

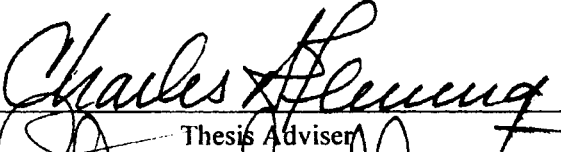
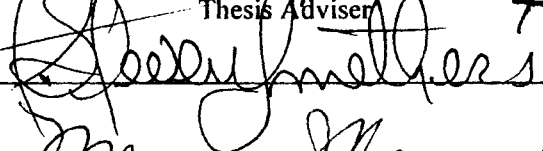
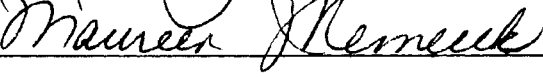

AN EXAMINATION OF BIAS IN COVERAGE IN TIME,  
NEWSWEEK, AND U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT  
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA,  
1949 -- 1993

By  
CHHUNG-HUI LI  
Bachelor of Education  
National Taiwan Normal University  
Taipei, Taiwan  
1989

Submitted to the Faculty of the  
Graduate College of the  
Oklahoma State University  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for  
the Degree of  
MASTER OF SCIENCE  
July, 1994

AN EXAMINATION OF BIAS IN COVERAGE IN TIME,  
NEWSWEEK, AND U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT  
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA,  
1949 -- 1993

Thesis Approved:

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Thesis Adviser  
  
\_\_\_\_\_  
  
\_\_\_\_\_  
  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dean of the Graduate College

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to my major adviser, Dr. Charles A. Fleming, for his intelligent guidance and encouragement throughout this examination of media performance and my graduate program; without his help, I could not have accomplished this study. I am also appreciated my other committee members, Dr. Maureen J. Nemecek and Dr. J. Steven Smethers, for their patient instruction and invaluable advice through my graduate study. Appreciation is also expressed to Cindy and Gina for serving the coders of the study, and for their inspiring ideas and earnest discussion to improve this thesis.

Special thanks are given to my government, Taiwan, ROC, for her financial support, which made my dream of studying abroad come true. Deep gratitude and much love is extended to my parents, my brother and sisters for their encouragement during my school years. Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my affectionate husband for his patience and strong support to my graduate study.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	
	General. ....	1
	Background. ....	2
	Statement of the Problem. ....	4
	Purpose of the Study. ....	5
	Objectives of the Study. ....	6
	Hypotheses of the Study. ....	6
	Methodology of the Study. ....	7
	Significance of the Study. ....	7
	Limitations. ....	8
	Organization of the Study. ....	8
	Endnotes. ....	9
II.	REVIEW OF LITERATURE	
	Social Responsibility of the Media. ....	11
	Criticism of Social Responsibility Theory. ....	15
	The Concept of Objectivity. ....	17
	Studies of Objectivity. ....	19
	General Semantics and Objectivity. ....	22
	Mass Communication and Government. ....	24
	American China Policy from 1949 to 1993. ....	26
	Endnotes. ....	31
III.	METHODOLOGY	
	General. ....	37
	Magazine Profiles. ....	38
	Research Questions and Null Hypotheses. ....	40
	Definition of Terms. ....	40
	Sampling. ....	41
	Unit of Analysis. ....	42

Chapter	Page
Categories of Analysis. . . . .	42
The Quantification System. . . . .	44
Coding. . . . .	44
Statistical Analysis. . . . .	45
Endnotes. . . . .	46
 IV. ANALYSIS OF DATA	
Intercoder Reliability. . . . .	48
Findings. . . . .	48
 V. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION	
Summary. . . . .	55
Examples of Favorable and Unfavorable Bias. . . . .	62
Conclusion. . . . .	66
Concluding Comments. . . . .	69
Recommendations for Further Study. . . . .	71
Endnotes. . . . .	73
 BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . .	74
APPENDICES. . . . .	78
APPENDIX A - HIGHLIGHTS OF U. S. - TAIWAN TRADE. . . . .	79
APPENDIX B - HIGHLIGHTS OF U. S. - CHINA TRADE. . . . .	82

## LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
I.	Extent of Coverage of the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1993, in three news magazines. ....	49
II.	Extent of Coverage of the Republic of China from 1949 to 1993, in three news magazines. ....	49
III.	Occurrences of Bias in Reporting on the People's Republic of China, 1949 to 1993, by Magazine. ....	50
IV.	Occurrences of Bias in Reporting on the Republic of China, 1949 to 1993, by Magazine. ....	51
V.	Occurrences of Bias Per Square Inch by Magazine. ....	52
VI.	Occurrences of Seven Categories of Bias in Reporting on the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China, 1949 to 1993, by Magazine. ....	53
VII.	Overall occurrences of Positive and Negative Bias in Reporting on the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China by Magazine. ....	54
VIII.	Occurrences of Positive and Negative Bias in Reporting on the People's Republic of China during the Four Periods of Presidential Administrations by Magazine. ....	57
IX.	Occurrences of Positive and Negative Bias in Reporting on the Republic of China during the Four Periods of Presidential Administrations by magazine. ....	58
X.	Overall Occurrences of Positive and Negative Bias in Covering the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China during the Four Periods of Presidential Administrations by the Three Magazines. ....	59

<b>Tables</b>	<b>Page</b>
<b>XI. Government Policies and Direction of Magazine Bias. . . . .</b>	<b>62</b>

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### General

In an increasingly complicated society, people depend more and more on the news media to know what is happening around them and, most importantly, beyond them. An event will have little significance if news reporters do not cover it, and news media report it. As people expose themselves more and more to media messages, the media become more powerful in constructing social reality for people. Therefore, objectivity has become more and more important in journalism. Reporters, with all their efforts, sometimes do not maintain their roles as neutral observers. If they are not objective and are biased, their audiences will not get a true picture of the world.

In ancient time, people understood their immediate environment through personal observation and communication. In modern society, people learn about their world through the mass media. Walter Lippmann indicated in his book, Public Opinion, that mass media have a significant function in helping people become aware of public affairs and understand external experience in the world. Through the media, the image of the external world was transferred into "pictures in people's heads."<sup>1</sup>

Because of the informative function of the news media, journalists seek to be objective to prevent distortion in their reports. However, there is research indicating that news media professionals' conceptions inevitably influence their choice of news to be



published. David Manning White in his "Gate Keeper" research, analyzed the reasons given by a telegraph wire service editor for his selection of news. He found that "Mr. Gates" (the editor) chose the news subjectively<sup>2</sup>. Later, Walter Gieber summarized that "News is what newspapermen make it."<sup>3</sup>

Journalists are responsible for presenting a true picture of the world. If they are subjective and are biased, the world for their audiences is inevitably distorted through their reports. Therefore, journalists should always seek objectivity to fulfill their obligations. To present a story objectively "entails writing and organizing the material so as not to express or suggest a preference for one set of values over another."<sup>4</sup> Another writer on ethics in journalism suggested that to be an objective reporter "is to report an event or series of events in a way that does not reflect the reporter's attitudes about the events and people involved."<sup>5</sup>

### Background

"With instant electric technology, the globe itself can never again be more than a village, and the very nature of a city as a form of major dimensions must inevitably dissolve like a fading shot in a movie."<sup>6</sup> Because of the development of technology, such as satellites, airplanes, computers, and fiber optics, McLuhan's "Global Village" is now a reality. The world is becoming "smaller" through the new technology of communication.

In the information age, Americans have a greater need to understand the world. However, after reviewing Time's and the Boston Globe's coverage of an important month in Colombia, one mass communication researcher, who is originally from Colombia, reported this impression: "I feel when I'm in the United States that I am gravely cut off from events in the rest of the world, and this sense of isolation makes me very nervous." "The idea of my country that the American reader is receiving from the American press is

very different from what is really going on."<sup>7</sup>

Social responsibility theory, which originated with the reports of the Commission on Freedom of the Press in 1947<sup>8</sup>, declares that news media should accept and fulfill certain obligations to society, and that to meet such obligations, high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance should be set.<sup>9</sup> However, there have been many studies that examine media bias and have found that the media have not always been objective.

Even though Time is highly respected among the world's press organizations, its objectivity was challenged by a 1965 study. Journalism professor John Merrill found that there were six techniques of bias used in Time to form stereotypes of Presidents Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy.<sup>10</sup>

Three other researchers replicated Merrill's study after 14 years to examine Time's coverage of Presidents Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter. The researchers found that presidential stereotypes persisted in Time's reports.<sup>11</sup>

A former writer for Time complained the magazine was "dishonestly written" and "Every single story carries the slant of the editor, Henry Luce."<sup>12</sup>

Comparing Time's and Newsweek's coverage of the Kennedy presidential campaigns, researchers concluded that Time and Newsweek favored John F. Kennedy, but criticized Robert and Edward Kennedy.<sup>13</sup>

In particular, there have been studies that indicate the media have often followed government policy and has not remained detached. According to the ethics code of the Society of Professional Journalists, "freedom of the press is to be guarded as an inalienable right of people in a free society."<sup>14</sup> Such freedom "carries with it the freedom and the responsibility to discuss, question and challenge actions and utterances of our government and of our public and private institutions."<sup>15</sup>

However, the media have been criticized as policy "trailers," maintaining the status

quo and the power structure without an independent voice. An examination of 39 Pulitzer prize-winning stories in the United States and 153 the National Award for Good Journalism prize-winning stories in the People's Republic of China showed that prize-winning stories in both systems were characterized by opinionated reports. Objectivity was not treasured as journalistic excellence. It was also found that even though the Pulitzer Prize commended news reports that arouse reforms, most of the prize-winning stories still follow the policy of the current administration. Over half of the Pulitzer prize-winning stories are active supports of the governments.<sup>16</sup>

United States - Chinese relationships have always been a big challenge for different presidential administrations over the past 44 years. The policies of the United States government and relationships with the People's Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland and the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan have changed over the years. From 1949 to 1971 America was an ally of ROC and worked as the "policemen of the world" to prevent Communist expansion in the world. However, in 1972 President Nixon's visit to Beijing opened a new era of US - PRC relations. From then on, although America has never given up its support for Taiwan, its contact with Beijing has become more and more frequent. These changing policies and relationships provide a good opportunity to examine the objectivity of the media, especially with respect to the media's congruence with official government policy.

### Statement of the Problem

Journalists have an obligation to be objective, detached from government influence, and to present an accurate picture of the world to their audiences. Time, Newsweek, and U. S. News & World Report, with their large circulation in America and being the reference for many press organizations in other countries, have great influence on

people's perception of the things the magazines covered. However, the misuse of language in news reports can present distorted views of the world to audiences who need to understand their world.

In addition, some researchers have found that press-government relations are sometimes cooperative relationships<sup>17</sup>, and because press and government exist in a mutually beneficial exchange of information and publicity,<sup>18</sup> neutrality in press reports of foreign policy is doubtful.

This study will examine the performance of selected mass media in a changing international situation.

### Purpose of the Study

Purpose of this study is to examine the news reporting of the three premier news magazines in the United States: Time, Newsweek, and U. S. News & World Report with respect to their coverage of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China, 1949 - 1993, to see if they fulfilled their obligation under media codes and the general concept of social responsibility.

As part of the examination of media performance, a secondary purpose will be to examine the congruence of media coverage with official United States government policy during this period.

The tertiary purpose of the study will be to examine differences among the three news magazines to determine which, if any, were more or less objective than the others.

## Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study is to determine how well these three magazines fulfilled their obligations as defined by media codes and general concept of social responsibility. This study is intended to answer these general research questions:

- a. To what extent were the magazines biased in their coverage of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China from 1949 to 1993?
- b. What types of biases were the most prevalent?
- c. How have the type and direction of biases (positive-negative) changed over time?
- d. Which magazine(s) were more or less biased than the others?

## Hypotheses of the Study

In the study, the author anticipates that increasingly favorable diplomatic and trade relations with the PRC are accompanied by favorable news media treatment of the PRC in the three magazines. On the other hand, with diplomatic isolation, it is expected that ROC received less and less favorable reports from the 1960s to 1980s. However, Taiwan's "economic miracle" in the past ten years has earned generous coverage in the three magazines in consideration of American business interests.

Therefore, it is generally hypothesized that over the period of time examined, media coverage of the People's Republic of China has become more favorable; media coverage of the Republic of China has become less favorable, with a recent change toward more favorable coverage as the economic relationship with the United States becomes more important.

## Methodology of the Study

The research method for this study is content analysis. Randomly selected issues of the three magazines published during the period 1949 -1993 were used. A total of 151 items, including articles and photographs related to the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China in the three magazines, were examined. The system of analyzing media bias as developed by Merrill, and as modified for this particular study, was used.

## Significance of the Study

What the three magazines report, with their large circulations, not only influences the perception by Americans of PRC and ROC, but also affects a world-wide audience. Many countries' media use the three magazines as their news references because of the importance of the United States media-- "an importance which cannot be overstated."<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it is important to examine the performance of the three magazines with respect to objectivity, social responsibility, and whether their coverage parallels American China policy.

By analyzing how the three magazines portray PRC and ROC, this study can help students and scholars understand the role of the mass media better and students can become better journalists. People in mass media can benefit because they will be able to better understand bias in the media, and seek way to improve objectivity. Media audiences will benefit because they will have a better understanding of how well the media communicate to them and will be more alert to bias in the media. In addition, the study will help PRC and ROC officials and citizens understand better how their nations have been portrayed in the United States media.

## Limitations

Although anti-Communism ideology was prevalent in the 1950s in the United States, the American media switched the focus of their reports from the Nationalist government to Mao's China from 1949.<sup>20</sup> However, because of mainland China's closed-door policy, American media could not obtain much coverage of it from the 1950s to the 1970s. On the other hand, Taiwan also did not get much attention in American media due to its diplomatic isolation and social stability from the 1960s until the 1980s, when its "economic miracle" began to be well-known in the world. Therefore, because of this limited coverage, it is hard to examine the three news magazines' performance with regard to the PRC and the ROC, especially for a longitudinal study like this.

Coverage by these three news magazines should not be considered representative of all American magazines. Also, the reports of PRC and ROC are not necessarily typical of the magazine coverage of other events.

## Organization of the Study

Chapter II discusses the American policy toward PRC and ROC from 1949 to 1993 and discusses the function and the social responsibility of the mass media in light of mass communication theories, and reviews relevant research studies.

Chapter III explains the methodology of this study.

Chapter IV presents the research findings and discusses the results in detail.

Chapter V Summarizes the study, offers conclusions and recommends ideas for further study.

## ENDNOTES

1. Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York: Macmillan, 1922) 11.
2. D. M. White, "The 'Gate Keeper': A Case study in the Selection of News" Journalism Quarterly 27 (Fall, 1950) 390.
3. Walter Gieber, "News Is What Newspapermen Make It," quoted in People, Society and Mass Communications, ed. L. A. Dexter and D. M. White (New York: the Free Press, 1968) 178.
4. Stephen Klaidman and Tom L. Beauchamp, The Virtuous Journalists (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) 46.
5. Jeffrey Olen, Ethics in Journalism (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1988) 84.
6. Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man (New York, Toronto, and London: McGraw-Hill, 1964) 343.
7. Daniel Samper, quoted in Convocation of "American Coverage of Foreign News" Nieman Reports 35 (Autumn, 1981) 55 - 56.
8. Chairman- Robert M. Hutchins. The report of the Commission was edited by Robert D. Leigh, A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago, Ill: the University of Chicago Press, 1947)
9. Denis McQuail, Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1984) 91.
10. John C. Merrill, "How Time Stereotyped Three U. S. Presidents" Journalism Quarterly 42 (Autumn, 1965) 565.
11. Fred Fedler, Mike Meeske, and Joe Hall, "Time Magazine Revisited: Presidential Stereotypes Persists" Journalism Quarterly 56 (summer. 1979) 355.
12. David Shaw, "Fierce Rivals: Newsweek Versus Time" The Los Angeles Times. May 1, 1980, p. 10.



13. Fred Fedler, Ron Smith and Mike Meeske, "Time and Newsweek Favor John F. Kennedy, Criticize Robert and Edward Kennedy" Journalism Quarterly 60 (Autumn, 1983) 489.

14. Society of Professional Journalists, Code of Ethics II. Freedom of the Press. Jay Black, Bob Steele, and Ralph Barney, Doing Ethics in Journalism: A Handbook With Case Studies (Greencastle, In: The Sigma Delta Chi Foundation and The Society of Professional Journalists, 1993) 4.

15. Ibid.

16. Louisa Ha, "Journalistic Excellence in Two Different Political systems: A Comparative Study of American and Chinese News Reporting Awards" (Quebec, Canada: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1992) 171, 191.

17. Jyotiko Rammaprasad and Daniel Riffe, "Effect of U. S.- India Relations on New York Times Coverage" Journalism Quarterly 64 (Summer- Autumn, 1987) 537.

18. Susan Heilmann Miller, "Reporters and Congressmen: Living in Symbiosis" Journalism Monographs 53 (January, 1987) 6.

19. Mustafa Gursel, quoted in Convocation of "American Coverage of Foreign News" Nieman Reports 35 (Autumn, 1981) 56.

20. Edward Yi Chao, "A Content Study of Selected American Newspapers on the Fall of China in 1949" (Master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 1977) 20.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MEDIA

The advent of "the age of information" and "the communication revolution" gives mass media a significant role in modern society. People are influenced by the media consciously or unconsciously. All in all, mass media have undoubtedly some impact upon the psychological, moral, economic, political, creative, cultural and educational aspects of every individual's daily life.<sup>1</sup>

Some have accused the media of "lowering the public's cultural tastes, increasing rates of delinquency, contributing to general moral deterioration, lulling the masses into political superficiality, and suppressing creativity."<sup>2</sup> Others, however, have advocated that newspapers, radio, and television networks are

exposing sin and corruption, acting as guardians of precious free speech, bringing at least some culture to millions, providing harmless daily entertainment for the tired masses of the labor force, informing us of the world's events, and making more bountiful our standard of living by their unrelenting instance that we purchase and consume products to stimulate our economic institution.<sup>3</sup>

The media actually function to benefit the society when those who operate them do so with good intention; however, when the media are manipulated to achieve self aims, the audiences are inevitably flooded by the great flow of irresponsible information.

No matter whether the influence the media have on human beings is good or bad, one

cannot deny the great power of the media in constructing meaning for the ordinary individual's life. Therefore, it is expected, according to the Chairman of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, Robert M. Hutchins, that "the relative power of the press carries with it relatively great obligations."<sup>4</sup>

According to the report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, the media should give "a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning," provide "a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism," offer "a means of projecting the opinions and attitudes of the groups in the society to one another," help in the "presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society," and reach "every member of the society by the currents of information, thoughts, and feeling which the press supplies."<sup>5</sup> And the major mission of the press, the Commission argued is that "the level of social conflict shall be lifted from the plain of violence to the plain of discussion."<sup>6</sup>

To report the day's events truthfully, understandably, and intelligently, the media should be accurate. They should not lie,<sup>7</sup> according to the Commission on Freedom of the Press. Journalists should interview the most authoritative sources to give their audiences a true picture of the event. A true picture of an event is especially essential in a diverse society, composed of many different groups. Journalists have the obligation to provide a comprehensive interpretation of any group to the other groups in society to prevent antagonism among them. In addition, because "there is no fact without a context and no factual report which is uncolored by the opinions of the report,"<sup>8</sup> the Hutchins Commission noted, the identification of "fact as fact and opinion as opinion"<sup>9</sup> is also important for a responsible reporter. In addition, the Hutchins Commission stated that "it is no longer enough to report the fact truthfully. It is now necessary to report the truth about the fact."<sup>10</sup>

The second requirement for a responsible press, according to the Hutchins

Commission, is to be "common carriers of public discussion. "<sup>11</sup> People with significant ideas to express should be given access to the media regardless of whether the opinions are identical with the media's or not. The media not only should offer a forum for public discussion but also should identify the sources of their facts, opinions, and arguments. Who offers the agenda makes a difference to the judgment of the audience. Identification of the source is therefore necessary for a full and free discussion.

Although full and free discussion may help people make sound judgments, people often make decisions based on favorable or unfavorable images.<sup>12</sup> They generalize fact and opinion to stereotypes. Since the media have a powerful image-building function, the Hutchins Commission emphasized that a responsible press should project a group's image which are repeated and emphasized in the press coverage to be "such as are in total representative of the social group as it is. "<sup>13</sup> The third requirement for the responsible press therefore is to present any group's values, aspirations and common humanity along with its weaknesses and vices truthfully<sup>14</sup>. If people can access the inner truth of the life of a certain group, they will understand and respect it more. To increase the understanding of all groups in the society is actually the obligation of the press.

All groups in the society will get along through mutual understanding. However, if they want to maintain a stable relationship, they should share the same goals and values of the society. The fourth requirement of a responsible press is to serve as the bridge between the public and the values and goals of the society<sup>15</sup>. In other words, the media should be the instructor for society to project something to enhance the coherence of the society. This is explicitly stated in the report of the Hutchins Commission: "the agencies of mass communication are an educational instrument, perhaps the most powerful there is; and they must assume a responsibility like that of educators in stating and clarifying the ideals toward which the community should strive."<sup>16</sup>

A responsible press, after making every effort to serve the public, should be sure that

everyone has "full access to the day's intelligence,"<sup>17</sup> which is the fifth requirement for a responsible press. Because of the large amount of information in modern society, to make decisions efficiently, people depend on somebody they trust to help them deal with all the messages they receive. Those who analyze and interpret the information for others are called opinion leaders. There are many opinion leaders in all strata of society who help the flow of information. However, these leaders are rarely identified, and their roles as leaders shift based on different agenda; therefore, to make sure everyone has full access to the day's intelligence, the media should make information available to everybody.<sup>18</sup> And by so doing, the opinion leaders will be well-informed, and then they can help the flow of the information.

Only with the availability of objective information and full access to the media, can the public be guaranteed free expression which the Hutchins Commission values as necessary to promote a harmonious, fruitful society.<sup>19</sup> In a working system of ideas like modern society, the consumption of ideas is one of the main factors that change the society.<sup>20</sup> A significant new idea which manages to change the public's mind is likely to encounter some resistance. Therefore, the advocate of the new idea should be protected from "harm not an integral part of the argument or relevant to the argument." <sup>21</sup> By doing this, social conflict will be liberated rather than repressed. Freedom of the press carries with it the obligation to raise the level of social conflict "from the plain of violence to the plain of discussion."<sup>22</sup>

In addition, the Hutchins Commission stated that with the revolution of communication, information and discussion can develop through different channels, and this results in a greater diversity of communication.<sup>23</sup> However, it is the original owners of the media who realize the most advantage of the highly developed technology. And thus the smaller organizations in mass communication cannot win any competition. The concentration of media ownership forms the communication empires, which reduces the

opportunity to reach an audience for those who have something to say.<sup>24</sup>

In examining the performance of the press, the Commission found that "the news is twisted by the emphasis on firstness, on the novel and sensational; by the personal interests of owners; and by pressure groups, and too often the result is meaninglessness, flatness, distortion, and the perpetuation of misunderstanding among widely scattered groups whose only contact is through these media."<sup>25</sup> The Commission recommended that "the press itself should assume the responsibility of providing the variety, quantity, and quality of information and discussion which the country needs."<sup>26</sup>

The Hutchins Commission concluded that the freedom of the mass media is in danger because the directors of the media fail to recognize their responsibility to the society.<sup>27</sup> To solve the crisis, the mass media should be engaged in self-regulation. The Commission argued that if the mass media are not self-regulated to prevent irresponsible projects, government will adopt some actions, such as employing government ownership and government control, to solve the problems caused by the abuse of the freedom of the press. Meanwhile, the freedom might be killed in the process.<sup>28</sup>

### Criticism of Social Responsibility Theory

Many books discussing the ethics of journalism refer to the report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press. The major conclusion of the report has set a standard for the mass media. In 1956, Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm in their Four Theories of the Press articulated the social responsibility theory based on the Hutchins Commission report. Other countries also made reference to the recommendations of the report when they created their codes of performance for the mass media.<sup>29</sup>

However, Altschull in his book Agents of Power coined the phrase: "the absurdity of social responsibility."<sup>30</sup> Although the term social responsibility has been popular in

almost every field in mass communication since the Hutchins Commission employed it in its report; however, Altschull argued that "the painful reality is that the term social responsibility is a term devoid of meaning. " In other words, he says, "it is a term whose content is so vague that almost any meaning can be placed upon it."<sup>31</sup>

Altschull also questioned that "to whom is one socially responsible, and for what?"<sup>32</sup> Even though it can be simply explained that one is responsible for the projection of accurate information to the society, Altschull argued that "society turns out itself to be an absurd concept."<sup>33</sup> Society along with government and nation sometimes being related to the concept of state is a vague word.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, journalists may have their own definition of society. Altschull said that in speaking of society, reporters are referring to the society they know, that is, the social elite.<sup>35</sup> As a result, when journalists think of being responsible to the society, they actually are serving only the elite of the society. However, a free and responsible press should work in the interests of all people not just the social elite.

Although the term social responsibility may have a broad definition, Altschull agreed that it can be adapted to refer to the duty to work for the benefit of the underclass in the society.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, Louis Finkelstein indicated in his Social Responsibility in an Age of Revolution that social responsibility should mean the obligation to help "all those who are lacking essential needs and a sense of self-worth."<sup>37</sup> And this is the responsibility of the privileged. Altschull considered the journalists as privileged people who should work to assist others to develop a sense of human dignity and individual worth.<sup>38</sup>

If mass media practitioners want to help "all those who are lacking essential needs and a sense of self-worth," they should always remember the major premise as indicated in Four Theories of the Press: "Freedom carries concomitant obligations; and the press, which enjoys a privileged position under our government, is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in

contemporary society."<sup>39</sup> The authors of Four Theories of the Press indicated that the Hutchins Commission actually had taken the communication revolution and complex modern social life into consideration in making their recommendations, and the Commission realized that one should solve the problems of the press according to the special social context. Therefore, in the opinion of the authors of Four Theories, few other recommendations have been so realistic.<sup>40</sup>

### The Concept of Objectivity

Traditional concept of "objectivity" in reports requires journalists to be observers only, and this, as Theodore L. Glasser indicated:

has stripped reporters of their creativity and their imagination; it has robbed journalists of their passion and their perspective. Objective reporting has transformed journalism into something more technical than intellectual; it has turned the art of story-telling into the technique of report writing. And most unfortunate of all, objective reporting has denied journalists their citizenship; as disinterested observers, as impartial reporters, journalists are expected to be morally disengaged and politically inactive. Journalists have become a relatively passive link between sources and audiences.<sup>41</sup>

Glasser argued that objective news reporting actually precludes responsibility when responsible reporting is defined as a willingness on the part of the reporter to be accountable for what is reported. As a result, "objectivity requires only that reporters be accountable for how they report, not what they report."<sup>42</sup>

According to the Hutchins Commission, a responsible press should report the truth about the facts, identify the sources of any facts, and interpret what is going on accurately to all the groups in the society. "The press was now burdened with the moral obligation to go beyond the objective facts," as Altschull commented, it needs "to read between the lines of information given by sources, to look at what lay under, over, and behind events,



and to seek out and present the truth of what the reporters had uncovered."<sup>43</sup> Such kind of social responsibility is sometimes exploited by journalists to express their own opinion as the truth about the facts. Often reporters might go too far and become biased.

Some people insist that the media are biased and their bias does come out in their presentation of the news. Former Vice President Spiro Agnew charged that network news is controlled "by a handful of men" who "wield a free hand in selecting, presenting and interpreting the great issues in our nation." Exercising "broad powers of choice," they often present "a narrow and distorted picture of America."<sup>44</sup> Robert M. Entman, a professor at Duke University said, "Even though, contrary to critics' claims, journalists do cling to the rules of objectivity and avoid deliberate bias, they often find themselves making choices that slant the news." Slanting here means that the media coverage "while not ideologically biased, typically provides partial accounts that assist some causes while damaging others."<sup>45</sup>

In his book News From Nowhere, Edward Jay Epstein said the network news programs are systematically biased, but neither in favor of liberalism nor conservatism. They are biased in favor of their own survival as news organizations.<sup>46</sup> Epstein indicated that

one may find striking similarities in the ways in which the news is presented and the direction it takes. The pictures of society that are shown on television as national news are largely-- though not entirely-- performed and shaped by organizational considerations.<sup>47</sup>

Many media practitioners consider ethics being equal to objective news coverage, according to a qualitative study conducted by a group of University of Illinois faculty. In this study, questionnaires were sent to editors and reporters of newspapers across the United States. Ten news organizations were represented in the study. They were chosen for their diversity of geography and circulation size. The study showed that some

respondents considered ethical problems as involving objectivity and "it is not an exaggeration to say that ethics equated with 'objective' news coverage."<sup>48</sup>

Objectivity is widely considered as one of the most important ethical standards in journalism; however, the definition of objectivity is vague. According to Curtis MacDougall, objectivity, "is the standard performance toward which we strive. " And "news reports should be free of opinion and bias and represent all sides of an issue."<sup>49</sup>

A survey of how editors view objectivity conducted by Thomas R. Maddux, a professor of history at California State University, Northridge, found that some editors defined objectivity as balance, which admits every question has at least two sides, and all should be reported accurately without any opinion; however, it is not necessary to present a total picture to be objective. The editors also believed that objectivity is attainable. Other editors in the study had different views about objectivity. They believed that objectivity is impossible, and considered the obsession with objectivity is itself a distortion of reality. They strongly disagreed that to be objective, a journalist should be interested in every event s/he reports but not act as a participant in the event.<sup>50</sup>

### Studies of Objectivity

All in all, the journalists generally agree that objective reports require fairness, balance and without any coloring. However, according to a study done in 1972 by Gaye Tuchman, a professor in State University of New York at Stony Brook, objectivity is a "strategic ritual" to protect journalists from the risk of their jobs.<sup>51</sup> The word "ritual" here means that journalists claim objectivity on their work only to escape criticism, not really intend to be objective.

Tuchman's study examined three factors which influence newsmen's notions of objectivity: form, interorganizational relationship and content. By form, the researcher examined newsmen's attribution of news stories, such as the use of quotation marks. By

content, Tuchman studied those notions of social reality which newspapermen took for granted. And it was newsmen's interorganizational relations that shaped their definite concept for certain things. After examining all the three factors, Tuchman found that the word "objectivity was used defensively as a strategic ritual to protect the reporters from mistakes and from their critics."<sup>52</sup>

Thomas Rosteck, an Assistant Professor in the Department of Rhetoric and Communication, Temple University, in his study of the television documentary on the program "Report on Senator McCarthy," one of the television broadcasts of "See It Now," found that although these ideas of objectivity were basically applied, the producer of the program actually exploited the disguise of objectivity to escape accusation of unfairness and bias.

Rosteck indicated that the producers crossed the line from objectivity to subjectivity. At the beginning of the program the host made the report appear objective by saying "Tonight See It Now devotes its entire half hour to a report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy told mainly in his own words and pictures. Because a report on Senator McCarthy is by definition controversial, we want to say exactly what we mean to say,"<sup>53</sup> However, the researcher found that the program presented an unfavorable image of McCarthy. The researcher's observation was

When McCarthy finishes (his speech), instead of cutting in what we conventionally recognize as the "right" place, (when the Senator paused) See It Now allows us to linger on the Senator for a moment longer. It is a deadly revealing moment. McCarthy pauses, he looks around, his eyes seem to bulge. Nervously, he licks his lips, purses them, licks them again. The closeup microphone catches loud macking as he opens and closes his rubbery mouth. The image is disturbing, unsettling.<sup>54</sup>

Objectivity should be the goal of any news text; however, according to the researcher, here "objectivity is used as a fabricated strategy of appeal."<sup>55</sup>

Time has been one of the most prestigious news magazines both in the United States and in many other foreign countries. However, in a 1965 study, journalism professor John C. Merrill found that there were six techniques of bias in Time to form stereotypes of President Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy. These six categories of bias were:

- A. Attribution Bias. Example: "snapped" (negatively affective); "smile" (positive affective).
- B. Adjective Bias. Example: "serene state of mind" (favorable); "flat, monotonous voice" (unfavorable).
- C. Adverbial Bias. Example: "He barked sarcastically." The writer tries to influence the reader's attitude (favorable or unfavorable) toward a person by generally telling how or why s/he said or did something.
- D. Contextual Bias: bias in the whole sentence, paragraph, or story.
- E. Outright Opinion: bias created by presenting personal judgment or evaluation.
- F. Photographic Bias: What overall impression does the photograph give? How is the President presented in the picture--dignified, undignified; angry, happy; calm, nervous; etc. ? What does the caption say/imply?<sup>56</sup>

Merrill chose 10 consecutive issues of Time for study from each of the three presidential administrations: Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy. He counted the occurrences of bias in each of the six categories. The study shows that Time had a strong negative bias toward Truman, a strong positive bias toward Eisenhower, and a rather balanced portrayal of Kennedy. Merrill pointed out that Time "presented the reader with highly loaded essays of a subjective type."<sup>57</sup>

Three other researchers replicated Merrill's method after 14 years to examine Time's coverage of Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard M. Nixon, Gerald R. Ford, and James E. Carter. As in the earlier study, 10 consecutive issues of Time magazines published

during each president administration were selected and analyzed. The magazine's treatment of the Nixon administration was examined both before and after Watergate.

The findings show that Time was "ambivalent toward Johnson, strongly favored Nixon before Watergate, reluctantly opposed him after Watergate, moderately favored Ford and was critical of Carter."<sup>58</sup> Time continued to use most of the bias techniques reported by Merrill. Presidential stereotypes were created and reinforced because the bias techniques were used to emphasize the personality of the presidents rather than their news activities, the study reported. The researchers concluded that Time "continues to weave facts into semi-fictionalized language patterns that are designed to lead the reader's thinking."<sup>59</sup>

A study comparing stories published by Time and Newsweek about the presidential campaigns of John, Robert and Edward Kennedy showed that the two magazines favored John F. Kennedy, but criticized Robert and Edward Kennedy.<sup>60</sup> This study also revealed that Time tended to use more colorful phrasing.<sup>61</sup> However, the slant of these two magazines was "surprisingly" similar with respect to the percentage of favorable, neutral and unfavorable coverage reported about the Kennedys.<sup>62</sup>

### General Semantics and Objectivity

Colorful phrasing in news content can seriously influence objectivity. Misusing language even may cause trouble for people. General semanticists say that people would misuse language less if they used it in such a way that it constantly referred to the realities it represents.<sup>63</sup> It is necessary to examine language used in reports in order to study objectivity.

The importance of general semantics in the application of mass communication was pointed out by Werner J. Severin and James W. Tankard, Jr. in their book Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, Uses. "General semantics deals with the

relationship between language and reality, and with the ways language influences our thinking. " It provides the mass communicator "a basis for analyzing and talking about objectivity-- a major communications concept."<sup>64</sup> General semanticists point out that language is static, limited and abstract,<sup>65</sup> and these characteristics of language influence objectivity in news content.

Reality is a process, and yet the language used to describe it is fixed and static. The word does not change as fast as the real world does. Therefore, with only handful of words to refer to an ever-changing process, people are unable to realize that reality is changing. If journalists cannot recognize the character of the language, they will adhere to the old impression of an event or a person with its out-of-date language. In this situation, reality is not accurately presented, and objectivity cannot be achieved.

Wendell Johnson pointed out that there are 500,000- 600,000 words in the English language, and that they must represent millions of individual facts, experiences and relationships. The vocabularies that people ordinarily use are much smaller.<sup>66</sup> Because language is so limited, one can never say all about anything. People have difficulties in describing events they are not completely familiar with. Therefore, they may make up some expressions which could distort reality. The limited nature of language makes it harder for journalists to be objective.

One of the most useful functions of language is abstraction. It allows people to think in categories, and thus makes people learn things faster through generalization. However, oversimplification and overgeneralization make people unable to grasp the reality of the world. Unfortunately, "any use of language involves some abstraction," and "abstraction is a process of selecting some details and leaving out other details."<sup>67</sup> Since journalists cannot report every detail of an event, abstraction is obvious in news content. Therefore, journalists can be easily biased by adding or repeating unfavorable details to build up a negative image of a person or a country. On the other hand, favorable details

could be omitted in order to ignore the positive aspects of the person or the country.

General semanticist, S. I. Hayakawa discussed three kinds of statements people can make-- reports, inferences and judgments. An understanding of these concepts can help journalists better understand their bias in news content.

A report is a statement capable of verification and which excludes inferences and judgments. This is a statement with which all strata in the society agree, whether they wish to or not. For example, people agree on the meaning of such symbols as  $2 \times 2 = 4$ .<sup>68</sup>

An inference is a statement about the unknown made on the basis of the known.<sup>69</sup> Any statement about another person's thoughts or feeling is an example of an inference. Hayakawa suggested that practice in reportwriting requires that journalists make no guesses as to what is going on in other people's minds. This is very important in objective reports.

Judgments mean "all expressions of the writer's approval or disapproval of the occurrences, persons, or objects he is describing."<sup>70</sup> Journalists should identify "fact as fact and opinion as opinion." Most important, they should not use colorful phrasing, such as their own judgments, to mislead the reader.

By eliminating inferences and judgments and sticking as much as possible to reports, journalists can be more objective.<sup>71</sup> However, there are factors external to the journalists that might influence the objectivity of the journalists.

### Mass Communication and Government

It is believed that the objectivity of news content will be influenced directly by political, social and economic systems. John A. R. Lee wrote in a paper which analyzed the realistic policy for international communication that "news flow cannot be unrelated to the power interests of the political or economic owner of the news media."<sup>72</sup> George Gerbner also argued that news content more or less reflects the views of publishers,

writers and editors because they each make decision about what to include, exclude, emphasize or ignore on the basis of political ideology.<sup>73</sup> Objectivity, therefore, conflicts with the ideological constraints.

Some theorists such as John Kenneth Galbraith and Antonia Gramsci view mass media content as being manipulated by the status quo as one way of winning the consent of the population. Besides, Stanley Cohen and Jock Yock suggested that United States media owners have a vested interest in seeing the status quo continue, because they are part of the United States power structure.<sup>74</sup>

There is research indicating that most of the prize-winning stories still follow the policy of the current administration. A comparative study of American and the People's Republic of China news reporting awards from 1979 to 1984 done by Louisa Ha shows that over half of the 39 Pulitzer prize-winning stories examined were active supporters of the government.<sup>75</sup>

The press has been criticized as policy-trailers maintaining the status quo and the power structure without an independent voice.<sup>76</sup> Todd Gitlin also criticized that "although the media will criticize the status quo to a certain extent, thus establishing their own legitimacy as news organizations, the media will never criticize the status quo enough to seriously threaten or change it."<sup>77</sup>

The cooperative relationship between the press and government is not seldom seen. A study looking at the nature of the relationship between journalists and members of Congress or their assistants, and at how the relationship influences news coverage showed that the work of Congress, assistants and journalists is "sometimes inherently, unavoidably symbiotic."<sup>78</sup> Reporters help officials by favorable coverage, while officials and their staffs provide the information on which those stories were based. This kind of cooperation will inevitably undermine the objectivity of the journalists, and apparently dysfunction the media role as a watchdog for the public, the study said.



The news media in the United States have the social responsibility to serve as a watchdog and critic of government. This has been called in the European context the fourth estate and in the America, a "fourth branch of government." The media are to check on the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government for the public. In addition, the media should provide a forum for dissenting views.<sup>79</sup> By so doing, the media can better fulfill the obligation of a free and responsible press, that is to raise "the level of social conflict from the plain of violence to the plain of discussion."

People today are becoming closer and closer through the development of new communications technology. It is necessary for American people to understand the reality of foreign countries, and understand the government's foreign policy as well. If the media function only to support the nation's foreign policy and to legitimize the nation's deeds toward foreign countries, not to criticize it, the public's interest is not served. The media fail to fulfill their social responsibility as watchdogs for the public.

American foreign policy toward the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China has changed over time through different presidential administrations. A look at the transition of American China policy can put into context an examination of news coverage about the two areas in the American media.

#### American China Policy From 1949 to 1993

United States policy toward the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan and the People's Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland has changed over time through different international situations. From 1949 to 1971 America was an ally of Taiwan and worked as the "policeman of the world" to prevent Communist expansion in the world. However, in 1972, President Nixon's visit to Beijing opened a new era of US - PRC relations. From then on, although America has never given up its support for Taiwan, its contact with Beijing has become more and more frequent.

The Nationalist Government of China retreated from the mainland to Taiwan in 1949 because of its loss of the Chinese Civil War with the Communists. At that time, the Truman administration refused to give military aid to Taiwan so as not to be involved in the Chinese Civil War.<sup>80</sup>

However, the outbreak of Korean War on June 25, 1950 and the ensuing Chinese Communist involvement beginning in October, 1950, gave Taiwan a new strategic importance in American defense plans. On June 27, President Truman declared that "Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war. ... In these circumstances the occupation of Formosa (Taiwan) by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to the United States forces in that area."<sup>81</sup> Therefore, he ordered the U. S. Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan Straits to prevent any Communist attack against Taiwan. After the Chinese Communists became involved in the Korea War in October, 1950, the United States boycotted diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China and was opposed to its admission into the United Nations.<sup>82</sup> The United States also froze Chinese Communist assets in America and began a trade embargo.<sup>83</sup> Meanwhile, military aid to Taiwan was resumed and economic aid began, adding up to \$98 million from June 1, 1950, to June 30, 1951.<sup>84</sup>

Moreover, under the Eisenhower administration the American chargé d'affaires in Taiwan was elevated to ambassadorial rank in January 1953. A mutual defense pact between Taiwan and the United States was signed in December 1954.<sup>85</sup> During the offshore crises over Quemoy and Matsu, islands under Taiwan's control, the United States supported Taiwan and threatened to use nuclear weapons against the Communists.<sup>86</sup> The Eisenhower administration also rejected the Communists' proposal to talk about "Taiwan and other problems."<sup>87</sup>

The Vietnam war in the early 1960s exacerbated American hostility toward Beijing. Considering that to be an improper time to try to innovate or revise the China policy, President Kennedy assured Taiwan that the United States would continue to veto the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.<sup>88</sup>

However, as the Sino-Soviet split became intense and the growing importance of People's Republic of China gradually caught the attention of the world in the second half of the 1960s, the United States revealed its desire to open a dialogue with Beijing. The Johnson administration in 1966 called for a policy of "cooperation and not hostility" with People's Republic of China. President Johnson hinted at willingness to seat the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.<sup>89</sup> Before the resumed contact with People's Republic of China, President Nixon suspended the Seventh Fleet patrols of the Taiwan Straits in 1969.<sup>90</sup>

The new dialogue between the United States and the People's Republic of China was facilitated by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, who communicated President Nixon's desire to open a dialogue to Beijing.<sup>91</sup> In October 1970, Mao Zedong, Chairman of China Communist Part, told American journalists Edgar Snow that China would welcome a visit by Nixon either as president or tourist.<sup>92</sup>

Soon after came the period of "Ping-Pong diplomacy," during which the two countries exchanged visits of ping-pong players, prompting the improvement of United States - People's Republic of China relations.<sup>93</sup> Meanwhile, President Nixon eased the trade embargo with People's Republic of China, and in October 1971, the United Nations voted to seat People's Republic of China. The Republic of China (Taiwan) lost its representative.<sup>94</sup>

In 1972, President Nixon's visit to the PRC shocked the world, especially Taiwan, according to historian Immanuel C. Y. Hsu. The President's "Shanghai Communiqué," which acknowledged that there was but one China and that Taiwan was a part of China,

put Taiwan in a difficult diplomatic situation although Nixon was not committal as to which government represented China. Soon after the visit, the United States withdrew its military forces from Taiwan.<sup>95</sup>

The Carter administration terminated its diplomatic relations with Taipei and established an official relationship with Beijing on January 1, 1979.<sup>96</sup> Formal U. S. relations with Taiwan were ended, while trade and cultural relations continued. On the other hand, the United States - People's Republic of China relationship, including trade and negotiation about the balance of the world power, became closer throughout the Carter administration.<sup>97</sup>

In a statement on ties to Beijing and Taipei, President Reagan declared that the Taiwan Relations Act, which Carter signed to establish the American Institute in Taiwan to handle future relations and specify future United States obligations to the island, reflected the strong support of the American people for Taiwan.<sup>98</sup> However, an article edited by Office of International Education indicated that United States - People's Republic of China relations continued to grow closer than the United States - Republic of China relations through the Reagan administration. For example, the United States pledged in a joint communique with Beijing in August 1982 that arms sales to Taiwan would not increase in "quality or quantity" and would ultimately decline.<sup>99</sup>

United States policy toward Beijing remained unchanged with the advent of the Bush Administration. Six months after the Beijing crack down on the students' protest for democracy on Tiananman Square, President Bush dispatched two high-ranking officers to visit Beijing,<sup>100</sup> although some Congressmen strongly rebuked the Peking administration for the violence at Tiananman Square in June 1989.

On the other hand, Taiwan had somehow been neglected in the world political stage, perhaps because of its stable society,<sup>101</sup> according to Carl Goldstein, former Far Eastern Economic Review Taiwan correspondent. Taiwan had built an "economic miracle" over

the previous ten years. Trade between Taiwan and the United States has grown since 1970s. [Figure 1 (a) & (b)] Meanwhile, in 1970s, the mainland China's "Open Policy" also made China into a big market for American business [Figure 2(a) & (b)], according to the report of Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union made the People's Republic of China a more powerful regime in the world. Economic development of both the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China has prompted lots of attention from American businesses. These factors have contributed to the complexity of American China policy.

President Clinton in his campaign pledged to revive the American economy. To maintain America's superpower status in the world and to rebuild the nation's domestic economic prosperity, Clinton's China policy was one of the most important foci of the administration's foreign policy. Actually, the United States - People's Republic of China relationship continues to grow closer. "Some feel China will continue reform and become an important friend, and others feel China will become our next threat. But both groups agree that the best way to deal with China is to remain engaged,"<sup>102</sup> said Daniel Chiu, a staffer at the Centre for Naval Analyses. On the other hand, although President Clinton visited Taiwan several times before he was elected and therefore maybe has more understanding about Taiwan, he has not adopted any policies favoring Taiwan. It might be because any closer relationship between the United States and Taiwan inevitably irritates PRC.<sup>103</sup>

## ENDNOTES

1. Melvin L. DeFleur and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach, Theories of Mass Communication (New York and London: Longman, 1989), 27.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Robert D. Leigh, ed., A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), vii.

5. Ibid, 20- 21.

6. Ibid, 113.

7. Ibid, 21.

8. Ibid, 22.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid, 23.

12. Ibid, 26.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid, 27.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid, 27- 28.

17. Ibid, 28.

18. Ibid.

19. Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 102.

20. Leigh, 112.

21. Ibid, 113.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid, 36.

24. Ibid, 50.

25. Ibid, 68.

26. Ibid, 92.

27. Ibid, 2.

28. Ibid.

29. J. Herbert Altschull, Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affair (New York and London: Longman, 1984), 327.

30. Ibid, 301.

31. Ibid, 302.

32. Ibid, 304.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid, 305.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Siebert, 74.
40. Ibid, 103.
41. Theodore, L. Glasser, "Objectivity Precludes Responsibility," The Quill 72 (February 1984): 15.
42. Ibid.
43. J. Herbert Altschull, From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism (New York and London: Longman, 1990), 283.
44. George McKenna, Media Voices: Debating Critical issues in Mass Media (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin, 1982), 66.
45. Robert M. Entman, Democracy Without Citizens: Media and the Decay of American Politics (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 36.
46. McKenna, 66.
47. Edward Jay Epstein, News from Nowhere: Television and the News (New York: Random House, 1973), 258.
48. Rilla Dean Mills, "Newspaper Ethics: A Qualitative Study," Journalism Quarterly 60 (Winter 1983): 594.
49. Curtis MacDougall, Interpretative Reporting (New York: Macmillan, 1977), 25.
50. John H. Boyer, "How Editor View Objectivity," Journalism Quarterly 58 (Spring 1981): 27-28.
51. Gaye Tuchman, "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity," American Journal of Sociology 77 (January 1972): 661.
52. Ibid, 678.
53. Thomas Rosteck, "Irony, Argument, and Reportage in Television Documentary: See It Now Versus Senator McCarthy," Quarterly Journal of Speech 75 (August 1989): 277.
54. Ibid, 284.
55. Ibid, 278.



56. John C. Merrill, "How Time Stereotyped Three U. S. Presidents," Journalism Quarterly 42 (Autumn 1965): 564- 565.

57. Ibid, 570.

58. Fred Fedler, Mike Meeske, and Joe Hall, "Time Magazine Revisited: Presidential Stereotypes Persist," Journalism Quarterly 56 (Summer 1979): 359.

59. Ibid.

60. Fred Fedler, Ron Smith, and Mike Meeske, "Time and Newsweek Favor John F. Kennedy, Criticize Robert and Edward Kennedy," Journalism Quarterly 60 (Autumn 1983): 489.

61. Ibid, 496.

62. Ibid.

63. Werner J. Severin and James W. Tankard, Jr. Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, Uses (New York: Hastings House, 1979), 53.

64. Ibid, 65.

65. Ibid, 54- 55.

66. Ibid, 54.

67. Ibid, 55.

68. S. I. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), 38.

69. Ibid, 40.

70. Ibid, 42.

71. Severin and Tankard, 63.

72. John A. R. Lee, Toward Realistic Communication Policies: Recent Trends and Ideas Compiled and Analyzed (Paris, France: Unesco, 1976), 17.

73. Jannette Lake Dates and Oscar H. Gandy, Jr. "How Ideological Constraints Affected Coverage of the Jesse Jackson Campaign," Journalism Quarterly 62 (Autumn 1985): 595.

74. Pamela J. Shoemaker and Elizabeth Kay Mayfield, "Building a Theory of News Content," Journalism Monographs 103 (June 1987): 19.

75. Louisa Ha, "Journalistic Excellence in Two Different Political Systems: A Comparative Study of American and Chinese News Reporting Awards," Paper Presented in the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (August 1992): 191.

76. Ibid, 181.

77. Shoemaker and Mayfield, 20.

78. Susan Heilmann Miller, "Reporters and Congressmen: Living in Symbiosis," Journalism Monographs 53 (January 1978) :3.

79. W. Phillips Davison, James Boylan, and Frederick T. C. Yu, Mass Media: Systems and Effects (New York: CBS College, 1982), 65.

80. Joseph W. Ballantine, Formosa: A Problem for United States Policy (Washington, D. C., 1952) 120, as quoted in Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, The Rise of Modern China (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1990) 747.

81. Ibid.

82. Hsu, 747.

83. "U. S.-China Relations: The China Council of the Asia Society. A Media Source Guide, Issues for the '80s." Office of International Education. (Washington, D. C., 1982) 1.

84. Hsu, 747.

85. U. S.-China Relations, 1.

86. Hsu, 720.

87. U. S.-China Relations, 1.

88. Hsu, 720.

89. Ibid, 721.

90. U. S.-China Relations, 2.

91. Hsu, 723.
92. Edgar Snow, "A Conversation with Mao Tse-tung," Life, April 30, 1971, 47.
93. Hsu, 724.
94. U. S.-China Relations, 2.
95. Peking Review, December 22, 1978, as quoted in Office of International Education, 6.
96. Hsu, 748.
97. U. S.-China Relations, 3.
98. "Excerpts From Reagan's Statement on Ties to China and Taiwan, August 25, 1980," as quoted in U. S.-China Relations, 13.
99. U. S.-China Relations, 4.
100. United States. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, "United States Political and Economic Policy toward China: hearing before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, and International Economic Policy and Trade of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred First Congress, first session, December 13, 1989." (Washington: U. S. G. P. O., 1990) 15.
101. Perter Gross, "Foreign Correspondents Covering Taiwan: A Survey," Mass Communication Research 17-18 (1990): 20.
102. Susumu Awanohara, "Foreign Relations. Uniforms Unite: Washington Seeks Closer Military Ties with China," Far Eastern Economic Review, 156 (41), (October, 1993) 13.
103. Nicholas D. Kristof, "Taiwan, Winning New Friends, Hopes for Another One in Clinton," New York Times, January 18, 1993, A 10.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### General

This study uses content analysis to examine bias in coverage in Time, Newsweek and U. S. News & World Report of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China from 1949 to 1993. The focus of the study is on news magazine coverage of two areas with different political systems and similar cultures -- the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China. The author is interested in investigating media bias as presented in these three magazines with respect to their coverage of the two areas. These three magazines were chosen because of their large circulation in the United States and their prestige in international communication.

Content analysis is an efficient way to analyze media content. It is particularly useful in the study of communications and in answering the classic question of communications research: "Who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect?" "As a mode of observation, content analysis requires a considered handling of the what, and the analysis of data collected in this mode, as in others, addresses the why and with what effect."<sup>1</sup> Krippendorff defined content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context."<sup>2</sup> By analyzing media coverage of a certain issue, one can outline the relationship between communication behaviors and communicators. As Hsia pointed out, content analysis "infers underlying intent, motivation, orientation, and effects, either implicit or manifest."<sup>3</sup>

## Magazine Profiles

### Time

Time was founded in 1923. In 1993, its circulation was 4,335,000. It has established the newsmagazine's format and has become the most credible of the newsweeklies.<sup>4</sup>

When Henry Luce and Briton Hadden established Time, they started to choose the week's most essential facts for readers, organized the facts into convenient departments, explained those facts and "even told readers what to think about them."<sup>5</sup> These two founders claimed that Time was aimed to serve the modern necessity of keeping people well informed. Time's objective is to "better serve the needs of busy, curious, intelligent readers."<sup>6</sup>

Time's routine columns include Critic's Voices, World, Nation, Milestones, Science, Religion, Cinema, Books, Medicine, Theater, Music, Sports, People and Essay. Time's style has changed over time since its founding. It has now moved toward "a softer, more 'featurized' mix of material -- Miller Lite, in the inevitable gibe."<sup>7</sup>

### Newsweek

Newsweek was founded in 1933. In 1993, its circulation was 3,100,000. As the news magazine with second largest circulation in the United States, Newsweek has made efforts to build up its own style rather than imitate Time. Newsweek art director Roger Black said: "We aimed for a grittier Newsweek, with a hard-edged, newsy look."<sup>8</sup>

Newsweek editor-in-chief Richard Smith claimed to create "impact journalism" and make people engage in "thinking about and talking about what's in the magazine."<sup>9</sup>

Newsweek's routine columns include National Affairs, International, Business, Society, Lifestyle, The arts and Departments which include Periscope, Letters, Perspectives, Newsmakers. Bert Chapman commented that "Newsweek began to

develop from a somewhat dowdy tag-along to a sharp, aggressive publication under Elliott's direction."<sup>10</sup> As a result, the competition between Time and Newsweek has become fierce. David Shaw in his article, "Fierce Rivals: Newsweek versus Time," pointed out:

Time and Newsweek compete fiercely every week in every newsmaking area in the world -- world affairs, politics, business, sports, religion, education, science, medicine, art and entertainment... But competition for cover stories and newsstand sales is an intense weekly battle.<sup>11</sup>

### U. S. News and World Report

U. S. News and World Report was founded in 1933. In 1993, its circulation was 2,500,000. As the news magazine with third largest circulation in the United States, it intends to have a unique style. Its editorial director, Harold Evans, claimed that "U. S. News will be cool. It will have an ordered, conservative look."<sup>12</sup> The routine sections in U. S. News are: Outlook (containing controversial issues or government issues, commentaries and the latest trends), U. S. News, Special Report, World Report, Business, Science & Society and News You Can Use.

Although many of U. S. News features have the same themes as the other two newsweeklies, U. S. News emphasizes service features and personal-finance pages-- "News You Can Use." U. S. News' editorial style also has its own focus. Diamond noted that

At U. S. News, editor Rosenblatt wants to encourage better writing, more thoughtful analysis, and more dramatic photography. At Time, the senior writers may be allowed to roam more widely and not be gathered to any single department. At Newsweek, meanwhile, Richard Smith says he wants to let the voices of his writers "shine through."<sup>13</sup>

### Research Questions and Null hypotheses

This study is intended to answer these questions for the three magazines' news coverage of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China from 1949 to 1993:

- a. To what extent were these three magazines biased in their coverage of U. S. -- Chinese relationships?
- b. What types of bias were most prevalent?
- c. How have the type and direction of bias (positive-negative) changed over time?
- d. Which magazine(s) were more or less biased than the others?

Therefore, this study is guided by the following null hypotheses:

- a. There is no any bias in these three magazines' news coverage of U. S. -- Chinese relationships.
- b. There is no difference in types of bias within each magazine and among them.
- c. There is no difference in type and direction of bias (positive-negative) within each magazine and among them over time.
- d. All three magazines have equivalent frequencies of instances of bias.

### Definition of Terms

1) "News Coverage" was defined as any information about the People's Republic China and the Republic of China in Time, Newsweek, and U. S. News, either in stand-alone articles or summaries and photographs.

2) "Bias" was defined as descriptive expressions which may lead the readers' thinking away from neutrality or influence the readers' attitudes to be favorable or unfavorable.

3) "Categories of Bias" are the six categories of bias reported by Merrill: attribution bias, adjective bias, adverbial bias, outright opinion, contextual bias and photographic bias. Other than attribution bias, verbal bias was developed for the study.

Categories were defined according to Fedler's study.

Isolated words and phrases were classified as examples of adverbial, adjectival or attribution bias. Entire sentences which were deemed biased were classified as 'outright opinion' of the author, and whole paragraphs that contained positive or negative impression were classified as 'contextual bias.'<sup>14</sup>

A photograph and its caption were separately analyzed. The captions were judged in the categories of outright opinion if they are biased. The verbal bias other than attribution bias is developed to detect the occurrence of any bias caused by the usage of verbs to create certain kind of image. Instances of bias were noted either as positive (favorable) or as negative (unfavorable).

4) "Magazine" was Time, Newsweek, or U. S. News & World Report.

### Sampling

Because not every issue of the three magazines has coverage of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China from 1949 to 1993, random sampling cannot be conducted. The author chose sixteen articles (eight about the People's Republic of China and eight about the Republic of China ) from each of these three magazines during ten consecutive presidential administrations from 1949 to 1993. A total of 49 articles were selected. All the articles examined contain at least one article to analyze. A total of 151 items were examined. The items included summaries, photographs, stand-alone articles, interviews and general articles on Chinese affairs. The images of the chief leaders of these two areas were considered representative of the images of these two areas. Therefore, coverage of chief leaders of these two areas was included in the items examined. Readers' letters to the magazine editors were excluded.



### Unit of Analysis

The headline, lead, photograph, caption of each article and the overall context were the basic unit of analysis.

### Categories of Analysis

This study follows the example of two former studies done by Merrill, Fedler, Meeske and Hall. The author of the thesis adopted the six categories of media bias reported by Merrill and developed another category of media bias, verbal bias other than attribution bias, to do this study. These seven categories of media bias are: 1) attribution bias, 2) verbal bias 3) adjective bias, 4) adverbial bias, 5) contextual bias, 6) outright opinion, and 7) photographic bias. Instances of bias were noted either as positive (favorable) or as negative (unfavorable). The seven categories of bias are explained as follows:

#### Attribution Bias

Attribution bias is caused when the writer intends to attribute information to a source by a negative verb. For example, the attribution verb "said" is neutral, but "yell" is negative as it is designed to arouse the reader's emotion, to give a judgmental stimulus. "Smiled" is counted as a "favorable" term, for it is positive affective.<sup>15</sup>

#### Verbal Bias Other Than Attribution Bias

A country's image can be distorted by intentionally selected verbs by the writers. For example, "It 'asserts' itself..." gives a favorable impression to the readers, while "It has 'designed' on its neighbor." expresses unfavorable attitude.

## Adjective Bias

Adjective bias is a type of bias which may build up an impression of the country or the person described. This bias is created by using adjectives, favorable or unfavorable, in association with the country or the person.<sup>16</sup> For example, "A 'stubborn' and 'senescent' Chinese leadership" is a unfavorable expression, while "A 'giant' step forward in economic reform" is a favorable one. These expressions are subjective rather than objective. Neutral terms merely describe a characteristic of something such as "the yellow bird."

## Adverbial Bias

Adverbial bias happens when the writer uses an adverb to reinforce the verb to create an impression in the reader's mind.<sup>17</sup> By generally telling how or why a person or a country did something, the writer may create a favorable or unfavorable impression in the mind of the reader. For example, "'deliberately' urged" may cause unfavorable impression. "He speaks confidently" is favorable. In addition, adverbs modifying adjectives or other adverbs might also cause slant in sentences. For example, "The rest of its infrastructure is 'surprisingly' primitive." 'Surprisingly' may create a negative impression.

## Outright Opinion

In Merrill's words, "the outright opinion is the most blatant and obvious type of bias or subjectivity in news writing."<sup>18</sup> Writers can use their own judgment to create an favorable or unfavorable image of what they reported. Semantically, judgments are defined as "all expressions of the writer's approval or disapproval of the occurrences,

persons, or objects he is describing."<sup>19</sup> For example, "Its history has been hard and ugly" may present an unfavorable image of the subject. "China makes, the world takes" is the outright opinion of the writer which may arouse a favorable attitude toward the subject.

### Contextual Bias

Contextual bias is the bias in whole sentences or paragraphs. The writers may intend to put the subject reported on in a favorable or unfavorable light. Therefore, they manage to lead the reader's thinking by the overall meaning of the report, not by specific words and phrases alone.<sup>20</sup>

### Photographic Bias

Photographic bias can be identified from the overall impression the photograph gives and how people were presented in photographs -- dignified, undignified, angry, happy, calm, nervous,<sup>21</sup> etc..

This study counted all positive and negative instances of bias, ignoring all neutral terms.

## The Quantification System

Items for analysis were counted and listed by magazine. Items of bias were listed under the different categories of bias whether the items were favorable or unfavorable with respect to the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China.

### Coding

Three coders were involved in the study: the author and two graduate students in

Mass Communication at Oklahoma State University. They worked independently, each reading the selected articles that Time, Newsweek and U. S. News & World Report published about the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China from 1949 to 1993 and recorded instances of apparent bias according to the six categories of bias, whether the items were positive or negative. When there were disagreements or doubts about ambiguous statements, the three coders discussed and reached a common agreement.

In order to check the procedures and estimate intercoder reliability, a pretest was conducted that analyzed news coverage published in Time, Newsweek and U. S. News & World Report about Japan. An intercoder reliability test was conducted.

### Statistical Analysis

As nominal data were collected, chi-square analysis was used to examine content differences and relationships in Time, Newsweek and U. S. News & World Report. The 95 percent level of confidence was used to determine which differences were statistically significant.

## ENDNOTES

1. Earl Babbie, The Practice of Social Research (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1992) , 314.
2. K. Krippendorff, Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology (Beverly, CA: Sage, 1980), 21.
3. H. J. Hsia, Mass Communications Research Methods: A Step-by-Step Approach (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Association, 1988), 318.
4. E. Diamond, "Next 'U. S. Timeweek'," New York, 21 (48) (5 December, 1988): 42.
5. Fred Fedler, Mike Meeske and Joe Hall, "Time Magazine Revisited: Presidential Stereotypes Persist," Journalism Quarterly 56 (Summer, 1979), 353.
6. "A Letter from the Managing Editor," Time, 132 (July 18, 1988), 4.
7. Diamond, 42.
8. E. Diamond, "The New Newsweekly Look," New York, 18 (48) (9 December, 1985): 20.
9. E. Diamond, "Now 'Impactweek'," New York, 20 (19) (11 May, 1987): 20.
10. Bert Chapman, "Newsweek Celebrates 50th," Graphic Arts Monthly, 55 (3) (March, 1983): 90.
11. D. Shaw, "Fierce Rivals: Newsweek Versus Time," Los Angeles Time, May 1, 1989, pp. 12.
12. E. Diamond, 1985, 20.
13. E. Diamond, 1988, 40.
14. Fedler, Meeske and Hall, 354.

15. John C. Merrill, "How Time Stereotyped Three U. S. Presidents," Journalism Quarterly 42 (Autumn 1969): 564.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid, 565.

19. S. I. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), 42.

20. Merrill, 565.

21. Ibid.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS OF DATA

#### Intercoder Reliability

In order to check intercoder reliability in examining bias, an intercoder reliability test was conducted among the three coders. The intercoder reliability coefficient (R) for every two of the three coders is .99. The number was calculated by using the formula where  $R = 2M/N_1 + N_2$ , M is the number of coding decisions on which every two of the three coders agree, and  $N_1$  and  $N_2$  are the total decisions made by each of the two coders. On a scale of 0 to 1.0, where 1.0 is perfect reliability or uniform agreement, 0.99 indicates high agreement among coders' decisions.

#### Findings

##### Extent of Coverage

The extent of coverage examined including the number of articles and photographs related to the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China in the three magazines from 1949 to 1993 is shown in Table I and Table II.

TABLE I  
EXTENT OF COVERAGE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
FROM 1949 TO 1993 IN THREE NEWS MAGAZINES

	Time	Newsweek	U.S. News	Total
No. of Articles	8	9	9	26
No. of Photos	18	8	25	48
Total	26	17	34	74

TABLE II  
EXTENT OF COVERAGE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
FROM 1949 TO 1993, IN THREE MAGAZINES

	Time	Newsweek	U.S. News	Total
No. of Articles	7	6	10	23
No. of Photos	6	13	35	54
Total	13	19	45	77

Overall, the author examined 8 articles and 18 photographs in Time, 9 articles and 8 photographs in Newsweek, and 9 articles and 25 photographs in U.S. News & World Report concerning the People's Republic of China from 1949 to 1993. With regard to the Republic of China from 1949 to 1993, 7 articles and 6 photographs in Time, 6 articles and 13 photographs in Newsweek, and 10 articles and 35 photographs in U.S. News & World Report were examined.



Table III shows total occurrences of bias in coverage of the People's Republic of China in the three magazines.

TABLE III  
OCCURRENCES OF BIAS IN REPORTING ON THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA, 1949 TO 1993, BY MAGAZINE

Magazine	Time	Newsweek	U.S. News	Total
Positive	19	7	10	36
Negative	50	18	74	142
Total	69	25	84	178

Simple chi-square calculated a value that indicates significant differences in occurrences of bias among the three magazines. Newsweek had the fewest occurrences of bias in its extent of coverage of the People's Republic of China. But occurrences of bias in Time and U.S. News & World Report were not significantly different from one another. With regard to occurrences of positive bias, Time had more than Newsweek. The three magazines were all significantly different in occurrences of negative bias. Newsweek had the fewest occurrences of negative bias among the three magazines, while U.S. News & World Report had the most.

Total occurrences of bias in covering the Republic of China from 1949 to 1993 by the three magazines are shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV  
OCCURRENCES OF BIAS IN REPORTING ON THE REPUBLIC  
OF CHINA, 1949 TO 1993, BY MAGAZINE

Magazine	Time	Newsweek	U.S News	Total
Positive	16	18	49	83
Negative	12	13	10	35
Total	28	31	59	118

Simple chi-square calculated a value that indicates significant differences in occurrences of bias among the three magazines. U.S. News & World Report had more bias than the other two magazines. But Time and Newsweek were not significantly different from each other in occurrences of bias. Analysis of occurrences of positive bias shows that U.S. News & World Report had the most occurrences of positive bias among the three magazines, but Time and Newsweek are not significantly different in occurrences of positive bias.

Table V shows occurrences of bias per square inch by magazine

TABLE V  
OCCURRENCES OF BIAS PER SQUARE INCH BY MAGAZINE

	Time	Newsweek	U.S. News
People’s Republic of China	0.10/per square inch	0.05/per square inch	0.07/per square inch
Republic of China	.112/per square inch	0.07/per square inch	0.06/per square inch

Considering that all the articles examined do not have the same length, which might influence the frequency of occurrences of bias, the author calculated the occurrences of bias per square inch of articles in the three magazines concerning their reporting on the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China. (See Table V). The figures show the same results as the previous findings. That is, in reporting on the PRC from 1949 to 1993, Newsweek had the fewest occurrences of bias, but occurrences of bias in Time and U.S. News & World Report were not significantly different. On the other hand, U.S. News & World had more instances of bias than the other two magazines in its extent of coverage of ROC from 1949 to 1993, but Time and Newsweek were not significantly different from one another in occurrences of bias.

Table VI shows occurrences of the seven categories of bias in reporting on the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China by the three magazines.

TABLE VI  
OCCURRENCES OF SEVEN CATEGORIES OF BIAS IN  
REPORTING ON THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC  
OF CHINA AND THE REPUBLIC  
OF CHINA, 1949 TO 1993,  
BY MAGAZINE

	Att <sup>a</sup>	Ver <sup>b</sup>	Adj <sup>c</sup>	Adv <sup>d</sup>	Out <sup>e</sup>	Con <sup>f</sup>	Pho <sup>g</sup>	Total <sup>h</sup>
Time	0	6	30	14	19	17	11	97
News- week	3	8	19	7	9	4	6	56
U.S.- News	0	19	46	14	26	22	16	143
Total	3	33	94	34	54	43	33	296

Att<sup>a</sup> = Attribution bias Ver<sup>b</sup> = Verbal bias other than attribution Adj<sup>c</sup> = Adjective bias Adv<sup>d</sup> = Adverbial bias Out<sup>e</sup> = Outright opinion bias Con<sup>f</sup> = contextual bias Pho<sup>g</sup> = Photographic bias

Calculated chi-square values indicate significant differences among all types of bias in Time and U.S. News & World Report. It was found that adjective bias was the most prevalent type of bias in Time and U.S. News & World Report. However, no significant difference was found among types of bias in Newsweek.

Table VII shows the overall occurrences of positive and negative bias in reporting on the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China by the three magazines.

TABLE VII  
OVERALL OCCURRENCES OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE  
BIAS IN REPORTING ON THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
BY MAGAZINE

	China		Taiwan	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Time	19	50	16	12
Newsweek	7	18	18	13
U.S. News	10	74	49	10

Simple chi-square calculated no significant difference in occurrences of positive bias between coverage of PRC and ROC by Time magazine. However, calculated chi-square value on occurrences of negative bias shows a significant difference between coverage of PRC and ROC by Time magazine. Time had more negative bias in reports on PRC than on ROC. That is, the difference seems to indicate that Time had a more negative attitude toward PRC than ROC. For Newsweek, a significant difference was found in positive bias between its coverage of PRC and ROC. Newsweek had more positive bias in reports on ROC than on PRC. The difference seems to indicate that Newsweek had a more positive attitude toward ROC than PRC. Calculated simple chi-square values show that a significant difference was found both in occurrences of positive bias and occurrences of negative bias between coverage of PRC and ROC by U.S. News & World Report. U.S. News & World Report had more positive bias in covering ROC than in covering PRC but had more negative bias in covering PRC than in covering ROC. The differences seem to indicate that U. S. News & World Report was more favorable to ROC than to PRC.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

#### Summary

This study examined the bias in the coverage of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China in Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report from 1949 to 1993. A total of 49 articles and 102 photographs related to PRC and ROC in the three magazines were examined. Method of research is content analysis.

The research questions to be answered in this thesis are:

- a. To what extent were the magazines biased in their coverage of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China from 1949 to 1993?
- b. What types of bias were the most prevalent?
- c. How has the direction of bias (positive - negative) changed over time?
- d. Which magazine(s) were more or less biased than the others?

Overall, Time had a more negative attitude toward PRC than toward ROC.

Newsweek had a more positive attitude toward ROC than PRC. U.S. News & World Report was more favorable to ROC than to PRC. Considering overall occurrences of bias in both coverage of PRC and ROC, U. S. News & World Report was more biased than the other two magazines. Adjective bias was the most prevalent type of bias in Time and U.S News & World Report, but no significant differences were found among types of bias in Newsweek.

In addition, the author of this thesis has reviewed the United States policies toward

PRC and ROC from 1949 to 1993, which included 10 consecutive presidential administrations from Truman to the first year of the Clinton administration. Based on the different policies toward PRC and ROC, these ten consecutive presidents were grouped into four periods. The author considers the presidential administration from Truman to Kennedy to have had an unfavorable attitude toward PRC, while having a favorable attitude toward ROC, perhaps because of the United States' military and economic support to ROC. However, the unfavorable attitude toward PRC changed to favorable during the presidential administrations from Johnson to Carter due to the United States' resumed talk to PRC, seating PRC to the United Nation, and a formal diplomatic relationship built in the Carter administration. At the same time, U. S. policies was less favorable toward ROC. Because of President Reagan's stated strong support of ROC while maintaining a closer relationship with PRC, the Reagan administration was thought to have achieved a balanced relationship between PRC and ROC, and had a favorable attitude toward both PRC and ROC. Then, during the Bush administration to the first year of the Clinton administration, the United States favored PRC over ROC perhaps due to the United States' growing interest in trade with PRC.

Extent of positive and negative bias occurring in the three magazines' coverage of the People's Republic of China during the four periods of presidential administrations is shown in table VIII.

TABLE VIII  
OCCURRENCES OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE BIAS  
IN REPORTING ON THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA DURING THE FOUR PERIODS OF  
PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIONS  
BY MAGAZINE

	Time		Newsweek		U.S. News	
	positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
Truman -	6	6	0	6	0	31
Kennedy						
Johnson -	7	23	4	5	6	20
Carter						
Reagan	1	10	2	4	4	11
Bush -	5	12	1	3	0	13
Clinton						

Calculated simple chi-square values indicate that Time had more negative bias than positive bias during the presidential administrations from Johnson to Carter and during the Reagan administration. Newsweek had more negative bias than positive bias during the presidential administrations from Truman to Kennedy. U.S. News & World Report had more negative bias than positive bias during all periods of presidential administrations except the Reagan administration.

Table IX indicates instances of positive and negative bias occurring in the three magazines' coverage of the Republic of China during the four presidential administrations.



TABLE IX  
OCCURRENCES OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE BIAS IN  
REPORTING ON THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA DURING  
THE FOUR PERIODS OF PRESIDENTIAL  
ADMINISTRATIONS BY MAGAZINE

	Time		Newsweek		U.S. News	
	positive	negative	positive	negative	positive	negative
Truman -	8	0	5	5	16	0
Kennedy						
Johnson -	5	6	11	8	12	1
Carter						
Reagan	3	6	2	0	14	2
Bush -	NA	NA	NA	NA	8	7
Clinton						

Calculated simple chi-square values show that more positive bias than negative bias occurred in Time during the presidential administrations from Truman to Kennedy. U.S. News & World Report had more positive bias during all periods examined except the Bush administration and the first year of the Clinton administration.

Overall occurrences of positive and negative bias in covering the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China during the four periods of presidential administrations are shown in Table X.

**TABLE X**  
**OVERALL OCCURRENCES OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE**  
**BIAS IN COVERING THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF**  
**CHINA AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA DURING**  
**FOUR PERIODS OF PRESIDENTIAL**  
**ADMINISTRATION BY THE**  
**THREE MAGAZINES**

	China		Taiwan	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Truman-	6	43	29	5
Kennedy				
Johnson-	17	48	23	14
Carter				
Reagan	8	28	24	9
Bush - Clinton	6	28	8	7

Simple chi-square calculated a significant difference both in occurrences of positive bias and negative bias between coverage of PRC and ROC during the presidential administrations from Truman to Kennedy. Overall, the three magazines had more positive bias in covering ROC but had more negative bias in covering PRC. The differences seem to indicate that the three magazines overall were more favorable to ROC than to PRC during the presidential administrations from Truman to Kennedy.

During the presidential administrations from Johnson to Carter, calculated simple chi-square values show no significant difference in occurrences of positive bias between coverage of PRC and ROC, but show a significant difference in occurrences of negative bias between coverage of PRC and ROC. Overall, the three magazines had more negative

bias in covering PRC than in covering ROC. The difference seems to indicate that overall, the three magazines were more unfavorable to PRC than to ROC during the presidential administrations from Johnson to Carter.

Calculated simple chi-square values show that a significant difference was found both in occurrences of positive bias and negative bias between coverage of PRC and ROC during Reagan's administration. Overall, the three magazines had more positive bias in covering ROC than in covering PRC, but they had more negative bias in covering PRC than in covering ROC. The differences seem to indicate that overall, the three magazines were more favorable to ROC than to PRC during the Reagan's administration.

Because there were no articles on the Republic of PRC either in Time or in Newsweek during the Bush administration and the first year of the Clinton administration, a comparison of positive and negative bias cannot be done for that period.

On the other hand, Time's attitude toward PRC changed over time. During the presidential administration from Truman to Kennedy, Time had a neutral attitude; from Johnson to Carter, its attitude was very unfavorable. The unfavorable attitude continued in the Reagan administration. From the Bush administration to the first year of the Clinton administration, Time was back to a neutral attitude toward PRC. Time's attitude toward ROC was favorable during the presidential administration from Truman to Kennedy, but changed to neutral from the Johnson administration to the Reagan administration. Time had no coverage of ROC during the Bush administration and the first year of the Clinton administration.

Newsweek had an unfavorable attitude toward PRC from the Truman administration to the Kennedy administration. This unfavorable attitude changed to neutral with the Johnson administration and last to the first year of the Clinton administration. On the other hand, Newsweek had maintained a neutral attitude toward ROC from the Truman administration to the Reagan administration. It did not have any coverage of ROC during

the Bush administration or the first year of the Clinton administration.

U.S. News & World Report was very unfavorable to PRC during the presidential administration from Truman to Carter. During the Reagan administration, U.S. News & World Report changed its attitude to neutral. But the neutral attitude turned back to being unfavorable during the Bush administration and the first year of the Clinton administration. On the other hand, U.S. News & World Report maintained its very favorable attitude toward ROC during the presidential administrations from Truman to Reagan, but this very favorable attitude changed to neutral during the Bush administration through the first year of the Clinton administration.

From the findings of this study, Time's attitude toward PRC did not match official U.S. government policies toward PRC. On the contrary, during the presidential administrations from Johnson to Reagan, Time's attitude toward PRC was opposite to government policies toward PRC. Time's attitude toward ROC matched the government policies during the presidential administrations from Truman to Kennedy.

Newsweek's attitude toward PRC during the presidential administrations from Truman to Kennedy matched official U.S. government policies, but was opposite to government policies during the Reagan administration. Newsweek's attitude toward ROC was neutral during the first three periods of presidential administration. Therefore, its attitude toward ROC did not match government policies.

U.S. News & World Report maintained its unfavorable attitude toward PRC during the four periods examined except the Reagan administration during which U.S. News & World Report's attitude was neutral. Therefore, U.S. News & World Report's attitude toward PRC matched the government policies toward PRC during the presidential administration from Truman to Kennedy. On the other hand, U.S. News & World Report had maintained its favorable attitude toward ROC during the presidential administration from Truman to Reagan, and had a neutral attitude toward ROC during the Bush

administration and the first year of the Clinton administration. Therefore, U.S. News & World Report matched the government policies when it reported on ROC during the presidential administrations from Truman to Kennedy and the Reagan administration. The table below highlights the direction of news bias in the three magazines and the government attitudes toward PRC and ROC during the four periods examined.

TABLE XI  
GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND DIRECTION OF MAGAZINE BIAS

	PRC				ROC			
	Govern	Time	N.W.	U.S.N.	Govern	Time	N.W.	U.S.N..
period1	Neg	Neg	Neg	Neg	Pos	Pos	Neu	Pos
period2	Pos	Neg	Neu	Neg	Neg	Neu	Neu	Pos
period3	Pos	Neg	Neu	Neu	Pos	Neu	Neu	Pos
period4	Pos	Neu	Neu	Neg	Neg	NA	NA	Neu

Govern = Government   N.W. = Newsweek   U.S.N. = U.S. News & World Report

Pos = positive   Neg = negative   Neu = neutral

#### Examples of Favorable and Unfavorable Bias toward the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China in the Three magazines

#### U.S. News & World Report

According to U.S. News & World Report's description in the article examined, the People's Republic of China was poor, "in real trouble," with an unrealistic economic

policy, and the whole picture of PRC was a "disaster." U.S. News & World Report wrote as follows. "Red China is in *heavy* trouble." (February 20, 1961. p. 42) "Chinese in every province have been under orders to *tighten their belts*." (Ibid, p. 43)

"Maladministration in the communes, faulty planning on every level, and *poor* statistical operations contributed to the crisis. And, finally, morale -- among the people and inside the Communist Party itself -- *cracked* under the pressure to reach *unrealistic* production goals laid down by party chiefs." (Ibid, p. 42) "...by restoring incentives to the peasants, Red China was turned toward recovery. But now, *doggedly* determinedly, Red China's leaders are turning back to the same radical measures, the same mistakes, as before."

"Red planners in China are turning once again to pure Communism that all but *wrecked* the country." "Red bosses are moving to put the squeeze on such venture." "Outlook: disaster." (June 24, 1963. p. 93)

During the presidential administrations from Johnson to Carter, U.S. News & World Report described PRC as sick in domestic affairs and doubted PRC would be a threat to world peace. U.S. News & World Report wrote as "*sick* - but still *dangerous*." (October 13, 1969. p. 66) "The bold experiment with Communism began with such high hope in 1949, seems to be dissolving in disorder and widespread disillusionment." (Ibid, p. 67) "China has become a land to flee." (Ibid.) "the Communist Party structure has been wrecked." "And not even the Army obeyed all orders that come from Peking." (Ibid, p. 68) "People are restive, the party in ruins, quarrels raging with neighbors. China will survive in the end. It's the future of Communism that's in doubt." (Ibid, p. 66)

During the Reagan administration, U.S. News & World Report's description of PRC became more neutral. But it still wrote with a negative slant such as "China's *avid* flirtation with Capitalism." (July 26, 1982. p. 40)

During the Bush administration and the first year of the Clinton administration, U.S. News & World Report's attitude toward PRC became unfavorable again. U.S. News & World Report wrote PRC "prepares for a *bitter* harvest. A return to normalcy *masked*

economic trouble." (June 10, 1989. p. 34) PRC "*witch-hunt* for student and worker activists."

On the other hand, U.S. News & World Report was very favorable to ROC during the presidential administrations from Truman to Reagan. ROC was described as "*busting* out with real progress in Asia." "Restaurants and markets *overflow* with food." "Formosa (ROC), however, is a great more than an *unsinkable* aircraft carrier or guided-missile ship." "It had made *tremendous* progress economically and socially." "Most *spectacular* Nationalist success has been in reform and agricultural development." And "results have been *sensational*." (January 1, 1962. p. 38)

In addition, ROC's leader, Chiang Kai-shek was described as follows: "His face is expressive. He moves easily, quickly, and with *surprising* grace. He seems to have lost none of his charm." (February 27, 1953. p. 68) Governor Wu was also "*amiable*" and "*energetic*." (Ibid, p. 69)

U.S. News & World Report continued to describe ROC as "*really thriving*" "Travel everywhere on this island and you find economic *ferment*." (August 3, 1964. p. 52) "There are good reasons for this *spectacular* growth." (Ibid, p. 55) Then, U.S. News & World Report considered "the Chinese Nationalists on Taiwan (ROC) -- masters of political and economic survival," (January 19, 1976. p. 59) and the success of its economy "*incredible*." (Ibid, p. 60) After the U.S. cut ties in 1979, "the nation today is *prosperous* and *booming*." "There is reason for confidence. Once dispirited Taiwan (ROC) has rebounded from a world recession and from former President Jimmy Carter's derecognition on January 1, 1979, with a vigor that is matched by few other Asian nations." (March 5, 1984. p. 38)

## Time

Time had an unfavorable attitude toward PRC during the presidential administration from Johnson to Reagan. Time described China's deliberate image-building as "Kindergarten Quacks," which was derived from a kindergarten class' performance of singing a quacking song for a French tourist. (July 31, 1964. p. 30) The peaceful appearance of PRC was somewhat dull as Time wrote, "Western visitors find the atmosphere *depressing*. The cleanup squads wiped out not only dirt but the birds, thereby turning China into a vast *songless* plain." (Ibid, p. 31)

One of PRC's leader, Chiang Ch'ing, wife of Mao Tse-tung, was described as having "*naked ambitions*," (March 21, 1977. p. 42) and "of the world beyond China, she knew little. The only American Presidents she remembered from her history lessons were Washington ('a great man') and Lincoln. She studied Gone with the Wind to understand the Civil War. She also studied American westerns and did not seem to grasp fully that they were fictional reconstructions and did not portray contemporary reality. To her, the westerns proved that monopoly capitalist groups had been responsible for killing off the Indians." (Ibid, p. 44 - 45)

During the presidential administrations from Truman to Kennedy, Time had a favorable attitude toward ROC. It described ROC as having good conditions for reforms and told lots of success stories of Formosa (ROC). "*Shrewd, capable* K. C. Wu, was talking about plans for the administration and defense of his new domain." "Wu's predecessor, General Chen Cheng started a *good* reform...Gradually, the reforms because of Nationalist China's last desperate stand were showing signs of maturity. From Formosa's *verdant* plains and *lushly* terraced mountains, farmers had reaped their *biggest* harvest since the war." (December 26, 1949. p. 16) "Like ambitious moonlighters holding down two tough jobs, the Chinese of Formosa are trying to build up their



precarious economy while maintaining one of the world's costliest military machines -- 600,000 armed men in a population of 11 million. To the surprise of Asia, the relief of the U.S., and the embarrassment of Red China, Formosa's economic effort is succeeding." "Formosa's *surprising* success is, of course, largely due to the \$3 billion in economic and military aid that the U.S. has poured in since 1949 under the *watchful* eye of the Chiang Kai-shek government. But unlike the sorry case in many other underdeveloped areas, U.S. aid to Formosa has been dispensed *wisely* and put to work *intelligently*." (March 8, 1963. p. 94)

### Newsweek

Newsweek's reports on PRC were unfavorable during the presidential administrations from Truman to Kennedy. Newsweek described Mao Tse-tung's New Democracy, which Mao created for attaining Communism step by step, as the same method that Moscow was applying to Eastern Europe, and the new New Democracy would soon "gave way to out-and-out Communist dictatorship." Besides, "In modern application it expresses the believe that the Red Chinese leadership is too small in number and too *untrained* in administration to do its job." (January 23, 1950. p. 36) Mao also was depicted as "the big man who (won't be there) was doing his best to *wreck* the entire conference." And Red China "takes *smug* pleasure in the sudden sharp increase in the tensions that the summit was intended to ease." (May 16, 1960. p. 32)

### Conclusion

According to the Hutchins Commission a responsible press should truthfully project

every group's image to increase understanding among all groups in the society. Through the development of new communication technology, a picture of every country has been brought to the audiences in almost every part of the world. The news media certainly have the obligation to present every country accurately to increase understanding among all nations in the world.

Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report are the most prestigious news magazines in the United States and also the most prestigious foreign magazines in other countries. Their reports have important influence on constructing the reality for American audience and many international audiences as well. According to the findings of this study, it seems that bias occurred in almost every magazine news report for the period studied, for PRC and ROC, and this makes objective and accurate understanding impossible. The media professionals were telling the truth, but they were also coloring the truth by using slanted words when they reported on PRC and ROC. Rene J. Cappon wrote in The Associated Press Guide to Good Writing,

For color implies a way of seeing a story so you can show the reader. Adjectives and intensifiers have nothing to do with it - they are, in fact, great deceivers. Why inform readers that something is dramatic or tragic? Give them the particulars, and they will supply their own adjectives. Color is a matter of detail - those details that make this story what it is, namely, different from any other stories in some precise circumstances<sup>1</sup>.

According to the review of American policies toward PRC, not until 1970 did PRC open the door to the west. Due to the closed-door policy of PRC from 1949 to 1970 and its strict censorship, American correspondents did not have access to much information. But they were always expected to have something to say to fulfill their duty. What information they could get might be that which diffused in the streets. Under the

circumstances, objective detail is hard to obtain. It might be the reason that those reporters relied heavily on colorful adjectives to tell their stories, which vastly destroyed journalistic objectivity.

In addition, the outright opinion and contextual bias found in the three magazines indicate that journalists used many inferences and judgments to report on PRC. Inferences and judgments in the coverage of PRC might also result from the difficulty of getting access to news details. However, those inferences and judgments could be subjective and might create a certain kind of impression of what was report for the audience. Then, inferences and judgment in coverage precluded objectivity.

On the other hand, because of American anti-communism and pro-democracy ideology, the Republic of China, which vowed to overcome the Chinese Communists, received favorable coverage, especially in the 1950s. U.S. News & World Report particularly used an abundance of colorful positive adjectives to depict ROC.

However, ROC has received less and less coverage from the three magazines since 1961. Researchers, of course, cannot find bias without media reports. Nonetheless, the news media have the responsibility to inform their audiences what is happening in the international environment, and this is important for increasing the understanding among human beings and furthering the peace of the world. A lack of reporting can be seen as a lack of objectivity, especially if there are events which should be reported.

The three magazines' bias did not match United States government policies toward PRC and ROC, but the magazines' anti-communist ideology persisted in their coverage of PRC. According to the Hutchins Commission, a responsible press serves as the bridge between the public and the values and goals of the society. The three magazines fulfilled this obligation in covering communism in American anti-communistic society.

## Concluding Comments

This study adopted the system developed by John C. Merrill for examining bias in news content. However, the system has some deficiencies. For example, Merrill did not consider all forms of verbs and dealt only with attribution verbs, which are only part of the entire family of verbs. Verbs other than attribution can also result in slanting, such as "morale among the people and inside the Communist Party itself -- *crack* under the pressure to reach unrealistic production goals laid down by party chiefs," (U. S. News, February 20, 1961. p.42) and "the big man who was doing his best to *wreck* the entire conference." (Newsweek, May 16, 1960. p.32)

In addition, when Merrill defined the category of adverbial bias, he did not include those adverbs which modify adjectives and other adverbs. The adverb *surprisingly* will create a totally different impression when used before a neutral adjective. For instance, the impression that the word *primitive* creates is definitely different from the phrase *surprisingly primitive*, and *relatively liberal* is not the same as *liberal*. Sometimes, a careless use of an adverb in a sentence might cause slanting, too. "The Nationalists already make most of their small arms and have the capability of producing heavy weapons and *even* jet aircraft." (Newsweek, February 5, 1979. p. 58)

Furthermore, the categories of outright opinion bias and contextual bias are not mutually exclusive. That is, if a reporter uses outright opinions in his/her report, and his/her opinions are biased, all the outright opinions might actually result in contextual bias.

Fred Fedler, Ron Smith and Mike Meeske modified Merrill's research method and added identified and anonymous sources in their study of the three Kennedys, John, Robert, and Edward<sup>2</sup>. In this study, the authors also found that many anonymous sources were used in the three magazines' reports. However, the author thinks that comparing

identified and anonymous sources might not make much sense because reporters can always go to a source who has the same opinion as the reporters seek. That is, reporters can be biased by setting up a premise and then seeking confirmation.

At the beginning of this examination, the author and the two other coders spent several hours discussing some disagreements in pretest articles about Japan. It was found that the three coders were thinking differently about the same content. Although agreements finally were reached and the three coders developed congruent judgment on bias categories, when the three coders finished the examination of articles, which were related to PRC and ROC, they also spent lots of hours discussing some disagreements. Cognitive behavior is so complicated and is influenced by many factors. For instance, the two other coders grew up in a democratic society. They might have strong anti-communism and pro-democracy beliefs. This ideology might inevitably influence judgments on bias. Besides, since these two coders are friends of the author, a citizen of ROC, they might therefore favor ROC over PRC, and this might also influence their judgments when they examined the articles. Furthermore, through the discussions among the three coders, it was found that positive and negative judgments are relative. For example, if one coder had very negative attitude toward one subject, what s/he considers as positive might be thought to be very negative by the coder who has a very positive attitude toward that subject. Therefore, the author thinks that maybe researchers are using a potentially biased method to examine bias.

Journalism professor, Robert L. Stevenson and market research manager Mark T. Greene stated in their article, "A Reconsideration of Bias in the News" that

What news consumers see as biased news is often material which is discrepant with the information already in their heads. material which evokes an evaluative response, and if so, news bias is less a function of reporters' accuracy of fairness and more a function of what readers and viewers think the situation is or ought to be."<sup>3</sup>

Stevenson and Greene also suggested that researchers consider accuracy, completeness, and fairness as matters of professional standard instead of taking the "unproductive" approach of simple content analysis of news coverage.<sup>4</sup>

Although differences in the audiences' cognitive behavior might influence their judgments of news bias, certain reporting and writing techniques, such as colorful adjectives and statements of inferences and judgments, definitely create biased impressions of what is reported. On the other hand, if researchers continue to use the systems such as Merrill's for examining occurrences of bias in news content, and do not look at overall accuracy, completeness, and fairness of news coverage, they might end up with a view of a single tree and easily lose sight of the whole forest.

Reporters might select what they like to report and omit other events which they dislike. Furthermore, reporters might also color what they favor and unfavor. Similarly, the audience might also consider what they believe to be objective reports and those things opposite to their beliefs to be biased coverage. These internal factors, including reporters' ideology and readers' cognitive behaviors, are too complicated to deal with. Therefore, bias -- no matter whether it resulted from reporters' ideology or from the interpretation of news by readers -- might not be easy to overcome. However, some external factors, such as writing techniques, are things that reporters can control to reduce bias. That is, giving what needs to be reported publicity and avoiding colorful adjectives and statements of inferences and judgments will help reporters be more objective. Therefore, content analysis for studying bias, such as the systems used in this study may not be as "unproductive" as Stevenson and Greene think.

#### Recommendations for Further Study

The further study may continue to look at bias using modified examining system,

such as adding verbal bias other than attribution bias, examining all the adverbs which create slanting, and classifying outright opinion bias in the category of contextual bias. At the same time, researchers should pay attention to the accuracy, completeness, and fairness of news content, which was suggested by Stevenson and Greene.

Because verbs other than attribution ones also can create certain impression for the audience, only examining attribution verbs cannot do a complete job on finding bias in the articles. Adverbs can modify not only verbs but also adjectives and adverbs. Sometimes an adverb might change readers' impressions if it is put before an adjective or an adverb on purpose. Outright opinion bias actually creates biased content. Therefore, it should be put in the category of contextual bias to make sure that terms in research are mutually exclusive. Most importantly, in further study, researchers might need to examine accuracy, completeness, and fairness of news content to get a more complete picture of their study.

In addition, further study may review American China policy in detail to make a more accurate comparison between the direction of news bias and government policies. And maybe choosing the articles that covered special events between America and PRC or ROC for examining is a better way for the purpose of study like this kind.

## ENDNOTES

1. Rene J. Cappon, The Associated Press Guide to Good Writing, (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1982), 83.
2. Fred Fedler, Ron Smith, and Mike Meeske, "Time and Newsweek Favor John F. Kennedy, Criticize Robert and Edward Kennedy," Journalism Quarterly 60 (Autumn 1983): 492
3. Robert L. Stevenson and Mark T. Greene, "A Reconsideration of Bias in the News," Journalism Quarterly 57 (Spring 1980): 121.
4. Ibid.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Altschull, J. H.. Agent of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs. New York and London: Longman, 1984.
- Altschull, J. H.. From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism. New York and London: Longman, 1990.
- Awanohara, Susumu. "Foreign Relations. Uniforms Unite: Washington Seeks Closer Military Ties with China." Far Eastern Economic Review, 156 (October, 1993): 13.
- Babbie, E.. The Practice of Social Research. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1992.
- Black, J., Steele, B., and Barney, R.. Doing Ethics in Journalism: A Handbook With Case StudiesGreencastle, IN: The Sigma Delta Chi Foundation and The Society of Professional Journalists, 1993.
- Boyer, J. H.. "How Editors View Objectivity." Journalism Quarterly 58 (Spring 1981): 24-28.
- Cappon, R.J.. The Associated Press Guide to Good Writing. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1982.
- Chapman, B.. "Newsweek Celebrates 50th." Graphic Arts Monthly 55 (3) (March, 1983): 90-92.
- Chao, Edward Yi. "A Content Study of Selected American Newspapers on the Fall of China in 1949." Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1977.
- Dates, J. L., and Grandy, Jr. O. S. "How Ideological Constraints Affected Coverage of the Jesse Jackson Campaign." Journalism Quarterly 62 (Autumn 1985) : 595-600, 625.
- Davison, W. P., Boylan, J., and Yu, F. T. C.. Mass Media: Systems and Effects. New York: CBS College, 1982.
- DeFleur, M. L., and Ball-Rokeach, S. J.. Theories of Mass Communication. New York and London: Longman, 1989.

- Dexter, L. A. and White, D. M. ed.. People, Society and Mass Communications. New York: The Free Press, 1968.
- Diamond, E.. "The New Newsweekly Look." New York 18 (48) (December 9, 1985): 20-24.
- Diamond, E.. "Now 'Impactweek'." New York 20 (19) (May 11, 1987): 20-21.
- Diamond, E.. "Next 'U. S. Timeweek'." New York 21 (48) (December 5, 1988): 42-43.
- Entman, R. M.. Democracy Without Citizens: Media and the Decay of American Politics. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Epstein, E. J.. News from Nowhere: Television and the News. New York: Random House, 1973.
- Fedler, F., Meeske, M., and Hall, J.. "Time Magazine Revisited: Presidential Stereotypes Persist." Journalism Quarterly 56 (Summer 1979): 353-359.
- Fedler, F., Ron, S., and Meeske, M.. "Time and Newsweek Favor John F. Kennedy, Criticize Robert and Edward Kennedy." Journalism Quarterly 60 (Autumn 1983): 489-496.
- Glasser, T. L.. "Objectivity Precludes Responsibility." The Quill 72 (February 1984): 13-16.
- Gross, P.. "Foreign Correspondents Covering Taiwan: A Survey," Mass Communication Research 17-18 (1990): 20-24, 56.
- Gursel, M.. "American Coverage of Foreign News." Nieman Reports 35 (Autumn 1981): 51-61.
- Ha, L.. "Journalistic Excellence in Two Different Political Systems: A Comparative Study of American and Chinese News Reporting Awards." (Quebec, Canada: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1992): 171-195.
- Hayakawa, S. I.. Language in Thought and Action. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964.
- Hsia, H. J.. Mass Communications Research Methods: A Step-by-Step Approach. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Association, 1988.
- Hsu, I. C. Y.. The Rise of Modern China. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1990.

- Klaidman, S. and Beauchamp, T. L.. The Virtuous Journalists. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Krippendorff, K.. Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology. Beverly CA: Sage, 1980.
- Kristof, Nicholas D.. "Taiwan Winning New Friends Hopes for Another One in Clinton." New York Times. January 18, 1993, A 10.
- Lee, J. A. R.. Toward Realistic Communication Policies: Recent Trends and Ideas Compiled and Analyzed. Paris, France: Unesco, 1976.
- Leigh, R. D., ed.. A Free and Responsible Press. Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Lippmann, W. Public Opinion. New York: Macmillan, 1922.
- MacDougall, Curtis. Interpretative Reporting. New York: Macmillan, 1977.
- McKenna, G.. Media Voices: Debating Critical Issues in Mass Media. Guilford, Conn: Dushkin, 1982.
- McLuhan, M.. Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man. New York, Toronto, and London: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
- McQuail, D.. Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction. Beverly Hill, CA: Sage, 1984.
- Merrill, J. C.: "How Time Stereotyped Three U. S. Presidents." Journalism Quarterly 42 (Autumn 1965) : 563-570.
- Mills, R. D.. "Newspaper Ethics: A Qualitative Study." Journalism Quarterly 60 (Winter 1983): 589-594.
- Miller, S. H.. "Reporters and Congressmen: Living in Symbiosis." Journalism Monographs 53 January 1978.
- Olen, J.. Ethics in Journalism. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1988.
- Rammaprasad, J. and Riffe, D.. "Effect of U. S. - India Relations on New York Times Coverage." Journalism Quarterly 64 (Summer-Autumn 1987): 537-543, 663.
- Rosteck, T.. "Irony, Argument, and Reportage in Television Documentary: See It Now

- Versus Senator McCarthy." Quarterly Journal of Speech 75 (August 1989): 277-297.
- Samper, D.. " American Coverage of Foreign news." Nieman Report 35 (Autumn 1981): 51-61.
- Severin, W. J. and Tankard Jr., J. W.. Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, uses. New York: Hastings House, 1979.
- Shaw, D.. "Fierce Rivals: Newsweek Versus Time." The Los Angeles Times. May 1, 1980, p.12
- Shoemaker, P.J. and Mayfield, E. K.. "Building a Theory of News Content." Journalism Monographs 103 June 1987
- Siebert, F. S., Peterson, T., and Schramm, W.. Four Theories of the Press. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.
- Snow, E.. "A conversation with Mao Tse-tung." Life, April 30, 1971: 46-48.
- Stevenson, R. L.. A Reconsideration of Bias in the News," Journalism Quarterly 57 (Spring 1980): 115-121.
- Tuchman, G.. "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity." American Journal of Sociology 77 (January 1972): 660-679.
- United States. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, "United States Political and Economic Policy toward China: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, and International Economic Policy and Trade of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundred First Congress, first session, December 13, 1989" Washington: U. S. G. P. O., 1990.
- "U. S. - China Relations: The China Council of the Asia Society. A Media Source Guide, Issues for the '80s." Office of International Education. Washington,D. C.1982.
- White, D. M.. "The 'Gate-Keeper': A Case Study in the Selection of News." Journalism Quarterly 27 (Fall 1950): 383-390.

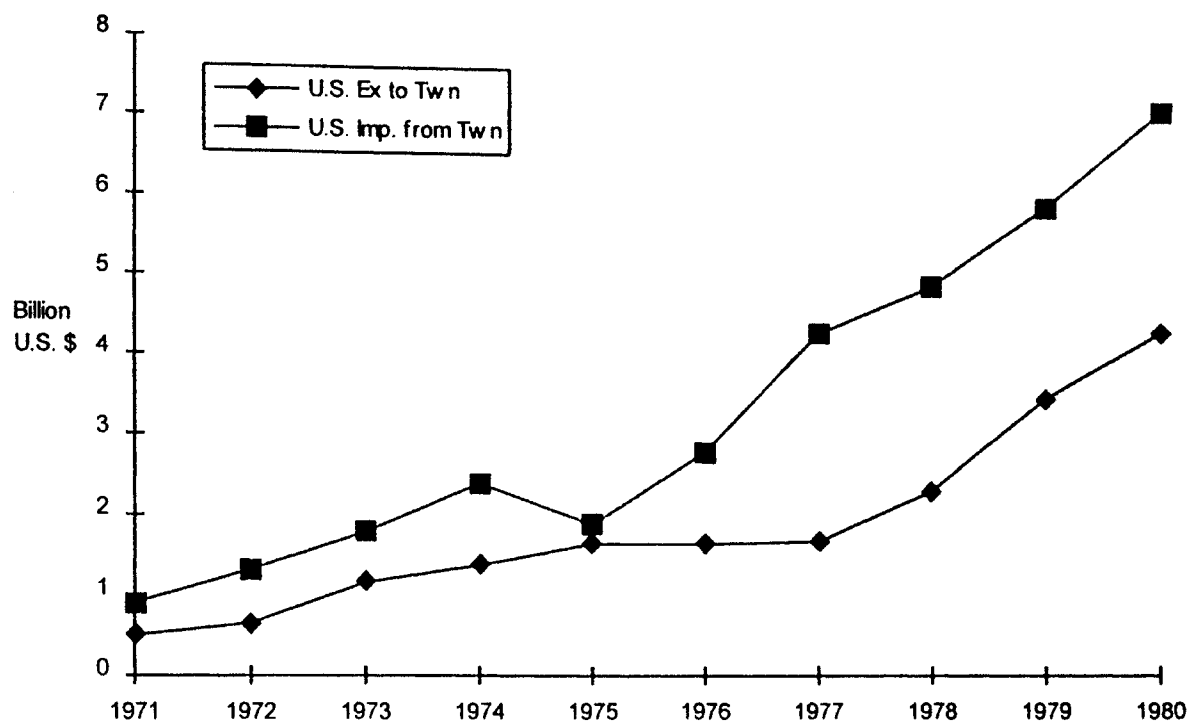
1. The first part of the document is a list of references. It includes a list of books, articles, and other sources used in the research. The references are listed in alphabetical order by the author's name.

## APPENDICES

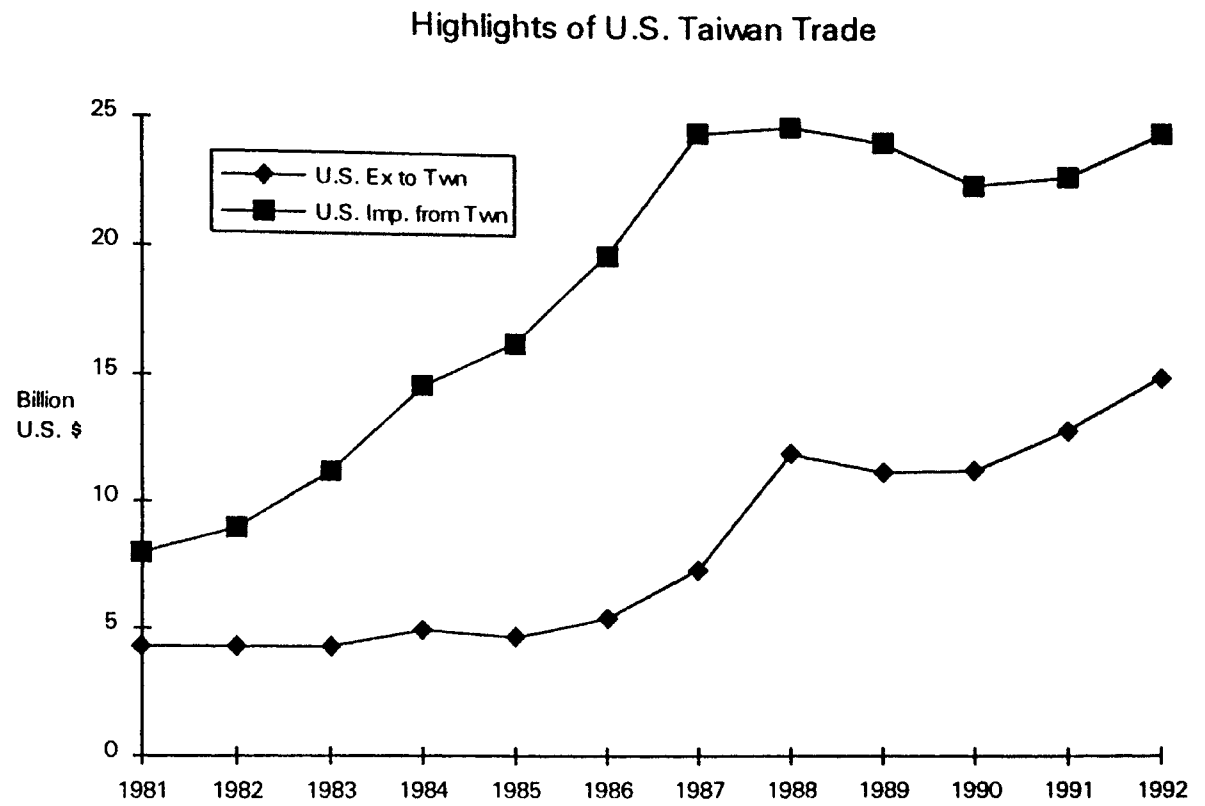
U.S. - TAIWAN TRADE

APPENDIX A  
HIGHLIGHTS OF U.S. - TAIWAN TRADE

### Highlights of U.S. Taiwan Trade



**Figure 1(a):** Source: Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States: Taiwan (The Republic of China)

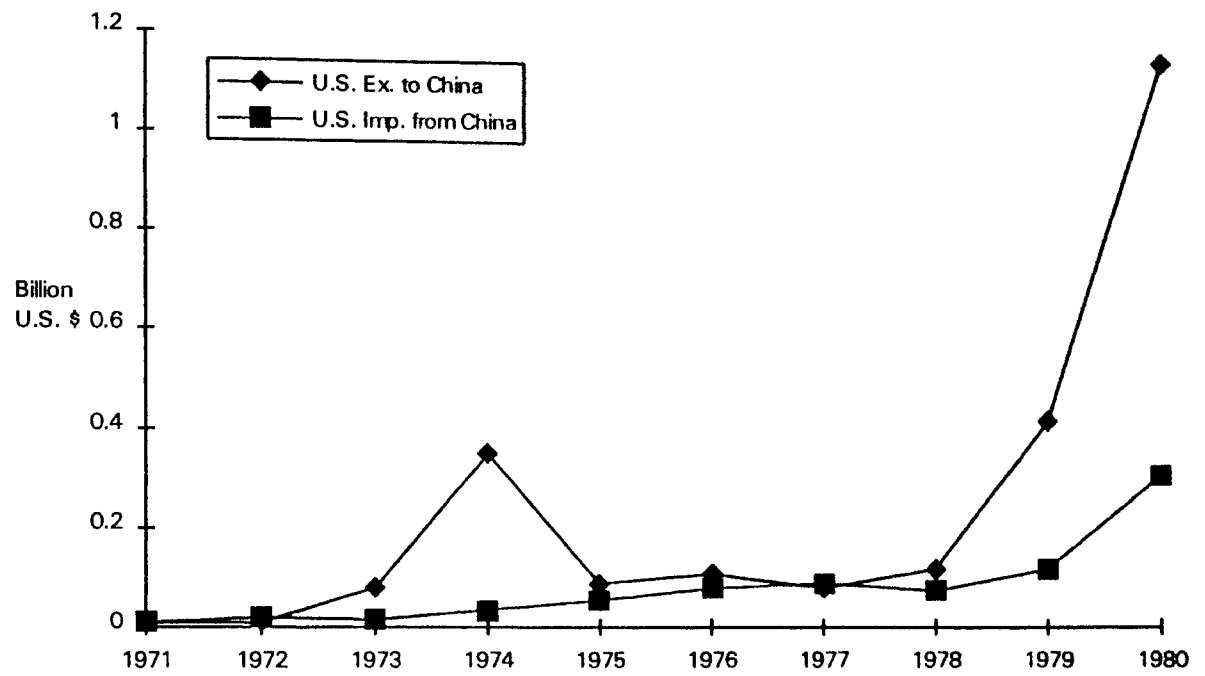


**Figure 1(b):** Source: Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States: Taiwan (The Republic of China)

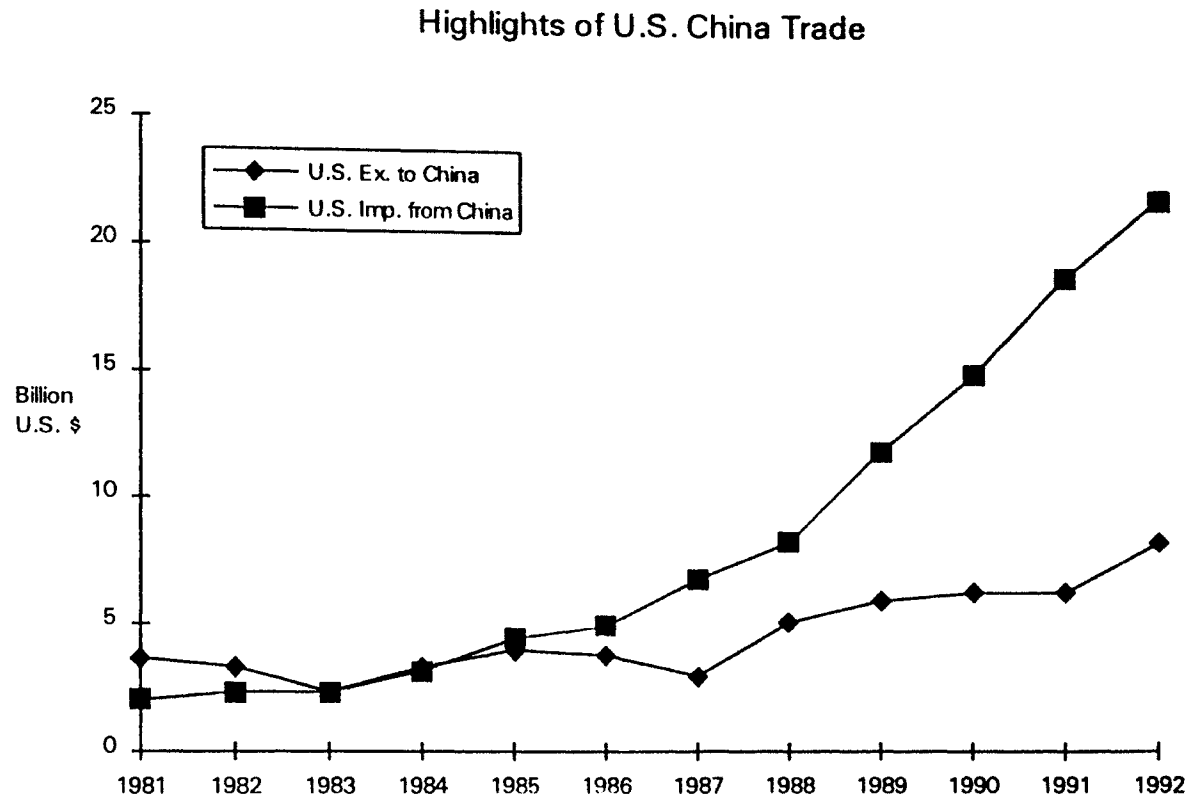


**APPENDIX B**  
**HIGHLIGHTS OF U.S. -CHINA TRADE**

## Highlights of U.S. China Trade



**Figure 2(a):** Source: Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States: The People's Republic of China



**Figure 2(b):** Source: Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States: The People's Republic of China

VITA

Ching-Hui Li

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

**Thesis:** AN EXAMINATION OF BIAS IN COVERAGE IN TIME, NEWSWEEK,  
AND U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, 1949 -- 1993

**Major Field:** Mass Communication

**Biographical:**

**Personal Data:** Born in Taiwan, ROC, January 15, 1967, the Daughter of Mr. Ren-Mau Li and Mrs. Shin-Chu Wang Li.

**Education:** Graduated from Hsin-Kuo High School, Tainan, Taiwan, ROC, in June 1985; Received Bachelor of Education Degree from National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan, ROC, in June, 1989; completed requirements for the Master of Science degree at Oklahoma State University in July, 1994.

**Professional Experience:** Guidance Teacher in Chian-Yu Junior High School, Taichung, Taiwan, ROC, August, 1992 to July, 1993.