross-lagged correlation of -.145 between Netizen agenda on Daum in Time 1 and depiction of Hoi-chang Lee in *Chosunilbo* during Time 2 was negative, while the Rozelle-Campbell baseline was .250. This result suggests evidence of intermedia agenda-setting influence of *Chosunilbo* on depictions of Hoi-chang Lee by Netizens on Daum. Thus, H 1-4 is strongly supported, suggesting that in Korea, attribute agenda of the daily newspaper will influence attribute agenda of the Internet bulletin board.

The correlation of .464 between the description of Hoi-chang Lee in *Chosunilbo* in Time 2 and those on Daum in Time 3 is moderate. The correlation of .677 between the depiction of Hoi-chang Lee on Daum in Time 2 and those in *Chosunilbo* in Time 3 is also moderate. Both correlations were over the Rozelle-Campbell baseline of .305, however, thus suggesting reciprocity.



**Figure 5-16 Result of cross-lagged correlations for the substantive attribute of Hoi-chang Lee between the traditional media and Internet in Korea**



In the third cross-lagged correlation analysis in Figure 5-16, the correlation of -.348 shows a negative relationship between the KBS substantive attribute agenda in Time 1 and the depiction of Hoi-chang Lee on Daum during Time 2. Likewise, the correlation of -.551 shows a negative relationship between Netizen agenda about Hoi-chang Lee's substantive attribute agenda on Daum in Time 1 and the substantive attribute agenda on KBS in Time 2. There is no proof of influence over each other.

In the final cross-lagged correlation, although the correlation between depiction of Hoi-chang Lee on KBS in Time 2 and those on Daum in Time 3 was .058, there was a negative relationship between the depiction of Hoi-chang Lee on Daum in Time 2 and on KBS in Time 3, with a correlation of -.030. Because the Rozelle-Campbell baseline is .099, this result suggested no evidence of intermedia agenda setting during the periods.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

The research in this dissertation explored the intermedia agenda-setting effect between Internet bulletin boards and traditional news media covering presidential election campaigns in the United States and Korea at both the first and second levels of agenda setting. Specifically, by comparing cross-lagged correlations between Internet bulletin boards and traditional media in the two countries, this study attempts to examine the role and importance of the Internet in the intermedia agenda-setting effect. The investigation extends our knowledge of intermedia agenda-setting research to the Internet and expands the domain of intermedia influence at the first and second levels of agenda setting onto the Internet.

The hypotheses assumed that Internet bulletin boards influenced traditional media during presidential campaigns in both the United States and Korea. The purposes of this chapter are to summarize the major findings from the data analyses and discuss the implications of the outcomes. The limitations of this dissertation will then be specified, followed by suggestions for future research.

## **Major Findings and Implications**

### ***Intermedia Agenda-Setting in U.S. Media***

Two sets of results will be reviewed here; first, intermedia agenda-setting among the traditional media studied here, then intermedia agenda-setting relationships between the traditional media and Internet bulletin boards.

This study examined intermedia agenda-setting between the *New York Times* and NBC during the 2008 presidential campaign in the United States at both the first and second levels of agenda-setting. The results of the cross-lagged correlations suggested intermedia influences between the *New York Times* and NBC. Particularly, the major finding of the cross-lagged comparisons was the impact of the issue agenda of the *New York Times* on the issue agenda of NBC. This outcome is consistent with the result of Roberts and McCombs (1994) and Golan (2006) showing that the issue agenda of the daily newspaper influenced the issue agenda of broadcasting in the United States. Also, although there is little empirical research about the intermedia influence of attribute agenda-setting between the traditional media, this study found the effect of the daily newspaper on broadcasting at the second level of agenda-setting. There is evidence that the depictions of candidates in the *New York Times* influenced those on NBC during the presidential campaigns.

Results of this dissertation research indicated that there are intermedia relationships between Internet bulletin boards and traditional news media at the first and second levels of agenda setting. More specifically, at the first level of agenda setting in

the United States, the results demonstrated the influence of newspapers on Netizen opinions posted on Internet bulletin boards. This finding is consistent with the results of Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo (2002) showing that discussion of issues on Internet bulletin boards was prompted by media coverage. This study found no influence of broadcasting on the Netizen agenda posted on Internet bulletin boards, however, this result does not concur with previous research (Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo, 2002), which suggested that CNN had an agenda-setting effect on Internet bulletin boards although CNN's coverage demonstrated significant correlations with Internet discussions for just one issue.

In summary, the results concerning the issue agenda in the United States indicate that the U.S. Netizen concentrates more on the issue agenda of newspapers than of broadcasting. That is, as Wanta (1997) points out, information contained in the newspaper may have a more powerful effect in the agenda-setting process than that emanating via television news. Traditional media coverage can apparently provide Netizens with information to use in their Internet discussions (Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo, 2002).

In the second level of agenda setting in the United States, cross-lagged correlation comparisons indicated the influence of both newspapers and broadcasting on opinions posted on Internet bulletin boards. Formerly, there was no attempt to examine attributes of the intermedia agenda-setting functions of the U.S. media.

As Figure 5-6 showed, the substantive attribute agenda of Barack Obama reported in the *New York Times* and NBC influenced U.S. Netizen opinion about the candidate's substantive attribute agenda during the presidential campaign. Although a previous study

(Robert, Wanta, and Dzwo, 2002) reported the influence of intermedia agenda setting on Internet bulletin boards at only the first level of agenda setting, this result supports the idea that the newspaper and broadcasting also supplies Internet bulletin boards with an agenda of attributes to discuss at the second level of agenda setting.

Results about the substantive attributes of Hillary Clinton showed an influence by the *New York Times* and NBC on U.S. Netizen postings on AOL message boards. As Figure 5-7 showed, descriptions of Clinton in the *New York Times* and NBC have a high correlation with AOL's substantive attribute agenda of Clinton during the presidential campaign. The U.S. Netizen discussed Clinton's image on the AOL message board more than those of Obama and McCain.

The substantive attribute agenda of John McCain reported in the *New York Times* correlated highly with the AOL message board's substantive attribute agenda during Time 2.

The issue agenda and attribute agendas of Obama, Clinton and McCain on the *New York Times* offer issues and attributes of candidates to discuss on Internet bulletin boards in the United States. The finding that the *New York Times* provides an agenda for Netizens is referred to as *the leverage of U.S. media*. Moreover, this result offers proof that the heavy *New York Times* reader visited the AOL message board more than did the NBC viewer.

### ***Intermedia Agenda Setting in Korean Media***

Two sets of findings will be explained; first, intermedia agenda-setting among the traditional media studied and second, intermedia agenda-setting relationships between the traditional media and Internet bulletin boards in Korea.

This dissertation explored intermedia agenda-setting between a Korean daily newspaper and broadcasting during the presidential campaign at the issue and attribute levels of agenda-setting. The results of the cross-lagged correlations showed intermedia influences between *Chosunilbo* and KBS. The principal finding of the cross-lagged comparisons was the impact of the attribute agenda of KBS on the attribute agenda of *Chosunilbo*. However, there is no evidence of influence between the *Chosunilbo* issue agenda and the KBS issue agenda in Korea.

At the first level of agenda setting in Korea, the result of the cross-lagged correlation analysis suggested that Korean newspaper and broadcasting issue agendas influenced Netizen opinions on Internet bulletin boards. This finding supported the idea mentioned by Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo (2002, p.453) that “high media coverage of certain issues will not only make the issue appear to be important, it will also stimulate enough interest in the topic so that Internet users will feel compelled to bring the topic to EBBs for discussion.”

This finding that the *Chosunilbo* issue agenda influenced the Korean Netizen agenda to the extent that it was discussed on the Daum Internet bulletin board is consistent with that of another research analysis of agenda setting (Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee, 2005), which demonstrated intermedia agenda-setting between the Internet

bulletin board and newspaper coverage of the 2000 general election in Korea. Moreover, as Figure 5-10 showed, the Korean Netizen issue agenda discussed on the Daum Internet bulletin board was influenced by KBS reporting issues. This result makes clear for the first time that broadcasting influences Internet bulletin boards in Korea.

As the result of second-level agenda setting in Korea showed earlier, cross-lagged correlation comparisons presented intermedia agenda-setting functions between both newspapers and broadcasting, and Internet bulletin boards with each other. These findings contrast with results in the United States. For instance, Korean Netizen depictions of Myung-bak Lee on Daum influenced the gatekeeping conduct of *Chosunilbo* journalists, as well as those on KBS, regarding the substantive attribute agenda of Myung-bak Lee. The result of the correlation between Korean newspapers and the Internet bulletin board in this study is consistent with previous research (Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee, 2005), which suggested that candidate attributes posted on Internet bulletin boards influence those presented in newspaper coverage of the 2000 Korean general election.

The intermedia agenda-setting influence of the Korean Internet bulletin board on traditional media coverage at the second-level of agenda setting might be related to a special issue in the 2007 Korean presidential campaign. For this reason, Korean journalists probably paid more attention to public opinion on the Myung-bak Lee BBK scandal<sup>5</sup> since he was a major presidential candidate of the Grand National Party.

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<sup>5</sup> BBK, founded by Kyung-jun Kim in cooperation with Myung-bak Lee in 2000, was an asset-management firm closed by authorities in 2001 after Kyung-jun Kim was charged with stock-price manipulation and



Specifically, in the middle of the presidential campaign, Kyung-jun Kim, a central figure of the BBK scandal, was repatriated to Korea, damaging the moral reputation of Myung-bak Lee as a presidential candidate (Yoon, 2007). This research result thus supports Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee's research (2005, p.68), which suggested that "the Internet bulletin board may function as a channel that journalists are able to access in order to ascertain the climate of opinion in the shortest time." In fact, Netizen opinions on certain issues have been regarded as public opinion by journalists of traditional media who take online political activity seriously and cover online discussions in their news stories (Conhanim, 2000).

As Figure 5-15 showed in regard to the substantive attribute agenda of Dong-young Chung, there is influence by KBS on Korean Netizen opinion on Daum while Netizen opinion on Daum influence also KBS. In addition, as Figure 5-16 showed, the description of Hoi-chang Lee posted on Daum was influenced by *Chosunilbo* journalists during the early presidential campaign. Use of the Internet bulletin board can be viewed as political activity, or participation in connection with obtaining of political information for the expression of opinion. Political discussion on the Internet, as on bulletin boards, contributes to the development of citizenship, a democratic community, and the public sphere.

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embezzlement. Kyung-jun Kim fled to the United States later that year. Myung-bak Lee, meanwhile, was suspected of using his power and influence to bring investors to the firm but maintained his innocence. During the 2007 Korean presidential campaign, Myung-bak Lee came under attack from opposing candidates as being involved in the BBK scandal. Finally, the National Assembly appointed a special prosecutor and Myung-bak Lee strenuously denied involvement in the BBK scandal. Nevertheless, Myung-bak Lee won the presidential election in December 2007, and a special prosecutor declared Myung-bak Lee innocent of accusations related to the BBK scandal.

In exploring the cross-lagged correlations of intermedia agenda setting between newspapers and broadcasting, this dissertation study provides evidence that KBS plays an important role in the Korean mass media, unlike that of broadcasting in the United States. Although there is little empirical research about either the leading newspapers or broadcasting in Korea, this dissertation research indirectly supplies proof that broadcasting somewhat influenced daily newspapers. This result is consistent with findings presented in the ‘2009 Survey Research of Korean Media Leverage’<sup>6</sup> by KAA (Korean Advertisers Association) showing that KBS occupied the first rank (KAA, 2009). In regard to political landscapes in Korea, the media and politics began to be free of strong nationalism, political control, and explicit censorship in the late 1980s (Jouhki, 2008). And, Korean broadcasting has fewer political and ideological overtones than Korean newspapers. Currently, most Korean newspapers have an ideological voice, and there is no dominant intermedia agenda setter such as the *New York Times*.

### ***Implications of Intermedia Agenda-Setting Influence***

Based on the earlier discussion, this dissertation study offers several insights on the intermedia influence between traditional media and the Internet bulletin board. First, the agenda-setting theory could be applied in just as relevant and appropriate a way on

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<sup>6</sup> ‘2009 Survey Research of Korean Media Leverage’ results were as follows: 1. KBS (Korean Broadcasting System) 2. MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation) 3. Naver (Internet portal site) 4. SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System) 5. *Chosunilbo* (daily newspaper).

the Internet as it has been in traditional media. In fact, the U.S. and Korean Netizen issue and attribute agenda on Internet bulletin boards is supplied by coverage of newspapers and broadcasting. In other words, the Netizen uses traditional news media as an usher to obtain useful and needed information discussed on Internet bulletin boards. McCombs has suggested that “blogs are part of the journalism landscape, but who sets whose agenda under what circumstances remains an open question. Intermedia agenda setting at both the first and second levels is likely to remain high on the journalism research agenda for a very long time” (2005, p.549). Indeed, the Internet as a mass medium could be applied to both the first and second-level of agenda-setting theory. Moreover, as Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo (2002) asserted, applying traditional mass communication theory to the Internet is an important step.

Secondly, this dissertation research compares the intermedia agenda-setting influence between traditional media and Internet bulletin boards in the United States and Korea. The results indicate a significant difference of intermedia agenda setting in both countries. In Korea, Netizen’s candidate depiction is reflected in traditional media news articles, offering strong evidence that journalists use the Internet and commercial portal services to get information for their news articles and to conduct research. As Ruggiero (2001) suggests, journalists such as reporters, editors, and columnists would like to take advantage of online discussion forums to obtain information. Furthermore, most journalists subscribed to and participated in online discussion forums to attain a variety of outlooks in public opinion and to consider different points of view. Currently, most journalists in the U.S. newsgathering culture hold a negative attitude about using the

Internet as an information source, an approach distinguishable from the newsgathering methods of Korean journalists (Garrison, 2000a). It can be assumed from these research results that Korean journalists might directly cite Netizen opinion in their news articles without having gathered background information from sources.

Third, the findings of this dissertation study provide inferences about the different viewpoints of journalists looking at the Internet as an information source in both the United States and Korea. In fact, Korean journalists do not seem to consider source credibility, instead transporting Netizen opinions right into news articles. As mentioned earlier, this tendency seems likely to become a common newsgathering method of Korean journalists after the 2002 Korean presidential election. Their habit presaged a growth in the Netizen community, where people shout their absurd opinions in the public sphere. Recently, this flow of Korean journalism has aggravated serious social disturbances. For example, at the end of 2008, the Minerva scandal<sup>7</sup> engulfed the Korean economic society. In the Agora, Daum's Internet bulletin board, an anonymous person using the pen name "Minerva" criticized the economic policy of the Korean government during an international financial crisis in 2008. Mainstream media journalists reported Minerva's argument criticizing the government's economic policy. Korean society

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<sup>7</sup> Minerva was revealed as Dae-sung Park, 31 years old, who wrote more than 200 online postings in the Agora of Daum criticizing the government's economic policies. In 2008, he correctly predicted the global economic downturn and the collapse of Lehman Brothers. In addition, his fans even dubbed him the "economic president of the Internet." It is possible that many financial professionals and journalists took actions based on Minerva's reports on the Internet bulletin board. Finally, he was arrested on charges of undermining the country's financial market with his dire predictions. Prosecutors alleged that Minerva was unemployed on the Daum and never studied economics formally, only earning a junior college degree in communication. They further alleged that he had no experience in finance, either academically or professionally. The Minerva scandal illustrates the Internet problems of anonymity and freedom of expression.

believed Minerva's opinion regarding the economy more than an announcement from the government. Later, some of Minerva's opinions proved false, and he was arrested. In regard to this phenomenon, some pundits insisted that Koreans put excessive faith in anonymous information because they have lost trust in the mainstream media.

Johnson and Wiedenbeck (2009) claimed that on citizen journalism websites such as *Ohmynews*, hyperlinks and information about the writer do enhance perceived article credibility. In fact, anonymity of information on the Internet diminishes source credibility while expertise through listing information about the author, as well as citations and references of the author's work, increases the credibility of articles or opinions on the Internet. At this perspective, Garrison (2000a) suggested that journalists have traditional standards for assessing source credibility and trustworthiness, and these are most often applied to the Internet. But there may be a need for new, additional standards as well. Development of the source credibility of Internet information requires time and experience and journalists have not spent much time with the sources used on the Web, nor have they gained much experience with those sources in the short time the Internet has existed.

The trend of active online discussion seems to originate in the debate culture of Korean collectivistic society. Although the Korean people's approach is usually to be silent when in groups, they opt instead to express their opinions within the anonymity of online discussion. On the other hand, U.S. journalists concentrate on traditional source issues in newsgathering. They do not seem to pay attention to Internet methods of newsgathering, and yet they do not ignore the World Wide Web. From this perspective,

Garrison (2000a, p.510) asserted that “journalists pointed to verification, reliability, sourcing, and credibility not technology, among the most frequently cited problems.”

### **Limitations of the Dissertation and Suggestions for Future Research**

This dissertation research is one of the few attempts to explore intermedia agenda setting between traditional news media and Internet bulletin boards by covering the presidential campaigns in the United States and Korea. This comparative study documents strong evidence of different intermedia agenda-setting functions in terms of Internet discussion boards in both countries. Although there is little previous research on the Internet and intermedia agenda setting, this investigation provides rich insight into the agenda-setting effect of the online discussion forum from a cross-cultural perspective. The research, however, has limitations.

First, although this study uses an optimum time span of seven days for examining intermedia agenda-setting effects on the Internet bulletin board, that period should be sufficient for obtaining various results. Generally, agenda-setting research has to consider the time span in which media coverage has an effect on public opinion. The main reason for selecting this length of time is that it can indicate whether time variances affect causal relationships. Most prior agenda-setting studies have been related to the time span of traditional media, yet there is an increasing need for additional time-span approaches to provide accurate research on the Internet bulletin board and agenda-setting functions. The

time span affecting the characteristics of topics discussed on the Internet bulletin board should be comparatively short. Thus, Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo's research (2002) used a time range from one day to one week for investigating the influence of intermedia agenda setting. In this respect, future research is needed to examine various time spans of the intermedia agenda-setting effect between the Internet discussion forum and traditional media at the first and second levels of agenda setting. Such studies might yield more significant results.

Secondly, this investigation documented the different ways by which U.S. and Korean journalists use the Internet political forum. Specifically, the research found that the opinions of Netizens with anonymous information have the ability to influence the traditional media agenda in Korea. Given that Korean journalists more relatively deploy Netizen opinions as information sources for news articles than do U.S. journalists, what are the appropriate reasons and motives for selecting opinions in the online political forum? And what are the differences in credibility of Netizen opinions among journalists, editors, and columnists in U.S. and Korean newsrooms? There is basically no empirical research on journalists' editorial attitudes toward the Netizen agenda. It would be intriguing to investigate the perceptions of journalists who use the Internet political forum in a newsgathering mode for articles. Moreover, a future study could analyze data from a survey of journalists in the United States and Korea, where the Internet arose as a news medium at a critical juncture of journalism.

As McCombs (2005) points out, the advent of new communication technologies such as the Internet and Social Network Service (SNS) media necessitates a

reexamination of accepted communication theories and provides a new frontier for research about agenda-setting effects. While there has been theoretical and empirical analysis, this dissertation study would expand our insight of intermedia agenda setting between traditional news media and the Internet political forum. If the Internet is likely to be used increasingly as an information source for newsgathering in political campaigns, the study could advance the idea that intermedia agenda-setting effects can provide a perspective on energetic transformation in agenda-setting relationships between the elite media leadership and the public in cyberspace. Lastly, the author hopes that future researchers will have make use of this frame in the perception of intermedia agenda setting and of the Internet.



## Appendix

### Master Codebook for the Content Analysis of the Media Contents and Internet Opinions

V1. Identification Number of the News Story or Internet Opinion

V2. Nation of the News Story or Internet Opinion

1. The United States (go to V3)
2. Korea (go to V9)

#### The United States

V3. Date of the News Story or Internet Opinion (US)  
(mm/dd)

V4. Media of the Story (US)

1. Internet Bulletin Board (AOL Message Board)
2. Newspaper (*The New York Times*)
3. Broadcasting (NBC)

V5. Issues of the Story (US)

V5-1. Economy

0. Nothing
1. Present

V5-2. Education

0. Nothing
1. Present

V5-3. Foreign Policy

0. Nothing
1. Present

V5-4. Environment

0. Nothing
1. Present

- V5-5. Healthcare
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V5-6. Immigration
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V5-7. Racial Issue
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V5-8. Taxes
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V5-9. Iraq war
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V5-10. National Security and Terrorism
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V5-11. Women
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V5- 12. Campaign Conduct
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V6. Attribute of Barack Obama (US)
  - V6-1. Personality
    - 0. Nothing
    - 1. Present
  
  - V6-2. Ideology
    - 0. Nothing
    - 1. Present
  
  - V6-3. Morality
    - 0. Nothing

1. Present

V6-4. Experience

0. Nothing

1. Present

V6-5. Leadership

0. Nothing

1. Present

V6-6. Competence

0. Nothing

1. Present

V7. Attribute of Hillary Clinton

V7-1. Personality

0. Nothing

1. Present

V7-2. Ideology

0. Nothing

1. Present

V7-3. Morality

0. Nothing

1. Present

V7-4. Experience

0. Nothing

1. Present

V7-5. Leadership

0. Nothing

1. Present

V7-6. Competence

0. Nothing

1. Present

V8. Attribute of John McCain

V8-1. Personality

0. Nothing

1. Present

V8-2. Ideology  
0. Nothing  
1. Present

V8-3. Morality  
0. Nothing  
1. Present

V8-4. Experience  
0. Nothing  
1. Present

V8-5. Leadership  
0. Nothing  
1. Present

V8-6. Competence  
0. Nothing  
1. Present

## **Korea**

V9. Date of the News Story or Internet Opinion (Korea)  
(mm/dd)

V10. Media of the Story (Korea)  
1. Internet Bulletin Board (Agora in Daum)  
2. Newspaper (*Chosunilbo*)  
3. Broadcasting (KBS)

V11. Issues of the Story (Korea)

V11-1. Economy  
0. Nothing  
1. Present

V11-2. Education  
0. Nothing  
1. Present

V11-3. Foreign Policy  
0. Nothing

1. Present

V11-4. Environment

0. Nothing

1. Present

V11-5. Disparity of Wealth Dissolution

0. Nothing

1. Present

V11-6. Peace of Korean Peninsula

0. Nothing

1. Present

V11-7. Regionalism

0. Nothing

1. Present

V11-8. Illegal Campaigns

0. Nothing

1. Present

V11-9. Corruption Scandal

0. Nothing

1. Present

V11-10. Change of Power

0. Nothing

1. Present

V11-11. Women

0. Nothing

1. Present

V11-12. Campaign Conduct

0. Nothing

1. Present

V12. Attribute of Myung-bak Lee

V12-1. Personality

0. Nothing

1. Present

- V12-2. Ideology
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V12-3. Morality
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V12-4. Experience
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V12-5. Leadership
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V12-6. Competence
  - 0. Nothing
  - 1. Present
  
- V13. Attribute of Dong-young Chung
  - V13-1. Personality
    - 0. Nothing
    - 1. Present
  
  - V13-2. Ideology
    - 0. Nothing
    - 1. Present
  
  - V13-3. Morality
    - 0. Nothing
    - 1. Present
  
  - V13-4. Experience
    - 0. Nothing
    - 1. Present
  
  - V13-5. Leadership
    - 0. Nothing
    - 1. Present
  
  - V13-6. Competence
    - 0. Nothing

1. Present

V14. Attribute of Hoi-chang Lee

V14-1. Personality

0. Nothing

1. Present

V14-2. Ideology

0. Nothing

1. Present

V14-3. Morality

0. Nothing

1. Present

V14-4. Experience

0. Nothing

1. Present

V14-5. Leadership

0. Nothing

1. Present

V14-6. Competence

0. Nothing

1. Present

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