

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RESPONSES BY AMERICAN FOREIGN
NEWS DESK CHIEFS TO QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE
PERCEIVED COMMUNICATION GAP BETWEEN
THE WESTERN MEDIA AND THE
DEVELOPING WORLD

By

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PREFACE

There seems to be no loss of words among some international scholars of mass communications in condemning the U.S. and other western media when it comes to how the developing world (otherwise known as Third World) is represented in the U.S. Press. However, the zeal of these researchers and scholars had not extended to balancing their findings by questioning American media executives on why the third world is unfairly represented in the U.S. media. This research is an attempt to fill that void.

I am grateful to many people, too many to list in this limited space. To Dr. William Rugg who gave so much of his valuable personal time assisting students like me whose academic interests seem unending. Dr. Phillip "Ed" Paulin and Dr. Maureen Nemecek for serving on my committee and accommodating the vacillations that attended my research. My respect to the late Dr. Walter Ward. For the brief period I knew him he left an indelible mark in my search for academic excellence.

I dedicate this thesis to my mother Elfida-Spiff Ehimika who died on the 17th of September 1988. She was a mother every person ought to have. She rejoiced when I

started my graduate studies, but did not live to see me
complete it.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Many researchers on the relations between the United States media systems and the third world conclude that the U.S. media are biased against the third world, that the countries that fall into that classification (see Appendix A) are seldom reported in the U.S. media, and that when there is news from these countries it is overly negative, focusing on the bizarre, crime, natural or manmade disasters and violence.¹

According to these findings, since the representations of third world countries are confined to negative portrayal, the cumulative effects and conclusions by the American audience seems to be that nothing good happens in the third world. If its inhabitants are not starving, or involved in natural disasters, then they must be at war killing each other.

The available research seems to indicate that Japan and western Europe enjoy a more balanced reporting of events.² The reader may fault that assertion by enumerating (perhaps correctly) how many times Libya, Nicaragua, Angola and Afghanistan have been featured in the U.S. media in the 1980's. According to the proponents of the "political

prescriptions" hypothesis, personalities, events and countries in the focus of U. S. foreign policy, have greater coverage than those outside the U.S. foreign policy interests.³ Even the above-stated countries are involved in activities that fall within the alleged scope of U.S. foreign policy interests in the third world.

Many reasons have been advanced to explain why the American media behaves this way. Some think racism is a potent factor;⁴ others are certain it is cultural relativism;⁵ a few hold firm to the political prescription thesis;⁶ and to some observers it is constraint: structural, financial or host country excesses and technological backwardness.⁷

This research, then, is an attempt to provide a forum for news chiefs from the most prominent foreign news sources in the U.S. to respond to these allegations. The terms "developing nations" and "third world" may be used interchangeably and are so, quite extensively. The reason is that while countries in this classification prefer being referred to as "developing nations," it is the term "third world" that remains the choice of most Americans.

This research will be confined to American views on the subject of the perceived communication gap between the U.S. media and the third world. It may possibly deviate to the extent that it addresses questions posed by non-Americans or examine their research findings.

The questionnaire in this research was structured to elicit the greatest objectivity and response possible. To achieve this, potentially vexatious or sensitive subjects were omitted.

Statement of the Problem

There is a significant amount of research on unfair representation of developing nations by the United States media systems; some focus on particular zones[®] or countries, others encompass wider areas like continents or geopolitical and racial units:⁷ Black Africans, Arabs, Asians or Latinos.

The subject of unfair third world media representation in the U.S. press is hardly a recent issue, nor does the past evidence suggest that the third world is the only exclusive political unit singled out for unfair treatment. The communist bloc countries have had more than their share of complaints against how they are presented in the western media--the U.S. in particular. To avert possible national confrontations originating from one nation's misrepresentation of another, the United Nations educational, scientific and cultural organization, UNESCO, convened in 1977 to address the problem. The purpose and hopes of the 1977 UNESCO Conference, held in Kenya, were manifest in the pompous title "Declaration of Fundamental Principles and Contributions of the Mass media to

Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, the Promotion of Human Rights and Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War."10

More than ten years since the UNESCO declarations, complaints persist that the United States, along with other western media (who were all signatories to the declarations), display evident biases against the developing countries in news and overall programming.

According to the arguments, in contrast, news stories and news programs from Europe and Japan remain fairly balanced. This is puzzling because it subtracts validity from the proposition that racism plays a dominant role in the discrimination against the third world. The demographics show that the gatekeepers in the Western Press are overwhelmingly Caucasian while the Japanese are Mongoloids. So some other factor must explain the balanced coverage of Japan.

Most analyses and research by international scholars are circumscribed to the extent that while they prove that biases against the third world do, in fact, exist in the U.S. media, they do not develop a corresponding interest in explanations on why the U.S. media behaves this way. It is therefore incumbent on this research to offer some useful scholarship on what about the American media best explains this perceived communication gap vis a' vis the Third World.

Some of the questions this research will address are:

1. Are the U.S. media elitist, racist or pragmatic?
2. What are the opinions of U.S. media executives who import foreign news?

Purpose of the Study

This research seeks to identify the variables that contribute to interactions and communication among nations. This research will also examine which of those variables or factors are present or absent in the flow of news and programming between the industrialized democracies and countries of the third world.

The goal of this research is not to determine if there is a communication gap between the third world and the United States press. This research does not even require the opinion of editors or gatekeepers from foreign news media resident in the U.S. or their various countries. The focus of this study is on media executives in positions where the decisions on news from the third world are made. One can consider this inquiry as an extension of the research by Al Hester, Doris Graber, Gertrude Robinson, Anthony Rimmer¹¹ and Olatunji Dare (to name a few), whose research studies statistically prove significant bias does exist against news stories and news and programs from various third world countries.

This study is significant because it calls on U.S. media executives to express themselves through structured

and open-ended questions on a concern that has been the source of resentments by third world nationals and their respective governments against the U.S. media.

The significance of this study is its contribution to understanding some of the possible variables that attend the cause and effect relationship on the subject of prejudice against news and programming from the third world. As stated earlier, most researchers concern themselves only with decrying the negative portrayal of developing countries by the U.S. Press. This deprives the readers of the balance of the account necessary for objective assessment.

Limitations of This Study

The original plan was to personally visit the respondents, examine the news reports from field correspondents overseas, analyze the content of the stories based on nations of origin, types, and frequencies and then to investigate the editorial process by comparing the reports received from abroad with those that make it into the international news bulletins and reports. However, there was not sufficient funding or time to conduct such an exhaustive study. A foreign media editors' response with their U.S. counterparts may have been most interesting, but was cost prohibitive. The current plan is to mail questionnaires to respondents (news editors).

their U.S. counterparts may have been most interesting, but was cost prohibitive. The current plan is to mail questionnaires to respondents (news editors).

Definition of Terms

This research may appear to insult the intelligence of scholars already familiar with mass communication concepts but the elementary explanations are conscious efforts to make this research more participatory and less esoteric to all.

The following are some terms and concepts that may recur in this thesis. Accompanying them will be short explanation or the context in which they may be used.

Third World

Webster's New World Dictionary defines third world as the underdeveloped or emergent countries of the world. This definition reveals the western orientation. The so-called third world nations define themselves as "developing countries." Since this study seeks only the American perspective, the Webster definition would seem more apt. (A majority of the countries considered third world are in Appendix A).

LDC-Less Developed Countries

Political scholars refer to the third world as less developed countries.

Political Prescriptions

This is a proposition advanced by writers (like Alexander Cockburn, Columnist: The Nation) who posit that the administration in the White House sets its foreign policy agenda, and that the U.S. media advertently or inadvertently pursue those interests almost to the exclusion of all others. Examples are the overkill coverage of Nicaragua, Cuba, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Angola, and Ethiopia.

Structural Limitation

The posting of correspondents worldwide, numbers relative to area of coverage, research resources, facilities for news transmission and finance, are all examples of structural problems that influence news flow. They are considered structural because the news correspondent and audience find themselves in situations analogous to persons in buildings where to effect any change in the building designs may be impossible. Structural limitations in the media are built-in factors that limit news flow. In the findings (Chapter 4), examinations of the consequences will be made.

Cultural Relativity

Is a hypothesis that in international news, the audience pays greater interest to those from their geo-

historical or cultural origins and may care less about others. This will be considered in greater detail in the next chapter.

Gatekeeper

The gatekeeper in mass communication is the press. Recent usage of the word is restricted to only those on the transmission lines of news reporting. Anyone with editorial capability to reject or include the story in the newspaper or news bulletin, including the field correspondent are examples. The term was developed by David Manning White.

Communication Gap

Communication gap is an alternative term for credibility gap. They are euphemisms for untruths, misrepresentations, omissions, selective reporting and the slanting of news. In this study it will often denote absence of balanced reporting between developing nations and the U.S. press.

UNESCO

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. In 1977, there was a conference in Kenya, East Africa, that specifically addressed media relations among member states.

Hutchins Commission

On freedom of the press. This was an attempt by the U.S. media to forestall governmental intervention in the affairs of the press. It is an attempt at self-regulation.. This Commission was instituted in 1947 to develop trans media codes and evaluate the status of the U.S. Press.

ENDNOTES

¹Al Hester, "The News Flow from Latin America Via a News Agency," Gazette, 20 (1974), pp. 82-98).

²Ibid.

³Alexandra Cockburn, ABC News Nightline, Transcript, August 30, 1988, p. 6.

⁴Oumarou Youssoufou, ABC News Nightline, Transcript, August 30, 1988, p. 6.

⁵Lawrence Gross, ABC News Nightline, Transcript, p. 7.

⁶Cockburn, ABC News Nightline, Transcript, p. 6.

⁷James Larson "International Affairs Coverage on U.S. Network Television" Journal of Communications, Vol 29, (Spring 1979). p. 147.

⁸Al Hester, "The News Flow from Latin America Via a World News Agency", Gazette, 20 (1974), pp. 82-98.

⁹Olatunji Dare, The News Agency of Nigeria (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, 1983), p. 59.

¹⁰Ibid, p. 46.

¹¹Anthony Rimmer, Former News on UPI's. A Wire in the U.S.A.: "A Descriptive Analysis of Content for February 13-18, 1979", Paper presented to the Mass Communication Division, III, ICA Convention, Acapulco, Mexico, May 1980.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

Western media bias against the third world falls into two broad themes or subjects among scholars: international news flow, and the call for a new information order. These two concepts are related, but there are subtle distinctions that need to be explained.

International News Flow

International news flow focuses on the transmission of news from one country to another, i.e., from the United States to Canada, from Canada to Argentina, etc. It is a general concept. Its critics observe some imbalance in the international news flow; they claim, while stories from the western democracies enjoy balanced coverage in developing countries, the same is not true when reversed. The international news flow concept is annexed to no other philosophical contention beyond the news flow with the west. Another dimension of this concept is the concentration of major news agencies or brokerages exclusively within few western democracies, leaving the third world at a great disadvantage.¹

New Information Order

The very wording, new information order, evokes western defenses and antipathy, an aversion that originates from its corollary to the call for a new world economic order. The United States is ruled by realists.² In politics the realist position is that all parties in the international arena are independent rational players and that international politics is a zero sum game, meaning some will gain and others will lose. It therefore implicitly accepts the hegemony of a few.³ The rational school is practical: That the overall interests of the nation must override and dominate all other goals. In simpler terms, we do not deal with anyone unless a failure to do so could result in practical consequences.⁴ International outcries to the realist are nothing but sentiments. Most news editors and editorial staff member reflect this U.S. political predisposition. Add this to the ethnic and racial distance between the third world and a majority of the gatekeepers and one may understand why there is such a poor incentive to adequately cover the third world. In human societies it is unheard of for any privileged group to voluntarily give up their advantage, so whatever advantages the U.S. news media have, they keep.

It is against this background that calls for a new information order arose, ostensibly among the disadvantaged: the third world. Calls for a new world information order

are not new. They goes back to 1859 when Havas of France Reuters of England and Wolff of Germany established a cartel dividing up the world between themselves for news collection and distribution.⁵ This excluded the Associated Press International based in New York. Kent Cooper, then general manager of the AP, denounced the European cartel as "a source of restriction to AP's expansion and a source of dubious news about America." That was 1934⁶.

About 40 years later, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India echoed those same words, only in a different context: "We want to hear Africans on events in Africa. You should similarly be able to get an Indian explanation of events in India from Indians."⁷ An appeal by an Indian journalist, D. R. Mankekar, coordinator of the pool of nonaligned agencies, best exemplifies the aspirations of the third world:

All that nonaligned countries are asking is that they too want to look at the world through their own eyes instead of through the eyes of the western media.⁸

Either because of diplomatic niceness or genuine convictions, the United States did respond favorably to these third world concerns. At a 1945 UNESCO Preparatory Conference in London, William Benton, then Assistant Secretary of State, called for a UNESCO-sponsored worldwide radio network and urged active UNESCO prosecution of the campaign for freedom of information.⁹ Another U.S. delegate, Archibald MacLeish, asked for "means by which

people of the world may speak to each other and answer." Ann O'Hare McCormick, another American delegate, advocated "a frontierless world of the mind." When Lloyd Free took the stage, he sought UNESCO's support for a "free flow of communications into areas that are less industrialized, where people are less likely to receive news." He, too, was a member of the official U.S. delegation.¹⁰

It is difficult (but true) for the world to believe that it was the United States that placed the concept of a free flow of information on the UNESCO agenda. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), in 1944, issued a statement endorsing government policies that would remove all barriers to the free flow of information. In 1945, an ASNE delegation, joining with representatives of the Associated Press and United Press International traveled to 22 countries to publicize the free flow of information doctrine. Critics may ask whose concepts and whose definition of free flow of information was in consideration then.¹¹ That question may require a look back on UNESCO in the mid-1940's. UNESCO was dominated by western Europeans and the United States. The Soviet Union had been boycotting the organization and did so until 1954. The Chinese seat was held by the pro-American Chinese Nationalists, leaving India, Yugoslavia, and Egypt as the so-called nonaligned bloc.¹² It does not, therefore, require much wisdom to realize that whatever concerns UNESCO

had about free flow of information in the 40's were western by definition and intent. The 1950's and 60's brought in newly independent third world countries, many of which were ex-western colonies ¹³ and anti-west; but the quest for free flow of information by UNESCO survived, only this time, the meanings were changing. At a General Conference in Paris in 1968, a resolution was passed advising member states in formulating national communication policies to cope with the threat posed to third world cultures by imported media fare.¹⁴ Thus, the concept of free flow of information became the quest for a balanced flow declaration on mass media.¹⁵

By 1974, the LDC's at the United Nations (now the majority) actively campaigned for a new world economic order to effect a redistribution of wealth and the creation of economic opportunities for the less developed countries.¹⁶ The call for a balance flow of information, a new world information order, was a logical extension in UNESCO for the new world economic order. The culmination of the quest for a free and balanced flow of information in UNESCO was the 1977 16 member UNESCO Commission, otherwise known as the MacBride Commission (named after its Irish chairman). This is why almost all researchers of international news flow find reference to the MacBride Commission (or report) almost unavoidable.

With an understanding of the preceding concepts as well as the role of UNESCO and the MacBride Commission, a review of current research on the subject would be in order. Data base searches of the Dissertation Abstract International (DAI) and the Master's Abstract International (MAI) proved helpful. The ERIC search, however, had no research specifically directed at international news flow or the call for a new world information order at this time.

Researches

The first researches reviewed were those conducted by persons other than candidates for Master's or Doctorate degrees. The data base studies will be exclusively for Master's and Doctorate degree candidates.

Al Hester in 1978 analyzed 180 newscasts (1972-76) and found that western Europe and Indochina enjoyed greater coverage than any other region.¹⁷ During that period the Vietnam War was on. South America accounted for only 3 percent, Africa had even less coverage. James Larson's 1979 study was on the CBS newscasts (1972-1976). His findings reached similar conclusions to those of Al Hester.¹⁸

A comparative study of American and Canadian televisions by Schemer and Eiler in 1972 found that Canadian television network news gave greater coverage to South America and Africa than their U.S. counterparts.¹⁹ Despite its proximity to the United States, Latin America has been

called "the blind spot" of the American press. In 1977, Cline's research confirmed this. She found that the print and broadcast media in the United States did not report on certain significant issues until they came into prominence years later.²⁰

William Atwood of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale and the distinguished communications scholar, Wilbur Schramm, undertook a study of news flow in Asia. After analyzing 18 daily newspapers from nine Asian countries and stories in the files of all major western news agencies, they concluded that the western news agencies paid far less attention to crimes and disasters than "third world criticisms of western news agencies would lead them to expect."²¹

Database Searches

The database search was divided into two groups for easier comprehension. The first group was the regional news flow studies that focused on particular regions like Latin America, Africa, Asia, etc. The second group was those research studies with much larger analyses of the third world or global news flow in general.

In the studies of news determination in Latin America, Roberta Karen Anderson's dissertation used content analysis of news from Central America along with photo images. She compared photo images and news in print and television

versions in both countries. Her findings were that the frequencies and emphasis led her to believe overt bias did exist in the portrayal of El Salvador.²² This conclusion is consistent with those of Hester.

James Schwoch examined the international implications of American radio policy toward Brazil, Latin America and the third world during the first thirty years of this century. This author contends that the emerging call from third world nations for a new international information order is an organized response to historical inequities resulting from the penetration, protection and promotion of the American radio industry on a global scale since the 1920's.²³

In African studies, Tau Jong Enoh based his studies on media relationships between Nigeria and the rest of the world, the United States in particular. Among the two methods employed by Enoh was a secondary analysis of a 1981 probability sample of adults commissioned by the United States Information Agency (USIA). The other was a content analysis of Newsweek for October, November, and December 1981. The investigation of the agenda setting function of the international media yielded inconclusive results. A modest positive but nonsignificant relationship was found between Newsweek coverage of international problems and the priority readers gave to these international problems.²⁴

Babbili Anantha's dissertation was on international news flow and the nonaligned nations. It conceptualizes the democratization of international news flow, with third world nations as equal participants in the collection and dissemination of news. It examines the practicality of political solutions offered by western, socialist, and third world nations to redress, the imbalance of news flow and thirdly, that reactions against the status quo was an implicit expression of postcolonial nationalism.²⁵ This study develops two models that are relevant to the current research: one which calls for interactive and participatory news flow with the third world; the other was for alternative sources of news that account properly for global cultural diversity.²⁶

Ruth Maschmeir of the University of Wisconsin based her dissertation on a comparative study of coverage by western and third world newspapers, and their coverage of the MacBride Commission.²⁷ This study as well as another hypothesis by Hyung Chang²⁸ from the University of Washington have perspectives peripherally related to the current research.

Ndichu Gitau of the State University of New York at Buffalo in a 1984 dissertation developed a comprehensive scheme for understanding press freedom and the call for a world information order. In Chapter III the author divided the controversy into three themes: (1) press freedom,

(2) economics of information and (3) questions of cultural autonomy and hegemony. The research revealed how all three factors contribute to providing holders of global information data with a disproportionate power. The research critiqued three models: dissociation, integration and association. The first two were rejected but an alternative association model based independency among nations was accepted.²⁹

Of all the searches conducted, the study by Thomas Alexander of the American University seemed to have the best summary of the entire global news flow polemics. The conclusions were simple:

The New World Information Order (NWICO) movement promoted by the nonaligned third world countries and supported by the Soviet bloc states, was resisted by the western hegemony in the world information and communication system. The basic character of the movement was thus conflictual.³⁰

Books

Herbert Gans in his book, Deciding What's News, concerned himself in the first chapter with domestic themes in foreign news. This review, according to the author, was relevant because the brevity of foreign news brought priorities in domestic news into sharp focus.³¹

Three kinds of foreign news, the author says, dominate the foreign news: (1) America's closest or most powerful political allies, especially Europe, (2) the communist

countries and their allies, and (3) the rest of the world which is only sporadically reported.

According to Gans, whether countries appear in U.S. news depends on if they fall into any of the seven categories of news below:

1. American activities in a foreign country:
Examples are visits to such countries by U.S. dignitaries or government representatives.
2. Foreign activities that affect Americans or American policy: This could include anti-American activities or when a country's government seriously conflict with U.S. foreign policy objectives.
3. Communist-bloc country activities: This may relate to the preceding category to the extent that it includes military activities in Soviet or Communist bloc countries that influences the strategic balance of power, global or regional.
4. Elections and peaceful changes in government personnel: This category deals with royal and elective changes in governments. Non-European royalty receives less respect. African dictators and self styled emperors are also reported but only for their comic value.
5. Political conflicts and protests: To make the news, foreign reports have to be more violent than

domestic news. Peaceful demonstrations are rarely covered unless they are anti-American and portend greater violence.

6. Disasters: Manmade, technological, and natural disasters are included. Examples would be like the Union Carbide disaster in Bhopal, India, the earthquakes in Mexico, Ethiopian famine and war in Angola.

An unwritten rule is to spotlight anti-U.S. dictators and play down the atrocities of friendly and benevolent dictators like the late Shah of Iran (Reza Palavi).³³

The work by Herbert Gans will be discussed again in later chapter.

Doris Graber's book, Mass Media and American Politics provides an excellent analysis of the relations between the government and the media. The last chapter (Foreign Affairs Coverage) is a useful assessment of the performance of the U.S. Media in the context of UNESCO and the MacBride Commission's requisites for international reporting. Her appraisal of the foreign news-making process echoes third world conclusion:

The American Press does not meet the criteria which UNESCO has set out for it. It is sparse and unbalanced, focusing on the wealthier and more powerful countries. It assesses foreign countries largely in terms of U.S. interest with little attempt to explain their culture and concerns from their own perspective. It does not sensitize Americans to the problems of foreigners, but reinforces existing American assumptions and stereotypes instead.³⁴

Doris Graber also observed that the U.S. media policy was essentially a reflection of the American foreign policy, and that the thrust of foreign news, like its domestic counterpart, provided basic support for the policies and personalities of the current American administration. To her, the U.S. media generally accept official designations of who are America's friends and enemies and interpret their motives accordingly.³³

Bernard Cohen in his book, The Press and Foreign Policy, also worried about the close relations between foreign affairs elites (decision makers) and their dependence on elite media, like the New York Post and Washington Post. He quoted a comment by a state department official which he noted as "typical:"

The first thing we do is read the paper--the newspaper . . . New York Times. You can't work in the state department without the New York Times.³⁴

The logical question is what happens if any one of the interdependent two (media and government) deliberately sets out to mislead the other, like Mr. John Poindexter did to the New York Times (while serving as President Reagan's National Security Advisor) during the bombing of Iran and prior to the invasion of the Island of Grenada.

Magazines, Periodicals and Journals

Journals and periodicals attend to the same issues as authors of books on the subject of U.S. media coverage of

the third world. The experience of this researcher, however, is that the writers in periodicals and journals feel less inhibited in expressing personal views. One might even go so far as to say they are livelier and less structured.

David Weaver and John Mauro speculate that Americans are really not interested in foreign news.³⁷ Some other writers, like Susan Welch, tend to agree but observe that foreign news items are selected for their audience appeal rather than their political significance. Emphasis in third world reporting, she agrees, focuses on violence and conflicts. For western Europe, novelty or familiarity of persons or situations should suffice. Welch was the first writer uncovered in this research to hypothesize the rule of "uncertain absorption." According to this rule, stories from western Europe and other culturally related areas are more likely to be published, while those from unfamiliar cultural settings must be eliminated at every stage of the gatekeeping process.³⁸

Haluck Sahin, writing in Journalism Quarterly in 1973, stated an observation which later developed into the political prescription thesis. The writer observed that, when relationships between the U.S. and other nations change, the media coverage mirrors the change. He gave

stories about India and China as examples. Today, we can add the Soviets and the PLO to that list.

Hamid Mowlana examined the typical American journalist abroad to see if there could be a gap in the reporting process. His findings are that the typical American journalist abroad is a white male, college educated, in his mid-40's who often does not speak any other language but English.³⁹ What is the significance of this? Mowlana writes, "they can't interact or do not interact with the locals and hence personal ties, which may supply good insights, are also sparse,"⁴⁰ not to mention built-in biases.

In his table of the distribution of foreign correspondents worldwide, Mowlana's data supports his conclusion that the over-representation of correspondents in western Europe and the scanty-to-nonexistent representation in, say Africa, may partly explain the scanty reports from Africa and overkill coverage of western Europe and Japan.⁴¹

However, James Larson and others, like Sean Kelly, had good defenses for the U.S. media international news coverage. Larson complained that production constraints in domestic news reports are magnified in foreign newsmaking. Staffs are smaller; research facilities limited; language barriers are troublesome; and news transmission ranges from difficult to impossible. Then, when the story finally

reaches the United States, it must overcome basic disinterest as well as ignorance.⁴²

Barry Rubin related the troubles of TV crews who present the bulk of foreign news to the average American. According to Rubin, the quest for the good pictures is often frustrated by restrictions on access or because facilities for taking and processing pictures are inadequate.⁴³

The argument over U.S. press behavior in third world news reporting seems to continue endlessly, with increasingly more agreement that corrective actions are needed.

In August 1988, ABC's Nightline devoted the entire program to the issue of U.S. media neglect of the third world. Ted Koppel introduced the episode thus:

It's all one world, but is that the way we see it? Massacres, starvation, civil wars, stories that affect literally millions of people; yet, they seem to get only the scantiest media attention. Critics charge that as far as the third world countries are concerned, they are often treated as though they are not part of this world at all.⁴⁴

Nightline correspondent, James Walker, compared the extent of coverage given the Ramstein U.S. Air Force base tragedy in West Germany to greater tragedies in Africa and concluded that, even though Americans were directly involved, it happened in a geographical area which enjoys common cultural ties with the U.S. and hence is given lots of news coverage.

Responding to questions of time constraints in reporting news from Africa, Mr. Youssouffou, OAU

(Organization of African Unity) ambassador to the U.N. reported that the network had neglected crucial events in Africa but had extensive coverage for a condor's egg in the San Diego zoo, thus placing a bird's egg as more important than a continent with 400 million people.⁴⁵

The explanations of Mr. Lawrence Grossman (former president, NBC News) were even more basic. Trying to identify the underlying causes for the communication gap, Mr. Grossman said, "We don't know very much about those places, the American people don't know very much about those places and what we're ignorant of we tend not to pay any attention to."

Responding to another question on the role of money and racism, Mr. Grossman admitted that both were factors and that money was no problem for the networks if the audiences were waiting for it.

Another participant in the discussion, Mr. Alexander Cockburn (columnist, The Nation), refuted the theory that ignorance of cultures, people and events make sufficient incentives for journalists to avoid any news. He gave examples: South Africa, Afghanistan, and the Soviets in Kabul City, stating that each of these governments now have laws against foreign journalists reporting; but Dan Rather (CBS News anchorman) goes to Kabul dressed in sheets and it's fine, but what of South Africa? he asks. The point,

according to him, was that the administration (as in this case, Reagan's) sets the agenda for newsmen.⁴⁶

As recently as February 6, 1989, analysts of the Secret Intelligence activities held the media partly responsible for the illegal activities of the CIA. According to these critics, the media knew that the secret services in the 60's and 70's were deeply involved in illegal activities and failed in their primary responsibility to inform the country.⁴⁷

New Flows Models

It may be important to have a bird's-eye view of news flow models because they elucidate and predict factors that influence the selection of foreign news. David Manning White developed the "gatekeeper model" to explain the selection of news by telegraph editors.⁴⁸

Warren Breed posited that news was the result of corporate production techniques involving all sorts of decision makers who have control over news flow and evaluate its impact.⁴⁹ Breed's study showed how the editor and publisher could be misled by the reporter's writings which originated from ill-defined news policy.⁵⁰ This progressed into the development of the institutional or organizational model. The limitation of this model is that it underestimated the impact of the external environment in the news-gathering process.

Deutsch⁵¹ and Calwaller⁵² pioneered the cybernetic model. This model sees news selection as a stabilizing behavior pattern by which journalists respond to raw news inputs by taking appropriate processing action. Such models take into account the varied relationships between the gatekeepers, available technical facilities, the organizational settings of journalists, as well as their news values, news sources, customers, and regulatory agencies. Some like Epstein⁵³, sociologist Herbert Gans⁵⁴, Sigal⁵⁵, and Tunstal⁵⁶, while emphasizing the organizational approach in which news is produced, tend toward the cybernetic.

Galtung and Ruge's model had the premise that an event was more likely to be chosen to become news if it has certain frequency, clarity, consonance and continuity characteristics, and concerns "elite" nations or people.⁵⁷

By far the most prevalent of the widely accepted news flow models relevant to this study was the one by Schramm and Hester.⁵⁸ It was very simple, but evident. They theorized that the news would flow normally from powerful nations to weaker ones rather than the other way around.⁵⁹ So while the industrialized nations can disseminate their stories to the third world the latter could not possess the means to transmit theirs to the industrialized west.

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The thrust of this research was to determine the American response to claims by scholars and citizens from developing nations that the American Press is biased against the third world in its reporting. To meaningfully measure an attitude like bias, it is imperative to list specific attributes of the gatekeepers that may influence this attitude. The review of literature produced several factors that can be housed in three main perceptual areas:

1. Cultural relativity
2. Political prescription in U.S. government, and
3. Socio-political and technological limitations of third world countries.

Potent factors, such as racism, financial limitation, and audience interest, may be considered in Chapter V, but cannot be contained in the hypothesis due to internal inconsistencies that could invalidate this research study. (See Chapter I)

The universe or population of this study is the elite group of third world news conduits into the United States. These are the few principal media with the resources to post foreign correspondents. The sample, fortunately, almost

approximates the universe. Of the sixteen international news editors identified in the research study, questionnaires were mailed to all sixteen.

Parameters of the Study

The media involved include the wire services, like the Associated Press (AP), and the United Press International (UPI); television included all three networks plus the CNN cable network; elite newspapers and magazines, like the New York Times, Time and Newsweek were all represented.

There are three independent variables in this study, two active: cultural relativity and political prescription. The third, socio-political and technological limitations of the third world, will remain an attribute variable because of the obvious difficulty in measuring or manipulating such variables. The independent variables will be measured by degree of agreement on both perceptual areas.

There is one dependent variable. It is the attitude toward news from less developed countries. The most reliable method for measuring attitude has been found to be measuring the degree of agreement with or objection to statements using Likert scale items. Some items apparently do not represent any of the three variables stated above. Their inclusion was a ploy to expand the opinions of the respondents on the general subject. Open-ended question tend to irritate some respondents.

A university professor experienced in producing research questionnaires, examined the questions to determine the suitability of the statements as Likert items. Based on this pretest, 26 statement and demographic questions were prepared.

On the Likert scale items, news directors were required to indicate their degree of agreement by placing check marks along a five-point scale. This scale represents a continuum from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". Possible items were scored so that a "strongly agree" response was assigned an attitude value of 5 and "strongly disagree" responses were assigned an attitude value of 1.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire had a brief cover letter attached explaining the purpose of the project. Included in all the envelopes were stamped, self-addressed envelopes for convenient returns. A copy of the cover letter and questionnaire can be found in Appendix B and C.

Data-Gathering Procedure

There are 26 questions in all. They can be subdivided into 7 sections: Questions 1-6 are questions about the extent of bias against the third world. Questions 7 and 8 are tests of the cultural relativity hypothesis. Questions 9 and 10 are constructed to extract levels of concordance

media executives have with the political prescription treatise. Questions 11-14 assess technological, financial, and structural limitations in U.S. media coverage of less developed countries and the estimation of the role of those limitations on international news transmission in the minds of the respondents.

In question 15 the respondents were required, for the first time, to rate their organization's coverage of the third world compared to western Europe and Japan. Items 16-19 are open-ended questions designed to provoke the respondents to participate in the research. Items 20-26 are demographic information.

The numerical inferiority of the respondents necessitates expressing the statistical analysis more in terms of mean attitude scores. To stretch the data any farther risks exaggeration of even the most infinitesimal degrees of error. The news directors' responses were then evaluated using the Pearson R correlation coefficient to determine how similar or dissimilar the news chiefs were in their responses. A between groups analysis of variance as well as an analysis of the variance between electronic and print media will be made. A McQuitty linkage was used to determine if there was more than one type of news director in their attitude toward news and programs from the third world and what factors they think influence media attitude.

The findings of these tests are discussed in the next chapter. (Chapter IV).

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The objective of this research was to determine if American International News editors concede or object to the hypothesis that the U.S. media is biased against the third world. The perceptual areas are: cultural relativity, political prescription and technological limitation. Some of the questions were: Are the U.S. media executives ethnocentric? Do the political prescriptions of the U.S. government form the focus of international news reporting? Do socio-political and technological limitations of third world countries account for why coverage of those countries is poor or are there other factors.

There were thirteen respondents in this survey, all editors of one description or another in the international news sections. Of the thirteen editors, two had had less than or up to five years' experience on the job; two had six to ten years' experience; six had eleven to sixteen years; two have been on the job for seventeen to twenty-two years. Only one editor had over twenty-three years' experience. (See Figure 1.)

The bulk of the respondents (eight) are between 25-35

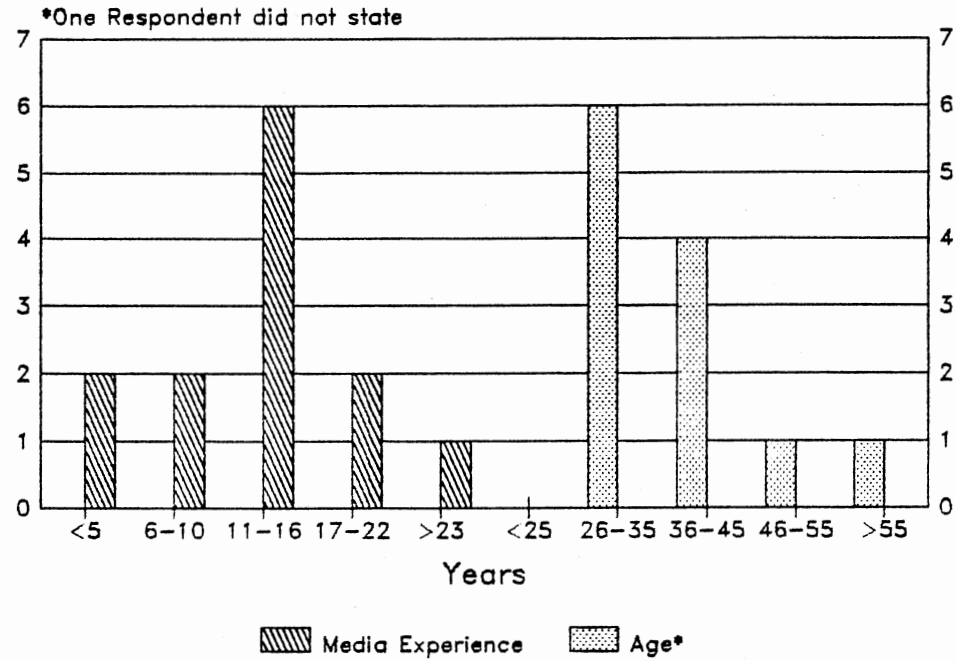


Figure 1. Demographics

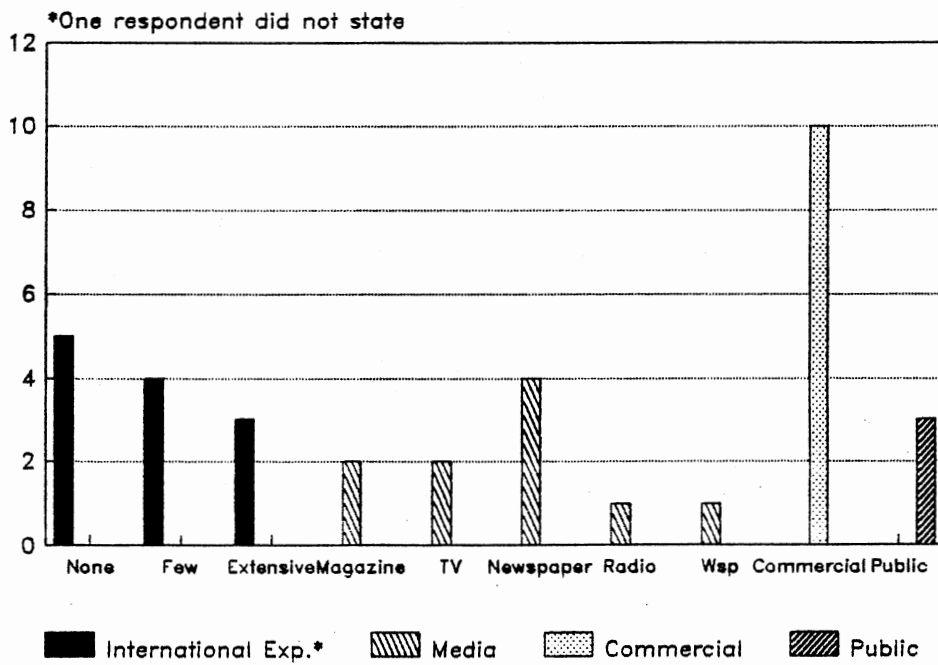


Figure 2. Media Type and Inter. Experience

years of age, relatively young. Four are between 36 and 45 years; only one is a senior editor at 55.

The international experience record of these editors is quite poor: five have no international posting experience whatsoever, four have few years experience (three countries or less), and only three have extensive international reporting posting (six countries +).

Two of the respondents are from news and entertainment magazines, two are from national TV networks, four are from newspapers, four from radio, and one from the wire services.

Of the thirteen editors, three represent public broadcasting networks; the rest are from commercial media. (See Figure 1).

Overall Attitude

The two most important instruments that may provide the greatest insight into the thinking of the editors to the items or perceptual areas are the overall mean agreement to items and the standard deviation which can measure the degree of consensus that exists regarding the questions. When rank ordered, the standard deviation displays the most to the least consistent in the responses. (See Table I)

The respondents had a mean score of 3.5 for question 1, meaning they are uncertain if the U.S. media present sufficient news and programming from the third world. As a group, they are in the interval between neutral and

disagree. The deduction is that, if hard pressed to make a stand one way or the other, these editors may disagree that the U.S. media present sufficient news and programming from the third world.

TABLE I
OVERALL MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS
ON ALL QUESTIONS

| Questions | Group Means | Standard Deviation |
|-----------|-------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 3.53 | 1.266 |
| 2 | 3.53 | 1.127 |
| 3 | 3.25 | 1.068 |
| 4 | 2.92 | 1.188 |
| 5 | 2.54 | 1.330 |
| 6 | 4.00 | 1.081 |
| 7 | 3.38 | 1.446 |
| 8 | 2.69 | 1.251 |
| 9 | 1.77 | 0.832 |
| 11 | 2.54 | 0.877 |
| 12 | 2.23 | 1.166 |
| 13 | 3.38 | 1.044 |
| 14 | 2.69 | 1.182 |

On question 2 the respondents remain indecisive on comparative assessment of news from the third world and from Japan/Europe. Like the response in question 1, if required to be definite, they may elect to disagree that the U.S. media present a well-balance representation of events from western Europe and Japan. This is evidenced by a mean of 3.5.

Question 3 is on the same subject as the number one and two, the editors remain uncertain if the American media is biased against the third world in news and documentary coverage. A mean of 3.1 is not sufficient to attempt to second guess which direction on the Likert scale the respondents may go if required to be more specific or definite about their thinking on this item. However, 3.1 could be interpreted as indicating that the editors would rather disagree than agree that the American media are biased against the third world in news and documentary coverage.

On question 4 there is no ambivalence. The editors agree firmly that news from the third world is overly negative, focusing on social-political conflicts like coups, crimes and terrorism. Herbert Gans (Chapter II) may have been expressing mainstream American journalistic thinking on this subject after all; the mean is 2.9.

Questions 5 through 8 were structured to test the cultural relativity theory. A collective mean of 2.5 implies that international news chiefs more than agree that news stories from the third world do not assume the same importance as news from Europe and Japan.

Question 6 offers some interesting insight into the distinctions these respondents make between the words important and interesting. While they may concede that news stories from the third world do not assume the same

importance as those from Europe and Japan, they disagree that news stories and documentaries from the third world are not as interesting as those from the more industrialized countries (mean 4.00).

The news editors who responded to this survey, are neutral on question 7. They do not know (or don't want to say) if American audiences cannot relate to events and news from the third world (mean 3.3).

Question 8 had a mean of 2.6. The respondents agreed firmly on a preference for news from Europe, because a majority of Americans and media executives are of European extraction.¹ Lawrence Grossman (Chapter II) must have been echoing the views of the U.S. news chiefs.

On the political prescription theory the editors collectively agreed strongly that personalities and areas on U.S. foreign policy enjoy greater coverage by the U.S. media compared to areas not on the American political agenda. This is to be explored further with the analysis of standard deviations. This is the one item on which the respondents agreed the most. The agreement was so strong that it validates (beyond chance) the political prescription hypothesis.

Question 10 is moot. There was an error on the final copy that completely altered the meaning of the sentence. The initial question should have been would PLO chief Yasser Arafat have had the favorable report he had after he made

the Time cover had the U.S. government not resumed talks with the PLO?

The editors agreed with question 11 that, technological constraints were hampering news reporting from the third world. But a mean of 2.5 does imply that they are somewhat uncertain if technological constraints alone could restrain newsmen from reporting events from the developing nations. Items 11 and 9 are the only two in which the editors had very identical answers (a standard deviation of 0.8).

Understaffing of news bureaus in developing countries contributes to the communication gap between the U.S. media and those countries, according to the editors based on their mean agreement to question 12 (mean 2.3).

A mean of 3.3 for question 13 indicates that the respondents are uncertain if financial limitations alone account for why the U.S. media would not cover the third world adequately.

The most important element for the limitation and constraint variable (question 14) is that the editors confirmed by, a mean agreement of 2.6 that, if there is an audience interest in news from the third world, none of the limitations in questions 11 through 13 would interfere with U.S. media coverage of developing countries.

In item 15, the 13 editors answered the following question this way: How would you describe your

organization's coverage of the third world compared to Europe and Japan?

TABLE II
HOW THE EDITORS RATED THEIR ORGANIZATIONS
COVERAGE OF THE THIRD WORLD

| Very Poor | Poor | Good | Very Good |
|-----------|------|------|-----------|
| 2 | 2 | 7 | 2 |

Questions 16-19 are open-ended questions. A majority of the editors in the survey avoided the open-ended questions but those who responded answered thus to the following questions.

Question 16: How could the communication gap between the United States media and the third world be improved?

- Editor 1: No comment.
- Editor 2: No comment.
- Editor 3: No comment.
- Editor 4: Expansion of cable coverage, exchanges between journalists.
- Editor 5: More coverage of third world news.
- Editor 6: Free press everywhere is the key to news coverage. Ingredients for news are the same everywhere--people wanting to know what others are doing.
- Editor 7: By media efforts to focus attention--but this is unlikely to happen.
- Editor 8: No comment.
- Editor 9: By the U.S. media being less racist.
- Editor 10: Through a vision of a strong global village--whatever effects the third world will indirectly touch us.
- Editor 11: Less censorship and restrictions on travel, access, etc.
- Editor 12: No comment.

Editor 13: No comment.

Question 17 was intended to evaluate future implications of an insufficient knowledge of the third world. It reads: What do you think are the possible consequences of ignoring news from the third world?

- Editor 1: No comment.
- Editor 2: No comment.
- Editor 3: More violence and coups.
- Editor 4: Greater gap in understanding and in time political and economic disparity.
- Editor 5: No comment.
- Editor 6: Loss of readers and viewers. Loss of advertising.
- Editor 7: Sudden eruptions, seemingly government toppling unrest that threatens U.S. security interests.
- Editor 8: No comment.
- Editor 9: Increased ignorance.
- Editor 10: After all, we are the major world power. Everything we do has an economic aspect to it.
- Editor 11: Same consequences as ignorance of any part of the world.
- Editor 12: No comment.
- Editor 13: No comment.

Item 18: Question 18 reads: In an average news week, what percentage of your news is international news?

- Editor 1: 20%.
- Editor 2: No comment.
- Editor 3: 3-5%.
- Editor 4: 25%.
- Editor 5: 30%.
- Editor 6: 40%.
- Editor 7: 20%.
- Editor 8: No comment.
- Editor 9: 25%.
- Editor 10: No figures.
- Editor 11: 33%.
- Editor 12: No comment.
- Editor 13: No comment.

Total Average 24.75%

Item 19: Question 19 reads: In an average week, what percentage of your international news is from the third world?

Editor 1: 10-20% (15%).
Editor 2: No comment.
Editor 3: 2%.
Editor 4: 25%.
Editor 5: 5%.
Editor 6: No figures.
Editor 7: 5%.
Editor 8: No comment.
Editor 9: 25%.
Editor 10: 0%.
Editor 11: 40%.
Editor 12: No comment.
Editor 13: No comment.

Total Average: 14.63%

Item 20 which reads: In an average week what is the percentage of news reports received from the third world that is published? is also moot because 90% of the respondents choose to ignore it.

When all 13 perceptual item questions are rank ordered (see Table III), one finds an unusually strong convergence of opinion on two items: questions 9 and 11. While the means represent the sum of all responses divided by the number of respondents in the group, the standard deviation (std) gives a precise measurement of how respondents voted. For example: .83205 means the editors were consistent in their response to this question. They clustered very closely around the mean.

The implication is that these editors collectively agreed with Alexander Cockburn (columnist, The Nation),² Herbert Gans³ and Doris Graber⁴ (see Chapter II) that international news in the United States mirrors the focus of U.S. foreign policy interests (question 9). They also joined James Larson⁵ (see Chapter II) in a strong voice to blame technological limitations for a lot of the

TABLE III
RANK ORDERING OF (QUESTIONS) ELEMENTS
FROM MOST TO LEAST AGREEMENT

| Question # | Mean | Std Dev | Skewness | Kurtosis | Bimodality |
|------------|---------|---------|----------|----------|------------|
| 9 | 1.76923 | 0.83205 | 0.49774 | -1.33939 | 0.48215 |
| 11 | 2.53846 | 0.87706 | 1.17645 | -0.55073 | 0.70606 |
| 13 | 3.38462 | 1.04391 | 0.10143 | -0.98910 | 0.34385 |
| 3 | 3.15385 | 1.06819 | -0.35285 | 0.17492 | 0.27412 |
| 6 | 4.00000 | 1.08012 | -0.93784 | -0.97792 | 0.48828 |
| 2 | 3.53846 | 1.12660 | -0.11248 | -1.28014 | 0.38255 |
| 12 | 2.23077 | 1.16575 | 1.33969 | 1.73625 | 0.49347 |
| 14 | 2.69231 | 1.18213 | 0.34924 | -0.28636 | 0.30816 |
| 4 | 2.92308 | 1.18754 | 0.52404 | -0.10455 | 0.33343 |
| 8 | 2.69231 | 1.25064 | 0.38788 | -0.84420 | 0.37315 |
| 1 | 3.53846 | 1.26592 | -0.68423 | -0.34045 | 0.40932 |
| 5 | 2.53846 | 1.33012 | 0.53043 | -0.94635 | 0.42985 |
| 7 | 3.38462 | 1.44559 | -0.60881 | -0.98508 | 0.46586 |

difficulties in news reporting from the third world. Beyond those two strong congruences of opinion, there seem to be no outstanding consensus of opinions among the editors.

Electronic Media Vs. Print

In Chapter II, Barry Robins enumerated the constraints facing the TV reporter:

1. Lack of adequate facilities for good pictures.
2. Restrictions.
3. Time/space, etc.

All the above enumerated problems could be indigenous to TV to some extent. The print medium has time and space and is less sensitive to ratings and a desire to keep flirtatious audiences from straying to the competition. There were differences were seen between the means on all the items, so a gap (T test) between all pairs of means was run to determine if these variances were statistically significant. (See Table IV.) However, the variances were amazingly significant in all but four items(8, 9, 11, and 14). It should also be mentioned that even questions 8, 9, 11, and 14 express variances, though not sufficient for major scrutiny.

The most contentious items are numbers 2, 4, 5, and 12. In question 2 the electronic medium was more inclined to accept that the U.S. electronic media presents sufficient news of the third world than do their print counterparts. On question 4 the electronic media agree that news stories from the third world are overly negative and conflictual. The print medium was neutral on this point. On the whole,

the print medium was more critical of the operations of the U.S. media than was the electronic media.

Means According to Experience in Years

Four strategic questions (4, 8, 9, and 11) have been designed to extrapolate the desired information from all three major perceptual areas or variables. The editors with 1-10 years experience (see Table V) have no opinion if news stories from the third world are overly negative (a mean of 3.0). The group with 11-16 years experience agrees that stories from the developing nations are overly negative (means 2.1). The group with 17-22 years experience disagrees significantly (4.0); the only editor with over 23 years experience strongly disagrees. Thus, it appears that the more the experience the editor has, the greater the probability that the editor would defend the U.S. media system, except for the cultural relativity theory where those in the 1-5 years and the 17-22 years groups agreed that the preference for European news reflects the composition of the U.S. media executives. On the political prescription theory, they all agreed that it is valid (question 9). This is also the case with the technological constraints hypotheses (except for the editor with 23 years experience, who disagrees; on questions 11-13 this particular editor disagreed on everything).

TABLE IV
ELECTRONIC VS. PRINT MEDIA

| Electronic Media N = 8 | | | | | Print Media N = 5 | | | | |
|------------------------|------|---------|------|-----|-------------------|---------|----|-----|--------|
| N | Mean | Std Dev | Df | T | Mean | Std Dev | Df | T | F |
| 1 | 3.6 | 1.18 | 7.1 | .78 | 3.4 | 1.52 | 11 | .77 | .5367 |
| 2 | 3.5 | 1.19 | 9.0 | .88 | 3.6 | 1.14 | 11 | .88 | .9850 |
| 3 | 3.13 | 1.24 | 10.9 | .89 | 3.2 | .83 | 11 | .91 | .4602 |
| 4 | 2.80 | 1.24 | 8.8 | .86 | 3.0 | 1.22 | 11 | .86 | 1.0000 |
| 5 | 2.5 | 1.41 | 9.0 | .90 | 2.6 | 1.34 | 11 | .90 | .9756 |
| 6 | 4.2 | 1.03 | 8.0 | .33 | 3.6 | 1.14 | 11 | .31 | .7702 |
| 7 | 3.62 | 1.40 | 7.8 | .49 | 3.0 | 1.58 | 11 | .47 | .7380 |
| 8 | 2.62 | 1.50 | 10.9 | .79 | 2.8 | .83 | 11 | .81 | .2729 |
| 9 | 1.75 | .70 | 6.1 | .93 | 1.8 | 1.09 | 11 | .92 | .2945 |
| 10 | 2.3 | .74 | 6.3 | .47 | 2.8 | 1.09 | 11 | .41 | .3495 |
| 12 | 2.25 | 1.28 | 9.7 | .94 | 2.2 | 1.09 | 11 | .94 | .8020 |
| 13 | 3.75 | 1.03 | 10.1 | .09 | 2.8 | .83 | 11 | .11 | .7142 |
| 14 | 2.62 | 1.40 | 11.0 | .78 | 2.8 | .83 | 11 | .80 | .3313 |

TABLE V
 MEANS OF EDITORS ACCORDING
 TO EXPERIENCE IN YEARS

| | Question | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|---------------|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| (1-5 yrs.) | 2 editors | 3.5 | 4.5 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 4.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 4.0 | 2.5 |
| (6-10 yrs.) | 2 editors | 3.5 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 4.5 | 3.5 | 4.0 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| (11-16 yrs.) | 6 editors | 4.1 | 3.8 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 3.6 | 3.3 | 2.1 | 1.5 | 2.8 | 2.0 | 3.3 | 3.0 |
| (17-22 yrs.) | 2 editors | 2.5 | 2.5 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 4.0 | 2.0 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 3.0 | 3.0 |
| (23 and over) | 1 editor | 2.0 | 2.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 2.0 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 1.0 |

Means of Editors Expressed
According to Age

On establishing bias the under 25 year old editor joined those in the 36-45 year group to say they don't know if the media is biased against the third world. The editors in the 26-35 age group agreed that the U.S. media are biased against the third world. Those in the 46-55 age group strongly agreed, and the senior editor strongly disagreed. (See Table VI).

The respondents between the ages 26 to 45 age group agreed that the cultural relativity theory was credible; but the one editor who is under 26 years old, and the over-55-year-old editors both disagreed. All but the under 26-year old editor agreed on the political prescription theory. Editors in the 26 to 45 year old category agreed on the constraint theory; editors in the 46-55 age bracket were uncommitted; and again the senior editor disagreed.

Table VII displays how the editors rated their organizations and how they rate the items. For example, the editors who rate their organizations to be very poor are uncertain about a U.S. media bias against the third world. Those who rate their organization coverage of the third world as poor tend to disagree on the cultural relativity theory as well. All agreed on the political prescription theory, while those who rate their organization as very good agreed with the constraint hypothesis.

TABLE VI
 MEANS OF EDITORS EXPRESSED
 ACCORDING TO AGE

| Question | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 25 and less 1 editor | 3.0 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 2.0 | 4.0 | 3.0 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.0 |
| 26-35 years 6 editors | 4.0 | 4.1 | 2.6 | 2.0 | 2.6 | 3.8 | 3.3 | 2.8 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 3.3 | 2.3 |
| 36-45 years 4 editors | 3.0 | 2.7 | 3.7 | 3.2 | 2.7 | 3.7 | 3.2 | 2.0 | 1.2 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 3.2 |
| 46-55 years 1 editor | 5.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 3.0 | 1.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 |
| 55+ years 1 editor | 2.0 | 2.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 2.0 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 1.0 |

Comparisons Between the News Editors

The news editors, as a the whole, had very little distance in opinion on the strategic questions or perceptual areas. On the individual questions, Table VIII shows the Pearson R Correlation matrix between all pairs of news editors from the sample. A Pearson R Correlation is a measure of how similarly the news editors responded to the items in the questionnaire. For example, the .8187 correlation between editor 8 and editor 2 means that, if editor 8 rated an item higher than item 2, there is an 81% probability that editor 2 will also rate item 1 higher than item 2. A correlation of .6000 or higher is considered significant.

McQuitty's linkage displays the typical representatives. However, it does not add benefit to this study, so the McQuitty linkage data, clusters and graph are in Appendix E for those who wish to review it.

Figures 3 and 4 represent the findings of items 18 and 19. The editors averaged 24.75% (rounded off to 25%) for news from western Europe and Japan and 14.63% (rounded off to 15%) for news from the third world. World population distribution, according to Doris Graber, shows 75% of the people on this planet live in the third world but only receive a 14.65% representation in the U.S. media⁴, according to the editors. The reader is best equipped to

TABLE VII

RATING THEIR ORGANIZATION'S COVERAGE
OF THE THIRD WORLD

| Items | Very Poor | Poor | Good | Very Good |
|-------|-----------|------|------|-----------|
| 1 | 4.5 | 4.0 | 2.8 | 4.5 |
| 2 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 3.1 | 4.0 |
| 3 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 3.5 |
| 4 | 3.0 | 2.5 | 3.0 | 3.0 |
| 5 | 1.5 | 2.0 | 3.1 | 2.0 |
| 6 | 4.5 | 4.0 | 4.4 | 2.0 |
| 7 | 2.5 | 3.0 | 3.4 | 4.5 |
| 8 | 1.5 | 3.5 | 2.8 | 2.5 |
| 9 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 2.0 |
| 11 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 2.7 | 2.0 |
| 12 | 1.5 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.5 |
| 13 | 4.0 | 2.5 | 3.7 | 2.5 |
| 14 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 3.1 | 2.5 |

Very Poor = 2 respondents
 Poor = 2 respondents
 Good = 7 respondents
 Very Good = 2 respondents

TABLE IX

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
 PROB /R/ UNDER $H_0: \rho = 0$

N = 13

| | Editor 1 | Editor 2 | Editor 3 | Editor 4 | Editor 5 | Editor 6 | Editor 7 | Editor 8 | Editor 9 | Editor 10 | Editor 11 | Editor 12 | Editor 13 |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Editor 1 | | 0.6613 | 0.5791 | 0.7358 | 0.5339 | 0.5998 | 0.3538 | 0.8180 | 0.2906 | 0.0814 | 0.2328 | 0.0102 | 0.9631 |
| Editor 2 | 0.6613 | | 0.2570 | 0.2092 | 0.5179 | 0.3055 | 0.6863 | 0.8187 | 0.1920 | 0.4370 | 0.6500 | 0.9472 | 0.5312 |
| Editor 3 | 0.5791 | 0.2570 | | 0.7212 | 0.1048 | 0.6462 | 0.4334 | 0.6589 | 0.3574 | 0.9531 | 0.2997 | 0.6862 | 0.8924 |
| Editor 4 | 0.7358 | 0.2092 | 0.7212 | | 0.1214 | 0.1492 | 0.0929 | 0.0869 | 0.1700 | 0.6283 | 0.1935 | 0.5870 | 0.5926 |
| Editor 5 | 0.5339 | 0.5179 | 0.1048 | 0.1214 | | 0.9301 | 0.0038 | 0.2928 | 0.0267 | 0.2242 | 0.4051 | 0.0581 | 0.3891 |
| Editor 6 | 0.5998 | 0.3055 | 0.6462 | 0.1492 | 0.9301 | | 0.6630 | 0.6528 | 0.1336 | 0.6242 | 0.1114 | 0.4616 | 0.8981 |
| Editor 7 | 0.3538 | 0.6863 | 0.4334 | 0.0929 | 0.0038 | 0.6630 | | 0.2329 | 0.0083 | 0.0642 | 0.6901 | 0.0310 | 0.6243 |
| Editor 8 | 0.8180 | 0.8187 | 0.6589 | 0.0869 | 0.2928 | 0.6528 | 0.2329 | | 0.7751 | 0.6641 | 0.6462 | 0.4142 | 0.07916 |
| Editor 9 | 0.2906 | 0.1920 | 0.3574 | 0.1700 | 0.0267 | 0.1336 | 0.0083 | 0.7751 | | 0.0995 | 0.7067 | 0.0024 | 0.7971 |
| Editor 10 | 0.0814 | 0.4370 | 0.9531 | 0.6283 | 0.2242 | 0.6242 | 0.0642 | 0.6641 | 0.0995 | | 0.6185 | 0.0274 | 0.3322 |
| Editor 11 | 0.2328 | 0.6500 | 0.2997 | 0.1935 | 0.4051 | 0.1114 | 0.6901 | 0.6462 | 0.7067 | 0.6185 | | 0.7007 | 0.1158 |
| Editor 12 | 0.0102 | 0.9472 | 0.6862 | 0.5870 | 0.0581 | 0.4616 | 0.0310 | 0.4142 | 0.0024 | 0.0274 | 0.7007 | | 0.2215 |
| Editor 13 | 0.9631 | 0.5312 | 0.8924 | 0.5926 | 0.3891 | 0.8981 | 0.6243 | 0.7971 | 0.3322 | 0.1158 | 0.0456 | 0.2215 | |

INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE 13 NEWS EDITORS
 ATTITUDE SCORES CONCERNING U.S. MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE THIRD WORLD

judge if this is a fair representation.

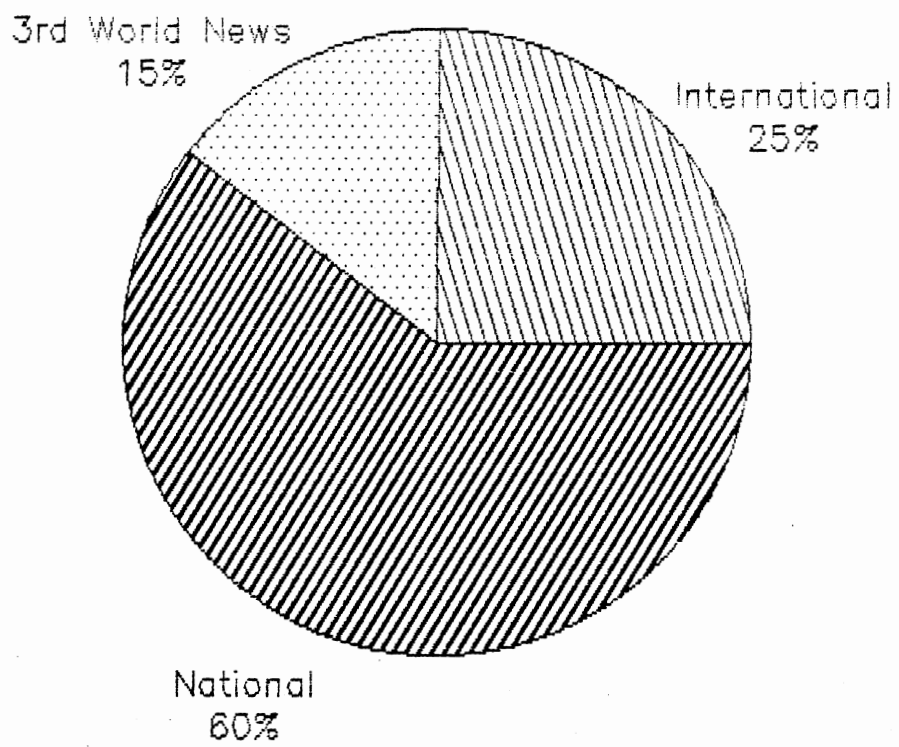


Figure 3. International and National News Distribution According to Respondents

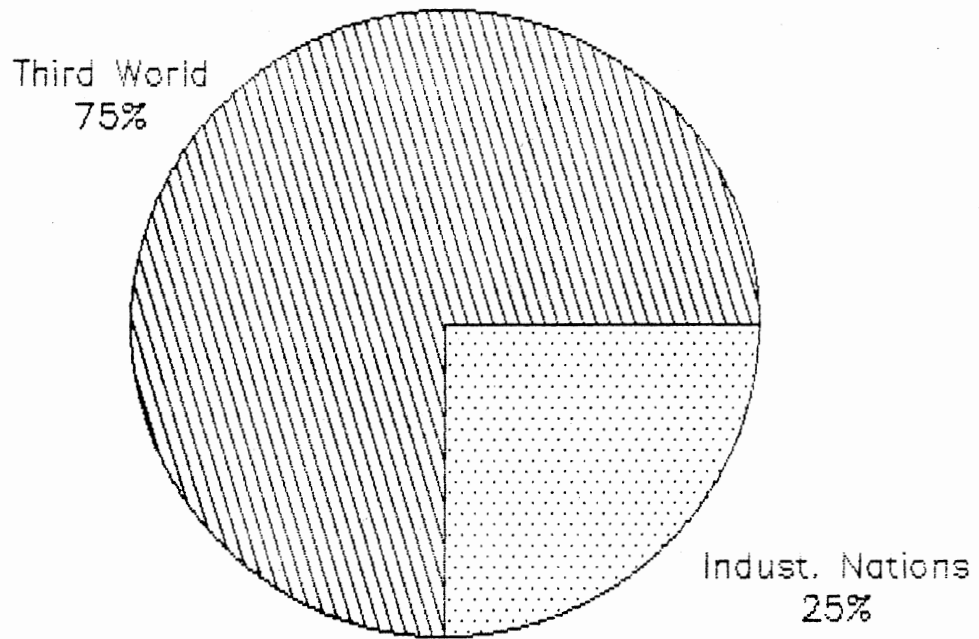


Figure 4. International Population and National Distribution

ENDNOTES

¹Doris Graber, Mass Media and American Politics (Congressional Quarterly Press, 1980), p. 261.

²Alexandra Cockburn, ABC News Nightline, Transcript, August 30, 1988, p. 5.

³Herbert Gans, Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979). p. 31.

⁴Graber, p. 264.

⁵James Larson "International Affairs Coverage on U.S. Network Television" Journal of Communications, Vol 29, (Spring 1979). p. 147.

⁶Graber, p. 264.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

This researcher set out with a null hypothesis that the U.S. media were not biased against the third world, and that cultural, political and technological variables do not influence the operations of the U.S. media regarding third world news reporting. The review of literature had evidence to the contrary; even race was identified by serious writers, like Phillip Schlesinger, as a potent factor among gatekeepers when directing foreign news traffic.¹ This researcher decided against including race as a variable, because the Japanese, who are enjoying favorable news coverage, are non whites. All accounts list whites as controlling the U.S. media system.² The thinking was that factors, such as social, economic, military and cultural significance, may be variables that attract news interests. It is possible that the U.S. media is just elitist, nationally, and by extension, internationally.

In the literature review some historical retrospection became imperative. Among the findings are that American concerns about international news coverage are not new.

Back in 1947, the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press in its chapter on full access to the day's intelligence enjoined the media thusly:

In terms of quantity, the information about themselves and about their world made available to the American people must be as extensive as the range of their interest and concerns as citizen of a self-governing industrialized community in a closely integrated modern world. In terms of quality the information provided must be provided in such a form, and with so scrupulous a regard for the wholeness of the truth and fairness of its presentation, that the American people may make for themselves, by the exercise of reason and conscience, the fundamental decisions necessary to the direction for their government and their lives.³

So how are the U.S. media complying to the above recommendations? Well, in politics the dispassionate relationship that ought to characterize the relationship between political administrations and the media is yet to be achieved. For example, when the international political relationship with China was adversarial, news descriptions of China began with words like "Red China".⁴ When the political relationship changed, the adjective Red was omitted. The same is true of the Soviets. The benevolent assessments and reports of Russia today are linked to the sweetened relationship now between Moscow and Washington. Whatever has been said of both Moscow and China is true of their third world alliances and their relationships with the powers in Washington.

This researcher asked the editors in the sample if the U.S. media are treating the third world unfairly. The

editors appear to be uncertain, but they accept that the media are "in bed" with politicians on international news; worse, the politicians dictate the agenda. Concerns have been articulated even by American critics. New York Times correspondent, James Reston, states the problem this way:

We are fascinated by the events but not by the things that cause the events. We will send 500 correspondents to Vietnam after the war breaks out and fill the front pages with their reports, meanwhile ignoring the rest of the world, but we will not send five reporters there when the danger of war is developing.⁶

The Washington Post's Phil Goise described the cumulative impact as follows:

We are surprised more often than we ought to be and need to be. This leaves the country unprepared for twists and turns in foreign affairs that might have been foreseen and for which plans might have been made.⁷

The 1979 Iran crisis best exemplifies the above observation. On a bilateral level insufficient or biased coverage of the third world creates credibility gaps and poisons otherwise developing good relations. The communist media, cognizant of this shortcoming in the western media, have been taking advantage of it.

Recommendation to Industry

It is understandable for editors in the electronic media to select foreign news items based primarily on audience appeal rather than political, economic, or military significance, but there has to be an accompanying sense of

responsibility. This researcher is greatly troubled by the number of editors on foreign news desk without any foreign posting experience (5 out of 18).

One has to preserve doubts about the U.S. media's capacity to activate self-correcting mechanisms without public pressure. We can hope that the media don't wait for the government or the audience to protest before some corrective attention is given to fair coverage of developing nations. The clamor from the third world for fair representation in news is loud and consistent enough for a national convention on U.S. media coverage of the third world.

On staffing, reporters should be assigned to specific third world countries, even though they may be based in, say, London or Paris. Familiarity with the dominant language, culture and happenings in both developed and developing countries should be the primary the basis for employment. So, even though a correspondent is based in London, because he has an "ear to the ground" in Iraq, he may have advance intelligence on events in that country and can best interpret them to the American audience.

A divorce between the media and politics, for the media, may be beneficial in retrieving its credibility and maintain a dispassionate accounting of events in other countries. Race, cultural and ethnocentric calculations of world events should be an attitude of the past. All media

establishments should employ ombudsmen to police, or at least to monitor and critique, their operations.

Recommendation to Educators

Mass communication course design should incorporate third world concerns on international reporting. If a department of mass communication (or journalism) does not teach international media, that department may be part of the problem.

The future managing editors may be passing through your class. Intercept or flag them and inform them about fair international reporting. You can also call this ethics.

Recommendation for Further Research

News editors are busy people, a few of them seem to be allergic to questionnaires; so when mail questionnaires to are mailed news executives, the researcher may have given him/herself a task hard to forget. It took over 15 months and hundreds of dollars in telephone calls to obtain 13 questionnaires out of 16. There were crisp one-dollar bills on the third mailing to the respondents; and the response rate improved by 60%. Some, like the AP network returned the money. On the first try, they sent me a cover letter they had a policy against responding to questionnaires.

If funds are available, visit these editors to encourage the human factor and sympathy for one's purpose.

By doing this, the researcher may have the necessary representations for a more rewarding study. One female responded to the survey; one respondent was over 55 years old. How could one have made useful differentiations within group variances based on media, gender and age? Further research could include foreign news editors in the U.S. as well as some audience participation beside news editors on the perceptual areas.

ENDNOTES

¹Phillip Schelesinger, Putting Reality Together (London: Constable Press, 1978, p. 117.

²William Rivers, Wilbeur Schramm and Clifford Christians, Responsibility in Mass Communication (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), p. 217.

³Leigh, Robert, ed., A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 29.

⁴Gans, p. 336.

⁵Graber, p. 264.

⁶James Reston, Sketches in the Sand (New York: Knopf, 1967), p. 195.

⁷Barry Rubin, quoting Phil Foisie, International News and the American Media. Dante B. Fascell, ed., International News: Freedom Under Attack (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1979), p. 216.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Country

| | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Afghanistan | French Polynesia | Nicaragua |
| Algeria | Gabon | Niger |
| American Samoa | Gambia | Nigeria |
| Angola | Ghana | Niue |
| Antigua & Barbuda | Greenland | Oman |
| Argentina | Grenada | Pacific Islands |
| Bahamas | Guadeloupe | Pakistan |
| Bahrain | Guam | Panama |
| Bangladesh | Guatemala | Papua New Guinea |
| Barbados | Guinea | Paraguay |
| Belize | Guinea-Bissau | Peru |
| Benin | Guyana | Phillipines |
| Bermuda | Haiti | Puerto Rico |
| Bhutan | Honduras | Qatar |
| Bolivia | Hong Kong | Reunion |
| Botswana | India | Rwanda |
| Brazil | Indonesia | St.Christ. and Nevis |
| British Virgin Is. | Iran (Islamic Rep.) | Saint Helena |
| Brunei Darussalam | Iraq | Saint Lucia |
| Burkina | Ivory Coast | St. Pierre and Miquelon |
| Burma | Jamaica | St. Vincent & Grenadines |
| Burundi | Jordan | Samoa |
| Cameroon | Kenya | Sao Tome & Principe |
| Cape Verde | Kiribati | |
| Caymen Islands | Korea, Republic of | |
| Central Afr. Rep. | Kuwait | |
| Chad | Lao People's Dem Rep. | |
| Chile | Lebanon | Saudi Arabia |
| Columbia | Lesotho | Senegal |
| Comoros | Liberia | Seychelles |
| Congo | Libyan Arab Jamah. | Sierra Leone |
| Cook Islands | Macau | Singapore |
| Costa Rica | Madagascar | Sri Lanka |
| Cuba | Malawi | Sudan |
| Cyprus | Malaysia | Suriname |
| Dem. Kampuchea | Maldives | Syrian Arab Rep. |
| Democratic Yemen | Mali | Thailand |
| Djibouti | Malta | Togo |
| Dominica | Martinique | Tokelau |
| Dominican Rep. | Mauritania | Tongo |
| East Timor | Mauritius | Trinidad & Tobago |
| Ecuador | Mexico | Tunisia |
| Egypt | Montserrat | Turkey |
| El Salvador | Morocco | Turks and Caicos Is. |
| Equatorial Guinea | Mozambique | U.S. Virgin Is. |
| Ethiopia | Namibai | Uganda |
| Falkland Islands | Nepal | U. Arab Emirates |
| Fiji | Neth. Antilles | U. Rep. of Tanzania |
| French Guiana | New Caledonia | Uruguay |

Vanuatu
Venezuela
Wallis & Futuna Is.
Yemen
Zaire
Zambia
Zimbabwe

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE TEMPLATE

1
2
3
4
5
 strongly agree agree neutral disagree strongly disagree

1. U.S. media do present sufficient news and programming from the third world.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
2. U.S. media present a well-balanced representation of events from the third world countries compared to those from Western Europe and Japan.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
3. The American media is biased against the third world in news and documentary coverage.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
4. News stories from the third world are overly negative focusing on social and political conflicts, like coups, crimes and terrorism.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
5. News from the third world does not assume the same importance in the U.S. media as those from Europe and Japan.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
6. News and documentaries from the third world are not as interesting as those from the more industrialized countries.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
7. American audiences can not relate to events and news from third world cultures.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
8. There is a preference for news from Europe, because a majority of Americans and media executives are of European extraction.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
9. Personalities and areas of interest to U.S. foreign policy enjoy greater coverage by U.S. media compared to areas not on the political agenda.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
10. PLO chief, Yasser Arafat, would never have made Time Magazine's "Man of the Year 88" had the U.S. government not resumed talks with the PLO.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
11. Presenting news from third world countries is difficult because of technological constraints (i.e., satellite services, telephones, computers) in reporting from those areas.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
12. Understaffing of news bureaus in third world countries contributes to the communication gap between the U.S. media and those countries.
 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____

13. Financial limitations account for why U.S. media can not cover the third world adequately.
- 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
14. If there is an audience interest in news from the third world, none of the limitations stated above would interfere with U.S. media coverage of news from the third world.
- 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
15. How would you describe your organization's coverage of the third world compared to Europe and Japan?
- very poor _____ poor _____ good _____ very good _____

In questions 16 through 19, briefly state your response.

16. How could the communication gap between the United States and the third world be improved?
17. What do you think are possible consequences of ignoring news from the third world?
18. In an average news week, what percentage of your news is international news?
19. In an average news week, what percentage of your international news is from the third world?
20. In an average news week, what is the percentage of news reports received from the third world that is published or used?

Questions 21, 22 through 26 are demographic information.*

21. What is your official title? _____
22. Years of experience: 1 - 5 _____
 6 - 10 _____
 11 - 16 _____
 17 - 22 _____
 23 and over _____
23. Any international experience outside the U.S.? Yes ___ No ___
24. If you have international experience, in what countries were you posted?
25. Age: Under 25 _____
 25 - 35 _____
 36 - 45 _____
 46 - 55 _____
 55 and over _____
26. Your organization is:
- Newspaper _____
- Radio _____
- TV _____
- Wire Service _____
- News/Entertainment Magazine _____

*All information is strictly confidential. No attempt will be made to match responses with media organizations or personnel.

APPENDIX C

COVER LETTER TEMPLATE

Box 700471
Tulsa, OK 74170

Dear Sir/Madam:

I am a post graduate scholar at Oklahoma State University conducting a research on the communications gap between the U.S. media and the third world. I am asking you and other news chiefs from very prestigious media organizations to help me by completing the enclosed questionnaire; also enclosed is a self-addressed, stamped envelope. This should not take more than five minutes of your time.

By this study we hope to determine if there is a communication gap between the developing world and the United States, and examine possible benefits in closing such gaps.

The results will be published, so please indicate on the questionnaire if you would like an advance copy of the results.

Thanks!

Sincerely,



Hamilton Ehimika

bd

Encl.

* All information provided is strictly confidential.

APPENDIX D

AP NETWORK RESPONSE



Associated Press
Bonnie J. Schneider
Administrative Assistant
to the President

January 26, 1989

Mr. Hamilton Ehimika
Box 700471
Tulsa, OK 74170

Dear Mr. Ehimika:

Thank you for your letter of January 18th.

As a policy, the Associated Press does not respond to questionnaires.

I return, herewith, your inquiry.

Sincerely,

Bonnie Schneider

50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, NY 10020 212 621-1666-67

APPENDIX E

McQUITTY LINEAGE DATA AND GRAPH

SAS
 MCQUITTY'S SIMILARITY ANALYSIS
 SIMPLE STATISTICS

| | MEAN | STD DEV | SKEWNESS | KURTOSIS | BIMODALITY |
|-----|---------|---------|----------|----------|------------|
| Q1 | 3.53846 | 1.26592 | -0.68423 | -0.34045 | 0.40932 |
| Q2 | 3.53846 | 1.12660 | -0.11248 | -1.28014 | 0.38255 |
| Q3 | 3.15385 | 1.06819 | -0.35285 | 0.17492 | 0.27412 |
| Q4 | 2.92308 | 1.18754 | 0.52404 | -0.10455 | 0.33343 |
| Q5 | 2.53846 | 1.33012 | 0.53043 | -0.94635 | 0.42985 |
| Q6 | 4.00000 | 1.08012 | -0.93784 | -0.07792 | 0.48828 |
| Q7 | 3.38462 | 1.44559 | -0.60881 | -0.98508 | 0.46588 |
| Q8 | 2.69231 | 1.25064 | 0.38788 | -0.84420 | 0.37315 |
| Q9 | 1.76923 | 0.83205 | 0.49774 | -1.33939 | 0.48215 |
| Q11 | 2.53846 | 0.87706 | 1.17645 | -0.55073 | 0.70606 |
| Q12 | 2.23077 | 1.16575 | 1.33969 | 1.73625 | 0.49347 |
| Q13 | 3.38462 | 1.04391 | 0.10143 | -0.98910 | 0.34385 |
| Q14 | 2.69231 | 1.18213 | 0.34924 | -0.28636 | 0.30816 |

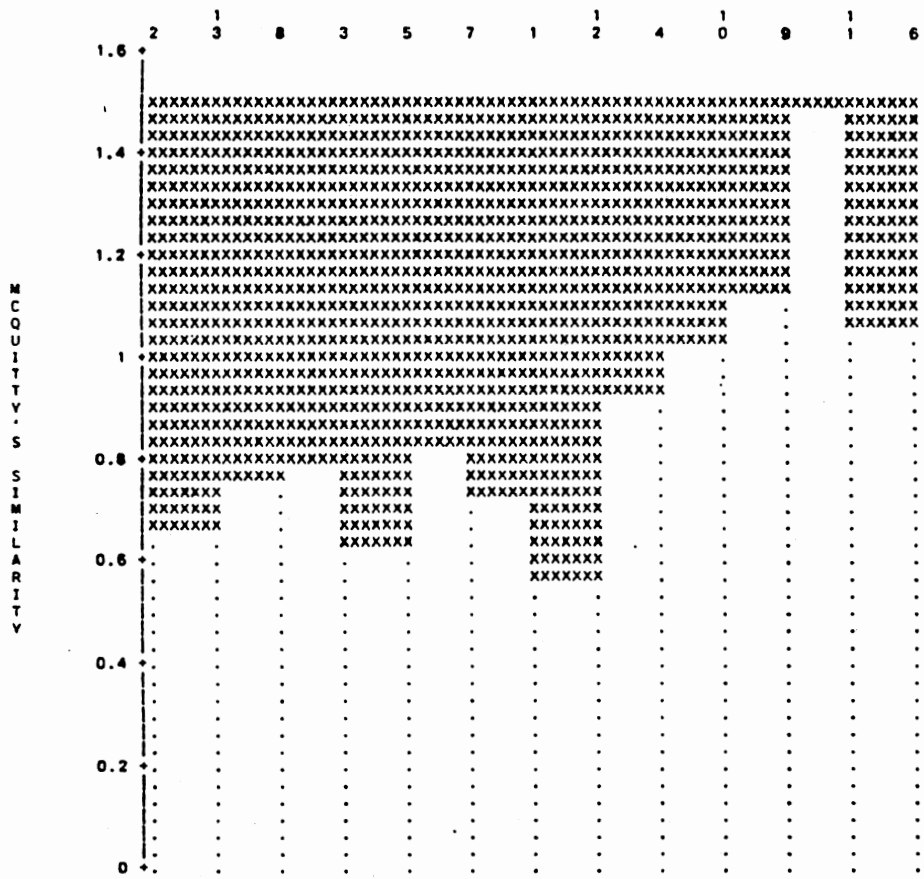
EIGENVALUES OF THE COVARIANCE MATRIX

| | EIGENVALUE | DIFFERENCE | PROPORTION | CUMULATIVE |
|----|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1 | 6.58462 | 3.77429 | 0.379008 | 0.37901 |
| 2 | 2.79033 | 0.21806 | 0.161100 | 0.54011 |
| 3 | 2.57228 | 1.16343 | 0.148510 | 0.68862 |
| 4 | 1.40885 | 0.15935 | 0.081340 | 0.76996 |
| 5 | 1.24950 | 0.16340 | 0.072140 | 0.84210 |
| 6 | 1.08610 | 0.44573 | 0.062708 | 0.90481 |
| 7 | 0.64037 | 0.25872 | 0.036972 | 0.94178 |
| 8 | 0.38166 | 0.02481 | 0.022035 | 0.96381 |
| 9 | 0.35685 | 0.17079 | 0.020603 | 0.98441 |
| 10 | 0.18606 | 0.11319 | 0.010742 | 0.99516 |
| 11 | 0.07287 | 0.06184 | 0.004207 | 0.99936 |
| 12 | 0.01102 | 0.01102 | 0.000636 | 1.00000 |
| 13 | -0.00000 | . | -0.000000 | 1.00000 |

ROOT-MEAN-SQUARE TOTAL-SAMPLE STANDARD DEVIATION = 1.15427
 MEAN DISTANCE BETWEEN OBSERVATIONS = 5.70368

| NUMBER OF CLUSTERS | CLUSTERS JOINED | FREQUENCY OF NEW CLUSTER | NORMALIZED MCQUITTY'S SIMILARITY |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 12 | OB6 OB8 | 2 | 0.554427 |
| 11 | OB3 OB4 | 2 | 0.632144 |
| 10 | OB1 OB9 | 2 | 0.679032 |
| 9 | OB5 CL12 | 3 | 0.739178 |
| 8 | CL10 OB11 | 3 | 0.754034 |
| 7 | CL8 CL11 | 5 | 0.804609 |
| 6 | CL7 CL9 | 8 | 0.831308 |
| 5 | CL6 OB7 | 9 | 0.917934 |
| 4 | CL5 OB2 | 10 | 1.040382 |
| 3 | OB10 OB13 | 2 | 1.051952 |
| 2 | CL4 OB12 | 11 | 1.129830 |

SAS
MCQUITTY'S SIMILARITY ANALYSIS
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APPENDIX F

THE RESPONDENTS ORGANIZATIONS

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| EDITOR ONE | TIME, INC. |
| EDITOR TWO | USA TODAY |
| EDITOR THREE | ABC TELEVISION |
| EDITOR FOUR | NEWSWEEK, INC. |
| EDITOR FIVE | CNN |
| EDITOR SIX | UPI |
| EDITOR SEVEN | NBC MUTUAL RADIO NETWORK |
| EDITOR EIGHT | NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO |
| EDITOR NINE | PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICE |
| EDITOR TEN | WOR AM |
| EDITOR ELEVEN | LOS ANGELES TIMES |
| EDITOR TWELVE | CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR |
| EDITOR THIRTEEN | CBS TELEVISION NETWORK |

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