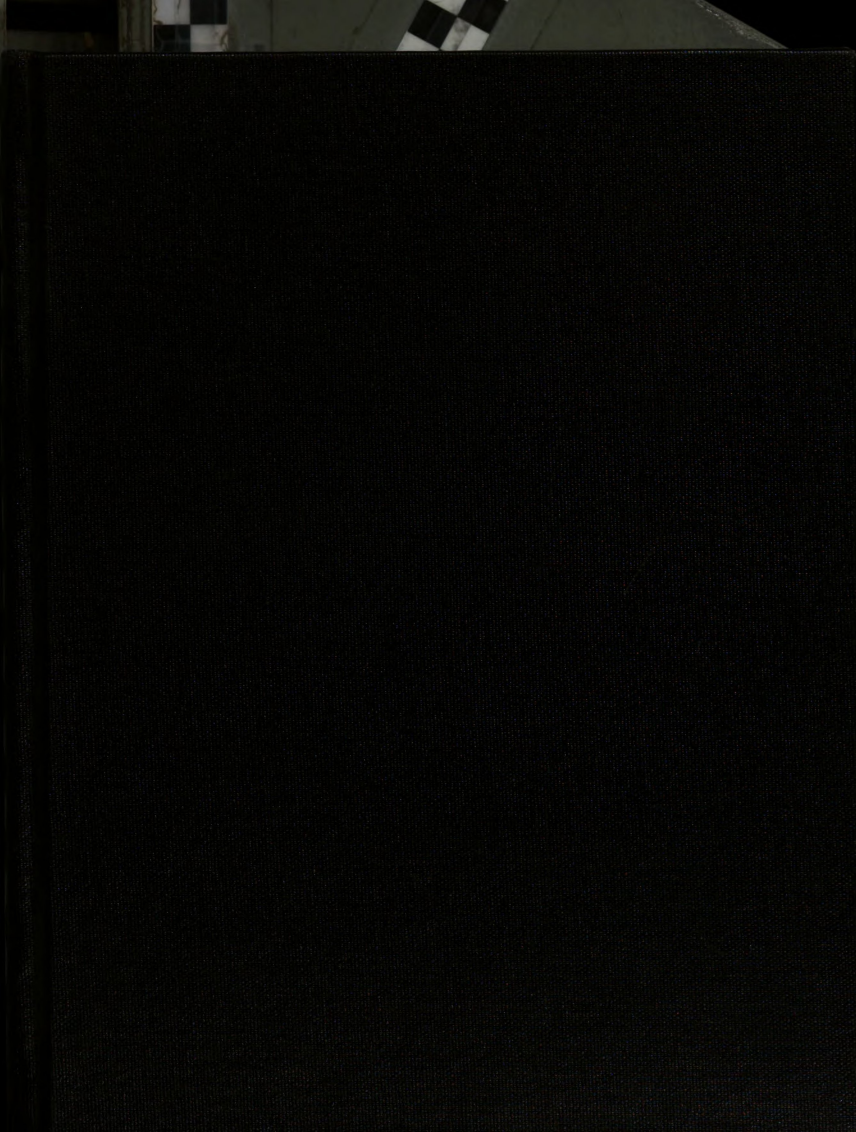






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Xigen Li

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THE EFFECT OF NATIONAL INTEREST
ON COVERAGE OF U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
THE NEW YORK TIMES AND *PEOPLE'S DAILY*
1987-1996

By

Xigen Li

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Mass Media Ph.D. Program
College of Communication

1999

ABSTRACT

THE EFFECT OF NATIONAL INTEREST ON COVERAGE OF U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF *THE NEW YORK TIMES & PEOPLE'S DAILY* 1987-1996

By

Xigen Li

This international comparative study tested the factors that influence media coverage of international news. It applied Shoemaker and Reese's theories of influence on news content. The particular focus was how national interest affected coverage of U.S.-China relations in *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* over a ten-year period, 1987 to 1996. A total of 225 stories from *The New York Times* and 230 stories from *People's Daily* was selected for analysis.

Two groups of hypotheses were tested: the relationship between extramedia variables and news coverage, and the relationship between media emphasis on national interest and other aspects of news coverage, e.g., source attitude and fairness and balance. Six research questions were also investigated.

The notion that the newspaper speaks for the nation was supported. National interest was found to have some impact on the coverage of U.S.-China relations both in *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* between 1987 to 1996. However, neither extramedia variables nor intramedia variables were strong predictors of the news content in both newspapers. The notion that more emphasis on trade interest will suppress emphasis

on non-trade interest and reference to non-trade political issues found no support from both newspapers.

Overall, the four extramedia variables, U.S. investment growth in China, U.S.-China trade, U.S. and Chinese government concerns on trade, and U.S. and Chinese government concerns on non-trade issues were weak predictors of news content. The findings indicate that there was almost no combined effect of the extramedia variables on newspaper coverage of U.S.-China relations both in *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. Comparing to previous studies, U.S.-China trade was found to have a weaker influence on *The New York Times* and *People's Daily's* coverage of U.S.-China relations. U.S. presidential concerns on trade had a clear impact on references to trade in *The New York Times*, while Chinese government concerns on non-trade political issues had an evident effect on references to non-trade political issues in *People's Daily*.

Intramedia variables such as emphasis on national interest and reference to trade in the coverage were weak indicators of news content in both newspapers. For *The New York Times*, emphasis on national interest was only associated with references to trade, while in *People's Daily*, emphasis on national interest was only associated with references to non-trade political issues.

The findings suggest that fairness and balance were basically unaffected by the extramedia and intramedia variables in both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*.

U.S.-China trade was the most frequently covered single topic in both newspapers. Government officials were found to be the most frequently cited sources in both newspapers. While *The New York Times* tended to be negative and *People's Daily* tended to be positive in their coverage, government leaders of both countries tended to be positive towards U.S.-China relations.

Copyright by
Xigen Li
1999

To my parents, Li Caoyu and Wang Ping
For their love and sacrifice
Throughout the years

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I made up my mind to do a dissertation on the news coverage of U.S.-China relations in 1995. Throughout the preparation of this dissertation, many researchers and scholars helped shape the course of my work. Without the guidance, friendship and support of many people this dissertation would have been more difficult to complete. There are too many of them to be named here.

I am greatly indebted to Professors Bella Mody, Stephen Lacy, Todd Simon, Charles Salmon, James Dearing, Fred Fico and Folu Ogundimu, who offered the most valuable counsel, criticism, and support to my research.

Professor Bella Mody, the Chair of the dissertation guidance committee, always stood by with support and encouragement. She spent much of her valuable time in helping me frame the research questions, and revise and sharpen the manuscript.

Professor Steven Lacy provided timely guidance in the research direction and research method which enabled me to smoothly proceed with the study.

Professor Fred Fico provided detailed instruction in using Fico's scale to measure fairness and balance. He guided me through the process of analyzing fairness and balance of the news coverage.

Professors Charles Salmon, Todd Simon, James Dearing, and Folu Ogundimu provided broader perspective, theory and suggestions on research direction as well as their rigorous comment and criticism. They forced me to rethink some of the critical issues of this study, and led me made intelligent moves to improve this project.

I was fortunate to have two bright bilingual friends, Chen Hao and Luo Yiling who participated in the tedious task of content analysis. Their patience in listening to my repeated explanation of the coding protocol, and their carefulness in coding each news story helped me successfully meet the rigorous requirement of intercoder reliability.

My young friend Fu Xiannong in Beijing spent time helping me to identify the relevant news content of *People's Daily*.

My beloved mother, with her deep understanding and profound love, provided the most precious support. Without the love and sacrifice of my parents ever since I went to school as a child, I would not have gone so far as to complete my Ph.D. program.

Finally, without the unflagging efforts of the staff at Document Delivery Service of the Michigan State University Library, who managed to acquired the *People's Daily* and *Gazette of State Council of The People Republic of China* from the universities around the U.S., this project would never have materialized.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NYT.....	<i>The New York Times</i>
PD.....	<i>People's Daily</i>
VAR	Variable
REF	Reference
NAT'L.....	National
GOVNMT	Government
CONCN.....	Concern
PRES.....	President
SIG	Significance
NEG	Negative
POS	Positive
ECON.....	Economic
SCI.....	Scientific
S (Used with Hypotheses in Findings).....	Hypothesis Supported
R (Used with Hypotheses in Findings).....	Hypothesis Rejected
HGx (x refers to a number)	Hypothesis Group
Hx (x refers to a number)	Hypothesis

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INTRODUCTION

Research on international news examines who controls the news,¹ what factors influence news selection,² and the attributes which affect news content.³ In the Shoemaker and Reese model of influence on media content, several hierarchical concentric circles are introduced. Any one of the circle could contribute to variation in news content. In the coverage of international news, although study shows that media speak for the nation,⁴ it is not so clear to what degree that national interest affects news content. Few studies have investigated the influence of national interest on news content, whether demonstrated through political and economic environment and events as extramedia variables, or through the coverage of news events involving national interest as intramedia variables. Lee and Young related the concept national interest to the news content in their study of the coverage of the Chinese student movement by U.S. and Japanese press in 1989, and found that national interest was a useful predictor of the news content when the coverage involved some perceived benefit or loss of a country in foreign relations.⁵

This study compares national media coverage of U.S.-China relations in their respective elite newspapers of record, *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* for the 1987-1996 period. It then investigates correlates between national interest demonstrated through political and economic events and the emphasis in the news coverage. The influence of national interest (political and economic) on news coverage is hypothesized to be the primary correlate. The U.S. national interest during this period is measured by U.S. investment in China, U.S.-China trade, and U.S. presidential concerns on trade and non-trade political issues. The Chinese national interest during this period is measured by U. S investment in China, U.S.-China trade, and Chinese government concerns on trade and

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non-trade political issues. Shoemaker and Reese model of influence on news content is used as the theoretical framework.

This dissertation is organized into the following chapters:

Chapter one discusses the theoretical framework of this study. It provides an extensive literature review of different perspectives about factors that influence international news coverage, including ideological factor, extramedia factor, organizational factor, and media routine factor. It also reviews the literature of political science on national interest and U.S.-China relations, and that of media studies regarding the national interest-foreign news coverage relationship. The chapter outlines the findings of important previous research.

Chapter two specifies the research objectives of this study and introduces two groups of hypotheses. It then presents six research questions in addition to the hypotheses.

Chapter three discusses the method of the study. It describes sources of data, introduces the two newspapers under study: *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*, their status as elite newspapers in their respective societies, and their different organizational goals and operating environment. It then explains sampling procedures and the coding scheme, lists all major variables with their operational definitions, and specifies the statistics to be used for data analysis.

Chapter four presents the findings of the study.

Chapter five discusses the implications of the findings of the study. The first part addresses the significance and implications of the test results of the two groups of hypotheses. The second part discusses the implications of the findings relating to the six research questions.

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Chapter six summarizes the findings and implications of this study and relates the findings to the Shoemaker and Reese model and the literature. This chapter also addresses the limitation of the study and offers suggestions for further research.

The appendices contain sample coding sheets used in the content analysis, the coding protocol, and a bibliography of books, articles, documents and other materials referred to in the research.

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CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the literature which provides the theoretical framework for this study.

This study is framed by two sets of literature:

- A.** The literature on factors that influence news content in general, and
- B.** The literature on national interest and U.S.-China relations and how national interest affects foreign news coverage in particular.

Factors that influence news content

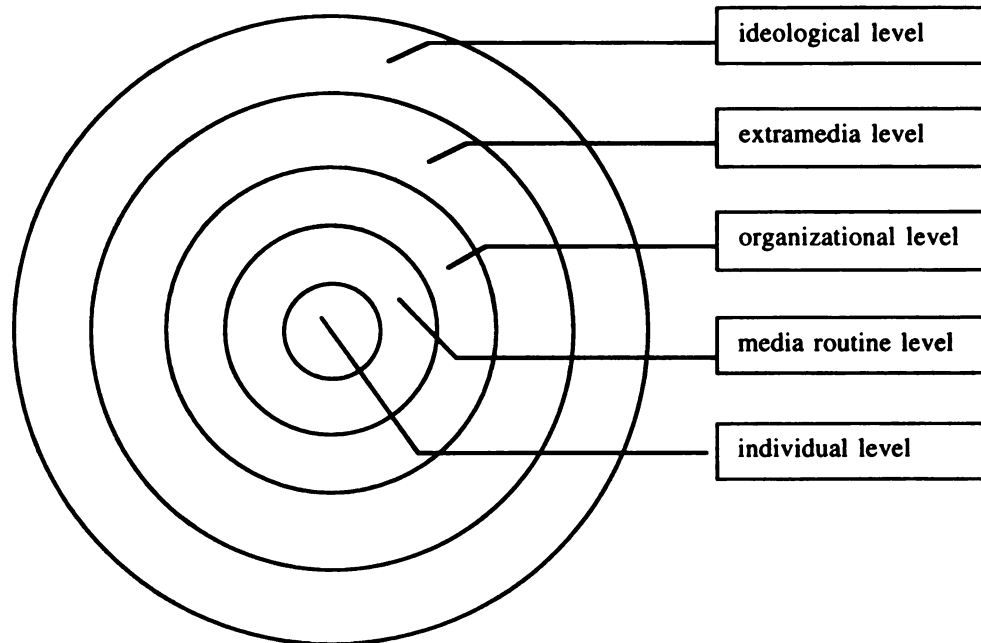
The general theoretical framework for the study draws from the work of Shoemaker and Reese (1991). They observed that news content is influenced by several hierarchical factors. These factors range from the micro level (e.g. the individual media worker, media routine, and media organization) to the macro level (e.g. extramedia and ideology), graphically illustrated through concentric circles of influences.⁶ The innermost micro-level circle represents personal attitudes and orientations of media workers. The next circle of influence represents the organization level: professionalism; corporate policies; and corporate ownership. The extramedia circle refers to the political and economic environment; advertisers. The largest outer circle refers to ideological influences. The

hierarchical circles illustrate that news content is produced by individual media workers but it is influenced by the nature of the particular news organization and the national economic and ideological environment. Media routine that the news organization follows to produce news content reflects the organizational goal, external environment and dominant ideology⁷

Other relevant literature from Altschull (1984), Dreier (1982), Herman and Chomsky (1988), Gitlin (1980), Raymond William (1977), Galtung and Ruge (1970), Ahern (1984), Rosengren and Rikardsson (1974), Dennis Wu (1997), Lacy et al (1989), Chang and Lee (1990), Cassara (1992), Zeidenstein (1984), Parenti (1986), Welch (1972), Sigal (1973), Berry (1990), Tuchman (1974), Hallin (1989), Hirsh, (1977), and Rachlin (1988) is presented under the appropriate Shoemaker and Reese level of influence.

Figure 1
*Influence of Hierarchical Factors on Media Content
in Hierarchical Model*

Shoemaker and Reese observed that news content is influenced by several hierarchical factors. The hierarchical circles illustrate that news content is produced by individual media workers but it is influenced by the nature of the particular news organization and the national economic and ideological environment. Media routine that the news organization follows to produce news content reflects the organizational goal, external environment and dominant ideology.



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

Ideological Factor

Shoemaker and Reese note that because media have relative autonomy, the ruling powers cannot directly supervise this important cultural apparatus. Thus, ideology serves as a unifying force situated in the outermost circle in their model. Hegemony refers to the means by which the ruling order maintains its dominance. Media institutions serve a hegemonic function by continually producing a cohesive ideology, a set of commonsensical values and norms, that serves to reproduce and legitimate the social structure through which the subordinate classes participate in their own domination. Neither paradigms nor ideologies are imposed directly, but are constituted by the institutional, occupational, and cultural practices that make up the mass media. Ideology is not directed behind the scenes by a top television anchor, a publisher, or a board of director. Rather, ideology happens as a natural outgrowth of the way the system operates, making it an overarching societal macro level phenomenon.⁸

Gitlin (1980) defines hegemony as the “systematic engineering of mass consent to the established order.” Control must be maintained without sacrificing legitimacy, which ruling power seeks in order to maintain authority. Under hegemony, ideology is regarded as an essentially conflicted and dynamic process, which must continually absorb and incorporate disparate values. By not appearing openly coercive, this control is all the more effective. The media “certify the limits within which all competing definitions of reality will contend”. They do this largely by accepting the frames imposed on events by officials and by marginalizing and delegitimizing voices that fall outside the dominant elite circles.⁹ In Raymond Williams’ (1977) words, hegemony does not passively exist as a form of

dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified.¹⁰ Existing cultural values are structured and interpreted to best serve the interests of the dominant groups.

Galtung and Ruge (1970) suggest news is an ideological product in both Communist and free market countries. The ideal-typical news for Western capitalist societies is elite centered, focuses on powerful people and nations; and is negative, and personalized. News in the Communist countries is elite centered as well. Communist media should differ from Western media in focusing on positive events and on structures instead of persons.¹¹

The ideological perspective specifies the frame that the news media define themselves. The media serve as means of the ruling power to produce and maintain the dominant ideology by accepting the frames imposed by the powerful groups. News as an ideological product, reflects the interest of the powerful in both Western capitalist and Communist societies.

Extramedia Factor

Extramedia perspective suggests that factors external to the communicator and the media organization æ economic and cultural forces, social institutions and audience æ determine content. A wide variety of influences on media content that operate outside of the media organization includes sources of the information, such as special interest groups, public relations campaigns and even the media organizations themselves; revenue sources,

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such as advertisers and audiences; other social institutions, such as business, and government policies and actions; the economic environment; and technology.¹²

Trade

Analyzing data from the American component of the UNESCO study, Ahern (1984) found that, among extrinsic variables, GNP, trade, and political relations exerted the most powerful influence on coverage. Trade was second in importance after GNP, followed closely by political relations. Together the three variables accounted for 59% of the variance in foreign coverage.¹³

Rosengren and Rikardsson (1974) found a relationship between trade and foreign news coverage in their study of Mideast news in Swedish press.¹⁴ Wu (1997) discovered that trade played a key role in shaping foreign coverage in some countries, but was not a significant determinant in the U.S.¹⁵

However, Lacy, Chang and Lau 's (1989) study of American newspaper content found no relationship between economic factors and the news content, and they argued that economic factors may not be strong predictors of coverage patterns.¹⁶

Chang and Lee's (1990) survey suggested that economic factors—operationalized as U.S. trade relations and a country's level of economic development—were of little importance in the editors' news selection decisions.¹⁷

Following Lacy et al's and Chang and Lee's study, Cassara's (1992) study found that economic connections such as export relationships did not influence the character of international news content in the newspaper which serves that area.¹⁸ The findings suggest

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that there is no relationship between the extramedia variables and international news coverage patterns.

The influence of trade on news content is found at odds in the above studies. The difference could be caused largely by the operational definition of dependent variables. One aspect that most studies missed is the time associated with the independent variable trade. Trade relations are changing with the bilateral and multilateral relations. A study will shed more light on the relationship between trade and international news coverage if it integrates the change of trade relationship across a period of time into the inquiry of the impact of trade.

Non-trade

Government views are the extramedia variable closer to media than economic factors, and are considered a strong factor influencing media content. Zeidenstein (1984) described the government's influence on the media succinctly: "The White House can influence - if not completely control - the content, timing, and methods of publicizing the news".¹⁹

Graber (1993) has observed that the bulk of foreign affairs news for American media actually originates in Washington. She found foreign news tends to emanate primarily from various beats in the executive branch, especially the White House, the State Department, and the Pentagon. The president's views tend to dominate whenever situations are controversial.²⁰

According to Parenti (1986), the government influences the media substantially by providing information and misinformation designed deliberately to present a specific point

of view. Parenti argued that the White House in particular controls the media tightly æ with correspondents having access to information from the White House only through scheduled meetings, briefings, and press conferences. Additionally, Parenti described the White House as having capacity to discreetly kill media coverage of controversial issues, deny interviews, withhold information, and give misleading information.²¹

In her study of media coverage of Indochina from 1950 to 1956, Welch (1977) found that the press response mirrored administration perceptions of the struggle. She found the American media were incapable of perceiving the Indochina case any differently than did the administration because the media did not have an independent frame of reference. The problem with this mirroring is that the only information given to the public by the media represents the position of the government.²²

While government was unanimously considered to be a strong factor influencing news coverage, to what degree that the major decision makers of a government such as the president of the United States can affect news coverage on specific issues in foreign relations remains a question largely unsolved.

Organizational Factor

Organizational perspective looks at how media ownership and the organizational goal of the media might affect news content. It features with the political economy view of media. The factors of influence may include micro level of extramedia variables such as financing groups and advertisers.

Altschull (1984) has proposed a framework for studying variations within owner control of the media. He starts with the assumption that media reflect the ideology of those who finance them, i.e., whoever pay the piper calls the tune. He outlines four patterns of ownership content relationships: 1) under the “official” pattern, media are controlled by the state (such as in communist countries) and hence media content reflect their perspectives; 2) in the “commercial” pattern, media reflect the ideology of advertisers and their media-owning allies, 3) under the “interest” pattern, media content reflects the ideology of the financing group, such as a political party or religious group, and 4) in the “informal” pattern, content reflects the goals of individual contributors who want to promote their views.²³

Dreier (1982) examines the interlocks between media boards of directors and others, finding that the most prominent elite media companies (publishers of *The New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*) were the most strongly interconnected with other power centers (elite universities, Fortune 500 corporations, etc.). This commanding vantage point within the inner circle of the capitalist structure leads these media, according to Dreier, to adopt a corporate liberal philosophy. Thus, they may adopt an adversarial tone on occasion (Pentagon papers, Watergate), but only as a corrective action, in the best long-term interests of preserving the capitalist system.²⁴

Herman and Chomsky (1988) assume that media serve the dominant elite. They argue that this is just as true when the media are privately owned without formal censorship, as when they are directly controlled by the state. Their propaganda model, combining elements of political economy and instrumental influence, includes five news filters: 1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the

dominant mass media firms; 2) Advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; 3) the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and “experts” funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power; 4) flak as a means of disciplining the media; and 5) anticommunism as a national religion and control mechanism.²⁵

It is easy to perceive that the media speak for the group who finances them. Here the organizational perspective reveals some hidden fact: even though the media are not financed by the government, they are in many ways controlled by the state. On the national level, the private newspaper such as *The New York Times* serves the dominant elite and preserves the best long-term interest of the capitalist system.

Media Routine Factor

The study of media routine is linked to an organizational perspective on the mass media. It looks at the factors of influence on media content from a more micro level. In recommending that approach, Paul Hirsh (1977) says that the mass media may serve different functions, but they share many organizational similarities that outweigh many of the differences.²⁶

The term “gatekeeping” has been widely used to describe the process by which selections are made in media work, especially decision whether or not to admit a particular news story to pass through the gate of a news medium into the news channels.²⁷

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Shoemaker and Reese (1991) note, news organizations are not just passive recipients of a continuous stream of events lapping at the gate. News routines provide a perspective that often explains what are defined as news in the first place. Before it even gets to the first gate, newswriters "see" some things as news and not others. Through their routines, they actively construct reality.

These gatekeepers, represent their respective professions and organizations. As such, the occupational setting limits their decisions. The limits are imposed by the media system within which people work, including the routines and craft norms that are so much a part of systematic information-gathering. The standardized, recurring patterns of news content result in large part from these routine practices. These routines ensure that the media system will respond in predictable way and cannot be easily violated.²⁸

The news stories are judged by the gatekeepers based on agree-on news values, which provide yardsticks of newsworthiness and constitute an audience-oriented routine. That is, they predict what an audience will find appealing and important, and in practice, direct gatekeepers to make consistent story selections.

Galtung and Ruge (1970) have hypothesized that events would become news the more they fit certain organizational and cultural, or "ideological" criteria. The "ideological" news factors described by Galtung and Ruge refer mainly to values which are embedded in Western society -- especially those which stem from an individualist and materialist philosophy.²⁹

Galtung and Ruge posit that information about foreign countries becomes news based on how many of 12 criteria media gatekeepers identify in information about those

countries. Consonance, negativity, and sociocultural values of the receiving society, or gatekeepers, are among the major criteria for selecting foreign news.

Rachlin (1988) argues that the meaning of an international event is often created more by the image and understanding that originate in the host country's cultural and political ecology than by the event itself.³⁰

Shoemaker and others (1987) studied determinants of international news coverage in the U.S. media and concluded that four variables contribute significantly to distinguishing between events that are covered in U.S. media and those that are not. They are the normative deviance of an event, its relevance to the United States, the potential for social change embedded in the event, and geographical distance.³¹

Chang's survey of American newspaper editors suggested that their primary concerns centered on coverage of U.S. interests and involvements abroad and threats to world peace.³²

All media content originated from external suppliers. These suppliers, or sources, have a major influence on media content. These routines can be viewed as an adaptation by media to the constraints imposed by their sources.

News content consists of largely statements from official sources.³³ By relying on these official sources, reporters receive most of their information through routine channels. Official sources prefer to release information through these channels. Doing so allows them to set the rules and exert greater control over the information. The press release and press conference allow them to regulate the release of information and do so more efficiently than speaking to everyone in turn. Berry (1990) supported the notion, asserting

that the media are “dependent on governmental sources to provide focus for and information about world events.”³⁴

Tuchman (1974) pointed out as well that the routine of gathering news is parallel to the release of official news primarily because a majority of news stories relate to pre-scheduled government events and issues.³⁵

Furthermore, Daniel Hallin argues that professionalization has strengthened the connection between press and state. Given an objective and disinterested stance on the part of the journalist, government officials provide authoritative validation of the news product.³⁶

Media routine perspective suggests that news information enters the media through gatekeepers, who select the news items according to their perceived news value. To gather the news, media rely on sources, among them, government officials are one of the major factors shaping the news content. However, few studies address the issue of source attitude in the coverage of international relations, and how attitude change on major issues in international relations affects other aspects of the news content.

The National Interest-Foreign News Coverage Relationship

The framework for the inquiry of how national interest affects the news coverage is drawn from two parts of literature:

1. The literature of political science on national interest and U.S.-China relations
2. The literature of media studies regarding national interest and news coverage.

National Interest and U.S.-China Relations

The works by Allison (1971), Krasner (1978), Huntington (1997), Tan (1992), Tow (1991), Gregor (1986), Ben Wildavsky (1996), Zweig (1991), Mower, Jr. (1987) and Bernstein and Munro (1997) contribute to the understanding of U.S. and China's national interests and how they affect U.S. and China foreign policy and U.S.-China relations.

Allison (1971) proposes rational actor model for explaining and predicting a nation's foreign policy. This model essentially assumes that a nation is a rational, goal-seeking, and unitary decisionmaker. It assumes there is some shared goal or national interest for the decisionmaker to obtain. The rational actor will develop alternatives from which the most effective means will be selected to maximize the goal.³⁷

The rational actor can be defined here as those key politicians and bureaucrats in the executive branch, including the president, who, on the whole, are more likely to make a national view as they respond to the parochial concerns of either social groups or particular governmental institutions. Krasner (1978) maintains that because high-level decisionmakers perceive their roles as protecting and promoting national security interest, they act upon their autonomous set of preferences.³⁸

Huntington (1997) asserts that U.S. national interest is a public good of concern to all or most Americans; a vital national interest is one which they are willing to expend blood and treasure to defend. National interests usually combine security and material concerns, on the one hand, and moral and ethical concerns, on the other.³⁹

In summer of 1996, a commission composed of twenty-four American strategic thinkers and political leaders issued a report titled *America's National Interests*. The commission concluded that of the large number of supposed American interests in the world, only five could be deemed vital, that designation given only when commission members responded yes to the following questions: "Is the preservation of this interest, value, or condition strictly necessary for the United States to safeguard and enhance the well-being of Americans in a free and secure nation?"⁴⁰

The commission identified five vital national interests: 1) prevent attacks on the United States with weapons of mass destruction; 2) prevent the emergence of hostile hegemony in Europe or Asia; 3) prevent the emergence of hostile powers on U.S. borders or in control of the seas; 4) prevent the collapse of the global systems for trade, financial markets, energy supplies, and the environment; 5) ensure the survival of U.S. allies.⁴¹

Bernstein and Munro argued, the primary American objective in Asia is to prevent China from becoming the hostile hegemon that could interfere with the American pursuit of its interests in Asia.⁴²

Tan (1992) noted that there were three broadly shared U.S. China policy objectives before the Cold War ended. The first objective was to develop strategic cooperation against Soviet global expansion. The second was to stabilize Asian affairs. The last was to gain political and economic benefits.⁴³

China's U.S. policy objectives can be summarized as follows: first, to counter Soviet expansion in Asia and the world; second, to obtain U.S. investment and technology and to benefit from educational, touristic, and other exchanges; and third, to help resolve the Taiwan issue and achieve its national reunification goal.⁴⁴

Tan observed that the United States would define U.S. China policies primarily according to shifting strategic balance of power while maximizing other foreign policy interests. Policymakers have certain parameters identifying policy objectives. In the conduct of national foreign policy, national survival and strategic interests, either military or economic, preempt other policy objectives.⁴⁵

William T. Tow (1991) noted that the United States and China are pursuing relations with each other along “dualistic” lines: a determination to preserve their state-to-state relations to the extent that collaboration is possible on issues where mutual security interest are involved, but simultaneously resisting important components of each other’s cultural and ideological identity.⁴⁶

Gregor (1986) noted that national interests of China are not often comparable with the national and foreign policy interests of the United States, and many of the interests China shares with the big powers are transient. Consequently, relations between the two nations should be conducted on the basis of cautious cost accounting. A reasonable assessment should be made of both potential benefits and anticipated cost. Principles of strict reciprocity should govern bilateral trade, and the U.S. national interest should determine whether technology transfer to China should continue.⁴⁷

Gregor asserted that the entire issue of China’s exports to U.S. would continue to be a source of conflict. China’s foreign trade will be restricted largely to the import of technology and capital goods. Political considerations and effective demand will severely limit the importation of commodity goods for the domestic market. Even if U.S.-China trade should triple by the turn of the century, it would still constitute only approximately 2 percent of total U.S. foreign trade.⁴⁸

In the early 1980s, China increased its purchases in Western Europe by almost 40 percent. One reason for doing so was to force the United States to reconsider the restrictions that had been imposed on China's textile imports as part of Washington's effort to avoid market disruption and to reduce high unemployment in the textile-producing regions of the U.S. China diversified its export markets and utilizes various suppliers; consequently, Gregor argued, U.S. trade, technology, investments, and loans—although convenient and useful—are not essential to China's ongoing development. U.S. trade with, and investment in China will remain marginal.⁴⁹

China's Most Favorite Nation status has been a topic for debate for several years. Ben Wildavsky (1996) observed, business organizations with a stake in Chinese trade made the rounds on Capitol Hill to press their case for extending normal trade relations with China. Liberal and conservative groups critical of China's record on human rights, trade and weapons proliferation called for MFN to be revoked outright -- or for stringent conditions to be attached to its renewal. For its part, the Clinton Administration was trying to strike a delicate balance. To some veteran trade analysts, the entire MFN exercise is good for little beyond scoring debating points.⁵⁰

Human rights in China is another issue which has shadowed U.S.-China relations since the crackdown of pro-democracy movement in China in 1989. However for many years, Zweig (1991) observed, the strategic imperative protected Sino-American relations. The positive images of China after 1978 pushed human rights far down the list of issues in Sino-American relations. Even the Carter administration, which institutionalized human rights in American foreign policy, never let this issue overshadow the strategic partnership.⁵¹

Mower, Jr. (1987) noted that Both Carter and Reagan subordinated human rights to national security and national interest and demonstrated “a readiness to take advantage of loopholes in national human rights laws in order to extend aid to countries with poor human rights records for political and security reasons.”⁵²

Bernstein and Munro (1997) argued that United States must achieve a balance of often-inconsistent goals, encouragement of human rights and economic interchange being the most conspicuous. As such, American policy gets pulled from one extreme to other and appears inconsistent and detached from underlying goals. When China cracks down on human rights, as it did in 1989, the human rights component of American policy moves to the fore, and U.S. forgets that the too-ardent pursuit of that policy will sacrifice other interest. A few months later, when United States lost a couple of key contracts to Japanese or European competitors, the economic interests came to the fore, and human rights was jettisoned as naively idealistic.⁵³

Bernstein and Munro contended that American policy on human rights in China is currently inconsistent, even hypocritical. It consists of making a rhetorical fuss about China’s violation and threatening reprisals but then failing to take meaningful action. The reason for this has to do in part with the ebb and flow of the pressure of public opinion on this question, but the American failure to induce China to change is also a measure of China’s growing international strength and influence, one of whose consequences is its ability to ignore demands and threats that come from abroad.⁵⁴

Bernstein and Munro asserted that U.S. economic relationship with China is fundamentally against the national interests of the United States. To remedy this, US must start by taking steps that will reduce the trade deficit with China. The goal should not be

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reducing sales of Chinese goods in the United States but increasing American exports to China, something that will happen once China drops its various barriers to imported goods.⁵⁵

The literature on national interest and U.S.-China relations asserts that both United States and China pursue their respective national interest in the bilateral relationship, and national interest shifts as their strategic partnership changes. U.S.-China trade and human rights in China remain to be the major source of conflict in U.S.-China relations. While advocating human rights is the ultimate goal of the United States, American policy on human rights in China has been inconsistent, and has been altered either by the strategic imperative and the pulse of economic gain in trade with China.

National Interest and Foreign News Coverage

The framework for the inquiry into how national interest affects foreign news coverage in particular is informed by the work of Chang (1993), Gans (1979), Graber (1993), Lee and Yang (1995), Paletz and Entman (1981), Kern et al.(1983), Goodman (1996), and De Sola Pool (1952).

Chang (1993) explored the role of press in the foreign policy formulation process. He notes that the press plays for the most part a mediating, not a determining role. The press reports, rather than creates, decisions and actions of powerful political actors and groups. For implementation of foreign policy decisions, the press may become part of the

central players' action channels through which they could determine the public's point of entry into the game and the degree of its involvement.⁵⁶

Whether government behaves as a monolith actor or government policy is the result of the bargaining game of multiple players, the action taken will be based on what governments or the actors involved perceive to be the best-interest of the state, the national interest. If the press is one of the actors involved in the foreign policy process, national interest will be a vital influence in press coverage of foreign news.

While there is an argument about whether media play an active role in foreign policy process, researchers tend to agree that in international news coverage, media focus more on the events and issues that represent the national interest,⁵⁷ especially the elite newspapers that are read by policy makers.

According to Herbert Gans (1979), foreign news in the U.S. media covers stories relevant to Americans and American interests. Gans found that international news concentrates on American activities in a foreign country, foreign activities affecting Americans and American policy, Communist-bloc country activities, changes in foreign government personnel, and political conflict and protest. He noted that U.S. coverage of foreign countries contains more value judgments than would be justifiable in domestic coverage.⁵⁸

Paletz and Entman (1981) argued that international reporting tends to be monolithic and consistent with US foreign policy - not just because the correspondents report from a vantage point that is slanted on the side of the official American viewpoint or because of the words and language they employ to describe the situations, but because they rely almost exclusively on sources sympathetic to representing the American interest.

America's diplomatic aims are honorable: American corporate profits and investments must be protected when threatened.⁵⁹

Kern et al. (1983)⁶⁰ and Goodman (1996)⁶¹ found that *The New York Times* is among the media that are most independent of government. When the government gave limited to great attention to specific China policy issues, the press did not follow suit.

It is necessary to distinguish between the press independent from government concerns and that deviated from what is perceived as an American interest. U.S. press headlines may deviate from what government focuses on in terms of issues and topics at certain points in time, especially in the elite newspaper like *The New York Times*. Lee and Young maintain that when U.S. media criticize U.S. foreign policy, it is mostly at the implementation level (how well the policy is carried out abroad), rather than at the level of basic assumptions that maintain U.S. policy is honorable and its opponents' policy is dishonorable.⁶²

If it is true that media tend to focus more on the events and issues that involve national interest, there must be some perceived national interest which determines what will be selected and covered as international news. Lee and Yang (1995) used national interest as a predictor of coverage of the Chinese student movement by the U.S. and Japanese press from April to June in 1989. They argued that the vital interest of the United States was winning ideological victories in the Cold War, whereas Japan's paramount concern was economic gain. These distinctive national interests led to different treatments of the Chinese student movement in the Japanese and U.S. press coverage.⁶³

De Sola Pool (1952) points out that the elite press speaks for the interests of its own country, regardless of the nature of the political system. The "prestige paper" is

always in some way tied to the government, the degree of intimacy being a function of the politization of the particular elite. The prestige paper gives an opportunity for semiofficial expressions of elite opinion and assures widespread dissemination to the elite of policy-relevant information and attitudes.⁶⁴

Although few studies looked at the effect of national interest on the coverage of international news, the scholars agreed upon that national interest is one of the factors that guides media in their news coverage, and the vital national interest may distinguish the media in their coverage of international events, which explains the phenomenon in international reporting: elite press speaks for the nation.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND HYPOTHESES

This chapter is organized into two parts. First, it discusses the key concepts of the study, the aspects that this study will explore, and to what degree this study will go beyond previous studies.

Second, this chapter introduces the hypotheses that the researcher proposes based on theoretical framework and previous studies. It also raises six questions regarding the news coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*, and emphasis on national interest in the news coverage.

Research Objective

The literature review on factors that influence news content suggests that factors outside and inside media influence news content in a hierarchical order. The literature on national interest and U.S.-China relations reveals that the decision-makers act upon situations in international relations according to their perceived national interest. Despite that many studies found that government is one of the most powerful factors in influencing the coverage of international news, few studies have looked at how national interest perceived by the key players in international relations and represented through political and economic events affects news coverage.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of factors associated with national interest on the news content. This study uses a content analysis to provide systematic assessment of the contributing effect of national interest on the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* from 1987 to 1996. Coverage of U.S.-China relations by the two newspapers is related to measures of national interest at two levels of influence: extra-media and intra-media.

- (a) Extramedia: intensity of U.S.-China relations at a particular point in time measured in terms of U.S. investment in China, U.S. trade with China, U.S. government concerns on U.S.-China relations raised in U.S. presidential documents and Chinese government concerns on U.S.-China relations addressed in *Gazette of the State Council of the People's Republic of China*.

The extramedia variables are the real life indicators of how much national interest is involved when U.S. and China are dealing with the issues which may affect their vital interest. The amount of U.S. investment in China and U.S.-China trade reflected the immediate interest of both sides. U.S. presidential concerns and Chinese government concerns on trade and non-trade political issues illustrated the focus on national interest when U.S. and China perceived their respective interest based on their national policy. All these extramedia variables were visible and were likely to be the focus of newspaper coverage at different times. To what degree that the two newspapers responded to the change of these extramedia variables testifies whether these variables are strong contributing factors to the changes of the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*.

(b) Intramedia: Intensity of U.S.-China relations measured in terms of emphasis on national interest, references to trade and non-trade issues, the news source's attitude toward U.S.-China relations, and the Fico scale of fairness and balance in news coverage.

As emphasis on national interest, trade related issues and non-trade political issues are the key components of the coverage of U.S.-China relations, how these components are presented in the news content will have immediate impact on other aspects of the coverage, such as source attitude towards U.S.-China relations, and fairness and balance of the coverage. The relationship between the national interest components and other aspects of the coverage to be revealed by the study will further validate whether national interest is a good predictor of coverage of international news.

Lee and Yang's (1995) study explored for the first time the effect of national interest on news content. This study will take off from where Lee and Yang's study left off. First, this study will extend the time span from three months to ten years, from 1987 to 1996. During this ten-year period, the national interest changes as the world situation and international relations changes. U.S.-China relations encountered various problems at different point in time. As U.S. and China's national interest shifted with the development of U.S.-China relations, we would expect that coverage of U.S.-China relations would reflect such a shift. A longitudinal study of ten-years' coverage of U.S.-China relations might provide a better explanation on whether and how national interest is a predictor of news coverage. National interest is categorized into a) trade and b) non-trade (e.g. human rights) issues. Trade-related economic issues and human rights-related political issues are two key components of the press coverage of U.S. China relations.

This study goes beyond Lee and Yang's study in a second way. We propose use real-time indicators of the national interest in U.S.-China relations, namely, U.S. investment in China, U.S.-China trade status, and related concerns raised by the U.S. president and Chinese government on U.S.-China trade and non-trade political issues, to test the notion that news content has been driven by national interest.

The selection of national interest as an indicator of news coverage of U.S.-China relations serves a second purpose: to test whether the priority national interest in trade related issues will transcend the interest contained in the dominant ideology as indicated in Lee and Young's study. Ideological issues such as advocacy of democracy and human rights in China could be the focus of U.S. national interest identified by U.S. media as in the coverage of Chinese student movement in 1989. It can also be a factor that interacts with other concerns of national interest with the changing situation in U.S.-China relations. U.S. media are assumed to maintain a clear ideological stand in their coverage of the political problems in China such as human rights abuse and suppression of Tibetans to reflect the dominant views of the most powerful in the United States. However, when economic gain becomes a more focused concern of United States in its relationship with China, if the ideological concerns on China's human right would hamper U.S. to gain more economic benefit in U.S.-China trade, would the dominant ideology give way to the current concerns of national interest? The underlying assumption would be: the national interest embedded in U.S.-China trade could surpass the dominant ideology in directing the news coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* at the time when trade interest was dominant.

United States and China have competing ideology.⁶⁵ When dealing with non-trade political issues, *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* are likely to hold contending positions as each will reflect the dominant ideology of the respective society. The concerns of national interest of United States and China are more likely to differ in both trade related issues and non-trade political issues. We will expect that *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* reflect different positions in their respective coverage of U.S.-China relations. However, there might be time when the concerns of national interest of the two countries were very close, and similar positions on issues at stake could produce similar effect on news coverage of the two newspapers.

In the case of *People's Daily*, it could also be true that national interest in U.S.-China trade could surpass the importance of adhering to the Marxist ideological position as what has already been observed in the process of China's economic development in recent years. It has been a broadly accepted fact that China emphasizes more on economic development than upholding the Marxist theory and ideology,⁶⁶ although it still needs the latter to maintain its legitimacy. As China's national interest becomes more embedded in its economic activity, such as U.S.-China trade, it could also downplay the dominant ideology, and give away its stress of ideological stand to the interest contained in U.S.-China economic exchange. The press coverage is expected to be an exact exhibition of such policy flexibility of China's Communist Party and the government.

Hypotheses

By looking at the coverage of U.S.-China relations in the two newspapers, this study tests the usefulness of national interest as a predictor of international news content, using both extramedia and intramedia indicators of national interest. Based on the theoretical framework, two groups of hypotheses are derived. Each group contains several hypotheses which apply to both newspapers. The hypotheses for each newspaper in the same group are put together for the purpose of comparison. The following hypotheses groups corresponding respectively to *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* are tested.

HG1. Relationship between Extramedia and Intramedia Variables

<i>The New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>	<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>
1) U.S. investment in China increases	Emphasis on national trade interest increases	1) U.S. investment in China increases	Emphasis on national trade interest increases
2a) U.S.- China trade increases	Emphasis on national trade interest increases	2a) U.S.- China trade increases	Emphasis on national trade interest increases
2b) U.S.- China trade increases	Reference to trade increases	2b) U.S.- China trade increases	Reference to trade increases
3a) More U.S.-China trade issues in Presidential Papers	More emphasis on national trade interest in coverage	3a) More U.S.-China trade issues in Presidential Papers	More emphasis on national trade interest in coverage
3b) More U.S.-China trade issues in Presidential Papers	Less reference to non-trade political issue in coverage	3b) More U.S.-China trade issues in Presidential Papers	Less reference to non-trade political issue in coverage
4) More non-trade political issue in Presidential Papers	More reference to non-trade political issue in coverage	4) More non-trade political issue in Presidential Papers	More reference to non-trade political issue in coverage

Hypothesis group 1 tests the relationship between the real life indicators of U.S. and China's national interests and the emphasis on national interest in the news coverage. They also explore to what degree respective government concerns on U.S.-China relations were reflected in the coverage by the two newspapers. The hypotheses are based on the assumptions: 1) the elite press speaks for the interests of its own country, regardless of the nature of the political system; 2) U.S.-China trade is considered an important issue in U.S.-China relations, involving national interest of both countries. The common interest involved in U.S.-China trade is likely to generate similar patterns in dealing with the issues relating to trade in the coverage of U.S.-China relations by the two newspapers.

HG2. Relationship between Intramedia Variables

A. Issues

<i>The New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>	<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>
5) More emphasis on national interest	More reference to trade	5) More emphasis on national interest	More reference to trade
6) More reference to trade	Fewer reference to non-trade political issue	6) More reference to trade	Fewer reference to non-trade political issue
7) More U.S. trade interest emphasis	Fewer reference to non-trade political issues	7) More China Trade Interest Emphasis	More reference to non-trade political issues

Hypothesis group 2 (A) examines the relationship between the issues involving national interest in the coverage of U.S.-China relations, including emphasis on national

interest, and reference to trade and non-trade political issues. It is expected that emphasis on national interest is associated with references to trade and non-trade political issues. The issues relating to trade are entwined with non-trade political issues.

B. Sources

<i>The New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>	<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>
8a) More positive reference to trade	More use of positive sources	8a) More positive reference to trade	More use of positive sources
8b) More reference to non-trade political issues	More use of negative sources	8b) More reference to non-trade political issues	More use of negative sources

Hypothesis group 2 (B) attempts to address the linkage between source use and the issues involved in the news coverage. The issues regarding trade could be covered in both positive and negative directions. It is likely that positive sources will be used when the trade issues are positively referred. The issues regarding non-trade political issues are more likely to be treated as negative topics. When non-trade political issues are referred in the news coverage, it is expected to involve use of more negative sources.

C. Fairness and Balance

By Extramedia Variables:

<i>The New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>	<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>
9a) U.S. trade deficit with China increases 9b) More non-trade political issue in Presidential Papers	Fairness and balance in coverage decrease	9a) China trade surplus with U.S. increases 9b) More non-trade political issue in government papers	Fairness and balanced in coverage decrease

By Intramedia Variables:

10a) More emphasis on national interest 10b) More reference to trade 10c) More reference to non-trade political issues	Less likely to be fair and balanced	10a) More emphasis on national interest 10b) More reference to trade 10c) More reference to non-trade political issues	Less likely to be fair and balanced
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Hypothesis group 2 (C) tests how fairness and balance of news coverage are affected by the real time indicators of national interest, emphasis on national interest in the news stories and the issues involved in the coverage. The hypotheses are based on the assumption that when national interest is the focus of both government agenda and media emphasis, it is unlikely that a newspaper will maintain its fairness and balance in its news coverage relating to U.S.-China relations.

Research Questions

In addition to the two groups of hypotheses, this study also tries to answer the following research questions. These questions inquire about the topics of the coverage, the way that national leaders and government officials were presented as sources, the source attitude towards U.S.-China relations, the difference in the treatment of issues involving national interest, the portrayal of U.S.-China relations, and fairness and balance of the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*.

1. What were the major topics in the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* during 1987 to 1996?
2. Who were the dominant sources in the coverage of U.S.-China relations in *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* during 1987 to 1996?
3. What were the respective attitudes of the U.S. and Chinese government officials towards U.S.-China relations when they were cited as sources by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* during 1987 to 1996?
4. Did the two newspapers emphasize national interest and treat the issues involving national interest differently in their coverage of U.S.-China relations during the ten-year period?
5. How differently did the two newspapers portray U.S.-China relations in general in their coverage during the ten-year period?

6. To what degree did the two newspapers differ in fairness and balance in their coverage of U.S.-China relations during the ten-year period?

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

This chapter defines the subject of study, discusses the study period and sources of data, describes sampling procedures and the coding scheme, lists all major variables with their operational definitions, and outlines the statistics used for data analysis.

This study is conducted through a content analysis. A ten-year period (1987-1996) coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* is selected for analysis. The coverage of U.S.-China relations is defined as hard news and feature stories reporting the current events, institutional and personal experience relating to U.S.-China relations, such as government actions, business activities, and personal adventures, e.g., stories in *The New York Times*, "Chinese Trade Practices Raising Concern in U.S." (12/26/90), "Baker's China Trip Fails to Produce Pledge on Rights" (11/18/91), "The U.S.-China Slide: A Relationship Strained by Trade Tension Could Worsen Further over Taiwan Flap" (5/23/95); Stories in *People's Daily*, "U.S. Congressmen Continue to Advocate Tibet Independence" (10/24/87), "U.S. Human Rights Report Distorts China's Reality and Interferes with China's Internal Affairs" (2/22/90), "Jiang Zemin Welcomes U.S.-China Copyright Agreement" (2/24/95).

Definitions

China and Foreign Policy News

China in this study refers to the People's Republic of China (hereafter China for simplicity).

Since distinction between foreign news and foreign policy news has raised construct validity concern in the study of press coverage relating to another country,⁶⁷ this study limits itself to foreign policy news. According to Tratterner, foreign policy news is “distinct from general foreign news” and ‘involves the relationships among nations and their efforts to make their way in the world and manage the problems this presents.’⁶⁸

Foreign news reflects the perception of the press towards a foreign country without involvement of its own country, while foreign policy news reflects the perception of press towards a foreign country in association with discrete governmental actions “intended by the decision makers to influence the behavior of international actors external to their own polity”.⁶⁹ U.S.-China relations is a foreign policy issue for both United States and China; newspaper content selected for study therefore only includes foreign policy news.

U.S. investment in China

U.S. investment in China refers to the monetary funds in U.S. dollar amount transferred from the United States to China by the corporations based and registered in the United States to establish and engage in business in China.

U.S.-China Trade Status.

U.S.-China trade status refers to the amount of goods traded between U.S. and China in U.S. dollar amount. The status of trade balance results in trade surplus or deficit.

U.S. Presidential Concerns on U.S.-China Relations

U.S. presidential concerns on U.S.-China relations refer to what issues regarding U.S.-China relations were raised by the U.S. president during the ten-year period.

Chinese Government Concerns on U.S.-China Relations

Chinese Government concerns on U.S.-China relations refer to what issues regarding U.S.-China relations were raised by Chinese government during the ten-year period.

Conflict-Cooperation Orientation

Conflict-cooperation orientation classifies news coverage of U.S.-China relations into three categories: conflict between U.S. and China, cooperation between U.S. and China, and conflict within the U.S. on China-related issues.

Portrayal of U.S.-China Relations

Portrayal of U.S.-China relations refers to positive, neutral and negative tone of coverage of U.S.-China relations reflected in the news stories by each newspaper. For *The New York Times*, portrayal of U.S.-China relations may imply positive or negative role of

China; For *People's Daily*, portrayal of U.S.-China relations may suggest positive or negative role of the United States. Portrayal is categorized as positive, negative and neutral.

Topics in U.S.-China Relations

Major issues in U.S.-China relations are coded by identifying topics covered. The topics include 12 mutually exclusive categories. Only the dominant theme identified in the first five paragraphs is selected as the topic of the news story. The category *general* is used to classify stories with multiple issues.

References to National Interest

National Interest is defined as the basis upon which a country makes its decision in international relations to minimize the cost and maximize the benefit. Interest refers to an expectation of reward. To get a reward is to get more of something we value, or else to avoid an otherwise imminent loss of some of it.⁷⁰ Interests can be seen as applications of values in context: values applied in the light of situations as they appear to people involved in them. As used by the policy-makers, the phrase “national interest” implied a choice among values standing behind these interests.⁷¹ Reference to National Interest in the context of news coverage of U.S.-China relations refers to the verbal denotations of a concern or a stand regarding a nation’s benefit or loss in its relationship with the other country. Reference to National Interest is categorized into Trade interest and Non-Trade interest.

Reference to Trade

Reference to Trade relates to verbal denotations of issues regarding U.S.-China trade. These references to trade are divided into positive and negative categories.

Reference to Non-Trade Political Issues

Non-Trade Political Issues are a major part in U.S.-China relations. This variable refers to verbal denotations of political issues occurring in areas other than trade and business with both U.S. and China involved, such as human rights, Tibet and Taiwan issues. These references to non-trade political issues are divided into positive and negative categories.

Source of Stories

The identification of the source(s) of coverage of U.S.-China relations answers the question, who are the most active in the process of shaping U.S.-China relations as presented by news coverage as sources during the ten-year period, and what is their respective attitude towards U.S.-China relations? Eleven categories of source were identified through an earlier study of *The New York Times*⁷² and the examination of the headlines of the stories under study.

Source's Attitude towards U.S.-China Relations

Source's attitude towards U.S.-China relations identifies the tone of individual, organization or documentation used as a source. The attitude is categorized into positive, negative, and neutral.

Fairness and Balance

Following Fred Fico's instrument (1995),⁷³ fairness and balance are designed as an integrated variable measuring how the particular news medium maintains its impartiality when it covers news events involving two conflicting parties. It measures Pro and Con sources and assertions of both sides of a controversial issue.

The Study Period

The study period covers ten-years, from 1987 to 1996. The period is selected for the following reasons: U.S. and China went through both a relatively stable relationship and turbulent relationship in this period. On the U.S. side, 1) It covers three U.S. presidencies, whose concerns relating to U.S.-China relations varied; 2) Some major issues concerning U.S.-China relations arose during this period, such as Human Rights in China and annual renewal of Most Favorite Nation status. On the China's side, 1) Transition of government leaders led to the changes in China's U.S. policy; 2) The major events such as Tiananmen Incident and Taiwanese President's visit to U.S. drastically affected U.S.-China relations. The ten-year period also saw a steady increase in U.S. investment in China, U.S.-China trade and the trade deficit on the U.S. side. These are major influencing factors on U.S.-China relations.

Sources of Data

The Newspapers

The New York Times is chosen because of its extensive coverage of foreign policy news, and its prominence and influence on decision making.⁷⁴ It is widely read by policy makers, journalists, and diplomatic community in and out of Washington.⁷⁵ The content of *The New York Times* during 1987 to 1996 is retrievable through Lexis-Nexis database.

People's Daily is chosen for its eminent status in China and its role as a spokesperson for China's foreign policies.⁷⁶ *People's Daily* during 1987 to 1996 is obtained from Inter library loan through Michigan State Library. Part of the content is also available through the World Wide Web database of *People's Daily*.

Newspapers of Elite Communication

Edelstein (1982) noted that there is a world system of elite communication as expressed by an "elite" or "prestige" press that speaks for these nations and to elites in other nations. These communication systems have the same properties as other social systems; there is input and output to the system, boundaries are defined, and system maintenance and growth occur.⁷⁷

The New York Times and *People's Daily* are outstanding members of the world system of elite communication. While they have strikingly different goals and operating environment, *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* are considered the newspapers of

record of their respective counties. Both newspapers have national influence and carry a relatively large portion of international news. They are both widely read by leaders and influentials in their own countries and elsewhere. Both are widely quoted and their viewpoints enter into important decisions.

The New York Times is generally regarded as the most respected U.S. news medium. It has acquired prestige by the excellence of its news coverage.⁷⁸ When the *Times* indicates that an issue is newsworthy, other U.S. news organizations take note. *The New York Times* news service conveys the next day's front-page stories to thousands of other newspapers, broadcasting stations, and other media institutions late each day, thus influencing the next morning's headlines and news priorities.⁷⁹

People's Daily is an official paper published by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Among the various media channels, *People's Daily* is often regarded as the most important.⁸⁰ Although other mass media in China may take slightly different viewpoints on some domestic issues, on important matters, and almost always on foreign affairs, they generally turn to the *People's Daily* for guidance and direction. It can be said that *People's Daily* by itself sets the agenda and reporting style for the rest of the mass media in China.⁸¹ In China, what is perceived to be the national interest by the Communist Party of China and Chinese government is expected to be taken as the guiding perspective by *People's Daily*.

Organizational Goal

In spite of their similar status in their own societies, *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* are structurally and functionally different. Their role and goals in their respective societies are opposed, although both of them serve as sources of information for policy makers and the public.

The New York Times is a private, independent newspaper. Since its publication in 1851, it claims it carries “all the news that’s fit to print.”

People's Daily, established with the Communist regime in 1948, is the mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party. Its official duty is to propagate the Party’s political line, policies, and tasks among the one billion Chinese.⁸²

Operating Environment

The New York Times operates in a society of electoral democracy. The press ideal in the U.S. is that of adversary and watchdog of the government. The news media are the major source of news and information, a major forum for national debate, and an important link between the public and policy makers at the national and international level. With the guarantee and protection of the First Amendment, the news media have the right to report nearly on anything.⁸³ However, objective, truthful and comprehensive coverage of news is constrained by market forces.⁸⁴

People's Daily operates in a Communist society, albeit a changing one. In China, the press is a branch of the government charged with the role of “collective propagandist, collective agitator, collective organizer” as stipulated by Lenin.⁸⁵ Objective, truthful, and comprehensive coverage of news is difficult to achieve because the journalistic profession

is the extension - communication function of government. A journalist's efforts to write accurate and independent accounts of events would come into direct conflict with the government leadership.⁸⁶

Although different in organizational goal and operating environment, both newspapers are the newspapers within their societies - hence their selection. We hypothesize that 1) both newspapers reflect their own national interests in the stance they talk on U.S.-China relations; 2) the coverage of U.S.-China relations in each newspaper has its own ways of expressing its national stance, due to differences in the media system, and the extramedia social, political and economic systems.

Government Documents

Presidential documents on U.S.-China relations during the ten-year period are used to measure U.S. government concerns on U.S.-China relations. The U.S. president is the ultimate decision maker in foreign policy. Whatever the president says and does, whether formal or informal, can have far-reaching implications in international relations.⁸⁷

The presidential documents include all the nonduplicate items listed in the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States* and the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*. These two sources cover all contemporary documents on U.S.-China relations released by the White House, including announcements, public speeches, agreements, news conferences, messages to the Congress, and other materials. They are available for analysis in Michigan State University Library.

For Chinese government concerns on U.S.-China relations, Chinese government documents on U.S.-China relations during the ten-year period are used. The government documents reflect the views of the Chinese government precisely, and are the written records of all government decisions regarding domestic and international issues.

The Chinese government documents selected include all the nonduplicate items listed in the *Gazette of The State Council of The People's Republic of China*. This source covers all contemporary documents on domestic and international issues released by the State Council of China, including issues regarding U.S.-China relations. This source is obtained through inter-library loan by Michigan State University.

Data from U.S. Department of Commerce

The data regarding U.S. investment in China and U.S.-China trade during 1987-1996 ten-year period are obtained from *Survey of Current Business* published by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis. The periodical carries the data on U.S. direct investment positions abroad and U.S. export, import and merchandise trade balance by country. The periodicals published from 1986 to 1997 are used to collect the data. They are available in Michigan State University library.

Sampling Procedures

Population of newspaper content

To get a complete list of news stories on U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* during 1987 to 1996, several sources were used to complement each other. For *The New York Times*, Lexis-Nexis database and *The New York Times Index* were used. For *People's Daily*, *People's Daily Index*, *People's Daily* database on the World Wide Web, and *People's Daily* on microfilm were consulted.

The New York Times

- 1) *The New York Times Index*. All news items classified under the category "United States International Relations – China" In *The New York Times Index*, beginning January 1, 1987, ending December 31, 1996 are included. There are 649 days that *The New York Times* carried news items on this topic. Using the news digest under the category "China", the days that carried the stories on U.S.-China relations were checked for number of related stories. After carefully examining the news digest of each story, excluding editorials and opinion pieces, 427 stories were identified with a clear theme of U.S.-China relations.
- 2) Lexis-Nexis database Search. Using "U.S. within 5 words China" and "U.S.-China" as the key words, 837 stories, including editorials, were found during the ten-year period. The headline of each story was carefully examined according to the criteria, and

the stories without a clear theme on U.S.-China relations and the editorials were excluded. A total of 302 stories was identified.

- 3) Combining the two lists of stories, and eliminating those that appeared on both lists, we were left with 512 stories. These articles comprise the population of *The New York Times'* coverage of U.S.-China relations for this study.

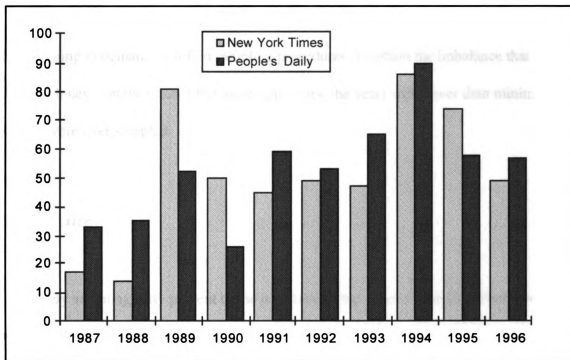
People's Daily

- 1) *People's Daily* Index. All news items classified under the category "China – United States" In *The People's Daily* Index, beginning January 1, 1987, ending December 31, 1996 are included. About 900 items were identified from *People's Daily* under the category "China-United States" during the ten-year period. These items were double checked with *People's Daily* on the Microfilm and *People's Daily* Database on the Web.
- 2) *People's Daily* Database Search. The database of *People's Daily* on the World Wide Web does not contain the news content of the entire ten-year period. The searchable database covers the period from 1995 to 1996. Using the Key word "Sino-U.S. relations", a total of 192 stories were found in this two-year period. After examination of the headlines of all stories for 1995 and 1996, 115 stories were identified.
- 3) *People's Daily* on the microfilm. The search result from *People's Daily* Index and database on the Web were double checked against *People's Daily* on the microfilm to determine whether the news items matched the study purpose. Those stories which met the criteria of the study were reproduced from *People's Daily* on the microfilm and database of *People's Daily* on the Web. News items which appeared in *People's*

Daily from 1987 to 1994 were copied from *People's Daily* on the microfilm. Those items which appeared from 1995 to 1996 were printed from the database of *People's Daily* on the Web. A complete list of the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *People's Daily* consists of 528 news stories. This comprises the population of *People's Daily* for this study.

Figure 2.1

*Population of News Content of the Coverage of U.S.-China Relations
by The New York Times and People's Daily (1987-1996)*
(NYT, N = 512; PD, N = 528)



Sampling method

Forty percent of articles were selected for analysis annually from the sampling frame, using systematic stratified sampling procedures. To offset the imbalance that the days with news on the topic differ across the years, the years with fewer than minimum stories were over sampled.

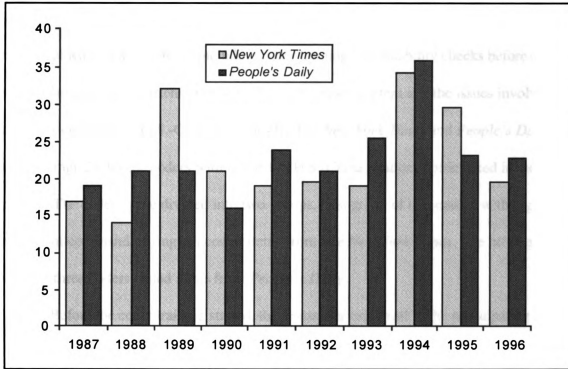
Sample size

By sampling forty percent of the population, two years of *The New York Times* were left with less than ten stories. It was then decided that a minimum of ten stories each year was needed to examine the yearly content. With the adjustment to include at least ten stories for each year, 225 stories were picked from *The New York Times*, and 230 stories were chosen from *People's Daily* for content analysis.

Figure 2.2

*Sample of News Content of the Coverage of U.S.-China Relations
by The New York Times and People's Daily (1987-1996)*

(NYT, N =225; PD, N =230)



Coding of Media Content

The coding of news content was conducted according to the prescribed procedures by Daniel Riffe et al. (1998),⁸⁸ including coder training and reliability checks before coding starts. To achieve consistent understanding of the news content and the issues involved in the news coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*, three bilingual Chinese coders with interest in U.S.-China relations participated in the coding. The coders were divided into two groups. One group of two coders with highly proficient command of English coded items from *The New York Times*. The other group with all three coders coded items from *People's Daily*.

Before the coder training started, the researcher explained to the participating coders the research purpose of the project, spelled out the key issues in U.S.-China relations and clarified the key concepts and variables that were of interest to the project. The researcher then worked together with the participating coders on sample articles for identifying key variables that require coder judgement until satisfactory intercoder reliability was reached.

Among the 36 variables coded, 8 key variables needed relatively high level of coder judgment, they are reference to national interest (trade), reference to national interest (other), reference to trade, reference to non-trade issues, pro assertion length, con assertion length, lead assertion balance, and assertion in paragraph 2-5. Most of the other variables require little coder judgment.

For the first four variables, the coders first identified related key words, for example, "U.S. interest" and "China's sovereignty" are key words for reference to national

interest (other) unless the interest is specified as relating to trade. Then the coder located the unit of reference by grouping the related words around the key words or identifying the sentence which expressed the concern on national interest. Finally, the coder recorded the unit of reference.

For the four variables measuring fairness and balance, the coder first looked for sentences clearly expressing the opinion or stand of one side in the first five paragraphs of a news story according to the protocol. For example, if the lead contains two statements that represent the views of each side, the assertion for the paragraph will be coded as 0. The coder looked for such one-sided sentences throughout the story. After successfully identifying the sentences that expressed the explicit views of one side for each paragraph in a story, the paragraph was marked with a Pro or Con assertion. The value for the variables assertion for paragraph 2-5, pro assertion length, and con assertion length were calculated, and the result was recorded accordingly.

Scott's Pi was used to test the intercoder reliability for nominal variables; Pearson's correlation coefficient was used to test the intercoder reliability for ratio variables. An intercoder reliability test result greater than .75 was deemed satisfactory. For a 95 percent level of probability and an assumed 90 percent agreement between the coders, 90 stories were selected for intercoder reliability testing.⁸⁹ To efficiently use the 90 stories for a reliability test, the intercoder reliability test was carried out in two stages, which offered the chances to improve the intercoder reliability as the tests proceeded. In the first test, 22 stories (10 percent of the sample units) were randomly selected, and a total average of .82 intercoder reliability was achieved, with reliability of nominal variables ranging from .72 to 1.0, and that of ratio variables ranging from .79 to .99. In the second stage, 68 stories (30

percent of the sample units) were randomly selected, and a total average of .86 was achieved, with reliability of nominal variables ranging from .76 to 1.0, and that of ratio variables ranging from .76 to .98.⁹⁰ Each coder in the two groups was assigned respectively a portion of *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* items of the remaining news stories after satisfactory intercoder reliability was established.

Measurement

1. *Time*. Time refers to the period (1987-1996) that news coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* was selected for study. Time serves as a benchmark to examine the changes in the relationship between and among the variables under study over the ten-year period..
2. *U.S. investment in China*. The data drawn from *Survey of Current Business* published by U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis were used to measure the U.S. investment in China during 1987 to 1996.
3. *U.S.-China Trade Status*. The data drawn from *Survey of Current Business* published by U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis were used to measure the U.S.-China trade Status.
4. *U.S. Presidential Concerns on U.S.-China Relations*. These issues are identified by looking up *the Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States* and the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*. These two sources cover all contemporary documents on U.S.-China relations released by the White House, including

announcements, public speeches, agreements, news conferences, messages to the Congress, and other materials. U.S. Presidential concerns on U.S.-China relations were measured according to how many times that issues were raised in the presidential documents based on several identical categories used for coding news content. The topics used to code news stories of U.S.-China relations were also used to categorized the topics of presidential concerns on U.S.-China relations. The unit of analysis is document. A document dealing with one issue was counted as 1 unit under the relevant topic; A document dealing with clearly identifiable multiple issues was assigned 1 unit for each issue. A document dealing with U.S.-China relations in general was classified in the category general.

5. *Chinese Government Concerns on U.S.-China Relations.* This variable was measured by frequency of issues mentioned in *Gazette of The State Council of The People's Republic of China*. This source covers all contemporary documents on domestic and international issues, including issues regarding U.S.-China relations. Chinese government concerns on U.S.-China relations were measured according to how many times these issues were raised in government documents. This practice follows Lau's study of China's press role.⁹¹ The topics used to code news stories of U.S.-China relations were also used to categorize topics of government concerns on U.S.-China relations. The unit of analysis is document. A document dealing with one issue was counted as 1 unit under the relevant topic; a document dealing with multiple issues was assigned 1 unit for each issue. A document dealing with U.S.-China relations in general was classified in the category general.

6. *Conflict-Cooperation Orientation.* Stories with a conflict orientation refer to those stories regarding bilateral dispute between U.S. and China. Stories with cooperation orientation refer to those stories dealing with bilateral agreement and reciprocal action between U.S. and China; Stories of U.S. political debate refers to the coverage of U.S. political debate over U.S. China policy. The theme was identified through the lead paragraph or the first five paragraphs in case no clear theme can be identified in the lead paragraph.
7. *Portrayal of U.S.-China Relations.* This variable was coded into three categories: Positive, Neutral or Negative. Positive portrayal in *The New York Times* suggests U.S.-China relations are in good shape, China is a good partner of U.S., and China does not have other problems which may affect U.S.-China relations. Negative portrayal of U.S.-China relations in *The New York Times* suggests there are problems in U.S.-China relations, and the problems lie more on the part of China, which impair U.S.-China relations. Neutral portrayal gives no clear direction in portrayal.
8. *Topics in U.S.-China Relations.* Topics were coded into the following categories:
- 1) General (U.S.-China relations in general, or multiple topics)
 - 2) U.S.-China Trade (trade between U.S. and China, including Most Favorite Nation, Sanctions, Trade Deficit)
 - 3) U.S.-China Business Exchange (doing business in the other's country)
 - 4) Copyright Piracy (piracy on U.S. intellectual property, such as CD, books)
 - 5) Arms Control (arms proliferation from China to other countries)
 - 6) Human Rights (human rights abuse, human rights debate)
 - 7) U.S.-China interaction on international issues (e.g. North Korea)

- 8) U.S.-China relations in other economic, scientific and cultural areas
- 9) Tibet (issues relating to Tibet in which the U.S. is involved)
- 10) Taiwan (issues relating to Taiwan in which the U.S. is involved)
- 11) Hong Kong (issues relating to Hong Kong in which the U.S. is involved)
- 12) Other (all other topics that do not fit into the previous categories)

9. *References to National Interest.* References to National Interest were categorized into National Trade Interest and Non-Trade Interest.

References to National Trade Interests were measured by counting the words and sentences which express the concerns or stands of a nation with regard to benefit or loss in U.S.-China trade. It appears in news stories in the words like “U.S. trade deficit with China”, “U.S. market share in China”, and the sentences like “China should be granted permanent Most Favorite Nation status”, “Engaging in a trade war with China hurts U.S. business.”

References to Non-Trade National Interests were measured by counting the words and sentences which express the concerns or stands of a nation with regard to benefit or loss in issues other than U.S.-China trade, such as human rights, Tibet, and Taiwan. These references appear in news stories with phrases and sentences like “China’s sovereignty over Tibet”, “Taiwan Issue is China’s domestic affair”, “Keep Taiwan Straight in peace serves America’s interest”, “China sees risk to its stability in U.S. demands.”

References to National Interest (both Trade and Non-Trade) were identified according to the nation that they sided, i.e., both national interests of the United States

and China were identified in news item. The expressed interest about U.S.-China trade to the advantage of United States in *The New York Times* was coded as reference to U.S. trade interest; The explicit interest about China's sovereignty over Tibet in *People's Daily* was coded as reference to China non-trade interest. Each group of words or sentences identified as a reference to National Interest (Trade or Non-Trade) was coded as one unit.

10. *Reference to Trade.* Reference to Trade was classified into positive and negative categories. Reference to "Trade" (positive) includes words and expressions denoting the meaning of "Trade" in affirmative form. Such reference may include but is not limited to words or phrases like renew (MFN), engage in trade relations, encourage (trade), building bridge, lower tariff, etc. Reference to "Trade" (negative) includes words and expressions denoting the meaning of "Trade" in disapproving form. Such references may include but are not limited to words or phrases like revoke (Most Favorite Nation Status), cut off trade relations, restrict (trade), trade sanction, establish barrier, increase tariff, prison labor, etc. For both positive and negative references, each reference consisted of one or more words was counted as one unit.

11. *Reference to Non-Trade Political Issues.* Reference to Non-Trade Political Issues was classified into positive and negative categories.

The positive reference to "non-trade political issues" includes words and phrases that describe the agreement, cooperation and compromise in the existing bilateral conflicting areas such as human rights, Taiwan and Tibet issues. Such references may include but are not limited to the words or phrases like improvement of

human rights, progress made in talks across the Taiwan Strait, freedom of press expanded.

The negative references to “non-trade political issues” includes words and phrases that describe the existing bilateral conflicts in the areas such as human rights, Taiwan and Tibet issues. Such references may include but are not limited to the words or phrases like human rights abuse, threat to Taiwan, invasion of Tibet, and deprive freedom of press.

For both positive and negative references, each reference consisted of one or more words was counted as one unit.

12. *Source of Stories*. The following categories were coded: U.S. Chief Officer Source, Including U.S. President, Secretary of State, Congress leaders. Chinese Chief Officer Source, including China’s President, Premier, Foreign Minister. White House Source, sources from White House, except the President. Congress Source, Source from the Congress, except the Congress leaders. State Department Source, Source from the State Department, except the Secretary. U.S. Officials Source, U.S. officials source other than those specified above. U.S. businessman, source engaged in business with China. Chinese Officials Source, sources affiliated with Chinese government or other organizations. Chinese Businessman, source engaged in business with U.S. Other Chinese Source, Chinese sources other than the Chinese officials and businessman.
13. *Source’s Attitude towards U.S.-China Relations*. The attitude is categorized into positive, negative, and neutral. Positive sources are those presented with a positive attitude towards U.S.-China relations. Negative sources are those presented with a

negative attitude towards U.S.-China relations. A category of neutral is assigned to a source that shows no directional inclination towards U.S.-China relations.

14. *Fairness and Balance.* This variable measures Pro and Con sources and assertions of both sides of a controversial issue.

Pro and Con refer to the positive or negative assertion or description by the sources towards issues relating to U.S.-China relations or towards the other country involved in bilateral controversial issues, such as that presented in a story in *The New York Times* addressing improving or downgrading U.S.-China relations. The source that suggests that U.S.-China relations should be improved is coded as Pro source; otherwise, Con source. Pro and Con source number counts the sources from persons, organizations, and documents.

Assertions are the information that sources provide about their thoughts, feelings or self described actions. A statement by U.S. official such as “U.S. needs to keep in touch with China in order to advance democracy in China” is coded as a Pro assertion. A statement by a U.S. congressman such as “It is important for us to have sanctions that are real and that pressure the Chinese” is coded as a Con assertion. Unattributed assertions are considered the reporter's. A source must be lined to assertions by verbs denoting: speaking, such as "said", "argued"; state of mind, Such as "thinks," "feels."

Fairness and balance were measured through a combination of the following indicators.

- 1) Pro sources number, number of Pro sources
- 2) Con source number, number of Con sources

- 3) Pro assertion length, paragraphs, excluding 1-5 paragraphs
- 4) Con assertion length, paragraphs, excluding 1-5 paragraphs
- 5) Favor in number of sources, Pro source number minus Con source number
- 6) Favor in number of paragraphs, Pro assertion length minus Con assertion length
- 7) Lead assertion balance, whether Pro or Con assertions appear in the first paragraph in the story. If no assertions appear in the lead of the story, code as "0".
- 8) Assertion in paragraph 2-5 of story, whether Pro or Con assertions appear within 2 through 5 paragraphs of the story. If no assertions appear within paragraphs 2-5 of the story, code as "0".

An aggregate score measuring fairness and balance was generated by summing up items 5 through 8. The higher the number is, the more skewed the coverage toward one side, and thus the less fair and balanced the coverage.

Data Processing and Use of Statistics for Analysis

The data collected were entered into a computer by the author and compiled into a data file suitable for statistical analysis. SPSS was used for checking error against the original coding sheet and news articles, describing data, testing the research hypotheses and exploring the data pattern to answer the research questions.

Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyze the data. Descriptive statistics used in the study include frequency distribution and proportion. The topics of the news stories, sources, reference to national interest, reference to trade, and reference to non-

trade political issues were examined according to their frequency distribution. Inferential statistics used included partial correlation, multiple regression, comparison of means, and proportion test. The partial correlation analysis examined the relationship between extramedia variables and emphasis on national interest, reference to trade, and reference to non-trade political issues in the news coverage, the relationship between intramedia variables, and the relationship between both extramedia and intramedia variables and fairness and balance of the news coverage. The regression analysis explored the combined effect of extramedia variables on emphasis on national interest in the news coverage. Comparison of means was used to analyze the differences of references to national interest, the attitude of sources, portrayal direction of U.S.-China relations and fairness and balance between *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. Proportion test was employed to examine the difference of the source attitude towards U.S.-China relations.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings of the study. The findings are presented in two parts. The first part presents the test result of two groups of hypotheses on the association of national interests with news coverage. The second part compares the coverage of U.S.-China relations by the two newspapers during 1987 to 1996 based on six research questions.

HG1. Relationship between Extramedia and Intramedia Variables

<i>The New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
<i>Independent variable</i>	<i>Dependent variable</i>	<i>Independent variable</i>	<i>Dependent variable</i>
1) U.S. investment in China increases (R)	Emphasis on national trade interest increases	1) U.S. investment in China increases (R)	Emphasis on national trade interest increases
2a) U.S.- China trade increases (R)	Emphasis on national trade interest increases	2a) U.S.- China trade increases (R)	Emphasis on national trade interest increases
2b) U.S.- China trade increases (S)	Reference to trade increases	2b) U.S.- China trade increases (R)	Reference to trade increases
3a) More U.S.-China trade issues in Presidential Papers (R)	More emphasis on national trade interest in coverage	3a) More U.S.-China trade issues in Presidential Papers (S)	More emphasis on national trade interest in coverage
3b) More U.S.-China trade issues in Presidential Papers (R)	Less reference to non-trade political issue in coverage	3b) More U.S.-China trade issues in Presidential Papers (R)	Less reference to non-trade political issue in coverage
4) More non-trade political issue in Presidential Papers (R)	More reference to non-trade political issue in coverage	4) More non-trade political issue in Presidential Papers (S)	More reference to non-trade political issue in coverage

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The New York Times (Table 1.1 to Table 1.3)

Emphasis on national interest in the coverage of U.S.-China relations is one of the key measures of this study. The frequencies of emphasis on national interest in *The New York Times* during the ten-year period are as follows:

Table 1.1
References to U.S. and China National Interest in
The New York Times' Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)
(N=512, n=225)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>U.S. Trade Interest</i>	<i>U.S. Non-Trade Interest</i>	<i>U.S. National Interest</i>	<i>China Trade Interest</i>	<i>China Non-Trade Interest</i>	<i>China Nat'l Interest</i>
1987	1	2	3	0	6	6
1988	7	0	7	1	3	4
1989	6	8	14	1	17	18
1990	6	1	7	0	0	0
1991	3	5	8	0	9	9
1992	5	5	10	1	5	6
1993	2	2	4	0	4	4
1994	19	11	30	3	12	15
1995	4	2	6	3	8	11
1996	7	7	14	2	13	15
Total	60	43	103	11	77	88

H1. The hypothesis that as U.S. investment in China increases, emphasis on national trade interest increases is not supported. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S. investment growth in China and the emphasis on national trade interest in *The New York Times* is .06, and the partial correlation between U.S. investment growth in China and the emphasis on national interest (trade) is .02. (Figure 3.1)

Table 1.2
***Multivariate Relationship between Extramedia Variables and
The New York Times' coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)***

<i>Variables¹</i>	<i>U.S. Invest in China</i>	<i>U.S. Trade with China</i>	<i>Pres Trade Concerns²</i>	<i>Pres non- trade Conc</i>	<i>Adjusted R Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig</i>
U.S. National Interest	.03	.00	.14	-.07	.00	1.11	.36
U.S. Trade Interest	.06	-.05	.07	-.06	-.01	0.39	.82
U.S. Non-Trade Interest	-.04	.07	.14	-.04	.00	0.97	.42
Reference to Trade	-.53*	.57**	.40**	-.29**	.16	11.42	.00
Reference to Trade Negative	-.68**	.67**	.37**	-.26**	.13	9.20	.00
Reference to Trade Positive	-.09	.19	.22**	-.19*	.06	4.79	.00
Reference to Non-Trade Issues	-.25	.52*	.10	-.08	.09	6.83	.00
Reference to Non-Trade Negative	-.35	.60	.03	-.02	.07	5.14	.00
Reference to Non-Trade positive	.10	.04	.20*	-.13	.06	4.47	.00

1. The variables in the top row are independent variables, N=10 (Years). The variables in the first columns are dependent variables, N=225 (Articles). All data shown in the second to fifth columns are the standardized regression coefficient corresponding to the independent variables listed in the top row.
2. U.S. trade concerns refer to the presidential concerns on U.S.-China trade documented in the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*. U.S. non-trade concerns refer to the presidential concerns on other political issues documented in the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*.

** = p< 0.01

* = p< 0.05

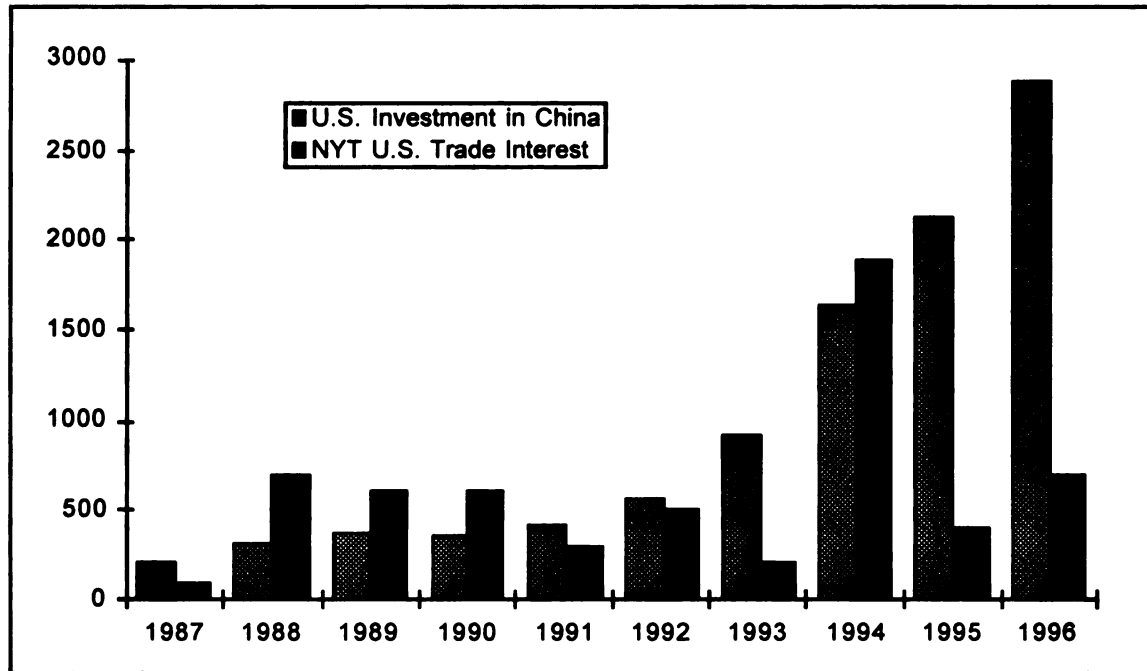
Table 1.3
*Partial Correlation between Extramedia Variables and
The New York Times' coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*

<i>Variables</i>	<i>U.S. Invest in China</i>	<i>U.S. Trade with China</i>	<i>Pres Trade Concerns</i>	<i>Pres non-trade Concerns</i>
U.S. Trade Interest	.02	-.01	.06	-.05
U.S. Non-Trade Interest	-.01	.02	.11	-.03
Reference to Trade	-.17**	.18**	.34**	-.25**
Reference to Non-Trade Issues	.08	.16*	.09	-.07

** = $p < 0.01$

* = $p < 0.05$

Figure 3.1
*Relationship between U.S. Investment in China
 and References to U.S. Trade Interest in
 The New York Time's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*



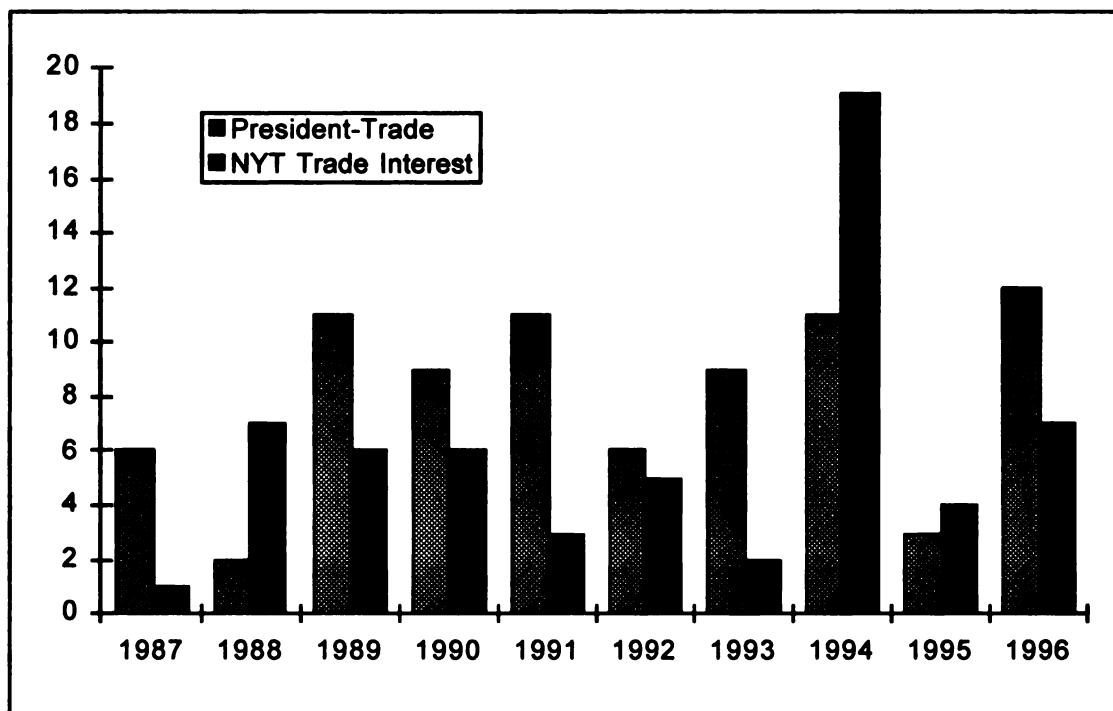
U.S. investment is in U.S. millions. The numbers of *The New York Times*' reference to U.S. trade interest are inflated by 100 times to match the scale of the numbers of U.S. investment in China when creating the graph.

H2a. The hypothesis that as U.S.-China trade increases, emphasis on national trade interest increases is not supported. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S. trade with China and national trade interest in *The New York Times* is -.05, and the partial correlation between U.S.-China trade and the emphasis on national trade interest is -.01.

H2b. The hypothesis that as U.S.-China trade increase, reference to trade increases is partly supported. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S. trade with China and references to trade is .57, and the partial correlation between U.S. trade with China and references to trade is .18, both are statistically significant. It is also found that the relationship between U.S.-China trade and reference to non-trade political issues is statistically significant. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S. trade with China and reference to non-trade political issues is .52, and the partial correlation between U.S. trade with China and references to non-trade political issues is .16, both are statistically significant.

H3a. The hypothesis that more U.S.-China trade issues in presidential papers, more emphasis on national trade interest in the coverage of U.S.-China relations in *The New York Times* is not supported. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S. presidential concerns on U.S.-China trade and emphasis on national trade interest is .07, and the partial correlation between U.S. presidential concerns on U.S.-China trade and emphasis on national trade interest is .06, neither is statistically insignificant. (Figure 3.2)

Figure 3.2
*Relationship between U.S. President Concerns on Trade
and References to U.S. Trade Interest in
The New York Time's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*
(N = 225)



However, relationship is found between U.S. presidential concerns on trade and reference to trade in the coverage of U.S.-China relations. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S. presidential concerns on trade and reference to trade is .40. The regression coefficient was contributed more from negative reference to trade (.37) than from positive reference to trade (.22). The partial correlation between U.S. presidential concerns on trade and reference to trade is .34, which is statistically significant.

H3b. The hypothesis that more U.S.-China trade issues in presidential papers, less reference to non-trade political issues in the coverage of U.S.-China relations *in The New York Times* is not supported. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S. presidential concerns on U.S.-China trade and reference to non-trade political issues is .10, and the partial correlation between U.S. presidential concerns on U.S.-China trade and reference to non-trade political issues is .09, neither is statistically insignificant.

H4. The hypothesis that more non-trade political issues in presidential papers, more reference to non-trade political issues in the coverage of U.S.-China relations *in The New York Times* is not supported. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S. presidential concerns on non-trade political issues and references to non-trade political issues is -.08, and the partial correlation between U.S. presidential concerns on non-trade political issues and references to non-trade political issues is -.07, neither is statistically insignificant.

People's Daily (Table 2.1 to Table 2.3)

The frequencies of emphasis on national interest in *People's Daily* during the ten-year period are as follows:

Table 2.1
*References to China and U.S. National Interest in
 People's Daily's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*
 (N=230)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>China Trade Interest</i>	<i>China Non- Trade Interest</i>	<i>China Nat'l Interest</i>	<i>U.S. Trade Interest</i>	<i>U.S. Non- Trade Interest</i>	<i>U.S. National Interest</i>
1987	1	12	13	1	2	3
1988	2	9	11	7	0	7
1989	3	23	26	6	8	14
1990	3	15	18	6	1	7
1991	13	11	24	3	5	8
1992	4	11	15	5	5	10
1993	12	10	22	2	2	4
1994	13	15	28	19	11	30
1995	5	34	39	4	2	6
1996	3	25	28	7	5	12
Total	61	161	222	60	41	101

H1. The hypothesis that as U.S. investment in China increases, emphasis on national trade interest increases is not supported. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S. investment growth in China and the emphasis on national trade interest in *People's Daily* is $-.30$, which is statistically insignificant. The partial correlation between U.S. investment growth in China and the emphasis on national trade interest is $.08$. (Figure 4.1)

Table 2.2
***Multivariate Relationship between the Extramedia Variables and
People's Daily's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)***

<i>Variables¹</i>	<i>U.S. Invest in China</i>	<i>U.S. Trade with China</i>	<i>China Trade Concerns²</i>	<i>China non- trade Concn</i>	<i>Adjusted R Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig</i>
China National Interest	.22	-.14	.04	.12	.02	1.87	.12
China Trade Interest	-.30	.36	.17*	-.07	.04	3.36	.01
China Non-Trade Interest	.41	-.36	-.06	.18*	.04	3.25	.01
Reference to Trade	.38	-.30	.35**	-.16*	.08	5.75	.00
Reference to Trade Negative	.40	-.36	.31**	-.14	.06	4.31	.00
Reference to Trade Positive	.23	-.16	.24**	-.11	.03	2.82	.03
Reference to Non-Trade Issues	.20	-.31	-.14	.30**	.06	4.89	.00
Reference to Non-Trade Negative	-.02	-.25	-.18*	.28**	.08	5.72	.00
Reference to Non-Trade positive	.32	-.19	.00	.15	.04	3.58	.01

1. The variables in the top row are independent variables, N=10 (Years). The variables in the first column are dependent variables, N=230 (Articles). All data shown in the second to fourth columns are the standardized coefficient beta corresponding to the independent variables listed in the top row.
2. China trade concerns refer to government concerns on U.S.-China trade documented in the *Gazette of the State Council of the People's Republic of China*. China non-trade concerns refer to government concerns on other political issues documented in the *Gazette of the State Council of the People's Republic of China*.

** = $p < 0.01$

* = $p < 0.05$

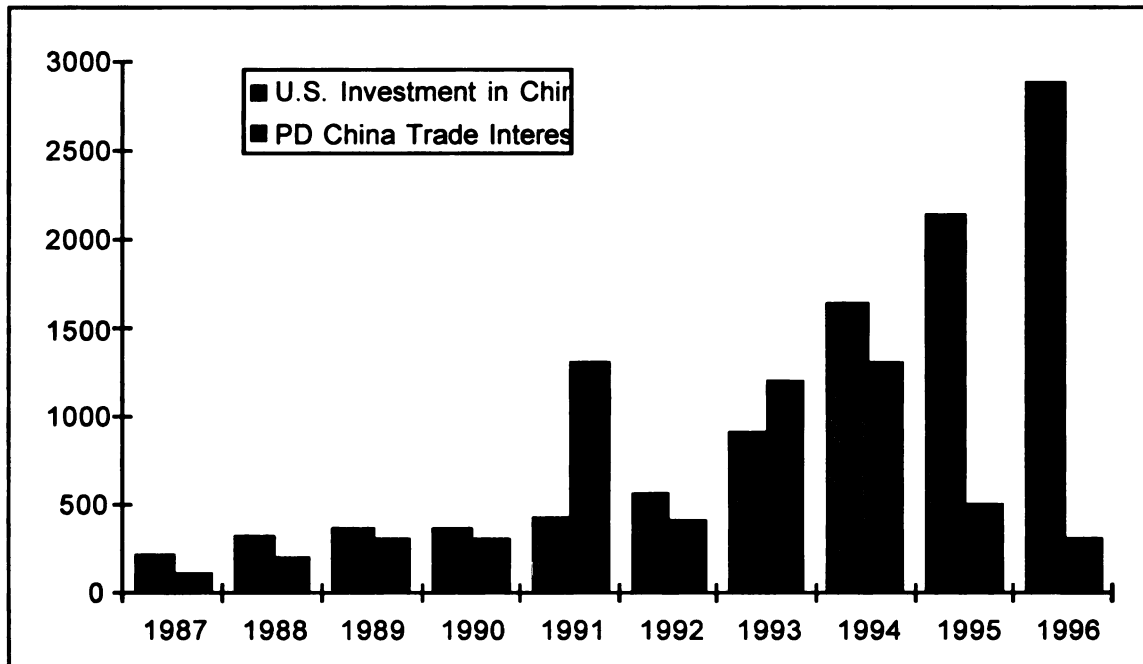
Table 2.3
*Partial Correlation between the Extramedia Variables and
 People's Daily's coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*

<i>Variables</i>	<i>U.S. Invest in China</i>	<i>U.S. Trade with China</i>	<i>China Trade Concerns</i>	<i>China non-trade Concerns</i>
China Trade Interest	.08	.09	.14*	-.06
China Non-Trade Interest	.11	.09	.05	.16*
Reference to Trade	.10	.08	.28**	-.14*
Reference to Non-Trade Issues	.05	.08	-.12	.25**

** = $p < 0.01$

* = $p < 0.05$

Figure 4.1
*Relationship between U.S. Investment in China
 and References to China Trade Interest in
 People's Daily's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*
 (N=230)



U.S. investment is in U.S. millions. The numbers of *People's Daily's* reference to China trade interest are inflated by 100 times to match the scale of the numbers of U.S. investment in China when creating the graph.

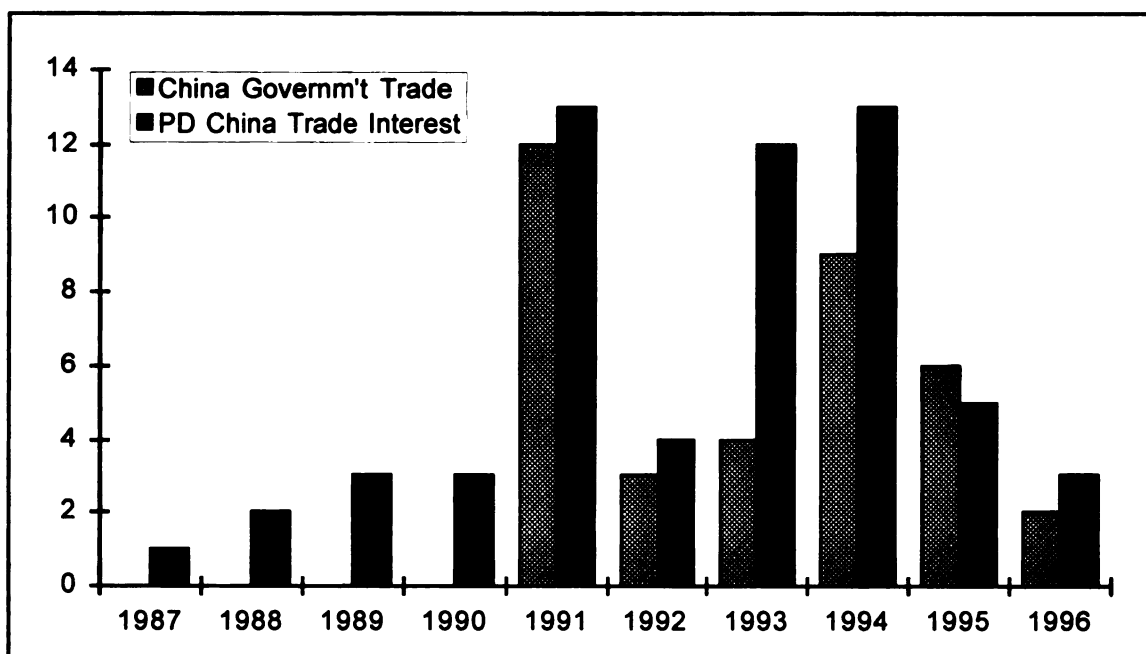
H2a. The hypothesis that as U.S.-China trade increases, emphasis on national trade interest increases is not supported. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S.-China trade and emphasis on national trade interest in *People's Daily* is .36, but statistically insignificant. The partial correlation between U.S.-China trade and emphasis on national trade interest is .09, which is statistically insignificant.

H2b. The hypothesis that as U.S.-China trade increases, reference to trade increases is not supported. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S.-China trade and reference to trade in *People's Daily* is -.30. The partial correlation between U.S.-China trade and reference to trade is .08. Neither is statistically insignificant.

H3a. The hypothesis that more U.S.-China trade issues in Chinese government document, more emphasis on national trade interest in the coverage of U.S.-China relations in *People's Daily* is weakly supported. The standardized regression coefficient between Chinese government concerns on U.S.-China trade and emphasis on national trade interest is .17. The partial correlation between Chinese government concerns on U.S.-China trade and emphasis on national trade interest is .14, both are statistically significant.

Relationship is also found between Chinese government concerns on U.S.-China trade and reference to trade. The standardized regression coefficient between Chinese government concern on U.S.-China trade and reference to trade is .35. The partial correlation between Chinese government concern on U.S.-China trade and reference to trade is .28. both are statistically significant. (Figure 4.2)

Figure 4.2
*Relationship between Chinese Government Concerns on Trade
 and References to China Trade Interest in
 People's Daily's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*
 (N=230)



H3b. The hypothesis that more U.S.-China trade issues in Chinese government document, less reference to non-trade political issue in the coverage of U.S.-China relations in *People's Daily* is not supported. The standardized regression coefficient between Chinese government concerns on U.S.-China trade and reference to non-trade political issue is $-.14$, and the partial correlation between Chinese government concerns on U.S.-China trade and reference to non-trade political issue is $-.12$, neither is statistically significant.

H4. The hypothesis that more non-trade political issues in Chinese government document, more reference to non-trade political issues in the coverage of U.S.-China relations in *People's Daily* is supported. The standardized regression coefficient between Chinese government concerns on non-trade political issues and references to non-trade political issues is $.30$. The partial correlation between Chinese government concerns on non-trade political issues and references to non-trade political issues is $.25$. both are statistically significant.

The relatively weak relationship is also found between Chinese government non-trade concerns and emphasis on China's non-trade interest. The standardized regression coefficient between Chinese government non-trade concerns and emphasis on China non-trade interest is $.18$, and the partial correlation is $.16$, both are statistically significant.

The multiple regression analysis of the effect of extramedia variables on emphasis on national interest and reference to trade and non-trade political issues in the news coverage of *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* reveals that there is scarcely combined effect of real time indicators of national interest on news content.

Weak combined effect of the real life indicators of national interest was found on the increase of reference to trade in the news coverage of *The New York Times*. The adjusted R Square is $.16$. The standardized regression coefficient between U.S. investment in China

and reference to trade is $-.53$, the coefficient between U.S. trade with China and reference to trade is $.57$, the coefficient between U.S. presidential concerns on trade and reference to trade is $.40$, and the coefficient between U.S. presidential concerns on non-trade political issues and reference to trade is $-.29$, all four standardized regression coefficients are statistically significant.

No combined effect of real life indicators of national interest was found on emphasis on national interest and reference to trade and non-trade political issues in the news coverage of *People's Daily*.

HG2. Relationship between Intramedia Variables

A. Issues

<i>The New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>	<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>
5) More emphasis on national interest (S)	More reference to trade	5) More emphasis on national interest (R)	More reference to trade
6) More reference to trade (R)	Fewer reference to non-trade political issue	6) More reference to trade (S)	Fewer reference to non-trade political issue
7) More U.S. trade interest emphasis (R)	Fewer reference to non-trade political issues	7) More China Trade Interest Emphasis (R)	More reference to non-trade political issues

The New York Times (Table 3.1)

H5. The hypothesis that the more emphasis on national interest in the news coverage, the more reference to trade is supported. The correlation between emphasis on national interest and reference to trade is .40. Controlling for all four extramedia variables, the partial correlation between emphasis on national interest and reference to trade is .38, which is statistically significant.

H6. The hypothesis that the more reference to trade, fewer references to non-trade political issues is not supported. The correlation between reference to trade and reference to non-trade political issues is .13. Controlling for U.S. non-trade interest, the partial correlation between reference to trade and reference to non-trade political issues is .12, neither is statistically insignificant.

H7. The hypothesis that the more emphasis on U.S. trade interest, the fewer references to non-trade political issues is not supported. The correlation between emphasis on U.S. trade interest and reference to non-trade political issues is -.03. Controlling for

U.S. non-trade interest, the partial correlation between U.S. trade interest and reference to non-trade political issues is -.03, neither is statistically insignificant.

Table 3.1
*Relationship between the Intramedia Variables (Issues) in
The New York Times' coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*
(N=225)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Reference to Trade</i>	<i>Reference to Non-Trade</i>	<i>U.S. National Interest</i>	<i>U.S. Interest Trade</i>	<i>U.S. Interest Non-Trade</i>
U.S. National Interest	.40**	.08	1.00	.80**	.60**
U.S. Interest Trade	.43**	-.03	.80**	1.00	.00
U.S. Interest Non-Trade	.08	.17*	.60**	.00	1.00
Reference to Trade	1.00	.13	.40**	.43**	.08
Reference to Trade negative	.89**	.08	.28**	.33**	.03
Reference to Trade positive	.69**	.15	.39**	.38**	.14*
Reference to Non-Trade	.13	1.00	.08	-.03	.17*
Reference to non-trade neg	.12	.92**	.03	-.06	.15*
Reference to non-trade pos	.07	.58**	.12	.06	.11

** = $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed).

* = $p < 0.05$ (2-tailed).

People's Daily (Table 3.2)

H5. The hypothesis that the more emphasis on China national interest in the news coverage, the more reference to trade is not supported. The correlation between emphasis on national interest and reference to trade is .02, which is statistically insignificant. Controlling for all four extramedia variables, the partial correlation between emphasis on national interest and reference to trade is .02.

H6. The hypothesis that the more reference to trade, fewer references to non-trade political issues is weakly supported. The correlation between reference to trade and reference to non-trade political issues is -.15. Controlling for U.S. non-trade interest, the partial correlation between reference to trade and reference to non-trade political issues is -.15, both are statistically significant at the 95% level.

H7. The hypothesis that the more emphasis on China trade interest, the fewer references to non-trade political issues is not supported. The correlation between emphasis on China trade interest and reference to non-trade political issues is .01. Controlling for China non-trade interest, the partial correlation between China trade interest and reference to non-trade political issues is .03.

Table 3.2
*Relationship between the Intramedia Variables (Issues) in
 People's Daily's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*
 (N=230)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Reference to Trade</i>	<i>Reference to Non-Trade</i>	<i>China. National Interest</i>	<i>China. Interest Trade</i>	<i>China Interest Non-Trade</i>
China National Interest	.02	.25**	1.00	.44**	.85**
China Interest Trade	.23**	.00	.44**	1.00	-.09
China Interest Non-Trade	-.12	.27**	.85**	-.09	1.00
Reference to Trade	1.00	-.15*	.02	.23**	-.12
Reference to Trade negative	.61**	-.08	.12	.22**	.01
Reference to Trade positive	.87**	-.14*	-.05	.16*	-.15*
Reference to Non-Trade	-.15*	1.00	.25**	.01	.27**
Reference to non-trade neg	-.19**	.77**	.24**	-.03	.29**
Reference to non-trade pos	-.02	.66**	.11	.05	.09

** = $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed).

* = $p < 0.05$ (2-tailed).

A. Sources

<i>The New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>	<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>
8a) More positive reference to trade (S)	More use of positive sources	8a) More positive reference to trade (S)	More use of positive sources
8b) More reference to non-trade political issues (R)	More use of negative sources	8b) More reference to non-trade political issues (S)	More use of negative sources

The New York Times (Table 4.1)

H8a. The hypothesis that the more positive reference to trade, the more use of positive sources is partly supported. The correlation between positive reference to trade and use of positive sources is .25. Controlling for variable positive reference to non-trade political issues, the partial correlation is .22, which is statistically significant.

H8b. The hypothesis that the more reference to non-trade political issues, the more use of negative sources is not supported. The correlation between reference to non-trade political issues and use of negative sources is .05, which is statistically insignificant.

However, relationship is found between reference to trade and use of negative sources. The correlation between reference to trade and use of negative sources is .24, with negative reference to trade contributing more to the relationship (.30) than the positive reference to trade (.04). Controlling for reference to non-trade political issues, the partial correlation is .24, which is statistically significant.

Table 4.1
*Relationship between the Intramedia Variables (Issues and Sources) in
The New York Times' coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*
(N=225)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Positive Sources</i>	<i>Negative Sources</i>
U.S. National Interest	.11	.01
U.S. Interest Trade	.14*	.06
U.S. Interest Non-Trade	-.01	-.06
Reference to Trade	.18**	.24**
Reference to Trade Negative	.07	.30**
Reference to Trade Positive	.25**	.04
Reference to Non-Trade Issues	.12	.05
Reference to Non-Trade Negative	.06	.08
Reference to Non-Trade positive	.18**	-.01

** = $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed).

* = $p < 0.05$ (2-tailed).

People's Daily (Table 4.2)

H8a. The hypothesis that the more positive reference to trade, the more use of positive sources is partly supported. The correlation between positive reference to trade and use of positive sources is .18. Controlling for variable for positive reference to non-trade political issues, the partial correlation is .18, which is statistically significant.

H8b. The hypothesis that the more reference to non-trade political issues, the more use of negative sources is supported. The correlation between reference to non-trade political issues and use of negative sources is .48. Controlling for variable positive reference to trade, the partial correlation is .48, which is statistically significant.

Table 4.2
Relationship between the Intramedia Variables (Issues and Sources) in
People's Daily's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)
(N=230)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Positive Sources</i>	<i>Negative Sources</i>
China National Interest	-.04	.09
China Interest Trade	-.01	-.03
China Interest Non-Trade	-.06	.12
Reference to Trade	.10	-.07
Reference to Trade Negative	-.08	.07
Reference to Trade Positive	.18**	-.13
Reference to Non-Trade Issues	-.21**	.48**
Reference to Non-Trade Negative	-.28**	.58**
Reference to Non-Trade positive	-.00	.07

The correlation between Portrayal of U.S.-China Relations and Trade and Non-Trade Issues is calculated with Spearman, and the correlations between the positive and negative sources are calculated with Pearson.

** = $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed).

* = $p < 0.05$ (2-tailed).

C. Fairness and Balance

By Extramedia Variables:

<i>The New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
9a) U.S. trade deficit with China increases (R)	Fairness and balance in coverage decrease	9a) China trade surplus with U.S. increases (R)	Fairness and balance in coverage decrease
9b) Non-trade political issues in Presidential Papers increase (R)		9b) Non-trade political issues in government papers increase (R)	

The New York Times (Table 5.1)

H9a. The hypothesis that as U.S. trade deficit with China increases, fairness and balance in coverage decrease is not supported. The correlation between U.S. trade deficit and fairness and balance is .07, which is statistically insignificant.

H9b. The hypothesis that as non-trade political issues in Presidential Papers increase, fairness and balance in news coverage decrease is not supported. The correlation between U.S. presidential concerns on non-trade political issues and fairness and balance is .07, which is statistically insignificant.

People's Daily (Table 5.1)

H13a. The hypothesis that as China trade surplus with U.S. increases, fairness and balance in news coverage decreases is not supported. The correlation between China trade surplus with U.S. and fairness and balance is -.08, which is statistically insignificant.

H13b. The hypothesis that as non-trade political issues in government papers increase, fairness and balance in news coverage decrease is not supported. The correlation

between Chinese government concerns on non-trade political issues and fairness and balance is .06, which is statistically insignificant.

Table 5.1
*Relationship between Extramedia Variables and
 Fairness and Balance in the Coverage of U.S.-China Relations by
 The New York Times and People's Daily (1987-1996)*
 (NYT, N =225; PD, N =230)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Fairness & Balance New York Times</i>	<i>Fairness & Balance People's Daily</i>
By Trade Status & Government Concerns (Extramedia)		
Trade deficit or surplus ¹	.07	-.08
Official trade concerns ²	.01	.06
Official non-trade concerns ²	.07	.06

** = p< 0.01 (2-tailed).

* = p< 0.05 (2-tailed).

1. Trade deficit or surplus was calculated from U.S.-China trade balance. During the 1987 to 1996 period, there occurred continuous trade deficit for U.S. and trade surplus for China.
2. Official trade and non-trade concerns refer to U.S. Presidential concerns and China's State Council's concerns on trade and non-trade issues, which are examined for correlation respectively with fairness and balance of *The New York Times* and *People Daily*.

By Intramedia Variables:

<i>The New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>	<i>Independent var</i>	<i>Dependent var</i>
10a) More emphasis on national interest (R)	Less likely to be fair and balanced	10a) More emphasis on national interest (R)	Less likely to be fair and balanced
10b) More reference to trade (R)	Less likely to be fair and balanced	10b) More reference to trade (S)	Less likely to be fair and balanced
10c) More reference to non-trade political issues (R)	Less likely to be fair and balanced	10c) More reference to non-trade political issues (S)	Less likely to be fair and balanced

The New York Times (Table 5.2)

H10a. The hypothesis that more emphasis on national interest, the less likely to be fair and balance is not supported. The higher absolute value of fairness and balance indicates less fair and balanced. The correlation between emphasis on U.S. national interest and fairness and balance is $-.07$, which is statistically insignificant.

H10b. The hypothesis that the more reference to trade, the less likely to be fair and balanced is not supported. The correlation between reference to trade and fairness and balance is $.10$, which is statistically insignificant.

H10c. The hypothesis that the more reference to non-trade political issues, the less likely to be fair and balanced is not supported. The correlation between reference to non-trade political issues and fairness and balance is $.13$, which is statistically significant. Controlling for variable reference to trade, the partial correlation falls to $.12$, which is statistically insignificant.

People's Daily (Table 5.2)

H10a. The hypothesis that more emphasis on national interest, the less likely to be fair and balance is not supported. The higher absolute value of fairness and balance indicates less fair and balanced. The correlation between emphasis on China national interest and fairness and balance is .16, which is statistically significant. Controlling for reference to trade and reference to non-trade political issues, the partial correlation between emphasis on China national interest and fairness and balance is .08, which is statistically insignificant.

H10b. The hypothesis that the more reference to trade, the less likely to be fair and balanced is weakly supported. The correlation between reference to trade and fairness and balance is .11, which is statistically insignificant. Controlling for reference to non-trade political issues, the partial correlation between reference to trade and fairness and balance is .17, which is statistically significant at 99% level.

H10c. The hypothesis that the more reference to non-trade political issues, the less likely to be fair and balanced is partly supported. The correlation between reference to non-trade political issues and fairness and balance is .30, which is statistically significant. Controlling for variable reference to trade, the partial correlation is .33, which is statistically significant.

Table 5.2
*Relationship between Intramedia Variables and
Fairness and Balance in the Coverage of U.S.-China Relations by
The New York Times and People's Daily (1987-1996)*
(NYT, N =225; PD, N =230)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Fairness & Balance New York Times</i>	<i>Fairness & Balance People's Daily</i>
By References to National Interests (Intramedia)		
China national interest	.14*	.16*
China interest trade	.05	.04
China interest non-trade	.13*	.15*
U.S. national interest	-.07	.08
U.S. interest trade	-.04	.09
U.S. interest non-trade	-.06	.02
By References to Issues (Intramedia)		
Reference to trade	.10	.11
Reference trade negative	.10	.09
Reference trade positive	.06	.08
Reference to non-trade issues	.13*	.30**
Reference non-trade negative	.07	.30**
Reference non-trade positive	.18**	.12

** = $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed).

* = $p < 0.05$ (2-tailed).

Research Questions

The data analysis and findings also provide answers to the research questions regarding national leaders used as sources, source attitude toward U.S.-China relations, and topics of news coverage. It also reveals the distinguished characteristics of the two newspapers about emphasis on national interest, portrayal of U.S.-China relations, and fairness and balance in their coverage of U.S.-China relations.

1. What were the major topics of the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* during 1987 to 1996? (Table 6)

The major topics of the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* were U.S.-China relations in general, U.S.-China trade and Human Rights. Both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* devoted most of their attention to the coverage of U.S.-China relations in general. *People's Daily* (52%) covered U.S.-China relations in general more than *The New York Times* (29%). The next most important topic was U.S.-China trade. *The New York Times'* coverage of U.S.-China trade comprised 26% of the stories, while *People's Daily's* coverage comprised 22%. The proportion test indicated that there was no difference between the two proportions. When the topic of copyright issues was included in the U.S.-China trade, U.S.-China trade made 30% in *The New York Times*, and 26% in *People's Daily*.

All other topics received less than 10% of the coverage except the category other. The topic next to U.S.-China trade was human rights. But it attracted far less coverage than U.S.-China trade. *The New York Times'* coverage of human rights comprised 6% of the

stories, while *People's Daily* had 2%. The proportion test indicated that there was no difference in the proportion devoted to the coverage of human rights by the two newspapers. Non-trade political issues, which include human rights, issues relating to Tibet, Taiwan and Hong Kong, attracted less coverage than trade related issues. *The New York Times'* coverage of non-trade political issues comprised 11% of the stories, while *People's Daily* coverage comprised 10% of the stories. The proportion test showed that there was no difference between the percentage devoting to non-trade political issues by the two newspapers.

Table 6
The Topics of the Coverage of U.S.-China Relations by
The New York Times and People's Daily (1987-1996)
(NYT, N =225; PD, N =230)

<i>Sources</i>	<i>New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
U.S.-China Relations General	66	29%	119	52%
U.S.-China Trade	58	26%	51	22%
Business Exchange	6	3%	11	5%
Copyright Piracy	7	3%	9	4%
Arm Control	9	4%	1	0%
Human Rights	14	6%	4	2%
Econ, Sci & Cultural Exchange	6	3%	4	2%
Tibet	2	1%	7	3%
Taiwan	9	4%	12	5%
Hong Kong	0	0%	1	0%
Other	48	21%	11	5%
Total	225	100%	230	100%

2. Who were the dominant sources in the coverage of U.S.-China relations in *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* during 1987 to 1996? (Table 7)

In both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*, the leaders of the respective country were not the dominant sources in the coverage of U.S.-China relations. For *The New York Times*, the U.S. leaders, including the president, Secretary of State, and Congress leaders comprised 9% of the source used, while the Chinese leaders only comprised 4%. In *People's Daily*, the national leaders were cited more than in *The New York Times*. The Chinese leaders, including the president, the premier, and the Foreign Minister comprised 21% of the sources used, while the U.S. leaders comprised 9%.

In both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*, the government officials were the most active in shaping U.S.-China relations as presented as sources in the news coverage during the ten-year period. In *The New York Times*, 48% who were cited were U.S. officials, including U.S. officials from different government departments. Plus the 9% U.S. government leader sources, the total U.S. officials used as sources was 57%. Chinese officials comprised 13% of sources used in *The New York Times*. Plus the 4% Chinese leaders, the total Chinese officials used as sources was 17%.

In *People's Daily*, 26% Chinese officials were used as sources. They were mostly the government officials in various departments. Plus the 21% Chinese government leaders used as sources, the total Chinese officials used as sources comprised 47%. U.S. officials comprised 18% of the sources used in *People's Daily*. Plus the 9% U.S. leaders, the total U.S. officials used as sources were 27%.

Table 7
Comparison of Official Sources in the Coverage of U.S.-China Relations by
The New York Times and People's Daily (1987-1996)
(NYT, N =225; PD, N =230)

<i>Sources</i>	<i>New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
National Leaders as Sources				
U.S. Leaders	84	9%	37	9%
China's Leaders	41	4%	82	21%
Officials as Sources				
U.S. Officials	435	48%	69	18%
China's Officials	118	13%	103	26%

Table 8
Comparison of Source Use in the Coverage of U.S.-China Relations by
The New York Times and People's Daily (1987-1996)
(NYT, N =225; PD, N =230)

<i>Sources</i>	<i>New York Times</i>		<i>People's Daily</i>	
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
U.S. President	50	6%	24	6%
U.S. Secretary	30	3%	12	3%
U.S. Congress Leaders	4	0%	1	0%
Chinese President	12	1%	34	9%
Chinese Premier	8	1%	23	6%
Chinese Foreign Minister	21	2%	25	6%
White House	70	8%	3	1%
Congress	110	12%	20	5%
State Department	65	7%	6	2%
U.S. Officials	190	21%	40	10%
Chinese Officials	118	13%	103	26%
Others	228	25%	99	25%
Total	906	100%	390	100%

3. What were the respective attitudes of the U.S. and Chinese government officials towards U.S.-China when they were cited as sources by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* during 1987 to 1996? (Table 8)

The New York Times

The U.S. leaders were more positive than negative towards U.S.-China relations. Chinese leaders were also presented as more positive than negative. The positive sources cited from U.S. leaders were 14%, while negative sources from U.S. leaders were 7%. The Z score for the proportion test is 25.92, which is statistically significant at the 99% level. The positive sources cited from Chinese leaders were 6%, while the negative sources cited from the Chinese leaders were 4%, the Z score for the proportion test is 10.53, which is statistically significant at the 99% level.

48% U.S. officials other than U.S. leaders were cited as positive sources, and U.S. officials cited as negative sources were also 48%. The Chinese officials cited as positive sources were 12%, and the Chinese officials cited as negative sources were 15%. The Z score for the proportion test is 10.00, which is statistically significant at the 99% level.

The result indicated that in *The New York Times*, both the U.S. and Chinese leaders were cited as positive sources more than negative sources. More U.S. leaders were cited as positive sources than the Chinese leaders. U.S. officials other than U.S. leaders were cited equally as positive sources and negative sources, while the Chinese officials other than the Chinese leaders were cited more as negative sources than positive sources. (Figure 5.1)

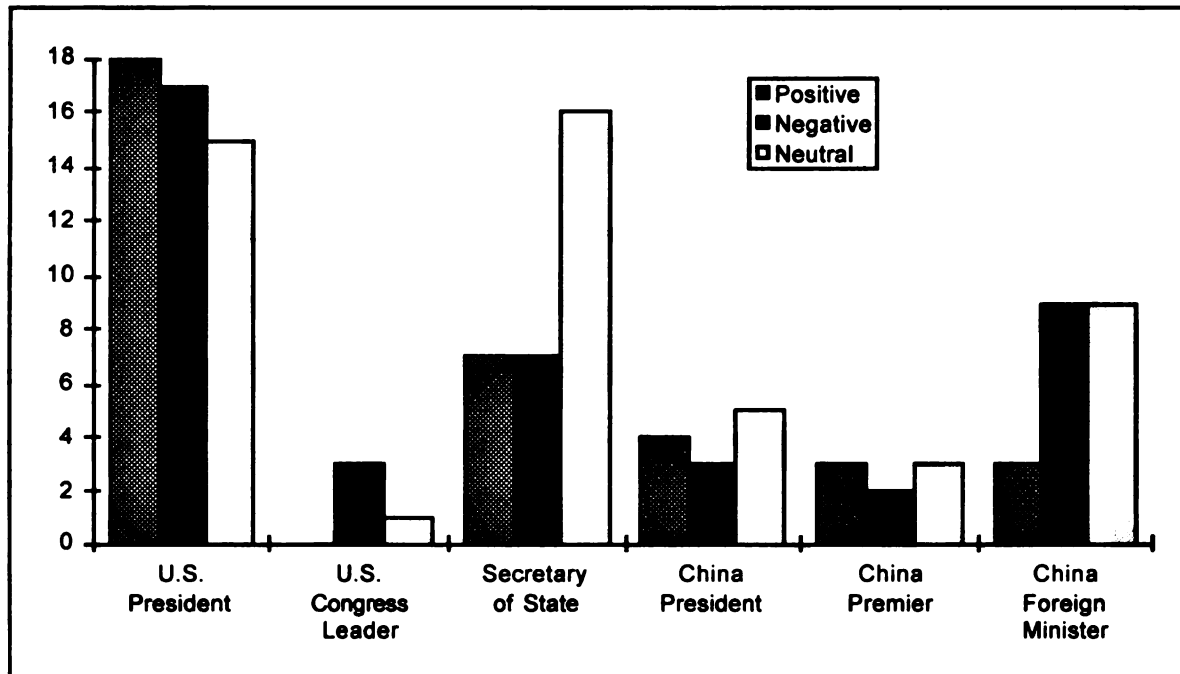
Table 9
Source Attitude towards U.S.-China Relations
Presented in the Coverage of U.S.-China Relations by
The New York Times and People's Daily (1987-1996)
(NYT, N =225; PD, N =230)

Variables	New York Times			People's Daily		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
By National Leaders						
U.S. Leaders	14%*	7%*	8%	13%	3%	5%
Chinese Leaders	6%*	4%*	4%	26%	5%	25%
By Officials						
U.S. Officials	48%	48%	50%	17%*	26%*	13%
Chinese Officials	12%*	15%*	11%	17%	45%	42%
By Source Type						
U.S. President	10%	5%	4%	9%	1%	2%
U.S. Congress Leader	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Secretary of State	4%	2%	4%	4%	1%	2%
China President	2%	1%	1%	11%	0%	10%
China Premier	2%	1%	1%	7%	1%	8%
China Foreign Minister	2%	2%	2%	7%	4%	7%
White House	11%	4%	9%	1%	0%	0%
U.S. Congress	9%	18%	8%	2%	15%	5%
State Department	4%	5%	11%	2%	3%	0%
U.S. Officials	23%	21%	23%	12%	8%	8%
Chinese Officials	12%	15%	11%	17%	45%	42%
Other	20%	25%	26%	28%	21%	16%

* Proportion Test result (Positive vs. Negative)

The New York Times, U.S. Leaders, Z=25.92, p<.00; Chinese Leaders, Z=10.53, p<.00; Chinese Officials, Z=10.00, p<.00. *People's Daily*, U.S. Officials, Z=25.00, p<.00.

Figure 5.1
U.S. and China Leaders' Attitude towards U.S.-China Relations
When Used as Sources in
The New York Time's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)
 (N=225)



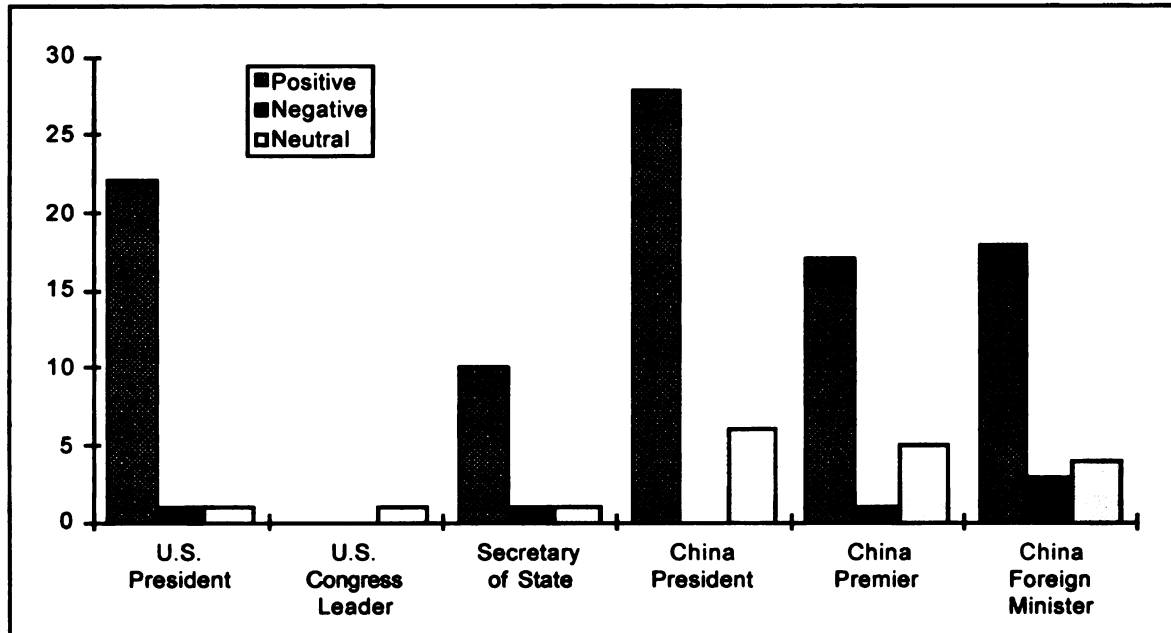
People's Daily

Both the Chinese leaders and the U.S. leaders were more positive than negative when they were presented as sources in the news coverage of U.S.-China relations. The positive sources cited from U.S. leaders were 13%, while negative sources from U.S. leaders were 3%. The positive sources cited from Chinese leaders were 26%, while the negative sources cited from the Chinese leaders were 5%.

U.S. officials other than U.S. leaders cited as positive sources were 17%, and U.S. officials cited as negative sources were 26%. The Z score of the proportion test is 25, which is statistically significant at the 99% level. The Chinese officials cited as positive sources were 17%, and the Chinese officials cited as negative sources were 45%.

The result indicated that in *People's Daily*, both the U.S. and Chinese leaders were cited as positive sources more than negative sources, and more Chinese leaders were cited as positive sources than the U.S. leaders. U.S. officials other than U.S. leaders were cited more as negative sources than positive sources, while the Chinese officials other than Chinese leaders were cited more as negative sources than positive sources. The Chinese officials were cited as negative sources more than U.S. officials. (Figure 5.2)

Figure 5.2
U.S. and China Leaders' Attitude towards U.S.-China Relations
When Used as Sources in
People's Daily's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)
 (N=230)



4. Did the two newspapers emphasize national interest and treat the issues involving national interest differently in their coverage of U.S.-China relations during the ten-year period? (Table 10)

The New York Times

The New York Times emphasized U.S. trade interest more than China trade interest. The mean of emphasis on U.S. trade interest is 6.0, while the mean of emphasis on China trade interest is 1.10. The t value of the comparison of the means is -2.58 , which is statistically significant at the 99% level.

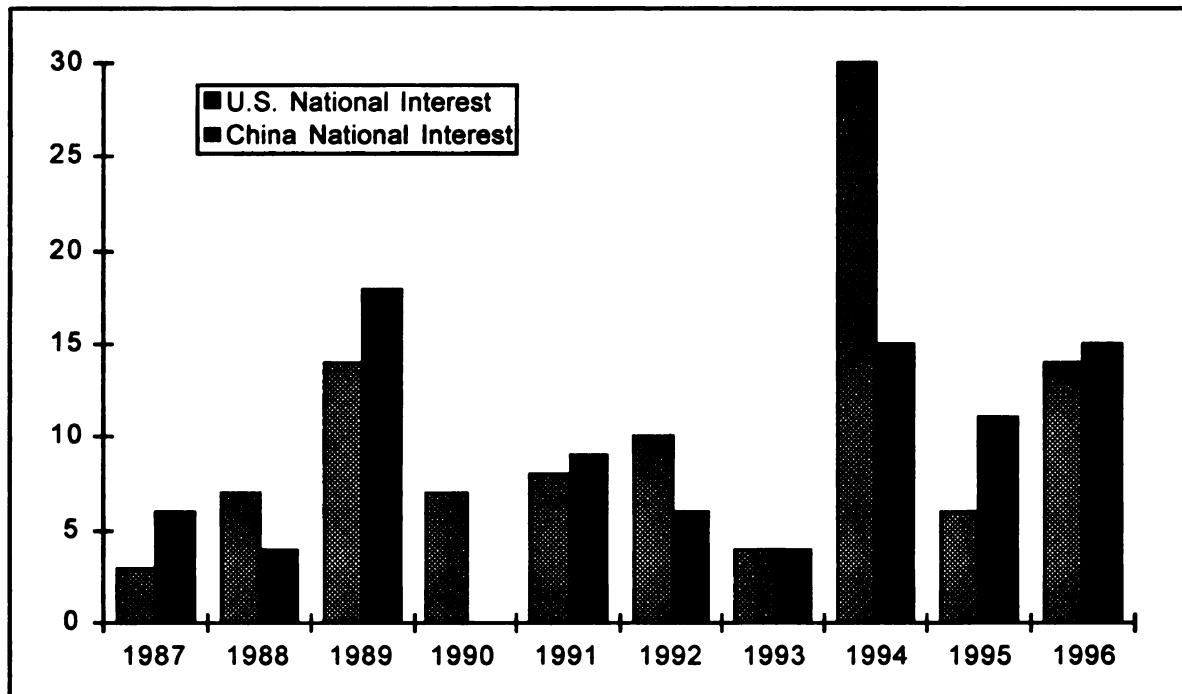
The New York Times emphasized China non-trade interest more than U.S. non-trade interest. The mean of reference to China non-trade interest is 7.70, while the mean of reference to U.S. non-trade interest is 4.40. The t value of the comparison of the means is 3.26, which is statistically significant at the 99% level.

No difference was found in the emphasis on U.S. national interest and China national interest as a whole. The mean of reference to U.S. national interest is 10.40, while the mean of reference to China national interest is 8.30. The t value of the comparison of the means is -1.15 , which is statistically insignificant. (Figure 6.1)

Table 10
***Comparison of Means of References to National Interest and
Major Indicators of the Coverage of U.S.-China Relations by
The New York Times and People's Daily (1987-1996)***
(NYT, N =225; PD, N =230)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>New York Times</i>				<i>People's Daily</i>			
	Mean	t	Sig		Mean	t	Sig	
By References to National Interest								
U.S. trade interest vs. China trade interest	6.00	1.10	-3.58	.01	6.00	6.10	0.06	.95
U.S. non-trade interest vs. China non-trade interest	4.40	7.70	3.26	.01	4.10	16.10	5.56	.00
U.S. National interest vs. China national interest	10.40	8.30	-1.15	.28	10.10	22.20	4.55	.00
By Attitude of Sources								
Positive vs. negative sources	0.80	1.62	6.60	.00	1.07	0.34	-8.10	.00
By Portrayal Direction								
Positive vs. negative portrayal	2.70	8.10	5.90	.00	12.2	5.60	-3.37	.01
By Fairness and Balance								
Pro vs. Con	5.24	5.49	.49	.62	6.57	1.40	16.09	.00

Figure 6.1
*Comparison of References to
U.S. National Interest and China National Interest in
The New York Time's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*
(N=225)



People's Daily

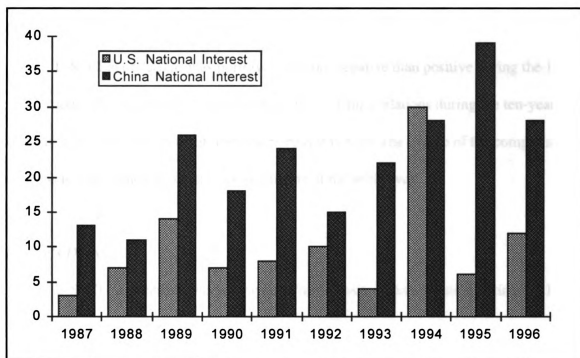
No difference was found between *People's Daily* emphasis on U.S. trade interest and China trade interest. The mean of reference to U.S. trade interest is 6.0, while the mean of reference to China trade interest is 6.10. The t value of the comparison of the means is .06, which is statistically insignificant.

People's Daily emphasized China non-trade interest more than U.S. non-trade interest. The mean of reference to U.S. non-trade interest is 4.10, while the mean of reference to China non-trade interest is 16.10. The t value of the comparison of the means is 5.56, which is statistically significant at the 99% level.

People's Daily emphasized more China national interest than U.S. national interest as a whole. The mean of reference to U.S. national interest is 10.10, while the mean of reference to China national interest is 22.20. The t value of the comparison of the means is 4.55, which is statistically significant at the 99% level.

While both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* tended to emphasize national interest of their respective country, there were some similarities in the pattern of emphasis on national interest in the two newspapers. There was almost no difference in the emphasis on U.S. trade interest and U.S. non-trade interest between *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. The means of emphasis on U.S. trade interest in *The New York Times* is 6.00, while the mean of U.S. trade interest in *People's Daily* is also 6.00. The mean of U.S. non-trade interest in *The New York Times* is 4.40, while the mean of U.S. non-trade interest in *People's Daily* is 4.10. (Figure 6.2)

Figure 6.2
Comparison of References to
U.S. National Interest and China National Interest in
People's Daily's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)
 (N=230)



5. How differently did the two newspapers portray U.S.-China relations in general in their coverage during the ten-year period? (Table 10)

The New York Times

U.S.-China relations was portrayed as more negative than positive during the 1987-1996 period. The mean of positive portrayal of U.S.-China relations during the ten-year period is 2.70, while the mean of negative portrayal is 8.10. The t value of the comparison of means is 5.90, which is statistically significant at the 99% level.

People's Daily

U.S.-China relations was portrayed as more positive than negative during the 1987-1996 period. The mean of positive portrayal of U.S.-China relations during the ten-year period is 12.20, while the mean of negative portrayal is 5.60. The t value of the comparison of means is -3.71, which is statistically significant at the 99% level.

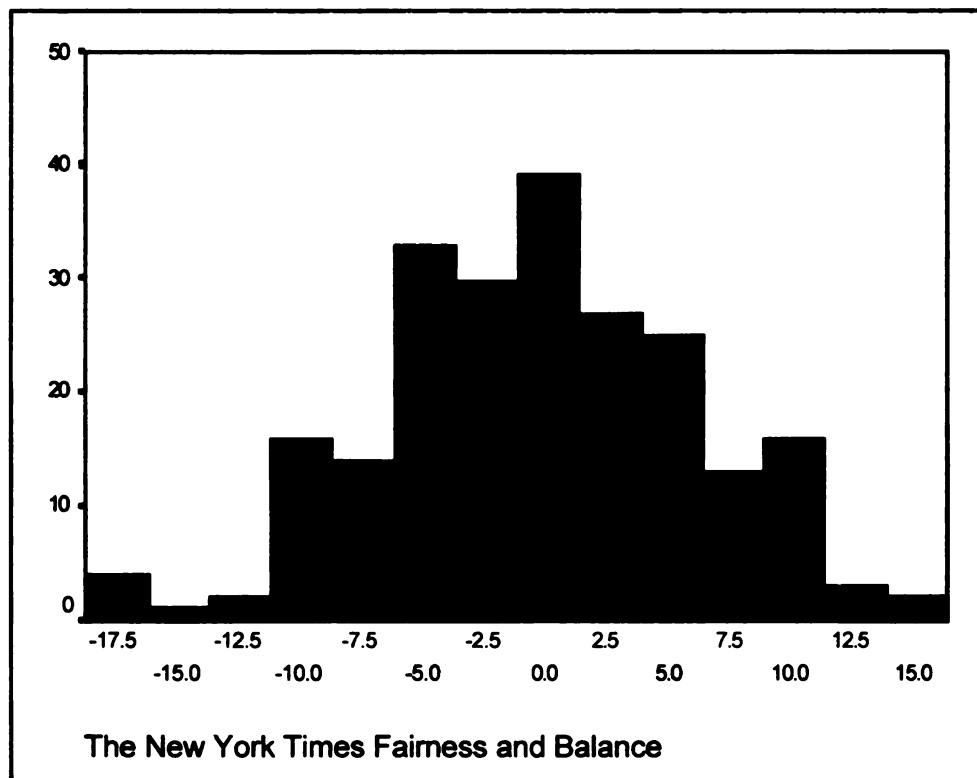
6. To what degree did the two newspapers differ in fairness and balance in their coverage of U.S.-China relations during the ten-year period? (Table 10)

The New York Times

The aggregate scores of fairness and balance in *The New York Times*' coverage of U.S.-China relations ranged from plus 14 to minus 18. The higher absolute value, the less fair and balanced the coverage, with a score of zero as neutral, or perfectly fair and balanced. 5.8% of the news items had a score of zero. 51.8% fell in the range of ± 4 , and

80.2% fell in the range of ± 8 . The plus side is identified as Pro, and the minus side is classified as Con. The mean for Pro is 5.24, and the mean for Con is 5.49. The t value of the comparison of means is .49, which is statistically insignificant. (Figure 7.1)

Figure 7.1
Fairness and Balance of coverage of U.S.-China Relations
by The New York Times (1987-1996)
 (N=225)

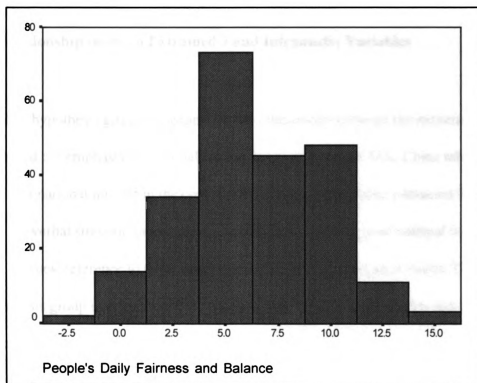


* Mean = -.40, Median = .00, Skewness = -.15

People's Daily

The aggregate scores of fairness and balance in *People's Daily's* coverage of U.S.-China relations ranged from plus 16 to minus 2, with a score of zero as neutral, or perfectly fair and balanced. 1.3% of the news items had a score of zero. 27.4% fell in the range from plus 4 to minus 2, and 73.1% fell in the range from plus 8 to minus 2. The plus side is identified as Pro, and the minus side is classified as Con. The mean for Pro is 6.57, and the mean for Con is 1.40. The t value of the comparison of means is 16.09, which is statistically significant at the 99% level. (Figure 7.2)

Figure 7.2
*Fairness and Balance of coverage of U.S.-China Relations
by People's Daily (1987-1996)*
(N=230)



* Mean = 6.31, Median = 6.00, Skewness = .12

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter reviews the findings corresponding to the hypotheses and research questions, and discusses the implications of these findings. The discussion is organized into two parts. The first part addresses the significance and implications of the test results of two groups of hypotheses. The second part discusses the implications of the findings relating to six research questions.

HG1. Relationship between Extramedia and Intramedia Variables

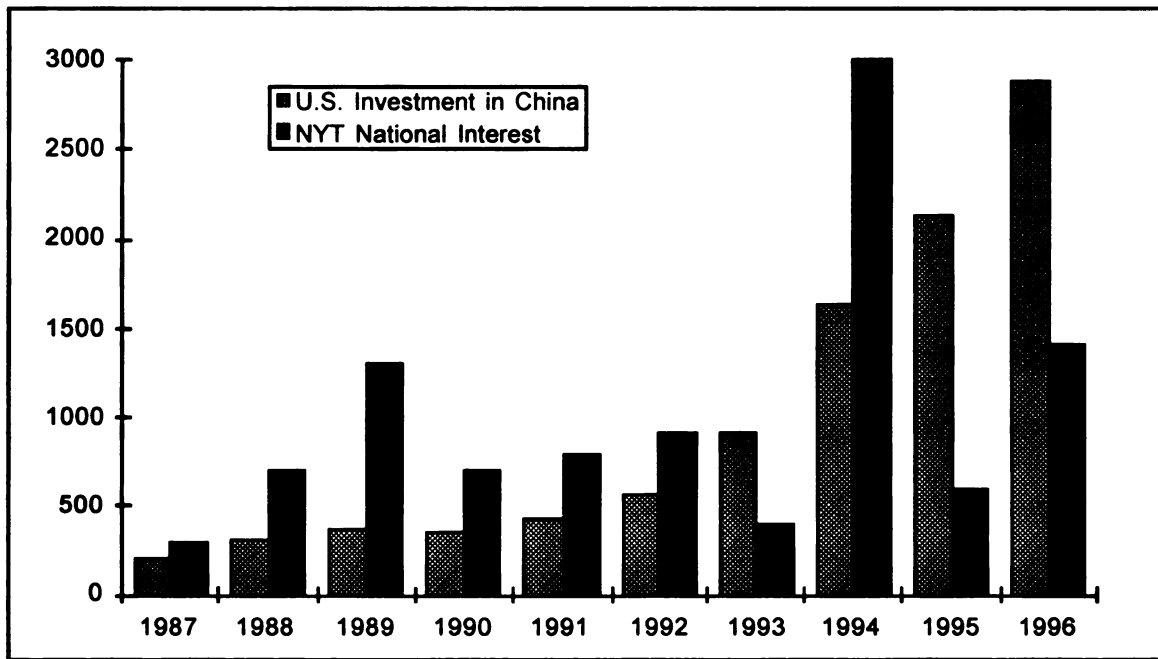
The hypothesis group one examined the relationship between the extramedia variables and the emphasis on national interest in the coverage of U.S.-China relations. The emphasis on national interest in the coverage of U.S.-China relations contained four aspects: the verbal stress of national trade interest, the verbal stress of national interest on non-trade issues, reference to trade, and reference to non-trade political issues. The findings for hypothesis group one for both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* indicate that the effect of the extramedia variables on the four aspects of emphasis on national interest in the coverage of U.S.-China relations varied. Overall, the four major extramedia variables, U.S. investment growth in China, U.S.-China trade, and government concerns on trade and

government concerns on non-trade issues were weak predictors of news content, but each variable had its specific influence under certain circumstances.

The New York Times.

The rejection of H1 indicates that U.S. investment growth is not a good predictor of emphasis on national interest in the news coverage. U.S. investment in China continued to grow during 1987 to 1996 at an average annual rate 35% a year. The emphasis on national interest in *The New York Times* varied according to the news events covered. News events involving more concerns on national interest occurred in 1989, when the United States considered that advancing democracy in China was in U.S.' interest, and in 1994, when heated debate went on as whether to delink the human rights in China from renewal of China's Most Favorite Nation status. During the remaining years, verbal emphasis on national interest was not a regular occurrence in the news coverage. It becomes unrealistic to anticipate that the verbal emphasis on national interest in the news coverage would increase at a similar rate as U.S. investment growth in China. (Figure 8.1)

Figure 8.1
*Relationship between U.S. Investment in China
 and References to U.S. National Interest in
 The New York Time's Coverage of U.S.-China Relations (1987-1996)*
 (N = 225)



U.S. investment is in U.S. millions. The numbers of *The New York Times'* reference to U.S. national interest are inflated by 100 times to match the scale of the numbers of U.S. investment in China when creating the graph.

The rejection of H2a is consistent with the result of H1. U.S.-China trade continued to grow at an average annual rate 23% from 1987 to 1996, although the percentage of growth slowed down in the later years during the ten-year period. The emphasis on national interest varied according to the news events covered, and it did not appear so often in the coverage of U.S.-China relations. The relatively few occurrences of verbal emphasis on national interest would not produce enough variance to be explained by the extramedia variable U.S.-China trade.

The weak support of H2b indicates that U.S.-China trade, an extramedia indicator concerning national interest, had some impact on the news coverage. The finding is one of the positive results which support the notion that real life indicator of national interest such as U.S.-China trade could affect the news content.

The rejection of H3 and H4 cast some doubt on the impact of presidential concerns of national interest and reference to non-trade political issues in the news coverage. The result partly confirms the findings of Goodman⁹² and Li and St. Cyr⁹³ on presidential agenda vs. *The New York Times*' agenda. The presidential concerns of national interest may not be the focus of *The New York Times* in reporting events involving national interest. Even *The New York Times* might report the same issue as concerned by the president, the involving national interest might not be identified as such a compelling issue by *The New York Times*.

However, the findings could not totally reject the relationship between presidential concerns on national interest and related issues and emphasis on national interest in the coverage of U.S.-China relations. The study found relationship between Presidential concerns on trade and reference to trade in the news coverage, although relatively weak

(.25). The relationship appears stronger between presidential concerns on trade and negative reference to trade (.22) than presidential concerns on trade and positive reference to trade (.15), and both are statistically significant.

The rejection of H3b fail to support the notion that for the purpose of national interest, the presidential concerns on U.S.-China trade issues and the possible benefit generated from U.S.-China trade will reduce media's attention to non-trade political issues in U.S.-China relations. *The New York Time* set its own agenda in reporting U.S.-China relations, and what the government considered important such as U.S.-China trade had no suppressing effect on *The New York Times'* attention to issues such as human rights in China.

Even though the findings indicate that there was almost no combined effect of extramedia variables on news content, the result of the combined effect on reference to trade suggests that extramedia variables have some predicting value for the news content. Controlling for each extramedia variable in the equation, the partial correlations between each extramedia variable and reference to trade is statistically significant. Although the combined effect is relatively weak (Adjust R Square .16), the result reconfirms the notion that the real life indicators of national interest have some combining explaining power on reference to trade in the news content.

All four extramedia variables, U.S. investment growth in China, U.S.-China trade, presidential concerns on trade, and presidential concerns on non-trade issues were found to some degree associated with reference to trade in the news coverage. The findings confirm Shoemaker and Reese's model of news content influenced by extramedia factors.⁹⁴ The extramedia variables affect news content together with variables at all other levels. The

relatively weak influence of extramedia variables on the news content may be explained by the proportion that extramedia level situated in the hierarchical circle, which is in line with the proportional relationship between the extramedia variables and reference to trade explained by Adjust R Square.

People's Daily

U.S. investment in China is important for China's economic boost, and foreign capital is an indispensable resource for China's continuous economic growth. To attract more foreign investment is in China's best interest. This is why U.S. investment in China was selected as a real life indicator associated with China's national interest. However, while U.S. investment increase in China might indicate that more U.S. national interest was at stake, U.S. investment increase in China did not necessarily bring respectively more China's national interest at stake. This was partly due to the proportion of U.S. investment in China's total foreign direct investment. U.S. investment in China was weighted against the investment from other parts of the world. For many years since China opened its door for foreign investment, most of the investment in China has come from the Asia-Pacific region. The overseas Chinese in Hong Kong, Singapore and Southeast Asia have taken the lead as the major investors in China.⁹⁵ Early in 1993, Hong Kong (and Macau) invested US\$17.2 billion in China, accounting for 62.8 percent of the total foreign direct investment.⁹⁶ China attracted \$42 billion foreign investments in 1996, according to a study of global investment trends by the World Bank.⁹⁷ The direct investment in China from the U.S. in the same year was 1.64 billion after a stunning 79% increase from the previous year.⁹⁸ However, it was only 4% of the total foreign investment in China.

The rejection of H1 indicates that U.S. investment growth in China is not a good indicator of emphasis on national interest in *People's Daily*. Although national interest was involved as China attracted more investment from the U.S., when comparing to the investment from other parts of the world, investment from the U.S. weighted less, as the national newspaper *People's Daily* could view China's national interest from a broader perspective regarding foreign investment. Secondly, as in *The New York Times*, the verbal emphasis on national interest was not a regular occurrence in *People's Daily*. Even though U.S. investment in China was regarded as an aspect involving high national interest in U.S.-China relations, as U.S. investment in China increased at an average 35% a year, it is unrealistic to expect that the emphasis on national trade interest in *People Daily* would increase at a corresponding rate.

The rejection of H2a is consistent with the result of H1. U.S.-China trade continued to grow during 1987 to 1996. The emphasis on national interest varied according to China's focus in U.S.-China relations, and did not appear so often in the coverage of U.S.-China relations. The relatively few occurrences of emphasis on national interest in the coverage would never match the pattern that U.S.-China trade grew during the same ten-year period.

The rejection of H2b implies that U.S.-China trade is not a good indicator of the trade-related issues for *People Daily* in its coverage of U.S.-China relations. U.S.-China trade was the most important topic that *People's Daily* covered (22%), but *People Daily* basically chose to cover the topic at its own pace, not corresponding to U.S.-China trade. The findings suggest that as U.S.-China trade continued to grow during the ten years, *People's Daily* covered trade issues only when trade became an issue in U.S.-China

relations, and only when it needed to advance China's national interest through news content.

The partly support of H3a (.14) and H4 (.25) is consistent with what we know as the organizational goal of *People's Daily*. The results have two aspects of implications. First, it confirms the notion that *People's Daily* performs as the government organ, and it follows what the government identified as important in U.S.-China relations concerning trade and non-trade political issues. Chinese government successfully set the media agenda. Second, Chinese government concerns on trade and non-trade issues were fairly good indicators of news coverage of important issues in U.S.-China relations involving national interest in *People Daily*.

The rejection of H3b indicates that balance between economic gain and concerns on non-trade political issues is not a primary concern of *People's Daily*. *People's Daily* would not raise issues like human rights in China unless the issues were raised by the United States. When Chinese government considered trade related issues its primary concern, *People's Daily* found no compelling reason to take it as a sign to suppress attention to non-trade political issues.

The rejection of combined effect of U.S. investment in China, U.S.-China trade Chinese government concerns on trade, and Chinese government concerns on non-trade political issues on emphasis on national interest and reference to trade and non-trade political issues suggests that all four extramedia variables together could not predict how the *People's Daily* will emphasize national interest in its coverage of U.S.-China relations. U.S. investment in China and U.S.-China trade were not the issues that would initiate attention on national interest in *People's Daily's* news coverage. The finding reconfirms

that *People's Daily* speaks for its national interest in accordance with government concerns on trade and non-trade political issues, even though the relationship was relatively weak.

Shoemaker and Reese model again helps illustrate the relatively weak association between government concerns on trade and national trade interest, and between government concerns on non-trade issues and reference to non-trade issues in the news content of *People's Daily*. The extramedia variable Chinese government concerns played its roles in affecting the news content together with other variables in the hierarchical model.

The findings of the impact of four extramedia variables from both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* support Ahern's findings that trade exerted influence on coverage of international news, although this study indicates that the impact, whenever found, was less strong as what was indicated in Ahern's study. The difference could be due to the different dependent variables that each study looked at and the way that the independent variables were operationlized. In Ahern's and other studies examining the effect of trade on news content, trade relation was used as a reference to see how much a country was covered in the newspaper of another country. In this study, real life trade amount was selected as a symbol representing national interest. This study looked at how much trade and non-trade political issues were covered in the international news, and how the coverage of trade and non-trade political issues were affected by the trade activity in real life. So the difference in the strength of effect of trade in these studies is not really a surprise.

The findings also suggest various impacts of four extramedia variables on the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. For *The*

New York Times, the extramedia variables showed no impact on emphasis on national interest, but showed some weak association with reference to trade. In *People's Daily*, U.S. investment growth in China and U.S.-China trade exhibited no impact on emphasis on national interest, while government concerns on trade and non-trade political issues showed more evident effect on news content.

The findings for HG1 suggest that there was almost no combined effect of extramedia variables on emphasis on national interest in the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. However, rejection of combined effect of extramedia variables on emphasis on national interest does not exclude partly association between the extramedia variables and the emphasis on national interest in *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. The examination of combined effect of the four extramedia variables on emphasis on national interest reconfirms the linkage between the extramedia variables and news content, even though such linkage appeared to be weak.

HG2. Relationship between Intramedia Variables

A. Issues

Hypothesis group 2 (A) examined the relationship between the issues involved in the coverage of U.S.-China relations and how the newspaper coverage reflected the relationship between emphasis on national interest and other aspects of U.S.-China relations involving national interest. It was found that for both *The New York Times* and

People's Daily emphasis on national interest and reference to trade in the coverage were weak indicators of other aspects of news content. The findings show that the issues relating to trade were to some degree entwined with non-trade political issues.

The New York Times

The support of H5 provides the evidence that emphasis on national interest in the news coverage was connected with trade related issues and confirms the notion that emphasis on national interest is associated with reference to trade (.40). However, no relationship was found between emphasis on national interest and reference to non-trade political issues (.08), which indicates that the coverage of trade related issue were presented as the area involving more national interest than the coverage of non-trade political issues in *The New York Times*.

The rejection of H6 implies that in the news coverage of *The New York Times*, the increase of reference to trade did not have the effect to suppress reference to non-trade political issues. The finding fails to support the notion that the national interest embedded in trade related issues will override the concerns on non-trade political issues in the news coverage. In the news coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times*, trade related issues were often found linked to non-trade political issues. Under those situations, more reference to trade was not likely to suppress reference to non-trade political issues.

The rejection of H7 answers the question related to H6 more clearly. When national interest was emphasized in the coverage of U.S.-China relations, it did not lead to fewer references to non-trade political issues. In other words, the emphasis on national

trade interest was not related to decrease of non-trade political issues. *The New York Times* failed to meet the expectation that it would put less attention to non-trade political issues when it perceived national trade interest.

People's Daily

The rejection of H5 fails to support the notion that emphasis on national interest is associated with reference to trade (.02). Whenever *People's Daily* considered that national interest was at stake, it did not refer more to trade issues. Instead, it did refer to non-trade political issues (.25). To *People's Daily*, emphasis on national interest in the news coverage was implemented only non-trade political issues were referred. Although U.S.-China trade was an area that China had high interest in it, *People's Daily* did not make it an area in its coverage of U.S.-China relations involving high national interest.

The weak support of H6 provides some directional indication of the relationship between reference to trade and reference to non-trade political issues in the news coverage (-.15). However, with the weak correlation between reference to trade and non-trade political issues in *People's Daily*, the findings provide little confidence to support the notion that the more concerns on trade related issues will restrain the concerns on non-trade political issues in the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *People's Daily*.

The rejection of H7 is a complement to the result of H6. The finding fails to support the assumption that when national trade interest is identified by *People's Daily*, as such trade interest is always linked to non-trade political issues in U.S. political debate, *People's Daily* will also reflect its concerns on non-trade political issues when covering issues involving national trade interest. Only national interest on non-trade political issues

was found associated with reference to non-trade political issues (.27), which indicates that relationship found between emphasis on national interest and reference to non-trade political issues excludes the effect from emphasis on national trade interest.

The distinction is clear in the relationship between emphasis on national interest and reference to trade and non-trade political issues in the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. For *The New York Times*, emphasis on national interest is only associated with reference to trade, while in *People's Daily*, emphasis on national interest is only associated with reference to non-trade political issues. The different focus of national interest in the two newspapers suggests that the effect of emphasis on national interest on news content depended on which area that the newspaper identified to have the highest national interest at stake. For *The New York Times*, trade related issues implied more national interest, while for *People's Daily*, non-trade political issues involved utmost national interest.

The notion that more reference to trade will suppress reference to non-trade political issues found no support from the findings of *The New York Times*. While the findings of *People's Daily* rendered some weak support to the notion, the marginal level of association between the increase of reference to trade and the decrease of reference to non-trade political issues failed to provide strong evidence that in *People's Daily* the relationship between reference to trade and reference to non-trade political issues stood totally against that of *The New York Times*.

B. Sources

Hypothesis group 2 (B) explored the linkage between source use and the issues involved in the news coverage. Support was found for the notion that directional references to trade and non-trade political issues were associated with the use of directional sources under some circumstances, which means when trade or non-trade political issues were positively referred, the positive sources were likely to be used and vice versa. For *The New York Times*, it was true when trade (.25) and non-trade political issues (.18) were positively referred, and when trade was negatively referred (.30), while for *People's Daily*, it was true when trade was positively referred (.18), and when non-trade political issues were negatively referred (.58).

The New York Times

The support of H8a indicates that use of positive sources was associated with positive reference to trade (.25). The finding endorses the notion that positive sources will be used when the trade issues are positively referred. However, the finding does not support that the issues regarding non-trade political issues are more likely to be associated with negative sources. It was found that use of positive sources was also associated with positive reference to non-trade political issues (.18), although at a lower level than the association between positive sources and positive reference to trade (.25).

The rejection of H8b further clarifies the relationship between source use and reference to non-trade political issues. The finding denies the notion that issues regarding non-trade political issues are more likely to be treated as negative topics, and when the non-

trade political issues are referred in the news coverage, it is expected to involve use of more negative sources. The use of negative sources was found associated only with negative reference to trade (.30), but not associated with negative reference to non-trade political issues. The finding suggests that when non-trade political issues were negatively referred, it was not necessarily that negative sources were used in the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times*. The situation occurred when some U.S. officials with neutral attitude discussed the issues that were negatively referred by the Congress.

People's Daily

Although H8a is supported, the association between use of positive sources and positive reference to trade is weak (.18). When trade issues were positively referred, a relatively low percentage of positive sources would be used. What was found clearer is that when non-trade political issues were negatively referred, less positive sources would be used. (-.28). Positive reference to non-trade political issues were found not associated with use of positive sources. The situation could occur when Chinese officials with a negative attitude towards U.S. Congress actions at a certain time positively refer to U.S.-China trade and non-trade political issues.

The support of H8b suggests a relatively strong relationship between negative reference to non-trade political issues and use of negative sources in *People's Daily* (.58). The finding confirms the notion that issues regarding non-trade political issues are more likely to be treated as negative topics in *People's Daily*, and when the non-trade political issues are negatively referred in the news coverage, it is expected to involve use of more negative sources. However, the negative reference to trade was found not associated with

use of negative sources (.07). When trade related issues were negatively referred, it was not necessarily that negative sources were used in the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *People's Daily*. More negative sources were used only when the non-trade political issues were negatively referred.

The findings indicate that the directional references to trade and non-trade political issues had some prediction value of the direction of the source attitude towards U.S.-China relations both in *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*, but the direction of reference to trade and non-trade political issues and source attitude did not always go together. The relationship between the direction of reference and the direction of source attitudes depended on the focus of national interest identified by the newspapers. The direction that a newspaper took in an issue involving national interest determined if such association could be found between the direction of reference to trade and non-trade political issues and the direction of source attitude towards U.S.-China relations. For *The New York Times*, both positive reference to trade and non-trade political issues had the prediction value of use of positive source, while only negative reference to trade had the prediction value of use of negative source. In *People's Daily*, both positive reference to trade and negative reference to non-trade political issues had the effect on positive source, while only negative reference to non-trade political issues had the effect on negative source.

Fairness and Balance

Hypothesis group 2 (C) tested how fairness and balance of news coverage were affected by the extramedia variables, the real time indicators of national interest; and the intramedia variables, emphasis on national interest in the news stories and the issues involved in the coverage. The findings suggest that fairness of balance was basically unaffected by the extramedia and intramedia variables in both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. The exceptions were the relationship between emphasis on China national interest and fairness and balance, and reference to non-trade political issues and fairness and balance. Similar patterns of fairness and balance were found in both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*, except the relationship between reference to non-trade political issues and fairness and balance.

The Effect of Extramedia Variables

The New York Times

The rejection of H9a and H9b suggests that there was no effect of real time indicators of national interest on fairness and Balance in the coverage of U.S.-China relations. When the real life indicators suggested that national interest was high at stake, *The New York Times* maintained its own way in keeping its coverage fair and balanced. The finding rejects the notion that national interest reflected in the real life indicators will alter the way that *The New York Times* covers the issues relating to U.S.-China relations.

People's Daily

The rejection of H9a and H9b indicates that fairness and balance in *People Daily* was not affected by the real life indicators of national interest. Even the coverage of U.S.-China relations in *People's Daily* followed government concerned on trade and non-trade political issues, such linkage did not alter the way that *People's Daily* covered these issues in terms of fairness and balance. The finding rejects the notion that fairness and balance of news coverage are likely to be affected by the real time indicators of national interest in *People's Daily*.

Overall, as indicated in the findings regarding to fairness and balance of the two newspapers, *The New York Times* was relatively fair and balanced in its coverage of U.S.-China relations, while *People's Daily's* coverage was more slanted. But neither of the newspapers were affected by the real time indicators of national interest. The findings suggest, as the extramedia variables were macro indicators of national interest, and they did not emerge as a focus of national interest in the news coverage on a regular basis, they had few chances in affecting fairness and balance of the coverage. Instead, the issues emerged on a daily basis in U.S.-China relations, such as specific trade related issues and human rights, were more likely to affect the ways that the two newspapers covered U.S.-China relations.

The Effect of Intramedia Variables

The New York Times

The rejection of H10a indicates that emphasis on national interest in the coverage of U.S.-China relations is not a good predictor of fairness and balance. When U.S. interest was referred, no effect on fairness and balance was observed. However, when China's interest was referred, weak association was found between emphasis on China's interest and fairness and balance (.14), which suggests that fairness and balance problem might only occur in *The New York Times* when the coverage dealt with China's national interest, especially China's non-trade interest (.13).

The rejection of H10b implies that reference to trade is not a good predictor of fairness and balance in the coverage of U.S.-China relations in *The New York Times*. Even though trade was the most covered topic except U.S.-China relations in general, the fairness and balance of the coverage by *The New York Times* were not affected by how many times that trade was referred. The findings fail to support the notion that when trade is the focus of media emphasis, it is unlikely that a newspaper will maintain its fairness and balance in its news coverage of U.S.-China relations.

The rejection of H10c indicates that reference to non-trade political issues is not a good predictor of fairness and balance in the coverage. Even though the non-trade political issues were more likely to receive biased coverage than the trade related issues due to the ideological effect, the fairness and balance of *The New York Times* were basically not affected when non-trade political issues were referred. However, it is worth noting that when non-trade political issues were positively referred, weak association was found

between reference to non-trade political issues and fairness and balance. The findings suggest that *The New York Times* could be less fair and balanced when more non-trade political issues were positively referred.

People's Daily

The weak support of H10a suggests that fairness and balance of *People's Daily* could be weakly affected by the emphasis on national interest in its coverage of U.S.-China relations (.16). The way that *People's Daily* covered issues with China's national interest involved was mostly not affected by the emphasis on national interest. A close look at the association between emphasis on national interest and fairness and balance found that fairness and balance of *People's Daily* was weakly affected only when China non-trade interest was emphasized (.15). The finding indicates that even though *People's Daily* was more sensitive to non-trade political interest than trade interest, the emphasis on non-trade political issues was not likely to produce much effect on fairness and balance.

The rejection of H10b implies that reference to trade is not a good predictor of fairness and balance of the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *People's Daily*. Even though trade was the topic covered most frequently by *People's Daily*, the relatively high rate of reference to trade exhibited no effect on the way that *People's Daily* covered U.S.-China relations. The finding suggests that trade related issues, although involved high level of national interest, and received much of the attention in *People's Daily's* coverage of U.S.-China relations, did not necessarily produce noticeable effect on fairness and balance of the coverage.

The support of H10c reconfirms the finding that *People's Daily* was more sensitive to non-trade political issues than trade related issues. The fairness and balance were affected by reference to non-trade political issues (.30). The finding also indicates that fairness and balance was affected when non-trade political issues were negatively referred (.30). The finding clarifies the assumption on the effect of issues involving national interest on fairness and balance in the coverage of *People's Daily*. The fairness and balance would not be affected unless non-trade political issues were negatively referred in the coverage.

The findings from *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* suggest that fairness and balance of the coverage of U.S.-China relations was not likely to be affected by intramedia variables. The emphasis on national interest and reference to trade and non-trade political issues in the news content almost produced no effect on fairness and balance both in *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* were not deviated much from each other in terms of fairness and balanced being affected by the extramedia variables and intramedia variables.

The amount of coverage of trade or non-trade political issues received, hence how many times that trade and non-trade political issues were referred were not the factors that will affect fairness and balance. In the case of *People's Daily*, the only factor that led to some noticeable change in fairness and balance was negative reference to non-trade political issues, which were likely to be linked to the sensitive issues in U.S.-China relations involving national interest, and bore clear ideological characteristics.

Research Questions

This section analyzes the findings relating to six research questions and discusses the implications of the findings. The answers to the research questions and the discussion on the implication of the findings regarding research questions add some insight to the understanding of the effect of emphasis on national interest and reference to trade and non-trade political issues on the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*.

Question 1. Topics of Coverage

Not much great difference was found on the topics covered by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. The two major topics in the coverage of U.S.-China relations: U.S.-China trade and non-trade political issues, received similar proportion of coverage in two newspapers. Both newspapers put U.S.-China trade on the top of all the single topics covered, which is consistent with what political science literature identified as the key issues in U.S.-China relations. The issues involving high national interest is expected to receive the highest priority in the news coverage. Thus, to put U.S.-China trade on the top of the coverage indicates that both newspapers considered that U.S.-China trade involved higher national interest than other specific issues.

It is worth noting that both newspapers paid more attention to U.S.-China trade than other issues that may also involve high national interest such as human rights, which comprised a very small proportion of the coverage. U.S. continued to push China with the issues on human rights during the ten-year period, but the reality was that *The New York*

Times did not make it an issue far more noticeable than U.S.-China trade. China would try to avoid dealing with human rights issues, but it had to respond to the criticism on human rights in China through *People's Daily*, which explains the similar proportion of the coverage of the two newspapers. The identification of the similar important issues by the two newspapers suggests that *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* had similar view on which areas in U.S.-China relations had the highest national interest at stake, although each covered the issues from their own perspectives.

Question 2. Dominant Sources

Neither The U.S. (9%) nor China's leaders (4%) were found to be the dominant sources in the coverage in *The New York Times*, but the China's leaders appeared to be the dominant sources (21%) in *People's Daily*. *The New York Times* relied on U.S. leaders as well as U.S. officials as the major sources, while *The People's Daily* gave more priority to the China's leaders when they were quoted as sources in the coverage of U.S.-China relations. Two factors make Chinese leaders as the dominant sources in *People's Daily*: 1) *People's Daily* reflects any concerns of the government leaders if they make their concerns public, including their comments on U.S.-China relations; 2) The government departments other than those involving foreign affairs are not authorized to comment on any issues on U.S.-China relations without the permission from the government leaders. The prevalence of China's leaders presented as sources in *People's Daily* displayed its fundamental difference from *The New York Times*. U.S. leaders were quoted as sources when they made themselves available to the media or when *The New York Times* considered it

appropriate, while China's leaders were quoted as sources whenever they made any public speech and whenever the leaders considered it appropriate.

The finding is consistent with the previous research that government officials are the most active sources in the coverage of U.S.-China relations. *The New York Times* cited U.S. officials (48%) more than the government leaders (9%), which reflects the relationship between the government and the media. The media needs the cooperation of the government to report on the major issues in the international relations. The government leaders are not necessarily available to media at the time when media make request, while U.S. officials are more accessible than the U.S. leaders. *People's Daily* cited Chinese officials (26%) almost as often as Chinese leaders (21%), which reflects a different type of the relationship between the government and the media. The Chinese government instructs the media what to report on the key issues in the international relations. *People's Daily* serves as the spokesperson of the government. The information released by either government leaders or Chinese officials reflects the official stand of the Chinese government, and it only leaves the government to decide who will speak on behalf of the nation, the Chinese leaders or the Chinese officials.

Although U.S. officials were cited strikingly more (48%) in *The New York Times* than the Chinese officials (26%) in *People's Daily*, relying on government officials as sources in the coverage of U.S.-China relations was similar for both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. The total sources cited from U.S. officials, including U.S. leaders was 57% in *The New York Times*, while in *People's Daily*, the total sources cited from Chinese officials, including Chinese leaders, was 47%. The finding confirms the notion that

government officials in the U.S. and China alike were shaping the U.S.-China relations as presented as sources in the news coverage by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*.

The findings also reveal the different patterns in using the source by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. While the use of government officials as sources took up the similar proportion in *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*, the actual number that the government officials were quoted as sources in *The New York Times* far exceeded that in *People's Daily*, 519 vs. 159. The difference demonstrates different patterns of practice of journalists in the two countries. It is almost unquestionable that a U.S. reporter needs to cite someone as a source when he uses quotes or makes attributions in his story. It is less often that Chinese journalists use quotes with clearly identified sources. A Chinese reporter cites someone as a source if the source is really important or authoritative, and if the reporter considers that the cited source will add appeal and weight to the story, or clarify the reliability of the quote.

Question 3. Source Attitudes towards U.S.-China Relations

The finding about the source attitudes towards U.S.-China relations in *The New York Times* partly supports the notion that the western media tend to be negative. The means of positive vs. negative sources (.80 vs. 1.62) (Table 9) indicates a strong tendency of use of negative sources. However, the attitudes of government officials towards U.S.-China relations were relatively balanced, both for U.S. officials and Chinese officials. The proportion for the three categories, positive, negative and neutral, of U.S. and Chinese officials were almost equal, except that U.S. leaders were more positive than negative. The finding cautions for the distinction between the attitude of sources in general and

government officials' attitudes toward U.S.-China relations, which are more important in shaping U.S.-China relations. The finding also indicates that for *The New York Times*, the coverage of the areas and issues involving high national interest was not necessarily characterized with skewed or extreme attitudes from government officials towards U.S.-China relations.

The finding about the source attitudes towards U.S.-China relations in *People's Daily* partly supports the notion that media in the Communist world tend to be positive. The means of positive vs. negative sources (1.07 vs. 0.34) (Table 9) indicates a strong tendency of use of positive sources. The tendency was also seen from the government leaders used as sources. Both China's and U.S. leaders were more positive than negative, but the assumption was not supported by the attitudes of government officials. While U.S. officials' attitudes did not change from one extreme to the other dramatically, the Chinese officials other than the China's leaders were noticeably negative towards U.S.-China relations. The finding suggests that coverage of the issues involving national interest could produce more extreme attitudes from Chinese officials towards U.S.-China relations in *People's Daily*. The Chinese leaders tended to be mild and constructive towards U.S.-China relations as presented by *People's Daily*, while the Chinese officials had more freedom in expressing their negative attitudes towards U.S.-China relations. Moreover, the result also shows that there was little difference between the positive and negative attitudes of the total U.S. officials including U.S. leaders (30% vs. 29%) and the total Chinese officials including China's leaders (43% vs. 50%), which implies that in *People's Daily*, the Chinese government officials on the aggregate presented relatively mild attitudes towards U.S.-China relations.

Question 4. Emphasis on National Interest

The findings confirm De Sola Pool's (1952) notion that newspaper speaks for the nation. The means of U.S. trade interest vs. China trade interest (6.0 vs. 1.1) indicates that *The New York Times* exhibited a strong inclination on U.S. interest. The means of U.S. non-trade interest vs. China non-trade interest (4.4 vs. 7.7) could be a sign that U.S. non-trade interest was not a prevailing interest in the coverage of U.S.-China relations, at least identified by *The New York Times*. The means of total reference to U.S. national interest vs. China national interest (10.4 vs. 8.3) again confirms *The New York Times*' slant towards U.S. interest in the coverage.

The findings from *People's Daily*'s coverage reconfirm the notion that newspaper speaks for the nation. No difference was found between the means of U.S. trade interest vs. China trade interest (6.0 vs. 6.1), which indicates that *People's Daily* did not concentrate more on China's trade interest than U.S. trade interest. When China's interest involved non-trade political issues, the means difference between U.S. non-trade interest vs. China non-trade (4.1 vs. 16.1) interest dramatically increased. The means of total reference to U.S. national interest vs. China national interest (10.1 vs. 22.2) again confirms that *People's Daily* leaned towards China's interest in the coverage.

It is worth noticing the different focuses of national interest in *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. *The New York Times* cared more about U.S. trade interest, and did not pay much more attention to U.S. non-trade interest than China non-trade interest, which explains what weights more in the coverage by *The New York Times*. When dealing with non-trade issues like human rights, China's non-trade interest became more evident in *The New York Times*.

People's Daily's focus on non-trade interest is consistent with its ideological characteristics. Trade was important to China. The balanced focus on both U.S. trade interest and China trade interest represented the mildly positive tone of *People's Daily* on U.S.-China trade issues. However, *People's Daily's* weighted emphasis on China non-trade interest indicates that China had no attempt to compromise on the issues relating to non-trade political issues, such as human rights, Tibet or Taiwan issues. Both directions that *People's Daily* took represented its centered concerns on national interest in its coverage of U.S.-China relations.

Question 5. Portrayal of U.S.-China Relations

The findings on portrayal direction of U.S.-China relations strongly support the notion that western media tend to be negative, while Communist media tend to be positive. The result suggests that the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* overall presented a picture of problematic U.S.-China relations, even though the U.S. leaders tended to have a balanced view on U.S.-China relations when they were cited as sources.

The portrayal direction of *People's Daily* supports the notion that communist media tend to be positive. Even though there were continuous problems that cast clouds over U.S.-China relations, *People's Daily* tended to dig up the stories with a positive bias. Human rights in China was a problem which continuously drew criticism from U.S. politicians and media. But when *People's Daily* dealt with human rights in China, the coverage would usually focus on the improvement of human rights in China, which turned a negative topic in Western media into something positive. *People's Daily* handled other

problematic issues in U.S.-China relations in the similar way, which is characterized as constructive reporting and results in a positive tendency.

Question 6. Fairness and Balance

The finding provides the empirical evidence of the fairness and balance in the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. Because national interest was highly involved in the coverage of U.S.-China relations, it is assumed that *The New York Times* would deviate from a fair and balanced position in its coverage of the sensitive U.S.-China trade issues and the non-trade political issues such as human rights. The findings fail to support the notion that in the coverage of the areas and issues involving high national interest, *The New York Times* is unlikely to maintain fairness and balance. Instead, the fairness and balance were unaffected even though national interest was high at stake in its coverage of U.S.-China relations (5.24 vs. 5.29).

Although the emphasis on national interest and reference to trade were found scarcely associated with the change of fairness and balance in the coverage of U.S.-China relations by *People's Daily*, the overall fairness and balance picture did support the notion that *People's Daily* is unlikely to maintain fairness and balance in the coverage of U.S.-China relations when high national interest is at stake. The support was rendered mostly from the effect of negative reference to non-trade political issues. The overall coverage was skewed on the pro side (6.57 vs. 1.40). The finding is consistent with the characteristics of *People's Daily* as a government organ, and reconfirms the notion that newspaper speaks for the nation. In the case of *People's Daily*, it never claimed to be impartial in its coverage of both domestic and international issues, and it was created to provide favorable

information for the Party and the government. The finding provides empirical evidence to demonstrate such characteristics.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This chapter reviews the findings and implications of the study. It discusses the limitations inherent in the research. It also provides suggestions on how further research might address some of the issues raised by this study.

This international comparative study applied the theories of influences on news content developed by Shoemaker and Reese (1991) to international news. The findings provide some support. Extramedia variables were found to be associated with some aspects of news content in both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*, although the relationship was at a relatively low level.

The findings also supported Lee and Young's notion that national interest had some impact on news content. The impact was either demonstrated through extramedia variables such as U.S. investment in China, U.S.-China trade, and U.S. and Chinese government concerns on trade and non-trade political issues or as intramedia media variables such as emphasis on national interest in the news converge.

Shoemaker and Reese's model of influence of factors on media content suggests that factors at the ideological, extramedia, organizational and media routine levels affect news content. This study tested the effect of national interest at the extramedia, organizational levels on coverage of U.S.-China relations. Neither extramedia variables nor intramedia variables were strong predictors of news content. Nevertheless, the model was

supported in part by: 1) combined effect of extramedia variables on references to trade in *The New York Times*; 2) relationship between extramedia variables and news content; 3) relationship between intramedia variables.

The findings of the impact of four extramedia variables from both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* also supported Ahern's (1984) findings that trade exerted influence on coverage of international news, although the effect of trade on news content appeared to be marginal. This is in line with Wu's (1997) finding that trade played a key role in shaping foreign coverage in some countries, but was not a significant determinant in the U.S.

The findings on emphasis on national interest from both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* confirm De Sola Pool's (1952) notion that the newspaper speaks for the nation. *The New York Times* exhibited an evident preference to U.S. trade interest. Although *People's Daily* did not emphasize more on China's trade interest over U.S. trade interest, when China's interest involved non-trade political issues, *People's Daily's* preference was strikingly evident.

Limitations of the Study

This study looked at how national interest affected coverage of U.S.-China relations by the two newspapers. How to define national interest and select the indicators of national interest are debatable. This study chose U.S. investment in China, U.S.-China trade and U.S. and Chinese government concerns on trade and non-trade political issues as real life

indicators of national interest. Others may suggest that national interest should include other important indicators, such as U.S. congressional concerns on trade and non-trade political issues. On China's side, as the representatives of the China's National People's Congress become bolder in airing their opinions, the concerns of National People's Congress on trade and non-trade political issues could also deviate from those of the State Council. China claims its own way to calculate the U.S.-China trade figures. U.S. trade statistics have shown a large trade deficit with China, whereas Chinese statistics have claimed a smaller trade deficit with the U.S.⁹⁹ The difference reflects a contrasting perspective on key issues in U.S.-China relations. Using China's trade figures as a real life indicator of national interest may generate different result.

This study only used figures on U.S.-China trade compiled by a U.S. institution, U.S. presidential documents and China's documents from State Council as part of the real life indicators of national interest. The significance of the findings is thus limited within the range that the selected real life indicators cover.

This study looked at two elite newspapers of the U.S. and China. Even though these two newspapers are considered the newspaper of record of their respective countries, they are different from other newspapers both in the U.S. and China. They are not really representative of the media of their respective societies. They have specific ways of identifying national interest and their organizational goals. The findings provide some understanding of how these two newspapers were affected by national interest. The generalizability of the findings about the effect of national interest on international news is limited without looking at a broader range of media in the U.S. and China and without a

more comprehensive comparison of how news media in the two countries are affected by national interest.

Finally, the data for U.S. investment in China and U.S.-China trade collected from *Survey of Current Business* published by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis are limited in their intensity. The data analysis was therefore restricted to some extent. These data were published annually, and no monthly data were obtainable at the time of study. The annual data provided enough information about the relevant extramedia variables. Both U.S. and China's media were more likely to pay attention to the related issues when annual figures of U.S. investment in China and U.S.-China trade were released. But the lack of monthly figures prevented the researcher from producing a more precise picture of how these two real life indicators affected the coverage of U.S.-China relations by the two newspapers.

Suggestions for Further Research

To assess the effect of national interest, a broader scope of national interest than what this study looked at might be considered, which translates to the need of inclusion of the variables not included in this study, such as U.S. Congress concerns on national interest regarding trade and non-trade political issues. Besides looking at the congressional document as an extramedia variable demonstrating U.S. national interest, the concerns of other major players in the field such as U.S.-China trade promotion organization, may also be considered as extramedia variables in the future studies. On China's side, the views of

National People's Congress demonstrated increasing deviation from those of the State Council in recent years. Other high level consultative institutions in China may also render influence on Chinese government policy and hence the media coverage of U.S.-China relations. If the documents other than *Gazette of State Council of People's Republic of China* are available, the inclusion of these documents and China's official figures on U.S.-China trade will provide a better explanation on how real life indicators of national interest affect coverage of U.S.-China relations by the China's newspapers.

To further test theory of influence of news content and the effect of national interest as extramedia variable on coverage of international news, more newspapers need to be examined in order to reach a more solid conclusion. *The New York Times* was found to have an independent agenda in covering U.S.-China relations from the government agenda. Other U.S. newspaper may have different personalities, and may interact with extramedia variables differently. Although China's newspapers other than *People's Daily* are homogeneous in observing the guidelines for publication, their coverage of international news does not necessarily follow *People's Daily*, and may depart from what is covered in *People's Daily*. Including other elite U.S. newspapers which cover international news regularly and other Chinese national newspapers which are active in covering international relations in future studies is likely to offer a better understanding of how national interest affect news content of international relations.

Other research questions regarding effect of national interest on coverage of international news in future research may include: What are the common issues and aspects of the coverage of international news that are most likely to be identified by the media as the key components of national interest? That is, what are the best indicators of

national interest in the coverage of international news? If the real life indicators of national interest were found to have effect on the news content, does such effect remain active across the time? To what extent do shifts of national interest influence the emphasis on national interest in the news content? Although this study shows no suppression effect of trade related interest on non-trade political interest overall, it will provide more convincing evidence if further studies explore whether the more visible trade interest has a more powerful impact on coverage of international news than the relatively soft interest such as the demand for improving human rights. Government officials were found to be the major sources used in the coverage: To what extent does the dominance of government officials as sources affect the emphasis on national interest in the coverage?

As for the theory of influence of news content, other circles in the hierarchical model developed by Shoemaker and Reese need to be carefully examined to see how each level can affect news content regarding emphasis on national interest in the coverage. National interest is related to the components of each circle. From organizational level of influence, the question could be: how do media ownership, media resources, media location and community features affect the emphasis on national interest in their coverage of international news? From the media routine level, to what extent does the use of wire service affect emphasis on national interest in the news content?

Summary

This study investigated the impact of national interest on international news in the newspapers of record in the U.S. and China. The usefulness of national interest as a construct was reconfirmed by this study. As extramedia variables, the effect of national interest was found present and its impact was not negligibly trivial. As intramedia variables, the indicators of national interest served both as references that demonstrated the effect of extramedia variables as well as the factors that affected other issues and aspects of the coverage of international news.

The coverage of *People's Daily* did not demonstrate strong effect of national interest as its ideological perspective and working environment might suggest. The findings regarding *People's Daily* have some merit since few studies have been done to examine this dominant newspaper in China. Little empirical evidence is available to demonstrate the characteristics of *People's Daily*, which is considered ideologically biased. What this study found is: it was true that *People's Daily* remained slant in its coverage of U.S.-China relations during the ten-year period, but there was not much difference between *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* that their coverage of U.S.-China relations was affected by national interest. More specifically, the extramedia variables were found to be weak predictors of the news content for both newspapers, and intramedia variables were found to have similar weak effect, if there was any, on both newspapers. The findings of this study suggest, to eliminate the bias in understanding a newspaper like *People's Daily*, more studies regarding its news content and factors that affect its content are warranted.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE EFFECT OF NATIONAL INTEREST ON COVERAGE OF U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF *THE NEW YORK TIMES* AND *PEOPLE'S DAILY* CODING PROTOCOL

Introduction

This study analyzes the effect of national interest on the newspaper coverage of U.S.-China Relations by *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. The emphasis on national interest of the United States and China in U.S.-China relations was measured by counting the verbal denotations of national interest. The specific issues in the news coverage were measured by counting the references to the issues. Fairness and balance of the news coverage were measured with the corresponding indicators.

A news story of U.S.-China relations is a non-advertising item composed with verbal elements, appeared in the news pages of *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*. The coverage of U.S.-China relations is defined as hard news and feature stories reporting the current events, institutional and personal experience relating to U.S.-China relations, such as government actions, business activities, and personal adventures, e.g., stories in *The New York Times*, "Chinese Trade Practices Raising Concern in U.S." (12/26/90), "Baker's China Trip Fails to Produce Pledge on Rights" (11/18/91), "The U.S.-China Slide: A Relationship Strained by Trade Tension Could Worsen Further over Taiwan Flap"

(5/23/95); Stories in *People's Daily*, ““U.S. Congressmen Continue to Advocate Tibet Independence” (10/24/87), “U.S. Human Rights Report Distorts China's Reality and Interferes with China's Internal Affairs” (2/22/90), “Jiang Zemin Welcomes U.S.-China Copyright Agreement” (2/24/95).

The unit of analysis is the news story. The recording unit includes the number of references composed of words, phrases, and sentences, paragraphs containing assertions, and people, organization and document used as sources. Only the news stories carried on the news pages of *The New York Times* and *People's Daily* were included. The editorials and the items labeled as news summaries are excluded from the list.

The information that is of interest to this study and important for coding is the information regarding U.S.-China relations, especially on the issues concerning trade and non-trade issues. If a story contains the paragraphs that are not related to the topic and issues, the paragraphs need not be coded.

Coding Instruction

V1.Date ____/____/____ (Month/Day/Year)

V2.Length ____ Words

V3.Placement	(NYT) (1) Front	(2) Inner A	(3) Other
	(PD) (1) Front	(2) International	(3) Other

V4. Dateline

- (1) Washington (Stories filed from Washington)
- (2) Other U.S. cities (Stories filed from other U.S. cities)
- (3) Europe (Stories filed from Europe)
- (4) Beijing (Stories filed from Beijing)
- (5) Other cities in China (Stories filed from other cities in China)
- (6) Other (Stories filed from all other places)

V5. News Peg

- (1) News event (News event of U.S. China relations, such as U.S. and China's leaders discuss bilateral relations, U.S.-China reach Pact on Hi-tech trade.)
- (2) Feature (Feature story relating to U.S.-China relations, such as a story about the progress of negotiation between U.S.-China on nuclear power deal.)
- (3) Other (All other stories that do not fit the above categories.)

V6. Newsspot (The places where the news stories take place)

- | | | |
|-----------|----------|-------------------|
| (1) China | (2) U.S. | (3) Other country |
|-----------|----------|-------------------|

V7. Conflict-Cooperation Orientation

- (1) Conflict Between U.S. and China (Stories regarding conflict between U.S. and China in various areas, referring to bilateral dispute, identified through the dominant theme presented in the headline and the first five paragraphs.)
- (2) Cooperation Between U.S. and China (Stories regarding cooperation between U.S. and China, referring to bilateral agreement and reciprocal action, identified through the dominant theme presented in the headline and the first five paragraphs.)
- (3) Reaction to Other Side (Stories regarding how one side reacts to the policy decision and the action of the other side concerning U.S.-China relations, such as how China responded to U.S. President Clinton's decision to renew China's Most Favorable Nation status.)
- (3) Conflict within U.S. on China-related issues (Stories regarding debate and contest among the U.S. officials and other people on U.S.-China relations and the concerning policy.)
- (4) Other (Stories with other orientations, which do not fit the above categories.)

V8. Portrayal Direction (Portrayal direction of the United-China relations)

Portrayal of U.S.-China relations refers to positive, neutral and negative tone of coverage of U.S.-China relations reflected in the news stories by each newspaper including the portrayal of the other side. For *The New York Times*, portrayal of U.S.-China relations may imply positive or negative role of China; For *People's Daily*, portrayal of U.S.-China relations may suggest positive or negative role of the United States. Portrayal is categorized as positive, negative and neutral.

- (1) Positive portrayal in *The New York Times* suggests U.S.-China relations are in good shape, China is a good partner of U.S., and China does not have other problems which may affect U.S.-China relations.
- (2) Negative portrayal of U.S.-China relations in *The New York Times* suggests there are problems in U.S.-China relations, and the problems lie more on the part of China, which impair U.S.-China relations.
- (3) Neutral portrayal gives no clear direction in portrayal.

V9. Topic _____ (Select a number from the Topic List)

1. General (U.S.-China relations in general, or covers multiple topics)
2. U.S.-China Trade (Trade between U.S. and China, MFN, Sanction, Trade Deficit)
3. U.S.-China Business Exchange (Doing business in each other's country)
4. Copyright Piracy (Piracy on U.S. cultural products, CD, books)
5. Arm Control (Arm Proliferation from China to other countries)
6. Human Rights (Human Rights abuse, Human Rights Debate)
7. U.S.-China interaction on International issues (such as North Korea issue lately)
8. U.S.-China relations in other economic, scientific and cultural areas
9. Tibet (U.S.-China relations relating to Tibet)
10. Taiwan (U.S.-China relations relating to Taiwan)
11. Hong Kong (U.S.-China relations relating to Hong Kong)
12. Other (All other topics that do not fit the above categories)

V10-V13

1. National Interest is defined as the basis upon which a country makes its decision in international relations to minimize the cost and maximize the benefit. Reference to National Interest in the context of news coverage of U.S.-China relations refers to the verbal denotations of a concern or a stand regarding a nation's benefit or loss in its relationship with the other country.
2. Trade issues regarding coding items 10, 12. Reference to National Interest (Trade), and Reference to Trade (positive and negative).

An issue or topic which is related to trade only if it deals with U.S.-China trade, such as Most Favorite Nations, Import and export, Textile goods trade, technology

transfer, and Copyright piracy. If the topic or the sentence does not deal with these aspects, then they are not trade-related stories.

3. Non-trade issues regarding coding item 11, 13 Reference to National Interest (Non-trade) and Reference to Non-trade Political Issues (positive and negative).

Any issue or topic which is related to human rights, Tibet, Taiwan, Hong Kong, or state sovereignty is a non-trade issue. If an item does not deal with these aspects, it is not a non-trade issue related story.

V10. Reference to National Interest (Trade) (Count the reference to “National Interest”)

References to National Interest (Trade) include words, phrases, and sentences that suggest national interest is involved with regard to U.S.-China trade. It appears in news stories in the words like “U.S. trade deficit with China”, “U.S. market share in China”, and the sentences like “China should be granted permanent Most Favorite Nation status”, “Engaging in a trade war with China hurts U.S. business.” The reference to National Interest (Trade) is coded according to its alliance with the country. In the above examples, the first two references should be coded as U.S. interest, and the third reference should be coded as China’s interest. Each group of words or sentences identified as a reference to National Interest (Trade) is coded as one unit.

V11. Reference to National Interest (Other) (Count the reference to “National Interest”)

Reference to National Interest (Other) refers to the words, phrases, sentences that suggest national interest is involved in Non-Trade issues, such as human rights, issue relating to Tibet and Taiwan. It appears in news stories in the words and sentences like “China’s sovereignty over Tibet”, “Taiwan Issue is China’s domestic affair”, “China sees risk to its stability in U.S. demands”, “Keep Taiwan Straight in peace serves America’s Interest.” The reference to National Interest (Trade) is coded according to its alliance with the country. In the above examples, the first three references should be coded as China’s interest, and the fourth reference should be coded as U.S. interest. Each group of words or sentences identified as a reference to National Interest (Other) is coded as one unit.

- V12. Reference to Trade (Positive) _____** Count the Reference to “Trade” on the positive side, its synonyms and other expressions denoting the meaning of “Trade”, in affirmative form. Such reference may include but not limited to the words or phrases like renew (Most Favorite Nation), engage in trade relations, encourage (trade), building bridge, lower tariff, etc. Each reference consisted of one or more words is counted as one unit. The reference counted as V12 or V13 can be counted as V14 again.

Reference to Trade (Negative) _____ Count the Reference to “Trade” on the negative side, its synonyms and other expressions denoting the meaning of “Trade”, in affirmative form. Such reference may include but not limited to the words or phrases

like revoke (Most Favorite Nation), cut off trade relations, restrict (trade), trade sanction, establish barrier, increase tariff, prison labor, etc. Each reference consisted of one or more words is counted as one unit. The reference counted as V12 or V13 can be counted as V14 again.

V13. Reference to Non-Trade Political Issues (Positive) _____ Count the Reference to "Non-Trade Political Issues" in the stories in the positive form. The reference to "Political Conflict" includes words and phrases that describe the existing bilateral conflicts in the political areas, such as Human Rights, issues relating to Tibet and Taiwan. The positive reference to these issues includes "China makes efforts in improving its human rights record", "Let the people across the Taiwan Strait to solve the issue regarding Taiwan", "U.S. and China should resolve their disputes by engaging in talks".

Reference to Non-Trade Political Issues (Negative) _____ Count the Reference to "Non-Trade Political Issues" in the stories. The reference to "Political Conflict" includes words and phrases that describe the existing bilateral conflicts in the political areas, such as Human Rights, issues relating to Tibet and Taiwan. Such reference may include but not limited to the words or phrases like Human Rights abuse, threat to Taiwan, invasion of Tibet, and deprive freedom of press.

National interest is coded only when it is clearly specified, such as in the word "Interest". It should also be coded when the words and sentences without "interest" also indicate that national interest is involved. Assume there is none unless the meaning "national interest" is clearly specified. In a sentence like this: "U.S. sells arms to Taiwan interferes with China's internal affairs." Should be coded as 11 (national interest, China), and it should also be coded as 13 (reference to non-trade issue, negative), although the sentence does not contain the word "interest."

A source says something on behalf of one country does not mean national interest is naturally involved. Code National Interest only when it is clearly specified. "Discontinuing China's Most Favorite Nation status will create unemployment, increase the price in the U.S." should be coded as 10 (national interest, U.S.). It should also be coded as 13 (reference to trade, negative)

If a story clearly specifies that national interest is involved, either 10 or 11 should be coded. If it is also related to trade, 12 should also be coded; if it is related to non-trade, 13 should be coded. It is usually the case, when national interest is mentioned, it will also fit the reference to trade or non-trade issues (12, 13), but not the vice versa. When references to trade or non-trade issues are identified, and 12 (trade), 13 (non-trade) are coded, national interest might not be involved, or clearly specified. Such as "U.S. sells arm to Taiwan violates the U.S.-China communiqué." Should be coded as 13 (non-trade, negative), but not 11 (interest, China). When the story says "it interferes with China's internal affairs", it should be coded as 13 (non-trade, negative) too.

V14-V28. Source

(Count times that sources were used, identify their tone as presented in the story)

- (1) Positive. Source presented as positive towards U.S.-China relations or the other side, e.g., “U.S. President Welcomes China’s progress in protecting copyright” will be coded as positive.
- (2) Negative. Source presented as negative towards U.S.-China relations or the other side, e.g., “China’s President says China will not subdue to U.S. containment” will be coded as negative.
- (3) Neutral. Source presented as neutral towards U.S.-China relations or the other side

V14. U.S. President Source

(Count Times that U.S. President and Vice-President were used as sources. Identify the source’s tone towards U.S.-China relations presented in the story)

V15. U.S. Secretary of State Source

(Count Times that U.S. Secretary of State was used as sources)

V16. U.S. Congress Leader Source

(Count Times that U.S. Speaker of House, Minority Leader of House, Majority leader of Senate, and Minority Leader of Senate were used as sources)

V17. Chinese President Source

(Count Times that China’s President was used as sources. Identify the source’s tone towards U.S.-China relations presented in the story)

V18. Chinese Premier Source

(Count Times that Chinese Premier was used as sources)

V19. Chinese Foreign Minister Source

(Count Times that Chinese Foreign Minister was used as sources)

V20. White House Source (Source from the White House, except the President)

V21. Congress Source (Source from the Congress, except the Congress Leaders)

V22. State Department Source (Source from the State Department, except the Secretary)

V23. U.S. Officials Source (Other U.S. officials source)

V24. U.S. Businessman Source (Source from U.S. engaging in business with China)

V25. Chinese Officials Source (Chinese officials source)

V26. Chinese Businessman Source (Source from China engaging in business with U.S.)

V27. Other Chinese Source (Sources other than Chinese officials and Businessman)

V28. Other Source (Sources that do not fit the above category)

V29 - V36. Fairness and Balance

Pro and Con refer to the positive or negative assertion or description by the sources towards the other country or issues regarding U.S.-China relations. A source addressed the need to improve U.S.-China relations in a story in *The New York Times* will be coded as Pro; otherwise, Con.

Pro or Con usually is coded when there are two sides of point of view or when there is a dispute, promotion of one side's view, or when the statement is regarding to the policy and stand which will affect U.S.-China relations. If a U.S. official says something which is just facts, or statements not relating to the above aspects, it should not be coded as pro or con paragraph. When one paragraph contains both pro and con statements, code as 0. When a paragraph simply presents a fact or facts, code as 0.

Pro and Con sources to be counted: persons, organizations, and documents. Persons must be named to be counted. Anonymous sources are counted provided anonymity is explicitly granted in the story. Unnamed spokespersons are counted if speaking on behalf of a named source.

Organizations are counted if assertions are made in their names. An organization and a member speaking for it are counted as one source; any additional cited persons from that group are counted separately as sources.

Documents such as statements, reports, letter, memos, polls, etc. produced by Pro or Con sides will be counted if cited as such by a reporter. However, a document released by a cited person or organization is not counted; only the person or organization is. People quoted or paraphrased in document source are not counted separately; only the document is. Legal or legislative documents are not counted even if generated by Pro or Con sides.

Assertions are the information that sources provide about their thoughts, feelings or self described actions. Unattributed assertions are considered the reporter's. A source must be lined to assertions by verbs denoting: Speaking, such as "said", "argued"; State of mind, Such as "thinks," "feels."

For both *The New York Times* and *People's Daily*, there are three situations to be considered when coding Pro and Con:

1. Dispute between U.S. and China, Pro-China is pro, anti-China is con. Propose a policy or stand which will improve U.S.-China relations, pro; propose a policy or stand which will damage U.S.-China relations, con. When both conditions appear, the first condition overwrites the second condition, i.e., if a policy or stand is pro-China, but such policy or stand is likely to damage U.S.-China relations, it is still coded as Pro in *People's Daily*.
2. Dispute within U.S., pro-China is pro, anti-China is con. Propose a policy or stand which will improve U.S.-China relations, pro; propose a policy or stand which will damage U.S.-China relations, con.
3. General, propose a policy or stand which will improve U.S.-China relations, pro; Propose a policy or stand which will damage U.S.-China relations, con.

- V29. Pro sources number (Count number of sources)
- V30. Con source number (Count number of sources)
- V31. Pro assertion length (Count paragraphs, excluding 1-5 paragraphs)
- V32. Con assertion length (Count paragraphs, excluding 1-5 paragraphs)
- V33. Favor in number of sources (Pro source number minus Con source number)
- V34. Favor in number of paragraphs (Pro assertion length minus Con assertion length)
- V35. Lead assertion balance
(Whether Pro or Con assertions appear in the first paragraph in the story. If no assertions appear in the lead of the story, code as "0".)
- V36. Assertion in paragraph 2-5 of story
(Whether Pro or Con assertions appear within 2 through 5 paragraph of the story. If no assertions appear within paragraphs 2-5 of the story, code as "0".)

APPENDIX B

The Effect of National Interest on Coverage of U.S.-China Relations *The New York Times* Coding Sheet

The New York Times Coding Sheet

1. Date (A) _____ / _____ / _____ (Month/Day/Year)
2. Length (B) _____ Words
3. Placement (C) (1) Front (2) Inner A (3) Other
4. Dateline (D) (1) Washington (2) Other U.S. Cities (3) Europe
(4) Beijing (5) Other Cities in China (6) Other
5. News Peg (E) (1) News event (2) Feature (3) Other
6. Newsspot (F) (1) China (2) U.S. (3) Other country
7. Content Orientation (G) (1) Conflict BE (2) Co-op BE (3) Conflict US (4) Other
8. Portrayal Direction (H) (1) Positive (2) Negative (3) Neutral
9. Topic (I) _____ (Select a number from the attached List)
10. Ref. to National Interest (Trade) (J-K) _____ (U.S. interest) _____ (China's Interest)
11. Ref. to National Interest (Other) (L-M) _____ (U.S. interest) _____ (China's Interest)
12. Reference to Trade (N-O) _____ (Positive) _____ (Negative)
13. Reference to Non-Trade Issues (P-Q) _____ (Positive) _____ (Negative)
14. U.S. President Source (R-T) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
15. U.S. Secretary of State Source (U-W) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
16. U.S. Congress Leader Source (X-Z) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
17. Chinese President Sources (AA-AC) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
18. Chinese Premier Source (AD-AF) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
19. Chinese Foreign Minister (AG-AI) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
20. White House Source (AJ-AL) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
21. Congress Source (AM-AO) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
22. State Department Source (AP-AR) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
23. U.S. Officials Source (AS-AU) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
24. U.S. Businessman Source (AV-AX) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
25. Chinese Officials Source (AY-BA) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
26. Chinese Businessman Source (BB-BD) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
27. Other Chinese Source (BE-BG) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
28. Other Source (BH-BJ) Positive ____ Negative ____ Neutral ____
29. Pro source number (BK) _____ (Count number of Pro sources)
30. Con source number (BL) _____ (Count number of Con sources)
31. Pro assertion length (BM) _____ (Count Pro paragraphs)
32. Con assertion length (BN) _____ (Count Con paragraphs)
33. Favor in number of sources (BO) _____ (Pro source number minus Con source number)
34. Favor in number of paragraphs (BP) _____ (Pro assertion length minus Con assertion length)
35. Lead assertion balance (BQ) _____ (Pro or Con assertions in the first paragraph)
36. Assertion in paragraph 2-5 (BR) _____ (Pro or Con assertions within 2- 5 paragraph)

APPENDIX C

The Effect of National Interest on Coverage of U.S.-China Relations ***People's Daily* Coding Sheet**

纽约时报与人民日报中美关系报道内容分析

数据采集工作单

1. 日期(A) _____/_____/_____(月/日/年)
2. 篇幅(B) _____字
3. 位置(C) (1)头版 (2)国际版 (3)其它
4. 报道地点(D) (1)华盛顿 (2)美国城市 (3)欧洲
(4)北京 (5)中国城市 (6)其它
5. 新闻类型(E) (1)消息 (2)通讯 (3)其它
6. 新闻地点(F) (1)中国 (2)美国 (3)其它国家
7. 新闻动向(G) (1)双边冲突 (2)双边合作
(3)美国内部冲突 (4)其它
8. 描述倾向(H) (1)肯定 (2)否定 (3)中和
9. 报道题目(I) _____(从所列题目中选择一项)
10. 有关贸易国家利益表述(J-K) _____(美国利益) _____(中国利益)
11. 有关非贸易国家利益表述(L-M) _____(美国利益) _____(中国利益)
12. 有关贸易问题表述(N) _____(积极表述) _____(消极表述)
13. 有关非贸易问题表述(O) _____(积极表述) _____(消极表述)
14. 美国总统消息来源(Q-S) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
15. 美国国务卿消息来源(T-V) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
16. 美国国会领袖消息来源(W-Y) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
17. 中国国家主席消息来源(Z-AB) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
18. 中国总理消息来源(AC-AE) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
19. 中国外交部长消息来源(AF-AH) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
20. 白宫消息来源(AI-AK) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
21. 美国国会消息来源(AL-AN) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
22. 美国国务院消息来源(AO-AQ) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
23. 美国官员消息来源(AR-AT) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
24. 美国商人消息来源(AU-AW) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
25. 中国官员消息来源(AX-AZ) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
26. 中国商人消息来源(BA-BC) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
27. 中国其它消息来源(BD-BF) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
28. 其它消息来源(BG-BI) 积极_____ 消极_____ 中和_____
29. 倾向中国消息来源(BJ) _____(累计消息来源使用次数)
30. 倾向美国消息来源(BK) _____(累计消息来源使用次数)
31. 倾向中国段落(BL) _____(累计倾向中国段落)
32. 倾向美国段落(BM) _____(累计倾向美国段落)
33. 消息来源倾向(BN) _____(倾向中国消息来源减去倾向美国来源)
34. 新闻段落倾向(BO) _____(倾向中国段落减去倾向美国段落)
35. 新闻导语倾向(BP) _____(新闻导语倾向)
36. 二至五段倾向(BQ) _____(二至五段倾向)

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⁹⁰ Inter-coder reliability for nominal variables at assumed 90 percent agreement (using Lacy and Riffe's formula and Scott's π), $P < .05$, Dateline, 1.0; newspot, 1.0; newspeg, .87; content orientation, .80; portrayal direction, .77; topic, .82; Ratio variables (using Pearson's correlation coefficient), $P < .01$, reference to national interest (trade), $.83 \pm .02$, reference to non-trade interest, $.81 \pm .02$, reference to trade, $.79 \pm .02$, reference to non-trade issues, $.77 \pm .02$, source, $.79 \sim .84 \pm .02$, fairness and balance, $.76 \sim .88 \pm .02$.

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