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"International News in American Newspapers:
Testing International News Flow Theories"

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Ph.D. degree in Mass Media

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**INTERNATIONAL NEWS IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS:
TESTING INTERNATIONAL NEWS FLOW THEORIES**

By

Catherine Cassara

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Mass Media Ph.D. Program

1992

ABSTRACT

INTERNATIONAL NEWS IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS: TESTING INTERNATIONAL NEWS FLOW THEORIES

By

Catherine Cassara

The dissertation analyzed international news content in six American daily newspapers. The mid-sized dominant market newspapers are not among the elite newspapers generally studied in international news research. The intention of the study was to describe the character of the papers' international content and to test a set of theoretical propositions about the extrinsic factors affecting international news flow. A primary motivation for the study was skepticism regarding prevailing theoretical explanations for international news flow.

At the heart of the study was a content analysis of a two-week constructed sample from the Atlanta Constitution, the Birmingham News, the Des Moines Register, the Omaha World-Herald, the Portland Oregonian, and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. The study was not restricted to stories with international datelines, but instead included all stories about international subjects. Most of the 1,850 stories identified by the sample were traditional hard news run in the papers' first section. However, more than a third of the stories in the sample -- nearly half of the space allocated to international news -- were "domesticated" stories with

national or local angles. The domesticated stories were longer than the straight international stories, and were more likely to be features or analyses. The Associated Press, accounted for the largest number of stories, but supplemental news services, group, and staff reporters provided nearly half of all stories used -- stories typically longer and with more depth.

To test news flow propositions, export trade and immigration figures for the individual states and cities were compared with the newspapers' international coverage. The study findings indicate that the role of economic and cultural ties may be normative rather than predictive as applied to these six newspapers. The findings show no apparent influence on news selection from economic or cultural ties. Rather, the volume and distribution of coverage among individual countries and regions -- particularly the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Mideast, Western Europe -- suggests that factors of political power and conflict dominated news choices.

That political concerns appear to outweigh all other extrinsic factors governing news coverage suggests the present study may offer a benchmark for analysis of coverage after the collapse of bi-polar geopolitical structures presumed by 30 years of research in the field.

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To

Ernest and Beverly Benner Cassara,
whose examples are the best instruction

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the guidance, friendship and support of many people this dissertation would have been more difficult to complete. Too few of them will be named here.

Professors Todd Simon, Stephen Lacy, Joseph Straubhaar and Charles Atkin offered much-valued counsel, criticism, and support.

Dr. Stan Soffin always stood by with support, moral and otherwise whenever it was needed. And, from the beginning, Professors Mary Gardner and Thomas Baldwin were consistent and generous with their encouragement and advice.

The staff of the MSU School of Journalism and the Mass Media Ph.D. Program were good friends in time of need, as were the faculty and staff of the Bowling Green State University School of Mass Communication.

Many people whose friendship mattered cannot be named here, but Catherine Danielou, Oumatie Maraj, Carole Eberly, Kay Robinson, Lois Furry, and Robert Meyer are owed special thanks because they were constant friends through tough times.

All the members of the Cassara and Simon families understood and helped from the start, and I am in their debt.

Finally, without the unflagging efforts of the Document Delivery Service of the Michigan State University Library, the project would never have materialized.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation undertook to study international news content in mid-sized dominant market newspapers¹ in three distinct areas of the United States -- the Pacific Northwest, the Midwest, and the Southeast. The research sought to operationalize and test several of Hester's propositions about economic and cultural factors that influence international news flow.² Thereby, it sought also to continue efforts to identify the role of intrinsic and extrinsic variables to explain coverage choices.³

At the same time, the study was intended to provide insight into the kind of international news content available to newspaper readers beyond the markets of the large elite prestige press, which are generally the focus of international news content studies.

Research on international news flow has traditionally looked at nations as homogeneous units, overlooking the inner structures of societies. While that may be a valid premise in some cases, Nordenstreng and Varis suggest it overlooks the fact of ongoing international economic integration.⁴ Thus, the dissertation also investigated the possibility that within the United States regional differences in international

economic and cultural connections might affect international news interests which might be reflected in regional media.

The elite of the prestige press are important subjects for research and their influence spreads beyond their own markets, but though some circulate nationwide they are not read by, nor available to, everyone. At the same time, while Cable News Network and other television news outlets provide much of the immediate international news, not everyone gets cable and people who seek depth must still turn to print media -- starting with the daily newspaper. Research does suggest that audience members retain more information from the international news content they read in newspapers.⁵ This study looked at papers with large circulations in sizeable markets, because those are the papers that have the economic resources to obtain and offer their readers international news content from more than a single news service.⁶

News flow "theories" literature suggests that among the extrinsic factors that shape news flows are power relations, economic connections and cultural affinities.⁷ But while power relations are a national-level variable and, thus, should remain constant across the papers in the study, the economic and cultural variables should vary from region to region across the United States, reflecting differing economic and cultural connections with the rest of the world. Thus, this dissertation will attempt to operationalize and test both Hester's propositions and Nordenstreng's.

The study used a content analysis research design intended to provide a systematic assessment of the nature of international news content of six mid-sized American newspapers for 1988 -- the latest year for which newspaper, government and resource materials were available when the research was undertaken. To insure the most complete assessment of the newspapers' coverage, the study looked not only at international news stories carrying datelines from abroad, but also those that had been localized or "domesticated."⁸

The interest American audiences have in international news is a matter of debate, but research suggests that in the past news professionals and researchers alike have underestimated that interest.⁹ In an age of growing economic and cultural globalization American readers would have an increased need for and interest in news of issues and events abroad.¹⁰ A 1988 study of 10 of the nation's elite newspapers' content indicated that they ran less international news than ever before, but at the same time publishers were stressing the need to "localize" international news stories.¹¹ Certainly, that is the impression of the newspaper editors consulted during the course of the research, who cited growing interest in international news among audience members with business interests abroad.¹² How those needs for international news are met should be a subject of concern for news researchers and professionals alike.

Though 1988 was not a bad year for the newspaper industry, by 1989 a recession had begun to hit home, causing papers to address serious advertising losses and critical losses in circulation.¹³ As a result, in the early 1990s even the largest newspaper chains were mounting in-house campaigns intended to fine tune their content to attract and hold readers, and one of the ways they were doing that was to identify and target the concerns of their individual markets, including business and ethnic communities.¹⁴ What the results of such projects may be for newspapers' international news content only future studies can answer, but the findings of this project and others may provide a benchmark against which those changes can be assessed.

Research into international news content offers a continuing opportunity to assess whether criticisms of the nature of American coverage of the rest of the world are still valid. While the results suggest that some of the critics' concerns may no longer hold -- certainly content would no longer appear to focus on violent news stories -- other aspects of coverage may still give cause for concern. The papers' coverage did focus on powerful nations to the exclusion of others and defense, domestic politics, and crime stories continued to outweigh coverage of development, health and science, education, resources, and economics.

The year chosen for the study was not only the last year before the recession hit the newspaper industry, it was also

the last year of news coverage of the familiar bi-polar global political system. Coverage studies from 1989 would undoubtedly find that international news focused to a greater extent than ever on the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe, but this time because the old order in that region was on the brink of collapse. Only studies begun now could begin to suggest how the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, and with it the collapse of the Soviet Union, has altered the American newspapers' coverage of international news.

The theoretical and methodological considerations outlined briefly here are explored in greater depth in Chapter II, which sketches the history of news flow research, critically reviews the relevant research in the field, briefly outlines the findings of other news research relevant to the study, and outlines the resultant research questions and the assumptions underlying them.

Chapter III outlines the methodology of the study, describes the statistical tests used to address the research questions, and addresses the validity concerns present in this type of research and the measures taken to address them. The findings of the content analysis are outlined in Chapter IV, which ends with an analysis of those findings as they address the formal research questions. The conclusion completes the study with an assessment of the research results, their limitations, and poses questions and suggestions for further research.

Six appendices contain the coding sheets used in the content analysis, coding definitions, country coverage breakdowns for the whole sample and the individual papers, export figures for the individual states, and census figures for each state's immigrant populations. Finally, the bibliography lists the books, articles, documents and other materials referred to in the research.

NOTES

1. The papers chosen for the study appear on the Editor & Publisher International Yearbook list of the 100 largest daily newspapers in the United States, but are categorized as mid-sized to distinguish them from the largest circulation papers.

2. Al Hester, "Theoretical Considerations in Predicting Volume and Direction of International Information Flow," Gazette 19 (1973): 239-247.

3. Intrinsic and extrinsic variables are explained in depth in the following chapter. Briefly, however, intrinsic variables refer to those characteristics inherent to the individual news stories and extrinsic variable refer to the context variables independent of the particular story.

4. Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis, "The Nonhomogeneity of the National State and the International Flow of Communication," in Communications Technology and Social Policy, ed. George Gerbner, Larry P. Gross and William H. Melody (York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973), 393.

5. Manny Paraschos and Ermalee Boice, "Media Consumption and International News: A Case Study in News Exposure, Coverage Satisfaction and Knowledge," Paper presented to Association for Education and Mass Communication, Memphis, 1985. ERIC, ED 258 196.

6. Stephen Lacy and James Bernstein, "Daily Newspaper Content's Relationship to Publication Cycle and Circulation Size," Newspaper Research Journal 9 (Winter 1988): 49-57.

7. Hester, "Theoretical Considerations," 240-241.

8. While the origin of the rubric "domesticated" international news is unclear, the author first heard it used by during an address by CNN Special Project Producer Alec Miran to the International Communication Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication at its annual meeting in Minneapolis in August, 1990.

9. Mort Rosenblum, Coups and Earthquakes: Reporting the World to America (New York: Harper and Row, 1981), 8-9.

10. Christine Ogan and Bonnie J. Brownlee, From Parochialism to Globalism: International Perspectives on Journalism Education. Bloomington, Ind.: International Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1986.
11. George Garneau, "Foreign News Grows, but it is Reported Here Less, " Editor & Publisher, 10 February 1990; 18, 51.
12. Jay Smith, publisher of Atlanta Constitution, phone interview by author, May 26, 1992; Fred Stickel, publisher, Portland Oregonian, phone interview by author, May 26, 1992; Charles C. Edwards, publisher, Des Moines Register. Phone interview by author, May 28, 1992; Mike Finney, executive editor, Omaha World Herald, phone interview by author, May 28, 1992.
13. Joshua Hammer with Michael Mason, Karen Springen and Donna Foote, "Pages and Pages of Pain," Newsweek, 27 May 1991.
14. Corporate brochures outlining Knight-Ridder's 25/43 Project and Gannett's News 2000 both suggest that their papers should be more sensitive both to the needs of ethnically diverse communities in their markets and to their audiences needs for information in the world beyond those markets.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholars have described the literature of international news flow research as "rich"¹ and "extensive,"² but others have noted that despite its volume it suffers from a lack of synthesis and offers less information and insight than might be expected.³ Some of the problems inherent in the body of news flow literature are not unexpected in a research field that has developed only over the last 40 years, but others result from perceptual and methodological shortcomings that must be overcome if knowledge in the field is to advance coherently.

While efforts have been, and are being, made in the direction of theoretical constructs and propositions, too many of the studies undertaken lack solid theoretical foundations. Many studies also suffer from methodological handicaps that further limit the value of their findings. Periodically scholars have stepped back to take a critical look at the field's evolution, but their efforts are only a beginning.⁴ Synthesis of research results is difficult so long as even the researchers doing the work fail to clearly identify what they are trying to accomplish and, thus, omit to locate their own efforts within a larger research framework. Lent, Hur and

Ahern offer guidance in that task of mapping, but it is guidance too frequently overlooked.⁵

This chapter is broken into three large sections. The first looks at international news flow research. It is divided into three parts. The first traces the background of news flow as a body of research. The second part addresses theoretical and methodological issues raised by that research. The third part reports research findings about international news content.

The second section looks at relevant research dealing with newspapers. It is also broken into three parts. They deal with other media research findings relevant to newspaper markets, readership and content. The third large section outlines the study's research design in light of the literature review, identifies the research questions, and spells out the underlying research assumptions.

International News

The evolution of news flow inquiry is the story of the development of a research paradigm, the forces that shaped it, and the discourse between and among the scholars whose work advanced it.⁶ Early studies sought to describe the phenomenon of foreign news content. Next came attempts to develop the theoretical constructs and concepts that would explain its selection and focus. Attempts to apply those concepts led to critical reexaminations of both the phenomena involved and proposed theoretical explanations. Finally, research guided by

those critiques led to explorations of related issues, new theoretical propositions and new critiques.

Unlike the paradigm developments of hard sciences, and like many areas of communication research, the development of the news flow paradigm has been far from linear. Research supports but never proves its point, and revisions and critiques have added to the debate but not led to paradigm replacements. This review suggests one of the reasons for that problem in news flow research is the lack of a clear understanding of its development. Failure to clearly delineate the underlying theoretical paradigm has limited synthesis of results and, thus, hindered development both of elaboration of the paradigm or its replacement.

Research Background

"News flow" as a rubric is often incorrectly taken to be synonymous with the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization's 1970s efforts to address concerns of developing countries about Western news coverage in the New World Information Order.⁷ The research field itself, however, predates the NWICO and continues to develop independent of it.

Early discussion of the press's role in influencing public opinion on international matters began in the 1920s after the First World War.⁸ As a research field, however, it came into its own thirty years later in the wake of the Second World War and Korea.⁹ Viewed with the perspective of time, there appear to be two different approaches to research --

which while related by tool and topic -- address distinct concerns. Though frequently blurred by researchers themselves, the distinction is important.

One approach seeks to identify the universal forces that shape international news content within and across media systems. It presumes an interest in the factors that shape one media system's information about, perceptions of, and portrayals of others. It can be viewed as a school of basic research concerned at heart with qualities of newsworthiness.

The other is concerned with issues of news flow among nations, and in the last generation has focused particularly on news flow between developed and developing countries. Identified with the International Press Institute and UNESCO research projects,¹⁰ its narrower approach seeks to capture similar dynamics, but to use them as a way to assess press freedom and responsibility and address or redress perceived information flow imbalances. It is essentially a form of applied research.

Both lines of inquiry had their start in the 1950s, one with the IPI study of news content of daily papers from the United States, Western Europe and India, and the UNESCO communication surveys. The other began with independent efforts by researchers at American universities, such as Yu, Cutlip, Casey and Copeland.¹¹

The IPI itself grew out of a meeting in 1950 by editors and publishers of 34 newspapers from 15 countries.¹² It got

its funding from large American foundations and its stated goals were to safeguard freedom of the press, promote understanding among peoples, improve journalism, and promote the free exchange of accurate and balanced news among nations.¹³ Driven by publishing interests, it was distinct from the national and multi-national interests that drove the UNESCO studies from the same period.¹⁴ UNESCO's early studies were descriptive communications surveys and its efforts focused on the rebuilding of the press of the world's war-ravaged nations.¹⁵

For the first decade, researchers' efforts were largely inductive and essentially descriptive. Hart looked at international news flow into Ohio. Markham's famous study compared foreign news coverage in Latin America and the United States. Gerbner compared American and Hungarian handling of news of the 1960 UN General Assembly session. Some early researchers like Gieber, McNelly, and Schramm began to suggest theoretical possibilities,¹⁶ but the first real efforts at development of theoretical explanations for news flow came in the mid-1960s from Scandinavian scholars.¹⁷

In what is still the most frequently cited work in the field, Galtung and Ruge offered a simple theory that would offer insights into the factors influencing the flow of news.¹⁸ Following the reasoning developed by Ostgaard in a companion article, they sought to develop and test "metaphor with sufficient heuristic power to offer insights" into the

news flow process.¹⁹ They suggested that the selection of international news stories was influenced by socio-cultural proximity, the wealth or power of nations, the saliency of elite nations and peoples, and the negativity of events. They did not expect that either their list of the factors or their deductions were complete.²⁰

As with any early statement of an idea or theory, offerings by Galtung and Ruge and Ostgaard are in places awkward and unwieldy -- difficult to operationalize or missing vital pieces. Certainly the theory spawned questions and debate, as scholars pointed out places where it could be improved and offered suggestions on how that might be done. Sande took the subject a step further and tried to relate the factors Galtung and Ruge had outlined with a news item's impact on media users.²¹ Rosengren's methodological and conceptual insights proved so substantial an enhancement that the original work no longer stands independent of them.²²

Over the next decade a number of scholars, American and European alike, continued to work with the subject, looking at news content in various nations' media and periodically offering theoretical additions or finding alternative bases for discussions of similar questions. Among them was Hester, who turned to Lasswell's functions of communication as the basis for his formulation of the theoretical considerations for predicting volume and direction of international information flows.²³ Most of the studies dealt with national

systems or content issues, the largest of those studies coming in the late 1970s when a UNESCO-funded project looked at international news reporting across 29 countries.²⁴

The purpose of the UNESCO study was to inventory foreign news reporting, drawing on earlier research and laying a foundation for further efforts.²⁵ Though officially it was not intended as an effort to clarify or justify the NWICO concerns about news flows between developed and developing nations,²⁶ viewed with hindsight it is clear that like many of its contemporaries its preoccupation was with the issues of power and disparity raised by critics of media imperialism. While the issues generated by the NWICO brought about valuable debate, not all scholars have been as careful as they might have been in addressing the issues critically or in finding the literature which does.²⁷

The early 1980s generated several extremely valuable critical assessments of progress of research in the field, most notably two pieces by Hur.²⁸ Assessing the first twenty years of research efforts toward an understanding of news flow, Hur addressed what had been accomplished and what had not. Noting a lack of synthesis in the field and its foundations, his critique laid the ground work for a new series of research efforts that would set out to readdress the fundamental, theoretical issues of news flow.²⁹

In retrospect that research can be distinguished as more or less applied. With the advantage of hindsight one can also

trace the development of distinct genres of news flow research study. Many unidirectional studies have measured international news flow into one country,³⁰ while fewer have looked at flow originating from a region or country.³¹ Comparative studies have looked at content in media across two countries or systems, or across many.³² Both unidirectional and comparative studies can also be subdivided into research on coverage of international news generally, research on coverage of specific countries or regions, or research on coverage of specific events.³³

Research Critique

Synthesis of research results is difficult so long as even the researchers doing the work fail to clearly identify what they are trying to accomplish and, thus, omit to locate their own efforts within a larger research framework. Hur and Ahern have offered guidance in that task of mapping, but it is guidance too frequently overlooked.³⁴ In particular, Hur noted divergent concepts and methods used in research and the lack of theoretical and methodological explanations to link them.³⁵ Ahern provided a larger analytical framework that could be used to locate schools of research and systems for locating research approaches within those schools.³⁶

A review of the current state of the literature suggests four problems that need to be addressed if some sort of synthesis of theory and research is to be reached. First, the rubric "international news flow" is used as a label for a body

of literature that includes studies that deal not only with flows but also with flows of information, data, and entertainment content. Second, one of the barriers to synthesis and logical development of the field is the widespread failure of researchers and theorists alike to distinguish between the extrinsic and intrinsic nature of the factors in the news flow process. Third, the separate functions in the news flow process have not been as clearly defined as they might be. Fourth, more recognition is needed of the methodological problems that limit the explanatory usefulness of much of the research. Finally, researchers sometimes fail to relate their findings back to the functional context in which the content they analyze has been gathered.

It has already been suggested that over time the research field has grown and branched out and that researchers need to make more effort to locate their works: whether the approach is basic or applied, whether the focus is comparative or unidirectional, and so forth. One additional distinction must also be made.

It becomes clear after very little time with the literature that there is also a very real need to talk in terms of a broad research area that deals with international communication flows or international information flows and to clearly delineate subareas, whether news, data or entertainment. Mowlana's bibliography offers a lengthy list of citations, which if undertaken today would be much longer.³⁷

But while it divides studies by their geographic focus, it makes no effort to distinguish between flows of news and flows of other types of content or information. A growing body of work deals with the distinct but not unrelated issues of entertainment and information flows.³⁸

More effort needs to be taken to clarify the types of factors theorists propose as ingredients in the news flow dynamic. Clarification is particularly needed to distinguish between studies of news flow research and news worthiness research, which are related but not synonymous. This becomes clear with reference to Ahern's typology of factors as intrinsic or extrinsic.³⁹ Intrinsic factors used to explain news flow patterns have to do with the item-specific characteristics of the story or event itself, with the inherent nature of the story. Extrinsic factors are characteristics of the news environment rather than of the story itself.

Some researchers have chosen to distinguish the types of variables as being either "context-" or "event-oriented,"⁴⁰ but Ahern's labels are preferred for the present study for several reasons. First, the focus of the intrinsic and event-oriented labels is different. The inherent qualities of the coverage itself, not the objectifiable facts of the covered events, are at issue in this research.⁴¹ Second, context-oriented and extrinsic are not interchangeable labels for the external variables. Ahern's categorization of extrinsic

variables includes gatekeeper socialization, media constraints, and event context -- which includes issues such as national status, political and geographical proximity, and cultural affinity. Ahern's study looks at the seminal works by Galtung and Ruge, Ostgaard, and Hester but predates more recent studies by Shoemaker, Chang, and others.⁴² Nonetheless, it would be applicable to them and would begin to suggest that there may be an additional distinction which will have to be made between newsworthiness and news flow research. The research by Shoemaker, particularly the exploration of the "deviant" characteristics of individual events which make them salient to news audiences, adds an additional dimension to the research which is distinct even from the works which look at inherent characteristics of coverage but do not explain the mechanisms of salience.

Hester's theoretical propositions for predicting news flow were chosen as the basis of this research for several reasons.⁴³ First, they are much more clearly articulated and more simply stated than many of the alternatives. Additionally, his factors are more nearly extrinsic -- power relations, economic connections, cultural ties -- than those of others and thus lend themselves to the use of extra media data. Those factors he cites which are intrinsic -- such as event magnitude or unexpectedness -- by their very nature should not vary across the sample.

Newsworthiness is primarily concerned with the intrinsic characteristics of news content, while news flow research has a broader concern with extrinsic factors. The problem until now is that the theorists proposing news flow and newsworthiness concepts, as well as their critics, have not made the distinction -- seemingly an important one. For, while it might be expected that both intrinsic and extrinsic factors influence international news content, their relative roles and importance cannot be hypothesized and tested until the distinction is recognized.

There is also room for more precision in the delineations of which research populations are being studied and thus the populations to which findings can be generalized. There are several facets to this problem. First, the stage of the news process under study needs to be clearly stated and clearly understood. Bass suggested a step in this direction, but additional efforts need to be made in the same direction.⁴⁴ Studies of international information flows which concentrate on news flows could be separated by the function or part of the process under review: news gathering, news processing, news media presentation, and news audience.

McNelly was the first to suggest that the different functions or parts of the news flow process may overlap, but need to be distinguished and understood in context if meaningful understanding is to be gained from research results.⁴⁵ Studies that look at news processing -- for

example, the content of the news wire services -- are a valuable component of the flow research, but their results are not generalizable to the broader process.⁴⁶ Knowir what was available on the wires is valuable, but only a piece of the whole -- much of what runs on the wires will never appear in print.⁴⁷ Our understanding of the process is not complete unless we understand also what the news gatherers made available to the wire, what parts of the wire content the media customers used, and finally, what content the media audience members attended to, how they understood it, and what use they made of it.

The parts of the process are clearly interdependent, and it is dangerous to study one part without establishing a working understanding of the others, a point which will be explored in more depth later. Failing to locate research accurately suggests that interpretation of the results, or even the results themselves, may be suspect.

An example such a failing might be a study which looked at the presence of violence in front page stories on four papers. On that basis the author suggested that, because more of the New York Times staff copy involved violence than did the staff copy of the other papers, the New York Times was prone to more violent coverage. That suggestion would overlook the fact that while the other papers were relying on the Associated Press for coverage of breaking stories -- those inherently more violent by nature of how correspondents

working for papers relying on AP divide up the work -- the Times staff correspondents provided all of the copy used by their paper.⁴⁸

One approach to clearer location of research might be to draw on Lasswell's 1940s summation of communication research as concerned with "Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?" Translated into research terms, this is communicator or producer research, content research, channel or media research, and effects research.⁴⁹ Larson used an abbreviated version of this approach in a piece which looked at content, production and effects research.⁵⁰

Within the steps of the process, finer distinctions are also necessary, particularly where cross-cultural comparisons are made. Results from studies of national media are generalizable only to those national media. In a country where the audience relies predominantly on national media for international news, such broader generalizations may be justified. As Nordenstreng suggests, however, nations may be easy units to use for communication flow studies but they presume homogeneity that may not exist.⁵¹ For instance, studies of news content in the elite American media which serve the policy makers are valuable for topics that deal with the interplay of news and policy. They are not adequate, however, as a vehicle for understanding the international news available to general American audiences.

The method problems that hinder synthesis of research results range from prevalent convenience sampling, which severely limits generalizations of research results, to flaws in research design that challenge the validity of research results. For instance, a news flow study which looks at wire feed for two weeks can be understood only as a reflection of what the feed was like on that wire service for that period.⁵² It may suggest areas for further research but it cannot be taken as representative of anything more. Inference cannot be made to the content that did not make it to that wire or to the use of the material further down the line. Where the wire feed is considered in context of its use by editors, the results are specific only to that population of editors. Additionally, since findings suggest that wire services are not the only source of international news copy, studies which look at wire copy available and wire copy used may overlook papers' use of supplemental services for in-depth or issue-oriented stories.⁵³

These are important issues if one considers that wire feeds from the Associated Press are often taken as an equivalent to a universe of potential stories and then compared to the actual coverage that runs in newspapers.⁵⁴ Any research or writing that recounts the role of the wire service in providing foreign news would suggest that it is not a universe at all, but a peculiar kind of coverage which newspapers deliberately supplement. On this point and others,

researchers might benefit from Rosenblum's exploration of all aspects of foreign news reporting that provides valuable insight on context and content issues alike.⁵⁵

It is understandable that convenience sampling is used in large multi-national studies, but dangerous when so much of the research is based on those samples which are deliberately chosen with assumptions that undermine any inferences from their results. For example, the period for sampling for some studies is deliberately chosen in advance because an event such as an international summit was scheduled to occur or after the fact specifically because "newsworthy" international events had taken place.⁵⁶ At the other extreme are the sample periods chosen after the fact because they were "normal."⁵⁷ Both approaches are not systematic and seriously hinder the validity of generalizing from the study period to other periods -- a methodological point which is generally noted at the start of the study but not in its findings.

Further sampling issues arise as the result of the kind of newspaper chosen for study. If a study is looking at policy issues, it makes sense to look at the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Christian Science Monitor. There is also sense in looking at the New York Times since it serves as an acknowledged leader in American international news coverage. There may be less justification for sampling which looks at the New York Times and a small paper which happens to be located near a large school of journalism. As inductive,

descriptive research that examines the dynamics that may explain news usage at different types of papers, such studies may have validity, but one might suggest that they offer little if they are proposed as systematic studies of American international news coverage.

Another common flaw found in news flow research, including the early work by Galtung and Ruge, is the focus solely on dependent variables -- coverage characteristics. In response, Rosengren suggested the use of both intra- and extra-media data, a suggestion that has been implemented with greater and lesser success by a number of subsequent studies.⁵⁸

The danger with the use of solely intra-media data -- comparing information from one medium with information compiled from other media -- is its inherent tautology. The use of extra-media data improves the study's concurrent validity, as long as the extra-media data are not from indexes of events which were themselves compiled from newspaper coverage.⁵⁹ The danger of extra-media data lies with the construct validity of the measures that are chosen. One study that attempted to look the influence of trade factors on international news content in a large sample of newspapers equated trade with city size and location in a coastal or non-coastal state.⁶⁰ Arguably, trade figures may be a more precise approximation of trade involvement than geographic location.

Many news flow studies look at the elite press, comparing media in several nations. Of those studies that look at content in U.S. papers, most studies tend to look either at small papers or at papers with large national circulations. Only rare studies have looked at the papers with state or metropolitan circulations where a large audience turns for international news, a subject dealt with in a later section of this chapter. International news content on American television has been studied extensively and the findings suggest homogeneity.⁶¹ That is not surprising nor at odds with the regional focus of this study, if one considers that the networks compete in a national market.

As suggested earlier, most of the studies undertaken to date would appear to assume a homogeneous, national-level, news character.⁶² Studies that do look at regional papers do not look at regional variables as a possible explanation of differences in how the papers handle international news. The only study that deliberately looks at regional papers in more than one country nonetheless does not tackle more than one paper in each of the three countries it considers.⁶³

Serious problems also tend to arise when the design of the content research overlooks or fails to consider the contexts and processes that shape that content, and thus suffer from severe threats to their content validity.

One source of such threats is the classification of what qualifies stories for consideration as international news.

Some studies, for instance, define international news as only those stories which originate outside the country or run under an international dateline.⁶⁴ Others look at only non-domestic stories but distinguish between foreign and international stories -- the latter being those stories which actively involve the home country.⁶⁵ While it is important to make the distinction between stories that involve relations between the home country and those that do not, the dichotomy is too simple for a study that seeks to identify characteristics of international news coverage at a regional or local level.

Hester's 1971 piece looking at news from developed and developing countries took anything with a foreign dateline as well as stories on foreign topics and news about international agencies. As the findings were reported, however, the stories which focused on the United States as an actor did not record the other country involved.⁶⁶

The multi-national UNESCO study classified pertinent stories into three categories, which were then aggregated and reported in that form. Their original categories included foreign news abroad, home news abroad, and foreign news at home.⁶⁷ At the extreme, Larson and Hardy classified as international news any story that mentioned the name of another country.⁶⁸

For his 1950s study of Chinese news in four Chicago papers, Yu found it necessary to look both at stories with international datelines and those about international topics

that originated in the United States." His methodology also noted whether the focus of the story was centered on the home country or not. The result was distinctly different play for the two story types -- the stories with a United States focus did better.⁷⁰

The possibility of a difference in news play is not surprising to one familiar with the newsroom at work. Such familiarity would suggest that an additional distinction might be made which would separate out international stories with a national focus or a local-regional one. If economic and cultural factors do affect international news content, those effects might well show up in the form of "domesticated" stories. Studies looking only at foreign reporting may legitimately overlook international news running under a domestic byline, but studies of international news content that omit them miss the stories on international affairs that come out of places like Washington and New York -- from government, international and private sector sources. They also miss the newspaper editor's favorite -- "localized" stories.

Failure to take into account the context of the reporting of the story can raise other issues. Hester's study of violence in news on the fronts of three newspapers found more violence in international news in the New York Times than the other papers. There is no suggestion that allowance is made for the fact that the New York Times would typically run more

international news on the front page than the other papers, and thus others' news might have been as violent or more so even, but simply not have run on the front. In the same study it was reported that the Times staff wrote more violent news stories than staff of the other papers. This time there is no accounting for the fact that the New York Times generally does not use outside material. Thus, if the stories are written they will be written by staff writers. By definition staff reporters for other papers write stories that are in more depth and supplemental to their papers' wire services, which might be more violent because by definition they cover the breaking news.⁷¹

Rosenblum explains that conflict and violence are likely to be elements in international news stories because there are too few correspondents to cover the news and, as a result, the correspondents in place are hard pressed to cover even the breaking news and head from coups to earthquakes simply to get the news out and not because they prefer to cover those stories.⁷²

Failing to gauge the context of research leads to a critical weakness of the literature. Researchers reporting their own findings or synthesizing others' tend to overlook the medium-specific differences in the results. Too often findings from television and newspaper research are compared without thought to the different contexts in which the content was gathered and disseminated. For example, research that was

based on newspaper content declared geographic proximity irrelevant in explaining international news coverage,⁷³ while a study looking at television and newspaper coverage pointed out that distance was an explanatory factor for television content but not for content in the New York Times.⁷⁴ Not all later studies note the distinction.⁷⁵

Finally, this study looks at what may have been the last year of news in the bi-polar world in which the news flow paradigm was developed. Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc must result in significant shifts in the world political, economic and social relationships that provided the foundation for the original news flow paradigm. No critical analysis written at this point would be complete if it did not suggest that the paradigm and its assumptions must be reevaluated before they can be applied to news flow in wake of shifting world power structures.

If nothing else, this study captures a final glimpse of news content under a geopolitical order that has passed and may, therefore, serve as a benchmark against which later studies may be able to begin to measure and chart the result of content changes growing out of those shifts.

Research Findings

Research confirms that a nation's eliteness and political relations with the United States are important factors in explaining its presence in the American media's coverage of international news.⁷⁶ Because extrinsic variables such as eliteness, political relations and gatekeeper socialization would be the same for each state covered by the papers, similarities are to be expected in the treatment of international news subjects across the sample. Economic and cultural ties, however, could be expected to vary from state to state.

Findings from a nation-wide survey of newspaper editors suggest that newspaper editors across the country report a similar pattern of criteria for foreign news selection.⁷⁷ Those criteria include recognition of the importance of U.S. involvement in a story.⁷⁸

Analyzing data from the American component of the UNESCO study, Ahern 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 percent of the variance in foreign coverage.⁷⁹

Rosengren and Rikardsson found a relationship between trade and foreign news coverage in their study of Mideast news in Swedish press,⁸⁰ while Lacy, Chang and Lau found no

relationship in their study of American papers.⁸¹ The difference in findings, however, may lie in the way in which the trade variable was operationalized. The Swedish study looked at trade figures, while the American study, as noted earlier, used a coastal location as a proxy for trade.⁸²

Many studies assume the validity of cultural affinity as a predictor of news coverage, but few test it and those that do get mixed results. One study of Canadian papers looked at cultural affinity and language, comparing international news content in French and English papers.⁸³ The study found that newspapers "displayed remarkable cultural affinities toward their readers' respective cultural homelands."⁸⁴ The difficulty with such studies is that they are not easily replicable when applied to other countries which do not have bi-lingual or multi-lingual press.

Lacy, Chang and Lau found that the percentage of foreign born population in a city "had no relationship to foreign news coverage," suggesting that foreign language papers fill that need instead of large dailies.⁸⁵ The research did not compare levels of coverage of different countries with foreign-born population figures, but simply compared aggregates of total foreign-born with total foreign coverage levels.⁸⁶

A study looking at six nations' coverage of the Chinese student demonstrations of 1989 did not find support for the premise that cultural affinity would result in positive news coverage. However, a study of international news coverage in

five American dailies in 1986 did find that news of culturally distant countries needed more intrinsic news value to make it into the American papers.⁸⁷

Geography, the physical distance between countries, is a factor in television coverage, but not as important an issue in analyzing newspaper coverage.⁸⁸ Placed in context, this might well be explained by the economic and logistical differences in the way in which television and newspaper operations cover international news. Television tends to locate fewer news bureaus abroad and shuttle its teams to and from news hot spots on several continents, while newspapers and wire services locate one or more bureaus on a continent and shuttle correspondents to and from countries in that region.⁸⁹

Research suggests that international news may tend toward conflict and violence, though findings suggest that there may be differences between the violence components of different types of international news stories. A study by Lacy, Chang and Lau found that the level of conflict in coverage of international stories was related to the paper's level of dependence upon wire stories.⁹⁰ This finding is easily explainable with reference to the different roles played by wire and staff correspondents referred to above.⁹¹ It also makes sense when it is taken into account that the international news stories carried on the wires tend as a rule to be harder news than domestic stories.⁹²

A 1991 study of international content in American papers in 1986, which controlled for a number of intrinsic variables including violence, did not find that conflict explained more variance than other variables. In fact it found that the contribution of conflict was not significant.⁹³

Newspaper Research

Research relevant to this study is also found in research concerned with news coverage issues that go beyond international news and news flow issues. This sections looks at those studies, particularly as they relate to markets, readership, and content issues.

News markets

If large city and academic media markets tend to shape researchers' understanding of media markets, we may be getting a warped view of what is available in more typical markets. While the New York Times may be the newspaper of choice for avid readers of international news and CNN's Headline News a necessity, there are many areas of the country where audiences still turn to network news and other print media -- non-elite newspapers and news magazines.

The newspapers dealt with by this study fall at the first level of the original umbrella model of newspaper competition -- large metropolitan daily papers with regional coverage.⁹⁴ As Lacy suggests, however, they fall in the second level when the model is adapted to include national circulation papers such as the New York Times and USA Today.⁹⁵ Rosse suggests

that content interests shift newspaper readers among the layers of the umbrella model.⁹⁶ This study is based on the assumption -- confirmed in conversations with the publishers - - that the news executives of these papers position themselves in their markets and differentiate their products by providing an adequate offering of international news not available in smaller papers.⁹⁷ Thus, audience members with an interest in international news would be more likely to look at papers at this level than they would at papers below them.

Research shows a direct connection between newspaper size and space allocations to different types of news content, including news content, which is dealt with later in this section.⁹⁸

Several of these papers have one or two of their own correspondents, but for the most part rely on outside wire or chain sources for their international coverage.⁹⁹ Unlike the small papers included in other studies,¹⁰⁰ these papers are not expected to rely on a single wire source for news. They are big enough to have the resources to draw on a number of wire and supplemental news services for international news content. Certainly the executives of the newspapers consider provision of international news as one of the characteristics that distinguishes their papers from others in their markets - - not only because they are best positioned to do so, but also because their readers seek it.¹⁰¹

Readership

There are often-cited truisms that American readers are not interested in international news, and that to the extent audiences get such news they get it from television, but the research evidence to that effect is not conclusive.

A 1991 paper looking at coverage of events in Eastern Europe, which included on-the-spot anchoring of nightly news, suggested that exposure to television news was the most important medium for influencing U.S. public opinion about foreign countries.¹⁰² However, the study did not look at the difference between coverage of stories which involved the United States and those that did not. Another 1991 paper, which looked at the agenda setting function of the media, suggested that issues involving both uncertainty and the United States might be perceived as being more salient by audience members.¹⁰³ Thus the salience levels of the subject matter covered by the first study might have affected its findings.

A 1991 study by Stempel suggests that most people do not get most of their news from television, and studies which suggested that they do were not sensitive to the differences in news seeking behaviors that may vary depending on the type of news being sought.¹⁰⁴ Stempel's study does not itself, however, look at audience choices for international news.

A 1986 book by Robinson and Levy looking at extensive research about television news in the United States and abroad

also challenged the proposition that the public receives most of its information from television.¹⁰⁵ While viewers do learn from television news, the study found that the largest gains in new information are associated with newspaper usage.¹⁰⁶ Controlling for education and news interest, the research still found that newspaper readers were consistently more informed than non-readers.¹⁰⁷

A study of the learning effects related to media usage during the Persian Gulf War found that even though the majority of people cited television as their "main source of information" there were distinct differences in the types of knowledge gleaned from different media. Newspaper exposure was more closely linked to acquisition of broader knowledge about events in the Gulf.¹⁰⁸ A study of international news consumption habits and learning suggested that while the audience members who turned to television networks for their international news expressed more satisfaction with the news they got, newspaper readers knew more when questioned about recent events.¹⁰⁹

Newspaper editors, in general, have traditionally underestimated their readers' interest in international news. Bogart cites a 1977 Harris poll which compared reader interest in news topics with editors' assessment of that interest.¹¹⁰ Forty-one percent of the readers said they were very interested in international news while only five percent of the editors said the public was very interested in the

subject. Five years later respondents in a Newspaper Advertising Bureau study of newspaper readers in four major U.S. cities ranked international politics as the second most interesting category of stories. Human interest stories were ranked in first place.¹¹¹

As the result of an experiment designed to address conflicting findings about reader interest in international news, Stevenson and Straughan suggest that how "foreign" news is defined and packaged has a lot to do with reader interest.¹¹² International stories -- where connections are made between U.S. and global interests -- were more interesting than "foreign" stories. Additionally, geographic proximity was relatively unimportant, but readers did want fewer headlines and more background on the stories they read. Recent immigrants were found to be particularly interested in international news.

The executives responsible for the newspapers included in the study recognized that international news was one of the top three interests of their readers after local and state news. While they acknowledged that they might not have the resources to provide news in depth, they suggested that they aimed for an offering of fairly complete and accurate news.¹¹³ They said that over the last five years their readership surveys suggested a growing interest in and concern about international news, particularly coverage of topics of concern to their states.

Content

In a 1971 content study, international news represented 10.2 percent of stories longer than five inches in American dailies studied by Newspaper Advertising Bureau. Newspaper size made little difference in the proportion of news carried. By 1977, a follow-up study found that international news had dropped to 6.3 percent of stories longer than five inches. At the same time, however, the studies indicated that U.S. government stories fell over same period from 6.9 to 3.5 percent of the content.¹¹⁴ Editor & Publisher reported in 1990 that by 1980 the NAB findings suggested that international news content had dropped to 6 percent of overall coverage.¹¹⁵

The Editor & Publisher article cited an additional study conducted over a two-month period at the end of 1987 and beginning of 1988, which suggested international news coverage in the 10 largest of the nations's elite newspapers had dropped to 2.6 percent.¹¹⁶ The findings are limited by the nature of their collection, and the article qualifies those findings with a suggestion from the study's author suggesting that after his research world events led the papers to greatly expand their coverage levels.¹¹⁷

A 1988 study based on a constructed week's sample of American dailies taken in November 1984 reported that large newspapers like those in this sample -- papers with circulations over 100,000 -- gave an average 6.5 percent of

their news sections to foreign news coverage.¹¹⁸ However, neither the 1970s studies nor the later one, both of which looked at larger issues of content, provide definitions of what constituted foreign news, suggesting that for their purposes it may have included only those stories with foreign datelines.

A problem common to all these findings, however, is that they do not take into account the context of the period. Studies conducted during the conflict in Southeast Asia could be expected to be significantly different from that measured after the war, as content studies of media during the collapse of communist regimes Eastern Europe might find something very different than those conducted a year or two later.

An economic analysis of daily newspaper performance suggests that space allocations and wire service use among the papers vary with the competitive nature of the market.¹¹⁹ Thus, among papers in the present study, differences in the size of their news hole and the number of international news sources available to them might account for by their competitive positions.

Dating from Stempel's 1952 research findings, researchers dealing with newspaper content have had access to methodological grounds for unbiased content samples¹²⁰ -- constructed-week selection of an efficiently sized sample. Following up on Stempel's findings in 1992, Riffe, Aust and Lacy confirmed the importance of constructed-week sampling

where generalizability is the goal of the research.¹²¹ Convenience sampling of consecutive days of coverage was not found to be representative of longer periods of time. Additionally, the 1992 study found that one constructed week of coverage was as efficient as a sample of four constructed weeks. Extending those findings, the researchers lent support to Stempel's conclusion and suggested that two constructed weeks would allow reliable estimate of a year's coverage.¹²²

Research Design

In light of the findings of the literature, the resereach set out to address three broad questions: What is the character of international news content in the mid-sized dominant market American newspaper? Does the character of the international news content in those papers vary from region to region? Do international news flow theories explain such differences, if they exist?

Thus, the research set out to address four research questions:

1) What is the nature of the international news content in mid-sized dominant market newspapers?

2) Are there distinct categories of domesticated international news, which receive different types of treatment?

3) Do a region's international economic and cultural connections influence the character of international news content in the newspaper which serves that area?

The study's independent variables are economic connections and cultural ties.¹²³ The operationalization of these variables needs additional exploration (see method section). It is suggested, however, that trade figures, particularly export data and foreign investment figures, may provide a reasonable means of ascertaining economic connections. Cultural ties may be approached through sister city agreements, immigration figures and historical cultural connections. The dependent variables are characteristics of coverage, such as the number of stories, their prominence, origin, and length, which are operationalized in detail in the method section. The study measured both intrinsic and extrinsic story characteristics.

Underlying the research are several assumptions that are best made explicit. First, the papers investigated by the study have the economic resources to subscribe to several news services that provide international news. A single wire service would provide more international news than a paper could run, but it is assumed that the presence of the other services also means that the papers have choices of quality, depth, and focus among stories about similar issues and events. The additional services offer pieces on a range of topic wider than that offered by the wires.¹²⁴

Second, it is assumed that within a competitive news environment it is the mid-sized metropolitan papers with additional statewide circulation that are most likely to

provide international news. This occurs both because smaller papers generally do not have the economic resources to provide much international news and because smaller papers concentrate on local news in an effort to differentiate themselves from their larger competitors.¹²⁵

Finally, it is assumed that readers do turn to newspapers to satisfy surveillance and information needs, and not everyone may have ready access to the New York Times to fill those needs. Thus, it is good business for a mid-sized dominant market paper to attempt to meet those needs.¹²⁶

NOTES

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3. Vernone M. Sparkes and James P. Winter, "Public Interest in Foreign News," Gazette 26 (1980): 140; K. Kyoon Hur, "A Critical Analysis of International News Flow Research," Critical Studies in Mass Communication 1 (1984): 365-366.
4. Karl E. Rosengren, "International News: Intra and Extra Media Data," Acta Sociologica 13 (1970): 96-109; Karl E. Rosengren, "International News: Methods, Data and Theory," Journal of Peace Research 9 (1974): 145-156; John A. Lent, "Foreign News Content of United States and Asian Print Media: A Literature Review and Problem Analysis," Gazette 22 (1976): 169-182; K. Kyoon Hur, "International Mass Communication Research: A Critical Review of Theory and Methods," in Communication Yearbook 6, ed. Michael Burgoon (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1982); Thomas Ahern, "Determinants of Foreign Coverage in U.S. Newspapers," in Robert L. Stevenson and Donald Lewis Shaw, eds., Foreign News and the News World Information Order (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1984); K. Kyoon Hur, "A Critical Analysis."
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12. Koszyk, "The Development of the International Press Institute," 227, 229.

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35. Hur, "International News Flow Research," 374.

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CHAPTER III

METHOD

The dissertation's dual research purpose is reflected in the study's design, which heeds Rosengren's call for collection of both intra-media and extra-media data.¹ First, the study collected intra-media data to describe international news content available to readers of mid-sized dominant market newspapers. The purpose of the research was to ascertain the kind of international news coverage available to more typical American newspaper audiences than those served by the New York Times or the Washington Post. Second, the study compared that intra-media data with extra-media variables to explore what if any regional differences there are in international news content in the U.S. newspapers.

The structure of this chapter follows that research design. First, it reviews the content analysis conducted to carry out the collection of the intra-media data. Second, it describes the collection of the extra-media data. It then discusses the statistical analyses used to analyze the resulting data in order to address the study's research questions. Finally, a brief section addresses efforts to assure the validity of the both the research design and

findings, especially in context of the earlier literature critique.

Intra-Media Variables

The sample was defined as mid-sized dominant market newspapers² in pairs of adjoining states: Alabama and Georgia; Iowa and Nebraska; and, Washington and Oregon. The pairs of states were selected because they are regionally distinct -- Southern, Midwestern and Pacific Coastal, respectively. They have in common that each one has a single dominant metropolitan area. The papers selected for analysis were the dominant daily newspapers in their metropolitan markets which have circulations beyond their own cities, particularly on Sunday.³ The papers chosen were: the Birmingham News, the Atlanta Constitution, the Des Moines Register, the Omaha World-Herald, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, and the Portland Oregonian (see table 1).

The study looked at coverage for 1988. That year was chosen because when the study began it was the latest complete year for which circulation statistics and government economic statistics were available. The study centered on issues of the newspapers for two randomly-selected constructed weeks. Constructed weeks -- where the requisite number of each day of the week are randomly selected -- are considered the most efficient use of available resources⁴ because they take into account any fluctuation in newspaper content resulting from

TABLE 1 -- NEWSPAPERS, 1988⁵**The Birmingham News (eS):**

170,327 (e); 172-807 (Ms); 206,297 (S)

Ownership: Newhouse Newspapers**News Services:** Associate Press, Knight News Service, Newhouse News Service, Independent News Service**Atlanta Constitution (m-mon to fri)****Journal and Constitution (S):**

284,015 (m); 517,689 (mSat); 651,828 (S)

Ownership: Cox Enterprises**News Services:** Associated Press, Cox, United Press**International, Dow Jones, Los Angeles Times-Washington Post, New York Times, Knight Ridder****The Des Moines Register (Ms):**

209,765 (m); 353,105 (S)

Ownership: Gannett Newspapers**News Services:** Associated Press, Dow Jones, Los Angeles Times-Washington Post, Knight News-Tribune Wire, New York Times**Omaha World-Herald (m; e-mon to fri; S):**

121,985 (m); 97,232 (e); 210,347 (m-sat); 284,142 (S)

Ownership: Omaha World-Herald Company**News Services:** Associated Press, United Press International, Los Angeles Times-Washington Post, Knight News-Tribune Wire, New York Times**The (Portland) Oregonian (all day m-friday; m-Sat; S):**

310,446 (d); 305,032 (m-Sat); 413,318 (S)

Ownership: Newhouse Newspapers**News Services:** Associate Press, Chicago Daily News, Los Angeles Times-Washington Post, New York Times**The Seattle Post Intelligencer (m)****The Seattle Times/Post Intelligencer (S)**

203,560 (m); 178,153 (m-Sat); 503,495 (S)

Ownership: Hearst Newspapers**News Services:** Associated Press, United Press International, New York Times, Hearst Newspapers, Reuters

differences in coverage characteristics that vary with the day of the week, for instance, differences in volume between Friday and Sunday. In doing that, they provide for a sample that is more representative than if it were simply random.

To construct the weeks, all the days for each day of the week were counted and assigned a number. A random-number generating program was then used to compose a random number table. From that table, three numbers were chosen for each day of the week, corresponding to numbers assigned to specific days in 1988. The first two dates chosen represent the two-week study sample and the third provided an alternate.⁶ Because the newspapers were ordered in microform through interlibrary loan, a third sample week was included in the study from the beginning in the event that date substitutions could be made if they were needed later. In the end, however, issues from the third week were used only for pretesting the coding instruments.

Because loan periods were short, all of the pertinent material from a newspaper issue was copied from the microfilm and kept in paper form for later coding. Because the papers are not copied at 100 percent, six-inch scales are photographed with the papers to allow for precise conversion to the original measures. Those scales were copied with each issue of the paper and conversion wheels used for sizing photographs were used to determine the original dimensions all copy and artwork.

The content analysis was conducted at two levels -- the paper and the news story. Using units of analysis at two levels, the study probed related but distinct aspects of international news coverage. For instance, analyzing the paper by issue allowed note of matters that would have been hard to address even through aggregation of story-level data. Those questions addressed the treatment and handling of international news as a component of the larger paper.

At the story level, the unit of analysis was defined as any story -- with an international dateline, domestic dateline, or in some cases, no dateline -- that dealt with events or issues in another country. The latter two categories of stories were considered essential since papers make efforts to "localize" important stories or run national stories that provide an American angle on an international event or issue. These "domesticated" international news stories are an important element of contemporary international news coverage, likely to receive more and better play than straight international news coverage. A study which purports to look at international news play in American media cannot overlook those stories without missing a critical ingredient in international news usage.

While it was anticipated that most international stories would be found in the news section of the paper, every story in the paper was reviewed for possible inclusion in the study.

Every section was reviewed and note was be made of the type of section where the story ran.⁷

Samples of the coding instruments are included in the proposal (see appendix 1). The coding definitions for the instruments are also provided (see appendix 2). Both coding instruments were designed with the computer analysis of the data in mind. Thus, data run locations were assigned from the start and the coding definitions included variable names and value assignments.

At the paper level (see appendix 1), the coding sheet sought information on name of the paper, the date, and the number of pages in each of the 84 issues included in the sample. It also noted whether the international news was indexed and if it ran on a page or pages with a banner identifying the page's content as international news. Additionally, record was made of whether the paper ran international news briefs and whether they were used on their own or mixed with national news. Note was also made of whether international news was used as filler material. The stories on the front page were counted and note was made of the character of the international stories used there -- whether they had a straight international focus, or national or localized angles. Finally, the amount of space given to international wild art, i.e. photographs with international subject that ran on their own without related stories, was measured.

At the story level (see appendix 2), each item was assigned a number and essential information was collected about each story to allow for identification later -- newspaper, location, headline. In all, 1,850 stories were included in the study.

Each story was coded for its dateline and topic country. Story length was measured in square inches and the prominence of the story was assessed using an adapted version of the Budd attention score.⁸ The Budd index accords points for different aspects of the way a story is run. As adapted for the present study, a story received score from 0 to 5 points, depending on the location, headline size, use of art work, and space allocation (see appendix 2). Note was also made of whether or not the story ran with art, distinguishing whether that art was in the form of pictures or maps.

Next, the source of the story was identified -- whether news service, chain or staff, or "other" (see appendix 2). The topic of the story was noted.⁹ Included among the possible topics are: war/defense, diplomacy, domestic politics, economics -- domestic and international, agricultural -- trade and non-trade, crime/judicial, natural disaster, sports, recreation, culture/religion, science/technology, education, natural resources -- petroleum and non-petroleum, media coverage, and "other." Additional categories noted whether the story involved violence, whether it was domesticated or not, whether it had a domestic or international geographic focus,

and its type -- whether it was hard news, soft, news analysis or editorial. Finally, note was made of the region of the world where the story originated.¹⁰

In each case, the coding categories were designed to be exhaustive and exclusive and the coding definitions were written with that goal in mind. Wherever an "other" category appeared, space was provided so that an alternative response could be specified. During data entry additional categories were created to reflect those additional responses. As a result, several additional countries were added to the master list of countries, additional story topics were added, and a number of additional supplemental news services were added to the source list. During the data processing categories with few or no answers were collapsed or eliminated. Thus, agriculture was collapsed into one category, as was natural resources.

Because the coding for the project was done by a single coder, the instrument itself was subjected to pretesting by three independent coders. Two coders helped the primary coder test the initial instrument to pinpoint any problems in the instrument or coding definitions. Each coded all the stories from three separate newspaper issues. After that coding exercise, the independent coders were consulted for their comments and criticisms and any necessary revisions were made in the coding instrument and definitions. Next, the primary coder, one of the original independent coders, and a

replacement coder, tested the final instrument. In the second round of coding, the independent coders analyzed forty-four stories for a total of 484 coding decisions. Their coefficients of reliability with the primary coder were 94.2 percent and 91.7 percent.¹¹

At the completion of the coding process, 30 stories were randomly recoded by the primary coder. The overall reliability coefficient for the recoding of 13 categories was 92.4 percent.¹² Reliability tests were also done for the individual coding categories using Scott's pi and coefficients of reliability. The strongest reliability figures were those for story origin, story source and story type. The categories with weaker reliability were prominence and geographic focus.¹³

Extra-Media Variables

While a number of studies point out the need for use of extra-media data, fewer have actually developed and tested them (see literature review). Thus, the component of the study dealing with extra-media data is far more exploratory than that which measured the intra-media data. Complicating the issue is the need for uniform data for each of the states or standard metropolitan areas at issue in the study.

An exhaustive review of federal and state documents available through the Michigan State Government Depository collection suggested that export figures should be available for individual states broken down by country, though no

figures of the sort appeared in any of the statistical abstracts published by the U.S. government. Eventually, the information was obtained, for a fee, directly from the Foreign Trade Division of the Bureau of the Census. That information took the form of the dollar value of merchandise each state exported for 1988 in aggregate and broken down by country of destination (see appendix 5). The same information was obtained for the top ten countries for U.S. exports (see appendix 4). The listings for the country as a whole and for each state were then arranged in descending order by volume.

The most logical cultural indicator available was the U.S. census figures of foreign-born residents of each metropolitan statistical area. As with the economic figures, the overall immigrant population for the area was noted and the percentage of the total for each recognizable group of immigrants was recorded. The immigration figures were gathered by country and the real figures and their percentage of immigrant population were listed in descending order for all countries that represented at least one percent of the city and state immigrant populations (see appendix 6). Immigrant population as a percentage of the whole city's population was also entered into the dataset. Originally, it was thought that breaking the foreign-born population figures over time might give a more convincing picture of those cultural communities that might have a greater impact on coverage, but the study findings precluded that detailed an analysis. The figures

involved were so small and the links between the individual groups and coverage so tenuous that breaking the data down further would have served no useful purpose.

Other cultural connections proved impossible to obtain in any systematic form which would lend itself to data analysis. Cultural festivals, sister city arrangements and other such cultural indicators offer information on regional connections, but are not readily accessible. Indexing of the Atlanta Constitution on newspapers databases made it possible to identify some of Georgia's cultural connections, and story content found in several of the sample papers pointed to similar connections there. However, for most of the papers in the sample such material was not available and, thus, the result could not be operationalized systematically for the whole sample. As a result, these variables were eliminated from consideration for the purpose of the present study. Had they been available, however, some questions would have accompanied their use since newspaper content proved the most useful means of identifying such connections. Using information gathered from newspaper content as an independent variable against which to measure their performance would represent exactly the kind of tautology Rosengren warned of when he pointed out the need for extra-media measures.¹⁴

Other independent variables included for analysis included gross state product, city and state population figures, overall levels of city immigrant population, and

state export trade totals. Non-content variables recorded for each paper included the number of wire services subscriptions, daily circulation, Sunday circulation, and the average percentage of space each newspaper devoted to news and news content for 1988.

Data Analysis

The collection of data from the content analysis was designed from the beginning to facilitate data entry and analysis using DOS-based SPSS software. The analysis itself was completed using a mainframe computer and SPSS 4.0. Each variable was assigned name and value labels. Variables were assigned data card locations. As a result, the data entry task was minimized. The coding sheets were kept allowing for reference to both the original story and the coding sheet if any questions arose about a data value.

For processing purposes, data collected for each individual story was attached first to data for that issue of the paper and then to data for the city and state. The result was 1850 cases with six lines each of data. Once the dataset had been constructed, frequencies were run on all the variables to check that all of the values were being read correctly and that no erroneous values were reported. Data editing caught the minor problems indicated by in the frequency tests. Where frequencies indicated aberrations in data, SPSS provided the capability to locate the aberrant number and correct it.

Different statistical tests were used to address the three broad research questions posed by the dissertation. The first question -- the character of international news content in the mid-sized dominant market American newspapers -- was addressed using simple statistics: frequencies, measures of mean coverage, and parametric statistics. Such tests were more than adequate to allow descriptive analysis of the study's findings: which subjects got the most coverage, how one newspaper's coverage differed from another's, where the newspapers got their news.

Cross-tabulation tables allowed the use of the Pearson chi-square statistic to analyze the relationships of the variables -- addressing whether differences in coverage could be explained by chance. The lowest acceptable significance level for such tests was set at the $p < .05$ level before a relationship was accepted.¹⁵ In at least one case, however, the lack of significance also became as meaningful.¹⁶

The second research question sought to determine whether there were distinct categories of domesticated international news which receive different types of treatment in the study's six newspapers. In essence, it sought to identify the nature of the papers' coverage and identify if there were differences in how different type of coverage was presented. Again, the use of cross-tabulation tables allowed the use of the chi-square statistics -- both Likelihood Ratio and Pearson correlations to address the relationships of the variables.

The third question addressed whether the character of the international news coverage varied from region to region across the study, and whether such variation could be explained by differing regional international economic and cultural connections. For comparison purposes, ranked lists of coverage, export and immigration figures are appended to the study (see appendices 3,4,5, and 6). Initially, it was thought that several different, and more sophisticated, statistical tests might be needed to address this question, but the research results themselves suggested that complicated statistics were unnecessary. T-tests, correlations, frequencies, means, cross tabulations, and proportions offered the tools necessary to produce an analysis of the results. The only more sophisticated analysis the data would have allowed was discriminant analysis, which was the only statistical test that would have allowed for inclusion of individual state export and immigration figures, but which proved extremely complicated and was deemed unnecessary in light of the nature of the results evident in simpler analysis.

Validity Concerns

Any research project's results are only as sound as the validity of the overall research design and the methods used to conduct it. As with any project, this research presented validity concerns on a number of levels and efforts were made throughout the research process to address those concerns. Holsti identifies four types of validity--content, predictive,

concurrent and construct--which must be addressed in research involving content analysis to ensure that a study measures what it intends to study.

Content, or face, validity refers to the informed judgment of the researcher as to whether the analysis results are plausible and consistent with other information about the phenomenon under study.¹⁷ Such a judgment, based on the review of literature in the field, is arrived at only at the conclusion of the research, but must nonetheless be considered throughout. The issues of major concern for the present study were outlined in the review of the literature (see chapter 2) and are noted again in the analysis of the research findings (see chapter 4).

This is one of the types of validity most threatened by research which fails to place the content of international news in the context of the process which produces it. As the literature review suggested results of some studies are frequently misinterpreted because the nature of the process has been overlooked. As a result, effort was made to base the present research on a solid understanding of how international news is gathered, relayed to the newspapers, and then processed by the news editors.

The predictive validity of content analysis refers to its ability to provide information from which the researcher can generalize from findings to a larger, as yet unstudied population, in this case unanalyzed coverage. In the case of

the present study, that larger population to which the results can be generalized is the coverage given to international news generally by the six papers in the study.

The use of constructed week sampling was intended ensure generalizability for the year in question. It must be noted, however, because the papers chosen for the study were selected with a specific purpose in mind -- to assess the nature of regional coverage -- the study's results cannot be generalized to any larger population of newspapers.

The validity of a coding instrument depends on its ability to measure what it is intended to measure.¹⁸ The research design must be able to be translated to a coding instrument that will be workable. Coding categories must be precise, reliable, and objective. There should be no question as to how an item should be categorized and the coding definitions should be such that a competent judge would agree as to how an item should be coded.¹⁹ The coding instrument was developed after careful study and adaptation of categories used in studies with a similar intent. To heighten validity, the coding instruments were developed with reference to the body of related research and content analysis texts.²⁰ In addition, pretesting the coding instrument on stories of the sort that would be found in the content analysis highlighted any definition and category problems.

Establishing concurrent validity involves checking research findings against information other than that upon

which the research is based. It is important that the outside measures used as benchmarks are also valid measures of the phenomenon under study. In the present study, the questions about concurrent validity would concern the extrinsic variables selected for analysis, particularly the extra media variables. The distinction that the variables used in this study have is that they are not drawn from events indexes which have the built-in problem that they are compiled from newspaper reports.²¹

Construct validity takes into account the validity of both the measures used in the analysis and the theory underlying the research design. The review of literature addressed this issue, as do the analysis and conclusion.²² There are inherent validity concerns in a research design that relies on a single coder, particularly when the coder was also responsible for the structure and form of the research instrument. To address those concerns, care was taken to keep the research design simple and replicable. Coding categories were kept simple and patterned on instruments well-tested in previous research. Every effort was made to keep coding definitions simple and clear-cut.

Krippendorff noted that in the case of content analysis arriving at construct validity requires pragmatic validation of drawing on past experiences with analyzing the type of data gathered and with the availability of concurrent indicators about the phenomena to be inferred.²³ With regard to the

content analysis itself, both of those conditions are met. The researcher has past experience with content analysis of international news research, and an large body of research on international news research offers resource material on how to measure indicators of the content at issue.

It might be suggested here, that this is one of the validity categories most affected when earlier reserachers have taken their findings out of the context of the process in which international news is gathered and processed. To arrive at an accurate collection of data on international news content, the researcher must consider process issues as they relate to coverage. For instance, it is not enough to judge an international story but its dateline, but rather it is necessary to include stories in a study based instead on their subject matter. Had the study included content based on dateline alone it would have missed more than a third of the stories indentified in the sample.

In regard to the extra media variables, which relatively few scholars have explored, there is is less pragmatic validation available. As a result, the present research sought to identify the straight forward methods of operationalizing the economic and cultural variables in the context of American media. Concerns raised by possible operationalizations are explored both in the study's literature review, analysis, and conclusion.

NOTES

1. Karl E. Rosengren, "International News: Intra and Extra Media Data," Acta Sociologica 13 (1970): 96-109.
2. All of the newspapers appear on the Editor & Publisher International Yearbook's list of the 100 largest daily newspapers in the country -- ranked by circulation, but are described as mid-sized since they are not ranked in the top ten.
3. Where there was choice between two papers in a market, as in the case of the newspapers involved in the joint-operating agreements in Atlanta and Seattle. The paper chosen was the one available in microform. For whatever reason, generally only one newspaper is available in microform for any of the markets the size of those in the study.
4. Robert L. Jones and Roy E. Carter Jr. "Some Procedures for Estimating 'News Hole' in Content Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly 23 (Fall 1959): 402-403.
5. Figures were obtained from the 1990 edition of the Editor & Publisher International Yearbook, which was compiled from information gathered from the newspapers in 1989. The circulation figures come from circulation information sworn in September 1989.
6. The sample paper dates were: Jan. 4, 13; March 13; April 21; May 13; June 10; July 10; Aug. 16, 29; Oct. 19, 22, 25; and Dec. 8 and 17. The third week dates were: April 16; May 4; Sept. 8, 9, 20; and, Dec. 18 and 19.
7. Every story had to be reviewed in order to catch the domesticated international news copy. In fact, the hallmark of the "domesticated" local stories was that they tended to carry no dateline at all.
8. Richard Budd. "Attention Score: A Device for Measuring News 'Play,'" Journalism Quarterly 41 (Spring 1964): 259-262.

9. Topic categories are adopted from: Denis McQuail, Analysis of Newspaper Content (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1977).
10. For ease in coding, the number of the country's region was noted next to its name on the country list.
11. Where reliability equals the number of decisions on which the coders agree multiplied times two, divided by the addition of the number of coding decisions made by each coder. Ole Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley publishing, 1969), cited in Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph Dominick, Mass Media Research: An Introduction (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1983): 183.
12. Klaus Krippendorff, Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1980): 139.
13. Scott's pi and coefficients of reliability, respectively, for each category were as follows: section type, .86 and .93; topic country, .85 and .86; prominence .74 and .8; art type .89 and .96; source .95 and .96; topic .87 and .9; violence .9 and .96; geographic focus, .7 and .86; angle, .89 and .93; story type, .92 and .96; and, story origin, .98 and .86. Agreement was complete for the categories paper number, date and story location.
14. Karl E. Rosengren, "International News: Intra and Extra Media Data," Acta Sociologica 13 (1970): 103.
15. At a probability of $p < .05$ it would be no more than five chances in 100 that the study results could have occurred by chance.
16. The crosstabulation looking at the individual papers use of copy involving subjects that dealt with man-made violence suggested had significance levels that suggested there was no real difference in their use of such content.
17. Ibid., 143.
18. Ole Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969): 142.
19. Ibid., 136, 142-143.

20. Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969); Denis McQuail, Analysis of Newspaper Content, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1977); and, Krippendorff, Klaus. Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1980).

21. Karl E. Rosengren, "International News: Intra and Extra Media Data," Acta Sociologica 13 (1970): 103; Stephen J. Andriole and Gerald W. Hopple, "The Rise and Fall of Event Data: From Basic Research to Applied Use in the U.S. Department of Defence," International Interactions 10 (April 1984): 295.

22. Holsti, Content Analysis, 142-149.

23. Krippendorff, Content Analysis, 167.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The chapter is divided into two major sections. The first section reviews the overall findings of the research. The first section is largely descriptive, and reports the study's findings in tabular form, noting the results of the chi-square statistics where appropriate. The second section analyzes those findings in light of the study's research questions and expectations, referring to specific findings and statistical analyses where relevant to the point at issue.

Findings

The first part of the findings section describes the characteristics of the sample as a whole, while a second part follows with an exploration of the differences in coverage among the individual papers.

Overall coverage

Of the 1,850 stories that comprised the study, 84.1 percent or 1,555, were found in the news sections of the papers. Eight-four stories, or 4.4 percent of the sample, were found in business sections. Travel stories represented 3.1 percent of the sample (see table 2). In keeping with those findings, 46 percent of the stories ran in the first five

pages of the papers and 75 percent within the first 24 pages of the papers.

TABLE 2
STORY FREQUENCIES BY SECTION LOCATION

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Pct.
News	1,555	84.1	84.1
Business	82	4.4	88.5
Travel	58	3.1	91.6
Sports	48	2.6	94.2
Entertainment	35	1.9	96.1
Other	30	1.6	97.7
Lifestyle	19	1.0	98.7
Metro/Suburban	17	.9	99.6
Food	4	.2	99.8
Auto	2	.1	100.0
Total	1,850	100.0	100.0

In keeping with the findings of earlier studies, 85 percent of the sample was made up of hard news stories (see table 3). Those stories made up 72.9 percent of the space accounted for by the sample, or 25,424.4 square inches (see table 4).¹ The 135 soft, or feature, stories accounted for only 7.3 percent of the sample but 13.5 percent of the area (see tables 3 and 4). Analysis -- either op-ed pieces or clearly labeled news analyses -- accounted for 5.9 percent of the number of stories in the sample but for 12.5 of its area.

Editorials accounted for only 1.8 percent of the number of items in the sample and 2.1 percent of the space (see table 4).

TABLE 3
STORY FREQUENCIES, BY STORY TYPE

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Hard	1,572	85.0	85.0
Soft	135	7.3	92.3
Analysis	110	5.9	98.2
Editorial	33	1.8	100.0
Total	1,850	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4
COVERAGE (IN SQUARE INCHES), BY TYPE

Angle	Area	Mean	% of total	Stories
Total Coverage	35,282.9	19.0	100.0	1,850
Hard	25,424.4	16.1	72.9	1,572
Soft	4,776.8	34.6	13.5	135
Analysis	4,415.9	40.1	12.5	110
Editorials	765.8	23.2	2.1	33

It must be noted, however, that the average square inches devoted to a story varied noticeably with the type of story. The mean story area for hard news was 16.17 square

inches, while the means for soft news and analysis were 34.6 and 40.1, respectively.² The mean story area for editorials was 23.2 square inches.

While the average story area was 19 square inches, the most common area was 5 square inches. The smallest story was .8 square inches and the largest was 130. Of the total, 1405 stories ran with no art. Of the remainder, 398 ran with pictures or other art, 24 ran just with maps, and 23 ran with maps and art (see table 5).

TABLE 5
ART USAGE, BY TYPE OF STORY

Count Row pct Col pct Tot pct	Type Hard	Soft	Analysis	Total
Pix	305 76.6 90.0 68.5	60 15.1 88.2 13.5	33 8.3 86.8 7.4	398 89.4
Map	21 87.5 6.2 4.7		3 12.5 7.8 .6	24 5.4
Pix and map	13 56.5 3.8 2.9	8 34.8 11.8 1.8	2 8.7 5.2 .4	23 5.2
Total	339 76.2	68 15.3	387 8.5	445 100.0

Only 54 stories, or 2.9 percent of the total, were given treatment ranking at the top of the 0-to-5 prominence scale, which rated the play given to the individual stories (see table 6). The 5 ranking indicates that the stories ran on the front page, with a large headline, with art work, and took up at least three-quarters of a newspaper column. At the other end, 327 stories rated no prominence value at all. The largest number of stories appeared at 1 on the scale, 536 or 29 percent. Twenty percent of the stories, 369, got prominence rankings of 2, and 331 or 18 percent were ranked at 3.

TABLE 6
PROMINENCE OF COVERAGE

Prominence value	Coverage area	Story mean	% of total	Stories
0	1,667.8	5.1	4.7	327
1	5,298.1	9.8	15.0	536
2	6,919.3	18.7	19.6	369
3	9,981.4	30.1	28.2	331
4	8,737.2	37.4	24.7	233
5	2,679.1	46.6	7.5	54
Total	35,282.9	19.0	100.0	1850

Forty-one percent of all the stories came from the Associated Press, in all 759 stories (see table 7). The next largest number of stories were the product of mixed wire sources, the way briefs are commonly credited. Mixed wires accounted for 326 stories, or 18 percent of the total. The

largest single source after Associated Press was the New York Times News Service with 133, or 7.2 percent, of the total stories. Following fairly closely behind the New York Times News Service was the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service with 109 stories, 5.9 percent (see table 7). United Press International accounted for only 56 stories in the sample -- 3.0 percent of the whole.

TABLE 7
SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL STORIES, BY ANGLE

Count Row Pct Col Pct Total Pct	Angle Straight	Domest. National	Domest. Local	Row Total
AP	546 71.9 46.0 29.5	208 27.4 36.4 11.2	5 5.5 .7 .3	759 41.0
UPI	42 75.0 3.5 2.3	13 23.2 2.3 .7	1 1.8 1.1 .1	56 3.0
NYT	83 62.4 7.0 4.5	50 37.6 8.7 2.7		133 7.2
LAT/WP	59 54.1 5.0 3.2	50 45.9 8.7 2.7		109 5.9
Reuters	18 69.2 1.5 1.0	8 30.8 1.4 .4		26 1.4
Column Total	1187 64.2	572 30.9	91 4.9	1850 100.0

TABLE 7--Continued

SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL STORIES, BY ANGLE

Count Row Pct Col Pct Total Pct	Angle Straight	Domest. National	Domest. Local	Row Total
Group	16 136.4 1.3 .9	28 63.6 4.9 1.5		78 4.2
Paper Staff	57 28.8 4.8 3.1	67 33.8 11.7 3.6	74 37.4 81.3 4.0	198 10.7
Mixed	241 73.9 20.3 13.0	84 25.8 14.7 4.5	1 .3 1.1 .1	326 17.6
Other	70 57.9 5.9 3.8	47 38.8 8.2 2.5	4 3.3 4.4 .2	121 6.5
None	55 70.5 4.6 3.0	17 21.8 3.0 .9	6 7.7 6.6 .3	78 4.2
Column Total	1187 64.2	572 30.9	91 4.9	1850 100.0

Chi Sqaure=581.50936, d.f.=18, p < .05

The newspaper chains accounted for few of the stories, though it should be noted that the papers may be running stories by chain correspondents with credit lines that would suggest that they are paper staff. This is known to be the case with the Atlanta paper, the flagship of the Cox chain, where the chain correspondents frequently deal directly with

the Atlanta editors, write specific stories at their request, and are published with credit lines that identify them as Atlanta staff reporters.³

It is also important to note at this point the difference between the wire stories and those from other news sources (see table 8). While the Associated Press got most of the space in the sample, the average AP story was 14.9 square inches and the average UPI story was 14.0 square inches. Stories from the paper's own staff writers, however, averaged 34.4 square inches and stories from group correspondents averaged 32.0. The average stories from the major news services -- the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post and the New York Times news service -- fell between those two, at 29.6 and 24.0 respectively. Stories from mixed origins, generally labelled as coming from the individual paper's wire or news services, averaged 10.8, while the lowest mean area -- 6.8 square inches -- went to stories with no identified origin. It is not surprising that the stories with mixed or non-existent sources were generally the smallest -- in most papers they account for the bulk of the stories in the newspapers' briefs sections. The "mixed" sources mean is probably longer than "none" only because occasionally on longer and more important issues are dealt with with stories mixing copy from the New York Times News Service and the Associated Press. While those stories are not frequent, they occur often enough to raise the mean.

TABLE 8
COVERAGE (IN SQUARE INCHES), BY STORY SOURCE

Source	Area	Mean	% of total	Stories
Total Coverage	3,5282.9	19.0	100.0	1,850
AP	11,326.7	14.9	32.1	759
UPI	784.4	14.0	2.2	56
NYT	3,193.0	24.0	9.0	133
LAT/WP	3,228.6	29.6	9.1	109
Group	1,411.2	32.0	3.9	44
Paper	6,825.0	34.4	19.3	198
Mixed	3,553.2	10.8	10.0	326
Other	4,447.0	30.2	12.6	147
None	533.8	6.8	1.5	78

Another noticeable difference in coverage among the news sources was the presence of man-made violence in their copy (see table 9). The source with the highest percentage of coverage involving man-made violence was the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post Service at 38.5 percent. One third of the stories from mixed sources involved violence and just under a third of the stories from "other" sources involved violence. Violence was found in 29.4 percent of the Associated Press stories.

Paper staff stories were the least violent, with a low of 13.6 percent stories which entailed man-made violence (see table 9). Only 14.3 percent of UPI's coverage involved

TABLE 9

SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL STORIES, BY VIOLENCE

Count Row Pct Col Pct Total Pct	Violence		Row Total
	No	Yes	
AP	536 70.6 39.5 29.0	223 29.4 45.2 12.1	759 41.0
UPI	48 85.7 3.5 2.6	8 14.3 1.6 .4	56 3.0
NYT	111 83.5 8.2 6.0	22 16.5 4.5 1.2	133 7.2
LAT/WP	70 64.2 5.2 3.8	39 35.8 7.9 2.1	109 5.9
Group	37 84.1 2.7 2.0	7 15.9 1.4 .4	44 2.4
Paper Staff	171 86.4 12.6 9.2	27 13.6 5.5 1.5	198 10.7
Mixed	216 66.9 16.1 11.8	108 33.1 21.9 5.8	326 17.6
Column Total	1357 73.4	493 26.6	1850 100.0

TABLE 9--Continued

SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL STORIES, BY VIOLENCE

Count Row Pct Col Pct Total Pct	Violence		Row Total
	No	Yes	
Other	101 68.7 7.4 5.5	46 31.3 9.3 2.5	147 7.9
None	65 83.3 4.8 3.5	13 16.7 2.6 .7	78 4.2
Column Total	1357 73.4	493 26.6	1850 100.0

Chi Square=51.22572, d.f.=8, $p < .05$

violence. Group coverage was also low at 15.9 percent. Only 16.5 percent of the New York Times service stories involved violence.

In keeping with past studies, the four largest topic categories of stories were, in that order, war and defense, domestic politics, diplomacy, and crime and judicial stories (see table 10). They were the only categories with more than 200 stories each. War and defense, with 296 stories, made up 16 percent of the sample. Domestic politics and diplomacy accounted for 284 and 282 stories respectively, or 15 percent each. With 233 stories, the crime and judicial stories made up 13 percent of the sample.

Stories dealing with economics -- domestic and international combined -- accounted for 8 percent of the sample, or 144 stories (see table 10). The 91 culture and religion stories made up 5 percent of the sample. Accidents counted for 83 stories, or 5 percent of the whole, while there were 59 stories about natural disasters, or 3 percent of the sample. Recreation, the category which included travel stories, made up 4 percent of the sample, and sports got just short of 3 percent.

The distribution of story topics varied depending on the story's angle. Straight international stories tended to focus on war and defense, domestic politics, and crime -- in that order. The largest topic groups for domesticated national stories were diplomacy, war and defense, international economics, and crime. While the two topics which got the most attention in domesticated local stories were international economics and culture and religion.

Several categories that showed up often enough in the coding to seem worthy of their own categories nonetheless each only accounted for about 1 percent of the coverage they included health and medicine, pollution, royalty, media, and human rights.

In area, diplomatic stories accounted for the most space in the sample -- 6,365.0 square inches or 18.0 percent of the whole (see table 10). The average diplomatic story was 22.5 square inches, longer than the mean over of 19.0 square

inches. War and defense stories accounted for 5,528.2 square inches, 15.6 percent of the whole, and had a mean story area of 18.6 -- slightly smaller than the overall mean.

TABLE 10
COVERAGE (IN SQUARE INCHES), BY STORY TOPIC

Topic	Area	Mean	% of Total	Stories
Total Coverage	35,282.9	19.0	100.0	1850
War/Defense	5,528.2	18.6	15.6	296
Diplomacy	6,365.0	22.5	18.0	282
Domestic politics	4,961.0	17.4	14.0	284
Economics1⁴	535.5	16.2	1.5	33
Economics2	2,334.2	21.0	6.6	111
Agriculture	326.8	23.3	.9	14
Crime/Judicial	3,392.8	14.5	9.6	233
Natural disaster	1,068.0	18.1	3.0	59
Accidents	1,140.9	13.7	3.2	83
Sports	804.2	15.4	2.2	52
Recreation	2,195.3	30.0	6.2	73
Culture/Religion	1,745.9	19.1	4.9	91
Science/Technology	471.4	17.4	1.3	27

TABLE 10--Continued

COVERAGE (IN SQUARE INCHES), BY STORY TOPIC

Topic	Area	Mean	% of total	Stories
Education	194.0	24.2	.5	8
Natural resources	111.5	18.5	.3	6
Media coverage	484.7	26.7	1.3	18
Health/Medicine	304.6	12.6	.8	24
Royalty	414.3	15.9	1.1	26
WW II	276.3	18.4	.7	15
Human rights	416.4	21.9	1.1	19
Other	2,211.9	23.0	6.2	96

Not surprisingly, however, the largest mean went not to the most serious topics but rather to recreation stories -- the category which included travel coverage. The mean area for the category was 30.0 square inches. Crime stories accounted for just under 10 percent of the space in the sample, and had a mean area of 14.5, much smaller than the study mean.

Thus, while politics may have been news, earthquakes and coups apparently were not. Not only were there few disaster stories but stories without violence outnumbered stories with violence three to one (see table 9). There were 493 stories involving man-made violence and 1,357 without. Ninety-one

percent of the stories including a violent component were classified as hard news stories, while only 71.4 percent of the stories without violence were hard news stories, suggesting that the longer and more critical stories were less likely to deal with violence (see table 11). As one might expect, most of the stories with violent subjects appeared in two categories, those dealing with war and defense and crime.

TABLE 11
VIOLENCE OF COVERAGE, BY STORY TYPE

Count Row Pct Col Pct Tot Pct	Type				
	Hard	Soft	Analysis	Editorial	Total
Violence	1,123 82.8	128 9.4	80 5.9	26 1.9	1,357 73.4
No	71.4 60.7	94.8 6.9	72.7 4.3	78.8 1.4	
Yes	449 91.1 28.6 24.3	7 1.4 5.2 .4	30 6.1 27.3 1.6	7 1.4 21.2 .4	493 26.6
Total	1,572 85.0	135 7.3	110 5.9	33 1.8	1,850 100.0

Chi Square=35.282, d.f.=3, $p < .05$

Viewed from the perspective of the angle of the story, copy with no component of man-made violence accounted for 70.3 percent of the straight international stories and 76 percent of the domesticated national stories (see table 12). The difference is even more pronounced in the category dealing

with domesticated local stories, where 96.7 percent of the copy was not violent. It would appear, then, that news considered of the most interest to a newspaper's readers and so localized was not the stereotypical violent foreign news story. In a related finding, 20.1 percent of the stories with a focus on violence had areas of less than 5 square inches and 50.6 percent had areas of 15 square inches or less, suggesting that they were frequently the shorter stories found in the "briefs."

TABLE 12
VIOLENCE OF COVERAGE, BY STORY ANGLE

Count Row Pct Col Pct Tot Pct	Angle Straight	Domest. National	Domest. Local	Total
Violence	834 61.5	435 32.1	88 6.5	1,357 73.4
No	70.3 45.1	76.0 23.5	96.7 4.8	
Yes	353 71.6	137 27.8	3 .6	493 26.6
	29.7 19.1	24.0 7.4	3.3 .2	
Total	1187 64.2	572 30.9	91 4.9	1,850 100.0

Chi Square=33.314, d.f.=2, $p = < .05$

While 64 percent of the sample dealt with strictly foreign news, the domesticated national stories accounted for 31 percent of the total sample and domesticated local stories

for 5 percent (table 13). In all then, a study judging international news as stories with foreign datelines would have missed 36 percent of the international news stories identified by this study. In terms of space given to coverage area, the domesticated national and local stories accounted for 45.9 percent of the area devoted to international news content (see table 13).

TABLE 13
COVERAGE (IN SQUARE INCHES), BY ANGLE

Angle	Area	Mean	% of total	Stories
Total coverage	35,282.9	19.0	17.2	1,850
Straight	19,083.8	16.0	54.0	1,187
Domest. National	13,470.7	23.5	38.1	572
Domest. Local	2,728.4	29.9	7.7	91

Nearly 60 percent of the stories in the sample were classified both as hard news and as straight international coverage (see table 14). More than half of the stories in each angle category qualified as hard news. One quarter of the soft, or feature, stories took a domesticated national angle and another fifth took a local angle. Not surprisingly, perhaps, 60.6 percent of the editorials and 58.2 percent of the analyses took domesticated national angles. Few if any

editorials dealt with local international angles, and only slightly more analyses did (see table 14).

The study split down the middle on focus -- whether the story dealt with the domestic affairs of the country or affairs with other nations or multi-national organizations. Fifty-one percent of the stories involved international relations and 49 percent dealt with domestic affairs of the subject country.

TABLE 14
STORY ANGLE, BY STORY TYPE

Count Row pct Col pct Tot pct	Story Type				Row Total
	Hard	Soft	Analysis	Editorial	
Angle	1,065	74	35	12	1,187
	89.7	6.2	3.0	1.0	64.2
Straight	67.7	54.8	32.7	36.4	
	57.6	4.0	1.9	.6	
Domes.	455	33	64	20	572
National	79.5	5.8	11.2	3.5	30.9
	28.9	24.4	58.2	60.6	
	24.6	1.8	3.5	1.1	
Domes.	52	28	10	1	91
Local	57.1	30.8	11.0	1.1	4.9
	3.3	20.7	9.1	3.0	
	2.8	1.5	.5	.1	
Column	1,572	135	110	33	1,850
Total	85.0	7.3	5.9	1.8	100.0

Chi Square=146.69633, d.f.=6, p = < .05

The largest coverage for a single country in the sample went to the Soviet Union, with 225 stories or 12 percent of sample. However, there was a category larger than that for the Soviet Union. Eighteen percent of the sample, or 162 stories sample focused on stories involving more than one country, a category that included international agencies. Israel and Great Britain were only other the individual countries to get noticeable coverage, at 6 percent and 5 percent, respectively.

In aggregate, however, things look different (see table 15). In all there were 300 stories about Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and making up 16 percent of the total number of stories in the sample. Coverage of the Mideast followed closely at 15 percent, or 268 stories. Western Europe and Great Britain accounted for 248 stories, 13 percent of the sample. One hundred sixty-two stories about Central America accounted for 8.7 percent of the sample and 8 percent dealt with all the regions of Africa. East Asia accounted for slightly more than 6 percent of the sample and the Asian subcontinent accounted for slightly less than 6 percent. Nearly 9 percent of the stories in the sample dealt with more than one region.

A similar pattern shows up when coverage is measured in terms of square inches rather than the number of stories (see table 15). Again Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union led with 6,202 square inches -- 17.5 percent of the total space devoted to international news in the sample papers. The mean story

length for stories about the region was 20.6 square inches. The Mideast also came second in the amount of space devoted to it, with 5,563.9 square inches -- 15.7 percent of the total space. The average story length was 20.

The space given to Western Europe and Great Britain accounted for 12.4 percent of the sample, 4,380.4 square inches, and an average story length of 17.6 inches (see table 15). While coverage of stories involving more than one region of the world measured nearly the same as Western Europe at 4,350.5 square inches, the average story area was 26.8 square inches. Coverage of Central America got 3,012.3 square inches, with a mean of 18.5 square inches, and coverage of East Asia accounted for 2,449.6 square inches, with a mean story area of 20.5.

The largest mean story area in the study given to stories from any single region was given to those from West Africa, though the total coverage for the region was only 311.7 square inches. Coverage of all the regions of Africa combined accounted for only 2,378.7 square inches or 6 percent of the sample space.

Viewed across topic categories, it is interesting to note that the more coverage a region got the more likely that coverage was to be spread across numerous topic categories.⁵ The same finding held up when topic coverage was viewed by country (see appendix 3).

TABLE 15

COVERAGE (IN SQUARE INCHES), BY ORIGIN

Origin	Area	Mean	% of area	Stories
Total Coverage	35,282.9	19.0	100.0	1,850
Central America	3,012.3	18.5	8.5	162
North America	867.4	14.4	2.4	60
South America	785.7	14.4	2.2	54
Central Europe	247.5	22.5	.7	11
Eastern Europe	6,202.0	20.6	17.5	300
Northern Europe	370.2	13.7	1.0	27
Southern Europe	496.4	11.2	1.4	44
Western Europe	4,350.5	26.8	12.3	20
Central Africa	448.1	22.4	1.2	20
East Africa	285.3	25.9	.8	11
Northern Africa	429.8	17.5	1.2	24
Southern Africa	1,169.8	13.9	3.3	84
West Africa	311.7	44.5	.8	7
Mideast	5,563.9	20.7	15.7	268
Central Asia	505.9	13.3	1.4	38
East Asia	2,449.6	20.5	6.9	119
Southeast Asia	817.5	23.3	2.3	35
Asian Subcont.	1,379.0	12.8	3.9	107
Pacific Islands	1,163.5	17.6	3.2	66
More than one	4,350.5	26.8	2.3	162
Other	55.4	18.4	.01	3

While the bulk of the stories in the sample did not involve man-made violence, several regions stand out as the

origins of coverage that was notably violent or non-violent (see table 16). Coverage from Central Africa and the Mideast was strikingly more violent than the norm. Coverage of East Africa and the Asian Subcontinent was also noticeably more

TABLE 16
STORY ORIGIN, BY VIOLENCE

Count Row Pct Col Pct Tot Pct	Violence		Row Total
	No	yes	
Central America	117 72.2 8.6 6.3	45 27.8 9.1 2.4	162 8.8
North America	47 78.3 3.5 2.5	13 21.7 2.6 .7	60 3.2
Central Europe	10 90.0 .7 .5	1 9.1 .2 .1	11 .6
Eastern Europe	276 92.0 20.3 14.9	24 8.0 4.9 1.3	300 16.2
Northern Europe	23 85.2 1.7 1.2	4 14.8 .8 .2	27 1.5
Southern Europe	41 93.2 3.0 2.2	3 6.8 .6 .2	44 2.4
Column Total	1357 73.4	493 26.6	1850 100.0

violent than the overall. At the other extreme, stories from all parts of Europe, West and Northern Africa, and East Asia were notably close to the study norm for violent coverage.

TABLE 16--Continued
STORY ORIGIN, BY VIOLENCE

Count Row Pct Col Pct Tot Pct	Violence		Row Total
	No	yes	
Central Africa	5 25.0 .4 .3	15 75.0 3.0 .8	20 1.1
East Africa	4 36.4 .3 .2	7 63.6 1.4 .4	24 1.3
North Africa	23 95.8 1.7 1.2	1 4.2 .2 .1	24 1.3
Southern Africa	59 70.2 4.3 3.2	25 29.8 5.1 1.4	84 4.5
West Africa	7 100.0 .5 .4		7 .4
Mideast	99 36.9 7.3 5.4	169 63.1 34.3 9.1	268 14.5
Column Total	1357 73.4	493 26.6	1850 100.0

TABLE 16--Continued

STORY ORIGIN, BY VIOLENCE

Count Row Pct Col Pct Tot Pct	Violence		Row Total
	No	yes	
Central Asia	32 84.2 2.4 1.7	6 15.8 1.2 .3	38 2.1
East Asia	98 82.4 7.2 5.3	21 17.6 4.3 1.1	119 6.4
Southeast Asia	25 71.4 1.8 1.4	10 28.6 2.0 .5	35 1.9
Asian Subcontinent	50 46.7 3.7 2.7	57 53.3 11.6 3.1	107 5.8
Australia, Pacific Islands	50 75.8 3.7 2.7	16 24.2 3.2 .9	66 3.6
More than one	123 75.9 9.1 6.6	39 24.1 7.9 2.1	162 8.8
Other	3 100.0 .2 .2		3 .2
Column Total	1357 73.4	493 26.6	1850 100.0

Chi Square=379.42103, d.f.=20, $p < .05$

While there were conflicts in 1988 in several of the countries covered by the regions typified by the more violent

coverage -- notably the first Persian Gulf War in the Mideast -- that might not be enough to account for the differences. The emphasis of man-made violence in content connected to those regions may suggest that in either the generating or the processing of copy there is a tendency to focus on conflict, that might bear up the argument of critics of Western press agencies to over-report strife on a geographic basis. Mitigating against this argument, however, is the absence of noticeably violent content from other non-European regions, notably other areas of Asia and Africa.

Newspaper Specific Coverage

The largest number of stories was found in the Portland Oregonian, which ran altogether 389 stories (see table 17). The Atlanta Constitution and Birmingham News came next with 313 and 310 stories, respectively. The Seattle Post-Intelligencer and Omaha World-Herald were also close. They ran 295 and 292 stories, respectively. The fewest stories --251 -- ran in the Des Moines Register. The Oregonian averaged 27.7 stories per issue, followed by the Constitution with 22.3, the News with 22.1, the Post-Intelligencer with 21.7, the World-Herald with 20.8, and the Register with 17.9 (see table 17). The average area per story was 23.1 square inches for the Oregonian, 21.5 for the Constitution, 19.3 for the Post-Intelligencer, 17.3 for the World-Herald, 16.7 for the News, and 14.2 for the Register.

Overall space given to the international news copy ranged from a low of 2.9 percent of the Post-Intelligencer's newshole to 5.0 percent of the newshole for both the Register and the Oregonian (see table 17). Since this study measured only the space devoted to copy and did not include in its space measures the area given over to headlines, photographs and white space, the overall space given to foreign news would actually constitute a larger portion of the overall newshole than is reflected by these figures.

TABLE 17
COVERAGE (IN SQUARE INCHES), BY PAPER

Paper	Total coverage (sq. in)	Av. story area	Total stories	% of Total Newshole
Atlanta Constitution	6,738.9	21.5	313	3.0%
Birmingham News	5,193.7	16.7	310	3.6%
Des Moines Register	3,589.0	14.2	251	5.0%
Omaha World Herald	5,061.7	17.3	292	4.3%
Portland Oregonian	8,986.6	23.1	389	5.0%
Seattle Post-Intelligencer	5,713.0	19.3	295	2.9%
Total	35,282.9	19.0	1850	4.7%

The Oregonian also gave the most space to international news copy -- 8,986.6 square inches.⁶ The Constitution came second with 6,738.9 square inches, followed by the Post-Intelligencer with 5,731.0, the News with 5,193.7 and the

TABLE 18

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE, BY PROMINENCE LEVEL

Count Row pct Col pct Tot pct	Prom. level 0	1	2	3	4	5	Row
Atlanta	64 20.4 19.6 3.5	82 26.2 15.3 4.4	45 14.4 12.2 2.4	55 17.6 16.6 3.0	54 17.3 23.2 2.9	13 4.2 24.1 .7	313 16.9
Birmingham	21 6.8 6.4 1.1	116 37.4 21.6 6.3	74 23.9 20.1 4.0	62 20.0 18.7 3.4	31 10.0 13.3 1.7	6 1.9 11.1 .3	310 16.8
Des Moines	50 19.9 15.3 2.7	98 39.0 18.3 5.3	45 17.9 12.2 2.4	35 13.9 10.6 1.9	17 6.8 7.3 .9	6 2.4 11.1 .3	251 13.6
Omaha	61 20.9 18.7 3.3	70 24.0 13.1 3.8	66 22.6 17.9 3.6	56 19.2 16.9 3.0	32 11.0 13.7 1.7	7 2.4 13.0 .4	292 15.8
Portland	36 9.3 11.0 1.9	125 32.1 23.3 6.8	80 20.6 21.7 4.3	75 19.3 22.7 4.1	63 16.2 27.0 3.4	10 2.6 18.5 .5	389 21.0
Seattle	95 32.2 29.1 5.1	45 15.3 8.4 2.4	59 20.0 16.0 3.2	48 16.3 14.5 2.6	36 12.2 15.5 1.9	12 4.1 22.2 .6	295 15.9
Column Total	327 17.7	536 29.0	369 19.9	331 17.9	233 12.6	54 2.9	1850 100

Chi Square=151.847372, d.f.=25, p < .05

World-Herald with 5,061.7. The Register ran the least copy, at 3,589.0 square inches. But while the Oregonian gave the most space to coverage, the Constitution and the Post-Intelligencer gave more prominent display to theirs (see table 18). At the top of the scale, the Constitution averaged 57.5 square inches for its big front page stories and the Post-Intelligencer averaged 56.4. They were the only papers above the category's overall average of 49.6 square inches. The Register's most prominent stories averaged 48.8 square inches. The Oregonian averaged 45.7 for those stories. The News averaged slightly more at 40.0 square inches. While the World-Herald came last with an average area of 37.6 square inches for its most prominent stories.

The Oregonian's average story area was 45.4 square inches for stories with a prominence ranking of four, compared to 38.6 for the Post-Intelligencer, 34.8 for the Constitution, and 37.9 for the whole. Again the other three papers fell well below the mean. In the largest single category in the study -- the prominence ranking of two, which had 356 stories -- the mean story area was 9.8. While the Constitution, the Post-Intelligencer, and the Oregonian had means above that average, 12.1, 11.9, and 10.5 inches respectively, the remaining papers ran below the mean. The News was the lowest at 9.9 square inches.

The Constitution and the Post-Intelligencer had the smallest average lengths for stories given no prominence

ranking and much longer average length for stories at the other end of the scale. The Oregonian's mean area for stories with 0-prominence rankings was 6.0 square inches compared to 3.8 for the Constitution, 4.5 for the Post-Intelligencer, and 4.8 for the Register. The News ran the largest average story with no prominence, at 7.4 square inches.

Because the study's prominence index incorporated use of art and pictures, findings relating to the usage of art are not independent of, and may help to explain, the prominence figures. The Constitution and the Oregonian each accounted for nearly a quarter of the space devoted to art work in the sample (see table 19). Of the total 10,769.0 square inches

TABLE 19

ART USAGE, BY PAPER

Paper	Total art usage (sq. in.)	Average art area (sq. in.)	Stories w/maps ⁷	Total stories w/art
Atlanta Constitution	2,511.0	28.2	9	89
Birmingham News	1,131.1	23.0	4	49
Des Moines Register	958.4	14.9	8	64
Omaha World Herald	1,500.9	21.7	6	69
Portland Oregonian	2,462.6	24.8	13	99
Seattle Post-Intelligencer	2,204.1	29.7	8	74
Total	10,769.0	24.2	46	444

given to art, the Constitution had 2,511.9 square inches and the Oregonian 2,462.6. The Post-Intelligencer was not far behind with 2,204.1 square inches. At the other end, the Register used only 958.4 square inches of art. While the World-Herald used 1,500.9 and the News used 1,133.1 square inches (see table 19).

The most striking difference in the sources the papers used for their international news coverage relates to their size and use of copy from supplemental news services -- a category that must now be considered to include United Press International (see table 20). The Birmingham News, Des Moines Register, and the Omaha World-Herald made no use of Reuters. the World-Herald did use copy from UPI. Both the News and the Register used none. The News carried nothing from the New York Times News Service.

Most of the papers drew heavily on copy from the Associated Press, but two figures bear attention. While the Post-Intelligencer appears to have used the least, it attributed more copy than any of the other papers to "mixed" news services, which may explain the difference. The Constitution, on the other hand, used less AP copy than the other four papers and also used little "mixed" copy. The News paper relied most heavily on AP.

All six newspapers carried coverage produced by their own reporters, but the Atlanta Constitution's use of staff-generated copy set it apart from both the Portland Oregonian

and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer (see table 20). More than 18 percent of the international stories in the Constitution carried staff credit lines. As noted earlier, because the Constitution routinely draws on the resources of the Cox chain correspondents some of the bylines in this category may be explained that way. Nonetheless, the combined staff and group categories for the Constitution still constitute a noticeably larger part of overall coverage than those same figures even from the the Post-Intelligencer and the Oregonian papers. This reliance on staff stories may suggest both why the Constitution made less use of A.P. copy and why it used fewer stories from the New York Times and Los Angeles Times-Washington Post news services.

The Birmingham News and Portland Oregonian, which both drew on Newhouse chain resources, made similar use of group copy, though that was one of the few similarities in their international coverage. Though not a group-owned paper, the Omaha World-Herald, subscribed to several group services. It made little use of group-generated copy, instead relying relatively heavily on the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service. In spite of, or perhaps because of it's chain affiliation, the Register's use of staff and group coverage was similar to the World-Herald's. It relied copy from the New York Times News Service. The Oregonian stood out from the other papers in the study in its use of copy from both those

supplemental services. Notably, it used only one story from UPI.

There was no evident difference in how the papers handled coverage with violent content (see table 21). Most of the space in all the papers was given to stories without violent content, though it should be noted that the average area of

TABLE 20
SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL STORIES, BY NEWSPAPER

Count Row Pct Col Pct Total Pct	Paper Atlanta Constitution	Birmingham News	Des Moines Register	Row Total
AP	97 12.8 31.0 5.2	208 27.4 67.1 11.2	133 17.5 53.0 7.2	759 41.0
UPI	16 28.6 5.1 .9			56 3.0
NYT	18 13.5 5.8 1.0		29 21.8 11.6 1.6	133 7.2
LAT/WP	18 16.5 5.8 1.0	11 10.1 3.5 .6	12 11.0 4.8 .6	109 5.9
Reuters	19 73.1 6.1 1.0			26 1.4
Column Total	313 16.9	310 16.8	251 13.6	1850 100.0

the stories with violent content was a square inch or two greater than that of stories without.

Viewing the papers' space allocations by topic offers some additional insights into their individual coverage choices (see table 22). Among the most notable of the space allocation findings is the consistency with which the Portland

TABLE 20--Continued

SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL STORIES, BY NEWSPAPER

Count Row Pct Col Pct Total Pct	Paper Atlanta Constitution	Birmingham News	Des Moines Register	Row Total
Group	5 11.4 1.6 .3	8 18.2 2.6 .4	8 18.2 3.2 .4	44 2.4
Paper Staff	57 28.8 18.2 3.1	19 9.6 6.1 1.0	20 10.1 8.0 1.1	198 10.7
Mixed	37 11.3 11.8 2.0	51 15.6 16.5 2.8	15 4.6 6.0 .8	326 17.6
Other	11 9.1 3.5 .6	6 5.0 1.9 .3	18 14.9 7.2 1.0	121 6.5
None	35 44.9 11.2 1.9	7 9.0 2.3 .4	16 20.5 6.4 .9	78 4.2
Column Total	313 16.9	310 16.8	251 13.6	1850 100.0

Oregonian out-covered the other papers in most of the large, conventional topic categories. Whether diplomacy, defense, domestic politics, crime, natural disaster, economics, or sports, the Oregonian routinely devoted more space to coverage than the other papers.

TABLE 20--Continued

SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL STORIES, BY NEWSPAPER

Count Row Pct Col Pct Total Pct	Paper Omaha World Herald	Portland Oregonian	Seattle Post-Int.	Row Total
AP	161 21.2 55.1 8.7	117 15.4 30.1 6.3	43 5.7 14.6 2.3	759 41.0
UPI	20 35.7 6.8 1.1	1 1.8 .3 .1	19 33.9 6.4 1.0	56 3.0
NYT	16 12.0 5.5 .9	46 34.6 11.8 2.5	24 18.0 8.1 1.3	133 7.2
LAT/WP	31 28.4 10.6 1.7	34 31.2 8.7 1.8	3 2.8 1.0 .2	109 5.9
Reuters		3 11.5 .8 .2	4 15.4 1.4 .2	26 1.4
Column Total	292 15.8	389 21.0	295 15.9	1850 100.0

The other papers tended to take the lead in less traditional topics of coverage, such as health, human rights, science and technology, and royalty. The Oregonian gave noticeably more coverage to education than did the other papers. But while other papers ran several stories each about topics dealing with World War II, a category that included

TABLE 20--Continued

SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL STORIES, BY NEWSPAPER

Count Row Pct Col Pct Total Pct	Paper Omaha World Herald	Portland Oregonian	Seattle Post-Int.	Row Total
Group	7 15.9 2.4 .4	9 20.5 2.3 .5	7 15.9 2.4 .4	44 2.4
Paper Staff	19 9.6 6.5 1.0	39 19.7 10.0 2.1	44 22.2 14.9 2.4	198 10.7
Mixed	4 1.2 1.4 .2	93 28.5 23.9 5.0	126 38.7 42.7 6.8	326 17.6
Other	34 28.1 11.6 1.8	40 33.1 10.3 2.2	12 9.9 4.1 .6	121 6.5
None		7 .90 1.8 .4	13 16.7 4.4 .7	78 4.2
Column Total	292 15.8	389 21.0	295 15.9	1850 100.0

Chi Square=652.52292, d.f.=45, p , .05

TABLE 21

VIOLENCE COVERAGE (IN SQUARE INCHES), BY PAPER

Paper	Area	Mean	% of whole	Stories
Coverage W/O violence	25,662.8	18.9	72.7	1,357
Atlanta Constitution	4,613.5	20.5	13.0	225
Birmingham News	3,876.5	17.1	10.9	226
Des Moines Register	2,446.5	14.2	6.9	172
Omaha World-Herald	3,736.4	17.0	10.5	219
Portland Oregonian	6,567.8	22.4	18.6	292
Seattle Post-Intelligencer	4,422.1	19.8	12.5	223
Coverage with violence	9,620.1	19.5	27.2	493
Atlanta Constitution	2,125.4	24.1	6.0	88
Birmingham News	1,317.2	15.6	3.7	84
Des Moines Register	1,142.5	14.4	3.2	79
Omaha World Herald	1,325.3	18.1	3.7	73
Portland Oregonian	2,418.8	24.9	.6	97
Seattle Post-Intelligencer	1,290.09	17.9	3.6	72

the Holocaust, the Oregonian did not. The Atlanta Constitution was also fairly consistent in its coverage of the traditional

topics of international news, but stood out from the others in the amount of space it devoted to recreation.

While the Seattle Post-Intelligencer covered the traditional topics, it gave noticable attention to culture and religion, science and technology, and media coverage. The Post-Intelligencer ranked behind the Oregonian in the amount of space it gave to international economics, but it ran fewer stories and devoted more space to them than did any of the other papers. It ranked second behind only the Birmingham News in the amount of space it devoted to stories about royalty.

The heavy reliance of the News on wire service coverage may be reflected in its seeming emphasis on stories dealing with diplomacy, crime, and accidents. It ran more international economic news than the Constitution, though less than the Oregonian and the Post-Intelligencer. It stood out from the other papers in both the number of stories and the amount of space it devoted to science and technology.

The three large papers -- the Constitution, the Oregonian, and the Post-Intelligencer -- were the only ones to give coverage to stories dealing with natural resources. Perhaps predictably, the Des Moines Register stood out from the other papers with its coverage of agriculture. It is also interesting to note that the Register devoted more space to recreation than it did to accidents and natural disasters, and gave sports as much space as it did those topics. The Omaha

TABLE 22

TOPIC COVERAGE (IN SQUARE INCHES), BY PAPER

	Total area	Mean	Stories
WAR/DEFENSE	5,528.2	18.6	296
Atlanta	1,199.8	20.6	58
Birmingham	670.0	16.7	40
Des Moines	575.1	15.1	38
Omaha	803.9	16.0	50
Portland	1,556.3	24.3	64
Seattle	723.1	15.7	46
DIPLOMACY	6,365.0	22.5	282
Atlanta	1,189.1	26.4	45
Birmingham	856.8	21.9	39
Des Moines	748.6	19.1	39
Omaha	1,113.6	21.8	51
Portland	1,507.7	24.7	61
Seattle	949.2	20.1	47
DOMESTIC POLITICS	4,961.0	17.4	284
Atlanta	1,078.9	17.6	61
Birmingham	856.8	17.8	37
Des Moines	530.8	12.9	41
Omaha	826.8	17.5	47
Portland	1,282.7	22.5	57
Seattle	583.2	14.2	41
ECONOMICS1	535.5	16.2	33
Atlanta	55.0	27.5	2
Birmingham	34.5	8.6	4
Des Moines	38.1	7.6	5
Omaha	57.9	11.5	5
Portland	188.3	20.9	9
Seattle	161.7	20.2	8
ECONOMICS	22,334.2	21.0	111
Atlanta	371.9	23.2	16
Birmingham	419.5	22.0	19
Des Moines	198.6	14.1	14
Omaha	208.8	16.0	13
Portland	589.4	19.6	30
Seattle	546.0	28.7	19
AGRICULTURE	326.8	23.3	14
Atlanta	43.6	14.5	3
Birmingham	21.9	21.9	1
Des Moines	112.0	37.3	3
Omaha	77.9	19.4	4
Portland	71.4	23.8	3

TABLE 22--Continued

CRIME/JUDICIAL	3,392.8	14.5	233
Atlanta	713.1	18.2	39
Birmingham	727.6	12.9	56
Des Moines	368.0	11.8	31
Omaha	366.8	11.1	33
Portland	804.3	21.1	38
Seattle	413.0	11.4	36
NATURAL DISASTER	1,068.0	18.1	59
Atlanta	153.4	17.0	9
Birmingham	119.4	14.9	8
Des Moines	103.8	12.9	8
Omaha	231.4	16.5	14
Portland	305.9	25.4	12
Seattle	154.1	19.2	8
ACCIDENTS	1,140.9	13.7	83
Atlanta	210.8	19.1	11
Birmingham	262.2	13.8	19
Des Moines	103.7	8.6	12
Omaha	124.3	13.8	9
Portland	271.5	14.2	19
Seattle	168.4	12.9	13
SPORTS	804.2	15.4	52
Atlanta	77.9	12.9	6
Birmingham	45.1	9.0	5
Des Moines	103.1	12.8	8
Omaha	36.4	7.8	5
Portland	394.4	16.4	24
Seattle	147.3	36.8	4
RECREATION	2,195.3	30.0	73
Atlanta	691.2	49.3	14
Birmingham	344.7	21.5	16
Des Moines	172.6	24.6	7
Omaha	349.8	31.8	11
Portland	360.8	32.8	11
Seattle	276.2	19.7	14
CULTURE/RELIGION	1,745.9	19.1	91
Atlanta	313.5	26.1	12
Birmingham	273.6	15.2	18
Des Moines	107.0	10.7	10
Omaha	235.1	13.0	18
Portland	356.7	19.8	18
Seattle	460.0	30.6	15

TABLE 22--Continued

SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY	471.4	17.4	27
Atlanta	44.7	14.9	3
Birmingham	189.1	15.7	12
Des Moines	86.2	21.5	4
Omaha	14.2	4.7	3
Portland	31.9	10.6	3
Seattle	105.3	52.6	2
MEDIA COVERAGE	484.7	26.9	18
Atlanta	122.0	40.6	3
Birmingham	36.5	18.2	2
Des Moines	21.7	7.2	3
Omaha	3.2	3.2	1
Portland	149.1	29.8	5
Seattle	152.2	38.0	4
HUMAN RIGHTS	416.4	21.9	19
Atlanta	71.7	23.9	3
Birmingham	64.5	16.1	4
Des Moines	8.5	8.5	1
Omaha	133.3	33.3	4
Portland	53.5	26.7	2
Seattle	84.9	16.9	5
ROYALTY	414.3	15.9	26
Atlanta	72.4	18.1	4
Birmingham	141.8	20.2	7
Des Moines	51.7	17.2	3
Portland	40.7	10.1	4
Seattle	107.7	13.4	8
HEALTH/MEDICINE	304.6	12.6	24
Atlanta	22.1	4.4	5
Birmingham	5.5	5.5	1
Des Moines	44.7	7.4	6
Omaha	148.7	24.7	6
Portland	46.7	15.5	3
Seattle	36.9	12.3	3
WW II	276.3	18.4	15
Atlanta	8.0	4.0	2
Birmingham	85.2	17.0	5
Des Moines	50.4	16.8	3
Omaha	47.5	23.7	2
Seattle	85.2	28.4	3

TABLE 22--Continued

EDUCATION	194.0	24.2	8
Atlanta	30.6	30.6	1
Birmingham	34.0	34.0	1
Des Moines	16.5	16.5	1
Omaha	17.2	8.6	2
Portland	95.7	31.9	3
NATURAL RESOURCES	111.5	18.5	6
Atlanta	14.3	4.7	3
Portland	57.2	28.6	2
Seattle	40.0	40.0	3
OTHER	2,211.9	23.0	96
Atlanta	254.9	19.6	13
Birmingham	203.2	12.7	16
Des Moines	147.9	10.5	14
Omaha	264.9	18.9	14
Portland	822.4	39.1	21
Seattle	518.6	28.8	18

World-Herald coverage was noteworthy particularly for the categories in which it outstripped the the other papers. The World-Herald gave much more attention than any of the other papers to human rights and health and medicine, and came close to competing with the Constitution and the Oregonian in the amount of space it gave to diplomacy. At the other end of the spectrum, it ran nothing on royalty.

All of the papers gave coverage to most of the major world regions. Several aspects of their space allocations to those regions of the world bear noting. The only region not given at least token coverage in all six papers was West Africa, which got no coverage in the Des Moines Register or the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

The Birmingham News gave over 1,000 square inches of coverage to Western Europe, exceeding that of the Portland Oregonian by more than 200 square inches. The News also gave the most coverage to news originating in the other countries of North America.

The Oregonian gave 1,722 square inches of coverage to Eastern Europe, nearly twice the space it was given by the Atlanta Constitution, though the Omaha World-Herald and the Post-Intelligencer both devoted more than 1,000 square inches of space to the region. The Oregonian was the only paper to give any significant space to Central Europe.

All six papers paid attention to Central America, and all gave significantly less attention to South America. The Des Moines Register was notable for its lack of space for both North and South America.

The Oregonian and the Constitution both devoted more than 1,200 square inches each to coverage of the Mideast.

All three of the large papers gave more than 500 square inches of coverage to East Asia -- the region which includes Japan. But the only two papers to give more than 100 square inches to Central Asia were the World-Herald and the Post-Intelligencer, though the latter nearly doubled the former's space allocation. The Post-Intelligencer also gave noticeably more coverage to the Asian Subcontinent than did the other papers.

The Constitution gave 341 square inches of coverage to Southern Africa, far more than the other papers, while the Orgegonian was more interested in coverage of East Africa. Both gave more than 150 square inches of coverage to Central Africa. The Constitution and the News were the only two papers to give more than 100 square inches to Northern Africa. The Register ran less copy about the same region, but still more than the Oregonian and twice the coverage given by the Post-Intelligencer. The Oregonian gave 279 square inches of coverage to Southeast Asia, followed by about 160 square inches each from the Post-Intelligencer and the World-Herald.

Analysis

This section reviews the research findings as they address the study's specific research questions outlined at the end of the literature review.

1) What is the nature of the international news content in mid-sized dominant market newspapers?

The obvious conclusion from the study's findings is that the newspapers' coverage in 1988 fit many of the traditional stereotypes. It was heavily political and crisis-oriented. The countries and regions which got significant amounts of coverage got coverage across topic categories. Countries and regions which got little coverage tended to get only coverage in the most common categories -- war and defense, diplomacy, domestic politics, and crime. The study findings do suggest,

however, that the stereotype of international news as necessarily violent was not borne out for these papers.

Additionally, while all of the papers relied heavily on wire copy from the Associated Press, the total area of coverage from three other sources -- the New York Times News Service, the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post Service, and the papers' own staff -- was greater than that from AP and only a bit less than the copy from AP and the mixed wire sources combined. It is noteworthy that by 1988 copy from United Press International had all but disappeared from their pages.

It is also noteworthy that the papers followed the traditional habit of relegating many international stories to short news briefs; those brief stories were more likely to deal with the coups, earthquakes, and crimes than were the longer stories. The longer stories were the stories from the supplemental services and the newspaper and chain sources, and they were generally less violent.

The content coding process itself highlighted the fact that in several instances most or all of the six papers ran the same short stories in the briefs -- notably, one about a crash in Turkey and another about an accident in a stadium in Nepal -- suggesting that the stories came across the wire only in an abbreviated form and no additional information was available to the editors.

If anything can be concluded from the individual newspapers' handling of the news, it is that each paper has a decidedly idiosyncratic way of handling the news, which strongly suggests the hands of individual news executives, whether editors or publishers. Certainly comparisons of the coverage by the two Newhouse papers -- the Birmingham News and the Oregonian -- did not suggest that chain ownership was in any way a factor in international news usage. Oregon gave a great deal of coverage to issues and countries across the board, while the Birmingham News's coverage was noticeably different -- concentrating on news of diplomacy, crime, and accidents. Notably, the News carried more news briefs about royalty than the other papers.

Additionally, though the two papers with the largest circulations gave the most space to coverage, large circulation was no guarantee of coverage. The News and World-Herald both gave much more coverage to international news than the Register even though their circulation figures were lower.

2) Are there distinct categories of domesticated international news, which receive different types of treatment?

The study findings do suggest that there are distinct categories of international news coverage, and that the stories with the "domesticated" angles got quantitatively better coverage than the straight international stories. Cross tabulations analyzing the angle of the story by type suggest

a significant correlation between the two (see table 14). Stories with a local angle were more likely to be feature stories or analyses -- stories more likely to provide readers with depth and insight beyond facts. The significance levels of the chi square statistics generated from the cross-tabulation analysis support the conclusions that the relationship between the variables is not due to chance and that there is a correlation between story type and story angle.

The finding that the average mean length of the stories increases when it is more domesticated suggests that when editors and reporters find a "local" angle they allocate space to cover the story. That is an important finding if one accepts the assumption that longer stories are more useful to readers than short briefs.

Nearly 36 percent of the international stories identified in sample fell into the domesticated news categories. And, more striking, those stories accounted for 45.9 percent of space given to all of the international news in the study -- 38.1 percent for domesticated national news and 7.7 percent for domesticated local news. Those findings are even more telling when one considers the variation in topic focus by angle, since the local angle stories focus to a large extent on international economics and cultural issues, veering away from the standard topics such as politics, diplomacy and crime.

These findings are important, especially since many studies of international news coverage in American media deliberately select only those stories that carry international datelines and exclude stories that carry any mention of U.S. interests. Additionally, the domesticated stories get better play -- better placement, bigger headlines, and more art work, a finding that should come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the operation of a newspaper newsroom. It is standard practice for editors to give better play to stories written by their own staff.

Thus, the study findings strongly suggest that studies which identify as international only the those stories that run with an international dateline deliberately exclude an important component of the international news product available to American newspapers audiences. That is a serious omission if one argues that editors give better play to the stories they feel will be of the most interest to their readers. Certainly the bulk of the international copy in the newspapers may be international wire stories, with little or no explicit or immediate impact for the papers' readers, but less space is allocated to that type of copy than to stories with domesticated angles.

3) Do a region's international economic and cultural connections influence the character of international news content in the newspaper which serves that area?

If export relationships and the breakdown of the states' immigrant populations are accepted as suitable initial attempts to operationalize the newspaper markets' economic and cultural ties with other nations, then the findings suggest that coverage pays little heed to these relationships. Simply glancing at the various lists of coverage levels, export figures and immigration suggests that there is no connection between the variables (see appendices 3, 4, 5 and 6). And that conclusion is borne out by the results of Pearson Product Moment Correlations comparing coverage of the 15 most prominent countries on all three lists (see table 23).

The Pearson correlation tests the degree of correlation between variables representing two distinct characteristics of the sample.⁸ While the test does not imply causation, it does measure whether two variables are co-related -- the extent to which they vary together.⁹ The possible results of the test range from a correlation coefficient of +1.0 for a strong positive correlation to a coefficient of -1.0 for a strong negative correlation.¹⁰ A finding of zero suggests no relationship between the two variables. Once the correlation coefficient is arrived at, it can then be squared to arrive at the coefficient of determination, which indicates how much of the variation in the data can be explained by the relationship between the two variables.¹¹

While the results of the Pearson correlations reported in table 23 suggest some positive and some negative relationships

between the coverage levels and the extra media variables, only the negative correlation between the Omaha World-Herald's coverage and Nebraska exports is even worth noting.

The correlation coefficients are so small for all of the relationships, that when they are squared to arrive at coefficients of determination, all of the relationships are seen to be negligible at best. The shared variation ranges from 15 percent reported for the negative relationship between the World-Herald's coverage and Nebraska's export figures to no shared variance between the Seattle Post-Intelligencer's coverage and that city's foreign-born population statistics (see table 23).¹² In short, even where tenuous relationships are found between two variables, little variance is shared by the two sets of data.

Put in context of the larger question -- whether export relationships or immigrant communities influence the newspapers' coverage, the findings suggest that there is no relationship between the extra media variables and international news coverage patterns.

Since these findings compared only the coverage, export and immigration figures only for the 15 countries which appeared most regularly on any of the three lists, one can only suggest were it possible to run correlations comparing all of the countries the results would suggest even weaker relationships or much more negative correlations. When the sample correlations on the combined figures for the six

TABLE 23

**CORRELATIONS OF COVERAGE WITH EXPORT
AND IMMIGRATION DATA**

	Correlation Coefficient	Coefficient of Determination
Atlanta Constitution		
Export and Coverage	-.04	.1 %
Immigration and Coverage	-.04	.1 %
Birmingham News		
Export and Coverage	.19	3.0 %
Immigration and Coverage	.07	.4 %
Des Moines Register		
Export and Coverage	-.2	4.0 %
Immigration and Coverage	.1	1.0 %
Omaha World Herald		
Export and Coverage	-.39	15.0 %
Immigration and Coverage	.07	.4 %
Portland Oregonian		
Export and Coverage	-.04	.1 %
Immigration and Coverage	.1	1.0 %
Seattle Post-Intelligencer		
Export and Coverage	.09	.8 %
Immigration and Coverage	.005	.0 %
Whole Sample		
Export and Coverage	.08	.6 %
Immigration and Coverage	.08	.6 %

papers are considered, the relationships are positive but the shared variance is again minute (see table 23).

The relationships were also tested with t-tests, which also failed to support the premise that economic and cultural connections with other countries are related to the papers' coverage of those countries (see table 24). The purpose of the t-tests was to assess the difference between the levels of coverage given to countries with high and low trade relationships, and coverage given to countries with high and low representation in the cities' foreign-born population.¹³

T-tests are used to test whether differences between two groups' scores on a common characteristic are significant enough to suggest that the two groups are in reality different or appear different only as the result of chance occurrence. For the present study, coverage was measured by story count for the high and low country groups, total square inches measures for coverage of high and low country groups, and finally the percentage of the papers' newshole given to coverage of the high and low country groups.¹⁴ To be considered significant, the score for the t-test needed to be greater than a standardized critical minimum score¹⁵ at a probability level of $p < .05$. None of the the analyses could meet that test.

The t-test that came closest to finding a difference analyzed the relationships between coverage and trade

TABLE 24

**TESTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN COVERAGE, EXPORT, AND
POPULATION MEANS**

	Coverage means		t Value	2-tail prob.
	High export	Low export		
Story count	40.8	25.6	2.07	.094
Square inches	827.1	476.5	1.54	.184
% of newshole	.50	.38	.55	.606
N=6				
	High level population	Low level population	t Value	2-tail prob.
Story count	53.5	50.5	.20	.846
Square inches	1,049.7	1,118.9	-.18	.865
% of newshole	.66	.60	.26	.808
N=6				
	High Coverage	Low Coverage	t Value	2-tail prob.
% of Exports	20.3	16.3	.39	.709
% of Foreign born	13.9	10.0	1.54	.185
N=6				

For these tests the critical value of t at $p < .05$ was 2.571.

involvement. It should be noted, however, that the t-test was run using information about countries with which the states had trade relationships. It does not recognize the countries with high coverage levels that often received minute or non-existent exports from the states in the sample -- countries such as South Africa, Israel, and Nicaragua. As a result, an additional t-test looked at the differences in trade and population percentages between countries receiving high and low levels of coverage (see table 24).

The lack of coverage sensitivity to export relationships figures occurs in spite of the striking similarities across the six states in their prominent export relationships with Canada and Japan. Certainly, the amount of coverage given to Japan -- 66 stories -- and Canada -- 28 stories -- does not suggest that the editors are paying particular attention to either. Neither do the overall findings bear a relationship to the country's export figures -- also dominated by trade with Canada and Japan (see appendix 4). Rather, all six papers concentrated their coverage on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the Mideast, Western Europe and East Asia, in that order (see appendix 3). While Great Britain, Japan and South Korea do appear among the top export destinations, the relative weights of the coverage they received bears no resemblance to the volume of coverage given the Soviet Union or Israel, which are not notable export destinations. The distribution of coverage would suggest for these newspapers --

individually and as a group -- that national-level politics and focus on conflict were probably the overriding factors in the editors' coverage allocation decisions. These findings are in keeping with the results of Chang's survey of American newspaper editors, which suggested that their primary concerns centered on coverage of U.S. interests and involvements abroad and threats to world peace.¹⁶ The results of the survey also 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

This is not the first study of American newspaper content to suggest that economic and cultural factors may not be strong predictors of coverage patterns,¹⁸ but as the literature review noted, other studies done in Canada and Scandinavia have suggested such links.¹⁹ Alternative explanations suggest themselves -- one methodological and the other theoretical. The methodological explanation is that adequate operationalization of the extrinsic variables in the American context has yet to be found, though under the circumstances it is hard to imagine how else that operationalization might be done.

The theoretical explanation lies in the nature of the geopolitical standings of the countries whose media systems were studied by the various research projects, and with dependency theories of international communication

patterns.²⁰ Canada and the Scandinavian countries -- the subjects of the studies which found economic and cultural influences on coverage²¹ -- would fall on the Northern end of the North-South continuum generally adopted to chart global information dependencies. However, northern or not, they have historically been more dependent on global powers and more interdependent with other countries than the United States.

While the reality of U.S. independence from the rest of the world may be fading, one might suggest that the editors of the newspapers in this sample either do not perceive that fact or do not think that their readers do. As a result then, at least in 1988, they focused not on stories about their neighbors and trading partners, but rather on news of crisis and turmoil in remote parts of the world.

The notion that the U.S. media is not sensitive to the global interdependence is hardly novel. But it suggests the need to reevaluate the theoretical propositions that underlay this research. In particular, the ramifications of the findings suggest that Hester's propositions are either normative or apply only to what he identified as "low-order" nations. Hester hypothesized that information flow would be greater from "high-order" nations to "low-order" nations than it would be in the other direction. While he noted directional differences in flow, but he also suggested that the news entering the "high-order" nations would be predictable based on their political, economic, and cultural connections abroad.

This study's findings suggest that to the extent those propositions hold, it may be for nations positioned differently in the global system than the United States.²²

Taken with similar results from other research,²³ the findings of this study suggest that Hester's propositions need to be rethought and, at the very least, condition statements are needed to bolster their predictive ability. Perhaps analysis of content following the breakup of the Eastern Bloc will offer a chance to sort out which, if any, of the other factors cited by both Hester and Galtung and Ruge might explain the papers' coverage patterns.²⁴ When only Great Britain of all the Group of Seven nations received more than 5 percent of the coverage in the sample, it becomes difficult to suggest that the wealth of nations, or their eliteness, played much of a role in news coverage by the sample papers. Among Hester's extrinsic variables, that leaves issues of power, but the alternative is that there may be other more powerful predictors.

The findings also offer no support for the premise that there are regional similarities in the states' export and immigration profiles that will result in noticeable regional coverage differences. While the figures do suggest that there are some regional similarities in export and immigration -- particularly in export figures -- the lack of support for any coverage sensitivity to economic and immigration figures makes it impossible to suggest that those regional characteristics

would have any impact on coverage. The coverage figures for the individual states are more similar across the six states than they are between the pairs of states (see appendix 3).

While this alone does not invalidate Nordenstreng's original suggestion that the nation state may not be the optimal level at which to look at news flow patterns,²⁵ the study's other findings do suggest that, at least in the American context. For these newspapers, national-level variables such as geopolitical relationships and U.S. concerns in conflicts abroad are the dominant factors influencing news flow. If, as this study suggests, theoretical propositions concerning news flows are system-specific, then the possibility exists that in other geopolitical settings regional factors may come into play. The fact that Canadian studies have found cultural influences on coverage that this study and at least one other do not²⁶ suggests that the premise should be tested on a larger regional level for North America.

NOTES

1. It should be noted that the study measured the square inches given to the body of the copy of the coverage, but did not include the headlines or white space accompanying the copy. The prominence index included a measures of space that incorporated all space given to a story, its headline and artwork.
2. Again, it should be noted that the study measured the square inches given to the body of the copy of the coverage, but did not include the headlines or white space accompanying the copy. The prominence index included a measure of space that incorporated all space given to a story, its headline and artwork.
3. Phone Interview with Jay Smith, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, May 26, 1992.
4. Economic1 represents domestic economic issues, economics2 representes international economic issues.
5. Appendix 3 proivdes breakdowns of coverage by country for the study as a whole and for the individual newspapers. The countries included on the list each recieved at least 1 percent of the overall coverage. Those breakdowns include story counts and area.
6. Again, measures of coverage area include only that space devoted to the body of the story. The prominence index, however, is based on a measure which includes all space given to a story, including copy, headline, white space and art.
7. Includes maps used alone with stories and maps used in conjunction with other art.
8. James D. Wynne, Learning Statistics: A Common-Sense Approach (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1982): 192.
9. Ibid., 184.
10. Ibid., 185.
11. Ibid., 186.

12. Ibid.

13. For each state, a lists were developed of the fourteen countries that were the largest export relationships and the twelve countries with largest represetnations in the cities' foreign-born populations. Those lists were then divided in half to arrive at the high- and low-level groups.

14. Newshole is the percentage of space a paper gives to non-advertising copy. The newshole figures for this study were arrived at by multiplying the square inches of each newspaper's page by the number of pages in newspaper issues represented in the study, and finally, that figure was multipliyed by the newshole percentage for 1988 provide by executives of each paper.

15. The critical value for these test was 2.571.

16. Tsan-Kuo Chang and Jae-Won Lee, "Factors Affecting Gatekeepers' Selection of Foreign News: A National Survey of Newspaper Editors." Paper presented to the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Minneapolis, August 1990.

17. Ibid., 12.

18. Stephen Lacy, Tsan-Kuo Chang and Tuen-Yu Lau, "The Impact of Allocation Decisions and Market Factors on Foreign News Coverage," Newspaper Research Journal 10 (Spring 1989): 23-32.

19. Herbert G. Kariel and Lynn A. Rosenvall, "Cultural Affinity Displayed in Canadian Daily Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly 60 (Autumn 1983): 431-436; Herbert G. Kariel and Lynn A. Rosenvall, "Factors Influencing International News Flow," Journalism Quarterly 61 (Autumn 84): 509-516, 666; Karl E. Rosengren and Gunnel Rikardsson, "Middle East News in Sweden," Gazette 20 (1974): 99-116.

20. Colin Legum and John Cornwell, A Free And Balanced Flow: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on International Flow of News (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1978).

21. Kariel and Rosenvall, "Cultural Affinity;" Kariel and Rosenvall, "Factors Influencing International News Flow," Rosengren and Rikardsson, "Middle East News."

22. Al Hester, "Theoretical Considerations in Predicting Volume and Direction of International Information Flow," Gazette 19 (1973): 245.

23. Herbert G. Kariel and Lynn A. Rosenvall, "Cultural Affinity Displayed in Canadian Daily Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly 60 (Autumn 1983): 431-436; Herbert G. Kariel and Lynn A. Rosenvall, "Factors Influencing International News Flow," Journalism Quarterly 61 (Autumn 84): 509-516, 666; and, Lacy, Chang and Lau, "Impact of Allocation Decisions," 23-32.

24. Hester, "Theoretical Considerations;" and, Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, "The Structure of Foreign News," Journal of Peace Research 1 (1965): 64-91.

25. Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis, "The Nonhomogeneity of the National State and the International Flow of Communication," in Communications Technology and Social Policy, eds. George Gerbner, Larry P. Gross and William H. Melody, 393-412. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973).

26. Lacy, Chang and Lau, "Impact of Allocation Decisions;" and, Chang and Lee, "Factors Affecting Gatekeepers' Selection of Foreign News."

CONCLUSION

The goal of the present study was to analyze and describe international news in six mid-sized dominant market American newspapers in 1988. In the process, it set out to test theoretical propositions about the influence of economic and cultural variables on news flow patterns evident in those papers.

The descriptive portion of the study offers some valuable insights into the six papers' coverage allocations, as the last chapter indicated. While the study results supported theoretical propositions it did not set out to test and did not support those at issue, those findings are also valuable. They suggest the need to reevaluate commonly held assumptions governing news flow research and offer direction for future research.

This conclusion reviews the study's implications, and then recommends how further research might proceed to address some of the issues raised by this effort. Along the way, it will point out both the strengths and limitations inherent in the research design.

The obvious conclusion from the study's descriptive findings is that the newspapers' coverage in 1988 fit many of the traditional stereotypes of American international news

coverage, though it defied others. It was heavily political and crisis-oriented. The Eastern Bloc and the Mideast received the most notable attention. Coverage focused on traditional categories like war and defense, diplomacy, domestic politics, and crime. Contrary to earlier studies, however, the bulk of the coverage did not focus on violence. At the paper level, coverage was idiosyncratic. While one paper ran frequent stories about royalty, another avoided the subject altogether. While one paper emphasized stories about natural disaster, another de-emphasized it.

Countries and regions which got significant amounts of coverage got coverage across topic categories. Countries and regions which got little coverage tended to get only coverage in the most common categories. Additionally, while all six papers relied heavily on wire copy from the Associated Press, the total area of coverage from three other sources -- the New York Times News Service, the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post Service, and the papers' own staff -- was greater than that from AP. It is noteworthy that by 1988 copy from United Press International had all but disappeared from their pages.

The study found little evidence to suggest that economic and cultural ties were important factors in governing how these six papers covered international news. The findings do not rule out the presence of such factors in the editors' decision-making process. In fact, the findings certainly do suggest that editors take advantage of the opportunity to give

better play to stories with a local angle. Additionally, anecdotal evidence from the content analysis suggests that there certainly were stories prompted by local ties abroad. Overwhelmingly, however, the content analysis suggests that those stories are rare. Instead, the distribution of coverage in the sample suggests that national-level politics and focus on conflict were probably the overriding factors in the editors' coverage allocation decisions.

Hester's theoretical propositions¹ may be more of a normative than predictive, at least as they are applied to these six American papers. For while Hester placed political interests at the top of the hierarchy of factors governing information flow, economic and cultural ties had little impact on the results. Taken with similar results from other research,² the findings of this study suggest that Hester's propositions need to be rethought and, at the very least, condition statements are needed to bolster their predictive ability.

The findings do not suggest regional differentiation in U.S. international news coverage at less than national level. While this alone does not invalidate Nordenstreng's suggestion that the nation state may not be the optimal level at which to look at news flow patterns,³ the study's other findings do suggest that, at least in the American context. For these newspapers, national-level variables such as geopolitical relationships and U.S. concerns in conflicts abroad are the

dominant factors influencing news flow. If, however, as this study suggests, theoretical propositions concerning news flows are system-specific, then the possibility exists that in other geopolitical settings regional factors may come into play. The fact that Canadian studies have found cultural influences on coverage that this study and at least one other do not find⁴ suggests that the premise need not be tested on a larger regional level for North America.

Further analysis of the findings in regard to U.S. interests and involvements in 1988 would be warranted, particularly to the extent that they appear to be in keeping with the results of Chang's survey of American newspaper editors. Those editors indicated that their primary concerns centered on coverage of U.S. interests and involvements abroad, threats to world peace, and perceived reader interests.⁵

An extension of the research design might compare the characteristics of coverage common to these papers with coverage offered by the elite newspapers, particularly the New York Times. The implications of the descriptive portion of this study suggest that while these papers rely on Times coverage to supplement their own, a comparison of two types of content might find notable differences in approach to international content choices. Were that the case, the commonly held view that the Times is a guiding force in

American news coverage might not be supported with regard to non-elite newspapers.

While economic and cultural variables appeared to have little if any impact on coverage choices made by editors at the six newspapers included in the sample, geopolitical factors dominated those decisions. By their very nature, those findings take on additional significance when they are placed in context of the geopolitical events that have occurred since 1988.

In choosing 1988 for the sample year, the study inadvertently selected the last year of the old bi-polar world order. All of the earlier news flow studies had been conducted within that bi-polar context. That it should then have found that U.S. geopolitical concerns were seemingly the overriding force behind the newspaper editors' coverage decisions suggests that there is now a need for new studies that will assess how international news coverage has been changed by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc. The results raise a question about what effect shifting power structures will have on coverage. What the results of such projects may be for papers' international news content only future studies can answer, but this study provide a benchmark against which those changes can be assessed.

In a more practical vein, while the present study may not have found ties between coverage and economic and cultural ties, that does not necessarily diminish their power as

normative constructs. It might well be suggested that the publishers of the sample papers and their editors have divergent views of the news product they offer to their readers. The six newspapers' traditional definitions of international news fail to reflect the publishers' own recognition of a demand among their readers for international news related to their regional interests. Either there is a communication failure within the papers themselves, or perhaps sometime after 1988 the papers revolutionized their international content.

It is distinctly possible that current studies might find that the character of the papers' coverage has changed. Nineteen eighty-eight was the last profitable year before the impact of the national recession hit the newspaper industry.⁶ The weak economy forced the industry to economize and rethink its position in the media marketplace. How those changes will tell on coverage must also be an matter of interest. Since foreign coverage has traditionally been cut during tight periods, the question arises how newspapers will reconcile their need to cut costs with the growing recognition of the need to provide relevant news to ethnically diverse communities with growing business interests abroad.⁷

The study's failure to find regional differentiation in how these newspapers covered international news indicates that future studies would benefit from a population sampling method that would provide an element of generalizability beyond the

samples themselves. Stratification or systematic sampling by circulation, ownership, or market size might begin to offer broader insights into how the large, but non-elite, newspapers cover international news.

The telling failure of economic and cultural variables to explain coverage pattern argues for more research directed toward the study of the intrinsic variables -- particularly those that relate to the newsworthiness elements of the events covered by the individual international stories themselves. While Gans, Shoemaker and others have begun efforts in that direction, there is scope for more, particularly replication studies.⁸

In itself, the idiosyncratic nature of the papers' coverage suggests the merit of continued efforts to explore the role the editors themselves play in the news selection process. It is easier to study the content of the papers than to undertake communicator studies. A wealth of research exists in this area dealing with news in general, dating back to early studies like Breed's look at newsroom functioning,⁹ but more effort needs to be taken to apply those findings to international news research. Particularly, researchers doing content studies need to pay more particular attention to the influence of the different levels of the international news gathering processes on content. Insight in that direction comes from two directions -- Rosenblum's seminal work which looks specifically at foreign correspondents working for

American media and studies like that by Shoemaker and Reese, which looks at the influences of process on media news content generally at a number of levels.¹⁰

The finding that frequently covered countries got coverage across topic categories underlines Rosenblum's explanations of how the location of news bureaus and allocation of news resources affects correspondent output.¹¹ While scholars have noted the connection,¹² efforts could be made to explore the forces that shape international news staffing and resource allocation decisions by the executives of newspapers, news services and newspaper chains.

Additionally, there is undoubtedly a need for audience studies that look not only at where people turn for international news, but what they take away from it. Plenty of research has been done looking at how people use media in times of crisis, but there is plenty of scope for research that would look at how newspaper readers understand the information they receive and what relation their understanding of that news content bears to the intent of the correspondents and editors who processed it.

In a practical vein, this research suggests the very real need for changes in how newspaper content research is approached, particularly with regard to how the prominence of news play is assessed. Once standard measures for evaluating news play no longer hold as new technologies revolutionize newspaper graphics. An index which takes into account only

story copy, headline size, placement and use of art, is inadequate to deal with informational graphics which may supplement or even supplant traditional stories.

The literature review section of this project began with a comment on the difficulties facing anyone attempting to synthesize news flow research results. Without question, synthesis will continue to elude the field until more effort is made to differentiate between research approaches and subjects. Efforts are needed to separate out process from effects, and -- drawing on other areas of media research -- to differentiate among media types and effect types. Too many studies mix analysis of television and print news sources, intermingling their results without regard to the medium-specific characteristics of their findings. As well, too many studies examine the coverage of a crisis or event and from there generalize both to coverage patterns and to international news-seeking behavior in general.

NOTES

1. Al Hester, "Theoretical Considerations in Predicting Volume and Direction of International Information Flow," Gazette 19 (1973): 239-247.
2. Herbert G. Kariel and Lynn A. Rosenvall, "Cultural Affinity Displayed in Canadian Daily Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly 60 (Autumn 1983): 431-436; Herbert G. Kariel and Lynn A. Rosenvall, "Factors Influencing International News Flow," Journalism Quarterly 61 (Autumn 84): 509-516, 666; and, Lacy, Chang and Lau, "Impact of Allocation Decisions," 23-32.
3. Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis, "The Nonhomogeneity of the National State and the International Flow of Communication," in Communications Technology and Social Policy, eds. George Gerbner, Larry P. Gross and William H. Melody, 393-412. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973).
4. Lacy, Change and Lau, "Impact of Allocation Decisions;" and, Chang and Lee, "Factors Affecting Gatekeepers' Selection of Foreign News."
5. Tsan-Kuo Chang and Jae-Won Lee, "Factors Affecting Gatekeepers' Selection of Foreign News: A National Survey of Newspaper Editors." Paper presented to the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Minneapolis, August 1990.
6. Joshua Hammer, with Michael Mason, Karen Springen, and Donna Foote, "Pages and Pages of Pain," Newsweek, 27 May 1991: 39-41.
7. Corporate brochures outlining both Knight-Ridder's 25/43 Project and Gannett's News 2000, both suggest that their papers should be more sensitive both to the needs of ethnically diverse communities in their markets and to their audiences needs for information in the world beyond those markets.
8. Herbert J. Gans, Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time (New York: Vintage, 1980); Pamela Shoemaker, Tsan-Kuo Chang, and Nancy Brendlinger, "Deviance as a Predictor of Newsworthiness: Coverage of International Events in the U.S. Media," in

Communication Yearbook 10, ed. Margaret L. McLaughlin, 348-365 (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1987).

9. Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," Social Forces 33 (1955): 326-335.

10. Mort Rosenblum, Coups and Earthquakes: Reporting the World for America (New York: Harper & Row, 1981); Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, Mediating the Message (New York: Longman, 1991).

11. Mort Rosenblum, Coups and Earthquakes, passim.

12. John Lent, "Foreign News in the American Media," Journal of Communication 27 (1977): 46-51; William A. Hachten, World News Prism: Changing Media, Clashing Ideologies (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987).

APPENDIX 1
CODING SHEETS

Newspaper Coding Sheet

1. Paper number _____ (1-2)
2. Newspaper _____ (3)
3. Date _____ (4-7)
4. Number of pages _____ (8-10)
5. Indexed (0) Yes (1) No _____ (11)
6. Banner _____ (12)
(0) none (1) one page (2) more than one
7. Briefs _____ (13)
(0) none (1) only international (2) mixed (3) 1 and 2
8. Used as filler _____ (14)
(0) yes (1) no
9. Number of stories on front
domesticated nat'l _____ (15)
domesticated local _____ (16)
straight int'l _____ (17)
non-international _____ (18)
10. Space for wild art _____ (19-22)

Story Coding Sheet

1. Story Number _____ (1-4)
2. Newspaper _____ (5)
3. Date _____ (6-9)
4. Headline _____
5. Sec. _____ Page _____ (10-12)
6. Section type _____ (13)
 - (0) news (3) entertainment
 - (1) business (4) travel
 - (2) sports (5) other _____
7. Dateline _____
8. Topic country _____ (14-16)
9. Length _____ (17-18)
10. Prominence _____ (19)
11. Art _____ (20)
 - (0) no (1) only pix (2) only map (3) map and pix
12. Space for art _____ (21-23)
13. Story Source _____ (24-25)
 - (00) AP (07) Gannett
 - (01) UPI (08) Hearst
 - (02) NYT (09) Knight-Ridder
 - (03) LAT/WP (10) Newhouse
 - (04) CSM (11) mixed
 - (05) Reuters (12) paper staff
 - (06) Cox (13) other _____
 - (99) none

14. Topic _____(26-27)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (00) war/defense | (09) sports |
| (01) diplomacy | (10) recreation |
| (02) domestic politics | (11) culture-religion |
| (03) economics--domest. | (12) science-technology |
| (04) economics--intl. | (13) education |
| (05) agriculture--non-trade | (15) natural res.--petrol. |
| (06) agriculture--trade | (16) natural res.--non-petrol. |
| (07) crime/judicial | (17) other _____ |
| (08) natural disaster | |

15. Violence _____(28)

- (0) no (1) yes

16. Angle _____(29)

- (0) straight (1) domest. nat'l (2) domest. local

17. Geographic focus _____(30)

- (0) domestic (1) international

18. Story type _____(31)

- (0) hard (1) soft (2) analysis (3) editorial

19. Story origin _____(32-33)

- (00) central america
 (01) north america
 (02) south america

 (03) central europe
 (04) eastern europe/soviet union
 (05) northern europe
 (06) western europe

 (07) central africa
 (08) east africa
 (09) northern africa
 (10) southern africa
 (11) west africa

 (12) mideast
 (13) central asia
 (14) east asia
 (15) southeast asia

 (16) pacific islands
 (17) australia, new zealand

APPENDIX 2
CODING DEFINITIONS

Newspaper Coding Definitions

1. Paper number _____ (1-2)

Two digit number assigned for identification purposes only.
(Variable name=papnumb)

2. Newspaper _____ (3)

Name of paper number equates to a number assigned to each paper (Variable name=paper):

- (1) Atlanta Constitution
- (2) The Birmingham News
- (3) The Des Moines Register
- (4) Omaha World-Herald
- (5) The (Portland) Oregonian
- (6) The Seattle Post Intelligencer

3. Date _____ (4-7)

Date of issue of paper, should be recorded month-date, for example, Jan. 13 would appear as 0113.
(Variable name=date)

4. Number of pages _____ (8-10)

Number of pages in paper excluding classifieds and advertising inserts.
(Variable name=pages)

5. Indexed (0) Yes (1) No _____ (11)

Does international news per se appear in the index?
(Variable name=index)

6. Banner _____ (12)

Does international news run under a page-wide banner indication "world" or "international" news?
(Variable name=banner)

(0) none (1) one page (2) more than one

7. Briefs ____(13)

Does international news appear in an short paragraph in a section labeled "briefs" or such? And, if "yes," is it only international news, mixed with national news, or used in both types of grouping?

(Variable name=briefs)

(0) none (1) only international (2) mixed (3) 1 & 2

8. Used as filler ____(14)

Is international news used as filler material to fill empty space around or below other types of news in sections of the paper devoted to some other type of story?

(Variable name=filler)

(0) yes (1) no

9. Number of stories on front

Count of the stories on the front page by type. (Variable name=fntcount)

domesticated nat'l ____(15)

Stories that make efforts to give a domestic angle to international stories or run national stories that provide an American angle on an international event or issue.

domesticated local ____(16)

Stories that make efforts to "localize" international stories or run stories that provide a local or regional on an international event or issue.

straight int'l ____(17)

Any story with an international dateline or with a domestic dateline which is about events or issues in another country.

non-international ____(18)

Stories with no international involvement.

10. Space for wild art ____(19-22)

Square inches devoted to photographs taken outside of the U.S. that run without stories (includes space devoted to cultines) to second place past decimal, but not rounded.

Story Coding Definitions

1. Story Number _____ (1-4)

Four digit number assigned for identification purposes only.
(Variable name=stnumber)

2. Newspaper _____ (5)

Name of paper number equates to a number assigned to each paper (Variable name=stpapper):

- (1) Atlanta Constitution
- (2) The Birmingham News
- (3) The Des Moines Register
- (4) Omaha World-Herald
- (5) The (Portland) Oregonian
- (6) The Seattle Post Intelligencer

3. Date _____ (6-9)

Date of the paper in which the story appears. Month and date written in this form Jan. 13 0113.
(Variable name=stdate)

4. Headline _____

The headline is copied down for identification purposes.

5. Sec. _____ Page _____ (10-12)

Write in appropriate location of story start at right, and then convert for coding. Sections identified by alphabetical designation would be converted: A would become 1, B would be 2, etc. For example, a story on page 5 in section B would be coded 205. (Variable name=location)

6. Section type _____ (13)

Identify type of page or section where story runs.
(Variable name=section)

(0) news -- front section, or other section or part of paper devoted to general news, news analysis, editorial content

(1) business -- section or page clearly labeled business page or section

(2) sports -- clearly labeled sports section

(3) entertainment -- clearly labeled feature section
(whatever its label), which covers food, leisure,
entertainment

(4) travel -- clearly labeled travel section or page

(5) other _(specify)_____

7. Dateline _____

Write in dateline.

8. Topic country _____ (14-16)

The country which is the predominant subject of the first
five paragraphs of the story.

(Variable name=country)

- (000) Afghanistan 16
- (001) Albania 04
- (002) Algeria 09
- (003) Australia 17
- (004) Austria 03
- (005) Bahrain 12
- (006) Bangladesh 16
- (007) Barbados 00
- (008) Belgium 06
- (009) Belize 00
- (010) Benin 07
- (011) Bhutan 16
- (012) Bolivia 02
- (013) Botswana 10
- (014) Brazil 02
- (015) Bulgaria 04
- (016) Burma 16
- (017) Burundi 07
- (018) Cambodia 15
- (019) Cameroon 11
- (020) Canada 01
- (021) Chad 07
- (022) Chile 02
- (023) China 13
- (024) Colombia 02
- (025) Congo 07
- (026) Costa Rica 00
- (027) Cuba 00
- (028) Cyprus 07
- (029) Czechoslovakia 04

(030) Denmark 06
(031) Dominican Republic 00

(032) East Germany 04
(033) Ecuador 02
(034) Egypt 09
(035) El Salvador 00
(036) Ethiopia 08

(037) Fiji 17
(038) Finland 05
(039) France 06

(040) Gabon 07
(041) Gambia 11
(042) Ghana 11
(043) Great Britian 06
(044) Greece 07
(045) Guatemala 00
(046) Guineau 11
(047) Guyana 02

(048) Haiti 00
(049) Honduras 00
(050) Hungary 04

(051) Iceland 05
(052) India 16
(053) Indonesia 17
(054) Iran 12
(055) Iraq 12
(056) Ireland 06
(057) Israel 12
(058) Italy 06
(059) Ivory Coast 11

(060) Jamaica 00
(061) Japan 14
(062) Jordan 12

(063) Kenya 08
(064) Kuwait 12

(065) Laos 15
(066) Lebanon 12
(067) Lesotho 10
(068) Liberia 09
(069) Libya 09
(070) Luxembourg 06

(071) Madagascar 08
(072) Malawi 08

(073) Malaysia 15
(074) Mali 11
(075) Malta 07
(076) Mauritania 11
(077) Mauritius 08
(078) Mexico 01
(079) Mongolia 13
(080) Morocco 09
(081) Mozambique 08

(082) Namibia 10
(083) Nepal 16
(084) Netherlands 06
(085) New Zealand 17
(086) Nicaragua 00
(087) Niger 11
(088) Nigeria 11
(089) North Korea 14
(090) Norway 05

(091) Oman 12

(092) Pakistan 16
(093) Panama 00
(094) Paraguay 02
(095) Peru 02
(096) Philippines 17
(097) Poland 04
(098) Portugal 07

(099) Qatar 12

(100) Romania 04
(101) Rwanda 08

(102) Saudi Arabia 12
(103) Senegal 11
(104) Sierra Leone 11
(105) Singapore 15
(106) Somalia 08
(107) South Africa 10
(108) South Korea 14
(109) Soviet Union 04
(110) Spain 07
(111) Sri Lanka 16
(112) Sudan 07
(113) Surinam 02
(114) Swaziland 10
(115) Sweden 05
(116) Switzerland 06
(117) Syria 12

(118) Taiwan 14
 (119) Tanzania 08
 (120) Thailand 15
 (121) Togo 11
 (122) Trinidad and Tobago 00
 (123) Tunisia 09
 (124) Turkey 12

(125) Uganda 08
 (126) Upper Volta 11
 (127) Uruguay 02

(128) Venezuala 02
 (129) Vietnam 15

(130) West Germany 06

(131) Yemen 12
 (132) Yugoslavia 04

(133) Zaire 07
 (134) Zambia 10
 (135) Zimbabwe 10

(136) More than one
 (137) Other (specify) _____
 (138) Argentina

9. Length _____ (17-21)

Story measures in square inches.

10. Prominence _____ (22)

(Variable name=prom)

Assign points from 0 to 5 based on following index:

Appears on page 1 or section front 1 pt.
 Headline of 2 or more columns 1 pt.
 First line runs above the fold 1 pt.
 At least 3/4 of a column (may include art).. 1 pt.
 Runs with related art 1 pt.

11. Art _____ (23)

If a picture or map runs with a story, that must be noted.
 "Other" might include graphics or line drawings
 (Variable name=art)

(0) no (1) only pix (2) only map (3) map and pix (4) other

12. Space for art _____(24-28)

(Variable name=artsp)

Square inch measure of all photographs, maps and graphics of any sort that runs with a story. Measure includes cutlines.

13. Story source _____(29-30)

Identified from credit line on story or in the case of briefs credit for collections. Where some other source is identified, that should be noted under other and specified.

(Variable name=source)

(00) AP	(08) Hearst
(01) UPI	(09) Knight-Ridder
(02) NYT	(10) Newhouse
(03) LAT/WP	(11) mixed
(04) CSM	(12) paper staff
(05) Reuters	(13) other _____
(06) Cox	(99) none
(07) Gannett	

14. Topic _____(31-32)

Topic is the predominant topic of of first five paragraphs of story. (Variable name=topic)

(00) war/defense -- News of military affairs within country or among countries, defense issues, includes civil war.

(01) diplomacy -- News of diplomatic relations between countries, includes United Nations or multi-national negotiations.

(02) domestic politics -- News of government, civil law, internal political affairs, includes non-violent opposition to government.

(03) economics-domest -- News of business, industry, commerce, banking finance -- where primary focus is domestic issues or events (does not include natural resources).

(04) economics-intl -- News of economic relations between two or more countries, or involving aid agencies, banks, foreign aid, trade, international economic relations.

(05) agriculture--non-trade -- News of farming, farm organizations, technical and business aspects of agriculture. (Does not include agricultural trade issues.)

(06) agriculture--trade -- News of the import or export of agricultural products.

(07) crime/judicial -- News of crime, criminal trials, or the criminal justice system, includes terrorist activity short of civil war.

(08) natural disaster -- News of non-man-made disaster, storms, earthquakes, etc.

(09) accidents -- News of plane, train crashes, man-made disasters, but not terrorism.

(10) sports -- News of competitive, professional or amateur sports activities.

(11) recreation -- News of travel, leisure activities, may involve non-competitive sports as leisure pastimes such as boating (includes media entertainment but not media coverage).

(12) culture/religion -- News dealing with music, art, architecture, religion, and cultural traditions.

(13) science/technology -- News about science, medicine, research, developments and applications.

(14) education -- News of private and public schools, or colleges, adult education, statements by educators or statements about educational standards or accomplishments.

(15) natural res./petrol. -- News concerning petroleum as a natural resource.

(16) natural res./non-petrol. -- News concerning resources of all kinds except petroleum, i.e. lumber, water, fish, etc.

(17) media coverage -- News about foreign media coverage of stories, whether domestic or international. Can include news and documentary treatment of issues.

(18) other (specify) _____
News not clearly defined by categories above, may include transportation, labor, race relations, health, weather, etc.

15. Violence

____(33)

Does predominant subject of story involved man-made damage, destruction, injury, or death? (Variable name=violence)

(0) no

(1) yes

16. Angle

____(34)

Identifies the angle of the story:
(Variable name=angle)

(0) straight -- Story of events or issues outside the United States.

(1) domesticated national -- Story of events or issues outside the United States which has been given a national news hook or angle.

(2) domesticated local -- Story of events or issues outside the United States which has been given a city, state, or regional news hook or angle.

17. Geographic focus

____(35)

Identifies focus of story.
(Variable name=focus)

(0) domestic -- Story about events within a single country other than the United States. May mention other countries but only in contexts outside relationships between the two. For instance, a story about conditions in one country might mention ethnic groups from somewhere and be considered domestic unless the relations between the countries was involved.

(1) international -- Story about cross-boundary relationships between two or more countries.

18. Story type

____(36)

Identifies the type of story.
(Variable name=type)

(0) hard -- timely, "straight news" story deals with presentation of details, events, or issues, maybe written in inverted pyramid form.

(1) soft -- feature story, may not be timely, more likely to deal with individuals or trends than facts or events

(2) analysis -- generally marked as news analysis or located on op. ed. pages. Seeks to explain meaning of events and issues. May involve use of first person pronoun.

(3) editorial -- appears on editorial page or is otherwise marked as newspaper's opinion.

19. Story origin _____(37-38)

Geographic origin of story. (The region number is next to country name on country list.) (Variable name=origin)

(00) Central America -- Barbados, Belize, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Panama, Trinidad and Tobago

(01) North America -- Canada, Mexico

(02) South America -- Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Surinam, Uruguay, Venezuela,

(03) Central Europe -- Austria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary

(04) Eastern Europe -- Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia

(05) Northern Europe -- Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden

(06) Western Europe -- Belgium, France, Ireland, Great Britain, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Switzerland, West Germany

(07) Central Africa -- Benin, Burundi, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Sudan, Zaire

(08) East Africa -- Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda

(09) Northern Africa -- Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Liberia, Morocco, Tunisia

(10) Southern Africa -- Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe

(11) West Africa -- Cameroon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Upper Volta

(12) Mideast -- Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, Israel, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Yemen

(13) Central Asia -- China, Mongolia, Tibet

(14) East Asia -- Japan, North Korea, South Korea, Taiwan

(15) Southeast Asia -- Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam

(16) Asian Subcontinent -- Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka

(17) Pacific Islands -- Australia, Fiji, Indonesia, New Zealand, Philippines

(18) More than one region

(19) Other _____

(20) Southern Europe -- Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Spain

APPENDIX 3
COUNTRY COVERAGE FIGURES

Whole Sample

	Area	% of Area	Stories	% of Stories
Total	35,282.9	100.0	1,850	100.0
USSR	5,297.1	15.0	225	12.1
ISRAEL	2,261.8	6.4	112	6.0
UNITED KINGDOM	1,469.7	4.1	97	5.2
JAPAN	1,464.6	4.1	67	3.6
SOUTH AFRICA	891.1	2.5	65	3.5
PHILLIPINNES	951.2	2.6	46	2.4
NICARAGUA	752.4	2.1	41	2.2
PANAMA	783.1	2.2	38	2.0
CHINA	477.6	1.3	37	.2
SOUTH KOREA	670.3	1.8	34	1.8
ITALY	449.2	1.2	33	1.7
LEBANON	431.6	1.2	32	1.7
W. GERMANY	585.9	1.6	30	1.6
FRANCE	440.9	1.2	28	1.5
CANADA	422.3	1.1	28	1.5
MEXICO	362.3	1.0	28	1.5
IRAN	687.5	1.9	26	1.4
INDIA	350.3	.9	25	1.3
POLAND	429.7	1.2	24	1.2
SWEDEN	349.9	.9	19	1.0
AFGHANISTAN	207.5	.5	19	1.0
VIETNAM	426.6	1.2	16	.8
MORE THAN ONE	7,602.7	21.5	339	18.3

Atlanta Constitution

	Area	% of Area	Stories	% of Stories
Total	6,738.9	100.0	313	100.0
USSR	868.6	12.8	34	10.8
ISRAEL	507.2	7.5	20	6.3
UNITED KINGDOM	314.1	4.6	15	4.7
SOUTH AFRICA	236.3	3.5	15	4.7
JAPAN	325.0	4.8	13	4.1
PHILLIPPINES	171.1	2.5	9	2.8
NICARAGUA	172.0	2.5	8	2.5
PANAMA	124.5	1.8	7	2.2
FRANCE	80.6	.2	7	2.2
ITALY	125.1	1.8	6	1.9
LEBANON	92.7	1.3	6	1.9
IRAN	99.6	1.4	5	1.5
CANADA	82.0	1.2	5	1.5
SOUTH KOREA	165.2	2.4	5	1.5
W. GERMANY	107.4	1.5	4	1.2
POLAND	57.2	.8	4	1.2
MEXICO	51.6	.7	4	1.2
SWEDEN	112.3	1.6	3	.9
INDIA	39.4	.5	3	.9
VIETNAM	63.0	.9	2	.3
AFGHANISTAN	28.7	.0	2	.3
CHINA	3.5	.0	1	.0
MORE THAN ONE	1,406.3	20.8	59	18.7

Birmingham News

	Area	% of Area	Stories	% of Stories
Total	5,193.7	100.0	310	100.0
USSR	636.2	12.2	31	10.0
UNITED KINGDOM	350.8	6.7	21	6.7
ISRAEL	326.2	6.2	16	5.1
PANAMA	274.3	5.2	11	3.5
PHILLIPPINES	157.1	3.2	9	2.9
SOUTH KOREA	73.6	1.4	9	2.9
JAPAN	325.0	6.2	8	2.5
CANADA	86.3	1.6	7	2.2
MEXICO	82.3	1.5	7	2.2
W. GERMANY	75.6	1.4	6	1.9
CHINA	69.6	1.3	6	1.9
NICARAGUA	73.1	1.4	5	1.6
SOUTH AFRICA	54.5	1.0	5	1.6
INDIA	73.1	1.4	4	1.2
LEBANON	64.2	1.2	4	1.2
ITALY	33.5	.6	4	1.2
SWEDEN	30.4	.5	4	1.2
VIETNAM	45.2	.8	2	.6
IRAN	21.6	.4	2	.6
POLAND	29.7	.5	1	.3
AFGHANISTAN	16.5	.3	1	.3
FRANCE	5.0	.0	1	.0
MORE THAN ONE	1,149.4	22.1	58	18.7

Des Moines Register

	Area	% of Area	Stories	% of Stories
Total	3,589.0	100.0	251	100.0
USSR	434.1	12.0	23	9.1
ISRAEL	226.8	6.3	14	5.5
UNITED KINGDOM	122.1	3.4	13	5.1
SOUTH AFRICA	141.9	3.9	10	3.9
LEBANON	86.5	2.4	7	2.7
FRANCE	51.8	1.4	7	2.7
CHINA	50.9	1.4	7	2.7
INDIA	36.5	1.0	7	2.7
SOUTH KOREA	101.0	2.8	6	2.3
PHILLIPPINES	86.4	2.4	6	2.3
JAPAN	138.0	3.8	5	1.9
W. GERMANY	114.4	3.1	5	1.9
NICARAGUA	76.1	2.1	5	1.9
POLAND	44.4	1.2	5	1.9
ITALY	35.8	.9	4	1.5
SWEDEN	29.4	.8	3	1.1
MEXICO	27.0	.7	3	1.1
AFGHANISTAN	26.2	.7	3	1.1
PANAMA	24.0	.6	2	.7
CANADA	11.0	.3	2	.7
VIETNAM	10.0	.2	1	.3
IRAN	00.0	.0	0	.0
MORE THAN ONE	948.9	26.4	52	20.7

Omaha World-Herald

	Area	% of Area	Stories	% of Stories
Total	5,061.7	100.0	292	100.0
USSR	940.5	18.5	45	15.4
ISRAEL	322.0	6.3	17	5.8
SOUTH AFRICA	157.5	3.1	13	4.4
CHINA	199.5	3.9	10	3.4
UNITED KINGDOM	158.9	3.1	10	3.4
JAPAN	189.4	3.7	9	3.0
PANAMA	95.2	1.8	8	2.7
FRANCE	151.2	2.9	7	2.3
NICARAGUA	106.3	2.1	7	2.3
PHILLIPINES	74.8	1.5	7	2.3
ITALY	50.8	1.0	7	2.3
W. GERMANY	78.2	1.5	6	2.0
SOUTH KOREA	117.1	2.3	5	1.7
MEXICO	67.4	1.3	5	1.7
IRAN	21.6	.4	5	1.7
POLAND	69.1	1.3	4	1.3
INDIA	46.9	.9	4	1.3
LEBANON	31.5	.6	4	1.3
AFGHANISTAN	31.1	.6	4	1.3
VIETNAM	134.0	2.6	3	1.0
CANADA	41.5	.8	3	1.0
SWEDEN	0.0	.0	0	0.0
MORE THAN ONE	1,080.5	21.3	51	17.4

Portland Oregonian

	Area	% of Area	Stories	% of Stories
Total	8,986.6	100.0	389	100.0
USSR	1,418.3	15.7	52	13.3
ISRAEL	575.3	6.4	26	6.6
UNITED KINGDOM	277.0	3.0	20	5.1
JAPAN	388.1	4.3	16	4.1
SOUTH AFRICA	157.0	1.7	11	2.8
PHILLIPINES	342.7	3.8	9	2.3
ITALY	161.9	1.8	8	2.0
IRAN	161.6	1.8	7	1.7
POLAND	154.1	1.7	7	1.7
NICARAGUA	106.3	1.1	7	1.7
PANAMA	182.0	2.0	5	1.2
INDIA	124.7	1.3	5	1.2
SWEDEN	120.4	1.3	5	1.2
SOUTH KOREA	106.3	1.1	5	1.2
MEXICO	95.4	1.0	5	1.2
CANADA	90.5	1.0	5	1.2
LEBANON	72.7	.8	5	1.2
CHINA	57.9	.6	5	1.2
FRANCE	79.7	.8	3	1.2
W. GERMANY	22.5	.2	3	.7
AFGHANISTAN	10.7	.1	3	.7
VIETNAM	15.9	.1	2	.5
MORE THAN ONE	1,963.9	21.8	83	21.3

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

	Area	% of Area	Stories	% of Stories
Total	5,713.0	100.0	295	100.0
USSR	999.4	17.4	40	13.5
ISRAEL	304.3	5.3	19	6.4
UNITED KINGDOM	246.8	4.3	18	6.1
JAPAN	376.2	6.5	16	5.4
SOUTH AFRICA	143.9	2.5	11	3.7
NICARAGUA	151.5	2.6	9	3.0
CHINA	96.2	1.6	8	2.7
IRAN	113.9	1.9	7	2.3
W. GERMANY	187.8	3.2	6	2.0
VIETNAM	158.5	2.7	6	2.0
PHILLIPINES	119.1	2.0	6	2.0
CANADA	111.0	1.9	6	2.0
AFGHANISTAN	94.3	1.6	6	2.0
LEBANON	84.0	1.4	6	2.0
PANAMA	83.1	1.4	5	1.6
SOUTH KOREA	107.1	1.8	4	1.3
SWEDEN	57.4	1.0	4	1.3
ITALY	42.1	.7	4	1.3
MEXICO	38.6	.6	4	1.3
POLAND	75.2	1.3	3	1.0
FRANCE	72.6	1.2	3	1.0
INDIA	29.7	.5	2	.6
MORE THAN ONE	1,053.7	18.4	36	9.1

APPENDIX 4
U.S. EXPORT FIGURES

U.S. Exports -- 1988¹

Top Ten Countries of Destination
{value in millions of dollars}

	Total	% of total
Total	261.276	
Top Ten	166.317	
CANADA	51.954	19.9
JAPAN	29.645	11.3
MEXICO	17.880	6.8
UNITED KINGDOM	16.144	4.8
FRANCE	8.903	3.4
SOUTH KOREA	8.795	3.4
NETHERLANDS	8.363	3.2
AUSTRALIA	6.487	2.5
ITALY	5.584	2.1
OTHER COUNTRIES	94.959	36.4

¹Foreign Trade Division, U.S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census, Exports by Region of Origin.

APPENDIX 5
STATE EXPORT FIGURES

Exports of Merchandise--1988¹

STATE: ALABAMA

Country of Destination Totals for Selected State
[value in thousands of dollars]

Country of Destination	Total Value	%
Total	2867348.7	100.0
JAPAN	566912.8	19.7
CANADA	471550.8	16.4
NETHERLANDS	161884.2	5.6
W.GERMANY	150262.2	5.2
UNITED KINGDOM	150035.5	5.2
MEXICO	114216.1	3.9
CHINA (TAIWAN)	111634.6	3.8
KOREA, REPUBLIC OF	98485.8	3.4
BELGIUM	85483.6	2.9
ITALY	83077.5	2.8
FRANCE	68649.2	2.3
CHINA (MAINLAND)	56262.5	1.9
AUSTRALIA	47012.3	1.6
SWITZERLAND	45265.7	1.5
VENEZUELA	35562.9	1.2
SINGAPORE	34657.6	1.2
SWEDEN	30875.8	1.0
HONG KONG	27565.8	.9
SPAIN	27181.9	
BRAZIL	23959.8	
COSTA RICA	23108.0	
PERU	20550.6	
HONDURAS	20097.2	
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	19022.7	
JAMAICA	18590.2	
NORWAY	17961.7	
INDONESIA	17799.0	
USSR	17409.3	
ROMANIA	16893.5	
SAUDI ARABIA	16734.9	
ISRAEL-inc GAZA & WESTBANK	16623.9	
IRELAND	16264.2	
NIGERIA	14620.9	
ARGENTINA	14586.5	
EGYPT	12682.9	
COLOMBIA	11554.1	
KUWAIT	10958.5	
THAILAND	10954.9	
GUATEMALA	10166.5	
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA	9346.1	

ALABAMA EXPORTS--Continued

TURKEY	9059.7
CHILE	8809.7
IRAQ	8742.3
PAKISTAN	7197.6
NEW ZEALAND	6136.6
INDIA	6060.1
ALBANIA	5983.5
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	5699.9
DENMARK	5318.7
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	5170.3
PHILIPPINES	5014.0
EL SALVADOR	4680.8
YUGOSLAVIA	4499.6
BANGLADESH	4395.7
HAITI	4368.1
ALGERIA	3815.1
FRENCH GUIANA	3658.8
NETHERLANDS ANTILLES	3339.8
AUSTRIA	3332.1
MALAYSIA	3258.7
BAHAMAS	3246.9
GREECE	2951.8
POLAND	2747.0
CYPRUS	2275.3
BARBADOS	2252.6
ANDORRA	2092.7
ECUADOR	1969.1
PORTUGAL	1907.4
GUYANA	1786.6
ARUBA	1747.1
FINLAND	1691.1
ST. VINCENT	1600.8
BOLIVIA	1519.4
BAHRAIN	1401.3
ANTIGUA	1380.8
MARTINIQUE	1344.3
TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS	1321.2
MARSHALL ISLANDS	1299.1
PANAMA	1110.2
ST. LUCIA	972.3
BELIZE	867.5
BERMUDA	831.4
URUGUAY	828.4
JORDAN	826.1
MALTA AND GOZO	783.5
CAYMAN ISLANDS	780.3
LEBANON	761.9
KENYA	693.6
QATAR	606.8
ICELAND	511.8

ALABAMA EXPORTS--Continued

LIBERIA	497.4
OMAN	484.1
GUINEA	479.8
LUXEMBOURG	473.6
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC	444.6
BRUNEI	415.9
LIECHTENSTEIN	328.6
ZAIRE	314.2
SAN MARINO	303.4
MONACO	289.1
ANGUILLA	259.7
BULGARIA	253.2
TOGO	253.2
ST. CHRISTOPHER-NEVIS	250.0
GRENADA	245.3
BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS	232.7
NIGER	229.1
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	212.6
ZIMBABWE	190.6
TUNISIA	172.2
MOROCCO	153.0
MAURITIUS	149.1
DOMINICA	138.3
ETHIOPIA	127.5
CHAD	115.2
E. GERMANY	101.7
BENIN	88.6
TANZANIA	87.3
GHANA	82.9
PARAGUAY	70.0
GUADELOUPE	64.9
SURINAME	59.6
SRI LANKA	55.9
FAROE ISLAND	53.6
CAMEROON	43.7
SVALBARD, JAN MAYEN	43.0
FIJI	38.3
SWAZILAND	35.8
BOTSWANA	35.7
GABON	34.8
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	33.8
ZAMBIA	28.9
NEPAL	26.0
FRENCH POLYNESIA	25.4
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	24.7
YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC	23.0
LESOTHO	20.7
SOMALIA	18.2
SENEGAL	17.7
SIERRA LEONE	15.1

ALABAMA EXPORTS--Continued

HUNGARY	14.7
ANGOLA	12.8
FALKLAND ISLANDS	12.4
AFGANISTAN	11.2
MOZAMBIQUE	9.0
SEYCHELLES	8.8
MALAWI	7.8
SUDAN	5.1
BHUTAN	4.1
BURKINA	3.2
MALI	2.8
VANUATU	1.9
MALDIVE ISLANDS	1.6

STATE: GEORGIA

Country of Destination Totals for Selected State
[value in thousands of dollars]

Country of Destination	Total Value	%
Total	4889448.7	100.0
CANADA	647477.5	13.2
JAPAN	532192.8	10.8
UNITED KINGDOM	310493.2	6.3
W. GERMANY	225609.1	4.6
KOREA, REPUBLIC OF	169378.7	3.4
NETHERLANDS	169300.7	3.4
MEXICO	157208.4	3.8
CHINA (TAIWAN)	149361.0	3.2
BELGIUM	149098.7	3.0
HONG KONG	149054.8	3.0
FRANCE	131388.1	2.6
SAUDI ARABIA	131228.0	2.6
ITALY	124253.0	2.5
VENEZUELA	107628.6	2.2
SPAIN	85824.9	1.7
AUSTRALIA	84041.7	1.7
COSTA RICA	83970.4	1.7
TURKEY	75770.0	1.5
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA	65776.1	1.3
FINLAND	59774.6	1.0
ETHIOPIA	52166.4	1.0
COLOMBIA	50513.6	.9
JAMAICA	46574.9	.9
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	46468.2	.8
IRELAND	42623.7	.8
ISRAEL-inc GAZA & westbank	42235.2	.8
BRAZIL	41160.4	.8
SWEDEN	39172.9	.8
SINGAPORE	35747.4	.7
CHINA (MAINLAND)	35222.0	
PANAMA	34921.5	
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	33838.0	
CYPRUS	32929.5	
BERMUDA	32227.6	
IVORY COAST	29521.9	
CHILE	28977.1	
HONDURAS	28351.4	
KUWAIT	27890.3	
PHILIPPINES	26595.5	
IRAQ	26283.5	
ARGENTINA	25822.5	
SWITZERLAND	24773.0	

GEORGIA EXPORTS--Continued

CHAD	24266.6
HAITI	21358.4
GUATEMALA	18878.7
NORWAY	17473.6
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	16983.1
EGYPT	16901.2
INDIA	16681.1
THAILAND	15475.0
BAHAMAS	15029.1
ECUADOR	14792.3
YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC	14362.0
NETHERLANDS ANTILLES	14309.3
PERU	14217.5
INDONESIA	12665.0
MOROCCO	10964.1
ST. LUCIA	10834.9
NEW ZEALAND	10618.7
DENMARK	10401.2
EL SALVADOR	9472.0
BAHRAIN	9334.7
LUXEMBOURG	8669.0
OMAN	8114.8
GREECE	7717.7
SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE	7549.7
NIGERIA	7339.6
MALAYSIA	7312.6
PAKISTAN	7061.8
ZAIRE	6789.9
BARBADOS	6778.9
SURINAME	6659.5
QATAR	6588.6
ANTIGUA	6356.9
PORTUGAL	6221.4
BOLIVIA	5849.0
AUSTRIA	4713.1
PARAGUAY	4522.7
LEBANON	4455.2
SUDAN	4432.3
GRENADA	4344.0
CAMEROON	3798.5
ARUBA	3359.4
ZIMBABWE	3185.3
BELIZE	3065.6
AFGANISTAN	2877.6
URUGUAY	2834.2
JORDAN	2824.1
YUGOSLAVIA	2788.2
GABON	2388.7
KENYA	2349.7
ANGUILLA	2342.6

GEORGIA EXPORTS--Continued

ST. VINCENT	2295.2
NEPAL	2115.1
TUNISIA	2045.6
ALGERIA	1860.3
GUINEA	1850.0
BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS	1847.3
GUYANA	1806.1
BRUNEI	1780.2
BENIN	1702.8
USSR	1642.5
MAURITANIA	1629.1
SRI LANKA	1610.3
FRENCH POLYNESIA	1511.3
CAYMAN ISLANDS	1389.8
ICELAND	1355.8
LIBERIA	1342.2
GUADELOUPE	1277.8
MOZAMBIQUE	1241.3
NEW CALEDONIA	1189.0
GHANA	1178.0
ST. CHRISTOPHER-NEVIS	1159.9
BURKINA	1046.8
MAURITIUS	899.8
MONTSERRAT	811.2
TANZANIA	810.6
BULGARIA	755.1
ZAMBIA	655.3
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC	635.1
HUNGARY	612.7
MARTINIQUE	594.2
SENEGAL	570.2
MALTA AND GOZO	547.7
UGANDA	487.1
SOLOMON ISLANDS	460.5
NIGER	392.6
FIJI	375.1
TOGO	342.7
MADAGASCAR	341.7
E. GERMANY	277.4
CONGO	229.0
ANDORRA	224.4
SAN MARINO	224.1
SIERRA LEONE	218.4
ANGOLA	208.8
MALAWI	208.7
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	193.3
SWAZILAND	185.8
BANGLADESH	180.0
BOTSWANA	168.5
TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS	151.5

GEORGIA EXPORTS--Continued

MALI	142.4
MACAO	140.6
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	137.4
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	124.9
POLAND	111.3
SOMALIA	104.9
FRENCH GUIANA	93.1
FAROE ISLAND	83.3
REUNION	71.2
GUINEA-BISSAU	64.8
MARSHALL ISLANDS	58.3
GREENLAND	55.2
PALAU	53.9
MONACO	52.7
DJIBOUTI	46.8
THE GAMBIA	43.1
VIETNAM	42.5
DOMINICA	41.2
BURMA	36.7
NAMIBIA	35.0
ROMANIA	31.0
RWANDA	17.4
NICARAGUA	13.2
SEYCHELLES	12.4
BURUNDI	9.1
TONGA	8.4
CAPE VERDE	6.3
GIBRALTAR	4.4
KIRIBATI	4.4
VANUATU	3.8
FR. STHERN. , ANTARCTIC	3.0
IRAN	2.2

STATE: IOWA

Country of Destination Totals for Selected State
[value in thousands of dollars]

Country of Destination	Total Value	%
Total	2164724.0	100.0
CANADA	747640.9	34.5
JAPAN	375209.8	17.3
UNITED KINGDOM	107020.8	4.9
MEXICO	93773.1	4.3
FRANCE	85548.4	3.9
W. GERMANY	75188.4	3.4
NETHERLANDS	75173.3	3.4
AUSTRALIA	63031.4	2.9
ITALY	47960.8	2.2
BELGIUM	40440.4	1.8
HONG KONG	32709.6	1.5
CHINA (TAIWAN)	32603.0	1.5
SPAIN	28719.8	1.3
KOREA, REPUBLIC OF	27938.9	1.2
SINGAPORE	26285.8	1.2
CHINA (MAINLAND)	24871.8	1.1
VENEZUELA	23453.5	1.0
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA	16606.0	.7
TURKEY	15447.5	.7
SAUDI ARABIA	15364.7	
SWEDEN	13503.3	
ISRAEL-inc. GAZA & Westbank	12664.4	
IRAQ	10802.0	
INDONESIA	10796.6	
ARGENTINA	9552.9	
GREECE	9347.3	
THAILAND	8248.7	
PORTUGAL	8236.3	
BRAZIL	7838.1	
IRELAND	7395.5	
MALAYSIA	6940.4	
INDIA	6477.4	
CHILE	6247.6	
AUSTRIA	5562.0	
COLOMBIA	5526.0	
SWITZERLAND	5482.0	
COSTA RICA	5071.2	
PHILIPPINES	5003.0	
PAKISTAN	4805.2	
DENMARK	4706.8	
NEW ZEALAND	4436.2	
ECUADOR	3636.9	

IOWA EXPORTS--Continued

ALGERIA	3038.4
FINLAND	2560.2
KUWAIT	2451.9
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	2342.8
SUDAN	2080.4
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	2002.8
EGYPT	1924.5
NORWAY	1795.5
ROMANIA	1778.8
PERU	1539.9
HUNGARY	1493.6
BAHAMAS	1313.2
GUATEMALA	1195.8
URUGUAY	1190.0
HONDURAS	1177.9
IRAN	909.6
PANAMA	887.9
BAHRAIN	860.8
LUXEMBOURG	799.8
ST. CHRISTOPHER-NEVIS	763.5
YUGOSLAVIA	758.6
JORDAN	748.1
ANDORRA	736.9
USSR	729.9
JAMAICA	699.3
BERMUDA	659.8
QATAR	659.5
ZAIRE	547.7
EL SALVADOR	538.8
NIGERIA	486.7
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	442.8
CYPRUS	438.0
SOMALIA	430.8
POLAND	379.5
MALTA AND GOZO	375.5
SRI LANKA	368.2
NICARAGUA	360.7
HAITI	356.4
BARBADOS	346.6
SOLOMON ISLANDS	318.3
OMAN	309.4
BOLIVIA	304.1
GUYANA	291.5
NETHERLANDS ANTILLES	269.1
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	225.7
IVORY COAST	224.6
ZIMBABWE	221.9
ZAMBIA	187.2
GIBRALTAR	182.3
KENYA	172.0

IOWA EXPORTS--Continued

ARUBA	163.8
NEW CALEDONIA	157.0
BELIZE	152.4
TUNISIA	132.6
E. GERMANY	128.9
PARAGUAY	124.0
ST. LUCIA	120.4
GUADELOUPE	110.0
ICELAND	103.6
TOGO	97.3
LEBANON	95.7
MOROCCO	89.4
FRENCH GUIANA	84.6
DJIBOUTI	84.1
ETHIOPIA	81.6
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC	76.7
TANZANIA	72.7
GHANA	65.5
SENEGAL	64.0
FRENCH POLYNESIA	61.1
SEYCHELLES	59.7
BRUNEI	59.3
NEPAL	44.8
MALAWI	44.0
SURINAME	43.0
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	38.6
MAURITIUS	27.0
NAMIBIA	24.6
COOK ISLANDS	24.0
UGANDA	20.7
GRENADA	18.8
LIBERIA	15.7
YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC	14.5
SIERRA LEONE	13.5
MARTINIQUE	9.8
CAYMAN ISLANDS	8.6
BANGLADESH	7.2
MALDIVE ISLANDS	6.5
ST. VINCENT	5.4
CHAD	5.4
FR. STERN., ANTARCTIC	4.0
SWAZILAND	3.9
BOTSWANA	3.7
LESOTHO	3.2
GUINEA	2.6
ANGOLA	1.9
CAMEROON	1.8
ANTIGUA	1.5

STATE: NEBRASKA

Country of Destination Totals for Selected State
[value in thousands of dollars]

Country of Destination	Total Value	%
TOTAL	916421.6	100.0
JAPAN	195978.9	21.3
CANADA	185817.9	20.2
SAUDI ARABIA	95286.1	10.3
KOREA, REPUBLIC OF	60332.2	6.5
MEXICO	52274.8	5.7
CHINA (TAIWAN)	41995.8	4.5
FRANCE	35409.2	3.8
UNITED KINGDOM	29679.7	3.2
W. GERMANY	26876.4	2.9
ALGERIA	18939.3	2.0
IRELAND	14909.0	1.6
SINGAPORE	14502.8	1.5
BELGIUM	12234.5	1.3
NETHERLANDS	11700.8	1.2
VENEZUELA	9672.7	1.0
ITALY	8929.8	.9
AUSTRALIA	8825.2	.9
INDIA	8370.5	.9
SPAIN	7805.5	.8
HONG KONG	6403.5	.6
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA	5891.5	
ISRAEL-inc GAZA & WESTBANK	4613.2	
BRAZIL	3957.9	
CHINA (MAINLAND)	3833.5	
THAILAND	3623.8	
SRI LANKA	3080.9	
MOROCCO	2629.7	
ANGOLA	2517.1	
CHILE	2432.5	
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	2317.6	
SWITZERLAND	2229.3	
YUGOSLAVIA	2082.0	
HONDURAS	1876.7	
HUNGARY	1707.1	
DENMARK	1688.9	
COSTA RICA	1570.7	
JORDAN	1509.3	
SWEDEN	1455.7	
PHILIPPINES	1350.9	
NORWAY	1291.9	
ECUADOR	1261.6	
ARGENTINA	899.0	

NEBRASKA EXPORTS--Continued

USSR	880.5
BOTSWANA	781.2
BURKINA	769.7
PORTUGAL	760.4
TURKEY	751.3
NEW ZEALAND	707.5
MAURITIUS	698.1
IRAQ	697.2
MALAYSIA	590.5
AUSTRIA	586.9
FINLAND	566.7
PAKISTAN	564.2
SOMALIA	548.7
BOLIVIA	501.9
COLOMBIA	479.5
PERU	452.0
GUATEMALA	430.1
TUNISIA	414.1
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	395.0
EGYPT	379.6
BAHAMAS	375.3
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	365.3
GREECE	360.2
SENEGAL	359.7
OMAN	281.8
SIERRA LEONE	275.9
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	232.1
CAPE VERDE	214.3
INDONESIA	200.3
ARUBA	192.9
ICELAND	184.8
CYPRUS	168.1
MALI	161.2
TOGO	155.2
MALAWI	146.6
KUWAIT	139.8
LESOTHO	90.4
BHUTAN	88.7
NETHERLANDS ANTILLES	81.9
EL SALVADOR	79.4
BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS	74.8
BERMUDA	72.4
KENYA	53.9
JAMAICA	40.4
IVORY COAST	36.8
BULGARIA	29.1
ROMANIA	27.8
BAHRAIN	27.2
PANAMA	26.7
LEBANON	17.1

NEBRASKA EXPORTS--Continued

URUGUAY	16.8
ST. LUCIA	15.7
MARSHALL ISLANDS	15.6
SURINAME	14.2
GUINEA	13.4
LUXEMBOURG	12.7
POLAND	9.5
CAMEROON	6.8
GUYANA	6.6
MALTA AND GOZO	5.1
NIGERIA	5.1
HAITI	4.0
SUDAN	3.1
BURMA	3.7
CHAD	2.8
BANGLADESH	2.4
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC	1.9
MONTSERRAT	1.6

STATE: OREGON

Country of Destination Totals for Selected State
[value in thousands of dollars]

Country of Destination	Total Value	%
TOTAL	4522818.3	100.0
JAPAN	1293622.0	28.6
CANADA	617146.4	13.6
KOREA, REPUBLIC OF	341593.1	7.5
CHINA (TAIWAN)	211222.6	4.6
EGYPT	200271.7	4.4
UNITED KINGDOM	198573.2	4.3
W. GERMANY	152952.4	3.3
CHINA (MAINLAND)	149800.9	3.3
AUSTRALIA	134638.5	2.9
PAKISTAN	115261.6	2.5
SINGAPORE	103998.0	2.2
ITALY	102230.6	2.2
FRANCE	82146.6	1.8
PHILIPPINES	78556.4	1.7
INDIA	59176.7	1.3
NETHERLANDS	57343.5	1.2
HONG KONG	43415.4	.9
SWEDEN	37345.5	.8
BELGIUM	34659.6	.7
SPAIN	32584.2	.7
SAUDI ARABIA	32290.7	
SRI LANKA	28775.4	
DENMARK	26317.0	
MEXICO	23453.1	
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA	23021.3	
YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC	22213.7	
INDONESIA	21468.9	
BANGLADESH	21208.8	
USSR	20682.2	
IRAQ	19787.8	
AUSTRIA	19611.2	
MALAYSIA	19018.1	
GREECE	18347.7	
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	17668.7	
SWITZERLAND	13623.9	
CHILE	11688.3	
THAILAND	10749.9	
BRAZIL	9942.8	
FINLAND	9457.9	
FRENCH POLYNESIA	9329.4	
PERU	8468.5	
TUNISIA	7864.9	

OREGON EXPORTS--Continued

ISRAEL-inc GAZA & WESTBANK	6909.7
NORWAY	6793.5
NEW ZEALAND	5870.4
COLOMBIA	4103.4
EL SALVADOR	3730.6
MARSHALL ISLANDS	3427.7
IRELAND	3423.8
KENYA	3260.6
MOROCCO	3152.8
VENEZUELA	2693.5
ECUADOR	2671.5
ALGERIA	2449.6
MICRONESIA	2186.7
ARGENTINA	2183.4
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC	2175.6
NICARAGUA	2136.6
ZIMBABWE	1903.4
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	1876.0
TOGO	1519.4
PORTUGAL	1353.4
TURKEY	1052.3
KUWAIT	1036.8
LUXEMBOURG	1013.5
PALAU	891.0
CYPRUS	784.5
LEBANON	779.9
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	764.2
COSTA RICA	716.8
ANDORRA	625.2
FIJI	548.0
PANAMA	500.0
TANZANIA	433.2
BERMUDA	412.3
OMAN	372.4
NEW CALEDONIA	367.6
NIGERIA	336.6
HUNGARY	319.9
ICELAND	296.1
CAPE VERDE	291.0
ZAMBIA	285.9
GUATEMALA	283.7
YUGOSLAVIA	280.5
NAMIBIA	272.7
ZAIRE	256.3
TONGA	251.5
JAMAICA	240.6
JORDAN	237.6
GUINEA	230.1
SOLOMON ISLANDS	220.7
LIBERIA	209.0

OREGON EXPORTS--Continued

GHANA	194.3
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	193.6
IVORY COAST	173.4
HONDURAS	169.8
BAHRAIN	155.1
LIECHTENSTEIN	154.3
MADAGASCAR	153.2
KIRIBATI	126.6
NETHERLANDS ANTILLES	120.5
BAHAMAS	118.1
QATAR	103.1
AFGANISTAN	93.7
MARTINIQUE	90.8
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	88.7
MALI	82.2
WESTERN SAMOA	72.6
POLAND	67.7
BARBADOS	66.0
URUGUAY	63.3
BOLIVIA	61.9
SUDAN	55.8
HAITI	53.3
SENEGAL	48.0
NEPAL	44.3
REUNION	40.8
MAURITIUS	40.2
BURMA	39.1
ANTIGUA	34.4
GUADELOUPE	33.9
ROMANIA	32.1
FAROE ISLAND	30.3
CAYMAN ISLANDS	30.0
ARUBA	25.3
E. GERMANY	25.1
GREENLAND	22.6
GABON	22.3
COOK ISLANDS	20.0
RWANDA	18.7
NORFOLK ISLAND	18.4
ST. VINCENT	16.3
ST. LUCIA	15.5
PARAGUAY	13.9
BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS	13.6
SWAZILAND	13.2
MALDIVE ISLANDS	10.4
SAN MARINO	9.5
IRAQ-SAUDI ARABIA NTRL ZN	9.5
FRENCH GUIANA	9.2
CONGO	8.8
NIGER	6.5

OREGON EXPORTS--Continued

MOZAMBIQUE	6.3
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	6.3
BRUNEI	5.2
FR. STERN. , ANTARCTIC	5.0
GUYANA	4.3
MALTA AND GOZO	3.4
TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS	3.4
ETHIOPIA	3.2
CAMEROON	2.7
UGANDA	2.5
CHAD	2.1
DJIBOUTI	1.8
MALAWI	1.6

STATE: WASHINGTON

Country of Destination Totals for Selected State
[value in thousands of dollars]

Country of Destination	Total Value	%
TOTAL	17865011.6	100.0
JAPAN	4818334.0	26.9
CANADA	2426283.0	13.5
UNITED KINGDOM	1554847.0	8.7
KOREA, REPUBLIC OF	1450989.0	8.1
W. GERMANY	862854.0	4.8
CHINA (TAIWAN)	764033.8	4.2
AUSTRALIA	652010.2	3.6
CHINA (MAINLAND)	637946.3	3.5
BRAZIL	542993.5	3.0
FRANCE	508610.4	2.8
NETHERLANDS	391210.5	2.1
INDIA	334818.7	1.8
SPAIN	311019.3	1.7
EGYPT	279480.9	1.5
SINGAPORE	215827.0	1.2
HONG KONG	198280.3	1.1
ISRAEL-inc GAZA & WESTBANK	168491.3	.9
BELGIUM	140341.2	.7
BAHRAIN	137741.8	.7
MAURITIUS	131055.1	.7
AUSTRIA	125549.0	
NEW ZEALAND	96490.4	
MEXICO	90990.0	
YUGOSLAVIA	81977.7	
THAILAND	67734.7	
PHILIPPINES	57570.0	
NEPAL	54511.4	
IRAQ	52068.2	
ITALY	51640.2	
VENEZUELA	49098.1	
NORWAY	48893.3	
SAUDI ARABIA	41934.4	
SWITZERLAND	39140.9	
TURKEY	35540.7	
MALAYSIA	34814.6	
SWEDEN	32242.2	
PORTUGAL	29798.5	
DENMARK	29762.9	
ETHIOPIA	22973.0	
IRELAND	22751.8	
INDONESIA	19720.8	
MALTA AND GOZO	18615.2	

WASHINGTON EXPORTS--Continued

CHILE	17554.9
COLOMBIA	15490.2
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA	15421.2
USSR	14756.4
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	14357.4
ALGERIA	12800.7
FINLAND	12221.8
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	11770.6
PAKISTAN	10695.8
BANGLADESH	9537.6
ARGENTINA	9447.5
SRI LANKA	6297.9
PERU	5872.7
MOROCCO	5725.1
KUWAIT	4713.2
COSTA RICA	4275.0
GREECE	4218.7
GHANA	4180.1
NEW CALEDONIA	4013.3
BAHAMAS	3102.8
ANGOLA	2929.4
TUNISIA	2923.7
ECUADOR	2913.0
NIGERIA	2532.6
BOLIVIA	2515.9
PANAMA	2484.0
MARSHALL ISLANDS	2149.3
EL SALVADOR	2134.8
GUATEMALA	1985.8
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	1921.6
HONDURAS	1876.5
LUXEMBOURG	1864.0
FRENCH POLYNESIA	1672.4
BRUNEI	1286.5
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1123.4
ICELAND	898.1
JORDAN	824.1
OMAN	782.1
JAMAICA	714.2
MOZAMBIQUE	698.2
ZIMBABWE	674.6
YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC	627.6
ANTIGUA	509.5
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	482.5
KENYA	476.7
BURMA	437.3
YEMEN	419.0
URUGUAY	413.9
QATAR	411.9
CONGO	401.0

WASHINGTON EXPORTS--Continued

TANZANIA	378.4
SUDAN	353.0
BERMUDA	352.0
BULGARIA	343.0
ZAMBIA	325.9
POLAND	304.2
LIBERIA	285.7
ZAIRE	271.1
MACAO	254.1
CYPRUS	229.2
FIJI	223.4
NETHERLANDS ANTILLES	206.0
CHAD	205.4
MICRONESIA	199.7
ANDORRA	193.1
AFGANISTAN	174.3
PALAU	143.8
GUADELOUPE	141.1
SEYCHELLES	138.5
MADAGASCAR	124.7
BARBADOS	120.4
BOTSWANA	119.0
BELIZE	113.1
GABON	95.5
ST. CHRISTOPHER-NEVIS	91.2
CAMEROON	85.9
VIETNAM	75.2
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC	65.1
SAN MARINO	59.4
NIGER	51.1
MAURITANIA	50.9
KIRIBATI	47.3
ST. LUCIA	44.6
VATICAN CITY	41.0
FAROE ISLAND	36.5
REUNION	32.5
THE GAMBIA	27.8
MARTINIQUE	27.7
IVORY COAST	26.9
E. GERMANY	25.7
HUNGARY	25.0
LEBANON	24.5
VANUATU	23.9
MALDIVE ISLANDS	22.5
SOLOMON ISLANDS	20.7
LAOS	20.1
GUINEA	17.0
MONTSERRAT	16.5
PARAGUAY	15.4
BHUTAN	15.3

WASHINGTON EXPORTS--Continued

GRENADA	13.9
TONGA	13.8
ANGUILLA	12.7
GUYANA	11.7
MALI	10.0
HAITI	9.7
SENEGAL	9.6
FRENCH GUIANA	9.5
CAYMAN ISLANDS	9.5
ARUBA	8.5
TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS	8.5
BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS	8.2
SURINAME	8.0
NIUE	7.5
CAPE VERDE	7.3
T W ALU ISLANDS	6.9
WESTERN SAMOA	5.4
ST. VINCENT	5.3
NAMIBIA	5.2
MALAWI	5.1
SVALBARD, JAN MAYEN	4.5
NAURU	4.2
BURKINA	4.1
COCOS ISLANDS	3.6
DOMINICA	2.8
RWANDA	2.6
MONGOLIA	2.1
WALLIS AND FUTUNA	1.9
ROMANIA	1.7
COOK ISLANDS	1.7

NOTES

1. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Foreign Trade Division, "U.S. Exports by State Region of Origin 1988." Data for Alabama, Georgia, Iowa, Nebraska, Oregon, and Washington.

APPENDIX 6
IMMIGRATION FIGURES

Foreign Born Population--1980¹

ALABAMA

	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm.
Birmingham	284,413	8,044	
GERMANY		860	10.6
UNITED KINGDOM		683	8.4
CANADA		443	5.5
VIETNAM		281	3.4
ITALY		273	3.3
USSR		271	3.3
INDIA		252	3.1
IRAN		221	2.7
FRANCE		219	2.7
GREECE		213	2.6
JAPAN		195	2.4
KOREA		167	2.0
CHINA		147	1.8
PHILLIPPINES		144	1.7
CUBA		133	1.6
POLAND		133	1.6
ISRAEL		112	1.3
LEBANON		89	1.1
NETHERLANDS		81	1.0

	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm.
Alabama	3,893,800	39,002	
GERMANY		6,443	16.5
UNITED KINGDOM		2,873	7.3
CANADA		2,292	7.4
KOREA		1,436	3.6
JAPAN		1,200	3.0
VIETNAM		1,107	2.8
INDIA		1,010	2.5
IRAN		990	2.5
FRANCE		895	2.2
PHILLIPPINES		823	2.1
USSR		780	1.9
GREECE		574	1.4
ITALY		554	1.4
CUBA		514	1.3
CHINA		467	1.1
POLAND		424	1.0

GEORGIA

	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm
Atlanta	425,022	46,207	
GERMANY		4,392	9.5
UNITED KINGDOM		3,898	8.4
CANADA		3,191	6.9
CUBA		2,613	5.6
KOREA		2,340	5.0
INDIA		1,533	3.3
JAPAN		1,180	2.5
VIETNAM		1,165	2.5
USSR		1,044	2.2
IRAN		922	1.9
CHINA		910	1.9
MEXICO		891	1.9
GREECE		877	1.8
PHILLIPPINES		770	1.6
FRANCE		753	1.6
JAMAICA		648	1.4
COLOMBIA		627	1.3
THAILAND		465	1.0

	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm.
Georgia	5,463,105	91,480	
GERMANY		13,589	14.8
UNITED KINGDOM		6,935	7.5
CANADA		5,319	5.8
KOREA		5,117	5.5
CUBA		3,431	3.7
JAPAN		2,926	3.1
INDIA		2,438	2.6
VIETNAM		2,126	2.3
PHILLIPPINES		1,997	2.1
USSR		1,848	2.0
CHINA		1,569	1.7
FRANCE		1,542	1.6
MEXICO		1,452	1.5
GREECE		1,305	1.4
ITALY		1,285	1.4
IRAN		1,274	1.3
JAMAICA		1,095	1.1
POLAND		1,084	1.1

IOWA

	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm.
Des Moines	191,003	7,884	
VIETNAM		777	9.8
ITALY		525	6.6
CANADA		516	6.5
UNITED KINGDOM		493	6.2
GERMANY		450	5.7
USSR		296	3.7
MEXICO		296	3.7
KOREA		276	3.5
INDIA		204	2.5
LATVIA		153	1.9
POLAND		113	1.4
SWEDEN		99	1.2
DENMARK		92	1.1
NORWAY		88	1.1
NETHERLANDS		80	1.0

	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm.
Iowa	2,913,808	47,659	
GERMANY		6,541	13.7
CANADA		3,930	8.2
UNITED KINGDOM		2,850	5.9
MEXICO		2,725	5.7
VIETNAM		2,173	4.5
KOREA		1,801	3.7
USSR		1,662	3.4
NETHERLANDS		1,654	3.4
DENMARK		1,174	2.4
ITALY		1,143	2.3
INDIA		1,044	2.1
GREECE		951	1.9
SWEDEN		882	1.8
NORWAY		870	1.8
JAPAN		793	1.6
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		752	1.5
PHILLIPPINES		745	1.5
POLAND		574	1.2
FRANCE		512	1.0

NEBRASKA

	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm
Omaha	314,255	16,015	
GERMANY		2,132	13.3
MEXICO		1,377	8.5
UNITED KINGDOM		1,207	7.5
ITALY		880	5.4
CANADA		770	4.8
USSR		754	4.7
KOREA		685	4.2
POLAND		597	3.7
PHILLIPPINES		484	3.0
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		472	2.9
JAPAN		436	2.7
LITHUANIA		411	2.5
VIETNAM		337	2.1
DENMARK		325	2.0
INDIA		281	1.7
YUGOSLAVIA		224	1.3
GREECE		194	1.2
SWEDEN		197	1.2
FRANCE		167	1.0
LATVIA		163	1.0

	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm.
Nebraska	1,569,825	31,001	
GERMANY		4,665	15.0
MEXICO		2,618	8.4
USSR		1,996	6.4
UNITED KINGDOM		1,882	6.0
CANADA		1,672	5.3
VIETNAM		1,133	3.6
KOREA		1,024	3.3
ITALY		992	3.1
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		842	2.7
JAPAN		755	2.4
DENMARK		749	2.4
POLAND		740	2.3
PHILLIPPINES		721	2.3
LATVIA		605	1.9
SWEDEN		581	1.8
INDIA		574	1.8
NETHERLANDS		446	1.4
IRAN		438	1.4
GREECE		351	1.1

OREGON

	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm
Portland	366,383	63,572	
CANADA		10,641	16.7
GERMANY		4,938	7.7
UNITED KINGDOM		4,798	7.5
VIETNAM		4,227	6.6
KOREA		3,117	4.9
MEXICO		2,250	3.5
PHILLIPPINES		2,084	3.2
CHINA		1,765	2.7
USSR		1,674	2.6
JAPAN		1,565	2.4
ITALY		1,182	1.8
NETHERLANDS		1,070	1.6
IRAN		955	1.5
SWEDEN		886	1.3
NORWAY		859	1.3
GREECE		808	1.2

	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm.
Oregon	2,633,105	107,805	
CANADA		18,971	17.5
MEXICO		8,796	8.1
GERMANY		8,699	8.0
UNITED KINGDOM		8,156	7.5
VIETNAM		5,306	4.9
KOREA		4,235	3.9
PHILLIPPINES		2,753	2.5
CHINA		2,718	2.5
JAPAN		2,645	2.4
USSR		2,507	2.3
NETHERLANDS		1,988	1.8
SWEDEN		1,594	1.4
NORWAY		1,468	1.3
ISRAEL		1,386	1.2

WASHINGTON

	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm
Seattle	493,846	119,258	
CANADA		21,953	18.4
PHILLIPPINES		10,053	8.4
UNITED KINGDOM		9,806	8.2
GERMANY		7,088	5.9
NORWAY		5,383	4.5
KOREA		5,191	4.3
JAPAN		5,048	4.2
CHINA		4,770	3.9
VIETNAM		4,582	3.8
SWEDEN		2,434	2.0
NETHERLANDS		1,764	1.4
USSR		1,743	1.4
ITALY		1,664	1.3
MEXICO		1,633	1.3
HONG KONG		1,431	1.1
IRAN		1,347	1.1
	Total	Imm. pop.	% of imm.
Washington	4,132,156	239,060	
CANADA		46,818	19.5
GERMANY		19,609	8.2
UNITED KINGDOM		17,230	7.2
MEXICO		16,414	6.8
PHILLIPPINES		15,726	6.5
KOREA		11,389	4.7
JAPAN		9,274	3.8
VIETNAM		8,449	3.5
NORWAY		8,092	3.3
CHINA		5,948	2.4
SWEDEN		4,512	1.8
NETHERLANDS		4,145	1.7
USSR		3,393	1.4
ITALY		3,354	1.4

NOTES

1. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office): Bureau of the Census, Vol. 1 -- Part 2 Alabama, Part 12 Georgia, Part 17 Iowa, Part 29 Nebraska, Part 39 Oregon, and Part 49 Washington: Table 195.

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