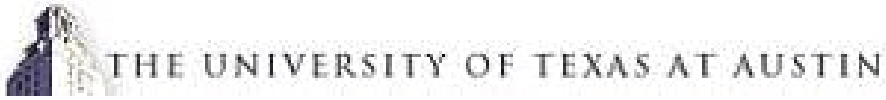

Canadian Media Semi-Globalization and Resistance to US Hegemony

(working title: Research Design Eye for the Globalization Guy)

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Canadian Media Semi-Globalization and Resistance to US Hegemony

This study sought to answer whether President Bush's problem definition and response justification frames to the September 11th attacks set the scope of news coverage as many media globalization arguments suggest or if the scope of news coverage was set by news outlets selectively covering presidential frames, as many critical analyses of media globalization would suggest. We examined Canadian press coverage to answer this question. We chose this case because of the unique historical relationships between Canada and the United States as well as the influence of nearby US media markets on Canadian media markets. These factors lead us to expect that if Applebaum's presumed convergence between Bush's words and international media coverage occurred at all, it would occur in the Canadian case. We applied, operationalized, and tested the concept of selective media frame conveyance to analyses of news coverage by the French-language presses Le Devoir and La Presse and the English-language presses Globe & Mail, National Post and the Toronto Star to produce an empirical contribution as a way to progress the debate about media globalization and its effects on international media power. We found that the Canadian case supports the idea of semi-globalization – that is to say that what frames the Canadian press chose to convey were a function of local market and national political factors even in the presence of communications technology giving reporters from various presses full access to all of the words Bush spoke in key speeches made in response to the September 11th attacks. We found patterns of conveyance where some frames were extensively recounted, others only proportionally and by some presses but not others. These patterns could in large part be explained by Canadian political culture values, Canadian bi-nationalism, and local media markets. The similarities required by media-centric globalization arguments were not evident in the regression tests we conducted.

In the hours and days after September 11th, 2001, the world shared common questions: what agents were responsible for the attacks, what motivated them, and how would the US respond? In those rare moments, all anticipated the news stories that would relay the answers from the President of the United States.

Several editorials in the international elite press raised the urgency and significance for Bush to successfully handle this communicative task. In an op-ed piece that appeared in both the Washington Post and the Irish Times, freelance foreign correspondent Anne Applebaum argued

> It is time for America's leaders to start building widespread, active support for whatever action we take, in as public a manner as possible. It is not enough to build coalitions with diplomacy, nor enough to call on NATO leaders for support, as Bush has done: The president should also go over the heads of the statesmen, and speak to the foreign public….For strange though it may seem to Americans, George Bush is the leader of …global civilization as well as president of the United States. His every word is being repeated and analyzed in Europe's capitals with just as much attention as in Washington and New York….If he appeals to the citizenry of the international community, his constituents – all of his constituents – will hear him" (Washington Post, 9/16/01, p. B03).

Applebaum's op-ed typified media calls for Bush to "go public" both domestically and globally, and the importance of doing so successfully. What we make the empirical centerpiece of this study are her assumptions that "his every word is being repeated and analyzed" and that "if he appeals…all of his constituents will hear him."

At the heart of Applebaum's central assertion is a presupposition about global media behavior: media outlets throughout the world would repeat and analyze every one of the US President's words – and by doing so, convey in whole the US president's definition of the nature of the problem and justification of America's responses.

Applebaum's claims make a good deal of sense from a perspective that stresses the technological elements in international communication innovations. News access and transmissions costs have decreased to the point where an international leader could transmit a message with the reasonable expectation that those so motivated could receive it. They find ready receptivity among many scholars who theorize about media at the global level of analysis. International relations scholars Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye's (1989: 8-9) conception of international interconnectedness as "international transactions – flows of money, goods, people and <u>messages</u> across international boundaries" [our emphasis] was certainly fully realized in the wired world of 2001. Communications scholar Ingrid Volkmer's (1999: 4-5) theorizing about the emergence of global civil society from a global public sphere constructed by global political communication [in the form of Cable News Network International] plows fertile ground for Applebaum's assertion about a world constituency hearing Bush's appeals.

Or perhaps not. The media consists of more than its technical elements; it also includes institutional, production and content production elements (Hafez, 1999: 48). It may be the case that technical elements foster globalization of news but other elements, particularly content production, particularize it through national and media market filters. Hafiz (1999: 48) observes

that questions of this nature about foreign news reporting are long overdue, since questions about foreign reporting have not been extensively addressed in globalization studies. By posing and answering these questions, we add empirical insights alongside Grundmann, Smith and Wright's (2000) cross-national study of French, British and German establishment press coverage of the Kosovo crisis. They questioned whether press coverage would reflect emergence of a European public sphere, particularly since these countries were on the same side and had the same interests in a major war. Their findings showed that while different national presses shared common focus, their story contents were thematically different. Grundmann, Smith and Wright's conclusion that European establishment press discourse did not converge is an important empirical finding for media and globalization debates; however, their descriptive analyses do not permit us to make inferences about whether political or media practice factors caused the divergence they detected.[1]

We develop and test a model that allows for media factors or political factors. We do so by identifying different presidential speech frames and testing their effects on the likelihood of being recounted in by news stories from five Canadian presses: The Globe & Mail, Toronto Star, National Post, La Presse and Le Devoir. We identify and code different sentence features to test for media factors of factual reporting, newsworthiness of decisions, and memorable wording.

By examining Canadian press coverage of US responses to the September 11th attacks we are carrying out a critical case study of a most similar comparison. Ours is a critical case study because the sudden and great loss of life, the enormous ramifications of US response, and the broadcasting of Bush's key speeches put this news event at the top of every news agenda throughout the world. If it is possible for world press frame content to converge with an international leader's with speech frames, it is likely to be detected in this case. Our comparisons are made between Bush's speech frames and the press coverage of a country that has long been an ally, a key trading partner, and shares many political and social values with the US. By comparing presses within a single country we control for any independent effects of Canadian government-media relations on coverage. Finally, by comparing coverage of Bush's framing by Canadian establishment and middle-ring presses, we can identify whether regional differences in coverage patterns need to be considered in debates about the effects of communications infrastructure on coverage content.

It cannot be disputed that communications technology advances greatly enhanced the potential for the world to hear Bush's problem definition and response justifications to the September 11th crisis. But it was reporters with their own cognitive frameworks, honed in the media organizations and media-government relationships within which they work, who wrote the news stories that, according to Applebaum, repeated, analyzed and lent context to Bush's words. Consequently, reporters' stories had the potential to mediate the scope of public discourse about Bush's problem definitions and response justifications by emphasizing some frames and deemphasizing others. As a result, public discourses in different countries may have been

[1] See also Gurevitch, Levy and Roeh (1993) who found diverging narrative and thematic structures in US and British television coverage of a speech by Michael Gorbachev. They conclude that "[t]elevision news in different countries, feeding on an increasingly similar global diet, facilitated by a global system of distribution and exchange of news materials, still speak in many different voices. The Global Newsroom is still confronted by a Tower of Babel."

shaped by national foreign policy interests or even media market boundaries and journalistic practices rather than by presidential statements, even in the case of the US response to the September 11th attacks.

Media in International Politics: Medium, Actor or Both?

Although the media was largely ignored by early mainstream international relations scholars (Frensley and Michaud, 2004), today scholars recognize it as a potential force in its own right in international relations and foreign policy processes (Entman, 2003; Boynton and Beer, 2002; Page, 2000, Edwards and Wood, 1999; Wood and Peak, 1998; Wolfsfeld, 1997; 2001; Powlick and Katz, 1998; Allen, et al. 1994; Bennett and Manheim, 1993; Brody, 1991; Russett, 1990; Russett and Graham, 1989). What is in dispute is the kind of force scholars believe the media to be: force-as-medium, force-as-agent or both.

International mass communication is a complex phenomenon consisting of technical, institutional, production and content production elements (Hafez, 1999: 48). Kriener and Meckel (1996: 15f cited in Hafez, 1999: 48-49) array these elements on a continuum of high to low internationalization. At the highest level of internationalization are the new technologies and media infrastructure, which have resulted in rapid structural internationalization and communication globalization. The lowest is the content level, which, Kriener and Meckel argue, "is usually shaped by specific, often cultural conditions of production and consumption" (Hafez, 1999: 49).[2]

Hafez observes that "most globalization theorists tend to emphasize technological or economic processes" (the elements of the highest levels of media internationalization) and ignore the elements of production and content (the lowest levels of media internationalization). Since it is the newsworkers (actors) who carry out production and content development that are closest to the particularizing forces of national foreign policy interests and local media markets, an exclusive focus on the technical and infrastructure elements results in inattention to factors that can likely explain differences, rather than similarities, in news coverage. Robin C.M. Brown (1999:1) offers a complementary argument. He identifies two different approaches to international communications – media-centric and world politics-centric – and observes that scholars reach very different types of conclusions about media effects on politics depending on the approach taken. Media-centric explanations stress a communications technologies perspective. These more often reach "radical conclusions" about world media power. World politics-centric perspectives focus on "relatively concrete aspects of politics." These more often reach "modest conclusions" about the impact of the media on world politics.

Martin Shaw (2000) and Piers Robinson (2000) react to this dichotomy in international communications analysis of world media power by calling for conceptualizations and research designs that come to grips with both structure- and actor-based media elements. Shaw (2000:

[2] Kriener and Meckel describe two additional levels between those discussed above. The second highest level is the institutional level, which focuses on processes of horizontal and vertical integration across media conglomerates and trusts and the second lowest level, which focuses on the production level. The production level has great variation in internationalization depending on whether the outlet is global in scope such as CNN or if it is a national or local news outlet.

29) argues that for our understanding of international communications to proceed, the media has to be treated not only as structure but also as agent:

> What is at stake is more than adding media as a significant category of "actor" alongside states and other nonstate actors. The idea of the media as a single, powerful agent - whether a faithful servant of state and corporate interests (as radicals sometimes allege) or an intruder into their realms (as statesmen sometimes complain) - is the bane of serious discussion, indicating that we have not even started a meaningful analysis. What is needed is a complex conceptualization of media as both structure and agency."

Robinson (2000: 230) cautions that a failure to distill the media-centric and world-politics centric perspectives risks a tendency for media power findings "to be biased depending on the theoretical starting point of the researcher." To avoid such pitfalls he suggests several strategies for implementing Shaw's calls for conceptions of media duality into research designs. The most crucial for our purposes is to

> analyze both the media and political processes. While this should flow naturally from a combined IR/communications interdisciplinary approach, it is still easy to fall into the trap of assuming the occurrence of media influence on policy and even the occurrence of media coverage itself.

In the next sections we explain why the Canadian case is a critical one, how we operationalize variables and test them to empirically understand the forces affecting "the occurrence of [Canadian] media coverage itself" on Bush's speeches about the September 11th attacks.

Canadian September 11th Coverage as a Critical Test of Media Globalization

Canada is a critical test case for examining media-centric arguments about global news coverage of the US because amidst the many commonalities that drive convergence between the two media systems (Taras 1999, Nash 1998, Buckley 1998, Soderlund, Wagenburg, and Pemberton 1994) there are a few key and distinctively different cultural values that differentiate Canada from the US as well as French-speaking Canada from English-speaking Canada. Additionally, identifiable market and branding interests differentiate each of the five media outlets we examine.

The most obvious similarities are found on the geopolitical dimension. Despite Canada's geographic size, most of the population lives in a band less than one hour's drive from its border with the US. Consequently, most Canadians have easy access to, and in some cases prefer, American media products. The porosity of the Canadian media markets, shared as they are with potential American competitors means that to keep their share of the market, Canadian media must be sensitive to American trends in gathering and disseminating the news.

The September 11th attacks created a security crisis and it is on this political dimension that we find other important similarities between Canada and the US. Canada and the United

States share in several security institutions: 80 treaties, 250 protocols of agreement, and 145 bilateral forums where defense matters are discussed[3]. The links are numerous and, at times, tightly knit, to an extent that some might, but arguably so, see the Canada-United States security relationship as totally integrated.[4]

Another major milestone in the establishment of integrated military and security efforts is the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD). The organization can be seen as a step towards the continentalization of defense policies or a cheap way for Canada to benefit from a protection its own resources would never allow.[5] Joel Sokolsky underscores the historically cordial security cooperation between the two when he observes that "the United States has been fortunate to have on its northern border not just a compliant neighbour sensitive to American security concerns in North America, but an active participant in Western collective defence."[6]

Within these key similarities of interests, there are also important differences – local differences that may trump arguments about global conveyance of Bush's post September 11th statements. Arguments can be made that value-based and political institutional differences would result in Canadian media coverage emphasizing some of Bush's frames but deemphasizing others.

A widespread Canadian sentiment rejects any form of assimilation of the Canadian market within the American entertainment market on cultural issue grounds where diversity is highly valued. This is not to say that news reporting amounts to entertainment, but that Canadian awareness does not underestimate the potential cultural disparagement and other ramifications of American entertainment programs. Consequently, in a political environment with this pronounced sense of difference, Canadian media might very well be tempted to resist American political cues and respond independently within a Canadian political value system. For example, one Canadian value is reflected in the pride taken over being a peace keeping country, that believes in and works within international institutions as a strong defender of multilateral values. In this case, elements related to war may not resonate with this element in Canada's political values system whereas calls for respect, and for genuine collective efforts likely would.

A second type of factor that may explain any difference between the frames the Canadian media recounted and the frames Bush invoked in his speeches is the effects of political

[3] These statistics were given by Lieutenant-General George MacDonald, Vice Chief of Defense Staff in his testimony before the Canadian Senate Standing Committee on National Security and Defense, May 6, 2002. http://www.parl.gc.ca/37/1/parlbus/commbus/senate/Com-f/defe-f/14cv-f.htm?Language=F&Parl=37&Ses=1&comm_id=76

[4] The Canada-American relationship was among the first ones Canada established as an autonomous state. It can be traced to the Ogdensburg meeting between President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King. The talks translated into the August 18, 1940 agreement that provided both states with a Permanent Joint Board of Defense. In its advisory capacity, the Board was more a symbol than a policy making body, although it formally sanctioned the plans refined by Canadian and American military authorities. In fact, the Board became a victim of its own successes: the level and quality of cooperation, first allowed by the establishment of the Board, made it redundant to a large extent.

[5] An idea particularly well expressed by John Holmes in *The Shaping of Peace: Canada and the Search for World Order, 1943-1957*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

[6] Joel Sokolsky, "The Bilateral Defence Relationship with the United States", in David B. Dewitt and David Leyton Brown, Canada's International Security Policy, Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1995, p.173.

institutional arrangements on coverage of the Canadian executive. The US and Canadian executive newsbeats are not the same. In Canada, only very rarely will the Prime minister be directly available to media. Usually, the only way media have access to the Prime minister is through question period in the House of Commons and in scrums that follow key meetings such as caucus or Cabinet.

Given this, it may be that Canadian media consider Presidential statements under a light that they try to bring as close as possible to what is known "at home" for their readership. In this sense, there might be judgements of the newsworthiness of elements of Presidential messages that results in some speech frames being deemphasized and others emphasized in news stories.

Canadian Presses

The five papers' conveyance patterns we examine this study are those that are read in decision making circles, more than those with the highest circulation. In Canada, there are no "papers of record" per se, as the *Washington Post* or the *New York Times* is in the United States.

We examine both English and French-language presses since one distinguishing aspect of Canadian media is the difference between French-speaking and English-speaking audience markets. Moreover, by doing so, we are able to account for the fact that the two communities have reacted differently to both security and economic issues in foreign policy (Dunn 1995; Beauregard, Armstrong et Oglesby 1997; Michaud 1998; Beauregard, Canuel and Coutard 2002; Lachapelle 2003).

From English Canada, we analyze conveyance patterns in The Globe & Mail, The National Post and The Toronto Star. Generally speaking, these three newspapers unreservedly propagate Canadian values. The Globe & Mail portrays itself as "Canada's national newspaper." It has a countrywide distribution and is a paper of general information. Its content covers most aspects of society and its editorials are considered influential in shaping policies. Ideologically the paper lies in the centre, with a slight leaning on the right, especially on economic issues.

The Globe & Mail's most direct Canadian competitor is The National Post, which also has countrywide distribution. While The Globe & Mail predates confederation, The National Post is a much newer news outlet. It was born from an economic newspaper, The Financial Post, in the late 1990s. The Post openly leans on the conservative/right wing side of the political spectrum, both economically and politically. It also holds high a strong Canadian nationalism banner on domestic issues, that is, advocating pan-Canadian standards or explicitly having difficulty with the specificity of Québec, for instance. In the field of foreign policy, the newspaper posts up a strong pro-Bush stance on several issues, including the war in Iraq.

For its part, The Toronto Star was historically the main competitor to The Globe & Mail until the Post carved its own niche. The Star leans more on the liberal side of the political spectrum. Although it has a nation-wide recognition, it does not enjoy a distribution as wide as do the to other English language newspapers. This being said it has a very wide readership among decision making / political circles in Ottawa and Toronto, foremost. Its editorials and some columnists' pieces can set the tone on some issues.

On the Québec side, both newspapers we examine are published in Montreal, the largest city in French-speaking Canada. Although they might be seen as "regional papers" from a unitary national point of view, this is not the case in bi-national Canada. Most French-speaking readership seeking political information and analysis will read La Presse and Le Devoir for their primary sources of print news. In this respect, La Presse and Le Devoir can be considered national papers on par with the Globe & Mail.

La Presse is part of a conglomerate that has many major regional papers, so it also serves to some extent as the flagship of this press group. As the Montreal/metropolitan regional paper, its coverage sometimes presents localized views. However, since it markets itself as "le plus grand quotidian français d'Amérique" – the most important French language daily of [the] America[s] – it has an important outreach in its newsgathering, analysis and distribution. The paper is federalist – an important feature when one considers Québec's socio-political fabric – and leans slightly on the liberal side on social issues, but to the conservative side on economic issues. Its stance in foreign policy is close to widely held Canadian values: respectful towards, but independent from, the American hegemon.

Finally, Le Devoir can be perceived as comparatively unique from the other four. The paper was founded in 1910 by Henri Bourassa, a Canadian nationalist from Quebec, as a tool to voice opposition to imperial wars. During its formative years Le Devoir declared itself "Canadian nationalist" at a time when the most widely recognized feelings in English Canada were closer to Victorian Great Britain. In line with its founding political views, Le Devoir is still seen as a nationalist outlet, but today this nationalist stance stresses Québec's aspiration to become a sovereign state. It has a humanitarian, pacifist/peace making lean on many international issues. Although its distribution is the smallest of the major dailies in Québec, those who read it are closer to decision making circles. Importantly for our purposes, the paper favour a more analytical approach to news story content in order to reach its target clientele: intellectuals and the literati, political decision makers, and more generally, well informed people who often have prior knowledge of the key elements of a news story. To borrow an image from journalism schools, of all the W5s, Le Devoir would be rated as "heaviest on the whys."

Discourse Scope and Media Recounting of Leader Frames

The scope and topics of any type of discourse, be it political or mundane, is the result of whether (1) an actor is able to contribute statements about their positions and (2) whether a contributing actor is able to make statements about all of their positions. In political discourse mediated by news organizations, such as communication between presidents and mass audiences, questions about whether and under what circumstances the media will report viewpoints critical of the administration's foreign policy positions have generated many studies. This line of inquiry has branched into three avenues of research: media evaluation of administration positions (1) by examining whether reporters make disproportionate use of administration sources in their news stories (Bennett, 1990; Zaller and Chiu, 1996), by examining whether reporters privilege sources whose information they believe is a bellwether that can forecast or shape future events (Entman and Page, 1994), and (3) by examining the

circumstances when reporters will critically evaluate administration policy (Mermin,1999; Entman, 2003).

Each evaluative avenue of inquiry emphasizes the extent to which the media report non-administration or critical viewpoints. However, what studies of media evaluation do not address is the second condition affecting the parameters of political discourse, which results in ignoring the question of whether reporters report the complete range of the administration's viewpoints. We must address both questions to fully understand the media's role in shaping public discourse about foreign policy crisis.

These two questions are related, since much of what reporters target critically or supportively are statements made by the president. These two questions are also different, since much of the time, out of the population of president's statements, sources comment on or reporters evaluate are those statements reporters sampled by deeming them newsworthy to report. To continue the sampling metaphor, when reporters make judgments about what of a president's speech to include in news stories, does the corpus of news stories produce biased or representative samples of what the president actually said? The media affects the president's contributions to the parameters of possible political discourse by making salient, through repetition, what the president said. The media does this by running stories that (1) cover these addresses and straightforwardly report what the president said, and/or (2) cover reactions to the contents of these speeches and refer to what the president said, and/or (3) analyze the implications of policy statements in these speeches and refer to what the president said, and/or (4) analyzing the implications of giving a speech that was well-received or not for presidential support and success in mobilizing support for his issue positions.

The notion of testing if presidential framing of statements affects whether the media are likely to convey those statements amounts to a type of agenda-setting study. Media agenda setting explore the effects of varying news attention to different policy issues on governmental and public opinion problem prioritization. In one of the earliest book-length studies of media and foreign policy, Cohen (1963) made the point that the media shape the public's awareness of foreign policy issues. He observed that the press may not always be successful in telling people what to think, "but it is stunningly successful in telling people what to think about" (p. 13, emphasis in the original). This paper applies Frensley's (2002) related notion of selective media frame conveyance. While related to agenda-setting research in media and foreign policy studies, selective media conveyance is conceptually different. Selective media frame conveyance treats foreign crisis reporting as a dependent variable affected by the interaction of speaker(s) framing of their policy statements with news production conventions that reporters follow. In other words, selective media frame conveyance regards reporters both as consumers of problem definition and response justifying frames and as newsworkers following their profession's norms, objectives, and procedures for determining what is newsworthy.

In the following section we discuss how we operationally apply selective media frame conveyance to understanding how different Canadian presses covered Bush's representations of the September 11th attacks and the US response.

Bush's September 11th Crisis Frames

Speakers use a variety of means to facilitate understanding of their ideas, including symbols and invocations of cultural frames. A frame is simply the highlighting and presenting some informational aspects or arguments about an issue to promote a particular "problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993: p. 52). Frames allow audiences to distill the many words speakers use into a few meaningful categories of understandable ideas. Since frames are categories, if one can find a valid way to identify those categories, researchers can use frames to compare systematically speaker's ideas and arguments and the words and sentences used to communicate them. If the speaker is a political leader who must use a mass medium to appeal to different, multiple audiences, researchers can use frames to systematically assess leaders' ideas the media tend to selectively report or ignore.

Answering the question of what frames the Bush administration created and invoked in response to the September 11th crisis becomes a matter of devising an appropriate research design for cataloguing the President's communication attempts with the public. This study applies a research design developed for an earlier study that showed New York Times reporters were significantly selective about which international and domestic frames they recounted in news stories referencing Bush's post 9/11 speeches (Frensley, 2002).

The first research design issue centers on identifying sources of frames. We target national addresses that the White House announced in advance. Our expectation was that reporters would be particularly attentive to those the American public knew and anticipated rather than to communications made with less advance notice. Moreover, these were speeches made directly after 9/11, in which problem representations and response justifications were invoked for the first time. It is likely that White House speechwriters, President Bush, and his advisors would have carefully written these speeches knowing they were invoking these frames for the first time. A second consideration is the timing of the addresses. National addresses were restricted to September and October only because of the appearance of the anthrax threat early in November. While questions about how the Bush administration framed the anthrax threat are themselves worthy topics for scholarly inquiry, the anthrax infections were never directly linked to Al-Qaida and the events of September 11th, our substantive topic of interest. The four post-September 11th national addresses content-analyzed to uncover Bush's crisis frames are:

(1) The September 11th Address to the Nation
(2) The September 14th Remarks at the National Day of Prayer and Remembrance,
(3) The September 20th Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the United States Response to the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, and
(4) The October 7th Address to the Nation Announcing Strikes Against Al-Qaida Training Camps and Taliban Military Installations in Afghanistan.

These national addresses were televised live and unedited to the American public.

One issue involved identifying the frame unit of measure. Some framing studies identify the frame for a whole text, a certain part of the text (e.g., lead paragraph of a news story,

headline, Vanderbilt archive news story abstract), or a paragraph. In this study, the frame unit of measure is the sentence. The reason for making the sentence the unit is recognition of the fact that leaders' rhetorical styles will differ. Several observers have commented on the pronounced brevity of George W. Bush's speeches; this was evident during the 2000 presidential campaign and even in his inaugural address – which broke the shortness record by clocking in at eighteen minutes. One reason for Bush's speech brevity is that Bush's publicly-disclosed arguments tend to be short, blunt, and simple. Bush's argument structure does not take the form of a claim warranted by reasons; rather, the tendency is for each sentence to be a claim.[7] For George W. Bush's speaking style, the sentence is the most reasonable unit of measure. This unit of measure produces 324 observations across the four speeches.

The third issue involved identifying the frames themselves. Since after the attacks Bush faced the twin necessities of both reassuring a domestic constituency and announcing internationally what the US response would be, the first sorting exercise involved the first author and a colleague sorting the sentences into international and domestic reference categories. Two types of statements stood out as possibly spanning both: statements involving Congress and the US military. These statements were coded separately as Other categories, which also included those statements that could not be unambiguously sorted into domestic or international categories. The Other category consisted of 15 sentences, which amounts to 4.6 % of the total 324 sentences. The domestic reference sentences amounted to 167 sentences, or 51.54 %.

The second turn in the sorting exercise involved sorting the international reference sentences into problem definition versus response categories. Table 1 summarizes the international frames discussed below and offers examples from each speech.

Table 1 about here.

In studies of conflict and conflict resolution scholars have identified significant concepts that allow us to better understand and analyze conflict processes. Combatant grievance (in other words, conflict motive) is one of the most important elements for understanding conflict. Bush characterized the terrorists as motivated by their hatred of freedom and/or democracy in 10 (9.09 %) of the 110 total international reference sentences [FREEDOM]. Bush established the motive frame in the first sentence of September 11th speech when he told the nation "Today our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts." This frame was reinforced only nine sentences later when Bush explained that "America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world."

Another important element for understanding conflict processes is whether the issues of combatant contention are consensual, where the combatants can at least agree that the issues in

[7] In comparison, former President Bill Clinton made lengthier speeches in which the argument structure did take the claim-justification format. The two styles could not be more different: Bush's policy speeches more closely resemble a sermon-like speech structure whereas Clinton's policy speeches more closely resembled the forensic argument structure used by debaters. In earlier studies of selective media frame conveyance of presidential statements about the Gulf War and the Kosovo crisis, Bush elder's and Clinton's styles were treated as forensic and as a consequence a different unit of analysis, the decision statement, was used (2000; 2001; 2003).

dispute make sense to both, or if they are dissensual, in which the combatants cannot understand the reasons for each others' grievances. In 12 sentences (10.9 %), Bush characterized the ideational clash as dissensual, as having no middle ground and being one of moral absolutes because it was a struggle between good and evil; alternatively, as a struggle between progressive and traditional visions of society [MORAL ABSOLUTISM]. Bush established the moral absolutism frame immediately after establishing the motive frame when he stated in the third sentence of his September 11th speech that "Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror" and reinforced it eleven sentences later by explaining "Today our Nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature."

Another concept key to the nature of a conflict is what different types of acts mean – and what responses are appropriate for different types of acts. In 5 (4.54 %) sentences Bush characterized the nature of the September 11th attacks as tantamount to war and that the US would respond in kind [ACT OF WAR]. He established this frame at the end of the September 11th address to the nation when he declared that "America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism." This frame would next be repeated in his elegiac remarks at the National Day of Prayer and Remembrance service when he told a mourning nation that "War has been waged against us by stealth and deceit and murder."

Once Bush defined the attacks as war, he proceeded to define the scope of the war on terror. In 19 (17.27 %) of the sentences, he defined it as a worldwide war in which no state could be neutral because every nation must declare its commitment to the US [WORLD WAR]. He translated this into policy terms by declaring that those who "harbored" internationally-active terrorist groups would also be regarded as enemies (but did not specify what the US meant by "harbor"). Curiously, Bush began to propagate this frame before the act of war frame in the September 11th address to the nation when he starkly declared "We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them." Bush next reinforced this frame in his September 20th Address before a Joint Session of the Congress when he explained that the Taliban "…is not only repressing its own people; it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying the terrorists."

The next frames – America respects Islam, Global Threat and Total War – were established in Bush's September 20th Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress. America Respects Islam was the first frame established, though in an oblique way, in the September 20th speech. In that speech, Bush told the nation "We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers in English, Hebrew, and Arabic." This frame was vigorously reemphasized as Bush further explained, "The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics, a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam." In these establishing sentences and the others that reinforced, totaling 20 (18.18 %), Bush constructs a frame that tempers the earlier moral absolutism frame. The Respects Islam frame stresses that the war is not against Islam because the US respects its Muslim citizens and Muslims worldwide. Moreover, additional elements stress how the US aids Muslims, particularly the Afghani people. However, a third element in the respects Islam frame, which allows it to balance, rather than

outrightly contradict the Moral Absolutism frame, is the subframe that Al-Qaida and the Taliban practice a perverse form of Islam.

The next frame Bush established in the September 20th speech was the Global Threat frame, which would total 16 or 14.54% of the four speech's total sentences. The Global threat frame, like the Respects Islam frame, consists of three elements: the terrorists have worldwide goals, they threaten targets and countries worldwide, and they operate internationally. Bush initially constructed the Global threat frame when he stated that Al-Qaida's goal "…is remaking the world and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere." He reinforces the Global Threat frame three sentences later by factually explaining that "This group and its leader, a person named Usama bin Laden, are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan." The Global Threat frame, as the earlier America respects Islam frame, is a tempering frame. By stressing the nature of the global threat, Bush gives international audiences a positive incentive to join the World war he declared. The positive incentive tempers the threatening, punitive language he used to establish the intimidating World War frame, in which other countries are expected to immediately declare their allegiance, blood and treasure to Bush's still-forming game plan.

The final problem definition frame is the Total War frame. Wars are of different types, which mean they can end in different ways. One type of war is total war that aims for the destruction of a combatant. However, there must be just cause for such an extreme war aim in order to cultivate international support. The just cause that lends credibility to this war aim is that the terrorist attacks ended a status quo peace. Restoration of peace under these circumstances can occur only by the terrorists' destruction. In the Total War frame, which is composed of 4 sentences, or 3.63 % of the total, Bush defines the only successful outcome for the war on terrorism as the total destruction of the terrorists. He establishes this part of the frame by decisively declaring that the war on terror "…will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated." Bush joins the just cause to the war aim later in the Address to Congress when he vigorously declares "…the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows." The fusion is complete by the October 7th Address to the nation, in which Bush explains "In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it." Of all problem defining frames, this one has the least face validity since the world, particularly the Middle East, was in a less than peaceful state prior to the September 11th attacks.

The next international references set consists of the response frames: The US leads the war on terrorism and World Supports US. The first response frame characterizes the US or presupposes it to be the natural leader of the war on terrorism. This frame is established in 7 sentences or 6.36% of the total. This frame is evident in each speech made after September 11th. This frame treats the US as proactive, but possibly at the expense of other countries' sovereignty. While a state may agree with the all the problem definition frames, they may disagree with how the US, in its self-designated leadership capacity, decides to prosecute the War on Terror. Of all the international reference frames, this one seems to be the most problematic for an international audience to accept.

The next response frame, World Support, tempers the US Leads frame. In international politics, as in everyday life, supportiveness can take many forms. Support can range from expressions of sympathy to pledging forces. As this frame develops across the four speeches, Bush constructs foreign expressions of support as a permissive categorical resource for leading and prosecuting the war on terror. World Support is established and reinforced in 17 sentences, which amount to 15.45% of the total. While these sentences make a priori claims about current world support, these sentences can also serve an international mobilization purpose for cultivating additional foreign support, both at the interstate level as well as at the foreign domestic level. The analogy here is much as success attracts success, evidence of international support can attract additional support for a coalition in the war against terrorism that is led by the US.

These international frames, plus the domestic frame, capture 85.49 % of Bush's 324 sentences from these speeches.[8] While we believe these frame categories identify important features of problem definition and response, we also recognize that models which consist of frame categories reporters may choose to stress or ignore in their news stories misses an important dimension in foreign news reportage: reporters' judgments of newsworthiness. Below we discuss how we code for various elements operationalizing media practice to capture the effects of reporters' professional norms and organizational routines on the contents of their news stories.

Media Practice: Reporter Attentiveness to Crisis Facts, Political Decisions and Stylistic Rhetoric

One of the canons of the news writing is objectivity. Reporters strive to write factually correct stories that are impartial. The surprise September 11th attacks and their aftermath created problems for factual reporting because of the difficulty in immediate travel, telecommunications, and general confusion. After the 11th, factual information about the attackers, the nature of their organization, and their capacities was scarce because of the multiple suspected groups, the classified nature of the intelligence on Al-Qaida, and the general lack of knowledge that occurs when a group wishes to keep its activities secret. As a result, there was much speculation but few hard facts. However, Bush made some factual statements in his speeches, particularly in his September 20th Address. Drawing from Paletz, noted above, it is reasonable to expect that reporters may be more attentive, and therefore more likely to recount, Bush's factual statements, given the stature of the president as a news source. The operational definition for coding a sentence as factual was: "A verifiable, empirical statement made by Bush in which he discloses quantities or characteristics of opponents or allies." We identified and coded 54 (16.66 %) sentences that were factual.

[8] The following are examples of sentences classified as None of the Above and added to the Other category along with Congressional references and US Military references. 9/11: "The victims were in airplanes or in their offices: secretaries, business men and women, military and Federal workers, moms and dads, friends and neighbors." 9/14: "America is a nation full of good fortune, with so much to be grateful for." 9/20: "In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this Chamber to report on the state of the Union," "Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity." 10/7: "Initially, the terrorists may burrow deeper into caves and other entrenched hiding places."

Communications scholar Mark Fishman found in his 1980 study that the media rely on demarcated events to make decisions about the newsworthiness of occurrences. Since a decision signals the beginning of a process of achieving a goal, it seems reasonable to code for whether a sentence was a policy decision or not, distinguishing between international policy decisions and domestic policy decisions. The operational definition used for identifying a policy statement was "a statement made in which Bush discloses actions or the purposes of actions taken or to be taken by the US government." We identified and coded 35 (10.8 %) international decision sentences and 18 (5.5%) domestic decision sentences.

In addition to expecting reporters to be especially attentive to, and thus more likely to recount, speech sentences that are factual and that disclose decisions, we also expect reporters to be more attentive to sentences that are highly stylistic in nature. Reporters make their living trading in words and words that are well-put together are likely to stand out in their eyes. Moreover, there is some degree of competition among reporters at a newspaper for story space. It seems reasonable to expect that editors, if faced with having to choose between stories on the same subject, will choose the story more appealing to audiences. Stories quoting the stylistic flourishes of leaders are more likely to appeal to mass readerships. To test this conjecture, we identified all sentences that were metaphorical in structure. The operational definition for coding metaphorical sentences was "applying a word or phrase to an object or concept that it does not literally denote." We identified and coded 38 (11.72) metaphorical sentences. Examples of such sentences include "These acts shattered steel but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve," "This nation is peaceful but fierce when stirred to anger," "Freedom and fear are at war," and "They will take that lonely path at their own peril."

Additional Coding Issues

The news stories we content-analyzed had to (1) paraphrase or quote a statement disclosed in a targeted speech and attribute them to the president and (2) do so within a three day span of time (three days after the speech was given). We obtained both news stories and editorials news database key word searches. Stories were identified using "White House," "president," and "Bush" in key word searches.

Some of the stories we collected and analyzed for this study were verbatim transcripts. This is a study of different factors' effects on reporters' selective attentiveness to presidential frames. Since news stories that are published transcripts will, by definition, include recounts of all speech sentences, transcripts will directly affect our measures of the dependent variable. On the other hand, the decision to publish a transcript is an editorial decision that is not made for every speech, suggesting the occasion of that particular speech makes it more newsworthy than other speeches. Frensley addressed the transcript dilemma in earlier studies by creating a dummy control variable, "transcript." Following earlier coding convention, if a decision statement was recounted in a verbatim transcript it was coded 1, otherwise 0.

The speech sentence is the unit of measure for constructing the dependent variable, "recounted sentences." If a given paper recounted a sentence, that sentence's cell in the paper's "recounts" column was coded as 1, 0 if ignored. The dependent variable "recounted sentences"

was obtained by summing the recounts across the papers news stories to produce an interval level variable.

A final modeling issue stems from exhaustive coding of all the sentences into frame categories. With exhaustive coding it is necessary to exclude one or several categories, to serve as the baseline comparison for assessing the effects of the test categories. There are no statistical rules for deciding which category to choose as the baseline, instead, baseline choices are made for theoretical reasons (Hardy, 1993). Our theoretical interest in this paper is the extent to which different Canadian presses conveyed Bush's international frames. We compiled a composite domestic frame variable and exclude it as well as sentences coded in the Other and None categories. These serve as our baseline categories. Since the dummy regression results of the test variables are comparisons of their means against the baseline's means (domestic frames, Other and None), if Applebaum's globalization argument holds and presses conveyed all of Bush's frames, then press coverage should proportionally cover all categories of frames, to result in no significant parameter estimates for the international frames. Hence, we feel justified for theoretical reasons in making the frames in the Domestic, Other and None categories the baselines. Below we present the results of the Chi-Square distributions and OLS regressions.

Results

A first cut at exploring whether Canadian media conveyed Bush's frames is to compare the proportions by category of the frames Bush invoked in his speeches with the proportions of speech frame categories different newspapers recounted. We take the proportional differences between Bush's frame categories and treat them as the expected observations to calculate Chi-square distributions. Table 2 summarizes the results.

Table 2 about here.

Of the five national presses we analyzed, only two proportionally conveyed Bush's frames: the Toronto Star and La Presse. The Globe & Mail, National Post, and Le Devoir did not. These descriptive statistics suggest that the journalistic expectation that Bush would dominate overseas discourse across the board is problematic. Moreover, since these findings are from analysis of the Canadian press, from which we would expect convergence due to Canada's long-time trade relationships and ally support. Our findings that Canadian coverage diverged from Bush's attempts to define the problem and justify US responses to it suggest that other world audiences did not have access to repetition and analysis of Bush's every word as Applebaum claims and media-centric globalization scholars would concur.

However, these results can only show us which papers diverged or converged; they cannot help us understand what frame categories or media practice factors caused divergence or convergence. We carried out regression analyses of the effects of international frames, media practice factors (fact, domestic decision, international decision, and metaphor) and controlled for transcripts (where appropriate) on speech sentences recounted by each of the five papers.

As in all studies employing regression modeling, interpretation issues arise not only with interpreting the results, but also with interpreting the results given how the variables were

constructed. Our dependent variable is an interval level count of the times sentences from Bush's speeches that we have coded into a frame category is recounted by news stories that ran within a month period. Sentence recounts for a news paper can vary between 0 and, in theory, infinity but in practice ranged up to nine. Consequently, the independent variables are being regressed on the extent to which a news paper recounted sentences that we coded into a given frame category. This strategy and level of data for the dependent variable permits us to determine which international frame(s) had the most effect on news story recounting, but also if media variable effects had greater strength in determining the sentences reporters chose to recount. Table 3 summarizes the results.

Table 3 about here.

Table 3 reports the unstandardized coefficients, the standard error, significance level for each coefficient, and the adjusted R-squared for each model. The first item to note is the adjusted R-squared for each regression. This model performed well for explaining the variance in each national paper's recounting patterns of Bush's speeches. Adjusted R-squared percentages range from a modest but acceptable 14% for the Toronto Star to a much more robust 42% for Le Devoir. Our model explained 40% of La Presse's variation in recounting Bush's speech frames, 33% of the Globe & Mail's, and 23% of the National Post's. Low condition indices revealed no multicollinearity in any of the models.

The second set of items of interest center on the similarities across the five regressions. First, all of the significant coefficients are positive, suggesting that the five presses did not react to any of the speech frames by significantly underreporting them. The comparisons for all of the papers are between the frames of the sentences that were recounted in the news stories in proportion to the frequencies Bush invoked them in the speeches versus the frames of the sentences that were recounted disproportionately more often in the news stories. With the exception of Le Devoir, a special case that we discuss below, at least three of the total nine international frames were disproportionately recounted more often by La Presse, Globe & Mail, Toronto Star and the National Post. With respect to media factor variables, every regression produced significant estimates for at least one media factor variable. The overall picture painted by these findings suggests the notion that all of the US president's words would be "repeated and analyzed" falls short of the empirical findings for the media of a country that would be most likely to do so.

Note the four media factors variables. The coefficients for international decision, are significant and positive across all newspapers, suggesting that our earlier speculation holds that decisions signal demarcated events which reporters use to decide newsworthiness of different statements. Moreover, these results confirm the importance of a central proposition in selective media conveyance framing: reporters respond and react to leader framing within the constraints posed by professional norms and procedures at the content production level of the media, which the reader will recall is the least globalized level. That this pattern is not evident for Domestic decision speech sentences further supports our proposition about selective media conveyance. In contrast to media-centric arguments about the globalization of news, our domestic decision finding suggests that Canadian news reporters considered only decisions that could potentially affect Canada to be newsworthy and therefore extensively repeated. Interestingly, our results

demonstrate a similar pattern for whether a sentence was of a factual nature, suggesting that decisions about newsworthiness of Bush's post-September 11th statements were predicated on other dimensions. For some, but not all, Canadian papers, one of those dimensions involved use of metaphorical sentence construction. Whether a sentence incorporated a metaphor resulted in the Globe & Mail and the National Post extensively repeating it. This was not the case with the two Quebec French-language papers, Le Devoir and La Presse, or with the Toronto Star.

Our results show that for each of the five papers at least one, and in some cases two, media factors had effects on whether a given sentence would be extensively recounted. These findings challenge Applebaum's media-centric notion that all of the president's words would be repeated and analyzed. Our media factors effects show that whether classes of the president's words would be extensively repeated and analyzed depended on whether they fit in with pre-existing routines and media understandings of newsworthiness.

Where the effects of the media factor variables suggest more similarities than differences (though the differences that are apparent are important), international frame variables effects on sentence recountings differ greatly across these presses.

All five papers were identical in the insignificant effects sentences Bush framed as Terrorists attacked Freedom, response to the terrorists would be Total War, and US Leader had on all newspapers' recountings. In other words, sentences framed in these ways were only proportionally recounted, not extensively recounted and analyzed. Consequently, the possible contributions Canadian press coverage made to defining the parameters of political discourse about President's Bush public reactions to the September 11th attacks did not emphasize Bush's justifications of the appropriateness of massive, including military response to the terrorist attacks. While Bush explained that the attacks were attacks on freedom and disrupted a pre-September 11th status quo that he constructed as "peaceful," no Canadian press coverage extensively repeated or analyzed these claims. Moreover, no Canadian press extensively recounted or analyzed Bush's presumption that the US was the natural leader in the War on Terrorism.

Whereas the Freedom, Total War and US Leads frames were only proportionately recounted, the World War, Respects Islam and World Support frames were extensively repeated in three of the five national presses well beyond the proportions Bush established in his speeches. La Presse, Globe & Mail, and National Post shared a disproportionate focus on sentences invoking Bush's World War and Respects Islam frames; and the Globe & Mail, Toronto Star, and National Post shared a disproportionate focus on sentences invoking Bush's World Support frame. The Global Threat and Moral Absolutism frames were extensively repeated in two out of the five papers. La Presse and the Toronto Star both shared a disproportionate focus on sentences invoking Bush's Global Threat and Moral Absolutism frames. La Presse was the only paper to disproportionately focus on the Act of War frame.

Our different analyses of chi-square distributions and regression estimations together suggest that national presses did not passively convey all of Bush's problem representations and response justifications. Each of Canada's leading presses only conveyed the problem representation frames of Freedom, Total War and the response justification US Leader frame

proportionate to the extent Bush invoked them in his speeches. There was wide variation among the leadings presses in how the other problem representation frames were conveyed, with Le Devoir proportionately covering every other frame. La Presse disproportionately covered the Act of War, Global Threat, Moral Absolutism, World War, and Respects Islam frames. The Globe & Mail disproportionately covered the World War, Respects Islam, and the World Support frames. The Toronto Star disproportionately covered the Moral Absolutism and World Support frames. The National Post disproportionately conveyed the World War, Respects Islam, and World Support frames.

Discussion

The variation evident across Canadian papers' recountings of Bush's frames corroborates our expectations that the media did not passively, indifferently and proportionately convey Bush's every word defining and justifying the war on terrorism. In this section we draw on our earlier observations about Canada-US relations and the Canadian press system to explain the contextual reasons for these results.

The first question our results raise is why no Canadian paper extensively recounted speech sentences that invoked the Freedom, Total War and US Leader frames. The answers, we argue, lie in the persistence and effects of Canada's political value system's approach to the concept of freedom, good governance principles applied to foreign policies, and adaptation of its foreign relations with the US to the fact that it is the stronger partner in the interrelationship. These three elements, like any other political value elements, have the potential to structure cognitive schematic structures for citizens, including reporters. We argue that our results show that incoming information that contradicts the elements structuring cognitive schema are likely to be if not ignored then only proportionately addressed as they are in this case.

No Canadian paper recounted the freedom frame more than proportionately to the frequency Bush raised it in his speeches because in Canada the concept of freedom does not have the same weight as in the US. In the US, people fought for freedom and then constructed their government, making the relationship between freedom and government both clear and ambiguous: the government is not only the protector of freedom by dint of US independence but freedom is also the principle for protection against government intrusion in personal life. The result is that the concept of freedom in the US is very much a hot emotional button, whether for positive or negative reasons. Not such ambiguity of feelings exists in Canada. Canada has always been free, even under colonial rule because, most of the time, colonists were left to self-govern without much intervention from the metropolis. This state of affairs was in place under the French regime, continued during the first years of the British regime, and remained after confederation. With some exceptions[9], freedom was not an issue felt north of the 49th parallel as it was south. Although a universal concept, freedom has domestic differences in meaning. We argue that the Canadian differences in the meaning of the concept explain why news coverage of Bush's invocation of this frame did not generate extensive recounting in news stories.

[9] Exceptions include the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada in 1837-38, and of Joseph Howe's fight for freedom of the press and responsible government in Nova Scotia at about the same time.

The same logic applies to why no Canadian paper extensively recounted the Total War frame. Total War refers to the total destruction of a combatant, which is a war goal at odds with Canada's good governance principles applied to its foreign policies. A Total War frame cannot resonate with Canadian values of peace keeping/peace making, human solidarity, multilateral efforts to restore democratic health in a country, and so on. Canadian reporters balanced the divergence between Canadian foreign policy good governance values with Bush's Total War values by only minimally – but proportionately – conveying invocations of this frame.

A related but slightly different logic applies to the only proportional recounting of the US Leads frame across all Canadian papers. While earlier we argued that the Freedom and Total War frames were not extensively recounted because they diverged with Canadian political values, for this frame we argue that only proportionally recounting is a likely response to a context in which US Leads amounts to a statement of the obvious. The Canadian context is different from other countries in that it is one of two countries that every day deals with its border-neighbor's political heft. Under these circumstances, Canadians do not need to be reminded of the weight of the US in foreign affairs. Canadian reporters – both French and English-speaking – reacted by not extensively recounting sentences invoking this frame.

Our next question involves why only one newspaper, La Presse, recounted the Act of War frame more than proportionately to the frequency Bush raised it in his speeches. We argue that this effect is more a function of market share than of political value. The Act of War frame cannot fail to grab reader attention, and given La Presse's market, that reader tends to have a limited attention span. La Presse does not compete for its circulation figures with Le Devoir, which cultivates its circumscribed niche of highly literate and politically sophisticated readers. Instead, La Presse goes to the mat against the tabloid Journal de Montréal. Emphasis of the attention-grabbing Act of War frame allowed La Presse to offer the "Sports, Blood & Sex" coverage of its main competitor a market challenge without demeaning journalistic principles.

That only La Presse and the Toronto Star recounted the Global Threat frame more than proportionately to the frequency Bush raised it can be explained by these two papers' common political leaning. In terms of ideological position, these two papers, despite their national differences, are closer to each other than to any other of the Canadian papers. Arguably, the tempering features of the Global Threat frame can be understood to make it amenable to neo-liberal/institutionalist positions in foreign policy. This interpretation of the Global Threat frame could resonate with the common liberal leaning of these two presses, and similarly so for Moral Absolutism. While the manichean nature to of the Moral Absolutism frame has been interpreted as invoking a fundamentalist interpretation of the world (i.e., good versus evil), this frame shares an element with the optimism of earlier Idealist theory in international relations (i.e., progressivism versus traditionalism). Whether La Presse and the Toronto Star positively (idealistically) or negatively (critical of the religious fundamentalist tone) reacted to the Moral Absolutism frame, our point is that this frame was relevant to their common ideological positions in the Canadian political spectrum. As a result, they extensively recounted sentences invoking the Moral Absolutism frame.

In the context of Canadian political history, we find it entirely consistent that the French-language presses only proportionally recounted Bush's World Support frame while the English-speaking presses extensively recounted sentences invoking this frame.

[…]

Conclusion

This study sought to answer whether President Bush's problem definition and response justification frames set the scope of news coverage as many media globalization arguments suggest or if the scope of news coverage was set by news outlets selectively covering presidential frames, as many critical analyses of media globalization would suggest.

We examined Canadian press coverage to answer this question. We chose this case because of the unique historical relationships between Canada and the United States as well as the influence of nearby US media markets on Canadian media markets. These factors lead us to expect that if Applebaum's presumed convergence between Bush's words and international media coverage occurred at all, it would occur in the Canadian case.

We applied, operationalized, and tested the concept of selective media frame conveyance to produce an empirical contribution as a way to progress the debate about media globalization and its effects on international media power. We found that the Canadian case supports the idea of semi-globalization – that is to say that what frames the Canadian press chose to convey were a function of local market and national political factors even in the presence of communications technology giving reporters from various presses full access to all of the words Bush spoke in key speeches made in response to the September 11th attacks.

We found patterns of conveyance where some frames were extensively recounted, others only proportionally and by some presses but not others. These patterns could in large part be explained by Canadian political culture values, Canadian bi-nationalism, and local media markets. The similarities required by media-centric globalization arguments were not evident in the regression tests we conducted.

Our regression results reveal not only answers but also questions that remain to be answered. For example, we found that La Presse, Globe and Mail and the National Post extensively recounted the World War and Respects Islam frames as one would expect based on Canada's sharing a border with a hegemon and with its high value placed on diversity and tolerance. However, we are puzzled that the Toronto Star did not extensively recount these frames. This research is simply the beginning, and certainly not the end. Our puzzling finding underscores the need for additional research, including in this instance interviews with reporters.

Despite the newness of our research program, our findings have significant implications for media power in international politics. While at this point we can only speculate about selective Canadian media coverage on setting the scope of political discourse about Bush's problem representations and response justifications, we have plowed the theoretical and in some respects,

research design grounds to empirically probe its effects on foreign policy outcomes. Given that it is well known that Canada declined the American invitation to join in the forces sent to Iraq in March 2003, we should ask if media reaction to Bush's calls in the fall of 2001 had effect. As this research program progresses, we stand poised to ask if media conveyance of Bush's frames early on in part determined Canadian action to come regarding the war in Iraq?

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Table 1. International Frames in Bush's 9/11, 9/14, 9/20 and 10/7 speeches

Frame and Description		Example
Freedom: Terrorists' hatred of freedom and democracy motivated the 9/11 attacks.	9/11	America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world.
	9/14	They have attacked America because we are freedom's home and defender.
	9/20	All of this was brought upon us in a single day, and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.
	10/7	The name of today's military operation is Enduring Freedom.
Act of War: The nature, magnitude, and peacetime attacks against the US are tantamount to war.	9/11	America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism.
	9/14	War has been waged against us by stealth and deceit and murder.
	9/20	Our war on terror begins with Al Qaida, but it does not end there.
	10/7	The battle is now joined on many fronts.
GlobalThreat: The terrorists have worldwide goals, threaten targets and countries worldwide, and operate internationally.	9/11	-----
	9/14	-----
	9/20	They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next.
	10/7	-----
Moral Absolutism: The war has no middle ground; it is a struggle between the progressive and traditional or between good and evil.	9/11	Today our Nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature.
	9/14	-----
	9/20	This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.
	10/7	By destroying camps and disrupting communications, we will make it more difficult for the terror network to train new recruits and coordinate their evil plans.
World War: States cannot be neutral; every nation must declare its support to the US. Harborers of terrorists are enemies.	9/11	We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.
	9/14	-----
	9/20	Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.
	10/7	If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers, themselves.

Frame and Description		Example
Total War: Terrorist attacks ended world peace; restoration of peace occurs only by their destruction.	9/11	-----
	9/14	-----
	9/20	But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows.
	10/7	In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it.
Respects Islam: The war is not on Islam; US respects Muslims worldwide; Al-Qaida and Taliban practice perverted form of Islam. America helps the Afghani people.	9/11	-----
	9/14	-----
	9/20	The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics, a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam.
	10/7	The United States of America is a friend to the Afghan people, and we are the friends of almost a billion worldwide who practice the Islamic faith.
US leader: The US is the natural/presumed leader in the war on terrorism; it is the US mission to lead.	9/11	-----
	9/14	But our responsibility to history is already clear: To answer these attacks and rid the world of evil.
	9/20	We ask every nation to join us.
	10/7	We did not ask for this mission, but we will fulfill it.
World support: The world, groups of countries, and individual countries support and sympathize with the US.	9/11	And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance.
	9/14	And this unity against terror is now extending across the world.
	9/20	We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America.
	10/7	Other close friends, including Canada, Australia, Germany, and France, have pledged forces as the operation unfolds.

Table 2: Bush Speeches' International Frames and News Paper Recounts by Frequency and (Percent). *** denotes significance at the .05 level**

Frame	Bush	**Globe & Mail**	Toronto Star	**National Post**	La Presse	**Le Devoir**
Freedom	10 (9.09)	**2 (2.12)**	3 (5.17)	**1 (1.25)**	6 (6.97)	**6 (18.75)**
Act of War	5 (4.54)	**1 (1.06)**	2 (3.44)	**1 (1.25)**	7 (8.13)	**2 6.25)**
Global Threat	16 (14.54)	**2 (2.12)**	9 (15.51)	**1 (1.25)**	9 (10.46)	**0 (0.0)**
Moral Absolute	12 (10.90)	**2 (2.12)**	9 (15.51)	**8 (10.0)**	12 (13.95)	**6 (18.75)**
World War	19 (17.27)	**31 (32.97)**	10 (17.24)	**25 (31.25)**	24 (27.90)	**14 (43.75)**
Total War	4 (3.63)	**3 (3.19)**	2 (3.44)	**2 (2.5)**	3 (3.48)	**2 (6.25)**
Respects Islam	20 (18.18)	**15 (15.95)**	11 (18.96)	**23 (28.75)**	14 (16.27)	**1 (3.12)**
US leader	7 (6.36)	**3 (3.19)**	2 (3.44)	**1 (1.25)**	5 (5.81)	**0 (0.0)**
World Support	17 (15.45)	**35 (37.23)**	10 (17.24)	**18 (22.5)**	6 (6.97)	**1 (3.12)**
Totals:	110	**94**	58	**80**	86	32
Chi-square (df=8; .05>15.5)		**68.19***	3.22	**37.21***	14.43	**37.71***

Table 3: OLS Estimates of International Frames and Media Factors on Sentences from Bush's post-9/11 speeches Recounted by Canadian Papers

Variable		Le Devoir	La Presse	Globe & Mail	Toronto Star	National Post
Int'l Frames	Freedom	.111 (.187)	.002 (.196)	.001 (.254)	.003 (.224)	-.182 (.259)
	Act of War	-.149 (.258)	.757** (.273)	-.005 (.353)	-.000 (.312)	-.200 (.360)
	Global Threat	-.008 (.155)	.370** (.163)	-.004 (.211)	.329* (.186)	-.117 (.215)
	Moral Absolutism	-.008 (.170)	.337* (.179)	-.009 (.232)	.347* (.205)	.251 (.236)
	World War	.007 (.145)	.359** (.155)	1.16*** (.199)	-.203 (.176)	.557** (.203)
	Total War	-.007 (.291)	-.164 (.308)	.326 (.398)	-.188 (.352)	-.220 (.440)
	Respects Islam	-.131 (.138)	.315** (.145)	.526** (.188)	.225 (.166)	.863*** (.192)
	US leader	-.233 (.219)	.005 (.232)	.195 (.299)	-.008 (.265)	-.244 (.305)
	World Support	-.009 (.148)	-.149 (.156)	1.83*** (.202)	.313* (.179)	.810*** (.206)
Media Factors	Fact	-.004 (.093)	-.003 (.098)	.130 (.128)	.004 (.113)	-.003 (.130)
	Domestic Decision	.001 (.141)	-.009 (.149)	.004 (.192)	-.164 (.170)	.289 (.196)
	Internat'l Decision	.930*** (.112)	.555*** (.118)	.647*** (.153)	.964*** (.135)	1.047*** (.156)
	Metaphor	-.005 (.100)	.108 (.106)	.281** (.137)	.194 (.121)	.284** (.140)
Control	transcript	1.32*** (.109)	.966*** (.079)	N/A	N/A	N/A
Constant		.108** (.047)	.153** (.051)	.101 (.062)	.206*** (.055)	.197** (.064)
Adj. R-squared		.42	.40	.33	.14	.23

*** p< or = .001; ** p< or = .05; * p< or = .1