AMERICAN MEDIA AND ATTITUDES REGARDING GOVERNMENT IN A CANADIAN BORDER COMMUNITY

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The comparative effect of U. S. and Canadian news media on viewer attitudes concerning labour unions, government and business is explored using two samples (of approximately 400 respondents) in Windsor, Ontario. Differences in the effects of two electronic news sources are discussed, including a tendency for U. S. news media to delegitimize government involvement in the economy.

Utilisant deux sondages (d'environ 400 répondants) à Windsor, Ontario, nous comparons les effets des média d'information américains et canadiens sur l'attitude des téléspectateurs concernant les syndicats ouvriers, le gouvernement et les affaires. Nous examinons les différences dans les effets des deux sources de nouvelles électroniques, ainsi que la tendance des média de nouvelles américains à menacer la légitimité de l'action du gouvernement canadien dans les affaires économiques.

Canadian sociological literature speaks at considerable length about historical differences in the value patterns of Canadians as opposed to Americans (cf., Clark, 1976; Marchak, 1981; Rush et. al., 1981; Porter, 1965). While actual empirical data to bear on the appropriateness of some of these presumptions is in contemporary Canadian society rare, there is some survey research evidence supporting the notion of the persistence of Canada - United States value differences (Curtis and Crawford, 1979; Arnold and Tigert, 1974; for a review, cf., Curtis and Lambert, 1980, 106 - 118).

Despite arguments concerning some of the more extreme conceptions of Canada - U.S. value differences (for example, the debate concerning Lipset's [1964] work), there is a wide consensus among the above mentioned authors that some differences in "collectivity" orientation stem from or perhaps even support institutional differences between Canada and the United States. More specifically, Canada is seen as having a more "public enterprise" culture (Hardin, 1974) than is the case in the United States, where a strong antipathy towards government involvement in the economy is reflected in less government influence. Attitudes regarding government are in all likelihood related to attitudes regarding other institutions in society. The strongly held "free enterprise" norms of American social and political institutions do not seem to be replicated in Canada, where government economic activity, including Crown corporations, is more accepted.

A society holding sacrosanct the rights of powerful individuals and corporations to employ private property in a manner as they see fit, i.e., without intervention, would also likely view labour unions, which seek to mitigate the power of capital-holders, as illegitimate usurp-

ers of legitimately-held power. Although there is little direct evidence bearing on the issue of Canada-U.S. differences in attitudes toward labour unions, the observation that Canadian workers are more willing to use the strike weapon (cf., Wilcox, 1980; Smith, 1981) might conceivably reflect a higher level of legitimacy for union activities in Canada as opposed to the United States.

On the level of mass media content, we might initially expect Canadian and American media to reflect these differences, were it not for the dominant influence of American cultural products in Canada. There are few countries in the world which rely on United States content more than Canada, a situation facilitated by the clustering of the Canadian populace along the U. S. border. American radio and television broadcasts cross the border unimpeded, or indeed with some assistance from cable television operators, and are tuned in to by millions of Canadians. In 1977, seventy-one percent of Canadians, including Quebecers, had access to at least one United States television channel, and a majority of Canadians had access to three United States channels. For English Canada, the figures were 78% and 73% respectively. And, while English Canadian viewers watch Canadian television stations 75% of the time, 71% of the programs viewed in prime time are American (CRTC, 1979).

This means that virtually all of the drama viewed in Canada is of United States origin (95%) since 89% of the news watched is Canadian and 79% of the sports is Canadian, largely due to "Hockey Night In Canada" (Steed, 1982, 10). Of course, one cannot watch what is not produced and we are hardly producing any English Canadian drama. The English-language Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) produces seventy hours of drama per year, compared to two hundred and

seventy three hours for the French-Canadian network, Radio-Canada (Steed, 1982), and the Supreme Court had to order the private CTV network to comply with the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) and produce a minimum of thirty-nine hours of original drama in the entire 1981-1982 season.

It is only in the area of news programming, with a preponderance of Canadian-produced content, although frequently with news clips from American news networks, where one might expect such a difference between United States and Canadian networks. It is in this area that this research investigated the relative effects of United States as opposed to Canadian programming. In doing so, however, one is mindful of the confounding influences of the viewing of television drama. While one might dispute the ideological significance of such programming, one must at least acknowledge the work of Gerbner, et. al., (1977) and the work of Tate (1978; cf., also Tate and Surlin, 1976; Surlin and Tate, 1976) and incorporate viewing of television drama as a control variable in the research design. More appropriately, it is regarded here as a direct matter of concern.

Are Canadians "affected" by United States programs, and if so, how are these effects manifested? One could argue that Canadians are inevitably becoming Americanized and that the United States media are contributing to the assimilation of any semblance of an unique Canadian indentity. Elkin (1983, 152) traced the concern expressed by Royal Commissions and Parliamentary Committees through Canadian history over the threat to Canadian culture posed by American media content. He asserted that such content, "...presumably weakens Canadian identity as such." Tate and Trach (1980) tried to document some effects concluding that knowledge

of the Canadian judicial process was inversely related to reliance on United States' television programs involving lawyers as characters. A federal government national poll in 1982 showed that Canadians vastly over - estimate the incidence of crime, apparently believing the murder rate in Canada is on par with that in large urban areas in the United States (Globe and Mail, 1982, 1).

McCombs (1977) studied 400 Kingston Ontario residents, comparing the agendas of viewers of Canadian as opposed to American news. He and his colleagues found no differences in the agendas perhaps attributable to overlap: while 26% of the sample constituted frequent viewers of CBS news, two-thirds of these people also watched the CBC news frequently. Additionally, the agenda-setting literature in the United States suggests that newspapers exercise a greater influence than does television (cf., Eyal, 1981; McClure & Patterson, 1976).

The current study takes these findings into consideration by including newspaper as well as television use in a city where there is a great amount of American television and newspaper penetration.

MEDIA SOURCES IN WINDSOR, ONTARIO

Windsor, Ontario, is a community of 200,000 persons separated by the Detroit River from one of the largest media markets in the United States. There is no CTV affiliate in Windsor, which is thus the largest city in Canada without CTV service. The reason for the non-existence of private Canadian television in Windsor is that Windsor is considered part of the Detroit market area and CTV, with its large portion of American programming, cannot broadcast its programs in Windsor without violating its agreement

with the United States networks and program
producers. The Global television network oper-
ated a transmitter in Windsor for a few years
but was forced to delete programs which were
American in origin from its transmissions. The
Global transmitter has not been operating in
Windsor since 1976. This dominance of American
media may be alleviated with the introduction of
cable in the Windsor area although the only
proposal currently before the CRTC calls for a
total of 32 cable channels with more American
than Canadian channels available to subscribers.

In Windsor, the signals of some of the
American VHF television stations are reputedly
of better quality in downtown Windsor than the
signal of the community's own CBC transmitter.
In addition to the three VHF stations affiliated
with the three major United States networks,
Windsor residents at the time of the study could
easily receive one full-time commercial indepen-
dent station, a second independent station de-
voted to religious television, a Detroit public
television (PBS) station, and an over-the-air
pay television station. Windsor also receives
signals from a TV Ontario (educational) trans-
mitter and the CBC-French (Radio-Canada) ser-
vice. Individuals with rooftop antennas in
Windsor can receive a number of American affi-
liates from other parts of bordering Michigan
and Ohio. The **Detroit News** and **Detroit Free
Press** both have offices in Windsor with home
delivery. These newspapers have a combined
daily circulation of 6,000 plus, and much more
on Sunday, which makes them competitors of the
Windsor Star. The only other newspaper readily
available in the community is the **Globe and
Mail**, published out of Toronto but considered a
"national" newspaper to some extent.

METHOD

The data for this analysis were obtained from the results of two community telephone surveys undertaken in Windsor. One survey (N=367) was conducted in November of 1981, while the second (N=411) was conducted in March of 1982. Telephone numbers were obtained using a random selection procedure and the local telephone directory. To allow for access to individuals with new telephone numbers and individuals with unlisted numbers, a constant was added to each of the telephone numbers originally chosen from the telephone directory through the random selection method. This technique was used as an alternative to random digit dialing to reduce the number of out - of - service numbers encountered. The interviews were conducted by students enrolled in a Communication Studies research methods course at the University of Windsor. Alternate households were asked for "someone who is male" and "someone who is female" to compensate for an expected tendency for women to be the first respondents to reach the telephone. The March 1982 survey asked for male or female "household heads" instead of "someone who is male." Interviewers were asked to insure that the respondent was at least sixteen years of age. The age and sex distributions of the two samples are shown in Table One. The overall response rate for the fall 1981 survey was approximately 50%. The second survey involved more experienced interviewers and up to ten call backs for respondents who were not at home. This survey achieved a response rate of 67%. While the studies explored related questions the second study was not designed as a replication of the first, asking different but related questions. Significant findings are presented from each of the two studies.

A. The Fall 1981 Survey

Respondents were asked how many days during an average week they read each of four different newspapers: the **Detroit News**, **Detroit Free Press**, **Windsor Star**, and **Globe and Mail**.

Political attitude variables were measured with multiple indicators. Each indicator was measured on a five-point Likert scale, with response categories: agree strongly, agree somewhat, neutral, disagree somewhat, and disagree strongly. Attitudes regarding labour unions were measured by the following items (the short forms used in tables are shown in brackets):

If it weren't for the unions asking too much, we wouldn't be having the problems we have now. [UNIONASK]

Labour unions have too much power. [UNION PWR]

Attitudes toward government were measured by the following items:

Most of the time, we can trust people in government to do what is right. [TRUST GOV]

Those elected to Parliament soon lose touch with the people. [LOSE TOUCH]

Many people in government are dishonest. [GOVT DISHON]

The government really cares about what the average person thinks. [GOVT CARES]

TABLE ONE

Age and Sex Distribution of Samples

1 November 1981 •		2 March 1982 ••	
Male	47%	Male	44%
Female	53%	Female	56%
Average age	38	Average age	43

• Sample asked for "someone in household" and included special quota to reach respondents in 16 – 25 age group.

•• Sample asked for male/female head of household

While the above three dimensions constitute the originally hypothesized dimensional structure of the attitudes in question, factor analytic techniques (discussed below) were employed to verify this hypothesized structure. One attitudinal item--"These days, too many people are trying to get welfare rather than working" [WELFARE]--was included in the original battery of items and was included in the factor analysis to further assess the dimensionality of attitudes. So also were measures covering attitudes towards big business--"Big companies - like oil companies - have too much power"-- and--"The rich do not pay their share of taxes in this country."

Control variables which were used in this analysis included: education level, income, age, family size, language (English vs. non-English language spoken at home), and labour union membership (a dichotomous variable).

B. The March 1982 Survey

Items tapping opinions on various local and national issues were used in the March 1982 survey. Respondents were asked, for example, about the most important problem facing Windsor, and also about the problem facing society today. They were asked about local and national issues, such as, teachers serving on school boards, whether they approved of beer being sold in grocery stores, whether there is racism in Windsor (or in Canada generally), and who or what (if anything) they blamed for current high interest rates.

Unemployment in the Windsor community was consistently high during the 1981-1982 period although not necessarily higher than other hardhit Ontario industrial centres, such as Brantford and Sudbury. Estimates of this rate vary according to which source is employed, but the

unemployment rate in March 1982 in Windsor was
approximately 15% (about two or three percentage
points higher than in fall of 1981).

ANALYSIS

A multiple - indicator linear structural
equation model (LISREL) was used for the analy-
sis of some of the data. The LISREL model is an
extension of the well known techniques of mul-
tiple regression and factor analysis, both of
which it subsumes. Essentially, the LISREL
model can be seen as a structural equation or
path model except that unlike conventional path
analysis each variable can be measured by more
than one indicator (Bentler, 1980).

In the multiple - indicators literature,
there is no agreed-upon standard respecting how
well any given "model" should fit the data ob-
tained. With reasonable samples, it is pos-
sible, indeed likely, that a significance test
for the overall goodness of fit of the model
could point to the need to add more parameters
to a model when in fact those parameters are
trivial and unlikely to replicate in other samp-
les (cf., Joreskog and Sorbom, 1979, 38). In
practice, of course, the addition of such para-
meters would do little to alter the values al-
ready obtained for other, more important, para-
meter estimates. The model reported here fits
the criterion of a chi-square to degree of free-
dom ratio of 2:1 as is usually considered accep-
table in the literature (Carmines and McIver,
1980, 79 - 81).

In the analysis performed here, demographic
variables acting as independent variables in-
cluded income, age, union membership (yes/no),
education, family size, and language spoken in
home. These control variables in part helped to

determine whether the relationship between media and social/political attitudes can be attributed to some common cause. Certainly, one cannot rule out the possibility that some variables have been missed or measured improperly in this research. But, as with any research of this nature, the authors have attempted to address the major confounding arguments which could be addressed within the context of the research method. The most important threat to the validity or any attempt to impute causality to observed relationships falls under the general category of "respondent selection." Briefly, one must ask whether there are pre-existing differences between those types of respondents who choose American television news and those who choose Canadian television news. As an attempt to control for many major pre - existing differences which are likely to stratify respondents on ideological grounds, this research provided an improvement over most reported research which relies generally on bivariate relationships to impute causality.

Some researchers studying the phenomena of American media influence (Payne, 1978; Payne and Caron, 1982) have resorted to the use of static, nonequivalent, control group designs in an attempt to make causal inferences. These authors studied mostly rural communities in areas where some communities had access to foreign television while other, presumably similar, communities did not have such access. While these designs rule out within-community selection factors, they do so at the expense of external validity. One cannot be sure that relationships observed among presumably low educated rural populations are at all applicable to urban settings. Moreover, one cannot rule out selection factors entirely, as there might be pre-existing differences between communities with U. S. television and the, perhaps slightly more remote,

communities without U, S, television.

The intervening variables in this study were media variables: overall television use, use of U.S. television news, use of Canadian television news, use of Canadian newspapers, and use of United States newspapers. The dependent variables consisted of the social and political attitudinal variables discussed above. In the analyses reported below, the gamma matrix represents path coefficients connecting the demographic variables with all other variables, while the beta matrix represents coefficients connecting the media use variables with social and political attitude variables.

RESULTS

Marginal frequency distributions illustrating the penetration of United States news media into Windsor are shown in Table Two. About thirty-two percent of the respondents indicated that they read the Detroit Free Press, a morning paper, at least once a week. Although slightly less than five per cent of the respondents indicated they read the Free Press every day, many respondents indicated they read the Free Press once a week -- the Free Press has a Sunday edition where neither of the two Canadian newspapers readily available in Windsor publishes on Sunday. Readership for the Detroit News is somewhat less: only about ten per cent of the respondents indicate they read this paper during an average week. The penetration of the electronic media into Windsor appears to be more extensive.

In both surveys, 61% of the respondents watched television news the previous day. The CBC went from a slight plurality in the November 1981 survey to a commanding lead in the March

TABLE TWO

Viewship of Television News By Network

Network	Fall 1981	Winter 1982
CBC	32%	46%
CBC and United States	14%	9%
CTV	1%	1%
ABC	26%	17%
NBC	13%	13%
CBS	11%	11%
Total - three U.S.	(50%)	(41%)
Other	3%	3%
Total	100%	100%
(N)	218	210

	Newspaper			
November 1981	Windsor Star	Toronto Globe & Mail	Detroit News	Detroit Free Press
Never read	10.6%	75.7%	88.9%	67.0%
Read six days or more a week	61.6%	2.7%	1.0%	7.4%
(N = 367)				

Which Newspaper(s) read "yesterday: (March 1982)

Windsor Star or Star plus Globe and Mail	85%
Star plus Detroit paper	12%
Detroit paper only	1%
Globe and Mail only	1%
Other	1%
Total	100%

N = 303 (74% of sample)

1982 survey, a change which may be attributed to the new time and format of the CBC evening news adopted in January 1982. In the fall U.S. networks held an advantage of 48% against 32% for the CBC but in the March survey, six weeks after changes at CBC, CBC was holding its own with 46% versus 41% for the three U.S. networks combined (see Table Two). The CBC outlet does attract a large news audience. Still, from the standpoint of the cultural influence of American television, the fact that Canadian viewers in this border community are almost as likely to watch U.S. television stations for the news may be of some considerable concern and underscores the importance of the issue of the ideological impact of U.S. television to be discussed below. The situation compares unfavourably with the national scene where 89% of the news viewed is Canadian.

Analyses of demographic characteristics show only that older respondents tend to watch both CBC and one or more American newscasts (see Table Three). Of the dependent variables collected, two were found to be dependent upon TV news network viewed. These relationships held up under controls for age, education, income, and ethnic background of respondents.

A. Most Important Issue

First and foremost from the agenda-setting standpoint and in light of effects reported by McCombs (1977), there was a difference in the most important problem seen to be facing Windsor, depending on the network on which one watched television news. Canadian news viewers overwhelmingly cited unemployment (80%) while U.S. news viewers were less likely to do so (60%). Results of this analysis are displayed in Table Four. Viewers of both U.S. and Canadian news, who as we have seen are much older on

TABLE THREE

News Network Viewed By Age
(One-way ANOVA)

Network	Mean age
United States	42.1
CBC	44.4
Both	53.7
F = 6.99, d.f. = 2/358 p < .001	

TABLE FOUR

Most Important Problem in Windsor
By TV News Network

| Problem | Network | | |
	U.S.	CBC	Both
Unemployment	60%	80%	53%
Other*	40%	20%	47%

* included such categories as crime, alcohol, drugs, lack of business diversity, etc.

the average, were least likely to perceive unem-
ployment as a problem.

Respondents were also asked who or what, if
anything, they blamed for then-current high
interest rates and again network news sources
appeared to influence opinions independent of
demographic characteristics. Those watching the
CBC news were less likely to blame the federal
government and more likely to blame banks or to
be uncertain about who to blame (Table Five).

In terms of newspaper readership, 74% of
the respondents had read a daily newspaper dur-
ing the previous day. Of these, 97% read either
the **Windsor Star** alone, or the **Star** and another
paper -- either U.S. or Canadian. Only three
percent of the newspaper readers do not read the
local daily. In view of these findings, it is
only possible to compare those who read only the
Canadian daily with those who read both Canadian
and U.S. dailies. Again, with all of the col-
lected demographic controls introduced, dif-
ferences between Canadian and U.S. media users
surface. The distribution of readership is
shown in Table Six.

B. Local Issues

One local issue in the months preceding the
March 1982 survey concerned the Ontario Brewers'
Retail monopoly, and whether or not, as in Mich-
igan, Windsorites should be sold beer in grocery
stores. A survey item tapped local opinion on
this and found respondents were fairly evenly
divided on the issue. Readers of the Detroit
newspapers, however, were more likely to approve
of ending the Brewers' retail monopoly and sel-
ling beer through grocery store outlets, (Table
Six). These readers did not differ demographi-
cally from those reading only the **Windsor Star**.

TABLE FIVE

Who or What Blamed for High Interest Rates
By News Network Viewed

| Blame | News Network | | |
	U.S.	CBC	Both
Federal government	46%	30%	47%
Banks	3%	10%	5%
"United States"	14%	10%	11%
Other: don't know	37%	50%	37%
Total	100%	100%	100%
N = 205 p < .05			

TABLE SIX

Opinion on Beer Sales Through Grocery Stores
By Newspaper Read

| Attitude on Beer in stores | Newspaper | |
	Windsor Star	Star & Detroit
Approve	43%	64%
Disapprove	42%	31%
Don't Know	15%	5%

Chi square = 6.7 p < .05   (N = 297)

C. Attitudes Toward Unions, Government and Business

Using the data from the November 1981 survey an initial analysis was undertaken in an attempt to link the six media variables with attitudes regarding labour unions, the government and business. In early models, however, the effects of the various newspapers proved to be negligible, and were therefore deleted from later models. That "gamma" matrix ("path" coefficients between the demographic variables and the six media variables) is shown in Table Seven.

Table Eight shows the parameter estimates for a model involving overall television use, Canadian TV news exposure and U.S. news exposure as independent variables. Controls (not shown in the table) are present for the background variables education, income, age, union membership, language, and family size. Tests for linearity were performed on zero-order relationships involving the age variable and none indicated a significant departure from linearity. This implies that, for purposes of the analysis reported here, the assumption of linearity appears to be reasonable. Parameter estimates which in earlier models yielded t-values of less than 1.00 have been eliminated in this model. The lambda matrix provides estimates of the factor loadings for the variables measured with multiple indicators. The beta matrix provides estimates of the structural equation parameters linking the media use variables with the three attitude variables.

The most pronounced finding in the table points to a general anti-union effect of television viewing. Television viewing in general is significantly related to anti-union attitudes at a probability level of .05 (the path coefficient

LISREL Estimates: Gamma Matrix (Standardized) Impact of Background Factors on Media News Exposure

	Ksi 1 Age	Ksi 2 Income	Ksi 3 Educ	Ksi 4 Union	Ksi 5 Lang	Ksi 6 Famsize
TV Use	.140*	-.235**	.131*	0.00	.164	.078
Cdn. news	.239**	-.071	.058	0.00	0.00	0.00
U.S. news	.155**	0.00	0.00	.046	.110*	0.00
U.S. paper	0.00	.138**	0.00	.122*	.068	-.130**
Winds Star	.147**	.022	0.00	.082	.121	.046
Globe&Mail	-.088	.073	.082	0.00	0.00	-.100

* $p < .05$
** $\underline{p} < .01$

TABLE EIGHT

LISREL Estimates:
Impact of Canadian and U.S. News Programs
on Attitudes Toward Unions, Government
and Business

(a) Lambda y matrix (factor analysis)
(Standardized Values)

	Eta 1	Eta 2	Eta 3	Eta 4	Eta 5	Eta 6
TV avg wkday	.728	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
TV Sunday	.489	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
TV yesterday	.673	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cdn. TV news	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
U.S. TV news	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Union ask	0.0	0.0	0.0	.746	0.0	0.0
Union power	0.0	0.0	0.0	.532	0.0	0.0
Welfare	0.0	0.0	0.0	.272	.243	0.0
Trust govt	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-.620	0.0
Govt. dishonest	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.671	0.0
Govt. cares	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-.592	0.0
Company power	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.152	.425
Tax rich	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.595

unless otherwise indicated. parameters of 1.0 or 0.0 are
constrained to that value.

Factor labels·   Eta 1 - TV Use (General
                 Eta 2 - Canadian TV News
                 Eta 3 - U. S. TV News
                 Eta 4 - Anti-Union attitudes
                 Eta 5 - Anti-Govt. attitudes
                 Eta 6 - Anti Big Business

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Table Eight continued

(b) Beta Matrix (Structural Equation Parameters) (Standardized)

Independent Factor	Dependent Factor		
	Eta 4 Anti-Union	Eta 5 Anti-Govt	Eta 6 Anti-business
Eta 1 (TV)	.1885 (2.26)	-.1045 (1.34)	0.00
Eta 2 (Canadian News)	-.1273 (1.927)	0.00	.1617 (1.48)
Eta 3 (U.S. News)	0.00	-.1260 (2.52)	.1000 (1.20)
(t-values in brackets)			

Table Eight continued

(c) Psi Matrix
(Covariance Between Factors)
(Standardized)

Media Use Factors:	Eta 1	Eta 2	Eta 3
TV Use Eta 1	.934		
Canadian News Eta 2	.141	.934	
U. S. News Eta 3	.164	-.369	.986

Covariance among attitude factors·

	Eta 4	Eta 5
Eta 5 (Government)	0.0*	
Eta 6 (Business)	0.0*	.345

*fixed to this value

*correlated errors· (theta epsilon)
    TE (3,6) (TV Use, yesterday--Ask too much)   -.104
    TE (6,7) (Ask too much -- Union power)   .128
    TE (9,10) (Trust government -- Government dishonest) .125

Overall goodness of fit· Chi square = 175.77; df = 144

is .1885). The viewing of both Canadian and American television news appears to lead to an anti-big business attitude but owing to a smaller variance in the unstandardized solution, these parameters are non-significant despite the fact that one of them is actually larger than other significant parameters in the model. As shown in the table, the parameter estimate for Canadian television news .1617, while it is

There is some suspicion that Canadian news viewing to some extent mitigates the "anti-union" attitude set generated by television viewing in general. Presumably, as indicated above, people who spend a lot of time watching television spend that time watching television dramas, almost all of which are American. The parameter estimate (-.1273) is not quite statistically significant at the .05 level however (t = 1.927). Whether one accepts this result as statistically significant depends on whether one employs a two - tailed test, under which it is not significant at .05, or a one-tailed test, under which it is significant at .05. While it was hypothesized (a) that United States media would produce anti - union attitudes and (b) that there will be Canada - U.S. differences, there is no strong basis for an a priori hypothesis that the Canadian news media would actually serve to legitimize labour unions and, hence, one would tend to call the results inconclusive at this stage. The tendency of Canadian television news to generate pro-union attitudes is not matched by a similar tendency on the part of U.S. television news. All of the other effects shown in Table Three are non-significant.

The viewership of American television news leads to the generation of anti - government attitudes, where the viewing of Canadian television news does not have the same effect. If anything, original models yielded a negative

coefficient implying that Canadian television news leads to pro-government attitudes. But this effect was so small as to warrant deletion from the model ($\underline{t}$<1.00) using the criterion discussed earlier. One suspects here that the strong "free enterprise" orientation of the United States networks is having an ideological impact upon its audiences, in contradistinction to a more progressive (less neo-conservative?) Canadian media orientation which is more favorable toward government involvement in the economy.

CONCLUSIONS

This research has demonstrated differences in opinions which may be attributed to United States media influence. The findings are, of course, far from conclusive but they represent an important addition to the research in the area.

Using the traditional agenda - setting approach, it was found that differences exist in perceived local problems depending upon the source respondents use for television news. News source also apparently has an effect on where the blame is placed for high interest rates and on opinions about selling beer through grocery stores, which is currently being done in Michigan but not Ontario. Not only are there differences in the **salience** of issues but differing media usage patterns are associated with differences in the level of various attitudes.

American media institutions appear to have an effect in generating anti - union attitudes and in generating anti - government attitudes. Both of these findings are consistent with the descriptions of the **cultural** differences between American and Canadian media systems discussed by authors such as Hardin (1974). However, these

findings suggest further that differences in
institutional structure, public versus private
systems of orientation, in the mass media lead
to discernibly different effects.

Where these findings are of particular
concern is in the area of the continued exis-
tence of Canada as a separate cultural entity,
especially with respect to the impact of U.S.
network news on attitudes toward government.
These findings suggest that American media serve
to undercut the Canadian orientation towards a
greater governmental role in the economy, espe-
cially with respect to progressive welfare mea-
sures, and a less conservative, or less free -
enterprise, approach to accommodating the
interests of labour -- even organized labour --
within the social and political process. Cur-
renty, more refined measures to help distinguish
whether or not respondents are reacting to gov-
ernment in principle, or just a particular set
of political actors currently holding office,
are lacking. It is, on the other hand, diffi-
cult to see how an attitude that one can or
cannot "trust those in Parliament", or an atti-
tude that the "government is dishonest," does
not in some way reflect the **institution** and not
just individuals holding office in it. Certain-
ly, future research could, through the use of
more refined indicators, shed further light on
this issue.

These findings with respect to attitudes
regarding labour unions are in some senses con-
sistent with allegations that the media distort
the role of unions or create highly negative
images (Philo, et al., 1977). Television use in
general is associated with negative attitudes
toward unions. But this research has indicated
that exposure to Canadian television news seems
to lead to a more positive evaluation of labour
unions. This is not consistent with findings in

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Britian by the Glasgow group that the electronic news media in that country serve to portray unions in a highly unfavorable light (Walton and Davis, 1977). Does this point to differences between Canada and Great Britian? Or does it simply suggest that, for trade unionists, and perhaps others, simply obtaining some news about union affairs can help to generate a positive attitude regarding unions. The answers to these questions must await further research. Certainly, little systematic work has been done on the role of the media in dealing with labour unions or the working class in relation to the plethora of analyses which have emerged dealing with other groups, e.g., women, ethnic minorities, etc.

With respect to coverage of labour unions by the mass media some recent work by Hackett (1983) in the Canadian context may help to establish the content dimensions along which further cross-national comparisons might be undertaken. Hackett concluded that "labour fares relatively poorly on television news" in his analysis of CTV and CBC news programming. Further work in this area might help to establish connections between content-analytic work of this sort and work examining audience responses.

In summary, this work needs replication and extension. While the findings may be generalized only to the city of Windsor, it is believed that the special case this community constitutes can help shed light on areas which might be researched on a wider basis across Canada, with larger samples. It might also be suggested that work needs to be done not only in the area of normative beliefs, such as those examined here, but also in the area of knowledge -- that is, cognitive or existential beliefs, an area which Tate and Trach (1980) began to ex-

plore. This study has demonstrated the ability of American media to shape the cultural and political orientations of their viewers, listeners and readers in another country.

The Canadian respondents who attended to United States media identified more closely with anti-government sentiment that is more consistent with American culture than it is with Canadian culture. In Canada a small population and vast land mass have contributed to massive government involvement in the economy. The Canadian governments have hundreds of Crown Corporations controlling everything from rail and air transit to postal services, electrical utilities, telephone companies and broadcasting networks, as well as Crown Corporations operating in the domain of manufacturing, for example, petrochemicals (Petro-Canada). Yet, those Windsorites watching American television news were more likely to blame the federal government for inflation and to express anti-government sentiments. Those reading American newspapers were more likely to prefer the Michigan free - enterprise system of beer distribution.

Certainly, further work in this area would be useful. Other potential explanatory variables, such as contact with Americans by Windsorites, could be added to this research design as control variables. In addition, further studies into the dimensionality of attitudes toward government could be undertaken in an attempt to determine whether exposure to U.S. media has further implications in terms of economic identity. The current study, for example, does not contain enough items referring directly to attitudes regarding welfare and unemployment insurance to determine whether these attitudes form a separate dimension and, if so, whether American media exposure has the same effect upon them as was observed with respect to attitudes

about the government. Consistent with the hypo-
thesis that exposure to U.S. mass media fosters
stronger levels of support for possessive indi-
vidualism, free enterprise attitudes, one would
expect that those viewing U. S. news would be
more prone to blame unemployment on individuals
as opposed to systematic causes, more likely to
feel that people should be cut off from welfare
and unemployment benefits, and that the state
should not involve itself as heavily in welfare
and unemployment insurance programs. The test
of this hypothesis, however, awaits further
work.

Finally, an issue of causal priority re-
mains. This study has been able to establish a
connection, for example, between U. S. news
usage and negative attitudes towards government
involvement in the economy. As with most other
media research, no definitive proof of direc-
tionality can be offered. One cannot rule out
the possibility that part of this connection
might be due to selective factors, i.e., those
opposing labour unions select United States
media content over Canadian content. Even if
this is the case, the question of what differ-
ences in United States and Canadian content lead
to different ideological affinities on the part
of viewers remains. What is it in the content
of U.S. programming which establishes this con-
nection between attitudes and media use? And
what reinforcement effects are present? The
fact that differences between viewers of Cana-
dian and viewers of American news persist sug-
gests a minimum problematic of media investiga-
tors. These differences, as has been discussed
above, remain after extensive statistical con-
trols for confounding factors.

The use of panel or longitudinal data would
be of some assistance in regards to the issue of
causal direction although such research is pla-

gued with additional problems such as serially correlated measurement errors, sample attrition, etc. In such research one cannot be sure of the appropriate time frame within which changes in media use and given social attitudes are likely to occur. So the mere use of panel data is not sufficient to guarantee an answer to the causal question raised here. In all likelihood, multiple wave designs, including parallel sub-panel designs (Kessler and Greenberg, 1981, 181 - 182) would be necessary. Such designs are, of course, costly to implement. Few major Canadian social science panel surveys have involved more than three waves or measured attitudes over more than three years. But it would certainly be worthwhile for Canadian communication scholars to turn their attention to designs such as these in the future. Ultimately, the question of causality for media use/attitude questions such as those studied here may require time-series panel designs, which are fraught with major attrition problems but which offer superior opportunities for bivariate and multivariate causal analysis. In the meantime, further replications, involving more limited cross-sectional research should be undertaken. If additional instrumental variables can be specified, tentative reciprocal effects paths may be identifiable, that is, one may be able to provide statistical solutions to the question of reverse causation using approaches such as two-stage (2SLS) or full information maximum likelihood (FISL) techniques. These models would, to be sure, rest on strong theoretical assumptions, testable ultimately only through better time series data as discussed above. But they could provide for collaboration or, for that matter, refutation of these findings.

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