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International News Exposure And Images of Nations

Exposure to mass media is associated with relatively positive, if not well-informed, images of foreign countries and to perception of them as being successful.

► Underlying much contemporary discourse about international communication is the assumption that the mass media can contribute to people's understanding — or misunderstanding — of each other's countries. While this concern is not new,¹ it has become the focus of unprecedented political, professional and scholarly attention during the past decade in connection with demands for a new world information order.² Critics have charged that existing international news channels project a view of the world characterized by: (1) *imbalance*, in the sense that Third World nations are underreported in comparison with First World nations; and (2) *distortion*, in the sense that Third World nations are depicted negatively in terms of violence, disorder and failure.³

The debate on these charges has generated numerous studies and commentaries about media structures and content, but the question of actual effects on media audiences has been largely ignored or left to the realm of unsupported assumption.

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The present study was designed to provide some evidence bearing on the current debate as well as on some underlying questions about effects of the mass media — particularly of international news — on people's images of nations. The data for the study were gathered in a developing nation, Venezuela, whose media are situated in the mainstream of the North-South news flow that has been a key focus of attention in the new information order debate.

Recent research on news content has failed to yield unambiguous support for critical assertions about imbalance and distortion. Data from a project sponsored by the International Association for Mass Communication Research indicated a tendency among the media of all countries to emphasize news from within their respective regions; news from the First World countries of North America and Western Europe was relegated to second place, while the "invisible" parts of the world were Eastern Europe and the rest of the developing world outside of the media's immediate area. The structure of international news coverage has been found to be

¹ See, for example, Walter Lippmann, *Liberty and the News* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920); Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "The Press and Public Opinion in International Relations," *Journalism Bulletin* 3:7-20 (June 1926).

² General discussions can be found in International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, *Many Voices, One World* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980); and Jim Richstad and Michael H. Anderson, eds., *Crisis in International News: Current Policies and Prospects* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); Elie Abel, "International Communication: A New Order?" in Everett M. Rogers and Francis Falle, eds., *The Media Revolution in America and in Western Europe* (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex 1984), pp. 150-164.

³ See, note 2 above, and Sophia Peterson, "International News Selection by the Elite Press: A Case Study," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 45:143-63 (Summer 1981).

similar across regions of the world, with politics the dominant category.⁴ Stevenson further reports that few news stories in any country in the study were found to be explicitly positive or negative in direction or affect.⁵ In a related study of news agency files and leading newspapers in various countries, Stevenson and Gaddy did find more "bad" news, such as conflict and disaster, from the Third World than from the West; but they suggested, on the basis of a comparison with independent data on events in the world, that what the media present simply reflects a higher rate of actual conflict occurring in the Third World than elsewhere.⁶

What is ultimately at stake, however, is not just the content of the international news flow but its cumulative impact on audiences. Such research as has been done on audiences and effects of international news has been concerned mainly with awareness of contemporary events, issues

or personalities. Such awareness generally has been found to be associated with exposure to the media — particularly newspapers.⁷ A national survey of the American public provided some evidence that attentiveness to international news is associated with relatively favorable feelings toward other countries generally, whatever their region or ideological orientation.⁸ In the present study, both knowledge and attitudes about specific countries are examined in relation to media exposure and to education and other background factors.

The knowledge with which the study is concerned has to do not with transitory bits of information about leaders or policies but about relatively enduring characteristics of nations such as size, population and development. It is assumed that awareness of such attributes may build up not only through memory storage of discrete facts from the media, school or other sources, but also through inferences, judgments or estimates based on available information, as cognition theories would suggest.⁹ A recent experimental study suggested that news stories about foreign countries can influence the inferences that people make about such attributes as population and life expectancy.¹⁰

On the basis of the content research cited previously, international news exposure would be expected to be more strongly related to knowledge of countries within the region in which the audience lives — Latin America, in the case of the present country — than to knowledge of countries outside the region. Secondly, the relationship should be stronger for First World than for Eastern European or extra-regional Third World countries. On the basis of earlier survey research in the United States and Latin America, education would be expected to be associated both with exposure to international news and with knowledge of foreign countries.¹¹

It is assumed that the process by which people build up evaluative images of nations is similar to the process by which they build up factual images, and that the value judgments may refer to some com-

⁴ Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, "The 'World of the News' Study," *Journal of Communication*, Winter 1984, pp. 121-34.

⁵ Robert L. Stevenson, "Pseudo Debate," *Journal of Communication*, Winter 1984, pp. 134-38.

⁶ Robert L. Stevenson and Gary D. Gaddy, "Bad News and the Third World," in Robert L. Stevenson and Donald Lewis Shaw, eds., *Foreign News and the New World Information Order* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1984), pp. 88-97.

⁷ For example: International Press Institute, *The Flow of the News* (Zurich: IPI, 1953); John P. Robinson, "World Affairs Information and Mass Media Exposure," *Journalism Quarterly*, 44:23-30 (Spring 1967); John T. McNelly, "International News for Latin America," *Journal of Communication*, Spring 1979, pp. 156-63.

⁸ John E. Rielly, ed., *American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 1979 (Chicago: The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 1979), p. 18.

⁹ William A. Scott, "Psychological and Social Correlates of International Images," in Herbert C. Kelman, ed., *International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p. 24; Allan Collins, Eleanor H. Warnock, Nelleke Aiello and Mark L. Miller, "Reasoning from Incomplete Knowledge," in Daniel G. Bobrow and Allan Collins, eds., *Representation and Understanding: Studies in Cognitive Science* (New York: Academic Press, 1975), pp. 383-415; Michael E. Roloff and Charles R. Berger, "Social Cognition and Communication: An Introduction," in Roloff and Berger, eds., *Social Cognition and Communication* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982), pp. 9-32; Byron Reeves, Steven H. Chaffee and Albert R. Tims, "Social Cognition and Mass Communication Research," in Roloff and Berger, op. cit., p. 289.

¹⁰ David K. Perry, "Mass Media and the Cognitive Images People Hold of Other Nations," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1984.

¹¹ Robinson, op. cit.; John T. McNelly and Julio R. Molina, "Communication, Stratification and International Affairs Information in a Developing Society," *Journalism Quarterly*, 49:316-26, 339 (Summer 1972).

bination of geographic, political, ethnic or other aspects of nations.¹²

Three conflicting hypotheses about such evaluations can be generated from the literature. The first is that exposure to international news should be associated with favorable feelings toward First World nations and less favorable feelings toward Third World and East European nations. This derives from the critical literature about distortion in the international flow of news under western media hegemony.¹³ A second possible hypothesis is that international news exposure should be associated with unfavorable feelings toward all nations. This is based on the view that Western journalists tend in general to emphasize conflict and untoward events, with consequent negative effects on evaluations of governments or societies.¹⁴ In contrast, a third hypothesis can be drawn from psychological theory and some political and international communication research, to the effect that news exposure should be associated with relatively positive images of all countries.¹⁵ The latter hypothesis, based on the notion that sheer exposure or awareness tends to favorably affect, can be applied also to the effects of education on subjective images of nations.¹⁶

Beyond general affect or liking for countries, a subjective image component of special relevance to international communication is perception of their relative success or failure. The contrasting hypotheses discussed above regarding favorable or unfavorable feelings can be applied to perceptions of success or failure, depending on the extent to which international news portrayals influence them in similar ways.

Method

The setting for this study is a regional urban center in northeastern Venezuela, a largely urbanized country in which most of the population is reached by newspapers and most homes have television and radio.¹⁷ The Venezuelan media provide relay channels for an international news flow that is heavily dependent on the major Western agencies. This was reflected

on a content analysis of the nation's leading newspaper, *El Nacional* of Caracas, for March 1-6, 1982, a period chosen to coincide with the field work for this study. Not only did the bulk of the international news come from the major western agencies (including 58% from the Associated Press and United Press International), but the regional emphases tended to fit the pattern found elsewhere. Major coverage was given to other countries within the region (34%) and First World countries (42%), with far less coverage of other Third World countries (13%) and of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (11%).

Personal interviews were conducted with 471 persons aged 17 and over from a multi-stage probability sample, with a response rate of 91%, in Puerto La Cruz and Barcelona, adjoining cities with a total population of about 300,000 on the northeast coast of Venezuela. The big dailies from Caracas, less than 200 miles to the west, appear on the same newsstands with the regional papers. The four Caracas television channels are brought in by microwave relay, and people can tune in to national as well as regional radio.

This made it possible to obtain data about use of regional as well as national media. Questions were asked about gen-

¹² Kenneth E. Boulding, *The Image* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1956); Richard Edward Joyce, "Relationships Between Information About and Attitudes Toward Other Nations: A Propositional Inventory," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1973, pp. 6-7; Richard H. Willis, "Ethnic and National Images: Peoples vs. Nations," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 32:186-201 (Summer 1968).

¹³ Reviewed in David L. Altheide, "Media Hegemony: A Failure of Perspective," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 48:476-490 (Summer 1984).

¹⁴ Jack B. Haskins and M. Mark Miller, "The Effects of Bad News and Good News on a Newspaper's Image," *Journalism Quarterly*, 61:3 (Spring 1984); Jay G. Blumler and Michael Gurevitch, "The Political Effects of Mass Communication," in Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woolcott, *Culture, Society and the Media* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982), pp. 254-257.

¹⁵ Steven H. Chaffee and Yuko Miyo, "Selective Exposure and the Reinforcement Hypothesis: An Intergenerational Panel Study of the 1980 Presidential Campaign," *Communication Research*, 10:3-36 (January 1983); Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Rielly, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁶ Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹⁷ Fausto Izcaray and John T. McNelly, "Selective Media Use by Venezuelans: The Passing of the Passive Audience in a Rapidly Developing Society," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* (forthcoming).

eral and content-specific exposure to the media. An index of exposure to international news in newspapers was constructed by summing scores of frequency and type of newspaper or newspapers read (ranging from major Caracas papers with heavy foreign news coverage to small local dailies), weighted by respondent estimates on a four-point scale of amount of reading of international news or news about other countries.

Measures of national images included factual and attitudinal items on six countries, selected to provide regional, developmental and political contrasts. The countries were Mexico, Cuba, India, the United States, France and the Soviet Union. Respondents were asked to estimate the population, area, life expectancy and per capita income of each country, with the correct figure for Venezuela provided in each case as a frame of reference. Respondents also were asked the distance of each country's capital city from Caracas, after being told the distance from Caracas to London for comparison. For two countries, France and India, respondents were asked to name bordering countries. An additive knowledge index for each country was constructed on the basis of accuracy scores for each dimension (population, etc.).¹⁸ Respondents also rated the countries in terms of liking (*simpatía*) and success on scales from 0 to 100.

Socioeconomic measures included educational level, family income, number of domestic servants, number of appliances, and possession and quality of automobile. Education was used as a separate variable; the other items were combined in a standard of living index.

Results

Most respondents were found to be in daily contact with the print and electronic

media. Only 15% of the respondents reported no newspaper reading; at least some television was reported by all but 8% of the sample, and radio listening by all but 14%. Such levels of media use are consistent with the educational and economic resources available to most of the respondents; nearly three-fourths had completed at least primary schooling, just over half had a family automobile and most had several household appliances.

The index of exposure to international news in newspapers was used as the key independent variable in hierarchical regression analyses, with country image indicators as dependent variables. Because of low or negligible correlations with the dependent variables, radio and television news exposure measures were dropped from the analyses but two measures of exposure to other types of television content were included.¹⁹ The first was viewing programs about political and governmental affairs; the second was viewing of adventure and police series and televised movies.

The regressions of the country image indicators on successive sets of independent variables are shown in Table 1. For knowledge (first set of columns), the results are notably similar across nations. The first equation for each country shows that age and sex together account for about one-tenth of the variance in knowledge of the countries. Education and standard of living add modestly but significantly to R^2 . But the addition of international news exposure in the third equation fails to add to the explained variance for any of the six countries. Though the zero-order correlations between news exposure and the country knowledge indices are all in the neighborhood of .20, the relationship does not hold up when the demographic and socioeconomic variables are controlled in the regressions.

The addition of the two television variables in the fourth equation produces a significant increment to the explained variance in knowledge of each country. It is viewing of programs about politics and government that accounts for these increments. This is shown in the top part of

¹⁸ The score for each dimension was computed by dividing the respondent's estimate by the correct figure; if the resulting quotient was more than one, the reciprocal was used so that, for example, an estimate that was one-half of the correct figure received an accuracy score equal to an estimate that was double the correct one. Alpha reliability coefficients for the combined knowledge indices ranged from .60 for France to .81 for Mexico.

¹⁹ Zero-order intercorrelations of all the variables in the study, with means and standard deviations, are available from the first author.

TABLE 1

Hierarchical Regression of Country Knowledge, Liking and Success
Indices on Demographic, Socioeconomic and Media Exposure Variables (N=471)

Countries and Equations	Knowledge		Liking		Success	
	R ²	R ² Change	R ²	R ² Change	R ²	R ² Change
Mexico						
1) Age, sex	.10	.10 ^c	.06	.06 ^c	.04	.04 ^c
2) Plus educ., living standard	.17	.07 ^c	.13	.07 ^c	.11	.07 ^c
3) Plus int'l news exposure	.17	.00	.17	.04 ^c	.16	.05 ^c
4) Plus TV pol., TV series/films	.20	.03 ^c	.19	.02 ^b	.20	.04 ^c
5) Plus knowledge			.26	.07 ^c	.29	.09 ^c
Cuba						
1) Age, sex	.10	.10 ^c	.02	.02 ^b	.04	.04 ^c
2) Plus educ., living standard	.19	.09 ^c	.04	.02 ^b	.08	.04 ^c
3) Plus int'l news exposure	.19	.00	.09	.05 ^c	.11	.03 ^c
4) Plus TV pol., TV series/films	.21	.02 ^b	.10	.01	.14	.03 ^c
5) Plus knowledge			.16	.05 ^c	.20	.06 ^c
India						
1) Age, sex	.10	.10 ^c	.03	.03 ^c	.02	.02 ^b
2) Plus educ., living standard	.19	.09 ^c	.08	.05 ^c	.08	.06 ^c
3) Plus int'l news exposure	.19	.00	.11	.03 ^c	.11	.03 ^c
4) Plus TV pol., TV series/films	.22	.03 ^c	.14	.03 ^c	.12	.01
5) Plus knowledge			.19	.05 ^c	.16	.04 ^c
U.S.						
1) Age, sex	.10	.10 ^c	.10	.10 ^c	.05	.05 ^c
2) Plus educ., living standard	.18	.08 ^c	.14	.04 ^c	.15	.10 ^c
3) Plus int'l news exposure	.18	.00	.19	.05 ^c	.24	.09 ^c
4) Plus TV pol., TV series/films	.21	.03 ^c	.21	.02 ^b	.27	.03 ^c
5) Plus knowledge			.32	.11 ^c	.38	.11 ^c
France						
1) Age, sex	.09	.09 ^c	.07	.07 ^c	.05	.05 ^c
2) Plus educ., living standard	.22	.13 ^c	.15	.08 ^c	.14	.09 ^c
3) Plus int'l news exposure	.22	.00	.18	.03 ^c	.18	.04 ^c
4) Plus TV pol., TV series/films	.24	.02 ^b	.20	.02 ^b	.21	.03 ^c
5) Plus knowledge			.28	.08 ^c	.31	.10 ^c
USSR						
1) Age, sex	.10	.10 ^c	.06	.06 ^c	.07	.07 ^c
2) Plus educ., living standard	.19	.09 ^c	.09	.03	.13	.06 ^c
3) Plus int'l news exposure	.19	.00	.14	.05 ^c	.18	.05 ^c
4) Plus TV pol., TV series/films	.22	.03 ^c	.16	.02 ^b	.23	.05 ^c
5) Plus knowledge			.23	.07 ^c	.34	.11 ^c

^aSignificant at $p < .05$ ^bSignificant at $p < .01$ ^cSignificant at $p < .001$.

Table 2, which gives the standardized regression coefficients for the full equations. That table also shows that education remains the dominant independent variable in predicting knowledge of each country, even after the media exposure variables are added. The second most influential variable for all countries but

the Soviet Union is sex, with men tending to be better informed than women about the geographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the countries. The negative betas for age — reflecting a tendency for the younger to be more knowledgeable about the countries — are significant for every country but France. For material

TABLE 2

Standardized Regression Coefficients for Full Equations on Country Knowledge, Liking and Success (N=471)

Dep. Vars., Countries	Age	Sex	Educ.	Living Standard	Int'l News Exposure	TV Pol.	TV Series & Movies	Knowledge
Knowledge								
Mexico	-.14 ^b	.17 ^c	.23 ^c	.06	-.03	.16 ^c	.04	
Cuba	-.14 ^b	.16 ^c	.23 ^c	.09 ^a	.00	.12 ^b	.04	
India	-.10 ^a	.19 ^c	.26 ^c	.08	-.03	.17 ^c	.00	
U.S.	-.10 ^a	.18 ^c	.25 ^c	.07	.00	.15 ^c	.02	
France	-.08	.16 ^c	.31 ^c	.11 ^a	.00	.15 ^c	-.02	
USSR	-.15 ^b	.16 ^c	.24 ^c	.09	-.02	.17 ^c	.00	
Liking								
Mexico	-.10 ^a	-.05	.03	.08	.19 ^c	.00	.13 ^b	.30 ^c
Cuba	-.07	.00	-.01	-.12 ^a	.22 ^c	.07	.06	.25 ^c
India	-.06	.02	.00	.04	.16 ^b	.10 ^a	.08	.26 ^c
U.S.	-.18 ^c	.02	-.07	.06	.21 ^c	-.03	.15 ^c	.38 ^c
France	-.09 ^a	.05	.03	.07	.16 ^c	-.02	.13 ^b	.32 ^c
USSR	-.09	.01	.00	-.06	.24 ^c	-.06	.16 ^c	.29 ^c
Success								
Mexico	-.07	-.05	-.03	.08	.23 ^c	.00	.16 ^c	.34 ^c
Cuba	-.06	.03	.03	-.04	.17 ^c	.03	.13 ^b	.27 ^c
India	-.01	-.02	.05	.07	.16 ^b	.01	.11 ^a	.21 ^c
U.S.	-.04	-.03	.02	.03	.30 ^c	-.04	.20 ^c	.37 ^c
France	-.07	.00	.00	.06	.20 ^c	.03	.12 ^b	.37 ^c
USSR	-.05	.04	.06	-.06	.22 ^c	.03	.17 ^c	.38 ^c

^aSignificant at $p < .05$. ^bSignificant at $p < .01$. ^cSignificant at $p < .001$.

status, as indexed by standard of living, the betas are significant in the full equation only for Cuba and France.

In failing to support the general expectation of an effect of international news exposure on knowledge about the objective characteristics of countries, the results also fail to indicate any differential relationship among regions. The betas of the news exposure index are negligible in the equations for all six countries. Nor do education's substantial betas show any pattern of differentiation between countries of the First World, Third World, or Second World.

Turning from knowledge to liking for the six countries, a very different pattern of relationships appears in the middle columns of Table 1 and the middle rows of Table 2. International news becomes a key independent variable, even when education and knowledge of each country are controlled in the final equation. Education's direct effect on liking for each coun-

try, is largely eliminated by the addition of news exposure and knowledge to the regression equation.

Gender appears to exert negligible influence on liking for the countries. Age varies in influence across countries, youth being associated with favorable affect particularly for the United States (beta of $-.18$ in Table 2). A negative association between living standard and liking for Cuba emerges as successive variables are added in the final regression, the more affluent tending to be somewhat less favorable to Cuba.

Viewing of television programs adds somewhat to the explained variation in liking (Table 1), most of that attributable to watching of series and movies, the betas of which reached significance for all but Cuba and India (Table 2). The source of much of this kind of television fare in Venezuela is the United States, but Mexico and France also contribute; the connection with the Soviet Union (with the

highest beta of .16) is not so easily explained.

The addition of country knowledge in the fifth equation adds markedly to the explained variation in liking of each country. The more people know about a country, the more they tend to like it. Education's influence on the friendliness people feel toward these countries appears to be exercised indirectly through knowledge and, to a lesser extent, news exposure, with both of which it is correlated.

Of particular interest is the fact that the beta coefficients for international news exposure were not diminished by the addition of knowledge scores in the fifth regression step. This suggests that reading about international affairs may give people favorable information or clues not measured in the knowledge indexes.

There appears to be no pattern of differentiation by region or ideology in the effects of international news exposure on liking for countries. The highest beta of news exposure in the full equation is for the Soviet Union (.24 in Table 2) and Cuba is next (.22), but the others are not far behind and are still highly significant statistically. Nor does the size of the betas appear to be related to the popularity scores (not shown) for the countries. The highest average score on liking was for the United States (54 on the 0-100 scale) and the lowest was India (31), with Mexico, France, the Soviet Union and Cuba between them in that order.

The third and final dependent variable analyzed was the rating of the relative success of each nation. It was assumed that respondents' perceptions of the success of countries would be partly affective and partly cognitive. As expected, the success ratings were correlated with liking — from .70 for France to .52 for the Soviet Union. But this left considerable room — particularly in the case of the Soviet Union — for the ratings to be based in part on unsentimental appraisals.

The regression results for perceived success of countries fall into a pattern rather similar to that found for liking of the countries. Exposure to international news in newspapers adds a significant increment

to the explained variation for each country (Table 1), and its betas are significant in the full equations (Table 2). Knowledge of the countries explains even more of the variation in perceived success in the full equation for each country. As in the results for liking of countries, the direct effect of education on perceived success is virtually eliminated by the addition of news exposure and knowledge to the regressions. Viewing of television series and movies produces significant betas for all countries, the effect on success ratings being highest for the United States and the Soviet Union as was the case for liking.

The betas in Table 2 provide some suggestion of a stronger tendency for news exposure to affect perceptions of success of the United States (.30) than of the other countries. Apart from that, however, there is no apparent pattern of bias toward the First World; the next highest coefficients are those for Mexico (.23) and the Soviet Union (.22).

Conclusion

This study of national images among urban adults in a rapidly developing nation has yielded two main findings. First, when respondents' background characteristics are controlled, exposure to international news turns out to be unrelated to knowledge of basic geographic and socioeconomic attributes of countries. Second, such news exposure is significantly related to liking for the countries and to perceptions of them as successful.

A notable feature of the results is the similarity in patterns of relationships across the six countries. The results in general do not provide support for widespread assertions or assumptions about differential effects of international news based on regional emphases or biases. Instead, not only reading of international news but also viewing of television entertainment programs turns out to be associated with relatively positive, even if not well informed, images of all six countries. This may be a result of some degree of familiarity through sheer exposure that makes the countries seem more human

and likeable than they would otherwise.²⁰ On the other hand, there remains the possibility that such exposure provides some kinds of favorable facts or impressions not tapped in our knowledge measures.

The lack of impact of international news readership on the knowledge scores themselves may be explainable on the grounds that such news, dealing as it does to a large extent with political affairs,²¹ does not supply readers with sufficient clues to make accurate inferences about the basic geographic and socioeconomic dimensions of the countries. On the other hand, as the regression results suggest, television programs about politics and government, including documentaries and discussions, may convey more direct information about these country characteristics.

Further evidence bearing on such issues may be provided in future research involving varied informational and attitudinal measures on other countries, administered in different national settings. Experimental and longitudinal designs should prove helpful in sorting out ambiguities of causal

direction between exposure to media content and the images in people's minds. Further studies of international news content should be undertaken as well, keeping in mind McQuail's admonition, however, that evidence of content should not be taken as evidence of effect.²² Additional inquiries into media structures and technologies also may help in generating questions for research about effects on images. If, as Boulding has argued, the aggregate influence of the images held by ordinary people is important in international relations,²³ then a multiplicity of research approaches — taken individually and in combination — would seem warranted to obtain firmer evidence about how these images are formed and influenced.

²⁰ See note 15.

²¹ Sreberny-Mohammadi, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

²² Denis McQuail, "The Influence and Effects of Mass Media," in Morris Janowitz and Paul Hirsch, eds., *Reader in Public Opinion and Mass Communication* (New York: Free Press, 1981), pp. 267, 272-73.

²³ K. E. Boulding, "National Images and International Systems," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 3:119-131 (June 1959).

TELETEXT VIEWING HABITS (Continued from page 545)

grams. This trend should be viewed as the most positive finding for those underwriting the teletext experiment because the residual result is that station loyalty is increased by the presence of the teletext equipment.

The third implication of this study is that consumer's expectations for certain new electronic innovations may exceed the technology's capacity for performance. Impatience with dwell time and page turning, desire for more interactive capacity and complaints about the quality of graph-

ics are a few of the frustrations that accrue from teletext experiments.

We might assume, then, that consumers are becoming sufficiently literate in new technologies that they demand instant gratification. The emphasis on user friendly technology may dissipate reticence to interact with new technology more easily than in the past which could result in accelerated diffusion curves for such telecommunications-related devices as personal computers, VCRs and other interactive equipment.