

ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTIFICATION, COMMITMENT, AND IMAGINED
COMMUNITY AMONG THE AUDIENCE OF THE
FOX CABLE NEWS CHANNEL

by

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree
MASTER OF ARTS
Major Subject: Communication

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ABSTRACT

The theories of organizational identification, organizational commitment and imagined communities were applied to the audience of the Fox Cable News Channel. A cross-sectional survey comprised of two scales and two original open-ended questions was electronically distributed. Instruments were derived from Mael and Tetrick's (1992) scale of Identification with a Psychological Group and Allen and Meyer's (1990) Affective Commitment Scale. The sample considered in this work cannot be proven or disproven to organizationally identify, though the effort to measure this could be distinguished from an effort to measure organizational commitment. Benedict Anderson's (2006) theory of imagined communities was applied to the Fox audience and print capitalism was revised as broadcast capitalism, allowing the sample to appropriately be described as an imagined community. This exploratory research sought the ways theories of personal and social identity and organizational communication can apply to media consumption.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All members of the thesis committee deserve my sympathy for having subjected them to so many very rough drafts. Gratitude is extended for the guidance of Dr. Rausch for his (re)explanations of statistical methods and the sharp eye of Dr. Hanson for her spotting of everything from insensitive language to APA breaches. Dr. Drumheller is acknowledged for introducing me to organizational identification and keeping a straight face when told this project would take just a little bit longer. Thank you Dr. Mallard for introducing me to survey research and Dr. Spencer for introducing me to the theory of imagined communities. Though I don't expect any participant to ever cross paths with this final product, I am grateful for the few moments they each gave to this effort in between tweets.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Pointing his finger into a camera and down a twisting electronic path that eventually reaches viewers in their homes, Bill O'Reilly (2009) declared: "Last night on MSNBC someone said that people, you guys who watch Fox News, are paranoid and racist. That should tell you everything you need to know about the entire NBC situation. 'Pinhead' doesn't begin to cover it." In Fox News Channel (FNC) host O'Reilly's segment *Pinheads & Patriots*, he highlights people who have received media attention and designates a category for each. O'Reilly self-categorizes as a patriot, and extends this label to include FNC as an organization:

There is a growing split about how news is covered in this country. The old guard mainstream media makes decisions based upon ideology, race and elitism. The new media, of which Fox News is a part, covers what Americans believe is important to them. That's why we are a dominant number one, and I submit we have far more influence than the networks. If you want to know what's really happening in America, you have to come here because you will not get it in much of the mainstream media.

(O'Reilly, 2010, para. 2)

FNC host Glenn Beck (2010a) extends this we even further with his use of the first person plural pronoun, he takes viewers into the fold as members of FNC as an in-group: “We’re afraid. They have isolated us and made us feel as though we’re alone. We’re not” (para. 49). Variants of the word *we* appear three times in this short quote, and *they* appears once, consistent with Burke’s (1972) assertion that followers’ identification with leaders sometimes springs from leaders’ enactment of such language. From Burke’s writings on identification, down another twisting path, emerges the modern theory of cognitive organizational identification, as explained by Mael and Tetrick (1992): “A much observed phenomenon is the tendency of individuals to perceive themselves and their groups or organizations as intertwined, sharing common qualities and faults, successes and failures, and common destinies” (p. 813). This raises the question of whether a member of a mass media audience can identify with her preferred outlet in the spirit of Mael and Tetrick’s (1992) organizational identification.

This study explores that possibility, applying models and methods of non-media theories to media consumption, and in particular, consumption of Fox News Channel. The driving question is about the existence of organizational identification, or something akin to it, among media audiences. Because of past entanglements between identification and organizational commitment, the differences between the two are addressed as well. These theories have been mostly applied to organizational work environments, so the mechanism through which an audience may organizationally identify was explored too, with an emphasis on the theory of imagined communities.

The audience of the Fox News Channel was selected under the assumption that it may have a more highly-identifying audience than many others. Chapter I broaches organizational identification and commitment and their differences, but further defining and differentiating them is covered in Chapter II. Identification's place in organizational communication and some of the issues of applying it to mass media studies are discussed, and organizational commitment and imagined communities are introduced.

Organizational Identification

The history of the theory of organizational identification (OI) is filled with debates over conceptualization, measurement, and whether it deserves to be a theory of its own or subordinated to another, and which one that might be. This has resulted in several competing conceptualizations of OI that have surfaced in previous literature. Much of these first two chapters focuses on organizational identification from the *behavioral* perspective of George Cheney and Phillip Tompkins and the competing *cognitive* perspective represented by Blake Ashforth, Fred Mael, and Lois Tetrick.

Much of the previous literature on organizational identification was undertaken with the understanding that a body of knowledge on the topic is practical and applicable outside of academia. Ashforth and Mael (1989) have been somewhat subtle about the utility of OI: "It is tacitly understood by managers that a positive and distinctive organizational identity attracts the recognition, support, and loyalty of not only organizational members but other key constituents" (p. 28). Miller, Allen, Casey, and Johnson (2000) were more to

the point: “Organizations desire employees who adhere to the organization’s mission and act responsibly in achieving their unit’s goals” (p. 626). They continue with more candor:

From a managerial perspective, an important by-product of identification is employees’ receptivity to persuasive messages from the organization.

Consequently, employees identifying with the organization are apt to see themselves representing the organization during interactions with nonemployees, embrace corporate interests as primary in their strategic and task decision opportunities, and disassociate themselves from others whose values and goals contradict those of the organization. (p. 629)

Leaders of organizations want methods and mechanisms to better control all those below them in organizational charts because the infusion of organizational identification within laborers results in more laboring. The practical implications require behavior be predictable and alterable. A traditional organization is benefited when leaders seek to influence members in ways benefiting the organization, but a media outlet is benefited when leaders seek to influence viewers in ways increasing consumption of the outlet.

If an organization’s membership responds to the introduction of classical organizational identification, then a media outlet’s audience can respond in the same way to the introduction of something with which they can identify. When considering a non-organization, such as a media audience, the unidirectional flow of information from producer to consumer becomes more apparent as this relationship most resembles a traditional organizational model of one-way

communication ubiquitous during the gilded age. There is less use in this scenario for the enlightened ideals of flattened organizational communication models or egalitarian partnerships between management and labor.

The discussion can go on at length about the democratizing effects of new media technologies and the ideal of every consumer having an internet-enabled voice with which to speak back to mass media producers, but it must be recognized a producer's only interest in feedback is to obtain information helpful in increasing consumption of the media produced. The only desired behavior and the only message proffered is receivers should continue receiving the message. Receivers' organizational identification can only boost reception of organizational rhetoric, benefiting the rhetor with a larger and more loyal audience to offer advertisers.

There is an obvious inside and outside to most organizations, but in non-organizations or organizations with less clear boundaries, "seemingly pedantic exercises such as determining whether an individual or group is 'inside' or 'outside' the organization . . . have tremendous practical implications" (Cheney & Christensen, 2000, pp. 243-244). Yet, "A clear distinction between internal and external organizational communication is impossible to uphold" (p. 249). That may be truer when assessing non-organizations such as media audiences.

Effort was made here to distinguish the ways in which supplanting OI from the field of organizational communication eliminated some issues (such as the appropriateness of requiring behavior), created some (like defining the

organizational container), and complicated others (such as what is OI 'useful' for). Underlying these is the first hypothesis:

H1: Organizational Identification exists in the relationship between a mass media consumer and a media outlet.

Organizational Commitment

A study of organizational identification must include some discussion of and differentiation from organizational commitment (OC). The debate over the commingling of identification and commitment is documented in journal articles over the past few decades, all competing to out-correct and over-ride one another (such as Mowday, Steers, & Porter, 1979; Sass & Canary, 1991).

A common and reoccurring criticism of OI studies has been they disregard the appropriate tenets of organizational communication and thoughtlessly measure commitment in their rummaging for identification (Cheney & Tompkins, 1987; Mael, & Tetrick, 1992; Mowday, Steers, & Porter, 1979; Sass & Canary, 1991). Commitment researchers have seemed secure in the premise that disentanglement between OC and OI is the responsibility of OI people. No organizational identification researcher has been located challenging this notion or counter-accusing a commitment scale of accidentally measuring identification. If this were a study of commitment among media consumers, there would likely be no expectation or cautioning by theorists of any type to guard against a remiss finding of identification. However, when OI is the topic, some insist commitment and identification are inherently intertwined.

Care taken in the study of identification is still preferable which requires a second hypothesis. An affirmative answer here should ensure efforts to locate OI have not inadvertently measured OC:

H2: Organizational identification, as it exists in the relationship between a mass media consumer and a media outlet, is discrete from organizational commitment.

Imagined Communities

Exactly how mass media audience members can experience organizational identification needs to be explained beyond the simple revelation that they do. Through this study, the concept of national or cultural identity, expressed as an imagined community (IC), was explored as a mechanism.

Benedict Anderson (2006) first published his book *Imagined Communities* in 1982, explaining the process that he claimed resulted in the construct of the nation and the phenomenon of nationalism. He revealed the title's modifier: "It is *imagined* because even the members of the smallest nation will never know of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 2006, p. 6) and he explained its subject: "It is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 2006, p. 7). Communities are not imagined in that they are fictional, he specified, but imagining creates real communities.

Anderson's most often-cited quotation further emphasized: "Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). But, some published works reveal the word *imagined* has at times been taken by scholars to mean *unreal*, such as Darling (2007): "They were building not only an 'imagined community' on the radio but also real communities in the territory" (p. 83). No suggestion is made here that there exists a clearly demarcated, true Fox nation. It is asserted that the same mechanism of imagined communities that engenders a true nation also engenders the construct of the FNC audience as a community, facilitating organizational identification in viewers.

Just as Anderson explained nations are not true communities in the way that all members are co-located and interact with all others, a media audience shares those same characteristics. Except for their watching of FNC, viewers who imagine commonality might otherwise be unlike each other. IC explains how television viewers can perceive themselves as similar to internal members of an organization, thus be subjected to organizational identification.

This project approaches Fox watchers as imagining that other FNC audience members are peers in the same organizational container in the spirit of an imagined community, as presented in the first and only research question:

RQ: How can a phenomenon of imagined communities explain the way mass media consumers regard one another?

Summary

Chapter I introduced the theories of organizational identification, commitment and imagined communities, and their application to the FNC audience. Chapter II reviews previous literature and expands on Chapter I. Chapter III describes the method and sample applicable to this work, Chapter IV presents the results, and the final Chapter V discusses those results and their implications for this project.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter II first addresses the relevant mixture of organizational and media theories, then reviews organizational identification and commitment, and explains the limits of comparing a media audience to a traditional organization. Next, the theory of imagined communities is discussed, emphasizing its relationship to identification, classical print capitalism, and the revised broadcast capitalism. Chapter II concludes with the weaknesses of the comparison of a media audience to an imagined community.

Organizational Identification

This study is not alone in investigating organizational identification in the field of mass media. Cheney and McMillan (1990) opened an article about OI by writing: “Organizations are understood intuitively by laypersons as persuasive enterprises; one has only to experience the myriad of advertisements and commercials in the contemporary mass media to be reminded of that practical reality” (p. 93). By referencing mass media, the authors were drawing on our shared experiences to build the case that organizational management cares about persuasion. In a separate work, Cheney and Christensen (2000) wrote their intention was “to bring activities such as marketing, public relations, and some kinds of advertising within the purview of organizational communication” (p.

246). An intention of this study was to expand work such as Cheney and Christensen's (2000) by investigating the relationship between organizational communication and mass media.

Most researchers of OI have not integrated it with media theory. Mael and Ashforth (1992) lamented the narrow application of OI research to firms and factories: "The work-related wording of existing measures has impaired comparisons across different types of groups and organizations" (p. 104). They further discussed OI as experienced by people who are "actual or symbolic member[s] of the group" (p. 104). In fact, the majority of OI authors have studied an organization that does not fit the traditional organizational mold, beginning with Burke's (1937) conceptualization of identification, which could be experienced with a "church, guild, company, lodge, party, team, college, city, nation, etc." (pp. 144-145). Cheney (1983a) included whole industries and professions as the objects of organizational identification "even technology itself" (p. 158). What is relevant here is the precedent of applying OI to non-work organizations as well as non-organizations.

Other than workplaces, OI relationships have been located between alumni and their alma mater (Mael & Ashforth, 1992), donors and non-profits (Bhattacharya, Rao, & Glynn, 1995), sports fans and their preferred teams (Foster & Hyatt, 2007), independent representatives and Amway (Pratt, 2000), scientists and the idea of science (Lee, 1971), doctors and the medical profession (Hall, 1948), and even zero-history laboratory groups (Ellemers & Van Rijswijk, 1997). The location of OI in something that may not intuitively be

classified as an organization has been well established, but at some level all of these studies have looked at groups that share or have shared physical proximity among at least a few members, which is not necessarily true of media consumers scattered among private living rooms. Ashforth and Mael (1989) do not see this as any reason to dismiss less-interactive communities as unable to identify: "Identification with a collectivity can arise even in the absence of interpersonal cohesion, similarity, or interaction" (p. 26). They go further by predicting identification with social categories: "identification with a group can arise quite separately from interpersonal interaction and cohesion. In perceiving the social category as psychologically real - as embodying characteristics thought prototypical of its members - the individual can identify with the category *per se*" (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 28). The word *category* is taken to mean any possible classification of people as a group, somewhat similar to the meaning of the term *imagined community*, which is considered at length later in this chapter.

Definition

Organizational identification's definition is evasive and varies not only from one author to the next, but also from one author's article to his or her next. Definitions have been so drastically different that the choice of which to employ will dictate the limits of study. Organizational identification researchers are privileged to choose which of the possible entanglements and criticisms they will face through the selection of one definition or another. It is necessary to reveal the rationale, strengths, and weaknesses of the definition at use in this work, as well as show the impact of this choice.

Cheney and Tompkins' *behavioral* OI is rooted in the writings of Kenneth Burke. Tompkins' adoption of both Burke's and Cheney's ideals is evident in Tompkins, P., Fisher, Infante, and Tompkins, E. (1975) as they wrote: "Burke's work . . . could be applied directly to the study of organizational identification" (p. 135). Both Cheney and Tompkins see OI as a natural extension of Burke's more general identification, which Burke (1972) saw as manifesting more broadly between individual people in three ways:

The first is quite dull. It flowers in such usages as that of a politician who, though rich, tells humble constituents of his humble origins. The second kind of identification involves the workings of antithesis, as when allies who would otherwise dispute among themselves join forces against a common enemy . . . [The third is exemplified by] the word "we." (p. 28)

These three manifestations describe identification between individual followers and individual leaders (not organizations). Olson (1980) elaborated on the listed forms:

The first identification suggests a direct, associative process when one presents oneself as strikingly similar to the extent that one could "represent" another's interest. The second identification suggests how disassociation indirectly establishes new associations; one implicitly forms other association as one forms disassociation . . . The third identification indicates the mingling process of association and disassociation, when very dissimilar interests are joined under the transcendent "we." (p. 44)

From Burke's individual-to-individual identification above, the behavioral individual-to-organization identification has evolved. Tompkins and Cheney (1983) provided an operational definition of identification that Cheney (1983b) further refined: "A person identifies with a unit when, in making a decision, the person in one or more of his/her organizational roles perceives that unit's interests—as that unit's interests—to be relevant in evaluating the alternatives of choice" (p. 353). Additionally, a person's identification with another person can be reciprocated (a politician *can* identify with her cheerleaders) but a person's identification with an organization cannot (Cheney & Carroll, 1997). A corporation, despite legal definition or popular personification, is not a person subject to the conditions of human psychology, which would predict a human leader's reciprocal identification with a human follower. A given person's identification with a mass media outlet would be a one-way phenomenon.

Cheney's (1983b) OI is an "inactive process by which individuals link themselves to elements in the social scene" (p. 342). Although the value of Cheney's and Tompkins' work is evident in any discussion of organizational identification, a more fitting definition for this study is the *cognitive* identification provided by Ashforth, Mael, and Tetrick. These authors part with Cheney and Tompkins on the treatment of behavior and seek to draw a sharper line between organizational identification and commitment. These cognitive identification theorists founded their re-conceptualization of Cheney and Tompkins' ideal of OI on social identity theory (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Mael & Tetrick, 1992). As a starting point for organizational identification, *social identification* is "that part of

an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). The major distinction between behavioral and cognitive organizational identification is whether identification must be present in or predictive of behavior.

The most frequently-cited explanation of OI has behavior at its heart: "A decision maker identifies with the organization when he or she desires to choose the alternative which best promotes the perceived interest of the organization" (Tompkins & Cheney, 1985, p. 194). The conceptualization of behavior in OI must be addressed because, unless one has a Nielsen set meter measuring TV viewing, "decision making" and "promoting the perceived interest of an organization" are not a large part of being a mass media audience member.

Cognitive identification theorists do not think an organizationally identifying person must act, and have criticized earlier models for this focus: "Work has often confused . . . affect and behaviors, which are more appropriately seen as antecedents and/or consequences of identification" (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 20). Mael and Tetrick (1992) conceived of OI as identification with a psychological group (IDPG) which is a model they saw as appropriately replacing behavioral organizational identification. They specified IDPG is "perceptual rather than affective [and] describes only the cognitive perception of oneness with the group, not resultant behaviors" (Mael & Tetrick, 1992, p. 814). This derives directly from earlier work by Ashforth and Mael (1989) in which "identification is viewed as a perceptual cognitive construct that is not necessarily associated with

any specific behaviors or affective states” (p. 21). Others like Turner (1982) and Rousseau (1998) also support the idea that if an attitude of identification can be proven, that is enough: “Identification refers to a cognitive state, not a specific behavior or a particular emotion” (Rousseau, 1998, p. 218).

Cognitive identification theorists turn to social identification theory (SIT) as the basis from which to develop their version of OI, partially because they believe OI should not consider behavior. However, the recognized founder of SIT, Henri Tajfel (1978), considers behavioral measures of identity necessary. So, Ashforth, Mael, and Tetrick stripped SIT of the behavioral requirement in order to use it as a basis for a new brand of identification to override Cheney and Tompkins’ model. These authors are not known to have ever explained why they adopted Tajfel’s behavior-requiring model in behavior-free form to override Cheney and Tompkins’ behavior-requiring model.

Ashforth, Mael, and Tetrick have not been found to have published together as a trio. Although they represent a *school of thought* on OI, offering a cognitive definition of OI is problematic because none of the three consistently offers one. They have put a great deal of effort into recasting OI in entanglement-free terms, but do not clearly differentiate *organizational*, *social*, and *group* identification. The three also waffle on the precise definition of identification (of whichever kind) as seen in their incongruent definitions, sometimes from the same article. Ashforth and Mael (1989) wrote *identity* is “the perception of oneness with or belongingness to a group” (p. 34) while *social identity* is “the perception of oneness with or belongingness to some human aggregate” (p. 21).

The same authors previously explained *social identity* is “the perception of belongingness to a group classification” (Mael & Ashforth, 1992, p. 104) while on the same page defining *organizational identification* as “the perception of oneness with or belongingness to an organization” (p. 104). Ashforth and Mael’s (1989) admission “we will use social and group identification interchangeably” (p. 21) further muddies things. The terms “group classification,” “group,” “human aggregate,” and “organization” are synonymous enough to convey the general idea and may substitute for each other as a stylistic choice, but their rotating use does not allow for an exact definition of what is under study here other than a consistently phrased “feeling of oneness.”

The choice to use Ashforth, Mael, and Tetrick’s cognitive conception of OI in the present research was made in spite of the fact that this conceptualization has been inconsistently defined by the same authors, as its overall problems are fewer (or possibly their critics just publish less). The most accurate statement of purpose possible is that the present work sought to locate *Fox watchers’* “feelings of oneness.” The term *Fox watchers* has been self-applied by some members of the FNC audience (Janis, 2005; Shaw, 2006) and is used here to denote habitual viewers of FNC who may organizationally identify, commit, or are members of a Fox watching/viewing community.

In versus Out

A common thread runs through all styles of identification, whether organizational or social, cognitive or behavioral, as well as organizational commitment and imagined communities. They all require the perception of an in-

group, which itself requires the perception of at least one out-group. It is not good enough for the in-group to be *good*, out-groups must also be *bad*. Hewstone, Jaspars, and Lalljee (1982) found perceptions of out-groups are usually negative and involve self-serving (or group-serving) theories as to the differences between the in-group and out-group(s). *We* are always better than *them*.

Relations between those within and those outside of an organization, category, or other aggregate can influence the strength of identification. Martin and Siehl (1983) found stronger identification by members of perceived countercultures than those perceived to be mainstream: "The more the organization's identity, goals, values, and individual role requirements deviate from the societal mainstream, the greater the need for organizationally situated identification" (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 28). Allen, Wilder, and Atkinson (1983) and Turner (1981) found the salience of out-groups also increases identification. So, underdogs who obsess over what the majority is doing identify more with their perceived pack of fellow underdogs. Chatman, Bell, and Staw (1986) and March and Simon (1958) additionally found that the perceived prestige of a group increases identification in individuals, and each pack is thought unique by insiders and "unlike any other" (Martin, Feldman, Hatch, & Sitkin, 1983, p. 438). So, members of a hypothetical pack of underdogs also see their in-group as being the best of all packs.

Returning to Fox watchers, if a given member perceived the aggregate to be unique and prestigious, yet counter to a salient and mainstream out-group, these factors may work in concert to boost organizational identification. The

literature supports this as an accurate picture of how Fox watchers generally view themselves, as “individuals with negative perceptions of mainstream media are increasingly turning to Fox News” (Morris, 2007, p. 725). Whether loyalty to FNC is related to identification with FNC, the conditions for identification are in place.

This thesis considers the implications of in-groups and out-groups for organizational identification. Considered here is whether a given Fox watcher views otherwise unknown Fox watchers favorably and otherwise unknown non-Fox watchers unfavorably. The existence of in- and out-groups supports the idea that the in-group’s members imagine themselves to be an organizationally identifying community.

Organizational Commitment

Organizational identification has been “kept in the shadow” (Boroş, 2008, p. 1) of organizational commitment. Burke’s (1972) brand of identification through antithesis discussed earlier can appropriately be applied to the clique of OC scholars “when allies who would otherwise dispute among themselves join forces against a common enemy” (p. 28). That enemy would be organizational identification researchers and the propagation of the concept of OI itself, because of the perception that they (and it) encroach on OC turf. Publication efforts hostile to the theory of identification are acts which reveal authors organizationally committed to and/or identified with the field of organizational commitment.

Mowday, Steers, and Porter (1979) wrote theories of identification and commitment cannot be conceptualized nor measured separately because OI is a

component of affective organizational commitment (AOC), one of the three varieties of OC. Miller, Allen, Casey, and Johnson (2000) further criticized Cheney's Organizational Identification Questionnaire as really measuring AOC. Morrow (1983) later stated that OI is conjoined with *attitudinal* commitment, defined as "devotion and loyalty to one's employing firm" (p. 488). Definitional inconsistencies among OC authors offer no exoneration or validation for identification researchers. Note here that previous work on organizational commitment also tends to define an organizational container much more narrowly ("employing firm") than studies of identification. The overwhelming majority of OC studies have been of workplaces.

Sass and Canary (1991) agreed that the attitudinal form of commitment and OI are the exact same thing, while both are strictly confined to work environments:

Each references the extent to which the employee adopts the organization's goals and values, expends efforts for the sake of the organization, and desires to preserve organizational membership. In addition, the operational definitions of attitudinal commitment and identification as product are confounded. (p. 283)

One definition of organizational commitment even included the word *identification*, finding OC in "the relative strength of an individual's identification with and involvement in a particular organization" (Reichers, 1985). Meyer and Allen (1997) defined OC as an attitude that "links the identity of the person to the organization," thereby linking the goals of the two as well. These commitment

researchers agreed identification and commitment are confounded, but disagreed as to what degree identification is related to which brand of commitment.

Moving from the assertions of OC researchers to the defensive posture of OI researchers, Cheney and Tompkins (1987) wrote OI and OC are “distinct though interrelated concepts” (p. 1). In the relationship between individuals and organizations, they believed identification is the substance and commitment is the form, but both Cheney and Tompkins have done an insufficient job of separating them. Subsequent efforts to differentiate OI from OC (and any components of OC) have been declared conceptually and empirically successful (Mael & Tetrick, 1992). Ashforth and Mael (1989) felt OI was best subjugated to a different parent: “Organizational identification, a subset of identification with a psychological group, is conceptually distinct from, though related to, organizational commitment” (p. 821). These cognitive identification theorists’ approach would seem to supersede theorists of both the behavioral brand of OI and theorists of OC.

Two Scales

Identification and commitment were operationalized and measured in the same way in this research as previously. Mael and Tetrick’s (1992) Identification with a Psychological Group scale was the basis of this study’s instrument because it approaches OI in the spirit of Ashforth, Mael, and Tetrick. The OC instrument used in the present study was based on Allen and Meyer’s (1990) Affective Commitment Scale. These scales will be further addressed in Chapter

III. Now that OI and OC have been reviewed, attention turns to the theory of imagined communities, requiring a very different approach.

Imagined Communities

The issues associated with applying identification outside of its organizational communication home also exist for imagined communities. An imagined community is almost synonymous with (and simultaneously explains) the concept of the modern nation-state. Therefore much of the previous literature revolves around the construct of nationhood, which is reflected in this segment. Any emphasis on *the nation* should not limit study, as imagined communities is approached as the mechanism through which a large number of people unknown to each other and experiencing FNC separately can organizationally identify.

Benedict Anderson has constantly protected his theory of imagined communities (IC), writing that “the fallacy of many scholars of nationalism may be their assertion that each is either ‘for’ or ‘against’ nationalism” (Anderson, 2006, p. xiii). However, he seemed to be “for” it in an interview: “I must be the only one writing about nationalism who doesn’t think it ugly I actually think that nationalism can be an attractive ideology. I like its Utopian elements” (Khazaleh, 2005, para. 13). Anderson has claimed to have no interest in mediating his manifesto *Imagined Communities*, freeing researchers to apply or appropriate the theory at will. Of his work, Anderson said:

I have a relationship to that book as to a daughter who has grown up and run off with a bus driver: I see her occasionally but, really, she has gone

her own merry way. I can wish her good luck, but now she belongs with someone else. (para. 18)

In the same way OI can exist in non-organizations, imagined communities can exist as non-nations. In his book, Anderson (2006) gives non-national examples of imagined communities premised on religion, language, caste, and class, which can all “achieve solidarities on an essentially imagined basis” (p. 77). Rusciano (1997) wrote of super-national, globally imagined communities and Anderson (2006) wrote of sub-nationally imagined communities, referencing Catalonia, a region of Spain whose inhabitants do not reportedly imagine themselves Spaniards. Lewis (2008) considered Catalonia an “intra-nation” (p. 416). Although, Fox watchers may be a sub-audience of the larger American TV audience, or an imagined sub- or intra-community, they are viewed here simply as an imagined community.

Clearly, groups that are not nations can be ICs and this work approaches the audience of a cable news channel in such a way. Darling (2007) referred to the audience of a given radio station as an “imagined community of listeners” (p. 67) and early adopters of the same station as “the beginning of an imagined community” (p. 74). In the same way, Fox watchers are treated here as an IC because feelings of organizational identification (oneness) can be explained in this light.

Imagined Identification

There have been a handful of studies specifically addressing the links between mass media, identity, and imagined community. Poster (1999) wrote

that through mass media, “a relatively homogenous nation could emerge and become the focus of individual identification” (p. 236). Ardivino (2009) looked at speakers of the same language and found that because they shared the same media, they “could trace their history through language, which fostered a sense of community” (p. 6). The general idea is a given language confines consumers to media conveyed in that language, which present a history in which all consumers of those media (speakers of that language) share. A model of unity through confinement assumes all speakers of a given language consume all media of that language. But they do not. If media create ICs, and people of the same language consumed different media, would separate communities not be imagined?

Typically, we categorize ourselves along national borders and imagine into reality an “us-and-them” atmosphere *between* nations. Studies of imagined communities outline this with a two-step model of: (a) media consumption, leading to (b) audiences imagining communities into existence. Such a progression necessarily equates media audiences to imagined communities without pausing to consider circumstances in which the population is fragmented into audiences of competing media outlets. What if half the population of a country consumes outlet X and half consume outlet Y? If people categorize themselves based on the branded outlet they consume, an us-and-them atmosphere can be constructed *within* one nation. Media consumption divides the world by language community and media outlet consumption divides language community by reassigning an even narrower “us.” There has not been

nearly as much literature exploring the dividing forces of divided media consumption in the creation of separately imagined communities.

In order for ICs to exist, there must be a unifying effect within each divided group. Engel (2005) united OI and IC, stopping just short of recasting imagined communities as *imagined identification*: “You identify with fellow citizens, not because you know them personally, but rather because you believe, or imagine, that you share something with them” (Engel, 2005, p. 517). This approach to identification and community bolsters the case for a link. Engel (2005) specified people identify with one another when they imagine commonality; whether such commonality is real is irrelevant. A person will never meet every person with whom beliefs are shared: “Imagination is at the root of our capacity to transport ourselves and identify with others ... identification is what makes it possible for the individual to feel like a member of an imagined community” (p. 524). Engel added a third prong to the two step model outlined above: generalized (not organizational) *identification* allows for an imagined community.

All this bonding requires glue. We now turn to mass media as the bonding agent, tying talk of nationalism to identification and talk of nationally imagined communities to Fox News Channel.

Print Capitalism

Anderson’s (2006) stated goal was to explain the origins of nationalism, which necessitated that his discussions of mass media center on the newspapers, novels, and pamphlets that accompanied the phenomenon’s rise after the invention of the printing press but before the advent of radio waves.

Print provided “the technical means for ‘re-presenting’ the kind of imagined community that is the nation” (p. 25). Anderson’s model is that if enough people knew enough others were reading the same exact thing, then each person of this aggregate would be able to imagine that they as individuals were alike in ways impossible before printed media, even though there was no interpersonal interaction between them. This imagining created real similarities and real communities which took the shape of the printed material being read. These materials, in turn, took the shape demanded by the forces involved in their production. The pressures of the printing industry were so central to Anderson’s (2006) model that he referred to the concept of publishing as *print capitalism*. He further explained that each person individually absorbs mass media, knowing others are consuming the same thing and assuming these others are somehow like him:

This mass ceremony . . . is performed in silent privacy in the lair of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion. (Anderson, 2006, p. 35)

The linkages between the stories in the pages of a newspaper are imagined as affecting *us*, which assumes there is an *us*. All other people who a single reader imagines to also be reading the same newspaper count as *us* and Anderson (2006) wrote that this kind of bond is only possible through mass media:

Early gazettes contained . . . commercial news (when ships would arrive and depart, what prices were current for what commodities in what ports), as well as political colonial appointments, marriages of the wealthy, and so forth. In other words, what brought together, on the same page, *this* marriage with *that* ship, *this* price with *that* bishop, was the very structure of the colonial administration and market system itself. In this way, the newspaper in Caracas, quite naturally, and even apolitically, created an imagined community among a specific assemblage of fellow-readers, to whom these ships, brides, bishops, and prices belonged. (p. 62; emphases original)

Darling (2007) cited conversations taking place beside fruit carts between people who habitually listened to El Salvadorian rebel radio. The fact that a given listener could readily find another person to share a conversation about broadcasts proved to each that the community of listeners was real. Darling (2007) brought Anderson's theories of novels and newspapers into modern times by stating that an individual's knowing others were reading the same newspapers on the same morning paralleled radio listeners who could be certain others were listening to the same broadcast on the same afternoon, thus "bringing together a diverse audience that was listening to the radio for many different reasons" (Darling, 2007, pp. 76-77). Media consumers come together to discuss their shared experiences of having absorbed the same content while apart. This ensures each that they are members of the same club and what is being discussed is real.

Anderson's (2006) book *Imagined Communities* walks the reader through the French revolution and newly de-colonized Indonesia, but this focus on the beginnings of nationalism completely ignores the contemporary world in which he has been living. The entire work focused on the process that got the world here, without considering what or where *here* is. His single explicit nod to the broadcast media that were well-established during the years in which *IC* was written was to note "advances in communication technology, especially in radio and television, give print allies unavailable a century ago" (Anderson, 2006, p. 135). He stopped short of explaining any evolution of the phenomenon related to broadcast media.

Mi (2005) diplomatically criticized the book *Imagined Communities*: "Anderson overlooks the role of visual/media culture in the shaping and imagining of a modern nation-state" (p. 327). Anderson ignored electronic media in describing the common consumption of common content and has been silent on his contemporary communities of remote-control flippers. If mass media are any different now than they were 300 years ago, a reader of *IC* would never know it. Before further addressing electronic media, a discussion of the impact of past print is necessary, however tangential it may first seem.

Pre-industrial publishing houses, like modern media empires, were profit-oriented businesses. As quoted in *Imagined Communities*: "Booksellers were primarily concerned to make a profit and to sell their products, and consequently they sought out first and foremost those works which were of interest to the largest possible number of their contemporaries" (Febvre & Martin, 1997, pp.

259-260). Hundreds of years ago, printers had a financial incentive to produce the most widely saleable works, necessitating the use of the most widely-read languages of the common classes. These had evolved from Latin, which was by that time read only by the highest classes. Although Latin readers had the most resources, their numbers were too small to constitute a mass market. Therefore, a profit-motivated publisher would choose to manufacture books in whichever language was understood by enough people to make printing in it profitable. Until the advent of print, knowledge had been transferred through Latin, but this development resulted in knowledge transfer through the languages of common classes (Anderson, 2006). Of the hundreds of types of French that existed just before print became popular, one of them was the style printers selected to reproduce on paper, ensuring it would later become the French that exists today.

In returning to a discussion of electronic media in general and the selected outlet FNC more specifically, the above tenets of print capitalism are kept in mind. Contemporary electronic media are more profitable and powerful than print, and more effective at feeding consumers communities to imagine: "Various critics have argued that electronic media such as television, film, broadcasting and the interactive Internet have played a crucial role in the imagining and construction of national identity" (Mi, 2005, p. 327). Thompson (1995) agreed that media technologies extended individuals' experiences beyond the sphere of day-to-day encounters in a way print could not and cannot. There are clear instances where TV is simply a stronger national glue than newsprint, such as the event probably increasing American nationalism the most during this author's lifetime:

Millions of Americans were able to share the experience of watching the attacks on the World Trade Center live on television. While there was no physical gathering of all Americans to witness this event, it helped foster a unity among the citizenry like nothing else in recent memory. (Engel, 2005, pp. 530-531)

For his cavalier concession of the significance of “advances in communication technology” (p. 135), but complete omission of any discussion of such significance, Anderson (2006) has been negligent. The latest (as of this writing) reprinting of *Imagined Communities* was 2006. It contained no mention of any nation-constructing or community-imagining shared media experiences (like 9/11), only the same time-distanced references to printed pamphlets penned by Martin Luther and Thomas Paine.

Anderson’s (2006) approach is clearly academically critical and politically liberal and his ideas have primarily been useful to those of similar tastes. Darling (2007) studied rebel radio stations in civil-war era El Salvador. It was in the rebels’ best interest for others who imagined themselves as part of an El Salvadorian nation to stop doing so and instead begin to imagine themselves as part of a revolutionary movement. This movement benefited from knowledge of the concept of IC. Anderson (2006) used passive (un-attributable) phrasing to explain his admittedly critical angle, which “has necessarily been concerned primarily with social change” (p. 141). But, liberals might not be the only lot pushing change on others, as we turn our attention back to FNC. Because print

capitalism is such a central part of imagined communities, attention must be given to the forces shaping the Fox watching community.

Broadcast Capitalism

On October 7, 1996, FNC entered a 24-hour cable news market which was at the time monopolized by CNN and thus far impervious to traditional TV networks. In such an impossible task as launching a CNN-trumping start-up, the only way to gain significant market share would be to further the notion or outright fabricate that CNN was politically liberally-biased and the new organization FNC was not: “Fox News has drawn viewers of certain political ideologies through many of its opinion based signature programs that tend to project an image of conservatism” (Chan-Olmsted & Cha, 2008, p. 32). This purposeful fragmentation of the audience allowed FNC to make inroads into a market it would have otherwise been locked-out of, as FNC “became cable news’s leader in ratings . . . in 2002” (Chan-Olmsted & Cha, 2008, p. 33). However, if this audience *is* America, the consequences of fragmenting it can be farther-reaching than the simple profitability of this one company.

Iyengar and Hahn (2009) wrote: “The emergence of Fox News as the cable ratings leader suggests that in a competitive market, politically slanted news programming allows a new organization to create a niche for itself . . . rational media owners stand to gain market share by injecting more rather than less political bias into the news” (pp. 33-34). Anderson’s print capitalism predicts and explains FNC’s creation in a way consistent with the one outlined here.

The forces of print capitalism have built FNC for profitability. The concept fits well with FNC's founding, though the expression itself is confined by the word *print*. The term may have an air of literary appointment, but it artificially confines the idea to an era beyond the births of both its coiner Benedict Anderson and broadcast television. FNC is most appropriately said to be formed by the forces of *broadcast capitalism*, a term that will inevitably become as obsolete as the one it substitutes. Broadcast forces created the imagined community of FNC's audience in a way that print capitalism could not and the forces of a future post-broadcast media environment might not, a point to be revisited in Chapter V.

Any community-inspiring possible through print can only be magnified by broadcast, which by any measure is better at it. Collective identity exists when a shared past is constructed through a commonly consumed narrative (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Weinstein (2001) asserted "we should acknowledge film and television as the great history educators of our time" (p. 27) and Rosenstone (1995) agreed "the visual media have become arguably the chief carrier of historical messages in our culture" (p. 3). Weinstein (2001) further illustrated this with the rhetorical question, "Which has made a greater impression on the mass consciousness, myriad scholarly studies of the Normandy invasion or Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan*?" (p. 27). If print capitalism was first to engender the imagined community among some, then broadcast capitalism now engenders more of it among more.

"Making impressions on the mass consciousness," as Weinstein (2001, p. 27) wrote, can be used by the impression makers through the purposeful

application of broadcast media. Banchoff's (1999) theory of *civic nationalism* described a directed effort to build one unified identity over preexisting and sometimes incongruent identities to unite a society. Engel (2005) agreed such unity in a nationally imagined community can be misused: "Once imagination makes it possible for the individual to identify with a large nation-state it becomes possible for the leader of that state to dupe the people into supporting policies that serve only the leader's private good" (p. 537). The mass media theories mentioned here share the common thread of considering the implications of identity on imagined community. It is easy to assume the owners of printing presses or TV towers aim to influence everyone to vote the same way, but that is inconsistent with broadcast capitalism. The goal is to rouse the consumption of whatever is being printed or broadcast. The motive of producers in shaping FNC is demonstrated by broadcast capitalism to be profit and not propaganda.

FNC is owned by News Corporation. Tellingly, some of News Corp's other properties have aired content that undermines Fox News Channel's dominant ideology and at times has directly contradicted and belittled the outlet. The Fox Broadcast Network has offered programs such as *The Simpsons*, *King of the Hill*, and *Family Guy* laden with humor at Fox News Channel's expense. More than any other Fox Broadcast Network program, *American Dad* has been entirely dedicated to satirizing Fox News Channel *and its audience*. If News Corporation had the aim of coordinating its efforts to impose a unified ideology onto American media consumers, then they have not done it very consistently. Fox News Channel and cartoons that have made fun of it shared the same goal of making

money, which explains their coexistence under the same parent company as explained and predicted by broadcast capitalism.

Challenges of the Imagined Community Conceptualization

There are some aspects of applying the theory of imagined communities to a media audience that make such a comparison less plausible. The widest test Anderson (2006) has applied to the presence of a nationally imagined community was “the *attachment* that people feel for the inventions of their imaginations” (p. 141; emphasis original). He specifically cited:

Dying for one’s country, which usually one does not choose, assumes a moral grandeur which dying for the Labour Party, the American Medical Association, or perhaps even Amnesty International can not rival, for these are all bodies one can join or leave at easy will. (p. 144)

A nationalist may willingly die for a nationhood he imagines he shares with people he will never meet, but it is implausible most Fox watchers would pass such a threshold. Self-sacrificial death is presented as a possible outcome for the most jingoistic of an imagined community, not a quality inherent in all members. The Bahamas may be less strongly imagined by their members than a Chechen Republic, and those of one construction less willing to die for their collective invention than the other. Both exist as imagined communities, so this is no requirement of an IC.

The FNC in-group, out-groups, and competing communities are composed of people who have chosen each, but “In everything ‘natural’ there is always something unchosen. In this way nation-ness is assimilated to skin colour,

gender, parentage and birth era – all those things one can not help” (Anderson, 2006, p. 143). Each Fox watcher can opt in or out of the FNC audience, which is not true of an imposed nationality. Pittock (1999) believed a person can choose to imagine himself into a community, which would override an objection on these grounds. Further, whether anyone believes they were born Fox watchers cannot be addressed by this work.

The only definitive test Anderson gives for the presence of an imagined community follows from statements he made in an interview: “If you feel no shame for your country you cannot be a nationalist” (Khazaleh, 2005, para. 6). The concept of shame does not appear in his otherwise definitive book *Imagined Communities*, even after three revisions. This study does not collect any data to address whether Fox watchers feel any amount of *shame*, so again on this count FNC cannot be disqualified as an imagined community. Even though there are possible reasons why the FNC audience should not be considered an IC, they have not been shown to be strong enough to prevent taking this approach at this time.

Summary

Chapter II reviewed the mixture of theories of organizational identification, commitment, and imagined communities. In order to locate OI among media consumers, the audience must be treated as an organization and tested for commitment as well as identification. To describe a modern media outlet’s audience as an imagined community, print capitalism must be updated to

broadcast capitalism. These aspects will be evident in Chapter III as it addresses the methodological approach taken in this research.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Chapter III outlines the methodology applied to this work's hypotheses and research question. It begins with a description of participants, materials, and procedures. Chapter III then emphasizes the implications of the operational definitions of identification and commitment on the selection of existing scales and the process of originating open-ended questions and survey distribution.

Participants

Demographic characteristics were requested from the sample for descriptive purposes and to assess varying levels of identification and commitment between groups of respondents. Items placed at the end of the instrument measured gender, age, race, level of educational attainment, income level, voter registration and frequency, political party affiliation, and self-placement on both social and economic political spectrums.

Almost equal numbers of females (n=138) and males (n=136) were represented, with 5 non-responses to the gender measure. There were 33 (10.8%) non-responses to the age question. Any returned survey indicating the respondent was 17 or younger were disregarded, so in the analysis there were no participants reported in this age range. Of all valid respondents, 7.7% were

18-24, 10.3% were 25-29, 17.2% were 30-39, 28.6% were 40-49, 30.8% were 50-64, and 5.5% were 65 or over. Divided by very rough thirds, 35% were under 40, 29% were 40-49, and 36% were 50 or over. Other demographic measures recorded included educational attainment, of which there were 37 (12.1%) non-responses. Of all answering, 0.7% answered *no high school*, 9.7% answered *H.S. graduate*, 34.6% answered *some college*, 39.4% answered *college graduate*, and 15.6% answered *postgraduate*. The income of survey-takers was gauged by their total income in the previous year, and there were 52 (17%) non-responses. Of valid answers, 12.6% reported income under \$15,000, 13.4% reported income of \$15-30,000, 17.3% reported \$30-50,000, 16.1% reported \$50-75,000, 16.1% reported \$75-100,000, 15.4% reported \$100-150,000, 5.5% reported \$150-200,000, and 3.5% reported \$200,000 or more.

All responses to the race question were self-placements into predetermined categories with 46 (15%) non-responses. Of those answering, 81.9% chose *White*, 1.5% chose *African-American*, 4.2% chose *Latino*, 1.9% chose *Asian*, 4.6% chose *Other*, and 5.8% chose *More than one*. Racial categorization schemes can be contentious, so only one conclusion is drawn: Less than 20% of those responding chose something other than *White* so it can be adequately affirmed this sample was mostly white.

Of those responding to the question of whether the participant was *registered to vote* in time for the 2008 U.S. election, 96% answered *yes*. Of those responding to the question of whether the respondent *actually voted*, 95.3% answered *yes*. The question of political party affiliation was not answered by 53

(17.3%) participants, 3.6% agreed most with the Democratic Party, 53.8% with the Republican Party and 42.7% chose Independent.

There were 29 (9.5%) non-responses to the question of social political orientation. Of those responding, 5.1% were socially liberal, 29.6% were socially moderate, and 65.3% were socially conservative. There were 31 (10.1%) non-responses to the question of economic political orientation, with 1.5% identifying as economically liberal, 11.3% were economically moderate, and 87.3% were economically conservative. The time in which this survey was conducted (August 17th through September 29th, 2009) was a few months after the election of U.S. President Obama, in which the contrast between economic liberalism versus conservatism became more salient than previously.

Materials and Procedures

This project centers on a computer mediated survey composed of two quantitative instruments and two free-text response questions. The first hypothesis, "Organizational Identification exists in the relationship between a mass media consumer and a media outlet," was addressed through one open-ended question and one scale derived from Mael and Tetrick's (1992) scale of Identification with a Psychological Group. The second hypothesis, "Organizational Identification, as it exists in the relationship between a mass media consumer and a media outlet, is discrete from organizational commitment," was addressed by one scale alone, derived from Allen and Meyer's (1990) Affective Commitment Scale. Lastly, the research question, "How can a phenomenon of imagined communities explain the way mass media

consumers regard one another?” was addressed a priori, supported by one open-ended question alone. Institutional Review Board approval was obtained through West Texas A&M University. In order to confirm face validity before releasing the survey, a total of eight people reviewed a pilot version. None of them participated in the study.

The cross-sectional survey was designed to gather information about the perceptions of audience members of a media outlet as if they were members of an organization. One-time sampling has limitations as discussed in Chapter V, but is the most widely applied method of inquiry into organizational identification. The term “Fox News” is a common referent for Fox News Channel but is sometimes confused with the Fox Broadcast Network, on which local affiliates often air locally produced news. Therefore, the interchangeable terms “Fox cable news” and “Fox cable news channel” replaced an organization’s name for all measures of both scales.

This effort did not seek any data about Fox News Channel or its actions, rhetoric, or organizational leaders’ or producers’ views of their audience(s). The survey was concerned with one audience and issued once, so it provided no longitudinal or comparative data, or anything indicating causation. No attempt was made to determine the political leanings or the presence of bias related to FNC, its owners or employees, and there was no critique of FNC’s business or journalistic practices. This questionnaire was intended only to confirm or deny the existence of organizational identification and/or commitment and describe or

deny the existence of an imagined community. The survey employed in this study can be examined in its entirety in Appendix A.

Measurement of Organizational Identification

“The most widely used instrument” (Johnson, Johnson, & Hiemberg, 1999, p. 161) for measuring organizational identification has been George Cheney’s Organizational Identification Questionnaire (OIQ). However, criticism of Cheney’s work has been sharp. Miller, Allen, Casey, and Johnson (2000) called for “a moratorium on the use of the OIQ as a measure of organizational identification” (p. 648) due to their concerns over the scale’s unidimensionality, inclusion of items from scales of organizational commitment, and its construct and criterion validity. Other scales of OI, such as O’Reilly and Chatman’s (1986), have been criticized as inseparable from OC as well (Vandenberg, Self, & Seo, 1994). As seen in Chapter II, commitment researchers have generally been suspicious of identification measures.

Mael and Ashforth (1992) created a six-item Organizational Identification Scale, which Boruş (2008) praised as “the most representative OI measure with regard to its empirical outcomes” (p. 4) and Riketta (2005) cited as the most often-replicated OI scale. Mael paired with Tetrick on a second study based on this six-item *Mael Scale* supplemented with four additional items for a total of ten. The resulting Identification with a Psychological Group (IDPG) scale (Mael & Tetrick, 1992) was the basis of this study’s instrument because it was intended to locate cognitive OI and was tested specifically for its ability to measure OI

independently of OC (Mael & Tetrick, 1992). As in their scale, questions in this work's survey were answerable on five-point Likert-type spectrums.

Although "the IDPG measure is not limited to employees of organizations" (Mael & Tetrick, 1992, p. 822), many questions are worded in a way more natural for an employer relationship than anything else. Replacing the name of such an organization with the words *Fox Cable News* can create some odd sounding measures of questionable face validity. Participants may be misled as to the intent of the question if they were asked to agree or disagree with the statement: "I have a number of qualities typical of Fox cable news people." This phrasing of "Fox cable news people" may be mistaken as meaning *Fox cable news hosts, anchors, and pundits*. So instead of simply inserting the name of the outlet into the question, this item was rephrased to state "I have a number of qualities similar to other Fox cable news watchers." Questions were altered as little as possible, while conveying the intent of the originals.

The final measure, "The limitation associated with (name of organization) people apply to me also" was nearly completely reworded as "Stereotypes that I have of other Fox cable news watchers apply to me also," which likely has the most fidelity to the original's intent and required the least additional explanation in the pilot version of this study's survey. Appendix B gives a comparison between the exact questions from Mael and Tetrick's (1992) IDPG scale and the exact questions from the present study. The validity of this study's instrument is addressed in the upcoming results section.

Personal correspondence with George Cheney has been reported by Sass and Canary (1991) and Miller, Allen, Casey, and Johnson (2000) in which Cheney said his often-replicated Organizational Identification Questionnaire was never intended to stand alone as a measure of OI. Out of caution, Mael and Tetrick's (1992) Identification with a Psychological Group scale was used in the same way for this study, and more than their 10-item survey was employed in the search for OI among media consumers.

Open-Ended Questions

Two open-ended questions have been created for this research, which were not derived from any previous research. Each was designed to collect comments describing any presence of organizational identification and/or imagined communities. The main idea of each question was difficult to convey in pilot versions without further explanation, so the two best phrasings of each were paired as single measures. For example, the questions "In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company?" and "What do you have in common with the Fox cable news company?" were both meant to elicit comments possibly revealing of the presence of organizational identification, so they were paired into a single measure: "In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company?" This was done with the expectation that the one most easily understood by a given participant may be supported and clarified by the other. These were not meant to be two questions jammed into a single measure, but a single measure stated in the most understandable way.

The wording of the item addressing imagined communities was “What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share?” Imagined communities can be discussed a priori as a mechanism allowing for audience members’ identification, and the addition of a single question was intended to provide illustrative examples to strengthen any explanation.

Some content analysis is employed and all answers to the two qualitative questions were grouped, coded, and analyzed for trends. Specific key words, phrases, and concepts were counted for the frequency of their occurrence in response to each question. Free-text answers that were especially illustrative were reproduced in chapters IV and V and frequencies of counted words and phrases are available in Appendix C.

All open-ended results represented in this thesis have been electronically copied and pasted directly from the original responses as returned. To unburden the reader, they have been edited for re-presentation. Corrections have been made for spelling and grammar, but not syntax or word selection unless identified with ellipsis or closed square brackets. The volume and severity of errors was attributed to the likely tendency of people in an online environment to be less attentive to grammar, spelling, phrasing, or other usage characteristics. These do not undermine the information collected because no typo was severe enough to obscure the meaning of a response, and all un-redacted responses are available verbatim in Appendix D.

If research efforts are in any way grounded, then there is no escaping a conversation of political opinion and media bias. The two open-ended measures on the survey were, as specifically and narrowly as possible, meant to draw-out comments about respondents' feelings of organizational identification and conceptualization as an imagined community. Many relevant responses were gathered, but many were also gathered to questions never asked. This was so prevalent in results that it will be addressed at length in both later chapters.

Measurement of Organizational Commitment

There was no open-ended question concerning organizational commitment because it was only of interest in the present study to ensure measures of organizational identification were distinct. The OC instrument used in the present study was based on Allen and Meyer's (1990) Affective Commitment Scale (ACS). Allen and Meyer (1990) studied three forms of commitment including *affective* commitment, the kind commonly compared to OI. This scale "is shorter than the OCQ and has the advantage that its items were written to assess only affective orientation towards the organization and not employees' behaviour or behavioural intentions" (p. 15). The ACS was adopted for use in this study because it does not require behavior, is short, and aims to measure the affective component of attitudinal commitment, which is the brand of OC most in need of differentiating.

Responses to the questionnaire composed for the present study were possible on a five-point Likert-type spectrum instead of the seven featured in the original ACS in order to conform to the five-points offered in the OI section of this

study's survey. As with the scale used for organizational identification, the ACS's questions refer to an employer, and again, inserting the words "Fox cable news" into a space often meant for an employer's organizational name can create some odd-sounding questions. Participants may be misled as to the intent of the question if they were asked to agree or disagree with the statement: "I enjoy discussing Fox cable news with people outside it." The originally phrased "outside it" makes perfect sense when asking someone about her work environment, but those words lose all meaning when the replaced pronoun signifies "people outside Fox cable news." Again for this scale, questions were altered as little as possible and in ways conveying the original meanings.

The statement, "The things Fox cable news channel complains about are the same things I complain about," was a completely rephrased version of the original "I really feel as if this organization's problems are my own." As with any other alterations this change preserved the intent of the original and avoided confusion. The word *not*, whenever present, was fully capitalized (NOT) to ensure the statement was understood as negatively framed. Appendix B gives a comparison between the exact questions from Allen and Meyer's (1990) ACS and the exact questions from the present study's questionnaire.

Survey Distribution

Thirty total questions comprise the survey employed in this study, which can be examined in its entirety in Appendix A. There were 18 quantitative questions, ten of those aimed at OI and eight aimed at OC, two open-ended

qualitative questions, one aimed at OI and one aimed at IC, and ten demographic questions.

Participants were recruited through the website twitter.com. Twitter allows contact with users who have chosen to *follow* the updates of the accounts of FNC or FNC personalities such as Sean Hannity or Bill O'Reilly. Twitter users who have selected to read online posts by accounts related to FNC were thought to be more likely than average to be regular viewers and were therefore invited to complete the survey online. The prompt to Twitter users read: "FOX NEWS WATCHERS: Please help me out by taking my survey about watching Fox News." This was followed by a link to either [surveymonkey.com](https://www.surveymonkey.com), [zoomerang.com](https://www.zoomerang.com), or [esurveyspro.com](https://www.esurveyspro.com), all hosting identical surveys. Instructions were: "This survey is for people who live in the U.S. and watch Fox News Channel. This is for an academic assignment and all responses are voluntary. Choose the best ONE answer for each."

Free (unpaid) accounts at survey websites were used in this project, which limits each to 100 returns and each site has different procedures for handling surveys completed or attempted past that threshold. Therefore, it is unknown how many total people took the survey, but a total of 300 were returned, 100 each from 3 sites. Of these, 21 were excluded because the participant chose to answer very few questions, answered "neutral" to all or almost all Likert-measures, or indicated the respondent was younger than 18 years of age.

No question required an answer. Several surveys that were included contained non-responses, as deletion was not list-wise and their missing values

were not replaced with anything, but left void. Excluding every incomplete response would reduce the sample size by enough to alter results. The total number of acceptable surveys was 279.

Confidentiality was guaranteed as no personally-identifiable information was collected. Individually identifiable IP addresses were automatically displayed by two of the three host companies. Each company explains the availability of IP addresses is to monitor multiple entries from the same computer, which likely means the same respondent. An explanation as to why the third company did not display this information was not located. No IP addresses were recorded or transcribed from any site and participants received no recognition or compensation for their participation. Surveymonkey.com collected responses between August 17th and 25th, 2009. Zoomerang responses were collected August 25th through 28th, 2009, and Esurveyspro responses were collected September 8th through 29th, 2009.

Summary

Chapter III specified the methodology of this project. A cross-sectional survey comprised of two scales, two open-ended questions, and ten demographic questions was electronically distributed. Data sought were related to organizational identification, commitment, and imagined communities and the results of this effort will be relayed in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Chapter IV includes the results of the scales of organizational identification and commitment with emphasis on the variance between groups. The results of open-ended feedback are discussed next, which include unexpected responses and a defensive posture among some respondents. The results of data collection indicate Hypothesis 1 regarding organizational identification is rejected and Hypotheses 2 regarding the separation of measurements of organizational identification and commitment is supported. The results in terms of the concept of imagined communities are discussed as well.

Identification and Commitment Instruments

Of the 300 surveys returned, 21 were excluded, leaving 279 valid returns for analysis. On a scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree), the 3 (neutral) position represents the boundary between general agreement and disagreement with a given statement. In this analysis, means below 2.50 indicate subjectively sufficient agreement, means above 3.50 indicate subjectively sufficient disagreement, and means falling in the area separating those two thresholds (between 2.50 and 3.50) indicate neither general agreement nor disagreement. Table 1 arranges measures by ascending means, from the most

agreed with to the most disagreed with, and includes the standard deviation for each item.

Table 1

Items ordered by ascending mean

	Mean	SD
Q3 Fox cable news channel's complaints are my complaints.	1.67	0.85
Q1 I would be very happy to spend the rest of my life watching Fox cable news.	1.87	1.02
Q5 I do not feel like 'part of the Fox cable news family.'	2.01	1.01
Q2 I enjoy discussing Fox cable news with people that don't watch it.	2.03	0.94
Q4 I could easily become as attached to another channel as I am to Fox cable news.	2.16	1.02
Q8 I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to Fox cable news.	2.21	1.07
Q7 Fox cable news has a great deal of personal meaning for me.	2.28	1.02
Q17 I have a number of qualities typical of Fox cable news watchers.	2.32	0.88
Q6 I do not feel 'emotionally attached' to Fox cable news.	2.55	1.20
Q10 I'm very interested in what others think about Fox cable news.	2.69	1.06
Q14 I act like a Fox cable news watcher to a great extent.	2.73	1.11
Q9 When someone criticizes Fox cable news, it feels like a personal insult.	2.83	1.15
Q16 I don't act like a typical Fox cable news watcher.	2.86	0.87
Q12 Fox cable news channel's successes are my successes.	2.99	1.13
Q13 When someone praises Fox cable news, it feels like a personal compliment.	3.04	1.12
Q18 Stereotypes that I have of other Fox cable news watchers apply to me also.	3.05	0.95
Q11 When I talk about Fox cable news, I usually say "we" rather than "they."	3.43	1.11
Q15 If a story in the media criticized Fox cable news, I would feel embarrassed.	3.75	0.97

All but one of the eight items of organizational commitment returned means lower than 2.50. This contrasts sharply with items of organizational identification, of which *only one* returned a mean lower than 2.50. The average of the eight commitment measures was 2.10 (SD=1.02) and the ten identification measures return a mean of 2.97 (SD=1.04). This indicates Fox watchers commit to FNC more than they identify with it (reflecting negatively on H1) and the striking divide between each instrument's outcome additionally shows some measure of differentiation between commitment and identification (partially confirming H2). Graphically displaying the means of individual measures as in Figures 1 and 2 illustrates the contrast between the levels of agreement with each scale.

Figure 1. Means of OI items.

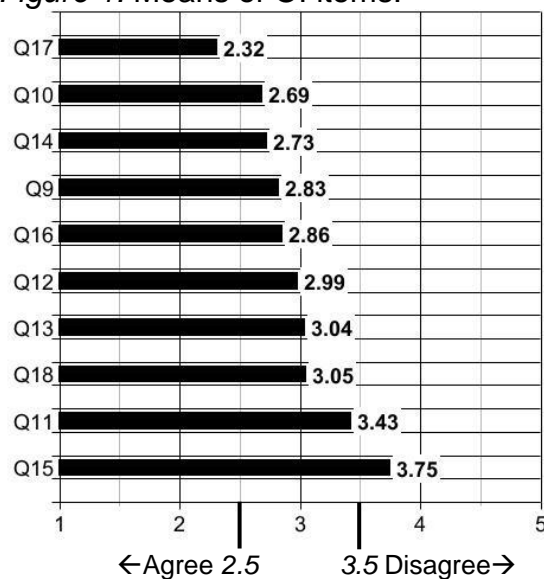
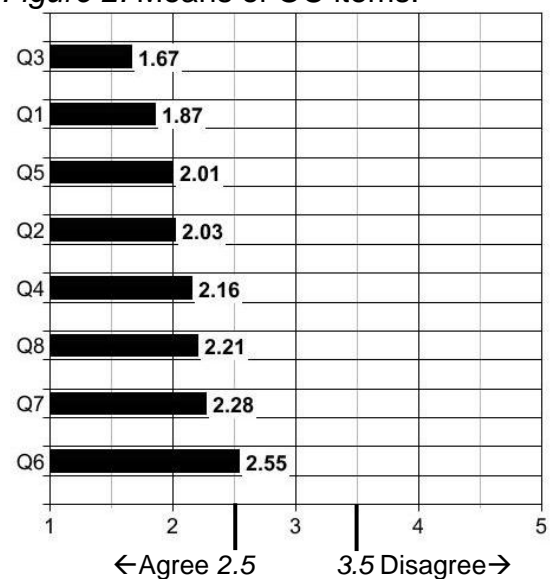


Figure 2. Means of OC items.



The strongest agreement among all items was with the statement in Q3: “Fox cable news channel's complaints are my complaints.” Of those responding, 49.8% strongly agree and 39.1% agree, totaling 88.9% agreement, with a mean

of 1.67 (SD=0.85). Respondents expressed most disagreement with the statement in Q15: “If a story in the media criticized Fox cable news, I would feel embarrassed” (66.5% strongly disagreed or disagreed with a mean of 3.75, and SD of 0.97). Fox watchers were overwhelmingly neutral (58.5%; SD=0.87) on the reverse-coded statement in Q16, “I don’t act like a typical Fox cable news watcher.” A significant amount of neutrality is discussed in Chapter V.

One way to assess H2 and the commingling of the two scales is to investigate the correlations across items. Table 2 is a matrix modified to highlight the divide between measures from the differing scales. The items fail to show higher correlation for others of the same instrument or correlate less with items of the other concept’s instrument, a finding that does not support the second hypothesis.

Table 2

Correlation matrix

		Organizational commitment items								Organizational identification items								
		Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16	Q17
Organizational commitment items	Q2	.580	-															
	Q3	.496	.383	-														
	Q4	.304	.092	.225	-													
	Q5	.589	.391	.576	.328	-												
	Q6	.539	.350	.479	.406	.716	-											
	Q7	.526	.391	.531	.391	.576	.669	-										
	Q8	.580	.368	.554	.423	.715	.765	.724	-									
	Q9	.353	.327	.484	.245	.421	.471	.448	.441	-								
Organizational identification items	Q10	.174	.178	.190	.087	.196	.249	.232	.233	.324	-							
	Q11	.277	.317	.339	.154	.357	.472	.399	.437	.546	.329	-						
	Q12	.441	.372	.432	.250	.481	.500	.513	.508	.547	.230	.567	-					
	Q13	.383	.329	.438	.253	.468	.537	.420	.479	.695	.373	.657	.699	-				
	Q14	.423	.308	.455	.276	.422	.470	.498	.502	.524	.284	.504	.578	.553	-			
	Q15	.127	.114	.210	.069	.136	.200	.097	.109	.394	.268	.333	.292	.444	.202	-		
	Q16	.200	.174	.231	.185	.252	.237	.241	.286	.104	-.075	.116	.205	.033	.264	.007	-	
	Q17	.388	.333	.473	.230	.469	.378	.473	.488	.350	.126	.287	.473	.336	.484	.040	.398	-
	Q18	.227	.221	.335	.075	.314	.260	.251	.258	.398	.226	.406	.419	.428	.451	.269	.206	.386

The 18 Likert-type questions were subjected to a Varimax factor analysis based on four components that had been extracted with eigenvalues greater than one. These results are illustrated in Table 3, which is a matrix with the divide between measures from the differing scales highlighted. Components returning values less than .500 were omitted. Apparent here is that each scale relies on two components with no overlap between them. Such a clear demarcation supports Hypothesis 2.

Table 3

Rotated component matrix

		Component			
		1	2	3	4
		Organizational Identification	Loyalty	Enjoyment	Self- Categorization
Organizational commitment items	Q1			.752	
	Q2			.832	
	Q3			.523	
	Q4		.797		
	Q5		.547	.540	
	Q6		.689		
	Q7		.616		
	Q8		.694		
Organizational identification items	Q9	.704			
	Q10	.558			
	Q11	.711			
	Q12	.588			
	Q13	.801			
	Q14	.506			
	Q15	.680			
	Q16				.768
	Q17				.671
	Q18	.530			

Arrangement in this way allows commonality between grouped items to become apparent. Each component was assigned a label based on the dominant emerging characteristic. Component 1 (of the OI scale) includes eight of the 10 OI items, making it the most difficult component to distinguish for having the broadest reach. For this reason, Component 1 can only be labeled *Organizational Identification*. Component 4 is composed of only two items from the OI scale, both necessitating that the participant accept the premise that he is a prototypical non-individual, an element labeled *Self-categorization*. This differs from other measures on the OI scale (composing Component 1) because it is premised on the respondent's willingness to self-categorize or comfort with his categorization by someone else. Components 2 and 3 are composed of items of the OC scale, one indicating attachment, belonging, and loyalty to FNC and one indicating personal enjoyment of FNC viewing. Component 2 is labeled *Loyalty* and Component 3 is labeled *Enjoyment*. Note the reverse-coded Q5 "I do not feel like 'part of the Fox cable news family'" loads on two components with a value on both just slightly higher than the .500 threshold. This indicates feeling like part of a family is positively tied to both loyalty and enjoyment. Table 4 lists all measures, divided by the component on which they load.

Table 4

Components

Component 1: Organizational Identification (of OI scale).

9. When someone criticizes Fox cable news, it feels like a personal insult.
10. I'm very interested in what others think about Fox cable news.
11. When I talk about Fox cable news, I usually say "we" rather than "they."
12. Fox cable news channel's successes are my successes.
13. When someone praises Fox cable news, it feels like a personal compliment.
14. I act like a Fox cable news watcher to a great extent.
15. If a story in the media criticized Fox cable news, I would feel embarrassed.
18. Stereotypes that I have of other Fox cable news watchers apply to me also.

Component 2: Loyalty (of OC scale).

4. I could easily become as attached to another channel as I am to Fox cable news.
5. I do not feel like 'part of the Fox cable news family.'
6. I do not feel 'emotionally attached' to Fox cable news.
7. Fox cable news has a great deal of personal meaning for me.
8. I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to Fox cable news.

Component 3: Enjoyment (of OC scale).

1. I would be very happy to spend the rest of my life watching Fox cable news.
2. I enjoy discussing Fox cable news with people that don't watch it.
3. Fox cable news channel's complaints are my complaints.
5. I do not feel like 'part of the Fox cable news family.'

Component 4: Self-Categorization (of OI scale).

16. I don't act like a typical Fox cable news watcher.
 17. I have a number of qualities typical of Fox cable news watchers.
-

These results relate to both hypotheses. The fact all 18 items were divided into four components, with two applying to each of two scales, confirms H2. To address H1, first each scale and component must be assigned a threshold under which means must fall in order to confirm an organizationally identifying survey sample. The neutral position of all items was a mean of 3.00 and a mean of 2.50 was subjectively chosen as the threshold of agreement necessary for this

research. For each scale and component, the number of items was multiplied by 2.50 in order to establish the threshold for the total mean of amalgamated items. If the mean fell below the given threshold, then the relevant measures were agreed with enough to confirm the existence of the related concept. These are displayed in Table 5.

Table 5

Means of scales and their components

	SD	Mean	Threshold	Exists?
Organizational Identification Scale	6.78	29.79	25.00	No
Component 1: Organizational Identification	6.13	24.56	20.00	No
Component 4: Self-Categorization	1.45	5.19	5.00	No
Organizational Commitment Scale	6.07	16.82	20.00	Yes
Component 2: Loyalty	4.32	11.24	12.50	Yes
Component 3: Enjoyment	3.01	7.59	10.00	Yes

The scale of organizational identification is composed of ten items, therefore the mean answer to all ten must be less than 25.00 (10 x 2.50) to confirm H1. The combined means of all OI items resulting from all valid responses was 29.79 (SD=6.78), which did not reflect enough agreement with the scale as a whole to support the first hypothesis.

Variance between Groups

Some significant differences between groups of survey takers can be seen among these four components and the scales of identification and commitment. Economic and social political orientations are the characteristics most predictive

of OI and OC, as they impact both scales and all four components with significance levels of zero. All ANOVAs were one-way independent groups analyses.

Beginning with whether respondents voted in the 2008 U.S. Presidential election, significant (at the .05 level) variance was shown only for the OI scale as a whole ($F=1.51$; $p=0.04$). Those who *did not* vote identify more ($M=27.31$; $SD=7.48$) than those who *did* vote ($M=29.89$; $SD=6.74$).

Next, respondents of differing political parties also showed variance for the OI scale as a whole, in addition to the OC scale and two OC components. Those self-affiliating with the Republican Party showed the most loyalty and enjoyment, followed by Independents and Democrats who reported the least of both components. Loyalty and enjoyment are both components of the scale of organizational commitment, which also showed variance based on political party affiliation. Variance is also significant for the entire scale of identification, although that of either component of the scale was insignificant, so OI components are omitted from Table 6.

Table 6

ANOVA: Scales, components, and political party affiliation

		Scale of Org. Commitment	Scale of Org. Identification	Comp. 2: Loyalty	Comp. 3: Enjoyment
F-Score		1.69	1.57	1.89	1.89
P-Score		0.03	0.03	0.02	0.03
Republican	Mean	16.23	28.49	10.84	7.28
	SD	5.24	6.30	3.89	2.46
Independent	Mean	16.84	30.47	11.29	7.56
	SD	5.75	6.48	4.21	2.73
Democrat	Mean	23.89	37.11	15.00	11.89
	SD	12.52	11.22	7.70	6.90

If attempting to arrange Republicans, Independents and Democrats by ascending means, the first question is of which measure is paramount. It would normally be necessary to choose one measure as *the one* in which to order variables, accepting that once arranged, other measures might not follow the same ascending pattern. In this case the pattern is consistent in that Republicans had the lowest means (most agreement) across all four measures, Independents had the middle means, and Democrats had the highest (least agreement). More remarkable is that both social and economic political orientation held equally consistent positions across six measures for Conservatives (lowest), Moderates (middle), and Liberals (highest). Such consistency conveys the strength of data, but also makes it clear those identifying themselves as Independent and Moderate are not the same crowd. Economic and social conservatives agree, identify, and commit the most, while liberals agree, identify, and commit the least, as displayed in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 7

ANOVA: Scales, components, and economic political orientation

		Scale of Org Commitment	Scale of Org Identification	Comp. 1: Org Identification	Comp. 2: Loyalty	Comp. 3: Enjoyment	Comp. 4: Self- Categorization
F-Score		5.33	3.58	2.90	9.38	6.96	14.29
P-Score		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Conservative	Mean	16.19	29.03	23.92	10.84	7.26	5.08
	SD	5.37	6.31	5.75	4.00	2.54	1.23
Moderate	Mean	19.03	33.52	27.69	12.65	8.74	5.74
	SD	7.53	7.51	6.55	4.96	4.03	2.28
Liberal	Mean	34.75	40.50	32.00	22.25	17.50	8.50
	SD	3.40	11.12	11.46	0.96	2.65	0.58

Table 8

ANOVA: Scales, components, and social political orientation

		Scale of Org Commitment	Scale of Org Identification	Comp. 1: Org Identification	Comp. 2: Loyalty	Comp. 3: Enjoyment	Comp. 4: Self- Categorization
F-Score		2.37	2.47	2.28	3.15	3.23	4.51
P-Score		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Conservative	Mean	15.79	28.20	23.21	10.57	7.06	4.98
	SD	5.29	6.34	5.78	3.96	2.44	1.31
Moderate	Mean	17.62	31.76	26.39	11.77	7.96	5.30
	SD	6.02	6.04	5.50	4.26	3.02	1.48
Liberal	Mean	25.50	37.57	30.36	16.79	12.29	7.21
	SD	8.62	7.93	7.52	5.40	5.05	1.48

The variances seen among the sample show some Fox watchers identify with and/or commit to FNC more than others, conditions most closely tied to political orientation. Yet, even when considering only conservative Fox watchers, the means were still above the threshold of 25.00 to confirm an organizationally identifying group, reflecting negatively on H1.

The following chapter will extend interpretation of these results. While no other method was used to investigate the second hypothesis, another approach to the first hypothesis was free-text feedback. Such results are discussed in terms of the research question regarding imagined communities as well.

Analysis of Open-Ended Questions

In this project, two collection approaches were taken with identification: the 10-item scale and one free-text question. A single open-ended question was the only one approach taken in the collection of information related to imagined communities. For this reason, the open-ended question about IC is discussed at greater length than the one about OI.

The first open-ended item was “What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share?” It was designed to assess the research question regarding imagined communities, and answered by 212 survey takers (67 non-responses). The second, “In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company?” was intended to address H1 regarding organizational identification, and answered by 177 survey takers (102 non-responses). These two were by far the least-answered of all items.

One linguistic practice that could be anticipated to show or fail to show either organizational identification or an imagined community was the presence of the words “we” or “they” in written answers. Counts for each are seen in Table 9.

Table 9

The concepts of “we” and “they”

Specific relational mentions (counts PER QUESTION, individual respondents are counted twice, once in each column, if a specific mention was present in answers to both questions):

	Total frequency	Frequency in response to the question regarding imagined communities	Frequency in response to the question regarding organizational identification
“we,” “us,” “our”	47	41	6
“they,” “them,” “their”	57	40	17

An almost equal number of people referenced Fox watchers in terms of we/us/our (41) and they/them/their (40) in their responses to the question on imagined communities. This finding does not disqualify respondents’ description as an imagined community, but also provides no support. Some of these mentions were brazen: “WE DECIDE what we believe” (emphasis original) and many were less emphatic.

Answers to the identification question were not as even. There were 17 references to they/them/their, contrasted against only 6 instances of we/us/our. It may be more natural to include oneself in response to the question “What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share?” than to the question “What do you have in common with the company?” These questions were not designed for the sole function of eliciting “we” and “they” for counting, but such counting does add to the body of data.

Of the free-text answers related to OI, some flatly rebuked the question’s underlying assumption: “I do not identify with Fox News.” However, others

established identification of some form is not unthinkable: “I identify because they make you feel like you matter and that you are part of a family.” More such examples will be examined in the following chapter, but the expected free-text results do not fully support the first hypothesis, which brings us to the unexpected.

Unexpected Results

Fox watchers tend to self-identify as conservative Christians who value their ideas of freedom, capitalism, and common sense, and admire their conceptions of America, its founders, and its constitution. This community overwhelmingly opposes what they believe socialism to be and detests U.S. President Obama. Additionally, it can be concluded Fox watchers share general agreement that non-FNC media outlets are politically liberally biased, but are split somewhat over whether FNC is unbiased or if it is biased in a way with which many Fox watchers agree. These findings should immediately lead to the question of how they could possibly be informed by a study and survey which in no way was designed to find them.

If this were a study of employees of McDonald’s or Bell Helicopter, it is doubtful a participant would answer a question about the commonalities between employees with the opinion that U.S. President Obama is a Kenyan-born socialist. But, this has been a study of Fox watchers, and that was exactly how one participant answered that question. Such responses were so prominent in answers that it would be negligent to ignore them, and they can cast a light on what being a Fox watcher means to a Fox watcher. The most prominent tangents

provided by the results were the unexpected stating of political opinion and views on bias.

Between the two open-ended questions, the one aiming at imagined communities received many more responses and it correspondingly resulted in more statements of political opinion. Of the 279 valid surveys, 76.3% of the participants (213) responded to at least one open-ended question. Of those 213, about 30% (65) decided to use the free-text boxes provided to voice their political opinions. Those counted were sometimes worded as softly as: “Hard working people that don't feel that everyone should have just because someone else does.” Though not the most directly stated political opinion, this was counted as one because it implies that Fox watchers share the same view of access to resources. Others were more clearly voicing a political opinion (or possible identity statement): “I am a Constitutional Conservative, holding to the letter and spirit of the U.S. Constitution.”

Also apparent were some of the ways participants framed their own opinions as either being positively *for* something or negatively *against* it. One participant described himself as being “against gun control ... anti-liberal, anti-abortion.” Another chose positive phrasing, describing Fox watchers as “pro-military types” and FNC as “pro-America and pro-capitalism.” The variety and frequency of responses voicing political opinion can be seen in Appendix C.

Bias is the other topic inescapable when addressing the FNC audience. For the purposes of this study, bias was not considered a political opinion so it

could be addressed separately. The ways in which bias was perceived by participants (who were not asked about it) are represented in Table 10.

Table 10

Framing of bias

Themes present (Frequencies are PER RESPONDENT, individual respondents are counted whether the theme was present in one or both answers to either open-ended question):

Positive phrasing: 'Fox is unbiased'	59
Negative phrasing: 'other outlets are biased'	36
Bias seekers: 'Fox's bias is good'	22
Total mentioning the theme bias	117 (total of above)

There were 117 total people commenting on bias. Each counted once, though some participants made contradictory comments that should otherwise be categorized separately. Some characterized FNC as simultaneously politically conservative and unbiased, as exemplified by the response: “Conservative and want NON-BIASED information want a sincere conservative, non-liberal slant” (emphasis original). More responses using otherwise exclusive terms included “Generally conservative. Fair and balanced” or a different participant’s comment: “I think we are centrists, fiscally and socially conservative.” Though it can be difficult to categorize internally inconsistent free-text responses, these were divided along the lines of how the idea of bias was most prominently conveyed in each.

Some would assert bias with positive phrasing: 59 wrote FNC is unbiased or the least biased outlet, or FNC is “fair,” “balanced,” or at times evoking the

outlet's slogan "fair and balanced." This was present in such remarks as "It is nice that there is at least one TV station that will show the conservative side, as well as the liberal side," "I like Bill O'Reilly and I like the way [he] is truly unbiased and states the facts" and "Fox news watchers are interested in fair and balanced information."

Others would broach bias with negatively associated phrasing: 36 asserted that most or all other media outlets are biased, politically liberal, are *for* U.S. President Obama, or act as extensions of the federal government. A typical response was:

CNN, MSNBC, ABC, NBC and CBS are so in the tank for Obama and radical left. Where is the news over there? CNN reporters argue with gray headed town hall folks. Why is CNN not yelling about the czars, out of control spending, deficit, critical look at Obamacare [and] pro-abortion [activists] with factory printed signs?

A third group of 22 recognized FNC as having a bias they favor, responding that FNC has is politically conservative. These were designated as bias-seekers for relatively soft wording such as: "my love for this country is expressed each and every day on Fox News." More typically-worded answers of bias-seekers would read: "Fox News is a right wing company looking out for the best interest of the American people." Those most clearly seeking bias were represented by one respondent who answered the first question with: "We love and appreciate the true news that Fox Cable News presents against the Liberals' crazy and radical politicians," the same respondent answered the second question with: "I'm a

conservative like Fox cable company who enjoys unmasking the corrupted liberal politicians.” Such statements clearly demonstrate some in the sample both recognize and favor the presence of congruent bias.

The variety and frequency of responses mentioning bias can be seen in Appendix C. When commenting on the topic, respondents did not always use the word “bias.” *Truth* was signified by words such as “truth,” “facts,” “integrity,” or “honesty.” The most typical answer involving truth was that participants and FNC as a company are “truth seekers” or “in search of the truth.”

The concept cited most often was “the mainstream media.” This was almost always presented as a contrast to FNC or a description of what FNC is not. Non-Fox media were most often characterized as politically liberally biased and therefore untrustworthy. The most often-appearing word in response to the imagined communities question was “conservative” with 63 mentions. “Conservative” was most frequently used as a self-applied label or as a descriptor of fellow Fox watchers or FNC as a company and was never used in a less than flattering way.

One participant replied she was “suspicious of the network news programs.” Those remarking on political liberalism at non-Fox media outlets often cited it as a reason to trust them less, though none of those remarking on political conservatism at FNC cited it as a reason to trust FNC less.

Defensive Posture

A general air of defensiveness about FNC was captured in some comments, such as “I would challenge any individual who speaks badly of Fox to

watch Fox for a week,” “I get angry when people say that Fox is biased because they always present both sides to a story,” or “We certainly do not want to be called idiots, stupid, dangerous, etc.” Many of the unexpected concepts discussed so far were captured in one response. This participant voiced his discomfort with question wording, offered political opinion, commented on bias, and exhibited defensiveness and apprehension about the idea of Fox watchers as a community:

Your questions are flawed and appeared biased, as they assume that there is a ‘type’ of person that watches Fox News and that we are all alike You should really choose your questions more carefully and not try to control the outcome by discreetly calling people who watch Fox News ‘minions.’ What kind of question is ‘If a story in the media validly criticized Fox cable news, I would feel embarrassed?’ What is meant by ‘validly criticized?’ The primary thing I usually hear Fox News criticized for is presenting both sides of a discussion topic, whereas most other networks only present one side. That is why you see Fox having the most balanced demographic of all cable new audience, including political demographic.

No part of the instrument employed in this study was meant to connote Fox watchers are “minions,” but, this leads to something else present often enough to warrant counting: personally-oriented attacks against the survey author.

Some were as straight forward as: “How about you’re an idiot for having this survey. It’s plain to see you’re against Fox News Channel. Open your eyes and think for yourself. The truth is out there for you to see. You sheep.” One

remarkable response, considering the survey was derived from existing and proven instruments, was “Your questions above are vague and have inferences not explained. What is a ‘normal’ Fox news watcher? You need to better explain your criteria for a better sample. If I were grading you, which I do have a MA and working on a Doctorate . . . your questions would be a negative for your grade.” A total of six participants used free-text space to attack the survey author. Though rare, the implications of these will be further considered in Chapter V.

Summary

Chapter IV presented the results of the scales of organizational identification and commitment, and both expected and unexpected open-ended feedback. These supported the second hypothesis and research question, but did not support the first hypothesis. Chapter V will discuss and interpret these results.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Chapter V discusses the results presented in the previous chapter and implications for the hypotheses and research question. Organizational identification is considered, followed by its differentiation from organizational commitment, then imagined communities. Organizational identification cannot be confirmed or fully disconfirmed among the sample, but the effort to measure this could be distinguished from an effort to measure organizational commitment. The sample can appropriately be characterized as an imagined community as conveyed in the research question. The fifth and final chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of this study and directions for future research.

Organizational Identification

First presented is evidence against the presence of organizational identification among a media audience relevant to the first hypothesis, followed by the presentation of qualitative support for some type of identification, suggesting continued research is needed.

Disconfirming H1

This project's method of studying organizational identification followed the quantitative scales that have been previously successful. Results did not

sufficiently show organizational identification between the sample and FNC. The strongest evidence refuting H1 was found in the quantitative survey results.

To address H1, first each scale and component was assigned a threshold under which means must fall in order to confirm an organizationally identifying survey sample. The neutral position of each individual item was a mean of 3.00 and a mean of 2.50 was subjectively chosen as the threshold of agreement necessary for this research. Therefore, a component composed of eight items must return a total mean below 20.00 (8×2.50) in order to demonstrate the presence of the measured variable. The component of generalized OI was composed of eight items, so the mean of 24.56 didn't support H1. The component of self-categorization was composed of two items requiring the total mean of both items to be below 5.00 (2×2.50), but it returned a 5.19, again failing to support H1. Additionally, all 10 items of the whole OI scale yielded a mean of 29.79, which was on the wrong side of the threshold of 25.00 (10×2.50) needed to support H1. The results of the scale of organizational identification were simply not sufficient to demonstrate the existence of OI in this sample.

In response to the free-text question specifically citing organizational identification, the sample mentioned the words *we*, *us*, or *our* only 6 times, compared to 17 for *they*, *them*, or *their*. Of the Likert-type measures, Q11 states "When I talk about Fox cable news, I usually say 'we' rather than 'they.'" This measure returned a mean of 3.43, the second most disagreed-with of the entire survey. Such results counter acceptance of H1.

Some open-ended responses directly refute the notion of identification with FNC as well. Responses included “I do not identify with Fox News” and “There is really no way that I identify with Fox cable news as a company - that's ridiculous.” Organizational identification is something more naturally applied to work environments and there was one response from a participant who explicitly recognized this: “I don't identify with any company I don't work for.” OI scales were often meant to capture workplace identification, so it was not surprising that simply adapting the OI scale to say “Fox News” in most places was not sufficient to capture identification of a media outlet with its audience members. However, there was sufficient commentary from others that do somehow identify, a suggestion worth further pursuit.

Considering Organizational Identification

Organizational identification, as measured by a scale derived from Mael and Tetrick's (1992) IDPG scale, was not shown to be present. But, there is evidence of something akin to Mael and Tetrick's (1992) conceptualization of identification worth investigating.

One participant wrote: “I identify because they make you feel like you matter and that you are part of a family.” Another responded that FNC “feels like a family.” The comparison to family was remarkable because these participants have likely never seen anything of FNC other than what has been delivered through electronic media and they can be personally familiar with only a miniscule number of people within the FNC viewership. But, organizational identification does not relate so much to home life as work life, and most OI

researchers have often looked within businesses, not families. These comparisons were also found among responses: "Fox news is like a company for me." Such comments add credibility to the notion that OI exists in the relationship between a media outlet and its audience. However, free-text comments confirming the presence of OI were just as strong as opposing comments disconfirming it. No conclusions can be drawn from simply counting those who say "I identify" against those who say "I do not identify" and no single comment can be striking enough to decide organizational identification in the sample.

Action was another finding relevant to the first hypothesis, which does not need to be located to affirm the presence of OI, but was evident nonetheless. Dutton and Dukerich (1991) found employees of an organization intentionally imagined how their group was perceived by outsiders and acted in order to make that perception more favorable (or less unfavorable). Personally-oriented attacks against the survey author were possibly motivated by concerns the instrument was invalid or *against* FNC. None of the participants had any knowledge of the author, other than in the recruitment process it was revealed the survey supports an academic assignment. Inquiry may be perceived as an out-group threat to the in-group, thus jabs against the inquirer were made defensively. Such comments were rare, coming from a total of six participants, but meaningful because whether expressed in defense of an identified-with organization or as a declaration of allegiance to an imagined community, attacks are acts.

The unexpected and unsolicited voicing of political opinion was also action, and a demonstration of norm adoption. Cheney (1983b) wrote that in

order to identify people must agree to allow themselves to be susceptible to persuasion, leading to identification through the adoption of the organization's values: "An individual who is inclined to identify with an organization will be open to persuasive communication . . . the member may 'complete' the process by adopting or adapting the organizational premises" (p. 347). The FNC slogan "fair and balanced" was present 27 times in free-text responses. This signifies some level of value adoption, as FNC's proffered norms are being voiced through the words of survey respondents. Viewers may feel they assign agency to FNC and are rewarded by hearing their words on the lips of FNC program hosts, but it may work the other way around.

There is no clear distinction between those self-identifying as Fox watchers and those who such members perceive as external to their in-group. There is only the subjective sense of a *them* held by each individual who must also sense there is an *us*. The most agreed-with measure, with 88.9% strongly agreeing or agreeing, was "Fox cable news channel's complaints are my complaints." This reflects unity through opposition, which necessitates that something to oppose (a *them*) must be constructed. The unexpected voicing of views on bias demonstrates in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination. Participants' choices to use free-text space as a soap box to "set the record straight" about bias revealed favoritism for other Fox watchers and discrimination against non-Fox watchers.

Responses in open-ended feedback support the existence of in- and out-groups, which in turn supports the existence of OI. There were no comments

located in which the construction of a favored in-group or discriminated against out-group(s) was denied. Of course, there was nothing in the questions to prompt such denial, but there was equally nothing to prompt the abundant confirmations.

Cheney and Christensen (2000) wrote “the relation with the environment tends to form a tightly closed circuit in which the organization confirms the basic elements of its own culture” (p. 251). Fox watchers’ awareness that non-Fox watchers exist is central to their self-categorization as Fox watchers. One participant returned:

While the majority of Americans have always been more conservative in nature, it was a risk to put it on TV in the beginning. They were a lone voice. It's good they grew up strong. All good Americans relate to that.

This origin myth of *risk* is consistent with Cheney’s (1983a) words: “Identification with the collective membership of the organization is suggested not only as desirable, but also as *necessary* to oppose threats from outsiders” (p. 154; emphasis original). Another participant responded: “They always present both sides to a story.” The phrase “Both sides” appeared 28 times in open-ended responses, which supposes there are two opposing groups, us and them. One survey taker wrote: “I believe that we all are conservatives and think alike.”

Although “liberal” was mentioned a relatively few 21 times in free-text responses, it appeared only once in a non-derogatory sense: “I cannot identify with Fox news. I share the views of many left-winged liberals.” Other than specifically dis-identifying with FNC, this response was remarkable in that sharing “the views of many left-winged liberals” was thought by the respondent to seal his exclusion.

This can only bolster the case for the existence of organizational identification (H1).

Taken together, corroborative evidence from many angles triangulates on the first hypothesis, making a good case for acceptance. But, none of these indicators derives from the post-positivist method of investigation in OI research, the quantitative survey, returning us to the rejection of H1.

Summary of Organizational Identification

Although both anecdotal and qualitative evidence supports the existence of OI and the total mean of the OI scale and its components revealed more agreement than disagreement, the presence of organizational identification was not sufficiently supported by the ten OI items derived from the IDPG scale. For this reason alone, Hypothesis 1 is rejected, but there was also insufficient reason to decide the absence of organizational identification. Future research may discover a scale more appropriately and naturally applied to the relationship between a media outlet and its audience.

Organizational Commitment

Now we turn to organizational commitment and the second hypothesis. Even though organizational identification was not adequately present in the sample, the interest here was whether the effort to measure it was sufficiently separate from the effort to measure organizational commitment. The following discussion considers evidence for affirming H2 and the presence of OC. Imagined communities and the research question are considered further below.

Results indicate a differentiation between organizational identification and commitment, accepting H2. To begin, the mean of one scale of the survey was 2.10 and the other was 2.97; different answers given indicate different questions were asked. Only one of the ten OI items returned a mean below 2.50, but seven of eight OC items crossed that threshold, offering strong support for the second hypothesis.

A factor analysis clearly revealed four components of the full 18 item instrument composed of both scales. Questions 1-8 (the OC scale) shared two components that were not present in questions 9-18 (the OI scale). The reverse was also true, there were two different components present in Q9-Q18 that were not shared with Q1-Q8. A clear boundary can be drawn through the middle of a rotated component matrix separating the two scales, offering the second hypothesis its most powerful endorsement.

However, it must be noted the analysis of internal consistency identified problems in the differentiation of the two scales. The OI scale returned a Cronbach's Alpha (α) of 0.88 and for the scale of OC, $\alpha=0.85$. The combined 18 items returned $\alpha=0.91$. The internal consistency of the amalgamated instruments was higher than that of each independently.

A look at a correlation matrix of all 18 measures also revealed only one question that correlated highly with the other questions on its own scale and poorly with those on the other concept's scale. Here again, consistency within the two separate scales cannot be demonstrated to be higher than that of the amalgamated one. Both an analysis of internal consistency and correlations

between all measures fail to show much distinction between the two instruments, countering the second hypothesis.

Summary of Organizational Commitment

The 18 Likert-type questions of the survey were designed to address Hypotheses 1 and 2, to investigate whether a mass media audience can organizationally identify with a media outlet in a way that can be distinguished from commitment. The second hypothesis: “Organizational identification, as it exists in the relationship between a mass media consumer and a media outlet, is discrete from organizational commitment” was accepted with recognition that there are some internal consistency issues. The most appropriate deciding evidence was the results of factor analysis of the 18 measures, which overrides any detracting oddities.

Notably, the mean of the commitment scale was 2.10, which falls well below the threshold of 2.50, implying that OC potentially exists among survey respondents. The means of the two components of the OC scale and the scale itself were all well below the thresholds needed to show the sample is organizationally committed to FNC. This research stops short of concluding the sample is organizationally committed to FNC and there is no claim organizational commitment exists among media consumers. This issue will be revisited in the conclusion of this chapter.

Imagined Communities

The approach to discussion of imagined communities will be markedly different from organizational identification and commitment, as here the

emphasis is on description. The concept of imagined communities is addressed in the present work by a research question: “How can a phenomenon of imagined communities explain the way mass media consumers regard one another?” The existence of an imagined community would precede and facilitate organizational identification, but not the other way around. Fox watchers would have to imagine before they can identify, but they do not have to identify before they can imagine.

The FNC audience was approached as an imagined community constructed through shared past, so some of the discussion below may seem to relate only to American national history or FNC programs or hosts, but all of it supports the findings on imagined communities. We will begin with shared past before narrowing the discussion to who exactly is sharing the FNC-mediated past (in-group community members) and who is not (the out-groups). These are the bases of an imagined community.

Our Story: Constructing the Past

Publicly consumed rhetoric is central to imagined communities, a theory wholly reliant on the key of print capitalism, and contemporarily the electronic key of broadcast capitalism. Members of a community perceive it as the rightful and deserving inheritor of something they can agree on valuing from the past. According to one survey participant, Fox watchers share the values of “America-loving” people. This participant and others like him self-identify as the progeny of a great American history, which he believes demands that he accept, adopt, and

belong to Fox. Discussion of IC begins with FNC's claim on American history and the way it feeds viewers a community to imagine.

Herbert Butterfield's (1965) concept of *Whig history* is that we are inclined to interpret history as the story of inevitable progress toward the present and believe the present is the ideal that everyone in the past has always worked towards. Butterfield cautioned against the tendency "to produce a story which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present" (p. 9). We naturally regard as heroes those historical figures who we believe wanted society to be the way it is now and as villains those whose efforts we believe have slowed history's inevitable march to this particular present.

Butterfield's (1965) idea of the "glorification of the present" is easily extended to FNC's viewers' claim on American history. Two separate survey participants wrote they "resent having the country and her values 'transformed' and/or discarded" and share "concern regarding the liberal direction the country is taking and what it means for future generations." The expressed anxiety about the future, but comfort with the present, assumes everything that has shaped the present is good, but any further shaping is bad. FNC's American history is the glue that binds the Fox watching community and the blueprint of what to imagine.

FNC commentators sometimes mediate for viewers how prominent historical figures would see the present world. On Presidents' Day 2010, the program *Your World with Neil Cavuto* began:

He helped found our country and our Constitution, and our next guest says, on this Presidents' Day, Alexander Hamilton would be appalled at

what our current politicians are doing to the Constitution, and he should know why, he's an Alexander Hamilton impersonator. (Alexander Hamilton's Take, 2010)

FNC host Glenn Beck's regular program includes a weekly segment entitled "Founders' Fridays" (Beck, 2010b) in which Beck tells his audience, in their stead, what George Washington or Samuel Adams would say about current issues or contemporary figures.

America's founders have been posthumously framed as being a pro-Fox bunch and FNC reinterprets the American national genealogy as naturally preceding present day Fox norms. Fox News Channel presents itself as the standard bearer whom the founders have entrusted with their ideals and legacy and is therefore privileged with broadcasting what those are. In doing so, FNC is in the business of constructing a past that fulfills the communal needs of an increasingly loyal audience.

FNC has conducted and aired the results of informal polls on questions such as "Would the Founding Fathers be happy?" (Paicopolos, 2010, para. 1) and "What would the Founding Fathers say about the state of our democracy?" (Fox News Poll, 2010, para. 1). Poll results invariably reveal most Fox watchers think like most Fox watchers, an infinite feedback loop which is consistent with and predicted by Benedict Anderson's theory of imagined communities.

Some survey participants were certain as to what the American founders intended "I am a Constitutional Conservative, holding to the letter and spirit of the U.S. Constitution. I have genuine agreement with the framers and the debates

had at the Virginia ratification convention.” As history’s mediator, FNC can choose which social memories are great and deserve nostalgic attachment, “An essential mechanism in creating and preserving a unified social identity is establishing social memory, a process in which the media play a key role” (Schejter, 2007, pp. 917-918). Another survey participant expressed certainty of and reverence for an imagined past: “We believe in what the founding fathers had intended when they started this country: Individual freedom, choice and small government.” Confined to live in the present, it is through watching Fox News Channel that a contemporary American can best connect with past greatness.

Weinstein (2001) wrote media producers represent history with an eye on “perceived audience satisfaction” (p. 28). Television programming has to draw ratings and advertisers. If it is perceived the audience wants to feel complimented by absorbing a history that adulates them and supports their worldview, then that is what they will get. Fox watchers can feel they share a communal past which facilitates their membership in an imagined community, boosting the reach and frequency of FNC programming.

Media producers without a political agenda may still represent themselves as having one to an audience flattered by it. FNC’s message is anyone not loyal to FNC has turned his or her back on America and its founders, a message increasing consumption by feeding viewers an in-group to imagine. Broadcast capitalism is the best explanation of why FNC markets itself the way it does and why Fox watchers imagine themselves an FNC community. Intentional or not, the

creation of an *us* profits a company whose business model is to charge advertisers for access to the eyes and ears of this *us*. Broadcast capitalism was both necessary for the creation, and the reason for the existence, of the imagined community of this media audience.

Us: Imagined Unity

We human beings cannot imagine an *us* without a *them*. Relevant here is Anderson's (2006) insistence that: "The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations" (p. 7; emphasis original). If a TV audience does not have the physical boundaries that designate people as having a given nationality (an imposed IC), how can it be determined who is a Fox watcher and who is not?

Survey responding Fox watchers know others like them exist and there is a real *we*. This follows what Anderson (2006) wrote: "The newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential neighbours, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life" (pp. 35-36). Readers of the same newspaper still see each other on subways, but such worldview confirmation lives in another way through computer mediation, which "establishes that communication is necessary *and* sufficient condition for [users] to *act as if they are* members of a community" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 259; emphasis original). Especially among the sample available to this study (recruited through

twitter.com), online interaction confirms for each Fox watcher that she is not the only one, but one of many.

If we (the many) did not imagine ourselves united as a community, then we just might imagine ourselves as divided, with different (competing) interests. Some sub-groups of FNC are unknown or vaguely-known to each other. The Fox watching community is composed of people who, without the common ground of FNC, might not like each other very much. Recall Anderson's (2006) concept of *community*: "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p. 7). Davidson (2007) was more frank:

States need conscripts for their armies, citizens to pay taxes, workers to accept that they have more in common with those who exploit them at home than they do with their fellow-exploited abroad. This made it imperative that loyalty to a state be secured, and the nation was the means. (para. 58)

The imagined community (nationhood) is the means through which the marginalized can be persuaded to join those who marginalize them, as a solid *us*. This *us* is united against *them*, the marginalized (and sometimes those who marginalize) elsewhere.

How does this apply to FNC? Cigar and cognac imbibing hedge fund managers in pinstripes consume the same media outlet as evangelical homeschooler moms who scorn haircuts and female pants. These two groups have little else in common and have directly opposing worldviews. These are not

proffered as typical of the FNC audience, but non-representative audience members are still audience members and such remarkably contrasting segments must be underlined to illustrate competing perceived interests within the whole. Even when this divide becomes salient, each viewer finds solace in the assumption that the only worldview being propagandized is hers. The poor approve of FNC's molding of the out-of-touch rich with down-home values. The rich approve of FNC's molding of the simple-minded poor with the virtues of free-market capitalism. A Fox watcher may approve of the idea that FNC makes others more like her, without acknowledging it also makes her more like others.

Them: The Mainstream Fringe

Many respondents made clear their belief Fox News is the best news and Fox watching people are the best people. Respondents were also clear in their loyalty to FNC and mistrust of all that is not Fox, un-Fox, or anti-Fox. One wrote: "They tell the truth and don't try to cover up stories like MSNBC or CNN." As mentioned above, the phrase "Both sides" appeared 28 times in open-ended responses and some participants framed media viewership as an either/or decision, responding that as a group, they "watch Fox News instead of MSNBC" or wrote FNC is "the opposite of MSNBC." Still, Fox watchers need CNN and MSNBC in the world, so they may have out-groups to which they can favorably compare themselves. When asked "What do Fox cable news watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share?" one participant returned, "They have about as much in common with each other as MSNBC/NBC/CNN/CBS watchers do." It may not be

a question of whether media consumers are divided into camps, but of which camp a given viewer belongs.

One survey taker implied anyone critical of FNC is someone who has not had the eye-opening experience that comes with exposure to it: “I would challenge any individual who speaks badly of Fox to watch Fox for a week.” There is a silent understanding that norm adoption is different from indoctrination and FNC *works* on the weak minds of out-group people, yet *informs* the strong ones of those in the in-group.

Further, FNC’s presentation of news lends credibility to its opinion programs. Survey responses captured this sentiment among viewers: “We want the truth. Unlike news channels that ‘create’ or ‘modify’ the news, FNC offers the facts and lets individuals come to their own conclusions.” Another participant instructed “Tell me the facts. ‘We report, you decide’ is what news should be.” The phrase “We report, you decide” is a slogan of FNC that has been adopted and reproduced here in the response of a viewer indicating belief in Fox News as news. If news is the presentation of facts, then we assume everything a news organization presents is a fact. The name *Fox News* implies that Fox is fact. The legitimacy and credibility associated with television news increase the outlet’s prominence and profitability in a way unavailable to non-news channels, an aspect that belies broadcast capitalism.

If Fox’s news is the truest news, then viewers have special access to The Truth. Fox watchers might believe themselves privileged with having better opinions than consumers of other media, based on the truest Truth. Out-groups

are all the non-Fox watchers out there who are perceived to be gullibly accepting of lesser truths. As seen here, in-groups develop negative stereotypes of out-groups and deindividuate members (Horwitz & Rabbie, 1982; Wilder, 1981). Many survey respondents may perceive themselves as having more in common with Joe the Plumber than Tim the Tree-Hugger; the difference is Joe the Plumber is *one* of us and Tim the Tree-Hugger is *all* of them. As one wrote, "Watchers hit it hard. They share being pissed at the other weak news stations. Fox hits it hard and they don't give a damn!" In any us-and-them construct we compare ourselves favorably to them, which is not unique of the community studied:

In-group members often come to share pejorative perceptions of the out-group and experience the real or imagined slights against other members as their own if an individual is not on one side, he or she is believed to be on the other side. (Ashforth & Mael, p. 32, 1989)

Once we interpret a person as representing an out-group, we interpret new information about him in a way that supports the categorization and ignore new information that counters it (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990). The statements of a non-Fox watcher are received by a Fox watcher as out-group thoughts that are incongruent with FNC norms, thus wrong. This lessens the likelihood a member of the imagined in-group would become a frequent viewer of a non-FNC news outlet, lessening turnover within the FNC audience, and giving the company a more stable viewership to offer advertisers. Broadcast capitalism

underpins the features of this and assuredly other modern imagined communities.

Summary of Imagined Communities

All imagined communities are composed of members who do not and cannot know all other members and a television audience is no different. Fox watchers as a group can be conceptualized as an imagined community and described in a way consistent with the theory, reflecting positively on the research question. This is an imagined community composed of all those sitting in separate living rooms who imagine it into existence. An uninvestigated assumption is audiences of other media outlets may exist as imagined communities as well. We now turn to a segment focused on other limitations of this work and possible directions for future research.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

There is no shortage of limitations regarding the present project and there are clear directions for future research. Both will be discussed together, beginning with curiosities raised by the results. Then discussion turns to problems with the survey, what could be done differently in the future, what is investigation-worthy about responses, and finally the problems they reveal that could themselves be topics of future research. Cheney (1983b) lamented

the failure of researchers to use methods that can best ‘tap’ the process-related aspects of organizational identification . . . Typically, paper-and-pencil measures are used . . . [but] . . . they offer little opportunity for

understanding the dynamics of the individual-organization relationship. (p. 345)

Computer mediation in data collection does nothing to fix what was wrong with the otherwise “paper-and-pencil measures” Cheney wrote about and the central point about cross-sectional snap-shots as flawed methodology holds true in the present work.

The valid sample of 279 surveys does not allow for generalization of these results to all Fox watchers, though it is sufficient for exploratory purposes. Some demographic measures were possibly invalid. Some who had viewed a pilot version of the survey believed a socially liberal person is an extrovert and did not believe they were answering a question about political orientation towards social issues. The item in the fully-distributed, final version of the instrument simply stated: “I am socially: ___ Liberal ___ Moderate ___ Conservative.” Directions were only that participants choose one response and it is unknown if this was an often misunderstood statement or how many other measures may have been misunderstood.

The income-level of survey-takers was gauged by their total income in the year preceding the response and no significant variances were found among different categories. But, results from this measure were not without a lesson to be remembered in future efforts. There was no option offered specifically for those who do not work. One respondent illustrated this by listing her annual income as \$50-75,000 though writing in open-ended feedback “I’m a housewife.” Other individuals’ responses to the income-level question may have also been

answered with the income of a spouse, entire household, or other way representative of a lifestyle or social class, but not that individual respondents' income. Equally, options for the education question did not include one for *some high school*. Non-uniformity of answers to these and possibly other questions could have been avoided if the questionnaire had been more thoughtfully designed.

It is possible other questions were not perfectly understood by all respondents as well. One open-ended response began with: "I'm not really sure what you mean by these last two questions." That may have been true for other participants and other questions as well. The relatively low response rates may indicate these two questions were either less intelligible than other items or simply required more effort. The frequency of irrelevant responses to the open-ended measures is evidence that those two questions were not valid and may better measure something else. It is equally possible comments unrelated to the questions were the result of participants' face-work and actions to enact identity, but doubtful these have invalidated information provided by this study's qualitative efforts and have only enriched descriptive efforts.

Some of the differences between groups in the sample deserve inquiry and promise the possibility of locating identification and/or commitment among some media consumers. Those who identified themselves in the instrument as Republican or Independent, as well as both economic and social conservatives showed significant and consistent agreement across both OI and OC scales, contrasted against the opposite result for those identifying as Democrats or

economic and social liberals. Though scarcely surprising, this may open an area for confirmation of whether the salience of political affiliation allows for heightened identification or commitment, or if it is a predictor of either.

The results of this survey reveal organizational commitment among the sample. Although a conclusion that this media audience is organizationally committed to FNC is not made here, the possibility deserves investigation. An anomaly compounding such efforts was the OC scale's reverse-coded Q5 "I do not feel like 'part of the Fox cable news family,'" which loaded on two components (both of the OC scale). Discovering what underlies this and confirming or disconfirming organizational commitment among television viewers may prove worthwhile.

Maybe the most significant area needing further investigation is why and how respondents reacted to its employment. There is something about the topic of FNC that leads to results skewed in a way that would be unlikely if the topic were different. What provokes people to fight for the collective esteem of a community to which they imagine they belong, especially when they (as anonymous internet survey takers) have no personal face to protect? This may be where the most intriguing future research can be done. This line of inquiry would likely run through theories of social identification, self-categorization, and/or the related minimal group paradigm.

Fox watching survey respondents presented themselves as *overwhelmingly neutral* on the reverse-coded statement "I don't act like a typical Fox cable news watcher," possibly revealing a response bias. Disagreeing with

the statement compromises one's credentials as an independent thinker, but agreeing would paint the respondent as an anti-FNC out-group member. The neutral answer was an escape from the dilemma which was taken by 58.5% of respondents who answered this item in this way. The statement receiving the second most neutral responses was "Stereotypes that I have of other Fox cable news watchers apply to me also." Again, *stereotypes* has an unflattering connotation people might hesitate to self-apply, especially in a community with reverence for uniform nonconformity and the rugged individual. A rotated component matrix revealed these as the only two items that load on a single factor, which was labeled *self-categorization*. Unwillingness to agree with an accurate statement might result in lots of neutral answers. It is possible participants might not honestly claim to be all that different from other Fox watchers, leading to a less than honest claim of neutrality. These two most-neutral items also returned the lowest standard deviations and had the two highest rates of non-response for all Likert-type questions.

The case made for a significant amount of neutrality deserves further inquiry: What makes these two items so special? Their results may be attributable to the tendency for clustered responses with a low standard deviation to huddle around the center of a spectrum. Or they may indicate participants do not want to say yes to questions that would honestly be answered with a yes, something that may be exacerbated by this project's computer mediated format. Computer users engage in "strategic self-presentation" by exploiting the features of computer mediated communication to "create preferred images of self" (Lindlof

& Taylor, 2002, p. 258). The presence of free-text boxes in an online environment may allow or encourage expressions of preferred identity over actual identity. Is the neutrality found by these two items better explained by the subtleties of statistics or psychology? What can induce individuals who have no personal identity at stake to defend their self-aligned group's reputation by appearing *normal* (neutral)? Future research may consider which attributes of a survey can be predicted to trigger anonymous participants to negotiate a group's face.

Participants may have gotten test-wise, seeing the survey as a challenge to FNC and believing their role was to pass the test by submitting the *right* answers. Beginning with the online invitation for "FOX NEWS WATCHERS" to complete a survey, the identity of Fox watcher became salient. Survey takers may have perceived this to be their prompt to act and defend FNC by answering questions (including demographic measures) in ways that project FNC fans as an exemplary bunch. Participants perceiving the research effort to be disinterested in FNC's reputation, or even "pro-Fox," may have desired to please the researcher by assuring him he has made contact with good people. One possible approach to remedy this in future research may be focus groups, though that presents the danger that any session devolves into (the now expected) arguments over bias and/or political opinion. One-on-one interviews may prove productive as well.

One measure that may offer less incentive to intentionally color the results is age, which likely returned accurate answers for the body of participants of this

survey. The resulting sample was not old enough. Studies indicate the demographic most apt to respond to online questionnaire invitations is younger than average (Groves, Fowler, Couper, Lepkowski, Singer, & Tourangeau, 2004). Of the sample, only 5.5% reported they were 65 or over, but among actual American television viewers, “Fox News has the *oldest* audience . . . even older than viewers of Hallmark Channel, Military Channel and Golf Channel” (Hibberd, 2010, para. 1; emphasis added). The average age of all Fox watchers is 65 years old (Hibberd, 2010), thus the sample used in this research (having only 5.5% above that average) did not represent actual Fox watchers. This was most likely attributable to this project’s computer mediated format and method of recruiting participants through twitter.com. Potentially the severest threat to the present research was that *age* is the demographic characteristic most closely tied to FNC viewing and this survey failed to capture a representative sample.

Summary

On these conclusions, Hypothesis 1 was rejected, but with noticeable elements of identification found in the qualitative analysis. Hypothesis 2 was supported, finding organizational identification was measured apart from organizational commitment. Finally, the research question was successfully answered by description of Fox watchers as an imagined community. Results point to the need for more results and there are several prompts for future research.

This project extends Anderson’s (2006) print capitalism to all methods of mass knowledge transfer, the most widely absorbed of which is broadcast

television, as of this writing. But, this will not be the case much longer. Further convergence of media is inevitable and although there is no certainty as to which form this might take, we can know that no one consumer will be able to be personally acquainted with every other consumer of the same media entity. There is no reason for the ability of an audience to be an imagined community to become obsolete with further technological development.

It is print (broadcast) capitalism that might develop into something too many degrees removed from what Anderson (2006) wrote about to be recognizable. No matter what, there will always be an incentive for media producers to have many consumers, so there will also always be pressures for community creation. In which ways will print (broadcast) capitalism be amended in order to explain its existence?

The Last Lone Inventor recounts Philo Farnsworth's efforts to build a device that converted radio waves into moving pictures. Biographer Evan Schwartz (2002) wrote that Farnsworth was not laboring to invent television for the novelty of images, but was motivated by how it would change civilization in ways that radio could not. His premise was radio (and print) journalists must mediate news in words, but television would allow audiences to see the scene for themselves, eliminating the need for mediation:

Philo began laying out his vision for what television could become. Above all else . . . television would become the world's greatest teaching tool. Illiteracy would be wiped out. The immediacy of television was the key. As news happened viewers would watch it unfold live; no longer would we

have to rely on people *interpreting* and distorting the news for us. (p. 112;
emphasis added)

May the last lone inventor rest in peace, never having lived long enough to
witness the evolution of the medium he invented.

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APPENDIX A

Beginning on the following page is the survey instrument used in this research. The version presented here was originally formatted for hard-copy paper distribution, which was never employed, instead favoring computer mediation in data collection. There were no differences between surveys across the three websites that hosted them and all questions here are exactly the same as distributed electronically.

This is a survey conducted for an academic assignment. Results are confidential and completed surveys will be kept secure and are not traceable to you. All responses are voluntary and no compensation will be given for participation. **Circle the best ONE answer for each:**

1. I would be very happy to spend the rest of my life watching Fox cable news.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

2. I enjoy discussing Fox cable news with people that don't watch it.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

3. Fox cable news channel's complaints are my complaints.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

4. I could easily become as attached to another channel as I am to Fox cable news.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

5. I do not feel like 'part of the Fox cable news family.'
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

6. I do not feel 'emotionally attached' to Fox cable news.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

7. Fox cable news has a great deal of personal meaning for me.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

8. I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to Fox cable news.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

9. When someone criticizes Fox cable news, it feels like a personal insult.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

10. I'm very interested in what others think about Fox cable news.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

11. When I talk about Fox cable news, I usually say "we" rather than "they."
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

12. Fox cable news channel's successes are my successes.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

13. When someone praises Fox cable news, it feels like a personal compliment.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

14. I act like a Fox cable news watcher to a great extent.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

15. If a story in the media criticized Fox cable news, I would feel embarrassed.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

16. I don't act like a typical Fox cable news watcher.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

17. I have a number of qualities typical of Fox cable news watchers.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

18. Stereotypes that I have of other Fox cable news watchers apply to me also.
Circle ONE: Strongly Agree / Agree / Neutral / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

Write-in your own best answer for each:

19. What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share?

20. In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company?

Check the best ONE answer for each:

21. I am:

- Male
 Female

22. My highest level of education completed:

- No High School
 H.S. Graduate
 Some College
 College Graduate
 Postgraduate

23. My total income last year was:

- Under \$15,000
 \$15-30,000
 \$30-50,000
 \$50-75,000
 \$75-100,000
 \$100-150,000
 \$150-200,000
 \$200,000 or More

24. I am:

- White
 African-American
 Latino
 Asian
 Other
 More than one

25. My age is:

- 17 or under
 18-24
 25-29
 30-39
 40-49
 50-64
 65 or Over

26. The political party I agree with most is:

- Democrat
 Republican
 Independent

27. I am economically:

- Liberal
 Moderate
 Conservative

28. I am socially:

- Liberal
 Moderate
 Conservative

29. During the 2008 US election, were you registered to vote?

- Yes
 No

30. During the 2008 US election, did you vote?

- Yes
 No

- Thank You!

APPENDIX B

This project's scale of organizational identification was derived from Mael and Tetrick's (1992) IDPG scale. Table B1 gives the exact questions from the IDPG scale on the left, along with the exact questions from the present study on the right, with changes in bold print.

Table B1

OI scale modifications

Questions as they appear in Mael and Tetrick's (1992) Identification with a Psychological Group (IDPG) scale:	Questions as they appear in the survey used for the present study:
When someone criticizes (name of organization), it feels like a personal insult.*	When someone criticizes Fox cable news , it feels like a personal insult.
I am very interested in what others think about (name of organization).*	I'm very interested in what others think about Fox cable news .
When I talk about (name of organization), I usually say 'we' rather than 'they'.*	When I talk about Fox cable news , I usually say "we" rather than "they."
(name of organization)'s successes are my successes*	Fox cable news channel's successes are my successes.
When someone praises (name of organization), it feels like a personal compliment.*	When someone praises Fox cable news , it feels like a personal compliment.
I act like (name of organization) person to a great extent.	I act like a Fox cable news watcher to a great extent.
If a story in the media criticized (name of organization), I would feel embarrassed.*	If a story in the media validly criticized Fox cable news , I would feel embarrassed.
I don't act like a typical (name of organization) person. (R)	I don't act like most other Fox cable news watchers .
I have a number of qualities typical of (name of organization) people.	I have a number of qualities similar to other Fox cable news watchers .
The limitation associated with (name of organization) people apply to me also.	Stereotypes that I have of other Fox cable news watchers apply to me also.

* identifies the six question of Mael and Ashforth's (1992) first scale

This project's scale of organizational commitment was derived from Allen and Meyer's (1990) ACS. The following table gives the exact questions from the ACS on the left, along with the exact questions from the present study on the right, with changes in bold print.

Table B2

OC scale modifications

Questions as they appear in Allen and Meyer's (1990) Affective Commitment Scale:	Questions as they appear in the survey used for the present study:
I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this organization.	I would be very happy to spend the rest of my life watching Fox cable news.
I enjoy discussing my organization with people outside it.	I enjoy discussing Fox cable news with people that don't watch it.
I really feel as if this organization's problems are my own.	The things Fox cable news channel complains about are the same things I complain about.
I could easily become as attached to another organization as I am to this one. (R)	I could easily become as attached to another channel as I am to Fox cable news.
I do not feel like 'part of the family' at my organization. (R)	I do NOT feel like 'part of the Fox cable news family. '
I do not feel 'emotionally attached' to this organization. (R)	I do NOT feel 'emotionally attached' to Fox cable news.
This organization has a great deal of personal meaning for me.	Fox cable news has a great deal of personal meaning for me.
I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to my organization. (R)	I do NOT feel a strong sense of belonging to Fox cable news.

APPENDIX C

Table C1 illustrates which themes were most present in political opinions expressed in response to open-ended questions.

Table C1

Political opinion themes contained in open-ended answers

Specific mentions in descending order of frequency:

	Total frequency	Frequency in response to the question regarding imagined communities	Frequency in response to the question regarding organizational identification
“America,” “Our/This Country,” “The/This Republic,” or “Our/This Nation”	52	45	7
“Morals,” “Religion,” or “Christian”	34	28	6
“Constitution” or “Bill of Rights”	22	20	2
“Small” or “Big” Government	16	14	2
“Freedom” or “Rights”	14	13	1
“Obama,” “President,” or “This/Current Administration”	14	12	2
“Capitalism”	11	6	5
“Common Sense”	11	8	3
“Socialism”	8	8	0
“Founders” or “Founding Fathers”	5	5	0

Table C2 illustrates which themes were most present in opinions about bias expressed in response to open-ended questions.

Table C2

Bias themes contained in open-ended answers

Specific mentions in descending order of frequency:

	Total frequency	Frequency in response to the question regarding imagined communities	Frequency in response to the question regarding organizational identification
"Truth," "Facts," "Integrity," or "Honesty"	85	50	35
"Conservative"	82	63	19
"Mainstream Media," "MSM," or "Liberal Media"	56	36	20
"Liberal"	31	21	10
"Fair and Balanced"	27	8	19
"Bias(ed)" or "Unbiased"	18	11	7
"Both Sides"	28	15	13
"Fair" or "Fairness"	12	5	7
"CNN"	11	4	7
"MSNBC"	10	7	3
Contradictory "Conservative" AND "unbiased" in the same response	5	2	3

APPENDIX D

Below is a complete reproduction of all open-ended answers provided by participants to all surveys in this study. They are divided into three sections based on which website was used to collect them. All are numbered corresponding to their place in the SPSS file used to analyze the quantitative data provided, SurveyMonkey.com was used for 1-100, Zoomerang.com for 101-200, and ESurveysPro.com for 201-300. Any skipped numbers indicate participants that chose not to answer any open-ended questions and any respondent with an answer to only one question indicates that he or she chose not to answer the missing question. Everything below is a direct electronic copy and paste, nothing has been redacted, and all errors have been left untouched and originate with the subjects.

Collected by SurveyMonkey.com

- 1) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Good values, morals and belief that the Constitution should be upheld by officials in the government
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? It is fair in all its stories. They (reporters) seem to have a good christian background w/ morals and good common sense.
- 3) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They want to see both sides of a story.
- 4) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Middle class americans, unsure of Obama admin., Believe strongly in The Constitution & Dec. Of Ind.

- In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I have mixed feelings
- 6) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I believe they are better informed and more apt to look into a news story for themselves rather than rely on anyone to tell them.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? It is a powerhouse and refuses to give up no matter what the other stations say about it.
- 7) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We strong and believe in the founding fathers of this great country. We believe in freedom and the strength of family.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I look to fox news for a fair and balanced opinion. I would challenge any individual who speaks bad of Fox to watch Fox for a week
- 8) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Love for there country and a moderate conservative wives.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Always good to hear bought sides of the story.
- 10) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Most are conservatives
- 11) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? what fox cable news watchers share is liking to hear both sides of the story
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? i listen to both sides of the story
- 12) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Truth in reporting.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Want to know whats going on in DC.
- 13) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I am an independent and I don't judge myself or others according to what TV channels they watch. Media is good for one thing, keeping up to date on things happening. However, as a wise man once said you can only believe half of the people half of the time. I use discernment when watching any news.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I would have no clue, I have never actually dove into the company and it's many aspects. I can agree with certain commentators, but I don't always agree with everything anyone says. I am an individual first & foremost with my own opinions, views and beliefs.
- 15) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Minimal government interference; abide by Constitution; LEGAL immigration and a president with experience and honor.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Conservative views and disdain for the presidential mockery occurring in Washington.

- 18) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? A sense of Patriotism and a STRONG belief in my Constitutional rights
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? i am just as out raged at how this country is becoming.
- 19) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? The people that I know who watch want objective reporting and honest punditry. They do not want libs or neo-cons pretending that they are not libs or neo-cons.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Don't know its just news.
- 21) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I really don't know. All I know is about me. Factual, personally responsible, to the right of center.
- 22) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Generally conservative. Fair and balanced.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Fair and balanced.
- 24) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Demand real reporting of the facts. Not biased opinions.
- 25) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative values, believes in US Constitution & Founders, Anti-elitest and anti-Big Government
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? believe in capitalism and profit motive
- 27) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Level-headed, truth-seekers, intelligent
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Desire for truth and fairness
- 29) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? typically religious, christian, against gun control, believe in strong military, anti-liberal, anti-abortion
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? fiscally conservative, believe in small government & state rights
- 32) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They have about as much in common with each other as MSNBC/NBC/CNN/CBS watchers do. It is wrong to stereotype a group based on any factors and it is misleading to stereotype them based upon where they get their news.

- 33) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Your questions are flawed and appeared biased, as they assume that there is a "type" of person that watches Fox News and that we are all a like. I don't know anything about any Fox News viewer other than a couple of friends that I know watch it, and we are friends, so of course we are going to share similarities with regard to both Fox News and non-Fox News topics. You should really choose your questions more carefully and not try to control the outcome by discreetly calling people who watch Fox News "minions". What kind of question is "If a story in the media validly criticized Fox cable news, I would feel embarrassed." What is meant by "validly criticized"? The primary thing I usually hear Fox News criticized for is for presenting both sides of a discussion topic, whereas most other networks only present one side. That is why you see Fox having the most balanced demographic of all cable new audience, including political demographic. Just because one does not agree with the political leanings of people doesn't mean that they are to be demonized for their beliefs. I disagree with a lot of people and still respect them.
- 34) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Most are Conservative
- 35) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They want the news. Not a television show. There is a difference.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I can understand that they are good at what they do.
- 36) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Worrying about the direction our country is going. Conservative. Christian.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I love watching Glenn Beck, O'Reilly Factor, Sean Hannity
- 37) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Intelligence, conservative ideals, demand for unbiased news and information.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I use my brain and I like my news to contain all of the facts not what is popular in Hollywood.
- 38) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? How would I know? I only know for me and I believe in conservative values and do not want the country going in the direction it's headed--toward socialism: I don't feel it's the President's responsibility to redistribute my wealth
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Fox has radio and television. Fox IS fair and balanced like I try to live my life. I get angry when people say that Fox is biased because they always present both sides to a story
- 39) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We value hearing the truth.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? We value giving only truthful information.

- 40) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? desire for the truth, fairness, most loyal viewers have morals, ethics, they do the right thing in there community and in life there predominately conservative...and most of all the reason they watch foxnews instead of the MSNBC is that MSNBC is so far up obama's butt they don't know where obama ends and msnbc begins....msnbc only gives half stories and whole lies
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? im honest thats it
- 42) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Concern regarding the liberal direction the country is taking and what it means for future generations. Concern over the erosion of our Constitution & Bill Of Rights w/bigger govt. control over our personal lives.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They share our point of view on most issues.
- 43) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Common Sense
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Common Sense
- 44) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Most Fox cable watchers are concerned with preserving the Constitution of the United States and all of the rights given to us by our FOunding Fathers.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I feel that for the most part Fox news gives a differing view than other stations.
- 45) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? The facts, truth & genuinely the good side.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Fox = "The Good" CNN = "The Bad" & MSNBC = "The Ugly!" I know what's good & what's bad. I'm for the facts, truth & what's good!
- 46) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Intelligence
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Bucking the mainstream trend
- 48) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We're fair and balanced and have both sides of the story.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Fair and Balanced and not lop-sided perspective.
- 51) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Who cares?
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Nothing

- 52) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? passion for non-filtered news, common sense
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? passion for quality information, work ethic
- 53) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? More conservative
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Perspective
- 54) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Watchers hit it hard. They share being pissed at the other weak news stations. Fox hits it hard and they don't give a dam!
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I hit it hard and they hit harder. Don't ____ with fox they knock you out for giving B.S. its cool that way.
- 56) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? POLITICAL OPINION
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? A COMPANY THAT EDUCATES THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
- 57) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They like to know the truth and they know they will get it from Fox
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They have good sense and they are fair and balanced
- 58) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? A concern for traditional American values and a sense capitalism is under attack by the Int'l elitists.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Willing to disseminate both sides of the issue. I like a fair debate and full disclosure of both sides of the issues.
- 61) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Value and respect for life; Judeo-Christian values; tend to be more generous in supporting charities ...
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Don't identify with the company per se, rather, appreciate straight news.
- 63) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? The Truth
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I can't
- 64) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I want a different view and opinion especially since the other tv news outlets are totally in bed with Obama and they are not objective. I want to see varying opinions and you see that on Fox.

- 65) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We want to hear unbiased news...
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Say it like it is
- 66) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? The news should be just that, not commentary or propaganda.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Capitalism and truth
- 67) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? "Fair and balanced" - WE think.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Want to hear both sides; don't fall for the PC bs; want to hear the news nobody else will air.
- 68) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? i'm guessing they're fiscally conservative, believe in the Constitution & States' Rights, less Govt., a Republic FOR the people
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I tend to speak my mind and opinion and like to think I search for truth
- 69) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Want to Hear both sides of the story
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? None
- 70) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We Dislike the propaganda of the other news outlets that lead you by the nose and have no critical thinking of their host
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? questions like these are never asked of those in the intimidation media that is less and less people care for the Hollywood scripted content.
- 71) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I have never surveyed other people
- 72) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? conservative, Republican, political saavy, curiosity, active in their community, grave concern about economy, desire to stop socialistic legislation
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Watch all network shows, read postings on web, write/contact/email often,
- 73) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? good values, good ethics, good morals
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Try to keep an open mind, listen to both sides of an issue. Fair & balanced.

- 75) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I watch Fox simply for unbiased news..Why others watch it is beyond me.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Nothing it is news.
- 77) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They are citizens of our country. According to the ratings both conservatives and liberals watch Fox News. So, I am a citizen and I am either a conservative or liberal. BTW Your questions above are vague and have inferences not explained. i.e. What is a "normal" fox news watcher? You need to better explain your criteria for a better sample. If I were grading you, which I do have a MA and and working on a Doctorate . . . your questions would be a negative for you grade.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I do not identify with Fox News.
- 78) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They are conservative, common-sense, America-loving, fair people.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I want the truth out.
- 79) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Morals, values and honesty
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They DO report fair & balanced and then I make up my own mind!
- 80) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative, anti-large government, desire low taxes, responsible
- 81) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Common Sense, Intelligence, and wisdom
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Fox is the only news network that is not in the tank for the left. They also give adequate time to leftist view points. eg. Shep Smith, Geraldo, Juan Williams, Leslie Marshall, Nancy Skinner etc..
- 82) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Intelligence, desire of truth
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Valúes ie truth
- 83) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? the are the opposite of main stream media
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? conservative, report the news instead of making the news

- 84) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Open mind
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? On the edge, doing something different, offering varied viewpoints
- 85) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They look for balance and look at issues from different views. FOX reporting is more balanced, unlike MSNBC which is always biased towards pro Obama/Dems.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I dont. I usually watch many news outlets, but find FOX as better. For business news, i used to watch NBC for 15 years, untill this year, I find myself watching Fox Business News more.
- 86) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? A need for the truth !
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Fairness.
- 87) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? people that are open to the truth, willing to listen to both sides of an issue, wanting understanding the issues, allowing me to make my own conclusion after presenting facts ... also we are most likely to be conservative, against higher taxes, do not government to run our lives, and we are all worried about the government take over ...
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Fox cable news is the only company I believe will deliver fair and balanced news ... I identify because they make you feel like you matter and that you are part of a family.
- 89) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Most just want the news facts without the spin. I'm not interested in opinions. Just the news!
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They understand the need for real news networks and have done a good job filling the void left by other networks.
- 90) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative, I like a good discussion, I like seeing both sides, Fox covers things the other channels do not.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I don't get this whole line of questions, I wish there were 10 more channels that would dig up dirt and fact check everything. CNN, MSNBC, ABC, NBC and CBS and sooooo in the tank for Obama and radical left. Where is the news over there? CNN reporters argue with gray headed town hall folks. Why is CNN not yelling about the Czars, out of control spending, deficit, critical look at Obamacare, townhall meeting and the bus in Union / pro-abortion with factory printed signs.
- 91) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We love America first and our party affiliation less.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? We believe in strong capitalisiam

- 93) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Independent thinkers who do not want to be told how or what to think about situations and events; we form opinions based on facts; FOX cable news does not insult the viewer's intelligence
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They deal in facts and allow the viewer to form opinion based on fact; the anchors seem down-to-earth while others at other cable news outlets tend to embody an elitist mentality while often not having facts to back their premises, something with which I have difficulty; FOX does not insult my intelligence
- 94) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Most watchers that I have had contact with are Conservative or Independent. They have a concern for our constitutional rights and would like to preserve them.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I feel that they are not only fair and balanced giving both sides of the issues but I feel that they go above and beyond by educating me on the issues.
- 95) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative, smart in all areas, compassionate of others even other countries,
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They can provide information that can be useful for my life, work, or school.
- 96) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Can't get the same news on the other stations. CNN, NBC and other are too liberal.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Tell me the facts. "We report, you decide" is what news should be.
- 97) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They want the truth, the whole story.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I want to hear the real news, not the main stream medias biased, in Obamas pocket version. For local news I listen to local channels for political news, FOX is the way to go!!
- 98) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? conservative thinkers who want both sides of the issue
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I like their style.....
- 99) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? In my opinion Fox News watchers want to hear BOTH sides of a topic..not just one
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Can't speak about the company and its identity

100) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Interested on the truth about issues, not opinion.

Collected by Zoomerang.com

102) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? A desire for news that is not slanted to the liberal left. Fox presents one of the only alternatives to a very liberal news media.

103) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They want the truth. They are honest, hard working, free market capitalists that want little gov involvement in their life. In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? This is a stupid question and your survey was irrelevant

104) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Most of them can't stand Bill O'Reilly or Geraldo Rivera. They think the two of them are idiotic, uninformed pompous buffoons whose shows are only about themselves....not fair & balanced news. It's an insult to our intelligence to try to listen to them. Any number of their guests - even Dennis Miller - would be better in their spots.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? More conservative than most other media and the reporters seem better educated and more intelligent (other than the 2 exceptions mentioned above - O'Reilly & Rivera). The Fox women are a refreshing change from the bimbos in most other media. The biggest turn-off is O'Reilly, whose show is all about his enemies list and self-promotion. If only Fox could duct tape his mouth shut and let his guests do all the talking. His stupidity and many mistakes (which he never admits or apologizes for) make him an embarrassment to the network! Jessica Alba is more intelligent than he is and knows more about foreign neutrality, yet he decided he knew better than she did what she was talking about. Typical. He probably voted for Obama because they have the same initials....that's how shallow he is!

105) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? The damn truth about what is really going on in the world around us. Not a one sided liberal view.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They are fair and balanced.

106) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They are looking for the truth and objective reporting. They provide more information rather than opinion. They are not afraid to ask the difficult questions that I would ask.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I am a fact-based person and do not emotional-based reporting. I feel the Fox News offers variety including some programs I don't choose to follow. They are trustworthy and reliable.

107) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? they are sick of the left wing bias In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? =i want the truth

- 109) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Americans who believe that the Constitution is as good today as ever and the government is too big and we are losing our liberties one by one! America is the greatest and most generous country because of her "grass roots" people who stand up for their principles and self reliances.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I truly believe FOX is fair (and balanced)and people who watch are more concerned about our future as a Republic and want a team they can believe in to research situations most citizens haven't the time to compile and study on their own.
- 110) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Enjoy Free Speech.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? It's a multinational corporation like the owners of all the other news networks. I have nothing in common with a corporation.
- 111) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? most are conservative or libertarians
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? we support capitolism
- 112) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Love of country, freedom, liberty, constitution, vision of founding fathers and the truth.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Conservative social and fiscal values. I speak the truth, regardless of whether it offends or not.
- 113) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? A desire to see more than one side of an issue that is being reported.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I'm a blonde female and I work with a lot of men. haha. but seriously I hold personal accountability as a high standard and I believe they do at Fox. I've seen flubs and outright mistakes and seen anchors or hosts apologize or acknowledge their mistakes which I identify with. I like to think that people can rely on me as a source of actuality rather than a product of spin or manipulation of events.
- 114) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We care about America and the Constitution.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Similar beliefs
- 115) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We enjoy the truth with out the liberal bias shared by theotehr major networks
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Irealize by these question you are trying to lump all viewers of Fox together into a group of mindless drones. But you will find people who seek the truth tend to be intellectually suerior to their liberal conterparts, our collective intelligence

higher, and maturity equally superior. Try another survey checking for these qualities and then slink off in a corner.

- 117) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Tend to like to hear news from an unbiased veiw...we like news without an agenda.
- 118) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They have the nerve to say what may not be said by stations that only say what is popular at the moment.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I don't care about the company itself, but I don't believe the political bias would be any different than a left leaning network.
- 120) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? "Conservative" "values" which are largely right wing media driven, often they are anti-abortion, more biased towards republican opinions... the opposite of msnbc.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? We both deny having a political bias but both clearly do.
- 123) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservatives; hard working Americans; need someone to itterate their feelings about government; feel like a family when agree on stances or opinions.
- 124) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? we all have he same in common. freedom of speech
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? not much
- 126) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I would guess that most of them are conservative, or at least center-right. However I have no way of knowing that for sure.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I own a company, so maybe running a business would be something I have in common with Fox. Otherwise I don't know what that question means.
- 131) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative, believe in limited government, values
- 134) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They tell the truth.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Looking for the truth.
- 135) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They want the truth. They know CBS, ABC, NBD, CNN give the news with slants and won't admit it.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Most of the commentators seem just as upset with

washington as I do. They aren't afraid to call out politicians who are screwing up. And they cover news.

- 136) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? conservative values, truth seekers
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Honesty, integrity, value based
- 137) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative or libertarian leanings that want more than what the more left-biased media outlets offer. Fair and balanced is mostly true. Obviously there are exceptions.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They are a typical American success story that has found its niche in the marketplace.
- 138) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Most that I know have a strong sense of patriotism for the United States of America and hate to see it turned into a Socialist Bannanna Republic by a gang of Fascists in the White House with total disregard for the Constitution.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? It is a company that makes an honest effort to give the American People a fair and balanced look into current events.
- 139) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? we like the truth fair and balance
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? work hard to get the truth out
- 140) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We want the facts. We want the truth. We uphold the Constitution of the U.S.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Integrity
- 141) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? A desire to hear both sides of the story.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I don't identify with any company I don't work for.
- 142) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I think we are centrists, fiscally and socially conservative. We believe in the Constitution. We like to read broadly among primary sources to formulate our own opinions.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I don't identify with Fox as a company.
- 143) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I feel that most of the people that watch Fox News want to do what they can to make the country better. In addition, I feel that the watchers of this channel want to cut through the lies of the politicians and this is why they turn to the FNC with hosts like Bill O'Reilly

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I do not really identify myself with the Fox cable news as a company. We are two completely different entities. While we do agree on most issues, we do disagree sometime, but this is the most respectable news organization when it comes to disagreements. That is why I stick with it.

145) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We care about the direction of this country and our freedoms.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They don't have tingles running up their legs.

147) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I don't think stereotyping people because they listen to a certain channel is very safe. It's like are you black are you white. I listen to different things and I do research and make a decision from there.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Nothing, I take some of it, I leave some of it.

150) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? most people that watch fox news cable news are mostly republican and that's why i feel a bond with them

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? their political views

151) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? conservatism and life values

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Conservative, pro-life, Christian, Glenn reminds me of my son. He is hyper too. They have the same mischievous eyes.

152) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? conservative, Christian, republican

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? philosophies and fairness

153) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? your survey is useless

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? your survey is stupid

154) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? and open mind and a since of knowing what is right and wrong

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? The Truth

155) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Love of country and a we want to see people work for what they have, not have things handed to them from the govt.

157) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? each person is differnt in their

beliefs. each person can find something they like about it if they just take the time to watch.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? i am not sure about this question... i guess i just like what they report. all their news is as they say "fair and balanced" and i like that.

158) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Viewers are seeking the truth.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Don;t know. I am my own person. But I think of FOX newscasters as the type of people has harworking patriots who believe in the American dream.

160) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? patriotic,sense of the common man and preservation of our rights as americans, most share some form of religious background or an understanding of its importance to our country

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? as a company i question some of the content on the other channels they air, so im not sure i can soley identify with them as a company but i identify with the anchors on the news channel

161) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? personal responsibility characteristics

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? news is not about right vs. left... its right vs. wrong... that is what is so wrong today... lack of personal responsibility...

162) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I believe that we all are conservatives and think alike. We have great passion for our Country and our Constitution which we feel is not being followed by or Government.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? We believe in finding the truths about our nation.

163) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? wanting to hear the TRUTH

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Hiring Glen Beck from CNN

164) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative viewpoints & the need to know both sides of the topic.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Family friendly for most topics. I want to know the truth behind the stories & FOX is fair & balanced when covering them.

165) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative views

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Conservative views

- 166) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They are better informed.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Values and appreciation for capitalism.
- 167) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Fox Cable News watchers are generally interested in getting facts, without the overwhelming "tint" of the Left displayed on other news networks.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? willing to stand out and take criticism, committed to truth
- 169) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We want the truth. Unlike news channels who "create" or "modify" the news, Fox offers the facts and lets individuals come to their own conclusions. Fox News watchers are a varied group...conservatives to liberals. Perhaps the only characteristic we share is a desire for accurate information about current events.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I can't say I identify with any channel, whether it be news, entertainment or educational. There is more to life than TV.
- 170) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They want to watch the news and get the facts not a bias slant on the stories being covered.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Not sure how to answer this question. I'm a housewife and mother. How do I identify with Fox? I guess we both want the news to be as truthful as possible.
- 171) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? intelligent, conservative, common sense viewpoints
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I want their continued success
- 173) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I think they are concern with big gov. Heavy speeding by the gov.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I think they are looking at the issue fairly.
- 174) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We don't just take what the media says at a hat most of us research or look for answers ourselves from the sources.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They look for truth and present both sides and criticise both sides equally.
- 175) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I thought they were fair and balanced. Im beginnning to wonder

- 176) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We want our freedom! Smaller government.
- 177) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? i think that people who watch Fox want to hear both sides of the story and then choose either to get more info on their own and/or form their own opinions about current events.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? i just like to know everything i can about the issues. i dont mind if a journalist is slanted as long as they make that known to the public. (ie. "it's my opinion...")
- 178) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Fair and balanced points of view and common sense!
- 179) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I think that we share a similar set of personal beliefs and moral codes.
- 181) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? conservative, patriotic, traditional values
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? successful
- 183) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? they want fair and balanced reporting
- 184) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Small government / looking for factual reports without spin / educated
- 186) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Right wings, want to know both sides of politics and want to be fair & balanced !
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Right now that I can think of is that, the company that is supposed to be fair to its employees and its customers.
- 187) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? how bout your an idiot for having this survey. its plain to see your against fox news channel. open your eyes and think for yourself. the truth is out there for you to see. you sheep.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? i dont agree with everything they say or do. i like how they have 2 sides. your other news groups are sleeping with the enemy. i cant wait till you see the light.
- 188) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? i believe they are: inquiring, searching for balance, truth, sincerity

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? not really sure.. but I do try to listen to both sides of an issue, even if I strongly disagree. Fox news tends to present both sides of an issue. I don't always personally agree, but I respect the other view.

190) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? most likely conservative and christian...

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? determined to give a valuable conservative voice to current political opinions, and seeking out the truth rather than being agreeable to political propaganda or the politically correct spin...

191) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We love and appreciate the true news that Fox Cable News presents against the Liberals crazy and radical politicians.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I'm a conservative like Fox cable company who enjoys unmasking the corrupted liberal politicians

192) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative, Patriotic

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? interested in the facts, and news how it really happened

193) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They're fed-up with the 'slant' provided by MOST other media sources.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I like the way that they "just report" the news .. let the viewer decide how he/she thinks .. they don't put 'spin' on topics.

194) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? The desire to be well informed of current events and the ability to decide for myself. As for "others" I can only speak for myself.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Capitalism.

196) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We care about our country and want the truth. We want to form our own opinions, and not be told what to think by the hosts. We certainly do not want to be called idiots, stupid, dangerous, etc.

197) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Fox news watchers are intelligent human beings.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I think Fox News and I both celebrate individualism and personal freedom and liberty.

198) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? i don't know

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? seem to tell it like it is

Collected by ESurveyPro.com

201) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristic or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Love of Country Love of Family Love of Life

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I seek truth

202) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Concern over issues, a desire to know facts, fed up with big government spending our money & politicians behaving like we owe THEM something.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? A belief in muckraking, tossing monkey wrenches in & demanding accountability by pols.

205) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? The need to know the facts not the buzz. We just want to be fair open minded people who care about all Americans.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? back down even when everyone else does.

206) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They are people who have lost trust in other news channels because of the complete adoration of Obama.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? i am fair & balanced. I call a spade a spade.

208) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Value of freedom for the American people. Fair reporting

210) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Shall we say, Just looking for truth in 'advertising'? WE DECIDE what we believe.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They respect that I can make up my own mind. And they don't hide the truth.

211) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? interest in real news

213) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I Want news and not an infomercial or meaningless dribble.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I'm fair and balanced.

214) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative and want NON

BIASED information. Do not want a love affair with ANY administration. Want a sincere conservative, non liberal slant.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They tell the truth and don't try to cover up stories like MSNBC or CNN.

215) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They are conservative

216) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? they watch the same channel at the same time. No big deal

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? none / nothing

217) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Most Fox Cable News watchers are politically conservative!

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I am a conservative as are most of the people at Fox!

219) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Fiscally and socially conservative. Respect for and a belief in The Constitution of The United States. Desire less government involvement in personal lives. More states' rights and less federal control. Hard-working people, anything is possible in America but it's up to the individual to make his/her way - not big government's responsibility to just give everyone success and a wonderful life.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Willing to listen to opposing views and open to discussion. Able to disagree with "conservative" politicians if they violate Constitution principles. Don't just blindly follow party lines. More in the Libertarian mode of thinking.

220) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? FNC watchers are varied. It's easy to stereotype "us" as conservative, Republican, white, etc... but I've found that it just isn't true. For the most part, though - we are NOT a gullable group. We do need to hear all sides of a story - which FNC offers. We do love our Country and we believe in what the founding fathers had intended when they started this Country. Individual freedom, choice and small government.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I don't think I have anything in common the the company I'm not really sure what you mean by these last two questions.

222) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I don't think its right to say that one type of person watches Fox news on a regular basis. However, since Fox news spews a great amount of love for conservative, right wing politics, I would have to say that the majority of viewers are probably conservative and right-winged.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I cannot identify with Fox news. I share the views of many left-winged liberals.

- 223) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? The biggest similarity amongst Fox News watchers is their unyielding dedication to this great nation. The watchers of Fox News are adamant about their freedoms and the sanctity of their protection.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Like I said above my love for this country is expressed each and every day on Fox News.
- 225) In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? nothing
- 227) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Neither Republican or Democrat. We are Americans first, conservatives second then we split into one of the three parties.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? The company itself hasn't a clue. With most of the talk show hosts a lot. Looking for the truth looking for answers looking for knowledge not found on the not so "Big Three" channels.
- 228) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? fair and balanced!
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? don't identify with Fox as a company. The things I have in common are the same things that I have in common with any other TV show.
- 231) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? looking for the truth... what's really going on...
- 232) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I mostly watch Bill O'Reilly, I enjoy his show and his guests. What they say makes most sense to me
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I like the truth said bluntly. That is my character and that's how I feel Fox is
- 234) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Most Fox Cable News watchers want unbiased news coverage. They want to see both sides of an issue rather than a biased news broadcast. Most are either independent or conservative voters and most have some type of religious affiliation.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? There is really no way that I identify with Fox cable news as a company - that's ridiculous.
- 235) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I believe Fox News watchers are from several backgrounds..Fox News watchers are looking for facts and the truth..Fox News will admit when wrong !..
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I do not believe I have anything in common with the company..I am just looking for true facts about my country..Fox News provides Good News..very balanced !!

- 236) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? That other news stations don't give the news...! They don't name call... they have people giving opinions on both sides...
- 238) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative, fed up this all government , dems, repubs, liberals, sick of big government, spending, interfering in our personal lifes.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? They are fair and balanced, Fox cable news tells it like it is and don't sugar coat it. Fox news has a mix of ppl they listen to both sides then prove with facts what is right no mater what. This is how I am.
- 241) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They are realists.
- 244) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They are looking for better detail and information on Fox that you get no where else. The other networks have lost sight of the words "honesty" and "objective". They are generally defending the un-defendable.
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? The word "truth" would come to mind. I have checked their information using lots of other sources and cannot fault it. When I watch the other networks, I cannot say the same. I can find flaws on a regular basis. They choose to hides things which should not be hidden. They no longer serve the people of this country. They are working very hard on selling the liberal/progressive position in their reports.
- 246) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservitives with consern about direction that Government (not just President Obama, but Government as a whole) appears to be going. Truth seakers knowing that all politic has an agenda which may be not in the best interest of the country as a whole, but self serving. Fox watchers are seaking answers to difficult questions such as why has the congress abrogated their rightful legisitave authority to alphabet soup (EPA, DOT, FCC & others) entities? Who is responsible for the making of law? The Legisiative branch according to the Constition. Why then does the Supreme Court make law? Why the groups mentioned earlier?
 In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Fox News, I think employ the best minds, well educated and conservitively bent. Others seak liberal mindes people of a simular caliber. I am a Constiitiional Conservitive, holding to the letter and spirt of the U.S. Constition. I have genuine agreement with the framers and the debates had at the Virginia radification convention.
- 247) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? How would I know? We are all varied. Liberals watch it...if they didn't they wouldn't know what people were saying about them. Conservatives watch it for different reasons. I am independant...I watch it bc I think the news kisses Obama's butt. I would say in general most are conservative...I am conservative but not republican. I think it's impossible to categorize everyone who watches one thing. Oh and #14...how does a Fox News watcher "act"? I think that's a ridiculous question. It's like asking how a minority acts or all people with brown hair or blue eyes...totally broad and impossible to answer.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I have nothing in common with the company. I am a college senior who is unemployed...NOTHING in common.

248) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? People who choose FoxNews prefer to hear both sides of a story,; do not choose to be "spoon fed" an agenda or current propaganda or be ridiculed for a personal opinion or value, nor do they care to listen to those with opposing views be marginalized or ridiculed; prefer to hear the good news and the bad news, equally; are annoyed when FoxNews follows the pack and focuses on one story to the exclusion of others (Michael Jackson, Gov Mark Sanford, natural disasters, unnatural disasters, etc)... we'd like to know about more than one or two stories at a time; conservative; value personal responsibility; pro-Constitution; resent having the Country and her values "transformed" and/or discarded

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Conservative viewpoint and values

249) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? In general we enjoy receiving our news with a minimum of "editorials". Just report the truth no matter who is embarrassed by it. Of course, it's human nature to build your opinion into your commentary as a journalist, but they keep it to a minimum, and WILL take a stance contrary to the beliefs of their viewers if appropriate. MS-NBC would never do that. I also like my news without all the angst, anger etc that the liberal media has. Be happy for heavens sake.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? While the majority of Americans have always been more conservative in nature, it was a risk to put it on TV in the beginning. They were a lone voice. It's good they grew up strong. All good Americans relate to that.

250) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? To Learn.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Seeking the truth

252) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Don't know; never thought/analyzed characteristics of Fox Cable watchers...also am a big fan of FBN

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I want to hear both sides of an issue and decide for myself...

254) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We all seem to be conservative?? I don't really know many FOX watchers...I work with a VERY liberal group of people.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? The company? I don't know. The employees: Humor, Silliness, and fun on the job... an getting serious when it's needed.

255) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? family values, a desire for freedom from government control, don't believe the liberal media in regard to what they report and tend not to report on. For example, CNN and others spent an entire week covering Michael Jackson while our government was busy making important decisions. Fox News is the only channel that reported on the current events taking place in the government at that time. It seems like CNN and others were using the Michael Jackson blanket of

coverage as a cover up for the information the government did not want the public to know about.

256) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? HATE the Left and OBAMA
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Best news and reporting out there "Fair and Balanced

257) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? for Truth.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Search for Truth.

258) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Usually more conservative than others. Believe we are smarter than most news watchers Don't believe everything we hear Take time to research before opinion.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Strong moral values A belief in self sustainment Generous and fair.

259) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? this is a news channel, not a personal relationship
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? conservative values

261) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? A sincere desire to hear the truth about what is going on in our country. I have a good deal of faith that the people on Fox News are truthful, honest individuals who are giving the best of their ability in bringing the truth to all of us. I believe them and don't like to watch other news channels -- they just don't stack up to FOX NEWS!
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Conservative views.

262) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Glenn Beck; well let me just say; Glenn Becks view points. They believe that our government is turning into a socialist government. Now, I could point out every single issue as to why, but let us leave that for Mr. Beck.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Wow, I could write a book about these questions, but for now I will just point out a few things; such as, Fox News can be very persuasive. Fox news is like a company for me because the values are; systematic, cohesive and at times supportive. What of these issues do I personally have with this company? I am systematic, team oriented and supportive to my group/peers. I am a team player. By the way, I know sponsors dropped Glenn Beck, but that is their problem. People are so afraid of the truth that they run from it and hide from it like the plague. Do not get me wrong sometimes I even hate Glenn Beck, but as Fulton Sheen had stated once in a sermon, "The Truth is the truth even though you think it is of error," and he is right. Do not fire Mr. Beck or I will never watch you again. I was a CNN fan all the way, but when Mr. Beck left; I had to go to Fox News, so if you get rid of him; then I will go social network online news only.

- 263) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We want what is fair and best for our citizens and our Republic.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? with selfish politicians.
- 265) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? I can only speak for myself, however I believe most Fox News watchers are concerned about our Country's best interest.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I do not identify with any company.
- 268) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative values and common sense.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I actually don't know much about the company. Fox News could be run by a communist atheist for all I know. But, I trust the reporters and commentaries that I hear.
- 271) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? conservatives which I am not
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I have nothing in common with them
- 272) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? desire to hear both sides of a story, even when you don't agree with the other side. Trying to figure out why they think the way they think is only done by listening to them.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? It is nice that there is at least one tv station that will show the conservative side, as well as the liberal side.
- 273) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We believe in this country and believe that FoxNews is the one cable station that attempts to report accurately. Passion
- 274) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Openminded and free-thinking. We believe the government works for us, not the other way around.
- 275) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? for Americans seems to be the major thread of commonality. True equality, without the want of conspiracy and without the want of an underground currents, is highly desired as well as reporting the true facts without bending the facts around conspiracy and underground currents. Socialism is not desired be me for the well being of my family.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Fox cable news reporters desire to report the facts. They do their homework and do their best to learn what is the truth. At times they are angry at what they find--and they reports the facts so others can be better informed.

- 278) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? ready to put God back into our lives and Washington needs to do the same thing.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? my beliefs
- 279) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? analytical, desire truth, up to date
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I like Bill O'Reilly and I like the way it is truly unbiased and states the facts.
- 280) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Concern that the politicians are trying to change America into something that doesn't look like the America we grew up in.
- 281) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We are tired of the way our government is running the country...We are conservative, believe in principles, freedom, and the constitution. We want to be heard and have a true democracy.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? work as a team, with a purpose, with a clear motive in mind.
- 283) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? A love of country, patriotism, the joy of family, respect for others and personal responsibility. There's also anger at the direction this administration is taking our country and we will take our country back!
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? FREE MARKET CAPITALISM
- 284) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative beliefs.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I believe in what the Fox cable news company believes in, and what they report. I believe in their fair and balanced reporting.
- 287) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Love of God and Country no matter what their background, race, religion.. Fox news watchers are interested in fair and balanced information. Hannity and Colms are a good example.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Conservative Values
- 288) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We love our country and want the best for it. Hard working people that don't feel that everyone should have just because someone else does. You get to where you want to be in life on your merit.
- 289) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? who watch Fox News are generally conservative or moderate.
In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Nothing.

290) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? we love our country we hate socialism and socialists like obama we love our military we love small government and entrepreneurs, business

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? successful meaningful honest, not biased like msnbc and cnn

294) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? love of country, the constitution, and God seekers of the truth conservative to moderate politically suspicious of the network news programs

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? I care about the truth. I can see the spin of the other news networks and the commonly accepted language of the far-left liberals. I believe in freedom of religion, not freedom from religion. I believe in the bill of rights. I also believe that with every right comes a related responsibility.

295) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Many of them are conservatives that are looking for some measure of less liberal bias in their news reporting.

296) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? They are well informed and have a greater sense of reality

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Greater sense of reality and fairness

297) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? We like America the way it use to be. We do not like left wing people running our government. But we always get both sides of the story, unlike ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, CNBC, MSNBC. They only give the left side of the story.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Fox news is a Right Wing company looking out for the best interest of the American people.

299) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? Conservative pro military types with a high degree of national pride and a great deal of disdain for the liberal media.

In what ways can you identify with Fox cable news as a company? What do you have in common with the company? Fox is pro-America and pro-Capitalism, they give the U.S. The benefit of the doubt and generally believe America is a just and moral entity in the world. I feel the same way.

300) What do Fox Cable News watchers have in common with each other? What characteristics or qualities do most Fox cable news watchers share? SMART; AWARE; CONCERNED

Nothing Follows