IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
Digital Repository

Retrospective Theses and Dissertations

1-1-1993

Changing of international information flow : a case study of Taiwan stories in U.S. newspapers, 1982-1992

Lijin Lijin
Iowa State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd

Recommended Citation

Lijin, Lijin, "Changing of international information flow : a case study of Taiwan stories in U.S. newspapers, 1982-1992" (1993). *Retrospective Theses and Dissertations*. 18015.
https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd/18015

Changing of international information flow: A case
study of Taiwan stories in U.S. newspapers, 1982-1992

by

Lijin Chueh

A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department: Journalism and Mass Communication
Major: Journalism and Mass Communication

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

1993

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

A large number of studies have examined international news coverage by the U.S. and foreign media, and yield a rich body of literature describing the determinant factors influencing international news coverage in the U.S. media.

These studies focus on the newsworthiness of international events (e.g., Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Shoemaker et al., 1986), the political and economic power of foreign countries (e.g., Hester, 1973), cultural and economic affinities, inherent news characteristics, geographical distance, media structural change, and new communication technologies. Other studies discuss external factors, such as international public relations, and study the impact of such external actors on the news content of foreign countries (e.g., Manheim and Albritton, 1983, 1984).   In fact, international information flow is becoming a frequent subject of inquiry, especially now that the earth we live on is just a global village.

The United States and The Republic of China

Before martial law was lifted in 1987, the Republic of China was under an authoritarian political system. The rise of political opposition in Taiwan has become one of the most important factors contributing to the democratization of the island. Forty years of

localized elections, media control, and restrictions on popular assembly kept the opposition fragmented. Martial law suspended the right of freedom of speech and the existence of multiple political parties until 1987. Beginning in 1986, the Republic of China gradually instituted democratic reforms under the Presidency of Chiang Ching-Kuo. The acceleration of democratization in Taiwan in 1987 was closely associated with the 1986 election, when a competitive two-party election was held, the first ever in the history of China (Copper, 1987). In July of 1987, President Chiang first lifted martial law, abolished restrictive regulations concerning newspapers (allowing new and longer length editions), and allowed the residents of Taiwan who have relatives on mainland China to travel to the mainland. After that, the Taiwanese people could enjoy self-government and choose local and provincial officials by secret ballot (Cline, 1992).

Taiwan's economic expansion is another miracle well known by now, in addition to Taiwan's political change in 1987. According to the "Taiwan Statistical Data Book 1988" (TSDB, 1988), between 1952 and 1987, the gross national product (GNP) and national income per capita have increased more than six-fold. By the end of 1989, Taiwan's national income per capita was more than $7,000. In 1991, per capita income reached $8,815, up 10.2 percent from 1990, and its estimated per capita income in 1992 was expected to be more than $10,000 (Government Information Office, 1992). In terms of foreign trade, since 1982 Taiwan ranks as approximately the world's

twelfth largest nation (Chiu, 1992). The country is in the process of transforming its economy from one based on cheap, industrial labor to one based on high-tech products. There has been a conscious effort to intensify economic growth, manufacture high-value-added products, move toward manufacturing and services and out of agriculture, and away from government domination of the economy (Robinson, 1991).

Looking at these indicators alone, it would seem logical that the Republic of China (R.O.C.) should be recognized as a state by the international community and should be represented in all principal international organizations. Since the 1950s, the government of Taiwan has claimed that it is the legitimate "Republic of China." When martial law was lifted in July of 1987, the government of Taiwan launched a major effort to promote the image of Taiwan. But Taipei, the capital of the Republic of China on Taiwan, so far has been unsuccessful in getting Westerners, including the U.S., to accept Taiwan as the officially recognized representative of China (Greenburg, 1989).

Recognized in 1991 by only 29 governments (Government Information Office, 1992), Taiwan has experienced a deteriorating diplomatic status. For instance, the United States severed diplomatic relations with the Taiwanese government back in 1979, as a condition for formal U.S. relations with mainland China. Most recently, in August of 1992, the Republic of Korea (South Korea) also severed diplomatic relations with Taiwan for the same reason. As a

result, Taiwan is demonstrating increasing flexibility and pragmatism regarding participation in international organizations, such as GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). Some international organizations have considered accepting Taiwan as a member even when Beijing, the capital of the People's Republic of China, is the only officially recognized representative of China (Government Information Office, 1992).

Thirteen years after U.S. diplomatic relations with the R.O.C. were severed, the U.S. still has strong trade ties with Taiwan, which is the sixth leading trading partner of the United States (Chiu, 1992).

In the period from 1981 to 1986, R.O.C. sales to the United States represented 44 percent of all R.O.C. exports, and U.S. products accounted for 23 percent of total R.O.C. imports. In 1987, R.O.C. sales to the United States accounted for almost half of all R.O.C. exports, but the proportion had declined to 38.7 percent in 1988 (TSDB, 1988). From 1980 through 1985, Taiwan exports to the United States grew at an average annual rate of 18 percent. In 1986, the rate rose 28.6 percent, in 1987 24.4 percent, in 1988 13 percent (TSDB, 1988).

Exports, especially to the United States, have fueled Taiwan's economic growth and currently represent 60 percent of R.O.C.'s gross national product (Prybyla, 1992). Since it is heavily dependent on the U.S. market, the Republic of China (R.O.C.) is very vulnerable to U.S. protectionism measures.

Protectionism policies in the United States aimed at Taiwan exports are an important and sensitive issue for Taiwan. The Taiwan

government has taken several significant measures to diminish the trade imbalance with the U.S., such as the reduction of tariff rates, the liberalization of import restrictions, and the appreciation of the New Taiwan dollar against the U.S. dollar. Nonetheless, it has taken time for the effects to be seen. In 1992, the R.O.C. still had a substantial trade surplus, and the pressure from U.S. protectionism continued.

The United States not only has a strong trade relationship with Taiwan, but also looks to Taiwan as a center of stability in a strategic part of the world (Southerland, 1988). One reason is because Taiwan is located only 100 miles off the Chinese coast along an important sea lane and a few hundred miles from two major American military bases in the Philippines (Southerland, 1988). Back in 1978, normalization of U.S.-P.R.C. (People's Republic of China) relations did not end the close and friendly ties between the United States and Taiwan. In order to settle the future of Taiwan peacefully, a new draft of legislation was reworked by Congress and then overwhelmingly passed. President Carter signed the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) into law on 10 April, 1979. The Taiwan Relations Act has become the main legal framework for U.S.-Taiwan defense relations, and specifically links the future of Taiwan with U.S. security interests in the Far East (Lasater, 1992).

Problem Statement

Previous studies have shown many factors that can affect or change the international information flow. Politics is one of them. Instead of studying what main factors caused the change of international information flow between two countries, this paper studied the change of Taiwanese news stories in U.S. newspapers as a result of the change in the political system in the Republic of China on Taiwan in 1987.

Three approaches—news sources in democracies, media visibility, and democratic imagery—are employed to examine the change of news coverage of Taiwan in U.S. newspapers after its political reform. According to previous studies in international communication, official news sources are often preferred by journalists in the news-gathering process (Gandy, 1982), but reporters will use other sources when available (Shoemaker, 1991). In democracies, it is implied that all individuals or organizations have free access to the channels of communication (Davison, 1965), thus making the news sources diverse.

Media visibility is another important factor to examine to determine if there was more news of Taiwan in U.S. newspapers after the country turned toward democracy after 1987. Davison (1965) stated that a democratic form of government implies freedom of two-way international communication as well as domestic freedom

of information. This indicates there will be more news or information flow outside a country that is becoming more democratic than when it was not yet opened.

Ideological content (democratic or authoritarian imagery) is used to see if the international image of Taiwan changed after its political reform in 1987. It is expected that the international image of Taiwan is becoming more positive and democratic after its political change.

This current paper studied the change of news coverage of the source country (i.e., Taiwan) in the four U.S. newspapers during the past decade. The years 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, and 1992 were chosen for the study in order to include the periods before and after the political change in Taiwan in 1987.

Among America's leading daily newspapers, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times* are considered the best four newspapers (Emery, 1983). These four American leading newspapers were chosen for this present study.

This study will determine if politics played an important role in affecting international information flow between the two countries, by examining the three elements mentioned above. In other words, to determine if the political change in a country really does have some effect on the news of that country in U.S. newspapers.

Purpose of Study

This current study focused on political influence on international information flow between the Republic of China on Taiwan (or Taiwan) and the U.S. Three approaches of media visibility, diversity of news sources, and democratic imagery were used to examine the changes in international information flow between these two countries. There are three purposes of this present study.

First, to find out the extent to which media visibility of Taiwan in the four selected U.S. newspapers changed after the lifting of martial law in 1987.

Second, to determine the diversity of news sources for news of Taiwan cited or quoted in the four selected U.S. newspapers after the lifting of martial law in 1987.

Third, to determine if there was a change in the democratic image of Taiwan in the four selected U.S. newspapers after the lifting of martial law in 1987.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

As discussed in the previous chapter, Taiwan is moving toward a democratic and open society, and its economic and political relations with the U.S. remain solid. According to the theories of international news and information flow, there are many factors that can affect the flow of international information or news among or between nations.

International News Flow

By definition, international communication is the communication process between different countries or nations across frontiers (Fisher, 1976). The studies of international news flow can be categorized in several ways. Some researchers focus on the factors of the newsworthiness of international events, such as those proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1965). They suggested that events tend to become news if they meet the following conditions: frequency, threshold, intensity, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, predictability, continuity, composition, and relevance to elite nations, elite people, persons, or something negative. Rosengren (1974) suggested that factors of newsworthiness are the degree of the importance of the events, physical or cultural distance of the events, and degree of the predictability of the events.

Some researchers have analyzed the factors influencing the flow of international news from the political and economic perspective, such as those proposed by Ostgaard (1965). He indicated that government control of the mass media (e.g., censorship) and economic considerations (e.g., media ownership) also affect the flow of news among countries. In other words, those who control the political and economic systems of a nation were likely to influence the flow of international news.

Some researchers have studied the international news flow from the international relations perspective, such as those proposed by Hester (1973). He suggested that determinants of international news and information flow among national systems were related to the hierarchy of nations (e.g., geographic size, population, economic development), cultural affinities and economic associations (e.g., a common language, the amount of migration, international trade, and the amount of business investments) between nations, and news and information conflict.

Research proposed by Gans (1979) emphasized the importance of a news story's depiction of social values, such as ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, modernism, social order, and national leadership.

Shoemaker, Chang, and Brendlinger's (1987) study examined the coverage of international events in the U.S. media, and found that an assessment of deviance (statistical, potential for social change, or normative) underlies many of the indicators of newsworthiness in

international events coverage. They hypothesize that the more deviant an international event is, the more likely it is to be covered in U.S. newspapers.

A synthesis of current approaches to the study of international news coverage and information flow, conducted by Chang, Shoemaker, and Brendlinger (1987), attempted to identify the common factors separating those international news events that were covered in the U.S. media from those that were not. Seven variables were selected as predictors to separate the two groups: potential for social change, normative deviance, relevance to the United States, geographical distance, language affinity, press freedom, and economic system. Coverage of international events was measured by using stories from the *New York Times* and the three U.S. television network (CBS, ABC, and NBC) news programs during the calendar year 1984.

Of the seven variables, results showed that four variables contributed significantly to the discriminant function in distinguishing between covered events and not-covered events: potential for social change deviance, relevance to the United States, normative deviance of an event, and geographical distance. The two variables of "potential for social change deviance" and "relevance to the United States" in the events, however, were, the best discriminators of international events coverage for the *New York Times.*

To summarize, the theoretical thinking of influencing

international news flow has concentrated on either context-oriented perspective (such as economic relations, cultural similarity, political affiliation, social distance, and geographical proximity) or event-oriented perspective (such as the degree of deviance and the negative nature of the events) (Chang et al., 1987).

Instead of studying what main factors caused the change of international information flow between Taiwan and the U.S., this paper studied the change of Taiwanese news stories in U.S. newspapers as a result of the change in the political system in the Republic of China on Taiwan in 1987.

In order to study the extent to which politics influences the news coverage of Taiwan in U.S. newspapers, a ten-year period, including the period before and after the political change in Taiwan in 1987, was considered. The basic assumption for choosing this time span is that the political change was the most prominent issue that happened in the Taiwan's society from 1982 to 1992. This assumption would help us understand the real influence of politics on the news content during a decade. This is also followed Sigal's (1973, p.120) proposition of news source research: "Drawing a sample over a period of years permits an assessment of changes over time and difference among administration." Sigal's study period was as long as twenty years, from 1949 to 1969. However, he used five-year intervals for sampling data (i.e., only 1949, 1954, 1959, 1964 and 1969 were chosen) instead of all years. One reason was you can gain very similar results from either method.

Specifically, this paper replicates Sigal's technique in choosing study years. To eliminate the effect of the historical significance, the year 1987 was not chosen. In addition, two-year intervals were chosen from 1982 to 1992 as the study period: 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, and 1992.

To study the influence of politics on the news of Taiwan, three elements (media visibility, news source in democracies, and democratic imagery) were examined in this paper. These three elements were excerpted from a paradigm for comparative mass media analysis proposed by Mowlana (1976). He recommended functional analyses in the comparative study of mass media in the sense of focusing on the media system of the country or the region as a whole. There are four areas pertinent to the functional process approach: (1) sources and communicator, (2) formation of the message, (3) distribution of the message, and (4) destination and recipient. These four elements were modified and renamed to conform to the situation studied in this current paper. Three principal stages of the communication process regarding the formation, the distribution , and the outcome were produced for this current paper:

(1) media visibility of Taiwanese news stories

(2) news sources for gathering news of Taiwan

(3) democratic imagery of Taiwan in U.S. newspapers

Further elaborations are in the following sections of this chapter.

Media visibility

The first approach to study the change of international information flow was to examine the media visibility of Taiwanese news stories.

Davison (1965, p.34) stated that "A democratic form of government implies freedom of two-way international communication as well as domestic freedom of information." He indicated that many groups or individuals in a democratic society require ideas and information from other countries to satisfy their needs. And all democracies permit private citizens a wide range of opportunity to communicate with citizens or organizations of other countries, which should lead to increasing outflow of information. Communications to other countries are especially likely to find their way into international channels by mass media and lead to higher visibility of the source country in the foreign media.

The same viewpoints are expressed in Deng's (1991) analysis. In research about determinants of change in news coverage of Eastern Europe in U.S. papers during the 1984-1989 democratic reform, Deng found that the Western media got more access to Eastern Europe after the political system changed toward democracy. The media visibility of Eastern Europe in U.S. papers increased through the study period, in terms of length of story measured in square inches.

After the Taiwan government lifted martial law in 1987, the

nation slowly became more democratic. It was assumed that there would be comparatively more international news and information flow among Taiwan and other foreign nations as a result of the increased openness and freedom of two-way international communication among nations. As Taiwan becomes more democratic, it is expected that the number of Taiwanese news stories will increase (higher media visibility) after the year martial law was lifted, because the government imposed fewer restrictions on the outflow message.

Another factor leading to higher visibility in the foreign mass media seems to be directly related to a better international image of a country; especially for those countries that already have gained a relatively positive image in the American press (Manheim & Albritton, 1984). Two aspects of international images, which were introduced by Manheim and Albritton in 1984, as portrayed in the United States press are: (1) visibility, which refers to the amount of media coverage that a country receives; and (2) valence, which refers to the degree to which the content that is available reflects either favorably or unfavorably on the country. Negative valence includes any mention of decline, weakness, poverty, liabilities, lack of progress, lack of democracy, instability, or unreliability on the part of a given country. Positive valence includes such discussion as a country's progress, advances, democracy, resources, assets, strengths, continuity, stability, reliability, or dependability.

Manheim and Albritton (1984), in their examination of the

impact of international public relations on news coverage of some nations, emphasized the importance of external actors (public relations) to manipulate the media agenda, and through them the public and policy agendas. Their theory examined the effectiveness of structured attempts by foreign nations to manipulate the portrayal of their national images in the American press. They concluded that the visibility dimension of a nation in the postcontract (e.g., after a nation associated with the public relations organizations) period is almost wholly determined by their model, which has two main statements as follows:

(1) After the intervention of "effective" public relations, countries whose image and media visibility both are quite negative and sufficiently low would be expected to gain better image. Higher media visibility was not emphasized.

(2) After the intervention of "effective" public relations, countries whose image and media visibility both start from a more favored position would be expected to gain increasing visibility and positive valence of image.

The growing use of professional public relations consultants by national governments in their political image-making campaigns has been an interesting trend in recent years. This trend has been especially pronounced in the United States, where such assistance is readily available. In spite of the different goals of these lobbying and public relations activities, one of the most common objectives for foreign nations seeking assistance from the American public relations

firms is to improve the client nation's image in U.S. newspapers (Manheim & Albritton, 1984).

Davison (1965) stated that in many democracies, labor and business, as well as political, religious, and social groups, support extensive public relations programs to some way influence the content of the mass media. This statement was consistent with Manheim and Albritton's analysis that one of the principal purposes of various public relations programs was to influence the content and volume of the mass media. Although it is possible to obtain some materials developed by public relations firms for their international clients, it is still difficult to know the specifics of what actual advice was made, which recommendations were accepted, and how they were implemented. What we can observe, however, is any change in the behavior or news coverage of a given country (Manheim & Albritton, 1984).

The government organization responsible for promoting Taiwan's international image is the Government Information Office on Taiwan with more than 40 branches in cities around the world. The main goal of the Government Information Office is to get Westerners to accept the claim that Taiwan is the legitimate "Republic of China." One specific U.S. public relations firm, Washington, D. C. based Hannaford company, has been retained, serving in an internal consulting capacity, to assist Taiwan in this effort since the early 1980s. The Taiwan government utilized the public relations function to promote understanding between the

people of the Republic of China on Taiwan and the rest of the world. Western mass media, especially U.S. mass media, became the most important targets to manipulate the portrayal of Taiwan.

When the political image of Taiwan was transformed after the lifting of martial law and the ban on newspapers, the Taiwan government made great efforts to promote its national image in the world. A particular public relations campaign for building a new image of Taiwan, namely National Image Series, was initiated by the Government Information Office in 1989. The Office retained professional advertising and public relations companies in Taiwan to design and promote the activity.

To conclude, it is expected that when a country becomes more democratic, it will gain more attention from foreign countries. Therefore, as Taiwan becomes more democratic, it is hypothesized that the media visibility of Taiwanese news stories will increase significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers through the study period.

News sources in democracies

The second approach used to study the change of international information flow was to examine diversity of news sources.

In journalism and mass communication, there are many factors inside and outside the media organization that can affect media content. The sources of information are extrinsic to the media organizations (Shoemaker, 1991). Gandy (1982) notes that the

interaction between journalists and sources is what "makes" news. Even though journalists and the media organizations for which they work play a principal role in shaping the media agenda, the sources of the raw material of information upon which journalists rely have a tremendous effect on mass media content. Journalists cannot include in their news reports what they don't know (Shoemaker, 1991). Gans (1979, p.80) defines sources as "the actors whom journalists observe or interview, including interviewees who appear on the air or who are quoted in...articles, and those who only supply background information or story suggestions."

There are a lot of possible sources of information about an issue or event, but not all sources are equally likely to be contacted by journalists. Those with economic (Shoemaker & Mayfield, 1987) or political power are more likely to influence news reports than those who lack power (Gans, 1979; Ostgaard, 1965). Also, the problem of access may make it easier for journalists to use information from organizational sources than from individuals (Shoemaker, 1991). Gans (1979), in his research of CBS, NBC, *Newsweek*, and *Time*, found that the most dominant news is from the "knowns," people already prominent (71 percent of television stories, 76 percent of magazine columns).

One particular group of sources—government information officials—is often preferred by journalists, not only because journalists tend to accept the things official sources say as being factual (Gandy, 1982), but also because the complexity of

government makes it difficult for reporters to cover accurately government themselves (Cohen, 1968).

Sigal (1973), in a frequently cited study, confirmed the prominence of "official" news sources by examining the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* and found that official sources accounted for a great proportion, almost three-fourths, of all news sources. Of the 2850 news stories examined, 27.5% were from foreign, international officials or agencies, and 47.5% were from U.S. officials or agencies. (He also identified almost sixty percent of news stories originating through routine channels of official proceedings, press conferences, press releases and non spontaneous events.)

It is known that domestic officials around the world commonly feed information to foreign correspondents (Sigal, 1973). Since American journalists abroad often rely on the cooperation of host governments in ascertaining and developing news (Cohen, 1963), foreign news then, as much as the events it purports to represent, can be subject to governmental manipulation in reporting (Becker, 1977).

On the other hand, in contemporary democratic society, many of the characteristics associated with democracy imply that all individuals or organizations have free access to the channels of communication, both as senders and receivers (Davison, 1965). Democracies are characterized by allowing an individual to seek full personal development according to his or her own inclinations, and such satisfaction of personal desires depends in large measure on

access to information of many types and on the freedom to communicate (Davison, 1965). In practice, democracies allow private citizens a wide latitude of opportunity to communicate with groups or citizens of other countries, which not only leads to increasing the outflow of information (as discussed in the previous section of media visibility), but also makes the sources for gathering news of this country more diverse. What is openly said or done in a democratic country may become known abroad, not only through government officials, but through any possible channel, individual, or organization. D'Arcy (1981) stated that freedom of information and freedom of opinion are considered essential for the function of democracy. In a democratic society, any citizen has the right to communicate with his fellows and citizens of other countries. All individuals should enjoy the same opportunities of access to sources of information as well as to participate in the communication process.

Shoemaker (1991) theorized that most news comes from "official" (primary government) channels, but journalists will use other sources when they are available. Since there will be less restriction on the news flow from the government when a country is moving toward democracy, domestic reporters and foreign correspondents have more alternatives regarding access to the news sources in addition to the official source.

News channel and news source diversity in media content act as powerful measures of democracy in a society (Hansen, 1991). Because when news content is heavily based on official government

statements, comments, documents, interviews and government statistics, the other affiliated groups (e.g., labor, education, business, public interest groups, etc.) or unaffiliated groups (average citizens) will have fewer opportunities to express their viewpoints and perspectives. "Diversity" is operationalized as dispersion among various channels and sources of information. That is, the information sources are more diverse if they are more or less distributed across source types; if more sources are of one type, this has been characterized as low diversity (Hansen, 1991). Deng (1991), in research of access for Western journalists to news of Eastern Europe, directly defined non-official sources of Eastern European individuals, groups, or organizations (e.g., farmers' or workers' unions, dissidents, churches, Western news agencies, etc.) as the index of diversity of news sources. Deng concluded that a higher diversity of news sources indicated there were more non-official Eastern European sources mentioned in the news stories of Eastern Europe. This current paper will use the measurement of diversity of news source employed in Deng's research. The greater the number of non-official sources mentioned in the news of Taiwan serves as an index of a higher diversity of news sources Western journalists relied on for gathering news of Taiwan.

In Taiwan, before 1987 the government tended to impose restrictions on the media. After martial law ended and the ban on media were lifted in July of 1987 and January of 1988, the international informational flow between Taiwan and Western

countries, including the U.S., was influenced less by diplomatic communication and propaganda from the Taiwan government. When there was no longer a ban on the domestic media and freedom of speech, people—whether domestic or overseas Taiwanese—gained more channels to express their opinions toward the government and country. Western journalists have more access to Taiwanese news from different and diverse sources, both domestic and foreign.

In this study, it is hypothesized that the diversity of news sources about Taiwan will increase significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers through the study period. That is, the number of non-official sources cited or quoted in stories about Taiwan will increase significantly.

Change of democratic imagery

The third approach used to study the change of international information flow was to examine the change of Taiwan's democratic imagery in U.S. newspapers.

Before martial law was lifted in 1987, Taiwan was under an authoritarian political system. The rise of political opposition in Taiwan was one of the most important factors contributing to the democratization of the island. The middle class, composed mainly of professionals, salaried employees of public and private institutions, and business people, has been increasing rapidly. By the mid-1980s about 35 percent of the gainfully employed could be classified as members of the middle class, which has long been associated in

political theory with moderation, tolerance, and democracy (Chou, 1991). This large, well-educated middle class values democratic principles. Moreover, in many respects the Taiwanese people have been prepared for a democratic system by local elections, which established a precedent of democratic participation, an education policy that successfully combated illiteracy, an income redistribution policy creating a more equitable society, and a foreign policy pointing to the democratic West as a role model for the younger generation in Taiwan (Robinson, 1991). Middle-class people are the main supporters of political reform, and they identify either with the liberal wing of the ruling Nationalist party or with the opposition (Lu, 1991). Their demand for reforms cannot be ignored because they provide financial support to political parties and they are society's most skilled and talented elements (Lu, 1991). They like to speak their opinions about politics and may through the media affect public opinion, which can determine how long a politician can perform on his political stage.

Historical studies stress the role of the middle class or the urban bourgeoisie in the transformation of political systems into democracies (Moore, 1967; Soboul, 1975). Schumpeter (1950) pointed out that the presence of an autonomous bourgeois class was treated as a requisite of development and democracy. In his words: "The ideology of democracy as reflected by the classical doctrine rests on a nationalist scheme of human action and of the values of life. This fact would in itself suffice to suggest that it is of bourgeois

origin."

The 1980s were exciting years for advocates of democracy. The military rule in many Latin American countries, in Turkey, and in Pakistan gave way to multiparty electoral systems. The Eastern Bloc countries moved away from one-party "Communist" rule one after the other. Authoritarianism in Senegal and the Philippines was replaced with democratic systems. And Jordan, Nepal, the Soviet Union, and Republic of China on Taiwan stepped toward competitive elections (Arat, 1991).

Democracy is the best form of government, the best known and the best imaginable (Finley, 1973). Yet many also agree that the principles on which democracy had traditionally been justified are not operating in practice (Finley, 1973). As Arblaster (1987) pointed out, democracy is not a tangible, material thing; it is a concept, an abstraction, a term with no single, precise and universally accepted meaning. It has had very different meanings and connotations in its long history, and is understood differently today in the context of different social and economic systems. He indicated that one common conception of democracy is that it is 'government by the people', or at least by the people's elected representatives. The government is likely to be representative, not of all the people, but at best of a majority of them. So, the basic ideas of democracy are of equal political rights for all (the majority) and a government of the many or of the people. Democracy also includes ideas of 'freedom', 'equity', 'justice', and 'human rights' (Arat, 1991; Wesson, 1987;

Mayo, 1967; Down, 1957).

Downs (1957) made an improvement in defining the conditions that lead to the increasing level of popular control in modern political systems. The criteria given by Downs are:

(1) A single party (or coalition of parties) is chosen by popular election to run the governing apparatus.

(2) Such elections are held within periodic intervals, the duration of which cannot be altered by the party in power acting alone.

(3) All adults who are permanent residents of the society, are sane, and abide by the laws of the land, are eligible to vote in each election.

(4) Each voter may cast one and only one vote in each election.

(5) Any party (or coalition) receiving the support of a majority of those voting is entitled to take over the powers of government until the next election.

(6) The losing parties in an election never try by force or any illegal means to prevent the winning party (or parties) from taking office.

(7) The party in power never attempts to restrict the political activities of any citizens of other parties as long as they make no attempt to overthrow the government by force.

(8) There are two or more parties competing for control of the governing apparatus in every election.

The value of these descriptions enables us to develop a

measurement sensitive to the degree of 'democraticness' (popular control of government) of a political system (Arat, 1991).

Mayo (1967) identified four principles for a system to be democratic: (1) popular control of policy makers, (2) political equality, (3) effectiveness of political control or political freedom, and (4) majority rule. He constructed a working definition on these principles and defined a democratic reality as "one in which public policies are made, on a majority basis, by representatives subject to effective popular control at periodic elections, which are conducted on the principle of political equality and under conditions of political freedom" (Mayo, 1967, p.70). Lipset (1959, p.73) has stated that "Democracy is not a quality of a social system, which either does or does not exist, but rather a complex of characteristics, which may be ranked in many different ways." All definitions pointed to the core part of democracy—the majority.

Arat (1991) viewed the development of the concept of human rights as parallel to the concept of democracy. Marshall (1964) classified *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, officially recognized by most countries, into three elements of citizenship as follows:

(1) Civil Rights: freedom from slavery and servitude, torture and in human punishment, and arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; freedom of speech, faith, opinion, and expression; right to life, security, justice, ownership, and assembly.

(2) Political Rights: right to vote and nominate for public office; right to form and join political parties.

(3) Social and Economic Rights: right to education, work, food, clothing, housing, and medical care.

Arat (1991) says, civil and political rights are considered negative rights in the sense that they forbid action by governments. Governments should not torture citizens; should not conduct arbitrary arrests; should not prevent freedom of speech, meetings, and political participation. Social and economic rights, on the contrary, are positive rights requiring action by governments. Governments should maintain certain quality of life; should prevent unemployment; assume responsibility in providing food, shelter, and medical care. Moreover, he argued that civil and political rights cannot prevail if socioeconomic rights are ignored, and the stability of political democracy (liberal democracy) depends on the extent of balance between the two groups of human rights.

Wesson (1987) proposed a little different view of democracy and defined democracy as 'fair government', that is, "government without discriminations or political advantages for any person or groups, applying the same rules to all" (Wesson, 1987, p.6). The opponents of the state should be able to speak their opinions, and the state should represent all and does not give particular advantages to any particular group. Wesson gave an example indicating that it is unfair to use government-controlled broadcasting facilities to favor one party, or to allocate newsprint to conformist papers. He said

whether any procedure of government is fair is asking whether it is democratic.

The emergence of the nation-state was a turning point for the development of democracy in history. Throughout the nineteenth century, social struggle and development in Europe had led to the consensus that individuals had some rights and that these should be guaranteed by government and constitutions (Arat, 1991). Governments today are expected to respond to their citizens' needs rather than simply to rule (Moore, 1978). Linz (1978) stated that the responsibility introduced by elections in a democratic system makes it possible for the government to express the idea that it is pursuing collective goals that the majority agreed upon. He emphasized that a governmental action is responsive if it implements the public demands, and can be considered effective only if it meets its specific desired end.

Roberts (1992, p.14) submitted an argument of democratic ideologies. "That will of the majority will be realized (and conflicts among citizens will be precluded) when governments pursue policies that are in the interests of most members of society." This argument implies three important elements:

(1) Occasion: Democratic societies are composed of pluralities of people who find that their pursuits are often in conflict with those of others.

(2) Agent: In pursuing the interests (material, religious, etc.) of the majority, the government acts for the benefit of

most. The agent is considered as acting in the interests of members of societies. According to democratic ideology, people's interests are many, not only material and wealth. The government also serves to reduce social and material conflicts.

(3) Technique: These acts may include taking any legal (i.e., majority sanctioned) means at the government's disposal.

Authoritative or nondemocratic government, on the contrary, is by definition more or less arbitrary, unfair, and exploitative (Wesson, 1987). Aron (1990, p.193-94) defined authoritarianism as follows:

(1) The authoritarian phenomenon occurs in a regime that gives to one party the monopoly of political activity.

(2) The authoritative party is animated with an ideology of absolute authority, which consequently becomes the official truth of the state.

(3) To impose this official truth, the state reserves for itself in turn a double monopoly, the monopoly of the means of coercion and those of the means of persuasion. The means of communication, radio, television, press, are directed by the state.

(4) Most economic and professional activities are subject to the state and become, in a way, part of the state itself.

(5) There is a politization, an ideological transfiguration of all the possible crimes of individuals and in the end police and ideological terrorism.

Contrary to democracy, the spirit of authoritarian is either the monopoly of the party or the state control of economic life or ideology.

To conclude, there are three basic elements of democracy regarding the origin, process, and action of the developing of democracy.

(1) *Origin:* The majority will pursue their civil, political, and social and economic rights (Arat, 1991; Arblaster, 1987; Mayo, 1967). As Arat (1991) stated, the development of the concept of human rights was regarded as parallel to the concept of democracy.

(2) *Process:* Either the majority or minority should be able to speak their opinions toward the government or the country (Wesson, 1987). Wesson defined democracy simply as fair government, which treats any group of people equally.

(3) *Action:* Leaders are expected to perceive the expectations of citizens and formulate policies to meet their demands; to respect and protect the civil and political rights of its citizens, and provide effective response to their social and economic needs (Moore, 1978; Linz, 1978; Arat, 1991; Roberts, 1992).

These three elements of democratic ideology are the important indices for this study to determine whether democratic image

appeared in the Taiwanese news stories.

In this study, it is hypothesized that the democratic imagery of Taiwan will increase significantly in the selected newspapers through the study period.

Hypotheses

According to the above literature review, three hypotheses were posited in this study:

H1: The number of Taiwanese news stories (media visibility) will increase significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers through the study period.

H2: The diversity of news sources about Taiwan will increase significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers through the study period. (That is, the number of non-official sources cited or quoted in Taiwan stories will increase significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers through the study period.)

H3: The democratic imagery of Taiwan will increase significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers through the study period.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

Content Analysis

Content analysis was used to examine the change of international information flow between Taiwan and the U.S.

Content analysis was first defined by Berelson (1952) as a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. Krippendorff (1980) further defined content analysis as "a research technique for making replicate and valid inferences from data to their context." Content analysis is not simply a frequency count, but is rather a "pattern-fitting" practice.

In the research on international information flow, content analysis is a frequently-used method. In this study, content analysis was used quantitatively to measure media visibility of Taiwan stories, the change of diversity of news sources, and democratic imagery. In addition, it was used to explain why there was a shift in the media visibility, news sources, and democratic imagery.

Selection of Newspapers

Four American's daily newspapers were selected for this study: the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, the Los Angeles Times,

and the <u>Washington Post</u>. Abbreviations will be used: NYT, WSJ, LAT, and WP.

These papers were chosen first on the basis of reputation, geographical location, and availability. All of them have their own national wire services, and all can be found in the newspaper racks of major metropolitan areas in the United States (Emery, 1983). Second, they have a large international circulation and reputations for strong international affairs reporting. They are each considered to be among the world's best dailies (Merrill & Fisher, 1980).

Units of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study was an individual story listed in the <u>NYT Index</u>, the <u>WSJ Index</u>, the <u>LAT Index</u>, and the <u>WP Index</u>, under the heading "Taiwan." Stories shorter than 2 inches were excluded.

Study Periods

This research concerned the influence of political change on the international information flow between Taiwan and the U.S. within one decade from 1982 to 1992. The critical point for this study is 1987, the year the Taiwanese government lifted martial law and began to move toward a democratic form of government. To eliminate the effect of historical significance, the year 1987 was not

chosen. And this study also followed Sigal's (1973) technique in choosing study years (as introduced in the Chapter of literature review), two-year intervals were selected from 1982 to 1992. Therefore, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990 and 1992 were chosen.

Sampling

The total number of Taiwan news items in the selected newspapers during the study periods would be counted in order to see the change of "media visibility" of Taiwanese news stories.

In addition, forty news items were randomly sampled from the Taiwan news stories pooled from among the selected newspapers in each study year. Thus, for the six study years, a sample of 240 news items of the selected newspapers was analyzed.

Variables

There are three variables in this study: (1) media visibility, (2) news sources, and (3) democratic imagery.

Variable 1: Media Visibility (Number of stories)

There are various techniques for coding news coverage. Grey et al. (1965) tested four ways of coding editorial content. They found that sentence, paragraph, three-sentence, and article coding for the same newspaper content gave a "consistent difference in the count of

symbol frequencies" (Grey et al., 1965, p.122). This finding was similar to that of Al-Enad's (1991). His analysis was based on two techniques of coding content in terms of size of individual news items and space measurements by categories. He showed that different results can be obtained from the same raw data of media content. On the other hand, Windhavser and Stempel (1979) compared the results of six techniques for content analysis. The six techniques were article, space measurement, statement, single issue, multiple issue and headline. They found that all six measurements yielded a highly significant correlation with each other regardless of the type or slant of the content.

Specifically, this paper replicates the coding techniques of news coverage used in Manheim and Albritton's (1984) research. In their study of the change of international images of seven countries in U.S. newspapers, they used article (number of stories) as the unit of measurement as discussed in the previous chapter of literature review.

Variable 2: News Sources

News sources, as defined by Gans (1979), are "the actors whom journalists observe or interview, including interviewees who appear on the air or who are quoted in...articles, and those who only supply background information or story suggestions."

Sigal (1973), in examining the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, categorized news sources into seven items:

(1) U.S. officials, agencies

(2) Foreign, international officials, agencies

(3) American state, local government officials

(4) Other news organizations

(5) Nongovernmental foreigners

(6) Nongovernmental Americans

(7) Not ascertainable, including stories in which the channel was a spontaneous event or the reporter's own analysis.

Sigal found that the most important sources of information were officials of the U.S. government, which accounted for nearly one-half of all the sources cited in *Times* and *Post* page-one stories.

Sigal's categories of news sources were modified for this study. "U.S. officials, agencies" and "American state, local government officials" were combined as U.S. officials. "Foreign, international officials, agencies" were separated into three items as Taiwanese officials, Chinese officials, and other official sources. "Nongovernmental Americans" were renamed as non-official American sources. "Nongovernmental foreigners" were separated into three items as non-official Taiwanese, non-official Chinese, and other non-official foreigners. The rest of Sigal's categories "Other news organizations" and "Not ascertainable" were combined as miscellaneous.

To summarize, all news sources cited or quoted in the stories of Taiwan were classified into nine categories: (1) Taiwanese official sources; (2) Chinese official sources; (3) U.S. official sources; (4) Other

official sources; (5) Non-official Taiwanese; (6) Non-official Chinese; (7) Non-official Americans; (8) Other non-official foreigners; and (9) Miscellaneous.

The definitions and examples of each category were based on the paradigm illustrated in *Practical Chinese-English Encyclopedic Handbook* (Lii & Chu, 1989).

(1) Taiwanese official sources include sources from the Office of the President, the five branches of government (Executive, Judicial, Legislative, Examination, and Control), other central, provincial, and local government organizations, and military.

(2) Chinese official sources include sources from the Chinese government or agencies, official Xinhua News Agency, official New China News Agency, etc.

(3) U.S. official sources include officials in the White House, the three branches of government (Executive, Legislative, and Judicial), American state or local government organizations or agencies.

(4) Other official sources include foreign, international officials other than Taiwanese, Chinese, and American officials. For instance, a French spokesman.

(5) Non-official Taiwanese sources include private citizens of Taiwan, labor and business organizations, as well as political, religious, and social groups in Taiwan.

(6) Non-official Chinese sources include private citizens of

Mainland China and any other individuals or organizations not belonging to the China government or agencies.

(7) Non-official Americans include American private citizens, individuals, or organizations other than the U.S. government or its agencies.

(8) Other non-official foreigners include citizens, individuals, and organizations of countries other than Taiwan, China, and the U.S.

(9) Miscellaneous sources are those not belonging to the above eight categories, such as other news organizations, or not ascertainable, or stories in which the channel was a spontaneous event or the reporter's own analysis.

The absence or presence of each source was coded in each article; '1' means presence and '0' means absence.

Variable 3: Democratic imagery

The image of the news content of Taiwan stories was coded into three categories: democracy, authoritarian, and other.

According to Roberts (1992), Arat (1991), Wesson (1987), etc., the definitions and illustrations of these categories are as follows.

(1) Democratic imagery includes such discussions in the news coverage of Taiwan stories as "Majority will," "People inform the leadership of their will," and "Leadership acts in accordance with majority will."

Majority will: People's will of pursuing their civil, political, and

social and economic rights (Marshall, 1964). People have freedom of speech, right to life, right to form political parties and so on.

News such as "Taiwan has a growing auto industry, people open and develop new gigantic plants abroad," or "Vote for new party, DPP; capable of attracting voter as a party and party politics is growing in Taiwan," were assigned to this category.

<u>People inform the leadership of their will</u>: People should be able to express their opinions toward the government or the country (Wesson, 1987).

News such as "About 1,000 supporters of dissident leader Hsu converged on Taipei's airport to welcome him home after seven years of self-imposed exile in the U.S.," or "Taiwan's middle class challenges leadership, and the changes were reflected in the election," or "The political demonstration begun by university students was a direct challenge to President Lee Teng-Hui," were placed in this category.

<u>Leadership acts in accordance with majority will</u>: Leaders are expected to perceive the expectations of citizens and formulate policies to meet their demands; to respect and protect the civil and political rights of its citizens, and provide effective response to their social and economic needs (Moore, 1978; Linz, 1978; Arat, 1991; Roberts, 1992).

News such as "Taiwan government adopted a more lenient policy toward China, and Taiwanese now may visit the Chinese mainland for reunions," or "Taiwan government proposed lifting

emergency decrees, commonly referred to as martial law, imposed by the ruling Nationalist party on the island nearly four decades ago," were assigned to this category.

(2) Different from the concept of democratic imagery, authoritarian imagery includes any mention in the news coverage of Taiwan stories of "Will of the leadership," "People and leadership have or exercise competing purposes (wills)," and "Leadership acts according to its will."

Will of the leadership: news such as "Taiwan's policy of Three Nos--no contact, no negotiation, and no compromise--with Peking," or "Opposition parties have been forbidden under martial law in Taiwan," were put into this category.

People and leadership have or exercise competing purposes (wills): news such as "Negotiations for the U.S. and Taiwan expected to center on American demands that Taipei open its markets to U.S. cigarettes, wine and beer on favorable terms or face retaliation," were assigned to this category.

Leadership acts according to its will: news such as "Taiwan official turned back a prominent dissident leader at the airport as he arrived, while his supporters claimed he had the right to return to Taiwan," or "Direct trade between Taiwan and China has been banned ever since Taiwan's Nationalist Government fled to the island after the 1949 Communist victory on the mainland," were placed in this category.

(3) Other: stories not exhibiting democratic or authoritarian content. Reports such as "Taiwan's indirect trade records," or "Taiwan is a beautiful island and worth the trip," or Chinese or U.S. government's policies toward Taiwan were placed in this category.

In this paper, only a single main theme was determined in each news story; in other words, each news story was assigned to only one of the ideological measures. The principle for assigning was based on Berg and Veer's (1989) research of the measurement of ideological characteristics of news reports. They stated that an obvious indicator for considering which viewpoints are presented in newspaper coverage is the absolute amount of space devoted to each of the possible viewpoints. An "attention-score" was utilized by Berg and Veer: the percentage of length given to a specific viewpoint in relation to the total length of the article. After utilizing this term, a specific viewpoint can be determined. As they stated, when a specific viewpoint on the conflict receives the highest attention in the news coverage, the main ideology in the news is determined. Therefore, in this study only the most prominent viewpoint of ideological content was picked.

Reliability Test

After designing the methodology for the quantitative measurement of all variables, an inter-coder reliability test was conducted to verify the accuracy of the coding procedure. Two graduate students with methodology backgrounds took the test, and the researcher was one of the two coders. Data for two variables (news sources and democratic imagery) were coded for the reliability test. Forty-eight articles, which accounted for 20% of the total 240 news items, were randomly sampled. The coefficient of reliability and the variance of coefficient of reliability was calculated by using Fleiss et al.'s (1979) formula.

Coefficient of reliability (Kappa):

$$K = \frac{\sum p_j q_j k_j}{\sum p_j q_j} \quad , \text{ where}$$

$$p_j = \frac{1}{Nn} \sum_{i=1}^{N} n_{ij},$$

$$q_j = 1 - p_j,$$

$$k_j = 1 - \frac{\sum n_{ij}(n - n_{ij})}{Nn(n-1)p_j q_j}$$

Variance of coefficient of reliability:

$$\text{Var. (k)} = \frac{2}{Nn(n-1)(\Sigma p_j q_j)^2}\left[(\Sigma p_j q_j)^2 - \Sigma p_j q_j (q_j - p_j)\right]$$

The notation N represents the total number of articles (which is 48), n the number of rating per article (which is 2—one rating from each of two coders), and k the number of categories into which assignments are made (k=2 for news sources, which are '1' means Yes and '0' means No; k=7 for ideological rating, which are the different ideological contents in democratic, authoritarian, and other). Let the subscript i, where i = 1, ..., N, represent the articles and the subscript j, where j = 1, ..., k, represent the categories of each variable. Define n_{ij} to be the number of raters who assigned the ith subject to the jth category.

The overall measurement (Kappa) varies from minimum of -1/(n-1) to 1. If there is a perfect agreement in the assignments to category j (i.e., if each $n_{ij}=0$ or n), then $k_j=1$. On the other hand, if for each j, the n_{ij}s vary as binomial random variables with parameters n and p_j, then the expected value of k_j as well as that of k are 0 (Fleiss et al., 1989, p.975).

The results of this reliability test were acceptable at the 0.05 level of significance, since all Kappa statistics fall into the "rejection region" for the statistical hypothesis test, which means all of them

are significantly larger than 0 at the 0.05 level (Table 1).

Table 1. Results of Reliability Test

Variable	Coefficient (Kappa)	Variance of Kappa
Taiwanese official	1.00	0.02
Chinese official	1.00	0.02
U.S. official	0.96	0.02
Other official	1.00	0.02
Non-official Taiwanese	0.95	0.02
Non-official Chinese	1.00	0.02
Non-official American	0.94	0.02
Other non-official foreigner	0.87	0.02
Miscellaneous	0.84	0.02
Ideological content	0.89	0.01

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The main concern in this study is whether politics influences the international information flow between Taiwan and the U.S. Generally, the results of this study tend to affirm that politics has an impact. The non-official sources cited or quoted in the news of Taiwan increased significantly and the democratic imagery of Taiwan also increased significantly in U.S. newspapers from 1982 to 1992 (Table 6 & 8). However, the number of Taiwanese news stories in U.S. newspapers did not increase significantly through the decade studied (Table 2).

Findings

Part 1

The first hypothesis concerned the visibility of news of Taiwan in U.S. newspapers in the decade from 1982 to 1992.

H1: The number of Taiwanese news stories (media visibility) will increase significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers through the study period.

This hypothesis was not supported (Table 2). The analysis of Poisson distribution for the number of stories by years was used to

determine if the number of stories was significantly different in the ten years from 1982 to 1992. The number of stories was counted in a fixed time interval, so they are distributed as Poisson random variables. A Poisson random variable has a variance that equals its mean, which causes heteroscedasticity (namely, counts in a fixed time interval). In order to adjust for the heteroscedasticity of variables distributed in this way, a square root transformation of the raw data of number of stories counted in each year was first taken to make the heteroscedastic data homoscedastic (namely, to make the variance of number of story per year the same within different years). The results of the Poisson distribution showed the number of stories were not significantly different at the 0.05 level among years (p=1.000). Furthermore, because a partial correlation coefficient is the slope between an independent (year) and a dependent variable (number of story) after both variables have been adjusted for the linear effects of other variables, a partial correlation was used to examine whether the number of stories increased linearly through years after controlling for the difference in the frequencies of Taiwanese news stories among the four newspapers. The results show that the number of stories did not increase significantly at the 0.05 level through the years (p=.286).

As for the difference among newspapers, an analysis of variance showed there are significant differences at the 0.05 level, regarding the number of Taiwan stories covered in each newspaper (F=18.07, p<.0001) (Table 3). Scheffe multiple comparisons were

Table 2. Frequency distribution of number of Taiwanese news stories in the six study years for the four newspapers

YEAR	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992
NEWSPAPERS						
NYT	104	111	114	93	77	79
WSJ	45	77	44	95	118	134
LAT	75	45	54	37	29	60
WP	13	20	38	24	17	20
COLUMN TOTAL	237	253	250	249	241	293
PARTIAL CORRELATION	Coefficient = 0.13				d.f. = 19	
	$p = 0.286 > 0.05$					

Note: 1. Analysis of Poisson distribution of number of stories by years examined if the number of stories is significantly different among years.

2. Partial correlation computed after linear association controlling for difference in the frequencies of news of Taiwan among the four newspapers examined if the number of stories increased linearly through the years.

Table 3.   Analysis of Variance

SOURCE	d.f.	SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F RATIO	F PROB.
BETWEEN GROUPS	3	96.7243	32.2414	18.0743	<.0001
WITHIN GROUPS	20	35.6766	1.7833		
TOTAL	23	132.401			

used to determine which pairs of newspapers were significantly different. The results showed the <u>Washington Post</u> had significantly fewer Taiwanese news stories than the other three newspapers and the <u>Los Angeles Times</u> had significantly fewer number of Taiwan stories than the <u>New York Times</u> (Table 4).

Table 4. Scheffe multiple comparisons for number of Taiwanese news stories in the six years among four newspapers

MEAN	NEWSPAPER	WP	LAT	WSJ	NYT
21.3694	WP				
48.8391	LAT	*			
81.9079	WSJ	*			
95.7717	NYT	*	*		

Note: "*" denotes pairs of newspapers which are significantly different at the .05 level.

Part 2

The second hypothesis concerned whether the news sources on which journalists rely for their news of Taiwan had changed significantly from 1982 to 1992.

H2: The diversity of news sources about Taiwan will increase significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers through the study period. (That is, the number of non-official sources cited or quoted in Taiwan stories will increase significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers through the study period.)

The percentages of Taiwanese news stories in which various news sources were cited during 1982 to 1992 are shown in Table 5. The overall number of official sources in Taiwanese news stories went down from 1982 to 1992, although there was still a high percentage of Taiwanese official sources cited in 1988 (67.5%) and 1990 (67.5%). The percentage of articles mentioning Chinese official sources was highest (45%) in 1982, and lowest (7.5%) in 1986. Mentions of U.S. official sources also decreased from a high in 1982 (57.5%) to a low after 1987 (17.5% in 1988, 15% in 1990, and 22.5% in 1992). On the other hand, the overall number of non-official sources in Taiwanese news stories increased through the years, and the percentage was highest (62.5%) in 1992. The number of non-official Taiwanese sources also increased significantly, and the percentage was highest in 1986 (42.5%) and 1990 (47.5%).

Table 5. Percentages of Taiwanese news stories in which various sources were mentioned, 1982-1992

NEWS SOURCE	YEAR					
	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992
Official (Overall)	90.0	87.5	80.0	80.0	80.0	70.0
Taiwanese	30.0	45.0	57.5	67.5	67.5	52.5
Chinese	45.0	27.5	7.5	12.5	17.5	17.5
U.S.	57.5	47.5	30.0	17.5	15.0	22.5
Other	7.5	0.0	7.5	0.0	10.0	10.0
Non-Official (Overall)	22.5	57.5	55.0	50.0	57.5	62.5
Taiwanese	12.5	35.0	42.5	35.0	47.5	35.0
Chinese	5.0	10.0	0.0	5.0	5.0	2.5
U.S.	12.5	25.0	15.0	12.5	12.5	32.5
Other	5.0	7.5	12.5	7.5	7.5	7.5
Miscellaneous	15.0	5.0	17.5	7.5	10.0	15.0

Note: 1. Each percentage in the table is of the n=40 Taiwanese news stories sampled in the corresponding year.

2. The official (or non-official) news sources (overall) means the percentage of stories in which at least one official (or non-official) news source appeared in the corresponding year.

The second hypothesis was supported (Table 6). A logistic regression analysis was performed to test the statistical meaning of percentages of news sources to see if they had linear relations with years. That is, is the independent variable year a good predictor for the change of news sources (dependent variable) through the years? The results of the logistic regression analysis showed that non-official sources cited or quoted in Taiwanese news stories increased significantly at the 0.05 level in the selected U.S. newspapers through the decade from 1982 to 1992 (Beta=.114, p=.004). That is, for each additional year, between 1982 and 1992, there is an increase of 0.114 in the log odds that a non-official source is mentioned as a source in a news story about Taiwan. More specifically, Taiwanese news stories citing non-official Taiwanese sources increased significantly in U.S. newspapers (Beta=.091, p=.025). The results of the logistic regression analyses showed that for each additional year, between 1982 and 1992, there is an increase of 0.091 in the log odds that a non-official Taiwanese source is the source of a news story about Taiwan. However, the non-official Chinese (Beta=-.074, p=.419) and the non-official American sources (Beta=.058, p=.243) did not show a significant linear change.

The results also showed that the number of official sources cited or quoted in Taiwanese news stories decreased significantly through the past decade (Beta=-.118, p=.019). That is, for each additional year between 1982 and 1992, there is a decrease of 0.118 in the log odds that an official source is mentioned as an information

Table 6. Logistic regression analyses for percentages of Taiwanese news stories from various sources

NEWS SOURCE	Beta	Std. Error	Sig. F
Official (Overall)	-0.118	0.050	0.019
Taiwanese	0.111	0.039	0.004
Chinese	-0.144	0.049	0.003
U.S.	-0.201	0.045	< 0.001
Other	0.093	0.083	0.263
Non-Official (Overall)	0.114	0.039	0.004
Taiwanese	0.091	0.041	0.025
Chinese	-0.074	0.092	0.419
U.S.	0.058	0.049	0.243
Other	0.015	0.070	0.834
Miscellaneous	0.007	0.059	0.906

source in a news story about Taiwan. However, the number of Taiwanese official sources cited or quoted in the Taiwanese news stories did not decrease. Instead, it increased significantly in U.S. newspapers through the years (Beta=.111, p=.004). The results of the logistic regression analyses showed that for each additional year, between 1982 and 1992, there is an increase of 0.111 in the log odds that a Taiwanese official source is the source of a news story about Taiwan. This leaves the overall decline in mentions of official sources to be attributable to decreases in mentions of Chinese official (Beta=-.144, p=.003) and U.S. official sources (Beta=-.201, p<.001).

Part 3

The third hypothesis concerned the international image of Taiwan through the decade from 1982 to 1992 in U.S. newspapers.

H3: The democratic imagery of Taiwan will increase significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers through the study periods.

Table 7 breaks down by year the percentages of Taiwanese news stories having primary imagery falling into one of the seven ideological categories. Taiwan's democratic image in the four U.S. newspapers following the pace of political reform in 1987. The percentage of news of Taiwan with democratic imagery increased from 1986 (22.5%) to 1988 (67.5%) and maintained stable through

1990 (70%) and 1992 (62.5%). Authoritarian imagery, on the other hand, decreased from 1986 (40%) to 1988 (10%) and remained low in 1990 (15%) and 1992 (10%).

The third hypothesis was supported (Table 8). A logistic regression analysis was performed to test for linear shifts in ideological content over time. In brief, the independent variable, year, was found to be a good predictor of change in democratic imagery (dependent variable) between 1982 and 1992. The results of the logistic regression analyses showed that the democratic imagery of Taiwan increased significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers through the past decade (Beta=.340, p<.001). That is, for each additional year, between 1982 and 1992, there is an increase of 0.340 in the log odds that democracy is the primary image portrayed in a news story about Taiwan in U.S. newspapers. More specifically, images of "Taiwanese majority will" and "Leadership acts in accordance with majority will" were found to have increased significantly in U.S. newspapers (p<.001 in both cases), whereas depictions of "People inform the leadership of their will" showed no linear change in U.S. newspapers (p=.341).

The results also showed that the authoritarian imagery of Taiwan decreased significantly in the selected U.S. newspapers from 1982 to 1992 (Beta=-.154, p=.014). That is, for each additional year, between 1982 and 1992, there is a decrease of 0.154 in the log odds that an authoritarian theme is mentioned in a news story about Taiwan in U.S. newspapers. In particular, the subcategory of

Table 7. Percentages of Taiwanese news stories of various ideological content, 1982-1992

IDEOLOGICAL CONTENT	YEAR					
	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992
Democratic (Overall)	2.5	22.5	22.5	67.5	70.0	62.5
Taiwanese Majority Will	0.0	17.5	7.5	22.5	42.5	32.5
People Inform Leaders	0.0	0.0	7.5	0.0	5.0	2.5
Leaders Follow Majority Will	2.5	5.0	7.5	45.0	22.5	27.5
Authoritarian (Overall)	32.5	27.5	40.0	10.0	15.0	10.0
Will of the Leadership	17.5	5.0	20.0	5.0	10.0	2.5
People vs. Leaders Competition	2.5	0.0	12.5	2.5	0.0	0.0
Leadership Follows its Own Will	12.5	22.5	7.5	2.5	5.0	7.5
Other	65.0	50.0	37.5	22.5	15.0	27.5

Note: 1. Each percentage in the table is of the n=40 Taiwanese news stories sampled in the corresponding year.

2. Only the single most prominent type of ideological content was coded per news story. Stories not exhibiting democratic or authoritarian content were placed into an "other" category.

Table 8. Logistic regression analyses for percentages of Taiwanese news stories of various ideological content

Ideological Content	Beta	Std Error	Sig. F
Democratic (Overall)	0.340	0.05	< 0.001
Taiwanese Majority Will	0.247	0.055	< 0.001
People Inform Leaders	0.121	0.127	0.341
Leaders Follow Majority Will	0.225	0.056	< 0.001
Authoritarian (Overall)	-0.154	0.048	0.014
Will of the Leadership	-0.123	0.066	0.063
People vs. Leaders Competition	-0.117	0.118	0.320
Leadership Follows its Own Will	-0.142	0.068	0.038

"Leadership acts according to its will" was found to have decreased significantly in U.S. newspapers (p=.038), while the other two subcategories of "Will of the leadership" and "People and leadership have or exercise competing purposes (will)" showed no linear change in U.S. newspapers (p=.063 and .32).

Discussion

The findings of this study provide evidence that political factors may play an important role in the changes of international information flow between nations. Although the variable of media visibility of news of Taiwan did not change significantly in U.S. newspapers after the political climate changed in Taiwan (Table 2), the diversity of news sources about Taiwan and the democratic imagery of Taiwan did increase in U.S. newspapers from 1982 to 1992 (Tables 6 & 8). These results may be explained in terms of the characteristics of international information flow.

Media visibility of Taiwanese news

The number of Taiwanese news stories collected from the four selected newspapers between 1982 and 1992 actually is quite consistent, even though there was a critical political change in Taiwan in 1987. The sum total of Taiwanese news stories from the four newspapers for each year is 237 in 1982, 253 in 1984, 250 in 1986, 249 in 1988, 241 in 1990, 293 in 1992. The statistical data

show there is no significant linear trend among years even though some frequencies are higher than others (Table 2).

The theories of international information flow tell us a democratic form of government implies freedom of two-way international communication, which will lead to free access to channels of news and may cause more news or information flow among nations (Davison, 1965). Moreover, it is argued that there will be some international propaganda activities, such as public relations campaigns, supported by the domestic governments when a country is democratizing, which may cause more news or information flow among nations (Manheim & Albritton, 1984). The number of Taiwanese news stories during the study period, however, did not change significantly in U.S. newspapers.

There are many factors that can contribute to the volume and direction of international information flow. Factors such as the hierarchy of nations, cultural affinities and economic associations between nations, news and information conflict, politics, press freedom, language affinity, and relevance to elite nations or persons have been explored as determinants of information flow among national systems in previous studies (Hester, 1973; Chang et al., 1987; Rosengren, 1974; Ostgaard, 1965). In this paper, politics was the main consideration explored in predicting the changes of volume of international news flow, and there was no significant change showed. This may be because news and information flow between nations is a complicated issue as stated in previous studies. It may

be difficult to see the immediate and direct change in the volume of news flow if we only look at the influence of a single factor (e.g., political change) in the source country.

Also, why the number of Taiwanese news stories did not increase significantly in U.S. newspapers may be explained by Chang, Shoemaker, and Brendlinger (1987) who found that physical geographic distance is an important determinant affecting international news coverage in the U.S. media. The media themselves are limited in their ability to devote resources and people to foreign affairs, and foreign correspondents may find it difficult to get international or foreign news because of restrictions imposed by governments, bureaus, the private sector, or some other problems caused by long distance.

Changes in American foreign policy may also help explain why there was no increase in the number of Taiwanese news stories in the U.S. press even after the Taiwanese government opened more channels to the U.S. In the 1950s and 1960s, the foreign policy of the United States focused mainly on U.S.-Soviet relations, the United States' allies and trading partners, and multilateral relations with Central America (Almaney, 1970). However, in the 1970s and 1980s, there were more global issues confronting the American government. Issues such as the ozone crisis, global warming, the proliferation of chemical weapons, regional ecology, AIDS, and the increasing complexity of international relations among nations have become another highly vocal issues in the U.S. media (O'Heffernan, 1991).

Moreover, new technological advancements have "shortened" the physical distance separating countries by expanding the information flow to U.S. media (Mosetting, 1981). As a result, today America can no longer ignore that it is entering an information society, which implies that much more information is going to vie for visibility in the mass media (McQuail, 1987). Taiwan now competes with many more actors and issues for available news space than before.

These reasons may explain why the number of Taiwanese news stories in U.S. newspapers did not vary significantly after Taiwan began moving toward a democracy.

News sources and democratic imagery

The overall number of official sources in Taiwanese news stories went down from 1982 to 1992, whereas the overall number of non-official sources went up through the years. Both the percentages of the Chinese and U.S. official sources decreased from the highest point in 1982 to a lower number from 1987 to 1992. The non-official Taiwanese sources, on the other hand, went up significantly and the percentage was the highest in 1986 and 1990 (Table 5 & 6).

Democratic imagery increased significantly from 1982 to 1992 and remained relatively stable from 1988 through 1992. Whereas authoritarian imagery decreased significantly from 1982 to 1992 and remained relatively low from 1988 through 1992 (Table 7 & 8).

To explain this shift in the source selection and democratic

imagery, the researcher reviewed the content of Taiwanese news in the selected American newspapers and found that all the deviation of numbers of the percentage for news sources and democratic imagery across the six study periods basically followed the pace of democratic reform in Taiwan in 1987.

Based on the history of democratic development in Taiwan, the researcher separated the analysis of changes in news sources and democratic imagery in U.S. newspapers into two phases.

The first phase was from 1982 to 1984, the period of the public's awareness of democracy was not so obvious compared with the second phase beginning from 1986.

In 1982, most news stories listed in the NYT Index, the WSJ Index, the LAT Index, and the WP Index, under the heading "Taiwan," were not based on an interview with the Taiwanese government or people. Instead, a very high percentage (about 50%) of Taiwanese news stories was reported from the view of China, especially the Chinese government. 1982 was just three years after the U.S. government severed diplomatic relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan and switched to mainland China. The major issues the Chinese government tried to promote in the U.S. media were that "Taiwan is part of China" and China's opposition to the American government's selling of arms to Taiwan. The percentage of Taiwanese news stories citing Chinese official (45%) and U.S. official (57.5%) sources was very high in 1982. Among the few news stories about events or opinions in Taiwan were reported that the

Taiwanese government ordered murders in Taiwan or in the U.S., and stories that depicted Taiwan or the Taiwanese government negatively. There were, however, a few voices from the Taiwanese government (30%) trying to clarify its position toward these negative events. During 1982, because most news stories about Taiwan concentrated on the political talks between the Chinese and U.S. government, non-official sources of Taiwan, China, and America were shown to be a relatively less important source for journalists.

In 1984, the percentages of both Chinese official and U.S. official sources went down, while these of Taiwanese official and non-official sources rose. Taiwanese news stories and their sources in 1984 were becoming more diverse compared with news coverage in 1982. Topics related to a coal mine explosion, counterfeit Apple II computers, trade and economics, investment in Taiwan, and (again) murders ordered by the Taiwanese government were the main subjects covered by the selected U.S. newspapers in 1984. The Chinese government still claimed that Taiwan was part of China and warned the U.S. government not to sell military arms to Taiwan, but this kind of coverage was less than in 1982. On the other hand, there was more news describing the trade relations between American and Taiwan's business, negatively or positively. There was an increasing number of non-official Taiwanese and American sources devoted to a higher percentage of overall non-official sources mentioned in the Taiwanese news stories.

In 1982 and 1984, politics in Taiwan was not as open as it was

toward the end of this study. And the international image of Taiwan tended to be that of an authoritarian regime. This image is reflected in the high percentage of the content of Taiwanese news that reflected the will of Taiwan's political leadership.

The second phase was from 1986 to 1992. As Copper (1987) stated, the acceleration of democratization in Taiwan in 1987 was closely associated with the rise of political opposition in 1986.

This was a critical year in the history of Taiwanese political reform. More Taiwanese expressed their opinions toward the government and these kinds of stories dominated the news about Taiwan in 1986. Taiwan's middle class challenged Taiwan's political leadership, as reflected in dissidents' organizing and the election of an opposition party. Some violence and protest activities led by dissidents threatened the government and Taiwanese people and the government was forced to keep pace with the people's desire for openness and democracy.

Taiwan gradually instigated democratic reforms beginning in 1986 under the leadership of President Chiang Ching-Kuo. He initiated modifications to the most fundamental aspects of Taiwan's authoritarianism, most of which dated back to the late 1940s. The most salient elements of the reforms were the lifting of martial law, the end of a ban on parties other than the ruling Nationalist party, the end of restrictive regulations concerning newspapers (allowing new and longer-length editions), the reform of the National Legislature, and the reform of the local government system.

However, before all the reforms were accomplished (by 1988), the Taiwanese government's seeming inability to improve the political system and make pertinent policies as quickly people desired resulted in a confrontation between the Congress and the public. During this period, voices from both the Taiwanese government and people were more prominent (and thus more visible in the U.S. media) than the two previous study years. Comparatively, other news sources, such as Chinese or American governments, were not seen as very important for issues of Taiwan's political reform. During this turbulent period, the authoritarian imagery in the American papers reached its highest level (40%) in the six study years. This image is shown in the high percentage of Taiwanese news stories that indicated there were more competing issues between the public and government than before.

In 1988, the year following the lifting of martial law and media restrictions, Taiwanese news stories became diverse again in the four U.S. newspapers. Taiwan's trade surplus, foreign investment, new businesses, new technologies, faster reforms in politics, and open-door policy to China became highly vocal issues carried in the U.S. media. President Chiang died in January of 1988, and his successor, Lee Teng-Hui, urged faster political reform and more communication with the public. In 1988 and the following study years, Taiwanese news stories citing Taiwanese officials reached their highest level (67.5%) among the six study periods.

To build a new image for Taiwan, an international public

relations campaign, the National Image Series, was initiated by the Government Information Official in 1989. At the same time, a gigantic economic plan, the R.O.C. Six-Year National Development Plan was proposed. In 1990, economics, business, and trade were still the main news items of Taiwan that appeared in U.S. newspapers. Student demonstrations, peaceful protest activities, new China-Taiwan relations, and reentry into international organizations, such as GATT, were other topics, which had not appeared in the newspapers before.

Comments and opinions about these new issues came from private groups or organizations, businesses as well as the Taiwanese government, and dominated the news coverage. Contrarily, negative viewpoints expressed by the Chinese government toward Taiwan's democratization and reentry into international organizations was not prominently displayed in news coverage. It seemed as if Taiwan was becoming an important figure in the international society and not "part of China" only. In 1990, both the Taiwanese official (67.5%) and non-official Taiwanese (47.5%) sources reached their highest level in the news stories of Taiwan.

Democratic imagery increased in 1988 and reached its highest level in 1990. As mentioned earlier, martial law was lifted in July of 1987. New President Lee Teng-Hui was inaugurated in January of 1988, and new public relations campaigns for Taiwan were started in 1989. It is believed that this series of events was closely related to the positive image of Taiwan. In 1988 and 1990, most news stories

about Taiwan in the four U.S. newspapers surveyed mentioned "Taiwanese majority will" and "Leadership acts in accordance with majority will." While the number of stories mentioning "Taiwanese people inform the leadership of their will" was nearly zero. Authoritarian imagery was at its lowest point during these years. There were not many stories about "The Taiwanese government and people have competing purposes" or "Leadership acts according to its own will" in 1988 and 1990.

In 1992, the triangular relations among China, Taiwan, and the U.S. became more complex than ever. First, the biggest issue about Taiwan reported in U.S. newspapers was that the Taiwan Aerospace Corp., created and partly owned by the Taiwanese government, had agreed tentatively to buy a stake in McDonnell Douglas's commercial jetliner business. About 28% of the news about Taiwan in 1992 was about this topic. McDonnell Douglas, which is based in St. Louis, expected that the Taiwan government would raise $2 billion required for a 40% stake in the commercial aircraft maker to solve its financial problem. However, the U.S. government would eventually pay an estimated $350 million more for its fleet of McDonnell Douglas C-17 cargo jets as a result of the firm's plan to sell a share in its commercial aircraft business to Taiwan. The union representing McDonnell Douglas Corp. machinists was planning a proxy fight to block this proposed purchase because of the union's belief that this deal was going to move all of the company's work to Taiwan. Under these circumstances, both official Taiwanese and U.S. and non-official

Taiwanese and American sources accounted for a great proportion of this story (Table 5).

The second most prominent news item dominated about 18% of the Taiwanese news in 1992. With thousands of military industry jobs at stake, the Bush Administration was poised to approve a multibillion-dollar sale of fighter jets to Taiwan. The sale of F-16's to Taiwan was said by U.S. experts to appear to be based as much on political considerations as on military ones. China was irritated by the Bush Administration's decision to sell arms to Taiwan and threatened to withdraw from international arm-control talks and to cut purchases from American companies. At the same time, ironically, it was reported that the Taiwan government signed a contract to buy French Mirage fighters, and the Dutch government signaled it might change its mind and approve a sale of Dutch-made submarines to Taiwan. China was very angry and threatened those countries as well. Due to this complex situation among China, Taiwan, and the U.S., news sources for Taiwanese news stories became diverse: Official sources from Taiwan, China, and America were relatively high (Table 5).

In 1992, the democratic and authoritarian imagery of Taiwan, although a little lower than the previous study period, were consistent since 1988.

Summary of news sources From the above observation of the shifts in news sources and democratic imagery, politics was

found to have some effect on the media content. According to previous studies, in a democracy society it is assumed that all individuals or organizations will be allowed to seek full personal development. Such satisfaction of personal desires depends on enjoying the same access to sources of information and freedom to communicate to the world (Davison, 1965; D'Arcy, 1979). News source diversity in media content acts as a powerful measure of democracy in a society (Hansen, 1991).

In this paper, the overall trend of the shifts in the non-official news source (the indication of diversity) basically follows the characteristics of democracy as depicted above. More specifically, as shown in Table 6, the non-official Taiwanese sources increased significantly from 1982 to 1992. This increase indicates that the Taiwanese people had gained more access to sources of information through the study years. After 1987, when Taiwan was moving toward democracy, the percentage of non-official Taiwanese mentioned in the news coverage remained high compared with the first phase (1982 to 1984) of the study period. This also fits the pattern of what Shoemaker (1991) theorized: most news comes from "official" channels, but journalists will use other sources when they are available.

On the other hand, it is not surprising to find that the number of Taiwanese official sources also went up significantly. In the first phase of the study period, the Taiwan government had severed its diplomatic relationship with the U.S., and was covered under the

shadow of China's "Taiwan policy." Taiwan was not seen as a high priority of American foreign policy. Based on the theoretical statement that the U.S. media are subject to American governmental manipulation in reporting international news (Becker, 1977), it was plausible that information about Taiwan from the Taiwanese themselves (no matter the government or Taiwanese people) was not prominent in U.S. newspapers. Nevertheless, Taiwan moved from authoritarianism to democracy after 1987. News or information emanates not only from private citizens, businesses, or organizations, but also from the official sources who also claim their rights to communicate or talk with reporters in a democracy (Sigal, 1973). In addition, the Taiwan government launched international public relations campaigns to promote Taiwan's positive national image during the second phase (1986-1992) of the study period. As a result, the information outflow from Taiwan's official sources remained high from the beginning of political change in Taiwan. Journalists, especially foreign correspondents, tended to rely on the cooperation of host governments in ascertaining and developing news (Sigal, 1973; Cohen, 1963).

Diversity of news sources implies that either the affiliated groups (e.g., labor, education, business, public interest groups) or unaffiliated groups (average citizens) will have access to the media to express their viewpoints and perspectives. In practice, diversity is operationalized as dispersion among various channels and sources of information (Hansen, 1991). Furthermore, Deng (1991) directly

pointed out that a higher diversity of news sources indicated there were more non-official sources mentioned in the news stories. In this current paper, there was a significantly increased number of non-official Taiwanese sources, which devoted to a significantly increased number of overall non-official sources, after Taiwan's democratization in 1987, and thus the diversity theory is confirmed.

Summary of democratic imagery As for shifts in the ideological content, the data in Table 8 indicate that the shift of Taiwan's democratic imagery in U.S. newspapers directly followed Taiwan's political change in 1987. Taiwan's international image became more democratic in the U.S. media. And also, when there were more communications (e.g., public relations activities) to the public (including journalists), Taiwan's image became more positive and democratic. In this study, Taiwan has experienced an increased democratic imagery. It seems that Taiwan's international image improved in U.S. newspapers after the political change in 1987.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study was motivated by political changes occurring in the Republic of China on Taiwan during the past ten years. The researcher hypothesized that the U.S. media coverage of Taiwan would have changed as a result of the influence of Taiwan's current political situation. Some of the primary factors (media visibility, diversity of news source, and ideological content) were expected to change as a result of the political change in Taiwan.

The variables examined in this study, which related to the theories of international information flow, were: (1) media visibility; (2) diversity of news sources; and (3) ideological content (including democratic and authoritarian imagery). Content analysis of four American newspapers was used to measure these variables. Three hypotheses were posited to study the questions of how the three primary factors (variables) changed after the political change in Taiwan in the mid-1980s.

First, the number of Taiwanese news stories did not change significantly through the study years in the four U.S. newspapers surveyed. Second, non-official sources cited or quoted in the Taiwanese news stories increased significantly in U.S. newspapers. This result implies that the diversity of news sources did increase significantly. Third, parallel with political reforms, the democratic imagery of Taiwan increased significantly, whereas the authoritarian

imagery of Taiwan decreased significantly. This result implies that Taiwan's international image improved in the four U.S. newspapers studied.

The findings from this study reflect the importance of politics on international information flow. Both the news-gathering process and the news content about Taiwan in U.S. newspapers was influenced by political changes in the source country.

There are several implications from this study for future studies.

First, there have been various techniques in previous studies for coding news coverage, such as sentence, paragraph, three-sentence, article, length of story (measured by column or square inches), statement, etc. Each of these measurements may yield different results from the same raw data collected in this study (Grey et al., 1965; Windhavser & Stempel, 1979; Al-Enad, 1991; Deng, 1991). In this study only the number of stories was used to test the change of media visibility. And there was no significant change. Therefore, it is suggested that future studies may employ different techniques, such as paragraph or length of story, for coding news overage to explore the change of media visibility.

Second, in this paper, only the influence of political change on the shift of news source was explored. Whether news subjects have a direct relationship with news sources cited in media content is not really addressed by this study. However, from the ethnographic

depiction of Taiwan news, we can see the subjects of news content have some association with the type of news sources mentioned in the coverage. For instance, stories about governmental policies tend to rely on official sources. News stories about cultural or trade exchanges between two countries tend to have more non-official sources from these two countries mentioned in the news coverage. In other words, the shift of news sources over time might be caused by the change of news subjects selected or reported in the media. It is recommended that further research in this area examine the correlation between subjects and news sources. This may help us better understand the journalists' news gathering process.

Third, two important factors studied in this paper were news sources and the democratic imagery of Taiwan in U.S. newspapers. Both factors showed significant change during the study periods. But, one may question whether the evolution of Taiwan's image from authoritarian to democratic was due to manipulation by the Taiwanese government (news source). In other words, there could be some association between official sources and international image of a source nation. This question is not really addressed in this paper, however, it would be interesting to see if there is a positive correlation between official sources and a better national image. This may help us understand how a government can direct a successful international communication aimed at foreign audiences.

Fourth, Taiwan is not yet a completely democratic country in the author's opinion. Taiwanese people still ask for more press

freedom and less conflict instigated by political parties. The democratic evolution in Taiwan still has a long way to go, and whether its image continue to change in the U.S. newspapers in the next decade is an issue worthy of further study.

REFERENCE

Al-Enad, Abdulrahman H. "Counting Items Versus Measuring Space in Content Analysis," *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 68, No. 4, 657-62, Winter, 1991.

Almaney, A. "International and Foreign Affairs on Network TV News," *Journal of Broadcasting*, vol. 4, 499-509, Fall 1970.

Arblaster, Anthoey. *Democracy*. Milton Keynes, England: Open University Educational Enterprise Ltd., 1987.

Arat, Zehra F. *Democracy and Human Rights in Developing Countries*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991.

Aron, Raymond. "On Totalitarianism," in Roy Pierce ed., *Democracy & Totalitarianism: A Study of Political System*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 192-204, 1990.

Becker, Lee B. "Foreign Policy and Press Performance," *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 54, 364-68, 1977.

Berelson, Bernard. *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press Publication, 1952.

Berg, H. Van Den and Veer, C. G. Van Der. "Ideologies in the News: On the Measurement of Ideological Characteristics of News Reports," *Gazette*, vol. 43, No. 3, 159-94, 1989.

Chang, Tsan-Kuo, Shoemaker, Pamela J. and Brendlinger, Nancy. "Determinants of International News Coverage in the U.S. Media," *Communication Research*, vol. 14, 396-414, Aug. 1987.

Chiu, Hungdah. "The International law of Recognition and the Status of the Republic of China," in Steven W. Mosher ed., *The United States and the Republic of China: Democratic Friends, Strategic Allies, and Economic Partners*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 13-30, 1992.

Chou, David S. "General Assessment of Democracy and Development in East Asia," in Thomas W. Robinson ed., *Democracy and Development in East Asia: Taiwan, South Korea, and the Philippines.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 251-59, 1991.

Cline, Ray. "Introduction," in Steven W. Mosher ed., *The United States and the Republic of China: Democratic Friends, Strategic Allies, and Economic Partners.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1-8, 1992.

Cohen, Bernard. *The Press and Foreign Policy.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Cohen, Wilbur J. "Communication in a Democratic Society," in Ray Eldon Hiebert and Carlton E. Spitzer eds., *The Voice of Government.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 11-24, 1968.

Copper, John F. "Taiwan's 1986 National Election: Pushing Democracy Ahead," *Asian Thought and Society*, vol. 12, 113-117, July 1987.

D'Arch, Jean. "The Right to Communicate," in Jim Richstad and M. H. Anderson eds., *Crisis in International News: Policies and Prospects.* New York: Columbia University Press, 117-36, 1981.

Davison, W. Phillips. *International Political Communication.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965.

Deng, Cha-Ling. *Determinants of Change in Coverage of Eastern Europe in U.S. Papers During the Democratic Reform: 1984-1989.* M.S. Thesis, Iowa State University, Ames, 1991.

Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy.* New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

Emery, Michael. *America's Leading Daily Newspapers.* Indianapolis: K.J. Berg & Company, 1983.

Finley, Moses I. *Democracy: Ancient and Modern*. Rahway, NJ: Quinn & Boden Co., 1973.

Fisher, Heinz-Dietrich. "Forms and Function of Supranational Communication," in Heinz-Dietrick Fisher and John C. Merrill eds., *International and Intercultural Communication*. New York: Hastings House, 5-17, 1976.

Fleiss, J. L., Nee, John C. M., and Landis, J. R. "Large Sample Variance of Kappa in the Case of Different Sets of Raters," *Psychological Bulletin*, vol. 86, No. 5, 974-977, 1979.

Galtung, Johan and Ruge, Mari H. "The Structure of Foreign News," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 2, 64-91, 1965.

Gandy, Oscar H. Jr. *Beyond Agenda-Setting: Information Subsidies and Public Policy*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Pub. Co., 1982.

Gans, Herbert. J. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*. New York: Random House, 1979.

Government Information Office. *Basic Statistic Data: Taiwan and Fujiann Area*. Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C., 1990.

Government Information Office. *The Government Information Office: The Republic of China*. Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C. 1992.

Greenburg, Keith Elliott. "With New Image: Taiwan Emerging From Mainland China's Shadow," *Public Relations Journal*, 11-12, Oct. 1989.

Grey, A., Kaplan, D., and Lasswell, H. D. "Recording and Context Units: Four Ways of Coding Editorial Content," in Harold D. Lasswell , Nathan Leites and Associates eds., *Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 113-126, 1968.

Hansen, Kathleen A. "Source Diversity and Newspaper Enterprise Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 68, No. 3, 474-82, Fall 1991.

Hester, Al. "Theoretical Consideration in Predicting Volume and Direction of International Information Flow," *Gazette* (Holland), vol. 19, No. 4, 239-47, 1973.

Krippendorff, Klans. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology.* Beverly Hills: Sage Pub. Co., 1980.

Lasater, Martin L. "U.S. Arms Sales to Taiwan," in Steven W. Mosher ed., *The United States and the Republic of China: Democratic Friends, Strategic Allies, and Economic Partners.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 101-127, 1992.

Lii, Wu-Jong and Chu, Hung-Hsuan. *Practical Chinese-English Encyclopedic Handbook.* Taipei, Taiwan: Eurasia Book Co., 1989.

Linz, Juan J. "Crisis, Breakdown and Reequilibration," in J. J. Linz and A. C. Stephen, eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1-124, 1978.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 53, 69-105, 1959.

Lu, Ya-Li. "Politics in the Republic of China," in Thomas W. Robinson ed., *Democracy and Development in East Asia: Taiwan, South Korea, and the Philippines.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 35-47, 1991.

Manheim, Jarol B. and Albritton, Robert B. "Changing National Image: International Public Relations and Media Agenda Setting," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 78, 641-57, Sep. 1984.

Marshall, T. H. *Class, Citizenship and Social Development.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1964.

Martin, L. John. "Effectiveness of International Propaganda," in Heinz-Dietrick Fisher and John C. Merrill eds., *International and Intercultural Communication*. New York: Hastings House, 262-72, 1976.

Mayo, Bernard. "What are Human Rights?" in D. D. Raphael ed., *Political Theory and the Rights of Man*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 68-80, 1967.

McQuail, Denis. "Theory of Media and Theory of Society," *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*. Beverly Hills: Sage Pub. Inc., 49-78, 1987.

Merrill, John C. and Fisher, Harold A. *The World's Great Dailies-Profiles of Fifty Newspapers*. New York: Hastings House, 1980.

Moore, Barrington Jr. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.

Moore, Barrington Jr. *Injustice: The Social Bases of Obedience and Revolt*. White Plains, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1978.

Mosetting, Michael D. "Diplomat Without Portfolio," *Channels of Communication*, vol. 1, 46-50, 1981.

Mowlana, Hamid. "A Paradigm for Comparative Mass Media Analysis," in Heinz-Dietrick Fisher and John C. Merrill eds., *International and Intercultural Communication*. New York: Hastings House, 474-84, 1976.

O'Heffernan, Patrick. *Mass Media and American Foreign Policy: Insider Perspectives on Global Journalism and the Foreign Policy Process*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Pub. Co., 1991.

Ostgaard, Einar. "Factors Influencing the Flow of News," *Journal of Peace Research,* vol. 2, 39-63, 1965.

Prybyla, Jan S. "United State's Trade Relations with the Republic of China," in Steven W. Mosher ed., *The United States and the Republic of China: Democratic Friends, Strategic Allies, and Economic Partners*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 51-71, 1992.

Roberts, Carl W. *When Ideologies No Longer Make Sense*. Paper presented at the conferences on Kulturelle and Politische Orientierungen im Europa der Zukunft (Cultural and Political Orientations in the Future Europe), Universitat Munchen, June 25, 1992.

Robinson, Thomas W. with Arnold, J. A., and Shime, P. J. "Introduction," in Thomas W. Robinson ed., *Democracy and Development in East Asia: Taiwan, South Korea, and the Philippines*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1-31, 1991.

Rosengren, K. E. "International News: Methods, Data and Theory," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 11, 145-156, 1974.

Ryan, Michael and Tankare, James W., Jr. *Basic News Reporting*. Palo Alto: Mayfield, 1977.

Shoemaker, Pamela J., Chang, T. K., and Brendlinger, N. "Deviance as a Predictor of Newsworthiness: Coverage of International Events in the U.S. Media," *Communication Yearbook* 10, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Pub. Inc., 348-65, 1987.

Shoemaker, Pamela J. with Elizabeth Kay Mayfield. "Building A Theory of News Content: A Synthesis of Current Approaches," *Journalism Monographs*, vol. 103, 1-36, June 1987.

Shoemaker, Pamela J. and Reese, Stephen D. *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. New York: Longman, 1991.

Sigal, Leon V. "Channel and Sources of News," *Reporters and Officials*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Health, 119-130, 1973.

Soboul, Albert. *The French Revolution 1789-1799*. New York: Vintage, 1975.

Southerland, Daniel. "Taiwan's New President Promises to Continue Liberalization," *Washington Post*, A17b, Feb. 23, 1988.

Taiwan Statistical Data Book 1988 (TSDB 1988). Council for Economic Planning and Development, Republic of China. Taipei, Taiwan, June 1988.

Tichenor, P. J., Olien, C. N. and Donohue, G. A. "Predicting a Source's Success in Placing News in the Media," *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 44, 32-42, 1967.

Wesson, Robert. "Introduction," in Robert Wesson ed., *Democracy: A Worldwide Survey*. New York: Praeger Publisher, 1-9, 1987.

Windhavser, J. W. and Stempel, Guido H. "Reliability of Six Techniques for Content Analysis of Local Coverage," *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 56, 148-52, Spring, 1979.

APPENDIX

Coding Sheet

Variable	Value/Description	Column
Item number	__ __ __	1-3
Year	82	5-6
	84	
	86	
	88	
	90	
	92	
Time	1 = Before the martial law was lifted in 1987	7
	2 = After the martial law was lifted in 1987	
Papers	1 = New York Times	8
	2 = Wall Street Journal	
	3 = Los Angeles Times	
	4 = Washington Post	

Taiwanese Officials	0 = No	10
	1 = Yes	
Chinese Officials	0 = No	11
	1 = Yes	
U.S. Officials	0 = No	12
	1 = Yes	
Other Officials	0 = No	13
	1 = Yes	
Non-official Taiwanese	0 = No	14
	1 = Yes	
Non-official Chinese	0 = No	15
	1 = Yes	
Non-official Americans	0 = No	16
	1 = Yes	
Other non-official Foreigners	0 = No	17
	1 = Yes	

Miscellaneous	0 = No	18
	1 = Yes	
Taiwanese	0 = No	20
Majority will	1 = Yes	
People inform the leadership of		
their will.	0 = No	21
	1 = Yes	
Leadership acts in accordance with		
majority will.	0 = No	22
	1 = Yes	
Will of the	0 = No.	23
Leadership	1 = Yes	
People and leadership have or exercise		
competing purposes (wills).		
	0 = No	24
	1 = Yes	
Leadership acts according to its will.		
	0 = No	25
	1 = Yes	