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To cite this article: Jamie M. Litty (2016) How Real is Too Real for the Law? Realism versus Right of Publicity in Video Game Design, Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 60:3, 373-388, DOI: [10.1080/08838151.2016.1203314](https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203314)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203314>



Published online: 01 Sep 2016.



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How Real is Too Real for the Law? Realism versus Right of Publicity in Video Game Design

Jamie M. Litty

Realistic elements in video game design can inspire an appropriation claim, trademark dispute, or similar lawsuits, even when the underlying immaterial property from the real world was licensed. Video games can be First Amendment-protected expression, however, as in other media, there's tension between the speech rights of creators and the personal rights of subjects. Furthermore, there's disagreement from one jurisdiction to another regarding how much mimicry loses protection and how many dissimilarities are transformative enough to be lawful. Analysis of case law reveals a balancing act between protecting video games as expressive works and protecting individuals' right of publicity.

Despite their fantasy elements, many plot-driven or otherwise immersive video games are initially attractive to users because of their verisimilitude, i.e., their "realism." This realism derives from a combination of factors, such as the lifelike appearance of characters and settings in some games, naturalistic movements of characters and tools, historical parallels in the stories of some, and logically consistent choices of game play. Along these lines, Ribbens and Malliet (2009) identified seven factors of perceived game realism, including freedom of choice, authenticity regarding subject matter, authenticity regarding characters, and social realism. Such emphases on diegetic probability and lifelike audiovisuals, or "graphics," characterize more than a few titles, in more than a few genres, including some, though not all, first-person shooters, role-playing games, and sports simulations.

These design values have been praised from a variety of perspectives, from the user-oriented to the academic. For example, the aesthetic and informational value of *Assassin's Creed* and other games that incorporate historical figures or wars and authentic-looking locales may have "ramifications that reach beyond art and into education" (VerBruggen, 2012, para. 16). Additionally, "researchers have made the important claim that sports video games are one of the few places that racial minorities are present as primary characters, in contrast with most other genres of

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video games" (Stein, Mitgush, & Consalvo, 2013, pp. 346–347). Looking at users of these sports "sims," Stein, Mitgusch, and Consalvo (2013) found:

[t]he emphasis on accurate rosters and its significance to the [users] and their propensity for recreating real-sporting events digitally suggest that their sports video game play is necessarily experienced as part of a broader sports context; *they want their sports video game experiences to be simulative or at least closely related to the sports they experience through other media.* (p. 361, emphasis added)

To that end, the well-known American sports broadcaster Clark Kellogg will record up to 50 hours of exclamations and comments annually for basketball game *NBA 2K*, now in its seventeenth iteration, and the final audio mix—with its crowd noise, arena music, and sneaker squeaks—creates the sense of a real broadcast (Yenigun, 2013).

Although Ribbens and Malliet (2009) found that from a gamer's perspective "the rule-based characteristics of an electronic game count as better contributors to its overall reality impression than its audiovisual characteristics" do (p. 18), certainly those production values are a selling point, a façade that's easily promoted, a hook to get consumers in the door. Indeed,

graphics have long been a part of the rating process in critical reviews and continue to be part of the general video game conversation, be it in player communities or academic communities with regard to the graphicness of the violence. (Boyan, 2008, p. 13)

Thus, although arguably the "best" graphics are "those that are rendered at the highest speed," some fans think the best graphics are those "that most closely mimic visual reality" (Adams, 2006, pp. 74–75). In November 2013, Hoopsworld, an online publication of *USA Today*, called the newly released *NBA 2K14* "almost too real" in its depiction of LeBron James, Kobe Bryant, and their ilk, not just because of details like James Harden's bushy beard, but because the "eco-motion" engineering gets "virtual LeBron" to "drive to the basket in that unstoppable freight-train way that only he can" ("*NBA 2K14*," 2013, para. 1).

Unfortunately for game publishers, this lifelike quality is precisely the factor that attracts litigation, at least as far as the law of immaterial property is concerned. Any of those elements that evoke someone or something in the real world can inspire an appropriation claim, trademark dispute, or similar lawsuits, if the underlying immaterial property from the real world was not licensed, and sometimes even if it was. That video games can be a First Amendment-protected form of expression is well established law, however, as in other media enterprises, there is a tension between the speech rights of creators and the personal rights of their human subjects. Furthermore, there is some disagreement from one jurisdiction to another regarding how much

mimicry is too much and thus loses protection for not being original, and how much customized game play and other dissimilarities are transformative enough to be lawful.

This article uses U.S. case law to define the most common legal concerns engendered by video game expression that potentially has not transformed its inspiration source material enough, such that it borders on being “too real,” and plots the direction of American jurisprudence regarding immaterial property claims against those games. The research reveals a balancing act between protecting video games as expressive works and protecting individuals’ right of publicity, resulting in something of a double bind for video game design. A discussion notes that the global flow of popular culture raises the issue of personality rights in a diversity of jurisdictions.

From Appropriation to the Right of Publicity

Appropriation is one of the four media invasion-of-privacy torts recognized to varying degrees in the fifty states by statute or common law. Generally, appropriation is the act of “taking a person’s name, picture, photograph, or [other] likeness and using it for commercial gain without permission” (Pember & Calvert, 2013, p. 257). In some states, citizens are protected from appropriation by statute, but only when used in advertising *per se*, including trade dress such as packaging. In other states, the offending practices are not limited to advertising, but eligible plaintiffs are limited to public figures such as entertainers and other celebrities, because only those types of persons have a perceived right of publicity. The right of publicity is a property right that lays claim to the economic value in a person’s name or likeness.

In some states, the concept of a likeness includes the sound of one’s voice. In some, appropriation can include evoking a professional’s “identity” by some combination of attire, setting, catchphrase, or other trappings in lieu of a name or likeness (*Motschenbacher v. R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.*, 1974; *White v. Samsung*, 1992). The U.S. Supreme Court has included in the right of publicity “an entertainer’s property interest in his act” (*Zacchini v. Scripps-Howard Broadcasting Co.*, 1977, Outcome).

Two of the earliest right-of-publicity lawsuits against video game publishers did originate from professional entertainers suing over some of those more nebulous aspects of personae. In *Kirby v. Sega of America* (2006), singer/dancer Kierin Kirby, formerly of the pop group Deee-lite, sued Sega after she was asked to help promote a U.K. version of the game *Space Channel 5*, in which the company was considering including the Deee-lite hit “Groove is in the Heart.” She declined, but her attention was called to the lead character of the game, “Ulala,” a reporter in outer space who dances her way through several levels of competition to rescue hostages and defeat an alien enemy. Kirby claimed the character’s appearance, attire, and name were all in imitation of her act as Deee-lite’s “Lady Kier.” In *Romantics v. Activision* (2008), current members of the new wave group The Romantics, which had a hit song, “What I Like About You,” in 1980, sued over the song’s inclusion in *Guitar Hero Encore: Rocks the 80s*. Although the song’s copyright had been properly cleared and

a cover version recorded using other performers, the plaintiff-performers claimed a publicity right in their “sound.”

Ineligible Likenesses

In *Kirby*, a California appeals court conceded that “Ulala resembles Kirby in certain respects,” such as some physical features and:

brightly-colored, form-fitting clothing, including short skirts and platform shoes in a 1960’s retro style. In addition, Ulala’s name is a phonetic variant of “ooh la la,” a phrase often used by Kirby and associated with Kirby [although the game designer said it was derived from the Japanese name Urara]. Finally, as the trial court pointed out, both Kirby and Ulala used the phrases “groove,” “meow,” “dee-lish,” and “I won’t give up.” (2006, Opinion, HN6)

Midriff baring shirts with numerals, elbow-length gloves, pigtails, and a space helmet have all been associated with Kirby. However, the court found enough difference in the length of Kirby’s pigtails and bangs, in her more frequent appearances with a pageboy haircut and headband, wearing bodysuits, with better dance moves, to preclude a finding that Ulala was necessarily a violation under California law. Even Kirby admitted that her style is always changing, and the court found “this lack of stasis inconsistent with a claim of appropriation” (*Kirby v. Sega of America*, 2006, Opinion, 1. para. 8).

In *Romantics v. Activision* (2008), the band, in its 2007 configuration, was concerned that users of *Guitar Hero* “have been, or are likely to be in the future, confused, deceived, or mistaken about whether Plaintiffs sponsored or endorsed the Game” because the new recording of “What I Like About You” was so similar to the 1980 original (Opinion, I.B. para. 2) and because their sound associated with that song “is part and parcel of who they are as entertainers” (Plaintiffs’ Motion, in *Romantics v. Activision*, 2008, Opinion, III.A.1, para. 7). However, a U.S. district court judge applying Michigan law found no “right of publicity in the sound of a voice, even if distinctive, nor has [Michigan] recognized a right of publicity in a combination of voices” (*Romantics v. Activision*, 2008, Opinion, III.A.1, para. 1). Additionally, the lead singer on the hit record, Jimmy Marinos, is no longer with the group and was not a party to the lawsuit, and, conversely, plaintiff Coz Canler was not in the group when that record was made and released.

The controlling precedent was, in some respects, the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals’ 1983 decision in *Carson v. Here’s Johnny Portable Toilets*, but not in the way the plaintiffs hoped. Although *Carson* recognized appropriation of that entertainer’s “identity,” the reason was that the court found the catchphrase “Here’s Johnny” to be “tantamount to a name and, therefore, an identity” (in *Romantics v. Activision*, 2008, Opinion, III.A.1, para. 2). Furthermore, even if Michigan were to recognize a tort stemming from unauthorized commercialization of a distinctive-sounding voice,

wrote Judge Nancy Edmunds, *Guitar Hero* is a form of expression protected by the First Amendment, not a commercial promotion *per se*, as required under *Carson*. No ads or packaging for the game made reference to The Romantics or to the plaintiffs individually; the song is identified by the phrase “as made famous by The Romantics,” which reasonably can be understood as an indication that those artists have not performed it for the game; and players have to level up to such an extent that they might never encounter this one song out of 30 in the game.

Transformative Use

The plaintiffs in *Romantics* had argued that *Guitar Hero* is distinguishable from other video games entitled to First Amendment protection because there is no script, character development, or dialogue. By relying partly on *Estate of Presley v. Russen* (1981), they implied that the game is merely imitative in the same manner as an unlicensed Elvis impersonator. However, Judge Edmunds noted the game’s customizable characters, its story mode, and original artwork such as the “stylized display of a rock concert [in a variety of venues] with audience, stage, band, lighting and stage effects” (*Romantics v. Activision*, 2008, Opinion, III.A.2, para. 4). Nowhere in her published opinion does the judge rely explicitly on the doctrine of transformative use, nor did the defendants invoke the transformative-use defense, but a similar emphasis on meeting a threshold of “creativity” in order to be considered an expressive artistic work is there.

New Expression

The doctrine of transformative use is typically identified with copyright adjudication but has been adopted for right-of-publicity and similar disputes. Generally, a transformative use of someone else’s valuable immaterial property is lawful, or “fair,” because it alters the property with “new expression” and does not directly substitute for it, as in 2 Live Crew’s defensible parody of Roy Orbison’s song “Oh, Pretty Woman” (*Campbell v. Acuff-Rose Music*, 1994). The U.S. Supreme Court decision in that case appears influenced by Laval’s 1990 Harvard Law Review article advocating “transformation” as a standard for evaluating the purpose and character of a claimed fair use, because transformation “creates new information, new aesthetics, new insights and understandings ... for the enrichment of society” (III.A.1, para. 3). This is a kind of “secondary creativity” that is not out of line with the utilitarian objectives of copyright law (Laval, 1990, I, para. 7).

Along these lines, the *Kirby* decision in favor of the publisher had not been based solely on the idea that Lady Kier’s look could not be pinned down. The controlling precedents were the Supreme Court of California decisions in *Comedy III Productions v. Saderup* (2001), which articulated a First Amendment protection for transformative use of a likeness, and *Winter v. DC Comics* from 2003. The latter is

more analogous to what may have transpired in the production of *Space Channel 5*, in that the plaintiff-entertainers Johnny and Edgar Winter inspired “fanciful” adaptations, the quasi-human “Autumn Brothers,” that were defensible (*Kirby v. Sega of America*, 2006). Plaintiff Kirby’s counsel argued that *Winter* requires a finding of something like parody or a critical caricature, but the appeals court disagreed, saying everything about Ulala that was “new expression,” including her interstellar story and role as a broadcast journalist, was sufficient to pass the transformative-use test. No explicit or implied commentary on Kierin Kirby or her “Lady Kier” persona need be conveyed by the game or Sega in order for the use to be lawful.

Literal Imitation

As already noted, the standard in California for transformative use of a likeness was set by the state Supreme Court decision in *Comedy III Productions v. Saderup* (2001). The artist Gary Saderup was sued by the company that owned the rights to The Three Stooges comedy act, including those actors’ descendible right of publicity. Saderup had made a charcoal drawing of the actors in their Three Stooges personae and reproduced it for the sale of t-shirts and lithographs, in violation of a California statute prohibiting unauthorized use of a deceased personality’s likeness on merchandise. The charcoal drawing did originate with Saderup, but it was too literal. The test, the court said, is:

whether a product containing a celebrity’s likeness is so transformed that it has become primarily the defendant’s own expression rather than the celebrity’s likeness. And when we use the word “expression,” we mean expression of something other than the likeness of the celebrity (*Comedy III Productions v. Saderup*, 2001, HN40).

Video game publisher Activision appears to have failed the test by moving closer to real. Although no one will ever know what a jury would have concluded in *No Doubt v. Activision* (2011), because the parties settled privately after the band won a decision granting them their day in court, the California appeals court opinion hinged largely on the realism of the No Doubt avatars in *Band Hero*. The band claimed a violation of their right of publicity and made a claim of unfair competition under a California statute, even though they had consented to perform under motion capture and licensed three songs for the game. The band felt violated upon learning, two weeks before release, that the game permits advanced users to change the gender of No Doubt’s voices, to have them perform the songs of other artists, and to have them perform solo or join other bands. The agreement with Activision had required that all representations of No Doubt in the game, its packaging, or promotions be submitted for approval.

While Activision made a First Amendment defense—including a motion to strike under California’s anti-SLAPP statute that prohibits meritless lawsuits that would chill

free speech on public issues—the court applied the transformative-use test from *Comedy III*. First, they determined:

that the avatars of No Doubt are computer-generated recreations of the real band members, painstakingly designed to mimic their likenesses.... The game does not permit players to [visually] alter the No Doubt avatars in any respect; they remain at all times immutable images of the real celebrity musicians, in stark contrast to the “fanciful, creative characters” in *Winter* and *Kirby*. (*No Doubt v. Activision*, 2011, III.A.2, para. 1)

Second, the court discussed the potential for literal portrayals of celebrity likenesses to be re-contextualized and become new expressions, as explained in *Comedy III*, where the defendant failed to do that, and in the Sixth Circuit’s 2003 ruling in *ETW v. Jireh Publishing*, where sales of a collage of golfer Tiger Woods were successfully defended. The court continued to distinguish *Kirby*:

That the [No Doubt] avatars can be manipulated to perform at fanciful venues including outer space or to sing songs the real band would object to singing, or that the avatars appear in the context of a video game that contains many other creative elements, does not transform the avatars into anything other than exact depictions of No Doubt’s members doing exactly what they do as celebrities (III. A.2, para. 4).

The unfair competition tort, too, was buoyed by the lack of transformation. No Doubt had claimed that the public is deceived into believing that the band approved of the advanced, “unlocked” features of game play, including “the appearance of its members individually performing songs that are wholly inappropriate and out of character for No Doubt” (HN15). In contrast, Activision had claimed that the so-called *Rogers* test that is used on federal Lanham Act violations should apply, and therefore, their use of likeness had to be *explicitly* misleading to consumers for the musicians to win; after all, there was no overt endorsement of the unlocking features. While not conceding that *Rogers*’ explicitness requirement should apply to a California court interpreting the California business code, this court nonetheless distinguished that precedent because the *Band Hero* video game had already lost First Amendment protection by failing to add any level of expression to No Doubt.

The *Rogers* Test on Lanham Act Claims

In stark contrast to the *No Doubt* ruling is the Ninth Circuit decision in *Brown v. Electronic Arts* (2013) that predates *No Doubt* in the sense that it affirmed a 2009 U.S. district court outcome. Former NFL athlete Jim Brown sued the publisher of football game simulation *Madden NFL* under Section 43(a) of the Lanham Act, which creates a tort for the unauthorized commercial use of any rhetorical device that can

cause confusion about whether a person had sponsored, endorsed, or affiliated him- or herself with the goods or other commercial activities of someone else. To the extent that the law applies to “the use of a public figure’s persona, likeness, or other uniquely distinguishing characteristic” (*Brown v. Electronic Arts*, 2013, HN2), the Lanham Act is something like a federal appropriation statute, but technically it applies when the likeness is functioning in the manner of a trademark.

To date, the controlling precedent is the Second Circuit Court of Appeals decision in *Rogers v. Grimaldi* (1999), which established the test for adjudicating Lanham Act claims made against expressive works. The case involved a movie title, *Ginger and Fred*, that conceivably evoked renowned dancers Ginger Rogers and the late Fred Astaire, who had nothing to do with the production of the film. The defendant filmmakers won the suit brought by Ginger Rogers, because the title related to the narrative’s fictional characters, who imitated the famous duo in a cabaret storyline, and because the movie was artistic expression deserving of First Amendment protection.

In *Brown* the court was emphatic, like the U.S. Supreme Court before them, that video games can be expressive works, though some be more so than others, and some perhaps not at all. In this case they said *Madden NFL* was of the expressive kind. This interactive sim that includes music and broadcast announcers allows users to control avatars of professional football players—usually identified by real names, jersey numbers, physical attributes and skills—in virtual games, with NFL teams based on the previous year’s rosters. Although the Second Circuit’s *Rogers* opinion involved a Lanham Act claim against the *title* of an expressive work, the Ninth Circuit has held—in a video game lawsuit, no less—that *Rogers* applies likewise to a claim made against the *body* of a work (*E.S.S. Entertainment 2000 v. Rock Star Videos*, 2008).

In *Brown*’s case, he said a version of himself is recognizable when users play with the 1965 Cleveland Browns, the team he retired from, as well as the “All Browns” team, because this particular running back has a similar jersey number (changed from 32 in real life to 37) and his statistics are similar. Active NFL teams, players, and coaches have been licensed since *Madden NFL 94*, *95*, and *2001*, respectively, but Jim Brown is a retired running back and thus no longer a member of the NFL Players’ Association. His teams and all of the pre-*Madden* historic teams in the game have anonymous players.

Applying *Rogers*

Rogers is a two-pronged test. First, the use of the likeness must be relevant to the artistic expression if it is to be permissible. Second, the use must not explicitly mislead consumers to indicate the plaintiff’s involvement in the work’s production, content, endorsement, or other affiliation. Brown is a football Hall-of-Famer, later an actor, and the 1965 Cleveland Browns’ most famous player (currently a special advisor to the team), who finds himself in a kind of Catch-22 as a plaintiff in this

case. Presumably to call more attention to the game's factuality than to its creativity, his counsel tried to "undermine the status of the games as expressive works" by emphasizing the games' realism and the necessity of including Jim Brown on the 1965 roster; indeed, they called his inclusion "axiomatic." However, in doing so, they essentially proved "that Brown's likeness has at least some artistic relevance to EA's work" (*Brown v. Electronic Arts*, 2013, III.A, para. 2).

Addressing the second prong of *Rogers*, counsel made more contradictory arguments, including the fact that Brown's identity was obscured by subtle changes in some versions of the game, that letters from Electronic Arts' attorneys denied the presence of Brown in versions of the game after 1998, and that company representatives allegedly spoke of their written authorization for NFL likenesses while at a law school conference (*Brown v. Electronic Arts*, 2013). Perhaps trying to create the impression of a corporate guilty conscience, counsel instead ended up pointing out reasons that users are "less likely to believe that Brown was involved" (III.B, para. 4). The strongest of their weak arguments was to highlight written materials that boast of the game's inclusion of the NFL's [unnamed] 50 greatest players and [unnamed] players from every "All-Madden Team," which were real-life honorary lists published by football personality John Madden. Nevertheless, although these accompanying materials potentially prove that Brown's likeness is used in the game, they did not prove that Electronic Arts is falsely promoting the idea that any of those players actually endorse the game.

Why does Jim Brown's claim fail regarding a game as real, if not *more* real, than *Band Hero*, when No Doubt's claim succeeds? Brown was making a claim under federal trademark law that required the application of the *Rogers* test for artistic relevance and consumer confusion. No Doubt made a California right-of-publicity claim that requires a transformative-use test that Activision allegedly failed. Brown's right-of-publicity claim has never been adjudicated; the federal court declined to exercise supplemental jurisdiction on the state claim and dismissed it without prejudice, and the Ninth Circuit had no opinion on the state claim either. However, in light of the Ninth Circuit's same-day opinion in *Keller v. Electronic Arts* (2013), explained below, Brown submitted a right-of-publicity claim to Los Angeles Superior Court within the month. Brown's new claim has yet to be decided, but Electronic Arts has since lost a *Madden NFL* lawsuit brought by other former players allegedly depicted on historic teams (*Davis v. Electronic Arts*, 2015).

A Game Changer in Game Jurisprudence?

Unauthorized use of a likeness, video gaming, and First Amendment defenses converge in the Ninth Circuit *Keller* opinion also known as *In Re: NCAA Student-Athlete Name and Likeness Licensing Litigation* (2013). Samuel Keller, a former college quarterback for the Arizona State Sun Devils from 2003–2005 and the 2007 Nebraska Cornhuskers, now a free agent, and eight other plaintiffs sued Electronic Arts, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), and

Collegiate Licensing Company, over the use of their likenesses in football and basketball sims. The opinion deals only with the video games as expressive works, and thus only with defendant Electronic Arts, not with the licensors.

What happened in the *Keller* appeal before a three-judge panel of the Ninth Circuit? In a 2–1 decision, the court denied the video game publisher’s anti-SLAPP motion to dismiss by 1) relying on the doctrine of transformative use, 2) rejecting the publisher’s advancement of the *Rogers* test for right-of-publicity claims, and 3) rejecting a defense that was based on California’s exemption for “reporting.” As in a Third Circuit opinion about the same game two months earlier (*Hart v. Electronic Arts*, 2013), as in the state appeals court decision in *No Doubt*, the judges found that the game “literally recreates Keller in the very setting in which he has achieved renown” (*Keller v. Electronic Arts*, 2013, Opinion, para. 2, emphasis added). Toward their goal of “replicat[ing] each school’s entire team as accurately as possible,” the company had developed ostensibly anonymous avatars that nonetheless match—by jersey number—the identifiable physical attributes and home state of real players, who had also been the subject of team employee questionnaires to determine “highly identifiable playing behaviors” (Opinion, I, para. 1). Noting the look of athletes, coaches, cheerleaders, and fans in the game and its “realistic sounds such as the crunch of the players’ pads and the roar of the crowd” (para. 1), the opinion basically criticizes the verisimilitude of *NCAA Football* in the context of a transformative-use defense, explaining, in particular:

In the 2005 edition of the game, the virtual starting quarterback for Arizona State wears number 9, as did Keller, and has the same height, weight, skin tone, hair color, hair style, handedness, home state, play style (pocket passer), visor preference, facial features, and school year as Keller. In the 2008 edition, the virtual quarterback for Nebraska has these same characteristics, though the jersey number does not match, presumably because Keller changed his number right before the season started [and after that edition had been finalized] (Opinion, I, para. 3).

Electronic Arts tried to rely on this kind of factuality in presenting a defense under California’s statutory and common-law protections that were developed for “the reporting of factual information” (Opinion, II.C, para. 1). However, the court said users play the game; they don’t reference it for facts about college football, nor is the game a news or public affairs “broadcast or account” as required by statute nor a “publication of matters of public interest” as required under the common law. If the company on the one hand claims that the avatars are anonymous players, it “can hardly be considered to be ‘reporting’ on Keller’s career at Arizona State and Nebraska” on the other hand (II.C, para. 5).

In light of the Ninth Circuit opinion, Electronic Arts negotiated a \$40 million settlement to benefit the plaintiffs and other student-athletes who have appeared over the years in *NCAA Football* and *NCAA Basketball*. In the meantime, they

had canceled the new version of *NCAA Football* being developed for 2014; *NCAA Basketball* was already defunct.

Navigating the Real for Defensible Game Design

Failed claims against Rockstar Games for *Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas* seem to demonstrate that this company has defensibly met the challenges posed by the impetus for realism in video game design, legally if perhaps not ethically. First, in *E.S.S. Entertainment 2000 v. Rock Star Videos* (2008), the company fought off federal trade-dress and unfair competition claims and California trademark and unfair competition claims, in part by passing the *Rogers* test. This was a humorous Ninth Circuit opinion in which the game's fictional "Pig Pen" strip club—inspired by the real-life "Play Pen Gentlemen's Club" in East Los Angeles—was recognized as both artistically relevant to *San Andreas* and not a source of confusion about who produced, sponsored, or otherwise supported the game.

The location had been photographed along with hundreds of other thematically evocative locations in California by the Scottish designers, who intended the game as a lampoon of West Coast gang culture (*E.S.S. Entertainment 2000 v. Rock Star Videos*, 2008). The court said the parody of East L.A. was made possible and in "a reasonable way" by "recreat[ing] a critical mass of the businesses and buildings that constitute it" (Opinion, II.B.2, para. 2). Although strip-club operator E.S.S. had argued that the game is not *about* the Play Pen Gentlemen's Club, and that the Play Pen is not a cultural icon necessary to the game's expression, the court noted that the threshold of relevance required under *Rogers* is very low; indeed, it is merely some amount of artistic relevance "above zero" (II.B.2, para. 2).

Furthermore, despite both clubs' location in the eastern reaches of their respective cities and the use of a similar typeface for the names of the clubs on their respective building façades, the structural features of the façades were dissimilar and the Pig Pen's virtual interior was "generic" (Opinion, II.B.3, para. 2). The court noted the upright female nude silhouette used with some inconsistency on the Play Pen's exterior logos and elsewhere, but failed to note the upright female nude silhouette for a fictional Pig Pen advertisement appearing in the game's instruction manual. Regardless, the mere use of a trademark does not make the use "explicitly misleading" to the consumer, which is the standard required under *Rogers* (*E.S.S. Entertainment 2000 v. Rock Star Videos*, 2008). The court determined that no reasonable game-using public would think that the relatively unknown operators of a strip club in the real world were also the producers of "a technologically sophisticated video game like *San Andreas*" or vice versa (II.B.3, para. 2).

Later, in *Washington v. Take-Two Interactive Software* (2012), the company defended itself in a "misappropriation" lawsuit—Take-Two Interactive being an umbrella company to Rockstar Games. The opinion focused on the misappropriation tort instead of the overt right-of-publicity claim that had also been one of five causes of action in this suit, seemingly because the plaintiff was trying to cover his "ideas"

and “life story” in the lawsuit and tie those to a claim of unjust enrichment. Misappropriation is a “broadly tailored” common-law tort that can be founded on a theory of “passing off” someone else’s work as one’s own, particularly when no trademark, copyright, or patent statute rightly applies (Dudnikov & Meadors, 2014).

Plaintiff Michael Washington is a model and former backup singer for the hip-hop group Cypress Hill. In 2003 he had been interviewed by staff working on *Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas*, presumably because he had “an authentic background” in so-called street life and its gang culture (*Washington v. Take-Two Interactive Software*, 2012, Factual, B, para. 1). According to Washington, he was supposed to be notified if he were selected for use in the game but did not hear another thing about it until 2010 when a nephew said “many people suspected” that Washington was the protagonist Carl Johnson, a.k.a. CJ, in *San Andreas*, which had been released in 2004 (Factual, B, para. 2). The publisher admitted that game development had included Michael Washington; photographs of him were contained in a digital file of “black men.” Even the game booklet lists Washington as one of approximately 100 models who influenced character designs ranging from the elderly to “venice-skaters” (*Washington v. Take-Two Interactive Software*, 2012).

Rockstar argued, among other things, transformative use. In its unpublished opinion, a California appeals court agreed with the trial court that the game’s interactivity permits users to “infinitely” vary the character of CJ by changing his weight through game play that includes eating and exercising, changing his clothing and accessories, and placing him in different settings in the fictional cities (in *Washington v. Take-Two Interactive Software*, 2012, Factual, C.2, para. 3). They agreed that CJ is a “generic” “black male” in appearance, with no distinctive physical attributes or marks, a character with no particular background, activities, or “neighborhood associates” that link to Michael Washington (Factual, C.2, para. 2). They agreed that “[e]ven if [Washington] could establish that the concept of CJ began with his likeness, the creative elements of the game have added so much variation and fantasy that CJ has been transformed into a new expression that is constitutionally protected” (in *Washington v. Take-Two Interactive Software*, 2012, Factual, C.2, para. 3). Washington also failed to provide examples of events or information in *San Andreas* that are based on experiences or facts he may have described to the developers.

Discussion

Factuality was least valued by teen gamer respondents in one study (Ribbens & Malliet, 2009), and some enduring, profitable, cartoonish games, such as the *Super Mario* series, are popular among all age groups, for a variety of devices. Golub (2010) concluded in an ethnographic study of the popular online game *World of Warcraft* that the game’s realism is not due to “sensorial realism” but to the game’s collective action and a “structure of care” that emerges in projects undertaken with other players. Indeed, the “raiders” of *Warcraft* “often turn down the graphical detail

of the game in order to make it more playable” on their computers (para. 48). A content analysis of all 205 game reviews published online by *PC Gamer* magazine in 2014, conducted for the present article, showed that reviewers mentioned “realism” in only 22 of those.

Ultimately, though, the law is platform-neutral even though the technological expectations of some platforms make the games developed for them more susceptible to such cinematic or “eco-motion” indulgences, and publishers still tout this brand of verisimilitude for certain titles. In a promotional video, *FIFA 15* senior producer Nick Channon boasts of “the most realistic players ever created in a FIFA title,” due in part to better lighting, improved body rigging, simulated breathing and hair movement, and “fully realized” soccer stadiums with “living pitches” that get marked up and damaged by game play while dirtying up the avatars’ uniforms (EA Sports FIFA, 2014). The *FIFA* soccer series is the world’s most popular soccer sim and “the highlight of the year for the company in terms of sales” (Trefis Team, in Forbes.com, 2014).

More popular abroad than in the United States, and most popular in Europe, *FIFA* in theory features only licensed teams and stadiums. These days the game requires hundreds of licenses that cover dozens of club leagues and national teams around the world as well as about 11,000 players (Schermerhorn, 2010), similar in agreement to professional football and basketball licenses in the United States. In the European Union athletes are protected from commercial exploitation of their likenesses under “personality” rights and privacy rights similar, though not identical, to the American—although the laws are by no means “harmonized” across the member states (Asser, 2014; Helling, 2005). The franchise does not face the problem of dubious student-athlete rights as in the American NCAA sports franchises. They goofed, however, with licenses for *FIFA Worldcup 2002*, when German goalie Oliver Kahn was depicted on the German national team after being licensed only in connection with his commercial club, FC Bayern Munich. A Hamburg court ruled in Kahn’s favor and issued an injunction against further distribution of the title; Electronic Arts, for its part, blamed the Federation of International Football Professionals for allegedly selling rights they never owned (“Oliver Kahn wins,” 2003).

The blockbuster games of late—those “posting spectacular sales figures”—are “usually those games that are part of an established franchise *and* have the slickest production values” (Wingfield, 2013, para. 3, emphasis added). In September 2013, *Grand Theft Auto V*, rumored to be the most expensive video game ever developed, to the tune of \$115 million, not including marketing (Brustein, 2013), “took only three days on store shelves to reach \$1 billion in sales, faster than any video game ever, its publisher said” (Wingfield, 2013, para. 3). It is beyond the scope of this article to say whether the emphasis on realism may be industry self-imposed or a market necessity for certain genres and platforms at this point, but the resulting impetus for developers can present something like a double bind to the extent that they are compelled to appropriate from real-world human subjects and then bury that inspiration in the virtual trappings of the game, i.e., “transform” it. Otherwise they must license all the real-world source material that they can if they are to preempt litigation.

The latter statement is made with some exaggeration, but the lawsuits do not cease. In February 2014, the daughter of convicted mobster Salvatore Gravano, herself a convicted felon featured on the TV series *Mob Wives*, filed suit over a character in *GTA V*, alleging appropriation under the New York civil rights statute as well as misappropriation of her “life story” (*Gravano v. Take-Two Interactive Software*, 2014). Take-Two has filed a motion to dismiss and memoranda in support of that, on First Amendment grounds; they’ve also requested sanctions against the plaintiff (“Reply,” 2014). More noteworthy, perhaps, is the lawsuit filed in New York by actress and tabloid newspaper staple Lindsay Lohan over a paparazzi-evading minor character in *GTA V* named Lacey Jonas, who was also used in the game’s promotional materials (*Lohan v. Take-Two Interactive Software*, 2014). At least one German business mediator has posited that courts in the European Union could also be home to that claim under their own laws (Leupold, 2014), presumably through Take-Two’s European subsidiary, though the parody defense is understood more generously “in most European countries” (Helling, 2005).

In 2013, gaming media carried a story—and pictures—of a “debugged” mode of *Beyond: Two Souls* that reveals an anatomically detailed nude shower scene based on the likeness of Ellen Page, who did the motion capture and voice of the game’s Jodie character. Speculation was rampant about whether the actress normally employs a no-nudity clause in her performance contracts and whether this sort of fabricated nudity would trigger a breach of contract lawsuit against the developer, Quantic Dream (e.g., Orland, 2013). For its part, publisher Sony Computer Entertainment issued a statement to Gaming Blend asserting that the nude figure is not that of Ellen Page (Usher, 2013), but the situation raises the specter of other torts, such as portrayal in a false light, being actionable against these cinematic, story-driven games, which come complete with scripted dialogue and plot-advancing “cutscenes” not originating from the player. While that remains to be seen, and a definitive Supreme Court precedent on rights attached to “morphed” erotica has yet to be set, a review of American jurisprudence in video game litigation to-date highlights a precarious balancing act that designers perform, perhaps unwittingly, between the human subject’s immaterial property rights—especially the right of publicity—and their own First Amendment right to freedom of expression.

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To cite this article: Kihan Kim, Yunjae Cheong & Hyuksoo Kim (2016) The Influences of Sports Viewing Conditions on Enjoyment from Watching Televised Sports: An Analysis of the FIFA World Cup Audiences in Theater vs. Home, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 60:3, 389-409, DOI: [10.1080/08838151.2016.1203320](https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203320)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203320>



Published online: 01 Sep 2016.



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The Influences of Sports Viewing Conditions on Enjoyment from Watching Televised Sports: An Analysis of the FIFA World Cup Audiences in Theater vs. Home

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This study investigates how experiences of viewing sports content in a movie theater differ from typical television viewing conditions in a home. The results of analyses showed that the viewing condition (theater vs. home) influenced audiences' sense of presence when watching mediated sports, which, combined with the attractiveness of the game, would determine the suspenseful nature of the media experience, as well as the subsequent enjoyment.

Introduction

The media industry has witnessed a rapid development in communication technologies in recent years; this trend has transformed the way people consume media content at an unprecedented rate. One noticeable technology driven transformation of media viewing conditions, especially in sports viewing contexts, is the increased prevalence of movie theaters as places to watch sports.

Watching sports in movie theaters goes back decades in various sports. Initially, boxing promoters discovered they could expand revenue by offering major fights to extended audiences in theaters, such as the fight between Sugar Ray Leonard and Roberto Duran in 1980 (Gregory, 2009). In professional baseball, National Amusements began screening high-definition broadcasts of Boston Red Sox's World Series games in 2004 in its Showcase Cinemas in several locations in New England (Altobelli, 2004).

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Later, in 2006, Raleighwood, a small theater in Raleigh, screened some of the Carolina Hurricanes' playoff games on their screens with advanced technologies such as stereophonic sound, stereo-scopic image, and a highly advanced lighting system, helping viewers' concentration on the game (Jason, 2006). Most recently, in 2014, NBC Sports Group struck a deal with Fathom Events to bring the soccer matches of the English Premier League to movie theaters across the United States (C. Harris, 2014).

Prior research in communications has investigated the impact of various media technologies on viewing experiences, typically in a television viewing situation, such as the impact of screen size, image quality, and audio fidelity (e.g., Lombard & Ditton, 1997; Reeves, 1991). Yet few researchers have investigated viewing experiences in movie theaters, compared to the conventional home television viewing condition. This lack of research in the effects of the theater viewing condition may be attributed to theaters not being considered mainstream outlets to watch broadcast content; thus, such research seemed to lack practical implications. However, it is recognized that theaters are increasingly becoming popular outlets for viewing media content, especially sports, escalating the potential to serve as an important part of the sports broadcasting rights-holders' cash flow. For example, FIFA has begun to officially charge a special rights fee for 3D exhibitions and for public viewing exhibitions in theaters since the 2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa.

In this study, we investigate how the experience of viewing sports in a movie theater would differ from the typical television viewing condition in a home. Our study was performed in the context of the most recent FIFA World Cup (2014), during which the games were relayed to movie theaters, in addition to the regular telecasts of the events to each television household in the country where this study was performed; the FIFA World Cup provided us with an excellent opportunity to compare the experiences of viewing sports in theater conditions versus typical households with television.

Thus, this study takes an approach to examine how different venues of watching sports, theater vs. home in particular, induce different viewing experiences, rather than specifying and examining individual antecedent factors of sports viewing. The theater condition and home condition differ on multiple features simultaneously, including not only factors driven by technologies, but also social drivers of sports viewing. For example, the screen size, image quality, and audio quality of the theater viewing condition are all different, and presumably superior, to those in the household television viewing condition; also, social factors, such as a cheering atmosphere, clearly distinguish the theater and home viewing conditions. For this reason, instead of investigating the isolated effects of each feature of theater and home viewing conditions, similar to the previous research, we attempt to examine the combined experience of viewing sports in a theater versus a home in a real-world setting, on various media experience measures such as presence, suspense, and enjoyment. Thus, the ecological validity of this study is expected to be superior to that of the conventional studies examining media technologies in isolation. For this same reason, this study bears the limitation in internal validity of not being able to

make a completely valid causal relationship among the variables, because the data were collected in natural settings rather than in a controlled experiment (Aronson, Ellsworth, Carlsmith, & Gonzales, 1990).

We draw upon literature on communication, media technology, and sports management to propose that the typical features, both technological and social, accompanying the two different viewing conditions (theater vs. home) will play an important role in influencing audiences' sense of presence from watching mediated sports (Braken, 2005); these features, combined with the attractiveness of the game (Armstrong, 2008; Borland & MacDonald, 2003), would determine the suspenseful nature of the media experience, as well as the subsequent enjoyment perception (Caro & Garcia, 2007; Peterson & Raney, 2008).

Audience Experiences of Watching Mediated Sports

Theater vs. Home Viewing Conditions

This study examines the impacts of the viewing conditions in terms of theater versus home conditions on audiences' experiences of mediated sports consumption. Notable differences are image size, image quality, dimensionality of image, sound quality, lighting condition, and cheering atmosphere.

With respect to the image size, most movie screens are projected onto a surface that is 30 to 40 feet tall by 70 feet wide, which clearly is larger than any television screen. The image quality is also different. Digital projection in movie theaters is most often digital light processing (T. Harris, 2014), which displays superior resolution as compared to the flat-panel LCD televisions (Leopold, 2013). The three-dimensional (3D) display technology adopted in movie theaters (Bonnington, 2012) also makes an important difference, as it provides an illusion of depth that is not available in typical television viewing conditions. Audio quality is another important difference. Movie theaters are equipped with surround sound systems, enriching the sound reproduction quality of an audio source (Dolby, 2000), whereas two-channel sound is the standard format for home television broadcasts. Lighting is one of the most obvious elements of movie theaters. Dark movie theaters contribute considerably to the emotional response an audience has while watching a sports event, because they help audiences focus on the sports event (Fenlon, 2013).

Finally, it is noteworthy that a cheering atmosphere makes a difference in theater and home viewing conditions. Fans dressed up in their team's uniforms and acting as they would if they were at the game—cheering, cursing, and screaming—add realism to the viewing experience (Molon, 2013). People watching the game on TV at home are there with—at most—several people, usually their family members. In addition, they are often interrupted by various factors at home, for example, living rooms' bright interior lighting, and people moving about in the living room.

Sense of Presence From Watching Mediated Sports

The perception of presence is an important element affecting the nature of the mediated sports consumption experience. Presence refers to the phenomenon in which an individual develops a sense of being physically present at a remote location through interaction with media (Biocca, 1997; Kalawsky, 2000; Slater, Usoh, & Steed, 1994; Witmer & Singer, 1998); thus, an individual does not “perceive or acknowledge the existence of a medium in his or her communication environment and responds as if he or she would if the medium were not there” (Lombard & Ditton, 1997, p. 77). In other words, presence is the perceptual illusion of non-mediation (Lombard & Ditton, 1997).

Presence has been conceptualized as a multi-dimensional construct, which includes inter-related perceptual and psychological factors (Biocca & Delaney, 1995; Kalawsky, 2000; Lombard & Ditton, 1997), based on the combination of the three poles of physical, virtual, and imaginal environments (Biocca, 1997). Among various dimensions identified in the literature, the perceptions of immersion (e.g., Bracken, 2005; Mikropoulos & Strouboulis, 2004; Witmer & Singer, 1998), realism (Heeter, 1995; Neuman, 1990), and physiological response (Bracken, 2005; Lessiter, Freeman, Keogh, & Davidoff, 2001; Lombard & Ditton, 2000) have appeared to be common in previous research.

Specifically, immersion refers to the degree to which an individual feels involved in a particular experience and is caught up in the presentation of the media (Witmer & Singer, 1998). Realism is another important dimension in presence. Realism refers to the degree to which an individual perceives the naturalness of media content as if he or she is experiencing the content directly as part of his or her environment (Lessiter et al., 2001). It is obvious that the more similar a presentation of media content is to the event it portrays, the more the audience will react to the presentation in the same way that he or she would respond to the actual event; that is, as a presentation of media content becomes real, audiences feel the sense of presence (Heeter, 1995; Lessiter et al., 2001). Physiological response also has appeared to be an important dimension of presence; this construct is sometimes referred to as the adverse physiological reactions audiences experience while consuming media contents (Bracken, 2005; Lessiter et al., 2001). Lombard and Ditton (1997; 2000) stated that physiological responses occur because the media experience is very similar to a non-mediated experience; such experiences of physiological reactions include feelings of dizziness, vertigo, and nausea (Lombard & Ditton, 1997).

Theoretical Background

Influences of Viewing Conditions on Presence

The degree of presence that audiences experience while consuming media content depends on factors that are typical in theater viewing conditions. According to Steuer

(1995), presence depends on such factors as image size (Botta & Bracken, 2004; Reeves, Detenber, & Steuer, 1993), image quality—or its determinants such as resolution, color accuracy, convergence, sharpness, brightness, and contrast (Bracken, 2005; Bocker & Muhlbach, 1993; Lombard & Ditton, 1997; Reeves et al., 1993), the dimensionality of the image (Banos, Botella, Alcañiz, Liaño, Guerrero, & Rey, 2004; Grigorovici & Constantin, 2004; Yoon, Laffey, & Oh, 2008), and audio fidelity (Dinh, Walker, Hodges, Song, & Kobayashi, 1999; Everest, 1983; Hendrix & Barfield, 1996; Lessiter et al., 2001).

Specifically, the impact of large screens in theaters is obviously beneficial for the audience. As a screen gets larger, the impact gets greater—the audience feels less like TV watchers, and more like participants in the action on the screen (Lombard & Ditton, 1997; Reeves et al., 1993). Reeves and colleagues (1993) found that audiences who viewed films on a 70-inch screen reported significantly higher levels of presence with the statement “I felt like I was a part of the action” than the others who watched them on a 35-inch screen. Regarding the quality of the image, Bracken (2005) found that image quality contributed to participants’ reporting higher levels of presence while watching high-definition television (HDTV) versus standard television (NTSC) images. Bocker and Muhlbach (1993) also found a positive association between image resolution and sense of presence in a video conferencing setting.

Regarding the dimensionality of the display, Grigorovici and Constantin (2004) demonstrated that the use of 3D display technology increased users’ affective engagement with the content, leading to heightened levels of presence (e.g., Banos et al., 2004; Yoon et al., 2008). In addition, the notion that proper use of sounds could evoke a sense of place, thereby heightening the overall feeling of presence in the virtual environment, has been repeatedly documented (Anderson & Casey, 1977; Christie, 1973). Christie (1973) showed that perceived presence was greater on self-report measures from a “multi-speaker audio system” than a “single speaker system.” Similarly, Hendrix and Barfield (1996) found that surround sound led to a higher reported presence than either no sound or non-surround sound.

Finally, adding the social elements, such as a cheering atmosphere, of a displayed environment contribute to building a sense of presence. Heeter (1992) noted that “placing more than one person in a virtual world may be an easy way to induce sense of presence” (p. 270). As a logical extension, the opportunities to watch mediated sports with a larger number of people (e.g., in a movie theater) are likely to lead audiences to experience a greater sense of presence (Biocca & Levy, 1995; Steuer, 1995). In the domain of sports viewing, a viewing environment with a cheering atmosphere has been shown to influence audiences’ enjoyment by affecting emotional responses to the sports contests during and after the media consumption, such as by affecting the levels of arousal, excitement, and anxiety (Raney & Depalma, 2006; Sapolsky & Zillmann, 1978; Tamborini & Westerman, 2010). Thus, both advanced technologies such as surround sound and a 3D image display in movie theaters and social factors such as a cheering atmosphere affect audiences’ experiences of sports viewing.

Factors Affecting Suspense

Presence and Suspense. In this study, we propose that audiences' sense of presence is the primary factor driven by sports viewing conditions (i.e., movie theater vs. home), while the attractiveness of the game is the content-driven factor, with both influencing the suspenseful experience of sports media consumption, the fundamental driver of audience demand for sports viewing (Peterson & Raney, 2008).

Zillmann (1996) defines suspense as "a noxious affective reaction that characteristically derives from the respondents' acute, fearful apprehension about deplorable events that threaten liked protagonists" (p. 208). Sporting events obviously provide these opportunities for contestants; it is through the unfolding drama of sports—through momentum swings, through the recurring opportunity for one team to turn the game around, and the continued curiosity about the game results—that sports suspense is generated (Peterson & Raney, 2008). Such a conceptualization indicates three ingredients of suspense—a viewer's disposition toward the participating teams or players, the uncertainty of outcome, and the continual chain of repeated opportunities for the favored participant to encounter failure (Peterson & Raney, 2008).

Literature suggests that perceptions of presence will affect the level of suspense that audiences experience while watching mediated sports. The sense of presence induces heightened levels of arousal, which then influence audiences' affective responses associated with media consumption (Lombard & Ditton, 1997). Green (1975) found that video footage designed to be high in perceived realism led to higher physiological measures indicative of arousal than did the same footage designed to be low in perceived realism (e.g., Reeves & Vega, 2006). Although the perception of realism did not originate from the media technology such as the use of 3D display, Green's (1975) work suggests the perceptions of realism, an important dimension of presence, are positively associated with arousal levels. As an extension, audiences' sense of presence, which is more vigorously felt in movie theaters than in home viewing conditions, is expected to lead to heightened levels of arousal.

More importantly, arousal induced by the sense of presence tends to exaggerate and intensify audiences' experiences related to the three ingredients of suspense suggested by Peterson and Raney (2008). A more vivid and richer media consumption experience, induced by the feelings of presence, leads to greater amounts and depth of sensory exchanges (Sundar, 2009), which augment the emotional impacts from viewing the favored participants encountering failure, or the unscripted dramatization effect of sports contests. The affective disposition toward the favored team or players can also be perceived to a greater degree by the audiences when the viewers feel as if they are with the team and players at the physically remote stadium. Even after watching the media, the heightened level of arousal can affect audiences' post-viewing evaluation of the overall media consumption experience. Sundar (2008) calls this the "being there" heuristic, which leads users to factor the authenticity and intensity of their media experience in later evaluations. In short, previous research indicates that the perceptions of presence increase the level of suspense from watching mediated sports.

Game Attractiveness and Suspense. The attractiveness of the game itself is also an important factor affecting the level of suspense. Literature in sports management has shown that various characteristics of the game have significant impacts on the demand for sports viewing, presumably through the mediation of the suspenseful experience of the media consumption (Bryant & Raney, 2000). Specifically, a review of literature suggests that there are important constructs pertaining to the game attractiveness, which affect the level of suspense by dramatizing the sporting events (Bee & Madrigal, 2012). For example, the general affinity for teams, the overall skills and speed of activities of the two competing teams (Armstrong, 2008), the number of star players (Feddersen & Rott, 2011; Hausman & Leonard, 1997), the performance level of the competition (Tainsky, 2010), and the uncertainty of outcome (Forrest, Simmons, & Buraimo, 2006; Paul & Weinbach, 2007; Tainsky, Salaga, & Santos, 2012) are the factors contributing to the suspenseful nature of the mediated sports. Thus, prior research suggests that the attractiveness of the game and the degree of suspense from watching mediated sports are positively associated.

Suspense and Enjoyment

Suspense has been identified as a critical factor in the attraction to sports (Bryant & Raney, 2000). Within the enjoyment process, Raney (2009) noted a “drama-increases-enjoyment formula,” and indicated that drama is primarily experienced through suspense. Such reasoning is theoretically and empirically supported in the previous research.

According to the affective disposition theory (Bryant & Raney, 2000; Zillmann, 1996), the audience develops a strong disposition towards players or teams, which leads the viewers to hope for a positive outcome for liked players and a negative outcome for the opponents. Therefore, the audience will fear a positive outcome for opponents and a negative outcome for liked teams, and such fear creates suspense (Knobloch-Westerwick, David, Eastin, Tamborini, & Greenwood, 2009). Suspense produces emotional arousal, which carries over and intensifies the audience’s response to the event, producing a rewarding, enjoyable emotional experience (Zillmann, Bryant, & Sapolsky, 1989; Zillmann & Cantor, 1977). Similarly, Vorderer, Klimmt, and Ritterfeld (2004) conceptualized media entertainment by pointing to enjoyment as the “core” experience of entertainment, and identified suspense as the essential element of the enjoyable state resulting from media consumption.

Empirical evidence supporting the positive relationship between suspense and enjoyment is abundant (Bryant & Raney, 2000). For example, Peterson and Raney (2008), examining audiences’ responses to NCAA basketball games, found that the determinants of suspense such as close final score point differentials, and the disposition toward the winning teams, were positively associated with the levels of enjoyment of the people watching sports games. Gan, Tuggle, Mitrook, Coussement, and Zillmann (1997) also found that enjoyment from watching mediated basketball

games proved to be a monotonic function of suspense about outcome. Overall, prior research indicates that the more the perceived suspense from watching mediated sports, the greater the potential enjoyment. Such a positive association between suspense and enjoyment also applies to other forms of entertainment (Vorderer, Wulff, & Friedrichsen, 1996).

Hypotheses

The preceding literature review provided the foundation for the following hypotheses. H₁ through H₃ predict the impacts of the sports viewing condition (i.e., theater vs. home condition) on presence, suspense and enjoyment. H₄ through H₆ postulate a causal model explicating the relationships among presence, game attractiveness, suspense, and enjoyment.

H₁: Audiences will perceive greater degrees of presence (i.e., realism, immersion, and physiological response) from sports spectatorship when exposed to the game in the theater condition than in the home condition.

H₂: Audiences will perceive greater degrees of suspense from sports spectatorship when exposed to the game in the theater condition than in the home condition.

H₃: Audiences will perceive greater degrees of enjoyment from sports spectatorship when exposed to the game in the theater condition than in the home condition.

H₄: Presence (i.e., realism, immersion, and physiological response) will have positive influences on suspense.

H₅: Game attractiveness will have positive influences on suspense.

H₆: Suspense will have positive influences on enjoyment.

Method

Overview

This study collected data from audiences of two live broadcasts of the 2014 FIFA World Cup matches, either in a theater or a home condition. Study participants were recruited on a voluntary basis by local print and online advertising for a monetary incentive before the target games were held. As incentive, the theater audiences were provided with a free ticket for the game, and the home audiences were provided with a gift card in the same amount as the game ticket given to the theater audiences. The participants were then randomly assigned to one of the four comparison groups of the study—either the theater viewing condition or the home viewing condition—for one of the two matches.

After viewing the designated match at a designated location, participants were asked to return the pre-distributed—but not opened until the match was over—questionnaire to the researcher, either by email or conventional mail.

Target Matches

The two target matches selected for this study were the first and the second matches of the first stage of the event. The FIFA World Cup is comprised of two stages. In the first stage, there are eight groups of four national teams competing in a league format. Thus, each team competes against the remaining three teams within each group. Only the two highest-ranking teams of each group advance to the second stage, where 16 teams compete in a knockout tournament.

There were two reasons for selecting the first two matches. First, there was no guarantee for the national team of the study participants to proceed to the second stage because the team was ranked below the mid-level among the 32 participating teams. Therefore, only the first stage games were pre-scheduled to be shown live in movie theaters, providing a good context for the study. Second, the practical goal of the national team of the study participants was to advance to the second stage, rather than winning the event; therefore, the first two matches of the first stage were the most important and attracted the most attention among the public.

In short, the first two matches selected as the target of this study were the guaranteed means to provide opportunity to examine the theater versus home conditions of viewing sports events, and were the important and engaging matches for the participants.

Sample

Study participants were recruited by local print and online media advertising before the target games were held. A total of 240 participants were recruited to rate their experiences of viewing one of the two FIFA World Cup matches in either a home or in a theater environment. For each of the two matches, a total of 120 respondents were randomly assigned, of whom half viewed the match in a home and the remaining half viewed the match in a theater. Thus, there was a total of 120 theater audience members and 120 home audience members.

All participants were instructed to view the designated match in the predetermined place and fill out a questionnaire within one day following the end of the game. Since the participants were recruited prior to the survey on a voluntary basis, the response rate reached one hundred percent.

There were six constructs of interest, which were measured with 5-point scales anchored by *strongly agree* and *strongly disagree*, unless otherwise specified. The exact items used in the study are shown in Table 2. All scale items used in this study

capture respondents' perceptions of each construct, and greater scores indicate higher or stronger perceptions for each construct. The scale items used in this study were drawn from established scales found in prior research, and the scales were adapted for appropriate wording. Specifically, the items measuring the three dimensions of presence (i.e., realism, immersion, and physiological response) were drawn from Bracken (2005), and Lessiter and colleagues (2001); the game attractiveness measures were drawn from Armstrong (2008), and the suspense and enjoyment measures are based on Peterson and Raney (2008).

Also, the sports involvement and the disposition toward cheering and the opposing team, respectively, were measured as control variables. Specifically, sports involvement was measured by the following three items: "How interested are you in sports in general?" "How involved are you in watching sports games?" and "How important is it for you to search and read sports information?" anchored by *extremely* to *not at all* (Raney & Depalma, 2006). Disposition toward cheering and the opposing teams, respectively, were measured by the following two items: "How much is each team liked?" and "How much is each team hoped to win the game?" anchored by "extremely" to "not at all" (Peterson & Raney, 2008).

Findings

Sample Description

Examination of the 240 responses from the survey indicated that 48.8% of the participants were male and 51.3% were female. The average age of the respondents was 34.5, with the youngest 20 and the oldest 49. Approximately one-third of the respondents were in their twenties (32.1%), thirties (34.2%), or forties (33.7), respectively. In terms of education, 7.1% had their high school degrees; 27.1% were in college; 50% had college degrees, and 15.8% had graduate degrees or were in graduate school. Also, a total of 35% of the respondents were students, and the remaining 65% were employed in various occupations ranging from computer programmers, athletes, and medical doctors, to counselors, teachers, and architects. All respondents resided in the metropolitan areas of the country where the survey was conducted.

Tests of Group Mean Differences

To test H_1 through H_3 , a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) was performed, followed by a series of analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs). A multivariate analysis of variance (MANCOVA) was performed on the five key variables across the two groups (i.e., Home vs. Theater), with such three covariates as perceived disposition toward the cheering team and toward the opposing team, respectively, and the perceptions of sports involvement. The results of MANCOVA indicated that Pillai's trace, Wilks' lambda, Roy's largest root, and Hotelling's trace

Table 1
Tests of Group Mean Differences

Variables	Total (<i>N</i> = 240)	Home (<i>N</i> = 120)	Theater (<i>N</i> = 120)	<i>t</i>
Realism	2.49 (.84)	2.32 (.81)	2.66 ^b (.83)	3.47**
Immersion	3.28 (.84)	2.91 (.83)	3.64 ^b (.67)	7.22**
Physiological Response	1.99 (.76)	1.54 (.31)	2.44 ^b (.81)	10.95**
Game Attractiveness	3.29 (.75)	3.08 (.76)	3.49 ^b (.68)	4.23**
Suspense	3.30 (.93)	2.88 (.86)	3.73 ^b (.79)	7.61**
Enjoy	3.48 (.92)	3.03 (.83)	3.94 ^b (.79)	8.68**

Note. Standard deviations in parentheses.

were all statistically significant ($p < .01$). Following the significant MANCOVA test, a series of one-way analyses of variance (ANCOVAs) was performed to examine any differences in the key variables across different viewing conditions. Table 1 shows the results of the ANCOVAs.

In support of H_1 , Table 1 shows that each of the three presence variables was associated with significantly greater degrees of presence when exposed to sports games in the theater condition than in the home condition. In particular, perceived realism, $M_{\text{theater}} = 2.66$ vs. $M_{\text{home}} = 2.32$, $F(1, 235) = 7.43$ ($p < .01$), immersion, $M_{\text{theater}} = 3.64$ vs. $M_{\text{home}} = 2.91$, $F(1, 235) = 43.04$ ($p < .01$), and physiological response, $M_{\text{theater}} = 2.44$ vs. $M_{\text{home}} = 1.54$, $F(1, 235) = 135.63$ ($p < .01$) were all higher under the theater condition than the home condition. With respect to the degrees of suspense (H_2) and enjoyment (H_3), Table 1 shows that audiences perceived that the games were more suspenseful, $M_{\text{theater}} = 3.73$ vs. $M_{\text{home}} = 2.88$, $F(1, 235) = 52.73$ ($p < .01$), and more enjoyable, $M_{\text{theater}} = 3.94$ vs. $M_{\text{home}} = 3.03$, $F(1, 235) = 62.51$ ($p < .01$) when they were exposed to the games in the theater condition than in the home condition. These findings support H_2 and H_3 .

Test of the Causal Model

To test H_4 through H_6 , a structural equation model specified by the hypothesized relationships was tested. A two-step model-building approach that tests the measurement model before examining the hypothesized structural model was adopted (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Kline, 2005). Both the measurement and the structural models were fitted to a covariance matrix constructed from the correlations and standard deviations using *Mplus* 5.2 (Muthén & Muthén, 2007). Prior to the analysis, the normality of each variable was checked by inspecting skewness and kurtosis for each variable. The absolute skewness values were less than 3.0, and the absolute kurtosis values were less than 10.0. These are within an acceptable boundary, as suggested by computer simulation studies (Curran, West, & Finch,

1997; DeCarlo, 1997; West, Finch, & Curran, 1995). In addition, the Kolmogorow-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests of univariate normality were non-significant ($p > .05$), indicating that the deviations from normality were not statistically significant (Field, 2005).

The measurement instrument was validated by a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) with the six latent factors, measured by 20 items. Each item was expected to load on only one factor with a minimum factor loading of .65 for its corresponding construct (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). All factors, but no error terms, were allowed to correlate. It appeared that one item measuring the degree of suspense (i.e., the game was arousing), and one item measuring perceived game attractiveness (i.e., the quality of the two competing teams is very high) loaded below cutoff .65; thus, these two items were removed, and the same six latent factors with only 18 items were re-validated by CFA. Table 2 shows the specific items of the re-validated measurement model.

It appeared that the data fit the re-validated measurement model well, as indicated by multiple fit indices within the recommended range: $\chi^2(120) = 203.38$, $p < .05$; NC = 1.69; CFI = .97; TLI = .96; RMSEA = .05; SRMR = .04 (Bentler, 1990; Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Hu & Bentler, 1999;). Table 2 shows factor loadings with results of corresponding significance tests, item means and standard deviation, and Cronbach's α scores. The internal consistency reliability of the scale items was calculated by Cronbach's α , which fell within an acceptable level for each factor, ranging from the lowest .77 to the highest .89. Table 2 also shows that all of the factor loadings are significant ($p < .01$) and are highly related to their respective constructs in support of convergent validity (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994).

The inter-factor correlation ranged from the lowest .06 between perceived realism and physiological response to the highest .76 between perceived suspense and enjoyment. Although correlations between factors were rather high, a series of Wald chi-square tests between the unconstrained models and the models constraining the correlation between each possible pair of the latent factors to one were all statistically significant, $\Delta\chi^2(1) > 3.84$ ($p < .05$), indicating that no two factors were correlated perfectly and that discriminant validity was achieved among them (Bagozzi & Phillips, 1982; Joreskog, 1971). For example, the Wald chi-square test for the two factors with the highest correlation—between perceived suspense and enjoyment—showed that constraining the correlations between the two factors did significantly worsen the model chi-square, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 55.94$ ($p < .01$), indicating discriminant validity achieved between the two factors. Taken together, the findings show that the reliability and validity of the measurement instrument are satisfactory.

Given an acceptable measurement model, the goodness-of-fit for the hypothesized structural model was examined. There were four exogenous variables (perceived realism, immersion, physiological response, and game attractiveness), and two endogenous variables (perceived suspense and enjoyment). All exogenous variables were allowed to correlate. The analysis converged to an admissible solution. It

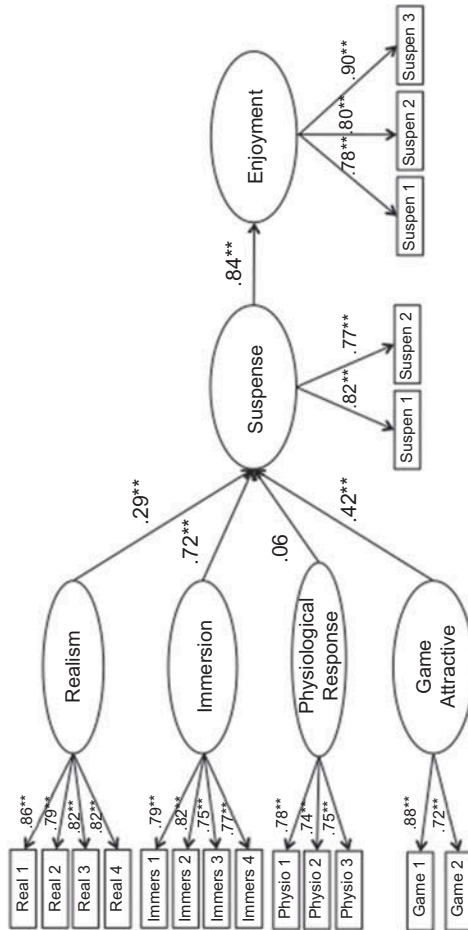
Table 2
Results of Measurement Model Analysis

	Mean (SD)	Loadings
Perceived Realism ($\alpha = .89$)		
• I felt I was visiting the places in the displayed environment	2.47 (.96)	.82**
• I felt that the characters and/or objects could almost touch me	2.38 (.92)	.73**
• How much did the things/people in the environment you saw/heard feel like they would if you experienced them directly?	2.43 (.97)	.77**
• How much did the heat or coolness (temperature) of the environment you saw/heard feel like they would if you experienced them directly?	2.69 (1.01)	.82**
Perceived Immersion ($\alpha = .86$)		
• I was very involved in the game while watching	3.30 (1.01)	.79**
• My senses were completely engaged with the game while watching the game	3.14 (1.02)	.83**
• I lost track of time while watching the game	3.50 (.98)	.75**
• My experience of watching the game was very intense	3.16 (.95)	.74**
Perceived Physiological Response ($\alpha = .80$)		
• I felt dizzy while watching the game.	2.00 (.95)	.74**
• I felt I had a headache while watching the game.	1.93 (.85)	.63**
• I had eyestrain while watching the game.	2.04 (.89)	.66**
Perceived Game Attractiveness ($\alpha = .77$)		
• The overall skills and speed of activities of the two competing teams are at a high level.	3.17 (.89)	.78**
• The overall level of the competing athletes from both teams is at a high level.	3.40 (.77)	.55**
Perceived Suspense ($\alpha = .81$)		
• The game was very thrilling	3.48 (1.04)	.89**
• The game was very suspenseful	3.13 (.99)	.79**
Perceived Enjoyment ($\alpha = .86$)		
• The game excited me very much	3.56 (1.06)	.83**
• The game made me feel good	3.45 (1.01)	.81**
• Really, I have enjoyed watching this game	3.43 (1.05)	.94**

Note. ** $p < .01$.

appeared that the hypothesized structural model fit the data reasonably well: $\chi^2(124) = 236.24$, $p < .05$; NC = 1.91; CFI = .95; TLI = .94; RMSEA = .06; SRMR = .05 (Bentler, 1990; Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Figure 1
Path Coefficients for the Final Structural Model



Note. ** $p < .01$; entries are maximum likelihood estimates of the standardized path; model fit indices: $\chi^2(124) = 236.24, p > .05$; NC = 1.91; CFI = .95; TLI = .94; RMSEA = .06; SRMR = .05; N = 240; exogenous variables were allowed to correlate, and the inter-factor correlations ranged from .05 between Physiological Response and Game Attractiveness, to the highest .75 between Realism and Immersion; The R^2 for the two endogenous variables – Suspense and Enjoyment – were .75 and .70, respectively; not depicted in the figure are the residual variances.

Figure 1 shows the standardized maximum likelihood path coefficients and their corresponding significance levels of the final model. In support of five of the six hypotheses, all the path coefficients were positive and were statistically significant at $p = .05$ or less, except for the path from physiological response to suspense. Thus, H_4 through H_6 are supported, except for the path from physiological response to suspense. The R^2 for the two endogenous variables—perceived suspense and enjoyment—were .75 and .70, respectively. In terms of the relative strength of the paths, Figure 1 shows that the path from the perceived suspense to enjoyment appeared to be the strongest path ($\beta = .84, p < .01$), while the path from the perceived realism to the suspense appeared to be the weakest ($\beta = .29, p < .01$).

Additional tests of indirect impacts showed that perceived realism, immersion, and game attractiveness had significant indirect impacts on the degree of enjoyment through the mediation of the perceptions of suspense (indirect effects: $b_{\text{realism}} = .24, p < .01$; $b_{\text{immersion}} = .63, p < .01$; $b_{\text{game attract}} = .38, p < .01$). The significant indirect effect from realism to enjoyment, for example, indicates that the enjoyment score is expected to increase by .24 units for every one-unit increase in the realism, via its prior effect on the suspense.

Discussion

Watching popular sports in theaters has grown rapidly in recent years. NBC Sports Group, for example, brought English Premier League soccer matches to 33 movie theaters across the United States in 2014; fans in theaters have had full Premier League experiences, as though they were at one of the famed stadiums in the UK (C. Harris, 2014). One reason for such a spread of theaters, as a site for watching sporting events, is not only because of the technological developments in recent years, but also because of enhanced benefits for all parties related to the sports media. Despite such a rapid surge in watching sports in the movie theaters, there is no academic research to date that directly compares the audiences' experiences of watching the sports in theaters vs. in a home. This study attempts to fill this gap.

This study examined how experiences of viewing sports content in a movie theater would differ from those of the typical television viewing condition in a home. Due to the larger image size, better video and audio quality, availability of 3D display technologies, and such social factors as a cheering atmosphere, theaters (vs. home televisions) are predicted to generate more favorable experiences in sports consumption. Specifically, as compared to the typical home viewing conditions, the theater viewing conditions are associated with superior media experiences manifested by the increased levels of presence, suspense, and enjoyment. Additional structural analysis revealed that the perceptions of presence along with the game attractiveness determined the degree of suspense, resulting in heightened levels of enjoyment.

Theoretically, this study is one of the first attempts to investigate the effects of theater viewing of sports. Previous research has examined modality effects in media

consumption (Sundar, 2009); however, they have examined the media consumption experiences by individual technology, such as by examining in isolation the effects of image size, sound fidelity, dimensionality of the display, and interactivity. This approach lacks ecological validity and does not fully capture audiences' experiences of watching sports in theaters, as multiple technologies and social factors are combined to affect audiences in theaters. In this study, we directly explore audiences' experiences of watching sports in movie theaters in a natural setting, thus providing ecologically valid evidences to the literature.

Another theoretical contribution of this study is that it provides theoretical explanation of the mechanisms through which people enjoy sports in theaters. Specifically, this study applies the well-established concept of suspense to understand a relatively new vehicle to view sports in theaters. As the key determinants of suspense generation in theaters, we identified and provided evidence that both technological and social features associated with theaters, such as the 3D display, surround audio system, and cheering atmosphere, intensify audiences' perceptions of suspense, presumably by affecting the ingredients of suspense—the viewer's disposition toward the teams, the uncertainty of the outcome, and the opportunities for the favored participant to encounter failure. Therefore, the findings of this study address theoretical links between theory and new media consumption patterns.

The findings of this study deliver meaningful messages to the practitioners of all stakeholders of sports media—the broadcasting stations, sports organizations, and the movie theaters. This study indicates that, by experiencing sports in movie theaters, viewers can become fans of the sports at a faster speed than when they view the same event at home. This is because movie theaters exaggerate and intensify the affective impacts of the sporting event, making the sports more memorable. Thus, the increased demand for sports spectatorship in movie theaters can be considered an opportunity to expand the market for all stakeholders related to sports media.

In particular, for the primary broadcasting station holding the broadcast rights, an additional distribution route via movie theaters is an opportunity to attract new viewers to the sporting event, which generates additional revenue by sub-licensing their broadcast rights to the participating movie theaters. For the sports organizations holding the original rights of the events, such as FIFA for the World Cup and the IOC for the Olympics, a new vehicle for content distribution means additional viewership opportunities, which potentially augment the content rights revenue. Finally, for the movie theaters, opportunities to show sporting events in theaters provide a great new source of revenue, especially for a traditionally slow time of the day.

Such an all-party beneficial proposition is based on the assumption that the additional means of game exposure via movie theaters is a true expansion of audiences, thus expanding the overall pie of the sports media market. However, if the additional game exposure via movie theaters is at the expense of taking some of the existing audiences away from other traditional media outlets, profit generated by the movie theaters will lead to revenue shrinkage in those respective media. For example, additional viewership via movie theaters may suppress the television ratings of the game-airing local station.

Therefore, the “pie-expansion-assumption” can open up discussion about the broadcast policy in certain media markets, such as the discussion about the blackout rules in the United States. Under the National Hockey League’s (NHL) and Major League Baseball’s (MLB) blackout rules in the United States, local broadcasters receive broadcasting priority, unless a national broadcaster has exclusive rights to the game; as for the National Basketball Association (NBA), if a game is aired on NBATV, it will be blacked out from local broadcasting stations within a 35-mile radius of the home team’s market (Jessop, 2014). However, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) repealed the NFL’s blackout rule in 2014, and the NFL itself dropped its blackout rule for the 2015 season (Isidore, 2015; Yu, 2014). The basic idea behind the blackout rules of the MLB, NHL, and NBA is to protect the local or league-associated broadcasters. Therefore, if it turns out that distributing MLB, NHL, or NBA contents through movie theaters leads to lower television ratings of the rule-protected broadcasters, the professional sports leagues may need to renegotiate the blackout rules with the corresponding broadcasters, so that the rights-holding local broadcasters’ television ratings are protected. Meanwhile, movie theater distribution of sports will have less impact for sports not protected by blackout rules, such as overseas sports events.

Another practical implication of the current study highlights is the importance of presence as the key construct in predicting suspense and enjoyment. Such findings provide insights regarding how practitioners in media production and display should design a viewing environment to maximize audience enjoyment.

This study bears several limitations that point to several directions for future research. First, of the six hypotheses, one was not supported. The path from physiological response to suspense, contrary to the prediction, was not statistically significant. It might be that other determinants, such as realism, immersion, and game attractiveness overpowered the impacts of physiological response on suspense. However, the data analyzed in this study do not provide empirical evidence to clearly address why the path from the physiological response to suspense was not statistically significant; future research should examine this.

Second, the participants of this study were exposed to the sporting event in a natural setting—either in a movie theater or at home; for this reason, the external validity of the findings is ensured, however, at the expense of the internal validity. The internal validity of the causal relationships examined in this study should be further enhanced in future research.

Finally, additional factors should be included in the causal model examined in this study. We identified only the three dimensions of presence and the perception of game attractiveness as the primary predictors of suspense; however, future research should encompass additional factors that might contribute to building suspenseful experiences from watching mediated sports. In particular, social drivers of television viewing were not directly examined in this study. This is because this study departs from a venue-centric perspective, comparing audiences’ viewing experiences in movie theaters vs. home, thereby focusing the combined effects of various features—both technological and social—associated with different viewing conditions. However, future research should be designed to explicitly examine the impacts of various social factors. Among

others, patriotism should be taken into consideration for the sports spectatorship studies involving national competitions. National team games provide a rich source of audience identification, because audiences have strong attachment to their own nation represented by the team (Nüesch & Franck, 2009). The choreography of the national team games additionally intensifies patriotic feelings by playing the national anthem before each game (Bogdanov, 2005). Such intensified patriotism involving national competitions then should influence the levels of suspense and the overall evaluations of the viewing experiences, which warrant future research.

Funding

This article was supported by Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Research Fund of 2015.

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To cite this article: Charlene Simmons (2016) A Marriage of Friends or Foes? Radio, Newspapers, and the Facsimile in the 1930s, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 60:3, 410-424, DOI: [10.1080/08838151.2016.1203315](https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203315)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203315>



Published online: 01 Sep 2016.



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A Marriage of Friends or Foes? Radio, Newspapers, and the Facsimile in the 1930s

Charlene Simmons

The 1930s represent a contentious period between the radio and newspaper industries. In the middle of the press-radio war, a new technology, the broadcast radio facsimile, emerged with the potential to bring together the warring industries. Although the radio facsimile was short lived, its story, seen through the lens of the press-radio war, provides an interesting look at the forces shaping a new technology.

Envisioned as a technology that would allow subscribers to receive the newspaper via a radio receiver, the facsimile presented an interesting dilemma: Who would control the creation and dissemination of news—the newspaper or radio industry? This article explores this question through an examination of industry narratives about the facsimile. In analyzing the discourses, this study focuses on how the newspaper and radio industries envisioned the future of the facsimile. Was the facsimile viewed as a means for cooperation or as a point of contention?

The 1930s were a period of both technological innovation and strife for America's mass media. The preceding decade saw the emergence of radio broadcasting as a viable form of mass communication and entertainment. While segments of the newspaper industry supported broadcast radio, others in the industry felt threatened as radio gained both economic strength and consumer interest. During the early 1930s parts of the newspaper industry fought back, declaring war on radio by applying political, legal, and economic pressure on radio stations (e.g., Jackaway, 1995; Stamm, 2011). While the press and radio fought, a new technology emerged that melded the printing press with radio technology—the broadcast radio facsimile.

Using the electromagnetic spectrum to transmit pictures and text, the broadcast facsimile was seen by some industry leaders as the future of both newspapers and radio. A 1935 article in *Broadcasting* reported that “optimistic radio scientists envision the day when complete newspapers ... will be “radio photographed” and delivered via radio to the home” (Taishoff, 1935, p. 7). Envisioned as a technology

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that would allow subscribers to receive the daily newspaper via a radio receiver, the broadcast facsimile presented an interesting dilemma: Who would control the creation and dissemination of facsimile news—the newspaper or radio industry?

The Press, Radio, and a War

The relationship between newspapers and radio during the 1920s and 1930s was complex and evolving. The press's interest in radio dates back to the earliest days of the medium. Newspapers, like the *New York Herald*, used the wireless telegraph as both a newsgathering tool and as a means for transmitting news to ships as early as 1899 (Arceneaux, 2013). As the wireless telegraph was transformed into broadcast radio, newspapers followed suit. The *Detroit News* was the first newspaper to set up a broadcast radio station in 1920. Just two years later, 10% of broadcast radio stations were controlled by newspaper companies. By 1940, 30.7% of radio stations were owned by newspapers (Sterling, 1969).

The newspaper industry's initial support of radio was not limited to ownership. During the first half of the 1920s many newspapers around the country saw radio as an asset rather than as a competitor. Newspapers sought to serve readers' growing interest in radio through special sections explaining radio technology, editorials promoting radio, and program logs listing radio content (Patnode, 2011).

But by the midpoint of the decade, the newspaper industry's response to radio began to change. Recognizing the economic threat posed by radio's increased advertising revenue, some newspapers began reducing the amount of special coverage they gave radio and removed sponsors names from program listings (McChesney, 1991; Patnode, 2011). During the 1920s and early 1930s, radio also began to pose a threat to the newspaper industry's control over the flow of news, with radio scooping newspapers on a number of major stories. In response to these threats, parts of the newspaper industry took steps to limit radio's reach (Jackaway, 1994, 1995; Lott, 1970; Pratte, 1993).

Beginning in 1931, elements of the newspaper industry, through the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA), called for restrictions on the radio industry. In 1933, at the annual meetings of the ANPA and the Associated Press (AP), the three major wire services, the AP, the United Press (UP) and the International News Service (INS), agreed to stop providing news to radio stations and networks. In reaction to this move, radio networks quickly set up their own news bureaus and began to expand their news coverage (Chester, 1949; Jackaway, 1994, 1995; Lott, 1970).

While the network news bureaus were a success, their duration was short lived. In December 1933, radio networks, fearing that lobbying action from the newspaper industry might hinder their future, entered into the "Biltmore Agreement" with the ANPA. As part of the agreement, the radio networks closed their news bureaus and turned to the newspaper industry, and the newly formed Press Radio Bureau (PRB), for news coverage. While network affiliates joined the agreement, independent radio

stations refused to take part in the PRB. This, coupled with the fact that newspapers that owned radio stations continued to supply their stations with regular news updates, limited the effectiveness of the Biltmore Agreement (Chester, 1949; Jackaway, 1995; Lott, 1970; Stamm, 2011).

To meet the news coverage needs of independent stations a new wire service, Transradio Press, was established. Over the next two years the reach of Transradio Press grew rapidly, posing an economic threat to the AP, UP, and INS. In response, the UP and INS started to provide news service to radio stations in 1935. Over the next few years the animosity between the radio and newspaper industries began to cool, especially as more newspaper companies purchased or built radio stations. In 1939, the AP decided to provide news to the radio industry through a newly formed subsidiary, the Press Association (PA). By the close of the 1930s the press-radio war was over (Charnley, 1948; Chester, 1949; Jackaway, 1994, 1995; Lott, 1970).

In the end, the relationship between the newspaper and radio industries during the 1920s and 1930s was complex. Some newspapers saw radio as a new business opportunity while others saw it as a threat. In the middle of all of this, a new technology was taking shape that could potentially unite or divide the two industries, the broadcast radio facsimile. Based on wired and wireless “radio photograph” systems developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Martin, 1916; Wise, 1944), the broadcast facsimile was envisioned as a technology that could transmit images and text over radio waves. While initial experiments into the broadcast transmission of facsimile content were conducted by Austin Cooley in the late 1920s, the system was quickly abandoned due to technical issues (e.g., Koehler, 1969). In the 1930s, experimental facsimile efforts were picked up and expanded by several companies including the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and Finch Telecommunications. Much of these efforts were focused on developing the technology to deliver “radio editions” of newspapers into the homes of consumers (Finch, 1934; Norton, 1935).

The idea of using the facsimile to transmit news reflects the need for facsimile developers to define the new technology in terms of an existing medium, a process known as remediation. According to Bolter and Grusin (2002):

Each new medium has to find its economic place by replacing or supplementing what is already available, and acceptance, and therefore economic success, can come only by convincing consumers that the new medium improves on the experience of older ones.... Each new medium is justified because it ... repairs a fault in its predecessor, because it fulfills the unkept promise of an older medium. (p. 68, 60)

By envisioning the facsimile as a technology for transmitting newspaper content, developers were defining the new technology in economic terms understandable to consumers and offering an improvement over the print newspaper. Yet, defining the facsimile as a means for transmitting news at a time when parts of the newspaper

and radio industries were fighting for advertising revenue and control of news delivery created a potentially explosive situation.

New Research into the Radio Facsimile

Although research has investigated the causes of the press-radio war and a limited number of articles have traced the development and failure of the radio facsimile (Arceneaux, 2011; Coopersmith, 1994; Koehler, 1969; Light, 2006; Mannes, 1999; McFarlane, 1980), no study has examined these two historical events in relation to each other. To understand how the broadcast radio facsimile was positioned within the larger press-radio war, this study explores newspaper and radio industry discourses about this new technology. In analyzing the discourses, this study focuses on how the newspaper and radio industries envisioned the future of the broadcast facsimile. Was the facsimile viewed as a means for cooperation or as a point of contention? In particular, the research addresses two questions. First, did both industries see the broadcast facsimile as a new means for distributing news? Second, did the two industries view the broadcast facsimile as a joint venture or as a new way to compete with one another?

To gain access into what both industries thought of the broadcast facsimile, a number of published and archival sources were consulted. These sources include the two leading industrial trade publications of the day, *Broadcasting* and *Editor and Publisher*; publications of RCA, FRC, FCC, and ANPA; archival materials from NBC, RCA, FCC, David Sarnoff, Henry Kittridge, Robert L. Coe, Joseph Pulitzer, and the New York World's Fair; and patent applications.

Uses for Radio Facsimile Technology

As with most new technologies, the early years of development of the radio facsimile were filled with uncertainty about how the technology would be used. Both the radio and newspaper industries discussed a number of uses for the technology, including as a means for the distribution of news. Many of the suggested uses were shaped by existing technologies, a practice that is common when an industry is trying to decide how to use a new technology (Bolter & Grusin, 2002; Light, 2006).

When it was first introduced to *Broadcasting* readers in February 1934, the facsimile was described as a system for "sending written and printed matter with high speed by radio" (Facsimile and multiplex, 1934). During the next year, a number of uses for the facsimile were proposed, including the transmission of news, comics, messages, maps, and pictures. Like *Broadcasting*, *Editor & Publisher's* early stories about the facsimile did not offer a clear use for the new technology. An October 1934 article described how the technology could be used to "send photographs or flash messages in their entirety exactly as written by the sender,

from city to city." No mention was made of using the facsimile to distribute news, rather it was suggested it could be used in police work (Facsimile transmission to ordinary, 1934, p. 13).

Yet, less than a year later, discussions of facsimile broadcasting consistently revolved around the theme of news. A February 1935 *Editor & Publisher* article described "the transmission and reception of a facsimile newspaper by wire or radio with simplified equipment for use in the home" and declared the technology was "of particular interest to the newspaper world in that it is a further step toward the economic delivery of a complete illustrated newspaper in the home by radio" (Radio facsimile simplifications, 1935, p. IV). A few months later, a *Broadcasting* front-page story described the facsimile as "the next important step in the radio transmission of intelligence" (Taishoff, 1935, p. 7), and reported that some newspapers were discussing the possibility of using the new technology to transmit special services, like flash news bulletins. The article also suggested that facsimile technology could one day be used to transmit entire newspapers. Accompanied by a picture of a front page of the newspaper printed by a facsimile receiver, the article claimed the system:

would work while its master slept, for the plan would be to have it "print" the newspaper during the night so that in the morning there would be laid down in a basket under the set a series of "flimsies" of tissue-paper texture carrying all of the newspaper features "photographed" by radio, with headlines, comics, fashions, and display advertisements. (Taishoff, 1935, p. 8)

Over the next four years, a series of articles in both *Broadcasting* and *Editor & Publisher* continued to discuss the possibility of using radio facsimile technology to transmit news to subscribers.

Articles in both *Broadcasting* and *Editor & Publisher* reflect the mixed uses explored by the major developers of radio facsimile. While development of facsimile technology was explored by a number of manufactures, two in particular, Finch Telecommunications and RCA, pushed the idea of using facsimile technology on a broadcast level. Both manufactures explored a number of uses for the technology, including the distribution of news.

In a 1934 patent application for an "image broadcasting system," William Finch declared that with the technology, "it would now be possible for a newspaper to supply a news service by broadcasting illustrated news bulletins" (Finch, 1934, p. 2). But in the very same application Finch also described how the technology could be used to supplement radio broadcasts, with images sent before and during programs "to provide the "listener" with some pictures of the scene from which the broadcast occurs" (Finch, 1934, p. 2). Finch continued to explore multiple uses for radio facsimile technology, with a duplex facsimile providing two-way, mobile communication to military and police, and a broadcast facsimile distributing news and entertainment content to radio receivers (Finch, 1939). Between 1937 and 1941, Finch Telecommunications supported

experiments at a number of radio stations, all of which appear to have broadcast news content (e.g., Finch, 1939–1941). In 1939, in coordination with its manufacturing partner Crosley Radio, Finch Telecommunications showed off its radio newspaper to the crowds at the 1939 New York World's Fair (Finch, 1939–1941).

In similar fashion, RCA pursued a number of commercial uses for facsimile technology. Much of RCA's experimentation in the early 1930s was focused on marine uses, with facsimile weather maps and images transmitted to ships at sea (e.g., *Facsimile - Transmission systems*, nd; RMCA facimile (sic) tests prove, 1936). A 1934 RCA Annual Report also touted the ability of police departments to send facsimiles of fingerprints and pictures (RCA, 1934). Other uses for the technology explored by RCA included the transmission of telegraph messages and images simulcast with entertainment content on the radio (e.g., Carlisle, 1930; Mathes & Orth, 1935). RCA's uncertainty about how to use the technology was an economic one; to be successful the company had to find a practical and mass marketable use for the facsimile (Sarnoff, 1936).

By 1936, RCA started to shift its focus to developing the facsimile for the transmission of news to a mass audience. In an internal memo about plans to develop facsimile news services, RCA officials expressed how important news was to the future economic success of broadcast facsimile:

These plans emphasize news as an essential factor because radio facsimile has no meaning or significance except as it makes possible the immediate delivery of printed news. Any other material can be printed and delivered better and cheaper some other way (RCA, 1936, p. 3).

Between 1937 and 1940, RCA supported facsimile experiments at radio stations across the country, all of which appear to have experimented with transmitting facsimile newspapers (e.g., WIND, 1938–1939; WOR, 1937–1938). In 1939, RCA introduced its facsimile newspaper to the general public at the New York and San Francisco World's Fairs (RCA, 1939a, 1939b).

Although a number of possible uses for facsimile technology were explored, by the mid to late 1930s facsimile manufactures, along with the radio and newspaper industries, were focused on using the technology to transmit news into the homes of "listeners" and newspaper subscribers. These efforts reflect the process of remediation (Bolter & Grusin, 2002). By defining the new technology in terms of the print newspaper, facsimile developers and trade publications described it in economic terms understandable to the radio and newspaper industries and to consumers. In addition, the radio facsimile was presented as an improvement over the traditional printing press, with receivers able to deliver a printed version of the latest news directly into the home of readers. Yet, defining the new technology as a means for transmitting printed news also posed a possible threat to the newspaper industry—that radio technology might replace the printing

press. With uses for the facsimile being defined during and shortly after the press-radio war, how was this new technology viewed by the two industries?

Radio to Newspapers—Let's Cooperate

Although radio industry representatives were eager to present the facsimile as a remediation of the newspaper, they were careful to describe the facsimile as a supplement to, not a replacement for, the print newspaper. This assertion appears to have been largely promoted by RCA, a major developer and proponent of the radio facsimile and its use to disseminate news.

From early on, RCA sought to cooperate with the newspaper industry in the development of the facsimile. In a March 1936 internal memo, executives at RCA debated whether the technology should be used to compete with or cooperate with the newspaper industry. Citing fear that using the facsimile to compete with newspapers could lead the newspaper industry to retaliate against RCA, the executives suggested that RCA should work with newspapers to develop the facsimile:

The press in this country today is probably as-nearly free as is humanly possible, and any development which threatened to upset the present structure would find the public and the government in a mood to lend a sympathetic ear to the cry of "monopoly" which the press would raise if RCA or any other organization started to make its way across the country with its own "newspapers of the air." It seems preferable, therefore, to bring the newspapers into the picture to use radio printing as a supplement to their present methods of reproduction and distribution.... Such a development would mean that the "programming" for facsimile broadcasting would be done by the newspapers rather than the broadcasting companies or the advertisers, as is the case with sound broadcasting (RCA, 1936, pp. 2–3).

A few months later, RCA made it clear publicly that they did not intend on using facsimile technology to compete with newspapers. While giving testimony at a FCC hearing on the future of radio, David Sarnoff declared, "Far from displacing the existing media of information—and particularly the newspapers—facsimile should contribute to their progress, providing them with swifter and more effective facilities" (Sarnoff, 1937, p. 6). Otto S. Schaires, RCA's Vice President in Charge of Patent Department, made RCA's intentions to cooperate with newspapers even clearer a few months later at a demonstration of facsimile technology. According to Schaires, "it is also our intention to cooperate and coordinate with news gathering agencies and publishers in the preparation of facsimile programs to be broadcast" (Schairer, 1936, p. 8).

RCA repeated similar assertions over the next few years as facsimile experimentation increased (e.g., NBC, 1938; Vance, 1939). Speaking at the annual RCA stockholder's meeting in 1938, Sarnoff once again reiterated that RCA had no competitive intentions with the facsimile:

It is not our purpose to invade the field of the newspapers. What we have sought to do is find some common medium by which the press and radio might cooperate, we furnishing the equipment and the radio facilities, and the newspaper furnishing the news. (Sarnoff, 1938, pp. 19–20)

A year later, while speaking at the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association's convention, RCA executive H. C. Vance took it a step further, outright calling for newspapers to embrace facsimile technology and asking newspaper publishers, "should not the newspapers place themselves in a position to capitalize on this new process of news distribution?" (Newspapers urged, 1939, p. 75).

RCA's desire to work with, rather than compete with, newspapers in the field of facsimile broadcasting was the result of a number of factors. RCA, through its subsidiary NBC, had a long history of working closely with newspapers in aural radio broadcasting. RCA and NBC encouraged newspapers to get involved in broadcast radio and even argued that radio stations run by newspapers were some of the best in the country (Aylesworth, 1935; McChesney, 1991; Stamm, 2011). Based on these existing relationships, it was only natural that RCA would choose to work with newspapers it already had a relationship with to develop the radio facsimile as a tool for the dissemination of news.

RCA was also careful not to reignite troubles between the radio and newspaper industries. As the 1936 internal memo demonstrates, RCA was mindful that the newspaper industry could react defensively if the radio facsimile was introduced as a technology that could be used to compete with newspapers. Although the press-radio war largely ended, or at least cooled down, with the signing of the Biltmore Agreement in 1935, RCA still feared a return to animosity between the two powerful industries.

For example, in 1938, following the announcement that newspapers in Detroit and along the Pacific coast planned to drop radio columns, RCA's subsidiary NBC was very careful not to upset the newspapers with retaliatory maneuvers. In a series of internal memos, NBC executives discussed how the company should react to the newspapers' actions, with several executives stressing the need for NBC to move cautiously. For example, one executive stressed that if NBC reacted negatively the newspapers might also choose to stop publishing radio schedules, a move that would have far more of a negative impact on NBC (Mason, 1938). Another stressed that a second press-war would force NBC into the news collection business, at far more of an expense than news provided by the Press Radio Bureau (Schechter, 1938). While another executive cautioned that enraging powerful newspapers could lead to the newspaper industry lobbying for anti-radio legislation (Gilcher, 1938). Finally, one executive suggested NBC smooth things over with the newspapers by persuading advertisers to buy block advertising in local newspapers (Hanson, 1938). These memos demonstrate that as late as 1938, a year when RCA was actively supporting facsimile experiments at a number of radio stations around the country, fears remained in the radio industry that the press-radio war could reignite. By selling the facsimile as a cooperative,

rather than competitive, enterprise RCA was seeking to strengthen their largely friendly relationship with the newspaper industry.

Finally, RCA and its subsidiary NBC needed the newspapers to supply the content for the facsimile newspapers because NBC's newsgathering capabilities were limited. In 1935, as part of the Biltmore Agreement, NBC agreed to dismantle its news division and rely on the Press Radio Bureau (Jackaway, 1995). As the 1938 memo demonstrates, NBC realized that restarting a news division would be a costly enterprise (Schechter, 1938). By pairing up with newspapers, RCA could profit from the sale of facsimile transmitters and receivers without having the start-up and ongoing costs related to gathering the content needed for a facsimile newspaper.

RCA's dependence on the newspaper industry's support of the facsimile reflects the fact that even when a new medium remediates an older medium it can never fully replace it. According to Bolter and Grusin (2002), "the very act of remediation, however, ensures that the older medium cannot be entirely effaced; the new medium remains dependent on the older one in acknowledged or unacknowledged ways" (p. 47). RCA needed to cooperate with the newspaper industry because it not only wanted to avoid a new press-radio war and needed content from the newspapers, but also because the facsimile's identity and usefulness was dependent on being defined in terms of the print newspaper. To remain relevant, RCA needed the facsimile to be seen as an extension of, not a replacement for, the newspaper industry.

While RCA insisted that the facsimile was a means for cooperation with the newspaper industry, not all in the radio industry agreed. A *Radio Today* article published in September 1935, asserted that radio stations could use facsimile technology to circumvent newspapers:

Facsimile broadcasting, it should be pointed out, gives the networks a perfect method of getting printed radio programs into local homes, if the newspapers ever decide not to print them. The new service may give the broadcasters the final advantage over the newspaper in the matter of news presentation, also, if press-radio relations are not satisfactorily settled otherwise. Broadcasters now have it in their power to deliver a complete newspaper into radio homes, which may be the next step, with display ads to finance it.... The inevitable commercialization of facsimile transmission seems certain to lead the current newspaper owners to a back seat. (What do you mean, 1935, p. 22)

Although the article advocated for broadcasters to use facsimile technology as a tool against the newspaper industry if the press-radio war was to reignite, this approach seems to not have been shared by most of the radio industry. In its coverage of the facsimile, *Broadcasting* repeatedly ran stories describing the technology as a supplement to, not as a replacement for, the printed newspaper. For example, a 1937 article notes a shift in the radio industry away from viewing the facsimile as a tool for competing with newspapers:

In its early stages, facsimile was regarded as a possible competitor of the newspaper, but this view largely has been dispelled. More rapid transmission of recorded news to remote and outlying areas is possible with facsimile, it is pointed out, but it is not regarded as a likely competitor of the newspaper in metropolitan areas. (Facsimile's place in radio spectrum, 1937, p. 20)

Overall, the radio industry appears to have viewed facsimile technology as a means for cooperating with the newspaper industry. The radio industry may have intentionally asserted that the new technology would not replace newspapers because it feared the newspaper industry would react negatively to the perceived threat of facsimile broadcasting. By downplaying the potential for the facsimile to replace newspapers, while at the same time encouraging newspapers to begin using the new technology, the radio industry may have been trying to build a more stable relationship with the newspaper industry and avoid reigniting the press-radio war.

Newspapers to Radio: Facsimile is Only a Supplement

So what did the newspaper industry think of the facsimile? Reactions from the newspaper industry were mixed and fall along the line that divided the industry during the press-radio war; newspapers owning radio stations and those not involved in radio. While the historical record of what non-broadcasting newspapers thought of the facsimile is quite limited, a hint is found in a January 1939 editorial published in *Editor & Publisher*. According to the editorial, while the technology could theoretically "shake the newspaper business from toe to crown," in practical terms the technology posed no real threat. Over half of the editorial was dedicated to explaining why the facsimile would not succeed, including "cumbersome and expensive" equipment, slow printing speeds, and basic economics that resulted in a facsimile paper that was more expensive for consumers than print newspapers. Finally, the editors suggested the newspaper industry would oppose the adoption of the facsimile because "success of the facsimile process would entail the scrapping of machinery valued in the billions and the technological unemployment of more than 150,000 skilled printing craftsman" (A look at facsimile, 1939, p. 18).

Although the editorial suggested the newspaper industry would oppose the adoption of facsimile technology, in reality some newspapers embraced it. Many of the experimental facsimile stations operated between 1937 and 1940 were owned by newspaper companies including the A. H. Belo Company, the Albany *Knickerbocker News*, the Buffalo *Evening News*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the Cincinnati *Times Star*, the Cleveland *Plain-Dealer*, the *Dallas News*, the Detroit *Evening News*, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, the *Louisville Times*, McClatchy Newspapers, the Milwaukee *Journal*, Oregonian Publishing Company, the Pulitzer Publishing Company, and the St. Louis Star-Times Publishing Company (e.g., FCC, 1938, 1939–1941; Slowie, 1940).

A number of the executives involved in newspaper-owned facsimile experiments viewed the technology as a supplement to the printed newspapers, not as a

replacement. Speaking before the FCC in 1936, A. H. Kirchhofer, managing editor of the *Buffalo Evening News*, asserted that, “certainly nothing is farther from the range of possibility at the moment than that facsimile transmission of news could replace newspapers” (Kirchhofer visualizes, 1936, p. 24). Instead, Kirchhofer suggested how it could be used as a complimentary service:

It could broadcast news reports too late for morning newspaper publication, and could be continued at definite intervals during the day and evening so that public could receive late news bulletins, especially prepared for facsimile transmission, at hours best suited to supplement newspaper service. (Kirchhofer visualizes, 1936, p. 24)

The idea that facsimile could be used to supplement the print newspaper was echoed by other newspapers experimenting with facsimile technology. After seven months of experimentation, Robert Coe of KSD and the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* reported that the very nature of facsimile technology prevented it from ever replacing the print edition. According to Coe, “Modern newspapers supply so many features which even a highly developed facsimile receiver of the future will not be able to furnish, that our contribution is facsimile will supplement, not supplant, the newspaper of today” (Coe, 1939, p. 12). Guy Hamilton of McClatchy Newspapers came to a similar conclusion after experimenting with facsimile transmission, finding that morning facsimile broadcasts supplemented, but did not replace, McClatchy’s evening newspapers (Free facsimile service, 1939).

Gene Wallis of the Dallas *Morning News* took this assertion even further suggesting the facsimile could be used to replace radio news broadcasts. In a 1940 article in *Editor & Publisher*, Wallis asserted that after half a year of experimental broadcasts, he could not:

See how radio facsimile can ever take the place of the newspaper or provide effective competition for it.... A more attractive proposition, the first time you consider it, is employing facsimile as a substitute for, or supplement to radio (audio) newscasts. (Park, 1940, p. 10)

In the end, the newspaper industry did not view the facsimile as serious competition for the daily print newspaper. As the editorial in *Editor & Publisher* revealed, some publishers thought the technology, which was slow and expensive, could never equal the print edition. Other newspapers thought the technology had merit and experimented with transmitting news via facsimile. Among these publishers, the consensus was that facsimile news was a supplement to, not a replacement for, printed newspapers. From either perspective, the radio facsimile was not viewed as a technology that could compete with the daily newspaper. The newspaper industry may have defined the facsimile in terms similar to the print edition of the newspaper—a remediation technique common with new technologies—but editors and publishers did not see the new technology as supplanting the older printing press.

Conclusion

The 1930s represented a contentious period in the relations between the newspaper and radio industries. During the decade, parts of these two industries fought over advertising revenues and competed to see who would be America's main source of news. In the middle of this war, a new technology, the broadcast radio facsimile, emerged with the potential to bring together the newspaper and radio industries.

The need to define the radio facsimile in terms of an existing technology, a process known as remediation, posed an interesting dilemma. Although remediation usually helps a new technology find consumer acceptance and economic success, defining the facsimile in terms of the print newspaper could have reignited the press-radio war. Proponents of the facsimile had to walk a fine line between suggesting the technology had a future as a means for improved news delivery and suggesting the technology should replace the printing press.

The radio industry, led by RCA, repeatedly asserted that the radio facsimile was a supplement to, not a replacement for, the print newspaper. Acknowledging that news was essential to the economic success of the broadcast facsimile, RCA also recognized that using the technology for news distribution could reignite the press-radio war, a prospect RCA did not want. In a series of public speeches, RCA representatives repeatedly reassured the newspaper industry that the technology could benefit, rather than compete with, newspapers. Instead of presenting the facsimile as a replace for newspapers, RCA actively sought out the cooperation of newspapers in the creation of facsimile news broadcasts. Others in radio mirrored RCA's views, with the industry's major trade journal publishing articles that presented the facsimile as a means for supplementing the print newspaper. In the end, the radio industry did not view the facsimile as a new weapon to compete with the newspaper industry. Instead, it was a means for cooperation between the two.

At the same time, the newspaper industry did not view the facsimile as a serious threat to the daily print edition. While a number of newspapers experimented with the new technology and considered the merits of delivering the paper via radio waves, the newspaper industry largely dismissed the new technology. At best, newspapers viewed the radio facsimile as a supplement to the daily print paper; at its worst they saw it as an economic and technological failure.

In the end, the radio facsimile newspaper, for a variety of reasons, failed to move past the experimental phase (Coopersmith, 1994). Once seen as a technology that could revolutionize how news was distributed to the reading public, the broadcast radio facsimile ended up being little more than a footnote in history. Although the radio facsimile was short lived, the story of the technology, particularly seen through the lens of the press-radio war, provides an interesting look at the process of remediation and the forces involved in defining a new media technology.

While remediation offers a new medium the opportunity to define itself in terms that consumers understand, it can also pose a threat to existing media and ignite

hostilities between old and new media. As the example of the broadcast radio facsimile demonstrates, developers of a new technology need to find a balance between suggesting the new medium is an improvement over old media and adding fuel to the media wars that often emerge when a new medium poses a threat to old media.

Funding

Research support was provided by an exploratory research grant from the Hagley Museum and Library and a travel grant from the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga.

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To cite this article: Mei-Chen Lin, Paul M. Haridakis & Gary Hanson (2016) The Role of Political Identity and Media Selection on Perceptions of Hostile Media Bias During the 2012 Presidential Campaign, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 60:3, 425-447, DOI: [10.1080/08838151.2016.1203316](https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203316)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203316>



Published online: 01 Sep 2016.



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The Role of Political Identity and Media Selection on Perceptions of Hostile Media Bias During the 2012 Presidential Campaign

Mei-Chen Lin, Paul M. Haridakis, and Gary Hanson

Viewing a hostile media bias against one's group (e.g., political party) is a perceptual effect of media use. When it comes to the portrayal of political parties in the United States, prior research suggests that both Democrats and Republicans see mainstream media coverage as favoring the other side, regardless of the orientation of the political news coverage. Although prior research has not identified all factors that make this perceptual bias more likely, or at explaining how or why this perceptual effect occurs, we do know that it is related to one's group identity. In this study, we examined salient predictors of hostile media bias during the 2012 presidential campaign. Individual (i.e., political cynicism) and group identity related (i.e., group status, intergroup bias, political ideology) differences of media users predicted such perceptions. But, the medium selected for political information about the campaign also mattered. The use of two media in particular—TV and social networking sites—appear to have blunted hostile media bias perceptions, whereas the use of two other media—radio and video sharing sites—appear to have accentuated perceptions that the media were biased against one's party

Introduction

For years, conservatives and liberals—pundits and the public alike—have argued that the media and their reporters are biased in their political coverage—with conservatives asserting a liberal media bias and liberals charging that conservative elites are shaping mainstream media coverage (Lee, 2005). Similarly, Republicans

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often see media as favoring Democrats and Democrats see the media as favoring Republicans (e.g., Dalton, Beck, & Huckfeldt, 1998). The mere fact that members of different political parties or ideologies tend to see media as biased against their party/ideology and in favor of the opposing party/ideology makes it clear that the individual differences of those making these judgments must play a role in these perceptions. As Goldman and Mutz (2011) noted, "both sides cannot be correct that the same content is biased in opposite directions. Clearly, then, judgments of media 'bias' must emanate from characteristics of those judging the content instead of, or in addition to, the content itself" (p. 43).

As sources of information during a political campaign, media can play an important role in shaping perceptions about political parties and their candidates. However, as Goldman and Mutz (2011) suggested, media use alone does not lead to such perceptions in isolation. Various individual differences of media users influence the extent to which they view the media as credible or biased against their political group. These include factors such as the extent to which one favors his/her group *vis-a-vis* attitudes toward other reference groups (intergroup bias); one's perception of how others view the status of one's group (group status); one's political ideology (i.e., conservative or liberal); and one's level of political cynicism. In addition, the reasons people attend to information about a political campaign (particularly identity-related reasons) and media selection may influence perceptions of media bias.

Accordingly, guided by Uses and Gratification theory (U&G), we assessed the influence of these factors on perceptions of the media's political bias during the 2012 Presidential election. U&G suggests that perceptual effects of media use, such as the view that the media are biased against one's political party, should be influenced by one's social and psychological characteristics, how and why media are used, and media exposure working in concert (Haridakis, 2013).

U&G research has focused on one's social and psychological characteristics at the individual level. However, scholars such as Harwood (1999) and Blumler (1985) argued that greater attention should be paid to the potential impact of one's group membership in the process of media use for social identity gratification. Group memberships affect our attitude towards and perceptions of others within and outside those groups, as Social Identity Theory suggests (SIT: Tajfel & Turner, 1986). People may use media to learn about their own groups (e.g., political party), the out-group (e.g., the opposing political party), their relative group status in society, or prototypical behaviors of group members (Harwood, 1999; Katz, Gurevitch, & Haas, 1973). Thus, it expands our understanding of one's media behaviors when we assess both individual-based and group-based social and psychological circumstances, as the original U&G précis intended (Katz et al., 1973).

Following these two theoretical frameworks (U&G and Social Identity Theory), we examined the influence of group-based (group status, intergroup bias, political ideology) and individual (political cynicism) characteristics, motives for media use, and media selection for information about the 2012 Presidential campaign (TV,

radio, newspaper, the Internet, social networking sites, video sharing sites, micro-blogging), on hostile media bias perceptions related to political media coverage during the 2012 presidential campaign season.

Literature Review

Hostile Media Bias

Group membership affects interpretations of media fare, with supporters of a group or issue covered in the media believing that the media favor the opposing side (Lee, 2005). The stronger one's opinions or identification with a group, the more likely that he/she will see the media as biased against those opinions or groups (e.g., Hartmann & Tanis, 2013; Vallone, Ross, & Lepper, 1985). For example, political candidates and party members tend to perceive media coverage as favoring the opposing party (Poniewozik & Sachs, 2004). Though accusations that mainstream media are biased come from both the right and the left (see Arceneaux, Johnson, & Murphy, 2012), some research suggests that Republicans are more likely than Democrats to view the media as biased against their party (Watts, Domke, Shah, & Fan, 1999). Some research suggests that conservatives are more likely than liberals to perceive the media as biased (Lee, 2005). Watts and colleagues (1999) suggested that this could be attributed in part to the fact that conservative elites have been making allegations of a liberal media bias since the 1988 election season and subsequently, "shaping" public perceptions of overall news content. Thus, Republicans may feel particularly threatened (Hoffner & Rehkoff, 2011), believing Independents and/or politically undecided voters will be influenced by biased reports. Hostile media bias, hence, could be understood as an intergroup phenomenon, as Hartmann and Tanis (2013) suggested.

Group Status

Group status refers to individuals' sense of whether their groups are "better" or "worse" than other groups on a given meaningful and value-laden attribute (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; p. 396). High status group members tend to maintain the status quo, whereas low status group members tend to either leave the group, if possible, cognitively re-appraise their own group by focusing on or creating positive traits, or decrease their identification with their group. Therefore, the relative status of one's group affects one's group identity, perceptions of how the group is treated, and subsequent coping strategies of status-related threats. For example, low status group members may display a greater degree of intergroup discrimination (Mummendey et al., 1992) and in-group favoritism (Ellemers & Barreto, 2003) than members of high status groups, especially when they see their group is treated unfairly.

In the context of politics, group status has been linked to hostile media bias perceptions. Hoffner and Rehkoff (2011) found Republicans (speculated to be high-status because it was the party of the President at the time) viewed media coverage during the 2004 presidential election as hostile towards their group, whereas a similar effect was not found among Democrats. However, in studies in which the relationship between media bias perceptions and group status was specifically examined, low status group members were found to be more likely than high status group members to view media as hostile toward their group. Duck, Terry, and Hogg (1998) documented a hostile media bias phenomenon among members of the subordinate political party (i.e., the non-ruling party) prior to and after the election. The bias was less salient for the winning/ruling party. Hartmann and Tanis (2013) also found that perceived low group status was associated with perceptions of hostile media bias. These studies suggest that hostile media bias is manifested in situations where group members feel their status is threatened and feel a need to assert a positive group identity.

Intergroup Bias

When seeking positive group distinctiveness, group members develop positive emotions towards their own group (e.g., in-group favoritism) and negative emotions toward relevant out-groups (e.g., out-group discrimination/derogation). Intergroup bias occurs when group members desire to achieve a positive group identity, and assumes out-group homogeneity (e.g., all out-group members share the negative traits associated with the group).

Limited research on intergroup bias (operationalized as in-group favoritism) has been observed in partisans' perceptions of media and the ways in which their political party/group is treated by the media, specifically regarding hostile media perceptions outside of the U.S. context (e.g., Matheson & Dursun, 2001). When the media coverage does not explicitly support or provide a positive view of a political party or group, its members may judge the messages to be biased and negative even though the content may be genuinely neutral. Accordingly, those who have a greater degree of intergroup bias may critically scrutinize the media content and view non-positive messages as hostile more than do those who exhibit less intergroup bias (Coe et al., 2008).

Political Ideology

In the context of politics, one can identify as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or member of another political party. But, there are also other social identities that can characterize a political context that may be salient, such as political ideology (e.g., conservatism/liberalism). For example, there are conservative Democrats and liberal Republicans, and vice versa. One's political ideology can

augment or contravene the stand one's political party takes on a specific issue. Abramowitz and Saunders (1998) argued that in the post-Reagan era, many liberal Republicans and conservative Democrats have found themselves under pressure to vote along their party line or otherwise switch their party allegiance, if the other party's position is consistent with their policy preference. Thus, identifying oneself as a conservative or liberal may impact political attitudes or behaviors independent of political party affiliation (Jacoby, 2010). We argue that political ideology may be a social identity superordinate to party membership and may assert a separate influence driving individuals' voting/policy preferences, particularly in a political environment in which fewer people affiliate with one of the two major parties than at any time in recent U.S. history, but rather identify with a preferred party on the basis of their political ideology (e.g., Independents, Tea Partiers). For example, a recent Gallop poll indicates that 46% of voters viewed themselves as independents and their lack of affiliation with a particular political party appears to be based on ideology (Camia, 2013).

Political ideology also has been linked to hostile media bias perceptions. Conservative and liberal viewers tended to see the media as more biased against their political viewpoints when the content of the program did not align with their own ideological perspectives (Coe et al., 2008). Conservatives, moreover, were more likely to express a sense of distrust towards news media (Lee, 2005).

Political Cynicism

Recent polls have indicated a strong sense of political cynicism among the public, with polls reflecting some of the most negative evaluations of Congress and the integrity of politicians in over 20 years (Dancey, 2012). There has been much criticism leveled at the media for covering politics in ways that lead the public to be cynical about politics and/or government (e.g., Sweetser & Kaid, 2008). However, evidence also suggests that the direction of the relationship may be the other way. Media users' level of political cynicism may affect interpretation of mediated content consumed, such as politics, the campaign, or the parties and candidates being covered in the media. One potential consequence of such cynicism that has not been studied often is whether politically cynical media users perceive media as particularly biased toward their party. When the connection has been explored, the relationship has been robust (Lee, 2005).

Motives for Using Media for Political Information about the Campaign

U&G theory posits that people's individual differences affect their motives for using media to satisfy their needs and desires, such as to be entertained, to relax, and for information. A motive that is less discussed in the media-use literature is for social identity-related reasons. An exception is Harwood's (1999) study. Harwood

found that people who strongly identified with their age group tended to watch television for identity-related reasons, hence identity gratification. Thus, one's group identity is linked to motivation for media consumption.

Although people may similarly turn to media for political identity-related reasons during a campaign, prior research suggests that people turn to media for a host of other reasons that may be as or more salient—such as political evaluation, vote guidance, self-expression, entertainment, information seeking, social utility, and to relax/pass time, among others (e.g., Haridakis & Hanson, 2011; Kaye & Johnson, 2002; 2004). Accordingly, it is important to account for a variety of motives people have for using media, because their motives influence media selected to satisfy the needs, which, in turn, influence perceptual and behavioral effects of media use (e.g., see Haridakis, 2013).

Media Exposure

Critics have charged that the media have become more partisan. However, such claims, whether from commentators or the general public, may in fact reflect the critics' biased perceptions rather than biased media coverage. As aforementioned, much research has indicated that people generally perceive media reporting as biased even when it is relatively balanced and non-partisan.

However, with the wide availability of options for media users in today's fragmented media environment, the ability of media users to turn from channels with which they disagree may actually blunt hostile media perceptions (Arceneaux et al., 2012), because they can choose outlets based on their personal political predispositions such as ideology (Iyengar & Hahn, 2009), or programs that target their group membership (Harwood, 1999). Radio, for instance, is not a new broadcast medium. However, the resurgence of radio programming, especially political talk shows, provides interpretations of political news defined by political ideology (e.g., Rush Limbaugh). Some research, for example, has suggested that the growth of partisan radio programming, in fact, has attracted a large audience among Republicans and political conservatives (Hall & Cappella, 2006).

The emergence of social media prior to the 2008 presidential campaign and the growth in social media use between the 2008 and 2012 presidential campaign seasons drastically increased the mediated sources of political fare available by the 2012 campaign. These alternative media sources provide people with more opportunities to access mainstream media fare on demand or to augment mainstream media with alternative selective information. Despite greater media choices for political information, though, some commentators have suggested that people generally are not overly selective when seeking specific content (see Prior, 2013). Thus, they do not escape mainstream media images.

Given this disparity of views about the effects of a wider array of media choice on perceptions of media objectivity, it is important to consider whether exposure to

media generally may influence perceptions of media bias, because viewers and pundits continue to be critical of bias in the media generally, with conservatives often claiming a liberal media bias and liberals claiming a conservative bias (see Lee, 2005; Sloan & Andrews, 2013). Despite such biased perceptions, it has been suggested by some researchers that large mainstream media outlets “are politically centrist and provide a balance of competing viewpoints” (Prior, 2013, p. 104; for a review of studies also suggesting much media coverage is fair and unbiased see Ho et al., 2011). However, others have found some measure of media bias (e.g., Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2006; 2010; Stroud, 2011). Pew Research (2012) found that mainstream media were more biased toward Obama during the 2012 campaign (though coverage was at times slightly more biased toward Romney after the first debate). Thus, rather than confining inquiry to particular programming, measuring exposure to and attitudes about media type (TV, radio, the Internet) in general, remain important to assess, because we cannot assume the mainstream media are, in fact, biased, nor can we assume that they are not biased. Either way, perceptions of media consumers are important to consider as perceptions of bias, independent of actual bias, may influence media effects, and no “clear empirical link between true biased media coverage and public perception of media bias” has been found conclusively (Ho et al., 2011, p. 347).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Researchers have suggested that low status group members are more likely than high status group members to view media as hostile toward their group (Hartmann & Tanis, 2013). Therefore, we posed the following hypothesis:

H₁: Perceptions of how others view one’s preferred political party (i.e., low group status) will predict hostile media bias perceptions.

Individuals who display a high level of intergroup bias are likely to have a high level of biased perceptions of the intergroup relationship and/or engage in confrontational intergroup behavior. In political settings, Duck and colleagues (1998) and Matheson and Dursun (2001) have suggested the effect of intergroup bias on perceptions of media bias. Therefore, we posed:

H₂: The extent to which one favors one’s preferred political party over the opposing party (intergroup bias) will positively predict hostile media bias perceptions.

Following the U&G model, we examined the influence of individual- and group-based factors, media motives, and media selection on the perceptions of hostile media bias toward one’s political party. These variables have not been examined under the U&G framework as a whole. Therefore, we asked:

RQ₁: How do political ideology (conservatism-liberalism), group status, intergroup bias, political cynicism, media-use motives, and media exposure predict hostile media bias perceptions?

Methods

Sample

Questionnaires were administered to students from various majors enrolled in a large introductory mass communication course as a liberal education requirement at a Midwestern university. After receiving training from the researchers, students also were asked to disseminate questionnaires to a quota sample of adults in specific age groups (i.e., 18–21; 22–35; 36–55; 56 and older) for which they received extra credit in order to include responses from participants across the life span. Questionnaires were administered and returned in the week prior to the State's Republican primary on March 6, 2012. Of the 361 participants, 156 identified themselves as Democrats, 116 as Republicans, and 89 as Independents. The mean age was 33.88 years ($SD = 18.43$), slightly less than the state median age of 36.2.

Measures

Group Status. Our measure of group status was derived from the Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) collective self-esteem index. We adopted the items measuring the *Public* source of collective self-esteem which emphasizes one's judgment of how other people might evaluate the status of one's social groups. This conceptualization is consistent with SIT's original theoretical assumption of group status and this index has been used reliably in prior research (Giles, Ryan, & Anas, 2008; Ota, Giles, & Somera, 2007). Respondents rated their agreement (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) with the 4 items (e.g., "Overall, my political group is considered good by others." "Most people consider my political group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other political groups" [reverse coding]). Items were summed and averaged to create the Group Status index ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 0.49$, $\alpha = .55$). A higher number indicates that participants felt their political group was viewed positively by others.

Intergroup Bias. Intergroup bias was measured with Turner and Crisp's (2010) attitude thermometer. Participants were instructed to think of their "preferred" political party and the opposing party and to mark their feelings toward each party by using a number from 0 to 100 (0 = *very cold or unfavorable feeling*; 100 = *very warm and favorable feeling*) on the thermometer scales respectively. Aligned with the tenants of SIT, participants' intergroup bias was calculated by

subtracting their score for the opposing party from their score for their own party on the thermometer scales. A positive number reflected a positive bias toward their preferred political party and a negative number reflected a positive bias toward the opposing political party. This measure has been used in intergroup contexts with different groups (e.g., age, race) (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; Hummert, Garstka, O'Brien, Greenwald, & Mellott, 2002). The results showed that a majority of the participants (87.2%) had a positive attitude bias toward their own group ($M = 30.61$; $SD = 27.40$).

Political Ideology. Political ideology was measured with items from Mehrabian's (1996) conservatism/liberalism index. Items reflecting a liberal political orientation were reverse coded so that higher scores reflected conservatism and lower scores reflected a more liberal orientation. Respondents rated their agreement (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) with each of the 7 items (e.g., "I am political more liberal than conservative [reverse-coded]," "The national media are too left wing for my taste"). Responses were summed and averaged to create political ideology index ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 0.72$, $\alpha = .79$).

Political Cynicism. The Pinkleton and Austin (2001) 6-item index was used to measure participants' level of cynicism about the government and politics (e.g., "Politicians are honest with the media and the public [reverse-coded]," "I am disgusted with politics in this country"). Responses to each item (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) were summed and averaged to create the political cynicism index ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 0.71$, $\alpha = .81$).

Media Motives. We used an index comprised of 72 motive items adapted from previous political communication research to identify motives for using media for political information (e.g., Hanson, Haridakis, Cunningham, Sharma, & Ponder, 2010). Respondents indicated how much these motives reflected their own reasons for using media for campaign-related political information (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *exactly*). Responses were subjected to factor analysis with varimax rotation. Five motive factors were identified (accounting for 63.10% of the variance, after rotation); *Entertainment* ($M = 2.09$, $SD = 0.84$, $\alpha = .96$) (e.g., seeking political information because it is exciting and thrilling, to relax, to pass time); *Political identity* ($M = 2.32$, $SD = 0.90$, $\alpha = .94$) (e.g., to feel pride in oneself and one's party, and to connect with other group members); *Convenient information seeking* ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 0.92$, $\alpha = .87$) (e.g., using media as a convenient way to obtain campaign-related information); *Issue and candidate evaluation* ($M = 3.39$, $SD = 0.76$, $\alpha = .87$) (e.g., learning and making decisions about the candidates and issues); and *Opinion leadership* ($M = 2.44$, $SD = 1.02$, $\alpha = .83$) (e.g., use of media to give input, to engage in discussion).

Media Exposure. We asked respondents how often they used various media for Presidential campaign information. These included television ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.23$),

newspapers ($M = 2.91$, $SD = 1.18$), radio ($M = 2.38$, $SD = 1.16$), the Internet (excluding social media) ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.31$), video sharing sites (e.g., YouTube) ($M = 2.45$, $SD = 1.37$), social networking sites (e.g., Facebook) ($M = 2.42$, $SD = 1.41$), and micro-blogging sites ($M = 1.82$, $SD = 1.22$).

Hostile Media Bias. We measured hostile media bias with an index adapted, in part, from Hwang, Pan, and Sun (2008). Respondents rated their agreement (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) with 6 items tapping the extent to which they felt the media gave more air time to the opposing party and was biased against their party's candidates and positions, or toward the opposing party's candidates and positions. This measure of perceived media bias of one's preferred political group is consistent with conceptualizations of perceived bias of media coverage in studies of other groups such as national groups (Vallone et al., 1985), sports teams (Arpan & Raney, 2003), and political groups (Watts et al., 1999). Responses were summed and averaged to create the hostile media bias perception index ($M = 3.16$, $SD = 0.76$, $\alpha = .86$). A higher number indicates a stronger perception of hostile media bias.

Statistical Analyses

We used hierarchical multiple regression analysis to assess how participants' individual-and group-based characteristics (group status, intergroup bias, political ideology, political cynicism), media-use motives, and media exposure predicted hostile media bias perceptions. Variables were entered into each regression in three steps, based on the U&G model: 1) participants' individual-based and group-based characteristics, 2) motives for using media for political information, and 3) media exposure. In light of the claims that today's media environment provides a wide array of media for acquiring political information that permits people to selectively choose political content that can blunt or enhance hostile media bias perceptions, we conducted two regressions. In the first regression analysis we included more traditional and general media sources (i.e., television, radio, newspapers, Internet) on the final step of the analysis. In the second regression we included only social media, more user-generated content media sources (i.e., social networking sites, video sharing sites, and micro-blogging [e.g., Twitter]) on the final step of the analysis to see whether those who turned to alternative social media channels for information about the campaign exhibited hostile media bias perceptions of mainstream media.

Results

H₁ and H₂ posed that low group status and intergroup bias would predict hostile media bias perceptions, respectively. RQ₁ asked how all of the predictor variables predict hostile media bias perceptions. Hierarchical regression analyses confirmed each of these hypotheses and answered the research question.

Individual characteristics, entered on step 1, explained 17.1% of the variance in hostile media bias perceptions ($p < .001$). Intergroup bias ($\beta = .209, p < .001$), group status ($\beta = -.199, p < .001$), conservatism ($\beta = .266, p < .001$), and political cynicism ($\beta = .133, p < .01$), were all significant predictors of hostile media bias perception. Motives, entered on step 2 explained an additional 4.9% of the variance with a significant change in F ($p < .01$). However, none of the motives were significant predictors of media bias perception.

When media exposure variables (TV, radio, newspapers, and Internet use in the first hierarchical regression analysis) were entered on the third step, media exposure contributed an additional 3.5% to explained variance, with a significant F change ($p < .01$). Radio use ($\beta = .143, p < .01$) was a significant positive predictor and TV use ($\beta = -.170, p < .01$) was a significant negative predictor of hostile media bias perception (see Table 1). In the second regression analysis, when social media use variables (social networking, video sharing, and micro-blogging sites) were entered on step 3, media exposure contributed only an additional 1.8% to explained variance, with a significant F change ($p < .05$). Use of video sharing sites ($\beta = .154, p < .05$) was a significant positive predictor and use of social networking sites ($\beta = -.159, p < .01$) was a significant negative predictor of hostile media bias perception (see Table 2).

Accordingly, after all variables were entered, low group status, intergroup bias, conservatism, and political cynicism were significant contributors to the final equations. In the first regression analysis, TV (negative) and radio (positive) exposure also were significant contributors; and in the second analysis, significant predictors included use of social networking (negative) and video sharing sites (positive). The results suggest that during the 2012 Presidential campaign, those who were politically cynical and conservative, felt others viewed their political party as having a lower status than the opposing party, and exhibited a strong intergroup bias toward their group, tended to view mainstream media coverage as biased against their party. The results suggest further that the use of certain media (i.e., TV and social networking sites), can blunt such hostile media bias perceptions, whereas the use of other media for political information (i.e., radio and video sharing sites) can accentuate perceptions that the media were biased against one's party.

These results are consistent with the U&G assumption that media user background differences are important antecedents in explaining media effects. Group identification-related factors seldom accounted for in prior U&G research, in particular, were strong predictors of hostile media bias.

In addition to media effects, U&G theory suggests that media users' background characteristics should relate to motives for using media. Although not hypothesized, because media-use motivation did not predict media bias perception, we conducted a post-hoc correlation analysis examining the relationships between media users' background characteristics and motives for using media for information about the 2012 presidential campaign. Both intergroup bias ($r = .25, p < .05$) and group status ($r = .18, p < .05$) correlated with political identity motivation. Intergroup bias ($r = .20, p < .05$) and group status ($r = .17, p < .05$) also related to using media for candidate/

Table 1
Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables and Traditional Media Predicting Hostile Media Bias (N = 358)

Variable	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE	B	B	SE	B	B	SE	B
Group status	-.266	.066	-.199***	-.308	.067	-.230***	-.286	.066	-.214***
Intergroup bias	.005	.001	.209***	.004	.001	.148**	.004	.001	.162**
Political cynicism	.120	.044	.133**	.144	.044	.159**	.141	.044	.156***
Conservatism	.240	.044	.266***	.233	.043	.258***	.233	.043	.259***
Motive 1				-.060	.051	-.077	-.023	.051	-.030
Motive 2				.078	.049	.110	.079	.050	.111
Motive 3				.022	.047	.031	.006	.047	.008
Motive 4				.076	.052	.090	.079	.056	.094
Motive 5				.067	.043	.105	.042	.043	.066
TV							-.090	.029	-.170**
Radio							.079	.029	.143*
Newspapers							.013	.030	.023
Internet							.033	.026	.066
R ²		.171			.220			.255	
F for change in R ²		18.171***			4.356***			4.058***	

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. Motive 1 = Passive entertainment; Motive 2 = Political identity; Motive 3 = Convenient information seeking; Motive 4 = Issue and candidate evaluation; Motive 5 = Opinion leadership.

Table 2
Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables and New Media Predicting Hostile Media Bias (N = 358)

Variable	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Group status	-.266	.066	-.199***	-.308	.067	-.230***	-.308	.066	-.230***
Intergroup bias	.005	.001	.209***	.004	.001	.148**	.003	.001	.134**
Political cynicism	.120	.044	.133**	.144	.044	.159**	.154	.044	.170**
Conservatism	.240	.044	.266***	.233	.043	.258***	.237	.044	.263***
Motive 1				-.060	.051	-.077	-.063	.052	-.081
Motive 2				.078	.049	.110	.090	.049	.126
Motive 3				.022	.047	.031	.013	.047	.018
Motive 4				.076	.052	.090	.065	.052	.076
Motive 5				.067	.043	.105	.054	.043	.085
Video sharing							.073	.033	.154*
Social networking							-.074	.034	-.159*
Micro-blogging							.043	.033	.082
R^2		.171			.220			.237	
F for change in R^2		18.171 ***			4.356***			2.675***	

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. Motive 1 = Passive entertainment; Motive 2 = Political identity; Motive 3 = Convenient information seeking; Motive 4 = Issue and candidate evaluation; Motive 5 = Opinion leadership.

issue evaluation. However, conservatism/liberalism, another group identity characteristic, was not related significantly to motives for using media for campaign-related fare, and political cynicism was negatively related to passive/entertainment, political identity, and opinion leadership motives.

Discussion

The findings in this study are consistent with conclusions reached in prior hostile media perception studies, but provide nuanced insight about such perceptual bias. In our study, those who believed their group was viewed negatively, had a positive bias towards their own group, and were politically conservative and cynical were more likely to judge media coverage as hostile toward their political party. Hostile media bias, therefore, is supported in our study as an intergroup phenomenon in a political context, adding empirical evidence to Hartmann and Tanis's (2013) study, whose intergroup context was based on a specific social issue. During a Presidential political campaign, media are major platforms where group competition is made salient. Political party members desire to protect their group identity, and hence, may demand fair treatment by the media, and interpret media messages through the lens of an identity defensive mechanism. In addition, the data in this study was collected immediately before a major event in the campaign—the Super Tuesday Primary—a time when media coverage was intense, and likely social identities were similarly intensified. Thus, intergroup dynamics were probably more pronounced than during other less ardent competitive periods in the course of the long Presidential campaign season.

Individual-based and Group-based Characteristics

As predicted, people who felt that their political party was viewed as inferior judged the media coverage of the 2012 presidential election as biased against their party. This supports Hartmann and Tanis' (2013) assertion that low status members may feel the need to maintain a positive group identity, and therefore, may be particularly sensitive to any evaluation from outside sources, such as the media. Given the perceived pervasiveness of media influence, it could be that low status group members or those who feel their group status is at threat may be prone to "over-estimate" the influence of the media coverage of political parties on other media users as a third-person effect (Hoffner & Rehkoﬀ, 2011). Therefore, they are inclined to protect an already fragile group image among the general public by questioning the credibility of the source and pointing to media being biased against their party.

This result supports a central tenet of Social Identity Theory. During a political Presidential campaign, it is reasonable for party members to worry or suspect that their group is overlooked by media or valued less by others. Believing that media

coverage is “unfriendly” could be an artifact of an innate motivation to protect one’s group identification regardless of its absolute or relative status, and this tendency may be particularly salient among low status group members.

Intergroup bias was also a positive predictor of hostile media bias perceptions. Those who favored their political party over the opposing party tended to view media coverage as biased against their group. It could be that those who exhibited favoritism towards their group may be motivated to seek positive media messages to confirm and/or enhance that identity (Harwood, 1999). They may critically scrutinize the media content (Coe et al., 2008), and be predisposed to judge any non-positive messages negatively and biased. An intergroup predisposition such as intergroup bias, thus, provides a socio-psychological impetus that explains the hostile media bias phenomenon. Instead of judging media as hostile towards their party as a way to cope with status inferiority (i.e., a group status defense mechanism), intergroup bias connects to hostile media bias as an identity enhancement mechanism.

The final group-related variable, political ideology (conservatism-liberalism) also significantly predicted hostile media bias. The more conservative the individuals’ political ideology, the more likely they were to rate media as biased against their political party. The measure of hostile media bias asked whether people felt the media was biased against their party—not their ideology. However, it could be that political ideology predicted bias, in part, because, participants felt that the media were biased toward the other party’s predominant ideology. For example, a conservative Republican may view the media as more biased against Republicans than a less conservative Republican. However, Lee (2005), in fact, found that both conservatives and Republicans were more likely than liberals and Democrats to see the media as biased. Several researchers, such as Watts and colleagues (1999) and Lee (2005) suggested that hostile media bias is largely a perception of a liberal media mainly driven by conservative elites. It also should be noted, however, that if the media do in fact exhibit a real liberal bias, as some research has suggested (e.g., Pew Research Center, 2012), this, too, could explain why conservatives in this study perceived bias. SIT suggests that if media favor the out-group (e.g., liberal), then in-group members (conservatives in this case) could exhibit perceptual bias as a defensive mechanism. Therefore, whether it is the absolute or relative hostile media bias, individuals’ intergroup attitudes play a significant role in the formation of such perceptual biases.

Political cynicism also predicted hostile media bias. That is, if a person’s view of media coverage of his/her preferred party is interpreted through a politically cynical lens, he/she will be more likely to view the coverage to be biased. Even though political cynicism was treated as an individual-based characteristic, it can affect people’s perceptions of their group life. People’s political cynicism could have been cultivated over the years through media exposure, political participation and discussion, or personal experience with the government. As an individual’s group identity is part of his/her sense of self, the social-self and personal-self are interconnected and manifested in all domains. Individuals with such a negative outlook of politics and government may view the media as being part of the political system that

serves the interests of “other” political parties, but not theirs. A clear differentiation of “we—our party” and “them—government, politicians, and media alike” is made in people’s mind that influences perceptual media effects.

Media Use

The results suggest that the medium selected for political information about the campaign played a role in enhancing or mitigating such perceptions. The use of two media in particular—TV and social networking sites—negatively predicted hostile media perceptions, whereas the use of two other media—radio and video sharing sites—positively predicted media bias perceptions. Thus, it appears that the use of TV and social networking sites for political information blunted hostile media bias perceptions, whereas the use of radio and video sharing sites accentuated perceptions that the media were biased against one’s party.

Because we did not measure the multitude of TV and radio programs from which participants obtained political information about the campaign, the types of videos watched on video sharing sites, or the types of social networking sites and type of interaction on them, we can only speculate as to why use of these media differentially influenced hostile media bias perceptions. But, the results appear to corroborate claims of some scholars who have commented that with the number of channels available in today’s fragmented media environment, where TV has a plethora of channels from which to choose, people can actually blunt perceptions of media bias by choosing channels/programs consistent with their predispositions (e.g., Arceneaux et al., 2012; Iyengar & Hahn, 2009). This certainly could have been the case with TV and social networking sites, but perhaps that is less likely with radio and video-sharing sites.

Thus, the disparate effects of use of these different media on hostile media bias perceptions could have to do with the different characteristics of the media selected for political campaign fare and/or how they are used. For example, social networking sites like Facebook are group-oriented media platforms. People use these media largely to interact with other people in their pre-existing social networks. We have known for some time that discussion of politics within one’s social network tends to be rather supportive of group predispositions (e.g., Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944). Social networking sites may simply have added a new forum in which people can share consistent group identity-enhancing views of the campaign (i.e., other like-minded individuals) rather than disparate views arguably biased against users’ political party.

Video-sharing social media like YouTube, on the other hand, tend to be used more for mass communication. Though people do sometimes watch videos together and share videos with each other (Haridakis & Hanson, 2009), video watching is not tied to one’s social network. People who post and comment on videos and those who view and read these comments are less likely than social network site users to be of the same like-minded pre-existing social networks.

However, such speculation does not suggest why the use of radio enhanced media bias perceptions, but TV mitigated such perceptions. Both are broadcast media that are less interactive than social media. Although television in the majority of American homes has dozens of channels, some scholars have intimated that it is still used relatively non-selectively (e.g., Prior, 2013). On the other hand, maybe listening to partisan programming is more pronounced with radio as we discussed earlier. It has been stressed that political talk radio has come to be dominated by partisan (often conservative) voices. Political radio talk show listeners were found to be more conservative and had a strong political identification (Barker, 1998), and they tended to listen to the programs that shared their views (Cappella, Turow, & Jamieson, 1996). Although this may explain the differences these two media had on hostile bias perceptions, more research is needed before conclusions can be reached about these different effects.

This leads us to consider some limitations of our study. Because we were concerned with perceptions of mainstream media bias generally, we focused on perceptions of bias among media types, as opposed to particular programs. This approach has been used in previous research on the use of and attitudes about using media for political information (Hanson et al., 2010; Haridakis & Hanson, 2011; Kaye & Johnson, 2002), including studies of media bias (Hoffner & Rehkoﬀ, 2011). However, we recognize the growth in partisan programming in TV (e.g., MSNBC, Fox News), radio (e.g., Rush Limbaugh, Shawn Hannity), and on the Internet (e.g., Ann Coulter) in recent years. While specific partisan media outlets may present more extreme ideological views (Prior, 2013) and complicate the analysis of contributors to hostile media bias perceptions, the results here support claims that audience predispositions must be considered in any discussion of political media bias (e.g., Sloan & Andrews, 2013). Thus, future research should focus on how intergroup-related factors considered in this study work in conjunction with selection of specific partisan programming to either blunt or enhance perceptions of hostile bias.

Unlike media exposure and background differences, media-use motives were not significant predictors of hostile media bias perceptions. Our speculation is that this may be due to the outcome variable we examined in this study. U&G theory suggests that people seek to obtain gratifications from media use that are reflected in their motives for using media. In retrospect, it is unlikely that participants used media specifically to obtain perceptions of media bias, likely an unintentional outcome of media use. Had we examined a more purposively sought media effect/gratification (e.g., political knowledge, familiarity with candidates and issues, political identification) that was more likely to be manifested in motives identified here (e.g., political identity, information seeking, candidate evaluation) the importance of media-use motivation may have been more pronounced. This should be examined further in future research. At the same time, it should be emphasized that we found intergroup bias and group status correlated with using media for political identity and for candidate/issues evaluations. Thus, as posited by U&G, intergroup factors related to both the outcome of interest and certain motives for using media for campaign

fare. Future research should include assessment of interrelationships among these intergroup factors, media use motives, and media effects.

Finally, we must acknowledge limitations of drawing on a convenience sample of voting-age adults. The convenience sample was appropriate for the exploratory nature of this research in which we were interested in assessing the influence of group differences and media exposure on hostile media bias. Though there has been much research on the hostile media bias phenomenon, prior research has given insufficient attention to the role of theoretically important intergroup variables included here (i.e., intergroup bias and group status) in explaining hostile media bias perceptions. The convenience sample permitted us to obtain participants across age groups who differed on group-based characteristics and the perceptions possibly associated with such differences. Accordingly, these findings add to the existing literature on the hostile media effects.

However, convenience samples suffer from limitations in representativeness and generalizability. For example, while the mean age (33.88) of our sample was just under the median age of the state (36.2), more than half (55.5%) of our participants were in the 18–21 age group (6.3% were in the 22–35 age group, 20.8% in the 36–55 age group, and 17.4% were 56 and older). Future research should draw on more random samples of voting-age adults in order to corroborate or reinterpret our findings. For example, some prior research suggests that younger members of the electorate turn to newer media for political information more than do older voters (Haridakis & Hanson, 2011; Haridakis, Hanson, Lin, & McCullough, 2015), and there were a large number of younger voters in our sample. Similarly, gender differences have been noted in new media use, generally (Haridakis & Hanson, 2009) and in political media use, specifically (Kenski & Stroud, 2006). In light of this, we conducted additional post-hoc analyses of our results, controlling for age and gender on the first step of the regression analyses. When we controlled for age and gender, social networking use ceased to be a predictor of hostile media bias perceptions (though it still approached significance) (see Table 3). Though neither age nor gender predicted hostile media bias perceptions, this finding, in combination with the fact that intergroup background factors were the most significant predictors of hostile bias perceptions suggests that future research should account for these demographic variables and additional individual differences that may influence or mediate hostile bias perceptions or other political effects related to such perceptions (e.g., SES, ethnic origin, religious group affiliation, and other group related demographic variables).

In all, the results of this study highlight what prior disparate research findings on hostile media bias effects suggest—that the role of the media in shaping perceptions of hostile media bias defies easy explanation. This adds to that body of literature in two significant ways. First, whereas prior hostile media bias research has accounted for some isolated intergroup factors, often outside of a specific theoretical framework, in our study specific intergroup-level variables in combination were conceptualized as social and psychological antecedents to media use and effects within a U&G framework. Our study also contributed to U&G research

Table 3
Summary of the Final Step of the Two Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Hostile Media Bias Controlling Age and Gender (N = 347)

Variable	Traditional Media			New Media		
	Step 4			Step 4		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Age	.003	.002	.089	.002	.002	.064
Gender	-.001	.045	-.002	-.013	.045	-.014
Group status	-.277	.066	-.211***	-.300	.067	-.228***
Intergroup bias	.004	.001	.185***	.004	.001	.166**
Political cynicism	.109	.045	.121*	.116	.045	.130*
Conservatism	.221	.044	.251***	.230	.044	.262***
Motive 1	-.023	.052	-.030	-.064	.052	-.084
Motive 2	.079	.050	.112	.083	.050	.116
Motive 3	-.005	.048	-.007	.009	.046	.014
Motive 4	.063	.056	.076	.041	.052	.049
Motive 5	.048	.043	.076	.053	.043	.085
TV	-.079	.029	-.153**	.067	.033	.144*
Radio	.062	.030	.114*	-.061	.035	-.134
Newspapers	-.008	.032	-.014	.049	.034	.094
Internet	.048	.029	.098			
R ²		.255			.244	

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. Motive 1 = Passive entertainment; Motive 2 = Political identity; Motive 3 = Convenient information seeking; Motive 4 = Issue and candidate evaluation; Motive 5 = Opinion leadership. Step 1 = Age, Gender; Step 2 = Group Status, Intergroup Bias, Political Cynicism, Conservatism; Step 3 = Five media motives; Step 4 = Traditional Media (TV, Radio, Newspapers, Internet) and New Media (Video-Sharing Sites, Social Networking Sites, Micro-Blogging Sites), respectively. Two hierarchical regression analyses were conducted with the traditional media and new media variables entered separately in two analyses.

by emphasizing the importance of considering the influence of salient intergroup factors in explaining media users' media choices while in the past U&G research often has only focused on the influence of media users' individual-level characteristics on media use and effects.

While researchers need to delve deeper into the media choices people make, our results suggest that the ways both more traditional media and newer forums are used for political information require further study. Moreover, although prior research has suggested that older and newer media forms may affect some perceptions during a campaign differently (Kaid, 2003), when it comes to identity management, people use both newer and older media with similar effects. The present study suggests this is because, on balance, media users' group-identity and individual background characteristics are likely to be the major contributors to perceptions of bias in the media and media channels they use to satisfy their specific needs.

In sum, the results of this study highlight a central premise of U&G—that in the individual-media selection-media use-media effects relationship, it is the individual and his/her social and psychological circumstances (i.e., group-based characteristics) that are the most important factors on which to focus if we want to understand the effects of media on the individual.

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A Qualitative and Quantitative Study of Social Media Communicators: An Extension of Role Theory to Digital Media Workers

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To cite this article: Serena Carpenter & Alisa P. Lertpratchya (2016) A Qualitative and Quantitative Study of Social Media Communicators: An Extension of Role Theory to Digital Media Workers, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 60:3, 448-464, DOI: [10.1080/08838151.2016.1203317](https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203317)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203317>



Published online: 01 Sep 2016.



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A Qualitative and Quantitative Study of Social Media Communicators: An Extension of Role Theory to Digital Media Workers

Serena Carpenter and Alisa P. Lertpratchya

The life of knowledge workers in the information age is enwrapped in both uncertainty and opportunity. Organizations have faced ill-defined times by placing their confidence in the ability of digitally literate workers. We explored how social media communicators navigate the role stressors of this recently developed organizational position. The qualitative results revealed communicators struggled with and managed role ambiguity by relying on outside social media experts and Web analytics. A separate international quantitative survey of social communicators showed organizational leadership and social media self-development activities diminished levels of perceived ambiguity. The implications of this research suggest that organizational leaders possess minimal authority and influence in defining the role of knowledge workers.

Introduction

Knowledge workers situated in the digital media age are increasingly experiencing both greater freedom and responsibility. The information-saturated landscape is breeding environments that require adaptation within ill-defined boundaries (Deuze, 2007), which are likely having an impact on the career advancement and mental health of individual workers. We explore how one group of knowledge workers—social media communicators—manage their job including the interpretation of their responsibilities.

We examined the complexity of the social media communicators' work life through the lens of role theory. Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, and Rosenthal (1964) have argued the degree of innovation within an organizational role relates to

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increased role stress. The social media communicator is unique because this recently developed position exists within both small and large organizations. Individuals within this role often serve both the organization and the organization's audiences, which may present conflicting expectations for the social media communicator. For example, communicators could experience role conflict, which occurs when role occupants experience multiple role pressures and/or role ambiguity, because leadership does not communicate their expectations. If communicators do not know what is expected, they will not know how to behave due to unclear evaluation standards. The consequences of such work-related experiences have been found to lead to psychological stress and job dissatisfaction (Graen, 1976; Kahn et al., 1964).

The purpose of this research is to determine whether the theoretical proposition holds within the present ecosystem that people situated within innovative roles experience high levels of stress (Kahn et al., 1964). Today, professional supportive networks exist not only within organizations, but across the Web as well. Digitally literate workers such as social media communicators may be able to cope with role issues because they know how to use the Internet to find resources to aid them in the interpretation of their duties (Deuze, 2007; Efimova & Grudin, 2008). We carried out qualitative interviews and a quantitative survey to identify role stressors and to determine what predictors alleviate role stress among social media communicators.

Social Media Communicators

Social media has transformed the ways organizations reach out to the public. Social media tools allow organizations to sustain knowledge over time, cultivate relationships among multiple groups and individuals, and target and coordinate niche audiences. Organizations have also used social media communication strategies to humanize their organization. For example, one study of Microsoft bloggers showed they "wanted to demonstrate that people in the organization care and are passionate about their work" (Efimova & Grudin, 2008, p. 215). Additionally, responses from social media users reveal they consider organizations to be credible and valuable sources of information (Lotan et al., 2011).

For these reasons, companies are hiring social media communicators. In this study, the social media communicator is a member of an organization who represents an organization, engages publics, and publishes information on behalf of an organization on social media platforms. This role has come into existence because organizational representatives perceive social media as a critical component of their communication efforts (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Wright & Hinson, 2013). Organizational social media communicators can use group communication tools to interact and collaborate with people internally and externally. The communicator enters into different social streams contributing information related to an organization's goals, missions, and functions. This complex role consists of navigating cultures within networks, experimenting with communication strategies, and building relationships with different audiences across different platforms (Barnhurst, 2012).

The endurance of social media technologies over time has also prompted scholars to conduct research examining topics such as the social media use of communication professionals; social support provided by professionals; perceptions of platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc.; social media adoption within organizations; and the impact of social media on employees such as their sharing behaviors and work routines (e.g., Adornato, 2014; Curtis et al., 2010; DiStaso & McCorkindale, 2013; Efimova & Grudin, 2008; Greer & Ferguson, 2011; Knight & Carpenter, 2012; Mergel & Bretschneider, 2013; Robinson, 2011; Wright & Hinson, 2011; Xu & Feng, 2014).

Treem and Leonardi (2012), however, expressed concern that much social media research was not theoretically rooted. Overall, they criticized the degree to which existing research tends to be platform-driven, while being less concerned with social and organizational dynamics.

In sum, many studies of social media use provide insights about a specific tool, in a particular organization context, but they do not develop theory about the consequences of social media use for organizing. Current definitions of social media are either too application-focused, preventing generalization across contexts, or too broad, obscuring the ways the technology may influence behaviors. (Treem & Leonardi, 2012, p. 145)

Other academics have noted a similar trend in social media literature emphasizing the importance of theory and empirical measure development (Khang, Ki, & Ye, 2012; van Osch & Coursaris, 2014; Zhang & Leung, 2014).

Role Theory

We utilized role theory to examine how people situated within these recently developed positions integrate with organizational culture. An organization is a complex system in which individuals adjust their behaviors to meet the role expectations of leadership, coworkers, and social groups. Employers utilize expectations to manage employees (Graen, 1976; Katz & Kahn, 1978). The social psychological setting may affect social media communicators' ability to interpret and fulfill their role obligations for both the organization and the public (Kahn et al., 1964). Traditionally, leadership assigns each individual with specific responsibilities associated with his or her organizational role according to role theory. This division of labor enables organizations to function at an optimal level, which management accomplishes by providing social cues to reduce human variability (Jackson & Schule, 1985). Specifically, managers encourage conformity by communicating evaluative standards through rewards, work assignments, and resources (Graen, 1976; Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970)

Role theory is useful because it demonstrates how behaviors are often tied to the expectations of an audience, coworkers, and management. This role may potentially

carry inconsistent or unclear expectations. Social media specialists' actions are unique because they are subject to criticism from multiple publics due to the social nature of their role. Based on this framework, it may be difficult for them to articulate their role because they perform for multiple stakeholders.

For example, pressures from multiple stakeholders could lead to role conflict (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Coser, 1975; Merton, 1968). Role conflict assumes that a person perceives that the expectations of his or her role are incongruent with what the person expects that his or her role should entail (Toffler, 1981). Role conflict is defined as "the simultaneous occurrence of two or more role expectations such that compliance with one would make compliance with the other more difficult" (Katz & Kahn, 1966, p. 204). Characteristics of the organization and its occupants can affect the emotional state of workers leading them to communicate less often, trust fewer people within the organization, and possess less organizational commitment (Beeler, Lebovits, & Bishop, 1983).

Role conflict deals with inconsistent expectations, whereas role ambiguity encompasses an uncertainty about what the occupant is supposed to do because leadership does not communicate their expectations or information about the duties related to their role (Katz & Kahn, 1966). Ilgen and Hollenbeck (1991) defined role ambiguity as "the level of uncertainty or lack of clarity surrounding expectations about a single role" (p. 191). Feedback fulfills people's instinct to reduce uncertainty within an environment. House and Rizzo (1972) discovered that leadership and organizational practices diminished role disagreements. The adaptive ability of the organization will be evident if leadership is able to clearly articulate the role of social media communicators (O'Driscoll & Beehr, 1994). In the present study, we asked communicators to what extent management (role senders) communicated their expectations to social media communicators. If organizations do not clearly articulate their tasks, it is important to assess how such ambiguity affects them including how they develop strategies to deal with a lack of clarity (Beeler et al., 1983; Linton, 1936). Employees resolve stressful situations by withdrawing, compromising, or conforming (Biddle, 1979). Several causes of role conflict and ambiguity include characteristics of the person such as demographic factors and personality, interpersonal relations such as one's ability to communicate to reduce points of contention, or properties of the organizations such as leadership's ability to communicate role expectations (Kahn et al., 1964). Role conflict and role ambiguity have been found to be useful variables in predicting outcome variables such as job satisfaction, motivation, organizational commitment, job performance, and involvement (Eatough, Chang, Miloslavic, & Johnson, 2011; Toffler, 1981; Tubre & Collins, 2000).

Study 1

Presently, it is of theoretical and practical interest to understand how communicators working in recently developed digital positions acclimate to organizational cultures. Previous content analyses of communication journals, however, found that

scholars rarely combine quantitative and qualitative methods when collecting data for their studies (Cooper, Potter, & Dupagne, 1994; Kamhawi & Weaver, 2003; Trumbo, 2004; Zhang & Leung, 2014). We relied on both qualitative and quantitative methods to provide a detailed picture of this role and to also develop measures to serve the scientific community.

First, we carried out qualitative interviews to answer three research questions. We also relied on this methodological approach to identify items and predictors for the quantitative survey.

RQ₁: To what extent do social media communicators who work for an organization experience role conflict?

RQ₂: To what extent do social media communicators who work for an organization experience role ambiguity?

RQ₃: How do social media communicators who work for an organization manage role stress?

Method

We chose the qualitative interview method because it produces data that, when analyzed, provide deeper insight into participants' perceptions in comparison to the quantitative approach (Schostak, 2005). The intention of this study was to be exploratory, focusing on a small sample in order to pinpoint concepts for the quantitative survey, because no research has been found that examines the role insights of the social media communicator. We conducted semi-structured interviews, meaning that we relied on a general interview protocol as a guide, but the interviewer could probe deeper into areas of interest. We asked social media communicators about whether they experienced role stress, the feedback received from organization leaders, their perceptions of their present work environment including how they adapt to stress.

Participants were employees who worked as a social media communicator for an organization(s). The researchers searched for members of social media professional groups on LinkedIn who had email contact information publicly available on the Web. We interviewed a total of 10 social media communicators (SMC) in March 2014. We stopped the interview process when we achieved saturation into insights from participants (Ellison, Hancock, & Toma, 2012). Ideally the number of qualitative interviews for this type of research should range from 5 to 12 interviews in order to closely investigate and identify themes based on their opinions (Bertaux, 1981; Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006).

English-speaking respondents were similar in position, experience, and education, but they differed in the types of organizations they represented. All national and

international participants had SMC leadership positions with titles such as social media coordinator, social media editor, social media manager, social media specialist, or social media director. They averaged 4 years of experience working as a professional social media communicator. There were four females and six males, and formalized education backgrounds included journalism, marketing, media studies, fine arts, advertising, and mass communication. They worked for several different types of organizations such as news, health and wellness, agricultural, health insurance, government, restaurant, specialized products, and non-profit.

An author of this study gathered the data primarily through phone or Skype interviews.

We conducted open coding of the audio transcripts to identify themes and sub-themes. Following the identification of key issues, the process evolved into more systematic codes in order to develop more core concepts. We relied on written interview notes and textual analysis organizational techniques to identify emerging patterns and thematic codes (Burnard, 1996).

Study 1—Results and Discussion

The purpose of the qualitative research was to investigate whether social media communicators (SMC) experienced role stress (i.e., role conflict and role ambiguity) and how they managed such situations. We used role theory as an intellectual tool because it helps to understand how the communication behaviors of leaders and coworkers influence how social media communicators interpret their organizational role.

Role Conflict

In RQ₁, we asked to what extent social media communicators experienced role conflict. This research, however, found they did not experience role conflict. The results show that organizational leadership did not hold expectations of the social media communicator because many coworkers do not yet fully grasp the duties of this role resulting in few standards for evaluation, which may be why role conflict was not present. Consequently, role conflict will not likely arise until people working within management positions routinize activities or increase their social media literacy levels.

Role Ambiguity

In RQ₂, we asked to what extent social media communicators (SMCs) experienced role ambiguity. We found that many SMCs felt their role was ambiguous. Overall the majority of the respondents, not all, said members of the organization

did not specify expectations of the social media communication position. SMC9 said, "My boss is not the strongest in social media. So, I think my boss should be a little stronger. Maybe my boss could get me a few more details, and I would give them some stuff. So, that's maybe the most difficult thing in social media." Another respondent echoed receiving minimal feedback, "My role is self-defined, and I am figuring out what path we should be taking and how we should be using these tools" (SMC8).

Previous research showed that senior staff often relies on digital literate, younger employees for direction on social media channels. One reason for the lack of intellectual investment to learn social media by people in other leadership positions may be because many organizations do not financially invest to a great degree in social media channels according to some participants. Most social media channels simply require participation and time for a return on investment (Obar, Zube, & Lampe, 2012).

The dominant form of direction from management consisted of the communication of organizational or departmental goals such as an increase in awareness, Web site traffic, or donations.

We have this particular goal. I mean there's a lot of like, "We want traffic here;" "We want this;" but I think a lot of the feedback that I get is, "We want to be relevant, we want to be talked about, and we want to be seen as a cutting edge company." That's what we are. (SMC3)

They are good about providing direction and providing information, "This is what we want to get out of this content or this campaign." And then we'll just kind of go from there and cast out some things to do such as testing different ways of writing something or different ways of promoting something to see what works and what doesn't. So it's been a lot of fun. (SMC1)

The majority of respondents said management supported their efforts by being open to their social media strategy ideas, experiments, and decisions. Previous research on social media specialists found they needed openness because social media communicators could not work, or succeed, within a rigid system (Macnamara & Zeffass, 2012). Perhaps it should not be expected that leadership know the intricacies of positions such as scientists, programmers, and social media communicators. Organizational leadership can instead nurture collaborative work environments by hiring managers with group communication skills.

The social media team works very closely and is very integrated with the PR team, marketing, and advertising. You have marketing, PR, and social media, and those three elements need to work together. Sometimes social media takes the lead and sometimes it doesn't, and that's perfectly fine. Our role is defined as a communication channel for our brand, but within that we do have a lot of

flexibility to execute strategies we feel are best not only for how social media works and for our brand. (SMC5)

Everyone here is very open-minded to trying new platforms, engaging new partners, or looking at new ways of doing things such as using digital tools. (SMC8)

I have the freedom to do it. It's not new, but I really am probably the expert. I work with the lay managers and then take their promotions and see what we can do on social media. (SMC9)

I think this has been really nice because it's new for a lot of people especially for businesses so having the freedom to really explore what works and what doesn't, and trying different things and experimenting is really valuable. And we've learned a lot along the way. (SMC1)

Role Stress Management

RQ₃ asked how social media communicators managed any experienced role stress. In summary, the results show they managed role ambiguity by relying mostly on outside networks, Web resources, and analytic software. Interestingly, these communicators perceived the ambiguous nature of this role as empowering rather than stressful because management viewed them as experts who advised them on campaign strategies, relationship, and audience development, and other group communication tactics. Yet such responsibilities led to work/life balance stress. Next, we review each of these coping strategies.

Social Media Self-Professional Development. SMCs depend on circles of social media experts to manage role ambiguity. The results show that this occupational group started learning about their position by entering queries into a search engine. Several respondents reflected this sentiment, "I didn't know anything. The only thing I could do is type and search on Google" (SMC6).

Social media leaders followed a somewhat similar professional development trajectory toward their position based on the results from the interviews. They: 1) actively participated on social media channels for personal reasons, 2) searched for articles and resources for best practices, 3) followed posts from social media experts, 4) experimented with messaging strategies on social platforms, 5) used analytic tools to monitor interactions, 6) organized data to determine the effectiveness of their experiments, and 7) sought a deeper level of understanding of their social media practices through networking events, conferences, seminars, Webinars, or classes.

Overall, the respondents perceived that role ambiguity enhanced this group of communicators' status within the organization. This research found these people are considered thought leaders and teachers within their organization, community, and

social media circles. Several respondents said social media communication is “all Greek” to executives and coworkers.

We’ve been able to go to the table to leadership and say, “You know what we’re doing, but we wanted to show you metric results, data points, and dollar sign opportunities behind what we do.” And that’s the language executives speak. They don’t speak retweet, flaming, trolls, or things like that; the Internet speak. They understand dollar signs and if you can show them results in tangible data. (SMC5)

The sentiment expressed by most respondents was that the ambiguity enabled them to take on a position of power within the organization such as consulting management and advising coworkers on best practices. Previous research on bloggers found they learned niche digital skills for reasons of job security and negotiating power (Efimova & Grudin, 2008). Practitioners who interact on social media platforms perceive themselves as possessing more structural, expert, and prestige power than individuals who do not (Diga & Kelleher, 2009). They are, in essence, teachers, which is likely a trait of many successful social media communicators. Previous research has shown social media professionals often have an internal function of educating leadership about the impact of organization’s social media efforts (Macnamara & Zeffass, 2012; Obar et al., 2012).

Some people actually seek you out, your help, or your insights. The thing I like to do with social media is to share. I follow that golden rule. I treat other people the way I want to be treated. (SMC4)

It allows you to be seen as that leader and a really good top voice, like you’re also really driving the content that you want your followers and your community to see. (SMC7)

The public visibility of this role, however, weighs on their personal lives. These communicators manage interactions with several constituents: public, management, and coworkers. A few SMCs expressed concern related to their ability to keep up with their perceived obligations to the organization.

It’s a balancing act, for sure, because you need to look at what your organization’s goals and priorities are, but you also need to provide something that’s valuable to the public. It’s hard being a communicator. It’s something that you just start to learn through the experience. Feeling people out, what you’re hearing from management perspective, what you’re hearing from the public and trying to marry those as best as you can. (SMC9)

I go home from work; I'm still on it. I'm logged in. I'm talking to people on our pages: Facebook, Twitter, Google Plus. It's the only way I can understand the customer and understand what they want. (SMC10)

Study 2

We distributed a quantitative survey to a separate group of SMCs to assess whether some of the predictors previously mentioned explained variations in role ambiguity. We expected that larger organizations would provide resources to support their social media efforts (Lacy, 1987; Lacy, Fico, & Simon, 1989). Research has shown that organizations with resources are more likely to adopt social media (Curtis et al., 2010). We also expected that organizational leadership and social media self-development efforts would have some impact on perceived role ambiguity because the qualitative research supported further exploration of these relationships.

RQ4: What is the impact of organizational size, organizational social media leadership, and social media self-development on role ambiguity?

Method

We chose the Web quantitative survey method to assess the impact of organizational size, organizational social media leadership, and social media self-development on role ambiguity. We relied on eight academic and social media experts to provide feedback on the survey, and we then conducted a pretest with SMCs to identify questionnaire or item issues.

The goal of sampling frame development process was to survey high quality and active professional social media communicators. We faced challenges during this process for several reasons: organizations employ a small number of SMCs, many organizations do not provide public directories, SMCs rarely publically share their email addresses on the Web, and no professional social media organization was found to aid in accessing members of this specialized group. As a result, the sampling frame creation process involved multiple steps. First, we relied on 18 notable social media experts' Twitter lists of social media professionals. We reduced the names on the list due to the redundancy and vetted each individual to ensure the focus was on people who professionally handle social media for organizations rather than people who just post information about social media trends such as an academic. We used other top social media communicator lists and LinkedIn searches to increase the number of people. We searched for the email addresses of the vetted professionals or requested their email address via Twitter through @mentions or direct messages. This process resulted in 416 people. We offered participants a chance to win one of twenty \$50 gift cards to increase the response rate. A total of 126 people responded to the survey resulting in a response rate of 30.3 percent.

Sample sizes of around 100 people are common in the social sciences (Conway & Huffcutt, 2003; Russell, 2002). Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (1998) argue that a convenience sample is appropriate when it is challenging to reach participants representing a sample and little is known about a unit of analysis. The purpose of this study was to identify predictors of role ambiguity rather than to generalize to all social media communicators (Babbie, 2013).

The SMCs were both diverse and experienced in social media. Males (47.4%) and females (52.6%) were nearly equally represented. The age ranged from 22 years to 64 years with an average age of 37.6 years. The respondents were 72.3% white, 8.5% Asian, 7.4% Hispanic or Latino, 3.8% black or African-American, 1.1% Native American or Alaskan Native, and 3.8% other. Highest education levels were: high school or less (4.5%), associates/vocational degree (5.3%), bachelor's degree (44.7%), and master's degree (18.2%). Bachelor's degrees were from mix of fields including journalism and mass communication (19.7%), English/creative writing/literature (7.6%), communication (6.8%), and marketing (4.5%). Most participants were from the United States (87.4%), Canada (3.2%), or the United Kingdom (3.2%). They worked an average of 6.2 years as a SMC. Titles of respondents indicated that most respondents were social media leaders within their organization. In addition, organization size had a median of 150 people. Respondents were distributed across many organization types, but most respondents were from a corporation (22.9%) or news organization (20.8%).

Operational Measures

Role Ambiguity Scale. Rizzo, House, and Lirtzman's (1970) role ambiguity scale posits that higher numbers indicate less role ambiguity. Response categories ranged within 5 points from *never* to *always* asking SMCs the degree to which this condition existed for them ($\alpha = .84$). Example items include: "I feel certain about how much authority I have;" "I know what my responsibilities are;" and "I know what is exactly expected of me." The scale was subjected to a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using Amos 21.0 to assess the validity of its structure. Fit indices show an acceptable fit: $\chi^2 (44, N = 95) = 51.611, p = .201$; $\chi^2/df = 1.173$; CFI = .98; TLI = .97; GFI = .91; RMSEA = .043 (with range of .000 to .085).

Organization Social Media Leadership Scale. We created a summated scale based on the open-ended results of the qualitative research. We asked respondents to report to what extent they relied on these sources to teach themselves about the best practices of how to use social media with responses ranging from *not at all* (1) to *to a great extent* (5). Bartlett's test of sphericity ($\chi^2 = 89.999, df = 6, p < .001$), the Kaiser-Meyer Olkin (KMO) statistic of .74 for sample size adequacy, and high communalities suggested that the correlation matrix was appropriate for factor analysis. We applied a Principal Axis Extraction with a Promax rotation to conduct the exploratory factor analysis. We determined best fit to the data with item loadings at or above the .32 level, no cross-loadings, no factors with fewer than three items,

and theoretical convergence. The lowest factor loading was .56. A one-factor solution was supported by theory, parallel analysis, and scree plot. The scale explained 58.6% of the total variance with an alpha level of .75. We deleted one item because it was somewhat redundant in meaning to another item. The final 4-item scale included these items: “educate leaders, coworkers, and the organization on how to use social media;” “present social media analytics to leaders;” “translate social media strategies to leadership;” and “communicate how coworkers can contribute to social media strategies.”

Social Media Self-Development Index. We created the index based on the qualitative findings. We asked respondents to read each statement and report how often they have relied on these sources to teach themselves about social media best practices ranging from *not at all* (1) to *a great extent* (5). The 12 items of the formative measure included: “searching for materials about best practices through search engines;” “actively participating on social media channels;” “following social media leaders and experts;” “being mentored by individuals within my organization;” “attending professional association meetings and/or conferences;” “networking with local social media communicators;” “watching or attending seminars, training sessions, or Webinars;” “taking classes at a higher learning educational institution;” “reading or watching internal organizational training materials;” “examining behavioral analytics or data;” and “talking with friends and family.”

Study 2—Results and Discussion

We answered RQ₄, asking the relationship between organizational size, organizational social media leadership, and social media self-development and role ambiguity, using a standard regression. Two measures were statistically significant in the model; organizational social media leadership ($\beta = .24, p < .05$) and social media self-development ($\beta = .25, p < .05$) positively predicted the role ambiguity measure. Organization size, however, did not relate to role ambiguity (see Table 1).

Table 1
Summary of Regression Results for Role Ambiguity

Predictors	Beta	SE	t
Organization size	-.068	.000	-.619
Organizational social media leadership	.237	.291	2.114*
Social media self-education	.249	.111	2.107*
Adjusted R ² = .141, df = 3, n = 80			

Note: One standard regression was conducted. β s are standardized coefficients. * $p < .05$.

The qualitative results suggested that self-motivated communicators managed role ambiguity by relying outside social networks and data. In 1972, House and Rizzo argued that feedback and leadership diminished role strain. Today, this research supports this proposition, but not within organizational settings. Instead the typologies of informational sources workers rely on for feedback to reduce role strain have evolved. The quantitative survey results confirmed the qualitative research findings revealing that social media communicators who take on a leadership role within a company and trained themselves on how to interact on social media channels felt less role ambiguity, but they did not experience role conflict because employers did not communicate role expectations. Role theory assumes that workers need some sort of feedback to support their claims of competence. The social media communicator relied to a greater degree on socially sanctioned social media experts to understand role responsibilities, and they relied mostly on analytical tools for feedback on task performance. The social media participants sought scripts for appropriate behaviors and standards by relying on people who understood their role. This study supports the need for additional work assessing the role set that encompasses such a position. A role set, a theoretical term created by Robert Merton (1968), is a set of expectations based on the various actors associated with the position. Each party may possess similar or dissimilar expectations of the social media communicator (e.g., users of one platform; management; coworkers). The identification of these dimensions will inform future research on the social psychological factors that influence people working within innovative roles.

In today's information-saturated ecosystem, organization leaders are likely less equipped to intellectually advise knowledge workers on the responsibilities of their roles within their organizations. In a flattened hierarchy, management does not over specify tasks required of their employees because such rigidity would not likely lead to optimal performance. This data also indicated that organizations should seek natural educators who want to help other employees reach out on social media channels, because teaching empowers them to contribute to organizational success (Drucker, 1999; Kanter, 1983).

Conclusion

It makes sense in the future to interpret and test role theory in cases involving knowledge workers performing in a digital media ecosystem. We must develop new measures, test and advance existing theoretical frameworks, and blend qualitative and quantitative research to advance our empirical and theoretical understanding of how social media is altering organizational and occupational dynamics. We captured some of their behaviors by developing new measures reflecting their present realities to aid in future scientific efforts. This research may signal the declining role management is playing in employee identity, career advancement, and occupational knowledge. This study indicates that knowledge workers must continually learn and share their expertise to manage role ambiguity. Past research utilizing role theory

showed that employees resolve stressful situations by withdrawing, compromising, or conforming (Biddle, 1979). But in this environment, these organizational message makers addressed ambiguity by banding together with outside social media experts to help each other advance within their own organizations. In the past, normative expectations for behavior for occupations were often defined through professional associations, educational requirements, ethical guidelines, and professional awards. But today, the accessibility of information requires scholars to enact an even broader dimensional lens when examining how socially constructed norms and expectations influence perceptions and behaviors.

This self-reliance paradigm shifts responsibility from the organization to individual workers. This study indicates that knowledge workers must continually learn and share their expertise to manage their role ambiguity. Mark Deuze (2007) argued, "The individual, not the firm, has become the organization" (p. 84). Practically, we recognize an overlap between professional and personal lives exists, which presents ethical questions regarding the acceptability of work creeping into their lives at home. We suggest that the pressure to continually respond to publics may lead them to fear unplugging from social channels. Management should recognize that they might be exploiting their temptation to communicate to benefit the organization and suggest that workers seek leisure time, set up service or response hours, or use separate devices for work.

Theoretically, this study signals to role theoreticians that they need to expand their understanding of how individuals situated within role collectives identify and enact role expectations. This research demonstrates that workers located in knowledge communities may identify to a lesser extent with an organization. Therefore, the examination of the work environment could encompass a network perspective, which includes the identification of primary sources and cues for role information comprising of influential people and resources that aid in their role literacy. We make a theoretical contribution by assisting in the identification of potential variables (organizational leadership and social media self-education) to include in theoretical models. This study, however, needs to be replicated in order to determine whether the quantitative and qualitative results hold across other samples due to the small sample size. Occupational socialization and roles literature represents a large body of research in public relations and journalism. These variables might serve as useful independent variables predicting variations in role conceptions or behaviors.

Future studies could also deviate in several other directions. In this research, the social media communicator was adept, digitally literate, personable, and self-reliant based on observations. Future research could examine the personality traits of social media communicators or other knowledge workers. Additionally, future research could further explore whether role ambiguity predicts other variables such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment for people in such roles. And lastly, the fast rate of change in the workplace may result in the splitting of bureaucratic seams. The temporariness of roles and duties requires continued exploration of how people within innovative positions define and manage expectations because the networked Web will likely continue to influence concepts of role expectations, organization, authority, and expertise in knowledge-intensive organizations.

Funding

This work was supported by The Arthur W. Page Center under Grant #1410LSSC.

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To cite this article: Volker Gehrau, Tim Brüggemann & Jutta Handrup (2016) Media and Occupational Aspirations: The Effect of Television on Career Aspirations of Adolescents, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 60:3, 465-483, DOI: [10.1080/08838151.2016.1203319](https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203319)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203319>



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Media and Occupational Aspirations: The Effect of Television on Career Aspirations of Adolescents

Volker Gehrau, Tim Brüggemann, and Jutta Handrup

Vocational decisions are important decisions for adolescents. This article takes television effects into account. A literature review for the occupational world in TV programs reveals a strong focus on some occupations as well as small cultivation effects plus learning effects from mediated role models. A secondary analysis of 2 panel waves was undertaken to study the effect of media role models on occupational aspiration. Television usage in a program segment correlated with corresponding aspirations. A process models showed a strong effect of career aspiration in 1 panel wave on related television usage and career aspirations in the following panel wave.

Introduction

Numerous media effect studies focus on adolescents (Wilson & Drogos, 2009), with the aim of identifying problems mass media might cause in relation to individual development. Previous studies have concentrated on negative effects with respect to aggressive behavior, consumer behavior, and health-related behavior or with respect to mediated images in relation to areas such as body image, gender stereotypes, and racial preconceptions. Surprisingly, one vital developmental task associated with adolescent development and its relationship to media consumption has rarely been examined. This concerns the relationship between occupational aspirations and television use.

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In some countries, such as Germany, it is difficult to withdraw or change career choices. Consequently, misinformed decisions during adolescence may lead to individual problems like discontent, as well as societal problems like a shortage of qualified employees in specific occupational segments. Skilled employees in sectors like production, manual work, and engineering are much in demand, yet far too few adolescents choose a career in these fields of work, which is surprising because these professions offer a secure, high income. In contrast, many young Germans dream of becoming models, musicians, or stylists, or pursue career goals of becoming doctors, lawyers, or medical investigators.

The following research addresses the presented problem by arguing that mass media—especially television—convey a biased image of the working world, which, in turn, affects adolescents' occupational aspirations. This might be seen as an example of a general expectation according to which media images are capable of exerting a bias on our image of the world and shaping associated actions. Recently, Eyal, Raz, and Levi (2014) outlined cultivation theory and social cognitive theory as prominent perspectives of argumentation. Essentially, cultivation only concerns images and beliefs relating to the world. However, Nabi and Sullivan (2001) were able to use the theory of reasoned action to demonstrate that such cultivated images of the real world might also guide real-world behavior. In accordance with this line of argument, media images pertaining to specific spheres of society have been analyzed and linked to misinterpretations of the world and to behavior that resulted from these misinterpretations. Examples include television viewing and the acceptance of the rape myth (Kahlor & Eastin, 2011) and the presentation of procedural justice in televised police fiction (Dirikx, Van den Bulck, & Parmentier, 2012). Other studies address either direct effects of media role models, for example, in the area of sexual behavior (Eyal et al., 2014), or media influence on presumed responses of others, such as in the case of dealing with obsessive-compulsive disorder (Hoffner & Cohen, 2012).

Occupational Orientation and Media Effects

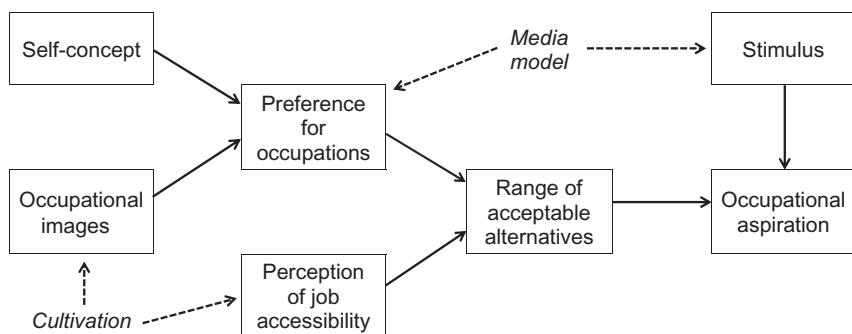
One of the significant developments that takes place during adolescence is the process of occupational orientation. (For an overview, see Havinghurst, 1982). Several approaches have been postulated to explain the process of occupational orientation. One of the earliest approaches is based on the work of Parson (1909), who primarily concentrated on the fit between professional and individual characteristics. Building on Parson's research, Holland (1997) differentiated between occupational fields as follows: 1) realistic, 2) investigative, 3) artistic, 4) social, 5) enterprising, and 6) conventional. These fields require those who work in them to have certain abilities. They are also situated in a matrix of gender orientation versus occupational prestige. According to this approach, adolescents are required to become familiar with the fields and corresponding occupations, as well as with their own abilities and wishes in order to find matching opportunities. Other

approaches focus on individual development. These approaches refer to the work of Super (1990), who investigated the stages adolescents have to pass through and the competences they have to acquire in order to manage their orientation process and find a suitable profession. Still other approaches, with reference to Bandura, primarily take learning processes into account. The most prominent concept was proposed by Lent, Brown, and Hackett (1994). From their perspective, occupational orientation is a process of adjustment among external requirements, self-image, self-efficacy, and outcome expectations.

Beginning in the 1980s, Gottfredson (1981; 2002) set out to combine the different approaches in a one-process model. The starting points of this process model are self-concept and occupational images. The self-concept depends on gender orientation, social class, aptitude, interests, and personal values. Occupational images are driven by gender orientation, prestige level, and occupational fields. In accordance with the self-concept and occupational images, occupational preferences, which are based on perceived job-self compatibility, are formed. Individual preferences are adjusted according to the perceptions of the accessibility of occupations. The accessibility depends on current opportunities versus individual and structural barriers. The adjustment, based on individual preferences and expected accessibility, leads to a range of acceptable occupational alternatives. The final stage of Gottfredson's model is occupational aspiration, which results from a combination of acceptable alternatives and external stimuli (see Figure 1.) Even allowing for the fact that this model is a simplified one and the fact that more recent models take sub-processes into account, it seems appropriate to argue that media effects occur.

Following a review of the literature on mass media and occupations, two concepts of media effects emerge as the most prominent, namely those concerned with socio-cognitive learning and cultivation. The cultivation hypothesis (Gerbner & Gross, 1976) predicts that television use will cultivate prominent aspects of the televised

Figure 1
Process Model of Occupational Aspirations (According to Gottfredson, 1981)



world as though these were aspects of reality. Accordingly, it is expected that those who watch television frequently will have expectations about occupations and the working world that are similar to occupations and images of work presented on television programs. Hence, television might affect occupational images by presenting some professions as more attractive, and it might affect the perception of job accessibility by presenting certain professions as easy to enter and widely available. The socio-cognitive learning theory was developed by Bandura (2001). In brief, it postulates that people learn from their own experience as well as from models presented by the media. The adoption or imitation of mediated (role) models is likely to occur when people pay attention to the media program, when the model is in some way similar to themselves, and when the model is framed in a positive manner. Accordingly, such media effects might affect the preference for occupations by presenting certain occupations as attractive, or they might function as an initiating stimulus, which is likely to be the case with frequently presented occupations. Thus, cultivation effects might enable mass media to have an impact on the images of occupations and on career paths. In contrast, learning from media models might have a direct effect on occupational preferences and occupational aspirations (Figure 1).

Media and Occupational Images

For both kinds of media effects, the presentation and image of occupations in mass media, especially on television, are crucial. If the media image were to correspond to the real world of work, media effects would be irrelevant. In contrast, it is possible for deviant media images of occupations to cause problems by cultivating false expectations about the accessibility of jobs; it is also possible that they will often inspire occupational aspirations for professions that are rare. Hence, studies have examined television images of occupations on account of the wide diffusion of television programs. The first large-scale study on this matter was presented by Signorielli (1993), who analyzed the occupations of approximately 15,000 characters that appeared on prime-time U.S. television programs. In comparison with census data on vocations, some professions were highly overrepresented, such as those of police officers, judges, physicians, and entertainers; by contrast, trades, production, administration, and education were highly underrepresented. Krüger (2005) was the first scholar to publish this kind of data for German television at the turn of the millennium. He examined the entire range of television programs and discovered a strong focus on professions in the segments of criminal justice/security, health, media, art, and management. About 10 years after Krüger, Esch (2011) presented data for German television series and movies that indicated that the segments of criminal justice/security, health, media, and finance/trading were overrepresented. Gehrau (2014) compared professions in German television series often watched by adolescents with official statistics about occupations. He found that occupations in the segments of criminal justice and health as well as those in services pertaining to the

media, the creative industries, and the arts were highly overrepresented. He also found that occupations in segments like construction, manual work, administration, logistics, supply, mining, and agriculture were dramatically underrepresented. In addition, his results confirmed that there was a positive bias in the televised working world that highlighted the competence, attractiveness, high income, and appreciation of the characters in their workplaces.

Following Gottfredson's (1981) process model, it is pertinent to ask whether these television images cultivate expectations of the working world. Such expectations had already formed part of the first cultivation studies to be carried out (Gerbner & Gross, 1976), which found that heavy viewers of television overestimated the number of police officers in U.S. society to a greater extent than light viewers. Similar investigations, which have concentrated on a number of occupations, have found small cultivation effects (Buerkel-Rothfuss & Mayes, 1981; Carvet & Alexander, 1985; Hawkins, Pingree, & Adler, 1987; Hetsroni, 2008; Perse, 1986). Gehrau (2014) recently presented a large-scale cultivation study that addressed different occupations in Germany. According to his data, the distribution of professions was generally overestimated by students, especially in the cases of rare professions like those of detectives, models, and musicians, which nonetheless appeared on television. The study did not find that television consumption produced an overall cultivation effect, but it did find that segment-specific television consumption had some small but significant cultivation effects with respect to the corresponding professional sector. However, the standardized effect coefficients were rather small and ranged from 0.05 to 0.09. The only exceptions were coefficients for cultivation effects in relation to the casting sector (see Gehrau, 2014). In addition, some cultivation studies have investigated the impact of images of easy-going work presented on television programs. Signorielli (1993) found that television use had a very small impact on the individual's wish for easy work, yet this finding could not be replicated twenty years later by Hoffner, Levine, and Toohey (2008). In his recent study of German pupils, Gehrau (2014) was able to prove that television use slightly enhanced the desire to gain more influence, money, and admiration through a respectable job, and that such wishes were particularly inspired by television use in relation to the fashion and style segment. Nevertheless, the cultivation effects demonstrated in these studies, although significant, were rather small.

Media and Occupational Aspirations

Whereas cultivation might cause indirect effects on occupational aspirations via occupational images and expectations about job accessibility, effects of a more direct nature have been postulated on the basis of Bandura's theory of socio-cognitive learning. This theory highlighted how the repetition frequency of the media role model, the rewarding of the demonstrated behavior, the similarity between the media protagonist and the recipients of media content, and the attention given to the media role model act as supporting functions (see Bandura, 2001). Bandura's

approach has been adopted in communication science in two ways, namely to explain the use of new media outlets and to explain orientation toward media models (see Pajares, Prestin, Chen, & Nabi, 2009). Research on orientation toward media models has revealed both intended and unintended effects. Examples of unintended learning effects have been concerned with correlations between television use and smoking by adolescents and correlations between television use and the desire to be slim. In contrast, studies on intended learning effects have addressed the fields of educational entertainment and health-related communication (see Pajares et al., 2009).

In their review of research on how children learn about occupations, Watson and McMahon (2005, p. 124) summarized as follows, "Little research has been conducted on the influence of media such as television on children's career development." Social-cognitive approaches have frequently been applied to understand career development (Rogers, Creed, & Glendon, 2008) and different impact factors have been taken into account, such as personality, school activities, parenting style, family situation, and social class. In most cases, media effects were ignored. This is surprising because publications as early as those from the 1980s have indicated several links between media effects and vocational aspirations, especially in the case of television. (Daniel, 1982). A seminal investigation into television's influence on individual occupational role models was published back in 1979 by Christiansen and identified factors that supported the importance of televised role models (Christiansen, 1979). Wright and colleagues (1995) provided experimental evidence of the impacts of both non-fictional and fictional television programs on the images of occupational role models; they identified a stronger effect in the case of non-fictional content and established effects of the televised content on career aspirations (see also Huston, Wright, Fitch, Wroblewski, & Piemyat, 1997). King and Multon (1996) demonstrated that the importance of televised role models for individual career aspirations did not increase with time spent watching television but did increase in the cases of younger children and those with more highly educated mothers. Hoffner and colleagues (2006) deepened the perspective by integrating wishful identification with televised characters as a supporting factor in terms of the orientation toward televised occupational role models. Their results highlighted the impact of parents' education, television use, and the occupation of the televised characters on wishful identification.

The above-mentioned studies focused on media influences on elements of the process of occupational orientation. Some European studies, by contrast, have examined the direct impact of media on occupational aspirations. Nitsch, Eilders, and Boger (2011) demonstrated that German students who frequently watched casting shows for pop stars or top models overestimated the prevalence of such jobs as well as their attractiveness; they also had more occupational aspirations in relation to these segments compared to light viewers. In line with these findings, Gehrau and vom Hofe (2013) found a substantial difference between adolescents who were heavy viewers of health-related television series and those who were light viewers of such programs; 30 percent of the heavy viewers of the health-related series had occupational aspirations in relation to the health sector

compared with 20 percent of the light viewers. Although both studies provided statistically significant evidence of the impact of television on vocational aspirations with respect to televised role models, the causal relationship between television use and vocational aspiration was unclear. It might have been the case that television usage inspired the wish to become a model, musician, doctor, nurse, or other such professional, but it is also plausible that occupational aspirations motivated the associated television usage—for example, adolescents might have been watching television in order to get information about these occupations. Van den Bulck and Beullens (2009) presented data from Belgium that solved the problems of causality in a considerably more effective way. They compared the numbers of students who were studying veterinary medicine and midwifery in the years before and after television shows and series about occupations associated with these disciplines had been aired on a massive scale. In the years after the introduction of such programs on television, the number of students systematically rose by about ten percent, whereas the total number of students did not rise. In addition, a survey of students confirmed that the occupations that were being examined had a positive image after they had been frequently aired on television.

In summary, the studies described above support the view that television presents role models for occupations and images of the working world that partly inspire individual expectations and opinions related to jobs, occupations, and professions. Moreover, evidence has been found that suggests that television might also inspire occupational aspirations and thereby guide subsequent career choices. Even though adolescents in 2012 were less dependent on television than older cohorts and often used the Internet and mobile communication devices, almost everyone had access to television programs and used television as frequently as they used the Internet and mobile media. At that time, television was the main media entertainment resource (except for music) and an important channel for societal information, whereas mobile communication and the Internet were most frequently used for interpersonal and social communication (Feierabend, Plankenhorn, & Rathgeb, 2014).

Study

The aim of this study was to assess how relevant television usage is related to the development of occupational aspirations by adolescents. The emphasis was placed on occupations that frequently appeared on German television programs at the time of the study. On the basis of analyses of the programs on German television, we assumed that there would be a high number of role models presented in a positive light in the relevant occupations in the programs. Consequently, it was possible to formulate the following hypotheses in accordance with socio-cognitive learning theory:

General hypothesis: Viewing occupation-related television programs enhances the likelihood of having career aspirations in relation to corresponding occupational segments.

Nevertheless, in order to understand the process of media use and formation of occupational aspirations, it was necessary to differentiate between sub-processes:

Media use hypothesis:

H₁: Existing occupational aspirations motivate television use in relation to the corresponding occupation-related program segment.

Mediation hypothesis:

H₂: Television use in relation to an occupation-related program segment—motivated by occupational aspirations—reinforces the career aspirations.

Media impact hypothesis:

H₃: Even if the media use effect is controlled for, viewing occupation-related television programs enhances the likelihood of having career aspirations in relation to corresponding occupational segments.

Survey

The data presented in the following section derives from a secondary analysis of a large-scale five-wave panel study on the occupational orientation of adolescents. (Rahn, Brüggemann, & Hartkopf, 2014). The study was a full survey of a student cohort from a single district in Germany and represented, rather than estimated, the situation in this district. The fifth wave of this panel was the last one to be conducted during school years as pupils in the lower-level education programs left school shortly after the measurement interval to start a career. The fifth panel wave included questions about occupation-related media usage as part of the survey. To address the causality problem discussed above, data on occupational aspirations derived from the fourth wave were also included in the analysis.

In the fourth and fifth waves—with six months between the two waves—the students were asked to state their occupational aspiration in an open field for answers. Three open fields were included in the survey. For the analysis, the answers provided in the open field were recoded in relation to occupation-related television program segments. The final indicator of occupational aspirations counted the number of aspirations related to a specific occupational segment but did not take into consideration the rank given to them when they were mentioned. This variable

was constructed for different occupational segments (health, criminal justice, animal keeping, real estate, construction, and casting) from the fourth and fifth panel waves.

Other factors of occupational orientation were included in order to complete the causal analysis. Gender—as a dummy variable for women—was included on account of the general gender orientations associated with occupations (e.g., Gottfredson, 1981). The type of school attended by the participants was taken into account because the level of education predetermines the accessibility of specific career paths. The German school system differentiates between three levels of education. The lower educational level (*Hauptschule*) typically leads to occupations that are in keeping with the image of (blue-collar) workers, laborers, or lower-level employees. By contrast, the higher level of education (*Gymnasium*) enables pupils to attend university and enter prestigious professions. The mid-level education (*Realschule*) is situated between the other two levels. Though it is possible to change between the school types and access higher education after completing a lower-level education program, such change is not common in Germany. Finally, the occupations of the parents were taken into consideration to address the probable orientation of the pupils toward their parents. The indicator counted whether neither, one, or both of the parents worked in the specific occupational segment that was in the focus of the analysis.

The main predictor variable assessed the consumption of television programs related to the specific occupational segments. A 5-point Likert scale was used on the basis of the wording: “How often do you normally watch television programs (shows, magazines, series, movies, etc.) about [...]? 1) almost never, 2) rarely, 3) sometimes, 4) often, 5) as often as possible. This was assessed for health-related programs (doctors, hospitals, etc.), criminal justice (police, detectives, court of justice, lawyers, etc.), styling/music (models, music, beauty, styling, etc.), real estate (real estate agents and brokers), construction (building, renovating, designing), and animals (zoo, raising and keeping animals, animal training, etc.). These segments were selected because of their prominence on German television during the period before the fifth panel wave. It became apparent that it was possible to measure media use with respect to these segments, which offered a link to typical occupational aspirations that could be identified in the answers given by the students in the open field.

Samples and Procedure

The survey was completed by all pupils from a single district in western Germany called Rhein-Erft-Kreis. No probability or quota sample was drawn for the cohort. Every pupil in the same school year who attended one of the schools in the district was theoretically included in the sample. Due to illnesses or absences during the times when the surveys were carried out, the number of cases realized was less than the theoretical number. The panel waves started in 2009 and ended with the fifth main panel wave in 2012. The surveys were completed at school during lessons. One type of school (*Gesamtschule*) was left

out of the analysis as it was unclear which level of education the pupils would choose at the times when the surveys were being conducted.

The fifth panel wave comprised 1,929 pupils, who had participated in the earlier waves. Participants had an average age of 16.7 years and 49.5 percent were female. As some students did not answer the questions about television use, the sample was reduced to a basic sample of 1,861 pupils who answered all relevant questions. The distribution of these pupils with respect to the school types was as follows: 22 percent lower-level education, 43 percent mid-level education, and 36 percent higher-level education. Female adolescents comprised nearly half of the total number of these adolescents and the average age of the adolescents was 16.7 years.

Television Use as a Determinant of Occupational Aspirations

The respondents could name up to three different occupational aspirations. 479 (25.7%) students had no aspiration at that time; 392 (21.1%) mentioned one professional objective; 760 (40.8%) reported two aspirations; and 230 (12.4%) named three aspirations. Taking all pupils into consideration, each pupil had, on average, one and a half occupational aspirations ($M = 1.4$).

The health sector was the vocational sector presented on television to which the pupils most often aspired. In the fourth panel wave, 10.4 percent of all pupils named one aspiration in relation to the sector and 1.7 percent even named two or more aspirations. In the fifth wave, the proportion was a bit higher: 11.1 percent named one aspiration and 2.3 percent named two or more aspirations. At the aggregate level, the frequency of having an occupational aspiration in relation to a segment that often appeared on television was very similar in panel waves four and five. This indicated relative stability in the occupational aspiration. In sum, 9.5 percent of all vocational aspirations related to the health segment; 8.6 percent related to the construction sector; 6.6 percent related to law and criminal justice; 5.3 percent related to the casting segment; 5 percent related to real estate; and 1.2 percent related to animal keeping. The distribution of occupations among the parents of the pupils was used as a proxy for the real distribution of occupations in the district so that differences between aspirations and real opportunities could be identified. The construction sector revealed fewer aspirations than opportunities; in the health sector, both were alike; in the casting segment, there were 50 percent more aspirations than opportunities; and for criminal justice/law, real estate, and animal keeping, there were at least three times more aspirations than real opportunities. Excluding the special case of construction, 27.6 percent of the aspirations related to the televised occupations, but only 12.8 percent of the parents worked in these segments, which might be seen as a first indicator of media effects. Such a view is particularly plausible in light of the fact that the high overrepresentation of aspirations related to the sector of criminal justice and law was accompanied by the highest level of television use with respect to the corresponding occupation-related program segment in the survey data. In addition, this result was in keeping with the

high ratings for crime and law programs on German television at the time of the study, which is evidenced by the success of regional German crime series like *Tatort* and international crime series like *CSI* among adolescents (Zybar & Gerhard, 2013) (see Table 1).

The basic media effects were studied by using zero order correlations and mediated regression models to explain the occupational aspirations in the fifth panel wave. The zero order correlations supported the general hypothesis: The amount of television use with respect to an occupation-related program segment correlated with the number of occupational aspirations with respect to the related segment. Strong correlations were established for health (0.31), construction (0.26), and animal keeping (0.22). Even in the other sectors, moderate correlations of around 0.15 were found (criminal justice 0.16; casting 0.15; real estate 0.14). However, these correlations were only indications of effects. It was possible that the occupation-related television use inspired the corresponding vocational aspirations, but it was also possible that the aspirations motivated the corresponding television usage.

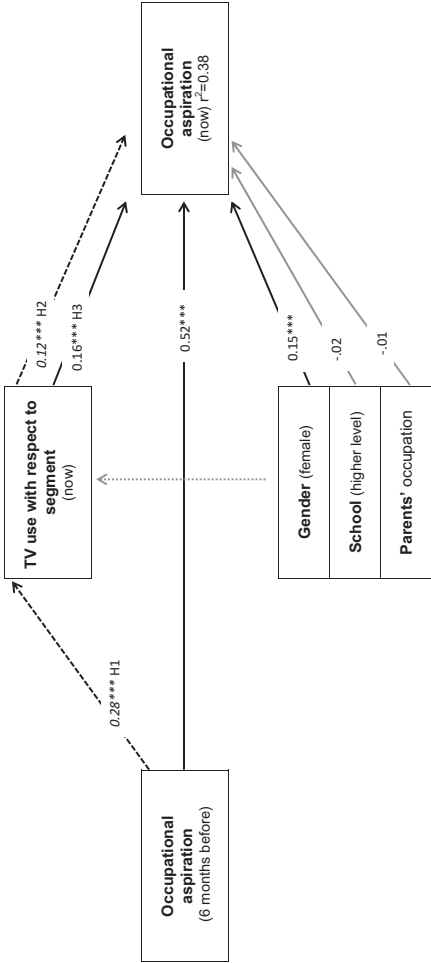
To address this issue, mediated regression models were estimated. The models were based on the autocorrelation of the occupational aspirations in panel waves four and five. In addition, the mediation effect was estimated with the PROCESS syntax by Andrew Hayes and the coefficients were standardized. This approach enabled the effect of the occupational aspiration in panel wave four on media use in the fifth wave (H_1), the mediation effect pertaining to such media use (H_2), and the additional impact of the media use (H_3) to be separated from each other. The health sector is used as example for the purpose of explaining the fundamental logic (see Figure 2).

As indicated by the results previously mentioned, the autocorrelation is high (beta = 0.52). Those who had vocational aspirations concerning health occupations in the fourth panel wave often had similar aspirations in the fifth wave. In accordance with the media use hypothesis (H_1), health-oriented aspirations in the fourth panel wave motivated health-oriented television use up to the fifth panel wave (beta = 0.28). Health-oriented television usage was not determined by gender, school level, or parents. However, gender did have an impact on health-oriented vocational aspirations in the fifth wave: The beta of 0.15 indicated that more female pupils had health-oriented aspirations. The mediation effect associated with television use was slightly smaller, but the beta of 0.12 nevertheless supported the second hypothesis: Some of the health-oriented television use motivated by the occupational aspiration in panel wave four supported health-oriented aspirations in panel wave five. This might be seen as an example of the reinforcement spiral postulated by Slater (2007). Nonetheless, the most important finding was the additional impact of television use on the corresponding occupational aspiration, which was in line with the media impact hypothesis and had a beta of 0.16. The mediated regression model for the health sector confirmed all three hypotheses and explained a high proportion of variance, namely 38 percent; however, this was primarily due to the autocorrelation.

Table 1
Percentage of Occupations in Sectors and Mean of TV use with Respect to Related Programs

	Fourth Panel Wave		Fifth Panel Wave		All Occp. Aspirations	Parents Occupations	Mean (Sd) TV use
	One Occp. Aspiration	More Occp. Aspiration	One Occp. Aspiration	More Occp. Aspiration			
Health	10.4 %	1.7 %	11.1 %	2.3 %	9.5 %	7.1 %	2.2 (1.2)
Construction	10.3 %	0.8 %	10.9 %	1.1 %	8.6 %	12.2 %	2.0 (1.1)
Criminal justice/law	8.4 %	1.0 %	8.3 %	1.0 %	6.6 %	1.5 %	2.8 (1.1)
Styling/music/casting	6.7 %	1.2 %	6.2 %	1.2 %	5.3 %	3.4 %	2.5 (1.0)
Real estate	6.3 %	0.4 %	6.5 %	0.5 %	5.0 %	0.6 %	2.1 (1.1)
Animal keeping	2.0 %	0.1 %	1.6 %	0.1 %	1.2 %	0.2 %	1.6 (0.9)

Figure 2
Process Model of Occupational Aspirations for Health Occupations (Standardized Path Coefficients)



*** $p > 0.001$; $n = 1860$; p -values are taken as indicators of relevance as the data derives from a complete survey and not a sample.

All models had a large proportion of explained variance, which ranged from 23 percent for occupations in the real estate sector to 38 percent for health occupations. In contrast to the literature findings, gender had no major impact on occupational aspirations. Female pupils, to some extent, preferred occupations in the casting segment, whereas male pupils, to some extent, had more aspirations in relation to the construction sector. The only effect that was of major significance was the one that indicated that female pupils had more occupational aspirations in relation to the health sector. The impact of the type of school was even more limited. Only in the case of higher-level education were small but systematic effects found. This type of education slightly supported aspirations in the casting sector and hindered aspirations in the construction sector. Occupations of the parents in the relevant occupational segment had no effect on the aspirations of the adolescents except in the case of the animal keeping segment, in which the occupation of the parents slightly suppressed corresponding aspirations. As in the case of the health sector, the autocorrelation was the strongest predictor of the occupational aspiration in the fifth panel wave in relation to all occupational sectors. The betas ranged between 0.52 in the law/criminal justice segment and 0.45 in the real estate segment. All occupational aspirations have therefore been relatively stable. However, it was noted that there were changes between the panel waves, and some of these changes were explained directly or indirectly by television use (Table 2).

The first hypothesis was partly confirmed. Between six and nine percent of the occupation-related television use could be explained by the regression model. Only in the case of the criminal justice/law segment did the model perform poorly ($r^2 = 0.01$); by contrast, the model for the casting segment performed strongly ($r^2 = 0.24$). However, the effects in relation to the casting segment were highly dominated by gender (female pupils watch more casting-related programs than male pupils) and, to some extent, dominated by school level (students who were set to graduate from lower-level educational institutions watched more television than pupils who were set to graduate from higher-level educational institutions). The strongest effects that occupational aspirations had on related television use were established for the health (0.25) and construction (0.23) segments, and moderate effects were established for the animal keeping (0.17) and real estate (0.11) segments. Only small effects were found in relation to the law/criminal justice sector (0.08) and the casting sector (0.08). Nonetheless, it is apparent that vocational aspirations often motivated pupils to watch related television programs (see Table 2).

The second hypothesis scrutinized the effect of aspirationally motivated television use. The data only provided some support for this hypothesis. In the criminal justice and casting segments, no effects were found and the significant effect of 0.04 in the real estate segment was rather small. In contrast, the data enabled moderate effect sizes to be established in relation to the construction (0.09), health (0.12), and animal keeping (0.13) segments. Hence, under certain conditions, television use that was motivated by related vocational aspirations stabilized these aspirations.

Finally, the media impact hypothesis in accordance with socio-cognitive learning theory (Bandura, 2001) was confirmed by all six regression models, but the effects were

Table 2
Determinants of Occupational Aspirations (OA) by Occupational Sector (Standardized Regression Coefficients)

	Health	Criminal Justice	Styling/Music	Real Estate	Construction	Animal Keeping
Zero order correlation	0.31***	0.16***	0.15***	0.14***	0.26***	0.22***
H: TV5 & OA5						
Regression beta	0.25***	0.08**	0.04*	0.11***	0.23***	0.17***
H ₁ : OA4 => TV5						
tv5: r^2 , df 4/1856	0.08***	0.01***	0.24***	0.06***	0.09***	0.07***
Regression beta	0.52***	0.52***	0.47***	0.45***	0.47***	0.48***
OA4 => OA5						
H ₂ : OA4 mediated by TV5 use => OA5	0.12***	0.03	0.01	0.04*	0.09***	0.13***
H ₃ : TV5 => OA5	0.16***	0.13***	0.10***	0.08***	0.12***	0.13***
School (higher level) => OA5	-0.02	0.02	0.04*	0.01	-0.06**	0.01
Gender (female) => OA5	0.15***	-0.04	0.02	0.05*	-0.06**	0.03
Parents in this sector	-0.01	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	0.02	-0.04*
oa5: r^2 , df 5/1855	0.38***	0.30***	0.26***	0.25***	0.29***	0.28***

Note. * $p > 0.05$, ** $p > 0.01$, *** $p > 0.001$; $n = 1860$; p -values are taken as indicators of relevance as the data derives from a complete survey and not a sample.

only of moderate size. The strongest effect occurred in relation to the health segment with a beta of 0.16. Somewhat smaller effects of 0.13 occurred in relation to the criminal justice and animal keeping sectors and effects of 0.12 occurred in the case of construction. Small yet significant effects were also discovered in the case of casting, in which the effect size was 0.1, and in the case of real estate, in which the effect size was 0.08. These effects were hard indicators of real media effects, which were small but systematic in the cases of all the occupational segments that prominently appeared on the television programs most often watched by adolescents in Germany.

Conclusion

Limitations

It is not possible to guarantee that the district in the analysis can be used as an example that is representative of all adolescents in Germany. In fact, variations are likely to occur due to regional differences in the distribution of occupations. Nevertheless, it is expected that the basic associations between television usage and occupational aspirations will be almost the same in other districts. This expectation is based on the wide spread of different social and individual backgrounds, which is very much expected to have been reflected in the presented study.

A second limitation relates to the character of the analysis as a secondary analysis. The panel study was in the field for the fourth wave when contact was made with the principal researchers. Fortunately, it was possible to include questions about occupation-related media use in the fifth wave, which enabled the causal analysis of media effects to be carried out in conjunction with the data about occupational aspirations from the fourth wave. However, for a fundamental analysis of the interplay between television use and occupational aspirations, data measuring television use in all waves would have been necessary. This is especially the case when assessing processes like reinforcing spirals (Slater, 2007).

Implications

Despite the problems discussed above, this study has been the first to present data from a large-scale research project on the relationship between vocational aspirations and the consumption of occupation-related television programs. The main hypothesis predicted that occupation-related television usage (such as watching hospital series and documentaries in the case of the health segment) would have the effect of enhancing the probability of developing corresponding vocational aspirations. Here, both possible directions of influence were taken into account—that is, the influence of vocational aspirations in motivating corresponding television usage as well as the influence of genre-specific television use in inspiring corresponding vocational

aspirations. The analytical challenges of causality were addressed by using data on vocational aspirations that had been derived from two panel waves.

All the examples of the different occupational fields that appeared on television supported the hypotheses via positive regression coefficients of television usage with respect to related vocational aspirations. Although the relevant effects, whose coefficients ranged between 0.08 and 0.16, were only of small or moderate size, they were bigger than effects found in cultivation studies (e.g., Gehrau, 2014). It was also possible to identify that earlier vocational aspirations had a reinforcement effect in that they motivated television use related to the relevant occupation, which enhanced the probability of retaining the relevant aspiration in the cases of some occupational segments. These segments are, in fact, the ones in which less television was consumed by adolescents. Television programs related to such segments were consumed selectively: Only those pupils who had an intrinsic motivation watched those kinds of programs. It is therefore possible that it was this intrinsically motivated usage that caused the reinforcement effects. In contrast, with respect to both of the occupation-related television segments that were watched the most (criminal justice/law and casting), there were no reinforcement effects. Here, the frequency of television usage might have (at least partly) been prompted by social pressure, or the television usage might be attributable to coincidence because of the high frequency with which such television programs are aired. If this is true, television usage that took place because of social pressure or by chance had no reinforcement effect in terms of stabilizing vocational aspirations but still exerted a straightforward media effect on occupational aspirations. In order to achieve a better understanding of the reinforcement effect and its preconditions, more detailed panel studies are required.

The study took place in Germany, a country which has a very specific dual system of occupational education and suffers from a shortage of specialists and qualified employees. Nevertheless, it is expected that the basic processes by which career aspirations and orientations are developed in line with attractive televised role models will be similar in other western countries with similar television programs. Consequently, programs and offerings geared toward helping adolescents with their occupational orientation would be well advised to take these effects into consideration. On the one hand, the results presented in the present article might be seen as good news because it seems probable that occupational aspirations can be inspired via mass media like television. On the other hand, television programs are seldom likely to be produced to inspire vocational aspirations. Even more problematic is the fact that the effects are synchronized. In other words, it is likely that adolescents will have similar aspirations across the board. Accordingly, the range of aspirations with respect to different occupations is also likely to be narrower at the aggregate level of society.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Katrin Döveling for many helpful comments on earlier versions of this article.

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To cite this article: Lindsay H. Hoffman & Amanda L. Schechter (2016) Technical Skills Required: How Technological Efficacy Influences Online Political Behavior, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 60:3, 484-502, DOI: [10.1080/08838151.2016.1203321](https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203321)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1203321>



Published online: 01 Sep 2016.



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Technical Skills Required: How Technological Efficacy Influences Online Political Behavior

Lindsay H. Hoffman and Amanda L. Schechter

Rapid advances in technology have provided the potential to connect citizens to their surroundings in unprecedented ways. While many scholars examine different types of efficacy as a predictor of behavior (e.g., internal, external, and political), it is essential to examine how confident citizens feel in their ability to use the technology before understanding how they will use it politically. Research shows that perceived competence increases motivation, which is correlated with behavior. This study examined how traditional measures of efficacy and a new measure affect online political behaviors, concluding that technological efficacy is a reliable construct predicting online news use and expression.

Introduction

Nearly 60 percent of eligible adults voted in the 2012 presidential election (McDonald, 2012), yet 80 percent of Americans reported using the Internet that year (Zickuhr & Smith, 2012). Although voting arguably remains the ultimate act of political behavior in a democracy, the Internet and mobile technology are providing opportunities for citizens to engage with politics in new ways. In order to understand how people use technology to become involved with politics, however, it is critical to examine how confident people are in using it. Although decades of research on efficacy and individual perceptions of control have demonstrated this type of confidence is often a precursor to many types of behaviors (e.g., Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954; Langton & Karns, 1969; Hoffman & Thomson, 2009; Kenski & Stroud, 2006), many studies focus on efficacy within specific realms of behavior. Moreover, measures of efficacy, specifically as they relate to various media, tend to focus more on form than function.

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This research proposes a new measure of “technological efficacy” that emphasizes perceptions of technology as a tool, then examines how it impacts online political behavior. The literature review will begin by describing the new media landscape, then provide a brief overview of the study of efficacy and explicate the concept as it applies to new technology.

The New Media Landscape

The number of Americans who use technology for political purposes has rapidly increased since the single-page Web sites of the candidates of the 1990s and early 2000s. (Gibson, 2012; Stromer-Galley, 2000). By 2008, the number of people who cited using the Internet as their primary source of information for the presidential election increased by 23 percent (Rainie & Smith, 2008) over 2004. And just four short years later, in 2012, 55 percent of registered voters reported having watched a political video online.

The 2012 election was a watershed moment for politics online. The majority of Americans accessed news through at least one Web-based platform; 54 percent relied upon a desktop or laptop computer to access the news (Mitchell, Rosenstiel, & Christian, 2012). However, this computer-based news consumption is being supplemented with new mobile technology; nearly a quarter of Americans reported taking a dual approach to news consumption in 2012, relying upon both a computer and a mobile device, such as a smartphone or tablet, or all three (Mitchell, Rosenstiel, & Christian, 2012).

But mobile devices are not so much replacing older versions of technology as adding to them and creating a new “multiplatform” news consumer (Mitchell, Rosenstiel, Santhanam, & Christian, 2012). Nearly half of Americans in 2012 reported having a smartphone and 62 percent of them used their phone to access news—that’s an 11 percent increase in just about six months (Mitchell, Rosenstiel, Santhanam, & Christian, 2012; Pew Research Internet Project, 2014). And tablets are catching up; 22 percent of Americans report having a tablet, and 64 percent of them report using it to access news (Mitchell, Rosenstiel, Santhanam, & Christian, 2012). Perhaps most interestingly, individuals who have both a smartphone and tablet spend more than twice as much time getting news on those devices than users with only one device.

Social media have also changed the news consumption landscape. Nearly 30 percent of Facebook users reported using recommendations from Facebook to check news at least somewhat often, and more than 40 percent reported that they would not have gotten news they found on Twitter through other sources (Mitchell, Rosenstiel, & Christian 2012; Pew Research Center Fact Tank, 2014). Such social networking sites (SNSs) have very quickly drawn a large consumer base; the percentage of online traffic directed to news platforms through social networking sites increased 57 percent between 2009 and 2012 (Mitchell, Rosenstiel, & Christian, 2012).

The prevalence of citizens' accessing online news and social networking sites through both traditional and mobile devices not only demonstrates a changing media landscape, but also suggests a new political landscape. These new capabilities, facilitated by technology, allow citizens to engage directly with each other and with the political process itself. Indeed, Livingstone (2004) asserts that the ability of citizens to create content can actually transform them from consumers to active citizens. But in order to effectively use these technologies for political purposes, the user needs to feel a certain level of confidence that they can perform the behavior and that it will have an impact.

Explicating Types of Efficacy

The need to feel confident in the control over oneself and one's world is universal. This need is referred to as *self-efficacy*, or the judgment of one's capability to act in a way that attains a desired goal (Urdan & Pajeres, 2006). Importantly, these judgments can predict how we behave (Bandura, 1994) and can serve as an important predictor of political participation in the form of political efficacy. This specific type of efficacy is defined by the belief that one's actions can make a difference in the government (Abrahamson & Aldrich, 1982; Campbell et al., 1954).

The concept of political efficacy is rooted in the work of Campbell and colleagues (1954), who provided initial measurement for the concept and found it was related to political participation. Renshon (1974) later asserted that an underlying assumption of political efficacy is that a citizen is innately motivated to participate in politics and that each individual has a civic responsibility to—at minimum—cast a vote (Renshon, 1974). However, as illustrated by voter turnout statistics from the past few decades, only 40 to 60 percent of Americans have actually cast a vote in presidential elections since the 1940s (McDonald, 2012). That Americans vote irregularly, if at all, suggests that feelings of civic duty alone cannot serve as a motivating factor for participation.

Moy (2008) defines political efficacy as "a multidimensional concept that links political cognitions, attitudes, and behaviors and refers to citizens' beliefs in their ability to influence the political system." As such, political efficacy combines a number of personal attributes that don't rely simply on feelings of civic duty or even the practical impact of voter participation. Instead, it embodies numerous attributes and is typically analyzed on two different dimensions (Acock, Clarke, & Stewart, 1985; Niemi, Craig, & Mattei, 1991). The first dimension is *internal efficacy*, which means doing something for a personal sense of political competence or because it is interesting. The second dimension, *external efficacy*, is the belief that the political system is democratic and will respond to actions taken by its citizens (Coleman, Morrison, & Svennevig, 2008; Moy, 2008).

Many studies have found a significant relationship between political efficacy and political behavior. Feelings of self-competence—combined with confidence in system responsiveness—serve to encourage political action (Moy, 2008). An early study

(Langton & Karns, 1969) concluded that political efficacy was correlated with a more positive outlook toward government, as well as increased political participation. More recent work has expanded how efficacy predicts other behaviors, like reading or watching the news and going online for news, and in general, suggests that newspaper reading increases efficacy while television viewing decreases it (Moy, 2008). But some scholars have examined the alternative. For example, Pinkelton, Austin, and Fortman (1998) concluded that active television media use can actually predict political efficacy. Others (e.g., Hoffman & Thompson, 2009; Hoffman & Young, 2011) have also concluded that political efficacy can serve as a mediator between viewing certain types of television programming and political behaviors. Regarding the Internet, Kenski and Stroud (2006) found a significant, albeit small, relationship between Internet use and political efficacy. But what much of the literature in this area lacks is a look at efficacy as it relates to the *medium*, in addition to how it relates to other cognitions, attitudes, and behaviors.

Technology and the Importance of Technological Efficacy

In an ideal world, the Internet holds symbolic power for ordinary citizens who may not otherwise have power (Tang & Yang, 2011). As Gurevitch, Coleman, and Blumler (2009) argue, “media interactivity has provided a vernacular tone to political debate, allowing lay voices into what was once deemed to be a highly exclusive discourse” (p. 171). This ability for citizens to remain constantly informed and to voice their opinions online has potential to stimulate political efficacy, knowledge, and engagement (Kenski & Stroud, 2006). Moreover, confidence and skill with technology can contribute to “increased opportunity and engagement in society” (Campbell & Kwak, 2010, p. 548). As our media landscape evolves, it would seem that a necessary precursor of political engagement—online and off—will increasingly be confidence in using technology.

Yet existing measures of online or Internet efficacy vary across disciplines and inevitably lose validity as technology advances over time. As a result, it is necessary to reevaluate how we measure this construct. Particularly because we live in an increasingly mobile world with “tethered” devices that often do all the behind-the-scenes work for us (Zittrain, 2008) and algorithms drive much of what we see (Hess, 2015), feelings of efficacy have likely changed over time. A review of research on efficacy as it relates to the Internet follows, with a focus on the work of Eastin and LaRose (2000), Hofstetter, Zuniga, and Dozier (2001), and Tedesco (2007) to examine how this new conceptualization of technological efficacy affects online political behaviors. But before defining efficacy, we must examine the meaning of the term “technology.”

Defining Technology. Papacharissi (2009) examined how the definition of “technology,” like many other terms, has evolved over time, and identified several metaphors associated with the term. First, she asserts that technology is often seen as

a “tool” that in and of itself cannot create social change. Yet people who use it do have such agency, as we can see in contemporary social movements like the Arab Spring and #BlackLivesMatter. Papacharissi also demonstrates that technology has been defined as a mirror that is non-neutral, suggesting that how we think about and use technology relies on the language we use to describe it and is inherently rooted in a social, political, and historical context.

Technology, in this sense, is not so much about the tool itself but the way we perceive the tool. These words imply individual agency while also demonstrating that technology is neither good nor evil, but a tool humans can use to achieve various goals. Kranzberg (1985) argued, “changes in individual technologies do not by themselves have revolutionary sociocultural effects” (p. 36). As such, technology is defined as a tool with socially, politically, and historically constructed perceptions of its use and effects.

Research on Efficacy and Internet Use. With this definition as a core of our understanding of technology established (and by extension the Internet as such a tool), many scholars in the early 2000s began to examine citizens’ perceptions of the Internet, with particular focus on individual agency. This was often operationalized as efficacy, competence, and control. For example, Eastin and LaRose (2000) demonstrated that those individuals with lower efficacy are less likely to perform actions online. Csikszentmihalyi and Rathunde (1991) found that when people perceive something as challenging and important but regard their skill levels as low, it induces anxiety, resulting in a negative influence on performance. Similarly, Correa (2010) found that when one feels capable of posting material online, perceives it to be pertinent and effective, or is intrinsically motivated by interest, he or she is more likely to create content online. The research suggests that the more competent one feels, the more likely he or she is to be an active Internet user. Other studies in such diverse areas as information management and psychology have examined such individual agency as it relates to Internet use. Many of these studies, however, are narrowly focused on one type of Internet behavior, such as being in a virtual community (Lin, 2006) or using an online learning system (Lee, Cheung, & Chen, 2005).

Eastin and LaRose’s (2000) scale of “Internet self-efficacy” tapped into the digital divide in access to the Internet—an important focus of research at the time. Yet the confidence items are all specifically related to the Internet. As we enter a mobile era, being connected to the Internet is achievable for a far greater portion of the public than it was in 2000. Indeed, both African Americans and English-speaking Latinos are more likely to have a mobile phone than Whites and are more likely to use it for more purposes (Zickuhr & Smith, 2012). This suggests that a measure based on the “Internet” rather than the technology itself is in need of an update.

Research on Media and Information Efficacy. In other areas of communication research, scholars have examined various types of “media efficacy,” or feelings of confidence associated with accessing and understanding media. For example,

Hofstetter, Zuniga, and Dozier (2001) developed the construct, “media self-efficacy,” which validated scales for both newspaper reading and television viewing. They proposed that media self-efficacy—a mediating variable between uses and effects—would positively relate to political efficacy as well as participation. They measured media self-efficacy as three items: information-seeking, social-linkage, and diversion efficacy.

Relatedly, work by Tedesco (2007) and others (Kaid, McKinney, & Tedesco, 2007) has explored the idea of “political information efficacy,” which can be defined as confidence in one’s political knowledge and its sufficiency to engage with politics. For example, in Tedesco’s (2007) research, subjects either participated in interactive political communication online or via traditional media. The author found that the increased presence of interactivity in the Internet group not only significantly increased feelings of political efficacy, but also increased the value that participants placed on voting as an important civic engagement activity. While media certainly play an important role in this measure—and results do point to the inherent need for media access, use, and attention to increase such efficacy—the connection is more implicit than explicit. That is, the four items in this scale encompass overall feelings of competence in the knowledge one possesses, rather than the confidence in being able to effectively get that knowledge in the first place.

A more nuanced measure of such political information efficacy as applied to an online environment was developed by Shen, Wang, Guo, and Guo (2009) and is labeled “Internet efficacy.” The concept measures individuals’ confidence in whether the Internet can empower and benefit them politically. It consists of three measures that assess if the Internet is perceived to help people have a say, be better informed, and help government officials learn more about public opinion. Yet this scale, while found to be associated with opinion expression, was actually not related to Internet use, which it seems a scale of Internet efficacy should be. Moreover, the items are wholly of an external efficacy nature, suggesting that this measure may not be tapping into “Internet efficacy” as much as “external political Internet efficacy.”

Other communication scholars have identified similar types of efficacy as they relate to certain tasks. For example, Pingree (2011) identified “epistemic self-efficacy”—or the confidence in one’s ability to seek out truth in politics—and found that the presence of factual disputes in news can increase this confidence. Tewksbury, Hals, and Bibart (2008) found that browsing for news online was associated with “social self-efficacy,” or the confidence in one’s ability to engage in social tasks.

Beyond Efficacy—Research on the Digital Divide and Interactivity

There is also some compelling evidence that the perceived and actual ability to use technology can impact civic and political behaviors. Campbell and Kwak (2010) found that people with greater comfort with mobile technology were more civically and politically engaged. They argue that competence is “an emergent dimension of the so-called ‘second-level’ digital divide, which has traditionally

focused on computer skills" (p. 536). As Hargittai and colleagues (2002; DiMaggio, Hargittai, Celeste, & Shafer, 2004) have argued, such skills can create more opportunity for engagement with one's society. This "second level" of the digital divide occurs after access is no longer the primary barrier to online information, but skills and abilities to use media create different outcomes among users (Hargittai, 2002).

Another line of research, explored in depth in the 1990s and early 2000s, focused on interactivity. This "elusive concept" (Bucy, 2004) can be defined in numerous ways, and as a description, trait, or variable (Stromer-Galley & Foot, 2002). Stromer-Galley and Foot (2002) demonstrated with focus groups that participants felt more in control and efficacious when the medium itself was interactive (rather than the other definition of interactivity, which describes interaction between two humans that is computer-mediated). Indeed, "control in the focus group interactions referred primarily to citizens' abilities to navigate, to look in greater depth at political information they are interested in, or to change the configuration of the websites" (Stromer-Galley & Foot, 2002). Although these are by and large *perceptions* of control, they do have implications for how citizens interact with the political world around them, at a minimum increasing feelings of acceptance and satisfaction (Rafaeli, 1988). What this body of research tells us is that engaging with a *medium* itself—and all the characteristics of that medium—can create perceptions of control, confidence, and efficacy. However, much of this research took place in the early years of the Internet as a public resource, so it is time to reevaluate medium-specific perceptions and their impact on user behavior.

Although each of these areas of study—efficacy and Internet use, media and information efficacy, and the digital divide and interactivity—have vast differences in their use and applications in Communication research, they come together to demonstrate the importance of perceptions of media and self-confidence, and how those perceptions might influence behaviors.

Hypotheses

The present study seeks to update the explicit media component of the Eastin and LaRose (2000) Internet self-efficacy scale and to expand upon the political information efficacy scale (e.g., Tedesco, 2007) and the media self-efficacy scale (Hofstetter et al., 2001) to understand how technological efficacy affects online political behaviors. As such, this study fills a methodological gap as well as a theoretical gap, in that we examine the utility of a new efficacy scale that can be replicated in political or non-political contexts. We also put this new measure to the test by examining its effects on specific types of political Internet use.

Since we are proposing a new measure of technological efficacy, we first examine the reliability and validity of the scale. Then, in order to demonstrate that this new measure of technological efficacy is related to communication behaviors (as outlined in Hofstetter et al., 2001), we propose three hypotheses. Each of these dependent

variables captures a specific type of online political use, including using news, commenting on political Web sites, and communicating with others.

H₁: Technological efficacy will significantly predict online news use.

H₂: Technological efficacy will significantly predict posting political comments on Web sites.

H₃: Technological efficacy will significantly predict communicating with others about politics on social networking sites.

Method

Sample and Procedure

The data for the present research come from telephone interviews conducted from July 21 to August 9, 2011. Our sampling frame was a panel of 1,000 residents from a mid-Atlantic state who had previously agreed to participate in surveys.¹ Interviews were conducted with landline and cell phones, depending on the preferred contact number provided by the respondents. Panel members were notified of the upcoming telephone survey through a mail invitation distributed on July 15, 2011. The final sample in this study includes 708 adults, all of whom were of voting-age, making the participation rate over 70 percent.²

The mean age of the sample was 61.6 (SD = 14.80). Forty-seven percent of respondents were registered as Democrats, while 34.7 percent were registered Republicans and 18.4 percent were registered Independents. Just over 50 percent of the sample was female (51.4 percent), and 90 percent reported being Caucasian, with the other 10 percent divided among African American (8.7 percent), American Indian or Alaska native (2.3 percent), Asian (0.7 percent), or Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (0.3 percent). The most frequent category of education was some college, including junior or community college (28.1 percent), yet 50 percent had received either a four-year college degree (25.6 percent) or a graduate degree (25.8 percent).

Measures

Technological efficacy was measured with eight items on a 5-point scale ranging from *not at all confident* to *very confident* in the following activities: (1) Finding information online; (2) Communicating with others online; (3) Downloading and uploading files online;³ (4) Talking about Internet hardware, like a network or router; (5) Talking about Internet software, like a search engine or Web browser; (6) Troubleshooting Internet problems;⁴ (7) Using a specific Internet program or app,

like Facebook; and (8) Knowing where to get help on Internet questions if you need it.⁵ The mean technological efficacy score was 2.50 (SD = 0.79), Cronbach's alpha = 0.90. See the Appendix for question and response wording.

Political efficacy was measured using a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*, adapted from Craig et al. (1990): "People like me don't have any say about what the government does"; "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on"; "Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things"; "Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly"; "I don't think public officials care much what people like me think"; and "Parties are only interested in people's votes but not in their opinions." The mean political efficacy score was 2.80 (SD = 0.83), Cronbach's alpha = 0.76.

To measure online news use, we expanded upon examining traditional news, or simply asking how much respondents paid attention to "online news" in general. The variable is a combination of the average number of days in the last week a respondent had viewed news on a news organization site, a blog or personal site, or a SNS (M = 1.42, SD = 1.61).

Online political activity was measured by counting the number of sites respondents had ever posted comments about politics or elections on any of the following: an online discussion or listserv, on one's own blog or someone else's, on a SNS, on Twitter, and on a Web site of any other kind. A "1" represents that the respondent posted comments on one of these, whereas a "5" would indicate having posted on all possible outlets (M = 0.69, SD = 1.14).

We also measured how frequently respondents used SNSs to communicate with family and friends about politics: more than once a day (5), every day (4), three to five days a week (3), one to two days per week (2), or less often/never (1). (M = 1.16, SD = 0.58).

Control variables included ideology, which was measured on a 5-point scale with 1 indicating *very conservative* and 5 indicating *very liberal* and moderate as a middle-point (M = 2.87, SD = 1.02). Political interest was measured on a 4-point scale, with 4 indicating greatest interest (M = 3.62, SD = 0.55). Age was measured as years (M = 61.6, SD = 14.80). Race was a simple dummy variable indicating 1 = White or 0 = Other (M = .90, SD = 0.30). Education was measured in six categories ranging from less than high school to graduate degree (M = 4.0 or 4-year college; SD = 1.44). Finally, each model controlled for political knowledge, which was measured as a sum of responses to five general questions (see Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996), M = 4.12, SD = 1.01.

Results

Scale Validation for Technological Efficacy

Before embarking on our hypothesis tests, we set out to examine the new scale of technological efficacy in both reliability and validity. Each item was normally distributed, with no skewness or kurtosis scores greater than +/- 1.30. A simple

reliability analysis revealed that Cronbach's alpha for the 8-item scale was 0.90, and was not improved by the removal of any of the items. Of the 687 respondents who answered all questions, the average score on the 5-point scale was at the midpoint, $M = 2.46$ ($SD = 0.79$). The means for each item ranged from $M = 1.9$ ($SD = 0.98$) ("confidence in downloading and uploading files online") to $M = 3.1$ ($SD = 0.95$) ("confidence in finding information online"). The standard deviations ranged from 0.94 to 1.10, suggesting that variability was relatively tightly clustered around the mean.

We examined both predictive and discriminant validity. Predictive validity is demonstrated in the results of the hypothesis tests below. We assessed discriminant validity by comparing single- and two-factor models using Confirmatory Fit Index (CFI) and the Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA). In this analysis, the two factors we analyzed were technological efficacy and political efficacy, in order to demonstrate that we are not actually capturing some component of political efficacy.

Results of the confirmatory factor analysis show that the single-factor model produced poorer fit than the two-factor model, suggesting that technological efficacy and political efficacy are two distinct constructs. This model fixed the factor variances to one, and estimated each factor loading freely so we could compare it with a two-factor model. This method also allows us to compare each model's fit with a Chi-square difference test with one degree of freedom. Specifically, the single-factor model was significant, $\text{Chi-square} = 772.65(54)$, $p < .001$, but demonstrated relatively poor goodness-of-fit, with a CFI of .81. This figure should ideally be closer to at least .90 or above (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Similarly, the RMSEA in the single-factor model was 0.11. Some scholars use 0.10 as a cut-off, since higher values indicating poorer fit (Kenny, 2015), which suggests the RMSEA does not indicate satisfactory fit for the one-factor model.

The two factor model, on the other hand—which treated technological efficacy and political efficacy as separate factors—was significant, $\text{Chi-square} = 462.83(53)$, $p < .001$ with a CFI of 0.89, and an RMSEA of 0.09.⁶ This demonstrates improvement over the single-factor model, suggesting that the two factors (Internet efficacy and political efficacy) are not redundant measures of these constructs.⁷

Hypothesis Tests

A multiple regression analysis was used to test H_1 , that technological efficacy would significantly predict online news use. The model included age, race, education, gender, ideology, political interest, political efficacy, political knowledge, the number of sites posted political comments on, and frequency of communicating with others using SNSs as predictor variables. The final model was significant and accounted for 30 percent of the variance in overall online news use. Technological efficacy was a significant and positive predictor ($b = .15$, $p < .10$) of online news use, controlling for demographics as well as using SNSs or other sites to

Table 1
OLS Regression Predicting Online News Use on News Sites, Blogs, or SNSs

	<i>b</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	β
Age	-.01*	-0.01	-.08
Gender	.39**	.12	.12
Race (White)	.27	.20	.05
Education	.06	.04	.05
Political Ideology	.11†	.06	.07
Political Interest	.15	.12	.05
Political Efficacy	.03	.07	.02
Political Knowledge	.03	.06	.02
Number of Sites Commented On	.38**	.06	.27
SNS Political Communication Frequency	.69**	.11	.25
Technological Efficacy	.15†	.09	.08
Model Fit	<i>Adjusted R</i> ² = .30		

Notes. ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, † $p < .10$.

No items had VIF above 1.5 or Tolerance below 0.66, suggesting that the multicollinearity violation has not been violated.

communicate about politics, supporting H_1 .⁸ Also significant in the model were gender (being male), age (being younger), and other online behaviors (see Table 1 for all coefficients).

Similar models were used to test H_2 and H_3 , which suggested that technological efficacy would predict posting political comments on Web sites (H_2) and communicating with others about politics on SNSs (H_3). H_2 was supported. The model accounted for 31 percent of overall variance (see Table 2). Technological efficacy was a significant and positive predictor of posting comments ($b = 0.21$, $p < .01$), as was being liberal, politically interested, using SNSs for communicating about politics, and getting news online. In testing H_3 , however, we see that technological efficacy was not a significant predictor of communicating about politics on SNSs. Being younger, having less education, and exhibiting other online political behaviors were the only significant predictors in this model (see Table 3). Perhaps most notable in each of these models is that the traditional measure of political efficacy does not significantly predict any of the online political behaviors.

Discussion

Technology has become an essential component of political information-seeking and involvement, changing the way citizens relate to each other and how they view themselves in the greater scheme of the political system. The more comfortable people

Table 2
OLS Regression Predicting Number of Sites on Which Respondents Posted
Political Comments

	<i>b</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>β</i>
Age	-.00	.00	-.03
Gender	-.12	.08	-.05
Race	.16	.04	.09
Education	-.03	.03	-.03
Political Ideology	.10*	.04	.09
Political Interest	.17*	.08	.08
Political Efficacy	-.03	.05	-.02
Political Knowledge	.04	.04	.03
SNS Political Communication Frequency	.55**	.07	.30
Average Days Viewed News Online or SNS	.19**	.03	.27
Technological Efficacy	.21**	.06	.15
Model Fit	<i>Adjusted R</i> ² = .31		

Notes. ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

No items had VIF above 1.4 or Tolerance below 0.72, suggesting that the multicollinearity violation has not been violated.

Table 3
OLS Regression Predicting Frequency of Using SNSs to Communicate with
Others about Politics

	<i>b</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>β</i>
Age	-.00*	.00	-.09
Gender	-.02	.04	-.02
Race (White)	-.03	.08	-.02
Education	-.04*	.02	-.09
Political Ideology	-.03	.02	-.06
Political Interest	.04	.04	.04
Political Efficacy	.04	.03	.06
Political Knowledge	-.04	.02	-.06
Number of Sites Posting Political Comments	.16**	.02	.30
Average Days Viewed News Online or SNS	.10**	.02	.26
Technological Efficacy	.03	.03	.04
Model Fit	<i>Adjusted R</i> ² = .27		

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

No items had VIF above 1.4 or Tolerance below 0.70, suggesting that the multicollinearity violation has not been violated.

feel using technology, the more likely they are to see how it might impact the larger society. For example, citizens have taken to posting petitions on “We the People” (<https://petitions.whitehouse.gov/>) addressing issues such as gun violence, marijuana legalization, and human rights in Sri Lanka, with direct responses from the White House for petitions with enough signatures. Indeed, as the site’s growth has skyrocketed, so has the minimum number of signatures required (Phillips, 2013). This increase is not only related to the access that the White House has provided, but in individuals’ level of confidence that they can effectively make change using technology.

This study explored how confident people feel using technology, and whether that confidence is related to their participation in political activity online. Specifically, this research introduced a new measure of technological efficacy and examined its relationship with online news use as well as newer forms of online political expression through posting comments and communicating with others via social networking sites (SNSs). Analyses confirmed our hypotheses that confidence in one’s technological abilities predicts online political behaviors, including accessing news online and posting comments on Web sites. This measure does not, however, predict communicating with others about politics on SNSs. It is possible that, because such communication may resemble “network-mediated human interaction” (Stromer-Galley & Foot, 2002), this measure of technological efficacy is not an appropriate predictor for such computer-mediated communication. Overall, these results demonstrate that the perceived sense of control over one’s interactions with the Internet as a tool influences use behaviors, but not necessarily interpersonal communication. Thus, these findings propose a new look at the two types of interactivity outlined by Stromer-Galley and Foot (2002).

Perhaps the most important piece of the present research is that it identifies a reliable and valid measure of technological efficacy, which can be used in future research. Analyses revealed that the items are normally distributed and the scale is highly reliable. We were also able to demonstrate that technological efficacy is not simply another dimension of political efficacy, since the two-factor model demonstrated improvement in fit over the single-factor model. Moreover, the fact that political efficacy did not predict any of the three specific types of online political behavior also suggests the need for a measure of technological efficacy, because political efficacy alone cannot account for these types of online behaviors. The null findings for political efficacy also illustrate additional discriminant validity between the two constructs.

In assessing predictive validity, the first major finding from the hypothesis tests was that technological efficacy predicts online news use. This finding is consistent with literature investigating efficacy’s role in online content creation (e.g., Livingstone, 2004). Even after controlling for demographics and using SNSs or other sites to communicate about politics, technological efficacy was a positive and significant predictor of using the Internet to stay informed about current events on a variety of information outlets. In addition to demonstrating predictive validity for the scale, this finding also reveals that, even in the presence of other variables, technological efficacy stands out as a predictor of news use online.

The second major finding from the hypothesis tests is that technological efficacy significantly and positively predicts commenting about politics online. Although technological efficacy did not predict posting political content on SNSs alone (see Table 3), Table 2 demonstrates that this measure is predictive of political expression across a breadth of online outlets. Additionally, the fact that this sample skewed older might indicate a floor effect for SNS use, as evidenced by the mean score of 1.16 ($SD = 0.58$) on a 5-point frequency scale of using this technology for communicating about politics. Future research should replicate these analyses with a younger sample or a sample that is more apt to use SNSs like Facebook to talk about politics.

Other significant predictors demonstrate a more complete picture of online political behavior. Perhaps not surprisingly, being young and engaging in other online behaviors were predictors of political social networking. Although we did not find technological efficacy to be a significant predictor of political social networking, engaging in other online political behaviors was a predictor in political social networking. These results are consistent with previous research (Campbell & Kwak 2010; Hargittai, 2002), which highlighted digital skills as a gateway to more engagement. Moreover, we found that being politically interested is a motivator of online commenting behavior, which corroborates Correa's (2010) conclusion that interest is a significant intrinsic motivator for online content creation.

These relationships demonstrate that feelings of confidence and ability to use technology, as well as actual use, can positively contribute to political activity. Yet, as Campbell and Kwak (2010) note, even as "the rapid evolution of mobile communication technology creates new affordances for people to be connected and informed . . . it also poses new challenges for those with lower levels of technological fluency, and this can have a detrimental effect on one's ability to maximize the benefits of mobile communication technology" (p. 548). Research on this "second-level digital divide" (Campbell & Kwak, 2010; Hargittai, 2002), which moves beyond access to "fluency" or—in the present research—technological efficacy, can enlighten scholars to the ways in which technology can have differential effects on different populations. For example, in the present analysis, the technological efficacy scale is positively correlated with education ($r = .26$), yet negatively correlated with age ($r = -.47$). This is evidence that a new digital divide is emergent, and it hinges on confidence and perceived ability to use technology.

Politicians, too, increasingly take advantage of these new communication pathways provided by social media, which eliminate media gatekeepers and connect them directly to constituents. The 2008 and 2012 presidential elections are testimonies to the prevalence and success of direct constituent communication through social media (Cogburn and Espinoza-Vasquez 2011). In 2012, Obama's winning campaign posted almost four times as much content as Romney's campaign on twice as many platforms. And citizens responded—Obama received twice as many responses in shares, views, likes, and comments on his posts (Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2012). The present research provides evidence that the more confident people become with this technology, the more they will actively engage in a digital democracy.

Limitations and Future Research

Because this was a telephone-based survey, our sample did skew toward older individuals, which excludes an important demographic in the online political sphere: members of the Millennial and Generation X generations. Younger Americans tend to be more familiar with technological developments, so it is crucial to analyze how this fluency affects their news consumption habits and political efficacy and to examine how this differs from older groups.

Our survey was also subject to a higher amount of self-selection than usual because participation was encouraged through a pre-existing panel. Even with this limitation, however, it is arguable that our findings are conservative, and that they may be stronger among a more youth-represented sample. Additionally, our sample reflects a more educated and liberal sector of the state's population, so future research should replicate the measure of technological efficacy across different samples. We also included only a measure of ideology, but not strength of ideology or partisanship. Given that scholars have found online political behaviors contributing to partisan polarization, this measure would be an important addition to future research. Finally, our first hypothesis was supported at the $p < .10$ level; research that replicates these analyses with other samples will shed light on whether the relationship is spurious or not.

Conclusions

Technology and the political media landscape are dynamic and fluctuating phenomena. Although the terrain may look different from year to year (or even day to day), there are some consistencies within humans that guide our behaviors. Indeed, this is what drives much political communication research—what are those characteristics that are most likely to predict political participation? Political knowledge? Attitudes? The present study demonstrates that technological efficacy is an important predictor in the traditional bag of antecedents—at least when it comes to some online political behaviors. Given that technology is what we make of it (Kranzberg, 1985; Papacharissi, 2009), this research contributes to the vast and varying literatures that link individuals' feelings of agency to larger social impact. Citizens in this new media era not only need political efficacy to be engaged, but also technological efficacy, and this is only likely to escalate as we become more and more reliant on technology. The present study provides a reliable and valid baseline for a measure that can be utilized in future research.

Funding

This study was made possible by funding from University of Delaware's Center for Political Communication and the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation.

Appendix

The Technological Efficacy Scale

In general, would you say you feel very confident, confident, somewhat confident, not at all confident, or not sure in doing the following activities on the Internet?:

1. Finding information online
2. Communicating with others online
3. Downloading and uploading files online
4. Talking about Internet hardware, like a network or router
5. Talking about Internet software, like a search engine or Web browser
6. Troubleshooting Internet problems
7. Using a specific Internet program or app, like Facebook
8. Knowing where to get help on Internet questions if you need it

Notes

1. The response rate estimates the fraction of the entire eligible sample ultimately interviewed and was calculated by taking the product of three component rates: *Contact rate*—the proportion of working numbers where a request for interview was made five; *Cooperation rate*—the proportion of contacted numbers where a consent for interview was at least initially obtained, versus those refused; and *Completion rate*—the proportion of initially cooperating and eligible interviews that were completed. Thus, the response rate for the landline pre-election sample (September, 2010) was 16, and the response rate for the cellular pre-election samples was 18 percent. The response rate for the follow-up landline post-election sample was 56 percent (November, 2010), and the response rate for the post-election cell phone sample was 48 percent. Ad-hoc analyses of the post-election data reveal that older residents were more likely to respond to the follow-up interview and, non-Hispanic whites were more likely to respond to the follow-up interviews than racial minorities. More information is available from the authors upon request.
2. Because the sample is based on those who self-selected into the panel rather than a probability sample, no estimates of sampling error can be calculated. All sample surveys and polls may be subject to multiple sources of error, including, but not limited to sampling error, coverage error, and measurement error.
3. Items 1, 2, and 3 were adapted from Lin (2006), which were worded: "I feel confident finding information through participation in in virtual communities"; "I feel confident exchanging information with other members of virtual communities"; and a combination of "I feel confident downloading files from the virtual community" with "I feel confident uploading files to the virtual community."
4. Items 4 and 5 were adapted from Eastin and LaRose (2000), which were worded: "I feel confident understanding terms/words relating to Internet hardware" and "relating to Internet software." Item 6 is the same wording as in Eastin and LaRose (2000).
5. Item 7 was developed by the first author and Item 8 derived from Eastin and LaRose (2000), which was worded: "turning to an on-line discussion group when help is needed."

6. The authors note this model is not a perfect fit as the RMSEA could be considered mediocre fit.
7. Each model included the eight original technological efficacy items, as well as four political efficacy items (two political efficacy items were removed from the original 6 because of poor fit).
8. The correlation between communicating via SNSs and posting comments was $r = 0.17$, which does not indicate a problem with multicollinearity. All Tolerance and VIF statistics can be found in the tables.

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To cite this article: Yonghwan Kim, Youngju Kim, Yuan Wang & Na Yeon Lee (2016) Uses and Gratifications, Journalists' Twitter Use, and Relational Satisfaction with the Public, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 60:3, 503-526, DOI: [10.1080/08838151.2016.1164171](https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1164171)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1164171>



Published online: 01 Sep 2016.



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Uses and Gratifications, Journalists' Twitter Use, and Relational Satisfaction with the Public

Yonghwan Kim, Youngju Kim, Yuan Wang , and Na Yeon Lee

This study employed the uses and gratification approach to investigate how journalists perceive relational satisfaction with the public on Twitter, specifically the associations between journalists' motivations to use Twitter, their Twitter use, and their relational satisfaction with the public. Through a survey of South Korean journalists, this study revealed that journalists' motivations for Twitter use are positively related to their job-related activities on Twitter (e.g., posting/sharing their news and interacting with audience), which consequently influences perceived relational satisfaction with the public. The findings provide new insight into an increasingly important part of the public's engagement and news/information flows in the digital media environment. This study expands upon the literature by analyzing how journalists' motivations for using Twitter and their job-related activities on Twitter are associated with relational satisfaction with the public.

Introduction

Microblogs, particularly Twitter, have emerged as a dominant venue for news and information. With the spread of communication technologies such as social media, the news media environment has begun to change. For example, social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook allow citizens the opportunity to engage in conversations about news and public issues, thus altering the way traditional news

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is delivered and consumed (Sheffer & Schultz, 2010). Journalists as well as citizens have faced this change. An increasing number of journalists and news organizations make use of Twitter as a way to promote their work, express their thoughts and opinions, and engage with audiences and news sources (Hermida, 2010).

Digital and social media features allow people to easily exchange information and opinions. As a result, Twitter may serve as a communication tool for journalists and audiences. For example, journalists can promote and research their news stories, and the general public follows journalists and provides their opinions (Sheffer & Schultz, 2010). This interaction between journalists and the public in the social media sphere challenges and alters the way news and information are produced, reported, and consumed (Braun & Gillespie, 2011; Sheffer & Schultz, 2010). Some argue that communication scholars and professionals need to reconsider and pay more attention to how the relationship between journalists and the audience has changed since the advent of social media (Braun & Gillespie, 2011; Hermida, 2010).

A growing body of scholarship, therefore, has considered changes in journalistic roles, such as how journalists and news organizations utilize Twitter (e.g., Barnard, 2016; Poell & Borra, 2011). However, little attention has been given to why professional journalists use Twitter and how such cognitive motivations are associated with their professional use of Twitter. There has been even less research that explores how journalists' Twitter use is related to their relational satisfaction with the public. To help fill this gap in the literature, this study takes the uses and gratification approach (U&G) and organization-public relationship (OPR) as theoretical frameworks to examine professional journalists' motivations for using Twitter, as well as how such psychological motivations are related to their job-related activities on Twitter and, consequently, to their relationship satisfaction with the public.

It is important to note that most studies on OPR have mainly focused on the public's perspectives, that is, how the general public perceive their relationship with relevant organizations (Ki & Hon, 2007). Little attention has been devoted to exploring OPR from the point of view of news organizations or journalists, or to investigating what factors would influence journalists' perceptions of their relationship with the public, especially on Twitter. The relationship between journalists and the public in the online sphere is an important matter given the current digital media environment in which the public has become more visible and active in producing media content (Hermida, 2010).

This study examines the relationship between journalists and the public on Twitter—that is, how journalists perceive their relational satisfaction with the public. We utilize the uses and gratification approach (Chen & Kim, 2013; Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974; Katz, Haas, & Gurevitch, 1973) to examine this relationship from the standpoint of OPR. If journalists have greater motivation to use Twitter (e.g., desire to share their news and interact with others on Twitter), they will be more likely to use Twitter more often in their jobs. Job-related activities on Twitter may increase their interactions with general Twitter users, including sharing sources or information for news stories and discussion about current issues, which, in turn, affects their perceived relational satisfaction with the public. Our study proposes and tests these pathways using a survey of Korean journalists.

The findings contribute to the literature on OPR and U&G by providing empirical evidence of pathways to relational satisfaction, suggesting that professional journalists' motives may lead to their job-related professional activities on Twitter and thereby to their perceived relational satisfaction with the public in the Twitter sphere.

Literature Review

Journalists' Motivations for Twitter Use: Uses and Gratifications

The emerging digital media environment has made the identity of journalists more complicated. Sometimes the definition of journalist can be applied to ordinary individuals who contribute to discussion in the public sphere by providing a fact, story, photo, video, and so forth, such as citizen journalists or bloggers (Bruns & Highfield, 2012). Although the definitions of journalists and journalism have expanded and become somewhat blurred (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014), a journalist in this study is defined as one who adheres to professional practices and associated norms and is affiliated with news organizations and thus directly influences news content (Donsbach & Klett, 1993; Ugland & Henderson, 2007; see also Singer, 2006).

Traditionally, journalists and public relations practitioners often focused on how news organizations or journalists delivered information to the public (Gronstedt, 1997; Lindenmann, 1998). However, a digital media environment requires re-conceptualizing the ways in which the relationship between news organizations/journalists and the public is considered. That is, key publics should be considered as "active, interactive, and equal participants of an ongoing communication process" (Gronstedt, 1997, p. 39). In the current digital media environment, news organizations interact with the public using their Web pages (Esrock & Leichty, 1999) and more recently social media, such as Twitter (Messner, Linke, & Eford, 2011). Some news organizations encourage staff journalists to use Twitter as a news media outlet (Gleason, 2010).

The uses and gratification approach (U&G) is particularly suitable for looking at the relationship between professional journalists and the public via social media. U&G explains why and how people use media to gratify their needs and thus the differential patterns of media use or behavior (Katz et al., 1974; Rubin, 2009). U&G assumes that media users' media selection and use are goal-oriented, purposive, and motivated by the desire to satisfy their needs. In other words, the psychological perspective of U&G stresses individuals' active use and choice of media platforms or media content (Baran & Davis, 2006; Katz et al., 1973).

Various functions of social media platforms, such as posting/sharing users' thoughts and interacting with other users, offer different opportunities for gratifying users' needs to interact and communicate with others. Previous studies explored motives for using social media, such as Twitter. For example, Chen (2011) found that the more time a person spends on Twitter, the more the person gratifies a need for

connection with other users. Johnson and Yang (2009) found two types of Twitter use motives among Twitter users in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia: social motives (i.e., have fun, be entertained, relax, see what others are up to, pass the time, express myself freely, keep in touch with friends or family, communicate more easily, and communicate with many people at the same time) and information motives (i.e., get information, give or receive advice, learn interesting things, meet new people, and share information with others). Some studies in South Korea have also identified similar motivations of using Twitter such as seeking information, having fun, and interaction with others (Kim & Choi, 2012). In addition, Woo and Kang (2011) found six elements of usage gratification of Twitter, including communication with others, instantaneity, formation of relations, nature of short sentences, nature of information, and approaching famous people.

Unlike previous studies about Twitter use in general (Chen, 2011; Johnson & Yang, 2009), this study focuses on journalists' Twitter use using a U&G perspective based on the assumption that journalists may have their own journalistic needs to use Twitter and can show job-related Twitter usage patterns. For example, some previous research identified journalists' motives for blogging, which are distinct from social media use by the general public, such as non-gatekeeping and information-providing motives (Kim, 2011). It is expected that journalists would have unique reasons to use Twitter, which differ from general individuals' needs and gratifications. The following research question is proposed:

RQ₁: What are journalists' motives for using Twitter?

Links Between Motivations and Job-related Twitter Use

In the last several years, news organizations and journalists have increasingly employed social networking platforms (Messner et al., 2011). Journalists commonly use Twitter as a news source and for interacting with others (Hermida, 2010; Sheffer & Schultz, 2010). Through social media such as Twitter, journalists can collect news stories, disseminate information, promote their organization, programs, or articles, and interact with their audience (Deprez, Mechant, & Hoebeke, 2013).

Twitter posts have been increasingly used as a quick and up-to-date source of information for journalists and their news stories (Moody, Cohen, & Fourmon, 2013; Waters, Tindall, & Morton, 2010). For example, a passenger boarding a flight at San Francisco International Airport (SFO) provided news through Twitter about the crash landing of an Asiana Airlines flight in July 2013, before the mainstream media disseminated the story. Witnesses can tweet first-hand information immediately, which can be a valuable news source for both journalists and the public. Furthermore, journalists follow Twitter users who can provide information that might contribute to the coverage of a certain topic (Hill, 2010). For instance, many sports journalists follow athletes to utilize their tweets in sports coverage. This can provide information that is hard for journalists to obtain through traditional approaches (Deprez et al., 2013).

The culture of Twitter also allows the possibility for journalists to be more open with public opinion (Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012). Journalists use Twitter as a way to interact with their audiences and peers. For example, cable networks use Twitter to make connections with their audiences (Steinberg, 2009) and optimize relationships with them through various relational messages (Lin & Peña, 2011). Lasorsa and colleagues (2012) found that journalists share posts from others and freely express their personal opinions, talk about their jobs, engage in discussions with others, and even share information about their personal lives through Twitter. In addition, Twitter can be a useful tool for subsequent discussion with the public by allowing journalists to highlight and share relevant materials released by other sources to provide comprehensive understanding of an issue or event as it unfolds (Bruns, Burgess, Crawford, & Shaw, 2012).

U&G research has contributed to an understanding of what social and psychological factors influence media use motives and how individuals' motives are associated with actual media usage patterns (e.g., Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000). For instance, Chen and Kim (2013) suggested that individuals' motives for using social network sites (SNSs) are associated with their actual media consumption behaviors. They found that those with greater SNS use motivations of self-presentation and relationship building were more likely to stay on SNSs longer than they intended. In addition, Kim, Sohn, and Choi (2011) found five major motivations for using SNSs among U.S. and Korean college students: seeking friends, social support, information, entertainment, and convenience. This study demonstrated that individuals' motives for using SNSs are associated with usage patterns (i.e., amount of use and number of friends). For example, seeking social support and information motives predicted the participants' amount of SNS use. In addition, seeking social support, information, and entertainment motivations were positively related to the total number of friends in SNSs in the United States, while only the motivation of seeking friends was a predictor of the number of friends in Korea. Other studies also support a positive connection between motivations for using social media and actual media consumption behaviors. For example, motives for interaction with others and information were found to positively influence time spent on Twitter and Facebook (Kim & Choi, 2012). Focusing on Twitter, Whang and Shim (2011) showed that an individual's motivation to attract followers has a significant correlation with use of the reply function on Twitter. These studies suggest that individuals' motivations for using media technology can lead to specific patterns of media use to gratify these needs as U&G posits. Based on the U&G perspective, which postulates that individuals' usage patterns of media and communication technologies are driven by their needs, the current study examines the relationship between journalists' motives and their job-related Twitter use with the following hypothesis:

H₁: Journalists' Twitter use motives will be positively associated with their job-related Twitter use.

Organization-Public Relationship and Journalists' Relational Satisfaction with the Public

Organization-public relationship (OPR) is defined as "the patterns of interaction, transaction, exchange, and linkage between an organization and its publics" (Broom, Casey, & Ritchey, 2000, p. 18). Research has demonstrated the value of relationships as a predictor of public predispositions (Ledingham & Bruning, 1998), behavior (Ledingham & Bruning, 2000), and satisfaction (Bruning & Ledingham, 1998). Relationship satisfaction refers to "the extent to which one party feels favorably toward the other because positive expectations about the relationship are reinforced" (Hon & Grunig, 1999, p. 14). De Wulf, Odekerken-Schröder, and Iacobucci (2001) considered OPR to be the consumers' affective state resulting from an overall evaluation of their relationship with an organization.

Having a good quality of relationships between organizations and the public is the ultimate goal of public relations (Ki & Hon, 2007). Building and maintaining positive relationships is important because such relationships encourage the public's supportive behaviors (e.g., sales and donations), while preventing their unsupportive behaviors (e.g., boycotts) toward an organization (Grunig, Grunig, & Dozier, 2002). Previous studies showed that various factors influence OPR and relationship satisfaction. Dimensions of trust, openness, involvement, investment, and commitment (Ledingham & Bruning, 1998) and strategies for maintaining OPR, including access, positiveness, openness, assurance, networking, and the sharing of tasks (Hon & Grunig, 1999) were identified as enhancing satisfactory relationships between organizations and the public. More recently, relationship building through social media has received attention from public relations scholars (e.g., Lovejoy, Waters, & Saxton, 2012; Reitz, 2012; Saffer, Sommerfeldt, & Taylor, 2013).

Organizations as well as publics might experience relational satisfaction through interactions with each other. While much research has focused on OPR from publics' perspectives (Ki & Hon, 2007), little attention has been devoted to exploring OPR from news organizations' or journalists' perspectives. In other words, although Huang (1998) considered OPR as "the degree that the organization and its public trust one another, agree on who has rightful power to influence, experience satisfaction with each other, and commit oneself to one another" (p. 12), most previous OPR studies have mainly focused on the public side of perceived relational satisfaction toward an organization. For example, the effects of an organization's communication behavior on publics' perceptions of their relationship with the organization (Ki & Hon, 2007) and how these perceptions affect their attitudes and behaviors toward the organization have been studied (Bruning & Ledingham, 2000; Kang & Yang, 2010).

In contrast, the current study focuses on news organizations' and journalists' relational satisfaction with the public. Examining the relationship between journalists and the public in the online sphere is an important matter in the current digital media environment where the public has become more active and visible and journalists

can directly communicate with their audience and the public (Hermida, 2010). Therefore, this research investigates the relationship between journalists and the public on Twitter—more specifically, how journalists perceive their relational satisfaction with the public. We focus on the uses and gratification approach (Katz et al., 1974; Katz et al., 1973) to explore this relationship.

Job-related Twitter Use and Journalists' Relational Satisfaction with the Public

Literature on OPR has demonstrated that two-way communication or interactive characteristics of Web sites/social media can positively influence relationship building and management as well as relational satisfaction. For example, the dialogic features of corporate Web sites (Kent & Taylor, 1998; Park & Reber, 2008) and blog posts (Yang & Lim, 2009) improved perceptions of OPR. Kent, Taylor, and White (2003) identified features of Web sites (i.e., usefulness of information, feedback loops, ease of interface, conservation of visitors, and generation of return visits) that can facilitate organization-public relationships. A more interactive Web site leads to more positive relationship building than a less interactive Web site (Jo & Kim, 2003), and an organization's level of Twitter interactivity positively influences OPR quality (Saffer et al., 2013).

As past findings showed that features that encourage interactions between organizations and the public are positively related with relationship building and satisfaction, journalists' motives and use of Twitter—especially for its interactive features—can improve journalists' relational satisfaction with the public. Indeed, journalists use Twitter in their professional realm. For example, as of June 2015, the ABC news program *Nightline* (<https://twitter.com/Nightline>) has 1.4 million followers of its Twitter feed and even displays users' tweets on television. Lasorsa and colleagues (2012) analyzed journalists' Twitter posts and found that journalists not only shared their gatekeeping role by sharing posts from others, but also more freely talked about their jobs and engaged in discussions with others through Twitter. Journalists also linked to external Web sites and shared user-generated content with their followers. All of these activities may be a representation of their motives to build their relationship with the public in their journalistic life.

Previous studies (Chan-Olmsted, 2004; The Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008; Teeling, 2006) indicate that the gatekeeping role of journalists has eroded and thus traditional journalists ought to maintain an open dialogue with the public. This emerging dialogue can take many forms, including blogging (Sheffer & Schultz, 2009) and Twitter (Sheffer & Schultz, 2010). In fact, many journalists think that the public's participation and engagement help them to connect with readers (Karlsson, 2010; O'Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008), and journalists are usually satisfied with rational feedback about their news stories from the public (Domingo & Heinonen, 2008; Secko, Tlalka, Dunlop, Kingdon, & Amend, 2011). In this context, journalists'

Twitter activities that help build relationships lead us to expect a possible mediating role of journalists' job-related Twitter use in the relationship between their Twitter use motives and their relational satisfaction with the public. If journalists have motives to use Twitter for building relationships with the public, they would be more likely to use Twitter in their job-related activities, which in turn increases journalists' perceived relational satisfaction with the public. The following hypothesis is thus proposed:

H₂: Journalists' job-related Twitter use will be positively associated with their relational satisfaction with the public.

Building on H₁ and H₂, the third hypothesis suggests a mediating role of journalists' job-related Twitter use in the relationships between their motives for using Twitter and their relational satisfaction with the public:

H₃: The relationship between journalists' Twitter use motives and their relational satisfaction with the public will be mediated by job-related Twitter use. That is, the more journalists are motivated to use Twitter, the more likely they will use Twitter for job-related activities, which in turn influences their relational satisfaction with the public.

Method

Data

An online survey of South Korean journalists was employed. As mentioned above, journalists in this study are professional journalists who are affiliated with news organizations and directly influence news content (Donsbach & Klett, 1993; Singer, 2006; Ugland & Henderson, 2007). The Korea Press Foundation provides a list of professional journalists' names and email addresses. Excluding invalid email addresses, the final target list includes about 1,700 journalists who work at nine national newspapers and two major broadcasting news networks, which would represent the population of journalists in South Korea (Korea Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2012). The survey was conducted between March, 30, 2012, and April, 19, 2012, with a total of 163 journalists who completed the survey questionnaire. The response rate of 9.59% is relatively low, but may be acceptable considering the difficulty of having a high response rate among professional journalists (Kim, 2011). Almost 80% of respondents (130 journalists, 79.8%) use Twitter. Prior to the original survey data collection, we conducted in-depth interviews with three journalists to obtain information about journalists' Twitter use and create the survey questionnaire. A pre-test was conducted to refine the questionnaire. Data from the pre-test were excluded from the final data analysis. For data quality, we used listwise deletion in the analyses.

Measures

Motives for Using Twitter. Based on previous studies on journalists' social media use such as blogs (Kim, 2011) as well as questions drawn from in-depth interviews with Korean journalists, we developed 21 items for measuring journalists' motives for using Twitter. Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with specific reasons for using Twitter on a 5-point scale (1 = *Not at all* to 5 = *Very much*), including "for information source/outlet," "self-fulfillment," "to be influential," and "work efficiency" (see Table 1 for the specific measures).

Table 1
Principal Component Factor Analysis of Journalists' Twitter Use Motives

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 1: Information source/outlet				
To get news items and ideas from other users	.828	.013	.017	.261
To get news sources and information	.767	.030	.115	.336
To meet new people	.735	.273	.192	.000
To share interesting stories	.732	.384	.141	.185
To communicate with the public	.692	.149	.317	.188
To share breaking news more quickly	.688	.122	.135	.186
To share behind-the-scenes stories	.682	.372	.163	.063
To make it easier to communicate with audience	.571	.385	.321	.247
Factor 2: Self-fulfillment				
To reveal myself frankly	.101	.796	-.008	.290
To share my everyday life	.276	.772	.271	-.116
To escape from routine and work	.025	.761	.121	.332
To keep in touch with my family/colleagues	.270	.700	.241	-.122
To share my own opinions	.453	.656	.286	.032
Factor 3: To be influential				
To get attention from others	.156	.239	.888	.199
To be popular	.157	.171	.881	.155
To be influential on Twitter	.206	.212	.797	.391
To have more people following my Twitter	.396	.159	.671	.361
Factor 4: Work-efficiency				
To do something related to my job	.318	-.041	.245	.774
To make it easier to do my work	.489	.038	.288	.657
To freely post my thoughts and writing	.095	.367	.295	.640
To get feedback on my stories	.415	.175	.345	.615
Eigenvalues	5.22	3.60	3.54	2.73
% Variance	24.8	17.1	16.8	13.0

Journalists' Job-Related Twitter Use. This study focuses on journalists' job-related Twitter use which includes posting current issues and their opinions and interacting with other Twitter users. Respondents were asked to report how frequently they engage in the following activities: "I encourage Twitter users' engagement in discussion about current issues," "I post current issues on Twitter," "I post my opinions on public affairs issues," "I provide discussion topics on Twitter," and "I interact with other Twitter users including news sources." All answers were rated on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = *never* to 5 = *very frequently*; those who reported not using Twitter were treated as never frequency (see Campbell & Kwak, 2011). These five items were summed and averaged to form an index ($M = 1.73$, $SD = .71$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$).

Journalists' Relational Satisfaction with the Public. This variable was used to measure the respondents' overall relational satisfaction with the public. Relational satisfaction refers to the degree to which both parties (i.e., an organization and its public) are satisfied with their relationship (Ferguson, 1984; Hon & Grunig, 1999). Although literature on OPR has focused on several dimensions such as trust, commitment, control mutuality, and satisfaction (e.g., Kang & Yang, 2010; Ki & Hon, 2007), this study used only the items related to relational satisfaction because they are most relevant to the focus of this study. The public's relational satisfaction, among other dimensions of OPR, has been a key characteristic of quality relationships and has been found to have the strongest effects on supportive attitude and behavioral intentions toward an organization (Ferguson, 1984; Ki & Hon, 2007). Some studies, indeed, focused on relational satisfaction in explaining how OPR is associated with supportive behaviors toward an organization (see Hong & Yang, 2009; 2011). Given the context of this study focusing on the perspective of the journalists, journalists' perceived relationship (i.e., relational satisfaction) with the public was measured with 10 items adopted from previous research (Hong & Yang, 2009; Ki & Hon, 2007) such as "Twitter users are trustworthy," "I feel pleasure in the relationship with Twitter users," and "The relationship with Twitter users is important for my life and job." Answers were rated on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). The 10 items were summed and averaged to form an index ($M = 2.14$, $SD = .68$). The 10 items loaded on one factor and the resulting index yielded a Cronbach's α of .92.

Age. Respondents were asked to indicate their age in categories ranging from 1 = 21–25 years old to 7 = over 51 ($M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.25$).

General Twitter Use. General Twitter use was measured by asking how much time participants spend on Twitter in a typical day, ranging from 1 = *less than 10 minutes* to 7 = *more than 1 hour* ($M = 1.81$, $SD = 1.50$).

Results

Uses and Gratifications of Twitter Use

To examine what journalists' motives for using Twitter are, 21 items were factor analyzed. As shown in Table 1, principal component factor analysis with varimax rotation revealed the following four motives for using Twitter: information source/outlet ($M = 3.05$, $SD = .80$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$), self-fulfillment ($M = 2.49$, $SD = .79$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$), to be influential ($M = 2.16$, $SD = .93$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$), and work efficiency ($M = 2.67$, $SD = .88$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .85$). These four factors with eigenvalues above 1.0 account for 72% of total variance: information source/outlet-seeking motivation accounted for 24.8% of the variance, followed by self-fulfillment (17.5%), to be influential (16.8%), and work efficiency (13.0%).

Relationships Among Motives, Job-Related Twitter Use, and Relational Satisfaction

Prior to regression analyses, correlations among all the variables were explored. As shown in Table 2, age was only related to one of the motivations with a negative direction: motivation for work efficiency ($r = -.221$, $p < .05$). Age was not correlated with journalists' general Twitter use ($r = .109$, $p = \text{n.s.}$), job-related Twitter use ($r = -.094$, $p = \text{n.s.}$), and relational satisfaction with the public ($r = -.027$, $p = \text{n.s.}$). Journalists' Twitter use motivation for information source/outlet ($r = .234$, $p < .05$) and work

Table 2
Zero-Order Correlations Between Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	—							
2	.109	—						
3	-.167	.234*	—					
4	-.072	-.022	.574***	—				
5	-.015	.155	.562***	.502***	—			
6	-.221*	.338**	.651***	.424***	.682***	—		
7	-.094	.375**	.301***	.334***	.436***	.359***	—	
8	-.027	.424***	.585***	.521***	.660***	.591***	.638***	—

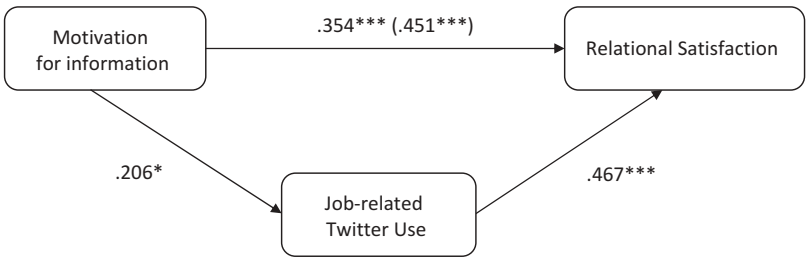
Note. 1 = age, 2 = general Twitter use, 3 = motivation for information source/outlet, 4 = motivation for self-fulfillment, 5 = motivation to be influential, 6 = motivation for work efficiency, 7 = job-related Twitter use, 8 = relational satisfaction with the public. Coefficients in the cell are Pearson correlation coefficients (r). * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; two-tailed.

efficiency ($r = .338, p < .01$) were significantly associated with general Twitter use. Respondents' general Twitter use (i.e., time spent on Twitter) was significantly related to their job-related Twitter activities ($r = .375, p < .01$) and relational satisfaction with the public ($r = .424, p < .001$). All pairwise associations among key variables, including the four motives, job-related Twitter use, and relational satisfaction, were positively correlated with one another.

To examine the hypotheses, including direct relationships (H_1 and H_2) as well as the mediating mechanism (H_3) among variables, following Baron and Kenny (1986), multiple sets of regressions were conducted. The first hypothesis in this study deals with the positive relationships between journalists' motives for using Twitter and their job-related activities on Twitter, stating that journalists' motives will be positively associated with their job-related Twitter use. Results from regression analyses support the hypothesis. As shown in Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4, all four motives had significant positive relationships with journalists' job-related Twitter use: information source/outlet-seeking ($\beta = .206, p < .05$), self-fulfillment ($\beta = .330, p < .001$), to be influential ($\beta = .368, p < .05$), and work efficiency ($\beta = .233, p < .05$). The stronger the motives journalists had for Twitter, the more frequently they engaged in job-related activities on Twitter. In particular, the motivation to be influential had the strongest relationship with job-related Twitter use, followed by self-fulfillment, work efficiency, and information source/outlet-seeking motives. Thus, the first hypothesis was supported.

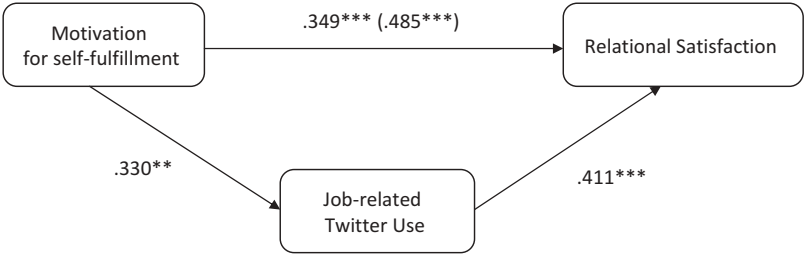
The second hypothesis, stating that journalists' job-related Twitter use will be positively associated with their relational satisfaction with the public, was also

Figure 1
Path Diagram of Mediating Effects of Twitter Use in the Relationship Between Motivation for Information and the Perceived Relationship Satisfaction With the Public



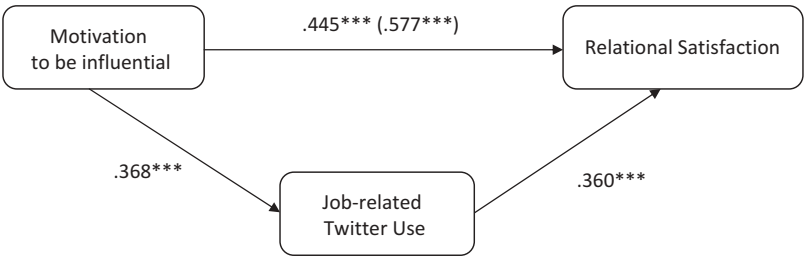
Note. The values in the figure are standardized regression coefficients. The coefficient in parentheses represents the direct influence of motivation for information on journalists' relational satisfaction with the public before adding the mediating variable (Job-related Twitter use) as a control variable. Respondents' age and general Twitter use were controlled. * $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 2
Path Diagram of Mediating Effects of Twitter Use in the Relationship Between Motivation for Self-Fulfillment and the Perceived Relationship Satisfaction With the Public



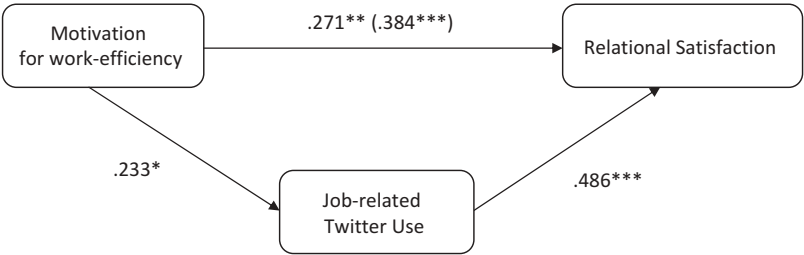
Note. The values in the figure are standardized regression coefficients. The coefficient in parentheses represents the direct influence of motivation for self-fulfillment on journalists' relational satisfaction with the public before adding the mediating variable (Job-related Twitter use) as a control variable. Respondents' age and general Twitter use were controlled. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 3
Path Diagram of Mediating Effects of Twitter Use in the Relationship Between Motivation to be Influential and the Perceived Relationship Satisfaction With the Public



Note. The values in the figure are standardized regression coefficients. The coefficient in parentheses represents the direct influence of motivation to be influential on journalists' relational satisfaction with the public before adding the mediating variable (Job-related Twitter use) as a control variable. Respondents' age and general Twitter use were controlled. *** $p < .001$

Figure 4
Path Diagram of Mediating Effects of Twitter Use in the Relationship Between Motivation for Work-Efficiency and the Perceived Relationship Satisfaction With the Public



Note. The values in the figure are standardized regression coefficients. The coefficient in parentheses represents the direct influence of motivation for work-efficiency on journalists' relational satisfaction with the public before adding the mediating variable (Job-related Twitter use) as a control variable. Respondents' age and general Twitter use were controlled. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

supported. Journalists' job-related Twitter use was also positively related to relational satisfaction with the public in all sets of regression analyses, meaning that the more one used Twitter for job-related activities, the more favorable relational satisfaction one perceived with the public. In addition, four motives for using Twitter were positively associated with journalists' relational satisfaction with the public: information source/outlet-seeking ($\beta = .451, p < .001$), self-fulfillment ($\beta = .485, p < .001$), to be influential ($\beta = .577, p < .001$), and work efficiency ($\beta = .384, p < .001$).

H₃ proposed that journalists' job-related Twitter use will mediate the relationship between journalists' motives for using Twitter and relational satisfaction with the public. Following Baron and Kenny (1986), multiple sets of regressions were conducted to test mediating mechanisms among variables (see, e.g., Chen, 2011). Results from sets of OLS regression support the hypothesized contention that job-related Twitter use mediates the association between motives and relational satisfaction. As demonstrated in Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4, when job-related Twitter use was added into the equation of regression models, all four types of motives diminished in their strength of relationship with relational satisfaction: information source/outlet-seeking (from $\beta = .451$ to $\beta = .354$), self-fulfillment (from $\beta = .485$ to $\beta = .349$), to be influential (from $\beta = .577$ to $\beta = .445$), and work efficiency (from $\beta = .384$ to $\beta = .271$). Further mediation analysis based on the bootstrapping method (Hayes, 2013) also supports that job-related Twitter use mediates the relationship between journalists' motives for Twitter use and relational satisfaction with the public. As presented in Table 3, the indirect effects of the four motives on relationship satisfaction with the public through journalists' job-related Twitter

Table 3
Mediating Role of Job-Related Twitter Use in the Relationship Between Motivations and Relationship Satisfaction with the Public

Indirect Paths	B	SE	Bootstrap CI
MV Info → Job-Related Twitter Use → RS	.09	.03	[.02— .16]
MV Self → Job-Related Twitter Use → RS	.12	.03	[.06— .20]
MV Infl → Job-Related Twitter Use → RS	.09	.02	[.05— .15]
MV Work → Job-Related Twitter Use → RS	.09	.03	[.02— .17]

Note. Estimates were calculated using the PROCESS macro. Bootstrap resample = 5000. SE = standard errors; CI = confidence interval. MV Info = Motivation for information, MV Self = Motivation for self-fulfillment, MV Infl = Motivation to be influential, MV Work = Motivation for work-efficiency, RS = Relational satisfaction with the public.

use were significant (information: $b = .09$, $SE = .03$, $CI = .02$ to $.16$; self-fulfillment: $b = .12$, $SE = .03$, $CI = .06$ to $.20$; influential: $b = .09$, $SE = .02$, $CI = .05$ to $.15$; work efficiency: $b = .09$, $SE = .03$, $CI = .02$ to $.17$). Therefore, H_3 was supported.

Discussion

Rapid penetration of Twitter use is reshaping the relationship between media organizations or journalists and the public (Bruno, 2011; Gleason, 2010; Reed, 2011). In the social media context, journalists easily and directly interact with their audiences (Esrock & Leichty, 1999; Messner et al., 2011), helping journalists to understand better what audiences want from the news media and at the same time allowing audiences to participate in the process of producing news content (Bruno, 2011; Moody et al., 2013; Waters et al., 2010). In this way, increased interactivity may strengthen a reciprocal relationship between journalists and the public.

Based on the uses and gratifications approach (U&G) and the organization-public relationship approach (OPR), this study empirically tested the relationship among three variables: journalists' motivations for using Twitter, job-related Twitter use, and perceived relational satisfaction with the public. The results demonstrate that journalists' motives for using Twitter increased their job-related activities on Twitter, which in turn influenced higher levels of relational satisfaction with the public. Identifying these mediating mechanisms contributes to a better understanding of the process of relationship building/management especially between journalists and the public in the online Twitter sphere.

This study adds to the current literature by identifying four motivations that journalists have for using Twitter: as an information source/outlet-seeking, for self-fulfillment, to be influential, and for work efficiency. In particular, several motives are somewhat different from those of ordinary microblog users. Journalists in South

Korea have unique motives which are related to their professional activities, such as information source/outlet seeking (e.g., to get a news source and to share breaking news or behind-the-scenes stories), to be influential, and for their work efficiency, though they also use Twitter for emotional release, self-expression, and interaction with others as ordinary Twitter users do (Chen, 2011; Johnson & Yang, 2009; Zhang & Pentina, 2012).

What is more important is that all these motivations were positively associated with journalists' job-related activities such as posting current issues and their opinions on Twitter and interacting with other Twitter users including news sources. It is notable that journalists are more likely to post their opinions and interact with news sources on Twitter if journalists have motives to use Twitter although they normally refrain from offering personal opinions in their reporting and base the information they provide or share on verifiable data. These results suggest that, because of its unique interactive features, Twitter may help facilitate journalists' professional job-related activities on Twitter, including posting current issues and their own thoughts as well as interacting with the public, by gratifying their needs for information source/outlet, self-fulfillment, being influential, and work efficiency.

It is interesting that not only journalists' job-oriented motives of Twitter use (i.e., information source/outlet and work efficiency) but also the other two types of motivations (i.e., self-fulfillment and to be influential) were significantly associated with journalists' job-related activities on Twitter. These results suggest that using Twitter as a means to be influential or popular and for their personal life may contribute to journalists' professional activities on Twitter. The results might also imply that individual journalists' desire to be a *personal media* or to form their own brand as a *one-person media* in a digital media environment may play an important role in using Twitter for their professional activities. Social media are "means of expressing both self- and social identity," and the desire for self-expression is a strong motivator for online activities (Pagani, Hofacker, & Goldsmith, 2011, p. 445). These results, therefore, indicate that journalists desire to express themselves both as individuals and as professional journalists at the same time, and consequently, such self- and social-oriented motives of Twitter use are associated with job-related activities on Twitter such as posting about public issues and even their opinions.

Furthermore, this study contributes to the explication of the U&G approach by elaborating the process of media use and its consequences in the context of journalists' Twitter use. Rubin (1994) pointed out, "the media uses and effects process is a complex one that requires careful attention to antecedent, mediating, and consequent conditions" (p. 432). Our findings suggest that journalists' motives for using Twitter and their job-related Twitter use are positively associated with their perceived satisfaction with the public. In particular, this study demonstrates that journalists' Twitter use mediates the relationship between their motives and their relational satisfaction with the public in the online sphere: that is, journalists' motives (i.e., antecedent variables) influence their Twitter use (i.e., mediating variable) which, in turn, leads to journalists' perceived relational satisfaction with the public (i.e., consequent variable). More job-related Twitter use that is derived from psychological

motives, including posting current issues and own opinions and interacting with other Twitter users, are likely to increase feelings of relationship satisfaction with the public. These findings are generally consistent with previous research demonstrating that the U&G approach is suitable and viable for analyzing the relationship between specific new media use and the gratification of particular human needs (Chen, 2011; Chung & Kim, 2008; Dunne, Lawlor, & Rowley, 2010; Hanson & Haridakis, 2008; Johnson & Yang, 2009). For example, Chung and Kim (2008) showed that cancer patients' different usage of blogs (e.g., posting comments on their own blog or posting comments on others' blogs) significantly increased their gratification of needs such as prevention and care, problem-solving, emotion management, and information-sharing. Hanson and Haridakis (2008) observed that different types of motivations for the use of YouTube led viewers to watch and share different types of news content: users who had motives to seek information were more likely to view traditional format news, whereas those who used YouTube for entertainment were more likely to view comedy format news.

Results of the current study offer some theoretical implications. This study applies the U&G approach to the context of OPR in the digital media environment—that is, this research demonstrates that journalists' motives may influence their job-related Twitter use, which consequently affects their relational satisfaction with the public. While previous studies on relationship building and management have examined factors influencing OPR (i.e., relational satisfaction; e.g., Kent et al., 2003; Saffer et al., 2013; Seltzer & Zhang, 2011), little attention has been paid to how individuals' psychological needs or motives combined with their actual media use influence their perceived relational satisfaction. Particularly, interactivity through social media communication turned out to play a significant role in influencing journalists' perceived relational satisfaction. The results of this study support earlier research on OPR that showed that the interactivity characteristics of the Web had positive effects on relationship building between organizations and the public. For example, Jo and Kim (2003) found that individuals who were exposed to more highly interactive Web sites reported a more positive relationship with those organizations than with organizations whose Web sites had lower interactivity. Chen (2011) found that people who have motives to use Twitter to gratify a need for connection use Twitter more actively. The current study showed that journalists who are active on Twitter with regard to their job-related tasks (e.g., interaction with Twitter users) have greater satisfaction with the public.

Exploring how relational satisfaction is formed from the perspective of journalists rather than that of the public is an important matter and may have implications for news industry practices given that the perspective of media organizations seems to have been under-discussed despite dramatic changes in the role of and relationship between audiences and journalists in the digital media environment. For example, journalists' perceived satisfaction with the public may influence them to become more responsive to their audiences. Therefore, thanks to the introduction of new technologies such as Twitter, journalists may overcome the prevalent criticisms that they do not respond well to their audience and the public (Skoler, 2009).

Similarly, whether and to what extent journalists interact and communicate with the general public on Twitter is important because these behaviors are closely related to accountability. The core concept of accountability, which is regarded as one of the most important normative values in journalism (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014; Singer, 2006), is a fluid interaction described as “the degree of responsiveness to the values of media users” (Plaisance, 2000, p. 258). Furthermore, sharing their mundane job-related experiences and thoughts with the public via Twitter can increase the level of transparency in journalism. Researchers suggest that journalists can expand transparency by providing raw materials behind their news stories, sharing newsroom decisions, or providing information about their jobs on Twitter (Lasica, 2003; Lasorsa et al., 2012; Lennon, 2003; Willey, 2003). Furthermore, scholars propose that accountability can affect the journalists’ credibility with the public and the trustworthiness of news content (Hayes, Singer, & Ceppos, 2007). In other words, as Hayes and colleagues (2007) suggested, “the unbounded and interconnected nature of the medium gives journalists an unprecedented opportunity to build credibility through a form of information transparency that has never before been feasible” (p. 271). Twitter has transformed the way journalists collect and report the news and, furthermore, interact with their audiences. Audiences can in turn communicate with reporters on Twitter about news coverage in the media and provide news sources for reporters. Given these changes in the role and relationship mechanisms between journalists and their audiences, Twitter may offer journalists and the public a potential avenue to rebuild credibility and mutual trust through enhancing the accountability and transparency of news media organizations. Thus, journalists can be encouraged to utilize Twitter in their professional routines to facilitate their relationships with their audiences.

Furthermore, journalists’ job-related Twitter use and subsequent relational satisfaction with the public might open potential possibilities for a shared gatekeeping role with the public. Journalists’ job-related Twitter use might reduce traditional journalists’ exclusive gatekeeping role by allowing them to share their opinions with the public and facilitating publics’ discussion about current issues and news sources. Traditionally, journalists/news organizations set the agenda for audiences (McCombs, 2004; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). However, the Internet and social media allow audiences to engage in the process of agenda setting through direct interaction with journalists (Bruns, 2005; Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013; Watts & Dobbs, 2007). In addition, journalists can reflect audiences’ needs and opinions more properly. However, on the other hand, the increase of audience influences on journalists’ news decision making may amplify personalization and dramatization biases in news reporting in order to grab audiences’ attention and gratify their needs (Bennett, 2015). That is, journalists’ decision making in news production may be more affected by their consideration of what will interest audiences rather than what audiences need to know, especially in today’s competitive media environment created by the proliferation of news outlets.

In this sense, although this study does not exactly address whether and to what extent journalists’ perceived satisfaction may lead to professional journalistic behaviors, the current research opens important questions such as how journalists’ relational

satisfaction with the public influences their professional news production activities and journalistic practices, including responsiveness to their audiences and sharing a gatekeeping role. For example, it seems reasonable to suggest that those who have a higher level of relational satisfaction with the public would be more likely to be responsive and more likely to use information provided by their audiences. Therefore, examining journalists' activities on social media that enable them to interact with the public is important because those kinds of research may highlight the consequences of news organizations' and journalists' relational satisfaction with the public.

The current study has some limitations. Although this study includes journalists from nine daily newspapers, which have over 60 percent of the circulation of the total daily newspapers in South Korea (Korea Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2012), the sample size and the response rate were relatively low, which limits the representativeness of the population. Future research with a larger sample size and response rate should be conducted to ensure more representative findings. This study only focused on journalists' job-related Twitter use, but how and for what specific contents or activities they use Twitter remain open questions. For example, different types of contents in tweets (e.g., diverse topics such as entertainment vs. politics) and interactivity patterns of Twitter use might produce different results. Journalists today have to deal with many communication technologies and devices such as cameras, voice recorders, microphones, email, and social media platforms like Twitter. Moreover, many news organizations have a policy that encourages journalists to use social media to promote their news content and interact with their audiences. While these considerations may affect journalists' motives, Twitter activities, and relational satisfaction, such potential factors have not been examined in the present study. Future studies thus could address these considerations. This study provides unique findings in the context of South Korean journalists' Twitter use. However, because there may be cultural differences that could offer different perspectives on the results, future researchers are encouraged to investigate whether the motivations for journalists' Twitter use are similar or different and whether the findings of the current study hold in different settings.

In spite of these limitations, this research fills a void in the existing literature and offers a new perspective on the U&G model and OPR scholarship when it comes to the relationship between journalists and the public in the era of social media. In other words, the findings of this study contribute to the literature on OPR and the U&G approach by suggesting that journalists' motivations for using Twitter are positively associated with their job-related activities on Twitter which enhance their perceived relational satisfaction with the public. In addition, future studies could make use of research on the consequences of relational satisfaction such as supportive actions and communicative behaviors (e.g., Grunig et al., 2002) to examine how journalists' perceived relational satisfaction can influence their journalistic practices such as sharing the gatekeeping role and increasing accountability, for example, whether and how they take the public's thoughts/opinions into account when pursuing or writing news stories.

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To cite this article: Young Min Baek & Hye Min Kim (2016) Cultural Distance and Foreign Drama Enjoyment: Perceived Novelty and Identification with Characters, Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 60:3, 527-546, DOI: [10.1080/08838151.2016.1164166](https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1164166)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2016.1164166>



Published online: 01 Sep 2016.



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Cultural Distance and Foreign Drama Enjoyment: Perceived Novelty and Identification with Characters

Young Min Baek and Hye Min Kim

This study employs a cross-cultural perspective to examine how local audiences perceive and enjoy foreign dramas and how this psychological process differs depending on the cultural distance between the media and the viewing audience. Using a convenience sample of young Korean college students, this study, as predicted by cultural discount theory, shows that cultural distance decreases Korean audiences' perceived identification with dramatic characters, which erodes their enjoyment of foreign dramas. Unlike cultural discount theory, however, cultural distance arouses Korean audiences' perception of novelty, which heightens their enjoyment of foreign dramas. This study discusses the theoretical and practical implications of these findings, as well as their potential limitations.

As media markets become more globalized, many domestic markets are increasingly consuming foreign cultural products, such as television dramas (Hoskins, McFadyen, & Finn, 1997; UNESCO, 2009). For example, in 2012, the American crime drama *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* attracted more than 63 million viewers in non-American markets (Bibel, 2012), which exceeded the viewership in the American market (approximately 12 million viewers) during the same period (Gorman, 2012).¹ The rising importance of foreign markets is also observed among non-American producers such as the United Kingdom and South Korea. *Sherlock Holmes*, a BBC drama, was released to more than 200 countries and attracted fans from all over the world (Bushby, 2014). In 2012, South Korea exported approximately US\$21 million worth of Korean dramas to other countries, although most were limited to Asian countries (Korea Communication Commission, 2013). As evidenced by such cases, the consumption of foreign dramas is becoming a worldwide experience (Liebes & Katz, 1990; Price Waterhouse and Coopers, 2011).

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Unlike other physical goods, cultural products contain social norms and values pertaining to the country in which they are rooted, thereby raising concerns about cultural identity crises (Elasmar, 2003; Schiller, 1976; Tomlinson, 1991). Overseas viewers undergo a mediated cross-cultural experience when they watch foreign dramas by encountering foreign norms or values embedded in the products (Liebes & Katz, 1990). Although there is still ongoing debate about the cultural imperialism hypothesis (whether foreign cultural products change audience thoughts and damage national or local identities; Elasmar, 2003; Norris & Inglehart, 2009), it is undeniable that some audiences have been attracted by foreign dramas. While existing literature provides thorough explanations as to why products rooted in a particular culture fail to appeal to audiences of different cultures (Hoskins & Mirus, 1988; McFadyen, Hoskins, & Finn, 2000), there has been little systematic research investigating how and why audiences are fascinated by foreign dramas despite the cultural distance (aside from several ethnographic studies, such as Ang, 1985).

Then how do audiences perceive and enjoy foreign dramas? As far as this study has found, most cross-cultural media studies have focused on whether foreign dramas dominate local media markets (Hoskins et al., 1997; Hoskins & Mirus, 1988) or influence local audiences' cultural norms or identities (Elasmar, 2003; Norris & Inglehart, 2009). However, there has been no examination of the psychological process of perception and enjoyment among local audiences. What features of foreign dramas excite interest in local audiences? Why do some dramas that succeed in the country of origin fail in the media markets of different cultures? In order to address such questions, it is necessary to examine (1) how the perception of foreign dramas differs from that of domestic ones; and (2) how this perception leads to enjoyment of the program.

The purpose of this study is to examine local audiences' perception and enjoyment of foreign dramas from a cross-cultural perspective. In order to achieve this goal, the study integrates media economics (Hoskins et al., 1997; McFadyen et al., 2000) with psychology of media entertainment (Green, Brock, & Kaufman, 2004; Vorderer & Hartman, 2009; Vorderer, Klimmt, & Ritterfeld, 2004) and psychology of aesthetic pleasures (Berlyne, 1970; Silvia, 2006). It examines the psychological mechanisms underpinning local audiences' enjoyment of foreign dramatic media by comparing how young Korean audiences perceive and enjoy foreign dramas from two macro-level foreign cultures (i.e., Asian countries and the United States) versus domestic dramas.

Cultural Distance and Foreign Drama Enjoyment

Within media economics literature, "cultural discount theory" is the most popular means of explaining why cultural products rooted in a particular culture fail to succeed in media markets of differing cultures (Hoskins & Mirus, 1988). According to cultural discount theory, a cultural product produced in one culture "will have a diminished appeal elsewhere as viewers find it difficult to identify with the style,

values, beliefs, institutions, and behavioral patterns of the material in question" (Hoskins & Mirus, 1988, p. 500). Due to the mismatch between the product culture and audience culture, cultural products such as movies and dramas are less favored when exported to other societies. If there is a large cultural distance between foreign cultural products and the audience, the products will diminish in appeal as their portrayed norms and values will be less familiar and understandable.

However, cultural discount theory is limited; although it provides adequate explanation as to the rejection of foreign cultural products, it fails to explain why audiences are enthusiastic over some—though not all—foreign media content (Ang, 1985). One reason for this is the theory's one-sided understanding of the role of cultural distance in media enjoyment. In this sense, media enjoyment theory (Silvia, 2006; Vorderer & Hartman, 2009) casts a theoretical clue, although it does not particularly focus on foreign media consumption. Media enjoyment theory suggests that "a variety of *novel* characters, situations, and background scenarios" (Vorderer & Hartman, 2009, pp. 540–541, emphasis added) trigger audiences' interest or curiosity, which in turn results in the psychological pleasure that audiences tend to seek from media entertainment. For example, science fiction or exotic tales (e.g., *The Arabian Nights* for Western readers) have attracted audiences because their novel, imaginary, or exotic experiences appeal to readers. This also applies to foreign dramas. In this sense, the mediated "foreign" experience gained by watching cultural product from different cultures could be an important reason why some foreign products succeed in domestic markets.

Two Sources of Foreign Drama Enjoyment: Perceived Identification and Novelty

As previously discussed, the cultural distance between foreign dramas and the audience influences media enjoyment via two effect routes: "enjoyment-suppressing" effect versus "enjoyment-enhancing" effect. The enjoyment-suppressing result of cultural distance is well documented in media psychology as well as within cross-cultural studies (e.g., cultural discount theory). The psychological mechanism of enjoyment-suppression identifies "incomprehension" (Hoskins & Mirus, 1988; Vorderer & Hartman, 2009) as the main reason for product failure among overseas audiences. Dramas are generally presented to audiences through a "narrative." In order for audiences to become immersed in this narrative, they must feel connected to the characters and positively assess themes inherent to the messages delivered (Green et al., 2004; Horton & Wohl, 1956; Rubin & Perse, 1987). In this sense, drama enjoyment is a result of the audiences' successful "identification with and empathy toward fictional characters" (Green et al., 2004, p. 311).

In communication research, the psychological process of "identification" has been examined under the label of "parasocial interaction," which indicates the audiences' imaginary interaction with mass media performers (Horton & Wohl, 1956). When the audiences achieve a sense of familiarity with the actors in a drama, they are able to

become immersed within the story and enjoy it. However, with regard to foreign dramas, audiences are less likely to become familiar and feel empathy toward the characters or themes due to differences in physical appearance, styles, norms, or values. Thus, the greater is the cultural distance, the less likely audiences are to identify with fictional characters in foreign dramas, thereby diminishing their enjoyment.

The enjoyment-enhancing effect of cultural distance can be explained by media enjoyment theory via a different psychological route. The psychological mechanism of this experience focuses on “novelty” felt with regard to cultural products. While characters, settings, or norms in domestic dramas are easy to comprehend, they might not be perceived as novel due to their familiarity. However, by watching foreign dramas, the audiences’ desire to escape from “the so-called ‘paramount reality’ of everyday existence” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p. 72) is satisfied through the unfamiliar and novel content from different cultures. Foreign dramas, in this regard, provide pleasure to audiences by providing imaginary experiences of exotic worlds.

Psychological studies of aesthetic pleasure have emphasized the importance of novelty-creating enjoyment. Unfamiliar stimuli may create discomfort or distress; however, if people consider this unfamiliarity challenging or are curious about the aesthetics of an object, this object is then perceived as interesting and enjoyable (Silvia, 2006; Vorderer & Hartman, 2009). Studies of aesthetic pleasure have found that people identify novel stories as those laden with unexpected narratives or unique characters (Berlyne, 1970; Silvia, 2006). While not directly touching on cultural novelty, these studies imply that foreign dramas whose narratives and characters are distinguishable from domestic ones can be attractive to audiences due to their cultural novelty.

To summarize, the enjoyment of foreign media is influenced by two seemingly opposed but co-existing factors related to cultural distance: (1) failed *identification* perception that damages the enjoyment of foreign dramas; and (2) triggered *novelty* perception that stimulates enjoyment.

Research Hypotheses

This study’s research framework focuses on the relationships between cultural distance and the perception and enjoyment of dramas. Studies on media enjoyment and aesthetic pleasure have argued that the enjoyment of dramas is mainly predicted by perceived “novelty” and/or “identification” with the characters. In other words, both perceived novelty and identification are positively associated with drama enjoyment, which has been empirically shown in prior studies (Green et al., 2004; Rubin & Perse, 1987; Vorderer & Hartman, 2009).

This study attempts to advance current theory by examining the effects of cultural distance on the enjoyment of foreign drama. As discussed earlier, if socialized norms or tastes of the viewing audience are mismatched with those embedded in the foreign products, viewers will be less likely to identify themselves with the characters. However, the mediated experience of exotic cultures in foreign cultural

products can help audiences escape the familiarity of their own culture. Therefore, we predict:

- H_{1a}: Greater cultural distance will decrease audiences' perceived identification with drama characters.
- H_{1b}: Greater cultural distance will increase the perceived novelty of foreign dramas.

Interestingly, cultural distance is expected to moderate the positive relationships between the measures of perception and enjoyment of foreign dramas. As cultural distance increases, the relationship between perceived identification and enjoyment is expected to weaken due to a lack of successful identification with, and appreciation of, foreign characters. However, if cultural distance is large, the relationship between perceived novelty among local audiences and their enjoyment of foreign drama is expected to be stronger because the novelty perception is more appreciated among local audiences. Based on this reasoning, we posit:

- H_{2a}: Greater cultural distance will weaken the positive effect of perceived identification on drama enjoyment.
- H_{2b}: Greater cultural distance will strengthen the positive effect of perceived novelty on drama enjoyment.

Methods

Study Context: Foreign Drama Consumption Among Korean Audiences

Prior to the 1980s, South Korean audiences had limited access to foreign dramas due to political and economic reasons. Before 1987, the Korean broadcasting and film industries were protected and controlled by authoritarian military rulers. Thus, foreign dramas were not introduced to Korean audiences until the 1980s, although some young Korean audiences with English literacy accessed American dramas (e.g., *General Hospital*) released by the American Forces Korean Network (AFKN; Kang & Morgan, 1986).

Since the 1990s, the importation of foreign dramas has increased in Korean media markets. One reason for this was an increase in Korean media channels (e.g., cable, Internet, and mobile TVs), which required a greater number of programs beyond the domestic supply. To fill the available time, imported media content, especially foreign dramas, increased. In 2012, approximately 52% of Korean media content was imported from foreign countries (Korea Communication Commission, 2013), with dramas comprising the largest portion of foreign content (approximately 38%). A total of 85% of these were dramas made in the United States, followed by those from Asian countries, such as Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China (9%; Korea Communication Commission, 2013).

Therefore, based on the latest statistical reports as demonstrated above, foreign dramas from American and Asian cultures were chosen for this study to measure the cultural distance felt by Korean audiences when viewing foreign dramas.

Sample

A total of 380 undergraduate students who were native Korean speakers born in South Korea participated in the online survey. Participating students received extra credit for their communication courses at a Korean university located in Seoul. In other words, this study relied on a convenience sample, and thus the study sample is not representative of the Korean population. Students who agreed to participate in the survey received an email invitation and a hyperlink to the online questionnaire. Of the 380 respondents, 11 were excluded from analyses because they reported watching no drama programs. Thus, 369 responses were included in the final analyses.

Participants were asked whether they had watched drama programs produced in the United States, East Asian countries (i.e., Japan, mainland China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan), and South Korea in the past week. The origin of the drama program was randomly provided to respondents in order to prevent "order effect." If respondents reported watching drama episodes from a particular country, their self-reported perception (i.e., of novelty and identification perception) and enjoyment were measured. This study analyzed the questionnaire responses with regard to statistical controls (e.g., socio-demographics), which were also collected by the online survey. On average, respondents took approximately 20 minutes to finish the survey.

Measures

Drama Enjoyment. Drama enjoyment was measured through the enjoyment scale developed in the Intrinsic Motivation Inventory (Ryan, 1982). This scale is a popular means of evaluating media enjoyment (Tamborini, Bowman, Eden, Grizzard, & Organ, 2010). While the original scale consists of seven items, a shortened version of five items is used, as suggested by previous literature (Tamborini et al., 2010). The items were then slightly modified for this study's research context, and respondents' levels of agreement were measured through Likert-type items with seven-point response scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*). The items were: (1) I enjoyed watching the (American, Asian, or Korean) drama very much; (2) Watching (American, Asian, or Korean) drama was fun; (3) I thought that watching (American, Asian, or Korean) drama was quite enjoyable; (4) I would describe (American, Asian, or Korean) drama as very interesting; and (5) While I was watching (American, Asian, or Korean) drama, I was thinking about how much I enjoyed it. Internal reliability of media enjoyment was satisfactory across three areas, and the enjoyment of U.S. dramas ($M = 3.96$, $SD = .83$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$, $n = 215$) was as similar as that of Korean dramas ($M = 3.64$, $SD = 1.09$, Cronbach's $\alpha =$

.89, $n = 365$; $t = .63$, $p = \text{n.s.}^2$) but significantly higher than that of Asian dramas ($M = 3.57$, $SD = .75$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$, $n = 71$; $t = 3.92$, $p < .001$).

Perceived Novelty of the Drama. Perceived novelty was measured through a modified Situational Interest Scale (SIS; Chen, Darst, & Pangrazi, 1999; Deci, 1992) for this study's research context. The original scale aims to measure people's "perception of specific features that an activity can offer as they encounter it" (Chen et al., 1999, p. 158) and consists of 24 items, representing six dimensions. However, this study focused on two dimensions, "novelty" and "challenge" of the evaluated object because both stimulate evaluators' intrinsic motivation to engage in the object (Chen et al., 1999, p. 159). While novelty and challenge have been distinguished in prior studies (Chen et al., 1999), they are closely related in this sample and used to measure the perceived novelty of dramas. The original scale consisted of eight items within these two dimensions; however, one item was eliminated to increase internal reliability. The included seven items were: (American, Asian, or Korean) dramas generally (1) are novel; (2) are experimental; (3) are fresh; (4) are unique; (5) frequently end in an unexpected way, (6) can be understood completely only by watching the entire series; and (7) have disappointing endings. Likert-type items with seven-point response scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*) were used to measure respondents' levels of agreement with the statements. After the seventh item was reverse coded, respondents' agreements with the seven items were averaged. American dramas' perceived novelty score ($M = 4.00$, $SD = .65$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$, $n = 215$) was higher than that of Korean dramas ($M = 2.64$, $SD = .67$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$, $n = 365$; $t = 23.41$, $p < .001$) and even than that of Asian dramas ($M = 3.35$, $SD = .76$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$, $n = 71$; $t = 8.12$, $p < .001$).

Perceived Identification with Fictional Drama Characters. Perceived identification with fictional drama characters was measured through Audience-Persona Interaction Scale (Auter & Palmgreen, 2000). The original scale comprises four factors: identification with a favorite character; group identification/interaction; interest in a favorite character; and favorite character's problem-solving abilities. Of the four factors, the first two were measured as perceived identification. Unlike the previous study (Auter & Palmgreen, 2000), the two factors were closely correlated ($r = .68$, $p < .001$) and were thus considered as one factor in this study. Using Likert-type items with seven-point response scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*), respondents were asked to estimate their level of agreement with the following eight statements: (1) my favorite character from (American, Asian, or Korean) drama reminds me of myself; (2) I have the same qualities as my favorite character from (American, Asian, or Korean) drama; (3) I seem to have the same beliefs or attitudes as my favorite character from (American, Asian, or Korean) drama; (4) I can imagine myself as my favorite character from (American, Asian, or Korean) drama; (5) The characters from (American, Asian, or Korean) drama interact with family as I do; (6) My friends are like the characters from (American, Asian, or

Korean) drama; (7) The characters from (American, Asian, or Korean) drama interact with friends as I do; and (8) While watching (American, Asian, or Korean) drama, I felt like a part of the story.

In general, perceived identification with drama characters across the three geographic areas was not very different. Respondents watching Asian drama programs reported a slightly higher perceived identification score ($M = 3.55$, $SD = .74$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$, $n = 71$) than U.S. score ($M = 3.36$, $SD = .60$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$, $n = 215$) or Korean score ($M = 3.35$, $SD = .94$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$, $n = 365$) but three mean values are not statistically different from one another ($p = n.s.$).

Drama's Cultural Origin. Approximately 58% of respondents reported that they regularly watch U.S. drama programs, and 20% reported watching Asian ones. The origin of drama programs was coded as a set of two dichotomous variables by taking Korean drama as reference category: Asian drama ("1" if it comes from Asian countries, and "0" otherwise) and U.S. dramas ("1" if it comes from the United States, and "0" otherwise).

Statistical Controls. First, basic socio-demographics such as gender, age, and household income level were included for statistical adjustment. Approximately 38% of respondents were female; the average age was 22 years ($SD = 2.19$); and an average respondent spent about USD \$400 per month outside of school expenses and house rent ($SD = 182$).

Second, respondents were asked to self-report their time for media use because heavy drama watchers are likely to spend more time with media (e.g., Rubin, 2009). Respondents were asked to estimate their average daily time spent watching television and using the Internet. An average respondent spent approximately 2.12 hours watching television ($SD = 3.52$, Median = 1.27) and about 5.78 using the Internet ($SD = 8.09$, Median = 4). However, measures of time for media use are positively skewed, thus we transformed them using the natural logarithm.

Third, respondents' cosmopolitanism levels were also controlled because cosmopolitans are more likely to enjoy foreign products (Saran & Kalliny, 2012). In order to measure respondents' cosmopolitanism, defined as "a cultural disposition involving an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness towards peoples, places, and experiences from different cultures" (Saran & Kalliny, 2012, p. 284), this study relies on Saran and Kalliny's (2012) cosmopolitanism scale. While the original scale is comprised of six items, two were dropped in order to increase the scale's internal consistency, thus leaving the following four statements: (1) I think reading about world events is worthwhile; (2) I am ready to learn about other cultures through listening, observing, thinking, and reflecting; (3) I think it's good to spend time with people who are willing to talk and learn about other cultures; and (4) I think that, to be successful, one needs to be able to use materials, information, knowledge, etc. from other cultures. Respondents' levels of agreement on each statement were measured through Likert-type items with 7-point

response scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*) and averaged ($M = 4.13$, $SD = .88$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$).

Statistical Model

As noted earlier, some respondents watched programs produced in each of these three areas, and others watched programs produced in either one or two places. On average, most respondents enjoyed Korean drama and one foreign drama, and 16% watched dramas from all three areas. This indicates that some respondents' responses are repeated three times (those who watched American, Asian, and Korean dramas) but others are included twice (e.g., those watching American and Korean dramas) or once (e.g., those watching American dramas only). Therefore, there is a violation of the "statistical independence assumption" relied upon in conventional statistical methods (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). For example, a person's American drama evaluation is not independent from the person's Korean drama evaluation because two evaluation scores come from the same person.

Thus, this study relied on a generalized mixed model (frequently called hierarchical linear model, HLM) that can account for the violation of the assumption of independence. Specifically, the mixed model comprised two levels: (1) program level ($N_1 = 537$) and (2) person level ($N_2 = 369$). The mixed model was estimated using the "xtmixed" procedure in STATA 12.00, a popular statistical program.

Results

Testing the Effect of Cultural Distance on Drama Perception

Both H_{1a} and H_{1b} examine differences in drama perception depending on audience identification and novelty perception, as well as cultural distance between drama's cultural origin and audience. Based on empirical cross-cultural studies (Gudykunst, 1997; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2011), the cultural distance experienced by a Korean audience with Korean dramas would be "none" (because it is largely based on their own culture); the distance with Asian (Chinese and Japanese) dramas is "close," and that with U.S. dramas is "distant." Also, as evidenced by the comparison between scores when using the "individualism-versus-collectivism" dimension in Hofstede's national culture model (Hofstede et al., 2011), Korea scores 18; China 20; Japan 46; and the United States 91, this study's operationalization of cultural distance is shown to be reasonable.

If H_{1a} holds true, perceived novelty must be highest for U.S. dramas and lowest for Korean dramas, with Asian dramas in the middle. However, H_{1b} is said to be supported if perceived identification with characters increases as cultural distance decreases.

Table 1 illustrates test results of the first hypothesis using generalized mixed modeling. The origin of dramas is entered as a set of dichotomous variables, with Korean dramas used as a reference category. The first two columns show how perceived identification varies according to cultural distance after controlling for other variables. As shown in the log-likelihood ratio test, perceived identification significantly differs across dramas from the three cultures ($LR \chi^2 = 5.72$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$). Mean estimates of perceived identification, after controlling for other variables, are provided in the left panel of Figure 1. Specifically, perceived identification estimate of Korean dramas ($M_{adj} = 3.36$) is not statistically different from that of Asian dramas ($M_{adj} = 3.41$, $p = n$).

Table 1
The Effects of a Drama's Country of Origin on Perceived Identification and Novelty

	Perceived Identification		Perceived Novelty	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Intercept	3.33*** (0.04)	3.36*** (0.04)	3.15*** (0.04)	2.63*** (0.04)
Control measures				
Gender (female = 1)	0.04 (0.09)	0.05 (0.09)	-0.13 (0.08)	-0.16* (0.06)
Age (years)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)
Disposable income	0.05* (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Internet use	0.01 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	0.01 (0.04)
Television use	0.09 (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)
Cosmopolitanism	0.16*** (0.05)	0.17*** (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.03)
Cultural Distance (Reference category = Korea dramas)				
Asia (China/Japan) dramas		0.04 (0.09)		0.71*** (0.09)
American dramas		-0.12* (0.06)		1.37*** (0.06)
Random effect	.32*** (.05)	.33*** (.05)	<.01 (<.01)	<.01 (<.01)
Log-likelihood ratio test χ^2 (df)	5.72* (2)		557.68*** (2)	
Akaike Information Criterion	1581.19	1586.63	1774.49	1383.26

Note. Unstandardized coefficients with robust standard errors of mixed model entered. The mixed model was estimated using the "xtmixed" procedure in STATA 12.00. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .10$, *** $p < .001$. $N = 369$.

s.), but higher than that of American dramas ($M_{adj} = 3.24, p < .05$). In other words, H_{1a} is partially supported because perceived identification decreases only when cultural distance is substantially large (i.e., Korean versus American culture).

The last two columns in Table 1 show whether perceived novelty is different among dramas from the three cultures. As shown in the log-likelihood ratio test, the perceived novelty of dramas is significantly different across the three cultures (LR $\chi^2 = 557.68, df = 2, p < .001$). The adjusted mean of perceived novelty of the three cultures' dramas is provided in the right panel of Figure 1. The perceived novelty estimate of Korean dramas ($M_{adj} = 2.63$) is significantly lower than that of Asian ones ($M_{adj} = 3.35, p < .001$) or that of U.S. ones ($M_{adj} = 4.00, p < .001$). In addition, the perceived novelty of American dramas is significantly higher than that of Asian ones. The results show that H_{1b} is empirically supported because perceived novelty increases as cultural distance increases.

In short, people encountering culturally different dramas may view them as novel but also have difficulty identifying with the characters.

Testing Cultural Distance's Moderation Effect

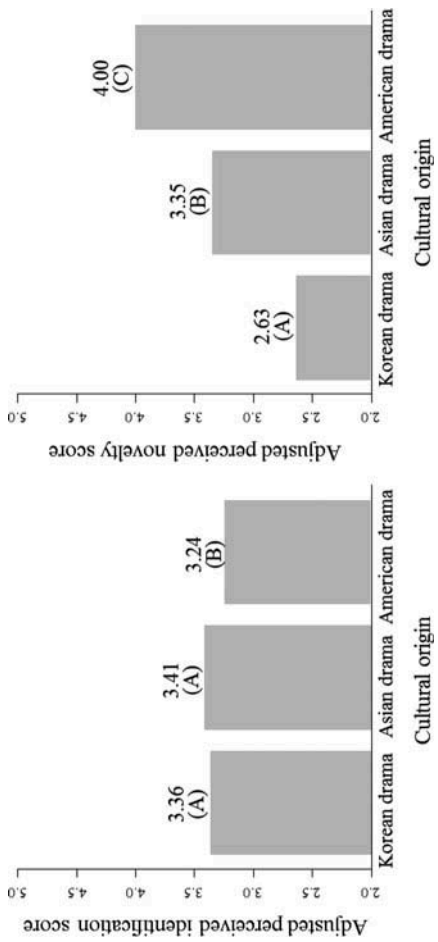
Both H_{2a} and H_{2b} examine whether the relationship between drama perception and enjoyment is moderated by the cultural distance between the drama's country of origin and its audience. As the results of the first hypothesis show, the origin of dramas is entered as a set of dichotomous variables after Korean drama is selected as a reference category. Results of the generalized mixed model testing of the second hypothesis are provided in Table 2.

Model 2 tests the main effects of both the origin and perception of dramas, and Model 3 tests their interaction effects on drama enjoyment. As shown in the comparison between Model 1 and Model 2, both perceived identification with the drama characters and the novelty of the drama are positively associated with its enjoyment ($b = .39, b = .38, p$'s $< .001$, respectively). More interestingly, the relationships are associated with cultural distance (i.e., origin of dramas). As shown in the log-likelihood ratio test, interaction effects are statistically significant (LR $\chi^2 = 23.05, df = 4, p < .001$). Specific patterns of the interaction effects are provided in Figure 2.

The positive effect of perceived identification with drama characters on enjoyment weakens if the drama is produced in the United States ($b = -.23, p < .05$) but not if it is produced in Asian countries ($b = -.04, p = \text{n.s.}$). As shown in the left panel of Figure 2, the slope becomes less steep for American dramas than for Korean or Asian ones, indicating that American drama enjoyment is influenced more by its capacity to trigger perceived identification among Korean audiences. In other words, H_{2a} is partially supported only when cultural distance between foreign dramas and local audiences is substantially large (i.e., Korea versus American culture).

Interestingly, however, the positive effect of perceived novelty of a drama on enjoyment becomes stronger when the drama is produced in the United States ($b = .49, p < .001$) but not when it is produced in Asian countries ($b = .06, p = \text{n.s.}$).

Figure 1
Relationships Between Cultural Distance and Drama Perception (N = 369)



Note. Estimates of drama perception (i.e., novelty and identification) are based on models in Table 1. Estimated scores that do not share the same capital letter in parenthesis are significantly different from one another ($p < .05$)

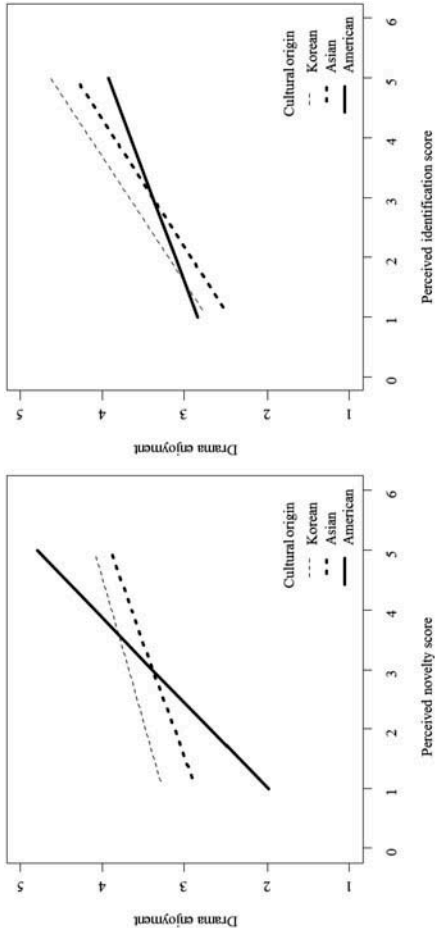
Table 2
Moderation Effect of a Drama's Country of Origin on the Relationship Between Its Perception and Enjoyment

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	3.74*** (0.04)	3.85*** (0.05)	3.76*** (0.06)
Control measures			
Gender (female = 1)	0.18* (0.09)	0.23** (0.08)	0.23** (0.08)
Age (years)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Disposable income	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Internet use	-0.01 (0.06)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)
Television use	0.23*** (0.05)	0.18*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.04)
Cosmopolitanism	0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)
Cultural distance (reference category = Korea)			
Asian (China/Japan) dramas (Culturally less distant)		-0.40*** (0.11)	-0.29* (0.12)
American dramas (culturally more distant)		-0.19* (0.10)	-0.37*** (0.11)
Main effect terms			
Perceived identification		0.39*** (0.04)	0.47*** (0.05)
Perceived novelty		0.38*** (0.05)	0.21** (0.07)
Interaction effect terms			
Perceived identification*Asian drama			-0.04 (0.15)
Perceived identification*USA drama			-0.23* (0.09)
Perceived novelty*Asian drama			0.06 (0.15)
Perceived novelty*USA drama			0.49*** (0.11)
Random effect	0.03 (0.05)	0.07 (.05)	0.08* (.04)
Log-likelihood ratio test			
χ^2 (df)		204.61***(4)	23.05*** (4)
Akaike Information Criterion	1842.66	1688.55	1683.29

Note. Unstandardized coefficients with robust standard errors of mixed model entered. The mixed model was estimated using the "xtmixed" procedure in STATA 12.00.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .10$, *** $p < .001$. $N = 369$.

Figure 2
Patterns of Interaction Effects Between Origin of Drama and Perception OF ITS Enjoyment (N = 369)



Note. Estimates of drama enjoyment are based on Model 3 in Table 2.

Specifically, the right panel in Figure 2 clearly shows that the slope is steeper among American dramas than among Korean or Asian ones. American drama enjoyment is more influenced by perceived novelty than is the enjoyment of dramas from the other countries. H_{2b} is also partially supported only when the cultural distance between foreign dramas and local audiences is substantially large.

In summary, local audiences' enjoyment of foreign dramas is more the result of perceived novelty and is less influenced by identification with the drama characters.

Discussion

Employing a cross-cultural perspective, this study examines how domestic audiences perceive and enjoy foreign dramas and how the psychological process differs depending on cultural distance. Unlike previous studies focusing on the failure or limited success of foreign dramas, this study examines their strength in attracting the attention of local audiences. By linking cross-cultural studies with media enjoyment research, this study extracts two perceived features of foreign dramas that enhance audience ability to enjoy them: (1) perceived identification and (2) novelty. Using survey data of young Korean college students, this study examines whether cultural distance between Korean audiences and dramas from foreign (i.e., Asian and American) cultures influences perceived identification and novelty and the relationship between drama perception and enjoyment.

There are two main findings in this study. First, as the cultural distance between dramas' country of origin and that of local audiences increases, audiences are less likely to identify with drama characters but more likely to perceive novelty in the story. Second, when there is a greater difference between the culture of local audiences and that of foreign dramas, the perceived novelty is more effective to elicit enjoyment. In short, cultural distance is a source of perceived novelty and has a positive effect on foreign media enjoyment.

These findings are important both theoretically and practically. This study suggests there seems to be a trade-off between perceived identification and perceived novelty, which together facilitate local audiences' foreign media enjoyment. Consistent with cultural discount theory (Hoskins et al., 1997; Hoskins & Mirus, 1988), cultural distance damages perceived identification and weakens its positive influence on foreign media enjoyment. However, it also increases perceived novelty and its positive influence on foreign media enjoyment, as expected from psychological studies of aesthetic pleasure. In this sense, previous studies based on cultural discount theory are one-sided, because the theory fails to reach comparative advantage of foreign programs over local programs, i.e., audiences' novelty perception of foreign drama. However, this study is more balanced than previous studies due to further investigation of the perceived novelty of foreign dramas, an important factor in explaining the success of foreign entertainment in domestic markets.

In addition, this study's findings suggest that the cultural uniqueness of foreign entertainment is an important asset that heightens its value in local media markets.

Generally, global media promotion has emphasized localization or domestication (e.g., Bellamy & Chabin, 2006), which may help to reduce local audiences' perceived cultural distance from foreign media content. However, this study clearly shows that cultural distance triggers local audiences' novelty perception and facilitates foreign media enjoyment, which may lead to increased foreign media sales. If cultural difference brings curiosity and triggers a desire for exotic fantasy among audiences, it heightens the value of foreign entertainment. Thus cultural distance in foreign media market is not always something that must be hindered but rather should be promoted to attract overseas audiences.

Findings indicate that cultural discount theory, which explains the failure of foreign media products, should be married with a new theoretical framework that explicates the success of some foreign media products, which this study terms *exotic culture theory*. This study incorporates the theoretical insights of cross-cultural investigations (e.g., Gudykunst, 1997; Hofstede et al., 2011) and studies of psychology of media enjoyment (e.g., Green et al., 2004; Silvia, 2006; Vorderer & Hartman, 2009) into a framework to examine cross-cultural media enjoyment. As media markets become more globalized, audience evaluations of foreign media will become more complex and multi-dimensional, necessitating a modification and general expansion of cultural discount theory.

Limitations

Similar to other studies this research suffers from several limitations. First, the convenience sample of students in this study inhibits generalization of the findings to different demographic segments. As expected, respondents in this study are mostly young males living in Seoul, the largest city in South Korea. Given that cultural tastes and socio-demographics are associated (see Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio, 1987), this study's findings are limited due to an unrepresentative sample. Generally, younger generations are more open to foreign norms or values than are older generations (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), implying that this study's findings may not succeed if replicated within the Korean population as a whole. Despite this problem, this study's findings remain relevant in understanding foreign media consumption, as principal consumers of foreign dramas are expected to be young audiences such as the respondents in this study. In this regard, the hypotheses posed by this study must be tested using wider audience segments (e.g., adolescents or middle-aged viewers) recruited with probability sampling techniques.

Second, this study was limited to Korea, one of the strongest collectivistic cultures in the world (Hofstede et al., 2011). Essentially, this study examines how local audiences in a collectivistic culture (i.e., Korea) perceive and enjoy cultural products from an individualistic culture (i.e., the United States), but not *vice versa*. In other words, audiences of an individualistic culture may not perceive dramas from collectivistic cultures as novel, and the positive effect of novelty perception on media enjoyment may not be influenced by cultural distance. Given that Japanese

animation (or *anime*) has succeeded in attracting audiences from European countries and the United States (Napier, 2007), it is not unreasonable to expect that audiences from individualistic cultures would also support the hypotheses posed by this study. However, this expectation should be rigorously tested in future research, which will further advance theories of cross-cultural media enjoyment.

Third, the differences between various dramas within a particular culture were not seriously considered. American dramas are not homogeneous in terms of identifiable characters for foreign audiences. For example, let us compare two American dramas: *Sex and the City* and *Lost*. From the Korean perspective, it is easier to identify with the main characters of *Lost* than *Sex and the City* because a Korean couple (Sun and Jin) appears in *Lost* while the main characters of *Sex and the City* are middle- or upper-class Caucasian women. In this case, the character differences between the two dramas, despite hailing from the same American culture, might affect how Korean audiences perceive and evaluate the storyline. While the issue of a main character's nationality was neither considered nor measured in this study, it is not unreasonable to expect Korean audiences to form higher perceived identification with the characters of *Lost* rather than those of *Sex and the City*. This limitation could be overcome in future research by incorporating content-specific features for character types or universality of narrative.

Finally, this study only considered identification with fictional characters and the novelty perception of narrative structure; other features that contribute to media enjoyment (e.g., visual effects) were not measured (Morgan, Palmgreen, Stephenson, Hoyle, & Lorch, 2003). In the film industry, movies that are considered visual spectacles (e.g., *Avatar*) tend to appeal to both local and foreign audiences. For example, *Spartacus*, an American drama, draws a large Korean audience (Nielsen Korea rating of 5.76; Chosun-Ilbo, 2010), most of whom are male—probably due to the battle scenes in ancient Rome. Considering that American dramas often invest huge amounts of capital in visual effects and are expected to be effective cross-culturally, future studies may want to focus on how visual effects increase the appeal of foreign dramas. The formative features of foreign media should also be considered in future research of cross-cultural media consumption.

Conclusion

Despite the limitations outlined above, this study advances the literature of cross-cultural media consumption by linking media enjoyment theory with the psychology of aesthetic pleasures from a cross-cultural perspective. The findings show that cultural discount theory should be modified to explain why some local audiences favor foreign media products. Unlike prior studies, this study shows that cultural differences between local audiences and foreign media can be a valuable means to increase enjoyment as well as economic value.

Funding

This work was supported by the National Research Foundation of Korea Grant funded by the Korean Government NRF-2013S1A3A2055285

Notes

1. Because the exact number of non-American audience members is not available, it is difficult to make a broad claim regarding the 63 million viewers.
2. This inferential statistic was obtained through a generalized mixed model that accounts for the statistical independence violation due to repeated evaluations of dramas among audience members who watched Korean, Asian, and/or U.S. dramas.

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