POLITICAL SCIENCE

STUDENTS AND

THE MASS MEDIA

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A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

September 1969

MASTER OF ARTS (1969)
(Political Science)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario.

TITLE: Political Science Students and the Mass Media

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NUMBER OF PAGES: vi, 95

SCOPE AND CONTENTS: This thesis aims to investigate the sources from which First Year Political Science undergraduates derive their information on current political issues. The focus is on patterns of exposure to mass media, discussion of politics, and the way these relate to knowledge and opinion holding on political issues. The objectives are to test within the student context hypotheses derived from study of the general population, and to consider what conclusions, if any, are suggested concerning this aspect of the political socialisation process.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. H. J. Jacek for his advice and assistance on both theoretical and technical matters, and for his sympathetic approach to the various problems of the graduate student.

Similar thanks are due to Dr. R. B. Cunningham and Dr. G. R. Winham.

I am also grateful to my wife for her most intelligent criticism and suggestion at many points.

CHAPTERS

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I

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

The subject of the mass media and their influence --- or lack of it --- is one which continues to occassion concern from many sources, and for as many reasons. The commercial world spends vast amounts to prove to itself that it has power to influence the customer through the media, while political parties, interest groups, and individuals make similar attempts to affect the behavior of their respective 'customers'[1]. Those concerned for the maintenance of aesthetic standards --- often themselves having a stake in what McLuhan calls the 'literary culture'[2] --- call for research to determine the exact nature of the supposed ill-effects of the newer media (usually TV) and for action by government or enlightened public to curb their misuse[3]. McLuhan and his disciples attempt to disavow all moral concern and show the inevitably of the effects of changing media patterns upon society, and point rather excitedly to the changes in social and individual behavior patterns which are claimed to result from the change from a "linear" to a "mosaic" culture[4].

These more sensational hypotheses often have a minimum of

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1. See for example, Richard Rose, Influencing Voters (London: Faber & Faber, 1967).

2. See for example, Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964).

3. For the most thorough studies to date of TV and the child in the U. S. A./ Canada and Britain respectively, see W. Schramm, J. Lyle, and E. Parker, Television in the lives of our Children (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960) and H. Himmelweit, A. N. Oppenheim, and P. Vince, Television and the Child (London: Oxford University Press, 1958).

4. See note 2.

empirical evidence to support them, but at the other end of the scale, as it were, are those who collect large amounts of very solid evidence on media exposure and effects but can only make conclusions of a more limited and less sensational nature[5].

Social science should obviously not reject the validity of research on media effects simply because findings are often weak or inconsistent. A number of reactions are possible, preferably simultaneously, though this is seldom possible. One hope is to concentrate on a psychological orientation, using some form of probing interview[6] or 'before and after' test to measure changes apparently produced by a particular medium. Or it may be possible to follow through patterns of influence -- for example, from mass media through "opinion leaders" to the mass public, as done by Lazarsfeld and other Columbia University social scientists[7]. But, most important, definitive answers cannot be expected after examining a small number of variables. There is of course always scope for improving definitions and measurement techniques but the greater the range of interrelated variables to consider, the less chance of predicting the relative strength of any one variable with certainty.

These remarks are included because, although rather obvious, they are reservations with which the analytical sections of this thesis are offered.

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5. For an excellent example of research which emphasizes empirical research data rather than sensational hypotheses see W. A. Belson, The Impact of Television (London: Crosby Lockwood, 1967).

6. As used by Belson, for example.

7. See especially E. Katz and P. F. Lazarsfeld Personal Influence (New York: Free Press, 1955).

Outline of Research Method

The thesis reports on a survey conducted taking as a universe all those students enrolled in the Political Science 1a6 introductory course at McMaster for the 1968-69 session. A fifty per cent sample was aimed for as being both sufficiently large to be representative and small enough to be managable, a major restraint being the time which could be spent on coding. The sampling procedure was simply to distribute questionnaires to all members of half of the tutorial groups: each tutor was asked to do this in the first tutorial he held in the first week of March 1969. Allowing for non-attendance this yielded 288 completed questionnaires out of a possible total of some 350[8]. The students were allowed 10 to 15 minutes during the tutorial to complete the questionnaire and if this time was insufficient they were allowed to return it at their leisure.

The questionnaire, (see appendix) contained questions concerning 1) frequency of using media of various kinds for gaining information on public affairs, 2) frequency of seeing/hearing information on public affairs from other sources such as classes, friends, and books, 3) frequency of participating in discussions of public affairs with various types of people, 4) the one source of information on public affairs felt to be most useful to the respondent, 5) the number of public issues currently important for Canada which the respondent could recall, plus whether or not he held a strong opinion on each issue. Finally, data on age, sex, year in college, family income, father's occupation and education was obtained.

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8. In order to utilize as much data as possible, questionnaires were not rejected unless ambiguously answered or not answered throughout. This means that the total number of cases varies a little between tables, depending upon the variables involved.

Information of types 1 - 3 above was requested in terms of individual sources (e.g. number of times per week reading the Globe and Mail, number of times per month having discussions with friends) and in each case the list of sources was partly pre-coded and partly open-ended (e.g. "Other newspapers --- please write in").

The general aims of the research were twofold: in the first place it was intended as a test of the "two-step flow of communication" hypothesis advanced by Katz and Lazarsfeld[9] and in the second it aimed to add to this some consideration of the problem of American cultural (and by implication, political) influence on Canada. In this part of Canada it is fairly easy to limit one's mass media consumption entirely to American sources. In fact, apart from newspapers, it may actually be easier to do so: this is certainly the case as far as magazines go. In respect to books (though not "mass media" in quite the same sense) it is estimated that the greatest flow of books from any one country to another is that from the U. S. A. into Canada[10].

If one takes the view of the cultural alarmists or the "global village" McLuhanites it would seem that the strength of the mass media inflow from the U. S. A. will be too great for Canada to resist, and she will be the first country to become completely 'culturally absorbed'. However, if one also takes account of the "two-step flow" model a little hope is

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9. This hypothesis is best summarized by E. Katz, "The Two-Step Flow of Communications: An Up to Date Report on the Hypothesis" Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI, 1 (Spring 1957), 61 - 78.

10. The Guiness Book of World Records (New York: Bantam, 1968) p. 149.

offered, for this suggests that to have a significant effect on attitudes, opinions, or behavior, the content of the mass media must be interpreted by 'opinion leaders'. This term "leader" will be dealt with later, but for the moment the important concept is that the "human" element in the communication process has a strong modifying influence which is likely to counteract the direct influence of the mass media.

From a normative/cultural or from a sociological viewpoint this is obviously significant. In this study it was felt to be especially so, because even though mass media exposure for many people may be largely or entirely American, the mediating human influences are in most cases Canadian. (This does avoid the fact that students are in contact with a number of American or other foreign faculty in the university, but this would have been somewhat difficult to control for.)

The overall effect on students of this mixed pattern of exposure is obviously difficult to predict even intuitively, and difficult to measure empirically. The indicator which was chosen to measure media effects was the extent to which individuals are aware of political issues which are significant for Canada at the present time, and as a rough measure of their understanding of and interest in these issues they were asked simply whether or not they had a 'strong opinion' on each issue they could recall.

Past Research

In the interest of perspective a brief mention of some different approaches to the study of political communication might be in order. These are fairly well summarized by Fagan[11] who, in discussing communication in

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11. R. R. Fagan, Politics and Communication (Boston: Little Brown, 1968), Ch. 1.

comparative politics identifies three main approaches: 1) Cybernetics and systems theory, best represented by the work of Deutsch and Easton[12]. Deutsch in particular offers an analysis of the political system in terms of information flows without which no process or structure could be maintained. 2) Field research in the sociological tradition (notably combined with a systems approach in The Civic Culture[13]). 3) Revived concern for the proper organization of politics; Fagan suggests that it may be profitable to "(view) normative dilemmas as problems in the organization and control of communication"[14].

There is, of course, much potential overlap between these three approaches and although the present research falls fairly clearly into the second category, the implications of the other two types of problem cannot be ignored as background factors. For example, the way in which an individual receives and processes information is significant for the way in which the system as a whole operates (the basic premise of the Civic Culture study[15]).

Communication research is essentially a problem involving sociological and psychological variables and suggests a very empirical treatment. De Fleur provides a useful summary of some developments in empirical

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12. See especially K. W. Deutsch, The Nerves of Government (New York: Free Press, 1963), and D. Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: Wiley, 1965).

13. G. A. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little Brown, 1965).

14. Fagan, 16.

15. Almond and Verba.

study, tracing it from a simple stimulus-response model at the turn of the century through an "increasing recognition of individual variations in learning, perception, motivation, and other psychological process" .... "Empirical results from the study of significant social categories in the urban industrial society led to the application of this approach to the study of mass communication audiences". And "finally the growing realization throughout sociology that the primary group remained as part of modern society led to its 'rediscovery' in the industrial plant, in the military setting, in the urban neighborhood, and finally even in the mass communication process"[16].

Thus, to the extent that a "theory" of mass communications exists it comprises a fairly wide range of concerns. But a basic concept underlying nearly all recent studies of mass communication is that there is far more involved than a simple equation: a certain output from a given medium does not produce a given effect when directed at a given audience. Certain tendencies may often be identified, but the reasons for these observed effects are rarely clear, nor are the effects always observed.

The present study was concerned with effects in terms of the amount of political information which people retain (over a fairly short period) in relation to the amount of political information to which they are exposed through the mass media. Any reference to previous mass media research can only be treated as relevant to the extent that it deals

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16. M. De Fleur, Theories of Mass Communication (New York: David McKay, 1966), p.p. 139 - 140.

specifically with this type of information, for the chance of positing consistent theories or laws of media effects is limited by the fact that so much - despite what McLuhan says - depends on the content. As the Personal Influence study (discussed below) found, the flow of information and opinion and its effects may differ between, say, public affairs and fashion as content. Even within the political sphere it is difficult to compare findings. For example, many of the studies of media effects in politics have been done in the context of election campaigns, but it would obviously be unwise to expect these findings on media influence to apply in precisely the same way in a non-election context, even though some factors may remain constant.

The Two-Step Flow Hypothesis

The primary theoretical debt is to the research commonly summarized under the heading of 'the two-step flow of communication hypothesis'. The first major step in the development of this hypothesis was acheived in the 1940 study in Erie County, Ohio by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet reported in The People's Choice [17]. This attempted to assess the influences causing changes in party alliegence during the Presidential campaign of that year. Attention was focussed on activation, reinforcement, and conversion of orientations, and the influences causing them. One of the most significant facts to emerge was the unexpected importance of human contacts

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17. P.F. Lazarsfeld, B. Berelson, and H. Gaudet, The Peoples Choice (New York: Columbia U.P. 2nd ed. 1948).

as a source of exposure to campaign propaganda.

> "Whenever the respondents were asked to report on their recent exposure to campaign communications of all kinds, political discussions were mentioned more frequently than exposure to radio or print. On an average day, at least 10% more people participated in discussions about the election - either actively or passively - than listened to a major speech or read about campaign items in a newspaper. And this coverage 'bonus' came from just those people who had not yet made a final decision as to how they would vote. Political conversations, then, were more likely to reach those people who were still open to influence." [18]

After establishing various degrees of interest and participation in the campaign the study investigated "opinion leaders". All the panel members were asked two questions at the middle of the campaign period: "Have you tried to convince anyone of your political ideas recently?" and "Has anyone asked your advice on a political question recently?" Twenty-one per cent of the panel answered "Yes" to both questions and were designated "opinion leaders"[19]. The authors admit that this was not sufficient basis for identifying the opinion leaders of the population as a whole, but it nevertheless allowed some interesting comparisons to be made between leaders and non-leaders. In summary, the findings were as follows:

> "In the present study we found that one of the functions of opinion leaders is to mediate between the mass media and other people in their groups. It is commonly assumed that individuals obtain their information directly from newspapers, radio, and other media. Our findings, however, did not bear this out. The majority of people acquired much of their information and many of their ideas through personal contacts with the opinion leaders in their groups. These latter individuals in turn, exposed themselves relatively more than others to the mass media. The two-step flow of information is of obvious practical importance for any study of propaganda." [20]

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18. Ibid., 150 - 151.

19. Ibid., 50.

20. Ibid., XXIII.

The reasons why personal contacts are often more effective than mass media in influencing attitudes and behaviour are fairly clear. As summarized in The People's Choice they are:

1) such contacts are more casual in occurence and cannot be selected or rejected by the audience as easily as can the media,

2) the personal source has greater flexibility than the media and can adapt his persuasive technique to his audience as the interaction progresses,

3) personal relationships can act as a reward for accepting the message offered,

4) where the source is respected by his audience there will be greater trust in what he says,

5) personal contacts can often lead to action without any overt persuasion at all [21].

Without going too deeply into the question of who is or is not an opinion leader it is clear from The People's Choice and other research that discussion of political (or other) issues is a variable which is closely related to media exposure and to knowledge. Something of a cumulative effect is to be expected, with those who discuss most often tending also to be more exposed to the media. If discussion and media exposure are related it is of course more difficult to determine which comes first in time and which has the greater or the initial effect on knowledge. Rather than try to determine such relationships through

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21. Ibid., 150 - 158

time this research aimed to examine relationships at one time point among a given sample.

Evidence exists to suggest that an underlying variable is interest [22], but this in turn can itself be seen as a dependent variable within the overall socialization process, though only by very elaborate research could this be measured. Further research on opinion leadership by Lazarsfeld and other Columbia University social scientists found that variations in the actual pattern of media exposure are likely to be dependent on the exact sphere of interest of the person concerned. Thus, a study by Merton [23] was able to distinguish between those with a cosmopolitan or a local sphere of interest and influence. In each case a different pattern of media exposure appeared, with the cosmopolitans more likely to read newsmagazines dealing with national and international affairs while the locals tended to spend more time reading local papers.

Katz and Lazarsfeld also explored "specialization" in opinion leadership in their Personal Influence study [24]. They took four areas of interest - marketing, fashion, public affairs, and movie going, and related attitudes and behaviour in these areas to the variables of personal versus media influence, socio-economic status, patterns of influence flow, and media impact on opinion leaders.

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22. This is well discussed by C. Garrison in The Introductory Political Science Course as an Agent of Political Socialization, (Unpublished dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of Oregon, 1966), 238 - 242.

23. R. K. Merton "Patterns of Influence" in P. F. Lazarsfeld and F. N. Staton (eds.) Communications Research 1948 - 1949 (New York: Harper, 1949).

24. Katz and Lazarsfeld.

As part of the research an "index of effectiveness" was calculated for each type of contact, which expressed the number of people who reported being influenced by a medium as a proportion of the total number reporting exposure to that medium. On this basis, personal influence appeared to prevail over mass media influence in the fields of fashion, marketing and movie-going. The same procedure was not followed for public affairs; as this was not an election study there was no comparable way of measuring behaviour change in this field. But one finding on public affairs was that of 619 reported changes in opinion, 42% were explicitly related by the respondents to specific conversations with another person. At the same time, 58% of the changes appeared not to have such an association.[25]

Among the opinion leaders, media exposure tended to be selective (i.e. weighted towards one area of interest), but it was also greater overall than in the case of non-leaders. The authors concluded that the "two-step flow" process does in fact operate in the movement of information and influence.

More recent research at the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, appears to corroborate this finding concerning the higher level of media exposure among opinion leaders. Converse writes:

> "For several elections we have asked respondents 'Did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?' The probability thus defined is tied in the most extreme fashion to information intake. In 1960, for example, 52% of the people who drew information from four media were opinion givers; for three media the figure was 44%, for two, 23% for one, 15%. Among no media people, who are currently few in number...0% reported opinion giving".[26]

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25. Ibid., 142

Although there is fairly clear evidence that the two-step flow processs often operates, the circumstances and extent to which it occurs remain unclear, as do the relative weights (in terms of attitude or behaviour-changing potential) which can be attributed to various media, or to opinion-leader or other influence. Are opinion-leaders themselves influenced by other opinion-leaders? - or even by the people they try to influence? Who is subject to the most influence overall, the leader or the non-leader?

In Voting, Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee [27] concluded that:

> "It is true that one can single out those individuals who are more likely than others to be at the center of several (opinion-leading) relationships...as we do in this analysis. But when it is found also that the people so singled out as leaders report, in turn, that they seek advice on politics more than others (52% to 43%) we are reminded again that in practice there must be unending circuits of leadership relationships running through the community, like a nerve system through the body."

In Britain, Treneman and McQuail [28] measured exposure to election propaganda and information through a number of sources, and related this to changes in attitudes toward parties and candidates. They isolated a group of 'discussers' who 'frequently' discussed the campaign with others, and found these people to be very similar to the 'opinion-

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26. P. E. Converse, "Information Flow and the Stability of Partison Attitudes": in E. C. Dreyer and W. A. Rosenbaum, Political Opinion and Electoral Behaviour (Belmart, California: Wadswath, 1966), 324 -349.

27. B. R. Berelson, P. F. Lazarsfeld, W. N. McPhee, Voting, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1954), 109 - 110.

28. J. Treneman and D. McQuail, Television and the Political Image (London: Methuen, 1961).

leaders' identified by Katz and Lazarsfeld in their degree of exposure to the election campaign through the media in comparison to that of 'non-discussers'. However, these 'discussers' showed no evidence of being more influenced by this exposure than anyone else [29]. This seems to suggest least two conclusions: 1) that the simple fact of discussion may be a more reliable variable to work with than a leader/non-leader dichotomy; 2) that the potential for personal (or media) influence in politics is low in relation to that in other fields. Also, of course, within politics (or any other subject area) there are some attitudes and opinions which are more or less resistant to change from any source.

Some light is thrown on this problem by Troldahl [30], who has suggested that a person looks to an opinion-leader - i.e. takes part in a discussion for interpretation only when exposed to media content which is in some way inconsistent with his present dispositions.

The most workable conclusion to draw in this direction would seem to be that although there is a relationship in many cases between media exposue and/or discussion and changes in attitude, opinion, or behavior, the content of the communication involved is an important intervening variable, as is the personality of the individual as it affects his perceptions and evaluation of this content.

Social Status

Contradictions and confusions appear in the literature. One of

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29. Ibid, 194.

30. V. Troldahl, "A field test of a modified two-step flow of communication model", Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX,4 (Winter 1966), 607 - 623.

the Personal Influence findings was that opinion-leaders display a higher level of social interaction than non-leaders, as measured by organization membership and range of contact with other people in general. But in a study of opinion-leadership among educational TV viewers, Carter and Clarke [31] concluded that there were no significant variations in this respect between leaders and non-leaders (identified by the same questions as in Personal Influence). However, their research did confirm the earlier finding that opinion-leaders show a greater level of media exposure, and that as Lazarsfeld and others have suggested, this exposure has a cumulative effect, with the same content being followed up in various media. In terms of ETV viewing itself, however, they found no significant variations in amount of exposure in relation to sex, education, or opinion leadership/non-leadership differences. This is perhaps a little surprising, for it might be expected that public affairs opinion-leaders would spend more time than others with media having a high information content. As the authors themselves caution, though, the findings of this research cannot be generalized too far, being derived from a survey taking ETV viewers as its universe.

In both The Peoples Choice and Personal Influence opinion leaders were found at all social levels, though slightly more often at the higher levels. It was also found that higher class people were likely to read more books and magazines than lower class people.

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31. R. E. Carter and P. Clarke, "Public Affairs Opinion Leadership among Educational Television viewers", American Sociological Review, XXVII, 6 (December 1962), 792 - 798.

Other research also has examined the relationship between social class, range and type of media exposure, and level of knowledge. A study in Egypt and France [32], for example, found that "socio-economic status as measured by income, education, or occupation, does not appear to be a particularly good predictor of media use by middle or upper classes in either country" - for example the r between levels of education and use of TV was -.20 in France and .26 in Egypt.)

Natzinger, Engstrom and Maclean [33] concluded that "variations in information levels are to some extent concomitant with exposure to written media. Sex, education, occupation, income, or social status do not appear to be significantly related to information levels."

Media Popularity

Converse [34] reports that "the tendencies to monitor different media for political information follow Guttmann scalar patterns very closely with magazines the 'hardest' item and the spoken media the 'easiest'. Such a scale is, of course, highly correlated with education: 74% of college graduates fall in the top category, as opposed to 17% of the grade school educated; 6% of college graduates monitor only a spoken medium or none at all, as opposed to 40% of the grade school people."

This research did not deal with the influence of media but rather with the way people use media, though the two things are of

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32. E. S. Lorimer and S. W. Dunn, "The Use of the Mass Media in France and Egypt", Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX, 4 (Winter 1968) 680-687.

33. R. O. Natzinger, W. C. Engstrom, and M. S. Maclean, "The Mass Media and an Informed Public", Public Opinion Quarterly, XV, 1 (Spring 1951), 105 - 114.

34. Op. Cit.

course, closely related. Further data on media use patterns is reported by Elmo Roper on the basis of studies made from 1959 to 1964 [35]. (It is unfortunate in the interest of comparison that TV was not a significant force when the earlier Columbia research was done.) Roper reports the following tendencies:

> "1) TV has maintained the slight lead it first achieved in 1963 over newspaper as the public's primary (perceived) source of news;
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> 2) TV has widened its lead over other media as the most believable source of news;
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> 3) TV is mentioned as the least believable news source much less than competing media; and
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> 4) TV's lead as the most desired medium has reached the point where it exceeds the three other major media combined".

But variations occur when the sources of information on elections in particular are requested: for local elections 42% named newspapers against 27% for TV: for state elections TV lead by only 43% to 41% for newspapers; and for national elections TV lead newspapers by 64% to 36% (all figures for November 1964). This pattern is analagous to Merton's "locals" and "cosmopolitans" comparison where these with primarily local interests relied to a greater extent than others on the local newspapers.

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35. E. Roper and Associates, "The Public's View of Television and Other Media" 1959 to 1964, reprinted from a report to the Television Information Office in Dreyer and Rosenbaum (eds.), Political Opinion and Electoral Behaviour (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1966), 309 - 317.

Just as variations in impact are likely, so are variations in the perceived value of media for different types of information, to judge from the above references. This has obvious significance for a survey in Hamilton, owing to the complex situation produced by the presence of both Canadian and American media. For example, those who habitually watch American TV are unlikely to use TV as their major source of information on Canadian Provincial or Federal elections, unless they radically alter their media exposure pattern at election times. A question similar to that used in the Michigan studies was inserted in the questionnaire to check on the respondents' perceptions as to their most important source of information on public affairs, and to provide a comparison with the actual patternsof exposure.

Political Science Courses

A certain amount of literature exists on the effects of student life, and of Political Science courses in particular, in most cases in the form of reports on "before and after" tests of political knowledge. One of the most comprehensive of these [36] found that it is plain that Political Science students are not typical students when they come to University, in terms of interest and information on politics, and become even less typical after going through an introductory Political Science course. "Interest in politics either as a spectator or potential actor differentiates the Political Science student from his peers and provides the setting for the impact of the Political Science course as an agent of socialisation." [37] It appears that the course does

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36. C. Garrison.

37. Ibid., 241.

not in itself initiate interest, but reinforces an existing interest:

> "In the main, the Political Science course serves to extend the development of orientations acquired through previous socialisation agents of home, school, and peer groups. All these social groupings tend to function within the environment of a social class. A great deal of overlap and reinforcement characterises these agents."[38]

There were, however, differences with respect to the type of introductory course which the students took: there was an option between a course dealing with American Government and one concerned with the more abstract concepts of Political Science, and it was only in the first case that students showed a gain in information as measured in the survey. The McMaster introductory course includes both elements, so that it was reasonable to expect the course itself to be an important contributor to political knowledge (defined as awareness of Canadian political issues). From Garrison's research, and from that of others[39], it appears that any substantial changes in attitude or opinion are unlikely as a result of exposure to the course, though changes might well have been expected if one regarded lecturers and tutorial leaders as to some extent being opinion leaders.

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38. Ibid., 142

39. A. Somit et al, "The Effect of the Introductory Political Science Course on Student Attitudes towards Personal Political Participation"., American Political Science Review, (December 1959).
K. P. Langton and M. K. Jennings, " Political Socialisation and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States", American Political Science Review, LII, 4 (December 1959), 1129 - 1132.

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE LITERATURE

1. Opinion leadership is a process which can be isolated satisfactorily only when a fairly clear-cut issue such as an election or a fashion is involved. Even then, the relative contributions of discussions and of the various media to effects on information or opinion may be unclear. While not rejecting the notion of opinion-leadership, it seems that the act of discussion, either "active" or "passive" is an equally significant concept and that when measuring variables upon which information-gain and opinion-formation are dependent it will be reasonable to use a measure of discussion and to leave aside the question of who influences whom.

2. Relationships can be anticipated between discussion, information, opinion, media exposure, socio-economic status, and education, but the pattern is by no means inevitable. Perhaps this is because the content involved varies from study to study. Personality differences are also of obvious importance, but must be excluded from this study because of the difficulty in their measurement.

3. Information and opinion have not been too clearly distinguished. They are often difficult to distinguish, and as the Michigan studies, for example, have demonstrated, in a minority of cases opinion may be held on a topic without possession of accurate or detailed information[40]. The present survey was structured to avoid this problem by requesting opinions only on issues on which the respondent had at least some information (i.e. he could recall the issue as one of importance for Canada.)

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40. See A. Campbell et al, The American Voter, (New York: Wiley. 1964). 100 - 101

4. Information and opinion are clearly not derived wholly from any one source and there is a tendency for more sources to be used as the level of a person's interest rises. Thus, to gain anything like a comprehensive picture of information and "opinion building" it is essential to look for as many contributing influences as possible.

II

HYPOTHESES

I. The central hypothesis to be tested is a modification of the 'two-step flow' hypothesis discussed earlier. This stressed the importance of discussion with opinion leaders as an intervening variable in the communication process. The present research, however, is less concerned with who influences whom than with the effect of discussion in general. If the hypothesis holds in the present context, it is to be expected that those with the highest levels of information would tend to be those who most often take part in discussions as well as using the media to a considerable extent, and that this might be either active or passive participation; the opinion "givers" would be informed because their role causes them to acquire information from the media, and the information "receivers" would be informed because they join in discussion with those who are more informed. Thus, though for different reasons, those who discuss the most are likely to be those best informed, possibly irrespective of the amount of media they are exposed to, though this would also be expected to be relatively high.

It might be, in fact, that the term "two-step" is misleading, for in many cases the leaders will themselves receive information through discussions with other leaders, and non-leaders in turn will follow their discussions with leaders by talking to other 'non-leaders'. Katz and Lazarsfeld suggest that "...compared with the realm of fashions at any rate, one is lead to suspect that the chain of inter-personal influence is longer in the realm of public affairs." [1] and again in

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1. Katz and Lazarsfeld, 319.

Voting as mentioned earlier, it was concluded that opinion leadership is most realistically conceived of as "unending circuits"[2] of discussion and influence, rather than a situation where a given set of people influences another given set of people.

The first proposition to be tested then can be formulated as: Those who are most exposed to media and also take part frequently in discussions tend to be better informed than those who discuss less and use less media.

A number of other hypotheses arise from this proposition.

2. It would not be expected that media exposure always needs discussion to "convert" it into knowledge, or even that people always talk to others about what they see or hear from the media. Assuming for the moment that interest is the underlying cause of both media exposure and discussion of content, it seems likely that the two things will occur together. It would be useful to assess the extent to which this happens and also to try and account for those cases where it does not, and people fairly highly exposed to the media do not also take part in discussions. One clue in this direction has been suggested by the hypothesis that people may talk to an opinion-leader only if they are exposed to media content which is in some way inconsistent with their present dispositions. It might be, then, that those who acquire a high level of information without taking part in much discussion are not experiencing this inconsistency. The reasons for this might lie within themselves, (highly intelligent, or highly trusting, so they do not feel

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2. Berelson et al., 109 - 110.

the need to have media content interpreted in any way for them), or it might lie in the nature of the media they use, (or most likely with a combination of both). In the case of such people the actual media to which they are exposed would be of interest as would the medium which they regard as most useful to themselves, and the other non-mass media sources to which they are exposed.

One hypothesis here is that in the case of the present sample, any people falling into the categories of highly informed and highly exposed to media, yet taking part never or rarely in discussions are likely to rely quite heavily on political science or other classes, and on books for their political information. These are sources which supply a high level of both information and interpretation, thus potentially minimising inconsistencies. Evidence for such a hypotheses is not likely to be strong or unambiguous, but it is an interesting problem which merits investigation even at this fairly general level.

3. Apart from the fact of discussion or non-discussion, the evidence from most sources is that those best informed tend to be those most exposed to media. The difficulties of quantifying media exposure will be discussed further below, but two main methods of measurement were adopted in this study: one was to count the numbers of exposures to each medium, and the other was to count the number of different examples within each medium to which exposure takes place. Frequency and range might be expected to increase together if related to increases in knowledge, though the literature on opinion-leaders would suggest that range is a better predictor than frequency alone. Those who are interested in a subject tend to follow up the subject in a variety of media. This

approach brings in two problems: even if this does lead to increased knowledge it is difficult to say whether one element within the total exposure pattern is relatively more influential, and even if the elements are all equally influential, the increment in knowledge cannot be expected to occur at a uniform rate as content becomes repeated more and more.

The third hypothesis is that knowledge will tend to increase as more frequent media exposure occurs, but that a better predictor is the range of media to which a person is exposed. The relative effects of both measures need to be carefully compared, for each may in fact influence people in a different way.

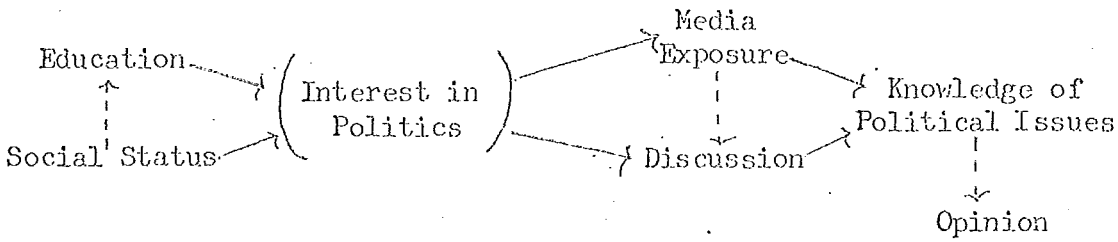
4. Working from the same principles it is expected that if knowledge of Canadian political issues is to be taken as the measure, then those who have a Canadian rather than an American bias in their media exposure will be better informed. This is an important hypothesis in the present context, but again, its testing is not straightforward. For one reason, although in most cases it appears easy to call a medium Canadian or American this is not always so. Time magazine for example, carries several pages of exclusively Canadian news, and all the Canadian media carry a greater or lesser amount of American material, so that there are obvious dangers in inferring the actual content from the place of origin of the medium, or of inferring that part of the content of which a person takes the most notice. For another reason, there are only a minority of people who are likely to be entirely exposed to Canadian or to American media, so that any apparent differences in knowledge which seem to relate to Canadian or American biases are expected

to be rather weak.

5. The exact casual sequence which relates the variables in the study is to a great extent difficult to either predict or to measure. For example, which comes first, interest in politics, media exposure, knowledge of political issues, or discussion? The intention was to investigate relationships rather than casual chains, though these can to some extent be inferred. But underlying the whole process are the more basic socialising influences, with socio-economic status being probably the most consistent. Garrison's research [3] found no great differences in fact, in this respect between political science and other students, though in the case of those taking the Political Science rather than the American Government course, the proportions of upper and upper-middle class students was rather higher (69% to 50%, 54% for other students). There was also noticeably more interest in politics among the politics students than the non-politics students. It obviously should not be inferred from this that interest in politics rises with social status. But from both Columbia and Michigan research it is known that: 1) media exposure tends to increase with socio-economic status (and, of course, as interest increases); 2) although present in all social strata, opinion-leaders are more often found in the higher social groups; in other words, discussion tends to rise with social status; 3) opinion-leaders are more exposed to media; and 4) education as a whole, and in political science in particular, increases knowledge of political issues.

3.

The following pattern of relationships might therefore be expected:



The following hypotheses will therefore be explored:

i.. That media exposure is positively associated with social status. Two measures (apart from education) will be used: occupation and income.

ii. That discussion of political issues is positively associated.

iii. That knowledge and opinion on political issues are positively associated with social status.

iv. That knowledge is positively associated with years of education. This cannot be fully explored as most students have the same period of education behind them. Possibly the amount of education which their parents have had might be expected to show a relationship to knowledge.

6. It is commonly claimed that interest in politics (as reflected in voting figures for example,) is lower among women than among men. Assuming that the students surveyed would not be studying politics without a fairly high level of interest, no observable difference might be expected between the sexes, but nevertheless such variations seemed worth looking for in terms of media exposure, amount of discussion, level of information and strength of opinion.

7. Certain relationships have previously been observed between the use of the various media: one is that the order of popularity (in terms of use and of trust) of media ranges from TV as the most popular through radio, then newspapers, to magazines as the least popular as sources of news [4]; another is that a Guttman scalar pattern exists so that magazine readers tend to use all the other three media as well, that newspaper readers tend to use radio and TV but not magazines, and so on; and further that education is closely related to this scale, with those using all four media being the most highly educated. (Seventy four percent of college graduates are said to fall into the four-media category.[5] A comparable figure might be expected for the present sample. For this reason it was felt not to be worthwhile to try and construct a similar index, for nearly all the sample might be expected to fall within the high category. Instead, the relative popularity of the media will be investigated, to see whether the order TV-radio-newspapers-magazines is present. As a somewhat subjective hypothesis it is felt that newspapers might well score highest, giving as they do the most complete and up-to-date, and at the same time permanent (compared to spoken media) coverage of most news items which the first year politics student will often find valuable.

8. So far knowledge and information have both been referred to, and have been seen as the effects of certain other variables such as

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4. E. Roper, Dreyer and Rosenbaum, 310 - 311.

5. Converse in Ibid., 340.

media exposure and discussion. Much of the research cited so far has examined effects in terms of changes in attitudes or opinion, or actual behaviour. It is not proposed to offer a full distinction between information and opinion, for there is obvious overlap. Despite the fact that (if measured in certain ways) opinion may be held without information [6], in most cases, information is a prerequisite for opinion formation.

One model which might be suggested is that information flows from the media and is somehow converted into opinion through the discussion process. This is what the two-step flow hypothesis suggests, though not in such a simplistic way. It is nowhere suggested that information, and often opinion as well, do not pass directly from the media to the individual without being filtered by an opinion leader, or simply by discussion in any form. It is not reasonable to assume that discussion necessarily preceeds opinion formation, for a person who tends towards strong views is more inclined to discuss them with others (i.e. discussion often comes second). But it is clear from the various research that strong opinions and discussion are related to a considerable extent.

One general aim of this thesis is to examine some of the sources whose use might be expected to lead to an increase in knowledge and understanding of political issues. If one is to avoid extremely elaborate and inevitably rather subjective measurement procedures, it is necessary to split into two elements something which is not logically completely divisible. Therefore, the hypotheses expressed so far con-

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6. See Campbell et al, 100 - 101.

cerning knowledge are regarded as being applicable in a very similar way to strength of opinions. The essential difference is that, in this case, discussion and its components, is to be regarded as an even more crucial intervening variable than in the case of knowledge. Opinion is therefore expected to be far stronger among those who discuss a lot as well as use the media.

9. Merton's distinction between local and cosmopolitan spheres of interest and related media exposure pattern, and the Michigan findings on different sources of information for local and for national affairs suggest that those mentioning TV as their most important source of information might mention more national and international issues than those giving newspapers. Although not designed as a test of this, the survey data will be examined briefly for any similar tendencies, though given the nature of the sample, these are not anticipated, for students would be likely to have a relatively broad sphere of interest and be informed in all areas.

III

MEASUREMENT OF MAJOR VARIABLES

Introduction

This research is designed to measure three main types of variables: inputs, mediating, and outputs, the first group covering the mass media or other sources of information and opinion, the second involving discussion, and the third, levels of information and opinion on public affairs.

The guiding principle followed throughout is to avoid pre-mature closure of responses, so that a number of pre-coded categories were supplied in the questionnaire but in all cases respondents were asked to write in "others". The use of vague definitions such as "quite often" and "hardly ever" which have obvious shortcomings (as well as advantages) was avoided. Rather the principle is to collect as much information as reasonable and group it later as and if necessary.

Media Exposure

Use of each medium needed to be recorded in as much detail as possible, but also in a form which would allow both cross-media comparisons and the building of indices of Canadian, American, and overall media exposure.

The problems of finding a meaningful measure of media exposure are almost endless; for example, it can be argued that a knowledge of the actual content involved is essential, for as already mentioned, inferences

about content, or about that part of it which is abxorbed, are highly dangerours. An ideal cause-effect model would require this information and could then take account of the varying impact of different content items. Difficulties can also be found in respect to the respondent's motives for using a medium which could radically affect its impact on him[1], but investigation on this level is not possible here.

Previous studies have used various ways of measuring media exposure, each more or less useful in its own context. One approach is to measure the time spent in exposure to a medium[2]. This can be done with greater (e.g. electronic monitoring of a TV set as used in some commercial program rating procedures) or lesser (e.g. asking how many times a week do you watch TV?) accuracy.

In the present case, this might have been done, but would have required using non-comparable measures for different media - "how many hours?" doesnot mean the same thing in terms of TV watching as it does in terms of newspaper reading, where "how many pages or articles?" would be a more meaningful question.

A Another often used technique is to ask for assessments of media in terms of "very often", "now and then" etc.[3] Carter and Clarke[4]

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1. Berelson, for example, cites six reasons for reading a newspaper in, "What Missing the Newspaper Means", in E. Katz et al, Public Opinion and Propaganda (New York: Dryden, 1954).

2. See e.g. J. M. McLeod, R. R. Rush, K. H. Friederich "The Mass Media and Political Opinion in Quito Ecquador" Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXII, 4 (Winter 1968).

3. See e.g. Treneman and McQuail; Carter and Clarke.

4. Abid

classified media exposure on a high/low dichotomy using these terms as measures. As already mentioned, though, this was regarded as an approach to avoid.

Information was requested on frequency of use of individual newspapers, magazines, TV stations, and radio stations (and also the "other sources" -- see question five) and this information is used to build indices of exposure to the four types of media, and of overall media exposure. In each case, this is done in terms of Canadian media, American media, and total media.

Two approaches to this index construction were possible, using either a pre-determined or an open ended scale. The People's Choice employed a zero to ten scale for each medium, and used a mean score for an overall measure, and this was relatively straightforward as only specific media items were being used. Treneman and McQuail adopted an open ended approach and so had a scale ranging from zero to 53. The problem here though was that the components were measured in various ways, some more and some less precise. Precision was represented by recording viewing of particular programs, and subjectivity (admitted by the authors[5]) by scores for regular readership of newspapers weighted according to the quality of the newspaper, a questionable procedure to say the least.

However, the principle of an open ended index is desirable as being consistent with the open-ended approach to data gathering, so that for each medium a total number of exposures (per week, or per month in the case of magazines) was recorded, thus allowing some measure of compar-

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5. Treneman and McQuail, 262.

ability. However, this procedure is not extended to an index of overall exposure, as it was felt that this would tend to obscure detail, and would be somewhat distorted, in particular, by the far higher frequencies involved in radio listening.

Therefore, for each medium and to show overall media exposure, range is adopted as the criterion, this being desired for testing in relation to discussion, information level, and opinion. Thus each newspaper, magazine, TV or radio station ever used is scored as one, and these scores are again computed for each media type, and in total, for Canadian, American and overall media exposure.

Exactly the same principles are followed in respect of the non mass media sources covered in question five (see appendix).

Discussion

As Lazarsfeld points out [6], this is a difficult variable to classify meaningfully due to its frequently casual, unstructured nature. He also suggests why this very fact makes it a more effective influence in many cases than the mass media. Its content and its impact are obviously liable to vary just as in the case of the media.

In The People's Choice, Personal Influence, the Michigan studies and Television and the Political Image, discussion was investigated in terms of its presence or absence and of "how many people?" rather than "how many times?" Garrison used a fairly specific question: "Do you discuss

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6. Lazarsfeld et al, 173 and 150 - 158.

politics with friends very often, often, not often, or not at all".[7]

Following the same principles as already outlined under media exposure, discussion was investigated in terms of which people (family, friends, teachers being the main groups) and how often, so that amounts of discussion could be related to other variables on the basis of range of people, total number of discussions with each type of person, or overall total discussion.

Information Level

Examples exist in the literature of testing for political knowledge, but in nearly all cases this has involved a specific list of issues which are given to the respondent in some relatively structured way. The longer the list of issues, the more effectively overall knowledge can be measured, but even so, the fact that a hand count of approximately 200 questionnaires in this survey revealed over 120 different issues mentioned supports the rationale behind a completely open approach to measuring information, asking respondents to mention as many issues as they could think of which were important for Canada at the present time. This approach is felt to be a more meaningful way of assessing the overall impact of the various information transmitting and channelling processes, for it stresses the perceptions of the individual rather than his knowledge of say, "issues in the news" (a very vague expression).

In most cases, other research has set out to measure the acquisition information of a fairly definite sort, such as campaign propaganda

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7. Garrison, 254.

or the content of a political science course. The only comparable approach found in the literature was a question used by Himmelweit in investigating effects of TV upon eleven to twelve and fourteen to fifteen year olds: "So much is happening in the world today. Think of as many events or happenings as you can and write them down one by one below".[8]

The emphasis is on quantity of information rather than quality, as that would involve much subjective assessment of answers and would also take much longer. Consequently it is difficult to categorize issues with accuracy, but this is really a secondary concern, the first aim being to measure total information on public affairs. Four sub-groups were used, based on the level of the political system involved: International issues, National level issues, issues particularly involved in Federal/Provincial relations, and issues of importance within one Province or Locality only. This last group is inevitably smaller than the rest, as the question is directed towards issues important for the country as a whole.

Opinion Strength

As mentioned earlier this is measured as a separate variable, though it can be argued that it is not separable from knowledge, and can be seen as representing interest in and understanding of the information involved. The American Voter showed that although a sizeable

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8. Himmelweit, 276.

minority will express opinion without having much information on an issue, for nearly every issue, the majority has knowledge as well as opinion.[9] In a sample of politics students, the amount of knowledge is likely to be much higher than among the electorate as a whole, so that it was felt safe to regard opinion as something which almost always grows out of information, and in this sense can reasonably be separately defined.

To avoid problems of direction or intensity and to avoid the need for subjective judgement (for example, as to "left-wing" or "right-wing" views) it was decided to measure opinion purely in terms of its presence, defined as 'strong opinion', or absence, defined as 'no particular opinion' on each issue mentioned. These are then summed to give an overall measure of strength of opinions using two categories: those with more "strong opinions", and those with more "no particular opinions" or an equal number of each. For this purpose, non-responses were treated as "no particular opinions".

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9. Campbell et al., 101.

IV

MEDIA USE PATTERNS

Introduction

This chapter sets out to provide basic data relating to the use and popularity of individual media items, so as to provide a preliminary picture of the importance of these various items, and to give some indication of the extent to which a Canadian or American media bias exist.

The order of popularity of the four mass media studied was clearly different from that found among the electorate as a whole in the Michigan studies, where the order was TV, radio, newspapers, magazines in descending order of popularity. Taking the overall distribution figures, relative popularity can be shown in two different ways; one an objective measure showing simply what proportion of the sample uses each medium, and one a subjective assessment based on the answers given as to the source of information considered most important to the respondent (question 6).

Media Popularity - Objective

In terms of actual use (to any extent) of each medium, the order of popularity is clearly: newspapers, magazines, TV, and radio last. Newspapers are still ahead of magazines and TV ahead of radio, but there the resemblance to the Michigan figures ends. The data is interesting in this respect, though not remarkable, for the sample was not expected to resemble the Michigan samples either educationally or socially (or, for

that matter, nationally). A very high level of exposure to all types of media is apparent, and this fits the expectations suggested by previous studies that media exposure is likely to be high among the college educated.[1]

The figures on use of particular media are presented in Tables IV: 1 - 4.

TABLE IV: 1 - NEWSPAPER READERSHIP

Percentage of sample (excluding those giving vague answers) reporting any reading of a newspaper for news of public affairs.

NEWSPAPER			
ANY CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS	99	ANY AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS	5
Hamilton Spectator	88	New York Times	4
Toronto Globe and Mail	63	All other American newspapers	1
Toronto Telegram	21		
Toronto Star	21	ANY BRITISH NEWSPAPERS	1
McMaster Silhouette	9		
Brantford Expositor	3	ANY NEWSPAPERS	99
St. Catharines Standard	3		
All other Canadian Newspapers	8		

1. During the 1964 Presidential Campaign, Michigan research found that among college graduates, 71% used newspapers, 72% used television, and 59% used magazines (for information on the campaign). (Reported by S. Wade and W. Schramm in "The Mass Media as sources of public affairs, science, and health knowledge") - Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIII, 2 (Summer 1969), 197 - 209.

TABLE IV: 2 - MAGAZINE READERSHIP

Percentage of sample (excluding those giving vague answers) reporting any reading of a magazine for news of public affairs.

MAGAZINES

ANY CANADIAN MAGAZINES	42	ANY AMERICAN MAGAZINES	87
McLeans	34	Time	74
Saturday Night	11	Life	49
Chatelaine	1	Newsweek	25
Toronto Life	1	Playboy	8
All other Canadian magazines	2	Ramparts	5
		Harpers	2
		Fortune	2
		Readers Digest	2
		Other American Magazines	
		News/features	6
		Opinion	2
		Satire	1
		Travel	1
		Sport	1
		ANY BRITISH MAGAZINES	1
		ANY MAGAZINES	90

TABLE IV: 3 - TELEVISION VIEWING

Percentage of sample (excluding those giving vague answers) reporting any viewing of a TV station for news or documentary programs.

STATION

ANY CANADIAN TV STATIONS	82	ANY AMERICAN TV STATIONS	59
Channel 6, CBLT-Toronto (CBC)	50	Channel 4, WBEN-Buffalo (CBS)	38
Channel 11, CHCH-Hamilton (IND)	47	Channel 2, WGR-Buffalo (NBC)	33
Channel 9, CFTO-Toronto (CTV)	41	Channel 7, WKBW-Buffalo (ABC)	23
Channel 13, CKCO-Kitchener (CTV)	6	Channel 17, WNED-Buffalo (NET)	2
All other Canadian TV Stations	4	All other American TV Stations	1
		ANY TV STATIONS	88

TABLE IV: 4 - RADIO LISTENING

Percentage of sample (excluding those giving vague answers) reporting any listening to radio stations for news and documentary programs.

RADIO STATIONS	
ANY CANADIAN RADIO STATIONS	72
CKOC - Hamilton	41
CHML - Hamilton	18
CHAM - Hamilton	6
CHUM - Toronto	38
CFRB - Toronto	12
CBL - Toronto	9
All other Canadian radio stations	16
ANY AMERICAN RADIO STATIONS	7
ANY RADIO STATIONS	73

In terms of Canadian/American balance there is almost a Canadian monopoly in the newspaper field. American newspapers are not so easily available as Canadian but if the 95% not reading them really wanted to, they could do so, so that it would seem that if there is any greater interest in American news than shown here, then it is obviously being satified through channels other than American newspapers.

All but 1% reported some exposure to newspapers as a whole and to Canadian newspapers. One explanation of this high level of readership could well be that the Canadian press is the medium providing the most thorough coverage of Canadian, American and world current news items, and would thus be of particular value to the student of government. This view is supported in the data showing the sources perceived to be most important to the respondent for giving news of public affairs (Table 5), which show newspapers clearly at the top of the list, mentioned by 24% of the total sample.

Along with the Hamilton Spectator (88%) and Toronto Globe and Mail (63%), by far the most used single medium is Time magazine (74%). This popularity is probably explainable by its agressive sales policy and cut-price student subscriptions. It does, of course, give easily digestible, yet supposedly 'in-depth' coverage of Canadian, American, and world events, and, apart from the specialized literature, is one of the most frequently quoted sources in 1st year Political Science essays.

As Canada leads with newspapers, so America leads with magazines: 87% read American magazines, 42% Canadian. To some extent this situation is inevitable for if America produces a greater range of magazines it is likely to sell more. Also, Canadian magazines do not rival the volume or variety of content offered by such as Time, Life and Newsweek.

Given that the overall odds are fairly equal in the Hamilton area as far as TV reception conditions go for the various channels, it is interesting that viewing of Canadian channels is so clearly higher than of American ones for this can be taken to be the result of deliberate choice rather than availability.

The same is true, and to a far greater extent for radio listening.

In short, except for magazines, Canadian media appear to be preferredtoAmerican media, and even here, the most popular magazine, Time, shares one feature in common with Canadian media - it reports both Canadian and American news. The explanation for a Canadian media bias can thus be seen in two ways, one being that the youth of Canada have a strong allegiance to their own culture and polity, and the other being that they

do not, but can get the best of both worlds - Canadian and American - from Canadian media which they could not get if they used American media alone.

Media Popularity - Subjective

A second set of figures on relative popularity of media is derived from question six, concerning the source perceived to provide the most information on public affairs to the respondent. The order here varies again, (see Table IV: 5), with magazines falling from second to fourth place, though newspapers are again clearly the most popular of the four media, or of any source, judged on this basis. The reason for the difference in the position of magazines on these two scales is perhaps due to the fact that while a high proportion may read magazines for public affairs information and comment, they are less likely to use them for day-to-day information than the other three sources. Magazines may offer depth of coverage, but are in this sense less productive of information than newspapers, TV, and radio, which operate on a day-to-day basis and carry a far greater range and volume of subject matter.

TABLE IV: 5 - SOURCE PERCEIVED AS GIVING MOST INFORMATION ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS TO THE RESPONDENT

SOURCE			DETAILS WITHIN EACH SOURCE		
Newspapers	24	(70)	Unspecified	18	(52)
			Hamilton Spectator	3	(8)
			Toronto Globe and Mail	2	(7)
			Toronto Telegram	-	(1)
			Toronto Star	-	(1)
			Brantford Expositor	-	(1)
Magazines	9	(25)	Unspecified	4	(11)
			Time	4	(11)
			Newsweek	1	(2)
			US News & World Review	-	(1)
Television	16	(45)	Unspecified	13	(37)
			Ch.4-WBEN-Buffalo	1	(2)
			Ch.6-CBLT-Toronto	1	(3)
			Ch.9-CFTO-Toronto	-	(1)
			Ch.11-CHCH-Hamilton	1	(2)
Radio	15	(42)	Unspecified	12	(35)
			CKOC-Hamilton	1	(2)
			CFRB-Toronto	-	(1)
			CBC-Toronto	1	(3)
			CKFM	-	(1)
Other Sources	21	(63)	Unspecified	4	(11)
			Political Science Classes	5	(15)
			'Classes' in general	2	(6)
			Sociology classes	-	(1)
			Political meetings	-	(1)
			Books/Pamphlets	4	(12)
			Family/Friends	6	(17)
Unmeasurable Responses	14	(43)			
N =		(288)			

When measured either for range or frequency of use, a source given as most important is used to a greater extent than the other three media. The lead over these other media is in all cases greater in terms of frequency than of range, which suggests that the perceived importance of a medium is related to how often it is used, rather than how many varieties of it are used.

Among the 'other sources' mentioned, it is interesting that the most often cited (by seventeen people) was family or friends. Excluding those people giving unmeasurable responses, this ranks fifth in the order of popularity after the four media, and, while these percentages are in no way comparable to the results of The People's Choice questions on sources of campaign information, they nevertheless suggest that human contacts are a significant influence for the present sample.

Inter-relationships in Media Use

In terms of either total frequency of use, or range of media used, the inter-relationships between the use of the four media follow a similar pattern, though not in all cases at a significant level (Table IV: 6). The most significant relationships are between newspapers and magazines and newspapers and television, and the strongest degrees of association (though moderate) are observed in these two cases. This is so whether frequency or range are used as measures of use. The lowest degrees of significance are observed in relating use of radio to use of each of the other three media, and when frequency is used as the measure of use there is no appreciable strength of association in these three cases.

The fact that frequency of listening to the radio has no association with use of the other media, is not in itself illogical or contradictory, but in view of the stronger associations between totals for all other media, and between range of radio (number of different stations) and range of the other three media used, it seems strange.

TABLE IV: 6 - INTER-RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN USE OF FOUR MEDIA

(1) According to total frequency of exposure to each medium

RELATIONSHIP	P	Phi	r
Newspapers and Magazines	$<.001$	.24	.45
Newspapers and Television	$<.001$	.23	.45
Newspapers and Radio	$>.30$	.05	-.08
Magazines and Television	$>.05$	.12	.56
Magazines and Radio	$>.30$	.04	-.16
Television and Radio	$>.20$	.08	-.19

(2) According to range of exposure to each medium

RELATIONSHIP	P	Phi	r
Newspapers and Magazines	$<.001$	.22	.75
Newspapers and Television	$<.001$	.21	.59
Newspapers and Radio	$<.02$	.15	.59
Magazines and Television	$<.01$	.17	.56
Magazines and Radio	$<.05$	.12	.56
Television and Radio	$<.02$	.15	.49

If interest in public affairs is regarded as being the influence underlying most of the phenomena observed in this survey, then the similar degrees of association between range of the various media (including radio) can be accounted for in terms of interested people using a wide range of media of all types. But given the superficial nature of public affairs coverage on radio (with the exception of CBC - but only only 9% listen to this) in comparison with the other three media, it is

understandable that the total frequency of its use as a source of such information does not increase at a rate similar to that of the other three media.

The full implications of this difference are difficult to be certain of, but the evidently different nature of radio use is borne in mind during subsequent analysis and caution is exercised.

Summary

There is a clear Canadian predominance in the use of newspapers, television, and radio, and an American one in the case of magazines. There is a wide spread of media items used but the only ones used by at least half the sample are: Hamilton Spectator (88%), Time (74%), Toronto Globe and Mail (63%), CBC television (50%).

The proportions using each medium to any extent are: newspapers (99%), magazines (90%), television (88%) and radio (73%).

When asked to give their most important source of information, 24% gave newspapers, 16% television, 15% radio and 9% magazines. In all cases there was a clear relationship between citing one of the four media here and the actual use made of it.

With the exception of radio, the media tend to be fairly closely associated in the extent of their use.

V

MEDIA EXPOSURE, DISCUSSION, INFORMATION, AND OPINION

Introduction

The basic hypothesis is that knowledge on public affairs will increase as exposure to the media increases, and that this knowledge will increase further as discussion of the issues involvedincreases, for this discussion will help clarify perceptions. It will also help clarify and strengthen opinions held on public issues, so that media exposure plus discussion might be expected to lead to increased knowledge plus increased opinion strength.

This chapter traces the relationships observed between these two independent and two dependent variables, adding one variable at a time to the pattern and investigating each variable to see whether any one or more of its components appears as a stronger influence than others (e.g. does magazine reading have a stronger association than TV viewing with information level?)

To clarify the discussion, media exposure and discussion frequency are related first to information level and then to opinion strength, and finally all four are considered together.

The Variables

Range of media having been chosen as the indicator of a person's overall media exposure, this was dichotomised as near as possible to the median, so that those people monitoring 0-8 different media items were

classified as "low" on media exposure, and those using 9 or more (19) was the maximum reported) as "high". Discussion was also dichotomised with those taking part in 0-8 discussions per month being classed as "low" on discussion, and those taking part in 9 or more (maximum 80) as "high". Some analysis was performed using range of discussion (i.e. number of different types of person with whom discussion takes place: 0-1, 2, 3-4) as the independent variable. These showed the same kind of tendencies but not so clearly, as the data could not be satisfactorily dichotomised, for the 'two-people' group contained almost half of those answering the discussion question. There is a moderate strength of association between range and frequency of discussion ($P < .001$, Phi .53, and r .47 when relating the continuous distributions), so that the more often a person takes part in a discussion, the more different types of people he tends to talk to. When relating other variables to either of these measures, similar levels of significance and degrees of association are observed.

Relating media range and information level (Table V: 1) a tendency for those in the high media group to also be high on information level is indicated (63% to 37% as against 54% to 46% for the total sample). Among the low media group the tendency is in the opposite direction. Although the pattern of grouping is fairly clear Phi is low, and the degree of association shown by r when the data were related in ungrouped form was almost non-existent. Nevertheless it is apparent that some relationship is present between the two main variables of media exposure and information level.

TABLE V: 1 - OVERALL MEDIA RANGE AND INFORMATION LEVEL

Overall Media Range

		Low	High	Total
Information Level	Low	54	37	128
	High	46	63	153
	N =	(144)	(137)	(281)

P < .01 Phi .16 Lambda-b .14

Looking next at the other major independent variable of discussion, a more significant amount of variation in relation to information level is apparent. This can be seen using either frequency (Table V: 2) or range of discussion, Lambda-b is higher in Table V: 2 but the reduction in error is so small in both cases as to be of little value for prediction. Phi is likewise low, but is again higher than in Table V: 1.

Despite this lack of strength in the relationships it seems possible that discussion is slightly more frequently associated with information level than media exposure is.

TABLE V: 2 - DISCUSSION FREQUENCY AND INFORMATION LEVEL

Discussion frequency

		Low	High	Total
Information Level	Low	59	32	(108)
	High	41	68	(127)
	N =	(122)	(113)	(235)

P < .001 Phi .27 Lambda - b .24

TABLE V: 3 - RANGE OF DISCUSSION AND INFORMATION LEVEL

Range of Discussion

		0-1	2	3-4	Total
Information Level	Low	64	49	28	(130)
	High	36	51	72	(158)
	N =	(63)	(129)	(96)	(288)

P < .001 Phi .27

This in itself does not answer the question as to the nature of the combined relationships to information of media exposure plus discussion. Table V: 4 relates discussion to information level, controlling for range of media exposure and shows the emergence of the same pattern.

TABLE V: 4 - DISCUSSION FREQUENCY AND INFORMATION LEVEL-CONTROLLING FOR OVERALL MEDIA RANGE

(a) Low media range

Discussion Frequency

		Low	High	Total
Information Level	Low	59	37	(62)
	High	41	63	(59)
	N =	(80)	(41)	(121)
			P < .05	Phi .21

(b) High media range

Discussion Frequency

		Low	High	Total
Information Level	Low	60	30	(43)
	High	40	70	(64)
	N =	(42)	(67)	(109)
			P < .01	Phi .29

The level of significance and strength of association appears to be very slightly higher when media exposure is high, but the association of discussion to information level appears to be strong whether media exposure is high or low.

If the three variables are re-arranged so that media range is related to information level controlling for discussion frequency, there is no significance and an almost non-existent strength of association as shown by Phi.

This indicates that while, individually, media exposure and discussion are related, when taken in combination, discussion has a significant association with information while media exposure does not. This suggests two possible explanations. One might be that discussion provides more information than media exposure, but this is too simplistic an explanation, as the information involved can be assumed to originate from the media in the first place and the figures on media use (Ch. 4) show that there is no one who uses no media at all.

A more plausible explanation would be that a person interested in public affairs will discuss them more frequently than one less interested, and that he will also tend to get more from his media exposure. In this way an interested person (taking interest as being partly reflected in discussion frequency) may well use a small range of media very intensely, and so draw out a greater body of information than a less interested person might draw from either a high or a low range of media.

By relating media exposure to discussion, though, it can be seen that there is a highly significant relationship between media exposure and discussion with the two increasing together in most cases (Tables V: 5 & 6).

TABLE V: 5 - OVERALL MEDIA RANGE AND DISCUSSION FREQUENCY

		Overall Media Range		
		Low	High	Total
Discussion Frequency	Low	66	38	(122)
	High	34	62	(108)
	N =	(121)	(109)	(230)
			P < .001	Phi .28

TABLE V: 6 - OVERALL MEDIA RANGE AND DISCUSSION RANGE

Overall Media Range

		Low	High	Total
Discussion Range	0-1	36	8	(63)
	2	42	47	(125)
	3-4	22	45	(193)
	N =	(144)	(137)	(281)

P $\leq$ .001 Phi .28

It was attempted to investigate in detail the nature of the media exposure, discussion, and in particular the "other sources" (from question 5) of those people who were high on information yet low on discussion. It was hypothesised that such people as well as relying heavily on the media, would also tend to rely on the use of political science or other classes and on books, these being regarded as a substitute for the interpretation and clarification offered by discussion. No figures are presented on this part of the analysis, for the N's involved were very small, and there was in any case little perceptible variation. If anything, the groups who were high on information, yet low on discussion, whether they were low or high on media exposure, also tended to use "other sources" rather less than those high on discussion, so that one can only conclude that they make more intense use of their media exposure and low amount of discussion than other groups do with higher discussion.

Perhaps worth mentioning here is that people high on media exposure, and high on information level mentioned newspapers and magazines as their most important source of information more often when their discussion was low than when it was high. It could be argued from this

that these are people who rely on written media because it can be used at a slower pace. If they do not favour the more "instantaneous" media they might also be less keen on discussion, which tends to be similarly instantaneous. The figures involved, however, are too low for further argument.

It is evident by this point that no simple two or even three variable casual relationship can be posited with confidence, and more detailed information is needed on the components of overall media exposure, discussion, and information patterns. These variables are now discussed in terms of the individual relationships of their components to information level.

Media Exposure

Both total frequency and range of exposure for the four media were related to information levels individually, and in all cases the tendency for increased media exposure to be related to higher information level was observed. However, in only four cases out of eight was there a significant variation. Two of these were for range and frequency of exposure to radio ($P < .05$ and $< .01$ respectively). As discussed elsewhere though, figures on radio listening are to be regarded with caution and it would not be reasonable to conclude that this showed radio to be a greater influence on information level than say, TV.

Another significant relationship was that between range of magazines read and information level ($P < .01$). This tends to support the various data from the literature which find that college educated people in particular tend to read more magazines, and that those who are best

informed also tend to read more magazines.

The greatest level of significance appears when frequency of exposure to newspapers is related to information level (Table V: 7).

TABLE V: 7 - FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO NEWSPAPERS AND INFORMATION LEVEL

Frequency of Exposure to Newspapers

		Low	High	Total
Information Level	Low	56	36	(130)
	High	44	64	(158)
	N =	(130)	(158)	(288)

P<.001 Phi .21

This tends to confirm the expectation that newspapers would be the most important source of information among the sample. It has already been seen that they are the most commonly used and most popular medium, and it now also seems that the frequency of reading newspapers rather than the number of newspapers read has a significant relationship to information level. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that a person who gets a lot of his information from newspapers will tend to be a regular reader of a small number rather than a large number of newspapers. A number of papers might be read, but the literature suggests that the same content tends to be followed up in different media, so that although someone learns a lot about one issue by reading several papers, he does not automatically learn about a large number of different issues. It is more logical that, to get the most information from a newspaper, a person would need to use only one or a small number of newspapers with a high frequency so as to survey the widest range of content.

The association between information level and the four media is

of some interest, for it tends to suggest the extension of this argument to magazines and TV as well:

TABLE V: 8 - ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INFORMATION LEVEL AND: r

Frequency of exposure to	newspapers	.23
	magazines	.28
	television	.31
	radio	.01
Range of exposure to	newspapers	- .18
	magazines	- .14
	television	- .12
	radio	- .14

Although all the r values are weak, three points are immediately obvious: one is that total frequency of radio listening has no association with information, whereas total frequency of exposure to the other three media does; a second is that this association is of a similar strength; the third is that range of exposure is negatively related while frequency of exposure is positively related. This last point suggests that total frequency of use of a medium has a greater importance in increasing information level than does the number of different items which are used within that type of medium. However, the levels of significance observed in the contingency tables only allow this conclusion to be confidently made in the case of newspapers.

The greater association seen with frequency might suggest that the index of overall media exposure should have been constructed on this basis also, but two points argue against this: 1. The association shown by r between overall range of media and the range of each of the four media individually is high and of a similar order in all cases, showing that the overall index used does not in fact over or under represent any particular medium.

2. Although the lower association of information level with radio exposure could be regarded as showing that frequency of exposure to radio has less association with information level than other media, it also gives support to the suspicion that radio listening data might distort an overall index based on total frequency of exposure.

An examination is suggested of information level in relation to the use of the media sources perceived to be the most important in providing information to the respondent (Question 6). If the information levels are compared among those people citing each of the four media as their most important source, the variations range between 0% and 4% from the distribution for the total sample. Therefore, it makes no apparent difference to his information level which medium a person regards as most important. It has been observed above that generally speaking, high use of one medium is about as likely as high use of any other medium to be related to high information level. If a control is introduced, so that information is related to range of use of a medium among those regarding that medium as their most important source, some variation does emerge. For magazines and radio stations there is no variation, and for newspapers there is a tendency for high use of the medium to be related to high information level, though not for low use to be related to low information but the variation is not significant. Only in the case of those citing TV is significance found, though the N is very low. The level of significance here among the total sample was much lower.

In the relationships between discussion frequency and information level controlling for the medium cited as the most important source, a consistently more significant variation is observed, as was the case for

the sample as whole, but it does not appear that those favouring any one medium either tend towards higher discussion, or derive more information from their discussion than do those favouring another medium, or the sample as whole.

In conclusion, it does not appear that frequent use of any particular medium - except for newspaper - has a significantly greater association with information level than any other medium. Nor do those favouring any particular medium get more information from higher use of that medium, or get more from their discussions than those favouring a different medium. It seems as if, on the whole, no particular medium is more important as a source of information to those who are more interested in public affairs, (if these are the people who use media more and discuss more).

Discussion

If little apparent variation in information level appears simply in terms of individual media use or preference, it may be that the discussion pattern is more important. It has already been shown that discussion is an important element, and that in fact, greater variation in formation level is observed in relation to this than to the overall range of media exposure.

Among the three main groups of people with whom respondents were asked to report discussions, there is a clear ranking in frequency of discussion from friends, through family, down to teachers, with whom the smallest proportion have discussions. The pattern is most strong, as might be expected, among those who have a high overall frequency of dis-

cussion, the greatest difference between low and high discussers being shown in the frequency of talking with teachers, where the number and proportion of high discussers doing so are double that in the low discussers group. (Table V: 9)

TABLE V: 9 - PERCENTAGE WHO DISCUSS PUBLIC AFFAIRS AT ANY TIME WITH FAMILY, FRIENDS, TEACHERS-ACCORDING TO TOTAL DISCUSSION FREQUENCY

Overall Frequency of Discussion

		Low	High	Total
Percentage having any discussion with:	Friends	78	97	87
	Family	50	89	68
	Teachers	29	61	41
	N =	(122)	(108)	(288)

TABLE V: 10 - INTER-RELATIONSHIPS OF DISCUSSION WITH FRIENDS, FAMILY, TEACHERS

Number of people having any discussions with:

		Friends	Family	Teachers
Percentage having any discussion with:	Friends	-	88	89
	Family	69	-	67
	Teachers	46	44	-
	N =	(219)	(172)	(113)

Table V: 10 shows more clearly the inter-relationships between different types of discussions. In fact, the likelihood of a respondent having discussions with a particular type of person can be predicted with a similar level of certainity from knowledge of the fact that he has discussions with either of the other two types. Overall, the pattern of frequency of discussion with the three types is again clear.

If discussion is significantly related to information level, and there is also a clear pattern of variation in the people with whom discussions occur, is there then any difference in the extent to which discussion with one type of person rather than another is related to information level?

The significance of the variations increases as information level is related first to discussion with friends, then with family, then with teachers. But the strength of association is low, and shows only a slight increase from one relationship to the next, so that although there is a slight suggestion of an increasing influence, there are no firm grounds for such a claim.

TABLE V: 11 - TYPES OF DISCUSSION AND INFORMATION LEVEL

(a) Talking to friends

		No	Yes	Total
Information Level	Low	64	43	(114)
	High	36	57	(138)
	N =	(33)	(219)	(252)

$P < .05$ Phi .14

(b) Talking to family

		No	Yes	Total
Information Level	Low	57	41	(117)
	High	43	59	(137)
	N =	(82)	(172)	(254)

$P < .02$ Phi .16

(c)

		No	Yes	Total
Information Level	Low	54	34	(127)
	High	46	66	(149)
	N =	(163)	(113)	(276)

$P < .01$ Phi .19

Returning to the three-variable model (media exposure, discussion, and information level), media exposure is now related to information level, controlling for discussion with the three types of person. Although in each case there is a tendency for media exposure to be positively associated with information level, there is little significance in the variations ($P < .05$) and they are of similar order. The least significant variation

is actually among those having discussions with teachers, these people tending towards a higher level of information even when their media exposure is low. To a lesser extent the slight variation among those discussing with friends or family goes to demonstrate the same point, namely controlling for discussion reduces apparent variations in information level between those who are high and those who are low on media exposure.

Information Level

The issues mentioned having been divided into four groups: International, Federal/Provincial relations, National level issues, and Provincial or local issues, use of the four media are related to mention of these different issues. The expectation was that some tendency towards mentioning National and International issues might appear among high users of TV and magazines, and that a similar emphasis on local issues might occur among those using newspapers a lot.

Taking either the range or frequency of exposure to each medium as a measure, no noticeable variations occur in the mentioning of different types of issues. In nearly all cases high users of a medium show rather more mentions of each type of issue than did low users, and in every case the order of frequency of mentioning the issues was the same: Federal/Provincial relations were most often mentioned (by 85% - 95% of each group); next were National level issues (80% - 90%); then International issues (70% - 85%); and last, local issues (15% - 20%).

This research did not set out to measure types of issues in detail, and from the level of detail available it can only be concluded that no medium appears to lead to knowledge of any particular type of issue rather

than other types, or that, if it does, then this influence is concealed, presumably by the fact that most people use several different media. It is in any case to be expected that political science students will display knowledge of a far greater range of different issues than the general population.

Opinion Strength

Having considered some of the details of the two supposedly casual variables (media exposure, discussion), and one dependent variable (information level), it is necessary to turn now to consideration of the extent to which opinion strength is associated with media exposure or discussion, and whether any such relationship is similar to the increase in information level which is apparent as media exposure and discussion increase.

The measurement of opinion strength, as mentioned earlier, was performed on a basis of whether or not a person held "any particular opinion/ strong opinion" on the issues he had mentioned. The other variables were analysed in relation to a dichotomy where those whose "strong opinions" exceeded their "non-opinions" were categorized as "strong" on the opinion scale, and those whose "non-opinions" exceeded or were equal in number to their "strong opinions" were categorized as "weak" on the opinion scale.

It was suggested earlier that, although, for the sake of clarity, information level and opinion strength should be considered separately, in fact, they are both components of the same thing in most cases. There is a quite significant variation to be observed when relating the two variables although, for the sample as a whole, there is a heavy bias towards strong opinion (Table V: 12).

TABLE V: 12 - INFORMATION LEVEL AND OPINION STRENGTH

Information Level

		Low	High	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	41	23	(86)
	Strong	59	77	(193)
	N =	(121)	(158)	(279)

P $<$ .001 Phi .20

Lambda-b .12

The high information/strong opinion group is large and shows a clear relationship between being well informed on public affairs and holding strong opinions on them. A sizeable proportion (59%) of those low on information are in fact, strong on opinion, though not as large a proportion as within the high information group (about one quarter of the total sample, as against nearly one half). None of the measures of association show such strength as to enable prediction of opinion strength from knowledge of information level or the reverse. But it can be concluded that information level and opinion strength do tend to be positively associated. They may, therefore, be expected to be related to common casual factors, but cannot inevitably be regarded as part of the same thing (understanding?) because although most people high on information are also strong on opinion, so are most people low on information. It is reasonable, then, to regard them as related dependent variables.

The relationships of media exposure and discussion to opinion strength show variations similar to those observed for information level. There is a more significant variation in relation to discussion than to media exposure. This is more to be expected for opinion strength than it might be for information level. The significance and the strength of association are similar when discussion is related either to information level

or opinion strength. However, media exposure shows neither significant variation, nor strength of association with opinion strength, whereas there was at least some significance when it was related to information level. Opinion strength also shows some strength of association with discussion frequency and discussion range and this is of a similar order to that shown with information level. When related in continuous form discussion shows a clearly greater strength of association with opinion strength than with information level: r between discussion frequency and opinion strength .37; between discussion range and opinion strength, .60. There is also a moderate strength of association on this basis between media exposure and opinion strength (r .51).

In all these cases, there was no similar strength of association with information level.

TABLE V: 13 - OVERALL MEDIA RANGE AND OPINION STRENGTH

Overall Media Range

		Low	High	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	35	26	(83)
	Strong	65	74	(189)
	N =	(137)	(135)	(272)
		P $\angle$ .10		Phi .10

TABLE V: 14 - DISCUSSION FREQUENCY AND OPINION STRENGTH

Discussion Frequency

		Low	High	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	43	21	(74)
	Strong	57	79	(156)
	N =	(118)	(112)	(230)
		P $\angle$ .001		Phi .24

TABLE V: 15 - RANGE OF DISCUSSION AND OPINION STRENGTH

Range of Discussion

		0-1	2	3-4	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	54	28	21	(86)
	Strong	46	72	79	(193)
	N =	(57)	(126)	(96)	(279)

P < .001 Phi .27

Controlling for media exposure (Table V: 16) shows both a more significant variation and greater strength of association between discussion and opinion strength where media exposure is low, whereas there is no difference to be observed when a similar control is introduced to the relationship between discussion and information level.

As with information level, there is no significance or strength of association to be observed if discussion is used as a control and media exposure as the independent variable.

This all provides evidence for arguing that discussion has a more important relationship than media exposure with opinion strength, just as it seems to have with information level.

TABLE V: 16 - DISCUSSION FREQUENCY AND OPINION STRENGTH-CONTROLLING FOR OVERALL MEDIA RANGE

(a) Low Media Range

Discussion Frequency

		Low	High	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	46	15	(41)
	Strong	54	85	(76)
	N =	(76)	(41)	(117)

P < .001 Phi .32

(b) High Media Range

Discussion Frequency

		Low	High	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	38	21	(30)
	Strong	62	79	(78)
	N =	(42)	(66)	(108)

$P < .10$ Phi .19

As with information level there is in most cases a noticeable increase in opinion strength when related to the four media individually in terms of either range or total frequency of use. The exception is with magazines, where there is no variation at all. This contrasts curiously with the finding of a significant relationship between range of magazines read and information level, for it suggests that although reading more magazines can increase a person's level of information, it does not strengthen his opinions, whereas the exact opposite might be expected if one sees magazines as providing interpretation and opinion rather than information. (However, it is worth bearing in mind that the greatest proportion of magazine reading is represented by 'Time' which is perhaps a journal of description rather than opinion, despite its biases.)

The most significant variations are between opinion strength and both range and frequency of exposure to TV, so that one could conclude that while newspapers are most important in providing information, TV is most influential as far as opinion formation goes.

Opinion strength seems to have little to do with the source perceived to be the most important, the distributions being of a similar order for each of the four media, and when comparing the distributions of opinion strength for those giving each medium, according to their actual use of that medium, no significant increase in opinion strength with use

occurs for any one or more medium.

Discussion with the three types of person is related to opinion strength in a pattern similar to that for information level: Table V: 17 shows the highest proportion of people weak on opinion to be those not talking to friends and the highest proportion with strong opinions are those who do discuss with teachers. As was the case with information level, though, the strength of association is not such as to show that discussion with any particular type of person is more influential.

TABLE V: 17 - TYPES OF DISCUSSION AND OPINION STRENGTH

(a) Talking to Friends

		No	Yes	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	46	29	(77)
	Strong	54	71	(168)
	N =	(28)	(217)	(245)

P > .05 Phi .12

(b) Talking to Family

		No	Yes	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	45	27	(82)
	Strong	55	73	(167)
	N =	(77)	(172)	(249)

P < .01 Phi .18

(c) Talking to Teachers

		No	Yes	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	39	22	(85)
	Strong	61	78	(182)
	N =	(155)	(112)	(267)

P < .01 Phi .17

As was the case with information level, the effect of higher or lower media exposure upon those discussing with each type of person is not significant and the variations are even less than when looking at in-

formation levels. This points again to the strong relationship between discussion and opinion strength which seems to operate almost regardless of media exposure.

The Four-Variable Model

Having considered some two variable and three variable relationships, it is desirable to try and relate media exposure, discussion, information level, and opinion in a four-variable pattern involving two independent and two dependent variables. The best evidence for the two-step flow hypothesis in this context would involve demonstrating a positive association between media exposure plus discussion, and information plus opinion strength. Table V: 18 shows that this is not entirely possible: the levels of significance and strengths of association are not at consistent levels, so that an average measure of significance or of strength of association cannot reasonably be calculated. The only significant variation is in the case where both media range and information level are low. Here there is also the strongest observed association between discussion and opinion strength, whereas the weakest degree of association and lowest level of significance are seen where media range and information level are both high.

TABLE V: 18 - DISCUSSION FREQUENCY AND OPINION STRENGTH-CONTROLLING FOR OVERALL MEDIA RANGE AND INFORMATION LEVEL

(a) Low Information Level

(i) Low Media Range

Discussion Frequency		Low	High	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	56	13	(26)
	Strong	44	87	(32)
N =		(43)	(15)	(58)

P < .01 Phi .37

(ii) High Media Range

Discussion Frequency		Low	High	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	44	21	(15)
	Strong	56	79	(29)
N =		(25)	(19)	(44)

P > .10 Phi .24

(b) High Information Level

(i) Low Media Range
Discussion Frequency

		Low	High	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	33	15	(15)
	Strong	67	85	(44)
	N =	(33)	(26)	(59)

P<.10 Phi .21

(ii) High Media Range
Discussion Frequency

		Low	High	Total
Opinion Strength	Weak	29	21	(15)
	Strong	71	79	(49)
	N =	(17)	(47)	(64)

P>.30 Phi .09

In all, only twenty-four people are low on information and weak on opinion when their media exposure and discussion are both low, and only thirty-seven are high on information and strong on opinion when their media exposure and discussion are both high. Thus only sixty-one out of 225 cases appear to support the hypothesis unambiguously. These cases do infact account for the two numerically largest cells in Table V: 18, but some modification of the hypothesis is obviously in order. In view of the consistently observed significance and associations where discussion is involved in a relationship, it can be concluded that discussion is positively associated in the both information and opinion strength, but that there is no firm evidence for arguing that this discussion complements media exposure in increasing information and opinion strength.

It is also found that media exposure has a significant, and slightly positive association with information level, though not with opinion strength, so that it would be illogical to argue that information at least, is derived mainly from discussion, though discussion could reasonably be posited as the main influence on opinion strength.

The problem remains, however, of exactly what, if any, causal sequences are involved, for although some relationships are observed, common sense suggests that the variables used are probably not entirely

independent or dependent. Media use, discussion, information and opinion holding are most likely part of a circular process which comes under the general heading of "interest" (in this case in public affairs), so that they are both interdependent, and each individually dependent on the overall interest level.

Summary

1. The two-step flow hypothesis tends to be upheld to the extent that discussion emerges most consistently in a significant positive association with both information level and opinion strength. Although media exposure is also similarly associated with information level, it is not with opinion strength, and no clear pattern is demonstrated of media exposure and discussion being complementary in increasing either information level or opinion strength.

2. Those people high on media exposure and on information level, yet low on discussion do not display a bias towards any other source of information in particular. It was hypothesised that such people might rely more heavily on highly interpretive sources of inform ation such as political science classes and books, but this was not in fact the case. It can only be concluded that these people derive more from the media they use and rely less on discussion than seems generally the case.

3. When discussion is examined in terms of the different types of discussees, there is no significant variation in the association between this discussion and either information or opinion strength.

4. Little significant variation appears in the effects of

individual media. The exceptions are frequency of newspaper readership and range of magazine readership, which are both significantly related to information level, and both frequency and range of TV viewing, which are significantly related to opinion strength, so that a picture is suggested of written media providing information and TV influencing opinion.

5. The medium regarded as most important to the respondent has no apparent association with his information level or opinion strength, except for TV, where actual use is significantly related to information level.

6. There is no relationship between the types of issues (International, National, etc.) mentioned and the use of any particular medium. In view of the overlap in use of the different media and the wide range of content of them all, this is not surprising [1].

7. Information level and opinion strength are not strongly associated, although their relationship shows significant variation.

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1. For an interesting comment relevant to this, see A. Edinborough, "The Press", in Mass Media in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), 19-20, where it is suggested that even 'local' newspapers in Canada carry more international news than most American or British newspapers. If this is true, the concept of "local" or "cosmopolitan" media may be misleading in the Canadian context.

VI

CANADIAN AND AMERICAN MEDIA

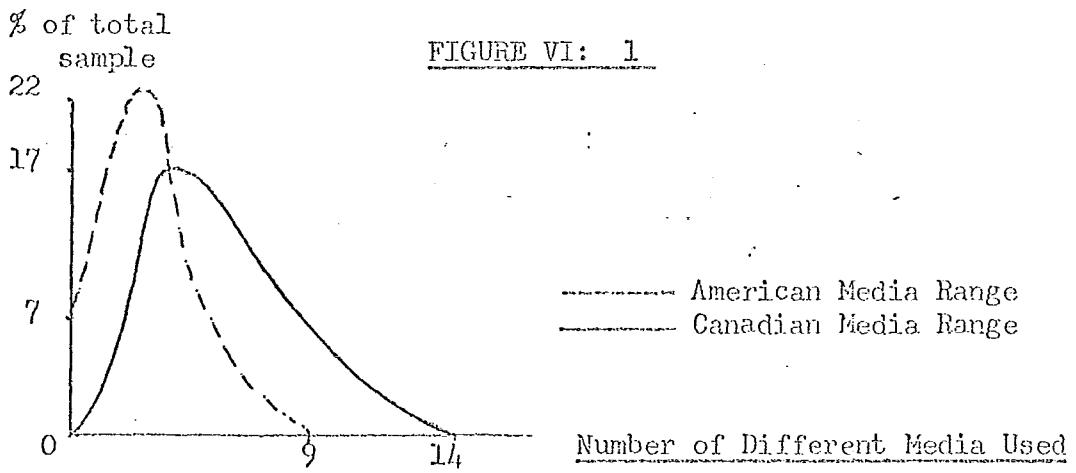
Introduction

This chapter discusses the relative use patterns of Canadian and American media in terms of overall range, and then examines the question whether either one or the other type is more significantly related to information level or opinion strength.

Relative Distributions of Use

The predominanceof use of Canadian media over American has already been remarked upon (Ch. 4). Before looking at possible variations in relationships to information level and opinion strength; it is of interest to consider the overall use pattern for Canadian and American media, for there is a very clear variation to be observed (Figure VI:1). Three points are clear: 1. A wider range of Canadian than American media is used, 2. The modal range of Canadian media items used is higher than for American and, 3. A smaller proportion of the sample are to be found at

FIGURE VI: 1



this point than are found at the modal point for American media [1].

Relating the use of the two kinds on a dichotomised basis [2], it is clear that the use of more Canadian media does not preclude the use of Canadian media, nor the reverse. They display a quite high degree of association (r .67) when related in continuous form.

TABLE VI: 1 - RANGE OF CANADIAN MEDIA AND RANGE OF AMERICAN MEDIA

		Range of Canadian Media: Low	High	Total
Range of American Media	Low	52	33	(121)
	High	48	67	(160)
	N =	(145)	(136)	(281)

P < .001

High or low overall media exposure as examined elsewhere can therefore be taken to imply a high or low use of both Canadian and American media.

Information Level

When information level is related separately to Canadian and to American media exposure little variation appears with American media,

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1. There is a highly significant variation in the use of American media according to sex, with 22% more men than women scoring 'high'. If this represents a broader span of political interest among men, it is not reflected in an appreciably higher information level or opinion strength.
Overall media range was higher among the professional and managerial classes and among those with incomes of $15,000 year and over. The pattern was similar for Canadian media range, but for American media range the only noticeable variations were that lower managerial, manual and clerical and sales peoples' children tended to show slightly higher exposure.

2. For Canadian media "low" denotes those exposed to from 0-5 different Canadian media items and "high" those exposed to 6 or more. For American media the ranges are 0-2 and 3 or more.

but a significant one exists with Canadian media, and in this latter case, it can be seen that increased exposure to Canadian media is related to a higher level of information on public affairs. (Table VI: 2). This is the result one might expect.

TABLE VI: 2 - RANGE OF CANADIAN MEDIA AND INFORMATION LEVEL

		Range of Canadian Media		
		Low	High	Total
Information Level	Low	54	36	43
	High	46	64	57
	N =	(147)	(136)	(273)

$P < .001$

What it is more important to know is whether a bias towards use of one kind of media at the expense of the other kind has any significant effect. Examination of information level in terms of Canadian and American media together shows that so long as Canadian media exposure is high then information level is the same whether American media exposure is high or low. The strength of association between Canadian media use and information level is small, but does not vary greatly whether American media exposure is high or low. If American media use is related to information level with Canadian media use as a control, there is no significance and no strength of association. It is therefore evident that what is important in increasing information is not the relative balance of Canadian and American media, but the absolute level of Canadian media use.

TABLE VI: 3 - RANGE OF CANADIAN MEDIA AND INFORMATION LEVEL-CONTROLLING FOR RANGE OF AMERICAN MEDIA

(a) Low American Media Range

Canadian Media Range

		Low	High	Total
Information Level	Low	58	36	(60)
	High	42	64	(61)
	N =	(76)	(45)	(121)

$P < .05$ Phi .22

(b) High American Media Range

Canadian Media Range

		Low	High	Total
Information Level	Low	51	36	(68)
	High	49	64	(92)
	N =	(69)	(91)	(160)

$P > .05$ Phi .15

When discussion is related to information level controlling separately for Canadian and American media exposure, the picture is similar to that for overall media exposure, with information level increasing with discussion whether media exposure is high or low. The tendency appears with similar significance whether the media exposure involved is Canadian or American.

Opinion Strength

Related separately to Canadian and to American media exposure opinion strength shows a less significant variation than when related to overall media exposure. The distributions are virtually identical whether Canadian or American media is considered.

When Canadian media exposure is related to information level controlling for American media exposure the only variation is among those low on the use of Canadian media, where an accompanying high use of American media was related to a slight increase in information level. In the case of opinion strength, though, it is with those high on Canadian

media use that some variation occurs. Although there is no significance or strength of association in the relationships here, the figures suggest that an increase will occur in opinion strength as Canadian media exposure increases but that this will be more pronounced where American media exposure increases as well. This cannot reasonably be explained in terms of American media exposure strengthening opinions on Canadian issues. It would be more realistic to see high American media exposure as a dependent variable. An explanation is again suggested which regards interest as the basic influence, with this interest stimulating the use of both Canadian and American media, information gathering from various sources, and the development of strong opinions, so that those with the strongest opinions would most likely be found in the group high on both Canadian and American media exposure. As a similar pattern was not found for information level, this could mean that opinion strength rather than information level is the better indicator of interest: a person could be highly interested in world politics and this could be reflected in a high use of American (as well as Canadian) media and a high opinion strength on all issues (including Canadian) but without a particularly high level of information on Canadian issues.

Relating discussion frequency to opinion strength while controlling for either Canadian or American media exposure reveals a pattern very similar to that found when using a control for overall media exposure. There is little difference whether Canadian or American media exposure is high or low: in all cases, discussion frequency tends to have a similar strength of association with opinion strength.

Summary

Except for a positive association between information level and Canadian media exposure, there is no significant bias to be observed from any of these Canadian/American comparisons. Taken as a whole the data suggests that while Canadian media exposure is related to information and opinion on Canadian issues, it is also related to American media use, and there is such extensive overlap in their use that it is difficult to isolate the effects of either type. This is, of course, made more difficult by the mixture of content, especially in the Canadian media, so that in general one must conclude that politically interested people (if these are the ones best informed and most strongly opinionated) tend to use more media of both types.

VII

CONCLUSIONS

Media exposure and information and information have a slight association, but discussion and information have a stronger one. When all three are examined together it seems as though discussion has the more consistent association with information, and is possibly therefore the stronger influence. Despite the findings of previous work which have often emphasized the importance of personal over media influence, it is still a little surprising to find discussion so consistently associated with information level, though its association with opinion is more to be expected. However, because discussion and media exposure themselves show a moderate to strong degree of association, it is difficult to say which is the real influence; the media used by a person high on discussion may still account for his high level of information, rather than the discussion itself. When asked to give their most important source of information only 6% gave personal contacts specifically, while 64% gave one of the four media, so it is obvious that the respondents did not consciously feel that discussion was a stronger influence on them. One is brought back to Lazarsfeld's point that the influence of personal contact lies in the very fact that it is not a structured, consciously used medium.

Although the "two-step flow" hypothesis receives support once more, it still does not account for the whole of the sample: it was hoped that some light might be thrown on less consistent patterns and possibly try to account for high information which does not appear to

be related to high discussion. In the event little could be revealed, for the number of cases involved is too low for any confident inference, and what data there is does not lead strongly in any directions.

At a number of points the temptation was resisted to "prove" something with a very small number of cases. In some contexts this may be acceptable, but when the research involves relatively general data in a sample from which inferences are to be made about a far larger population, then much reservation is necessary. Thus any base figure under 100 was regarded with care, any below 50 with caution, and below about 30 with outright suspicion.

Comparative analysis of the association of range and total media exposure with other variables was not carried very far. For reasons mentioned earlier it was not performed at an overall media level, and in the event, very little was to be seen by looking at the association of individual media with other variables. Generally the same pattern of association occured whether range or frequency was used, and this was true in relation to both information level and opinion strength.

The picture concerning Canadian and American media use is one of Canadian dominance in all cases except magazines. However, the tendency overall was for use of both types to be positively associated. Little can be discerned concerning the relative influence of the two kinds of media. For one reason there are no groups who could be compared for their total lack of either Canadian or American media exposure. Also there is a great amount of overlap of use, so that, taking account also of the overlap in content remarked upon earlier, it proved impossible to show unambiguously the extent to which use of one type either increased

or decreased knowledge of Canadian issues. In retrospect it might have been better to measure knowledge of American issues as well, though even this would not have eliminated the problem entirely.

A series of relationships were postulated earlier, and it was suggested that just as information and opinion strength might be positively associated with media exposure and discussion, so the latter two might be highest among those more highly educated and those of higher social status, the assumption being that these groups will be most interested in public affairs. In the event, apart from the various patterns of association discussed earlier between media exposure, discussion, information, and opinion, there are no significant or strong associations to be discerned in relation to father's education, occupation, or family income.

The explanation for this must be seen largely in the homogeneous nature of the sample. This is so in terms of social status (only one quarter of the sample being from manual working class families), of age (five/sixths are aged from 18 to 21), and of exposure to University life in general and Political Science in particular.

Despite any University influences, some differences between the sexes are apparent, mirroring the general tendency for women to show less interest in politics than men, but these were not at a significant level.

The relative popularity of media among the sample bears little resemblance to that found among the general population (in the Michigan studies, for example). Again, this can be seen as largely a reflection of the fact that the sample did not represent the general population. The expectation that newspapers are the medium most relied upon by

students is upheld by the results of both objective and subjective measures of newspaper use and popularity.

As already mentioned, the only conclusion worth making concerning the types of issues mentioned (local, international etc.) is that those more exposed to media tend to be better informed on all types of issues: no evidence of "specialization" of interest occurs.

It was suggested earlier in this thesis that, if discussion is an important influence in the political communication process, then the cultural/political Americanization of Canada may not be as inevitable as some suggest. For even though much American media reaches Canadians, the discussions in which they participate are mainly with other Canadians and this will help to retain the Canadian identity.

The research shows that only in one sphere - magazines - do American media dominate Canadian as far as total use goes. It also shows that discussion has a clearly more significant association with both information level and opinion strength than does media exposure. No unambiguous picture of American media influence, or potential influence on Canadians therefore appears.

But there are other factors to take into account: for one thing, the Canadian students surveyed are exposed to considerable amounts of American media, and in fact, this tends to increase as their exposure to Canadian media increases. They, therefore, are exposed to coverage of American public affairs, and also to Canadian public affairs through an American view. Coupled with this is the fact that the Canadian media themselves carry much coverage of American news, and news of all kinds reported by Americans (e.g. New York Times copyright articles in Canadian

newspapers).

Research is therefore indicated which weighs information and opinion strength on Canadian affairs against information and opinion strength on American affairs. Another fruitful project might be to undertake a study of two communities in Canada (or the USA), one of which receives only American television and one only Canadian: these communities might then be compared for relative awareness and identification among their inhabitants with the Canadian and American political and social systems.

The fact remains that Canada has its own unique "two-cultures" problem, with cultural forces often working in opposite directions, and the problem may only be resolved as the question of potential American economic control of Canada is resolved. But this research has provided grounds for qualified optimism on at least three counts: 1. More Canadian than American media are used - at least by this sample of potential economic, political, and social leaders; 2. Regardless of media use interaction with those people immediately around one appears to be more influential than the more distant and impersonal media; 3. A sample of 288 Canadians were able to mention - unprompted - almost as many different political issues currently important for their country.

APPENDIX

Showing the questions used in the survey and the distribution of the respondents.

The questions and those responses which were precoded are underlined. All other responses shown are those volunteered by respondents.

For each question those responding but giving a vague or unspecified frequency are shown in parentheses.

When calculating total media exposure figures such respondents were not included, but when calculating overall range of media exposure figures these responses were included.

McMaster University
Department of
Political Science

Students' Media Survey

March 1969

This survey is to investigate the kind of sources from which Political Science Students get their information on public affairs. Your group has been selected as part of the sample, but the survey is quite anonymous and you are not asked to put your name on the questionnaire. Your co-operation in answering the following questions will be much appreciated and will contribute to a useful exercise in Political Science. Please complete the questionnaire without consulting any other person, and return it as soon as possible to your tutorial leader or to the container provided outside room 501 in Arts 1.

Thank you.

1. How many times a week do you read about public affairs in each of the following newspapers?

		Number of Times 0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hamilton Spectator	(2)	35	21	25	25	25	30	124
Toronto Globe and Mail	(4)	105	54	35	14	16	16	44
Toronto Telegram	(1)	227	25	15	6	1	2	11
Toronto Star	(2)	225	25	8	3	7	7	11
Other Newspapers								
McMaster Silhouette	(2)	259	27	-	-	-	-	-
Brantford Expositor	(1)	278	1	1	1	-	-	6
St. Catherines Standard	(1)	279	3	1	-	1	1	2
Burlington Post	(3)	282	3	-	-	-	-	-
All other Canadian newspapers	(4)	264	11	5	-	-	-	4
New York Times	(2)	275	10	1	-	-	-	-
All other American Newspapers	(-)	284	4	-	-	-	-	-

		Number of Weekly Exposures 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16+
Total weekly exposures to Canadian newspapers	(7)	4	7	10	15	13	20	60	33	30	15	14	6	22	12	4	6	10
Total weekly exposures to American newspapers	(1)	272	14	1														
Total weekly exposures to British newspapers	-	286	1	-	-	-	-	1										
Total weekly exposures to all newspapers	(8)	5	5	10	15	14	20	57	32	30	18	13	8	21	12	3	7	10

2. How many times a month do you read about public affairs in each of the following magazines?

		Number of Times				
		0	1	2	3	4+
McCleans	(4)	188	96			
Saturday Night	(4)	254	30			
Chatelaine	-	284	4			
Toronto Life	-	285	3			
Star Weekly	-	286				2
Commenta	-	287	1			
Canada's Mental Health	-	287	1			
Time	(5)	74	49	42	19	99
Life	(6)	143	65	31	9	34
Newsweek	(3)	214	34	13	1	23
Ramparts	(1)	273	14			
Playboy	(1)	265	22			
Harpers	-	281	7			
Fortune	(1)	282	5			
Sports Illustrated	-	286	2			
Readers Digest	-	281	7			
Other American Magazines						
News/features	-	272	6	2	-	8
Opinion	-	283	1	1	-	3
Satire	-	285	3			
Women	(1)	286	1			
Travel	(1)	284	3			

		Number of Monthy Exposures															
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15+
Total monthly exposures to Canadian magazines	(5)	163	83	20	2	12	1	1	-	-	-	1					
Total monthly exposures to American magazines	(10)	36	29	38	18	46	23	22	17	25	9	5	2	3	2	2	1
Total monthly exposures to British or other magazines	-	285	-	1	1	1											
Total monthly exposures to all magazines	(9)	28	17	39	24	39	29	19	14	28	14	11	3	4	4	3	3

3. How many times a week do you watch news or documentary programs on each of the following TV stations?

				Number of times per week							
				0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Channel 6	Toronto	(CBC)	(5)	142	41	29	20	13	14	9	15
Channel 9	Toronto	(CTV)	(7)	167	42	23	16	5	14	6	8
Channel 11	Hamilton	(CHCH)	(9)	147	37	23	20	14	15	5	18
Channel 13	Kitchener	(CKCO)	(6)	265	12	3	1	-	-	-	1
Other Canadian TV Channels			(5)	271	3	5	1	-	2	-	1
Channel 2	Buffalo	(NBC)	(7)	188	44	18	11	4	8	3	5
Channel 4	Buffalo	(CBS)	(7)	173	49	25	13	5	8	3	5
Channel 7	Buffalo	(ABC)	(6)	216	33	17	8	2	3	1	2
Channel 17	Buffalo	(NET)	(5)	277	2	1	-	1	1	-	1
Other American TV channels			(5)	280	1	-	2	-	-	-	-

		Number of Weekly Exposures																				
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20+
Total weekly exposures to Canadian TV	(9)	50	20	35	28	17	32	25	19	15	8	12	1	5	4	2	1	2	1	1	-	1
Total weekly exposures to American TV	(8)	116	36	30	26	19	14	9	13	7	1	1	4	2	-	1	1					
Total weekly exposures to all TV	(10)	32	11	24	20	20	26	20	25	14	13	13	9	11	7	7	3	6	2	2	4	9

4. How many times a week do you listen to news or documentary radio programs and on which stations?

		Number of Times																				
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20+
CKOC(Hamilton)	(22)	156	8	3	8	12	12	6	37	-	1	6	-	1	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	9
CHML(Hamilton)	(16)	224	5	7	2	1	6	1	20	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	1				
CHAM(Hamilton)	(10)	261	-	2	1	-	2	-	8	-	-	2						1				1
CHUM(Toronto)	(32)	159	6	6	12	10	10	5	27	3	1	6	1	1	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	4
CFRB(Toronto)	(12)	243	2	4	4	3	3	4	9	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	1			
CBC(Toronto)	(9)	254	5	3	-	2	2	1	5	-	-	2	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
All other Canadian Radio Stations	(15)	230	6	4	3	5	5	2	7	-	-	3	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	3

Number of Times

		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20-25	26
Total weekly exposures to Canadian radio	(38)	70	8	7	10	8	4	5	33	4	7	3	5	6	5	15	4	5	4	3	-	19	25
Total weekly exposures to American radio	(3)	265	2	3	4	-	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total weekly exposures to all Radio	(39)	68	8	8	8	9	4	4	31	3	8	5	5	5	4	16	4	5	5	2		19	28

5. How many times a month do you hear/see information on public affairs from the following sources?

Number of Times

		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15-19	20
Political Science Classes	(26)	28	16	32	13	17	15	12	8	65	5	15	2	32	1			1
Other Classes	(14)	139	22	26	12	27	6	9	3	7	-	8	-	6			2	7
Political Meetings	(3)	258	15	6	2	2	1	-	1									
Books/Pamphlets	(21)	133	38	23	12	19	11	3	2	4	-	11		3	8		2	2
Members of Family	(24)	133	14	22	18	15	19	2	4	2	-	9	-	3	-	1	7	15
Friends	(33)	94	6	23	18	21	22	10	4	11	-	17	-	2	1	-	5	21
Other Sources																		
Politicians	(2)	284	1	-	-	1												
Priests	-	287	1															

6. Of all the sources of information mentioned in questions 1-5, which ONE would you say you get more information on public affairs from than any other?

Newspapers	70	Unspecified	52
		Hamilton Spectator	8
		Toronto Globe and Mail	7
		Toronto Telegram	1
		Toronto Star	1
		Brantford Expositor	1
Magazines	25	Unspecified	11
		Time	11
		Newsweek	2
		US News and World Review	1
Television	45	Unspecified	37
		Channel 4 Buffalo(CBS)	2
		Channel 6 Toronto (CBC)	3
		Channel 9 Toronto (CTV)	1
		Channel 11 Hamilton(CHCH)	2

Radio	42	Unspecified	36
		CKOC Hamilton	2
		CFRB Toronto	1
		CBC Toronto	3
Other sources	63	Unspecified	11
		Political Science Classes	15
		Classes(unspecified)	6
		Sociology classes	1
		Political Meetings	1
		Books/pamphlets	12
		Family/friends	17
More than one source	27		
Ambiguous answers	3		
None	3		
Not answered	10		

7. How many times a month do you personally take part in discussions of public affairs with each of the following kinds of people?

Number of Times

		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16+
Friends	(36)	33	19	26	29	34	25	15	3	10	-	16	1	2	2	-	8	29
Family	(34)	82	26	27	16	29	16	4	3	3	2	16	2	4		1	4	21
Teachers	(12)	163	17	20	8	37	12	2	3	3	-	3	1	3	1	-	1	2
Other people																		
Politicians		287	1															
Employers		285	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-						
Priests		287	-	-	-	1												
Others (unspecified)	(3)	279	1	-	1	2	-											2

Total monthly discussions (54)

0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61+
13	70	55	27	25	2	12	7	5	3	2	2	5	6

OVERALL RANGE OF EXPOSURE TO MEDIA

Newspapers

Number of different newspapers read

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Canadian	8	78	110	56	27	7	2
American	271	17					
British/other	286	1	1				
All Papers	8	73	105	64	26	10	2

Magazines

Number of different magazines read

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Canadian	166	102	18	1	1				
American	35	89	91	49	18	5	1		
British/other	285	2	1						
All magazines	27	56	92	52	39	16	5	-	1

Television

Number of different TV channels watched

		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Canadian	(4)	50	100	84	42	8				
American	(3)	112	86	53	29	5				
All TV Channels	(4)	32	53	62	68	33	15	13	7	1

Radio

Number of different radio stations heard

		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Canadian	(3)	65	85	72	42	18	2	1		
American		263	21	2	1	1				
All radio stations	(3)	63	82	68	44	19	7	1	-	1

All Media

		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Canadian	(7)	-	7	18	28	48	44	40	31	23	17	14	5	3	2	1						
American	(3)	20	39	62	62	48	26	19	2	5	1	-	-	-	1							
All media	(7)	-	2	6	11	10	18	34	38	25	34	19	25	17	10	13	5	6	4	2	-	2

Range of people with whom discussions take place

0	1	2	3	4
13	50	129	90	6

8. (i) Going from memory only please write down, in the column headed "issues" as many public issues as you can remember which are important for CANADA at the present time.

(ii) For each issue you mention check in the column headed "Strong Opinion" if you have any particular views on the subject, in any direction, or check in the column headed "No particular Opinion" if you have no particular views on the subject.

Type of Issue	Number of times issue type mentioned										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
International Issues	65	70	66	49	18	10	4	4	1	-	1
Federal/Provincial Issues	31	86	79	52	32	4	3	1			
National level issues (other than above)	50	69	73	44	26	9	8	4	1	2	2
Provincial or Local Issues	237	44	5	1	1						

Number of Issues

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Total Issues	9	3	17	36	29	36	39	29	27	21	13	4	9	8	4	1	-	-	2	1
Total "Strong" Opinions	35	21	34	49	35	37	26	18	13	5	7	1	2	2	1	-	-	1	1	-
Total "No" particular opinion/no opinion indicated	61	65	64	45	18	17	9	4	1	3	-	-	-	1						

Opinion Strength

"Strong opinions" exceed "no particular opinion"/not indicated	193
"Strong opinions" equal or less than "no particular opinion"/ not indicated	86
No issues mentioned - therefore no opinions	9

Demographic Data

What is your father's occupation? What exactly does he do?

Professional/Semi-professional	57
Higher managerial/Proprietorial/official	27
Lower managerial/Proprietorial/official	52
Skilled Working	24
Clerical and Sales	31
Farm owners or managers	14
Semi-skilled working	34
Unskilled working	9
Retired/on relief	8
No information/ambiguous/father dead	32

What was the last grade in school that your father attended?

Grades 1-6	13
Grades 7-8	35
Grades 9-12	94
Grade 13	40
College/vocation-technical training	39
Higher education-Doctor, Dentist, Lawyer, Ph.D.,M.A.	14
No information/ambigous/father dead	53

Approximately what was your family's income in 1968?

$ 000's	
0-2	3
3-5	35
6-8	76
9-11	48
12-14	30
15-17	18
18-20	17
21+	13
No information	48

What is your year in McMaster?

First	254
Second	20
Third	5
No information	9

Your Sex?

Male	198
Female	83
No Information	7

Your Age?

18	43		
19	106	23	8
20	67	24	1
21	26	25+	15
22	11	No Information	11

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