INTERNATIONAL MEDIA DIFFUSION AND THE SPREAD OF DEMOCRATIZATION: THE ARAB SPRING

by

Shea B. Holland

An Abstract
of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Communication
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ABSTRACT

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The Arab Spring has been the most recent period when nations have begun the political shift towards democratization. The international media diffusion theory postulates that for individuals in nations undergoing transition, consuming international media broadcasts from Western sources will increase individuals’ acceptance of the concept and process of democracy; henceforth referred to as democratization. This study examined the content of the international news media to determine if messages about the process of democratization were present, and if so, if they were supportive. This study focuses on international media broadcasts mentioning the countries Middle East and North African region in their content because these nations are undergoing political transition which allowed the international media diffusion theory to be examined. While this study found that democratization messages were being broadcast by the international news media, those messages were not generally supportive of the process of democratization. As a result, the unquestioned role of international media in the process of democratization and their pivotal role in the international media diffusion theory may have lost some relevance with the advancement of more current communication technologies such as the Internet and social media and the role they played in the Arab Spring.
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APPROVED:

Thesis Chair: Jack Rogers, Ph.D.

Thesis Committee Member: Joseph Moore, Ph.D.

Thesis Committee Member: Eric Newsom, Ph.D.

ACCEPTED:

Chair, Department of Communication: Arthur Rennels, Ph.D.

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL MISSOURI

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This one is for you, Dad.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

With the continued political uprisings in the Middle East begun at the onset of 2011, scholars have posited that the fourth wave of democratization is coalescing in the Arab Spring as a result of heightened political tensions, new forms of media and technology, and a disenfranchised public (Diamond, 2011; Howard & Hussein, 2013; Magen, 2012). Huntington (1991) coined the term “third wave democracy” to describe the third surge of democratization, which affected the democratic transitions in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and Pacific nations from 1974 through the late 1990s. While debate exists with regard to whether the Arab Spring is the advent of the fourth wave of democratization or the final stage of the third wave, the process of democratization for those nations experiencing the Arab Spring is unique because of the role that media and communication have had in facilitating protests and disseminating information both nationally and internationally.

The Arab uprisings have been labeled as “Twitter Revolutions” or “Facebook Revolutions” (Cottle, 2011) because of the direct influence social media has had on organizing protests and bringing international attention to the protests themselves. However, social media, while a key component of the Arab Spring, worked in tandem with conventional media to both update the global community about the movements and garner internal and international support (Cottle, 2011; Khondker, 2011). The role of conventional media in transitioning democracies should not be overshadowed by the impacts of the fairly recent phenomenon of social media on the complicated process of democratization. Khondker furthers this observation by emphasizing the role of conventional media, especially television, which was crucial because social media, though a vital tool, would have been insufficient working alone. Social media has the potential to
mobilize an uprising; however, conventional media has traditionally presented uprisings to the
global community. Thus, the role of conventional media, including television, print and radio,
was equally as important to the progress of the revolutions as the Internet and mobile

technologies.

For countries undergoing transitions, foreign media has been thought to aid the process of
democratization through shaping the public appeals for democratic order (Mughan & Gunther,
2000), yet limited research has been dedicated to analyzing both the role and impact of
conventional media usage within the Arab Spring movement. International media is theorized to
diffuse democracy to consumers within these transitioning nations; thus, a favorable perception
towards democracy should be induced nationwide. The international media diffusion theory, as a
subset of the theory of international diffusion, specifically focuses on the “process of individuals’
orientation to new political values” (Loveless, 2009). Both the international media diffusion
theory and its larger theoretical framework, the theory of international diffusion, examine
countries experiencing transitional periods and the effects of the media on attitudes towards
democracy among people groups both within and outside of the subject nations.

These theories evolved from the seminal works of Everett Rogers’ (1962) *Diffusion of
Innovations*, which suggested that messages about new concepts are communicated in ways that
push for a social change. However, while democracy might not be embraced around the world,
the Westernized version of democracy has been conceptually accepted since the end of the Cold
War (Kurki, 2010). Kurki argued that the concept of democracy is accepted as a “religion” by
actors such as the United States, United Nations and the European Union, spurring discussions
by these actors about policies promoting democracy and facilitating the process of
democratization. Kurki illustrates the paradox of Roger’s diffusion of innovations theory. The
concept and practice of diffusing democracy are entirely separate phenomena and/or processes; however, the difference is not often distinguished within the literature. Democracy as an ideological concept has not been innovative since the end of the Cold War, yet in *practice*, democracy is an innovation for some individuals and nations, specifically those driving the Arab Spring movement within the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region.

This paradox, between the concept and the practice of democracy, justifies the need for more research regarding the content of international media messages because as Walter Lippman (1922) asserted in his seminal work, *Public Opinion*, message content influences public perception. However, while scholars understand the correlation between media content and public perception, empirically proving causality between message content and a shift in political views is a methodological challenge (McCombs, *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*, 2004). Within the MENA region, limited attempts have been made to determine television’s effect on public opinion as a result of the difficulty to establish causal relationships between television content and political developments (Ayish, 2013). The effect mass media has had on political developments and democracy in accordance with previous research, for the purposes of this analysis, will be conceded (Huntington, 1991; Mancini & Swanson, 1996; Mughan & Gunther, 2000). Therefore, because we acknowledge the concept within the literature, that mass media does have an effect on democracy and the process of democratization, the focus of research for this study will use content analysis of the messages conveyed through mass media and more specifically international news media. A content analysis will help establish if democratization messages are present in the international news media because the international media diffusion theory assumes these messages are present without presenting empirical data to support that assumption.
As Newton (1999) argued, the content of the media is what matters, not the form of the media. In the British Social Attitudes survey of 1996, the regular reading or watching of the news correlated to an increase in interest in political information and subsequent understanding, whereas, general television viewing for entertainment purposes demonstrated a negative effect (Newton, 1999). While this line of argumentation is diametrically opposed by McLuhan (1964), who claimed that the medium is the message and that examining content is a distraction from examining the effects of the medium on society, without content, the medium would have no reason to exist or function in society. McLuhan’s argument is less than perfect, in this case, because consumers of international news are seeking information and focus more on content rather than gratification or entertainment, per se. As Nunberg (1996) points out the distinction between entertainment media and news media lies in the nature of the content being consumed. Therefore, it is essential to study the content of international news media because the effects resulting from media consumption should be correlated with the content that was consumed. The Arab Spring is not only a unique opportunity to further study the process of democratization, but it is the ideal time to examine the role of the international news media in transitioning democracies and to broaden the research base concerning the media’s effect on democracy in general. Analyzing the messages being conveyed internationally should provide a clearer picture of the function of the international news media in shaping and furthering democracy.

The Arab Spring is the most recent period in history where a group of nations began the transition towards democracy. The content of international news media messages must be analyzed because these messages have the potential to shape the future of the nation states involved within the Arab Spring movement towards democratic political systems. Loveless’ (2009) study attests the need for empirical data to reinforce theoretical principles. The empirical
data he found in his studies did not support the international media diffusion theory; however, he did not examine the content of the media messages within his study. It seems more than intuitive that if one is looking for the presence of empirical data within media messages, one would need to thoroughly examine the content of said media. In this comparative period of transition, this research is uniquely positioned to analyze one of the shortcomings of the international media diffusion theory as presented by Loveless. Examining the content of international news media broadcasts for messages supporting democratization will help to determine if the theory itself is flawed, because the theory makes no claims about democratization content needing to be present in the international news media in order to affect the likelihood for media consumers in transitioning nations to change their political opinions. Alternatively, if Loveless’ argument is correct, that the concept of democracy is oversaturated within the media, then the international media diffusion theory has lost its relevance because external international media is an ineffective actor to push for political change regardless of the messages being broadcast. This content analysis provides a platform to determine which of these alternatives is more accurate.
To highlight the impact of the media on the process of democratization, it is necessary to understand the role that the media plays in the political sphere. Everett Rogers’ (1962) diffusion of innovations theory provides the theoretical framework for analyzing the ability of the international media to spread democracy. Roger’s first published *Diffusion of Innovations* in 1962 and since its first publication, *Diffusion of Innovations* has been updated four times - 1971, 1983, 1991, and 2003 - to include both the effects of new technologies on the diffusion of innovations and the impacts of the theory’s expansion into new fields of study.

*Diffusion of Innovations Theory*

Rogers’ diffusion of innovations theory suggests that new ideas and concepts are diffused through communication, which is met on a societal level by uncertainty and adaption of the new concept or idea over a period of time (Rogers, 1962). Research involving diffusion of innovations began in the 1940s and extends back to Gabriel Tarde, who kept notes about trends in the French society on the basis of the legal cases that came before his court in the early 1900s (Rogers, 1991). At the time of the theory’s inception, the diffusion of innovations spanned various disciplines, including rural sociology, agriculture, and education. Then, in the 1950s, diffusion research branched into the public health and medical disciplines.

The communication branch of diffusion research did not begin until the 1960s with the development of the broader field of communication studies (Rogers, 1991). Diffusion of news events was the first area within the communication discipline to be researched in a study by Deutschmann and Danielson (1960). This and subsequent studies helped analyze the role of mass
media messages in interpersonal communication with regard to attitude and behavioral changes. According to Rogers (1991), the communication tradition uniquely enabled diffusion researchers to analyze any innovation through the lenses of credibility, social interaction, network analysis, and the semantic differential, which shaped the understanding of the diffusion process.

Understanding the process of diffusion allowed communication theorists to examine how the diffusion of democracy was communicated and accepted by nations across the globe. An example of this diffusion of democracy would be Radio Free Europe, which has presented regional news from the Western perspective across Eastern Europe and portions of the Middle East since the early 1950s in an attempt to stimulate positive opinions and attitudes towards democracy in nondemocratic nations (Elkink, 2011; Loveless, 2009). This partnership between the social sciences of politics and communication spotlighted the role of the media in democracy and the media’s effects on public opinion. The principles of diffusion rely on a communication form such as the news media to contribute to the process of democratization and to foster continued democratic sentiment.

*Media and the Process of Democratization*

Before examining how the media has affected the process of democratization, we must first define the process of democratization. Diamond (1999) noted that political scientists differ on how to classify specific regimes because there is a lack of consensus on the meaning of the word “democracy.” He acknowledges that more than 550 subtypes of democracy have been identified. The minimalist definition of electoral democracy is a system “for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by the means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote” (Schumpeter, 1947, p. 269). Schumpeter’s definition of
democracy was embraced by Samuel Huntington as “the most important modern concept of democracy” because this definition addressed the democratic method rather than the source or purpose of democracy (Huntington, 1991, p. 101). Huntington’s extension of the Schumpeterian definition provided a holistic frame of reference for conceptualizing a democracy:

“This study defines a twentieth-century political system as democratic to the extent that its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote. … It also implies the existence of those civil and political freedoms to speak, publish, assemble, and organize that are necessary to political debate and the conduct of electoral campaigns” (pg. 7).

Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the process of democratization will utilize terminology regarding both the electoral process and the civil and political freedoms necessary to perpetuate the electoral process (For the entire list please reference Appendix A).

Within a democratic society, the media is necessary to both inform citizens about political issues and to assist in the process of engaging those citizens in the democratic process. The classical model of a liberal democracy holds that the biggest responsibility of the mass media is to disseminate information and to encourage discussion (Raiz, 2011). However, while it is the primary duty of the media to present information, the media also functions to interpret the information for citizens in order that they may participate in the political sphere (Randall, 1998). This interpretation of information formed the basis for Habermas’ (1964) argument that the role
of the media is not only to inform but also to offer criticism about the ruling structure and organized state.

The democratization process is also impacted by the media’s ability to act as a mobilizing force, engaging citizens in the political process of reform (Randall, 1998). For countries experiencing limited democratic freedoms, the designated informational and critical roles of the domestic, or in-country, media are often not upheld to any significant degree. This is especially true within the MENA region nations. In the 1960s, when television was one of the most powerful tools of communication, Arab governments stepped in to ensure that television networks remained state-controlled operations (Ayish, 2013). Ayish argues that while television can raise civic awareness of democratic values and practices, it cannot institute concrete changes because “communications only play a supportive role in the process of change” (pg. 101). Therefore, Huntington (1991) argued external international media helps solve domestic media shortcomings by providing political messages that are more difficult and expensive for the internal political structure to keep out.

Huntington (1991) further argued that the post-World War II era’s international media made the “worldwide democratic revolution” a reality. Manin (1997) takes this argument a step further, claiming that the political sphere has evolved into a media-driven “audience democracy.” Examples such as 24-hour news broadcasts, the increased number of media outlets, and the Internet all attest to the media’s significant potential influence on democracy and the process of democratization. McCombs and Shaw (1972) reinforce this idea through their agenda setting theory, which claims that by focusing on different political issues in the public agenda, the media has the ability to influence the importance of those issues. In McCombs and Shaw’s classic
conclusion, they stated that while the media cannot expressly tell media consumers what to think, the media can influence which topics media consumers think about.

*Media and the Arab Spring*

The Arab Spring movement has raised global awareness about the political climates in Middle Eastern nations. The media has been crucial in garnering this international awareness, but media in the Middle East has developed slower than in the United States or Europe. However, before the Arab Spring, in the 1990s, the Arab world experienced a television revolution with the Qatar-based network Al Jazeera (Pintak, 2008). Al Jazeera was a local response to the Western channels such as CNN and BBC broadcasting into the region, and this was a direct attempt by Arab governments to take back control of messages being broadcast. However, satellite TV, and specifically Al Jazeera, provided an outlet for rarely-heard views and created debate, which opened the marketplace of ideas (Pintak, 2008). Pintak argued that this was an important first step in the process of democratization within the region. A 2005 study conducted in six Arab countries found that “higher exposure to Al Jazeera, often cited as promoting democratic and political reform in its media agenda, is associated with greater importance being placed on advancing democracy and guaranteeing political/civil liberties” (Nisbet, 2007). Satellite television laid the foundation for the process of democratization to continue developing into the Arab Spring.

In much the same way that the television revolution occurred in the Middle East with the introduction of Al Jazeera, the Arab world has also been experiencing an internet revolution, which allowed for the social media mobilization of the Arab Spring movement (Cottle, 2011; Khondker, 2011). While this paper does not focus on the role of the Internet or social media with
regard to the Arab Spring, it is important to note that these forms of media did play a role in the process of democratization (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011; Howard et. al., 2011; Khondker, 2011; Lotan et. al, 2011; Stepanova, 2011). However, as Pintak (2008) noted, media does not create change; it is merely an agent of change. Both conventional media and new media have aided in the process of democratization, but are not the sole instigators of the process.

*International Media Diffusion in Transitional Democracies*

The role that mass media has played in political and democratic development is largely uncontested in political and communication studies as a result of the media diffusion hypothesis, which claims that “cultural values are imbedded in broadcasts, in turn transmitting normative, political, and social values of the broadcasting country to the target country” (Loveless, 2009, p. 119). Loveless argued that the limited empirical data of the media diffusion hypothesis was a critical area for research because of the theoretical foundations that were developed around the assumptions made by the hypothesis. One such theory is the international media diffusion theory, which suggests that “citizens of democratizing countries who consume international media, particularly Western media, are more likely to exhibit higher levels of Western values and attitudes than those who do not” (Loveless, 2009, p. 119-120). International media diffusion expressly examines the process of individuals’ orientation to new political ideas and values.

Two shortcomings of the theory of international media diffusion are articulated by Loveless: 1) the theory does not discuss the content of international media, only requiring that “the origin of the broadcast must be from the Western abroad (sic.)” (pg. 120); and that, 2) the theory has received little empirical testing. This argument reinforces previous critiques about the lack of research and empirical evidence in the study of the effects of mass media within the
political sphere (Bartels, 1993; Graber, 1980). Addressing one of the shortcomings presented, Loveless (2009) conducted a study of the attitudes of citizens in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe towards democratic and market economic values as a result of international television and radio consumption. Countries in Central and Eastern Europe were chosen as a result of the influence that Western media had in the region and the ability of said media to engage citizens in the transformation of their nations as the Soviet Union was beginning to weaken in the 1980s.

The empirical findings from Loveless’s (2009) study, however, do not support the theory of international media diffusion in transitioning countries. While the expectations for the influence of international media were high, the ability of international broadcast media (television and radio) to affect democratic liberalism did not reach statistical significance. Loveless (2009) suggested three possible answers to the question of why international media diffusion was proven largely unsupportable within the theoretical framework. First, the media diffusion hypothesis originated during a time when nations needed an introduction to the West. However, Central and Eastern European nations were already familiar with Western values and ideology. Second, Western media was not only broadcasted into the region but also expanded into domestic media channels, which possibly blurred the distinction between international and domestic media. Finally, the value shift in exchanging old political values for new ones is purely based on the individual’s propensity to engage with the practicing democratic institutions, and not, as the previous literature had proposed, the social locations, socioeconomic status or sociopolitical predisposition.

These three possible answers to the unsupported empirical data establish a crucial area for research on both theoretical and implementation levels. Loveless (2009) presented two
theoretical shortcomings and attempts to address one, the limited empirical data, through his study on international media usage and the correlating attitudes about democracy and market economy. However, the second shortcoming, the content of international media, must be addressed before dismissing the value of the international media diffusion theory. Loveless (2009) stated,

“The diffusion hypothesis lacks theoretical refinement, including the debate over media content differentiation (news vs. entertainment). Although Western theorists generally agree that news content is conducive to political involvement and information (Newton 1999; Putnam 2000), whether informative programming like news is more likely to produce more democratic values for citizens in countries undergoing transition has yet to be demonstrated” (p. 124).

Building on Loveless’ research, in regards to the second shortcoming of the international media diffusion theory involving the content of Western broadcasts, is the crux of this study. Because scholars would seem to agree that news content is a conduit for political information and involvement (Huntington, 1991; Mughan & Gunther, 2000; Newton, 1999; Randall, 1998), the content of international news media would be an enabling factor for the democratization process, even if the usage of said media did not change individuals’ attitudes about democracy. Therefore, we must ask the following research questions:

RQ 1: Do the current messages within international media contain content that focuses on the process of democratization? And if so,

RQ 2: If democratization messages are present, are they predominantly positive or supportive towards transitioning democracies?
RQ 3: Are there differences between messages of democratization from Western or pro-Western media sources as opposed to non-western sources?
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In order to address the second shortcoming, which Loveless (2009) discussed regarding the international media diffusion theory, that the theory does not discuss the content of international media, a content analysis of four international news media sources was conducted to determine if messages about democratization were present in international media broadcasts, and if so, whether they were positive or supportive. In addition, content was examined looking for differences between Western and non-Western news sources. The broadcasts containing messages about democratization were coded for the tone of the reference of democratization. The international media diffusion theory functions on the premise that individuals listening to international media originating in the Western world will be more likely to push for democracy (Loveless, 2009), but if democratization messages in the international media broadcasts are not positive, then the foundational assumptions of the theory are flawed. Therefore, a content analysis was chosen to demonstrate the frequency of democratization messages and the frequency of positive messages about democratization.

Sample

Loveless (2009) listed three international television stations he used as examples in the aforementioned study: Sky, CNN, and BBC World Service TV. In an effort to remain consistent with Loveless’ research, broadcast samples were drawn from these three stations. However, in addition to these stations, samples were also pulled from the newest international television station, Al Jazeera. Because Al Jazeera is an Arab international network, originating in Qatar, it distinctly differs from the criteria set forth in the international media diffusion theory, wherein the media must come from a Western source abroad. In Loveless’s (2009) study, Western media
referred to media originating from nations with a democratic ideology as opposed to international media sources originating from nations which favored a communist ideology or any alternative ideologies. The distinction between Western media and non-Western media allowed for a comparison between message content relating to democratization and provided the basis for answering RQ 3 on the assumption that messages from any international news media, Western or non-Western, would provide the same results.

These four television networks have 24/7 newsroom broadcasts as well as multiple programs about world news and events. Assuming that each station broadcasts one video a day per year, the sample size for 2013 would be 1,460 broadcasts. Because the Arab Spring began in 2011, an appropriate timeframe for sample broadcasts would be from 2011-2013. This would have allowed for a “population” pool of 4,380 broadcasts.

Although this population pool would have been ideal, CNN does not archive previous broadcasts online. Transcripts of these broadcasts existed from January of 2011 to the present and were used as substitutes for the live broadcasts. However, the collection does not include broadcasts made on weekends. The population size of transcripts from CNN totaled 769 possible transcripts. Sky News also does not archive broadcasts, but like CNN, the transcripts were available. The population size of transcripts from Sky News totaled 651 possible transcripts. BBC World Service does not archive broadcasts or transcripts, which left accessible news broadcasts in the form of podcasts available within seven days from the original airing. The limited availability only allowed for the podcasts aired during the two months spent collecting data to be included in the population size, which totaled 90 BBC World Service broadcasts. Finally, Al Jazeera English began uploading broadcasts, interviews, and programs to YouTube in 2007. The YouTube channel videos are divided into sections based on their content: news,
economy, and health. The news category is further subdivided by continents. Broadcasts in each of the news sections are archived for a year, and because this study was conducted in the United States, some broadcasts were not viewable due to the content, or they had not been approved by Al Jazeera to be aired or accessed in the United States. However, the total population size of possible videos classified in the news section of Al Jazeera’s YouTube channel is 3,966.

Due to the large discrepancy between the population sizes, a sampling frame with a five percent margin of error and a 95 percent confidence level required a sample size of 360 broadcasts. All broadcasts were numbered, and a random number generator was used to select 90 transcripts per network to be analyzed. In the cases where selected videos from Al Jazeera were not accessible, the random number generator was consulted a second time to determine additional broadcasts for the sample to ensure that 90 videos were viewed and coded. This final sample included 90 broadcasts from each of the four networks.

**Coding**

Due to the differing mediums of the broadcasts in the sample, during the coding process, the coders specifically focused on auditory and non-visual, textual content. The coders were instructed to ignore any visual content presented by minimizing the web page window or turning the screen away while playing the broadcast. This instruction was given in an effort to reduce discrepancies between the audible messages and visual stimuli. Instructing the coders to ignore any visual content was an attempt to remove a key component of live broadcasts because visual stimuli can affect the context of the message, and this study examined the context of democratization messages. Each broadcast within the sample was first coded for messages about the process of democratization to answer RQ 1. The process of democratization as previously
defined involves the electoral process and the civil and political freedoms necessary to perpetuate the electoral process. Coding for messages about the democratization process included elections, political parties, constitution reform or development, etc. (For the full list, see Appendix A). If any of these subjects were present in the broadcast, it was coded positively for containing messages of democratization.

Any broadcast or transcript that contained messages about democratization was then coded for the positivity of the message to answer RQ 2 and RQ 3. Positivity was assessed by the context of the message. For example, in a message about elections, if violence, death, or bloodshed was the primary context, then the message would not be coded as positive. The only exception would be if the context of the elections specifically referenced a decrease in the violence, death or bloodshed occurring. Conversely, if a message about elections was given in the context of success with a record voter turnout, then the message would be coded as positive. The broadcasts, which contain messages about democratization, were also coded for messages about MENA countries to further answer RQ 3 because these nations are currently experiencing democratic transition.

Data Collection

This study followed the coder training and codebook development processes outlined by Neuendorf (2002) because as Neuendorf stated, “intercoder reliability is important to provide basic validation of a coding scheme and for the practical advantage of using multiple coders” (p. 142). When coding for the transcripts in the sampling frame two coders were given 60 transcripts from the population, which were not within the sampling frame, along with the coding sheet and the code book (Appendix A and B). A subsample of 60 transcripts was chosen because this
amount of transcripts accounts for 16 percent of the total sample size. While Neuendorf (2002) stated that no set standard for reliability subsamples exists, she cited Wimmer and Dominick (1997) who presented 10 to 20 percent of the total sample as rough guidelines for reliability sampling from social science research methods.

Before coding occurred, the coders were instructed about the coding sheet and the code book, which ensured understanding and answered any preliminary questions. Then, the coders were asked to code for the 60 transcripts that were not part of the sampling frame. Upon the completion of the pilot study, they were reconvened by the lead researcher to examine the results and determine their accuracy. Intercoder reliability was calculated using Krippendorf’s Alpha. The reliability was found to be 0.825. This measure was good given Krippendorf’s (1980) guideline, which states that 0.67-0.79 is acceptable and any measure above 0.80 is good. Once the reliability was calculated and found to be good, each coder was given 120 broadcasts to code individually and return to the lead researcher.

Statistical Testing

After the sample had been coded, the raw data was entered into IBM SPSS in order to conduct the statistical tests necessary to answer the research questions. A frequency analysis was conducted for the instances of democratization present in the broadcasts to provide the answer to the first research question. Since the second research question was contingent on the answer to the first, after conducting the frequency analysis, the results indicated that the second research question could be answered. A second frequency analysis was conducted to determine the amount of cases wherein the broadcasts containing messages of democratization were positive. The third research question required that the sources of the broadcasts (i.e.: Aljazeera, CNN,
BBC, and Sky) be recoded to Western and Non-Western in order to test if there is a difference in the presence of democratization content and the positivity of any democratization content. In addition to cross tabulating Western and Non-Western media for democratization content and positivity, a cross tabulation was conducted to determine the amount of references of the MENA countries between Western and Non-Western sources.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The international media diffusion theory makes the assumption that Western media features democratization; therefore, external consumers of Western media are more likely to be favorable towards the concept and ideals of democracy after consuming Western media. The first research question in this study tested the content of international news broadcasts to determine if, in fact, democratization messages were present in the media as the international media diffusion theory assumed. The second research question, involving the positivity of the democratization content, was contingent upon democratization messages being present. The third research question focused on the differences between Western and non-Western media broadcasts. The non-Western media source, Al Jazeera, was used in addition to three Western sources to determine if the outcomes were similar.

As to the first research question, “Do the current messages within international media contain content that focuses on the process of democratization?” the answer was found to be yes, current international media does contain content focusing on the process of democratization. As shown in Table 1, democratization content was found in 83.1 percent of the sample broadcasts. The underlying assumption made by the international media diffusion theory, that democratization content is present in the media, is accurate. With the foundational assumption of the international media diffusion theory empirically proven, the answer to the second research question offered insight into Loveless’ argument about oversaturation of the concept of democracy in the media.
As discussed in the review of literature, Loveless (2009) posed three possible explanations as to why the empirical results from his study did not support the international media diffusion theory: first, the citizens of countries in transition to democracy in Central and Eastern Europe were already accustomed to the Western concept of democracy; second, Western media, while being broadcast into the Central and Eastern European region, was also moving into domestic media markets making domestic media a more effective actor; and third, international media did not provide a substantive base for democratic political socialization. The first and second explanations revolve around the idea that Western media was increasingly prevalent in the Central and Eastern European nations making democratization messages in the media non-unique because the media consumers accessed democratization content from international and domestic media sources. This led Loveless to claim, “Western media penetration into CEE domestic media markets may have blurred the distinction between international and domestic media sources, in a sense flooding media markets and their audiences” (Loveless, 2009, p. 132). Flooding the media markets and their audiences decreased the effectiveness of the international media.

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid Yes</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>83.1</td>
<td>83.1</td>
<td>83.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The second research question asked, “If democratization messages are present, are they predominantly positive or supportive towards transitioning democracies?” The messages of democratization were found to have limited positivity. As shown in Table 2, less than 21 percent of the broadcasts containing messages of democratization were positive. Overwhelmingly, messages of democratization had a negative context. The lack of support for the process of democratization in the media would be one reason why Loveless’ findings showed that local media was a more effective mobilizing force for the process of democratization than international media. When violence, scandals, and election fraud are the context for democratization in the international media, the argument that consumers did not find international media to be a motivator to their desire to change their political viewpoints is justified.

Additionally, because the MENA countries are currently undergoing the process of regime change and democratization, these countries were coded to determine if they were mentioned in the broadcasts. Each broadcast had the possibility of having the 18 countries referenced for a possible 6,480 MENA country references. However, as shown in Table 3, the nations in this region were only directly referenced 544 times. The country referenced by the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valid Applicable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
most broadcasts was Syria, which was present in 128 broadcasts. Egypt, referenced by 64 broadcasts, came in second. However, the Syrian Uprising began in March of 2011, and the Egyptian Revolution January of 2011. Both of these transitions began near the onset of 2011, and the transition to democracy is still underway for both nations. Yet, the violent civil war that the Syrian Uprising devolved into has become a global spectacle, which could be the reason Syria was mentioned in more broadcasts than any other MENA nation. The lack of supportiveness about the process of democratization coupled with the limited references to the countries in the MENA region showed that the international media is not predominately supportive towards transitioning democracies.
Table 3  
*Middle Eastern and North African Countries Reference Frequencies*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MENA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>69.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.4%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>544</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>295.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Further subdivision of the sources provided the answer to the third and final research question, “Are there differences between messages of democratization from Western or pro-Western media sources as opposed to non-Western sources?” Al Jazeera was the only non-Western source, so those broadcasts were compared to the combination of the Western sources, BBC, CNN and Sky News. Democratization messages were prevalent in 95.6 percent of Western international news media broadcasts (shown in Table 4). Comparatively, the non-Western source accounted for the majority of the messages where democratization was not present. A total of 54.4 percent of the non-Western broadcasts did not include the process of democratization. This
greatly differs from the 4.4 percent of Western broadcasts without democratization messages. Aside from the large discrepancy between Western and non-Western sources democratization message frequency, neither of the sources favored a positive portrayal of democratization in the broadcasts. In the non-Western source, the coders found 26.7 percent of the democratization messages to be unsupportive in addition to the 74.4 percent that were found to be unsupportive in Western sources (shown in Table 5). When analyzing the references of the MENA countries between Western and non-Western sources, the non-Western source only had six countries mentioned in 90 broadcasts (shown in Table 6). Western media sources accounted for the rest of the country references. Western media was more favorable toward democratization content and transitioning nations than the non-Western media source.

One possible explanation for the reason the non-Western media source did not contain messages of democratization or reference the MENA nations is that Al Jazeera originated in Qatar, one of the MENA nations. Because Al Jazeera’s roots are in the Middle East, international news broadcasts might tend to focus on occurrences outside of the region instead of the political transitions taking place inside the region. Another alternative explanation is that Al Jazeera was focused on launching Al Jazeera America as a television channel on August 20, 2013. This channel was the first of its kind from the Middle East to be broadcast live in the United States; therefore news broadcasts could have been tailored to fit a new American audience while trying to minimize the local struggles and violence from the host region.
Limitations

The content analysis conducted within this study had two predominant limitations. The first limitation involves how a broadcast is archived. Al Jazeera archives broadcasts by posting clips to YouTube. This is how the broadcasts were accessed for this study; however, Al Jazeera does not upload the entire 30 minute news broadcast to YouTube. Instead, Al Jazeera uploads

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Non Western</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

Table 6 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Non Western</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

Limitations

The content analysis conducted within this study had two predominant limitations. The first limitation involves how a broadcast is archived. Al Jazeera archives broadcasts by posting clips to YouTube. This is how the broadcasts were accessed for this study; however, Al Jazeera does not upload the entire 30 minute news broadcast to YouTube. Instead, Al Jazeera uploads
each individual story as a clip. These individual stories do not paint the entire picture of the content in the broadcast as a whole. Much like Al Jazeera, Sky News archives individual interviews, and these do not give a holistic reference point for the broadcast content as well. Comparatively, BBC and CNN average between seven to 10 stories in one broadcast. Having a broadcast with seven to 10 stories increases the chances that the process of democratization will be mentioned, which could have affected the amount of democratization messages present in non-Western media.

The non-Western media source, Al Jazeera, provided a connection to the Middle East and North African region, which directly benefited this study. However, this study was limited in that only one non-Western source was used. When comparing one non-Western source to three Western sources, the data is skewed towards the Western sources since more broadcasts were from Western media outlets. Given more time and more coders, other international news media sources such as China Central Television (CCTV) and India TV would give more depth to the non-Western data as well as provide insight from multiple non-Western regions around the globe.

The international news media is a fast-paced arena that is ever widening and always being updated. Each source of news is constantly airing new stories, and as the results of this content analysis have shown, a high percentage of those stories involve democracy and democratization. While this study did have limitations in the equity of the length of the broadcasts and the amount of Western versus non-Western sources, the results clearly uphold Loveless’ (2009) findings. Loveless found that in the Central and Eastern European region international media did not reach statistical significance in changing individuals’ economic or political orientations. Both international television and international television news did not
increase democratic liberalism. He found that domestic media being used strategically was more effective as a mobilizing force and could provide a base for shifting political orientation. The high frequency of democratization messages that were not positive demonstrated by this study support the findings that international news media did not increase democratic liberalism.

In addition to being consistent with Loveless’ findings, this study has provided empirical data for the assumptions made by the international media diffusion theory that democratization content is present in Western media. As Loveless argued, the media markets were flooded with Western media during the transitional period of democratization in the Central and Eastern European nations, and this study demonstrated that Western media broadcasts democratization messages in over 95 percent of the sample broadcasts. The concept of democracy is arguably oversaturated in the media; however, the oversaturation of democratization messages is dwarfed by the oversaturation of media available for consumption (Chaffee & Kanihan, 1997). The combination of the vast amount of media available for consumption and the multitude of media messages about a subject is detrimental for consumers, and therefore the continual stream of media is crippling the effectiveness of any message (Chaffee & Kanihan, 1997; Tweedle & Smith, 2011). Thus, Loveless was correct in positing that the international media is an ineffective actor to push for substantive political change.

When international media is not seen to be as effective as domestic media in promoting democratic values and mobilization, then the international media diffusion theory has limited relevance. On a theoretical level, the international media diffusion theory does not account for the tone Western media sources use when broadcasting messages about democratization. The theory assumes that Western sources broadcasting about democratization will be positively received by media consumers in transitioning nations; the theory is fundamentally flawed by not
specifying that Western sources must be broadcasting *positive* messages about democratization. Negative messages highlight the risks and criticisms of a particular political viewpoint (Fridkin & Kenney, 2004), which in the context of nations transitioning to democracy could limit potential mobilization efforts. The parameters describing the type of media that the international media diffusion theory examines should be more detailed to include the types of messages that promote democratization. This would enable the theory to determine if Western media broadcasting specifically positive messages of democratization is effective in spreading democracy.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

The international media diffusion theory was developed during a time when the third wave of democratization was occurring and the need to understand the role of international media during the transition process was crucial. However, while the Arab Spring is the most recent period in history of the liberalization of regimes and the push for democracy, the world in which this current shift is occurring is entirely different from the world of Huntington’s (1991) third wave of democracy. The post-Cold War movement towards democratization, which began in Poland and Hungary in 1989, was void of armed conflict in the Eastern European region, and that region was also united under a single ideology maintained by the Soviet Union (Plattner, 2011). The Middle East is distinctly different from the post-Cold War Eastern Europe in that multiple styles of authoritarian regimes existed before the Arab Spring. The Arab world also is divided between pro-Western and anti-Western governments, which affect the shift to democracy since democracy is viewed as a Western ideology (Plattner, 2011). While the transition periods can be compared, in analyzing one shortcoming of the international media diffusion theory as presented by Loveless (2009), the comparison does not yield enough similarities in the context of the democratization messages and the support for transitioning regimes to be relevant to the Arab Spring nations.

In analyzing the content of international news media broadcasts, the most important conclusion to be drawn is that the message being consumed must have the appropriate context for the message to be effective. In this study, a higher frequency of democratization messages with positive contexts would have been a result affirming that the foundational assumptions made by international media diffusion theory were accurate, and thus still applicable to cases of
democratic transition today. However, the findings demonstrated that while democratization messages were present in international media broadcasts, the unsupportive context of those messages led to the results found by Loveless (2009) that the international media was ineffective in pushing for political change. This provides the fulcrum between the extremes of Newton (1999), who expressly argued for the content over the form of the media, and McLuhan (1964), who opposed studying content in favor of the medium being the message. The content is crucial to study because the consumer is affected by the message, but the medium provides the context for the message. In the case of the process of democratization, the message content itself is full of references to democracy, but the medium of the international news media shapes the context of the message. Overwhelmingly, the data shows that the international news media is not positive about democracy, and this unsupportiveness has the potential to affect political movements on a large scale by adversely influencing consumers.

While foreign media has been attributed to assisting the process of democratization through influencing public opinion (Mughan & Gunther, 2000), the empirical data from this study shows unsupportive messages about democratization make up the current international news media climate. The international media diffusion theory, while not relevant in the Arab Spring movement, still has deeply relevant roots in the Diffusion of Innovations (Rogers, 1962). While the international news media might be an ineffective actor to push for political change, innovations within the field of communication allowed for the Arab Spring to organize and even contributed to the nicknames of the revolution. The names “Twitter Revolutions” or “Facebook Revolutions” (Cottle, 2011) demonstrate that innovations in the field of communication technology affect democracy even if traditional international broadcast media is not as effective as it was after the Cold War. Social media is the future of communication and mobilization.
Together, conventional media and social media have played an equally important role in communicating with the international community about what is actually occurring during the revolutions in the Arab Spring. While social media has been a vital tool in mobilizing individuals, social media cannot stand alone; conventional media still remains a source of information and communication for individuals in the MENA region (Khondker, 2011). While the Arab Spring movement has yet to come to an end, the media hype has seemed to die down as the world waits for the conclusion to what began as a push for democracy. Democracy, as an ideological concept, has been a mobilizing force, but democracy has yet to be put into practice. Only time, patience, and honest and fair elections will reveal if the MENA nations are successful in their regime changes, and the effects that the international media truly played in helping the process along.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A: Code Book

**Broadcast Source:**

The broadcasts to be coded come from one of four sources: CNN, Sky News, BBC World Service, or Al Jazeera. The source will be written on the transcript and will be in the top left hand corner of the first page of each transcript. For video or audio broadcasts, the source will be denoted by the channel. However, if the source is not clearly visible, set the transcript or broadcast aside to be coded later.

Example:

```
CNN  
C020
```

As shown above, the top of each transcript will be similar to this, and the news source is in **bold**.

**Broadcast Number:**

Each broadcast will be numbered as part of a set. Each set is paired with a letter to signify which station the broadcast originated from. The broadcast number will be written on the top of each transcript in the top right hand corner. As shown below, the broadcast number is in **bold**.

A – Al Jazeera
B – BBC World Service
C – CNN
S – Sky News

Example:

```
CNN  
C020
```
**Democratization:**

As stated in the review of literature, democratization will be defined using Samuel Huntington’s extension of Joseph Schumpeter’s definition of democratization:

> “This study defines a twentieth-century political system as democratic to the extent that its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote. … It also implies the existence of those civil and political freedoms to speak, publish, assemble, and organize that are necessary to political debate and the conduct of electoral campaigns” (Huntington, 1991, pg. 7).

For the purposes of this study, the process of democratization will involve terminology regarding both the electoral process and the civil and political freedoms necessary to perpetuate the electoral process. The process of democratization is represented by the following words or phrases:

- Protests (peaceful or violent), Demonstrations, Riots, Civil Disobedience, Uprisings
- Election, Voting, Nomination, Ballot
- Citizen and/or civilian involvement (in the government and/or politics)
- Political party (specific political parties would qualify)
- Constitution, Legislation, Jurisdiction
- President, Prime minister, Parliament, Politicians
- Democracy (any form of the word - democratization, democratic, democrat)
- Freedom of speech, Freedom of the press
- Transitional or interim government
If these words or phrases are present in the broadcast, place a checkmark on the line next to “yes” on the code sheet for democratization. If these words or phrases are not present in the broadcast, place a checkmark on the line next to “no” on the code sheet and move onto the next broadcast.

Example:

Now Iraq’s growing tide of sectarian violence is on the agenda in Washington today. Now Iraqi prime minister Nouri al-Maliki is meeting U.S. President Barack Obama at the White House. Two years after American troops pulled out, Iraq is asking the U.S. for help to counter terrorism and to improve security. Now this past year alone more than 6,000 people have been killed in bombings and other attacks across Iraq. Now Nouri al-Maliki says al Qaeda and its affiliates are largely to blame. And CNN's Arwa Damon looks behind the numbers at the victims of the violence.

The boldfaced words are examples of democratization. This transcript would have a checkmark placed on the line next to “yes” on the code sheet for democratization.
Positive/Supportive:

The broadcasts that did include messages of democratization, ones that were marked “yes” on the code sheet, must now be coded for the context of the reference of democratization. This study is solely looking to determine if the context of the references of democratization is supportive of the process of democratization. For the purposes of this study, the context will be the sentences before and after the reference to democratization. In the case that democratization is referenced multiple times in a broadcast, the coder must examine the context of each instance of democratization. If more references have a positive context, then place a checkmark on the line next to “yes” on the code sheet. However, if more references are negative, place a checkmark on the line next to “no” on the code sheet. Any contextually objective reference to democratization will also be considered “positive/supportive” because the discussion of democratization upholds the International Media Diffusion Theory.

If the context involves any of these words or phrases, the context is positive, and a checkmark should be placed on the line next to “yes” on the code sheet.

- Agreement (unilateral, etc.), international involvement, international accord, unity
- Success, development, consolidation, liberalization
- Free, open, moderate, informed, unbiased
- Fair elections, free elections, increased participation
- Peace, peaceful, peace talks
If the context involves any of these words or phrases, the context is negative and a checkmark should be place on the line next to “no” on the code sheet.

- Violence, blood, murder, death (numbers of people dying), terrorism (including terrorism groups such as Al Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah, the Taliban)
- Coup, Riot, Military action, military invasion
- Censorship, rigged elections, coercion
- Harassment of the opposition, jailing of political opponents, prohibition of political meetings
- Aggression, Mass displacement

Example:

Now Iraq's growing tide of sectarian violence is on the agenda in Washington today. Now Iraqi **prime minister** Nouri al-Maliki is meeting **U.S. President** Barack Obama at the White House. Two years after American troops pulled out, Iraq is asking the U.S. for help to counter **terrorism** and to improve security. Now this past year along more than 6,000 people have been killed in bombings and other attacks across Iraq. Now Nouri al-Maliki says al Qaeda and its affiliates are largely to blame. And CNN's Arwa Damon looks behind the numbers at the victims of the violence.

The underlined sentences represent the context of democratization, which is represented by the **boldfaced** words. The *italicized* words show how the context is negative, and therefore, a checkmark should be place on the line next to “no” on the code sheet.
Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Countries:

Because select countries in the MENA region are currently in a time of political transition, the International Media Diffusion theory can be tested. If any of the following countries are mentioned in the broadcasts, please circle the country which was mentioned. Not every broadcast will mention one of the MENA countries; therefore, if none of the countries below are mentioned, leave the section blank and move onto the next broadcast. Below are a regional map\(^1\) and a list of the countries included.

The countries listed below represent only the nation-states in the Middle East and North Africa. This means that nations such as Palestine and Afghanistan for the purposes of this study are not considered part of the MENA region. Palestine, while recognized as a state by the United Nations General Assembly in September 2012, geographically is defined as a territory since Israel controls the borders of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Afghanistan is geographically in Asia although it borders the Middle East.

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\(^1\) Image Credit: http://arabiangazette.com/mena-witness-tech-boom-coming-years/
1. Morocco
2. Algeria
3. Tunisia (Tunis)
4. Libya
5. Egypt
6. Lebanon
7. Syria
8. Jordan
9. Iraq
10. Kuwait
11. Saudi Arabia
12. Qatar
13. United Arab Emirates (UAE)
14. Oman
15. Yemen
16. Bahrain
17. Iran
18. Israel

Example:

Now Iraq's growing tide of sectarian violence is on the agenda in Washington today. Now Iraqi prime minister Nouri al-Maliki is meeting U.S. President Barack Obama at the White House. Two years after American troops pulled out, Iraq is asking the U.S. for help to counter terrorism and to improve security. Now this past year along more than 6,000 people have been killed in bombings and other attacks across Iraq. Now Nouri al-Maliki says al Qaeda and its affiliates are largely to blame. And CNN's Arwa Damon looks behind the numbers at the victims of the violence.

The countries in the MENA region are highlighted in yellow. Iraq is the only country discussed in this broadcast, so Iraq would be circled on the coding sheet.
APPENDIX B: Coding Sheet

Broadcast Source (circle one):

CNN    Sky News    BBC World Service    Al Jazeera

Broadcast Number: _______    Broadcast Date: (MM/DD/YYYY): _________________

Democratization:   Yes _______    No _______

If democratization is answered yes, please continue below.

Positive:   Yes _______    No _______

MENA Countries:

1. Morocco    10. Kuwait
2. Algeria    11. Saudi Arabia
3. Tunisia (Tunis)    12. Qatar
4. Libya    13. United Arab Emirates (UAE)
5. Egypt    14. Oman
6. Lebanon    15. Yemen
7. Syria    16. Bahrain
8. Jordan    17. Iran
9. Iraq    18. Israel