The Mass Media and Audience Generalization about Groups of Foreign Countries.

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A study examined the influence of news about single nations on U.S. residents' inferences about groups of foreign countries. Subjects, 150 students in introductory psychology, writing, and mass communications courses at a U.S. state university, were randomly assigned to treatment groups. Participants answered questions concerning a group of developed or developing nations. The experimental group also read an unrepresentative news story concerning one of the nations. Participants were then asked to answer a series of questions. Results indicated that unrepresentative news does influence the accuracy of audience inferences about groups of foreign countries. Those who read an unrepresentative news story about a single European or South American nation made less accurate judgments about an average characteristic of all countries in either region than did control participants who read no story. The results also gave no evidence that a person's general orientation toward world affairs mediates the impact of news upon the accuracy of judgment about groups of countries. References and tables are appended. (DF)
THE MASS MEDIA AND AUDIENCE GENERALIZATION
ABOUT GROUPS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES

By

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David K. Perry

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Abstract

This study experimentally examined whether unrepresentative news about a single foreign country is likely to reduce the accuracy of people's judgments about what is typical of all countries in the same geographic region. Respondents consisted of 150 U.S. residents. Those who read an unrepresentative news story about a single European or South-American nation made less accurate judgments about an average characteristic of all countries in either region than did participants who read no story. The type of region that the story and inferences concerned appeared to make no difference. The study also found no evidence that how generally oriented a person is toward world affairs mediates the impact of news upon the accuracy of judgment about groups of countries.
The mass media often are accused of contributing to audience stereotypes of women and members of various ethnic groups. Claims that Western news agencies need to present a larger and more representative picture of developing countries, which are part of calls for a New International Information Order (NII0) (Masmoudi, 1979), imply that these agencies may contribute to stereotyped audience images of Third World societies, as well. As Rosemary Righter (1978, p. 215) put it: "Third World leaders complain, with justification, that their diverse and complex societies are stereotyped by the Western use of the word "developing".

An old axiom of social-science research, however, holds that one should not infer audience effects from claims about, or descriptions of, media content. Evidence that the content of Western press stereotypes countries may not tell us much about the impact of this on the generalizations people actually make about groups of nations. In fact, the media may contribute as much to audience generalizations about foreign countries by sparse coverage of individual nations as by using single adjectives to refer to groups of countries. For example, a person may form impressions of all countries in a region from news descriptions of a single nation, simply because little other news about the other countries is available to her or him.

The purpose of the present study is to examine experimentally the
influence of news about single nations on U.S. residents' inferences about groups of foreign countries. It will examine the possibility that U.S. residents may rely upon salient, unrepresentative news about a single country in making judgments about what is typical of countries in the same region, reducing the accuracy of these judgments. The study also will look at whether this is more pronounced for judgments about Third-World than First-World countries. In addition, it will examine whether a person's general orientation toward world affairs alters the impact of unrepresentative news on the accuracy of inference.

BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

The NII0 debate has featured claims that the Western-dominated global news agencies present sparse and unrepresentative pictures of developing societies (e.g., Masmoudi, 1979). The debate has generated a number of content analyses (Schramm, 1981; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1981; Wilhoit & Weaver, 1983) that examine these claims. Taken together, these studies indicate that the global agencies present more news about Third World nations than many think, although typical U.S. news media often use little of it. They also indicate that most news about all regions of the world concerns politics.

Much news concerning any domain is unrepresentative because it consists of reports of unusual occurrences. To the extent that people generalize about foreign countries from news, they are likely to have an unrepresentative mental image. In effect, one can compare statistical sampling principles with the way news is selected and with the quasi-statistical generalizations formed by laypersons. If a scientist is to estimate the characteristics of a population from information contained
within a sample, the sample must be sufficient in size and selected by a random process. News, however, usually meets neither criteria. Finally, psychologists often have found that people do not consider the size or the representativeness of a sample of information in their generalizations concerning objects (e.g., Nisbett & Ross, 1980; Tversky & Kahneman, 1971; Ross, Amabile, & Steinmetz, 1977). To the extent that people so generalize, exposure to sufficiently unrepresentative news may reduce the accuracy of their judgments about other countries.

Such inaccurate generalizations may be particularly likely for countries about which U.S. residents people have relatively little other information to rely upon. The media-dependency hypothesis (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976) suggests that mass media may have their greatest impact on people's conceptions of phenomena they have no personal experience with. Rothbart, Fulero, Jensen, Howard, and Birrell (1978) made a similar prediction with reference to group stereotypes. People who do not belong to minority groups may know little about them and may rely upon the media for their impressions about these groups. In terms of the present question, unrepresentative news may be more likely to reduce the accuracy of U.S. residents' judgments about remote developing countries than about less-remote developed societies.

Although U.S. residents generally may have little personal experience with developed or developing foreign countries, other factors may make them less dependent upon the mass media for their impressions of developed than developing societies. Education, an important predictor of knowledge about other countries (McNelly & Izcaray, 1984; Robinson, 1967), may contribute more knowledge about First-World than Third-World countries. In addition, U.S. residents may be able to rely upon what they know their
own country to form relatively accurate impressions about certain of the characteristics of other relatively developed, but not developing, countries.

Factors other than prior knowledge also may mediate inference. Psychological research, summarized by Taylor and Fiske (1978), indicates that people often make top-of-the-head judgments based upon the salient features of stimuli. People often may use unrepresentative news to make top-of-the-head judgments about foreign nations. Bishop (1981) hypothesized that news may have its most powerful impact upon people who feel that an issue is unimportant. Most world news probably is not of central importance in the lives of U.S. residents. In terms of the present study, a person's general orientation toward world affairs may alter the impact of unrepresentative news upon the accuracy of her or his judgments. People who believe that what occurs in foreign countries is important and interesting may be more likely than others to consider all the information they have in memory in making judgments. Of course, orientation to world affairs probably correlates with knowledge about other nations. Nevertheless, world-affairs orientation may have a moderating effect on the impact of news upon accuracy of judgments, in addition to the mediating impact of prior knowledge.

Carrying these ideas further, both prior knowledge and a high general world-affairs orientation may be necessary conditions to moderate inference. Assume that U.S. residents know more about developed than about developing countries. One then can visualize a three-way interaction. The impact of exposure to unrepresentative news upon accuracy of judgment may vary with different combinations of whether U.S. residents are making inferences about developed or less-developed countries and how oriented
toward world affairs these persons are. People who are little oriented toward news of other countries may simply make top-of-the-head judgments based upon unrepresentative news. U.S. residents who are highly oriented toward world affairs may search their memory and find more information about developed nations than about developing countries. Therefore, unrepresentative news about developed areas may have little impact on the accuracy of these people's judgments. News about developing areas may have more impact, however, because U.S. residents may rely upon news to a relatively high degree, regardless of their world-affairs orientation.

This research, which concerns inferences about groups of countries, will extend previous experiments indicating that unrepresentative news accounts can reduce the accuracy of U.S. residents' judgments about a single country. In one study, Perry (1985a) had U.S. college students read an unrepresentative news story about a small group of people who lived to a very old age. Certain of the respondents were informed that the people resided in a prototypical African nation, and others believed they lived in a prototypical European country. Perry altered the longevity figures mentioned in the story so that they were equally extreme relative to actual life expectancies of people in each region. Other students read no story and served in control groups. When asked to estimate the life expectancy of a child born recently in the country, respondents who had read a story displayed less accuracy than persons who had not. Overall, participants made more-accurate judgments about European than African life expectancies. Respondents who read a story about a European prototype displayed almost the same level of inaccuracy as those who read about an African prototype, however. Most participants reading a story seemed to generalize from it almost entirely.
In a follow-up experiment, Perry (1985b) selected a random sample of actual countries from each region. A news story similar the one in the first experiment was used. This time the story concerned an actual, rather than prototypical, European or African nation. Once again, respondents made more-accurate judgments about a European than an African nation. In addition, the story significantly reduced the accuracy of U.S. students’ judgments concerning the individual African nations, but not about the European countries.

Despite the different results concerning the impact of the stories on the accuracy of European inferences in the two studies, respondents in each study may have relied more uniformly upon news stories in making judgments about an African nation than about a European country. Examinations of within-cell variances (Perry, 1985a) and comparisons of individual responses with information in the stories (Perry, 1985b) suggested this possibility. In each study, news stories may have affected virtually all participants’ judgments about Africa, but only certain students’ inferences about Europe. The three-way interaction predicted above represents one explanation for this.

In summary, the present study will examine the following hypotheses:

H1: U.S. residents will make more-accurate judgments about a group of developed countries than concerning a group of developing nations.

H2: Highly unrepresentative news concerning a single country will reduce the accuracy of judgments about what is typical of all countries in the same geographic area.
H3: The effect predicted in H2 will be stronger for the accuracy of U.S. residents' judgments about developing than developed nations.

H4: Highly unrepresentative news will reduce inferential accuracy less to the extent that people are oriented toward world affairs.

H5: The interaction predicted in H4 will be greater for the accuracy of U.S. residents' judgments about developed than developing countries.

METHOD

The research used a between-subjects, after-only hierarchical design with 10 cells. Participants either answered questions concerning a group of developed or developing nations and they either read or did not read an unrepresentative news story. The stories concerned one of four randomly selected nations from a developed or developing region. Therefore, the country factor was nested within the development factor. Control groups consisted of respondents not reading a story. The experimenter measured rather than manipulated respondents' orientation toward world affairs. Planned comparisons and analyses of covariance were used to analyze the data. The research employed two-tailed statistics because the researcher formally did not want to exclude significant results in the opposite direction of prediction.

Respondents

The 150 respondents consisted of 147 students and three graduate assistants in introductory psychology and writing for mass communications at a U.S. state university during the fall of 1985. Females constituted
about 53 percent of the respondents. About 87 percent were white, and virtually all the rest were black.

Procedure

The experimenter assigned participants to treatment conditions by handing out experimental booklets containing the different manipulations in randomized combinations. This created a balanced design with 15 respondents per cell. Mass communication students participated as intact classes. Due to a psychology department regulation against research use of class time, those students were asked to remain after class to participate. Participants in the psychology classes also received extra credit, unlike those in the writing classes. The experimenter informed respondents that their answers were anonymous and that their participation was entirely voluntary. The booklets informed participants that the study concerned the impressions people have of other countries. After the respondents completed the booklet, they received an oral explanation about the deception used, a description of the purpose of the study, and an opportunity to ask any questions they had about it.

Operational Definitions

General World-Affairs Orientation

The first questions in the experimental booklets inquired about participants' general interest in events occurring in other countries, how important they think what occurs in other countries generally is, and how much attention they generally pay to news about other countries. These questions used a 0-to-100 range, with a 0 indicating no interest, importance, or attention, and a 100 representing the highest possible value.
Regions

Previous experiments (Perry, 1985a; 1985b) have compared judgments about European and African countries. The researcher decided to compare judgments about European (developed) and South-American (developing) nations to help extend or specify the limitations of the previous studies.

Highly Unrepresentative News

After answering the orientation questions, respondents receiving an unrepresentative story read a news account describing a region characterized by widespread illiteracy in one of eight countries. The researcher initially selected a random sample of four European and four South-American countries. Prior to selection of the sample, a number of extremely small countries, such as Monaco and San Marino, were eliminated, along with non-independent countries such as French Guiana. The story was compiled from actual news accounts appearing in The Unesco Courier and in Time. The specific literacy-rate mentioned for the region was altered for each country so that it was one-tenth of the actual literacy rate in the country. Pretests indicated that the literacy-rate figures would decrease the accuracy of inferences, if used as the sole basis of judgment. In addition, the researcher altered the number of adults identified as residing in the region so that the number was about .5 percent of the population listed in The World Almanac & Book of Facts 1985 (Lane, 1984) of each country. The number of regional adults was rounded to a number such as 1,200, instead of, for example, 1,189, consistent with normal journalistic style. The booklet informed participants that the story had been clipped from a recent edition of a U.S. newspaper. They did not know that this was false or that the name of the country and the literacy-rate figures had been changed. The instructions directed them to read the story
carefully and told them they would receive questions concerning it. After reading a story, students were directed to turn the page and not to look at the story again. They then answered three multiple-choice questions concerning the news item. These questions were included to disguise the purpose of the research, and the researcher did not analyze the answers.

Respondents not receiving highly unrepresentative news read no story and answered no multiple-choice questions.

Inferential Accuracy

Each participant estimated the literacy rate of the average European or South-American country and guessed, as a percentage, how likely she or he would be literate if he or she lived in the average country in the region. The researcher computed an accuracy proportion by dividing each figure by the actual average literacy-rate among all countries in the appropriate regional sampling frame. Average rates of literacy were 95 percent for European nations and 76 percent for South-American ones.\(^3\) If equal to or less than one, this ratio constituted the final accuracy score. If the ratio exceeded one, the researcher used its inverse. This ratio is isomorphic with using figures in the stories that were 10 percent of actual literacy rates in the selected countries. It also is consistent with the intuition that accuracy is logarithmic; i.e., a literacy-rate estimate five percent below the actual figure is more accurate if the true literacy rate is 90 percent than if it is 20 percent. The study used two accuracy measures per respondent in an attempt to assess and to increase the reliability of measurement.
RESULTS

Four respondents failed to provide usable responses to the first literacy rate question. Cell means were inserted in lieu of these missing data. No other missing data occurred on variables involved in hypothesis tests.

The researcher planned to create indices from the multiple-item operationalizations of world-affairs orientation and inferential accuracy. Summing the three orientation items (attention, interest, and importance) yielded an acceptable Cronbach's alpha of about .85. The two accuracy measures, however, were less internally consistent (alpha = .65). This indicated that they may represent empirically distinct dimensions, leading to a decision to run separate analyses on them. Throughout the rest of the paper, the accuracy of responses to the question concerning the literacy rate in an average European or South-American country will be termed country-literacy accuracy. The accuracy of response to the question concerning the probability that participants would be literate in an average regional nation will be called personal-literacy accuracy.

Tables 1 and 2 contain cell averages for the literacy-rate estimates used in constructing the accuracy measures. Although not used directly in hypothesis tests, these data indicate that participants generally underestimated literacy rates. Tables 3 and 4 contain the within-cell accuracy means used in testing the hypotheses.

The first hypothesis predicted that the U.S. residents would make
more-accurate generalizations about a group of developed than developing nations. The data corroborated it for neither the accuracy of country-literacy measure in Table 3 (t = 1.23, d.f. = 140, p > .05) nor for the personal-literacy accuracy data in Table 4 (t = 1.20, d.f. = 140, p > .05). Both t statistics were in the direction of prediction, however.

The data for both accuracy measures corroborated the second hypothesis, that highly unrepresentative news about a single country would reduce the accuracy of generalizations about all countries in the same region (country-literacy accuracy t = 4.79, d.f. = 140, p < .05; personal-literacy accuracy t = 2.68, d.f. = 140, p < .05). The interaction predicted in the third hypothesis, between unrepresentative news and type of region, did not emerge for either the accuracy-of-country-literacy item (t = 0.50, d.f. = 140, p > .05) or for the accuracy-of-personal-literacy item (t = -0.13, d.f. = 140, p > .05).

The next two hypotheses predicted interactions involving a measured characteristic, respondent orientation toward world affairs, and the story manipulations. Perhaps surprisingly, orientation did not significantly predict accuracy of country literacy (F = .07, d.f. = 1 and 139, p > .05) or accuracy of personal literacy (F = 2.44, d.f. = 1 and 139, p > .05). Significant interactions involving it and the manipulations still could occur, however.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that unrepresentative news would have less impact on the accuracy of judgment for persons oriented highly toward world affairs. According to the fifth hypothesis, the interaction anticipated by H4 would be stronger for judgments about developed than concerning developing countries. The research used an analysis of covariance test for parallel slopes between the orientation independent variable and the
accuracy dependent variables, within the 10 cells, to examine these hypotheses. Tables 5 and 6 contain these slopes. Steeper positive slopes should occur in unrepresentative news cells than in no-story cells (H4), especially for judgments about European countries (H5). The data did not permit rejection of the null hypothesis of parallel slopes for accuracy of country literacy (F = 0.64, d.f. = 9 and 130, p > .05) or accuracy of personal literacy (F = 0.45, d.f. = 9 and 130, p > .05). Therefore, neither hypothesis received corroboration.

Tables 5 and 6 About Here

The within-cell standard deviations for the accuracy measures, also contained in Tables 3 and 4, are substantially greater for European-story cells than for European-nation control groups. Little difference is apparent in the variability of accuracy judgments about African nations, however. This suggests that an unmeasured third factor interacted with the story manipulations to influence the accuracy of generalizations about European, but perhaps not African, nations (Perry, 1985c).

DISCUSSION

The experiment reported here examined the impact of highly unrepresentative news about a single country upon the generalizations U.S. residents form about groups of foreign countries. Such news significantly reduced the accuracy of generalization. No significant differences occurred regarding the impact of such news on the accuracy of inferences about developing, South-American countries and more-developed European nations. In addition, no evidence emerged that a person's general orientation toward world affairs mediates the impact of unrepresentative
news on judgmental accuracy.

For the New International Information Order debate, the present study indicates that people are likely to rely upon unrepresentative news about a single country in forming impressions about groups of nations. It provides one more piece of evidence that the debate over news content contains importance to persons concerned with media effects. The accuracy results may contain particular importance because of evidence reported here that they are general and not limited to persons with little concern about world affairs. An exposure-by-world-affairs-orientation interaction might have suggested that world news is likely to affect the judgmental accuracy of only the people who are least likely to read or see such news in nonexperimental settings (see Hovland, 1959).

The significant impact of news on the accuracy of inference reported here extends earlier results (Perry, 1985a), in which unrepresentative news about a prototypical African or European country reduced the accuracy of judgments about that country prototype. A major difference between the two concerned the type of stimuli; i.e., stories concerning the same prototypical nation or a sample of actual countries. In each case, U.S. residents formed similar judgments overall, regardless of the regional location of the countries or country prototype. The results reported here conflict somewhat with those of another experiment (Perry, 1985b), however. In the latter study, unrepresentative news influenced the accuracy of U.S. residents' judgments about individual African, but not European, countries.

The concreteness of the domain of inference represents one possible explanation for the inconsistency concerning judgments about Europe. In the present study and in Perry (1985a), respondents made judgments about relatively abstract phenomena—i.e., prototypical or average countries. In
the other study (Perry, 1985b), participants made judgments about actual nations, more-concrete entities. This suggests a counter-intuitive hypothesis for future investigation: highly unrepresentative news will have less impact upon the accuracy of U.S. residents' inferences about the nation it concerns than upon the accuracy of their judgments concerning general characteristics of countries of the same class or in the same region. Previous research suggests that the hypothesis might describe U.S. citizens' judgments about developed, but not developing, countries. All studies concerning Third-World nations have shown consistent accuracy effects.

Such a hypothesis also might explain why no significant interaction involving unrepresentative news and world-affairs orientation occurred. People with high general orientations toward world affairs may not use all they know for judgments about relatively abstract domains. Additional work could randomly pair nations within the same geographical region and look at the influence of news about one on the accuracy of judgment about the other. Perhaps the expected interaction might emerge. The use of college-student participants, a relatively homogeneous group, suggests another possibility. The students may be more uniform than U.S. residents generally in world-affairs orientation, reducing the likelihood of detecting an interaction involving the concept. On the other hand, the concept of general world-affairs orientation itself may be too general. Perhaps only a person's orientation toward what occurs in a specific country or world region would mediate inference. Finally, the theory predicting an orientation by exposure interaction may be generally incorrect.

In retrospect, it perhaps is not surprising that the regional factor
did not significantly affect, or interact with other hypothesized factors to influence, inferential accuracy.

Although developing regions of the world include South America, it probably is less remote than countries in areas such as Asia or Africa to residents of the United States. Its countries generally score above world averages on a number of development indicators such as literacy and per-capita income, for example. In part, the predictions of two- and three-way interactions involving it rested on a possibly false assumption of its greater remoteness than Europe to participants in the study.

In summary, the present study indicates that unrepresentative news can influence the accuracy of audience inferences about groups of foreign countries. Future work still is needed to specify the factors that may mediate these effects.
Notes

1. The European countries used included Iceland, East Germany, Italy, and Finland. Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, and Chile were the selected South-American countries.

2. The story about Iceland appears below. Only the literacy and population figures and the geographical identification were changed for other nations. All stories appeared under the headline "Illiteracy rates high in Tofala plateau." The researcher typeset the stories for the sake of ecological validity.

The Tofala plateau area in the European country of Iceland, where last week's riots occurred, is known for its beauty and for the poverty of its people.

The literacy rate among the almost 1,200 adults who reside in the region is 9.9%. This means that only about 120 of its people above the age of 15 can read and write. Available evidence indicates that the situation will not improve for children in the area; many do not attend school regularly.

"What a frightful loss of mindpower these illiterates represent," one local journalist remarked. "Who can say how many scientists, engineers and technicians potentially existed among all these forsaken adults as well as the children consigned from birth to the shadows of ignorance?"

He added: "An illiterate person never ceases to be a human being endowed with his own natural dignity and ability. Nevertheless, illiteracy by the very fact that it makes science and technology a closed book renders active participation in modern
civilization impossible."

The central government may respond to the situation by a campaign to teach people to read and write. Most foreign observers feel, however, that more than literacy education is needed to remedy the situation.

The literacy problem is compounded by the fact that poor vision, often caused by childhood malnutrition, hampers substantial numbers of people in the area. Malnutrition also has contributed to general fatigue and a lack of mental development among many adults in the region.

"Perhaps a program to provide health education and eyeglasses to the poor also is needed," a U.S. diplomat said.

These data come from the World Factbook (Central Intelligence Agency, 1983), the most-reliable source on the subject.
References


TABLE 1
Mean Percentage-Literacy Estimates for Average Regional Country

Inference About Average European Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unrepresentative Story About:</th>
<th>Iceland</th>
<th>East Germany</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Finland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Story</td>
<td>36.53</td>
<td>47.53</td>
<td>46.67</td>
<td>50.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>69.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inference About Average South-American Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unrepresentative Story About:</th>
<th>Peru</th>
<th>Ecuador</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>Chile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Story</td>
<td>31.53</td>
<td>29.80</td>
<td>22.40</td>
<td>31.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Average literacy rates are 95 percent for European countries and 76 percent for the South-American nations.


TABLE 2

Mean Estimates of the Probability That Respondents Would Be Literate If They Resided in an Average Country Within a Region, in Percentages

Inference About Average European Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unrepresentative Story About:</th>
<th>Iceland</th>
<th>East Germany</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Finland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Story</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>62.00</td>
<td>56.93</td>
<td>63.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inference About Average South-American Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unrepresentative Story About:</th>
<th>Peru</th>
<th>Ecuador</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>Chile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Story</td>
<td>63.73</td>
<td>54.73</td>
<td>43.67</td>
<td>39.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Average literacy rates are 95 percent for European countries and 76 percent for the South-American nations.
### TABLE 3

Mean Accuracy Proportions for Estimated Literacy-Rates of Average Regional Countries

#### Inference About Average European Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unrepresentative Story About:</th>
<th>No Story</th>
<th>Iceland</th>
<th>East Germany</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Finland</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Germany</td>
<td>(0.13)</td>
<td>(0.28)</td>
<td>(0.27)</td>
<td>(0.31)</td>
<td>(0.35)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Inference About Average South-American Country

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Unrepresentative Story About:</th>
<th>No Story</th>
<th>Peru</th>
<th>Ecuador</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>Chile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>(.24)</td>
<td>(.24)</td>
<td>(.33)</td>
<td>(.27)</td>
<td>(.31)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** Numbers not in parentheses are means, and the standard deviations appear in parentheses. Accuracy proportions on this page were calculated by dividing each respondent's literacy-rate estimate by the actual figure for the average European or South-American country. If the ratio was less than one, it constituted the final accuracy measure. If it exceeded one, its inverse was used. A one represented a perfect response.
### TABLE 4

**Mean Accuracy Proportions for the Estimated Probability of Respondent Personal Literacy in Average Regional Nation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inference About Average European Country</th>
<th>No Story</th>
<th>Iceland</th>
<th>East Germany</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Finland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>.64</td>
<td>.59</td>
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<td>.53</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(.14)</td>
<td>(.28)</td>
<td>(.32)</td>
<td>(.27)</td>
<td>(.34)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inference About Average South-American Country</th>
<th>No Story</th>
<th>Peru</th>
<th>Ecuador</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>Chile</th>
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<td></td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.29)</td>
<td>(.26)</td>
<td>(.35)</td>
<td>(.32)</td>
<td>(.35)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** Numbers not in parentheses are means, and the standard deviations appear in parentheses. Accuracy proportions on this page were calculated by dividing each respondent's literacy-rate estimate by the actual figure for the average European or South-American country. If the ratio was less than one, it constituted the final accuracy measure. If it exceeded one, its inverse was used. A one represented a perfect response.
TABLE 5

Within-Group Unstandardized Regression Coefficients
For World-Affairs Orientation and Country-Literacy Accuracy

Inference About Average European Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unrepresentative Story About:</th>
<th>No Story</th>
<th>Iceland</th>
<th>East Germany</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Finland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.0002</td>
<td>0.0007</td>
<td>-0.0025</td>
<td>0.0006</td>
<td>0.0010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inference About Average South-American Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unrepresentative Story About:</th>
<th>No Story</th>
<th>Peru</th>
<th>Ecuador</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>Chile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.0013</td>
<td>-0.0003</td>
<td>0.0006</td>
<td>-0.0018</td>
<td>0.0012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: In the table on this page, world-affairs orientation is the independent variable and literacy accuracy the dependent variable. The slopes indicate the predicted changes in the dependent variable per one-unit change in the independent variable, within each experimental cell. For example, the slope in the Finland cell indicates that world-affairs orientation scores (which could range from 0 to 300) differing by 100 would lead to predicted accuracy values (which could take values from 0 to 1) differing by .10. For instance, if a person in this cell with 100 on the world-affairs orientation index had a predicted accuracy score of .45 for Europe, then a person with 200 would have a predicted European accuracy value of .55.
TABLE 6
Within-Group Unstandardized Regression Coefficients
For World-Affairs Orientation and Personal-Literacy Accuracy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inference About Average European Country</th>
<th>Unrepresentative Story About:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Story</td>
<td>Iceland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inference About Average South-American Country</th>
<th>Unrepresentative Story About:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Story</td>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.0014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: In the table on this page, world-affairs orientation is the independent variable and literacy accuracy the dependent variable. The slopes indicate the predicted changes in the dependent variable per one-unit change in the independent variable, within each experimental cell. For example, the slope in the Iceland cell indicates that world-affairs orientation scores (which could range from 0 to 300) differing by 100 would lead to predicted accuracy values (which could take values from 0 to 1) differing by .11. For instance, if a person in this cell with 100 on the world-affairs orientation index had a predicted accuracy score of .45 for Europe, then a person with 200 would have a predicted European accuracy value of .56.