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AGENDA-SETTING FOR GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT:
EXPLORING THE SALIENCE OF THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS
WITHIN GLOBAL NEWS COVERAGE

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Communication Division
Pepperdine University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Heather A. Kaczrowski

December 2019

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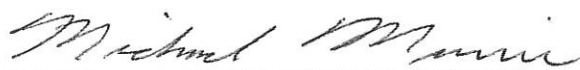
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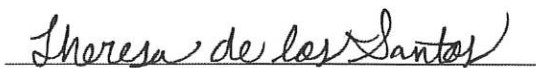
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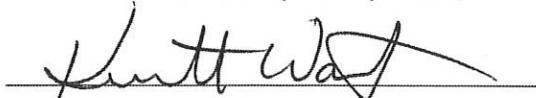
Faculty Committee



Michael Murrie, Ph.D., Chairperson



Theresa de los Santos, Ph.D., Member



Kenneth Waters, Ph.D., Member



Michael R. Feltner, Ph.D., Dean

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by

Heather A. Kaczrowski
December 2019
Dr. Michael Murrie, Chairperson

ABSTRACT

This study explored the intermedia agenda-setting influence of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals among news media from different types of countries around the world. Differences in news coverage were examined specifically through the lens of a country's status as a donor of development aid or as a recipient of aid. News articles on the Sustainable Development Goals were collected from 10 news organizations, five of which were based in high-income ("donor") countries, and five were based in low-income ("recipient") countries. This study found that news coverage of the Sustainable Development Goals was significantly greater among recipient countries than donor countries. Significant differences were also found among each donor group, with the United Kingdom and Bangladesh producing the majority of news coverage on the Sustainable Development Goals. The findings demonstrate new applications for both Agenda-Setting Theory and World System Theory, indicating that the salience of global development agendas likely depends more on other factors, like salience and obtrusiveness, rather than on traditional news flow principles.

Keywords: Sustainable Development Goals, agenda-setting, World System Theory, international, foreign news

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Thirty years ago, more than one in three people in the world lived in extreme poverty (World Bank, 2018b). Until recent decades, extreme poverty—defined by the World Bank as living on less than \$1.90 per day—was a chronic global development challenge that especially burdened regions like South and East Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. In 1990, 60% of the population in East Asia and the Pacific and 54% of the population in sub-Saharan Africa lived in extreme poverty (World Bank, 2018a). In many low-income countries, most families relied only on the crops they could grow on their small farms for food. Most children were not able to get an education. Most mothers were unable to give birth with skilled attendants, and many of the children to whom they gave birth were unlikely to live beyond the age of 5 (Rosling, Rosling, & Rosling Rönnlund, 2018; World Bank, 2018a).

Today, the global community has made unprecedented progress in improving living conditions around the world. Global trends like industrialization, open markets, international trade, and fewer wars, as well as interventions like microfinance, have helped lift more than 1.1 billion people out of extreme poverty from 1990 to 2015—the equivalent of 130,000 people per day. Today, instead of one out of three, only one in 10 people in the world live on less than \$1.90 per day (World Bank, 2018b). The world has never been so close to eradicating extreme poverty.

In 2015, the United Nations General Assembly convened to adopt 17 Sustainable Development Goals (see Appendix A for full list) for the global community to achieve by

2030. The Sustainable Development Goals are the second iteration of global goals stemming from the preceding Millennium Development Goals, which were a set of eight goals adopted by the United Nations at the turn of the century to achieve by 2015. The first of the Millennium Development Goals was to halve the global poverty rate between 2000 and 2015—a goal the global community achieved five years early in 2010 (United Nations, 2015). The first of the Sustainable Development Goals seeks to take this agenda one step farther by challenging the global community to match the progress made between 2000-2015; if so, the world will eradicate extreme poverty by 2030. For the first time in history, the global community is within reach of ensuring that no one in the world lives on less than \$1.90 per day.

Despite the world's rapid progress in reducing poverty, and despite the global stage provided by the United Nations to bring attention to this near achievement, the news media has paid little attention. By extension, the public is largely unaware of this feat and the other Sustainable Development Goals that are within reach. One survey found that 95% of Americans were unaware that global poverty has been halved in recent decades (Rosling et al., 2018).

The underlying purpose of the goals, formally titled the “2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development,” is to provide a strong call to action for governments and development organizations to work in partnership toward these goals: “a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and into the future” (United Nations, 2019, para. 1). Undoubtedly, this agenda is an important one. Successfully achieving just a few of these goals could lift millions of families out of poverty, ensure

every child around the world has access to quality education, and significantly curb the effects of climate change.

The potential of achieving one or more of the Sustainable Development Goals, especially the elimination of extreme poverty, would be arguably a newsworthy accomplishment. Government leaders, especially the participants in the United Nations General Assembly, are well-aware of the Sustainable Development Goals; some goals even influence official policy. The government of Ecuador, for example, has used the Sustainable Development Goals to guide several policy directives, such as initiatives for inclusion of people with disabilities and urban growth and renewal, within its national development plan (Horn & Grugel, 2018). McBride, Hawkes, and Buse (2019) also noted how heads of state from the Group of Twenty (G20) countries and Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) specifically made commitments toward achieving the health-related goals outlined in the Sustainable Development Goals. However, media attention toward the goals has been limited, as well as the general public's awareness of the world's progress toward achieving them.

Much research has been conducted about the agenda-setting effects of news media on the public, on other news organizations, and on public figures, as well as how these different entities can in turn influence news media. The transfer of salience from one agenda to another can be highly influential in driving action and opinion, yet very little research has been conducted to better understand the influence and effects of global policy agendas like the Sustainable Development Goals. The purpose of this research was

to gain a better understanding of the influence of the Sustainable Development Goals agenda on news media across developing and developed countries.

Using the theoretical frameworks of Agenda-Setting Theory and World System Theory, this research investigated the overall salience of the Sustainable Development Goals agenda among news media from 10 different countries, five of which are high-income countries that provide significant development aid and five of which are low-income countries that receive significant amounts of development aid. Ultimately, this research sought to determine if the Sustainable Development Goals agenda is subject to traditional agenda-setting principles via which lower-income, less powerful countries follow the lead of news coverage set by high-income, powerful countries.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Since the 1970s, Agenda-Setting Theory has provided a lens through which to understand the influence of the news media. Prior to that, researchers largely operated under the assumption that the news media was mostly unbiased and mirrored reality (Rogers, Dearing, & Bregman, 1993). Agenda-Setting Theory contradicted that assumption, providing a media effects model to better understand how the news media affects audiences' cognitions. Briefly, the theory contends that news media, as agenda-setters, provide the public with a warped view of the world rather than mirrored reality. What the news media choose to report, and how they choose to report it, influences public opinion and the public's understanding of the world (McCombs, 2014). Decades of subsequent research have investigated the role of the news media in influencing public opinion, as well as the varied ways in which one agenda (perpetuated by any type of agenda-setter, such as news media, public figures, or religious organizations) can influence another (McCombs, 2014).

Within a global context, more economically and politically powerful countries tend to exert an agenda-setting influence among less powerful countries, in which news media from less powerful countries will follow the lead of news media from more powerful countries, especially in terms of what stories receive news coverage (McCombs, 2014). This trend has, inadvertently or otherwise, created a global news environment dominated by the news about and from more powerful countries (Himmelboim, Chang, & McCreery, 2010; Guo & Vargo, 2017; Segev, 2010). However, this trend has not been

investigated in relation to a global development agenda, which by nature concerns less powerful countries. This trend is also later discussed through the lens of World System Theory, which suggests that powerful countries are motivated to reinforce a world-system conducive to supporting and strengthening their position of power in the world (Wallerstein, 1974). A global development agenda is undoubtedly concerned with countries' pathways for development and, by extension, strengthening the economic and political power of low-income countries. By exploring the salience of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals agenda among news media around the world, this study offers a specific perspective through which to better understand the types of countries that are likely to pay the most attention to development agendas, suggesting implications for the overall awareness of global development agendas in different contexts around the world.

Theoretical Roots of Agenda-Setting

Agenda-Setting Theory is based upon Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw's seminal research study at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. McCombs and Shaw (1972) found a correlation between the political issues the mass media emphasized as important during the 1968 presidential election and the issues that voters deemed important. The agenda-setting function of the press, or the ability of the news media to transfer salience of issues to the public, has been a widely-researched communication phenomenon since its inception, and has inspired hundreds of iterative studies building upon Agenda-Setting Theory's origins (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 2014; Neuman, Guggenheim, Jang, & Bae, 2014; Wu & Coleman, 2009).

The theoretical concept behind Agenda-Setting Theory's framework stems from the work of journalist and communication scholar Walter Lippmann. In the opening chapter of his 1922 book *Public Opinion*, Lippmann explained that the news media provide the "the pictures in our head" (p. 3) for the world outside our individual realities. American society, Lippmann, argued, does not function like a true democracy (i.e., a Greek city-state) where all its members can convene and vote to decide on issues with which its members have direct experience. Rather, in American society, voters do not experience all issues directly—the media construct for citizens a *psuedo-environment* of stories and pictures that (are supposed to) illustrate reality outside individual experiences (Hester & Gibson, 2007; Iyenger, Peters, & Kinder, 1982; Lippmann, 1922; McCombs, 2005). Unsurprisingly, American public issues are not contained to small communities, but instead reach the nationwide (or sometimes, worldwide) community. Cities function within counties, counties within states, and states within the federal union, which means many issues concerning the public are intertwined legally and financially on many levels of government—levels to which an average individual does not have direct access. The media, then, function as the public proxy, providing the psuedo *direct* access to issues beyond members of the public's experience. Naturally, the greater implication of this phenomenon is that for most individuals, the political sphere resides outside of their individual experiences, which allows the news media to occupy a highly influential position in society as the shapers of the political psuedo-environment on which individuals rely for information (Erbing, Goldenberg, & Miller, 1980).

The public's reliance on the media and its pseudo-environment for information is associated with important, influential effects on public opinion. Traditionally, the mass media's control over information dissemination has meant that they had the power to direct attention to certain issues over others and, as subsequent studies have shown, when the media provide greater, more directed attention to issues, it leads to stronger public opinion regarding those issues (Brosius & Weimann, 1996; Conway & Patterson, 2008; Iyenger et al., 1982).

Funkhouser (1973) specifically studied how news media constructed these pseudo-environments throughout the 1960s and found that the media reported stories based more on newsworthiness or external cues rather than on actual trends. For example, the news media gave attention to the Surgeon General's 1965 report announcing that smoking is linked to lung cancer rather than relying on data about increased rates of lung cancer in patients who smoke. According to Funkhouser, the media "attended to persons or agencies with the ability and motivation to call attention to particular issues by creating 'news' and to have decreased their attention to other issues as related events started to seem like 'the same old thing'" (p. 73). Similarly, Funkhouser also found that news coverage of the Vietnam war peaked in 1966, yet the war did not climax until two years later. This indicated that continued coverage of the war waned as it became 'the same old thing', despite the actual escalation of war events. The news media provided more of a warped mirror of the world, stretching out issues that rated higher on the human interest scale and minimizing others that news editors perceived as less interesting

and less important to the public, which affected the public's perception of reality (Iyengar et al., 1982; Lowry, Nio, & Leitner, 2003).

Bernard Cohen (1963), another influential thinker crucial to the foundation of Agenda-Setting Theory, succinctly stated, "The mass media may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but the media are stunningly successful in telling their audience what to think about" (p. 16). Although Cohen's assessment offers a simplistic interpretation of the agenda-setting phenomenon, it nevertheless neatly sums up the basic sentiment of the theory; people may be free to form opinions about issues, but the media have the ability to influence *which* issues. Considering Lippmann and Cohen's observations, McCombs and Shaw (1972) placed identifying and addressing the greater social implications of the transfer of salience of issues—from the media agenda to the public agenda—at the core of the agenda-setting research tradition.

In the five decades since the seminal research at Chapel Hill, hundreds of studies have investigated agenda-setting and its media effects, branching out into several different phases and components (McCombs, 2005, 2014; McCombs & Shaw, 1993; Messner & Garrison, 2011; Wanta, Golan, & Lee, 2004; Wu & Coleman, 2009). In no uncertain terms, Agenda-Setting Theory has advanced far beyond its initial 1968 hypothesis that the mass media set the agenda for the public during political campaigns. Today, Agenda-Setting Theory is not so much about the media's influence on the public agenda, but more about the study of the transfer of salience from any one agenda to another (McCombs, 2005, 2014; McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

Key Components of Agenda-Setting Research

McCombs (2014) provided a comprehensive analysis of the different areas of agenda-setting research, which are crucial for understanding where the theory has been and areas where the theory can be extended. The key components discussed here include first and second-level agenda-setting, otherwise known as issue salience and attribute salience, as well as intermedia agenda-setting.

First-level of agenda-setting: Issue salience. First-level agenda-setting (as it was later named), or the transfer of issue salience, represents the foundation of Agenda-Setting Theory that McCombs and Shaw (1972) initiated in their seminal research investigating the transfer of issue salience from the media agenda to the public agenda during the 1968 presidential election.

Salience itself has been defined as awareness, importance, thinking about (Edelstein, 1993), or, more simply, “the degree to which an issue is perceived as relatively important” (Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p. 8). Salience, however, was more aptly described by Kioussis (2004) as something that “consists of how an object is depicted among groups of other objects, stimuli, and so on—making the external environments central to these conceptions” (p. 72). In other words, salience of an issue is its prominence among all other issues in the cognitions of the media, an individual, or any other entity. For example, a high degree of salience can be described as knowing of and having an opinion about mandated health coverage over all the other possible issues to think about, such as knowing of and having an opinion about a severe drought in an East African country.

In order to operationalize salience in agenda-setting research, researchers have studied it in terms of the *transfer of salience* from one agenda to another (Dearing & Rogers, 1996; McCombs, 2005; McCombs & Shaw, 1993). In the original McCombs and Shaw (1972) study, the researchers conducted a content analysis of news coverage and compared it to a public opinion survey of what the public believed to be the Most Important Problems (MIPs) facing America. Subsequent studies illustrated that the issues members of the public named as the MIPs facing America, as represented by public opinion surveys, matched nearly exactly the content analyses of issues the news media emphasized as important (Dearing & Rogers, 1996; Iyenger et al., 1982; McCombs, 2014; McCombs & Shaw, 1993). Determining the directionality of the transfer of salience has been important for researchers to consider, as it reveals who or what actively sets an agenda, and whose agenda is being set by external influences. For decades, news producers and reporters have determined which issues are fit for public debate, and it has been by those issues that members of the public form their opinions. Those opinions then largely influence people's behavior, such as voting for president or supporting various causes.

The first wave of agenda-setting studies following the Chapel Hill research was primarily concerned with the influence of the news media on the public's cognitions and how that influence can affect public opinion. Since everyday citizens are unable to gain first-hand knowledge of all the issues in their society, they must rely on the press. Their reliance makes the press *gatekeepers* of information, with control over what issues to present and to not present to the public (Compton & Benedetti, 2010). McCombs (2004)

offered a quote from journalist Leonard Pitts that aptly describes the main concern of agenda-setting researchers: “In a world where media set the public agenda and drive the dialogue, those things media ignore may as well not exist” (p. 117). This sentiment and the greater concern of how the media affect and shape public awareness of issues are at the core of the first-level agenda-setting research.

Funkhouser (1973) altogether discredited the idea that the media accurately reflect reality and showed that, for many issues during the 1960s, public opinion and interest was strongly tied to increased media coverage of issues rather than real-world escalation of events. Iyengar et al. (1982) specifically found that television news successfully influenced the cognitions of the public by greatly determining the criteria people used when voting for president. First-level agenda-setting studies have also extended into the internet era, generally showing that although agenda-setting effects from the media to the public have lessened to a degree because there are many more choices and stories available to read online from a plethora of different sources, online news media still do assert an agenda-setting influence on the public (Coleman & McCombs, 2007; Conway & Patterson, 2008; Lim, 2011; Shehata & Stromback, 2013). Asur, Huberman, Szabo, and Wang (2011) conducted an analysis of more than 16 million tweets to assess what issues receive attention in the online social sphere of Twitter. They found that most trending topics were sourced from traditional news media websites like *The New York Times*, which published (“tweeted”) news information on Twitter, then re-tweeted and amplified by members of the public.

Salience has been studied in a variety of ways with a multitude of variables, such as how religious groups influence their adherents (e.g., Huckins, 2002) or how cultural identity influences brand choices and consumer behavior (e.g., Chattaraman, Lennon, & Rudd, 2010). The current study sought to extend this research by focusing on the salience of an international development agenda—the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals—among news media around the world.

Kiousis (2004) offered a detailed definition of issue salience, which is made up three components: attention, prominence, and valence. Attention is described as the overall awareness of an issue, or the number of stories the news media produce about the issue; prominence is represented by the aesthetics of the stories, such as the positioning in a newspaper or newscast, the size of the headlines, or accompanying photos; lastly, valence refers to the affective or emotional aspects of issues and their attributes, such as positive or negative frames. Theoretically, the three components of media salience help to best describe the multidimensionality of the construct and how issues become salient, but in a practical application of his three-tiered definition using media coverage during the 2000 presidential election, Kiousis found that media salience may be better operationalized in two dimensions: visibility (a blend of attention and prominence) and valence. Visibility, according to Kiousis, was the best predictor of issue salience, whereas valence, as the more affective aspect of salience, functions more as a contingent condition because not all news stories have strongly valenced content. For example, a news story of a routine city council meeting may have little emotion attached to it, but the tragic death of a renowned firefighter will have much stronger affective elements that

may affect the public's salience of that story. Similarly, a news story of a local issue would likely resonate more with audiences than a news story of an international issue (Segev, 2010).

Research over the last few decades has demonstrated the power of visibility (the attention and prominence of an issue in news coverage) and valence in influencing overall salience, as well as public opinion. For instance, Salwen (1988) found that several weeks of increased news coverage of a specific issue resulted in a persistent and lasting awareness of the issue among the public, even after news coverage of the issue declined. Funkhouser (1973) found distinct correlations between heavy media coverage of issues in the 1960s and strong ties to trends in public salience and opinions. Wanta et al. (2004) researched both visibility and valence and found that in terms of visibility, the more news coverage a foreign country received, the more likely the public was to consider that country as important to the United States' interests. Yet also, in terms of valence, the more negative press foreign nations received, the more likely the American public was to perceive that country negatively. Wu and Coleman (2009) specifically researched the power of valence and found that not only perceived attributes of political candidates play a large role in voters' decisions, but also negative valence (attack advertisements, for instance) can be one of the more powerful vessels for transferring salience to the public.

Despite the thoroughness and breadth of first-level agenda-setting, researchers found that the salience of various issues might not influence all individuals equally. Another phase of agenda-setting was launched to investigate how an individual's need for

orientation, which considers the contingent conditions that affect an individual's issue resonance, can determine the strength of agenda-setting effects (McCombs, 2014).

Need for orientation refers to an individual's motivation to learn more about and remember certain news stories and issues over others; this quality is defined by both relevance and uncertainty (Camaj & Weaver, 2013; McCombs, 2014; Rogers & Dearing, 2007). For example, a woman pregnant with her first child would have a high need for orientation (high issue relevance and high uncertainty about the issue) regarding issues such as pediatric care, recent recalls on cribs, or neonatal health. Camaj and Weaver (2013) illustrated that political ideology is strongly linked to need for orientation and can drive an individual's motivation for seeking out information regarding his/her political ideology. McCombs (2014) described three dimensions of relevance—social relevance, personal relevance, and emotional relevance—representing an emerging sector of agenda-setting research centered around individual motivations for seeking and retaining information. With regard to relevance, the concept of obtrusiveness refers to how much personal experience and interest an individual has with or about an issue (Hester & Gibson, 2007; McCombs, 2005). For an environmental activist, issues such as greenhouse emissions or global warming are very obtrusive because the activist would have significant knowledge on the subjects and would not be as easily swayed by the media. Others, however, may not have intimate first-hand knowledge about environmental issues, and so agenda-setting effects would be more prominent for these individuals. Hester and Gibson (2007) demonstrated how, for some cities in the 2004 elections, gay marriage was a high-profile local topic (very obtrusive) and so national

agenda-setting effects were much weaker than for people in cities without gay marriage as a popular local topic (and therefore much less obtrusive), who were more susceptible to agenda-setting effects from the news media.

Investigating the transfer of salience between agendas helps communication scholars better understand and predict public opinion and related behaviors, such as voting or advocacy. Understanding public opinion, especially the forces that shape public opinion, help explain why some issues are debated instead of others, why some bills become law instead of others, and why some candidates are elected instead of others. By extension, the forces that shape public opinions and perceptions may also uncover how attitudes toward different countries are constructed and provide insights into why some countries receive more aid than others, as well as why some international issues resonate with the public, whereas others remain overlooked.

Though scholars may be tempted to view public opinion as “that great compound of folly, weakness, prejudice, wrong feeling, right feeling, obstinacy and newspaper paragraphs which is called public opinion” (Peel, as cited in Lippmann, 1922, p. 127), it is nevertheless an essential cornerstone of democracy and American society, despite its fleeting and discrepant nature. Among all the influences in a person’s daily life—from religious organizations to opinions of friends and family members—the news media are still among the most prominent as they present a pseudo-environment for members of the public to experience issues beyond their physical reality (Lippmann, 1922; McCombs, 2005). Although the news media do not present a perfect version of reality, they play a necessary and significant role in shaping political opinion.

Lippmann (1922), again, provided a sophisticated understanding of the limits of the individual and the discrepant, yet collective nature of public opinion:

There have, of course, have been plenty of men who did not realize that the range of attention was the main premise of political science. They have built on sand. They have demonstrated in their own persons the effects of a very limited and self-centered knowledge of the world. But for the political thinkers who have counted, from Plato and Aristotle through Machiavelli and Hobbes to the democratic theorists, speculation has revolved around the self-centered man who had to see the whole world by the means of a few pictures in his head. (p. 166)

At its heart, Agenda-Setting Theory seeks to provide a better map of how the transfer of salience, or the painting of pictures in our heads, plays a critical role in the formation of public opinion, and by extension, our understanding of the world around us.

Second-level of agenda-setting: Attribute salience. Attribute agenda-setting, or second-level agenda-setting, investigates not just issues in the news, but also the aspects of those issues. As Lippmann (1922) noted, people are unable to know and understand all aspects of all issues and so must use shortcuts in order to compartmentalize and simplify information. To do so, news media use frames, which are mechanisms used to provide context of an issue and emphasize a certain interpretation thereof (Shah, McLeod, Gottlieb, & Lee, 2009). For the issue of immigration, for instance, the news can emphasize a variety of its attributes, such as national security, the naturalization process, education for children of immigrants, or economic impact. Framing is the use of one of these interpretations and making that one aspect of reality more salient than all the others;

attribute agenda-setting is the study of the transfer of salience of frames (a select, special group of attributes) and how they affect and shape public opinion (McCombs, 2014). By telling the story of immigration from the frame of national security, journalists shape the reality of their audiences so that they, too, understand immigration as a national security problem first, before understanding it as an economic issue or a naturalization issue. M. Evans (2010) provided a stirring example of the effects of media framing by analyzing two similar sieges of Palestinian refugee camps, one of which was in the West Bank in 2002 and the other of which took place in Lebanon in 2007. The sieges, altogether, were similar conflicts involving violence between Palestinian refugees and the occupying forces, leading to staggering deaths and displacement of hundreds of families. The biggest difference, according to Evans, was the journalists telling the stories; West Bank journalists framed the issue more from a human rights standpoint, detailing the suffering of the Palestinians, whereas Lebanese journalists took a more distanced view, emphasizing the conflict as an unwarranted threat against the Lebanese government. Ultimately, the West Bank received millions of dollars of international support for rebuilding and assistance for displaced families, whereas Lebanon received very little. Additionally, the United Nations ordered a fact-finding mission to the West Bank and not to Lebanon.

In terms of development challenges, Kogen (2015) found two distinct frames used by news media in the United States when reporting on hunger as a domestic issue and hunger as an African issue. In the United States, news coverage of hunger as a domestic issue was framed in terms of policy—an issue in which the reader had a specific avenue

for political action (voting, local volunteering, etc.). News coverage of hunger as an African issue, however, was framed as a distanced issue, without a direct path for action for the reader to facilitate change. Through these frames, Kogen argues, the public was primed to understand these issues as either actionable for alleviating hunger domestically or not actionable for alleviating hunger in Africa, influencing how readers understood their role as citizens and their (lack of) expectations of U.S. foreign policy to alleviate hunger.

Second-level agenda-setting, along with the other components of Agenda-Setting Theory, have helped provide a more detailed map and sophisticated understanding of how the pictures in our heads are formed. Exploring Agenda-Setting Theory's core principles as they apply to a global development agenda can help offer important insights into the formation of opinions, policies, as well as development aid packages among international contexts.

Intermedia agenda-setting. Given the demonstrated influence of the news media, researchers have also explored how media agendas themselves are formed, and the sources that influence what the news media report. Any media organization, political group, business, or high-profile individual can develop an agenda that in turn can influence, or transfer issue salience to, the news media's agenda (McCombs, Holbert, Kioussis, & Wanta, 2011). In general, this area of research, known as intermedia agenda-setting, is primarily concerned with the question of "Who sets the media's agenda?" (McCombs & Shaw, 1993, p. 60). The current study focused specifically on extending

intermedia agenda-setting research by exploring how the Sustainable Development Goals agenda, as a source of influence, can affect news coverage.

One of the most prominent branches of intermedia agenda-setting research explores when one media outlet transfers issue salience to another (McCombs, 1997). Most often, it refers to the idea of how elite media, such as *The New York Times*, set the agenda for less elite media, such as local newspapers (McCombs, 2005; Meraz, 2009).

In terms of inter-news media agenda-setting, studies have shown specifically that *The New York Times* is the primary news agenda-setter in the United States, and affects news coverage of smaller, more local news outlets nationwide (McCombs, 2014). In 1985, for example, *The New York Times* reported on the growing problem of cocaine, which resulted in heavy coverage by other major news outlets nationwide in 1986 (Danielian & Reese, 1989). Recent studies, however, have contended that the agenda-setting role of news outlets like *The New York Times* has waned over time, especially as blogs, social media, and partisan news sites have become more prevalent. Meraz (2009) and Messner and Garrison (2011) found that some independent blogs sometimes set traditional news media's agenda. Vargo and Guo (2017) argued that the emergence of online news and information has eroded the traditionally linear relationship between agenda-setters and agenda-followers; instead, the modern media environment more closely resembles multi-dimensional, networked relationships in which different types of media may serve as agenda-setters for specific topics, or during specific time periods.

Researchers have also studied the sources from which journalists get the information for their news stories. Before the internet, and still to a degree today, sources

of stories came primarily from the *beat system*. The beat system, or the *news net*, provided newsrooms with a constant stream of information; by assigning reporters *beats* to cover the legislature, churches, city hall, police reports, or school boards, to name a few sources, the news media were able to gather and create a news agenda for the public to consume (Compton & Benedetti, 2010). These institutions provided reporters with goings-on as well as sources to whom they could talk for more information on stories. News organizations also strongly rely on news wire services and press releases to gather information, given the scope of information needed to produce the news and limited capacity of even the most resourced news organizations. Additionally, to compete with the demand for national and global news, journalists from smaller news organizations or local newspapers often depend on more elite outlets to help determine what news to cover and how to cover it (McCombs, 2014). Today, journalists gather information from a wider net of sources, including social networks like Twitter and Facebook, equipping members of the public to assert some influence over news coverage (Bouvier, 2019; Hidri, 2012; Parmelee, 2013).

Political leaders have also been effective in setting the news media's agenda by emphasizing their own priorities and frames during public addresses. For example, President George W. Bush successfully set the media's agenda in the weeks following his 2002 State of the Union address, which advocated for support of the war on terror and apprehending any terrorists or regimes involved in the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks (Shipman, 2007). Shipman (2007) found that the media coverage following the State of the Union address looked at the conflict as President Bush had framed it—in

terms of war and seeking out terrorists (rather than describing solutions other than war, or characterizing the war as a conflict of cultures rather than against *terrorism*). The Obama administration also effectively influenced the media's coverage of healthcare issues and healthcare reform by providing the media with information and attributes that were iterated subsequently in news reports (Kiouisis, Park, Kim, & Go, 2013).

With respect to foreign affairs or international news, intermedia agenda-setting research has focused on understanding key characteristics that drive news coverage (e.g., who or what sets the international news media agenda?). Globally, economically and politically elite countries like the United States and the United Kingdom tend to attract more news coverage and maintain a stronger agenda-setting role on the global stage (Guo & Vargo, 2017; Himelboim et al., 2010; Segev, 2010). For news consumers living in less powerful countries, this means they are much more likely to read about common newsworthy events like elections, policies, disasters, and scandals in countries like the United States than a news consumer in the United States is to read about common newsworthy events in less powerful countries. The United States specifically has been found to be the most covered country within international news, as well as a primary agenda-setter for international news as reported in other countries (Himelboim et al., 2010; McCombs, 2005; Segev, 2010). Given the United States' dominance in international news, many studies have researched how news organizations within the United States choose what international news to cover (which is then echoed throughout the world). T. Jones, Van Aelst, and Vliegenthart (2011) conducted a longitudinal analysis investigating which foreign countries received news coverage in the United

States and why some foreign nations were more visible than others, finding that a country's population and gross domestic product were the strongest predictors of news coverage from U.S. news media. Other factors, such as U.S. troop deployment and trade, were also found to relate to the magnitude of news coverage, whereas a country's geographic distance from the U.S. has become less of a predictive factor with the advent of the internet. Wu (2007) also found that trade relationships with the United States were a significant factor in determining news coverage, as well as the existence of prominent news agencies within foreign countries. Golan (2008) specifically investigated the factors that influenced the United States' news coverage of African countries, similarly finding that the prevalence of trade and gross domestic product predicted the amount of coverage African countries received. The study also found that the news coverage was primarily focused on negative events, including conflict and disasters. In an agenda-setting context, as discussed previously, the amount and type of coverage given to foreign nations by the United States has powerful implications in shaping public opinion and awareness of international issues and events.

Today, intermedia agenda-setting has expanded far beyond the transfer of salience between news organizations to more broadly consider "the transfer of salience from one agenda to another" (McCombs, 2014, p.133). Previous research has explored the role of public figures (e.g., Kioussis et al., 2013; Shipman, 2007), religious organizations (e.g., Huckins, 2002), and even entertainment media (e.g. Soroka [2000] found that *Schindler's List* influenced news coverage of the Holocaust in Canadian news) in shaping the news media's agenda.

Global development agendas also offer a viable area of research to explore their influence on news media. However, few research studies have explored how development agendas may influence news coverage or public awareness. Meschede (2019) investigated the salience of the Sustainable Development Goals on German governmental websites, and found that several local governments of larger cities did make an effort to publish information on the Sustainable Development Goals and raise awareness for Germany's (and local governments') commitments and initiatives for contributing to achieving several of the goals. However, news media were not included in the analysis. The salience of the Sustainable Development Goals has also been researched in relation to marketing and advertising companies, which were shown to have published information on their corporate social responsibility commitments and initiatives that align with the goals (P. Jones, Comfort, & Hillier, 2018). One study did investigate how Senegalese journalists reported on the country's acceptance of development aid, which found that a significant amount of news coverage was devoted to the topic in Senegal (Lemke, 2018). However, the research was focused on just one country and the broader topic of development aid rather than the influence of a specific development agenda.

This study strove to contribute to and build upon existing research on intermedia agenda-setting by focusing on a global development agenda and its salience among news media around the world.

Sustainable Development Goals Agenda

To date, research on how global development agendas like the Sustainable Development Goals agenda influence public opinion, awareness, and policy has been

limited. However, one particular example of success occurred with the significant drop in maternal and child mortality during the years of 2005-2015, which has been linked to increased awareness of and focus on the related Millennium Development Goals (Fukuda-Parr, Yamin, & Greenstein, 2014). McDougall (2016) suggested that the strong influential factors contributing to the broader awareness, and resulting policies and reduction in maternal and child mortality, were the conceptual framing of the issue, specifically the utilization of the *continuum of care* (supporting mothers from pregnancy through birth and infant care) as an evidence-based solution, alongside advantageous networks in the global health sector. At the time, as McDougal argued, networks of health organizations, government policy agendas, and initiatives had a high need for orientation, meaning that a clear agenda for measuring and improving health outcomes was highly relevant and applicable to their work, especially given the increasing availability of data on global health and non-controversial evidence-based solutions that demonstrated a strong return on investment. The Millennium Development goals provided that agenda at the right time and helped concentrate efforts around common objectives. Repeating this success with one or more of the Sustainable Development Goals, as this example illustrates, could be possible given the right conditions of awareness and framing.

World System Theory

A useful framework via which to better understand how development issues and lower income countries gain prominence in international agendas is through Wallerstein's (1974) World System Theory. World System Theory offers a framework through which

to understand the power dynamics of the capitalist world economy and the interactions between certain types of countries. Wallerstein described the basis of his theory as follows:

A world-system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that it has a life-span over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others. One can define its structures as being at different times strong or weak in terms of the internal logic of its functioning. (p. 347)

Wallerstein (1974) argued that the world-system in which we operate is a world economy that operates based on the principles of capitalism, which define relationships and act as the glue that links countries within the world-system together. Through capitalism, the world economy is made interdependent in terms of resource-sharing, including production and trade, and the division of labor among different countries and economies around the world.

Within this framework, Wallerstein (1974) conceptualized three categories of countries: core, periphery, and semi-periphery. Core countries are those that are economically wealthy and developed, with peripheral countries representing the least developed. Semi-periphery countries exist in between, functioning as a transitional structure between core and periphery countries. Typically, core countries represent the most powerful given their concentration of resources, technology, and capital, and due to

their more established and stable internal political systems that enable them to mobilize and maintain resources. Periphery countries are the least powerful, with the least developed or established internal political systems for acquiring and managing resources; these countries are most likely to be exploited for their labor.

Typically, the lack of news coverage on developing countries would align with World System Theory's assumptions, given developing countries' position as periphery countries in the world-system. Chang (1998) contended that the hierarchy of how much and what kind of news a country receives is largely based upon its position in the world-system, with periphery countries receiving the least amount of coverage and core countries, as well as those with close relationships with core countries, receiving the most news coverage. Golan (2008) reiterated this argument after investigating which African countries received the most news coverage in United States news media, finding that news coverage was concentrated to a handful of African countries and associated with the country's trade relationship with the United States and/or gross domestic product.

However, the Sustainable Development Goals agenda offers a different perspective through which to understand the relationships among core and periphery countries. One largely under-researched function of core countries within the world-system is their role in facilitating the economic development of periphery and semi-periphery countries. Billions of dollars are deployed every year for the purpose of "promoting the economic development and welfare of developing countries" (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2019, para. 1). In 2017, the United States alone committed \$34.7 billion (.18% of the United States' gross

national income) in Official Development Assistance (ODA) for developing countries. In total, the 30 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donor countries committed more than \$147 billion in 2017 to support the development of countries around the world (OECD, 2019).

In channeling development funding toward certain periphery and semi-periphery countries, core countries are able to promote their hegemonic influence within the world-system (Hattori, 2003). Although various global agencies and organizations like the United Nations help identify and influence investment priorities, individual government development agencies like the United States Agency of International Development (USAID) and the Department for International Development (DFID) in the United Kingdom ultimately determine their own funding priorities and channel funding according to national priorities and interests. Often, development projects focus on capacity-building within developing countries to support industry development and job creation and influence institutional policies and norms to support capitalistic (and often democratic) systems (Bhungalia, 2016; Bollen, Paxton, & Morishima, 2005; Hattori, 2003). For example, Lacey and Ilcan (2014) argued that global aid supporting the development of Namibia's tourism industry, which includes adapting underlying government policies and culture to attract (particularly Western) tourists, represents an extension of a colonial mindset and influences the liberalization of governments to fit more neatly with Western principles and capitalism.

In alignment with World System Theory, core countries are likely to be motivated to structure and provide development assistance to periphery and semi-periphery

countries to further support and strengthen their hegemonic dominance in the world-system. The Sustainable Development Goals, in one sense, offer the means for core countries to develop a strategic framework for investment that will not only strengthen the economies of lower income countries but also strengthen their capitalistic ties to core countries. For example, Sustainable Development Goal #11 (“Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” [United Nations, 2019, para. 1]) urges developed countries to support developing countries in infrastructure projects. Core countries often offer a mix of Official Development Assistance alongside investment funding or credit, providing the capital needed for periphery countries to implement improvements. The provision of capital, technical expertise, and other resources positions core countries to shape the pathway for development of periphery countries, which could include ongoing trade and labor agreements in emerging, high-growth markets (i.e., Indian factories producing solar panels to sell to a growing population with increasingly expendable income).

Despite their stated intention as a mechanism for furthering human rights and global development (“a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet” [United Nations, 2019, para. 1]), the Sustainable Development Goals themselves are inevitably intertwined in the politics and power structures of the world-system. Learning from critiques that the Millennium Development Goals were too exclusive and narrow, the United Nations launched a collaborative process in 2012 through which to solicit input on the framework for the new set of goals. Representatives from United Nations member states, the scientific community, the United Nations itself, and civil

society had opportunities to participate in the development of the Sustainable Development Goals via working groups, electronic surveys, and consultations (United Nations General Assembly, 2012). The resulting Goals undoubtedly outline important milestones to reach to improve living conditions around the world (providing access to quality education for all children, ensuring the availability of clean water and sanitation, and reducing inequality are several examples), but also are arguably founded and influenced by the market-based principles of core countries. Frey and MacNaughton (2016) reviewed the human rights-based concept of decent work and employment. They concluded that the inclusion of *decent work* in the Sustainable Development Goals and the related indicators defined by the United Nations are driven more so by market-based principles than pure human rights obligations. Frey and MacNaughton argued that a focus on *decent work* as a human rights obligation would have less emphasis on how work contributes to countries' economic welfare (as is currently enshrined in the Sustainable Development Goals) and more emphasis on personal well-being elements of decent work, which can be found in international human rights law and defined by the International Labour Organization. Additionally, Weber (2017) also argued that the Sustainable Development Goals agenda is an extension of neo-liberal capitalistic interests, designed to promote the priorities and of the commercial private sector—and by extension, the political power of the core countries in which the commercial private sector interests are most prominent.

Building “The Pictures in our Heads” for Global Development

Given the underlying motivation of core countries to engage with and pay attention to the Sustainable Development Goals, the salience of the Sustainable Development Goals may be stronger among higher-income countries. However, this assertion challenges the agenda-setting principles that international issues, especially issues concerning lower-income countries, would be less salient among higher-income countries. Despite the competing theoretical foundations, the news attention provided to international issues is expected to vary depending on country type, given the dyadic relationship between countries that give development aid and those that receive development aid, as well as the underlying motivations for each type of country to pay attention to the Sustainable Development Goals.

This study investigated the salience of the United Nations’ Sustainable Development goals among news media from major *aid-giving* (donor) countries and major *aid-receiving* (recipient) countries. Typically, intermedia agenda-setting studies hypothesize that elite media set the agenda for less prominent media and influence not only which issues receive news coverage, but also the attributes used to describe those issues (first and second-level agenda-setting effects). This effect has also been found to cross national boundaries, with economically elite countries dominating international news coverage and most often playing an agenda-setting role for less economically powerful countries (Guo & Vargo, 2017). The durability of this effect, however, has not been explored specifically through the lens of an international development agenda. By focusing on the type of country in which Sustainable Development Goals is the most

salient, this study aimed to uncover if the key characteristic of *country type* may contribute to the strength of the Sustainable Development Goals as an agenda-setter, as defined in this study by the total number of news stories produced on the topic. Ultimately, gaining a better understanding the components that contribute to the overall salience of the Sustainable Development Goals can help inform ways in which to increase awareness, and by extension, global strategies and commitments to achieving them and improving livelihoods and well-being around the world. To explore this, the first research question posed was:

- RQ1: Is there an association between the type of country and the number of news articles published on the Sustainable Development Goals?

As discussed, previous research has found that high-income countries are more frequently cited or covered by the news media from lower-income countries than vice versa, demonstrating the agenda-setting influence of higher income countries in international news. However, the Sustainable Development Goals represents a particular agenda with implications beyond just newsworthiness. High-income countries provide billions of dollars every year in development aid and, considering World System Theory, have varying motivations in shaping international relationships and strengthening the capitalistic economic principles that benefit their own economies and political power. Salience of the Sustainable Development Goals agenda, then, may differ among individual countries and may align with the magnitude of development aid that is given or received, or a country's individual gross domestic product. A country's gross domestic product has been found to be a strong indicator of a country's prominence in international

news and in defining a country's status within World System Theory (Guo & Vargo, 2017). Given these variables, the following research questions were posed to further investigate associations between which countries provide the most media attention to the Sustainable Development Goals.

- RQ2: Is there an association among individual donor countries and the number of news articles published on the Sustainable Development Goals?
- RQ3: Is there an association among individual recipient countries and the number of news articles published on the Sustainable Development Goals?

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

Sample

The analysis included a total of 817 news articles collected from 10 news organizations. Each news organization was based in one of the 10 countries included in the analysis: Australia (*The Sydney Morning Herald*), Canada (*The Globe and Mail*), Japan (*The Japan Times*), the United Kingdom (*The Guardian*), the United States (*The New York Times*), Bangladesh (*Financial Express*), Ethiopia (*Ethiopian News Agency*), Kenya (*The East African*), Nigeria (*The Nation*), and Tanzania (*The Citizen*). A preliminary analysis of the data showed that the news organizations originally chosen for three countries (*The Toronto Star* for Canada, *The Herald Sun* for Australia, and *Arusha Times* for Tanzania) did not meet the minimum threshold of the number of news articles ($n = 5$) required for the chi-square analysis. As a result, three different news organizations—*The Globe and Mail* for Canada, *The Sydney Morning Herald* for Australia, and *The Citizen* for Tanzania—were chosen based on the criteria defined in the data collection section. In total, all five donor countries (Australia, Canada, Japan, United Kingdom, United States) and all five recipient countries (Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania) were included in the analysis. Table 1 in Appendix B includes the total counts of news articles per news organization and country and by year.

To identify which countries to use in the analysis, a list of top donor countries and top recipient countries was compiled using OECD data from 2017. OECD offers open-source data on the net amount (in USD) of Official Development Assistance (ODA)

provided by the 30 OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donor countries, and how much ODA recipient countries receive. DAC member countries represent most of the world's economically and politically powerful countries, whereas countries eligible for ODA from DAC countries include most all low and middle-income countries, and least developed countries. ODA includes the total amount of funds contributed by governments and excludes the total amount of contributions from private or commercial sources, such as individuals or corporations. However, in terms of the full scope of charitable giving and assistance provided to developing countries, funds from government entities make up the overwhelming majority (OECD, 2019).

The list of countries was then reduced to include only English-speaking countries, or countries with major English-language national news websites to allow for content analysis. To determine which news outlets to include for each country, the researcher first referenced several other intermedia agenda-setting studies to identify reputable news websites with high rates of traffic in each country. Then, using the Alexa market research platform, searches were conducted on the top newspaper websites for each country. The metric developed by Alexa uses the number of visitors to each site, the time spent on the website, and the number of page views per visitor. For the countries unavailable on Alexa, the researcher conducted web searches to assess readership of news websites, and finalized the list based on the availability of news sources in the Nexis Uni database. The final list included five donor countries and five recipient countries. The donor countries were: Australia, Canada, Japan, United States, and the United Kingdom. The recipient countries were: Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, and Tanzania.

News stories were collected in the Nexis Uni database by requiring the term “Sustainable Development Goals” to be included in the headline or lead sections of a news article within each publication. The time frame included all news articles published between September 1, 2015 (when the Sustainable Development Goals were ratified by the United Nations General Assembly) and August 31, 2019 (present day at the time of the study).

Coding Procedure

Using Nexis Uni, news articles were downloaded in Rich Text Format. Files were then imported into a content analysis software, QDA Miner, with each news article identified as an individual case, to categorize and label each case with necessary variables. As is explained further in the Units of Analysis section, several variables were coded and predefined prior to importation of the news articles into QDA Miner, which allowed for analysis of the number of news articles produced.

Using the statistics tab in QDA Miner, the total number of news reports on the Sustainable Development Goals was added up per publication, per country, and per year, then aggregated further into two categories: donor countries and recipient countries.

Units of Analysis

Using the headline and lead sections of individual news stories as the unit of analysis, the study investigated the first level of agenda-setting effects by assessing the overall salience of the Sustainable Development Goals within each country. The variables included in the analysis were treated as nominal and categorical. The variables were: country type (donor/recipient), country name, news organization name, and year of

publication for each news story. Donor countries, as defined by the researcher, are those that provide development aid to foreign nations. Recipient countries, also as defined by the researcher, are countries that receive development aid from foreign nations.

Prior to importing the data set into QDA Miner, variables were coded in the software using the elements of the Rich Text Format news articles. Each news article was structured with the news article title on the first line, news organization name on the second line, and date of publication on the third line. This structure allowed for the coding of variables to automatically pull the data from each line as three categories of variables: “File” (news article title), “Pub” (news organization name), and “Date” (date the news article was published). Using the recode function in QDA Miner, the researcher transformed the automated variables into the final variables used in the analysis. The “File” variable represented the individual unit of analysis. “Date”—which provided the day, month, and year of the news article’s publication—was recoded as a categorical variable “Year,” which categorized each news article by its year of publication (2015-2019). “Pub” (news organization name) was recoded to create a new variable labeled as “Country,” which used the existing values of the publication names and organized them into new categories based on the name of the country the publication represented. “Country” was then recoded to create a new variable labeled “Type,” which further organized the names of countries into two categories: donor and recipient.

CHAPTER 4

Results

The data sets were downloaded from QDA Miner and uploaded to Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to run a chi-square test for association for RQ1, and chi-square goodness-of-fit tests for RQ2 and RQ3. The chi-square tests were calculated in SPSS to determine if statistically significant associations existed between the number of news stories from donor countries, the number of news reports from recipient countries, and the number of news stories among each country type. Overall, each of the three chi-square tests demonstrated statistically significant associations, demonstrating that frequency of news coverage of the Sustainable Development Goals is associated with the type of country, as well as with the individual countries themselves.

Research Question 1

The first research question sought to determine if an association exists between the type of country (donor or recipient) and the number of news articles published on the Sustainable Development Goals. A chi-square test for association was conducted between country type and the year of publication for the news articles.

For RQ1, if no relationship existed between the frequency of news stories on the Sustainable Development Goals in aggregated donor countries and the frequency of news stories on the Sustainable Development Goals in aggregated recipient countries, then the expected frequency would have been an equal number of news stories for each country category. This finding would have indicated that news coverage is not contingent on

country type. The observed frequency recorded the actual number of news stories produced for each country category.

The publication years of the news articles spanned a 5-year time period, from 2015-2019. The total frequency count of news articles included in the analysis was 817 ($n = 214$ for donor countries and $n = 603$ for recipient countries). All observed cell frequencies were greater than the minimum threshold of five. The analysis found a statistically significant association between the country type and the number of news articles published annually ($\chi^2(1) = 158.487$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$). Additionally, using the strength associations defined by J. Cohen (1988) for Cramér's V , the association was found to be moderately strong (Cramér's $V = .44$, $p < .001$).

For RQ1, these results found a moderately strong association between news coverage of the Sustainable Development Goals and the type of country. The observed frequency of news articles from the recipient country type exceeded the donor country type by nearly three to one. Results for RQ1 indicate atypical news flow for the Sustainable Development Goals. This finding differs from traditional agenda-setting effects, which contends low-income countries would follow the lead of high-income countries' news coverage.

Research Question 2

The second research question specifically focused on the distribution of news articles among donor countries (Australia, Canada, Japan, United Kingdom and United States). Of the 214 news articles from donor countries, 12 were from Australia, seven were from Canada, seven were from Japan, 175 were from the United Kingdom, and 13

were from the United States. A chi-square goodness-of-fit test was conducted to determine if an equal number of news articles from each of the donor countries was represented in the analysis. The expected frequency for the news articles from each donor country was 42.8, which assumed equal distribution. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test indicated that the frequency of news articles was not equally represented among donor countries ($\chi^2(2) = 511.140$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$). News articles from the United Kingdom represented 82% of the sample; the United Kingdom was the only country with an observed frequency greater than the expected frequency of 42.8. For RQ2, the results indicate the news coverage significantly differs among donor countries, with the United Kingdom producing most of the news coverage for the donor country group.

Research Question 3

The third research question, similar to the second research question, specifically focused on the distribution of news articles among recipient countries (Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, and Tanzania). Of the 603 news articles from recipient countries, 382 were from Bangladesh, 26 were from Ethiopia, 20 were from Kenya, 100 were from Nigeria, and 75 were from Tanzania. A second chi-square goodness-of-fit test was conducted to determine if an equal number of news articles from each of the recipient countries was represented in the analysis. The expected frequency for the news articles from each recipient country was 120.6, assuming equal distribution. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test indicated that the frequency of news articles was not equally represented among recipient countries ($\chi^2(3) = 745.466$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$). Bangladesh represented 63% of the sample and was the only country with an observed frequency

greater than the expected frequency of 120.6. For RQ3, the results indicate that news coverage significantly differs among recipient countries, with Bangladesh producing most of the news coverage for the recipient country group.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

The United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals represent a broad and directed agenda for the global community to improve livelihoods and well-being around the world significantly and measurably. By providing "a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and into the future" (United Nations, 2019, para. 1), the Sustainable Development Goals agenda can help influence and align investments and initiatives around the world, targeting development challenges such as poverty alleviation, access to basic healthcare, quality education, and job creation (United Nations, 2019).

This study investigated the salience of the Sustainable Development Goals agenda among the global community, specifically through the lens of whether a country gives or receives development aid. The findings showed that the type of country (donor or recipient) is associated with the frequency of news articles published by leading news organizations within each country. The analysis also showed that associations exist within the donor country group, as well as within the recipient country group. Particularly, within each country group, news coverage was significantly concentrated to one country (United Kingdom for donor countries, and Bangladesh for recipient countries), rather than distributed more evenly among countries, as was expected. This finding suggests that news coverage of the Sustainable Development Goals by news organizations differs according to the country in which the news organization operates. The following section offers a more detailed discussion of the study's findings, followed

by a discussion of the study's limitations, the researcher's suggestions for further research, and practical implications for non-profit organizations and other entities interested in strengthening the salience of development agendas and influencing news coverage within the global media environment.

A New Application of Agenda-Setting Theory

The modern media environment, especially the global news environment, bears little resemblance to the media environment of five decades ago in which Agenda-Setting Theory was born, yet the theory and its applications have endured. Several of the theory's central questions—*What's the Most Important Problem?* and *Who sets the media's agenda?*—continue to spur iterative research to gain a deeper understanding of how we as individuals, as nations, and as a global community perceive the aspects of the world around us that are beyond our direct experiences.

This study specifically sought to explore a new application of the theory by extending intermedia agenda-setting principles to investigate the influence of a global development agenda among news media in different types of countries around the world. The study's main finding demonstrates a moderately strong association with the type of country and the number of news articles published on the Sustainable Development Goals. (See Table 1 in Appendix B for the total number of news articles published by year for each country type.)

Although news coverage from recipient countries progressively increased then decreased after reaching its peak in 2017, news coverage from donor countries peaked in 2015 and decreased thereafter. For donor countries, the news coverage followed a pattern

commonly found in agenda-setting research, for which news coverage peaks around a news event and tapers off over time (Conway & Patterson, 2008; Hester & Gibson, 2007; McCombs, 2014). The news event that likely correlated with the spike in coverage among donor countries was the United Nations' Development Summit in September 2015, during which 193 countries of the United Nations General Assembly formally adopted the Sustainable Development Goals agenda. This finding strongly suggests that the Sustainable Development Goals did set the agenda for news media from donor countries, but that the effect diminished quickly after the summit announcement. In 2019, only nine news articles were collected from donor countries, compared to 103 in 2015.

Following the initial peak in coverage, the subsequent years of minimal news coverage of the Sustainable Development Goals among donor countries echoes dozens of previous studies documenting the disproportionately small amount of media attention provided to issues concerning foreign—especially developing—nations, except in cases of conflict, disaster, or where donor countries' (primarily the United States) interests are directly involved (Chang, 1998; Chang, Southwell, Lee, & Hong, 2012; Guo & Vargo, 2017; Himmelboim et al., 2010; T. Jones et al., 2011; Segev, 2010; Wu, 2007). Chang et al. (2012) specifically investigated via a longitudinal analysis how American news editors made decisions on what foreign news to cover and found that editors ascribed to largely homogenous news values—that is, editors chose what foreign news to cover based on U.S. ties or interests or event-based factors, like conflict or disasters. Within the scope of this research, the summit announcement was the most newsworthy event that warranted coverage from donor countries, and other potential news aspects or events regarding the

Sustainable Development Goals have been largely ignored in the years since. Potential news coverage since the summit could have included articles on announcements of large aid packages, major galas or events raising awareness for the Sustainable Development Goals, or publication of major industry reports documenting the progress in achieving the goals, such as the annual Goalkeepers Report from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (2019).

Interestingly, the recipient countries did not follow the same linear trend as donor countries' news coverage. Instead, news coverage among recipient countries gradually increased for two years following the U.N.'s announcement before decreasing in 2018 and 2019. However, in 2019—four years after the announcement—the number of news stories from recipient countries ($n = 91$) still exceeded the number of news stories in 2015 ($n = 86$). All in all, most news stories (86%) from recipient countries on the Sustainable Development Goals were published in 2016 or later, whereas nearly half of the news coverage from donor countries took place in 2015 alone.

Bangladesh was the main driver for the peak in coverage in 2017, given that Bangladesh already accounted for 63% of the total count of news stories for the recipient group, and that it experienced its peak coverage in 2017 ($n = 112$). Nigeria and Tanzania, which were the second and third largest samples within the recipient group (accounting for 16.6% and 12.4% of news stories for the recipient group respectively), also experienced peak coverage in later years (between 2018-2019). Although the exact reasons behind Bangladesh's peak in coverage in 2017 are unclear, it may be partially due to the Government of Bangladesh's June 2017 publishing of its financial strategy for

achieving the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030, which many have yielded increased interest or news coverage (Social Watch, 2018). See Figures 1 and 2 in Appendix C for additional details on the annual distribution of news stories by country.

The delay in news coverage for recipient countries may suggest an international intermedia agenda-setting effect. Previous research has thoroughly documented the agenda-setting effect of economically and politically powerful countries on less developed and less powerful countries, with the United States frequently serving as the agenda-setter for global news and news organizations based in other countries (Danielian & Reese, 1989; Guo & Vargo, 2017; Himelboim et al., 2010; McCombs, 2014; Segev, 2010). However, these studies measured the agenda-setting effect in weeks and months, rather than years. McCombs (2014) specifically noted that most agenda-setting effects have been found to persist for 4-8 weeks. This finding suggests that other factors outside of intermedia agenda-setting may contribute to the overall salience of the Sustainable Development Goals among news media within individual recipient countries, such as the announcement of a major aid award or initiative specific to the country. Relevance and obtrusiveness, specifically, are likely contributing factors to the higher degree of news coverage of the Sustainable Development Goals agenda among recipient countries, given that the Sustainable Development Goals are focused specifically on improving well-being in developing countries. As Hester and Gibson (2007) explored with issue of same-sex marriage in local and national markets in the United States, local relevance and obtrusiveness of an issue can result in a stronger local agenda-setting effect, compared to issues that are not as locally relevant (i.e. national issues). This concept of local relevance

could theoretically be extended to apply to national versus international agenda-setting effects (with national issues demonstrating more relevance and stronger agenda-setting effects compared to international issues). It is unsurprising that, for example, a country with a high extreme poverty rate like Nigeria (where more than half the population is estimated to live on less than \$1.90 per day [World Bank, 2009]) would pay more attention to poverty alleviation initiatives and news (which is one of the primary concerns of the Sustainable Development Goals). Extreme poverty is much more locally relevant in Nigeria versus high-income countries like Canada, for instance.

For Agenda-Setting Theory, this finding represents an interesting and largely undocumented trend: global development agendas may assert a stronger agenda-setting effect on news media (and, by extension, audiences) in lower-income countries. Additionally, the news coverage around a global development agenda is likely not contingent upon, nor does it flow from, similar news coverage from higher-income, more powerful countries. Certainly, this realm of agenda-setting merits further research.

Extending World System Theory

As discussed previously, the total number of news stories from recipient countries unexpectedly far exceeded the number of news stories from donor countries ($n = 603$ for recipient countries, and $n = 214$ for donor countries), diminishing the argument that more prominent countries set the agenda for less prominent countries in the case of the Sustainable Development Goals. This finding offers implications leading to two assumptions that could be made within the theoretical framework of World System Theory.

First, Chang's (1998) assertion that periphery and semi-periphery countries are least likely to receive international news coverage holds true for this study's finding on the limited news coverage from donor (core) countries on the Sustainable Development Goals. The prominence of news coverage for the Sustainable Development Goals within recipient countries, however, may indicate the ability for periphery countries to dictate their own priorities, outside of the world-system as defined by Chang (1998) and Wallerstein (1974).

Secondly, it could be argued that core countries like the United States and the United Kingdom would be more incentivized (and have access to more resources) to strengthen their position in the world-system than periphery countries. In this case, their motivation would be to influence how the Sustainable Development Goals would play into the world-system. As a mechanism for economic development, the Sustainable Development Goals are intended to help guide how the least developed and low- and middle-income countries (periphery or semi-periphery countries) take steps toward economic stability and growth; however, in this study, the recipient (periphery) countries produced nearly three times more news stories than donor (core) countries.

Additionally, the provision of development aid is a key methodology for core countries to assert their influence in shaping countries and developing economies to fit within the existing capitalistic system, ultimately serving the interests of core countries (Bhungalia, 2016; Frey & McNaughton, 2016; Hattori, 2003; Lacey & Ilcan, 2014). It can be assumed that world leaders, as signatories of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals agenda, are aware of the goals and likely integrate at least some of

the principles in their individual international development objectives and priorities, as was the case discussed by McBride et al. (2019) in which world leaders committed to taking action to achieve health-related indicators within the Sustainable Development Goals. As heads of state, the leaders also assert considerable influence over their nations' foreign policy and strategies for disbursement of development aid, yet the link between world leaders' motivations and strategies for international development and related news coverage is largely absent in this study given how few news stories were collected from donor countries, especially after 2015. This lack of coverage is likely to also be attributed to the practice of traditional news values in newsrooms, which have perpetuated the practice of providing minimal news coverage on issues concerning developing countries. It is possible, however, that the habit of providing limited news coverage on international issues has led to many newsrooms overlooking the fact that (for example) United States' interests *are* strongly tied to international development.

For some issues, a core country's interests, such as in trade or military engagement, is a strong predictor of news coverage of foreign nations (Golan, 2008; T. Jones et al., 2011; Wu, 2007)—except, seemingly, in the case of international development. Not only do core countries like the United States spend billions of tax dollars every year on international aid, but also international aid helps keep Americans (and the world) safer. One study found that adults of voting age across 18 sub-Saharan African countries that had received at least a primary-level education were 1.5 times more likely to support democracy than those who received no education; also, the risk of conflict in sub-Sahara Africa was nearly halved in areas where children had greater

access to education—all in all, the more education a person receives, the less likely he/she is to turn to extremism (G. Evans & Rose, 2012; Fjelde & Østby, 2012). The fourth Sustainable Development Goal specifically addresses the need for improved access to quality education for all children around the world (“Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all” [United Nations, 2019, para 1.]), which is arguably tied to core countries like the United States’ interests in promoting democracy (i.e., providing aid for growing and improving schools in regions where students’ only option may be attending an extremist madrasa, or no school at all). Interestingly, this study found that, despite the magnitude of financial commitments from core countries toward development initiatives, the news media was by and large not utilized to fortify core countries’ interests in the world-system in this case.

The Outliers: The United Kingdom and Bangladesh

Within each country group, two distinct outliers appeared in terms of the magnitude of news coverage. In the donor group, the United Kingdom represented the greatest share (81.8%) of news stories and in the recipient group, Bangladesh represented the greatest share (63.3%) of news stories. One possible explanation for the disproportionate news coverage could be tied to the level of aid provided as a percent of Gross National Income (GNI).

Countries contributing or receiving aid as a greater percentage of their GNI may indicate a stronger interest in the Sustainable Development Goals given their economic ties to global development. Per World System Theory, the role of capital in the world-system, including the distribution and investment of capital, is important in maintaining a

capitalistic system conducive to the ideals of core countries. For example, the United Kingdom committed .70% of its GNI in development funding in 2017, which is the largest percentage contributed among the donor country group (the next largest was Canada at .26% of GNI; OECD, 2019). However, this explanation cannot be attributed to the recipient country group, as the percent of development aid received by Bangladesh accounts for 1.4% of its GNI, which is less than Ethiopia (development aid accounts for 5.1% of GNI) and Kenya (3.3% of Kenya's GNI is from development aid; OECD, 2019).

The United Kingdom's disproportionate coverage of the Sustainable Development Goals among the donor country group may also be attributed to geography proximity, which has sometimes been found to influence high-income countries' news coverage of lower-income countries or other foreign news (T. Jones et al., 2011). Of all the donor countries, the United Kingdom is closest in proximity to both sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East; together, the two regions account for many of the countries receiving the largest amounts of Official Development Assistance (OECD, 2019). Given the United Kingdom's proximity to developing countries, it is also likely the issues within developing countries are more relevant to audiences in the United Kingdom. The issue of immigration, for example, may draw news coverage as both a relevant topic for citizens of the United Kingdom and an international issue. In fact, among all European countries, the United Kingdom is home to the greatest share of immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa (Pew Research Center, 2018).

Additionally, the United Kingdom's history as a global empire undoubtedly created strong ties between the United Kingdom and countries around the world that have

since adopted the English language, culture, and legal and government systems (Powell, 2002). The legacy of the United Kingdom's presence around the world may contribute to the United Kingdom's continued interest and involvement in world affairs.

For Bangladesh, the disproportionately large volume of news stories may speak to Bangladesh's current status as an emerging country, and the strong presence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the country. Despite its classification as one of the world's least developed countries by the United Nations, Bangladesh is one of the fastest growing economies in the world (United Nations, 2018; World Bank, 2019). In fact, in 2018 Bangladesh was approved by United Nations Committee for Development Policy to begin the graduation process from its classification as a least developed country to a developing country (Social Watch, 2018). The positive and rapid economic progress, which has attracted global media attention on its own (i.e., Basu, 2018), is a key indication of the country's focus on development initiatives, which seem to be reflected in its media coverage. For Bangladesh, given its traction in economic and social development, the Sustainable Development Goals offer globally-recognized indicators with which to continue to guide its development and measure its progress on a global stage.

In part, Bangladesh's progress, as well as the level of attention it provides to development initiatives, is likely attributed to the significant presence of NGOs in the country since the 1970s. Following Bangladesh's war for independence from Pakistan in 1971, which saw mass casualties and violence, many NGOs began operations in the country to support humanitarian and rehabilitation efforts. The Bangladesh Rural

Advancement Committee (BRAC), which is today the largest NGO in the world, began operations in the country in 1971 to provide rehabilitation assistance, especially to those displaced by the war (Zohir, 2004). Additionally, early during its independence, Bangladesh's banking sector struggled significantly, especially given that most of its citizens were living in poverty and did not have the collateral or identification requirements to participate in traditional banking. During this time, Grameen Bank was founded by Muhammad Yunus, who is attributed as being the founder of the microfinance movement (Develtere & Huybrechts, 2005; Zohir, 2004). Grameen Bank helped transform the banking sector in Bangladesh by developing the microfinance methodology used by numerous NGOs since, which opened access to credit and economic opportunities for low-income individuals (Zohir, 2004). A broad range of social enterprises and NGOs have existed in Bangladesh since the country's birth, and as such have been strongly intertwined with its development (Islam, 2016; Zohir, 2004). With a significant presence of NGOs in the country—NGOs that directly work with Bengalis, with government leaders and entities, and with commercial sector businesses—the overall salience of the Sustainable Development Goals is likely much higher in a country like Bangladesh among individuals and among news media.

Limitations

One limitation of this study was that it did not investigate the types of news stories produced by the news organizations. The aspects of news stories—such as bias, sentiment, or valence—are likely to affect the overall salience of the Sustainable Development Goals agenda, as suggested by prior research on second-level agenda-

setting effects (Lim, 2011; Lowry et al., 2003; McCombs, 2014). This study, however, offers evidence of the disparity of salience among country types, which can inform further research on how the Sustainable Development Goals are framed within country types, and which frames are more dominant than others. Specifically, further research on how the Sustainable Development Goals are perceived by audiences from different country types would be a valuable inquiry with which to expand upon this study's findings.

Another limitation was the sample size of the study and the focus on English-speaking countries. One news organization was chosen per country, whereas two or three per country may have offered a more comprehensive picture of the news coverage of the Sustainable Development Goals and reduced the likelihood of outliers influencing the data. (For example, *The Financial Express* in Bangladesh represented nearly half of the total sample.) The researcher's need to use only English-language news organizations limited the sample size, especially among countries where English is not the primary language. This decision also influenced the country selection, as only countries with prominent English-language news outlets were used, particularly the recipient country sample. According to OECD (2019) data, Afghanistan, Syria, and Iraq receive the greatest amount of Official Development Assistance, but they were excluded from the study given the lack of prominent English-language news outlets. For the donor country group, the United States, United Kingdom, and Japan represented three of the top five countries that give the largest amount of Official Development Assistance; Germany and France, as the other two top donor countries, were excluded. This decision also precluded

the researcher from gathering data from the top news outlets within non-English speaking countries.

Considerations for Further Research

Unlike traditional agenda-setting studies, this study did not investigate the directional flow of news information between countries. Given the lack of existing research on the awareness of the Sustainable Development Goals agenda, this study sought to focus primarily on gathering evidence to suggest in which type of country (donor or recipient) the Sustainable Development Goals agenda is more salient. However, the breadth of research on intermedia agenda-setting in international contexts offers a substantial foundation from which to put these results in context: the well-researched phenomenon of powerful countries setting the agenda for less powerful countries may not be as strong for a development agenda like the Sustainable Development Goals.

Further research on this topic is undoubtedly warranted. Specifically, a focus on attribute agenda-setting of the Sustainable Development Goals within donor countries and recipient countries, as well as related public opinion on the goals within each country, will provide further understanding of how development agendas are framed and perceived around the world. Additionally, further research on the interdependence (or lack thereof) of the Sustainable Development Goals agenda among donor countries and recipient countries would offer valuable insights into how development agendas influence news coverage in different contexts and geographies, and, by extension, the world's awareness and understanding of the most important development challenges within the global community.

Implications for Global Development Organizations

Around the world, NGOs, governments, bilateral agencies, universities, foundations, corporations, and individuals are collaborating and innovating to achieve the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. Together, they are solving the world's greatest challenges, including eradicating extreme poverty, alleviating hunger, expanding access to basic healthcare, and ensuring universal access to education. However, the challenge of generating global awareness and news coverage for these initiatives and the progress that has been made remains problematic.

Stemming from this research are several guidelines for practitioners to increase the salience of global development agendas, issues, and initiatives among news media and individuals in donor countries, which could support fundraising and advocacy efforts in achieving these important goals.

First, communications should strongly highlight the relevance of the Sustainable Development Goals for individuals in high-income countries. As discussed previously, news editors are likely to abide by traditional habits and news values that dictate how international issues receive news coverage, such as in cases of extreme events, like disasters or conflicts, or in cases that have a strong relevance to U.S. interests. News editors, like all people, are also susceptible to common biases that consider international issues as the least important or least relevant news items, even in cases where the issues may be directly relevant to global audiences. With creative messaging and communications, organizations can help combat lack of awareness and media and public biases by highlighting the relevance of the issue within local contexts, which is a key

component in generating further interest and awareness. One example of this in practice was a public service announcement video produced by the NGO charity: water, which contextualized the water crisis in New York. The video shows a mother leaving her New York apartment with her son, pulling a wagon filled with jerry cans to walk several miles to Central Park, where she had to wait in a long line to fill her cans with dirty water (Charitywater, 2008). Drawing direct connections and contextualizing international issues more locally (in this case, in New York) could help create a sense of relevance for audiences, even in cases that are seemingly irrelevant. Additionally, the inherent opportunity within messaging international issues is that these issues are most likely unobtrusive for audiences like Americans, who would have little or no direct experience with or other knowledge of issues like lack of clean water and would therefore be more susceptible to agenda-setting effects.

Second, strategic planning should include how the organization responds, both on the ground and in communications, in cases of disaster or conflict. Regardless of the organization's purpose or normal activities, the nature of working in developing contexts often means that the organization's work will eventually overlap with a significant news event. Global news attention is greatest during these negative news events; creating an action plan for immediate response in the media and on the ground can help elevate greater issues or challenges and generate attention for important issues related to the news event or the organization. In 2019, Cyclone Idai gained international news coverage (e.g., Yuhas, 2019) after devastating the Beira region of Mozambique, as well as parts of Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Madagascar. NGOs like World Vision and Opportunity

International, though neither specializes specifically in disaster relief, created special relief funds, disseminated photos and information from their local staff in Mozambique, and generated awareness for their overall operations on the region (Opportunity International, 2019; World Vision, 2019).

Third, the creation of simple, affective frames for international issues could be a strong influential factor in transferring salience to news media or the public. At its root, salience is the prevalence of an issue or topic among all the other possible issues and topics. For aid organizations, cumbersome explanations of complex issues create further challenges in encouraging audiences and media, who are unlikely to have direct experiences or opinions to strengthen salience, to remember the nuances of the issue or to remember it as important. Affective frames, as *the pictures in our heads*, provide audiences with compelling mental shortcuts with which to remember the issue, and to think of it as important. One example of this could be describing the issue of extreme poverty as a mother choosing between purchasing food or purchasing shoes for her daughter to go to school, versus explaining extreme poverty as a being unable to meet basic needs for consumption.

Conclusion

Over the last three decades, the world's progress on nearly every global development indicator has improved measurably and drastically, including reduced poverty, greater access to education, improved maternal and child survival, and reduced hunger. However, most of the world has yet to notice (Rosling et al., 2018).

The Sustainable Development Goals represent the United Nations' mandate for the world to invest and focus strategically on key goals to achieve by 2030 to improve livelihoods and well-being everywhere in the world. This research investigated the salience of the Sustainable Development Goals agenda among news media, finding that salience is highest among countries that receive development aid, rather than countries that provide development aid. This finding challenges the traditional intermedia agenda-setting hypothesis that economically and politically powerful countries set the agenda for less powerful countries. This research also suggests that the dynamics between core countries and periphery countries, specifically in regard to the flow of development aid, may not align with the theory's central tenets, which argue that core countries are motivated to maintain control and influence over periphery countries. Overall, further research on the strength and influence of global development agendas among news media around the world is recommended.

Appendix A

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals

Below is the full list of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals:

- Goal 1 End poverty in all its forms everywhere
- Goal 2 End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
- Goal 3 Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
- Goal 4 Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all
- Goal 5 Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
- Goal 6 Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all
- Goal 7 Ensure access to affordable, reliable, and sustainable and modern energy for all
- Goal 8 Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all
- Goal 9 Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation
- Goal 10 Reduce inequality within and among countries
- Goal 11 Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
- Goal 12 Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
- Goal 13 Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts
- Goal 14 Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas, and marine resources for sustainable development
- Goal 15 Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss
- Goal 16 Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
- Goal 17 Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development

Appendix B

Tables

Table 1

Total Number of News Articles by Country and Year

Country (News Organization)	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total (% of total)
Australia (The Sydney Morning Herald)	9	2	0	0	1	12 (1.5%)
Canada (The Globe and Mail)	1	0	3	2	1	7 (0.9%)
Japan (The Japan Times)	1	0	1	5	0	7 (0.9%)
United Kingdom (The Guardian)	82	69	10	7	7	175 (21.4%)
United States (The New York Times)	10	2	0	1	0	13 (1.6%)
Bangladesh (The Financial Express)	58	78	112	86	48	382 (46.8%)
Ethiopia (Ethiopian News Agency)	4	8	6	4	4	26 (3.2%)
Kenya (The East African)	8	3	5	2	2	20 (2.4%)
Nigeria (The Nation)	4	17	25	27	27	100 (12.2%)
Tanzania (The Citizen)	12	17	16	20	10	75 (9.2%)

Appendix C

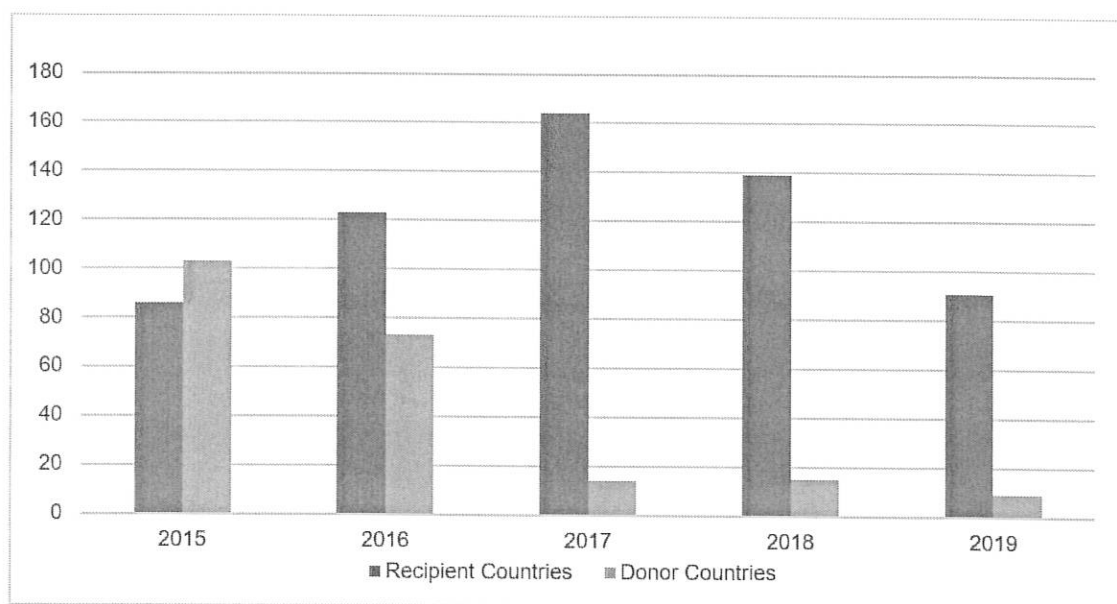
Figures

Figure 1. Number of news articles by country type.

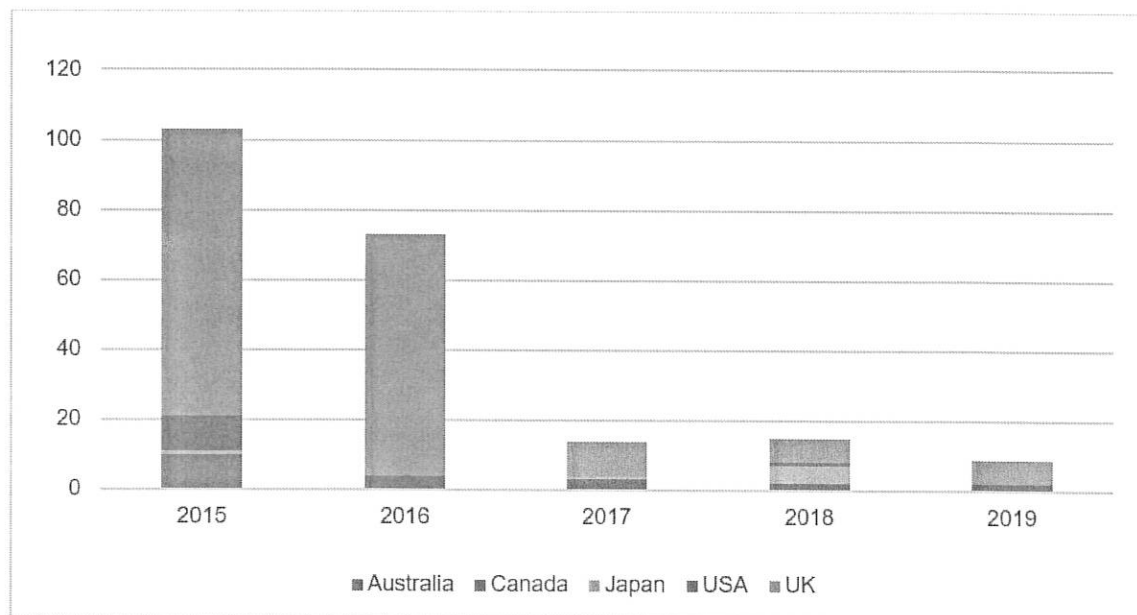


Figure 2. Number of news articles from donor countries.

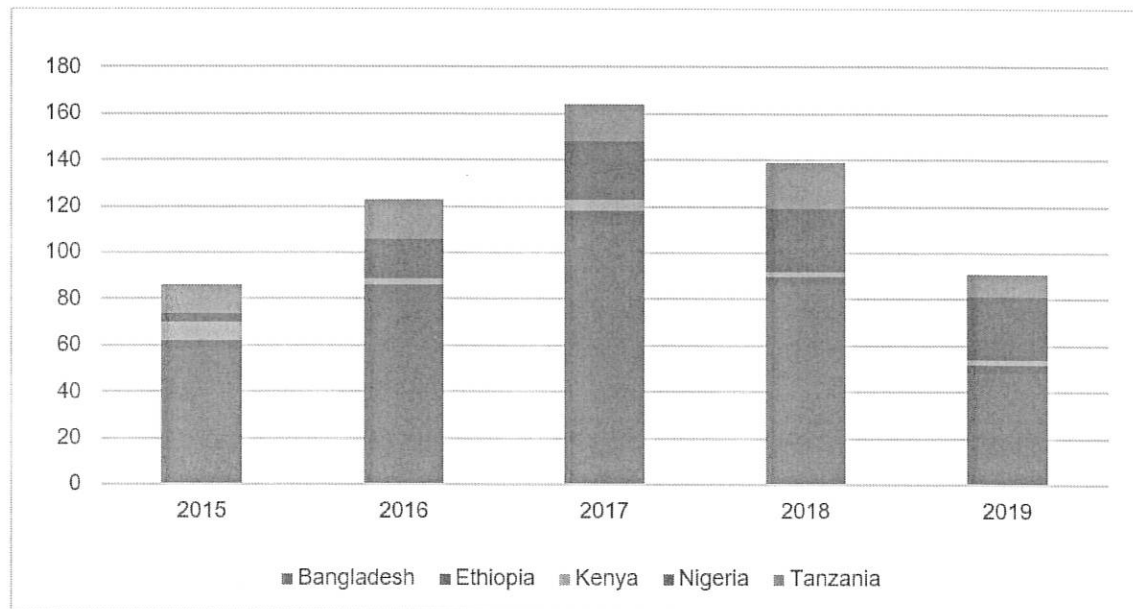


Figure 3. Number of news articles from recipient countries.

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