

THE IMAGE OF CHINA IN THE U.S. PRESS:  
A CASE STUDY OF THREE U.S.  
NEWSMAGAZINES IN 1985 AND 1993

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# Chapter I

## INTRODUCTION

Mass media disseminate news and information, and provide enrichment and entertainment to the public. In modern society, mass media have become one of the important aspects in people's lives. On the other hand, the public relies on mass media to understand what is going on in the world, and enjoys receiving such news. While disseminating news, information, and entertainment programs, various images of subjects are created by the media. These images, directly or indirectly, influence the public's perception of the world in many aspects.

Mass media have the capability to shape or influence the public's opinion and raise the public's attention. From this concept, media not only tell the public what to think about the news, but also tell the public how to think about it. So, no matter what subject the image is concerned with -- a person, a company, a product, or a nation -- it is important to the subject because its image in media will shape the public's opinion, attitude, and perception toward this subject.

The image of a nation is mainly established by mass media

and it depends on how media select, describe, and disseminate news about its national situations. Generally, the image of a nation created by media directly relates to this nation's dignity and reputation in the world. On the one hand, if the image of a nation is correct or realistic -- it means what media reflect is the reality of the nation -- it will help the public to recognize and understand the nation. On the other hand, if the image of a nation is incorrect or unreal, it will mislead or influence the public's opinion and perception about this nation.

The United States has the most advanced media system in the world, so it is important for all nations to know how their images are created by U.S. media. According to mass communication theories, media dependency, attitude change, cultivation, and diffusion theories, etc., the image of a nation created by the media will directly or indirectly influence the public's attitude and opinion toward a nation. For citizens in general, since foreign affairs are often beyond their direct experience and involvement, their perceptions of the world outside depend largely on the issues and consequences transmitted through the mass media.<sup>1</sup> So for the general population, their opinions, attitudes, and perceptions about a nation mainly depend on how the media have established the image of this nation.

This thesis will examine the images of the People's Republic of China in three American newsmagazines through a

content analysis. All issues of the three American weekly newsmagazines -- Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report -- in both 1985 and 1993 will be used as sources for the study. Three comparisons will be made between 1985 and 1993: (1) The image of China in terms of direction: positive, negative, or neutral; (2) the category of news story in terms of politics, economics, science, culture, and so on; and (3) the news coverage of China in terms of the number of articles and photos. Through comparisons, the image of China in the three newsmagazines in both years under the study will be examined and we will learn of the differences or changes in the images of China as they have been presented in the three newsmagazines.

### **A Brief Account of the Relationship Between the United States and the People's Republic of China**

The People's Republic of China (hereafter known as China) was established in 1949. However, because of various reasons, the relationship between the U.S. and China was bad from 1949 to the early 1970s. The formal contact between the U.S. and the China did not begin until President Nixon's visit to China in February, 1972. During this unprecedented trip Nixon signed the important document, the Shanghai Communique, with the Chinese government. This historic visit ended the 22-year era of hostility and opened a channel between the two countries.

Seven years later, in 1979, official diplomatic relations



between the two countries were established. In that year, the first Chinese high-ranking officer -- Deng Xiaoping made an historic visit to the United States. He is the first high-level government officer from China who visited the U.S. since 1949. It meant that a reciprocal channel was opened further and the relations between the two countries entered a new era. Since then the contact between the two countries has greatly increased in various areas.

Since the late 1970s, economic reform in China accelerated the development of the relationship, cooperation, and exchange between the two countries. On the one hand, in each year both countries' students, scholars, and scientists went to the other country for study, teaching, or research. Among them, the greatest number are Chinese students who arrive in the U.S. for study. According to official data, in 1986 more than 15,000 Chinese students and scholars were studying and working in the U.S.<sup>2</sup> In 1993, 45,031 Chinese students (mainland) studied in the United States, which was the greatest number of all foreign students studying in the U.S.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, various companies, firms, or organizations in both countries established their branches in the other country for trade, investment, and exchange. In addition, in November 1983, the U.S. further relaxed the control of sales of seven categories of technical products (computers, microcircuits, semiconductor production equipments, computerized and electronic instruments, recording

equipment, and oscilloscopes) to China.<sup>4</sup> Between 1982 and 1985, license approvals increased 1000 percent from \$500 million to \$5.5 billion. In 1984, the U.S. investment in China comprised 17.9 percent and 22.9 percent in 1985.<sup>5</sup> These two aspects helped both countries understand each other and take Sino-American relations into a new period.

As we know, the political views and social systems are different between the United States and China. However, the cooperation and exchange between two countries in many areas (including science, economy, culture, and education) developed well and quickly since the early 1980s. In 1983 U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinburger visited China in September and Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xue-Qian visited the United States in October. In 1984 Chinese Premier Zhao Zi-Yang visited the U.S. in January and U.S. President Ronald Reagan visited China in April. These further reciprocal visits of the two countries' high-ranking officials greatly improved the friendship and understanding of each other. Both countries received benefits from these cooperation and exchange and they have found that the friendly cooperation offers mutual benefits. Until early 1989, the relationship between the two countries developed in a healthy manner.

However, because of the 1989 Tiananmen event, China received heavy criticism and blame from the Western media, including the U. S. Whether the criticism and blame were deserved or not, the image of China in the Western media

became very bad during that time. After the event, U.S. legislators considered numerous economic sanctions against China. The possible sanctions included limiting sales of high-technology items and denying Most-Favored-Nation-Status (MFNS) to China.<sup>6</sup>

With the passing of time, the relationship between China and the Western World, including Sino-American relations has been slowly and gradually recovering. The mutual contact and cooperation in many areas have been continuing between the two countries. In 1989, the United States invested \$87 million in China and \$126 million in 1992.<sup>7</sup> In 1989, the United States exported \$5,803 million to China and \$12,697 million in 1992; in 1989, the United States imported \$11,973 million from China and \$25,702 million in 1992.<sup>8</sup>

However, China has still been receiving criticism from the Western world, including the U.S. media, particularly on the issue of "human rights." Since 1990, the issue of "human rights" always is a condition or threat from the U.S. to China, which is related to renewal of the most-favored-nation status for China. Actually, the relationship between the two countries has still not recovered completely compared with the situation in the middle 1980s. After the Tiananmen event, China has experienced a harsh period, subjected to high political and economic pressure from the West. On October 18, 1990, the House voted to take away Most-Favored-Nation trading benefits for China and to impose tough human rights conditions

on any of those benefits in 1991.<sup>9</sup>

Even though the Western world, including the United States, imposed sanctions on China, after a period of time, they have reduced these sanctions because China is too important to be ignored. For example, in December 1989, six months after the Tiananmen event, the United States agreed to sell one million tons of subsidized wheat to China.<sup>10</sup> This is the first sale of agricultural trade to China after the Tiananmen event; in October 1991, China received high-tech exports from a 17-member trading group, including the U.S.;<sup>11</sup> and in November 1993, as President Clinton prepared to meet Chinese President Jiang Ze-Min, he was under increasingly intense pressure from the U.S. business community to smooth over U.S. relations with China, to ease imposed sanctions.<sup>12</sup>

Every year, some people wanted to remove MFNS from China. However, in contrast, more people understood the results if the MFNS is taken away from China -- both the U. S. and China would suffer. In May 1991, Richard Brecher, director of business advisory services for the US-China Business Council, and economist Nicolas Lardy offered their opposing views on President Bush's proposal to remove for one year China's MFNS.<sup>13</sup> An editorial in The Washington Post contended that MFNS should be extended to China because such a policy would be in the American interest.<sup>14</sup> An article in the Los Angeles Times said that President Bush's effort to maintain China's MFNS reflects the belief that withdrawing the special benefits

might turn the country into an outright enemy.<sup>15</sup>

Based on the common profitability, President Bush and President Clinton renewed MFNS to China with a condition of improving the "Human Rights Situation" in 1990, 1991, 1992, and 1993. President Bush said that "if you isolate China, you will make a tremendous mistake."<sup>16</sup> President Clinton said in January, 1994 that "we do not want to isolate China, in contrast, we want to maintain the connection with Chinese people. China is one of the fastest growing economic systems of improvement in the world."<sup>17</sup>

In the spring of 1994, the pressure for stopping MFNS of China appeared again and it became the most important issue between the two countries. Common knowledge held that if the MFNS could not be renewed with China, not only China would suffer, but also the United States would suffer. This is why nearly eight hundred big American companies wrote to President Clinton and asked him to renew the MFNS to China and separate the MFNS from the "Human Rights" issue.<sup>18</sup>

China has more than 1.2 billion people and its huge market has great attraction to the United States. Along with the passing of time, Western "sanctions and restrictions" to China have been relaxed gradually. With further economic reforms in early 1992, China needs other countries' help in economic and technological areas; on the other hand, the Western countries need to reach China's huge market to expand their international marketplace. For example, according to the

World Journal, China is the biggest customer of the Boeing Company having bought two billion dollars jets from the Company in 1993, and it will buy five billion, more than fifty Boeing airplanes, from Boeing in the next few years.<sup>19</sup>

China's huge market attracts lot of American business firms. Mitchell noted in her Atlanta Constitution article that with 13 plants in operation and a unique agreement with the Chinese government to build 19 more, Coca-Cola finds itself within reach of the riches represented by becoming the preferred drink of China's masses. Meanwhile, most American companies are just waking up to the potential of China's market.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, China needs help from Western countries. Vice Premier Minister Li Lan-Qing said to more than 800 representatives of different nations and areas in an international trade conference in Singapore in May 1994 that the "Market-system has dominated Chinese economy and China has prepared for the international cooperation. Before 2000, China will import ten billion products from the world."<sup>21</sup> In another example, General Motors Corporation wants to establish an assembly-line for its small trucks and cars in China.<sup>22</sup>

It is clear that if China and the U.S. would cooperate friendly and sincerely, both sides, including other nations and areas, would gain benefits. Otherwise, they would each suffer, especially economically. With the possibility of losing MFNS, U.S. businesses involved in trade with China are

raising an alarm over the possible elimination of China's MFNS, launching campaigns to warn of the impact on US-China trade and on U.S. customers.<sup>23</sup> Some Americans recognized the possible result of losing MFNS for China. Keatley said in the Wall Street Journal that U.S. businesses are keen to protect their expanding China trade and investment and say restricting trade with the US would only help Japanese and European rivals to get a stronger foothold in China's expanding market.<sup>24</sup>

The United States is a developed country in terms of advanced science and strong economy whereas China is one of the Third World's developing countries. Cooperation would seem to be the best way for the two countries since both of them need to support each other. As Thomas Robinson, professor of international relations at Georgetown University, said, "China needs the United States to introduce it further to the world of complex interdependence in terms of trade, defense, education, and international cooperation. America needs China as much as Beijing needs Washington."<sup>25</sup>

Since 1992 the relationship between China and the U.S. has been improving gradually. At the seventh session of the Sino-U.S. Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (JCCT), which began on December 17, 1992, both sides agreed to discard what they called "the unpleasant past" and start "a new epoch" featuring across-the-board interaction.<sup>26</sup>

On May 26, 1994, President Clinton made the historic decision of renewing MFNS with China without condition and

separating the MFNS from the "Human Rights" issue.<sup>27</sup> He said that the United States should renew the MFNS to China and we believe that this decision may provide the best opportunity to us for maintaining development and improving the benefits in various areas with China."<sup>28</sup> The decision of Clinton relaxes the relationship between two countries. President Bill Clinton's decision will become one of the milestones in the history between the United States and China.

### **Background of the Problem**

The mass media should reflect the reality of society, and journalists should report news truthfully and objectively. Because journalists' behavior might influence public's opinion, each media organization has set its own codes for their employers practice. For example, the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, says that "Truth is our ultimate goal."<sup>29</sup> The Washington Post Standards and Ethics code says that "The first mission of a newspaper is to tell the truth as nearly as the truth may be ascertained."<sup>30</sup> The American Society of Newspaper Editors' Statement of Principle says that "Journalists must avoid impropriety and the appearance of impropriety as well as any conflict of interest or the appearance of conflict of interest."<sup>31</sup> However, it is not easy to practice this for various reasons. Especially, when different political views, social systems, cultural backgrounds, and traditional philosophies are involved between



reporters/editors and subjects, difference in news reporting will possibly emerge.

In news reporting, two important aspects should be considered by reporters and editors. They are topic and description. The topic of the news story relates to the focus and direction of news reporting. Theoretically, it is concerned with agenda setting. For example, if reporters focus on the negative news -- war, conflict, disaster, accident, crime, violence, backwardness, and social problems -- the image of the subject will probably be negative. On the other hand, if reporters focus on positive news -- achievement, successful employment, inventiveness, creativity, social progress, improvement, and development -- the image of the subject will be positive. So the content -- the focus of the news story -- decides the image of the subject.

Description is further related to the image of subject and it determines on how the news story is treated or portrayed. The description of a news story is very important. Sometimes, even though the topic of a news story is negative, the image of the subject might not be negative. For example, Japan was defeated in World War II in 1945 with the attack of two atomic bombs by the United States. Generally, using an atomic bomb is bad because of its huge damage. However, the image of the U.S. was not bad in the world for using two atomic bombs in Japan because the attention and concern of the world were not focused on the use of or damage caused by

atomic bombs, but on how to defeat Japanese Fascism. Like former President Harry S. Truman said 16 hours after dropping the bomb on August 6, 1945 that the bomb "added a new and revolutionary increase in destruction" on the Japanese homeland. This bomb is the answer to Japan's failure to heed the Potsdam demand that she surrender unconditionally at once or face utter destruction.<sup>32</sup> In response to the Japanese surrender proposal, former Secretary of States James F. Byrnes told the Japanese government that "The armed force of the Allied power will remain in Japan until the purpose set forth in the Potsdam declaration are achieved."<sup>33</sup>

Another example related to the news description is the Persian Gulf War. In the late period of the Gulf War, the Allies and the U.S. Air Force heavily bombed Baghdad and the city suffered seriously. However, the image of the Allied Air Force was good during the war because the U.S. defeated the invader and forced Iraq to withdraw its troops from Kuwait without conditions. In many news stories, the U.S. as part of the Allied Air Force was depicted as heroic, using high technology to achieve the desired plan -- defeat Iraq with few losses. Actually, Baghdad was damaged by heavy bombing; however, this aspect was ignored. So the content and the topic choice decide the direction of the image of the subject.

The important factor in news selection is how to choose the topic -- the focus of news story, and how to report the news -- the angle of the description. Different people have

different ideas and logic; different countries have different ideology and policies. Additionally, there are differences in political, cultural, philosophical, and psychological aspects among countries, especially between the Eastern and Western worlds. Because of these differences, topic-choice and news-description could be different. These differences result in the possible problems -- dissatisfaction, complaints, even protest about the news reporting.

### **Theoretical Grounding**

There are many theories of mass communication in the U.S. The main point of these theories is that mass media have power to shape and impact, or persuade and influence the public's opinion, attitude, and perception in different ways. The importance of mass communication is "who says what in which channel to whom with what effect."<sup>34</sup> The public may not be aware of how they have been impacted or influenced; however, practitioners need to think about the process and effects of mass media because their behavior and decisions will result in certain outcomes. In other words, to a certain degree media practitioners decide what and how the public should think.

In ethical considerations based on Mill's Utility principle<sup>35</sup> and the Judeo-Christian's Persons-as-Ends principle<sup>36</sup>, reporters should seek the greatest happiness for the greatest number and love their neighbor as themselves. It means that when reporting the news story, they should think

about the possible results, make the most people happy, and treat the subject as themselves. According to Doris A. Graber, mass media build the public agenda when they create a climate that determines the likely thrust of public opinions.<sup>37</sup> In news reporting, two aspects are important: news selection and gatekeeping. Theoretically, news selection relates to agenda setting which is a macro consideration -- what topic media will focus on. Gatekeeping is concerned with the last decision whether or not a particular news story will be released to the public; it is a micro consideration -- how a specific news story will be reported. Gatekeeping relates to the description and portrayal of a news story in terms of truthfulness, objectivity, and tone of description.

Lowery and DeFleur say that when stimulus intensity is increased by a given amount, the response of the subject will also increase by a regular and predictable amount.<sup>38</sup> According to this theory, if media emphasize a certain topic by increasing coverage or giving a big headline or big picture, the public might be aware of this topic; in other words, the public will keep their attention toward the topic which was stressed by the media. President Bill Clinton's Health Care Plan of 1994 is an example.

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach note that the agenda set by the media are closely related to the rankings of importance assigned to the issues by their audiences.<sup>39</sup> It is clear that the agenda of media will become the agenda of the public. In

other words, in people's daily life, their agenda setting is dependent upon the news selection of media. So it is important how media practitioners set their news reporting agenda.

Gatekeeping is the last decision before release of the news story. The gatekeeper will make the last consideration to decide whether or not a news story will be released, how to report a particular news story, and whether or not the content, topic, description, or portrayal are suitable based on the journalist's social responsibility and professional codes. In other words, gatekeeping not only decides whether or not to release a news story, but also decides how the news story is described. According to theories of persuasion, attitude change, and media dependency, the content of news coverage in terms of topic, portrayal, and tone will influence the public's perception and attitude about the news stories. Graber says that emphasis on conflict may cause some people to believe that violence is an acceptable way to settle disputes. Highlighting a violent event often brings worse results.<sup>40</sup> So gatekeepers should consider the possible influences when they make the last decision to release a particular news story.

News selection and description decide the content of media; the content of media will decide the public's agenda and influence public's attitude, opinion, and perception. In foreign news reporting, topic selection and news description are important because they directly convey the image of a nation whose news is reported. Editors and reporters should

think about content, and the possible influence and impact when they decide to report and publish or air news stories to the public. If they report the news story in an opinionated manner, it is hard to keep the news story in an objective framework.

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### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to examine the images of China created by the three American newsmagazines both in 1985 and 1993. In the middle of the 1980s, the relationship between the United States and China, including cooperation and exchanges in various areas, was well developed. Both sides gained the benefit from each other. However, because of the 1989 Tiananmen event, the Western world stopped most of cooperations and exchanges with China -- they applied "sanctions" to China.

However, in the modern "global economic system," all nations, including the United States and China, need to reciprocally help each other. Actually, China is a one of the important countries in the system, especially since China has a huge market and cheap labor source for the Western world. With the passing of time, the Western "sanctions" were relaxed gradually and cooperation and exchange have been continuously undertaken. But China still is criticized by the Western world, mainly by the U.K. and the U.S. on the issue of "human rights." The researcher does not want to address the political

questions in this thesis, but to examine the images of China created by the three American newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993.

Comparisons will be made between these two years to look at the differences in reporting about China. The researcher assumes that the image of China in 1985 was normal, then through comparisons to look at whether or not the image of China has recovered in 1993.

### **Significance of the Study**

Since mass media have great power to influence the public's opinions and attitudes, the image of China created by American media is important. On the one hand, this image will shape the public's attitudes and opinions about China; on the other hand, it will influence the dignity and reputation of China in the world. In addition, whether the image of China is true or not will represent the credibility of the three newsmagazines -- whether or not they are truthful and believable.

As everyone knows that after the June 1989 Tiananmen event happened in China, the Chinese government received huge criticism and blame from the Western media. This present study is significant because the researcher wants to examine China's image in different periods. (1) In 1985 -- four years prior to the event; (2) in 1993 -- four years after the event. Several comparisons will be made between two years and between two

magazines. The results of this study will indicate the differences and changes among the variables.

In addition, the population of this study -- the three weekly newsmagazines -- is different from those studies on the same topic in previous times. This study will use all issues of the three newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993 as the study source. The sampling method will not be used in this study. It means that the results of this study will be more credible than that of those studies which examined random issues of the subject as the source.

#### **Assumptions and Limitations**

Like most research, there are some limitations in this study. The limitations are mentioned here so that other researchers can avoid them as much as possible when they want to conduct similar research. The following are this study's limitations:

- (1) In this research only three newsmagazines (312 issues) were used as the source. If more magazines were used as the source, the results of the study might be different.
- (2) The source of this study is only magazines. If other sources, newspapers, radio, or television, etc., were included, the results might be different from the present study.
- (3) Only two years of magazine issues were used in this study. If more years were used, the results might possibly be different.



### **Organization of the Study**

There are five chapters in this thesis. Chapter I, the introduction, provides brief information about the image creation by the media, the possible influence of the media, background of the problems, theoretical grounding, and relationship between the United States and China since the early 1970s.

Chapter II reviews previous studies in three aspects: (1) The coverage of American media; (2) the Third World's news coverage in the U.S. media; (3) China's news coverage in the U.S. media.

In Chapter III, the research design and the methodology used in the study are discussed in detail. In Chapter IV, the research data are analyzed and presented.

Finally, the summary, conclusions and discussion of this thesis as well as recommendations for further study are given in Chapter V.

### Endnotes

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<sup>40</sup>Graber, 133.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW



With the most advanced media industry in the world, the U.S. is seen as a major news source rather than a receiver because of its Big Power status and because of its pervasive, worldwide network of news agencies.<sup>1</sup> The content of international news is important because that information plays a paramount role in international relations, both as a means of communication between peoples and as an instrument of understanding and knowledge between nations.<sup>2</sup>

Ghorpade found in his 1984 study that Third World correspondents were significantly more likely to agree with statements concerning Western domination of news flow, biased reports about the Third World, and Western control of news transmission hardware than were Western correspondents. He said both groups of correspondents however, agreed that the Western press ignored the Third World and that government interference with freedom of the press is a serious problem.<sup>3</sup>

In this chapter, the researcher will provide various information about the U.S. media in some previous studies. These studies will help in understanding the background of American media and point out some considerations about contact with the U.S. media.

### **The Coverage of Foreign News in U.S. Media**

Significant events happen daily around the world, but only some of these are reported in the U. S. news media. Shoemaker, Danielian, and Brendlinger did a content analysis on coverage of the U.S. news media in 1991. They found that The New York Times covered only about a fourth of a sample of world events and the networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, mentioned only about a tenth. They concluded that events which are deviant in certain ways from U.S. national values and which occur in nations of political and economic significance to the United States are more likely to be covered in the news.<sup>4</sup>

The press in the United States has been criticized for providing so little international news.<sup>5</sup> Cutlip conducted a content analysis of the Associated Press wire copy in the early 1950s and he found that only about 5 percent to 10 percent dealt with foreign news.<sup>6</sup> In the New York Times in 1970 about 16 percent of the total news space was given to foreign news content.<sup>7</sup>

Bennett found in his study that "Reporters paid more attention to the views of political elites than to nonofficial forms of public opinion."<sup>8</sup> Reese noted that American news media play an essential role in maintaining the political system. They accomplish this, Reese contends, by adhering to a news paradigm that offers a narrow definition of what constitutes legitimate political discourse and of who qualifies as a political elite.<sup>9</sup>

Bogart conducted a study of overseas performance of American newsmen in 1968 and he found that it is not surprising that the newsgathering process has become both more complex and more bureaucratic with the concentration of American foreign correspondents into a comparative handful of major news organizations. What is perhaps surprising is the fact that so much diversity still exists within the correspondent corps, and that same spirit of individualistic journalism continues to flourish.<sup>10</sup>

The coverage of international news in the U.S. media is different according to media firms. Ganzert and Flournoy conducted a study on the coverage of international news of the major American TV system. They found that CNN devoted the most coverage of international news reporting on the topic of "Arts/Culture/ Entertainment" in its "World Report," and the U.S. Networks' most covered topic was "Military/National Defense" while both second and third topics of CNN and Networks were focused on the same topic -- "Foreign Relations and Domestic Relations."<sup>11</sup>

Potter's study in 1987 about the news coverage of "three worlds" news coverage in eight U.S. newspapers found that different newspapers had different coverage of international news stories. The Los Angeles Times had the most international news coverage -- 72.9 percent and the Miami Herald had the least coverage -- 21.3 percent. Within the total set of 1,515 international news stories, 1,100 -- 72.6 percent -- featured

the West exclusively, 113 -- 7.5 percent featured the Third World. However, in total international news, the Miami Herald displayed the highest percentage of Third World coverage -- 54.9 percent while the Los Angeles Times only had 6.8 percent.<sup>12</sup>

Some studies suggest that general U.S. media coverage of the rest of the world -- especially the Third World -- tends to be crisis-oriented and drawn to sensational and typical happenings.<sup>13</sup> Hester found that news concerning Western Europe predominated in the foreign news coverage of U.S. wire service and that "TV news from Asia, Africa, and Latin America was generally little evidenced, unless U.S. interests were directly involved."<sup>14</sup>

Wilhoit and Weaver conducted two similar studies about the news coverage of American media in 1979 and 1981. They found that the proportion of news coverage in U.S. media from wire services changed in 1981 compared with that in 1979. In 1979, the proportion of news coverage between less-developed countries and more-developed countries was 59 to 41 percent; in the 1981 update it was 46 to 54.<sup>15</sup> They indicated that most foreign news is about politics and the diplomatic and military activities that underpin politics among states. Conflict, however, whether violent or non-violent, does dominate foreign news, especially for the less developed countries of the world.<sup>16</sup>

Stevenson and Gaddy found in their study that 58 percent



of the news stories about the third world in U.S. newspapers are negative, while only 23 percent of news in the U.S. press about the first World is negative. They found that the majority at least partly agreed (in terms of news coverage) with the U.S. media that more "bad" news originates in the Third World than in the First World.<sup>17</sup>

According to Rosenblum, for a variety of reasons relating to the structure, policy, and purpose of the U.S. media, news coverage of the developing nations is slanted toward "bad news" and U.S. news media distort reality in their coverage of the Third World. The Third World critics see Western coverage of their countries as disproportionate and distorted, with too little coverage and too much concentration on the violent, the bizarre, and the conflictual.<sup>18</sup> A number of countries are concerned American media with news coverage and images. There is some research on the news coverage of the Third World countries, including China, in the U.S. press media. From the results of these research studies, the researcher will present a brief background of the performance of the U.S. press media in reporting news of the Third World.

Researchers Lynch and Effendi said newspapers their accounts of foreign affairs are colored by philosophical, moral, and political perspectives prevailing in their own countries where the newspaper is published.<sup>19</sup> So the coverage of U.S. press is influenced by these factors. Davison noted that international diplomacy is a major determinant of what

foreign news is reported.<sup>20</sup>

### **Third World Countries' News in the U.S. Press**

The United States is a powerful country in the world and it dominates many things, including international communications. Under this domination, complaints have appeared, especially by Third World countries. As the less-developed countries of the Third World increase their political power within international organizations such as UNESCO, complaints about the world news flow become more audible. Of special concern is the image of Third World countries in the mass media of the industrialized West, particularly in the U.S.<sup>21</sup>

Aggarwala found that the structure of international communication is dominated by Western countries, particularly the United States. The Third World countries not only receive relatively little international news attention but that little news about them, written for Western needs and taste, is also biased and distorted.<sup>22</sup>

Some studies suggest that the nature of the U.S. press coverage of the Third World was unfavorable either in terms of value and/or direction. Nwosu found in his study that the U.S. press coverage of African countries has been sparse and overemphasized sensational, crisis-oriented, or negative news.<sup>23</sup> Beltran found that the reportage of Latin American news is systematically superficial and consistently biased.<sup>24</sup>

About U. S. international news coverage, some small countries explained their dissatisfaction. Edward W. Said noted with his findings that Iran was presented as a militant, unstable, and anti-American country,<sup>25</sup> so the U.S. coverage of Iran news was criticized as reporting Iranian affairs through the Shah's eyes, ignoring the real motives of the Iranian people.<sup>26</sup> Riffe and Shaw concluded in a 1982 study that throughout the 1970s the American press continued to foster the image of the Third World countries as political system rife with conflict.<sup>27</sup>

Viswanath did a survey to examine the credibility of the U.S. press in 1988. He found that half of the respondents disagreed with the statement that "international news reflects reality," and more than half of the respondents disagreed that "international news gives an impartial picture of the world." Respondents felt that international news was inadequate, biased, and inaccurate.<sup>28</sup>

Windhausen and Arias conducted a study about the news coverage of Hispanics in the U.S. media and he said that even though the Hispanic culture has added many positive contributions to U.S. development and work in every kind of job, the media perpetuates the myth that Hispanic people are criminals and unskilled workers.<sup>29</sup>

However, some studies found different results about the U.S. news coverage of the Third World. Jyotila Ramaprasad and Daniel Riffe did a study about the U.S. news coverage of India

in Time between 1973 and 1980. They found that in India news coverage in the period of study, both trends of favorable and unfavorable news decreased; and the neutral news stories increased.<sup>30</sup>

In a study on how India was portrayed by the editorials of The New York Times between 1950 and 1962, Lynch and Effendi's findings suggested that The New York Times presented a relatively balanced picture of India in its editorial columns during the period of study.<sup>31</sup> Sharif al Mujahid conducted a study about Pakistani news coverage in three U.S. newsmagazines (Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report) between 1962 and 1965. His four-year content study found that the U.S. exposure concerned primarily Pakistani foreign relations, provided inadequate coverage of domestic matters, and was generally neutral, factual, and balanced.<sup>32</sup>

### **China's News in the U. S. Press**

There are not many studies about news coverage of China in the U.S. media. Generally, the image of China in the U.S. media is related to the relationship between two countries in the last 45 years. In other words, it is related to American policies towards China. In different periods the American media reported news about China differently. Even if the media is the independent fourth estate in the United States, news coverage has been heavily influenced by government policy.

Stephen Hartgen's 1979 study on the news coverage of China in four U.S. newspapers in 1945 and 1946 found that four newspapers (Atlanta Constitution, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Louisville Courier-Journal, and Minneapolis Tribune) seemed to have failed in providing their readers with information which might have helped set the events in China in perspective. They can be faulted for failure to cover a revolution that involved a fourth of the world's population.<sup>33</sup> Hartgen concluded that in the late 1940's, the American government was faced with a major foreign policy crisis in the collapse of Nationalist China to the Communists, but little attention has been devoted to the American press's coverage of that crisis.<sup>34</sup>

The news coverage about China in the U.S. press reflects the U.S. government's policy toward China. In their comparison of Chiang and Mao, Yu and Riffe found that there were three distinct periods within 22 years from 1949 and 1972 that demonstrated U.S. news coverage toward China. They concluded that the news coverage seemed to reflect the U.S.-China policy. They said that during the "hostility era" (1949-1959), when China was a "foe," Mao (the former highest leader of the P.R. China) was clearly presented in an unfavorable light. In the "transition period" (1960-1969) the unfavorable news reduced, favorable news appeared, and neutral news increased. In the third period, "alliance era" (1970-1976), as Cold War anti-communist fears and fervor diminished, and as Washington came to view Mao as an inevitable -- if not irresistible -- force and "semi-ally," favorable and neutral news coverage

continued to increase and unfavorable news continuing decreased.<sup>35</sup>

After President Richard Nixon's visit to China in 1972, American U.S.-China policy relaxed. In 1985, Chang's research about the image of China in The New York Times found that between 1975 and 1982 Chinese news coverage had become less negative or more neutral although it did not change significantly to more positive.<sup>36</sup> In 1991, Su conducted a study about China's image in U.S. newspapers between 1972 and 1985. He found that in the early 1970s, the images of China were negative; during the middle of the decade, it was neutral. In the first half of the 1980s (reform period), China's image was positive with many articles emphasizing the positive side of the reform program.<sup>37</sup>

In 1988, Tsze-Sun Li did a study about China's news coverage in The Washington Post. He found that in 1986 54.9 percent of Chinese news stories were negative in The Washington Post, 41.2 percent were positive, and 3.9 percent were neutral.<sup>38</sup> The image of China in the U.S. press changes depending on several factors: the China policy of the U.S., the status of the Sino-American relationship, and others.

### **Brief Summary**

The United States has one of the dominant mass media systems in the world. Around the world, developed countries dominate the international news coverage. Less-developed countries receive less attention from the media than do of

more developed countries. In the content of news stories, less-developed countries have more crisis- or conflict-oriented news than do more developed countries. In other words, the Third World countries have more "bad news" than the First World countries.

The formal relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China began in the early 1970s. Since the two countries established diplomatic relations in 1979, the cooperation and exchange developed well in various areas even though there are differences in political, social system, philosophy, ideology, and some other aspects. The image of China in the American press was not bad. Three of four studies during the middle 1980s found that the image of China was positive while the other study (Li, 1988)<sup>39</sup> showed the image of China was little bit more negative (54.9 percent).

However, in 1989, the Tiananmen event happened in China. The category and direction of China's news reporting changed greatly. This study is going to examine the image of China in 1993 and comparisons will be made to find out whether or not there was a difference in the image of China between 1993 and 1985. In other words, the researcher wants to know whether or not the image of China had recovered by 1993 with respect to its image in 1985.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 56.



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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 132.

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## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

This research uses content analysis to look at the difference in images of China in three American weekly newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993. The term "content analysis" is used here to mean the scientific analysis of a communication message.

Content analysis is a method which has been used successfully by a number of researchers in mass communication research area. Lasswell explains the purpose of content analysis as follows: "The operations of content analysis consist of classifying the signs occurring in a communication into a set of appropriate categories. The results state the frequency of occurrence of each category in the classification scheme."<sup>1</sup>

Bud, Thorpe, and Donohew said that "content analysis is a systematic technique for analyzing message content and message handling -- it is a tool for observing and analyzing the overt communication behavior of selected communicators."<sup>2</sup> Berelson defined content analysis as "A research technique for objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."<sup>3</sup>

Content analysis is one the dominant methodologies used in public communication, journalism, and mass media research.<sup>4</sup> For example, researchers have been using content analysis to examine how political systems and media ownership relate to the content of newspapers under such political system of ownership.<sup>5</sup> According to Paisley, "Content analysis is a phase of information-processing in which communication content is transformed through objective and systematic application of categorization rules, into data that can be summarized and compared."<sup>6</sup>

The images of China in the three American weekly newsmagazines -- Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report -- in both 1985 and 1993 were examined by content analysis. The examination of news stories about China includes five aspects: (1) The direction of the news stories; (2) the category of the news stories; (3) the number of the news stories; (4) the number of the pictures accompanying the story; and (5) the amount of the coverage of the news stories in terms of total and average column inches.

### **Research Design**

The researcher uses content analysis to examine the image of China in the three weekly American newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993. Three variables -- direction, category, amount of coverage in news stories about China -- will be examined. The **direction** of news stories will determine if the image of

China is positive, negative, or neutral; the **category** of news stories will tell how many areas were covered by the three newsmagazines among nine categories; the **amount** of coverage -- the number of articles and the length of articles (total and average column inches) -- will determine how much attention the three American newsmagazines paid to China.

From the data collection, the results of three variables will emerge; by the comparisons, the possible differences in the image of China will be revealed. Findings will answer all research questions and indicate whether or not hypotheses were supported.

### **Research Questions**

This research study examined the following questions:

Research question one: Was there a difference in the images of China in terms of direction in the three American newsmagazines respectively between 1985 and 1993?

Research question two: Was there a difference in news coverage of China in terms of categories among three newsmagazines between the two years under study?

Research question three: Was there a difference in news coverage of China in the number of articles and length of articles in column inches among the three newsmagazines during the two years under study?

Research question four: Was there a difference in the number of pictures which accompanied the news stories in total

and average numbers among the three newsmagazines between the two years under study?

Research question five: Has the image of China recovered in the three American newsmagazines by 1993 compared to its image in 1985?

### **Null Hypotheses**

The following are null hypotheses and the research will examine them to find out whether they are supported or not.

Hypothesis one: There was no difference in direction in the images of China in the three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993.

Hypothesis two: There was no difference in news coverage of China in terms of categories among the three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993.

Hypothesis three: There was no difference in news coverage of China in terms of the number of articles and the length of articles in inches among the three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993.

Hypothesis four: There was no difference in the average number of pictures which accompanied an article among the three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993.

Hypothesis five: There was no difference in the overall image of China in the three American newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993.

### **Data Collection Method**

The content analysis method was used to look at the difference in the images of China created by three American newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993. Two years were selected for the study because of the 1989 Tiananmen event. The year 1985 was four years prior to the event and the 1993 was four years after the event. The researcher wanted to look at whether or not there was a difference in the images of China among three newsmagazines between the two years under study. During the 1989 Tiananmen event Chinese government got heavy blame and criticism from the Western media including American. No matter whether or not, the blame or criticism were deserved, the image of China was not good during and after the event. If the image of China in the three newsmagazines was considered normal -- it means that the image of China in the three U.S. newsmagazines reflected the reality of China -- in 1985, the researcher wants to know whether or not it had recovered by 1993. Comparisons will be made among the three newsmagazines between the two years under study.

### **Selection of Newsmagazines**

Three Weekly American newsmagazines, Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report, were chosen as the source of this study because of their large circulation and the degree of the popularity. Three newsmagazines are popular in the U. S. and they have huge readership. Time's circulation was 4,273,962<sup>7</sup>

in 1985 and 4,073,530<sup>8</sup> in 1993; Newsweek's circulation in 1985 was 2,950,000<sup>9</sup> and in 1993 was 3,224,770.<sup>10</sup> U.S. News & World Report's circulation was 2,050,000<sup>11</sup> and in 1993 was 2,237,000.<sup>12</sup>

All issues of the three newsmagazines in both selected years -- 1985 and 1993 -- will be used as the source of this study. In other words, a sampling method was not used in this study. All news stories and pictures about China will be examined for different variables.

#### **Data Collection Form**

This study will examine the following variables about the image of China in the three newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993:

(1) **Direction** of the news story: (Cited from Yu and Riffe's study)<sup>13</sup>

**A. Positive.** It was depicted by favorable articles which "focused on positive or improved relations with the United States, or on domestic stability, domestic economic progress, social cohesion and preservation of cultural heritage; portrayed the nation/leader as being progressive, or peace-loving, moral, lawful, cooperative, etc., within the international community; or portrayed the leader as being personally popular, of strong leadership and personality.

**B. Negative.** It was depicted as unfavorable articles which focused on negative or deteriorating relations with the United States, or on domestic instability, social unrest, economic problems and degradation of culture; or portrayed the nation/leader as backward, aggressive, unlawful, or an "obstacle" in the international community; or portrayed the leader as being personally unpopular, a weak leader or personality.



**C. Neutral.** An article was judged neutral if it lacked favorable or unfavorable criteria, or if it was judged to be balanced in its mix of the two.

(2) **Category** of the news story. News stories will be divided into nine categories according to the actual content and topic of each news story published in the three newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993. The following are the nine categories and their definitions:

**A.** Politics -- the news and activities concerned with politicians, law, justice, party, national leader, social system, and policies.

**B.** Military -- the news and activities concerned with troops, weapons, defense, and other military events.

**C.** Society -- the news and activities concerned with social mainstream and movement, life-style change, and change in ideology.

**D.** Economy/Business -- the news and activities concerned with finance, money, bank, loan, investment, stock, production, marketplace, and other economic information.

**E.** Culture/Arts -- the news and activities concerned with all cultural and arts information.

**F.** Education -- the news and activities concerned with schools, students, teachers, education system, and achievements.

**G.** Sports -- the news and activities concerned with sports persons, coaches, training, competition, and all sport

information.

**H.** Environment -- the news and activities concerned with natural resources, damage or protection of air, river, forest, solid, animal, and other environmental information.

**I.** Religion -- the news and activities concerned with the religious policies and system; the church, and other religious information.

(3) **Coverage** of the news story

**A.** The number of the articles (news stories). It was measured by the articles that appeared in the three newsmagazines in both years under study.

**B.** The length of news story. It was measured in column inches for each article. Two results were gained from the measurement: the total length column inches of news coverage and average length column inches per article in the three newsmagazines in both years under the study.

**C.** The number of the pictures. It will be measured according to the pictures that appeared in the three newsmagazines of both years under study. Two data will be gained from the measurement: the total number of pictures and average pictures per article in three newsmagazines and both years under the study.

### **Coding Procedure**

Two Chinese graduate students from Oklahoma State

University were trained to be the coders to determine the direction and category of each article. They have studied in the United States more than two years were asked to evaluate the news stories of China independently on an individual basis. Their English is good enough to serve as coders because of their successful study at Oklahoma State University. Each of the coders, 1 and 2, coded half of the three newsmagazines. Coder 1 coded three newsmagazines from January to June of both years; and coder 2 coded three newsmagazines from July to December of both years. There are a total of 312 issues of three newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993 and each coder coded 156 issues.

Three directions and nine categories of the news stories were divided according to the research design of measurement. The number of articles and pictures were calculated according to their appearance in the three newsmagazines under the period of study and in both years under the study. Also the length of the total and the average of the news stories were measured by the inches in column (there are three columns on each page).

### **Intercoder Reliability**

In order to make the evaluation data valid, two coders were tested to determine their credibility of measurement. Two coders were tested independently by coding the same 20 articles -- news stories of China -- from two newspapers and

two magazines, The New York Times, The Washington Post, Newsweek, and Time. The news stories in Newsweek and Time magazines were taken from different years than the study. This is the training process to make certain two coders have correct judgment in their measurement for this study.

The results of the testing is that two coders made the same evaluation or judgement on 95 percent of total news stories, 19 of 20 articles, in three directions and nine categories. After discussion, they agreed on the measurement of the other article. According to Kassarian, the minimum reliability level between different coders should be higher than 85 percent,<sup>14</sup> so the reliability of the data collection in this study is acceptable. Table I shows the intercoder reliability.

**TABLE I**

**Intercoder Reliability**

Coder 1 VS. Coder 2

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<u>Articles in source</u>	<u>Reliability</u>
<i>The New York Times</i>	1.0 (5:5)
<i>The Washington Post</i>	0.8 (4:5)
<i>Newsweek</i>	1.0 (5:5)
<i>Time</i>	1.0 (5:5)
Total	3.8/4 or 19:20 = 95%

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In order to verify the coding credibility of this study, the researcher included an American-born student at Oklahoma State University to code 40 news stories of China in Newsweek in both 1985 and 1993. The result and comparison to the results of Chinese coders are shown in table IX.

**TABLE II**

**Comparisons in Coding Newsweek of Two Nations' Coders**

	Positive		Negative		Neutral	
	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>
<b>Chinese</b>	37.50%	0	6.25%	66.66%	52.25%	33.33%
<b>America</b>	43.75%	0	12.5%	58.33%	43.75%	41.66%

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Complex Chi-Square statistics = 5.06

Table Chi-Square = 9.5 (P < 0.05, df = 4)

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the comparison in coding Newsweek between Chinese coders and an American coder shows that there was no significant difference in the coding between the two nation's coders.

**Statistical Method**

The statistical analysis used in this study is the Chi-Square analysis. The coders coded each news story about China in the three newsmagazines in three aspects: direction, category, and coverage (the number of news stories and

pictures and length of total and each article in inches of column). The results of this study have answered all research questions. The Chi-Square test has been used to determine whether or not genuine differences exist between variables. The results of the study indicate whether the null hypotheses are supported. In this study a minimum of 95 percent and a maximum of 99 percent level of confidence (the researcher is 95 percent or 99 percent sure the difference was not due to chance) have been used to test all null hypotheses.

#### **Assumed Limitations**

The results of this study may be limited by several factors. First, only three American newsmagazines were used as the source in this study. If more magazines had been used, the results might be different from the present study. Second, only newsmagazines were used as the source of the study. If the study had included other media forms, the newspapers, radio, television, the results might be different.

### Endnotes

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<sup>2</sup>R. W. Budd, R. K. Thorp, and L. Donald, Content Analysis of Communications, (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 2.

<sup>3</sup>B. Berelson, Content Analysis in Communications Research, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), 55.

<sup>4</sup>Carl H. Boten, Lawrence R. Frey, Paul G. Friedman, and Gray L. Kreps, Investigating Communication -- An Introduction to Research Methods (Englewood Cliffs, 1991), 213.

<sup>5</sup>James B. Lemert, Criticizing the Media: Empirical Approaches (Newbury Park, 1989), 1.

<sup>6</sup>W. J. Paisley, Studying Style as Deviation from Encoding Norms in The Analysis of Communications Content: Developments in Scientific Theories and Computer Techniques, eds. G. Gerbner, et al., (New York: Wiley, 1969), 133-146.

<sup>7</sup>The Standard Periodical Directory: Ninth Edition (New York: Oxbridge Communications, Inc., 1985), 887.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid. (Sixteenth Edition, 1993), 1116.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. (Ninth Edition, 1985), 886.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. (Sixteenth Edition, 1993), 1116.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid. (Ninth Edition, 1985), 887.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid. (Sixteenth Edition, 1993), 1116.

<sup>13</sup>Yang-Chou Yu and Daniel Riffe, "Chiang and Mao in U.S. News Magazines," Journalism Quarterly (winter, 1989), 916.

<sup>14</sup>Harold H. Kassarian, "Content Analysis in Consumer Research," Journal of Consumer Research (June, 1977), 8.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS OF DATA

#### Background

A statistical content analysis was performed on the content of the news stories of China in the three American newsmagazines in order to examine the image of China. A total of 106 news stories and 185 pictures of China was recorded. Table II shows the details of news stories and pictures in different years and newsmagazines. Then the Chi-Square test was used to analyze the data according to the different variables.

Table III

#### Number of Articles and Pictures

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	<u>Newsweek</u>		<u>Time</u>		<u>U.S.N.W.R.</u>	
	<u>Articles</u>	<u>Pictures</u>	<u>Articles</u>	<u>Pictures</u>	<u>Articles</u>	<u>Pictures</u>
<b>1985</b>	16	30	25	45	6	14
<b>1993</b>	24	44	12	18	23	34

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### Findings

A total of 106 news stories (articles) and 185 pictures of China were recorded from the three American newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993. Of these, Newsweek had 16 news stories about China and 30 pictures of China in 1985 and 24 articles and 44 pictures in 1993. Time had 25 news stories and 45 pictures in 1985 and 12 articles and 18 pictures in 1993. U.S. News & World Report had six news stories and 14 pictures in 1985 and 23 news stories and 34 pictures in 1993. The statistical analysis of results are presented in this section so that each variable can be examined, and the research questions answered.

Research question one: Was there a difference in the images of China in terms of directions in the three American newsmagazines respectively between 1985 and 1993?

Table III presents the directions of news stories of China in three newsmagazines in 1985 and 1993 individually.

**TABLE IV**  
**Directions of News Stories**

	<u>Newsweek</u>		<u>Time</u>		<u>U.S.N.W.R.</u>	
	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>
<b>Positive</b>	6	0	19	0	4	6
<b>Negative</b>	1	16	1	6	1	6
<b>Neutral</b>	$\frac{9}{16}$	$\frac{8}{24}$	$\frac{5}{25}$	$\frac{6}{12}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{11}{23}$

Three complex Chi-Square analyses were performed to examine the difference in the image of China in the three American newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993.

(1) The images of China in Newsweek between two years:

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 18.43

Table Chi-Square = 9.2 ( $p < 0.01$ ,  $df = 2$ )

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the news stories of China in Newsweek shows that there is a real difference in direction of news stories at the 0.01 level between 1985 and 1993. In 1985 the image of China in Newsweek was 56 percent neutral and 38 percent positive while six percent was negative. In 1993 the image of China in Newsweek was 67 percent negative and 33 percent neutral. The difference was significant which means that it was not due to chance.

(2) The image of China in Time between two years:

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 20.63

Table Chi-Square = 9.2 ( $p < 0.01$ ,  $df = 2$ )

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the images of China in Time shows that there is a real difference in direction of news stories at the 0.01 level between 1985 and 1993. In 1985 the image of China in Time was 76 percent positive and 20 percent neutral while four percent was negative. In 1993 the image of China in Time was 50 percent negative and 50 percent neutral. The difference was significant which means that it was not due to chance.

(3) The image of China in U.S. News & World Report

between 1985 and 1993.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 3.56

Table Chi-Square = 6 ( $p < 0.05$ ,  $df = 2$ )

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the image of China in U. S. News & World Report shows that there is no real difference in direction of news stories of China at the 0.05 level between 1985 and 1993. In 1985 the image of China in U.S. News & World Report was 67 percent positive and 16.67 percent negative while 16.67 was neutral. In 1993 the image of China was 48 percent of neutral and while positive and negative images were both 26 percent. The difference was not significant.

Research question two: Was there a difference in news coverage of China in terms of categories among three newsmagazines between the two years under study?

Table IV presents the categories of news stories of China in the three newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993.

(Table IV, see next page)

**TABLE V**  
**The Categories of News Stories about China**

	<u>Newsweek</u>		<u>Time</u>		<u>U.S.N.W.R.</u>	
	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>
<b>Politics</b>	8	11	11	5	2	8
<b>Military</b>	0	2	2	0	0	4
<b>Societal</b>	3	7	5	3	0	7
<b>Economy /Business</b>	1	1	3	0	4	1
<b>Culture /Arts</b>	2	1	1	4	0	1
<b>Education</b>	1	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Sports</b>	0	1	1	0	0	1
<b>Environment</b>	0	1	1	0	0	1
<b>Religion</b>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	16	24	25	12	6	23

Three complex Chi-Square analyses were performed to examine the difference in categories of news coverage of China in the three American newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993.

(1) The category of news stories of China in Newsweek between 1985 and 1993.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 7.08

Table Chi-Square = 15.5 (p < 0.05, df = 8)

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the category of news stories of China shows that there was no real difference

in the categories of news coverage of China between 1985 and 1993 in Newsweek.

(2) The category of news stories of China in Time between 1985 and 1993.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 9.07

Table Chi-Square = 14.1 (p < 0.05, df = 7)

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the category of news stories of China in Time shows that there was no real difference in the categories of news coverage of China between 1985 and 1993.

(3) The category of news stories of China in U.S. News & World Report between 1985 and 1993.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 14.47

Table Chi-Square = 12.6 (p < 0.05, df = 6)

The Complex Chi-Square analysis of the category news stories of China in U. S. News & World Report shows that there was a real difference in the categories of news stories of China at the 0.05 level between 1985 and 1993. In 1985 U.S.N.W.R. just focused its coverage on two categories: 67 percent on the economy and 33 percent on politics; in 1993 it focused on more categories with different proportions: 35 percent on politics, 30 percent on society, 17 percent on military, and four percent on each of three categories: economy/business, culture/arts, and environment. The difference is significant which means that it was not due to chance.

(4) Overall categories of news stories of China.

Table V presents the overall categories of news stories of China in the three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993.

**TABLE VI**  
**Overall Categories of News Stories about China**

	1985	1993
Politics	21	24
Military	2	6
Societal	8	17
Economy /Business	8	2
Culture /Arts	3	6
Education	1	0
Sports	1	2
Environment	1	2
Religion	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
	47	59

Complex Chi-Square Statistics = 12.55

Table Chi-Square = 15.5 (p < 0.05, df = 8)

Complex Chi-Square analysis of overall categories shows that there was no real difference in the categories of news coverage of China in three newsmagazines between 1985 and

1993. The difference was not significant; thus the findings suggest that the second hypothesis was supported.

Research question three: Was there a difference in coverage of news stories of China in terms of the number of articles and the length of total and average column inches among three newsmagazines and between 1985 and 1993?

Table V presents the coverage of China's news stories in terms of the number of the news stories (articles) and the length of column inches of news stories in total and on average in the three newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993.

**TABLE VII**  
**The Coverage of China's News Stories**

	<u>Newsweek</u>		<u>Time</u>		<u>U.S. N.W.R.</u>	
	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>
<b>Number of News Stories</b>	16	24	25	12	6	23
<b>Total Inches</b>	291.00	469.50	220.00	558.50	207.50	401.50
<b>Average Inches /Each Article</b>	18.19	19.56	18.33	22.34	34.58	17.47

Three complex Chi-Square analyses were performed to examine the coverage of news stories about China in terms of the number of articles and the length in total inches and average inches per article in the three newsmagazines between

1985 and 1993.

(1) The number of China's news stories.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 14.6

Table Chi-Square = 9.2 (p < 0.01, df = 2)

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the number of news stories about China among three newsmagazines shows that there was a real difference in the number of news stories about China at the 0.01 level among three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. Time had the most news stories about China in 1985 and the least in 1993; Newsweek had the most in 1993 and was second in 1985; U.S. News & World Report was the second in 1993 and had the least in 1985. Overall, in both years Newsweek had the most news stories about China, Time was the second, and U.S.N.W.R. was the last. The difference was significant which means that it was not due to chance.

(2) The length of total column inches of news stories of China.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 17.45

Table Chi-Square = 9.2 (p < = 0.01, df = 2)

Complex Chi-Square analysis of total column inches of new stories of China shows that there was a real difference at the 0.01 level among three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. Overall, all three newsmagazines had much more coverage in column inches about the news stories of China in 1993 than in 1985. In 1985 Newsweek had the most coverage in column inches, Time was second, and U.S. News & World Report was



last. In 1993 Time was the first, Newsweek was the second, and U.S.N.W.R was the last. The difference was significant and it means that it happened not due to chance.

(3) The length of average column inches of each news story.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 5.05

Table Chi-Square = 6 (p < 0.05, df = 2)

Complex Chi-Square analysis of average column inches of each news story of China shows that there was no real difference among the three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. Overall, U.S. News & World Report had the most average column inches of each news story of China, Time was the second, and Newsweek was the last. The difference was not significant.

Research question four: Was there a difference in number of pictures which accompanied the news stories in total and average number among three newsmagazines and between 1985 and 1993?

Table VII presents the pictures which accompanied with news stories in total and average number among the three newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993.

(Table VII see next page)

**TABLE VIII**  
**News Coverage of Pictures**

	<u>Newsweek</u>		<u>Time</u>		<u>U.S.N.W.R.</u>	
	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>
<b>Total Articles</b>	16	24	25	12	6	23
<b>Total Pictures</b>	30	44	45	18	14	34
<b>Average Pictures of Each Article</b>	1.88	1.83	1.80	1.5	2.33	1.48

Two complex Chi-Square analyses were performed to examine the difference in number of total and average pictures accompanied with each news story in the three newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993.

(1) The number of total pictures accompanying all news stories.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 22.37

Table Chi-Square = 9.2 ( $p < 0.01$ ,  $df = 2$ )

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the total pictures shows that there was a real difference in the number of total pictures accompanied all news stories at the 0.01 level among the three newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993. In 1985, Time had the most pictures in accompanying the news stories of China and the least in 1993; Newsweek had the most in 1993 and the second in 1985; and U.S. News & World Report had the second in 1993 and the least in 1985. The difference was significant which means that it was not due to chance.

(2) The average pictures of each news story.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 0.09

Table Chi-Square = 6 ( $p < 0.05$ ,  $df = 2$ )

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the average picture of each news story shows that there was no real difference in the number of average pictures accompanied each news story among the three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993.

Research question five: Had the image of China recovered in the three American newsmagazines in 1993 compared to its image in 1985?

Table VII presents the direction of the images of China in the three American newsmagazines in both 1985 and 1993.

**TABLE IX**  
**The Image of China**

	<u>Positive</u>		<u>Negative</u>		<u>Neutral</u>	
	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1993</u>
<b><u>Newsweek</u></b>	37.50%	0	6.25%	66.67%	56.25%	33.33%
<b><u>Time</u></b>	76.00%	0	4.00%	50.00%	20.00%	50.00%
<b><u>U.S.N.W.R.</u></b>	66.67%	26.00%	16.67%	26.00%	16.67%	47.83%
<b><u>Overall</u></b>	<b>60.06%</b>	<b>8.67%</b>	<b>8.97%</b>	<b>47.57%</b>	<b>30.97%</b>	<b>43.72%</b>

Four complex Chi-Square analyses were performed to examine whether or not the image of China had recovered in each of three newsmagazines and overall level in 1993 compared to its image in 1985.

(1) The image of China in Newsweek.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 93.96

Table Chi-Square = 9.2 ( $p < 0.01$ ,  $df = 2$ )

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the image of China in Newsweek between 1985 and 1993 shows that there was a real difference in the images of China at the 0.01 level in Newsweek between 1985 and 1993. In 1985, the image of China in Newsweek was 56.25 percent neutral and 37.5 percent positive while only 6.25 percent was negative; in 1993, the image of China in Newsweek was 67 percent negative and 33 percent neutral with no positive image at all. The difference was significant which means that it was not due to chance. The image of China in had not recovered in Newsweek in 1993 compared to its image in 1985.

(2) The image of China in Time.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 128.04

Table Chi-Square = 9.2 ( $p < 0.01$ ,  $df = 2$ )

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the image of China in Time between 1985 and 1993 shows that there was a real difference in the image of China at the 0.01 level in Time between 1985 and 1993. In 1985, the image of China in Time was 76 percent positive and 20 percent neutral while only four

percent negative; in 1993 the image of China was half negative and half neutral with no positive image at all. The difference was significant and it means that it happened not due to chance. The image of China had not recovered in Time in 1993 compared with its image in 1985.

(3) The image of China in U.S. News & World Report.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 35.05

Table Chi-Square = 9.2 ( $p < 0.01$ ,  $df = 2$ )

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the image of China in U.S. News & World Report shows that there was a real difference in the image of China at the 0.01 level in U.S.N.W.R. between 1985 and 1993. In 1985, the image of China in U.S.N.W.R. was 66.67 percent positive and 16.67 percent neutral while 16.67 percent negative; in 1993, the image of China was 48 percent neutral and 26 percent negative while 26 percent positive. The difference was significant and it means that it happened not due to chance. The image of China had not recovered in U.S.N.W.R. in 1993 compared with its image in 1985.

(4) The overall image of China in three newsmagazines.

Complex Chi-Square statistics = 66.95

Table Chi-Square = 9.2 ( $p < 0.01$ ,  $df = 2$ )

The complex Chi-Square analysis of the overall image of China in the three American newsmagazines shows that there was a real difference in the image of China at the 0.01 level between 1985 and 1993. In 1985, the image of China was 60.06

percent positive and 30.97 percent neutral while only 8.97 percent negative; in 1993, the image of China was 47.57 percent negative and 43.72 percent neutral while only 8.67 percent positive. The difference was significant and it means that it happened not due to chance. Overall, the image of China had not recovered in the three American newsmagazines in 1993 compared to its image in 1985.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Summary

The purpose of this research was to examine the image of China in the news reporting of the three American newsmagazines. Comparisons were made to look at the difference in images of China created by the three American newsmagazines between 1985 -- four years prior to the Tiananmen event -- and 1993 -- four years after the event. The researcher wanted to find out whether the image of China had recovered in 1993 compared to its image in 1985.

A comparative content analysis was performed on the three American weekly newsmagazines -- Newsweek, Time and U.S. News & World Report. Three aspects in news stories of China were examined: (1) the direction of news stories which would mainly decide the image of China; (2) the category of news stories which would decide how many areas were covered by the three newsmagazines; and (3) the amount of news coverage in terms of the number of the news stories, the length of total news stories and average length measured by column inches, and the number of picture and average number of pictures accompanying each news story.

A total of 312 issues in three newsmagazines was examined (104 from each), which contained 106 news stories and 185 pictures of China. Of these, Newsweek had 16 news stories and 30 pictures of China in 1985 and 24 articles and 44 pictures in 1993; Time had 25 articles and 45 pictures in 1985 and 12 articles and 18 pictures in 1993; U.S. News & World Report had 6 articles and 14 pictures in 1985 and 23 articles and 34 pictures in 1993.

When coding news stories, they measured: (1) one of three directions: positive, negative, or neutral; (2) one of nine categories: politics, military, societal, economy/ business, culture/arts, education, sports, environment, and religion. And the number of the news stories and pictures was counted in the three newsmagazines. The coverage of news stories in column inches, both in total and average, was counted by actual inches of column. The results of this study found a significant difference in the images of China between 1985 and 1993. The results of this research allowed the researcher to determine the validity of the following research hypotheses:

The first hypothesis examined the difference in directions of the image of China in three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. The results show that the image of China was 83 to 96 percent positive and neutral in the three newsmagazines in 1985 and 16.67 to 67 percent negative. The difference was significant and thus the findings suggested that the first hypothesis be rejected.



The second hypothesis examined the difference in news coverage of China in terms of categories among three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. The results show that even though there was a real difference in the categories of news coverage of China in U.S. News & World Report between 1985 and 1993, there was no real difference in the overall categories of three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. The findings suggest that the second hypothesis was supported.

The third hypothesis examined the difference in news coverage in terms of the number of news stories and the length of articles in inches in three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. The results show:

(1) Time had the most news stories of China in 1985 and the least in 1993; Newsweek had the most in 1993 and the second in 1985; and U.S. News & World Report had the second in 1993 and the least in 1985. Overall, Newsweek had the most news stories about China, Time was the second, and U.S.N.W.R. was the last. The difference was significant.

(2) Overall, all three newsmagazines had much more news coverage of China in 1993 than that in 1985. In 1985 Newsweek had the most coverage in length of inches, Time was the second, and U.S.N.W.R. was the last. In 1993 Time had the most, Newsweek was the second, U.S.N.W.R. was the last. The difference was significant.

(3) There was no real difference in the length of average inch per article among three newsmagazines between 1985 and

1993. Overall, U.S.N.W.R. had the most average inches of each news story of China, Time was the second, and Newsweek was the last. The difference was not significant. Based on the above three findings, hypothesis three is rejected.

The fourth hypothesis examined the difference in photographs which accompanied with news stories, both in total numbers and average numbers among three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. The results show that there were real differences in the total number of photos among the three newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. Same as the number of news stories, Time had the most newsphotos in the coverage of news stories of China in 1985 and the least in 1993; Newsweek had the most in 1993 and the second in 1985; and U.S. News & World Report had the second in 1993 and the last in 1985. The difference was significant. However, the difference in average number of pictures per article was not significant among the three newsmagazines between the two years. The findings suggest that the fourth hypothesis is rejected.

The fifth hypothesis examined the difference in images of China between 1985 and 1993. The results show:

(1) The images of China in Newsweek were different between 1985 and 1993. In 1985, 56.25 percent of China's image was neutral and 37.5 percent positive while only 6.26 percent negative; in 1993, 67 percent was negative and 33 percent neutral with no positive image at all. The difference was significant.

(2) The images of China in Time were different between 1985 and 1993. In 1985, 76 percent of China's image was positive and 20 percent neutral while only four percent negative in 1993, half of the images were negative and half were neutral while there were no positive images at all. The difference was significant.

(3) The image of China in U.S. News & World Report was different between 1985 and 1993. In 1985, 66.67 percent of the images of China were positive and 16.67 percent neutral while 16.67 percent negative; in 1993, 48 percent of images were neutral and 26 percent negative while 26 percent were positive. The difference was significant.

(4) The overall image of China among three newsmagazines was different between 1985 and 1993. In 1985, 60.02 percent of the image was positive and 30.97 percent neutral while only 8.97 percent negative; in 1993, 47.57 percent of the image was negative and 43.72 percent neutral while only 8.67 percent was positive. The difference was significant and thus the findings suggest that the fifth hypothesis be rejected.

### **Conclusions and Discussion**



The results from the analysis of the data indicate that there are significant differences in the image of China among the three American newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. The three newsmagazines reported news stories about China in 1985 with 60.06 percent of them having a positive image and 30.97

percent of them a neutral image; however, in 1993 -- four years after the Tiananmen event, the three newsmagazines reported news stories of China with 47.57 percent of negative images and 43.72 neutral images. According to the results of the study, more positive image in 1985 and few positive image in 1993. The difference was significant and the image of China had not recovered in the three American newsmagazines in 1993.

The three American newsmagazines changed their reporting of news stories about China after the Tiananmen event of 1989. Theoretically, they changed their focus and description of reporting. In 1993, both Newsweek and Time increased their coverage in terms of the number of news stories, pictures, and average inches of news stories about China; U.S. News & World Report increased the number of news stories and pictures of China and reduced the average inches of per article. Overall, in the three newsmagazines the number of news stories and pictures increased while the average number of inches per article and the average number of pictures per article decreased in 1993 compared to that of 1985.

The image of China changed in the three American newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. In other words the image of China in the three American newsmagazines had not recovered in 1993 compared to its image in 1985. From this change, it is not difficult to trace the relationship between American China-policy and the image of China in the U.S. media; people can then learn how American media reflect U.S. foreign policy.

In 1985, six years after two countries established diplomatic relationship and the sixth year of the economic reform of China, the cooperation in economic, culture, education, and other areas between two countries increased. A number of high-ranking-official reciprocal visits indicated that the relationship between two countries was very good. With this kind of background in 1985, more than 60 percent of China's image in the three newsmagazines were positive. Both countries enjoyed friendly cooperation and gained benefits from each other.

However, after 1989 Tiananmen event, China was heavily blamed by the Western media, including the United States, which placed sanctions on China. After the event, American Sino-U.S. policy has been strict, always criticizing China with the "human rights" issue. Every year, before the U.S. President made the decision whether or not renew the MFN status with China, some Congressmen always tried to stop it. With this kind of background, the image of China in the three newsmagazines was bad -- overall 47.57 percent negative news stories while neither Newsweek nor Time had any positive news stories. It is clear that American Sino-U.S. policy influences the image of China in the U. S. media.

Among the three newsmagazines, U.S.N.W.R. maintained certain objectivity compared with Newsweek and Time. It maintained a rate of 26 percent positive news stories while other two did not. It means that there were some positive news

stories about China in 1993 and the question is how the media chose their topics. Newsweek and Time did not report any positive news story about China, but U.S.N.W.R. reported 26 percent positive news. Such agenda-setting is very important to reporters and editors and it directly influences the content of media.

Actually, there were more successful achievements that could have been reported in China in 1993 than in the middle of the 1980s. For example, the volume of reciprocal trade business greatly increased in 1993 compared with 1985.<sup>1</sup> From this fact, people should think about the credibility of American media; also people should think about the credibility of American media and American journalism codes of ethics. Then, people can form their own perception about the American media.

Aristotle's Golden Mean Principle says that "Moral virtue is the appropriate place between two extremes."<sup>2</sup> As we know there are some differences between the U.S. and China in politics, ideology, culture, and the social system. When American journalists are reporting news stories of China, they should not only focus on the negative news, but also positive and neutral news. If all kinds of news stories are included, the image of China would be accurate. If the news reporting only focuses on a few negative topics, the image of China will not be accurate.

Mill's Utility Principle says "Seek the greatest

happiness for the greatest people."<sup>3</sup> When media practitioners reporting news stories about a nation, they should consider the perception about and reputation of the nation, and the response of other nations toward that nation. According to the results of this study, the researcher thinks that in 1985 the news reporting of China in the three American newsmagazines was believable -- 60% positive news, 31% neutral news, and 9% negative news. However, it is hard to believe that in 1993 only 8.67% news was positive while the amount of negative news had risen to 47.57%. If Chinese people were happy about the news reporting of China in the three American newsmagazines in 1985, they might not be happy about it in 1993. The reporting of news stories about China in the three American newsmagazines in 1993 was not in accordance with the reality of China. Actually, China made more achievements and progress in 1993 than in 1985. So the image of China in the three American newsmagazines in 1993 was not true, especially because there were not any positive news stories in Newsweek and Time. This did not reflect the reality of China.

On the other hand, even though media is the independent fourth estate in the United States, media practitioners cannot entirely prevent the influence of politicians, of diversity between the Eastern and Western world, and of the foreign policy of the U.S. towards a specific nation. As Graber argued in Mass Media and American Politics, mass media also have a function of manipulation. The public believes that the

media have an important impact on conduct of politics and on public thinking. Politicians act and behave on the basis of the same assumption.<sup>4</sup> The content of international news may be influenced by American politicians. In the researcher's opinion, foreign news reporting is influenced by foreign policy. As Dickson said in his study, "The Washington Post and the New York Times were remarkably similar in whom they turned to for information. More often than not both papers turned to the President, the State department, and congressional sources for information."<sup>5</sup>

Sometimes, media practitioners get influence from others. But they need to think about their social responsibility as a media practitioner. In other words, journalists have their professional principles and codes, and they should report news stories according to these principles and codes. Otherwise, where is the meaning of them? If media practitioners could not independently and objectively report news, but just serve as a tool for politicians, what is the meaning for the First Amendment?

China is a developing country and it needs help from the Western world including the United States. It is important to note that the Western world should look at and evaluate China based on understanding of its unique situation in terms of its morality, philosophy, ideology, and five thousand years of history. Editorial chief of U.S. News & World Report, Mortimer B. Zuckerman, said that "Flexing our moral muscles, we would



be wise to remember that the symbol of China's rulers is the dragon. It breathes fire only when it is attacked."<sup>6</sup>

China is a developing country with some backward customs. China hopes to overcome this backwardness under other countries' sincere help. However, if they mainly focus on social and political problems in news reporting, it is not help, but harm. China knows that it has gotten lots of help in various areas from the Western world. China appreciates the help of other countries and it hopes that the Western world including the United States continue to help it to achieve further success. Of course, the help includes truthfully and objectively reporting a balanced story of China -- establishing an actual image of China in the world.

### **Recommendation**

This research examined the image of China in the three American newsmagazines between 1985 and 1993. The results of this study are limited because of the limitation of sources. If future researchers are interested in researching the same topic, they would benefit by including newspapers and broadcast sources. Because newspapers and broadcast programs are produced daily, they might have greater influence on the public's opinion and attitude than that of newsmagazines. Of course, if future researchers want to use broadcast content as the research source, they need to consider the possibility of obtaining the material.

The other recommendation for further research on this topic is to use other countries' media as the source and make comparisons with American media, and then to look at the differences between them. Maybe researchers can find some different results.

Also, future researchers can design a comparative study to compare the image of China with other countries' image in American media. From this study we can learn whether or not American media cover different countries' news stories with different treatments.

Finally, if researchers want to study the image of a nation, it had better consider an important factor -- the U. S. policy towards that nation. Because media not only deliver news and some opinions to the public, sometimes they also reflect the governmental or politicians' attitudes toward the subject.

**Endnotes**

<sup>1</sup>Survey of Current Business, U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration Bureau of Economic Analysis, September 1990, p. 82, and March 1993, p.90.

<sup>2</sup>Christians, Roztoll, and Fackler, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>4</sup>Doris A. Graber, Mass Media and American Politics, Washington D.C.: CQ Press, A Division of Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1993, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup>Sandra H. Dickson, "Press and U.S. Policy Toward Nicaragua 1983-1987: A Study of the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*," Journalism Quarterly, Autumn 1992, p. 563.

<sup>6</sup>Mortimer B. Zuckerman, "China's New Reality," U.S. News & World Report, March 15, 1993, p. 76.

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