A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RECIPROCAL COVERAGE

OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN THE

<u>WASHINGTON POST</u> AND THE UNITED STATES

IN THE <u>PEOPLE'S DAILY</u> IN 1986: A

CASE STUDY OF FOREIGN NEWS

WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE

DEBATE OF THE NEW WORLD

INFORMATION ORDER

By

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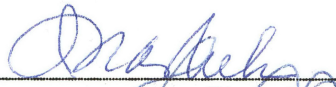Chinese University of Hong Kong
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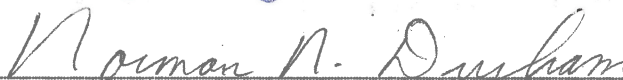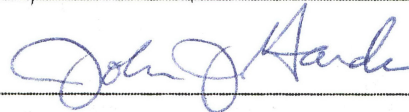DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
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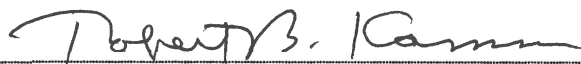
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The New World Information Order

Over the past decades the term "New World Information Order" (NWIO)[1] has been used by Third World countries[2] in international communications issues. The term "NWIO," as Elie Abel pointed out, is a glittering abstraction that can mean one thing to one country and another thing to another country.[3] The debate over the NWIO is not only associated with international communication but also with the whole existing infrastructure of economics and politics in the international community.

The NWIO issue cannot be placed in proper context without mentioning its association with the United Nations and the UNESCO in particular. The present (or "old") order is a continuation of the order before the Second World War; in those days and almost two decades after the War the concept of free flow of information was not yet challenged in the absence of a unified force in the developing world. This vital "free flow" concept in the Western ideology of international communication was explicitly stated in the 1945 United Nations constitution:

The Organization will collaborate in the world of
advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding
of peoples through all means of mass communication
and to that end recommend such international
agreements as may be necessary to promote the free
flow of ideas by word and image.[4]

Similarly, in the following year the United Nations
supported the free flow of information in a declaration:

All states should proclaim policies under which
the free flow of information within countries and
across frontiers will be protected. The right to
seek and transmit information should be insured to
enable the public to ascertain facts and appraise
events. [5]

Then the United States of America, one of the major
founders of the United Nations, enjoyed an "automatic
majority" because of its postwar influence and small number
of member states in the new-born international organization.
However, time changed in the mid-1960s when more than 90 new
nations, mostly from the developing world, joined the
organization. Since then, the "free flow" concept has become
frequently criticized in conferences and seminars of
international communications.

The origin of this concept was the Algiers (Algeria)
non-aligned countries' summit conference in 1973. The
participants emphasized the idea of "decolonization of
information" as an indispensable pre-condition and pre-
supposition for a restructuring of the international
community in the field of international economic, political,
and communication relations.[6] Three years later (in 1976)
the term "New Interantional Order" was first applied to

information in the Tunisia Non-Aligned Symposium of Information:

> Since information in the world shows a disequilibrium favoring some and ignoring others, it is the duty of the non-aligned countries and the other developing countries to change this situation and obtain the decolonization of information and initiate a new international order in information. [7]

In the following years the call for a New Information Order paralleled the demand of a New World Economic Order.

Frequent confrontations concerning the "NWIO" issue occurred in the mid-1970s. At the 18th UNESCO General Conference in 1974, the concept of "free flow" was attacked; representives from the Third World argued that in light of the fact that tremendous information flow imbalances existed between Third World and Western countries, free flow of information would not be meaningful for those countries which lack the means to communicate. Thus, those countries called for practical action to strengthen and expand communication capabilities and to help correct the imbalances. In addition, the conference discussed the first draft of the mass media declaration but without any agreement, and it ended in appointment of an intergovernmental meeting to study the issue. Then the intergovernmental meeting was held the next year in Paris, resulting in a draft of mass media declaration and the withdrawal of the U.S. delegation and 12 other Western delegations.

In 1976 at the UNESCO Nairobi General Conference, Western representives voiced sharp criticism of the mass media draft declaration, confronting an equally tense allegation of imbalance and distortion, and cultural bias in the international flow of information.

However, the Nairobi conference established the famous Macbride Commission, the task of which was to "study the current situation in the fields of communication and identify problems which call for new action at the national level and a concerted global approach at the international level."[9]

The debate continued throughout the 1970s. Most of the western nations then (and now) did not accept the notion of incorporated state responsiblity for the mass media. Eventually in 1978 the objectionable phrase of government jurisdiction over the mass media was removed in the UNESCO Paris Conference.

In 1980 the Macbride Commission issued the report "Many Voices, One World," a 484-page document that urged a strengthening of Third World independence in the field of information gathering and transmission as well as measures to defend national cultures against the formidable one-way flow of information and entertaining from western capitalist nations, chiefly the U.S. Stevenson and Cole described the report as a philosophical document open to multiple interpretations. They said:

> It (the report) did not endorse clearly any of the
> competing views of the New World Information Order
> debate . The report recognized the need for
> improving the balance of international
> communication, but at the same time it endorsed
> most of the traditional principles of a free flow
> of information, concepts that some would consider
> as antithetical. [10]

Consequently, in 1981 the U.S. Congress directed the Reagan administration to withdraw its contribution to UNESCO--a quarter of its budget--if measures were taken to restrict the free flow of information. And in the same year, concerned with the UNESCO attempts in the NWIO debate, delegates from news organizations of 20 countries meeting at Tallories, France issued a declaration. The Tallories Declaration insisted that journalists sought no special protected status, committing to the freest, most accurate and impartial dissemination of information. In addition, the declaration maintained that there could be no double standards of freedom for rich and poor countries.

After all, the Third World grievances and complaints might well be represented by Mustapha Masmoudi, the former minister of information in Tunisia and member of the MacBride Commission. Masmoudi indicated that the flow of information in the world was characterized by basic imbalances. He stated seven aspects of this imbalance, which are summed up as follows:

1. A flagrant quantitative imbalance between North and South. According to Masmoudi, approximately 80 percent of the volume of the news originates from the major international news agencies; however, these news agencies

devote only 20 to 30 percent of their news coverage to the developing countries, which account for almost three-quarters of the world's population.

2. An inequality in information resources. According to Masmoudi, the five major trans-national agencies monopolize between them the essential share of material and human potential; the developed countries control about 90 percent of the source of the spectrum. In terms of television, almost 45 percent of the developing countries do not have their own sets, and those that have TV sets import a large number of programs produced in the developed countries.

3. A de facto hegemony and a will to dominate. Masmoudi stated that this domination is evident in the lack of concern of the media, especially the Western media, on the aspirations of the developing countries. He added that the media in the developed countries are founded on "financial, industrial, cultural, and technological power and result in most of the developing countries being relegated to the status of mere consumers of information sold as a commodity like any other."

4. A lack of information on developing countries. The international news agencies monopolize the news market. News that is covered by these agencies to transmit to these countries are often "filtered," "cut," and distorted. "Moreover, (they often) present these communities--when indeed they do show interest in them--in the most

unfavorable light, stressing crises, strikes, street demonstrations, etc., or even holding them up to ridicule."

5. Survival of the colonial era. Masmoudi indicated that world events are covered only when it is convenient to particular societies. He said:

> The present-day information system enshrines a form of political, economic, and cultural colonialism which is reflected in the often tendentious interpretation of news concerning the developing countries. This consists of highlighting events whose significance, in certain cases is limited or even non-existent; in collecting isolated facts and presenting them as a "whole"; in setting out facts in such a way that the conclusion to be drawn from them is necessarily favorable to the interests of the transnational system.

6. An alienating influence in the economic, social, cultural spheres. Masmoudi felt that the developed countries play another role of domination by possessing the media through direct investment. He said:

> There is another form of control ... the near-monopoly on advertising throughout the world exercised by the major advertising agencies, which operate like the trans-national media and which earn their income by serving the interests of the trans-national industrial and commercial corporations, which themselves dominate the business world. He also demonstrated that advertising, magazines, and television programs are considered as instruments of cultural domination which are harmful to the developing countries' values and development.

7. Messages ill-suited to the area in which they are disseminated. Masmoudi indicated that the media of the developed countries neglected the news of the developing countries except those that fit the interest of the public opinion in their countries. They also design their coverage

to the needs of their countries. "They disregard the impact of their news beyond their own frontiers."[11]

In short, Masmoudi pointed out a series of problems in the dissemination of information at the international level. As international news flow is concerned, at least three areas of Third World allegations can be identified: (1) Imbalance of news flow between Third World and Western countries; (2) the content of the flow among these countries; and (3) the control of the flow. It is within this context that the author seeks to examine the China coverage in the Washington Post (an elite American paper) and the U.S. coverage in the People's Daily (a well-established Third World newspaper), hoping that some of the arguments can be assessed on a reciprocal basis.

ENDNOTES

[1]The NIIO has been termed in various ways: the "New World Information Order," "New International Information and Communication Order," and "New more just and efficient world information and communication order." The NIIO debate involves Third World countries and Western countries (the U.S. in particular) with the latter's media being accused of imbalanced and biased reporting of the former.

[2]The term "Third World" is generally used to refer to the developing countries that became independent after the Second World War. Several terms have been used: "Third World countries," "Less Developed Countries," "developing countries," "Advancing Countries," etc.

[3]Elie Abel, "What is the New World Information Order?" Third World News In American Media--Experience And Prospects, Eds. Donald Shanor and Donald H. Johnston, Columbia Journalism Monograph, No. 4, 1984, p. 5.

[4]UNESCO Constitution, Paragraph II, 1945. Also see Kaarle Nordenstreng, The Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO (New Jersey, 1984), p. 271.

[5]The United Nations Declarations, Resolution No. 59, 1946.

[6]Kaarle Nordenstreng, The Mass Media declaration (New Jewsey, 1984), p.9.

[7]Ibid., p.10.

[8]UNESCO, Many Voices One World: Report by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, 1980, p.42.

[9]Robert L. Stevenson and Richard R. Cole, "Issues in Foreign New," Foreign News and the New World Information Order, Eds. Robert L. Stevenson and Donald Lewis Shaw (Ames, 1984), p.6.

[10]Ibid., p.6.

[11]Mustapha Masmoudi, "A New World Information Order," Journal of Communication, Vol. 29, (1979), pp. 172-85.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The New World Information Order debate has been going
on for more than two decades, yet the issue is not resolved.
In light of its significance at the international level,
efforts should be made to base one's understanding of
international communication, the disseminatin of news in
particular, on solid grounds of empirical research. This is
the ultimate intention of the author in comparing the
Washington Post's 1986 coverage of China and the People's
Daily's coverage of the U.S. The study will not resolve the
problems involved in the NWIO debate, but it is hoped that
the quantitative, comparative study of reciprocal coverage
between the elite American newspaper and the well-
established Third World newspaper will result in better
understanding of international communication problems and
the nature of foreign news in particular.

Third World charges against Western countries,
particularly the U.S., are plentiful. Some of the
allegations may hold while others may have been exaggerated.
And some others may be myths that must be shattered by
empirical evidence. With the assumption that mass media
research can contribute to the betterment of mankind, and

the belief that if these Third World charges stand, they should be verified in this case study, the author attempts to reveal the state of reciprocal coverage nine years after normalization of Sino-American relationships. The study will examine only a tiny portion of the controversies in the NWIO debate, which includes (1) reciprocal attention in 1986; (2) the content of reciprocal coverage; (3) the nature of the coverage; and (4) the use of primary sources in reciprocal coverage.

Specifically, it is hoped that answers with empirical evidence will be provided to the following questions:

(1) How much attention did the two newspapers devote to reciprocal coverage in 1986?

(2) What kinds of China and U.S. items were covered?

(3) Were the topical patterns between the papers similar or different?

(4) In which parts of the countries did the coverage originate?

(5) How negative or positive was the overall reciprocal coverage in 1986?

(6) How dependent or independent was each of the papers in the use of primary sources?

(7) How should the papers be compared in the above regards?

The author argues that it would be unfair to accuse one side of imbalanced or negative coverage while the other side is not doing much better, hoping that the merits and

deficiencies, if any, in covering each other's country can be assessed on an equal basis.

Equality does not mean, of course, allocation of space or attention according to each other's population; such an interpretation would be naive and unrealistic because many factors influence news coverage and many of those have been ignored.[1] It means that applying the same standard of measurements to evaluate reciprocal coverage without taking any ideological positions for granted. Thus, the same questions will be asked on both sides: any allegations will be examined on both sides--no double standard will be allowed.[2]

Though good coverage of a foreign country is not an easy task, working toward that goal with frequent evaluations is not only crucial but absolutely necessary as it is an attempt to uncover potentials that the existing structures have ignored or buried beneath conventions of the modern time. This ideal of research for better newspapers, as any other scientific persuits, is a goal worth pursuing. In this metaphor, Oscar Wilde said:

> A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realization of Utopians.[3]

More specifically, a few reasons may justify such endeavor. First, the two newspapers are important resources (though certainly not the only one) for policy makers of both countries in supplying information and analysis.

Second, news coverage can have a significant impact on the formation of domestic public opinion. Third, lack of good coverage may reinforce prevalent stereotypes held by the people of both countries or even increase misunderstanding and promote unnecessary hostility toward each other's country.

Along with the above Utopians, analysis of reciprocal coverage is significant. For example, some studies found that the Chinese press coverage of the U.S. became more favorable in the 1970s and early 1980s, compared with its coverage of the U.S. during or before the Chinese Cultural Revolution, which the author believes was abnormal as it was conditioned by the unique historical development in China. Such a base for comparison is bound to yield partial results because it fails to show how favorable the coverage was on a reciprocal basis. Moreover, analysis of reciprocal coverage implies a bilateral relationship, which places the common charges of "imbalance" (or "balance"), "negativism" and "distortion" in context by setting up the platform on solid, secure grounds. Balance of attention, for instance, can be achieved in the "reciprocity of indifference" as much as in the "reciprocity of concern." In fact, the coverage among many parts of the world, such as between Latin America and Africa, and between Western Europe and North America, is balanced rather than imbalanced.[4] The crux of the matter is not so much whether coverage is balanced or imbalanced, but how attention is balanced because a reciprocity of "genuine"

concern (i.e. good reporting with substance and accuracy) is more likely to promote mutual, long-lasting understanding and friendship than a reciprocity of accusations or appraisals in the name of "concern" (more attention).

Finally, the NWIO debate would not be meaningful if it were understood as control versus freedom--the Third World countries are perceived as endangering the "free" flow of information through government control of the media, or as Western media imperialism--the Western countries, particualarly the U.S., are regarded as cultural invaders, presenting imbalanced, biased images of the developing countries in the name of "free flow of information." On the contrary, it would be historically significant if the debate inspires research and provokes two-way communication on both the governmental and private levels to look for ways to improve the quality and quantity of their foreign news reporting in the spirit of promoting international understanding and friendship.

In addition, four reasons should be noted.

(1) The history of Sino-American relations in the past decades reveals that the two "giants"--one regional and the other global--have been entangled in ideological differences (communism versus capitalism) without being able to realize political pluralism and coexistence is a basic reality of the world until recent years. Yet, some people regarding the collaboration of the two countries as a transient tactic aiming only at containing the Soviet Union, still doubt how

far Sino-American relations can go because of fundamentally antithetical social systems of the two countries.[5] It is the author's assumption that if both nations had made efforts to establish long-term good bilateral relationships, the efforts would have been reflected in the reciprocal coverage. Now that the Sino-American nomalization has been established for nine years, it's time to evaluate reciprocal coverage.

(2) seldom, perhaps never, have communications scholars studied in detail reciprocal coverage betwen two major powers in the world, especially between two huge countries, one Third World and the other Western, such as China and the U.S. that are friendly and yet so different in political ideology. The famous "World of the News" study did not include China when Asia was included as one of the components of the world.[6] While the merit of that kind of studies is its breadth, it offers too broad a brush to the territory. A complementary research direction toward more specific and focused studies is needed. This study, therefore, is intended to do such a task, hoping to fill a niche in the past international news flow/coverage research.

(3) In the past studies of global information flow within the context of the NWIO, conflicting findings have been found, showing quite clearly the line between studies done by researchers blind to the Western conceptualization of the mass media and communication and those unsympathetic to the Third World perspective. Thus, one side says that the Third

World charges against the Western media are intended to
control freedom of the press, whereas, the other side
maintains that the Western media simply cannot meet the
needs and aspirations of the Third World.[7] Given the
complexity of the controversy, systematic but scientific
analysis rather than ethnocentrism and ideological rhetoric
is needed to improve the qualities of international
communication, which is in line with the UNESCO charter
concerning the use of mass media at the international
level.[8] Having no predispositions against the two countries
under study, the author intends to examine carefully how
some of these allegations hold in this case study--a study
that involves a Western country which has been frequently
under attack (the U.S.) and a Third World country which
generally has not shown much interest in these controversial
matters, at least not in the UNESCO framework (China).

(4) Last but not the least, the author is concerned with a
suitable method for comparing press coverage between two
different cultures or between two media of different
languages, Chinese and English in particular. For the
difficulties involved in this kind of cross-cultural
studies, Stevenson said:

> ....Cross-cultural research is challenging,
> even if the specific research design is relatively
> "simple" in concept and design. Few people really
> are familiar with cultures beyond their own,
> although they may know several langauges. In
> coding language nuances may be missed. Grouping
> many indiviudal subject topics into larger
> analysis "categories" is risky, although
> necessary. Judging common themes across language,
> political, and social systems is trying. Such

crosscultural projects are the content analyst's nightmare.[9]

Nevertheless, such research is needed. Difficulties can be surmounted though often arbitrary judgments have to be made. It is the author's understanding that not many quantitative, comparative studies of reciprocal coverage in the English and Chinese languages by computer have been done. The author has encountered some problems which can only be solved by arbitrary decisions. For example, how can it be determined what factors constitute a measure of attention? Why are scores allocated in this way rather than that way? If two items both have the same scores, can it be concluded that the two items really receive the same attention? It is possible that one item carries a larger headline on the non-front page while the other carries a smaller headline on the front page or one item carries large photos on the lower half of the page while the other has small maps on the upper page, and so forth.

Another vital concern has been the common unit of measurement. Though the author partly solved the problem by assuming that a certain number of Chinese characters would be equal to certain number of English words in meaning. Thus, a formula can be calculated to convert the Chinese measurement into the English one. However, will this formula be applicable to all kinds of topical items--politics, economics, social conditions, sports, entertainment, etc.?

Believing that this work is a commencement rather than an end of academic life, the author set forth to face

difficulties that prompted him to search for solutions which in turn generated more interest, comfort and intellectual delight. It must be admitted that often making arbitrary decisions is risky. However, without these risks a new world cannot be discovered on an unexplored virgin land.

ENDNOTES

[1]Many studies have been done concerning the factors or determinants in news selection. See, for example, Johan Galtung and Mari H. Ruge, "Structuring and Selecting News." The Manufacture of News, Eds. Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (Beverly Hills, 1973), and Michael W. Singletary, "What Detemines the News?" ANPA Research Report, No. 5, 1977.

[2]Some people or media like to apply double standards to news reporting--one standard for their own (usually the favorable) and the other (mostly unfavorable) for others. For example, a newspaper is willing to publish negative articles about other nations but unwilling to crticize its own; it is willing to print self-celebrative news but unable to see the merits of others.

[3]Oscar Wilde, The Soul of Man Under Socialism (Boston, 1910), p.84.

[4]The media in Latin America and Africa do not cover each other much, whereas, those in Western Europe and North America cover each other a lot. See Annabelle Screberny-Mohammadi, "The 'World of the News' Study: Results of International cooperation," Journal of Communication, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Winter 1984), pp. 121-35.

[5]See, for example, "From the Two-China Dilemma to the One-China Decision," The Washington Papers, No. 65, (Washington D.C., 1979).

[6]In the study, Asia was made up of Australia, India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. See Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, et al., eds., Foreign News In the Media: International Reporting in 29 Countries, final report of the "Foreign Images" study undertaken for UNESCO by the International Association for Mass Communication Research, 1985.

[7]Dante B. Fascell and Robert L. Stevenson, to name only a few, well represent the Western side and Masmoudi and Aggarwala the Third World. See Dante B. Fascell, ed., International News: Freedom Under Attack (Beverly Hills, 1979); Robert L. Stevenson, "The 'World of the News' Study: Pseudo Debate," Journal of Communication, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Winter 1984), pp. 134-38; Mustapha Masmoudi, "The New World Information Order," Journal of Communication, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Spring 1979), pp. 172-85; Narinder Aggarwala, "Media News And People: A Third World View," Media Asia, Vol. 5, No. 2, (1978).

[8]The UNESCO charter states: "The organization would cooperate in advancing mutual knowledge and understanding... through all means of mass communications."

[9]Robert L. Stevenson, "Research Methodology," Foreign News And The New World Information Order, Eds. Robert L. Stevenson and Donaald Lewis Shaw (Ames, 1984).

And People: A Third World View," Media Asia, Vol. 5, No. 2, (1978).

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CHAPTER III

SOME THOUGHTS ON SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Former president Nixon visited China in February 1972 and signed the Shanghai Communique with the Chinese government, laying the foundations for further developments of Sino-American relations. Despite a period of slow progress or even stagnation in the following years, the historical moment eventually came when the two countries officially normalized relationships in 1979. Nevertheless, since then Sino-American relations advanced with twists and turns.

The Taiwan question has always been an obstacle in Sino-American relations. In late 1979 and early 1980 Ronald Reagan claimed he would "upgrade" relations with Taiwan, especially in his presidential campaign efforts. In addition, little reduction of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan appeared in the eyes of Chinese officials a sign of insincerity of in establishing relations in accordance with the spirit of the Shanghai Communique. As the question of Taiwan is a vital concern for China, which planned to incorporate the island back to the mainland within the framework of "one country two systems" similar to that in the solution of the Hong Kong problem, the dark clouds

hovered over Sino-American relations during the initial period of normalization.[1]

Despite President Reagan's personal preferences on this sensitive question of Taiwan, the Reagan administration had to reiterate the U.S. acceptance of the principle of "one China." Then relations gradually improved. By the mid-1980s, it seems that a kind of understanding based on reciprocal needs was reached by both Beijing and Washington. As Robinson states:

> China needs the United States to introduce it further to the world of complex interdependence ....In terms of trade, defense, education and international cooperation, America needs China as much as Beijing needs Washington.[2]

Multifaceted bilateral relations have developed in recent years. On the political scene, the Taiwan issue was temporarily put aside. A common political consensus that the two countries had better cooperate to deal with a common threat--the Soviet Union--was reached. Consequently, high-ranked Chinese and American officials exchanged visits, which included Defense Secretary Weinburger's visit to China in September 1983, Foreign Minister Wu Xuxian's visit to the U.S. in October of the same year, Primier Zhou Ziyang's visit to the U.S. in January 1984, and President Reagan's visit to China in April of the same year.

Though China and the U.S. have learned in recent years not to distinguish friends and foes according to political ideologies, the two countries have quite different concrete global interests, not to mention differences in political

ideologies. Since 1981 China has been criticizing certain areas of American foreign policies as in Latin America, the Middle East, and South Africa. It seems that Chinese policies confluence with those of America only within China's own "security zone"--Japan, Korea, the States of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Indonesia except Taiwan.[3] The lack of mutual understanding of interests on a global basis may affect the overall Sino-American relations in the future.

Economic relations between the two countries gradually improved. In June 1983, the U.S. recognized China's status as a "friendly, non-aligned country," shifting China into export control "Country Group V," although China was still subject to control by the Coordinating Committee (COCOM).[4] In November 1983 the U.S. further relaxed the control of sales of seven categories of technical products (computers, microcircuits, semiconductor production equipment, computerized and electronic instruments, recording equipment, and oscilloscopes) to China. These procedures resulted in an expansion of the volume and higher level of American technolgoy exported to China. Between 1982 and 1985, license approvals rose from 2020 to 8637 while dollar value of approvals increased 1000 percent from $500 million to $5.5 billion. U.S. exports of computers and scientific instruments to China increased two-thirds from $280 million to $470 million between 1984 and 1985.[5] In 1985, the U.S. became China's third largest trade partner (compared with

Japan and Hong Kong), with the total of bilateral trade at $8.1 billion. In the year, the U.S. bought 8.3 percent of China's exports (third after Japan and Hong Kong) and supplied 12.2 percent of its imports (second after Japan).[6] On the other hand, China was the sixteenth U.S. trade partner in the same year, sharing 1.8 percent of all U.S. exports and supplying 1.2 percent of all U.S. imports. Both China and the U.S. claimed that they had trade deficits with each other.[7] In 1984, the U.S. investment in China comprised 17.9 percent in 1984 and 22.9 percent in 1985. According to the American Embassy in Beijing, there were 105 U.S.-China joint ventures in China, representing $1.4 billion in American equity investment. The U.S. was China's second largest investment partner, just behind Hong Kong/Macau. China's investment in the U.S., on the other hand, was believed to be very small.[8]

The development of Sino-American economic relations was not wihtout problems. First of all, China is a poor developing country with one of the lowest annual per capita income in the world. Though China has great potential in natural resources, before these assets are turned into capital, the ability of the country to invest in developmental programs and pay for expensive imports or the prize of transfer of high technology would be quite limited. By the same token, Chinese bargains are bound to be hard as a former U.S. military attache to Beijing said (in little

exaggeration) that the Chinese basically wanted to be given the weapons systems for free.[9]

Second, China is, after all, a developing country sharing quite a large number of common problems in the developing world. For instance, developing countries often contend with serious infrastructure problems. In China, the development of one sector may not so easily catch up with the development of another. In late 1984 or early 1985, for example, the Chinese economy was so overheated (growth rate 23 percent) that the central government had to call for reducing the growth rate to 7 percent to give energy and infrastructure time to catch up with industrial production. Other problems include the backward state of transportation, energy shortage, inadequate port facilities, and the irrational structure of prices.

Third, China is a non-market oriented society. Joint ventures in China often face the harsh requirements to earn foreign exchange to repatriate profits. The enterprises that can generate foreign currency would be weighted much more heavily than those that would not. As China experienced a serious drop of foreign exchange reserves in 1985 (from $16 billion in July 1984 to $11 billion in March 1985), tighter controls have been placed on foreign exchange expenditures. With a shrinking buying power and a high priority on the production of goods for export, Sino-American joint ventures would not be as profitable as they were thought to be.

Fourth, the concept of Western management is not readily acceptable in China. Thus, Americans often tended to rely on their Chinese partners to deal with the system rather than insisting on the adoption of appropriate Western management techniques. Even if the enterprises started out with Western successful management procedures, once China's Western partner handed over management responsibilities to the Chinese, "businesses" would be run as "usual" in the traditional Chinese way. Consequently, some decision-making procedures that are clearly definable are often messed up, resulting in prolonged non-decision.

Despite the above shortcomings, China is determined to carry out reforms and the open door policy. Since 1979, the year in which Sino-American relations was officially established, the Chinese leadership have taken bold initiatives to "correct" the backwardness of the Chinese society, which was partially due to the impractical measures adopted in the decade and the legacy of the Chinese traditional society in general. In the economic sector, these reforms include: (1) Decentralizing economic decision-making, giving local governments and public corporations more authority over investment, production, and marketing. (2) Adopting more flexible economic plans, with an emphasis on improving the living standards rather than mere rapid growth and industrialization.

(3) Relying more on market mechanism. Though the Chinese government still bears a tremendous burden of subsidizing

state enterprises, more and more Chinese companies and corporations are to be responsible themselves for the loss and gains of their operations. Moving toward a market economy, Chinese businesses and corporations would inevitably be more responsive to market needs.

(4) Establishing foreign investment laws. Keeping pace with the open door policy, China adopted joint venture laws in July 1979, providing a legal framework for foreign direct investment in China. In 1983 China published regulations specifying the approval process of foreign ventures, a mechanism for sale into the domestic market, and other procedures for applying the joint venture law. Additional regulations were also released in 1984 and 1986, which included the April 1984 patent law, a contract law, regulations governing technology transfer and a company law.

(4) Establishing special economic zones. In addition to the four special economic zones initially established at Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, and Xiamen along the southern China coast, China opened 14 coastal cities stretching from the Liaodong Penninsula in the North to the Hainan Island in the South.

In sum, Sino-American joint ventures and other American businesses in China as well as corporations trading with China will be confronted with as many opportunities as problems. The dispute over bilateral trade balances and Chinese textile exports to the U.S. in the past few years, for example, shows that perfect balance might not be easily

reached provided that the economy of both of the countries is so equally well-developed to provide a wide enough variety of commodities to meet each other's diversified needs.

Along with political and economic developments, China and the U.S. have fostered closer cultural relations in recent years. In 1986 more than 15,000 Chinese students and scholars were studying and working in the U.S. This figure, which represents more than half of the total number of Chinese students studying overseas, shows the U.S. has become the most attractive country to both Chinese students and the government. The long-term cultural impact on China through this educational connection cannot be underestimated. On the other hand, about 500 Americans were studying and working in China in the same period. The author believes that there will be more Americans involved in the "cultural industries" in China when China becomes more liberalized and more receptive to Western ideas.

There are frictions in Sino-American cultural relationships. The present state of academic exchange, as the above figures indicate, is heavily imbalanced at the advantage of the Chinese side. However, accommodation of Chinese students and scholars in the U.S. will "saturate," especially when the novelty of having Chinese students and scholars wears off. By that time progress will be limited unless the Chinese are willing to shoulder more

responsiblity by providing more financial resources to support exchanges.

Another potential problem originates from the ultimate goals and purposes of such cultural relationships. The Chinese government today still seems to have retained the world view of the Ching Dynasty--the essence of all studies is Chinese while Western studies (technolgoy) are for utility purposes. Consequently, Chinese students and scholars are constantly reminded of the corrupting Western values, especially those in the capitalist American society. It seems that liberalization in China is intended solely for Western science and technology, missing much of the essence of Western ideas in democracy, in the respect of the individuals and human rights. Until these values are explicitly accepted Sino-American cultural ties still remain at a shaky and superficial level.

During his 1979 visit in the U.S., Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping jokingly said that the Chinese government must send twice as many students to the U.S. This plain "joke" has embedded genuine understanding of a serious problem involved in Sino-American academic exchanges--the problem of brain drain. No specific data are presently available on the number and percentage of Chinese students who refuse to return to China; however, it is generally believed that the problem is potentially serious.

All in all, how far and deep Sino-American relations develop in the future will depend on the willingness and

efforts of both sides to solve problems and prevent frictions on a reciprocal basis. Neither side should take the present relationships for granted. The responsiblity of maintaining good relationships should rest on both sides. It should be realized that it is a myth that one side cannot do without the other. For example, the U.S. has the best nuclear technology in the world and thus should be the ideal partner in helping China develop its nuclear infra-structure. However, for one reason or another, the design and construction of the Daya nuclear plant bordering Hong Kong in Guandong ended up with French, British, and Hong Kong firms. Similarly, the Chinese should understand America as much as the Americans understand China. For example, it should be understood that the U.S. is a pluralistic society with diversified ideas and needs even within the government. In a recent incident in which a few U.S. congressmen expressed their views on Tibet (part of Chinese territory), the Chinese overheated response only indicated a lack of understanding of American politics and the concept of the rule of law in the U.S. For the lofty goals of establising genuine, secure bilateral Sino-American relations the Chinese should further liberate their ideas, and enlarge their visions of the world, while the Americans rid their insensitiveness to the concrete Chinese situations typical in the developing world.

ENDNOTES

[1]For a concise introduction of Sino-American relations during this period, see Michael Oksenberg, "A Decade of Sino-American Relations," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 61, No. 1, (Fall 1982), pp. 191-195.

[2]Thomas W. Robinson, "The United States and China in the New Balance of Power," Current History, Vol. 84, No. 503, (September 1985), pp. 241-45.

[3]Sammuel S. Kim, "China and the Third World In Search of a Neorealist World Policy," China and the World: Chinese Foreign Policy in the Post-Mao Era, ed. Samuel S. Kim (Boulder, 1984), pp. 178-211.

[4]The Coordinating Committe was located in Paris, comprising Japan and all the NATO countries except Iceland.

[5]U.S. Government Printing Office, Report On the Visit To China Of the Senate Delegation Led By Senator John Heinz--Exploration of the Condition of Diplomatic and Economic Relations Between the United States and the People's Republic of China, (Washington, 1986).

[6]"1986 Statistical Communique on 1985 Economic Performance," The 1985 State Statistical Bureau (SSB) Yearbook).

[7]American and Chinese 1985 trade statistics differed by $1 billion. China claimed that it had $1.7 billion trade deficit with the U.S., whereas, the U.S. claimed a deficit of $372 million over the same period. According to American sources, the discrepency was due to China's failure to count transhipments through Hong Kong to the U.S., while the U.S. counted direct Chinese exports through Hong Kong on a "country of origin" basis.

[8]Report, ibid., p. 13.

[9]Steven Goldstein, "Sino-American Relations: Building A New Consensus," Current History, Vol. 83, No. 494 (September 1984), p. 278.

CHAPTER IV

LITERATURE REVIEW

U.S. Press Coverage of the Third World

Regarding international news flow, the proponents of
the New World Information Order contend that the structure
of international communication is dominated by Western
countries, particularly the U.S. They argue that Third World
countries not only receive relatively little international
news attention but that little news about them, written for
western needs and tastes, is also biased and distorted.[1] On
the other hand, critics of the NWIO maintain that the
charges are at best speculations without empirical evidence
and at worst that the Third World governments are attempting
to curb the "free" flow of information by government control
of the media. As "evidence" is concerned, there have been
conflicting research findings concerning the nature of
Western press coverage of the Third World.

Though the Third World is by commen sense no monolith,[2]
studies mostly found the nature of U.S. press coverage of
the Third World unfavorable either in terms of volume and/or
direction. In many instances, the U.S. press coverage of
African countries has been found to be sparse and
overemphasized on sensational, crisis-oriented, or negative

32

news.[3] The reportage of Latin America is systematically superficial and consistently biased.[4] Iran was presented as a militant, unstable, and anti-American country,[5] and thus U.S coverage in that particular country was criticized as reporting Iranian affairs through the Shah's eyes, ignoring the real motives of the Iranian people.[6] Jamaica was portrayed as a politically divided, unstable, crime-ridden society with very few developmental stories.[7] Riffe and Shaw concluded in a study (1982) that throughout the 1970s the American press continued to foster the image of the Third World countries as political systems rife with conflict.[8] While disagreeing that news about the Third World (provided by the wires) is crisis-oriented, Harris asserted that Third World news was indeed presented from an ethnocentric perspective to satisfy a western-dominated news market.[9]

A common U.S. response to the above criticisms is that the charges are seldom backed by speicifics. Weaver and Wilhoit found no shortage of Third World news on AP and UPI regional wires in 1979 and 1981,[10] while Stevenson claimed his study does not show that the Third World is ignored by Western media and news agencies, that it is singled out for negative reportage, and that it is seen through Western cultural bias.[11] While he did find more bad news (such as conflict and disaster stories) from the Third World, he argues that this is accurate (real) though imbalanced and that this is a characteristic of all media systems, especially those in the Third World.[12] Haque found three

U.S. newspapers carried an average of 65 percent of Third World news in the international newshole; Third World news accounted for 82 percent of foreign stories on the front page.[13]

As to the kinds of international news, a universal feature seems to be that hard news dominates everywhere.[14] For the nature of international news, it seems that news everywhere is defined as the "exceptional event."[15]

U.S. Press Coverage of China

Not many studies have been done on U.S. press coverage of China in recent years. Hartgen (1979) found that China-related news in four U.S. newspapers was event-oriented because he said visible events were easier to report than underlying causes or issues, given language and cultural barriers.[16] Christin Cheng (1984) found the New York Times tended to devote more news space to diverse subject matter (including sports and religion which did not appear in the 1975-1978 period) that reflected the more open Chinese culture in the 1979-1982 period.[17] A few other characteristics in the study were revealed: (1) an emphasis on event-oreiented news, (2) articles mostly written by staff members (60%), (3) stories mostly neutral in direction. Cheng concluded that the China coverage has become less negative or more neutral although it did not change significantly to more positive.[18]

Foreign Media Coverage of the U.S.

There is not much available literature on recent
foreign media coverage of America in the English or Chinese
languages; especially little is the Chinese media coverage
of the U.S. During the 1950s and 1960s, studies related to
the media images of America was for a period of time quite
popular.[19] For one reason or another, these kinds of studies
became inactive during the latter half of the 1960s and the
entire 1970s. Chin-Chuen Lee said, it was not until the last
decade amidst the increasing intensity of the debate of the
New International Information Order that the concern with
the media images of America was revived.

Generally speaking, the U.S. receives more attention in
international news coverage than any other region or
country. Schramm and Atwood (1981) found that the four
Western news agencies' Asian wires contained 22 percent of
news about the U.S. As the wires might set the agenda for
newspapers, it would be reasonable to speculate the press
gave approximately the same amount of attention to their
U.S. coverage. In view of the fact that newspapers
throughout the world are in the first place local newspapers
giving relatively little attention to international news,[20]
the usual 5 to 10 percent of U.S. news in foreign media in
terms of the structure of foreign news is very significant.
This proportion means 25 to 40 percent of the total newshole
in the foreign media, i.e. one out of three foreign stories
is likely to be about the U.S.[21] It is generally accepted

that the quantity and quality of foreign news in the foreign press compares more favorably to the American press.[22] Though this cannot be simplistically regarded as a reflection of U.S. regionalism or cultural imperialism, it reflects the political, economical and social reality of the world on which the NWIO debate centers.

Due to the structure of news, and foreign news in particular,[23] it is reasonable to speculate that the meagre news attention to individual countries or regions is unevenly appropriated in terms of the kinds of news and geographical locations of news stories. The seminal International Press Institute study (1953) found a heavy emphasis on U.S. official news in Western European and Indian newspapers and little was reported about the American way of life.[24] Mexican newspapers (1962) underrepresented certain geographical regions such as the Midwest and the South, population strata such as women, children, and man-in-the-street, "quiet" topics such as education and religion, occupational attributes, and lower levels of government politics. In terms of geographical coverage in these Mexican papers, the East composed 60 percent of U.S. news, the Southeast 20 percent, the South 9 percent and the Midwest 6 percent.[25]

British correspondents in New York in 1971 were found to concentrate their reportage on the United Nations, especially the leaders of ideological or area groups of states, while those in Washington were mainly concerned with

American domestic politics (as defined by news agencies and broadcasting networks) and U.S. relations with Europe and with thier own country in particular. These correspondents developed their own perspectives on the basis of wire news and their own established sources.[26] The author speculates that these imbalances as well as self-centered news perspectives did not change much over time.

Regarding recent studies on the Chinese press coverage of the U.S., Chin-Chuen Lee's 1979-80 study, "America As Seen Through the People's Daily," deserves more attention.[27] According to Lee, the Chinese image of the U.S. as reflected in the People's Daily changed at least three times from the 1950s to the late 1970s. From the 1950s through the mid-1960s, the United States was hated as the archenemy, and an imperialist. Second, in the mid-1960s, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism or "social imperialism" were projected as the main threats to world peace. Third, since President Nixon's visit to China in 1971, Chinese media hostility toward the U.S. has been softened and the normalization of Sino-American relations in 1979 "seemed to have bound China and the U.S. together as 'allies' on the global strategic front, collectively boycotting Soviet hegemonism."[28]

It is the author's opinion that Sino-American relations before 1976-1977 were abnormal, which was conditioned to a very large extent by the unique historical development in China. This period of almost two and a half decades was characterized by high anti-American sentiments, which had

been reflected in the Chinese media.[29] Recent studies that focused on the change (or comparison) of media content before and after normalization missed many of the changing content characeristics of the Chinese media. These studies naturally concluded the Chinese media coverage of the U.S. became more favorable (compared to those abnormal years),[30] but usually failed to show how favorable it was on a reciprocal basis. Lee's well-known 1979-80 study bears this drawback though his own research data included only the years of 1979 and 1980. Nevertheless, it has revealed many new content characteristics in the People's Daily. The following are some of the characteristics Lee found in his study:

Thirty percent of all U.S. news in the People's Daily concerned Sino-American relations, another 30 percent domestic situations, and the rest of 40 percent foreign politics. During that period of time, the paper covered both official and non-official relationships prominently while in the early 1970s this relationship was deliberately separated. While news of domestic social and economic crises constituted 10 percent, there was a substantial proportion of admiring mentions about advanced American science and technology. In addition, having dropped the tone of U.S. imperialism, the paper focused much of its attention on U.S.-U.S.S.R. confrontations (18% of U.S.-related news; 44% of news related to U.S. foreign policies), praising the U.S. for its determination to contain Soviet hegemony. In short,

the image of the U.S. in almost all dimensions was overwhelmingly favorable except in governmental, political, military or defense affairs.[31]

Atwood and Lin (1979) also pointed out this favorable image in their content analysis of the Reference News.[32] The paper published 56 percent of its news directly from four Western international news agencies without alterations. Although the U.S. and the Soviet Union were still perceived as societies plunged in a continuous state of conflict, the Soviet Union was portrayed as the greater danger while the U.S. as a friendly nation ready to help with China's modernization projects.[33]

As far as the filing agent is concerned, according to Lee, the People's Daily's U.S. news came from the New China News Agency (75% of all items), and staff members, editoraial commentators, by-lined news analysts and letter writers (25%). But he did not specify precisely the amount provided by the staff members alone. He said the NCNA anchored 10 correspondents exclusively in Washington and New York in 1980 that were largely responsible for what the mainland Chinese need to know about the U.S., but they wrote very little about the American way of life, compared with their interest in U.S. official politics and Sino-American diplomacy; when they did write occasionally, they were motivated by deep-rooted ideological needs, i.e. "to re-affirm the superiority of the socialist system amidst prevalence of grave popular doubt."[34]

The above literature review has shown some content characteristics of the U.S. press coverage of the Third World, and of China in particular. On the other hand, it has also shown some content characteristics of the foreign media as well as the Chinese press coverage of the U.S. The most recent study about U.S. press coverage of China is Cheng's master's thesis that deals with data up to 1982.[35] The most recent study about the Chinese press coverage of the U.S., on the other hand, is Lee's 1979-80 study. Both data have not been recent enough to reveal the continually changing content in the media of both countries since normalization nine years ago. In addition, they did not compare Sino-U.S. reciprocal coverage simultaneously, thus failing to show how balanced/imbalanced, negtive/positive, and dependent/ independent each other's coverage is on a reciprocal basis. Therefore, based on the Third World charges in the debate of the NWIO, general and specific studies regarding the U.S. press coverage of the Third World and of China in particular as well as the Chinese press coverage of the U.S., the author has formulated the following research questions and hypotheses.

Research Hypotheses

1. Since the U.S. is a superpower and China is a regional power, Hester suggests that the volume of information flowing from a high-order nation (presumably the U.S. in this case) into a low-order nation (presumably China) will

be greater than that flowing in the opposite direction,[36]

Hypothesis 1 is formulated:

> Hypotheis I
> The <u>People's Daily</u> would devote more attention in terms of the number of items, space, and attention scores than the <u>Washington Post</u> in reciprocal coverage; however, the <u>Post</u> would fare significantly better in attention on an item-to-item basis.

2. The "World of the News" study found that the structure of foreign news was quite similar across political systems.[37] If the structure is similar at the international level, it might also be similar at the trans-national level. Thus, the second hypothesis is formulated :

> Hpothesis II
> The topical patterns (distribution of subject matter) of reciprocal coverage of would be similar.

3. <u>Four Theories of the Press</u> states explicitly:

> The press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within it it operates. Especially, it reflects the systems of social control whereby the relations of the individual and institutions are adjusted.[38]

The U.S. media are often accused of biased coverage of Third World countries. The author wonders if the reverse is also true (Third World media cover the U.S. in more or less the same fashion) as Martin and Chaudary said:

> ....U.S. media are especially interested in exposing the political and social difficiencies of socialism and communism and in calling critical attention to the brutalities of dictators. Media in second and third world countries treat the West in the same way.[39]

Kaarle Nordenstreng, author of the book <u>The Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO</u>, said:

> The media are not and cannot be neutral toward political reality, at home and abroad, and that they cannot help being political instruments, whether or not we recognize it.[40]

Relating Martin and Chaudary's statement to the NWIO debate, the author speculates: (Hypothesis 3)

> **Hypothesis III**
> The degree of thematic negativism or positivism in reciprocal coverage would be similar; however, reciprocal attention to certain categories of negative and positive themes would be quite different.

4. Representaives of Third World countries frequently complain that the western media depict their countries in an unfavorable light. However, it is commmonly believed that news tends to be neutral while non-news items might be slanted favorably or unfavorably. Thus, the author predicts:

> **Hypothesis IV**
> The vast majority of items in both papers would tend to be neutral (i.e. neither favorably nr unfavorably slanted against the host country in reciprocal coverage); in the _Post_ non-news items would be slanted to a greater extent than those in the _Daily_, and the mean length of unfavorably slanted items would be significantly longer than the favorable or neutral items in both papers.

5. A crucial factor that determines if a country is "independent" in introducing its own version of reality of the world to its people is the existence of a national news agency. Many third world countries depend on the Western news agencies for foreign news simply because they have no other means to get access to international communication. Thus Hypothesis 6 is formulated:

> **Hypothesis V**

The _People's Daily_ would be as "independent" in
determining what U.S. news is as the _Post_ would be
in determining what China news is. (The _Post_ would
be no more pluralistic in terms of the use of news
sources than the _Daily_.)

6. Studies found the structure of news tends to be
imbalanced, focusing foreign news on certain geographical
spots in a nation (and in the world), and on a few kinds of
people. Relating these results to the NWIO debate, the
author believes an examination of imbalance or balance would
help understand the nature of news and thus the NWIO debate.
Therefore, the sixth and last hypothesis was formulated as
follows:

Hypothesis VI
The _Daily_ would cover more georgraphical locations
in whcih stories happened than the _Post_ in
reciprocal coverage; however, coverage of the
geographical regions and the kinds of people of
each other's country would be equally imbalanced.

ENDNOTES

[1]For instance, Aggarwala asserted that "the style, the content, the treatment and the perspective of practically all the news flowing in and out of the Third World reflects the personality, preferences, and the needs of the Western media." See Narinder K. Aggarwala, "Media News and People: A Third World View," Media Asia Vol. 5, No. 2 (1978), pp. 78-79.

[2]The Third World, which is composed of many developing countries across continents, should not be simplistically regarded as a single political and economic entity with little parities. For instance, developing countries in Asia are undergoing quite different stages of development. It is often difficult to generalize research findings to all countries in that particular continent, not to mention to other developing countries in other continents.

[3]Ikechukwu E. Nwosu, "Toward A New World Information Order: Recommendations Based on a Comparative Study of Selected Western Prestige Newspaper Coverage of Black Africa," Media Asia, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1980), pp. 81-90.

[4]Luis Ramiro Beltran, "Communication and Cultural Domination: USA-Latin-American Case," Media Asia, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1978), pp. 183-192.

[5]Edward W. Said, "U.S. Coverage of the Iran Crisis: An Assessment," Media Asia, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1980), pp. 62-70.

[6]William A. Dorman and Ehsan Omeed, "Reporting Iran the Sgah's Way," Columbia Journalism Review (January/February, 1979), pp. 27-33.

[7]Marlene Cuthbert,"Canadian Newspaper Treatment of a Developing Country: The Case of Jamaica," Canadian Journal of Communication, Vol. 7, No.1 (Summer 1980), pp. 16-31.

[8]Daniel Riffe and Eugene Shaw, "Conflict and consonance of Third World in Two U.S. Papers," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 59, pp. 617-626.

[9]Phil Harris, quoted in Anthony Smith, The Geopolitics of Information (New York, 1980), p.91.

[10]G. Cleveland Wilhoit and David Weaver, "Foreign News Coverage in Two U.S. Wire Services: An Update," Journal of Communication, Vol. 33, No. 2 (1983), pp. 55-63.

[11]Robert L. Stevenson, "The 'World of the News' Study: Pseudo Debate," Journal of Communication, Vol. 34, No. 1 (winter 1984), pp. 134-138.

[12]Ibid. See also Robert L. Stevenson and G. D. Gaddy, "'Bad News and the Third World," *Foreign News and the New World Information Order*, Eds. Robert L. Stevenson and Donald L. Shaw (Ames, 1984), pp. 88-97. Hachten and Beil even did not find a crisis-orientation in Third World news reportage (40% of crisis-oriented news). See William A. Hachten and Brain Beil, "Bad News or No News? Covering Africa 1965-1982," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 62, No.3 (1985), pp. 626-630.

[13]Maxharul S.M. Haque, "Is U.S. Coverage of News in the Third World Imbalanced?" *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 3, (Fall 1983), pp. 521-524.

[14]For instance, Adams found that hard news (such as politics, economics and news about conflict, crimes and wars) was emphasized in 1964. See John B. Adams, "A Qualitative Analysis of Domestic and Foreign News on the AP TA Wire," *Gazette*, Vol. 10 (1964), p. 285. Rachty found "hard news" accounted for 87 percent of the foreign news items while "soft news" accounted for 13 percent in the Arab press. See Gehan Rachty, "Foreign News in Nine Arab Countries," (Medford, 1978). Soderlund also found hard news dominated in the leading Canadian and American newspapers' coverage of El Salvador and Nicaragua. See W. C. Soderlund, "Press Reporting on El Savador and Nicaragua in Leading Canadian and American Newspapers," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Winter 1985), pp. 353-368.

[15]Annabelle Screberny-Mohammadi, "The 'World of News' Study: Results of International Cooperation," *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Winter 1984), pp. 121-133.

[16]Stephen Hartgen, "How Four Papers Covered the Communist Chinese Revolt," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 56 (1979), pp. 175-78.

[17]Christin Chang, "News Coverage of the People's Republic of China by the New York times: a 1975-1982 Content Analysis," (unpub. Master's thesis, Iowa State University, 1985).

[18]Ibid.

[19]Chin-Chuan Lee categorized these media image studies into either propoganda studies or attribute studies. The former are intended to project favorable images of America in foreign lands to counter the postwar Communist expansion. Some examples are Spitzer's study (1947), concerning how America should be presented, Philips' study (1945), warning about the failure of American propaganda in Latin America, the Costa's study (1950), arguing that with the aid of media propaganda the West would eventually defeat communism, and

the Bogart's studies (1955 and 1957), evaluating the operating assumptions of the U.S. Information Agency and the effectiveness of the media campaigns, and analysis of the Voice of America. Attribute studies were mostly based on small-scale content analysis of the foreign press to find how America was portrayed. Examples include Wolf (1964), Merrill (1962), and Markham (1961), dealing with the cognitive dimensions of the image of America as reflected by the media in Latin America; Heindel (1939) and Hart (1963), concerned with the British media's image of America; and Budd (1964), analyzing U.S. news in the press down under. Browne (1968) deals with the affective dimension about the American image on foreign television. See Chin Chuen Lee, "Media Images of America: A China Case Study," _International Perspectives On News_, Eds. Erwin Atwood, Stuart J. Bullion and Sharon Murphy (Carbondale, 1982), note 2, p. 74. Specific references see the following:

H. M. Spitzer, "Presenting America in American Propaganda," _Public Opinion Quarterly_, Vol. 11 (1947), pp. 213-221.

L. A. Bogart, "A Study of the Operating Assumption of the U.S.I.A.," _Public Opinion Quarterly_, Vol. 19 (1955), pp. 369-379.

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[20]Wilbur Schramm and Erwin L. Atwood, Circulation of News In the Third World: A Study of Asia (Hong Kong, 1983).

[21]Lee, p. 56.

[22]George Gerbner and G. Marvanyi, "The Many Worlds of the World's Press," Journal of Communication, Vol. 27, No. 1 (1977), pp. 52-66.

[23]Tuchman argues that a news net has holes and must catch big fish to make it worthwhile, and hence is spatially anchored at centralized institutional cities. See Gaye Tuchman, Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality (New York, 1978).

[24]International Press Institute, The Flow of News (Zurich, 1953).

[25]John C. Merrill, "The Image of the United States in Ten Mexican Dailies," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 39 (1962), pp. 203-209.

[26]Lee, p. 60.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid., p.62.

[29]For example, Beijing Review identified the U.S. in the late 1950s as an imperialist constantly meddling with internal affairs of other nations, seeking subversion and control of once-colonial states. See C. A. Oliphant, "The Image of the United States Projectd by Beijing Review," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 41 (1964), pp. 416-420. The People's Daily launched anti-American propaganda in the late 1950s to assert the superiority of socialism, covering up internal difficulties and failures in production. See A. S. Edelstein and A. P. Liu, "Anti-Americanism in Red China's People's Daily: a Functional Analysis," Journalism Quarterly Vol. 40 (1963), pp. 187-195. In 1974, the paper was also found to carry 77 percent of news about U.S. imperialism. See A. P. Liu, "Control of Public Information and its Effects on China's Foreign Affairs," Asian Survey, Vol. 14 (1974), pp. 936-951.

[30]Chang, ibid.

[31]Lee, p. 65.

[32]The <u>Reference News</u> is a semi-confidential publication in China that aims at party cardres and elites. It is supposed to be the paper with the largest circulation (estimated about 7 milllion in 1984) compared to 5 million copies of the official <u>People's Daily.</u> It is very likely to be the main source of information shaping Chinese public opinion on world affairs.

[33]Erwin L. Atwood and Nien Sheng Lin, "Cankao Xiaoxi: News for China's Cadre," <u>Journalism Quarterly</u>, Vol. 64 (1985).

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[35]Chang attempted to analyze the coverage of <u>New York Times</u> on China before and after normalization (i.e. before and after two periods: 1975-78 and 1979-82).

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CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

Content analysis, Approaches and Present
State of Application to International
News Flow/Coverage Research

Content Analysis

According to Bernard Berelson (1966), content analysis
is a research technique for the objective, systematic and
quantitative description of the manifest content of
communication.[1] It focuses on the analysis of the message.
In Harold Lasswell's formulation of the communication
process it is the "what" (who says what to whom in which
channel with what effect) that is to be analyzed. Its
primary concern is the frequencies of certain content
characteristics in a series of texts. Despite its
limitations and weaknesses, it is still a commonly used
research technique in political, international, and
intercultural communications.[2]

At least one reason for its common usage is that it
fulfills the basic requirements of "scientific inquiry."[3]
Science is constantly preoccupied with explaining things,

guided by empirical evidence obtained in an objective,
systematic and controlled way. In line with this
understanding, Stempel (1981) elaborated Berelson's concept
as follows:

> Objective ... the opposite of subjective or
> impressionist ... (it) is achieved by having the
> categories of analysis defined so precisely that
> different persons can apply them to the same
> content and get the same results. If content
> analysis were subjective instead of objective,
> each person would have his own content analysis.
> That it is objective means that the results depend
> upon the procedure and not the analyst.

> Systematic means, first, that a set of
> procedures is applied in the same way to all the
> content being analyzed. Second, it means that
> categories are set up so that all relevant content
> is analyzed. Finally, it means that the analyses
> are designed to secure data relevant to research
> questions or hypotheses.

> Quantitative means simply the recording of
> numerical values or frequencies with which the
> various defined types of content occur.

> Meanifest content means the apparent content,
> which means that content must be coded as it
> appears rather than as the content analyst feels
> it is intended.[4]

Similarly, Ole R. Holsti (1969) defined content
analysis as "any technique for making inferences by
objectively and systematically identifying specified
characteristics of messages."[5] The requirement of the method
to be "objective" and "systematic," which was suggested by
Belelson and Holsti, was represented by Klaus Krippendorff
(1980) in the way of "making replicable and valid inferences
from data to their content."[6]

One disagreement regarding definition lies in the concept of whether content analysis should be "quantitative" (or statistical) or "qualitative" (or inferential). To Alexander George, quantitative and qualitative approches to content analysis seem to be complementary. George represented the two approaches as "frequency" and "nonfrequency" analysis.[7]

George pointed out that not all inferences were based on the frequency of occurrence that is the concern of quantitative analysis. Therefore, he defined "nonfrequency" analysis as an approach that determined whether a given characteristic was present within a specific body of communication, which distinguishes itself from quantitative "frequency" analysis, the inferences of which were based on how often it was present there.[8]

Thus more recently, discourse analysis[9] seems to be an important contribution to the predominantly quantitative "frequency" content analysis. Nevertheless, it is, as the more traditional content analysis, not without flaws. As William Starosta (1984) suggests, coder reliability is harder to arrive at, since it is hard to give coding instructions complete enough to anticipate all cases.[10] Because of this "subjectivity," the qualitative analytical aspect of the content is not the researcher's major concern in this study.

Approaches of Content Analysis and Application to
International News Coverage Research

Kyoon Hur's review of current literature in
international news research from 1970 to 1982 indicates that
four methodological approaches are commonly used: (1) A
geopgraphical approach looking at international news flow
and/or coverage on a cross-national, cross-regional, or
worldwide basis. (2) A media approach examining
international news by single cross-media, or multiple media.
(3) An event approach looking at single international events
or general international affairs. (4) A time period approach
utilizing short-term or longitudinal investigation.[11]

According to Hur, regarding the geographical approach,
the most popular focus of international news research is
between country and world, dealing with general
international news flow into a specific country or coverage
of international news by a specific country's media.[12] The
second most popular focus is news flow or coverage across
two or more countries such as news flow between the East and
the West, the U.S. and Canada, and between Israel and Arab
countries.[13] Less frequently researched is news flow or
coverage between country and region and between two or more
regions. The geographical focus in these studies is often
uneven. Hur found most attention has been paid to
international news coverage or disseminatin by the U.S.
media, including the AP and UPI (48 out of 158 stuides).

These studies have usually examined specific U.S. media coverage of specific foreign countries and regions or specific international events.[14] They also included coverage of such events as the China's Cultural Revolution, the Chilean Revolution, and Sadat's visit to Jerusalem.[15] In contrast, only a limited number of studies have examined the reverse situation: the coverage of the U.S. by the media of foreign countries.[16]

Hur also pointed out many studies dealt with general international news analyses without specifying countries (or regions) as the subject of analyses.[17] Also, developing countries are included far more than developed countries as recipients of news flow or subjects of news coverage.[18] The U.S. appears only seven times as subject of international news coverage.[19]

This author's review of the master's and doctoral theses in the Journalism Abstracts in the past ten years also reaffirmed the above phenomenon--there are at least 28 studies of the Western press coverage of the Third World.[20] There were few comparative reciprocal studies of news coverage between the East and the West, especially between two huge countries, one developed country in the West, and another developing country in the East. Even fewer studies of reciprocal coverage between the U.S. and China--two countries which are friendly and yet antagonistic in political ideology--were reported.

Selection of the Media For Analysis

The two papers (the People's Daily and the Washington Post) selected were not meant to represent all the media in each of the countries. They were selected according to a combination of major criteria as follows:

(1) Both are established, elistist newspapers.

The Daily has a long history. It is the successor of the Chinese Communist Party's papers published under various names before 1949. It began using the present name in mid-1948, as the organ of the Central Committe's North China Bureau, which moved to Beijing in mid-1949 to take over the Guomindang's paper. Since then the paper has become the Central Committee's official organ. Its position parallels that of the Propaganda Department

The status of the paper is certainly reflected by its components. The paper employed 1,900 staffs, more than 600 of whom are reporters and editors. Its leaders are the Chinese Communist Party's top elites. Its director, Qin Chuan, and editor in chief, Li Zhuang, both have long time experience in propaganda work.

The Daily is a large-scale, well established operation. With a total circulation of more than 5 million, it is printed in Beijing and 21 other Chinese cities. It comprises eleven departments which handle general editing, domestic politics, international affairs, mass work, education and science, rural work, industry and commerce, literature and

art, general reporting, theoretical articles, and commentaries. An examination of its International Affairs Department is sufficient to conclude that it is one of the world's established newspapers. The Department holds about 130 staff, receives dispatches from more than 30 correspondents stationed over 20 foreign capitals and Hong Kong. Two of the paper's 8 pages are devoted primarily to foreign news. In addition, the paper has institutionalized a collective system in which foreign news gatekeeping decisions are made through daily editorial meetings.

Though the Daily serves the general public including the government officials, it is elistist in the sense that it also shoulders a task of educationg the public, along with informing them with government policies. Its style is by no means similar to that of a tabloid. From time to time, it carries in-depth news analyses, reports, commentaries, and editorials.

As for the Post, the first issue dated back to 1877. Today, with a a daily circulation of 768,922 and a Sunday circulation of 1,042,821, the Post is the fifth largest newspaper in the U.S.[21]

Unlike the Daily, the Post seems to be more elitist as the kinds of readers are concerned. According to the 1983 Scarborough Report, the Post's readers that have at least one college degree constituted 41 percent, compared to the national average of 19 percent.[22] The paper has also attracted a majority of audience who are employed in

professional and managerial positions. It is also elistist
in that it attracts the wealthier people. For example, 59
percent of its readers owns or is purchasing homes, and 51
percent of these homes are valued at $100,000 or more. Its
readers earning $35,000 or more per year constitutes almost
67 percent, and 23 percent have an annual income of more
than $50,000.[23] Furthermroe, the paper always claims to be
"complete, accurate, well-written, well-edited and fair,"[24]
which bears so much of an elistist outlook.

(2) Both are often read by government officials and have
tremendous impact on their own governments.

As an official organ of the Central Committee, the
Daily is the Chinese Communist Party's major national
newspaper. Along with the Hongqi (Red Flag Magazine), the
Daily publishes authoritative statements on Chinese
policies. Needless to say, it is a widely read newspaper,
especially by Chinese government officials. On the other
hand, the Post was read by the majority of Washington-based
politicians and government officials. As the British press
tycoon Lord Northcliff said, "The Post is on the breakfast
tables of Congress every morning."[25]

The significant number of readers of the two papers
that are government officials has implied the newspapers'
importance in influencing decision-making in each of the
countries because policy decisions are made by them. While
the Daily is obviously a national paper with national
influence, the Post should also be considered as a newspaper

of national orientation and influence because of the national government and its publication seat in the nation's capital, according to John Merrill.[24]

(3) Both are influential papers in the world.

According to the People's Daily (December 14, 1987), a Journalism professor at the University of Missouri and an author teaching Journalism at New York University selected the People's Daily and the Washington Post as two of the world's most influential newspapers in a 1987 study on newspapers' global influence. The Daily was also recommended as one of the world's most influential papers many times. For example, the East-West Center in Honolulu included the paper as one of the world's 30 newspapers that published the most international news in 1985.[27] As for the Post, though it might not be as influential as the New York Times on a global basis, its delicate influence in Washington, D.C. and thus in America as a whole can be represented by Tom Kelly's words:

> The Post would continue to grow greatly in wealth and power and quality. Today, ...it unraveled Watergate and drove President Nixon from office, the Post has an effective monopoly on the daily printing of news and opinion in Washington. It is still manipulative and it is still arrogant.[28]

As the U.S. has become a superpower with global interests, it can be inferred that the Post is also influential in the world. In fact, the paper, together with the New York Times, is often quoted as a source of information by various media in many parts of the world.

Sampling Procedure

The sample size has always been of primary concern in the selection of content for analysis. Stempel suggested that 12 issues of newspapers were sufficient.[29] However, this 12-issue criterion is not absolute. For foreign news analysis that covers the whole world or a whole continent or geographical region such as Africa or Asia, twelve issues may not yield much significant difference, compared with a larger sample. In cases when coverage is minimal, a sample as small as twelve issues simply cannot reveal the differences in a comparative study. As a rule of thumb, if small differences exist between two samples, a large sample is required to cut down the sampling error. From a statistical point of view, the larger the sample the more accurate its result. In fact, researchers in international news flow studies used samples of varying sizes. For example, Hart used a sample of 18 issues and Markham 30 issues to represent a three-month period in their studies of international news in the U.S.[30] More recently, Chin-Chuen Lee used every other week in his study of the People's Daily's coverage of the U.S.[31] In this study, therefore, the author selected a medium size sample of 72 issues to represent a year.

As this study covers a one-year period, to ensure that the sample represents the population, one reconstructed week for each of the 12 months is composed by dertermining the starting dates randomly. Since the number of days in the

month is a two-digit number, the last two digits of the selected numbers in the random table was used to determine each of the starting days in the reconstructed weeks as follows: 06 (i.e. the 6th day of the month), 10, 02, 05, 08, 23, 27, 03, 12, 04, 09, and 13. (Each of the random numbers must not be larger than the number of days in the respective month.) Once a starting day is chosen, the reconstructed week is formed. For instance, the 6th day, which is a Monday, of the first month is chosen as the starting day, the next day in the reconstructed week will be the Tuesday in the next week following the week in which the starting day is chosen, i.e. 14th of the same month, and the next day will be the Wednesday in the following week until the whole reconstructed week is formed. As the days in each of the months are linked in a cycle, in case the day (e.g. Monday) in the last week of a month is chosen (as the starting day), the next day (in the reconstructed week) will be the Tuesday in the first week in the month. Accordingly, the following are the chosen sample days:

January 3 (Friday), 6 (Monday), 11 (Saturday), 12 (Sunday) 14 (Tuesday), 22 (Wednesday), and 30 (Thursday).

February 2 (Sunday), 6 (Thursday), 10 (Monday), 14 (Friday), 18 (Tuesday), 22 (Saturday), and 26 (Wednesday).

March 4 (Tuesday), 7 (Friday), 12 (Wednesday), 15 (Saturday), 16 (Sunday), 20 (Thursday), and 24 (Monday).

April 3 (Thursday), 5 (Saturday), 6 (Sunday), 11 (Friday), 14 (Monday), 22 (Tuesday), and 30 (Wednesday).

May 5 (Monday), 8 (Thursday), 13 (Tuesday), 16 (Friday), 21 (Wednesday), 24 (Saturday), and 25 (Sunday)[1]

June 3 (Tuesday), 7 (Saturday), 8 (Sunday), 11 (Wednesday), 19 (Thursday), 23 (Monday), and 27 (Friday).[32]

July 4, 7 (Monday), 12 (Saturday), 15 (Tuesday), 23 (Wednesday), 27 (Sunday), and 31 (Thursday).

August 3 (Sunday), 7 (Thursday), 11 (Monday), 15 (Friday), 19 (Tuesday), 23 (Saturday), and 27 (Wednesday).

September 2 (Tuesday), 10 (Wednesday), 12 (Friday), 18 (Thursday), 20 (Saturday), 21 (Sunday), and 29 (Monday).

October 2 (Thursday), 4 (Saturday), 5 (Sunday), 10 (Friday), 13 (Monday), 21 (Tuesday), and 29 (Wednesday).

November 5 (Wednesday), 9 (Sunday), 13 (Thursday), 17 (Monday), 21 (Friday), 25 (Tuesday), and 29 (Saturday).

December 3 (Wednesday), 11 (Thursday), 13 (Saturday), 14 (Sunday), 19 (Friday), 22 (Monday), and 30 (Tuesday).

The underlined date is the starting point for each of the reconstructed week.

The Washington Post Sunday paper is an extraordinarily large issue including sections from A to K. One Sunday issue, which the author picked randomly, consisted of 540 pages. To avoid more complexity in a crosscultural study, the Sunday issues were finally excluded in the sample.

Explanations of Terms

1. Newshole.

The volume of all editorial matters on the paper except advertisements, and illustrations.

2. An item.

A unit of newshole with a headline that includes the news stories, features, news analysis, editorials, letters, and background information. News stories, features, and news analysis are classified as "news items" while other items "non-news items."

3. China items.

Items in the Post that carry a China (i.e. the People's Republic of China) dateline, those with or without a China dateline that are clearly related to China, which can be any aspect concerning China (government, people, ideas, and events) that is substantial to the stories. In other words, should that China aspect be dropped the item would not have made complete sense. For example, a main actor in the story, whether he or she is a Chinese naturalized American citizen, was reported to be spying for China. His or her stories in the Post that are related to the context of spying for China will be classified as China items. However, American Chinese activities in the States that are not directly involving China will not.

4. U.S. items.

Similar to China items, U.S. items are items in the Daily that carry a U.S. dateline, those with or without a U.S. dateline that are clearly related to the U.S., which can be any aspect concerning the U.S. (government, people, ideas, and events) that is substantial to the stories. In other words, should that U.S. aspect be dropped the item

would not have made complete sense. For example, an item about high technology with special reference to or emphasis on the U.S. in the field will be a U.S. item. On the other hand, if an American writer writes about Chinese stories in which the actors were all Chinese, such an item will not.

5. Reciprocal coverage.

The _Daily_ covering the U.S. items and the _Post_ covering China items.

6. The host/home country.

In the reciprocal coverage between the _Daily_ and the _Post_, the host country is China for the _Post_ and the U.S. for the _Daily_, whereas, China is the home country for the _Daily_ and the U.S. for the _Post_.

7. Foreign news.

Similar to China or U.S. items, any news item that carries a foreign dateline, those with or without a foreign dateline that are clearly related to foreign countries, which can be any aspect concerning foreign countries (government, people, ideas, and events) that is substantial to the stories. In other words, should that foreign aspect be dropped the item would not have made complete sense. For example, a story concerning western systems of management in the _Daily_ will be considered a foreign news even though it originates in China. A story concerning the reformation of the Chinese management system involving some foreigners will not.

8. Attention scores.

A combination of scores that measure the attention of an item according to a set of criteria. (See coding.)

9. Negative themes.

Themes that convey information about events, objects or other referents which are themselves generally considered to be unpleasant, or harmful, including themes fifteen to thirty-one in the coding scheme. A theme is considered negative from the perspective of the people who live in the country in which stories occur.

10. Positive themes.

Opposite to negative themes, positive themes convey information about events, objects, or other referents which are themselves generally considered to be unpleasant or harmful, including themes one to fourteen in the coding scheme. A theme is considered negative from the perspective of the people who live in the country in which stories occur.

11. Neutral themes.

Themes that cannot be classified into the above categories.

12. Slant.

The slant refers to the specific favorable, unfavorable or neutral evaluative references the reporter projects to the actor(s), events or issues. Favorable evaluative references put the subject in positive light, whereas, unfavorable evaluative references put the subject in negative light. Items with neutral evaluative references are

items that simply report factual information or do not belong to either of the favorable or the unfavorable categories.

13. Independent.

In this comparative study, an "indenpendent paper is interpreted at two levels of meanings: (1) A paper whose coverage of the the other's country depends to a large extent on its own staff members, its national news agencies or media. (2) A paper whose coverage of the other country depends to a large extent on its own staff members and supporting services that exclude its national news agencies or media.

14. Main/other actors.

The actor is the subject (the "who" or "what") in an item that constitutes a substantial part of the story. In other words, where a person or group could be omitted from the story wihtout altering its substance, they should not be regarded as actors. The main actor was the most important actor in an item without which the item would not have made complete sense. Other (or second) actors are also important in the sense that they are essential to the stories but secondary to the main actor. For example, when an item in the Daily with a Mexico dateline reports that President Reagan meets with the president of Mexico, the Mexican presdient is considered as the main actor, whereas, Reagan the second actor. As a rule of thumb, the subject (in a grammatical sense) in the story will be most likely to be

the main actor. In a story, there may be no human actor or no other actor or even no main actor.

Coding

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the item. In the Daily it is the U.S. item and in the Post the China item. An item can be any published materials with a headline except advertisements and illustrations. Items are broken down into news items and non-news items. (See explanation of the terms)

Unit of Measurement

The unit of measurement is space (volume or length of items) in the Washington Post Standard Columm Millimeter.[33] Space measurement includes the space of headlines but all illustrations are excluded as they will be included in another measure--attention scores. The following are guiding rules for space measurement: 1. Start measuring an item from the very top edge of the headline. 2. Similarly, end the measurement from the very edge of the last line of the item. 3. If an item continues on another page, the first page is measured as usual while the space of headline(s) on other pages will not be counted.

Attention Scores

Attention scores are designed to complement the measurement by space and by item. They are used primarily in the attention analysis. As the measurement by space has already counted the length of an item, and attention given to an item in the newspaper is not merely reflected by its length, attention scores are to capture item-attention that the size of an item has failed to present. Thus, this measurement will not include the length of items. Guidelines are as follows:

1. Headline.

Record the headline in terms of standard Post or Daily columm. convert it to standard columm (if it is not) by dividing the measured length by 3.6 for the Daily and 5.2 for the Post, respectively. A data recoding procedure will be done to change the number of columns into scores.[34]

2. Page.

A front-page item will receive 2 scores and a non-front page item zero score.

3. Page Location of items.

A page is divided into two halves by fold. An item on the upper-half will receive two scores while one on the lower-half will receive one score.

4. Illustrations.

The mean length of illustrations (mainly photos and maps) of each paper will be culculated by random sampling.

An illustration below the mean will receive one score while one larger than the mean will receive two scores. The mean for the _Post_ was 23.74 column cm and 14.35 column cm for the _Daily_.

Variables Coded

On the coding form these variables will be coded: month, length, main topic, a subsidiary topic, the major theme, slant, page, main actor, a secondary actor, position/sphere of main actor, position/sphere of a secondary actor, primary source, story location, the kind of items, headline column, page location, and illustrations .[35]

Topic

The author modified the standard content analysis protocol devised for a multinational news study conducted by the International Association for Mass Communication reserch (IAMCR) in 1980.[34] Topic definitions will follow the IAMCR's unless particularly specified.

Topics concern the kind of event or situation that the item is mainly about. Each item has one and only one main topic though it can have one or two subsidiary topics, which are to retain substantial aspects of the item. That means if these subsidiary topics are not coded, the sense of the item would be substantially changed. In this study the topics (including main topics and sudsidiary topics) will be divided exclusively into 15 categories:

1. Diplomatic and foreign relations.

Items related to diplomatic relations between nations that involve the U.S. (for the _Daily_) and China (for the _Post_). These items include political stories pertaining to international relations, and visits by government officials.

2. Sino-American relations.

All kinds of activities between China and the U.S. where either one of them will be the main actor and the other the second actor(s).

3. Internal politics.

Items having primary emphasis on the domestic politics of each other's country in reciprocal coverage, including demonstrations and political suppression.

4. Military and defense.

Items concerning national conflicts and defense, including stories with emphasis on military exercises, nuclear tests, missiles, and other weapons.

5. Economics and business.

Items on business, industry, commerce, banking, finance and trade, including economic associations with other nations.

6. Social conditions and services.

Social services, welfare, medical and health insurance 1nd other social conditions related to development of a nation, including the way of life of different kinds of people. For example, items pertaining to the conditions in

which children are born, reared, or educated will fall into this category.

7. Legal and judicial matters.

Trials, court proceedings, civil suits, and laws which are not political or economic in nature belong to this category, including reforms with an emphasis on the legal and judicial aspects.

8. Disasters and accidents.

Item about natural disasters and accidents.

9. Arts and culture.

Items concerning fine arts and cultural entertainment, including popular and classical arts as well as celebration of traditions.

10. Education.

Items related to the educational system, activities at all levels of school.

11. Religion.

Items pertaining to all kinds of religions, churches, religious leaders and sects.

12. Science and technology.

Items about scientific discovery, and progress in natural and social sciences, involving theory, inventions, and experiments, excluding nuclear developments and public health.

13. Human interest.

Items on oddities in nature and human temperament, personalities and celebrities who are not clearly related to

sports, entertainment or politics. For example, an item with an emphasis on fashion models wearing a bikini is, from the home country's point of view.

14. Sports.

Any aspects of sports, inclduing events on international sports competitions, features on individual players and national teams.

15. Other topics.

Items that do not fit into any of the above categories.

Theme

Themes, which may overlap to a certain extent with the topic's classification, are designed to pick up the conceptual framework that may not emerge clearly from the topic's classification. Mostly, they are conceived as aspects of coverage that cut across the topic classifications.[37] To simplify the study, only one major theme pertaining to the most important aspect of an item in the light of negativism and positivism would be used. Themes in this study are divided into 33 categories, within which the first 14 are grouped into the positive category and the 15th to the 31st the negative category, and the 32nd the neutral category: (See previous explanations of thematic positivism/negativism.)

1. Sino-American cooperative relations.

The same as topical category 2, provided that the theme emphasizes or concerns positive subject matters, such as

harmonious relations and activities between the two countries. For example, the establishment of joint ventures, cultural exchange, cooperative efforts in science and technolgoy, exchange of visits belong to this category.

2. Cooperative relations between states.

The same as category 1, except that it involves the relations between one of the host countries (China or U.S.) and one or more other states.

3. Cooperative relations with the U.S.S.R.

The same as categories 1 and 3, except that it particularly relates to the relations with the U.S.S.R.

3. Arms control.

Any efforts pertaining to the limitations, control or elimination of arms expansions or military/arms confrontations, includuing talks to reduce weapons with an emphasis on agreement rather than conflicts.

5. Sovereignty/unification issues.

Themes pertaining to national territorial integrity with emphasis on national unity rather than internal conflicts.

6. Economic self-sufficiency.

Themes related to national economy in the positive light, including descriptions of an affluent society, high living standards, and an efficient and productive economy system.

7. U.S./China as benefactor to other nations.

The host countries provide benefits in all forms to other states, including international aid, charity, and financial support.

8. Human rights.

Themes pertaining to the sustaining or improving of basic human rights as understood generally in the West.

9. Social equality.

Themes emphasizing social justices, minority rights, and means, ideas, and efforts to create a more just and equal society.

10. Freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, etc.

Themes focusing on the freedoms of speech, of expression, of the press, of assembly, and other freedoms generally regarded as positive in the Western sense.

11. Scientific discovery/achievemnet.

Themes about scientific and technological breakthroughs, achievements, and progress.

12. Arts appreciation.

Themes introducing the positive aspects of fine arts and cultures.

13. Reformation/evolution.

Themes depicting efforts to improve backward conditions rather than focusing heavily on the backward conditions themselves. Include the natural development of society from the primitive society to the modern with an emphasis on the positve aspects.

14. Crime/violence.

Themes depicting illegal or criminal activity, real or suspected, including drug trafficking.

15. Internal conflicts.

Themes pertaining to conflictual relations within the host country, other than those specified in other thematic categories, including peaceful demonstrations, strikes, boycott, arguments, at both the governmental and civil levels.

16. Conflictual relations/activities with other states.

Opposite of category 3 above.

17. Conflictual relatios/activities with the U.S.S.R.

Opposite of category 4 above.

18. Disasters and accidents.

Same as topical category 8.

19. Political corruptions or failures.

Themes emphasizing political corruptions, inefficiency, bankruptcy of the political, economical or social system.

20. Corruption in the public sphere.

Themes dealing with corruption relating to the public.

21. Arms expansion.

Opposite of category 5 above.

22. Espionage.

Themes pertaining to activities of spying, stealing illegally confidential documents for another country.

23. Racialism.

Themes related to bias, maltreatment or hostility in all forms among different races.

24. Social inequality.

Opposite to category 10 above.

25. Economic dependency.

Opposite of category 7 above.

26. U.S./China as beneficiary of other countries.

Opposite of category 8 above. China or US. receives benefits from other states, including exploitation of other's natural or human resources.

27. Energy shortage.

Themes depicting shortage of one or all kinds of energy.

28. Ecology problems.

Ecology problems, including environmental pollutions.

29. Torture.

Maltreatment of all kinds resulting in physical harm.

30 Sino-American conflictual relations/activities.

Opposite of category 1 above.

31. Neutral themes: those that cannot be classified in the above categories.

After the theme data entry, the 31 categories were recoded into three broad categories: negative, positive, and neutral themes (see explanation of terms). The first to the 14th themes were classified as "positive" themes, the 15th to the 30th "negative" themes, and the 31st theme "neutral" theme. Many themes were explicitly directional by themselves. In cases a decision could not be made, the item was coded "neutral."

Slant

The slant refers to the affective treatment a journalist projects into an item. The item will be classified into three categories: neutral (or mixed), favorable and unfavorable slants. Specific evaluative references to the event or actor(s) should be the focus of concern, but coders should not make inferences from the events themselves. For example, an item with a positive theme can be slanted if it contains explicitly evaluative references. Similarly, a negative item can be neutral if it simply reports the facts without projecting the journalist's affective evaluations. The category of "neutral or mixed" was also used if the affective evaluation could be seen as positive from the cultural perspective of the host country but negative from the perspective of the home country.

Actor and Position/Sphere

The actors, as explained in the previous section, were classified into three categories: the main actor, and the second actor. The variable of actor referred to the nationality of the actor, which for the purpose of this study, was confined to three categories: (1) Chinese; (2) American; and (3) other nationalities.

The author adopted the coding scheme of the IAMCR 1980 study for the coding of the actor's position/sphere. (See Appendix A)

Primary Sources

The source referred to the primary source of information that .the journalist resorted to for filing the item. It is not necessarily identify the filing agents. For instance, the NCNA can use (and does identify the primary source) the New York Times' report and rewrite the item with an NCNA dateline. When the item was primarily based on the reported items in the media of other countries rather than on NCNA's own effort to collect and report information, the source should not be credited to NCNA. However, when no primary sources were identified (which was quite a common practice) and the item carried an NCNC title, it was credited NCNA. The same rule applies to other sources.

The primary sources were first classified into five categories:

(1) Own sources.

"Own sources" included the papers' own staff members who gather first-hand materials for filing the item, national news agencies, or media. An item could be filed by the paper's own staff with a primary source of information from another source which did not come from its own country. A report that was primarily based on Time magazine and carried in the Daily were not be classified as "own sources." However, when no explicit sources were mentioned,

the credit went to "own sources," especially in an item published in the reporter's name.

In this category, sources were further broken down into more specific sources and recorded with a value (1 to 20 for the _Daily_ and 21 to 40 for the _Post_). For example, an item in the _Daily_ that carried the NCNA dateline should be recorded a value (e.g. 1) and an item in the _Post_ that was written by Southerland with a combination of many sources (no primary sources could be identified) should be recorded 21.

(2) Reciprocal sources.

Reciprocal sources referred to the _Daily_ using American sources and the _Post_ using Chinese sources.

Similarly, the category was further broken down into more specific sources and recorded with a value (e.g. 41 to 60 for the _Daily_ and 61 to 80 for the _Post_).[38]

(3) Use of other sources·

Other sources were sources that were explicitly known but did not fall into the above two categories nor into the following two categories. Most often these were sources from non-Chinese or non-American media.

(4) Unknown sources;

When an item carried widely a primary source of information but the source was not identified (e.g. according to reliable sources), it was coded into this category.

(5) Private sources.

Private sources are ordinary people who contributed an item to the paper. Most often their names were published but with no journalistic title attached to the items.

Story Location/Origin

The location or origin of item referred to the place, or the country in which the main event or issue occurred. The author modified the IAMCR coding scheme to suit the need of this particular study. The IAMCR 204-country coding scheme was used as reference. However, when an item occurred in either China or the U.S., the exact location (city, state or region) was recorded on a separate data card with a value. After the data entry, values were recoded into 10 large geographical categories in which items originated: (1) The host country (China for the Post's items and the U.S. for the Daily's); (2) The home country (China for the Daily's items and the U.S. for the Post's); (3) Asia; (4) Latin American; (5) Europe; (6) Soviet Union; (7) International Organizations; (8) Africa; (9) No specific/other locations; and (10) The public domain (space, public seas, the south pole, etc.).

The story origins were grouped into 10 categories as follows:

(1) The host country.

(a) U.S.: any specific town, city, or state in the U.S.

(b) China: any specific town, city, or province in China.

(2) The home country.

Same as above.

(3) Asia: all nations on the Asian continent, including India, and Middle East countries.

(4) Latin America: All nations of Central and South America, including Mexico, Panama, and the Caribbean nations.

(5) Europe: all nations on the European continent, including east and west Europe except the Soviet Union.

(6) Soviet Union. Specific category was set for this huge country to reveal some aspects of relations between Sino-Soviet, American-Soviet or the triangular relationships among the three "giants."

(7) International organizations: including the United Nations, the EEC, the Red Cross.

(8) Africa: All nations on the continent of Africa, including Egypt and North African Arab states.

(9) No specific/other locations: no specific locations or other locations that do not fit into any of the designated categories.

(10) The public domain: public seas, space, the north and south poles, and global locations that are not generally categorized by nationalities.

Kinds of Items

Two broad categories were classified:

(1) News that included news items, news analysis and feature stories.

(2) Non-news items including letters, separated background information for an item, and editorials.

Method of Analysis

Many of the key elements in this comparative study of reciprocal coverage are necessarily arbitrary. For example, the way attention scores are allocated to each of the items may be advantageous to one paper at the expense of the other. Some studies count illustrations as part of the space of an item when measuring space; however, the author decided not to do so. Instead headline space was counted together with the item space. And attention scores were used to gauge those aspects of attention neglected by the space measure. There is a reason for this abitrary decision. At this point, the author concur with the insight of Professsor Frederick Yu, who said more than thirty years ago, quoting Malcolm MacDonald Willey:

> Since the headline is one of the best scales by which to measure the importance of a news story--at least in the editor's estimation--it seems sound to include it. There is ample justification for doing this: the size and depth of a headline usually vary with the importance of the appeal of an article, and not with the length of the item itself. For example, The Worcester Telegram (Massachusette) published in an extra edition at the signing of the armistice in November, 1918, a headline six inches deep, and the full column width of the paper. The item under it contained but two or three sentences, and filled four column inches. To classify this item as four inches, ignoring the 50 or more inches of headline space, would not give the item its proper weight, relative to the remaining news content of the newspaper...Because headlines from a definite part of this column matter, their exclusion would lead to an unsound basis of analysis.[39]

Obviously, the _Daily_ carried a lot more smaller items than the _Post_, and the _Post_ used relatively more (and larger) illustrations per item. Even more important, the basis of analysis affects the outcome. It's evident comparison is at the disadvantage of the _Post_ if absolute number of items (i.e. the total percentage) are compared. And it is unreasonable to compare reciprocal coverage in the total percentage as one item in the _Daily_ does not equal to one item in the _Post_ in terms of the dissemination of meanings.

Nevertheless, the measurement by absolute items (in total percentage) cannot be totally neglected because it at least reflects an aspect of difference (perhaps in style) between the two papers. It seems that the measurement by percentage according to each other's capacity (the row percentage) would better reveal the differences and similarities. However, should the proportionate items be used or the proportionate space?

The argument against the use of items is that one item even in the same paper does not equal to another item because one s is that one item even in the same paper does not equal to another item, because one item can be packaged in a very different way than another (in length, page location, illustrations, etc.) On the other hand, the space measure can exert undue emphaisis on the length of particualrly long items. Therefore, for this study, the basis of measurement would vary from hypothesis to

hypothesis, depending on the substance to be compared. Often, different bases are used to assure consistency of results.

In this study, all data were fed into the Oklahoma State University mainframe comp^{u}ter terminal by the author who ran the program on Wylbur, IBM in the language of SPSSx All the analyses were made on the basis of the computer output. ^{I}n cases where calulations can be done easily by hand, as for instance, in the significance of standard proportion, they were calculated by the author in the traditioanl way.

Coder Reliability

Stempel defined reliability as "consistency of measurement."[39] In other words, if the study is reliable, other researchers will also arrive at the results, following the author's research procedures. A common indicator of reliability is the percentage of *greement among coders. The mininum degree of agreement acceptable to social science research, as Stempel maintains, "seems to be a problem that the individual researcher must solve to his own satisfaction within the limits of his study design and resources."[40] However, in general agreement of 70 percent to 80 percent between or among coders will be acceptable as adequate reliability.[41]

The author coded all of the items, and recoded the data to reveal specific categorical characteristics. Two

bilingual Chinese students at Oklahoma State University were invited to code a random sample of 28 items in the _Daily_ and 10 items in the _Post_. It was the author's belief that separating the two papers for coding was necessary as combining the items for coding might not reveal reliability on both of the papers. The variables chosen for their coding included the main topic, the specific theme, the theme in terms of negativism/positivism, the slant, the nationalities of the main and second actors, the position/sphere of the main and second actors, the primary source, the story location/origin, and the kind of items.

The following table reports the results of coder reliability.

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE OF CODERS' AGREEMENT
WITH THE AUTHOR

Variable	Daily		Post	
	Coder1 Pct	Coder2 Pct	Coder1 Pct	Coder2 Pct
Main Topic	86	89	80	90
Specific Theme	75	72	70	70
Theme (Negativism)	93	89	90	100
Slant	96	100	100	100
Main Actor	96	100	100	100
Second Actor	75	75	80	90
Position Main Actor	93	86	80	80
Position Second Actor	75	71	70	80
Source	89	93	90	100
Location	100	100	100	100
Kind of Items	96	100	100	100

ENDNOTES

[1]Bernard Berelson, <u>Content Analysis in Communication Research</u> (New York, 1971), p. 18.

[2]Any content analysis has limitations and weaknesses. For example, from the semiotic perspective, content analysis violates the principle of immenseness by too readily (and linearly) inferring from the manifest content, the psychological motives or sociological status of the sender, or its behavioral impact upon the receiver. Hackett argued that it is not the best way to study bias and objectivity in the news. See Robert A. Hackett, "Decline of a Paradigm? Bias and Objectivity in News Media Studies," <u>Critical Studies in Mass Communication</u>, Volume 1, No. 3 (September 1984).

[3]Wendall Johnson offered a vivid description of the method of science that must include these steps: (1) Ask questions that can be answered on the basis of observation. (2) Making relevant observations or using those made by other (checking the territory). (3) Reporting the observations accurately so as to answer questions. (4) Revise conclusions previously held in accordance with answers obtained. (5) Ask further questions prompted by new conclusions. See Wendell Johnson, <u>People in the Quandry</u> (New York, 1946).

[4]Guido Stempel III and Bruce Westley, <u>Research Methods in Mass Communication</u> (New Jersey, 1981).

[5]Ole R. Hotsti, "Content analysis," <u>The Handbook of Social Psychology</u>, Eds. Lindzery and E. Aronson, Vol. 2 (2nd Ed., Reading, Mass., 1968).

[6]Klaus Krippendorff, <u>Content Analysis: An Introduction To Its Methodology</u> (Beverly Hills, 1980).

[7]Alexander George, "Quantitative aand Qualitative Approaches to Content Analysis," <u>Trends in Content Analysis</u>, Ed. Ithiel De Sola Pool (Urbana, 1959).

[8]Ibid.

[9]Discourse analysis primarily deals with the various structures of text or dialogue, such as phonetic/ phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, stylistic, rhetorical or narrative structures of discourse. See T.A. Van

Dijk, _Structures of International News: A Case Study of the World's Press_, (Amsterdam, 1984).

[10]William J. Starosta, "Qualitative Content Analysis: A Burkeian Perspective," _Method for Intercultural Communication Research_, Eds. Gudykunst and Kim (Bererly Hills, 1984), p. 192.

[11]K. Kyoon Hur, "A Critical Analysis of International News Flow Research," _Critical Studies in Mass Communication_ Vol. 1 (1984), pp. 365-378.

[12]This occupied 29 or 36 percent of total sample studies. See Hur, ibid., p. 368. Examples are as follows:
J. F. Larson and A. Hardy, "International Affairs Coverage on U.S. Evening Network News," _Gazette_ Vol. 23 (1977), pp. 241-256.

John A. Lent, "Foreign News in American Media," _Journal of Communication_, Vol. 27, No. 1 (1977), pp. 46-51.

David H. Weaver and G. C. Wilhoit, "Foreign News Coverage in Two U.S. Wire services," _Journal of Communication_ Vol 31, No. 2 (Spring 1981), pp. 55-63.

Andrew K. Semmel, "Foreign News in Four U.S. Elite Dailies: Some Comparisons," _Journalism Quarterly_, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Winter 1976).

Al Hester, "Five Years of Foreign News on U.S. Evening Newscast," _Gazette_, Vol. 24 (1978), pp. 86-94.

Erwin L. Atwood and S. J. Bullion, "New Maps of the World: A View From Asia," _International Perspectives on the News_, Eds. Erwin L. Atwood and S. M. Murphy (Carbondale, 1982).

Wilbur Schramm and Erwin Atwood, _Circulation of News in the Third World: A Study of Asia_ (Hong Kong, 1981).

[13]Examples are as follows:
D. R. LeDue, "East-West Flow 'Imbalance': Qualifying the Quantifications," _Journal of Communication_, Vol. 31, No. 4 (1981), pp. 135-141.

V. M. Sparkes, "The Flow of News between Canada and the U.S.," _Journalism Quarterly_, Vol. 55 (1978), pp. 260-268.

O. H. Agha, "The Role of Mass Communication in International Conflict: The Arab-Israeli War of October 6, 1973,." _Gazette_. Vol. 24 (1978), pp. 181-195.

[14]For example:

John A. Lent and S. Rao, "A Content Analysis of National Media Coverage of Asian News and Information," Gazette, Vol. 25 (1979), pp. 17-22.

C. B. Pratt, "The Reporting and Images of Africa In Six U.S. Opinion Magazines: A Comparative Study," Gazette, Vol. 26 (1980), pp. 31-44.

V. M. Mishra, "News From the Middle East In Five U.S. Media," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Summer 1979), pp. 374-378.

M. Asi, "Arabs, Israelis and TV News: A Time Series Content Analysis,." Television Coverage of the Middle East, Ed. W. C. Adams (New Jersey, 1981).

[15]For example:
M. Coffey, J. Freich and R. L. Bishop, "China Watchers and the Cultural Revolution," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 54 (1977), pp. 77-83.

J.C. Pollock and C. L. Guidette,"Mass Media, Crisis, and Political Change: A Cross-National Approach," Communication Yearbook 4, Ed. D. Nimmo (New Jersey, 1980), pp.309-324.

M. Bagneid and S. Schneider, "Sadat Goes to Jerusalem: Television Images, Themes, and Agenda." Televsion Coverage of the Middle East (New Jersey, 1981).

[16]For example:
Chin-Chuan Lee, "Media Images of America: a China Case Study," International Perspective on the News, Eds. Erwin L. Atwood and S. Murphy (Carbondale, 1982).

L. B. Becker, P. S. Underwood and D. Lemish, "Western Wire Services and News of the U.S.A. in Yugoslav Press," Gazette Vol. 28 (1981), pp. 105-115.

[17]The unit "world" accounts for more than one-third of "guest countries" (36 out of 92 sample studies). See Hur, ibid., p. 369.

[18]In Hur's sample studies, there were 41 developing countries compared to 12 developed countries in terms of "guest countries." See Hur, p. 369. One reason, in the author's opinion, is that research is more popular in developed countries and researchers there are more likely not to know the languages of the developing world.

[19]Hur, ibid., p. 70

[20]Sunny Tsze-sun Li, Western Press Coverage of the Third World: An Annotated Bibliography (1976-1986), (Stillwater, 1987).

[21]The 1985 World Almanac and Book of Facts (New York, 1984), p. 425.

[22]Ibid., p. 243.

[23]Ibid., pp. 246, 162.

[24]Ibid., p.303.

[25]Tom Kelly, The Imperial Post (New York, 1983), p. 72.

[26]John Merrill, Global Journalism (New York, 1983), p. 311.

[27]The People's Daily (December 14, 1987).

[28]Kelly, Ibid., p. 10.

[29]Guido Stempel III, "Sample Size for Classifying Subect Matter in Dailies," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 29, No. 33 (1952).

[30]J. A. Hart, The Flow of International News into Ohio," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 38 (1961), pp. 451-3. James W. Markham, "Foreign News in the U.S. and South American Press," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 25 (1961), pp. 161-71.

[31]Chin-Chuen Lee, "Media Images of America: A China Case Study," International Perspectives On News, Eds. Erwin Atwood, Stuart J. Bullion and Sharon Murphy (Carbondale, 1982).

[32]The April 30 issue and all of the May and June issues (microfilm) of the People's Daily that Oklahoma State University bought from the Company were missing. Since the Company did not respond to the university's request for replacement, the author had to re-sample the missing issues within the issues available. The method is: (1) Pick a month randomly within the remaining 10 months as a starting point for reconstruction (which were March and July for May and June, respectively). (2) In the selected month pick the week randomly and then the day as the starting day for the reconstructed month (which was the Tuesday of the third week of March and the Wednesday of the second week of July). (3) The second day for the reconstructed month will automatically be the next month, the next week, and the next day following the previous day. Thus, the reconstructed day and the two reconstructed months are as follows:
Reconstructed day for April 30: March 26 (Wednesday)
Reconstructed month for May: March 11 (Tuesday), April 23 (Wednesday), July 3 (Thursday), August 1 (Friday), September 13 (Saturday), October 20 (Monday), and November 24 (Monday).

the Reconstructed month for June: July 9 (Wednesday), August 14 (Thursday), September 26 (Friday), October 4 (Saturday), November 4 (Monday), and December 9 (Tuesday).
(The missing issues eventually arrived on March 15; however, the author had already completed this dissertation.)

[33]A formula was used to convert the People's Daily standard column centimeter to the Washington Post standard column centimeter. First the number of words (Chinese for the Daily and English for the Post) per 10 standard column cm were calculated by random sampling, which were 303.8458 and 140.5298 for the Chinese and English papers, respectively. Based on Wilbur Schramm's assumption that 100 Chinese words would approximate 80 English words in meaning (see International News Perspectives, p. 130, endnote 1) and the author's knowledge of the English and Chinese languages, the author converted the Daily's column cm to the Post column cm accordingly: 1.7346 Daily column cm equal 1 Post column cm. Without a common base of measurement, no comparison would be possible.

[34]On the assumption that the page width (6 standard columns) of the Post is equal (in comparison) to the page width (8 standard columns) of the Daily, the author divided the headline length into 4 categories (a) one fourth or less of the total page width: 1 score; (2) 1 half or less of the page width: 2 score; 3/4 of the page width or less: three scores; and (c) whole page width or less: 4 scores.

[35]Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, et al., "The World of the News: The News of the World," Final Report of the "Foreign Images" study undertaken by the International Association for Mass Communication Research for UNESCO.

[36]Ibid.

[37]The point here is to assign distinct groups of values for each sub-divided categories to facilitate recoding.

[38]Frederick Teh-Chi Yu, "The Treatment of China in Four Chicago Newspapers, July 1 Through December 31, 1949" (Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1951), p. 45.

[39]Guido Stempel III, "Increasing Reliability in Content analysis," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Fall 1955), p. 10.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Harold Lasswell, "The Analysis of Symbolic Content," The Comparative Study of Symbols (Stanford,1952), p. 16.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS

This chapter reports the findings of the comparative study of the Washington Post's coverage of China and the People's Daily's coverage of the U.S. in 1986. Results will be presented according to the order of the hypotheses stated in the previous chapter.

Analysis of Attention

During the 72-day sample period in 1986, the Post devoted a total of 51 items to coverage of China, compared to the Daily's 297 items on the U.S. The overall item ratio between the Post and the Daily was 1 to 5.8. The mean item per sample day was 0.708 for the former and 4.125 for the latter. That is, on an average day, the Daily would print 4.1 U.S. items, whereas, the Post would print 0.7 item; the Daily printed 5.8 times as many U.S. items as the Post printed China items. (Table II)

The application of the Standard Error of Proportion to this result of reciprocal coverage out of the total items reveals that the difference was significant at the .05 confidence level.[1]

TABLE II

THE NUMBER OF ITEMS AND MEAN ITEMS PER
SAMPLE DAY OF THE PEOPLE'S DAILY
AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Medium	Total	Pct	Mean Items/ Sample Day
Daily	297	85.35	4.125
Post	51	14.65	0.708
Total	348	100	2.417

Both the _Daily_ and the _Post_ had only 6 non-news items.
Excluding these items, The _Daily_ published 291 (news) items,
compared to the _Post_'s 45 China items. The _Daily_ published
6.47 times more U.S. news items than the _Post_ published
China news items. Compared with their respective foreign
news total items, the _Post_'s China news items (excluding the
non-news items occupied 3.83 percent, whereas, the _Daily_'s
U.S. news items constituted 12.76 percent. (Table III) The
difference was statistically significant at the .05
confidence level.[2]

In addition, the frequency distribution of items by
month shows that the _Daily_ covered U.S. every month from the
low of 17 items in June to the high of 33 items in November,
whereas, the _Post_'s range of China news coverage spanned
from 0 item in March, the low of 2 items in July to the high
of seven items in May and August. (Table IV)

Measurement by item is not always sufficient by itself.
The second measurement by volume (space in _Post_ standard
column mm) indicates the _Daily_ gave a total of 88,326 column
cm to U.S. news items, whereas, the _Post_'s China coverage
reached only 22,486 column cm, the former being 3.9 times
the latter. Such a great difference would not occur by
chance more than 5 times in a hundred. (Table V)

Compared with the items measure, the measure by space
gave the _Daily_ a smaller percentage of news within its total
foreign newshole (11.95%), whereas, the _Post_'s percentage
held exactly the same (3.83%). (Table V) To compare

TABLE III

PROPORTION OF NEWS ITEMS OUT OF TOTAL FOREIGN
NEWS IN RECIPROCAL COVERAGE

Count Row Pct	Reciprocal Covrage	Total Foreign News Items	Mean Item/ Sample Day
Daily	291 12.76%	2280 65.97%	4.042
Post	45 3.83%	1176 34.03%	0.625
Col Tol	336	3456	2.334

TABLE IV

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS
OF ITEMS BY MONTH

	Daily	Pct	Post	Pct
November	33	11.1	7	13.7
March	30	10.1	0	0
July	28	9.4	2	3.9
September	28	9.4	4	7.8
May	27	9.1	2	3.9
August	25	8.4	7	13.7
February	24	8.1	4	7.8
December	24	8.1	5	9.8
April	23	7.7	6	11.8
January	19	6.4	5	9.8
September	19	6.4	4	7.8
June	17	5.7	2	3.9

TABLE V

COMPARISON OF PROPORTION OF NEWS VOLUME
OUT OF TOTAL FOREIGN NEWSHOLE

Volume Row pct	Reciprocal Coverage	Total Foreign Newshole	Mean Vol/ Sample Day
Daily	88,326 11.95%	738,915 55.74%	1227
Post	22,486 3.83%	586,164 45.26%	312
Col Total	110,812	1,325,564	769.5

Volume in Washignton Post Standard Column Centimeters

reciprocal coverage in terms of volume another way, the _Daily_ used 1,227 column cm, i.e. 21 percent of the paper's page, to cover the U.S., whereas, the _Post_ used 312 column cm, i.e. 0.1 percent of the paper's page to cover China on an average day.[3]

The application of the Standard Error of Proportion to the volume percentage of reciprocal news coverage out of the paper's own total foreign newshole also indicates the difference is statistically significant at the 0.05 confidence level.[4]

To complement the above measures by number of items and volume, attention scores were used to gauge those aspects of attention neglected and to add validity to the results obtained on the assumption that if significant differences do exist, they should show in both the measures by volume and by attention scores. It was found that the _Daily_ obtained an 846 score and the _Post_ had a 215 score, the former newspaper's score was 3.9 times the latter. The _Daily_'s mean score per sample day was 11.75; the _Post_'s was 2.99. The difference is statistically significant at the .05 confidence level. (Table VI)

The results yielded by the number of items, volume and score measures are consistent. In addition, the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient reveals the relationship between the variables of length and attention scores in each of the papers is statistically significant at the .05 confidence level--the relationship is moderate but

TABLE VI

ATTENTION SCORES IN RECIPROCAL
COVERAGE

	Total Items Scores	Pct	Mean Scores/ Sample Day
Daily	846	79.74	11.75
Post	215	20.26	2.99
Total	1061	100	14.74

CALCULATION OF STANDARD ERROR OF PROPORTION:

$$S.E.= \frac{.7974 \times .2046}{1061}= .01234$$

Divide the observed difference by one standard error; the ratio has to be twice as great to be significant at the 0.05 level.

$$\frac{.7974 - .2026}{.01234}=48.3$$

substantial (r=+.666 for the Daily and +.511 for the Post);
the relationship is greater than could be expected by chance
or random sampling error. Therefore, the first half of the
first hypothesis that the Daily would devote more attention
in terms of the number of items, space, and attention scores
in reciprocal coverage was supported.

The second half of the hypothesis states that the Post
would do significantly better in attention on an item-to-
item basis. It was found that the mean space per item for
the Post was 485.588 column cm, whereas, that of the Daily
was 310.306 column cm. A T-test of mean difference between
the papers shows the Post's news item mean is significantly
larger than the Daily's--such a difference would not occur
by chance more than five times in a hundred. However, a
split file of analysis by the kind of items shows that the
difference is significant only for the news items; there was
no significant difference among non-news items. This means
the Post's news items were significantly longer than the
Daily's but non-news items were not. The overall mean score
per item was 2.849 and 4.216 for the Daily and the Post,
respectively. The T-test of mean score difference shows the
difference was significant at the 0.05 confidence level.
(Table VII)

A split file analysis by the kind of items yields the
same result.[5] Thus, the second half of the first hypothesis
(the Post would fare significantly better in attention on an

TABLE VII

MEAN DIFFERENCES IN RECIPROCAL
COVERAGE

	Daily Mean	Items	Post Mean	Items	T Value	Sig.
All Items	310.31	297	485.59	51	-4.06	.000
News	303.53	291	499.69	45	-4.19	.000
Non-News	639.20	6	379.83	6	-2.01	.073
Scores						
All Items	2.849	297	4.216	51	-6.21	.000
News	2.85	291	4.42	45	-6.46	.000
Non-News	2.83	6	3.83	6	-2.86	.022*

item-to-item basis) was partially supported; it's supported
for the news items but not the non-news items.

Analysis of Topical Patterns

   This section is interested in comparing the overall
topical patterns (distribution of subject matters) in
reciprocal coverage. The measures of analysis (by items and
by volume) as well as single and double codings (combining
the main and second topics) of the topical patterns were
compared to assure consistency of measurement. The second
topic was also analyzed within each of the main topical
categories.

(A) The Main Topical Pattern

   Table VIII compares the number of items, the
percentage, and rank order on each of the 15 classified
topical categories between the papers. In the absolute
number of items, the Daily overwhelmingly outnumbered the
Post in all categories except in the religion and education
categories. However, the topical pattern analysis primarily
concerns the (row) percentage, i.e. the proportionate
distribution of topics in each of the designated categories.

   The category of diplomatic and foreign relations
topics ranked number one for both newspapers while the
Post's Sino-American relations category contained the same
number of items as the diplomatic and foreign relations
category. However, for the Daily, Sino-American relations

ranked fourth and the category of economics and business ranked second, with military and defense items in the third place, whereas, the Post ranked internal Chinese politics third and held economics and business in the fourth place. (Table VIII)

Though both papers ranked the diplomatic and foreign relations category first, the 40.7 percent of items furnished by the Daily was significantly more in proportion than the 23.5 percent of items published by the Daily.[6] The application of the standard error of proportion to each of the percentages in categories shows that besides the education and religion categories mentioned above, all categories were significantly different except the economics and business, and human interest categories. The Post devoted more attention to Sino-American relations topics, internal politics, and legal and judicial topics, whereas, the Daily emphasized more on topics such as military and defense, diasasters and accidents, arts and culture, science and technology as well as sports. (Table VIII)

The following table reports the correlations of the two papers' main topical patterns by items and volume measures as well as by single and double codings.

TABLE VIII

COMPARISON OF MAIN TOPICAL PATTERNS
IN ITEMS AND VOLUME MEASURES

	Daily Items	Pct	R	Post Item	Pct	R	Daily Vol	Pct	R	Post Vol	Pct	R
1	121	40.7	1	12	23.5	1.5	35502	38.5	1	3020	12.2	3
2	33	11.1	2	05	9.8	4.5	9778	10.6	2	2258	9.1	5
3	29	9.8	3	02	3.9	7	7853	8.5	4	786	3.2	6
4	28	9.4	4	12	23.5	1.5	6739	7.3	6	6908	27.9	1
5	18	6.1	5	2	3.9	7	8206	8.9	3	720	2.9	7
6	17	5.7	6	1	2.0	10	5081	5.5	7	245	1.0	11
7	15	5.1	7	8	15.7	3	7219	7.8	5	6493	26.2	2
8	9	3.0	8	0	.0	13.5	3389	3.7	8	0	.0	13.5
9	8	2.7	9	0	.0	13.5	2054	2.2	10	0	.0	13.5
10	7	2.4	10	5	9.8	4.5	1811	2.0	11	2809	11.3	4
11	5	1.7	11	2	3.9	7	2585	2.8	9	636	2.6	8
12	3	1.0	12.5	1	2.0	10	465	.5	11	547	2.2	9
13	3	1.0	12.5	0	.0	13.5	1301	1.4	12	0	0	13.5
14	1	.3	14	0	.0	13.5	179	.2	14	0	.0	13.5
15	0	.0	15	1	2.0	10	0	.0	15	345	1.4	10
Tol	287	100		51	100		92161	99.9*		24765	100	

1. Diplomatic and Foreign Relations
2. Economics and Business
3. Mitirary and Defense
4. Sino-American Relations
5. Social Conditions
6. Sciences and Technology
7. Internal Politics
8. Disasters and Accidents
9. Sports
10. Legal and Judicial Matters
11. Arts and Culture
12. Human Interest
13. Other Topic
14. Education
15. Religion

*Rounding error

Table IX

CORRELATIONS OF MAIN TOPICAL PATTERNS BY ITEMS
AND VOLUME MEASURES AND BY SINGLE AND
DOUBLE CODINGS

	Single Coding	Double Coding
Items	+ .618	+ .683
Volume	- .353	+ .578

The above Spearman Rho Rank-Order Correlations indicate the kind of measures (by items or volume) interacting with the kind of codings (single or double) seemed to yield quite different results regarding the comparison of main topical patterns. When single coding was applied, the two topical patterns were significantly correlated by items measure (rho= + .618), but they were not by volume measure (rho= - .353). However, when double coding was used, their relationships tended to be more consistent--moderate but substantial--by both items and volume measures. Further, the kinds of measures (by items and volume as well as by single and double codings) tended to be highly consistent as the following tables indicate:

TABLE X

CORRELATIONS OF MEASURES OF ANALYSIS
OF MAIN TOPICAL PATTERNS

Main Topical Paterns	Single Coding	Double Coding
Daily	+ .915	+ .952
Post	+ .926	+ .954

TABLE XI

CORRELATIONS OF SINGLE AND DOUBLE CODINGS
OF MAIN TOPICAL PATTERNS

	Daily	Post
Items Measure	+ .939	+ .991
Volume Measure	+ .903	+ .988

The above correlations show clearly the kinds of measures of analysis did not make much difference--all correlations were higher than 0.9. In other words, the results were not altered by the different approaches of analysis. Thus, it seems that the two topical patterns were similar (in terms of rank-order) and yet quite different. The author could only conclude that there was as much similarity as difference between the Daily's and the Post's overall topical patterns.

(B) Analysis of Sub-Topical Patterns

Within Main Topical Categories

The following four tables show the differences of reciprocal coverage in respect to a crosstabulation of the main and the second topics.

For the Daily, the diplomatic and foreign relations main topical category constituted 40.7 percent of items. In this category, 47.9 percent focused on matters of diplomatic and foreign relations themselves, 38.8 percent contained a military and defense second topic, which occupied 83.9

percent of all military and defense second topics. For the same main topical category in the _Post_, diplomatic and foreign relations topics covered the military and defense aspect to a lesser degree (16.7 %)--the _Daily_ covered U.S. diplomatic and foreign relations affairs with that particular aspect 2.3 times as much as the _Post_ covered China with that aspect on the same topic. (Table XII) In terms of absolute volume, the _Daily_'s diplomatic and political main topical items with that particular aspect (15,345 column cm) was about 46 times that (334 column cm) of the _Post_.

In the economic and business main topical categories, 75.8 percent in the _Daily_ focused on economics and business themselves, compared to 20.2 percent in the _Post_, whreas, 40 percent in the _Post_ had a diplomatic and political second topic, compared to only 3 percent in the _daily_; twenty percent in the _Post_ dealt with the military and defense aspect, compared to only 3 percent in the _Daily_. (Table XII)

Among the 29 items of military and defense main topical items in the _Daily_ that constituted 9.8 percent of all U.S. items, 65.5 percent concerned purely military and defense aspects, 31 percent had a diplomatic and defense second topic, whereas, for the _Post_ the scarce military and defense main topical items on China (3.9% of total items) all were related to a diplomatic and politcal aspect. (Table XIII)

As for Sino-American China items, which comprised 23.5 percent of all items in the _Post_, 16.7 percent focused on

TABLE XII

COMPARISONS OF SUB-TOPCIAL PATTERNS WITHIN MAIN
TOPICAL CATEGORIES--DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL,
AND ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS

Main Topic	Daily			Post		
	Item	Pct	R	Item	Pct	R
Diplomatic and Political	121	40.7	1	12	23.5	1.5
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	58	47.9	1	8	66.7	1.0
Military and Defense	47	38.8	2	2	16.7	2
Economics and Business	6	5.0	3	1	8.3	3.5
Legal and Judicial	3	2.5	3.5	1	8.3	3.5
Diasasters and Accidents	3	2.5	3.5	0	0	7
Sino-American Relations	1	.8	7.5	0	0	7
Internal Politics	1	.8	7.5	0	0	7
Social Conditions	1	.8	7.5	0	0	7
Education	1	.8	7.5	0	0	7
Economics and Business	33	11.1	2	5	9.8	4.5
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	25	75.8	1	1	20	4.5
Sino-American Relations	2	6.1	2.5	1	20	3
Science and Technology	2	6.1	2.5	0	0	6
Diploamtic and Political	1	3.0	5.5	2	40	1
Internal Politics	1	3.0	5.5	0	0	6
Mititary and Defense	1	3.0	5.5	1	20	3
social Conditions	1	3.0	5.5	0	0	6

TABLE XIII

COMPARISONS OF SUB-TOPICAL PATTERNS WITHIN
MAIN TOPICAL CATEGORIES—MILITARY AND
DEFENSE, SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS,
AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Main Topic	Daily			Post		
	Item	Pct	R	Item	Pct	R
Military and Defense	29	9.8	3	2	3.9	7
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	19	65.5	1	0	0	2.5
Diplomatic and Political	9	31.0	2	2	100	1
Economics and Business	1	3.4	3	0	0	2.5
Sino-American Relations	28	9.4	4	12	23.5	1.5
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	12	42.9	1	2	16.7	2.5
Economics and Business	7	25	2	2	16.7	2.5
Education	3	10.5	3	0	0	9
Military and Defense	2	7.1	5	2	16.7	2.5
Arts and Culture	2	7.1	5	1	8.3	6.5
Science and Technology	2	7.1	5	1	8.3	6.5
Internal Politics	0	0	8	1	8.3	6.5
Social Conditions	0	0	8	1	8.3	6.5
Legal and Judicial	0	0	8	2	16.7	2.5
Science and Technology	17	527	6	1	2	9
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	17	100	1	0	0	2
Diploamtic and Political	0	0	2	1	100	1

Sino-American diplomatic and political relation itself, 84.3% contained a second topic each of which concerned an aspect of bilateral relationship. For example, 16.7 percent contained the miltiary and defense, the economic and business, and the legal and judicial aspects, respectively, and 8.3 percent were related to Chinese internal politics, social conditions, arts and culture as well as science and technology. For the U.S. items of the same main topical category, 42.9 percent focused on Sino-American diplomatic and poliical relations while 57.1 percent covered a second topic of which economy and business was the primary concern. (Table XIII)

The Daily had 17 main topical items (5.7%) on science and technology. All of these U.S. stories were purely classified in the science and technology category, whereas, the Post had only one item on the same main topic, but it was related to a second topic of diplomatic and political relations.(Table XIII)

For the Daily, within the 15 main topical items on internal politics, almost half (46.7%) focused on the main topic itself, 26.7 percent contained a military and defense aspect, whereas, for the Post 87.5 percent did not have a second topic, 12.5 percent also concerned an economic and business aspect, but none had a military and defense second topic. (Table XIV)

Among the 9.5 percent (5 items) of legal and judicial China stories in the Post, 20 percent (1 item) concerned

TABLE XIV

COMPARISON OF SUB-TOPICAL PATTERNS WITHIN
MAIN TOPICAL CATEGORIES--INTERNAL
POLITICS, LEGAL AND JUDICIAL,
AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Main Topic	Daily			Post		
	Item	Pct	R	Item	Pct	R
Internal Politics	15	5.1	7	8	15.7	3
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	7	46.7	1	7	87.5	1
Military and Defense	4	26.7	2	0	0	4
Legal and Judicual	2	13.3	3	0	0	4
Economics and Judicial	1	6.7	3.5	1	12.5	2
Diplomatic and Political	1	6.7	3.5	0	0	4
Legal and Judicial	7	2.4	10	5	9.8	4.5
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	3	42.9	1	1	20	3
Military and Defense	2	28.6	2	0	0	3.5
Diplomatic and Political	1	14.3	3.5	2	40	1.5
Economics and Business	1	14.3	3.5	0	0	3.5
Sino-American Realtions	0	0	5	2	40	1.5
Social Conditions	18	6.1	5	2	3.9	7
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	15	83.3	1	2	100	1
Economics and Business	1	5.6	3	0	0	3
Legal and Judicial	1	5.6	3	0	0	3
Human Interest	1	5.6	3	0	0	3

legal and judicial matters themselves, 40 percent were related to a diplomatic and defense second topic, another 40 percent concerned Sino-American activities. For the Daily's relatively little (2.4%) U.S. legal and judicial coverage, 42.9 percent (three items) concentrated on the main topic itself, 28.6 percent concerned the military and defense aspect, 14.3 percent diplomatic and political aspect, and another 14.3 percent economy and business. (Table XIV)

For all the other main topical categories that constituted less than 4 percent of all items for each of the papers, the Post did not publish any China story on disasters and accidents or education. The Daily had 0.3 percent (1 item) on education, 1.7 percent (5 items) on arts and culture, compared to 3.9 percent (2 items) of arts and culture on the Daily. The Post covered one China story on religion while the Daily had none; the Daily had 2.7 percent (8 items) on sports, whereas, the Post had none. (Table XV)

To reassure the above descriptions, the correlations of sub-topical patterns within main topical categories between the papers are listed in Table XVI.

In sum, the sub-topical patterns within the diplomatic and foreign relations, the social conditions, arts and culture, and human interest main topical categories were quite similar. All other sub-topical patterns were remarkably different. This finding conforms with the previous result that there was as much similarity as difference between the overall topical patterns. Thus, the

TABLE XV

COMPARISONS OF SUB-TOPICAL PATTERNS WITHIN MAIN
TOPICAL CATEGORIES—DISASTERS AND ACCIDENTS,
ARTS AND CULTURE, HUMAN INTEREST, SPORTS,
EDUCATION, AND RELIGION

Main Topic	Daily			Post		
	Item	Pct	R	Item	Pct	R
Disasters and Accidents	9	3	8	0	0	13.5
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	6	66.7	1	0	0	
Diplomatic and Political	1	11.1	3	0	0	
Arts and culture	1	11.1	3	0	0	
Human Interest	1	11.1	3	0	0	
Arts and culture	5	1.7	11	2	3.9	7
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	5	100	1	2	100	1
Human Interest	3	1	12.5	1	2	9
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	3	100	1	1	100	1
Sports	8	2.7	9	0	0	13.5
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	7	87.5	1	0	0	
Sino-American Relations	1	12.5	2	0	0	
Education	1	0.3	14	0	0	
Second Topics						
No Second Topic	1	100	1	0	0	
Religion	0	0	15	1	2	9
Second Topics						
No second Topic	0	0		1	100	1

TABLE XVI

CORRELATIONS OF SUB-TOPICAL PATTERNS
WITHIN MAIN TOPICAL CATEGORIES

Main Topical Categories	Spearman Rho
Diplomatic and Foreign Relations	+ .895
Economic and Business	− .065
Military and Defense	− 1.0
Sino-American Relations	− .014
Science and Technolgy	− 1.0
Internal Politics	− .344
Legal and Judicial	− .487
Social Conditions	+ 1.0

hypothesis that the topical patterns between the papers would be similar was not supported because the magnitude of similarity was not great enough to override difference.

Analysis of Themes

The third hypothesis states that the degree of bias in terms of thematic negativism in reciprocal coverage would be similar; however, reciprocal attention to certain categories of negative and positive themes would be quite different.

There were 47.1 percent (140 items) of negative themes, 38 percent (113 items) of positive themes, and 14.8 percent (44 items) of neutral themes in the Daily, compared to 54.9 percent (28 items), 41.2 percent (21 items), and 3.9 percent (2 items), respectively, in the Post. In terms of volume, negative themes occupied 49.5 percent, positive themes 35.94 percent, and neutral themes 14.61 percent for the Daily, compared to 64.21 percent, 33.33 percent, and 2.48 percent, respectively, for the Post. (Table XVII)

Negative themes occupied the largest percentage, positive themes the second, and neutral themes the least for both of the newspapers. The rank order is exactly the same. It's unnecessary to run correlation tests before the conclusion that the correlation of two pairs of pattern is statistically significant. Though both the percentages of the Post's negative and positive themes were slightly higher than those of the Daily's, a chi-square test of independence reveals that such differences are not statistically

TABLE XVII

PERCENTAGE AND RANK ORDER OF NEGATIVE,
POSITIVE, AND NEUTRAL THEMES BY
ITEMS AND VOLUME MEASURES

	Themes	Pct	R	Vol	R
	Negative	47.1	1	49.5	1
Daily	Positive	38	2	35.9	2
	Neutral	14.8	3	14.6	3
	Negative	54.9	1	64.2	1
Post	Positive	41.2	2	33.3	2
	Neutral	3.9	3	2.5	3

significant; the two variables--the medium and the nature of themes--are independent of each other. In other words, the probability of the two variables being associated with each other is simply a matter of chance. (Table XVIII)

The mean volume of negative, positive, and neutral themes for the Daily are 325.55 (column cm), 293.09, and 306.04; those for the Post were 567.93, 392.86, and 306.50 respectively. A split file for ANOVA analysis of mean difference within each of the papers indicates there is no significant mean differnce among positive, negative, and neutral themes for both of the papers. (Table XIX) This means negative themes were not significantly longer than positive or neutral themes for both papers.

The eta of 0.06, which shows a weak correlation of the nature of the theme and the item length in the Daily, means the nature of the theme shared only 0.36 percent of the variance in the dependent variable (item length). Similarly, the eta of 0.32 for the Post indicates about 10 percent of the variance in item length was accounted for by the nature of the themes.

A combination of file for analysis again indicates the nature of the theme did not significantly affect the length of the items. While the kind of medium affected item length, there was no interaction of medium and theme. (Table XX) Thus, even if the Post's negative themes were longer than the Daily's negative themes, the nature of the theme was not a related variable.

TABLE XVIII

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF INDEPENDENCE:
MEDIUM AND THEME

Count Row Pct Col Pct	Neutral Theme	Positive Theme	Negative Theme	Row Total
Daily	44 14.8 95.7	113 38 84.3	140 47.1 83.3	297 85.3
Post	2 3.9 4.3	21 41.2 15.7	28 54.9 16.7	51 14,7
Column Total	46 13.2	134 38.5	168 48.3	348 100

Chi-Square	D.F.	Signif.	Min. E.F.
4.56153	2	.1022	6.741

TABLE XIX

ANOVA TEST OF MEAN LENGTH DIFFERENCES AMONG
NEGATIVE, POSITVE, AND NEUTRAL THEMES

Split File

	Themes	Sum	Mean	Signif.	Eta
	Negative	45517	325.55		
Daily	Positive	33119	293.09	.563	.06
	Neutral	13466	306.04		
	Negative	15902	567.93		
Post	Positive	8250	392.86	.076	.32
	Neutral	613	306.5		

TABLE XX

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BY LENGTH,
MEDIUM, AND THEME (POSITIVE,
NEGATIVE, AND NEUTRAL)

Source of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Ratio	Signif. OF F
Main Effects	3	1574434	524811	8.218	.000
Medium	1	1282849	1282849	20.089	.000
Theme	2	237159	118579	1.857	.158
2-Way Interact.	2	264233	132116	2.069	.128
Total	347	23678691	68238		

The above findings support the first half of the second hypothesis that the degree of thematic negativism or positivism in reciprocal coverage would be similar. This similarity is revealed, not only in the rank order of the thematic patterns in terms of negativism, but in the chi-square test of independence, and in the ANOVA test of mean length differences.

To assure that the thematic pattern (in terms of negativism) was correlated to the news thematic pattern in both item and column measures, Table XXI shows their ranks are exactly the same. It was not necessary to run statistical tests to conclude that the correlations of the overall thematic pattern and the news thematic pattern for each of the papers were highly dependable.

The second half of the second hypothesis says reciprocal attention to specific categories of negative and positive themes would be quite different.

Table XXII below reports the correlations of the two papers' overall thematic patterns.

TABLE XXII

CORRELATIONS OF THE DAILY'S AND THE POST'S
OVERALL THEMATIC PATTERNS BY ITEMS
AND VOLUME MEASURES

	Spearman Rho
Items Measure	- .276
Volume Measure	- .280

TABLE XXI

CORRELATIONS OF OVERALL THEMATIC PATTERNS
(NEGATIVE, POSITIVE, AND NEUTRAL)
PATTERNS AND NEWS THEMATIC

| | Themes | Overall Patterns | | | | News Patterns | | | |
		Item	R	Volume	R	Item	R	Volume	R
	Negative	140	1	45577	1	139	1	44983	1
Daily	Positive	113	2	33119	2	113	2	33119	2
	Neutral	44	3	13466	3	39	3	10224	3
	Negative	28	1	15902	1	24	1	11259	1
Post	Positive	21	2	8250	2	19	2	7614	2
	Neutral	2	1	613	3	2	3	613	3

The above correlations indicate the relationship between the two papers' overall thematic patterns was not significant by both items and volume measures. This means the relationship was so small that it was not far enough above zero to be confident that it is above and beyond chance 95 times out of a hundred. As the measures of analysis were highly correlated (rho= + .968 for the Daily and + .955 for the Post), the degree of similarity between the two overall thematic patterns was low. However, correlations simply shows the extent of similarity; they do not deal with overall differences. Therefore, a careful examination of each of the proportionate frequency distributions in each of the thematic categories was necessary.

It was found that the Daily devoted significantly more attention than the Post in some categories, but in some other categories, the reverse was true.

In the positive categories, the Post obviously gave more proportionate attention to three categories than the Daily. These categories are:

(1) Sino-American cooperation.

The Post contributed 13.7 percent of items, 13.5 percent of space in this category, compared to the Daily's 9.4 percent of items and 9.2 percent of space. In the Post, this category ranked first in items and second in space for the Post, compared to the fifth and fourth in the Daily. (Table XXIII)

TABLE XXIII

RECIPROCAL ATTENTION TO SPECIFIC
POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE THEMES

	Daily							Post				
---	Item	Pct	R	Vol	Pct	R	Item	Pct	R	Vol	Pct	R
Positive Themes												
Sino-American Relations	28	9.4	5	8461	9.2	4	7	13.7	1.5	3343	13.5	2
Cooperative Relations With States	32	10.8	3	6709	7.3	5	7	13.7	1.5	2634	10.6	3
Art Appreciation	2	.7	17	1266	1.4	13	2	3.9	9	940	3.8	9
Arms Control	10	3.4	9	3428	3.7	9	0	0	22	0	0	22
Scientific Discovery	19	6.4	7	6010	6.5	6	0	0	4.5	0	0	22

TABLE XXIII CONTINUED

	Daily						Post					
	Item	Pct	R	Vol	Pct	R	Item	Pct	R	Vol	Pct	R
Negative Themes												
Conflict With States	52	17.5	1	18474	20	1	4	7.8	5.5	1007	4.1	8
Conflict With USSR	30	10.1	4	9891	10.7	2	2	3.9	9	1368	5.5	7
Arms Expansion	21	7.1	6	4026	4.4	8	1	2	15.5	392	.02	14
Internal Conflict	18	6.1	8	6760	7.3	4	5	9.8	3	4770	19.3	1
Political Corrupt.	3	1	14	489	.53	16	4	7.8	5.5	2385	9.6	5
Espionage	1	0.3	18	156	.002	19	4	7.8	5.5	2530	10.2	4
Sino-American Conflict	1	0.3	18	434	.005	17	4	7.8	5.5	1683	6.8	6
Crime/Violence	5	1.7	12	1771	.02	12	1	2	15.5	397	.02	13
Racialism	0	0	18	0	0		1	2	15.5	368	.02	17

(2) Cooperative relations with other states.

The Post used 13.7 percent of items, 10.6 percent of space, to cover China's cooperative relations with other countries, whereas, the Daily gave only 10.8 percent of items, 7.28 percent of space to depict American cooperative foreign relations. This category ranked first (in items) and third (in space) in the Post, compared to the third and fifth in the Daily. (Table XXIII)

(3) Art Appreciation.

The Post furnished 3.9 percent of items (3.8 percent of space) for Chinese art, compared to the 0.7 percent of items (1.4% of space) for American art in the Daily. (Table XXIII)

The Daily did better in two other positive thematic categories:

(1) Arms control.

The Daily contributed 3.4 percent of items (3.7 of space) to portraying the U.S. efforts in the sphere of arms control, whereas, the Post's coverage of China did not seem to be interested in these matters.

(2) Scientific discovery.

The Chinese paper covered American scientific discovery with 6.4 percent of items (6.5% of space), whereas, the American paper did not mention any Chinese scientific progress.

A similar scenario appeared in the negative thematic categories. The Post presented three negative categories less and four other negtive categories more than the Daily.

(1) Conflictual relations with states.

The Daily devoted 17.5 percent of items (20% of space) to depicting the U.S. in conflict with other states. The rank order of this category in the Daily were both number one in items and space. The Post gave only 7.8 percent of items, with a total volume of 4.1 percent of space (1007 column cm) to capture China in conflict with other countries; its coverage of this conflictual aspect ranked number fourth in items measure and number eigth in space measure. In terms of absolute volume, the Daily's coverage in this category was 18.35 times that of the Post. (Table XXIII)

(2) Division with the Soviet Union.

The Chinese paper used 10.1 percent of items (30 items), 10.7 percent of space (9891 volumn cm) for Soviet-American conflicts. Combined with the category of conflictual relations with other states, attention amounted to 27.6 percent (82 items) of all items with 30.8 percent of its total space. The Post, on the contrary, devoted 3.9 percent of items with 5.5 percent of space (1368 column cm) to depict China in conflicts with the Soviet Union. Combined with the category of conflictual relations with states, attention rose to 11.7 percent of items (6 items), 9.6 percent of space. In terms of absolute space, the Daily's negative reporting on the U.S. in this area was about 12 times as much as the Post's on China; in proportionate terms, the space was still 2.9 times as much. (Table XXIII)

(3) Arms expansion.

The *Post* used 2 percent of the items (1 item only), an almost negligible amount of space (0.02 %) to depict the aspect of Chinese arms expansion, compared to the *Daily*'s 7.1 percent of items, 4.4 percent of space. In rank, the *Post* gave this category the fifteenth in items and fourteenth in space but the *Daily* allocated it the sixth and eighth. (Table XXIII)

It was evident that the *Post* fared better in the above three negative categories by restraining its coverage. The *Daily*, on the other hand, portrayed the U.S. more (in terms of items and space) in an unfavorable light than the *Post* depicted China in the categories.

On the other hand, the *Daily* seemed to demonstrate similar restraint in certain categories:

(1) Internal conflicts.

The *Daily* used 6.1 percent (7.3 percent of space) to cover American internal conflicts, compared to the *Post*'s 9.8 percent of items (19.3 % of space). The *Post* ranked this category third, compared to the *Daily*'s eighth. (Table XXIII)

(2) Political corruptions and failures.

The *Post* devoted 7.8 percent of items, 9.63 percent of space (2385 column cm) to this category, compared to the *Daily*'s one percent of items, 0.53 percent of space. This category ranked fifth (both item and space) for the *Post* but fourteenth and sixteenth for the *Daily*. (Table XXIII)

(3) Espionage.

The Post allocated 7.8 percent of items, 0.1 percent of space, for China coverage related to espionage, whereas, the Chinese paper used merely 0.3 percent of item, almost negligibe amount of space in the same category. (Table XXIII)

(4) Sino-American conflicts.

In this senitive area of Sino-American conflicts, the Post used 7.8 percent of items, 0.07 percent of space, whereas, the Daily devoted 0.3 percent of items, an almost unnoticable amount of space (0.005 %). (Table XXIII)

Concerning other aspects of reciprocal coverage, the Post had 2 percent on crimes and violence and another 2 percent on racism; the Daily had 1.7 percent on crimes and violence but carried no items on racism. (Table XXIII)

It should be noted that the two thematic patterns were not without similarity. Within the 33 designated thematic categories, the Post covered 20 categories, half of which had only one item (2% of its own total), whereas, the Daily covered 21 categories, 9 of which had less than 2 percent of the total items. The categories covered by neither of the papers were "human rights," "freedoms of speech, press, religion, etc.," "ethnic antagonism," "U.S./China as beneficiary to other states," "energy shortage," "ecology pollution," and "torture." However, these similar features could not blurr the dissimilarities of attention to specific thematic categories between the two papers. Therefore, it

was concluded that reciprocal attention to the various themes was quite different.

Analysis of Slanted Items

The fourth hypothesis was that the vast majority of items for both newspapers would tend to be neutral (i.e. neither favorably or unfavorably slanted against the host country in reciprocal coverage); it was also posited that in the Post non-news items would be slanted to a greater extent than those in the Daily, and the mean length of unfavorably slanted items would be significantly longer than the favorably slanted or neutral items in both papers.

Table XXIV shows slanted items were really scarce—two items for each of the papers, occupying 0.7 percent of items (0.5 percent of space), and 3.9 percent of items (5.6 percent of space) in the Daily and the Post, respectively. In other words, 99.7 percent of all the items and 99.3 of all the volume in the Daily and 96.1 percent of all the items and 94.4 percent of all the volume in the Post were neutral, thus supporting the first half of the fourth hypothesis.

Table XXV shows all of the two slanted items in the Daily were news items, none of its 6 non-news items was slanted, whereas, in the Post one item, i.e. half of the slanted items, was news, one of the six non-news items was slanted. For the Daily, one of the two slanted news items was slanted favorably and the other unfavorably against the

TABLE XXIV

COMPARISON OF SLANTED ITEMS

	Item	Pct	Item	Pct	Vol	Pct	Vol	Pct
Unfavor. Slanted	1	0.34	2	3.9	168	0.18	1377	5.6
Favor. Slanted	1	0.34	0	0	286	0.31	0	0
Neutral Slanted	295	99.3	49	96.1	91707	99.5	23388	94.4

TABLE XXV

COMPARISON OF SLANTED NON-NEWS
AND NEWS ITEMS

	Daily		Post	
	Item	Pct	Item	Pct
Non-News Items				
Unfavorably Slanted	0	0	1	16.7
Favorably Slanted	0	0	0	0
Neutral	6	100	5	83.3
News Items				
Unfavorably Slanted	1	0.3	1	2.2
Favorably Slanted	1	0.3	0	0
Neutral	289	99.3	44	97.8

host country. For the Post, both the news item and the non-news item were unfavorably slanted. As there was merely one slanted non-news item in the Post, the Fisher's exact test shows no significant difference between the papers in slanted items; the two variables--the medium and the nature of slanted items--were independent of each other. Therefore, it is not for sure statistically to say that the Post non-news items slanted to a greater extent than the Daily's. Thus the second half of the hypothesis was not supported.

The last part of the fourth hypothesis states the mean length of unfavorably slanted items would be significantly longer than unfavorably slanted or neutral items in both papers. An ANOVA test (split file by medium) shows this was not true for both papers. The variable of slant did not affect the length of items. The eta of 0.06 indicates an extremely weak correlation of slant and item length in the Daily. Similarly, the correlation (of slant and item length) as revealed by the eta of 0.14) in the Post was weak. Thus, this part of the foisurth hypothesis was not supported. (Table XXVI)

<center>Analysis of News Sources</center>

The fifth hypothesis says the Daily would be as "independent" in determining what U.S. news is as the Post would be in determining what China news is. The connotation of "independence" was analyzed at two levels of meanings: (1) independent from the influence of non-national sources,

TABLE XXVI

ANOVA TEST OF MEAN LENGTH DIFFERENCE
AMONG SLANTED ITEMS

	Neutral	Favorably Slanted	Unfavor. Slanted	Signif.	Eta
Daily	0.87 (295)	86.21 (1)	168.26 (1)	0.817	0.06
Post	477.31 (49)	0 0	688.5 (2)	0.295	0.14

Unit: Standard Washington Post column cm; number of items in brackets.

and (2) independent from the sources other than one's own newspapers. The task was to find how "independent" and how pluralistic each of the newspapers was in the use of news sources in reciprocal coverage.

Table XXVII shows the pattern of primary sources distribution. Two-hundred-twenty items that comprised About 75 percent of the Daily's U.S. items (70.4 % space) came from Chinese sources, compared to 82.4 percent of items (85.7 % space) in the Post that originated from U.S. sources. This category ranked number one in both measures of items and space for both papers.

In this category, the Post relied heavily on its own foreign news services (37.3% of all items, 47.5% of all space), its own staff members (35.3% of all items, 30.4% of all space), and the American media (5.9% of all items, 5.7% of all space), whereas, the Daily depended, to a large extent, on the official New China News Agency (NCNA) (52.5% of all items and 45% of all space), used 21.9 percent of items (24.4% of all space) from its own staff members, and scarcely used other national media. (Table XXVIII)

The Daily had 8.4 percent of items that used other sources including a wide variety of sources such as the Soviet news agency Tass, UPI, the North Korean newspaper Labor news, the Thailand newspaper Bangkok Post, sources from Japan such as Japan Economic News, the West Germany newspaper Quick News Daily, the Colombian magazine New Frontier, etc. The Post, on the other hand, had only 3.9

TABLE XXVII

COMPARISON OF PRIMARY SOURCES
IN RECIPROCAL COVERAGE

Daily	Own Sources	Other Sources	Recipr. Sources	Private Sources	Unknown Sources	Total
Item	223	25	17	24	8	297
Pct	75.1	8.4	5.7	8.1	2.7	100
Rank	1	2	4	3	5	
Volume	64860	6716	3572	14134	2879	92161
Pct	70.4	7.3	3.9	15.3	3.1	100
Rank	1	2	4	3	5	5
Post						
Item	42	2	5	1	1	51
Pct	82.4	19	9.8	2	2	100.1*
Rank	1	3	2	4.5	4.5	
Volume	21211	888	1887	174	605	24765
Pct	85.7	3.6	7.6	0.7	2.4	100
Rank	1	3	2	4	5	

* Rounding error.

TABLE XXVIII

COMPARISON OF USE OF OWN SOURCES
AND RECIPROCAL SOURCES

	Item	Pct[1]	Pct[2]	Volume	Pct[1]	Pct[2]
Own Sources	223	100	75.1	64860	100	70.4
Daily						
NCNA	154	70	52.5	42483	64	45
Staff	65	29.2	21.9	22458	346	24.4
Chinese Media	2	0.9	0.7	747	1.2	0.8
Post	42	100	82.4	21211	100	85.7
Foreign Services	19	45.2	37.3	11766	55.5	47.5
Staff	18	42.9	35.3	7526	35.4	30.4
American Media	3	7.1	5.9	1413	6.66	5.7
AP	1	2.4	2.0	216	1.0	0.9
UPI	1	2.4	2.0	300	1.4	1.2
Recipr. Sources	17	100	5.7	3572	100	3.9
Daily						
N.Y. Times	7	41.2	2.4	1232	34.5	1.3
World Obs. Instit. Research Report	2	11.8	.05	677	19	.7
L.A.Time	1	5.9	.003	321	9	.4

TABLE XXVIII CONTINUED

	Item	Pct[1]	Pct[2]	Volume	Pct[1]	Pct[2]
U.S.I.A.	1	5.9	.003	130	3.6	.1
National Science Found. Report	1	5.9	.003	104	2.9	.1
Intern'l Edu. Asso. Research Report	1	5.9	.003	179	5	.2
Other . American Sources	4	23.5	1.4	930	26	1
Post	5	100	9.8	1887	100	7.6
NCNA	3	60	5.9	1005	53.3	4.1
China Daily	1	20	2	335	17.8	1.4
Other	1	20	2	547	29	2.2

Pct[1] Percentage within the category; Pct[2]: Total Percentage.

percent of items (3.6% space) that used "other" sources. In terms of absolute space, the Daily used "other" sources to cover the U.S. 7.6 times as much as the Post used "other" sources to cover China; in relative terms, the volume was still 2.2 times as much.

In the Post, there were 9.8 percent of China items (7.6% space) that carried Chinese sources, compared to 5.7 percent of U.S. items (3.9% space) in the Daily that utilized American sources. The Post credited NCNA 5.9 percent (1005 columm cm), and other Chinese media (e.g.the China Daily and the Guangming Daily) a total of 4 percent. The Daily , on the other hand, credited the New York Times 2.4 percent of all items, and 3.3 percent to various American sources such as the World Observer Research Institute report, the American Information Agency, the Los Angeles Times, the High Tech magazine, the National Educational Association research report, etc. (Table XXVIII)

The Daily tended to use more private sources (i.e. private personnel who contributed items with their names published) than the Post--8.1 percent of items (15.3% space), compared to 2 percent (0.7% space). (Table XXVII)

To reassure the magnitude of similarity between the two papers' patterns of primary sources, the Spearman Rho Rank-Order Coefficients indicate the degree of similarity was very low by both items and volume measures. If the "own source" category was excluded, the correlations were even lower (from 0.4 to 0.21 by items measure, and from 0.2 to -

0.4 by volume measure). This means the two papers shared more similarity in the "own source" category, whereas, the other source categories were very different. Disregard the similarity that both papers highly utilized "own sources," other categories of primary sources were even negatively correlated by volume measure. This finding conforms to the previous results that both papers were "independent," and the Daily used more "other" sources as well as private sources.

In sum, the hypothesis was supported at the first level. Both of the papers were indeed "independent." While the Daily was more pluralistic in the use of "other" sources and private sources, the Post tended to use more Chinese sources than the Daily used American sources.

However, as the Daily depended so heavily (52.5% of items, 45% of space) on the official New China News Agency, the Chinese paper's own staff members furnished only 21.9 percent of items (24.6% of space), compared to the Post 72.6 percent of items (77.9% of space). Such a great difference would not occur by chance more than 5 times in a hundred. At this level of understanding, the Daily was much more "dependent" than the Post.

Analysis of Story Origin

The sixth hypothesis states that the Daily would cover more geographical locations in which stories happened than the Post in reciprocal coverage; however, coverage of each

other's geographical regions and kinds of people would be equally imbalanced.

Table XXIX shows a crosstabulation of the medium by the 10 designated geographical areas in reciprocal coverage. In the _Daily_'s coverage of the U.S., stories originated throughout the 10 designated geographical areas--the host country, the home country, Europe, the Soviet Union, Latin America, Asia, Africa, the public domain (sea, space, South Pole, etc.), international organizations, and other non-specific locations in descending order. The _Post_'s coverage of China, on the hand, was confined to 6 areas in which half of the areas (Latin America, international organizations, and the public domain) had less than 4 percent of all items.

A relatively high percentage of reciprocal coverage occurred in the home countries. For the _Daily_, U.S. news that happened in China constituted 10.9 percent of all items, compared to 19.6 percent in the _Post_. About 15 percent of the China coverage in this home country category originated from the U.S. capital, whereas, 7.1 percent of the _Daily_'s U.S. coverage that happened in China originated from the Chinese capital, which constituted 65.6 percent of the _Daily_'s U.S. coverage in the home country. (Table XXX)

Other than the host and home countries, the _Post_'s attention to China focused on Asia which received 13.7 percent of items, compared to 8.5 percent in the _Daily_'s coverage of the U.S. stories that occurred in Asia.

TABLE XXIX

COMPARISON OF STORY ORIGINS
BY GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

Areas	Daily	Pct	Post	Pct
Host Country	128	43.5	30	58.8
Home Country	32	10.9	10	19.6
Asia	25	8.5	7	13.7
Latin America	26	8.8	2	3.9
Europe	37	12.6	0	0
Soviet Union	2	0.7	0	0
Africa	17	5.8	0	0
Public Domain	12	4.1	0	0
Intern'l Organ.	9	3.1	1	2
No Specific/other	6	2.0	1	2
Total	294	100	51	100

CORRELATIONS OF THE DAILY'S AND THE POST'S
PATTERNS OF STORY ORIGINS

Spearman Rho	− .521

TABLE XXX

BREAKDOWN OF STORY ORIGINS BY SPECIFIC
LOCATIONS BY GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS

Region: Home Country			
Daily	32	100	10.9
Peking	21	65.6	7.1
Shanghai	7	21.9	2.4
Manchuria	2	6.3	0.7
Quingdao	1	3.1	0.3
Canton	1	3.1	0.3
Post	10	100	19.6
D.C.	8	80	15.7
N.Y.	1	10	2
Atlanta	1	10	2
Region: Asia			
Daily	25	100	8.5
Japan	10	40	3.4
India	4	16	1.4
N. Korea	3	12	1.0
S. Korea	3	12	1.0
Phillipines	2	8	0.7
Pakistan	1	4	0.3
Thailand	1	4	0.3
Vietnam	1	4	0.3
Post	7	100	13.7
Hong kong	3	42.9	5.9
Cambodia	2	28.6	3.9
S. Korea	1	14.3	2
Taiwan	1	14.3	2
Region: Latin America			
Daily	26	100	8.8
Nicaragua	10	38.5	3.4
Mexico	4	15.4	1.4

TABLE XXX CONTINUED

Region: Latin America			
Daily	26	100	8.8
Nicaragua	10	38.5	3.4
Mexico	4	15.4	1.4
Chile	2	7.7	0.7
Guatamela	2	7.7	0.7
Honduras	2	7.7	0.7
Argentina	1	3.9	0.3
Bolivia	1	3.9	0.3
Cuba	1	3.9	0.3
Dominica	1	3.9	0.3
Other	2	7.7	0.7
Post	2	100	3.9
Chile	1	50	2.0
Honduras	1	50	2.0
Region" Europe			
Daily	39	100	13.3
Soviet Union	16	41	53.9
W. Germany	4	10.8	1.4
Switzerland	4	10.8	1.4
United Kingdom	4	10.8	1.4
Europe in general	4	10.8	1.4
Iceland	1	2.7	0.3
Luxemburg	1	2.7	0.3
Spain	1	2.7	0.3
Turkey	1	2.7	0.3
Yugoslavia	1	2.7	0.3
Ireland	1	2.7	0.3
Italy	1	2.7	0.3
Post	0		
Region: Africa			
Daily	17	100	5.8
Egypt	3	17.7	1.0
Chad	2	11.8	0.7
Tunisia	1	5.9	0.3
Guinea	1	5.9	0.3
Zambia	1	5.9	0.3
Libya	1	5.9	0.3
Maldiva	1	5.9	0.3
Mozambique	1	5.9	0.3
South Africa	6	35.3	2.0

Table XXX also details the breakdown of story origins by geographical areas by nations. U.S. stories that originated in Asia came from 8 countries: Japan, North Korea, the Phillipines, India, South Korea, Thailand, Pakistan, and Vietnam in descending order, whereas, China stories that happened in the same area were restricted to Hong Kong, Cambodia, South Korea, and Taiwan.

Beyond the host and home countries as well as Asia, only one China story was found in each of the two Latin American countries--Chile, Honduras, and in an international organization. On the other hand, the origin of U.S. stories was related to more than 38 countries, from Luxemburg in Europe, Dominica in Latin American, Zambia in Africa, to the South Pole, the space, and the far-away seas. (Table XXX)

The Spearman Rho Rank-Order Correlation Coefficient between the two patterns of story origins (rho= -.521) indicates the patterns are not significantly associated with each other. It's evident that the Daily covered more geographical locations than the Post in reciprocal coverage, thus supporting the first half of the sixth hypothesis.

The second half of the hypothesis states the two papers' coverage of each other's geographical areas and the kinds of people would be equally imbalanced.

Table XXXI outlines the specific story origins in each of the two countries under study. The Daily furnished 43.5 percent (128 items) of its own total for stories that happened in the host country (i.e. U.S.), compared to the

TABLE XXXI

COMPARISON OF STORY ORIGINS
IN THE HOST COUNTRIES

	Items	Pct[1]	Pct[2]	Rank
Daily's Coverage OF U.S.	128	100	43.5	1
D.C.	73	57	24.6	1
U.S. in general	39	30.5	13.1	2
N.Y.	6	4.7	2.0	3
N.Y. State	2	1.6	0.7	4
Detroit	1	0.8	0.3	8.5
Houston	1	0.8	0.3	8.5
Chicago	1	0.8	0.3	8.5
Texas	1	0.8	0.3	8.5
California	1	0.8	0.3	8.5
Alaska	1	0.8	0.3	8.5
Nevada Nuclear Test Center	1	0.8	0.3	8.5
Unspecific	1	0.8	0.3	8.5
Post's Coverage Of China	30	100	58.8	Rank
Peking	12	40	23.5	2
China in general	14	46.7	27.5	1
Shanghai	3	10	5.9	3
Canton	1	3.3	2.0	4

Pct[1] = Percentage within category; Pct[2] = Total percentage.

Post's 58.8 percent (10 itmes) that happened in China. The scenario of China stories that actualy happened in China was simple--a little less than half (46.7%) in this category referred to China in general, 40 percent (23.5% of all itmes) happened in Beijing and 10 percent (5.9% of all items) in Shanghai. Items with the origin of China in general ranked number one, those that happened in the Chinese capital ranked second and the most densely populated Chinese city, Shanghai, ranked third, with the Southern provincial city, Canton, at the end of the rank. That's all for the Post.

The Daily did not fare much better. Roughly the same percentage of items (57% in the category, and 24.6% of all items) originated in the U.S. capital, which ranked number one among U.S. stories that happened in the U.S. About 30 percent in the category (13.1% of all items), occurred in the U.S. in general. These two categories occupied 87.5 percent of all U.S. items, which comprised 37.7 percent of the Daily's U.S. stories that occurred throughout America. For the rest of 12.5 percent, New York state and New York together occupied 6.3 percent (2.7% of all items) whereas, only 0.3 percent of all items (1 item) each happened in Houston, Chicago, Detroit, Texas, Alaska, California, and the Nevada nuclear test center. (Table XXXI)

In sum, the Post's China coverage intensely concentrated on the capital and Shanghai, whereas, the Washington, D.C. together with a few isolated spots heavily

dominated the Daily's U.S. coverage. Therefore, the first half of the second half of the sixth hypothesis is also supported.

The remaining part of the sixth hypothesis states reciprocal coverage of each other's countries in the kinds of people would be equally imbalanced.

In the Daily's U.S. coverage, American actors comprised 61.3 percent (182 Items) of all main actors, compared to the Post's 60.8 percent (31 items) of Chinese main actors. Table XXXII shows a comparison of the American and Chinese main actor by positions/sphere between the two papers.

In the China stories, 40.1 percent of Americans were government executives, ministers, or government as a whole, compared to 45.2 percent of Chinese actors who were in the same positions. If the above category is combined with the first category—legislative, parliament, and congress members, and chief executive, prime minister or cabinet, the percentage is 48.8 percent for the Daily and 48.8 percent for the Post. If the twenty-sixth category of the coding scheme (see Appendix A), i.e. the nation category, which refers to the country in general rather than the government or government officials, is also included, the percentage rises to a high of 59.2 for the Daily, and 54.9 for the Post. Clearly this category of "government officials" occupied more than half of all the items for both newspapers.

TABLE XXXII

COMPARISON OF MAIN ACTORS BY
POSITIONS/SPHERE

	American M. Ators	Pct	Rank	M.Actors	Pct	Rank
Gov't Exec, Ministers, Gov't Whole	73	40.1	1	14	45.2	1
Chief Exec, Prime Ministers, Presidents	5	2.7	9.5	0	0	13
Legislative, Congress, etc.	11	6	6.5	1	3.2	8.5
Nation	19	10.4	2	2	6.5	5
Academic/ Education/ Scientific	18	9.9	3	2	6.5	5
Ordinary People	16	8.8	4	2	6.5	5
No Human Actor	13	7.1	5	3	9.7	3
Industry	11	6	6.5	4	12.9	2
Military	6	3.3	8	2	6.5	7
Sports	5	2.7	9.5	0	0	13
Medium	2	1.1	10	0	0	13
Diplomat/ Ambassador	1	0.5	12	0	0	13
Judiciary	1	0.5	12	0	0	13
Celebrities/ Show Business	1	0.5	12	0	0	13
Religion	0	0	14	0	0	13

Table XXXII also shows three other categories dominate about a quarter of American or Chinese main actors, respectively--the academic, education, and scientific categories had 9.9 percent of American actors in the _Daily_, compared to 6.5 percent of Chinese in the _Post_, the ordinary people category contained 8.8 percent of Americans, compared to 6.5 percent Chinese, and the industry category comprised 6 pecent of Americans, compared to 12.9 percent of Chinese. These three categories together occupied 24.7 percent of all American main actors and 25.9 percent of all Chinese main actors in reciprocal coverage.

For the remaining quarter of American actors, five categories--the embassador or diplomat, the military, sports, media, and judiciary--all of which consisted of less than 4 percent, comprised a total of 8.1 percent. In addition to the 7.1 percent of items without human actors, American main actors did not exist in 16 other categories, according to the coding scheme. Similarly, two categories-- the mititary, and the religious--filled the remaining portion of the Chinese actors with 6.5 and 3.2 percent, respectively. Besides the 9.7 percent of items without human actors, Chinese main actors could not be found in 20 other categories, according to the coding scheme.

Table XXXIII lists all the empty categories in the coding scheme and uses the "government or government officials" category as a criterion to compute a ratio for each of the categories. In simple mathematical terms, it is

TABLE XXXIII

CHANCES OF COVERAGE OF KINDS OF PEOPLE
COMPARED TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Actors's Position/Sphere	Daily	Post
1. Symbolic/nominal head of state		
2. Chief executive, prime ministers, president	1	1
3. Other executive, government minister, government as a whole		
4. Legislative, congress, etc.		
5. Ruling party		
6. Legitimate poitical opposition	0	0
7. Non-legitimate poliitical opposition	0	0
8. Other politician (national)	0	0
9. Local official or politician	0	0
10. Aambassador/diplomat	.0092	0
11. Mitlitary-regular forces of states	.0556	.1175
12. Military-irregular, guerrillas, terorists, etc.	0	0
13. Industry	.1019	.2353
14. trade unions, workers, as distinct from manageemnt	0	0
15. Pressure groups	0	0
16. Religious	0	.0588
17. Sports	.0463	0
18. Media-the paper being coded	0	0
19. Other medium	.018	0
20. Academic/education/scientific	.1667	.1175
21. Police	0	0
22. judiciary/lawyers	.0092	0
23. Criminals/prisoners	0	0
24. Celebrities/show business	.0092	0
25. Aristocracy/ royalty (in non-political capacity)	0	0
26. Nation		
27. United Nations	0	0
28. Other intergovenmental bodies	0	0
29. Other international bodies	0	0
30. Ordinary people	.1482	.1175
31. Other	0	0
99 No human actor	.1204	.1765

likely that 10 American "government officials" appeared (as main actors) in ten China stories before one American from the industry or 1.6 American(s) from the academic/education/scientific field or 1.5 ordinary person(s) would appear in subsequenct stories as main actors. By the same token, it is likely that 10 Chinese "government officials" were seen in U.S. stories as main actors before 1.1 person(s) from the military or 2.3 Chinese from the industry or 1.1 Chinese from the academic/education/scientific sphere or 1.1 ordinary Chinese person(s) would be seen in the Post's China stories.

On the basis of the above descriptions, it was concluded that the sixth hypothesis that reciprocal coverage of each other's countries in the kinds of people would be equally imbalanced is supported as the main actors were concerned.

To assure that the results were not altered by different approaches, multiple coding (combining main actors and second actors) was compared with single coding. Table XXXIV below shows both methods were closely associated with each other.

TABLE XXXIV

CORRELATIONS OF SINGLE AND DOUBLE CODINGS
OF ACTORS' POSITIONS/SPHERE

	Daily	Post
Spearman Rho	+ .948	+ .980

TABLE XXXV

CORRELATIONS OF THE <u>DAILY</u>'S AND THE <u>POST</u>'S PATTERNS
OF ACTORS' POSITIONS/SPHERE BY SINGLE
AND DOUBLE CODINGS

	<u>Single Coding</u>	<u>Double Coding</u>
Spearman Rho	+ .773	+ .816

Both methods (Table XXXV) indicate the relationship between the patterns of actors' positions/sphere was significant. That is, if the <u>Post</u>'s coverage of the Chinese actors' positions/sphere was imbalanced, the <u>Daily</u>'s coverage was similarly imbalanced. The relationship was far enough above zero to be confident that it is above and beyond chance 95 times out of a hundred. Thus, the last part of the hypothesis (that reciprocal coverage of each other's kinds of people would be equally imbalanced) is also supported.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions and Discussions

This chapter recapitulates the major findings in the previous chapter as they relate to the study's hypotheses. Discussions relating the findings to the context and debate of the New World Information Order will follow at the end of each section. Recommendations for improving foreign news coverage and for future research will close the chapter.

Attention Analysis

The first half of the first hypothesis that the People's Daily would devote more attention in terms of the number of items, space, and attention scores than the Washington Post in reciprocal coverage was supported. The second half of the hypothesis that the Post would devote significantly more attention on an item-to-item basis was supported as news items were concerned; there was no difference among non-news items.

While the Post's items were significantly longer than the Daily's, the Western newspaper devoted significantly less attention than the Third World newspaper in reciprocal coverage by measures of items, volume, and attention scores.

152

The above results conform to the frequent Third World complaint in the NWIO debate that Western media pay scant attention to developing countries. Nevertheless, the _Daily_ did not covered the U.S. as much as other foreign media do in average--only 12.76 percent (i.e. one out of 7 or 8 rather than one out of three foreign stories) about the U.S.[1] On the other hand, it can be inferred from the combination of these findings that the Third World media are certainly no monolith--one Third World country may fare significantly differently in attention to foreign countries according to their own priority of concern.

The second problem involved in the NWIO debate is that even if the imbalance of news flow existed between a Third World country and a Western country (in this case China and the U.S.), it still cannot be forcefully argued that that particular country was "underreported" because it must be admitted that the world--politically, economically, and socially--was imbalanced in reality. The post-war (World War II) years have placed the United States at the center of international politics, resulting in only two world "superpowers," and the structure of news or foreign news determines the quantity of news flow from one country to another.[2]

Analysis of Topical Patterns

The second hypothesis that the topical patterns of reciprocal coverage would be similar was not supported because

there was as much difference as similarity concerning the two topical patterns of reciprocal coverage.

The findings show the _Post_ devoted significantly more attention to main topical categories such as Sino-American relations, Chinese internal politics, and legal and judicial matters, whereas, the _Daily_ emphasized more U.S. categories such as political and diplomatic relations, military and defense, disasters and accidents, arts and culture, science and technology and sports.

The Spearman Rho Rank-Order Correlations indicate an inconsistent result regarding the comparison of main topical patterns when different methods of analysis were used. When single coding was applied, the patterns were significantly correlated by item measure, but they were not by volume measure. When double coding was used, their relationships were moderate but substantial by both item and volume measures.

In addition, the analysis of sub-topical patterns within main topical categories showed that differences existed in a number of main topical categories. The sub-topical patterns within the diplomatic and foreign relations, the social conditions, arts and culture, and human interest main topical categories were quite similar. All other sub-topical patterns were remarkably different. This finding conforms to the previous result that there was as much difference as similarity between the overall topical patterns.

Differences and similarities were also found in main topical categories with fewer than 4 percent of items. The

Post did not publish any China stories on disasters and accidents or education. The Daily covered very little U.S. education, and arts and culture, whereas, the Post covered Chinese arts and culture slightly more. The Daily did not cover any U.S. item on religion while the Post had one China item in the category. The Daily had 2.7 percent (8 items) on sports, whereas, the Post carried none.

The above findings seem to suppport that foreign news topical patterns with specific reference to particular countries can be very different--the structure of foreign news is far more complicated than people expected. It is often risky to generalize findings in international news coverage research. In particular cases, such as this one, a country may have special "wants" out of a relationship, which are reflected in each other's press. Thus, in the NWIO debate, accusing the West or the U.S. of paying too much attention on certain categories does not consider the complicated nature of news and is unfair to the party under attack.

Thematic Analysis

The first half of the third hypothesis that the degree of bias in terms of thematic negativism in reciprocal coverage would be similar was supported.

Negative items in the Daily constituted 47.1 percent of items (49.45 percent of space), positive themes comprised 38 percent of items (35.9% of space), and there were 14.8 percent (14.6% of space) neutral themes, compared to 54.9 percent of items (64.2% of space), 41.2 percent (33.3% of space), and 3.9

percent (2.5% of space), respectively, in the Post. Though the Post's percentages of negative and positive themes were higher than those of the Daily, the diferences were not found to be statistically significant. Negative themes also were not significantly longer than positive or neutral themes in both papers. Since the kind of the medium affected item length, and there was no interaction of medium and theme, even if the Post's negative themes were longer than the Daily's negative themes, the nature of the theme was not a related variable.

The second half of the second hypothesis that reciprocal attention to certain categories of negative and positive themes would be quite different was also supported..

The Post devoted significantly more attention to some thematic categories while restraining its attention on some others; similarly, the Daily covered certain categories much more than it did others. In positive themes, the Post's coverage concerned three categories more than the Daily's. These categories were Sino-American cooperation, cooperative relations with other states, and art appreciation. On the other hand, the Daily gave more attention to two other categories, namely, arms control and scientific discovery. As for negative themes, the Post restrained its attention on three categories: conflictual relations with other states, division with the Soviet Union, and arms expansion. On the other hand, its Chinese counterpart covered four negative categories relatively little: internal conflicts, political

corruption and failures, espionage, and Sino-American conflict.

It appears that the Daily portrayed the U.S. more in an unfavorable light (in terms of items and space) than the Post depicted China in those "external" areas, such as conflictual relations with other states, division with the Soviet Union, and arms expansion. On the other hand, the Post seemed to be more interested in those "internal" areas of Chinese affairs, such as internal conflicts, political corruptions and failures, and espionage. In the sensitive area of Sino-American relations, the Post devoted more concern as well as criticism as reflected by the relative more attention on the categories of Sino-American cooperation, and of conflict, whereas, the Daily seemed to avoid mentioning conflictual relations between the two countries.

These findings contribute to the understanding of the nature of news and the NWIO debate:

(1) There is little difference in the number of negative and positive items across the systems though the coverage of foreign countries, regardless of political systems, tends slightly to favor negative news. In other words, the American medium did not demonstrate "bias" as the proponents of the NWIO assert in terms of the degree of negativism. This result responds directly to the allegation that Western media over-report negative news about Third World countries. It is quite evident that the criticism is overstated, if not a sheer myth.

(2) Even though the argument may be focused on the higher percentages of negative items over positive items in the American media and between the two papers (though the difference is not significant), this higher percentage may simply reflect the reality of the Third World. If this contention is to be disproved (or proved), an appropriate basis for comparison and an objective determination of reality are needed.

(3) Previous studies of the Chinese press coverage of the U.S., as for example, Chin-Chuen Lee's 1979 China case study, indicated the U.S. coverage was overwhelmingly favorable in all areas except the political and military categories was only a partial truth because it was not grounded on a reciprocal basis. It did not show how favorable or unfavorable the coverage was on a reciprocal basis. Discounting the overall negative themes that constituted about half of the total volume, the Daily still seems to present the image of the U.S. as a "trouble maker" around the world though it demonstrated restraint on reporting negative internal aspects of U.S. affairs. The Daily's coverage of the U.S. on the whole can hardly be termed "overwhelmingly favorable."

(4) Negative items were not presented more prominently than positive items in terms of item length and attention scores across systems. This finding suggests the variable of thematic positivism/negativism is not related to the prominence of coverage. If Western media cover the negative aspects of Third World countries in particularly great depth and with special

treatment (e.g. placement of items, headline size, or illustrations), they do not apply another standard for their positive aspects.

(5) In this case study, in some thematic categories the Third World medium portrayed the U.S. more in an unfavorable light than the American medium depicted the Third World country, and in some categories the reverse was true. It seems that it is far too simple to regard the Third World media as the only "victimized" parties, and Western media (and news agencies) the sole "offenders" in foreign news coverage. In addition, in light of the fact that the foreign media pay more attention to the U.S., more attention but more or less the same degree of negativism would follow in terms of absolute number and volume, more negativism in the name of "concern."

(6) Some categories, such as education, were evidently not covered or covered very little by the Ameican medium, but unlike what the proponents of the NWIO claimed, the missing categories include both the positive categories such as education, and science and technolgy and the negative ones such as disasters and accidents, racialism, ecology pollution, or torture. In this regard there was as much similarity as difference between the papers. It is unfair to apply double standards in the evaluation of foreign news coverage.

Analysis of Slanted Items

The first half of the fourth hypothesis that the vast majority of items in both papers would tend to be neutral

(i.e. neither favorably nor unfavorably slanted against the host country in reciprocal coverage) was supported.

Findings show slanted items were scarce—two for each of the papers, occupying 0.7 percent of items (0.5% of space) and 3.9 percent of items (5.6% of space) in the Daily and the Post, respectively.

The rest of the fourth hypothesis—non-news items in the Post would be slanted to a greater extent than those in the Daily, and the mean length of unfavorably slanted items would be significantly longer than the favorably slanted or neutral items in both papers—was not supported. There were six non-news items in each of the papers, and each had two slanted items. For the Daily, the two slanted items were all news items. For the Post, there was one slanted non-news item and one slanted news item. As slanted non-news items in the Post were so scarce, it could not be concluded for sure statistically that the Post's non-news items slanted to a greater extent than the Daily's.

The mean of unfavorably slanted items was found to be larger than those of favorably slanted and neutral items in the Post, but not in the Daily. In fact, the unfavorably slanted item in the Daily was shorter than the favorably slanted and neutral items.

These results also indicated that neutrality is the normality of news regardless of media systems. The American journalists in this case study did not intentionally slant against (or for) the host country, nor the Chinese

journalists. The crux of the matter, the author believes, is not so much in the message sender as in the message receiver. As the news consumer confronts news reports of situations that did not conform to his own existing picture in the mind, distortion or slant results. News bias in that sense is in the "eye of the beholder." Walter Lippman (1922) spoke of the newsmaking process as a process of transforming the "world out there" into "pictures in our heads" (stereotypes).[3] With a little common sense one knows a news report is not the news event itself. As Korzybski, the great general semanticist said, the map is not the territory.[4] Even when the "map" is very large, it is still an abstraction of abstractions of abstractions, not reality itself. The newspaper "map" (coverage) is fragmentary, rarely encompassing an entire region, much less the entire world. It must be admitted that news dissemination is not capable of presenting a complete and current picture of events both at home and abroad.

Nevertheless, this does not mean efforts cannot or should not be made to improve the quality and quantity of coverage. Though the media represent a "symbolic culture" at variance with reality, an approximation of reality closer to the level of abstractions is certainly better than a wishful fantasy or falsehood.

Analysis of News Sources

The fifth hypothesis--the Daily would be as "independent" in determining what U.S. news is as the Post would be in determining what China news is--was supported at the first

level of meaning (i.e. independent from the influence of non-national sources), but not at the second level of meaning (independent from the influences of sources other than one's own newspaper).

The Daily used 75.1 percent of its own national sources (including its own staff members, national news agencies and news media), compared to the Post's 82.4 percent. The Daily relied heavily on the official New China News Agency (52.5% of items), its own staff members (21.5%), and scarcely used other national media, whereas, the Post depended to a large extent on its own foreign news services (37.3% of items), its own staff members (29.4%), and the American media (11.9%).

As the Daily depended so heavily on the NCNA (52.5% of items), the Chinese paper's own staff members furnished only 21.5 percent of items, compared to the Post's 67.7 percent. Such a great difference would not occur by chance more than five times in a hundred. However, it appears that the Daily was more pluralistic in the use of primary sources including "own" sources, "other" sources, reciprocal sources, and private sources.

In short, whether one paper is more independent than the other depends on the connotation of "independence." This finding shows a conceptual difference of the connotative term "dependence" or "independence," which is often subject to multiple interpretations. In the NWIO debate, Western countries may comprehend "independence" of a medium solely at the first level where some Third World countries do not see a

government-run news agency or medium as a threat to its "independence." In general, under the U.S. system based on private ownership, the media people and scholars in journalism and mass communication tend to favor private ownership of the media at the expense of other media systems supported to varying extents by the government. Some of them even perceive that no communication in which the governemnt has a share can truly be "independent" or "free." Such understanding, the author believes, is associated with a degree of ignorance of the foreign media systems. As Hamid Mowlana pointed out, for example, even in Europe few countries can afford principally privately owned television stations, not to mention the situations in greatly diversified developing countries. Mowlana regarded the American system as a hybrid, a special case in the NWIO debate.[5]

When the argument of government versus privately owned media is perceived as "freedom" versus "control," which is a tragedy, no compromise seems possible. In fact, even within the U.S., the concentration of media into a few private hands is not without controversy. Conglomerates of media can be a threat to the "independence" of media and the "freedom of speech." For example, in a Supreme court case (1978) in which corporations' right of free speech was upheld, Chief Justice Warren Burger noted the concentration of media:

> In terms of "unfair advantage in the political process" and "corporate domination of the electoral process"...it could be argued that such media conglomerates as I describe post a much more realistic threat to valid interest than do appellants and similar entities not regularly

concerned with shaping popular opinion on public
issues... In Torrillo, for example, we noted the
serious contentions advanced that a result of the
growth of modern media empires has been to place in
a few hands the power to inform the American people
and shape public opinion.[6]

The First Amendment of the U.S. constitution was not
meant to give a privileged position to the media but to
protect the people's right to print and utter what they
desire. The social responsibility theory of the press
explicitly argues that the government is the "residual
legatee" should the media be unable to carry out their
responsibilities.[7] In other words, these conceptualizations
have already embedded the idea that both the media operated by
the private sector and those "controlled" by the state can
represent the voice of the people. There should not be any
incompatibility to the concept of co-existence between
privately owned and government-operated media, which is, in
fact, a reality in the international community.

One of the Third World grievances in the NWIO debate is
that they have to rely on Western international agencies that
provide them with a "menu" of predominantly negative news.
This case study reveals clearly that a developing country,
such as China, with its own national agencies, can interpret
the world in its own way, whether that interpretation is
"fair," "balanced," "distorted," or "biased" (to name a few of
the sensitive descriptive words used in the NWIO debate) is
another matter. If leaders of developing countries are
concerned about their own versions of reality, they should act
in one way or another instead of blaming the Western media for

all the shortcomings of international news dissemination. Another alternative is to follow the example of or join the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP), which deals with the coverage of international news in a way different from the practices of the Western news agencies.[9] Yet another way is as simple as to deploy more foreign correspondents, which studies have found are closely related to the quality and quantity of foreign news coverage.

To infer further from the difference of connotative meaning in "independence," one may conjure up other similar journalistic concepts that mean one thing to the Third World and another thing to the Western countries. The connotation of newsworthiness, for example, is a never-ending debate between the two parties concerned. The concept of development news could be perceived as "government-sponsored news" in the West, whereas, "free flow of information" as "cultural imperialism" in the Third World. Perhaps, that is why the NWIO has been called a debate of the deaf.

Analysis of Story Origin

The first half of the sixth hypothesis that the Daily would cover more geographical locations in which stories happened than the Post in reciprocal coverage was supported.

The Daily's coverage of the U.S. originated throughout the 10 designed geographical areas--the host country (U.S.), the home country (China), Europe, Latin American, Asia, Africa, the public domain (space, public seas, and south pole, etc.), international organizations, and other non-speciific

locations. The _Post_'s coverage of China, on the other hand,
was confined to 6 areas in which half (Latin American,
international orgainizations, and the public domain) had less
than 2 percent (one or two items).

Even in Asia, where the _Post_ covered China (13.7% of
items) more than the _Daily_ covered the U.S. (8.5%) in
proportion, the U.S. coverage was more spread-out than the
China coverage. U.S. stories that originated in this continent
covered 8 countries: Japan, North Korea, India, South Korea,
Thailand, and Vietnam in descending order, whereas, China
stories that happened in the same region were restricted to
Hong Kong, Cambodia, South Koream and Taiwan. Beyond the home
and host countries as well as Asia, only one China story was
found in each of the three countries--Chile, Honduras, and an
international organization. On the other hand, the origin of
U.S. stories was related to 38 countries, from Luxemburg in
Europe, Dominica in Latin America, Zambia in Africa, to the
South Pole, the space, and far-away seas.

The last part of the sixth hypothesis--coverge of each
other's geographical locations and kinds of people--would be
equally imbalanced was also supported.

The _Post_ furnished 30 percent of items for China items
that actually happened in China. The scenario was very simple-
-12 items that constituted 23.5 percent of all items that
happened in Peking and 5.9% (3 items) in Shanghai. The Chinese
capital ranked number one and Shanghai number fourth. That is
all for the _Post_. The _Daily_, however, did not fare much

better. Roughly the same percentage (24.6%) of U.S. stories originated from the U.S. capital, which also ranked number one. About 13 percent (39 items) that could not be classified in a geographical area referred to the U.S. in general. These two categories occupied 37.7 percent (102 items) of all U.S. items, which comprised 80 percent of the _Daily_'s U.S. stories that occurred in America. Only one item each in Texas, California, Alaska, Houston, Detroit, and Chicago and the Nevada nuclear test center made up the rest of 20 percent.

Reciprocal coverage of each other's kinds of people was equally imbalanced. In the China stories, a broad category, which included government executives, ministers, other government officials and the government or the nation as a whole constituted 59.2 percent of main American actors, compared to the percentage of 54.2 for Chinese main actors in the same category. Obviously, this category, which could loosely be called "government or government officials" took up more than half of all the main positions/sphere in both of the papers. A second large category comprising positions in the academic, education, scientific categories, the ordinary people category, and the industry category, occupied about a quarter of all the positions and spheres in both papers.

For the remaining quarter of American actors, five categories--the embassador or diplomat, the mititary, sports, media, and judiciary--all of which consisted of less than 4 percent--comprised a total of 8.1 percent. In addition to the 7.1 percent of items without human actors, American main

actors did not exist in 16 other categories, according to the coding scheme. Similarly, two categories--the mititary, and the religion categories--filled up the remaining portion of the Chinese actors with 6.5 and 3.2, percent, respectively. Chinese actors could not be found in 20 other categories, according to the coding scheme.

In sum, though the Chinese paper covered more geographical locations than the American paper, the two papers across the two systems were equally imbalanced as far as the coverage of each other's geographical regions and kinds of people was concerned. This finding should not be a surprise. However, Third World representatives often claim that "the western agencies devote only 20 percent of news coverage to the developing countries, despite the fact that the latter account for almost three-quarters of mankind."[9] The underlying assumption of the above statement is all people regardless of social status, wealth, power, and gender or a combination of these characteristics are equally newsworthy. What would the scenario be if this one-man-one-item (or one-man/woman-one-column) criterion was applied to this case study of reciprocal coverage? The _Post_ would have to carry 20 items that would fill 2.1 pages per day while the items and volume in the _Daily_ would remain the same. Even though the American paper has the capacity to carry all these Chinese stories, the American reader may not want to read them.

Not only was the coverage of the kinds of people across the systems imbalanced but the coverage of each other's

geographical locations, too, was imbalanced! Again this finding should be no surprise. The author argues that news regardless of political systems is operated within its own structure. Gaye Tuchman said:

> ...a news net, unlike a news blanket, has holes and must catch big fish to make it worthwhile, and hence news spatially anchored at centralized institutional sities.[10]

The news network looks the same at home and abroad. A difference is overseas operations are much more expensive. To justify the expense, there is a common practice to use the footage or reports. For foreign coverage in China, for example, it is simply impossible for the Post to station a correspondent in every city with population of one million. Similarly, the Daily cannot afford sending a reporter to every U.S. city with the population of more than half a million.[11]

The crux of the matter, after all, is not a malicious intent, socialist or capitalist, to present news in such an "unbalanced and distorted" fashion.

Perhaps misunderstanding arises out of the most important question: "What is news?"

Walter Ward said it well:

> News is a many-sided entity that everybody knows, rhetorically, but few understand, operationally.[12]

News understood from the operational point of view may contribute to a clearer conceptualization of news dissemination in both the local and international contexts. Gatekeepers of local · or foreign news, individually and collectively, face a difficult and complex job--they must

"read" the public's common problems and needs and convey information most relevant to solution and fulfillment. This suggests it is necessary, not only to examine media messages, as this study is doing, but also the conditions under which they are produced and relayed.

News seems to focus on a fairly consistent underlying structure. Stevenson and Cole said:

> All media systems define news narrowly, all reporters quote a narrow range of newsmakers, all editors put a heavy emphasis on what happened today in the world's hot spots.[13]

Even the common belief that the definition of news as exception is a totally Western concept and practice is a myth. This study of reciprocal coverage shows the degree of negativism across the two different systems was similar. The concept may be different, but the practice is the same, at least in this case study.[14] It seems that similarity is at least as much as difference across media systems.

By maintaining that the American media do not single out the Third World for unfair, negative, and imbalanced reporting does not mean the debate or rather exchange of ideas, which is a two-way communication, is not needed. It certainly does not follow the quality of news coverage of the Western media, especially in international news, is necessarily superior to that of the developing countries. Nor does it follow that the Western and Third World media have nothing to learn from each other. In fact, when rhetoric is put aside, the crux of the issue is the "why" and "how" of quality reporting at the international level. Very few gudielines have been set at this

higher level though many have been suggested at the national level. Nevertheless, such lower level journalistic principles may be inspiring, thus leading to perfection at the higher level--the level without national frontiers. As an example of these journalistic ideals, the author would like to quote Paul Miller, who has contributed his entire life to the improvement of the journalism profession in the United States:

> Substance ahead of form;
> balance ahead of speed;
> completeness ahead of color;
> accuracy ahead of everything.

> Our actions must be determined not by mere compliance with state or federal law, not by public attitudes, but on the basis of doing the right thing.

> No news report, however well planned, however carefully thought out, however highly principled in its conception, can ever rise above the character and ability of the reporters on the scene.

Recommendations for Problem Solution

and Future Studies

As a doctoral student in Journalism and Mass Communications education, the author would like to share some thoughts on what can be done, especially what journalism education can do, for the resolution of international communications problems such as those confronted in the New World Information Order debate.

The author believes that the key to the problems involved in the NWIO debate must be two-way communications and two-way solutions. As the reality of the present state of international communication is imbalanced at the disadvantage

of the Third World countries, the Third World countries need as much improvement as, if not greater than, the American news media and foreign correspondents. They need the help of both American media professionals and Journalism educators. The media people and Journalism educators in the U.S. should, in the first place, rid themselves of biases against each other and cooperate in search of practical solutions to the problems involved in this renewed American challenge, such as improving technological progress in the Third World, upgrading their media professionals, increasing professional interchanges and equipment transfers, etc. Elie Abel, a member of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, said about assistance to the Third world:

> We have learned through long experience that professional education and training for journalists and others involved in the communication arts are most effective when carried out within the regions in which the students feel at home with instructors native to the region in control of the curriculum. Under this proposal, the developing countries would be invited to identify regional training centers, with financial and technical support from the developed countries or international agencies. The United States has offered to send a senior American faculty member to such a center for a year, if requested, to serve as an advisor. Private news organizations in the United States also are prepared to underwrite visits of senior correspondents and editors, on rotating assignments, to help in skills training. Equipment needs, once identified, would be met through donations to the regional centers. The visiting instructors will be there to learn, as well as teach. Their direct exposure to the development needs and perspective of developing regions will stay with them when they return to their permanent assignments as teachers and gatekeepers in American journalism.[15]

It is obvious that the problems involved in the NWIO cannot be solved overnight. No one-shot, immediate measures

can cure the root of the problems. The author believes education, internationalization of education in particular, is the means to the end because education affects a person's knowledge base and the habits of thinking which are so important to two-way communication or the willingness to communicate across national frontiers. The American people, for whatever reasons, have been criticized as "ethnocentric"—being accustomed to having the world interested in them and trying to understand them than the other way around. This ethnocentricity applies not only to journalists covering the Third World but also to the vast audience at home. The so-called "wants" and "needs" in the dissemination and consumption of international news reinforce each other. It is indeed miserable to observe that some media people justify their low quality performance in the coverage of international news on the basis of providing gratifications for the audience's needs. And education, particularly education with an international perspective, provides an ideal environment in which people not only learn the foreign language or languages they are interested in, foster the ability to distinguish cultural differences in communication, but also become capable of recognizing their own ethnocentricity—being conscious of what part of American behavior is a product of American culture and not a universal feature of human beings.[16]

In fact, the United States is a multicultural society—a society more pluralistic than any other society in the world. As the world becomes "smaller" and "smaller" in the sense of

interdependence among nations and innovations of advanced communications technologies, this is an asset for the U.S., and American educators should acknowledge this fact and make the best use of the international human resources available in the country and the international status of the U.S. that is capable of attracting them to internationalize the educational curriculum. Details can be worked out if this direction and philosophy has been accepted.

More specifically, journalism education in the U.S. can contribute to the improvement of foreign news coverage of the Third World by specializing the curriculum. At the present stage of development, Journalism as an academic discipline is not as well-established as other disciplines such as History, Medicine, and Law in terms of specialization. Though Journalism education has incorporated advertising, public relations, and broadcasting, which is controversial, print journalism majors are typically trained as a "generalist" in news reproting. Such training is bound to be inadequate for foreign news assignments, especially assignments in the Third World even though most journalism graduates are not likely to become foreign correspondents, the curriculum should prepare them for the task because some will go into the specialty and a journalist who can cover America well will experience difficulty in covering the Third World without further training.

Some U.S. news organizations provide crash courses for journalists who are going to take foreign assignments, but

such programs are not sufficient preparations for the task. Journalism graduate schools, particualarly the well-established ones, can develop a concentration on Third World journalism. It should be a two-year program. The first year should concentrate on studies of one or two Third World languages, the background of the Third World country or countries in which they specialize, and common problems in the Third World, while the second year should provide the students with hands-on experience in the Third World.

The school of journalism, with cooperative arrangements with Third World Journalism schools, news organizations or Western news organizations in the Third World, would guide the students toward greater appreciation of the problems in the specific Third World country in which they specialize by providing them an opportunity to live there, work with a master journalist, and write and report Third World news, including the type of news representatives of the Third World claim to be missing. For example, reports on projects and programs for economic, political, social, cultural and industrial development (generally called "development news" which this author did not examine due to the difficulties of mutual agreements among coders when it is applied to reciprocal coverage) would add to the richness of news from and about the Third World. Unlike ordinary internships, the Third World learning experiences should be organized in such a way that students are exposed to concrete situations in which responsible journalists perform by means of lectures,

seminars, independent studies, and field work. It is hoped that such a personal experience would foster a kind of commitment to the Third World--a special kind of commitment of unspoken sympathy and receptivity, which need not impair objectivity, in Torchia's words.[17] This is an attempt to overcome the barriers to understanding that, after all, make Western correspendents so foreign.

Certainly, difficulties are involved in such an educational program. At the beginning it may not attract many students because the expertise in the Third World is not yet easily marketable in the media. The news media may not like the idea, especially at the time American corps of foreign correspondents are shrinking. Funding will also be a problem. Ideally, there should be an International or Third World Journalism Fund collecting contributions from nations, news organizations, multinational corporations and private personnel. UNESCO, where the debate of the NWIO initiated, should be an important sponsor to such a fund.

Journalism educators can also contribute to the undnerstanding of international communication through research. Very little research has been done in this field. When the Third World charges were made regarding Western domination of international news flow, biased and imbalanced coverage of the Third World, both the allegations and defense were based on rhetoric rather than empirical evidence. Even a comparative case study with a limited scope like this one has not been examined before.

To conclude this thesis, the author would like to discuss the limitations of this study and recommend some ideas for further study. This study was limited by the constraints of time and resources. Therefore, the author has to be content with a one-year sample--the most recent year available. The representativeness of the year 1986 to the recent years is virtually unknown. Though the purpose of this study was to conform or disprove some of the Third World allegations rather than to generalize its findings, further studies including a longer period of time and more media for analysis should yield a more representative picture of reciprocal coverage.

This study did not cover Sunday issues, which might yield different results at the advantage of the Western newspapers because they tend to cover more in-depth items such as articles on tourism and personal profiles about the Third World in the huge Sunday issues. Further studies might include Sundays to see whether the results are consistent.

The author also has to be content with the analysis of the manifest content of the newspapers. A quantitiative analysis based on "mere frequencies" as against "real meanings" may not be complete in itself. Introducing some collaborative qualitative analyses between Western and Third World researchers in future studies will be useful. In fact, it is in this qualitative area that the Western researchers feel least competent to judge performance because Western media are accused of applying Western news standards which are not entirely suitable in the Third World. For example,

qualitative analysis of the news text line by line can be done jointly by Western and Third World researchers.

This study merely provides descriptive data of the present state of news attention in reciprcal coverage. It did not answer the vital question whether reciprocal attention is imbalanced. Further studies may attempt to use extra-media data such as population, economics, international diplomacy, cultural affinity, trade, national interest, etc., to evaluate reciprocal coverage.[10]

This is only one case study that conformed or disproved some of the Third World charges. To test the validity of the Third World charges, similar case studies can be done among Third World and Western media such as among the media in India and the U.S. or Europe. In addition, a trans-national comparative study involving more media across different media systems (e.g. American, Japanese, and French, Chinese, Latin American, and African media) would yield more understanding to the structure of international news coverage. Perhaps, such efforts are better collaborated among Journalism graduate schools.

ENDNOTES

[1]Chin-Chuen Lee, "Media Images of America: A China Case Study," International Perspectives On News, eds. Erwin L. Atwood, Stuart J. Bullion and Sharon Murphy (Carbondale, Southern Ilinois University Press, 1982), p. 56.

[2]Many studies have been done concerning the factors or determinants in news selection. See, for example, Johan Galtung and Mari H. Ruge, "Structuring and Selecting News," The Manufacture of News, eds. Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1973), and Michael W. Singletary, "What Determines the News?" ANPA Research Report, No. 5, 1977.

[3]Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922).

[4]Afred Korzybski, Science and Sanity: An Introduction To Non-Aristotilian Systems and General Semantics (Lancester, Science Press, 1941), p. 21.

[5]Hamid Mowlana, "Needed: A New World Information Order," USA Today, September 1983.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Perterson, and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana, 1956), p. 25.

[8]The NANAP did not emphaisze sensational and conflictual news. See Mohammed Kirat, "The Flow of Internatioal News in the AP, UPI, and the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1984.)

[9]Mustapha Masmodi, "The New World Inforamtion Order." Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1979), pp. 172-85.

[10]Gaye Tuchman, Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality (New York, 1978), p. 20.

[11]There are 13 Chinese cities with population more than two million, 38 (Chinese cities) with population more than 1 million, and 85 more than half a million, according to the Statistical Yearbook of China 1983. There are 24 U.S. cities

with population more than half a million, 6 cities more than 1 million, and 3 cities more than 2 million.

[12]Walter Ward, <u>The Nature of News In Three Dimensions</u> (Stillwater, 1973), p.19.

[13]Robert L. Stevenson and Richard Cole, "Foreign News and the 'New World Imformation Order' Debate, Part II: Foreign News In Selected Countries," <u>Research Reports</u>, U.S. Office of Research, International Communication Agency, July 1, 1980, p. 8.

[14]The concept may be different in that in a communist country double standards can be logical. For instance, as the former Chinese General Secretary Hu Yaobang said, the proportion of news should be 20 percent negative and 80 percent positive. But the Chinese news gatekeepers may hold this for national news and adopt another standard for foreign news.

[15]Frederick T. C. Yu, "The International News Flow Problem--What Can Be Done?" <u>Journal of International Affairs</u> (Fall/Winter 1981), p. 192.

[16]Glen H. Fisher, <u>American Communication in a Global Society</u> (New Jersey 1979), p. 143.

[17]Andrew Torchia, "Assignment Africa," <u>Columbia Journalism Review</u> (May/June 1981). p. 41.

[18]For example, see Karle Eric Rosengren, "International News: Methods, Data and Theory," <u>Journal of Peace Research</u> Vol. 2 (1970), pp. 145-60.

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APPENDIX A

CODING SCHEME MAIN AND SECOND ACTORS'

POSITIONS/SPHERE*

1. Symbolic/nominal head of state
2. Chief executive, prime ministers, president
3. Other executive, government minister,
   government as a whole
4. Legislative, congress, etc.
5. Ruling party
6. Legitimate poitical opposition
7. Non-legitimate poliitical opposition
8. Other politician (national)
9. Local official or politician
10. Aambassador/diplomat
11. Mitlitary-regular forces of states
12. Military-irregular, guerrillas, terorists, etc.
13. Industry
14. Trade unions, workers, as distinct from manageemnt
15. Pressure groups
16. Religious
17. Sports
18. Media-the paper being coded
19. Other medium
20. Academic/education/scientific
21. Police
22. Judiciary/lawyers
23. Criminals/prisoners
24. Celebrities/show business
25. Aristocracy/ royalty (in non-political capacity)
26. Nation
27. United Nations
28. Other intergovenmental bodies
29. Other international bodies
30. Ordinary people
31. Other
00 No actor
99 No human actor

* Adopted from IAMCR coding scheme.

APPENDIX B

CODER GUIDE

Each of the U.S. and China items in the sample was coded and fed into the computer:

Data List:
         ID 1-3 Medium 5 Month 7-8 Length 10-14 Topic1 16-17
         Topic2 19-20 Theme1 22-23 Theme2 25-26 Slant 28
         Page 29 Act1 31-33 Act2 35-36 Pos1 38-39 Pos2 41-42
         Source 44-45 Loc 47-49 Kind 51 Head 53 Locat 55
         Illus 57

Variable Labels:
         ID   'Item identification'
         Medium   'Peoples Daily/Washington Post'
         Length   'Column Millimeter'
         Topic1   "Main Topic of item'
         Topic2   'Second Topic of Item'
         Theme1   'Main theme'
         Theme2   'Second theme'
         Slant   'Evaluative References'
         Page   'Page of Item'
         Act1   'Main Actor's Nationality'
         Act2   'Second Actor's Nationality'
         Pos1   'Main Actor's Position/Sphere'
         Pos2   'Second Actor's Position/Sphere'
         Source   'Primary Source of Information'
         Loc   'Story Origin/Location'
         Kind   'Kind of Item'
         Head   'Headline Size'
         Locat   'Item on Upper/Lower Page'
         Illus   'Illustrations'

Value Labels:
         Medium 0 'Peoples Daily' 1 'Washington Post'/
         Month 1 'January' 2 'February' 3 'March' 4 'April'
             5 'May' 6 'June' 7 'July' 8 'August' 9
             'September' 10 'October' 11 'Novembe' 12
             'December'/
         Topic1 Topic2 1 'Diplomay and Foreign Relations'
             2 'sino-American Relations' 3 'Internal Politics'
             4 'Mitotary and Defense' 5 'Economics and
             Business' 6 'Social Conditions' 7 'Legal and
             Judicial' 8 'Disasters and Accidents'
             9 'Arts amd Culture' 10 'Education'
             11 'Religion' 12 'Science and Technolgy'

```
            13 'Human Interest' 14 'Sports' 15 'Other'/
     Theme1 Theme2 1 'Sino-American Cooperative Realtions'
            2 'Coopeative Relations With States' 3
            'Cooperation With Soviet Union' 4 'Arms Control'
            5 'Unification/Sovereignty Issues' 6 'Economic Self-
            Sufficiency' 7 'U.S./China As Benefactor to Other
            Nations' 8 'Human Rights' 9 'Social Equality'
            10 'Freedoms of Speech, Press, Religion, etc.'
            11 'Scientific Discovery/Achievements'
            12 'Arts Appreciation' 13 'Reformation/Evolution'
            14 'Crime/Violence' 15 'Internal Conflicts'
            16 'Conflicts With Other States' 17 'Conflcits
            With USSR' 18 'Disasters and Accidents'
            19 'Political Corruptions/Failures' 20 'Corruption
            In Public Sphere' 21 'Arms Expansion' 22 'Espionage'
            23 'Racialism' 24 'Social Inequality' 25 'Economic
            Dependency' 26 'U.S./China as Beneficiary of Other
            States' 27 'Energy Shortage' 28 'Ecology Problems'
            29 'Torture' 30 'Sino-American conflicts'
            32 'Neutral Themes'/
     Slant 1 'neutral' 2 'favorable' 3 'unfavorable'/
     Page 1 'Front Page' 2 'Non-front Page'/
     Act1 Act2 1 'Chinese' 2 'American' 3 'Other'/
     Pos1 Pos2 (see Appendix )/
     Source 10 'Use Own Sources' 30 'Use Other Sources' 50
            'Use Reciprocal Sources 70 'Use unknown Sources'
            90 'use Private Sources' ¹/
     Loc   10 'China' 30 'U.S.' 50 'Asia' 70 'Latin America'
            90 'Europe' 110 'Africa' 130 'International
            Oganizations' 150 'Public Domain' 170 'Other/No
            Specific'²/
     Kind     1 'news' 2 'non-news'/
     Head     1-8 Column³ /
     Locat    1 'item on lower page' 2 'upper page'/
     Illus    1 'small illsutrations' 2 'large
              illustrations' 0 'No illustrations'/
```

¹ Specific sources will also be recorded on separate data
cards for the first three categories; for the convenience of
recoding specific sources are grouped together, i.e. specific
'own sources' will be given a value from 2 to 19, specific
'other sources' 31 to 49, and specific 'reciprocal sources' 51
to 69.
² Similar to the coding of sources, specific story origins
will be coding for each of the nine designated categories. For
the stories that happen in the host country (China for the
Post and U.S. for the Daily), specific towns, cities, states,
or regions will be coded; for other geographical areas, code

the nations. For the convenience of recoding, values of each
category should group together.)
* Code up to the closest 0.5 column (Standard Column for each
of the papers). For example, a headline of 1.3 columns or 1.7
should be coded 1.5; a headline of 1.2 columns coded 1 and 1.8
coded 2. If it is not standard column, convert it.

VITA

Sunny Tszesun Li

Candidate for the Degree of

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Thesis: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RECIPROCAL COVERAGE OF THE
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          AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE PEOPLE'S DAILY IN
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