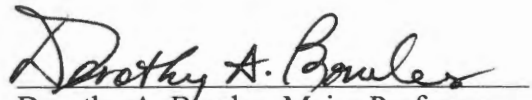
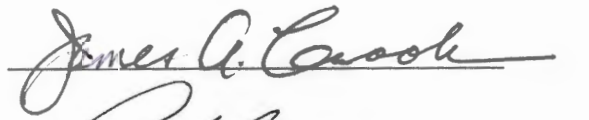
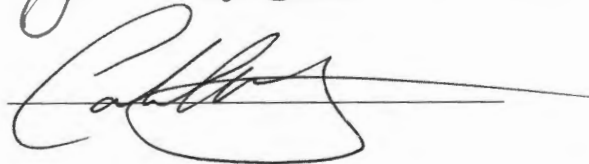


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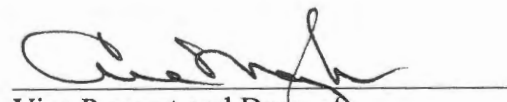
I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Xiang Zhou entitled "Source Diversity and Coverage of the 2001 U.S.-China Standoff over U.S. Surveillance Plane in Three U.S. Newspapers." I have examined the final paper copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Communications.


Dorothy A. Bowles, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:


Vice Provost and Dean of
Graduate Studies

SOURCE DIVERSITY AND COVERAGE OF 2001 U.S.-CHINA
STANDOFF OVER U.S. SURVEILLANCE PLANE
IN THREE U.S. NEWSPAPERS

A Thesis Presented for the
Master of Science Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Xiang Zhou
August 2002

Thesis
2002
. 26688

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my country, China. I love this rich and poor land, just as a green leave loves the root it lives on.

When I am dead, lay me down between the Yangzi
And the Yellow River, and pillow my head
On China, white hair against black soil,
Most beautiful, O most maternal of lands,
And I will sleep my soundest, taking
The whole mainland for my cradle, lulled
By the requiem that rises on both sides
From the two great rivers, two long, long songs
That on and on flow forever to the East.

-- Yu Guangzhong, 1966

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ABSTRACT

This study examined U.S. newspaper news coverage of the midair plane collision on April 1, 2001, and the ensuing U.S.-China diplomatic stalemate. The news articles in the New York Times, the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times from April 2 to April 30 were quantitatively analyzed. The research questions of this study were: (1) How did the prestigious U.S. newspapers cover the story, a typical conflict involving in two big Eastern-Western countries? Was the coverage balanced, which can be mainly measured with structural characteristics of news stories? (2) What image of China in the conflict was reflected in the newspapers' coverage?" (3) "What differences, if any, existed across the newspapers when they covered the story? And how much variation exists? The study examined certain structural characteristics, such as volume, dateline, byline, page, date distribution, headline, and specifically distribution of source type, story prominence and story topic of news stories that may influence readers to judge reporting as fair or biased. Unlike previous studies, the study used linear association analysis to test the correlation of sources and themes in stories on an ratio-level response variable based on sentences, which led to a more microscopic look at the extent to which journalists rely on official news sources for information about the conflict.

The study illustrated two aspects of news selection – linkage with a specific source and negative evaluation on the Chinese side. The findings revealed the imbalance in the use of sources and the coverage between the two countries. All three papers relied primarily on U.S. government sources to report the event, particularly in the New York Times when controversial issues were involved. U.S.-related matters and people were

covered more often and more prominently and positively than Chinese-related matters and people. The image of China reflected in the event was negative overall.

The comparative analysis of the coverage of the three newspapers revealed that differences in sources, themes and story prominence did exist across the papers. The New York Times obviously focused on U.S.-related matters and people – both official and non-official – and heavily relied on U.S. official sources. The International Herald Tribune tended to be more internationalized and less domestic, which was mainly reflected in devoting more space and prominence to official sources and official matters or people from the Chinese government and other countries, and less space and prominence to U.S. non-official matters or people. The Los Angeles Times more often than the other two newspapers used Chinese sources, especially non-official, and devoted more space and prominence to the voices from the Chinese side when controversial issues were involved. The image of China in the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune was more positive or neutral than in the New York Times.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Introduction

International news has become increasingly important as the world gets smaller and international affairs tend to engage many dissimilar citizens from various countries. News transmitted from other countries often influences an audience's perceptions and attitudes toward these countries (Salwen, M.B. and F.R. Matera, 1992; Semetko et al., 1992). This news, often the only source of knowledge about other countries, can be expected to have a tremendous impact on how people comprehend the outside world and communicate with people of different nationalities.

The U.S. media have frequently been accused of unfair and unbalanced news coverage of international countries since the outset of the New World Information Order.¹ Notable criticism includes their ignoring or distorting the image of Third World countries. Critics say that the U.S. media publish insufficient stories about those countries, describe them negatively, or ignore them. "Media are biased in favor of the assumptions of American society," such as that "the United States is good, her enemies and potential enemies are bad, capitalism is good, socialism and communism are bad, and the 'Third World' is irrelevant except as a pawn of the East-West struggle." (Hahn, 1998, p. 41.) Through the "window on the world" (Larson, 1984), people cannot see a

¹ In 1979, Mustapha Masmoudi first set out this term. Its core argument is that "information in the modern world is characterized by basic imbalances, reflecting the general imbalance that affects the international community" (p.172). His statements presented to UNESCO resulted in UNESCO's call for a new world information order. Since the advent of the NWIO debate, the Western media have been under attack over the perceived emphasis on negative news when dealing with Third World countries. See the section of Behind the Imbalanced and Biased in Chapter II.

panoramic and real world (Charles et al., 1979; Langton, 1989; Lent & Rao, 1979; Masmoudi, 1979; Ramaparasad & Riffe, 1987; Riffe & Shaw, 1982; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1981; Wilhoit & Weaver, 1983). Consequently, these disadvantaged countries have demanded that the Western news media provide a more adequate “quantitative presentation” and “qualitative interpretation” (Gerbner et al., 1993).

This content study examines news coverage of the midair plane collision on April 1, 2001, and the ensuing U.S.-China stalemate. Three prestigious U.S. newspapers known for their commitment to international news – the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, and the International Herald Tribune – are analyzed.

The quantitative content analysis examines how these newspapers, selected on the basis of their geographic and ethnic diversity and their importance as national agenda-setters, played the story. It focuses on certain structural characteristics of news stories that may influence readers to judge reporting as fair or biased. The study specifically examines how types of story sources, story prominence, and story topic influenced such characteristics.² It takes a microscopic look at the extent to which journalists rely on official news sources for information about the conflict.

The purpose is to test certain questions: (1) How did the prestigious U.S. newspapers cover the story, a typical conflict involving in two big Eastern-Western countries? Further, was the coverage balanced, which can be mainly measured with structural characteristics of news stories? (2) What images of China in the conflict were reflected in their respective coverage? (3) What differences, if any, existed across the newspapers when they covered the story? And how much variation exists?

² See the section of Definitions of Terms in CHAPTER IV.

A Brief Review of Sino-American Relations

From 1950 until 1971, there was virtually no official and direct contact between the United States and China, the world's most powerful country and its most populous nation. An examination of public opinion polls conducted by Gallup, Harris, Minnesota, and the National Opinion Research Center revealed the U.S. public attitudes toward China in U.S. foreign relations from 1950 to 1971. The results demonstrated that "public opinion toward China was adamant in refusing to award China any sense of legitimacy or authority during the first 22 years of Sino-American relations" (Chang, 1993). The image of China held by four U.S. presidents – Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson – can be described as highly negative and adversarial during the first two decades of its existence as the People's Republic of China (PRC). Until the late 1960s when China was in the throes of the Culture Revolution, Taiwan still enjoyed full, normal diplomatic relations with the United States.

In April 1971, the advent of "ping-pong diplomacy" led to a marked change in public opinion, as for the first time the majority of Americans favored the PRC's acceptance into the United Nations (Chang, 1993). In July 1971, Henry A. Kissinger secretly visited China on President Richard M. Nixon's behalf. The government also pressured U.S. oil companies contemplating drilling off China's coast to consider Chinese concerns. During that time, American newspapers portrayed China in a more favorable light. President Nixon's visit to Beijing and the issuance of the Shanghai Communiqué in February 1972 opened the China door and laid the groundwork for U.S.-China relations over the course of the next few years. The United States pledged to

eventually remove its forces from Taiwan and acknowledge that there was but one China. Contacts with the mainland increased throughout 1972 and 1973, as the United States placed Chinese trade on the same level as that of the Soviet Union and ended the ban on U.S. commercial ship and air contact with China (Kusnitz, 1984).

On 15 December 1978, in a television address to the nation, President James Carter announced the establishment of full diplomatic relations with the PRC. In China, at that time, there was remarkable change after the death of Mao Zedong, well known as Chairman Mao, and the arrest of the Gang of Four. For the first time in years, the Communist Party criticized itself, blaming the Gang of Four for the misdeeds of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. In April 1979, the Carter administration recognized the communist regime as the sole representative of China and the Chinese people. The two countries signed the Taiwan Relations Act, which contained strong language guaranteeing Taipei against future threats. It was supported in the U.S. public by a 56 to 31 percent margin (Kusnitz, 1984).

During the era of President Ronald W. Reagan, the thrust of Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms was toward material incentive. Western movies, books, and music rapidly entered the Chinese market. The relationship grew with Reagan's visit to China, with his statements stressing hope for strengthened ties between the two countries. Further, both countries perceived a Soviet threat, thus providing impetus for future cooperative relations. In 1984, U.S. relations with China became fully entrenched when Reagan set aside his reputation as a steadfast opponent of the Chinese communists and visited Beijing. By the mid-1980s, the Chinese government extended invitations to U.S. rock 'n' roll bands to visit the mainland. People began to open up to each other. In 1983,

the United States investment in China reached only about \$18 million, but by 1986 that figure had grown to approximately \$1 billion (Harding, 1992). America hoped that China might become the first communist country to abandon socialism in favor of capitalism and democracy.

The Tiananmen Square incident in 1989³ drastically changed the relationship of the two countries. Immediately following the Chinese government's crackdown on June 4, the White House issued a press release stating President George H. W. Bush's disgust at China's use of force. The following day the United States imposed sanctions, including a warning against American travel to China, the suspension of military sales to Beijing, and the postponement of all high-level military exchanges (Harding, 1992).

At the beginning of 1990, U.S. policymakers once again faced the task of normalizing relations with China. Among other things, that required lifting the various sanctions imposed by the two countries following the Tiananmen incident. To do that, President Bush stressed the strategic and commercial interests relevant to the relationship. Still, many members of Congress and the public believed that harsh sanctions should remain. Other external events also had an impact on U.S. policy toward China. In 1989 and 1990 the Soviet Union collapsed, and with it died the overwhelming threat it had previously posed. That served to decrease the strategic military importance of the Sino-U.S. relationship. Then, in 1991, the Gulf War began. Before military action took place, the United States thought relations were improving, in that both countries agreed to

³ On April 15, 1989, thousands of Beijing students took to the street near Tiananmen Square, a large public gathering place opposite the Forbidden City, to mourn the death of the reformist party leader Hu Yaobang, demanding the party to reassess his historical role. The march soon turned into a massive student movement over the country. The government didn't hold dialogues with students immediately, warning against a handful of instigators who had caused a planned conspiracy and disturbance. The movement was cracked down on June 4 in the same year.

condemn President Saddam Hussein and impose sanctions. But China refrained from supporting military action and, further, condemned the “imperialist” actions of the United States.

From 1990 to 1994, the issue of human rights developed further, and was a key in U.S. foreign policy toward China. The issue was linked together with whether to extend Most Favored Nation (MFN) status to China. It proved crucial to the relationship; revoking MFN would have meant the imposition of higher tariffs on Chinese goods coming into the United States. That in turn would have prompted retaliation and likely an all-out trade war. President George Bush and William J. Clinton renewed China’s MFN status for each of the four years, thus avoiding negative consequences. Finally, in 1994 Clinton uncoupled MFN from the human rights issue.

Economics and human rights are not the only areas of cooperation and conflict in the relationship. The United States and China share common interests regarding maintaining a stable international order, expanding trade and preserving open markets, and strengthening international organizations. On the other hand, the United States and China have clashed on Taiwan and Tibet, the South China Sea, domestic economic development, potential threats in Asia where China sees Japan as the greatest threat, Korea, strategic alliances, weapons proliferation, and the environment (Gries, 1999; Jin, 2001; Osius, 2001; Smil, 2001). The complexity of the Sino-U.S. relations comes mainly from issues relating to China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and issues concerning China’s human rights (Jin, 2001). The biggest potential bonfire is the sale of weapons to Taiwan, which Beijing considers a renegade province. Congress has been pushing to sell more advanced weapons to Taiwan in the face of the China threat in the past years

(Cheng, 2001). President George W. Bush sharpened the tone on the issue of Taiwan soon after he took office.

The collision between the U.S. EP-3E surveillance plane and a Chinese fighter jet in April 2001 came at a sensitive time in U.S.-China relations. The Bush administration was considering a major arms sale to Taiwan that China had vociferously opposed. There were tensions over the Bush administration's commitment to creating the controversial National Missile Defense (NMD) and Theatre Missile Defense (TMD). In fact, some experts assumed that "it was because of China's continued military buildup against Taiwan that Washington had stepped up the surveillance flights that led to the collision" (Cheng, 2001, p.1).

Story Background

At 9: 33 a.m. (Beijing time), April 1, 2001, a U.S. EP-3E reconnaissance plane made an emergency landing on an airport in Lingshui, a small town on Hainan Island in southernmost China, after colliding with a Chinese F-8 fighter jet over the South China Sea off Hainan Island. None of the 24-member crew was hurt. The Chinese plane crashed with the Chinese Air Force pilot Wang Wei, a lieutenant commander, missing.

China didn't grant American diplomats immediate access to the crew or to the plane, which was loaded with sensitive surveillance equipment, until April 4. American diplomats met with the crew several times after the first meeting. The U.S. government sought the immediate return of the U.S. crew, while China asked for an apology from the United States. Going through several rounds of negotiations and exchanges of drafts, the U.S. government sent China, on April 10, a formal revised statement of regret "that stops

short of a U.S. apology but might satisfy Beijing's demand that the United States take responsibility for the midair collision" (Washington Post, April 11, 2001, A01). China released the 24-member crew about 7:30 a.m. (Beijing time, 7:30 p.m. EDT) on April 12, after the U.S. Ambassador Joseph W. Prueher handed an English-language letter to China's Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxun, expressing "very sorry" but omitting use of the word apology.

With the return of the crew, President Bush "sharpened" the tone toward China, saying that the U.S. plane "definitely did not cause midair collision" with Chinese jet (New York Times, April 13, 2001, A01). On April 13, the Pentagon produced a black and white videotape showing a Jan. 24, 2001, close encounter between a Chinese fighter jet and an American spy plane. Although the Pentagon officials had no proof, they said they suspected that the pilot in the video was Wang Wei (New York Times, April 13, 2001, A01). The next day, the Chinese government described as "irresponsible" the statements by senior American officials that the Chinese jet caused the collision (Xinhua News Agency, April 14, 2001).

An eight-member American delegation, headed by Deputy Undersecretary of Defense Peter F. Verga and mostly comprised from the military, arrived in Beijing on April 17, to resolve issues surrounding the collision, especially concerning the return of the American plane. The two-day talks ended with need for more talk. The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a news conference on April 19, released videotapes, charts and photos, showing the American pilots "engaged in dangerous maneuvers" (New York Times, 2001, A08). The debates and negotiations continued.

On May 1, American technicians arrived on Hainan Island to investigate how to retrieve the damaged American plane at the Lingshui Air Base, and left four days after. American officials hoped that it could be repaired and flown out of China. China rejected that idea on May 8, saying that “it would not let the plane fly home” (New York Times, May 8, 2001, A12). The negotiations between the two countries made progress on May 29, when they agreed “in principle” that the American surveillance plane would be partly dismantled and removed from China on a giant Russian-designed AN-124 cargo plane. On June 16, the Russian Antonov 124 arrived at the Chinese air base from Kadena Air Base on the southern Japanese island of Okinawa to carry home the dismantled U.S. Navy plane.

Concerning the collision and the U.S.-China standoff, several controversial issues resulted in totally different responses and explanations in the two countries and international society:

1) The cause of the collision, according to China’s foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao, was that the U.S. plane violated aviation rules and “suddenly veered at a wide angle towards the Chinese plane, which was closer to baseline of the Chinese side. The U.S. plane’s nose and left wing rammed the tail of one of the Chinese planes, causing it to lose control and plunge into the sea.” The U.S. side has total responsibility for this event (China Daily, April 4, 2001). However, the U.S. government insisted that the collision was caused by overzealousness on the part of the Chinese pilot. Officials in the U.S. military said the “more aggressive” intercepts by Chinese fighters over the past made them feel that “they were endangering the safety of Chinese and American aircraft” (New York Time, April 2, 2001).

2) Did the U.S. plane violate international law? The U.S. side claimed that the collision occurred in international airspace and “the U.S. plane enjoyed overflight.” The U.S. plane’s entering China’s airspace and landing at the Chinese airport were due to an emergency. Emergency landing is international practice. It “had broken no law and violated no recognized territorial limits” (International Herald Tribune, April 9, 2001).

According to a signed article released by Xinhua News Agency, the official Chinese news agency, on April 5, 2001, the U.S. plane violated international law on the basis of the following points:

a) According to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and general international law, all countries enjoy the freedom of overflight in the exclusive economic waters of a nation. However, the Convention and general international law stipulate at the same time that any flight in airspace above another nation’s exclusive economic zone should respect the right of the country concerned. The U.S. surveillance planes’ reconnaissance acts were “targeted at China in the airspace over China’s area and its flight was far beyond the scope of ‘overflight,’ and thus abused the principle of overflight freedom.”

b) It was illegal for the U.S. spy plane to enter China’s territorial space and Chinese airport without China’s approval. According to the 12th article of the Law on China’s Territorial Waters and Their Contiguous Areas, foreign aircraft may enter the airspace over China’s territorial waters only in accordance with agreements, or signed between the government of the People’s Republic of China and the governments of foreign countries. Otherwise, such entry should be approved or accepted by the government of the PRC or its authorized organizations. Also, the 3rd article of the

Convention on International Civil Aviation, adopted in 1944, states that the aircraft of a country may not fly over another country's territory or land on its territory without permission. On this issue, the Chinese government claimed that the airport in Lingshui did not receive the Mayday signal before the U.S. plane made an emergency landing.

c) The U.S. plane is not a civilian aircraft, but a military spy plane that illegally entered Chinese territory, violated both international and Chinese domestic laws, and posed a serious threat to China's sovereignty and security interests.

3) Is the U.S. "routine" reconnaissance acts along China's border justified or unfriendly actions? Opposite to the position of its Chinese counterpart, the U.S. government insists that it is legal under international law. According to some U.S. lawyers, international airspace begins 12 miles off the Chinese coast, so "U.S. military aircraft can operate freely anywhere in that zone" (Washington Post, April 6, 2001). However, some of other American lawyers held different opinions. David Ewing, for example, a San Francisco-based American lawyer, called for the United States to end spy flights along China's coast, and said, "China is right to blame the United States for the loss of life and the violation of China's sovereignty" (China Daily, April 23, 2001). An article by the staff writer William Pfaff of the International Herald Tribune put it that such an action "is a permanent affront to China." If people could image "the uproar in the United States if Chinese aircraft regularly patrolled just off U.S. territorial waters (or in waters of disputed sovereignty) to intercept U.S. government and commercial communications," he suggested, the thing would be different (International Herald Tribune, April 5, 2001).

4) Should the United States apologize to China? As the Washington Post put it, for the Chinese government, “extracting an apology from the United States represents an important diplomatic goal.” But for the Bush administration, “making an apology would be admitting guilt, humbling the White House in the eyes of Asian countries” (Washington Post, April 6, 2001). People in the two countries and others also keep different positions on this issue, which can be reflected from the comments and readers’ letters published in various media in the world.

5) What responses existed in the international society? How did the other countries evaluate the dispute between the United States and China? The event evoked different but strong responses in the international society, especially in the Third World, since it is a conflict between two biggest countries respectively representing the developed countries and the Third World, which involved the interests of many other countries. For example, Singapore’s senior minister, Lee Kuan Yew, said that stable U.S.-China relations were crucial to East Asia’s economic recovery (International Herald Tribune, April 4, 2001). Japan, which is host to about 47,000 members of the U.S. military, is also a big customer of intelligence about China gleaned from the sort of U.S. surveillance operations involved in the incident off China’s southern coast. It expressed its worry about the standoff, while it didn’t give direct evaluation on any side of the two countries involved. Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad lamented the United States’ spying on China, saying that “no country in the world would want to be spied on.” Syria’s Al-Thwara daily said: “China has the right demand an immediate official apology from the United States” for causing the mid-air collision, accusing the United

States of seeking to “impose its hegemony policy on the world” (China Daily, April 7, 2001).

Given the many angles in this story, it will not be surprising that news coverage of the case would differ, especially in different countries. Everyone, it seemed, had an opinion about what should happen to each side. And newspapers were no exception. This study concerns whether any differences exist across the newspapers with different audiences and locations, what determines which part of the story is most important, and how they treat every side involved in the case in their news coverage.

A review of scholarship addressing the determinants of international news coverage, news sources, ideology and the press image of China comes next.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The past 30 years have witnessed the appearance of numerous published books and articles, and unpublished papers reporting aspects of theory and research on the coverage of international news in the U.S. press. Some of them are rather theoretical, thus setting or extending some important frameworks, which established the foundations for the subsequent research (e.g., Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Galtung, 1971; Masmoudi, 1979; Rosengren, 1970, 1974). Some of studies tend to be more empirical (e.g., Chang & Lee, 1992; Giffard, 1984; Riffe, 1984; Riffe et al., 1993; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1981; Wilhoit & Weaver, 1983). Others combine theoretical perspectives with empirical approaches, thus providing a thorough and systemic view of research (e.g., Chang, 1998; Hester, 1971, 1973).

What Determines Whether World Events Will Be Covered?

In the study of international news coverage, the most important question is why some news stories get published while others do not. What factors play a significant role in the selection process of international news?

Event-oriented Perspective

The structural theory proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1965), Östgaard (1965), and Galtung (1971), has become some of the most extensively cited literature of this research stream. This theory purports some qualities or characteristics of a world event may influence its newsworthiness with which U.S. journalists rate whether the event will

receive coverage. To a great extent, the nature of the events, such as meaningfulness, consonance, predictability, reference to elite nations, elite people and persons or something negative (Galtung and Ruge, 1965), degree of the importance of the events, physical or cultural distance of the events, and the level of salience of the event (Rosengren, 1974), determines whether they will be published in the U.S. media.

An important study of this subject was conducted by Shoemaker, Chang, and Brendlinger and published in 1986. They examined the coverage of world events in the U.S. press in the light of various conceptualization of the construct “deviance.” They argued that whether a world event was covered depended on an assessment of deviance. The more deviant a world event was, they hypothesized, and the more likely it was to be covered in the U.S. press. There were many of the indicators of newsworthiness. Two of their three original deviance scales were found to be important predictors of the coverage of world events: (1) potential for social change deviance – the extent to which the event threatens the status quo in the country in which the event occurs; and (2) normative deviance – the extent to which the event, if it had occurred in United States, would have broken U.S. norms.

Based on this study, a year thereafter, Chang et al. (1987) conducted a landmark study in which all the factors in previous studies were integrated and grouped into two categories: the context-oriented and event-oriented aspects of international news selection. They found that relevance to the United States was the greatest discriminant for news choices in the flagship daily, the New York Times, followed by potential for social changes and normative deviance. On the other hand, for three major TV networks (CBS, ABC, and NBC), normative deviance, relevance to the United States and geographic

distance accounted most successively. However, the once highly significant factor, normative deviance, turned out to be not as influential in the revisiting study of Chang and Lee (2001), although other variables kept predictive power.

Context-oriented Perspective

Studies inspired by Galtung and Ruge have also aimed to identify factors interwoven in a complex web of socio-psychological constraints, political beliefs, economic systems and suppositions, international relations, and broad cultural assumptions. As early as 1970, Rosengren urged using both intra-media and extra-media for more accurate description and analysis in studying international news coverage. He (1977) believed that the flow and structure of international news might be better understood when extra media data was used as a baseline and a starting-point for investigation. Some social and institutional factors, such as international diplomacy, national interests, historical-cultural heritage, foreign censors, a country's gross national product, and trade and political relations with the United State, were seen to play an important role in determining international news coverage (Lent, 1977; Ahern, 1984).

The context-oriented approach, according to Chang et al., takes account of such factors as kinship between countries. It "looks at the origin of foreign news event and its relationship with such contextual variables as trade relations, cultural relevance, political involvement and geographical proximity" (Chang and Lee, 1992, p.555).

In the study of Chang et al. (1987), three context-oriented factors were tested. They were (1) language affinity, which was proposed by Rosengren (1970) and considered as an indicator of cultural proximity among countries; (2) press freedom; and (3) economic system, or the economic relationship between countries. As a result, these

three variables were found not to be useful in discriminating between covered events and non-covered events. The conclusion was drawn that the selection of international news was more likely to be event-driven than context-oriented. Contextual factors were of less importance in the U.S. news media's selection of international news.

However, in the 1991 study of Shoemaker et al., the relationships between the prominence of coverage and measures of political, economic, and cultural significances were positive, although none of religious similarity and the communication constraints, like English spoken, literacy percentage, and newspaper, radio and television diffusion were found to be related to event prominence. In this study, Shoemaker et al. first clearly identified several country characteristics that influence U.S. coverage of world events and first systematically categorized indicators, as economic, political, and cultural significance of event country to the United States, and communication constraints within the event country, and a series of sub-indicators to measure event prominence. They also found an interaction between the event-oriented factors, such as normative deviance and social change deviance, and the context-oriented factors, especially the economic characteristic of a country.

Gatekeeper-oriented Perspective

Another branch of international news coverage scholarship is based on the gatekeeper theory. Because of the potential impact of news professionals – they can either decide the amount of coverage a country receives or determine the topics and issues that will be emphasized if that country is covered at all (Epstein, 1973; Gans, 1979; Sigal, 1973; White, 1950) – communication researchers have long been interested in understanding how news professionals decide what should be included in the

international news hole. In the eyes of this school of researchers, individual characteristics of media workers such as personal values and beliefs, political orientation, education, and ethnicity operate on an important level to influence the process of international news coverage (e.g., Shoemaker & Reese, 1996).

Gieber (1964) identified some of the institutional influences on the gatekeeping role of the correspondent as: (1) the values in the news story; (2) the values of the medium that he works for; (3) the perceived value of the medium's audience – which in turn might be in conflict or consonant with the values of the medium.

Batscha (1975), in a survey of foreign journalists, found that many of them tended to view themselves and their activities in five role conceptions: (1) the neutral reporter who performs the traditional journalistic function of a neutral link between policy participants and the public; (2) the reporter as informant who “fully understands his primary role, responsibility and essential task as being to provide his audience information about developments and affairs and report it the way it is”; (3) the reporter as interpreter who has the right to interpret, read meanings into, and posit judgments about the significance of events; (4) the reporter as critic of government who “retains the right” to provide a check on the excesses of the government; and finally, (5) the reporter as visualizer of events who, by transmitting his experiences verbally, visually and through print, makes the audience an eyewitness to the event. According to Batscha, the particular role(s) that the foreign correspondent identifies with will influence his news judgment.

Ebo (1992) analyzed three criteria – commercial, political and sociocultural – that were used in the perceptions of foreign correspondents to select international news stories. Due to the lack of necessary training or background on the historical and cultural

sensitivity to foreign social events, he pointed out, American correspondents tended to “present foreign news from alien cultures in an American sociocultural mind-set” (p.21).

Graber (1997) also identified the factor of cultural pressures that influenced the American foreign journalist in making his news judgment abroad. She indicated that American journalists covering foreign countries had developed frames of highly stereotyped descriptions, in which they usually operated within the context of current American political culture, and though their own personal leanings might be towards the left or the right of the political spectrum, they still tended to fashion their dispatches to the American middle ground because that was what their audiences presumably wanted. Graber further stated that the American journalists fashioned their stories not only to reflect the “American value structure,” but also to “conform to established American stereotypes” (p.348).

Among the many news genres, scholars have also pointed out that, international news has not seemed to be news professionals’ favorite. In addition the selection criteria to publish international news are more rigorous than other news, according to various studies; news editors tend to either neglect or belittle the audience’s interests in international news (Graber, 1997; Hess, 1996; Straughan, 1986).

A national mail survey of newspaper editors conducted by Tsan-Kuo Chang and Jae-Won Lee in 1992 tried to examine how editors’ perception may have influenced their selection of international events. The findings show that threat of the event to the United States, threat to world peace, readers’ interest in the event, timeliness of the event and U.S. involvement were rated the five “very important” factors in the editors’ selection of international news. Loss of lives or property, human interest and cultural relevance were

considered “important” by considerably fewer editors, who deemed trade relations, economic development and military strength as unimportant. And physical distance was not considered as a factor in international news selection.

Audience-oriented Perspective

American media, in general, have tended to focus comparatively less attention on international news than on local news. Public opinion polls have repeatedly shown that two thirds or more of the public is often unaware of important international news (Graber, 1997). According to the study conducted by Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press (1995), compared to their counterparts in other countries, such as Britain, France, Germany, Canada, Spain, and Mexico, Americans are least knowledgeable about foreign affairs. Rubin (1979) suggested that this was primarily because the majority of the audience was less interested in news beyond their immediate social scope.

Rubin (1979) identified two schools of thought on the issue. One holds the view that the lack of general audience results from lack of well-written and adequate international news in the media. The other school asserts that international news appeals only to the “elite,” “those with more time and broader interests – local opinion makers, academic specialists and government policy-related bureaucrats.” Empirical studies seem to support both views. The findings on this aspect of international news coverage have always seemed to be inconsistent.

Chu and Lingwood (1967) found higher levels of education, income, social status and frequency of foreign travel as predictors of individual interest in international news. After examining an extensive body of survey and other systematic social research documents, on the other hand, Hero (1977-78) found that “Only a very small minority –

perhaps several hundred thousand – manifest a cause and effect, relatively analytical interest across much of the broad spectrum of international issues of continuing importance to the United States” (pp.159-160).

Goren (1980) pointed out, “Most of this minority is interested primarily in a much narrower range of international phenomena, usually related to their own economic, occupational, ethnic, intellectual, or other particular concerns (p.128).” But Sparks and Winter’s 1980 study found that international news audiences did not necessarily prefer negative and conflict-related news fed to them. They preferred it be made more meaningful and relative to them.

What Regions and Countries Are Newsworthy?

Geographical Proximity

Not all countries are equally covered by the U.S. press (Chang, 1998). One concept for explaining why certain countries and regions are covered, and others are not, is the idea of proximity – that the closer an event is to home, the more heavily it is to appear mutually in the news than distant countries (Chang & Shoemaker, 1987; Lee & Kang, 1982; Schramm, 1980; Sparks, 1978; Stevenson & Shaw, 1984). Hicks and Gordon (1974) regarded the involvement of country in the news as an ethnocentrism factor. Proximity is defined along several dimensions, including geographic distance (Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977) – which was seen as the physical distance having effects on international news flow and coverage, and might be measured as the distance “between the place of the event (or the capital of the country of the event) and the place of publication of the report of the event” (Rosengren, 1970, p.103) – functional distance

(Hicks & Gordon, 1974), and cultural distance or affinity (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Hester, 1973; Rosengren, 1970).

Among of them, the geographical dimension has been tested much more than the others. Studies have repeatedly confirmed that that geographical proximity is an important factor determining the direction and volume of international news flows into the American press. There is some kind of geographic bias (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2001). Shoemaker (1999) showed that media in the United States tended to give more coverage to European countries' events and issues than they did to those in Africa and South America. Wu (1998) found that geographic distance was a major predictor of international news coverage. For example, the Seattle Times devoted 60.4 percent of its coverage to Canada and just 39.6 percent to Mexico. The San Francisco Chronicle offered reversed coverage (Canada, 35.4 percent; and Mexico, 64.6 percent), and The San Diego Union-Tribune went even further (Canada, 21.4 percent; and Mexico, 78.6 percent). Other studies have indicated that the U.S. press devotes between 20 percent and 24 percent of its foreign coverage to Asian nations and less than 10 percent to Latin America (Hart, 1966; Hester, 1974).

In his cross-national study, Tai (2000) examined the rankings of the top 10 world events from 1988 to 1998 in 11 media representing eight countries, and found that the U.S. media were the most provincial in their approach to world news, although all media displayed the similarity of geographic bias. Both AP and UPI were heavily focused on America and generally tended to ignore all other regions unless the United States was directly or indirectly involved. Chang and Lee (2001) confirmed again that geographical

proximate countries were more likely to be covered, considering the factors of limited budget and the shrunken foreign bureaus.

Economic and Cultural Variables

With a political economy approach, Östgaard (1965) argued that government control of the mass media (e.g., censorship) and economic considerations (e.g., media ownership and self-censorship) as barriers to information outflow would influence the flow of news among countries. Hester (1971, 1973) indicated that economic, political, historical and cultural associations among nations were potential predictors of international news coverage. He (1973) suggested the utilization of these variables to predict international information flows. Of these, only the economic variable – total trade between two nations, the amount of foreign aid given (if any), and the amount of business investments each nation – was readily quantifiable and had appropriate data available.

Dupree (1971) sought to predict the relationships between a country and its event coverage by using a stepwise multiple regression analysis. The findings of his study resulted in this ranking of the 11 examined variables: (1) foreign stock residing in the United States, (2) gross national product per capita, (3) population, (4) language “translatability,” (5) literacy rate, (6) newspapers available, (7) import/export volume, (8) distance from United States, (9) gross national product, (10) population density per square kilometer, and (11) continent.

Empirical studies have shown that trade relations of the foreign country with the United States is an important indicator to predict what countries will be more likely to be covered. For example, Mayo and Pasadeos (1991) confirmed that coverage figures in the three major business magazines, *Business Week*, *Forbes* and *Fortune*, reflected the

fluctuating changes in relative trade volume of the United States with some regions, such as Japan, Four Tigers, Middle East, Western Europe, and South Asia.

In addition, common sense holds that countries with similar cultural backgrounds communicate better, and findings obtained from a series of studies support this point of view. For instance, many discovered the influence of former colonial ties on international news flow (Dupree, 1971; Nnaemeka and Richstad, 1980; Skurnik, 1981) – countries within the same colonial group are more likely to cover each other. Scholars also found the impact of ethnic bond and shared language on the amount of information trafficking across borders (Johnson, 1997; Kariel and Rosenvall, 1983; Kim and Barnett, 1996; Zaharopoulos, 1990). Cohen (1995), for example, found that Spain was the second highest country in the top 30 (after the United States) in the South American media, and it also was the second highest country for Central American media.

Hierarchy of Nations

The structural disparity of hierarchy of nations has been considered an important factor influencing the international news flow and coverage. Numerous efforts in conceptualizing the structure and processes can be shown in the following concepts and propositions: concentration of power, wealth, and technology (Schramm, 1964); elite nations (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Gans, 1979; Östgaard, 1965); system of international relations and economic development (Hester, 1971); and imperialism or cultural/media imperialism (Boyd-Barrett, 1979; Galtung 1971; Schilier, 1969).

Galtung (1971) proposed that Western industrialized nations stand the core, whereas the Third-World countries lie at the edge in the international system divided into spheres of central and peripheral countries. Hester (1973) believed that the perceptions of

the national system of hierarchy “determine in part the types of information flow, direction and volume (p.241).”

Since 1990s, with the flourish of the research of international communication, studies on international news flow and coverage have often been put into a larger international context or the world system, and such a macro-perspective has become more acceptable and more frequently cited. Scholars further believe that with the semi-periphery added to the world system, the interaction patterns of the flow of international news should be more frequent between the core and the semi-periphery than is any other cases, like between the core and the periphery (e.g., Shannon, 1996).

One of the most important studies on the relationships between the national system and the flow and coverage of international information is the study of Chang (1998). Based on the previous research on the world system and the consideration of theoretical approaches, he proposed a systematic model, in which the structural position of a country – core, or semi-periphery, or periphery – was placed as the first filter, directly determining the core countries likely being covered. Chang found that the United States, European Union, Western European countries (especially the United Kingdom, Germany, and France), Japan and Canada comprised of core countries. Other Western European countries (e.g., Sweden and Switzerland), relatively advanced economies such as South Korea, Singapore, and Malaysia in Asia, as well as China and Russia, were included into semi-peripheral countries. The peripheral countries consisted of most developing and less developed nation-states, including former Soviet bloc countries.

The Images through the “Window on the World”

Imbalanced World Map

Scholars of the “New World Information Order” (NWIO) (Masmoudi, 1979) have accused Western media of devoting only a minimal amount of news space and time to coverage of Third World countries, disproportionate to the Third World nations’ representing nearly three-fourths of the world’s population. The events in and between countries at the political and economic “center” of the international system were more newsworthy. The stories dealt with developed nations more than less developed or underdeveloped nations (Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1977; Semmel, 1979; Wilhoit and Weaver, 1981, 1983). The international coverage was “Eurocentric, big-power dominated, and Western-oriented (Semmel, 1979, p.736).”

This kind of unbalanced international news flow exists not only between the United States and the Third World – for example, Parsons and Xu (1999) found that China’s newspapers carried almost four times as many news items about the United States as U.S. newspapers carried about China during the same examined six months – but also between the United States and other developed countries (Hart, 1963, 1966). In his classic book, Gans (1979) pointed out that most of international news covered in U.S. media had been about England, France, West Germany, Japan, Israel, Egypt, the Soviet Union, and mainland China. Other countries became newsworthy only when dramatic events such as wars, coup, or major disasters happened in these countries (pp.31-32).

Some scholars also have conducted comparative studies to examine whether the news media in other countries present the same tendency as their U.S. counterparts. In a comparative study of AP and TANJUN – the major news agency in Yugoslavian, for

instance, Robinson (1981) found that TANJUN tended to cover a large number of countries from different areas of the world, whereas AP tended to concentrate more on Western Europe and the United States. The Yugoslavian reporting by TANJUN focused more on structure and process and less on personalities, and thus probed social change more than did AP news.

“Coups and Earthquakes” in the Third World

Critics also say, the Western news media tend to cover crisis or negative events, thus reinforcing the stereotype of instability of these countries. A good number of studies have found that coverage of foreign issues is often biased, negative, sensational and colored by western perspectives, as predicted by hegemony theory (Adams, 1964; Gonzenbach et al., 1992; Graber, 1997; Gans, 1980; Hawk, 1992; Lent, 1977; Lent and Rao, 1979; Potter, 1987; Riffe and Shaw, 1982; Stevenson and Gaddy, 1984; Weaver and Wilhoit, 1981), and political and military matters are more likely to be covered (Hester, 1978; Rosenblum, 1979). “Coups and earthquakes,” a phrase coined by Rosenblum (1979) to capture the disruptive news genre, are actually more likely to be reported from the Third World than from the West. The number of empirical studies supplying evidence in support of the Third World’s argument of an emphasis on bad news is impressive (Charles et al., 1979; El Zein & Cooper, 1992; Giffard, 1984; Hester, 1971, 1974; Kaplan, 1979; Langton, 1989; Lent, 1977; Lent & Rao, 1979; Mishra, 1979; Peterson, 1979; Potter, 1987; Ramaparasad & Riffe, 1987; Riffe & Shaw, 1982; Stevenson & Gaddy, 1984).

Through this window on the world, in what way would the awaiting American public see the world? Is the world really the world? Walter Lippmann (1965) once noted

that “the only feeling that anyone can have about an event he [she] does not experience is the feeling aroused by his [her] mental image of that event (p.9).” Given that the Third World is not experienced by most Americans, the mental image of the public is the image produced by American media, that is, a biased, violent and conflict-laden world (Wilhoit & Weaver, 1983). The coverage of foreign countries by the American media is constructed as some kind of metaphor familiar to the reader and consistent with the Western values (Hawk, 1992). For instance, an extensive study (Dorman and Farhang, 1987) of how the prestige U.S. mainstream print media covered Iran from 1951 to 1978 revealed that the press frequently used terms such as “stern-willed,” “determined,” “autocratic,” and in rare instance, “iron-fisted,” to describe the shah. On the contrast, no use of the terms “tyrannical,” “brutal regime,” or “despotic rule,” all of which journalists have used to describe other regimes in the region and throughout the world which are considered “unfriendly” to U.S. interest, were found in this study.

The Third World images were presented in this way; then, how about the First World images? Only a few studies have been conducted. For example, Pittatore’s 1983 study showed that the image of Italy in mass media was related to sophistication, art, and craftsmanship. McCracken (1987) found that the New York Times heavily emphasized “soft news” (sports, entertainment, human interest, etc.) over “hard news” (politics, economics, etc.) when reporting Australian affairs. In terms of item count and column space, sports news occupied 71% and 74% respectively.

Behind the Imbalanced and Biased

Masmoudi (1979), one of the severest critics of Western media, charged that the major transnational agencies, like Associated Press, Reuters, Agence France Presse, and

United Press International, devoted too little attention to the Third World, although almost 80 percent of the world news flow came from these agencies. He gave some theoretical explanations to this kind of flagrant quantitative imbalance. Two of them were very important: (1) there is a de facto hegemony and domination that “are evident in the marked indifference of the media in the developed countries, particularly in the West, to the problems, concerns, and aspirations of the developing countries. They are founded on financial, industrial, cultural and technological power and result in most of the developing countries being related to the status of mere consumers of information sold as a commodity like any other. They are exercised above all through the control of the information flow, wrested and wielded by the transnational agencies operating without let or hindrance in most developing countries and based in turn on the control of technology, illustrated by the communications systems satellites, which are wholly dominated by the major international consortia” (p.173); and (2) “a lack of information on developing countries” (p.173) reinforces their “transmitting to the developing countries only news processed by them, that is, news which they have filtered, cut and distorted.” In this way, “the transnational media impose their own way of seeing the world upon the developing countries. As a result, communities geographically close to each other sometimes learn about each other only via these transnational systems. Moreover, the latter often seek to present these communities – when indeed they show interest in them – in the most unfavorable light, stressing crises, strikes, street demonstrations, putsches, etc., or even holding them up to ridicule” (p.174).

Scholars point out that the Western practice of the “journalism of exception” – stressing the disasters, the problems, and the upheavals – continues to rankle critics of the

press everywhere. The practice has always been elucidated as the main reason for the “biased” coverage of the Third World. Chu (1985) said, for example, that the Western view held that “news is news is news.” In practice, the emphasis was on conflict and the exceptional, displaying in both domestic and international news (p.4). He believed that “this conflict-oriented definition of news has resulted in the Third World complaint of an overplay of ‘bad news’ about its countries” (p.5).

Some scholars suggested, “criticism of advocates of the New World Information Order and previous research may have had some impact on the news values of foreign correspondents and editors” (Kirat and Weaver, 1985). As a result, the proportion of news related to conflict or crisis declined sharply, especially in news about the Third World, and the proportion of international news involving the Third World increased (Kirat and Weaver, 1985; Riffe et al., 1994).

Hegemony, Ideology and Government Concerns Play a Dominant Role

The linkage between predominant American views about world affairs and the press has been a recurrent theme in communication, political, and sociological writings. Much of the scholarly literature about news media and government examines the relationship in the context of the media’s agenda-setting function. Cohen (1963) argued that the press was such an important institution in the foreign policy-making network that any pattern of press coverage would in one way or another leave a substantial mark on the participants and thus on the process (p.269). For example, Lee and Yang (1995) found that foreign policy concerns play a major role in determining how the media cover international events. However, others suggested that the press was an independent actor

in the process of policy-making. For instance, O’Heffernan (1991) held that media had become a significant force in shaping political discourse and they did so independent of the government.

Hegemony and News Media

One of the most critical issues posed by the hegemony theory is the institutional linkage between media professionals and the status quo during the process of ideological domination (Altheide, 1984). The theory puts a particular emphasis on the control of ideology by the ruling groups in the society. Gitlin (1984) suggested, “hegemony is a ruling class’s domination of subordinate classes through the elaboration and penetration of ideology into their common sense and everyday practice” (p.253).

Hegemony is accomplished through a set of agencies that Gitlin (1984) called “ideology-shaping institutions” (p.254) and Althusser (1971) called “ideological state apparatuses” (pp. 135-149). Among these agencies, media are viewed as functional for the status quo, serving as instruments for ideological mobilization of the society (Herman, 1986, 1993, 1999; Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Altheide, 1984). Status quo is generally defined as inclusive of the political and economic institutions that voice the assumptions and values of the dominant classes in the society.

According to Hallin (1987), the concept of hegemony plays a double role in the study of the media. First, it is used to “conceptualize the political function of the media” (p.4). The media play the role of maintaining the dominant political ideology: they propagate it, glorify it, and explain the world in its terms. At the same time, the concept of hegemony is employed to “explain the behavior of the media, the process of news production itself” (p.4). Hallin observed that the dominant ideology shapes the

production of news and entertainment. Shoemaker (1987) pointed out that this hegemonic approach suggests that U.S. media owners have a vested interest in seeing the status quo continue, because they are part of the U.S. power structure, defined by Dreier (1983) as “the top positions in the institutional structure of the society” (p.441).

Hegemony theory thus suggests that, although the media will criticize the status quo, establishing their own legitimacy as news organizations, the criticism will never be structural – that is, something that seriously threatens or changes it (Gitlin, 1980). Hallin (1987) argues that even in periods when the media do not support the foreign policy elite, they tend to at least equally not support any attempts to challenge the establishment. Numerous empirical studies have confirmed the argument of hegemony theory, and showed that the “ruling class” in the United States plays an important role when the U.S. press reports political news and international news, especially those involved in the U.S. foreign policy and the national interests of the United States (Aima, 2001; Bennett, 1990; Cassara, 1998; Dickson, 1992; Goren, 1980; Herman, 1999; Jayakar and Jayakar, 2000; Kim, 2000; Lee and Yang, 1995; Nacos, 1990; Riffe, 1996). In 1980s, more studies made what is considered to be a critical distinction concerning support or opposition to government policy (e.g., Dorman, 1985; Hallin, 1985, 1986; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Vilanilam, 1983).

← Hegemony theorists also contend that ideology plays an essential part in making news judgments. Dominant ideology in a society is an expression of the dominant class. Contingent ideology facilitates the dominant ideology by emphasizing the political status quo in the foreign policy maneuvers of the dominant class.

Dominant Ideology and Propaganda Model

Close examinations have revealed an obvious connection between ideology and news framing. In 1988, Herman and Chomsky proposed and published the famous “propaganda model,” which was comprised of “filters” by which some of news is selected and others are discarded. In this model, anti-communist ideology played an important role, which helped mobilize the populace, served as a political control mechanism, and profoundly influenced the mass media.

Under its influence, the media portrayals of the events with the same properties could be displayed totally differently. Entman (1991), for example, found an evidence of double standard of U.S. media in a study that compared two civilian-airliner shoot-downs: the Soviet downing of a Korean Airliner (KAL) in 1983 and the U.S. downing of an Iranian plane in 1988. In both cases, all passengers and crew were killed; military officials identified a civilian-airliner as a possible hostile plane and the nation’s officials claimed the shooting was justifiable under the circumstances. The study reported that, however, the KAL incident was portrayed as an important incident falling into the category of brutal act and criminal evil while the other was downplayed as a technical accident. In reporting the KAL incident, Herman (1993, 1999) pointed out that the media joined with passion a campaign in which the Reagan administration attempted to demonize the Soviets as brutal and ruthless. He held that the reason that U.S. mainstream media tended to support government policy in international news coverage was because “the government can employ ideological weapons like anti-communism, a demonized enemy or alleged national security threats to keep the media compliant” in international news (1993, p.47).

In the propaganda framework of Herman and Chomsky, the mainstream U.S. media coverage of international news tended to support particularly the ideological and economic interests of the government and power groups and reflected U.S. foreign policy interests had been the anchor. This tendency was further reinforced by tensions between capitalist and communist systems. The promotion of anti-communist ideology served as a political control mechanism and profoundly influenced the mass media. The propaganda model suggested that a “systematic and highly political dichotomization in news coverage” would be observable in the quantitative and qualitative differences in media coverage of two similar events occurring in different regions of the world (p.35). They also provided several convincing cases, which illustrated the framework (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Herman, 1999). For example, in 1975 East Timor was invaded by Indonesia, a U.S. ally. During the same year the communist KhMer Rouge assumed power in Cambodia. The U.S. government failed to criticize the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1978.

Since the emergence of the propaganda model, many case or longitudinal studies have been conducted, showing the consistence with the framework; that is, in reporting international news, the media select and highlight those stories that are consistent with the foreign policies or interests of their governments (Bennett, 1990; Cassara, 1998; Entman, 1991; Kim, 2000; Keshishian, 1997; Krishnaiah, J. et al., 1993; Lee & Yang, 1995; Nacos, 1990). For example, Cassara’s study (1998) indicated that U.S. coverage of Latin America did change – more coverage of human rights was added to the region – as the result of President Carter’s human rights initiative. Nacos’ study (1990) of press support for presidents during crises provided some evidence of a “rally round the flag”

effect. Krishnaiah (1993) confirmed that news coverage of the elements non-threatening to U.S. interests would be positive in tone, and vice versa, thus providing another test support for the Herman and Chomsky's framework.

Besides anti-communism, scholars also include capitalism and male worldviews as dominant ideology within the American society, which may be expected to exert primary influence on the framing of news with two other major types of ideology, elite ideology and journalistic ideology (Becker, 1984; Murdock and Golding, 1977; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (2000), for instance, found that the expected influence of ideologically driven framing in news coverage was supported. Especially these four types of ideology played an important role in shaping news frames.

Sources and Foreign Policy Frame

As discussed above, past studies have highlighted that foreign policy or government concerns are likely to influence dominantly on international news coverage. Especially under the circumstance of national crises, the pro-government tendency of the mainstream media is particularly predominant. Shohat (1994) said, "From the very inception of the Gulf Crisis, the dominant U.S. media failed to fulfill the role of independent journalism. Instead, it acted as public relations for the State Department (p.147)." During the crisis in the Gulf, Kellner (1993) also estimated that mainstream U.S. media served as a "mouthpiece" and "amplifier" for U.S. foreign policy.

Media scholarship has regularly stressed the tendency of the media to rely excessively on the government as a news source and to defer to its positions. Among of the filters in Herman and Chomsky's model was reliance on the primary information

sources such as government and power groups. Kellner (1993) said, "Mainstream media favor official government sources for their stories. Journalists regularly get their news and information from official sources and thus attempt to maintain good personal relations with their sources. If reporters turn on their sources, or are too critical of official policies, they disrupt their connections and lose important conduits of information. Thus, they tend to be conduits for U.S. government policies and actions" (p.205).

Empirical studies have supported the argument that American media heavily rely on official sources for information. A classic and often-cited study by Sigal (1973) showed that nearly three-quarters of the front page stories in the Washington Post and New York Times depended on official sources. Bennett (1990) found that of the 889 opinions voiced in news stories, 604 came from government officials such as officers, offices, or committees of U.S. governmental institutions. Timothy Cook (1994) also pointed out that the existence of regular newsbeats such as the White House, the State Department, and the Pentagon encourages the over-representation of official government viewpoints.

In reporting foreign events, the media basically follow official story lines emanating from in Washington as well. Graber (1997) confirmed that foreign affairs news for American media mainly originated in Washington. The president's view tended to dominate whenever situations were controversial. More recently, in a study of U.S. news coverage of the Kwangju and Tiananmen pro-democracy movements, Kim (2000) reported that 60.7 percent of news coverage came from Korean, Chinese or U.S. governments or officials. Chang (1989) found that officials at the executive branch, particularly the State Department and American diplomats, were the leading sources of

U.S. China policy news in the New York Times and the Washington Post from 1950 through the late 1960s.

In the study of two major U.S. newspapers' coverage of the 1996 Israeli-Hezbollah conflict, Aima (2001) confirmed again that both the New York Times and the Washington Post relied too heavily on the sources that were favorable to the foreign policy of the United States. As a result, they all kept their opinions within the frame of the foreign policy during the conflict period. Aima concluded, "the news coverage sought to legitimize the overall policy goals by representing the American and Israeli diplomatic and policy arguments more prominently. In keeping with this line of thinking, the Hezbollah, who were an irritation to American and Israeli policy goals in the region, were under-represented and their criticism of the Operation was not given as much prominence."

U.S. Press Image and Coverage of China

Mann (1999) observed that the U.S. media tended to portray China at any given time by a single story, image, or concept. He wrote (p.103):

In the 1950s and the 1960s, the "frame" was of China as little blue ants or automatons. In the 1970s, following the Nixon administration's opening, the frame was of the virtuous (entertaining, cute) Chinese, displaying their timeless qualities even under communism. In the 1980s, the frame was that China was "going capitalist." And for most of the 1990s, the frame was of a repressive China. The reduction of China to a one-dimensional frame affects coverage of China.

While not all U.S. coverage strictly conforms to a simplistic frame, Mann said the prevailing frame does set the assumed context. American centrality has caused a serious

media distortion of Chinese reform movements, according to Womack (1990), with the U.S. media wrongly viewing all political and economic reform in China as a defeat for communism.

The Evolution of U.S. image of China

Before 1960s, American attitudes towards China have undergone the regular cycles of romanticism and cynicism, of idealization and disdain that were so well described in Harold Isaacs' classic, *Scratches on Our Minds* (Issacs, 1958). China didn't open its door to "most foreigners and virtually all U.S. journalists" until President Nixon's visit in February 1972. The U.S. journalists had to rely on "long-distance observation" to report China (Hsiao & Yang, 1994). The fact that U.S. reporters could not cover the news directly from China was accounted for the U.S. press's misinterpretation of China.

Over the ten years from 1970s to 1980s, American attitudes towards China have experienced another swing of the perceptual pendulum. The idealistic rhetoric of the Cultural Revolution, together with the dramatic improvement in Sino-American relations, created a period of pronounced fascination with China that lasted through most of the 1970s. The Maoist vision of egalitarianism, populism, and selflessness seemed attractive to many Americans. After twenty years of hostility, the possibility of renewing a friendly relationship with a quarter of mankind appealed to still more. A "China fever" – or as Lucian Pye (1977) described it, a kind of "Marco Poloitis" – swept the United States. Its symptoms were not only the enraptured accounts of life in the People's Republic of China by the early American visitors, but also the tide wave of Chinoiserie that deluged everything from art museums to hair salons, and from interior design to high couture.

American images of China in the 1970s are to be found in a wide range of literature, from essays in the *New York Times* to articles in *China Quarterly*, and from scholarly volumes published by academic presses to commercial books aimed at much wider audiences.¹ This diverse literature presented no single interpretation of China. But the most prevalent view was highly positive. Mao was depicted as a Chinese philosopher-king: a poet, statesman, strategist, and sage. The Cultural Revolution was described as the most important and innovative example of Mao's concern with the pursuit of egalitarian, populist, and communitarian ideals in the course of economic modernizations.

As Americans recovered from their "China fever," the earlier idealization of the PRC gave way to something more cynical in the 1980s. In contrast, Mao and the Cultural Revolution were described in very different terms. A. M. Rosenthal, executive editor of the *New York Times*, described the late Chairman as a man "possessed of a lunatic destructiveness" and linked him not to democratic statesmen, but to Stalin, Hitler, and Pol Pot (Rosenthal).

During the Reagan years, the media presented both positive and negative images of China (Su, 1991). Throughout the mid-1980s up to the 1989 incident at Tiananmen, according to Harry Harding (1992), Chinese economic reform had been the focus of the American press. Greater and greater moves toward capitalism and American ways of thought were the desired conclusion. The Tiananmen incident changed American images of China "abruptly and drastically" (Su, 1991). Criticism of China's economic policies

¹ See, for example, Richard Baum with Louise Bennett (eds.), *China in ferment: Perspectives on the Cultural Revolution* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Victor Nee and James Peck (eds.), *China's uninterrupted revolution: From 1840 to the present* (New York: Pantheon, 1975); and John G. Gurley, *China's economy and the Maoist strategy* (New York: Monthly Review, 1976).

soon followed. Since then, the issue of human rights developed further to be one of major themes repeated in the U.S. press.

U.S Dominant Ideology and Press Coverage of China

U.S. media coverage of China has vacillated between cycles of romanticism and those of cynicism for decades (Lee, C.C., 1990). Accordingly, the image of China has traveled a long journey over the last thirty years: from enemy to ally, back toward enemy, to barbaric, and finally to an image of some complexity. No matter how it changes, however, historical literature has revealed that, to a great extent, the U.S. press adopted short-term, issue-oriented frames of reference that allied with its dominant ideology or government positions and national interest, and with an American political and cultural perspective.

In a comparative content analysis of wire services reportage on the coverage of the Chinese student movement in 1989, Lee and Yang (1995) found that the Associated Press tended to highlight the Chinese protesters' ideological yearnings for democracy and freedom, while the Japanese news agency Kyodo tended to provide factual accounts of the daily development during the movement. They argued that the vital interests of the United States in China were winning ideological victories in the cold war, thus challenging the Chinese authorities. The coverage was heavily shaped and differently emphasized depending on divergent political and economic interests in the United States and Japan.

The media are tied most closely to national interest and elite politics in the arenas of foreign policy. Just as the two political parties advocate a "bipartisan" foreign policy, U.S. media tend to domesticate foreign news as a variation of American themes (Gan,

1979, p.4). They are stories “relevant to Americans or American interests; within the same themes and topics as domestic news; or when the topics are distinctive, with interpretations that apply American values” (p.37).

Kobland, Du and Kwon (1992) said anti-communism has been the U.S. media’s predominant ideology and frame in covering the People’s Republic of China since its creation in 1949, with coverage focusing on the problems and failures of Marxist ideology. Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (1998), for example, found that the U.S. newspapers framed the 1995 United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing through an anti-coummunist lens, not as an event about women but as an event about China. Under the influence of dominant ideology, the U.S. coverage of the conference focused considerably on an extended criticism of China as a communist nation, a “big loser,” and a country that “in its repressiveness and ineptitude was painfully exposed as a not-ready-for-prime-time nation” (p.145).

The coverage of student demonstrations in China and South Korea is a typical evidence to show how the U.S. dominant ideology, as the hegemony theory argues, influences the U.S. news reporting China (Kobland et al, 1992; Wang, 1995). These two similar anti-government demonstrations were portrayed in a totally different way, in which the Chinese student demonstrations was depicted as a pro-democracy movement, while the Korean one was depicted as rioting and insurrections. Under the dichotomous treatment, the victims of the Chinese military crackdown received much more “sympathetic, emotional, and even sensational coverage” than their South Korean counterparts (Wang, 1995, p.123).

Wang's study provided another support for most of the propaganda model's basic assumptions. He found that the cold war ideology was seen to have dominated especially the coverage of the New York Times. His study further suggested that ideology was a more important factor than national interest in influencing American media's foreign news coverage (Wang, 1995, p.124-125). However, Kobland et al (1992) argued that the presence of preferential positions in reporting foreign news were "nomothetic practices," which were not peculiar to liberal democracies (P.73).

Summary

Numerous research has been done to find out and test what factors determine whether an international event will be reported or not, and to investigate how well the U.S. press did when covering the developing countries, including China. Besides such event-oriented determinants as degree of the importance of the event and geographical distance of the event, other factors, such as economic, cultural and political variables, play an important role in international news coverage. The structural disparity of national status – core, or semi-periphery, or periphery – determines to a great degree that to what degree a country will be covered.

Some comparative studies also revealed that when the U.S. press tended to be U.S.-oriented, based on dominant ideology, or national interest, or foreign policy, and so on, when it covered similar events. The events were reported in a manner that coincided with the U.S. government definitions. The coverage of China has, in historical literature, changed with the U.S. government interest and the change of broad political context.

The bias in international news coverage within the United States has been studied extensively. These studies share the common finding that media coverage of foreign issues is often biased and negative, with a strong Western orientation. But most of them are limited in that they only deal with surface bias in foreign news content, leaving unexplained the deep structure that generate the patterns of the coverage, and such questions as how the use of diverse sources results in the tendency of international news coverage and if any correlation exists between sources and certain themes or main content of news stories.

Also, few studies have been involved in testing whether the determinants on international news coverage will execute, to some extent, an influence on what sources, for example, from this side or from the other side, the newspapers pick up when they cover an international conflict and the press' editorial positions.

In addition, scholars have not paid enough attention to the audience. There are some studies on the audience-oriented perspective. Most of them, however, focused on taking the audience as a factor accounting for the reduced newshole of international news, rather than considering and examining readership, such as ethnical and cultural differences, as a factor that might determine the taste and need of readers, thus influencing the selection process of international news in news organizations.

CHAPTER III

NEWSPAPER SELECTION, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Selection of Examined Newspapers

Three U.S. newspapers, the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune, selected on the basis of their geographic and ethnic diversity and their importance as national agenda-setters, were analyzed in this study.

The New York Times is widely regarded as the opinion leader of the U.S. press. It is also considered as an elite paper that enjoys wide readership among the power holders at home as well as abroad. Therefore, it has frequently been chosen as a target in most of studies on international news coverage of the U.S. newspapers. The choice of the New York Times to furnish the research text for this analysis is based on precedent, with several scholarly studies of international coverage in the U.S. print media focusing on the “prestige newspapers” (Chang et al, 1987; Dorman and Farhang, 1987; Riffe, 1996). Another reason for the New York Times being purposefully selected is its status as an elite daily newspaper to which both Washington and Beijing pay close attention (Graber, 1997).

Previous research shows that the New York Times tends to pay more attention to areas with close associations with its home country (Jayakar and Jayakar, 2000) and more sympathetic to the countries with more friendly relationship of the United States than those with strained relations (Keshishian, 1997). Previous studies also show that the mainstream U.S. newspapers, like the New York Times, demonstrated a pattern of

legitimizing U.S. national interest and government policy (Dickson, 1992; El Zein and Cooper, 1992; Krishnaiah et al., 1993; Lee and Cyr, 1998; Lynch and Effendi, 1964; Wang, M., 1991; Wang, S., 1995). Lynch and Effendi (1964), for example, found that the New York Times' editorial treatment of India increased favorably as United States relations with India improved. In a content analysis of the New York Times and the Washington Post for the U.S.-Nicaraguan conflict (Dickson, 1992), to a great extent, the two papers revealed a bias for the U.S. government "line," heavily relying on Washington for defining the relevant issues. They were not skeptical and even critical of the government's interpretation of events. The fact was that the overwhelming majority of news stories about the conflict were reported by the papers' home staff and most of the sources present in the news stories were Washington officials (Aima, 2001; Dickson, 1995; Kim, 2000; Signal, 1973). Also, more official sources were used in the New York Times coverage of American client states' – such as South Korean – abuses than in covering those of the "enemy" states, like China (Wang, 1995).

The Los Angeles Times is a large metropolitan daily, which attempts to improve international news coverage for its minority population (ASNE, 1999; Frontpage Magazine, 1998). Los Angeles is a region of great ethnic diversity and the U.S. headquarters for many Asian-controlled global business interests. Asian Americans, according to the data provided by U.S. Census Bureau, comprise 11.81 percent of the population in Los Angeles County (Los Angeles Almanac Com., a.). Among the Asian population, Chinese (except Taiwanese) comprise 26.6 percent, and Taiwanese 3.18. (Los Angeles Almanac Com., b.).

In California, a state where the population is more diverse than any other in the country, in fact, the effort to reach minorities as readers and as an advertising audience is becoming a matter of survival. How to cover and inform its diverse market of readership is one of major issues facing to the Los Angeles Times. In 1998, Mark Willes, publisher of the paper, called for Times editors to guarantee diverse perspectives in articles, as well as a multicultural readership (Frontpage Magazine, 1998). "There is no majority culture or majority ethnic group" in the market, said Michael Parks, the managing editor. He said, "We're able to improve the coverage and therefore get more readership and more ads" (ASNE, 1999).

To improve the international news coverage is one of the approaches. In recent years, according to an article written by Case (1998), the Los Angeles Times has undergone a significant effort to upgrade its international news coverage so it can present the world, in proper context, to its diverse audience. A content analysis study conducted by Beaudoin and Thorson (2001) found that international news in the Los Angeles Times comprised 19 percent of the newspaper's total news hole in 1999. Most foreign news coverage in the paper dealt with developing, and not developed nations. This is different from other elite newspapers, such as the New York Times. In 1999, the text on the developing world comprised 58 percent of the foreign news coverage in the paper. The most common geographic region was Asia, 29 percent, which indicated that the Los Angeles Times focused heavily on Asia because of its geographic and cultural proximity to Los Angeles. The study also showed that the United States was not central to most international news in the Los Angeles Times. Only 37 percent of the stories mentioned effects of an event on the United States, while 75 percent mentioned effects on a foreign

country. The study also demonstrated that the international coverage in the Los Angeles Times used non-Westerners as sources more often than Westerners, regardless of geographic region. Sources and story characters were more likely to be non-Western. In terms of story sources, 57 percent were non-Western, as well as 62 percent of story characters. In a word, the study shows that the Los Angeles Times is attempting to show a broad picture of the world based on its diverse readership. Therefore, it is an excellent target for exploring how the newspaper covered a foreign crisis in which the United States was involved deeply.

Based on the trend of the Los Angeles Times' effort on increasing readership among minorities and non-English speaking immigrants, and the current academic studies, the researcher assumed that, in this case, the Los Angeles Times would devote space in to the voice from the Chinese side than the New York Times would, and the sources used in the paper would be more diverse than in the New York Times.

Both of the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times are published in the United States. The International Herald Tribune is published outside the United States, jointly owned by the New York Times and the Washington Post. The highly successful International Herald Tribune, "an American in Paris," is widely used by a sophisticated non-American readership. "It is an essential medium for reaching the fast-growing global community of decision-makers and opinion leaders" (Tree Ad, 2000). It is the sole survivor of a number of English-language papers, including the Chicago Tribune, the Daily Mail (of London), the New York Herald-Tribune, and the New York Times, which published Paris or European editions for English-speaking travelers. Nearly half its readers are an elite group of European internationalists – businessmen, diplomats, and

journalists fluent in English. These readers see the International Herald Tribune, as do many Americans, as a superior newspaper: informative, balanced, literate, and well edited (Hachten, 1992).

Its readers trust the International Herald Tribune because it “produces a reasonably balanced view of what is happening” (Epinions.com). It serves six hundred thousand around the world; about two-thirds of its readers are non-American (Huebner, 1993). Body politic only comprises of 14 percent of its readership (iciplan.com, 1994). Of its readers in employment, 72 percent have international responsibilities. Current consumer surveys also show the International Herald Tribune to be expanding its readership in both Asia and Europe. According to 2000 figures, 70.6 percent and 21.4 percent of its total circulation are in Europe and Asia /Pacific countries. The circulation in America comprises only about 6.5 percent (Tree Ad, 2000). Because of its wide readership and complex circulation, it is not surprising that “It doesn’t have very much in-depth news from American” (Epinions.com), and it presents a broader world to its readers. Readers might expect to hear more voices from the international society in this paper.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The story of the midair plane collision in April 2001 was selected for the following reasons: (1) because the event involved the two biggest Eastern-Western countries in the world; (2) because the theory of dominant ideology and the propaganda model are especially useful in looking at the issues of foreign affairs and foreign policy where “propaganda campaigns and systematic dichotomization between us and them

have been conspicuous and important” (Herman, 1986, p.179); and (3) because the propaganda model is based on the media’s “sharply dichotomous treatment of similar events which differ primarily in their political implications” (*ibid*, p.175).

Few studies concerned a conflict involving two countries from two such antithetical groups: One is the biggest developing country and the other is the biggest already developed country; one is a communism country and the other is a capitalism country. Few studies have tested the validity of event-oriented and context-oriented factors influencing international news coverage. The April 2001 plane collision event provides researchers with an opportunity to see how the U.S. newspapers covered such a foreign conflict, in which the U.S. national interests are obviously concerned. It also can be a good target to test the determinants influencing international news coverage. In this case, specifically, what were the most newsworthy parts of the event; that is, what parts or themes of the event were covered or were covered more than others? Did the U.S. newspapers pay more attentions to the U.S. related matters, or the U.S. actors and acts in the conflicts? Did they give more space to cover the U.S. official announcements, reactions and diplomatic activities, and the U.S. navy crew than the Chinese counterparts? Were the China-related matters generally absent from the coverage? If not, when the newspapers covered the Chinese side in the conflict, what image of China was presented, negative, positive, or neutral overall? Did they give equivalent portion of coverage on both sides, which held opposite positions on a series of controversial issues? And how much coverage concerned the global response?

The study was designed with recognition that the production of news is influenced by the political, economic, and cultural context as well as by the actual situation being reported. The study was guided by three major questions:

RQ1: (A) How did these three U.S. newspapers cover the story? (B) Further, was the coverage balanced, which can be mainly measured with structural characteristics of news stories?

The two aspects of RQ1 can be tested through answering a set of questions specifying statistically a relationship between the structural characteristics and the structural balance of stories, such as what was the volume of coverage by the three newspapers for the entire examined period? What themes and actors were emphasized? What were the most newsworthy parts of the conflict? That is, what topics around the conflict tended to be touched more frequently? What sources did the news gatherers use? And to what extent were named and unnamed sources used? How balanced were assertions by America and China supporters in stories? To what extent were the voices from China and the Third World – including the official voice and the voice from the common people – heard?

According to the propaganda model, the quality of coverage would be displayed in the media's balanced treatment, story placement, editorials and the use of sources. Several hypotheses were posed:

H1: Official sources, especially U.S. officials, and U.S. sources in general will be displayed most often and prominently in the coverage of the newspapers.

H2: U.S. official sources will be primarily used in the coverage of the U.S. government and officials; whereas more diverse or dissident sources will be used in covering the Chinese government and officials.

H3: Matters or people of the U.S. side in the three newspapers will be covered more often and more prominently than the Chinese side.

H4: More voices from the core or semi-periphery countries, as suggested by the literature, will be heard than the periphery countries.

The second major questions concerned in this study is:

RQ2: What image of China in the conflict was reflected in the newspapers' coverage?

This was a political conflict deeply involved the United States, which happened in a delicacy period of complex Sino-U.S. relations. In 2000 and 2001, the Bush administration was promoting the sale of more advanced weapons to Taiwan, and was pushing a tougher China policy under the pressure of Congress, which focused on the issue of human rights in China. Obviously, China is seen to be in a position directly conflicting with the U.S. national interests. In the conflict, then, who were the good guys? That is, in newspaper coverage, what side, the United States or China, was portrayed as more cooperative towards mutual benefit, thus peacefully resolving the conflict in the

coverage of the newspapers? In the coverage of the newspapers, how were the Chinese leadership and common people depicted?

Another two hypothetical expectations were devised:

H5: The overall image of China in the newspapers tends to be negative. More space concerning the plane conflict will be devoted to the negative aspects of China.

H6: Compared with matters or people of the United States, reports of matters or people of China in the conflict will be more negative.

While the study is to provide a record of the reportage of the elite newspapers on the event, it also aims at finding out if any differences exist from paper to paper. Based on the previous performances of the newspapers, the Los Angeles Times' current efforts on appealing to its diverse readership, and such important factors to determine what to be reported or not, as cultural affinity and economic variables, it is not absurd to expect that the stories in these three newspapers, to a more or less degree, were displayed in a different way. It will be interesting to see to what extent differences exist between the New York Times, owned by the New York Times Co., and the International Herald Tribune, jointly owned by the New York Times Co. and the Washington Post, and between the Los Angeles Times, owned by the Tribune Company, and the other two papers, because of their different readership. It is expected that the interest or news value used in the selection process of the coverage of the event in these three newspapers could be measured in terms of its "importance" for political, cultural, and economic ties to the

different audiences, even though the dominant ideology and other journalistic ideology still play a dominant role. Therefore, the third angle taken in this study is:

RQ3: What differences, if any, existed across the newspapers when they covered the story? And how much variation exists?

Accordingly, the following three hypothetical expectations were assumed:

H7: The New York Times will use less diverse sources, like Chinese sources or others, than the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times. The proportion of specific sources will be significantly higher in the newspaper with a larger Asian audience than in papers with a smaller Asian audience, and higher in the newspaper with a larger international audience than in papers with a smaller international audience.

H8: The New York Times will use less diverse sources for the coverage of controversial issues, such as the cause and responsibility of the collision and the legality of U.S. spy flights along the South China Sea, than the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune.

H9: The New York Times will devote less space and less prominence to the Chinese side than will the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune. Fewer voices slanted to the Chinese side will be heard in the New York Times than in the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune, when controversial topics were involved.

H10: The New York Times will cover the Chinese side less neutrally and the U.S. side more positively than the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune.

Significance of the Study

Analysis of this coverage is important for several reasons. It provides a case study of U.S. media coverage of the issue of foreign conflict. Given the belief that an informed public can better make or accept policy decisions than one that is misinformed or kept in the dark, one can ask whether Americans were given sufficient information about the event to make an informed judgment on the issue. A second reason is that many Chinese citizens inside and outside China criticized the U.S. mainstream media as being unbalanced in reporting the plane collision and distorting the image of China. This analysis, then, is also a case study of the validity of those criticisms. Besides these practical reasons, there are some academic considerations. The most important one is to examine two important concepts of the hegemony theory and Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model: political ideology and national interest, and to test to what extent they will execute influence on the coverage of the foreign conflict from newspaper to newspaper and to what extent the cultural affinity and economic consideration of newspaper readership will dilute the influence. Second, there are few studies on a U.S.-China conflict involving in both military actions and foreign diplomacy, although there are some case studies on how U.S. media cover events in China. Third, it might be an interesting attempt to find out whether certain relations exist between the structural characteristics of news coverage and frames of news stories.

CHAPTER IV DEFINITIONS AND RESEARCH METHODS

Definitions of Terms

“Coverage” refers to the reporting and inclusion of news stories and editorials and opinion columns about the event in the newspapers during the period of study.

“Volume of coverage” was measured by a count of the number of words about the event that appeared in the newspapers during the period under study, April 2, 2001, to April 30, 2001. Volume as measured by number of words was shown by newspapers and by the three time periods, which were set in the part of Methods below.

“Headline” is the first set of words written in display type atop the story. It is usually specific and gives an idea of what the story is about.

“Story” contains the bulk of the news information. It starts with the datelines after each headline.

“Hard news” concerns the facts of the story, referring to those mainly reporting the process or movement of the story without or only with a few subjective analyses. The items of news analysis were included in the category in this study.

“Editorial items” are comprised of comments, editorials, and columns, which mainly express subjective opinions and appear on the editorial pages of the newspapers. The items that appeared in Letters to the Editor were excluded in this study.

“Structural characteristics” are concerned with systematic features of stories in an integral writing structure, which is comprised of a series of factors, such as the

origination, length, byline, headline, lead and type of a story, quotations and sources in a story, and the placement of a story.

“Structural balance” or “bias” is considered to be systematic, differential treatment of the quoted or paraphrased assertions of the opponents in the conflict in news stories and any expression of opinion or variance from neutrality. Two components determining bias, fairness and balance, are built into the structure of any story based on decision by reporters and editors.

“Story prominence” dealing with the United States or China is based on the additive combination of several structural elements, such as page location, lead, paragraph, and story space.

“Images of China and the United States,” partly using Luther’s definition (2001),¹ refers to the press images or the media-disseminated images. The measurement is based on sentence content in news articles judged by the following four criteria of evaluation and grouped according to several variable categories.

“Positive”: generally reflecting favorably on the examined objects, i.e., the United States or China; favorable or cooperative reaction or greeting; reports of cohesion, stability, good condition, progress, or strength; indications of gaining strength or popularity, influence, or support; endorsement by another group or person; indications the subject of study is becoming known. For example, a sentence, like “the Bush administration has strong legal standing,” was coded as positive.

“Neutral”: absence of judgment; statements of fact; non-evaluative reports about the process of the story; refusal to state views or be interviewed. For example, a sentence

¹ Luther’s definition goes beyond press images to include the mental schema of journalists.

like “the pilot of the Chinese jet reportedly parachuted out before his jet crashed,” or “President Bush personally expressed his regrets about the loss of a Chinese pilot” was coded as neutral.

“Negative”: That generally reflecting unfavorably or uncooperatively on the subject of study; hostile or unfriendly reaction or greeting; reports connotating social conflicts, disorganization, government malfunction, oppression of freedom or democracy; apathy or coolness; loss of strength, popularity, influence, or support; attacks on views by another group or person; negative statements about image or style; isolation of views. For example, a sentence like “the uninformative and uncooperative stance taken by China’s leaders,” or “the Chinese had overreacted because of frustration over the selling of destroyers to Taiwan,” or “Mr. Jiang lacks the personal authority of earlier Chinese leaders,” was coded as negative.

“Mixed or not applicable:” If a sentence contained both negative and positive evaluations, for example, a sentence with a negative clause and a positive clause, or a sentence with a negative evaluation contributed by a source and a positive evaluation contributed by another source, or it did not fit into one of three evaluation variables, the sentence was coded as “mixed or not applicable.”

“Source type:” The definitions and categorizations of various source types can be seen in Table 4.1.

Methods

The method used in this research is content analysis of the three newspapers, the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, and the International Herald Tribune.

Table 4.1 Display of “Source Type” Operational Definitions

Variable Category	Contents
Executive	All members of Executive branch, all Cabinet members
--President	
--Other(s)	e.g. Vice President, Secretary of State, White House Spokesman
Legislative	All members of Senate, all members of House of Rep.
U.S. Military	All references to Pentagon, all military personnel
Generic Official(s)	No description other than “U.S. official(s)” or “diplomats,” which can be inferred from context
U.S. Govt. Routine Channel	e.g. Press Conferences, or Briefs, without identifying specific individuals.
U.S. Non-official Source	Americans independent of governmental institutions and U.S. Common People, e.g., the crew’s family, the ordinary Americans
President of China and State Council ¹	All members of the ministries and commissions subordinated to the State Council of China
Chinese Military	All references to the National Defense of China (e.g. Defense Minister), all military personnel
Generic Official(s)	No description other than “Chinese official(s)” or “diplomats,” which can be inferred from context
Chinese Media	e.g. Xinhua News Agency ² , People’s Daily ³
Chinese Non-official Source	China independent of legitimated institutions and Chinese Common People, e.g., Chinese students, the pilot’s family
Other Country’s Official Source	All officials of the country’s government
Other Country’s Non-official	Source from other countries not falling into the category above Source
Non-identified Source	No description of whom in what country attributed the information

¹ The State Council includes various ministries and commissions, such as Premier, Vice Premier, and the Foreign Ministry. The National Defense Ministry of China is also under the State Council, but it is excluded from the part when counting the numbers of various sources.

² It is also called New China News Agency.

³ The official Chinese daily newspaper.

The research process was fivefold:

- determining the stories to be used,
- determining the time period of relevant stories,
- locating stories related to the event in this time period,
- determining their structural characteristics according to a coding scheme,
- determining their major themes/motifs, topics and tendency according to a coding scheme.

Samples

For the selected newspapers, this study considered the entire population of the news and editorial material covering the U.S collision with China in the period from April 2 to April 30 without sampling. These dates were selected to include newspaper coverage 18 days after the release of the U.S. crew on April 12, which indicated the ending of the stalemate. The stories were located through the respective online advanced search of the newspapers. Titles and texts relevant to “China,” or “standoff with China,” or “collision,” or “spy plane,” which were used as keywords, were checked. Once the appropriate title(s) were located in each index, all relevant stories under the title(s) were selected. After excluding the items of Letters to the Editor, 74 items from the New York Time, 65 from the Los Angeles Times, and 28 from the International Herald Tribune were obtained. Copies of each story retrieved from the electronic database of each newspaper indicate the page number on which the story appeared in the newspapers, except for the International Herald Tribune. In order to assure the accuracy of the research, the author checked back the microfilm of the International Herald Tribune to

get the page on which the articles located. Moreover, 24 more items in the paper were found, thus totally 52 items.

Periods of Study

Although the plane collision happened on April 1, 2001, all the newspapers began to report the story on the next day. The first day of the time period, therefore, was set on April 2. From May 2001, only a few news items about the negotiations on the return of the U.S. spy plane showed up in the tentative search. Therefore, the study ended on April 30. Three time periods, according to the process of the whole story, typically on the base of the fate of the 24-member crew, were identified: 1) From April 2 to April 4, an initial but serious period, during which the crew held in China was prevented from meeting with American officials; 2) From April 5 to April 12, a peak period of diplomatic activities, during which the United States demanded the immediate return of the crew while China asked for an apology; 3) From April 13 to April 30, a period of repercussions, during which the two sides continued to debate on their own reasons and began to negotiate about the issue of the return of the damaged plane to the United States. The volume of coverage was in correlation measure with the three periods and the three newspapers.

Units of Study

All editorial contents except for photos, graphics, charts and letters to the editor were analyzed and coded for statistical analysis. The units for analysis were the body of news stories, editorial items, and headlines. The unit of coding was either the story, which was mainly used to measure such structural characteristics of a story as dateline, byline, type and placement, or the sentence, which was mainly used to measure the content and sources or other elements of a story. Sentences were multiple coded for all

given categories of variables on a ratio scale, which will be discussed in the following section. That is, if more than one topic appeared in a sentence, each category was coded. For example, if more than one type of news source, like a U.S. official source and a Chinese official source, appeared in a sentence, both of the categories, U.S. official source and Chinese official source, were coded one time. The same procedure applied in coding for the response variables related to the themes or motifs of stories and the controversial issues. All sentences were then aggregated and transformed into total numbers and percentages based on the frequency distribution of sentences in a given category. Each category then became a new variable, with the sum or percentage as its value.

Dimensions

The study looks at how the newspapers covered the conflict, combining a systematic quantitative analysis with a deeper, more qualitative type of reading, along with two major dimensions, one structural and the other cultural.

The first dimension is a quantitative analysis of structural characteristics, with focus on the extent of mutual dependence between the newspapers and the official sources to explain the power of each side. It is possible to examine the course of a conflict and establish whether the news media take an independent role by asking about:

- 1) The extent to which the news media use exclusively official sources for information;
- 2) The extent to which non-official stories and frames appear in the coverage of the conflict; and
- 3) The extent to which alternative voices were heard, and which voices were heard the most.

Since the event happened in China and it evoked strong global response, the locale in dateline, alternative sources and contributors might be good references used

to examine the fairness of the coverage in the newspapers, or to see if any relationship exist between the balance of coverage and the geographic and demographic characteristics of the newspapers.

The second dimension analyzes the construction of newspapers frames of the conflict, in which the major themes and motifs of the coverage are identified, and a set of attitudes revealed from the coverage is evaluated. The analysis is developed on the base of the controversial issues around the event as described in the Story Background section of Chapter I. In this dimension, “Who are the good guys?” is the major issue. One way to place the conflict in context is to decide which side is at fault, and whether the demands or behavior of one side appear “reasonable” in the conflict, or “favorable” to, or cooperative in the process of resolving the conflict. One common method for deciding fault is to focus on the *victims*. Victims are a central element in most good news stories about political conflicts and once the victim (or potential victim) has been identified, so has the aggressor. In some conflicts, of course, both sides are victims, and such confrontations are usually framed as senseless violence.

Coding Categories and Response Variables

Along with the two dimensions, the following coding groups were utilized accordingly. The ideas about these groups, each of which contained a series of response variables and coding categories, initially came out through the preview of the news abstracts from the electronic databases and the variables were developed more completely through reading all the news articles.

Structural Characteristics of Stories

In this group, each news item was only counted one time, except for the last three ones, for which the unit of coding was the story sentence.

- *Newspaper*, which contained a category for each organization: the New York Times was coded “1”, the International Herald Tribune was coded “2” and the Los Angeles Times was coded “3”;
- The *date* of publication;
- The *word count of item*, then summed up to the total number during each of the three period and the total length of all the stories published;
- The *number of sentences* in each item;
- The *type of article*, which was divided into hard news item (“1”), editorials (“2”), and opinion/column/ comment (“3”);
- The *placement* of item, on the front page (“1”), or inside page (“2”);
- The *byline* of item, whether the article has a staff byline (“1”), or is an agency report (“2”), or a freelance/guest article (“3”). The other categories were coded in this way: syndicate (“4”) – item written by a staff from other news organization (s), combination (“5”) – item written by a staff from the newspaper that published the item and other(s) from other news organization(s) or other institution(s), other (“6”) – item was identified from any other, which did not fall into any of the categories above, and non-identified (“7”) – item without byline;

- The *geographic location of dateline*, which contained such eight categories² as Washington (“1”), other place in the United States (“2”), Beijing (“3”), Haikou (“4”), other place in China (“5”), Paris (“6”), place in any other country not being the United States or China (“7”), and non-identified (“8”);
- Who or what was in *headline*, which was comprised of a series of response variables, such as the United States or U.S. official(s), China or Chinese official(s), the U.S. crew, the Chinese pilot(s), and so on.³ The major purpose to set the group of variables is to take it as one of the instruments to find out to what side in the conflict did the newspapers pay more attention. The coding for each of the variables was based on the frequency of each variable, which appeared in each of the headlines;
- Who or what was *quoted* directly, for which a series of response variables⁴ were set to be used as one of the instruments to find out to what side in the conflict did the newspapers pay more attention and what parts of the event tended to be more newsworthy.
- What type(s) of sources was (were) used in the lead and the first ten paragraphs.

Themes or Motifs of Stories

Since this is a case study, it will be too broad, thus too specious to examine what main topic a story had. In order to make the elements that were counted to be “manifest and obvious” (Singletary, 1994), the set of variables focused mainly on the contents of

² Hong Kong was coded into the category of “other place in China;” The reason for separating Paris from the category of “place in any other country” was that the International Herald Tribune is published in Paris.

³ See the items of # 11 and # 12 in the coding form in Appendix for details.

⁴ See the items of #13 in the coding form in Appendix for details.

the stories. The counting for each response variable was based on the sentences in each item, and the coding was based on the frequency of the sentences related to each of the following themes or motifs:

- Theme1 -- Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event;
- Theme2 -- Cause and responsibility of the collision;
- Theme3 -- U.S. diplomatic announcement(s), and/or reaction(s), and/or position(s), and/or activities around the event;
- Theme4 -- Chinese diplomatic announcement(s), and/or reaction(s), and/or position(s), and/or activities around the event;
- Theme5 -- Negotiations, or meeting(s), or agreement(s) between two countries;
- Theme6 -- The U.S. crew, or their activities during the collision and landing and China, or their situation and/or life in China;
- Theme7 -- The Chinese pilot Wang Wei, and/or his family or other Chinese pilot(s), and/or the Chinese flight jet Fate of the Chinese pilot;
- Theme8 -- The U.S. plane (e.g., description, data and equipment, return);
- Theme9 -- Evaluation on, or introduction of the United States, or the U.S. official(s) (such as President Bush and Ambassador Prueher), and/or their background or activities before the event;
- Theme10 -- Evaluation on, or introduction of China, or Chinese official(s) (e.g., President Jiang), and/or their background or activities before the event;
- Theme11 -- The crew's departure from China and activities after being released;

- Theme12 -- Response(s) of the U.S. common people (including the crew's families, American businesspeople, and so on);
- Theme13 -- Response(s) of the Chinese common people (including the Chinese pilot's family, Chinese students, and so on);
- Theme14 -- Global Response(s);
- Theme15 -- Sino-U.S. relations;
- Theme16 -- China policy of the United States;
- Theme17 -- About apology or regret or sorry;
- Theme18 -- About the U.S. reconnaissance patrol;
- Theme19 -- About China's counter-patrol;
- Theme20 -- About China's waters and/or airspace in the South China Sea; and
- Theme21 -- Other.

All the theme variables were served for two categories of coding, the lead theme and the story theme, which were used to test what the three newspapers.

Controversial Topics in Stories

Based on the story background in Chapter I, six topics were accordingly designed in this group.

- The cause of the collision, which concerned about which side, the U.S. plane or the Chinese flight, caused the midair collision;
- The U.S. reconnaissance patrol along China's border, which concerned about if the reconnaissance missions are justified, or if the patrol is unacceptable to any country, or if the United States should stop such flights;

- The justifications of the U.S. spy plane, which concerned about if it was O.K. for the plan to fly over the South China Sea, or if it is a routine surveillance mission, or if it was right to land the Chinese airport in an emergency, or if it sent the Mayday signal before its emergency landing, and so on;
- An apology to China, which concerned whether the United States had to say “apology” to China.
- About Chinese flights’ counter-patrol, which concerned whether the counter-patrol was reasonable or aggressive;
- China’s waters and/or airspace in/over the South China Sea, which concerned whether China has the sovereignty in/over the South China Sea.

Under the first five categories, five common response variables, such as the U.S. government announcement(s) or position, opinion(s) slant to the U.S. position or opposite to China’s position, Chinese government announcement(s) or position, opinion(s) slant to China’s position or opposite to the U.S. position, and neutral, were shared. The variables in the sixth category were a little different from those in other categories, since the issue involves the national interests from many other countries. The variables were set as China’s position, opinion(s) slant to China’s position, opposite position(s) of other country (countries), opinion(s) slant to opposite position(s), and neutral.

The variable of “neutral” in this group refers to those factual statement(s) about the related topic without any opinion, or opinion(s) without any slant, or opinion(s) blaming or criticizing both sides, and so on. The variables of government position and opinion(s) slant to the respective government were divided on the basis of source and

attribution.⁵ All statements from the governments of both sides, which means, attributed by official sources, were counted as either the U.S. position or China's position. However, the statements attributed by official sources were included into the opinion variables, if they represented only the personal opinion(s) of the source(s). The opinion variables were set for the related statements from any sources other than official sources and the sentences involved in the topic without any sources, such as the opinion(s) from the reporter or the author. All the counting was based on the sentences in each news item, and the coding was based on the frequency of the related sentences.

Images of China and the United States in the Event

The following two groups of variables were created for examining how the newspapers depicted the conflicting two countries, one of which is the home country of the newspapers, and the other is a communism country in the Third World. A similar series of subcategories were set in both groups. "Negative," "neutral," "positive" and "mixed or not applicable"⁵ were the four variables for each of the subcategories, such as leadership and so on.

- The image of China

It included such subcategories as "Chinese leadership," "favorable or unfavorable to peacefully and immediately resolve the conflict," "evaluation on China," "evaluation

⁵ Before an independent coder recoded the sample, there were only three variables, the U.S. position, China's position and neutral. The two opinion variables were separated after the two coders consulted each other. It helped to see whether the newspapers gave more space to dissenting opinions and what opinion the newspapers tended to hold. It also helped to promote the rate of accuracy in coding. See the following section of Reliability.

⁶ These four variables were coded based on the criteria defined in the section of Definitions of Terms of this chapter.

on the Chinese pilot,” “life or condition of the crew in China,” and “attitude of Chinese common people to the United States and American people;”

- The image of the United State

“The U.S. leadership,” “favorable or unfavorable to peacefully and immediately resolve the conflict,” “evaluation on the United States,” and “evaluation on the U.S. crew.”

Reliability

Except for those in the first category of Structural Characteristics of Stories, the variables in the other categories contained subjective components to more or less degree. Therefore, intercoder reliability needed to be examined.

First, the author working with a pre-tested coding instrument read all the sample articles to establish the coding scheme, including the categories of variables and the standard of coding. Then, a 30-item sample was randomly selected from the entire population to be coded by an independent coder and the author to check the accuracy. In order to ensure the sample articles coded and tested for intercoder reliability represent the entire population of the sample, the two coders respectively picked up 15 articles with eyes closed. It yielded 12 articles from the New York Times, 14 articles from the Los Angeles Times, and 4 articles from the International Herald Tribune. After being guided with coding instructions, the independent coder coded the 15-item sample using an attached coding sheet. The author coded the other 15-item sample. Then the two coders switched the sample. To compare the coders’ results, the Holsti Formula was applied:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M \text{ (the number of coding decisions on which the coders agree)}}{N1 + N2 \text{ (the total number of coding decisions by the coders)}}$$

Only the variables in the categories of themes, controversial topics and images were recoded. Considering the objectivity of the variables in the first category, it seemed to be unnecessary to test the reliability for coding those variables. The results of the intercoder reliability for the three categories were respectively .88, .79, and .81. In order to make the research to be as accurate as possible, differences between coders were settled by discussion. After discussion the author added some variables such as “China’s waters and/or airspace in/over the South China Sea.” The major change was separating two variables “opinion slant to the U.S. position or opposite to China’s” and “opinion slant to China’s position or opposite to the U.S. position” from the variables “the U.S. position” and “China’s position.”

Then, the two coders independently coded another random sample of 20 stories. The intercoder reliability for the variables in the categories of Themes/Motifs of Stories (including themes in lead and themes in story), Controversial Topics of Stories and Images of China and the United States were .87, .86, and .83. These figures are at a level that is acceptable as reliable. The author did all the coding work after pre-testing. However, recoding was done periodically to ensure intracoder reliability.

Research Limitations

The major concern could be the sample of the three newspapers. The study was designed to investigate the entire population of the articles covered in the examined period. There might be some certain items that could be unattainable in the initial online

search, since they might be removed from the electronic database of each newspaper because of copyright consideration. The unexpressed result of double checking the microfilm of the International Herald Tribune, which produced 24 more items, could be seen as an alert. However, considering the fact that the International Herald Tribune is jointly owned by the New York Times and the Washington Post and many of its stories are syndicated, and the access to its archives is free, which is different from the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times, the reliability of obtaining all the news abstracts of the related items by the advanced search on the Web sites of the two newspapers would not be reduced much. In order to limit the negative potential as much as possible, however, the researcher checked the microfilms of the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times. A few articles were missed in each paper, but this represented a tiny percent.

Another concern also came from the ownership of the International Herald Tribune. The newspaper depends on the New York Times, the Washington Post and other newspapers for much international and national news. Therefore, a question was raised, "How many items in the examined articles were duplicated across the International Herald Tribune and the New York Times?" It was an interesting finding that only a few articles were duplicated, even though 15 items in the International Herald Tribune were from the New York Times. It suggested that the duplication was not enough to make a major impact on the results of this research. On the contrary, it furthered the interest of the author in exploring how differently these two papers cover the event and why the International Herald Tribune did not use the same stories as the New York Times.

The minor limitation in this study was that the accuracy of the word counts of the International Herald Tribune. Because the electronic database did not provide the exact word count of each article in the paper, as it did for the other two papers, and 24 articles were missed from the database, the author had to count the number of the words by hand. But this would not impact the results of the whole analysis of data.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the analysis of data and the findings, which are presented in relation to the research questions and the hypotheses.

RQ1: (A) How did these three U.S. newspapers cover the story? (B) Further, was the coverage balanced, which can be mainly measured with structural characteristics of news stories?

Structural Characteristics of Stories

Table 5.1 provides the basic information about how the newspapers played the story. All these three newspapers gave enough space to cover the event. In the examined 29 days, about two or three items and 1,600 to 2,600 words, on the average, appeared in each of the papers. News stories dominated the coverage, as expected. However, the percentage of editorial items in the New York Times was much lower than the others, especially the International Herald Tribune, in which editorial items occupied 42.31 percent of its total item. Compared with the New York Times, the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times devoted more space on the front page to cover the event, even though they had more editorial items than the New York Times. For all the papers, the dateline of the articles was mainly from Washington and Beijing, which are respectively the political center of each country involved in the event, and the items from

Table 5.1 Basic Information by Newspaper

		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
Items	News Story	60 (81.08%)	30 (57.69%)	47 (72.31%)
	Ed.-Op.	14 (18.92%)	22 (42.31%)	18 (27.69%)
	Total	74	52	65
Words	News Story	63549 (84.9%)	23156 (59.58%)	50058 (77.89%)
	Ed.-Op.	12027 (15.1%)	15707 (40.42%)	14231 (22.11%)
	Total	75576	38863	64269
Sentences	News Story	1977 (83%)	915 (60.36%)	2055 (77.66%)
	Ed.-Op.	405 (17%)	601 (39.64%)	591 (22.34%)
	Total	2382	1516	2646
Page of Story	Front page	21 (28.4%)	18 (34.62%)	24 (36.92%)
	Inside page	53 (71.6%)	34 (65.38%)	41 (63.08%)
Dateline	Washington	24 (32.43%)	18 (34.6%)	23 (35.45%)
	Other U.S. place	7 (9.5%)	6 (11.5%)	3 (4.6%)
	Beijing	18 (24.3%)	11 (21.2%)	15 (23.1%)
	Haikou	10 (13.5%)	3 (5.8%)	3 (4.6%)
	Other place in China	1 (1.4%)	1 (1.9%)	1 (1.5%)
	Paris	0	3 (5.8%)	1 (1.5%)
	Other international place	1 (1.4%)	5 (9.6%)	0
	Non-identified	13 (17.6%)	5 (9.6%)	19 (29.2%)
Byline	Staff	67 (90.54%)	13 (25%)	39 (60%)
	News Service	0	0	3 (4.6%)
	Freelance/Guest	3 (4.1%)	10 (19.2%)	17 (26.2%)
	Syndicate	0	25 (48.1%)	0
	Combination	0	3 (5.8%)	2 (3.1%)
	Other	0	0	1 (1.5%)
	Non-identified	4 (5.4%)	1 (1.9%)	3 (4.6%)

Washington had the largest percentage, even though the event happened in Lingshui, a small town near Haikou, the capital of Hainan Province in China. But the percentage of the items from the international places (9.6%) in the International Herald Tribune was much higher than the New York Times (1.4%) and the Los Angeles Times (0%). As far as the byline, the table clearly shows that the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times appeared more diverse than the New York Times, in which the category of “staff” absolutely dominated, whose percentage was as high as 90.54 percent, while four categories, News Service, Syndicate, Combination and Other, were absent.

Table 5.2 and Figure 5.1 respectively indicate how items were distributed in the three newspapers during each of the three time periods. Table 5.2 shows that during the first and third periods, the percentages of news items in the International Herald Tribune were the largest (19.23% and 38.46%) among the newspapers.

From Figure 5.1, it can be seen that the peak coverage in the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times were on April 12, 2001, the day when the U.S. crew was

Table 5.2 News Items in Three Newspapers by Time Period

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
The First Period (4/02-4/04)	10 (13.51%)	10 (19.23%)	12 (18.46%)	32 (16.75%)
The Second Period (4/05-4/12)	42 (56.76%)	22 (42.31%)	31 (47.69%)	95 (49.73%)
The Third Period (4/13-4/30)	22 (29.73%)	20 (38.46%)	22 (33.85%)	64 (33.51%)
Column Total	74	52	65	191

released. In the contrast, the peak in the International Herald Tribune was on April 4, the day when the Chinese government asked for a formal apology from the United States. Considering the fact that in the second period the diplomatic activities were mainly developed around the return of the U.S. crew, we might see the information shown in Table 5.2 and Figure 5.1 as an evidence that the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times, the two newspapers published in the United States, tended to be more closely associated with their home country than the International Herald Tribune published outside the United States with fewer U.S. readers.

The Use of Sources and Hypotheses 1-2

Table 5.3 and Figure 5.2 show that all three elite newspapers used named sources much more often than unnamed sources, although the percentage of unnamed sources

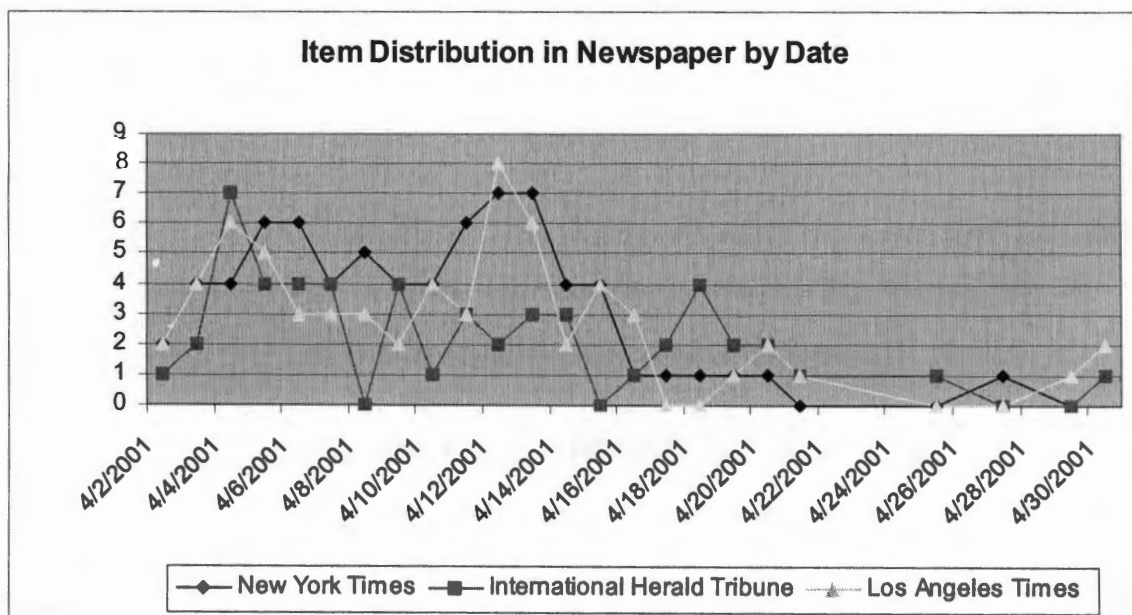


Figure 5.1 News Items in Three Newspapers by Date

Table 5.3 Frequency and Percentage of Named and Unnamed Sources by Newspaper

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
Named sources	556 (66.43%)	314 (76.96%)	810 (82.99%)	1680 (75.64%)
Unnamed sources	281 (33.57%)	94 (23.04%)	166 (17.01%)	541 (24.5%)
Column Total	837	408	976	2221

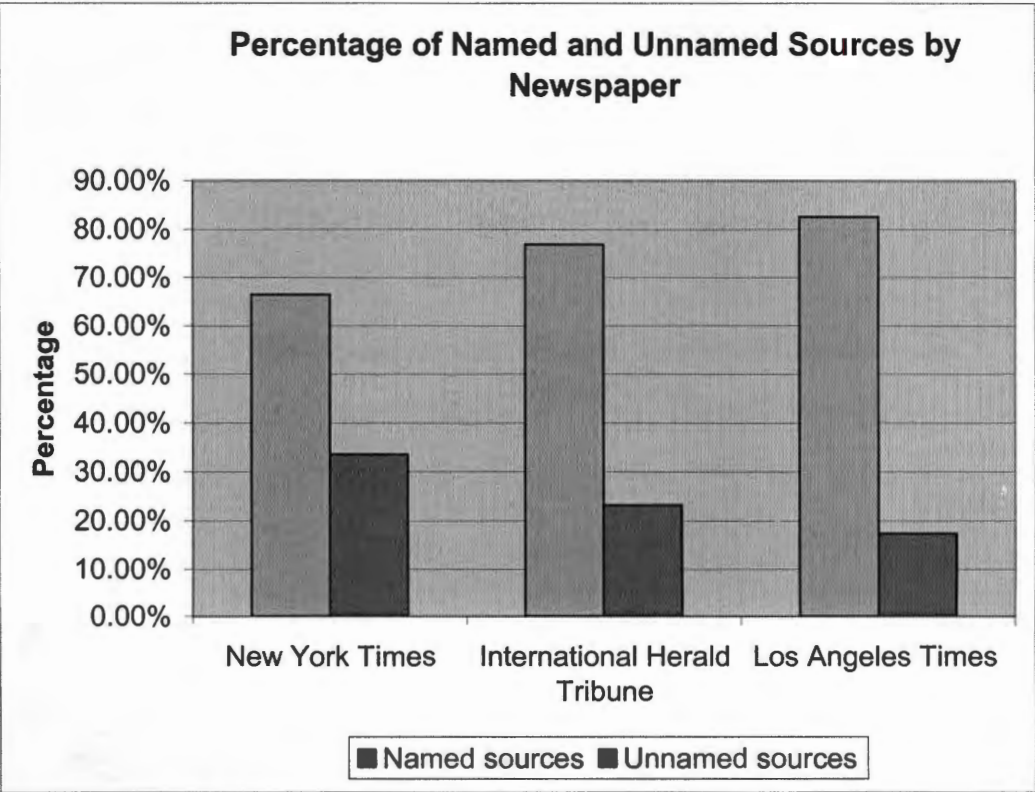


Figure 5.2 Percentage of Named and Unnamed Sources by Newspaper

used in the New York Times was more than that in the other two, especially the Los Angeles Times, in which only 17 percent of the sources were unnamed.

H1: Official sources, especially U.S. officials, and U.S. sources in general will be displayed most often and prominently in the coverage of the newspapers.

Hypothesis 1 was strongly supported.

As can be seen in Table 5.4, the percentage sums of official sources, including

Table 5.4 Frequency and Percentage of Used Source Type by Newspaper

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
U.S. official	403 (48.15%)	186 (45.59%)	459 (47.03%)	1048 (47.19%)
U.S. non-official	73 (8.72%)	19 (4.66%)	105 (10.76 %)	197 (8.87%)
U.S. crew	78 (9.32%)	13 (3.19%)	89 (9.12%)	180 (8.1%)
U.S. common people	87 (10.39%)	0	76 (7.79%)	163 (7.34%)
Other U.S. media	7 (0.84%)	7 (1.72%)	0	14 (0.63%)
Chinese official	58 (6.93%)	50 (12.25%)	78 (7.99%)	186 (8.37%)
Chinese non-official	17 (2.03%)	11 (2.7%)	30 (3.07%)	58 (2.61%)
Chinese pilots	0	2 (0.49%)	12 (1.23%)	14 (0.63%)
Chinese common people	55 (6.57%)	31 (7.6%)	74 (7.68%)	160 (7.2%)
Chinese media	37 (4.42%)	20 (4.9%)	23 (2.36%)	80 (3.6%)
Other country's official	2 (0.24%)	13 (3.19%)	0	15 (0.68%)
Other country's non-official	2 (0.24%)	12 (2.94%)	2 (0.2%)	16 (0.72%)
Non-identified	14 (1.67%)	28 (6.86%)	16 (1.64%)	58 (2.61%)
Other(s)	4 (0.48%)	16 (3.92%)	12 (1.23%)	32 (1.44%)
Column Total	837	408	976	2221

U.S. official, Chinese official and other country's official sources used in the New York Times, the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times were respectively 55.32, 61.03 and 55.02. Figure 5.3 especially shows that the use of U.S. official source was significantly higher than all the others. The percentage sums of the sources from Chinese sources were 19.95, 27.94 and 22.33, which were all far lower than the percentages of the "U.S. official source," 48.15, 45.19 and 47.03.

Table 5.5 shows that the mean of the source variable "U.S. official" in each paper was the largest among all the variables, and the means of U.S. sources tended to be larger than the means of Chinese sources. From Table A-15 in the Appendix, it can be seen that

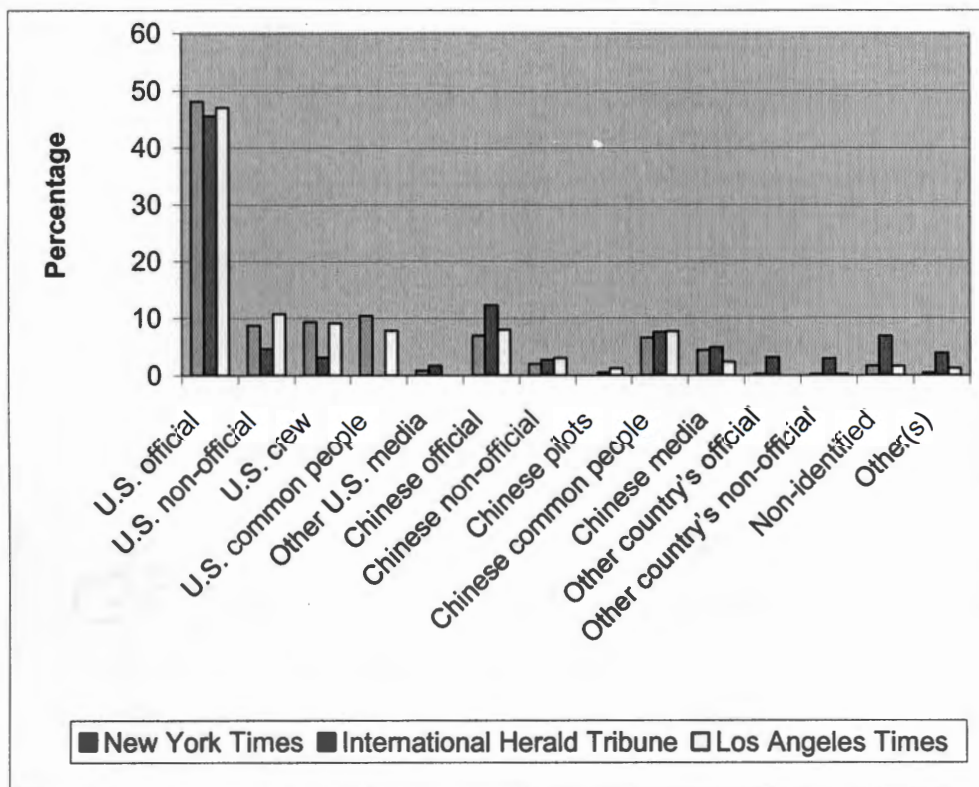


Figure 5.3 Percentage of Sources by Newspaper

Table 5.5 Parameter Estimates by Source and Newspaper

source type	Newspaper	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
U.S. official source	New York Times	5.446	.351	4.757	6.134
	International Herald Tribune	3.577	.419	2.756	4.398
	Los Angeles Times	7.062	.375	6.327	7.796
U.S. non-official source	New York Times	.986	.351	.298	1.675
	International Herald Tribune	.365	.419	-.456	1.187
	Los Angeles Times	1.615	.375	.881	2.350
The U.S. crew	New York Times	1.054	.351	.366	1.743
	International Herald Tribune	.250	.419	-.571	1.071
	Los Angeles Times	1.369	.375	.635	2.104
U.S. common people	New York Times	1.176	.351	.487	1.864
	International Herald Tribune	2.220E-16	.419	-.821	.821
	Los Angeles Times	1.169	.375	.435	1.904
Other U.S. media	New York Times	9.459E-02	.351	-.594	.783
	International Herald Tribune	.135	.419	-.687	.956
	Los Angeles Times	-5.551E-17	.375	-.735	.735
Chinese official source	New York Times	.784	.351	9.531E-02	1.472
	International Herald Tribune	.962	.419	.140	1.783
	Los Angeles Times	1.200	.375	.465	1.935
The Chinese pilot(s)	New York Times	2.012E-16	.351	-.688	.688
	International Herald Tribune	3.846E-02	.419	-.783	.860
	Los Angeles Times	.185	.375	-.550	.919
Chinese media	New York Times	.230	.351	-.459	.918
	International Herald Tribune	.212	.419	-.610	1.033
	Los Angeles Times	.462	.375	-.273	1.196
Chinese non-official source	New York Times	.743	.351	5.477E-02	1.432
	International Herald Tribune	.596	.419	-.225	1.417
	Los Angeles Times	1.138	.375	.404	1.873
Chinese common people	New York Times	.500	.351	-.188	1.188
	International Herald Tribune	.385	.419	-.437	1.206
	Los Angeles Times	.354	.375	-.381	1.088
Other country's official source	New York Times	2.703E-02	.351	-.661	.716
	International Herald Tribune	.250	.419	-.571	1.071
	Los Angeles Times	5.551E-17	.375	-.735	.735
Other country's non-official source	New York Times	2.703E-02	.351	-.661	.716
	International Herald Tribune	.231	.419	-.591	1.052
	Los Angeles Times	3.077E-02	.375	-.704	.765
Non-identified source	New York Times	.189	.351	-.499	.878
	International Herald Tribune	.538	.419	-.283	1.360
	Los Angeles Times	.246	.375	-.488	.981
Other(s)	New York Times	5.405E-02	.351	-.634	.743
	International Herald Tribune	.308	.419	-.514	1.129
	Los Angeles Times	.185	.375	-.550	.919

the mean differences between the variable “U.S. official” and the other source variables were all very large, from 4.46 to 5.41, all with a p value of .000.

As far as the prominence of sources, the first 10 paragraphs of the articles of the New York Times, the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times, had a total of 443, 224 and 440 sentences with attributed information. The most frequently used source type was “U.S. official source,” which respectively occupied 35.21, 40.63 and 32.5 percent in these three papers. The series of Table 5.6-1, Table 5.6-2 and Table 5.6-3 indicate that official sources, no matter from what country, the United States, or China, or

Table 5.6 Prominence of Sources in Hard News and Editorial Items
Table 5.6-1 Sources in Lead/First Paragraph

SOURCE TYPE	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
U.S. official source	12 (16%)	5 (9.26%)	8 (11.94%)	25 (12.76%)
Chinese official source	0	3 (5.56%)	2 (2.99%)	5 (2.55%)
U.S. non-official source	2 (2.67%)	1 (1.85%)	1 (1.49%)	4 (2.04%)
Chinese non-official source	0	0	0	0
U.S. crew	1 (1.33%)	1 (1.85%)	0	2 (1.02%)
Chinese pilot(s)	0	0	1 (1.49%)	1 (0.51%)
U.S. common people	0	0	1 (1.49%)	1 (0.51%)
Chinese common people	3 (4%)	0	0	3 (1.53%)
other U.S. media	0	0	1 (1.49%)	1 (0.51%)
Chinese media	0	0	0	0
other country's official source	0	0	0	0
other country's non-official source	0	0	0	0
non-identified source	1 (1.33%)	2 (3.7%)	0	3 (1.53%)
other source	0	0	0	0
no source in lead paragraph	56 (74.67%)	42 (77.78%)	53 (79.1%)	151 (77.04%)
Column Total¹	75	54	67	196

¹ Column totals differ from totals in Table 5.2 because some lead paragraphs contained more than one source.

Table 5.6 Continued**Table 5.6-2 Sources in Paragraphs 2-5**

SOURCE TYPE	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
U.S. official source	62 (39.74%)	56 (49.56%)	54 (33.75%)	172 (40.09%)
Chinese official source	13 (8.33%)	11 (9.73%)	13 (8.13%)	37 (8.62%)
U.S. non-official source	15 (9.62%)	1 (0.89%)	22 (13.75%)	38 (8.86%)
Chinese non-official source	1 (0.64%)	2 (1.77%)	2 (1.25%)	5 (1.17%)
U.S. crew	12 (7.69%)	1 (0.89%)	20 (12.5%)	33 (7.69%)
Chinese pilot(s)	0	0	3 (1.88%)	3 (0.7%)
U.S. common people	12 (7.69%)	0	14 (8.75%)	26 (6.06%)
Chinese common people	6 (3.85%)	0	7 (4.38%)	13 (3.03%)
other U.S. media	1 (0.64%)	1 (0.89%)	0	2 (0.47%)
Chinese media	12 (7.69%)	5 (4.42%)	3 (1.88%)	20 (4.66%)
other country's official source	0	6 (5.31%)	0	6 (1.4%)
other country's non-official source	0	0	0	0
non-identified source	1 (0.64%)	6 (5.31%)	1 (0.63%)	8 (1.86%)
other source	0	5 (4.42%)	5 (3.13%)	10 (2.33%)
no source in paragraphs 2-5	21 (13.46%)	19 (16.81%)	16 (10%)	56 (13.05%)
Column Total	156	113	160	429

Table 5.6 Continued**Table 5.6-3 Sources in Paragraphs 6-10**

SOURCE TYPE	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
U.S. official source	82 (38.68%)	30 (38.96%)	81 (38.03%)	193 (36.28%)
Chinese official source	11 (5.19%)	8 (10.39%)	20 (9.39%)	39 (7.33%)
U.S. non-official source	30 (14.15%)	6 (7.8%)	19 (8.92%)	55 (10.34%)
Chinese non-official source	6 (2.83%)	0	10 (4.69%)	16 (3.01%)
U.S. crew	15 (7.08%)	2 (2.6%)	21 (9.86%)	38 (7.14%)
Chinese pilot(s)	0	2 (2.6%)	6 (2.82%)	8 (1.5%)
U.S. common people	29 (13.68%)	0	11 (5.16%)	40 (7.52%)
Chinese common people	10 (4.72%)	5 (6.49%)	12 (5.63%)	27 (5.08%)
other U.S. media	0	0	0	0
Chinese media	5 (2.36%)	10 (12.98%)	8 (3.76%)	23 (4.32%)
other country's official source	1 (0.47%)	10 (12.98%)	0	11 (2.07%)
other country's non-official source	1 (0.47%)	2 (2.6%)	3 (1.41%)	6 (1.13%)
non-identified source	5 (2.36%)	7 (9.09%)	3 (1.41%)	15 (2.82%)
other source	3 (1.42%)	4 (5.19%)	0	7 (1.32%)
no source in paragraphs 6-10	14 (6.6%)	21 (27.27%)	19 (8.92%)	54 (10.15%)
Column Total	212	77	213	532

other country, dominated in the first 10 paragraphs of the news stories. Moreover, the use of U.S. official source obviously was much more frequent in all three newspapers, either in the leads or the first paragraph (Table 5.6-1), or the second through fifth paragraphs (Table 5.6-2), or the sixth through tenth paragraphs (Table 5.6-3).

H2: U.S. official sources will be primarily used in the coverage of the U.S. government and officials; whereas more diverse or dissident sources will be used in covering the Chinese government and officials.

The hypothesis is basically supported.

Table 5.7, in which those sources significantly positively associated with the related themes appeared, was produced based on the information provided by the series of the correlation tables of theme and source type, from Table A-1 to Table A-14 in the Appendix. The table shows that the theme “U.S. government announcement/ reaction/

Table 5.7 Sources Significantly Associated with Themes Related to U.S./China, U.S./Chinese Government, and U.S./Chinese Officials

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
U.S. govt. announcement/ reaction/position/activities	U.S. official	U.S. official	U.S. official Chinese official Chinese media
Evaluation on/introduction of U.S. or U.S. officials	Non-identified	Chinese common people	
Chinese govt. announcement/ reaction/position/activities	Chinese official Chinese non-official	U.S. official Chinese official Non-identified	U.S. official Chinese official Chinese media
Evaluation on/introduction of China or Chinese officials	U.S. official Chinese non-official	U.S. official Chinese non-official	U.S. official

position/ activities around the event” was primarily associated with U.S. official source in the three newspapers, which respectively had high Pearson coefficients (.708, .791 and .710) in the three newspapers, sharing the same level of good significance ($p = .000$, and the correlation is significant at the 0.01 level, Table A-1 in Appendix). Except in the Los Angeles Times, Chinese sources were not significantly associated with the theme. Most of sources other than “U.S. official source” tended to be negatively associated with the theme.

On the contrary, the themes related to the Chinese government, China and Chinese officials were significantly associated with more diverse sources, such as U.S. official source, Chinese official source and Chinese non-official source (Table 5.7). For example, all three newspapers relied on Chinese official sources for stories about “Chinese government announcement/reaction/position/activities around the event.” The two variables were strongly positively correlated with each other with a good figure .000 for significance respectively in each of the papers (Table A-6 in Appendix). Other positive correlations with the theme were “U.S. official source” in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times (Table A-1 in Appendix), “Chinese non-official source” in the New York Times (Table A-7 in Appendix), and “Chinese media” in the Los Angeles Times (Table A-10 in Appendix). As far as the theme of “evaluation on or introduction of China, or Chinese official(s), it had a positive correlation with the type of “Chinese non-official source,” with good figures for significance ($p = .045$ in the New York Times, and $p = .000$ in the International Herald Tribune), except for the Los Angeles Times ($p = .430$) (Table A-7 in Appendix).

However, we cannot make a good judgment on the category of “evaluation on/ introduction of the United States or U.S. officials,” whose correlation with the use of “U.S. official source” tended to be negative, but not statistically significant.

Story Emphasis and Hypotheses 3-4:

H3: Matters or people of the U.S. side in the three newspapers will be covered more often and more prominently than the Chinese side.

Tables of statistical evidence are presented to demonstrate that Hypothesis 3 is supported in general. Table 5. 8 shows that the frequency of the sentences with the themes or topics only related to the United States, such as “the U.S. government announcement/position/reaction/activities,” “the U.S. crew,” “the U.S. plane” and “the U.S. reconnaissance patrol,” in each of the three newspapers was respectively higher than that of each of the Chinese variables – such as “the Chinese government announcement/ position/ reaction/ activities,” “the Chinese pilot” and “Chinese counter-patrol” – except for the themes of “evaluation on/introduction of the United States or U.S. officials” in all the papers and “response(s) of the U.S. common people” in the New York Times. For the three newspapers, the total average percentage of the sentences pertinent only to the U.S. side (37.68%), such as “U.S. government announcement/ position/ reaction/ activities,” “the U.S. crew,” “the U.S. plane,” “evaluation on/introduction of the United States or U.S. official,” and so on, was much higher than that of the sentences pertinent only to the Chinese side (22.74%), such as “Chinese government announcement/ position/ reaction/

Table 5.8 Theme Distribution in All News Articles by Newspaper (Frequency and Percentage)

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	123 (3.7%)	57 (2.75%)	152 (4.52%)	332 (3.79%)
Cause and responsibility of the collision	112 (3.37%)	81 (9.73%)	105 (3.12%)	298 (3.4%)
U.S. govt. announcement(s), response(s), activities	464 (13.95%)	202 (9.73%)	331 (9.84%)	997 (11.37%)
Chinese govt. announcement(s), response(s), activities	179 (5.38%)	178 (8.58%)	221 (6.57%)	578 (6.59%)
Negotiation(s) /meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	151 (4.54%)	76 (3.67%)	152 (4.52%)	379 (4.32%)
The U.S. crew/ activities...in China	297 (8.93%)	120 (5.78%)	322 (9.57%)	739 (8.43%)
The Chinese pilot(s)/ family/ the jet(s)	136 (4.09%)	109 (5.25%)	185 (5.5%)	430 (4.91%)
The U.S. plane	201 (6.05%)	103 (4.96%)	199 (5.91%)	503 (5.74%)
Evaluation on, or introduction of the United States, or U.S. officials	130 (3.91%)	75 (3.61%)	176 (5.23%)	381 (4.35%)
Evaluation on, or introduction of China, or Chinese officials	162 (4.87%)	172 (8.29%)	226 (6.72%)	560 (6.39%)
The crew's departure from China and activities after being released	50 (1.5%)	19 (0.92%)	33 (0.98%)	72 (0.82%)
Response(s) of the U.S. common people	119 (3.58%)	1 (0.05%)	76 (2.26%)	196 (2.24%)
Response(s) of the Chinese common people	110 (3.31%)	72 (3.47%)	90 (2.67%)	272 (3.1%)
Global response(s)	15 (0.45%)	25 (1.2%)	6 (0.17%)	46 (0.52%)
Sino-U.S. relations	202 (6.08%)	186 (8.96%)	241 (7.16%)	629 (7.18%)
China policy of the United States	79 (2.38%)	43 (2.07%)	52 (1.55%)	174 (1.99%)
About an apology or regrets or sorry	184 (5.53%)	82 (3.95%)	138 (4.1%)	404 (4.61%)
About U.S. reconnaissance patrol	92 (2.77%)	71 (3.42%)	77 (2.29%)	240 (2.74%)
About Chinese counter-patrol	39 (1.17%)	27 (1.3%)	27 (0.8%)	90 (1.03%)
About China's waters and/or airspace in the South China Sea	24 (0.72%)	25 (1.2%)	14 (0.42%)	63 (0.72%)
Other(s)	456 (13.71%)	351 (16.91%)	542 (16.11%)	1349 (15.39%)
Column Total	3325	2075	3365	8765

activities,” “the Chinese pilot(s)/ family/ the jets,” “evaluation on/ introduction of China or Chinese official(s),” and so on (See the column of “Row Total” in Table 5.8). The difference in the New York Times was especially distinct, with the higher one 43.07 percent and the lower 19.54 percent. In the T-test, in addition, the means of the variable “U.S. diplomatic announcement(s), position(s), reaction(s) and activities” were 6.72 in the New York Times, 3.88 in the International Herald Tribune, and 5.09 in the Los Angeles Times, which were the largest among all the theme variables, except for the variable “other theme.” All the theme variables shared the same level of significance ($p=.000$).

Similar evidence also can be obtained from Table 5.9, which indicates that in the counted hard news items published the newspapers;¹ the sum of the sentences related to the theme of “U.S. govt. announcement/position/reaction/activities around the event” was 940 (13.89%), higher than any other theme categories. Except for the theme category of “other,” the theme of “the U.S. crew/ their activities during the collision and in China” had the second highest sum (661, 9.77%) of the pertinent sentences.

Table 5.9 also shows that these three newspapers all displayed the coverage of the U.S. side more prominently than its opposite side, China. The most frequently mentioned theme on front page was the theme “U.S. government announcement/position/ reaction/ activities around the event,” which occupied the highest percentage in each newspaper (8.71%, 9.62% and 8.48%). The total percentages of the sentences with the themes related only to the U.S. side on front page in the three newspapers respectively was 19.79

¹ The editorial items were not counted in this table.

Table 5.9 Themes in Stories Distributed on Front/Inside Page by Newspaper
(Frequency and Percentage)

	New York Times		International Herald Tribune		Los Angeles Times	
	Front Page	Inside Page	Front Page	Inside Page	Front Page	Inside Page
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	56 (1.98%)	64 (2.27%)	29 (2.1%)	25 (1.81%)	102 (3.98%)	36 (1.41%)
Cause and responsibility of the collision	54 (1.91%)	45 (1.59%)	32 (2.31%)	31 (2.24%)	59 (2.3%)	30 (1.17%)
U.S. government announcement(s)/position(s)	246 (8.71%)	210 (7.43%)	133 (9.62%)	49 (3.54%)	217 (8.48%)	85 (3.32%)
Chinese government announcement(s)/position(s)	92 (3.26%)	71 (2.51%)	96 (6.94%)	33 (2.39%)	130 (5.08%)	47 (1.84%)
Negotiation(s)/meeting(s)/agreement(s) between two countries	75 (2.65%)	72 (2.55%)	39 (2.82%)	18 (1.3%)	95 (3.71%)	47 (1.84%)
The U.S. crew, or their activities	99 (3.5%)	187 (6.62%)	89 (6.44%)	20 (1.45%)	213 (8.32%)	53 (2.07%)
The Chinese pilot Wang Wei...	33 (1.17%)	100 (3.54%)	65 (4.7%)	25 (1.81%)	116 (4.53%)	58 (2.27%)
The U.S. plane	85 (3.01%)	102 (3.61%)	54 (3.9%)	30 (2.17%)	114 (4.45%)	31 (1.21%)
Evaluation on, or introduction of the United States, or U.S. officials	40 (1.42%)	53 (1.88%)	16 (1.16%)	23 (1.66%)	40 (1.56%)	42 (1.64%)
Evaluation on, or introduction of China, or Chinese officials	28 (0.99%)	47 (1.66%)	16 (1.16%)	79 (5.71%)	44 (1.72%)	61 (2.38%)
The crew's departure from China and activities after being released	8 (0.28%)	42 (1.49%)	12 (0.87%)	7 (0.51%)	32 (1.25%)	2 (0.08%)
Response(s) of the U.S. common people	30 (1.06%)	89 (3.15%)	0	0	9 (0.35%)	43 (1.68%)
Response(s) of the Chinese common people	29 (1.03%)	79 (2.8%)	25 (1.81%)	33 (2.39%)	55 (2.15%)	53 (2.07%)
Global response(s)	0	15 (0.53%)	8 (0.58%)	9 (0.65%)	4 (0.16%)	0
Sino-U.S. relations	71 (2.51%)	49 (1.73%)	43 (3.11%)	36 (2.6%)	78 (3.05%)	77 (3.01%)
China policy of the United States	25 (0.89%)	25 (0.89%)	2 (0.14%)	10 (0.72%)	15 (0.59%)	24 (0.94%)
About an apology or regrets or sorry	97 (3.43%)	41 (1.45%)	59 (4.27%)	15 (1.08%)	79 (3.09%)	32 (1.23%)
About U.S. reconnaissance patrol	26 (0.92%)	46 (1.63%)	19 (1.37%)	9 (0.65%)	29 (1.13%)	38 (1.48%)
About Chinese counter-patrol	24 (0.85%)	11 (0.39%)	9 (0.65%)	10 (0.72%)	9 (0.35%)	2 (0.08%)
About China's waters and/or airspace in the South China Sea	15 (0.53%)	6 (0.21%)	1 (0.07%)	11 (0.8%)	10 (0.39%)	2 (0.08%)
Other(s)	126 (4.46%)	212 (7.5%)	70 (5.06%)	93 (6.72%)	167 (6.52%)	180 (7.03%)
TOTAL	2825		1383		2560	

percent, 23.55 percent and 26.13 percent, much higher than that of the sentences with the themes related only to the Chinese side, 7.83 percent, 15.33 percent and 14.22 percent.

More evidence to support the hypothetical statement “the U.S. side in the three newspapers will be covered more prominently than the Chinese side” is the information provided by Table 5.10, indicating that who or what were most often quoted in the news articles. Except for the category “other,” the two most often quoted categories were “U.S. position(s)/ the United States/ U.S. official(s)” and “the U.S. crew,” which respectively occupied 18.04 percent and 16.41 percent in the New York Times, 18.26 percent and 10.81 percent in the International Herald Tribune, and 17.53 percent and 15.07 percent in

Table 5. 10 Who or What Was Quoted by Newspaper (Frequency and Percentage)

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
Collision itself/ progress of the event	45 (3.67%)	33 (4.63%)	63 (4.84%)	141 (4.35%)
U.S. position(s)/the United States/U.S. official(s)	221 (18.04%)	130 (18.26%)	228 (17.53%)	579 (17.88%)
China's position(s) /China/Chinese official(s)	102 (8.33%)	136 (19.1%)	170 (13.07%)	408 (12.6%)
the U.S. crew	201 (16.41%)	77 (10.81%)	196 (15.07%)	474 (14.64%)
Chinese pilot(s)/ family/fighter(s)	60 (4.9%)	35 (4.92%)	90 (6.92%)	185 (5.71%)
the U.S. plane	99 (8.08%)	59 (8.29%)	110 (8.46%)	268 (8.28%)
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	42 (3.43%)	28 (3.93%)	26 (2%)	96 (2.96%)
China's counter patrol	17 (1.39%)	5 (0.7%)	11 (0.85%)	33 (1.02%)
Apology/regret/sorry	61 (4.98%)	36 (5.06%)	47 (3.61%)	144 (4.45%)
Negotiations/meetings	55 (4.49%)	33 (4.63%)	53 (4.07%)	141 (4.35%)
Sino-U.S. relations	85 (6.94%)	37 (5.2%)	81 (6.23%)	203 (6.27%)
Global response(s)	4 (0.33%)	2 (0.28%)	0	6 (0.19%)
Other(s)	233 (19.02%)	101 (14.19%)	226 (17.37%)	560 (17.29%)
Column Total	1225	712	1301	3238

the Los Angeles Times. The total percentages of the quote categories pertinent to the United States, such as “U.S. position(s)/ the United States/ U.S. official(s),” “the U.S. crew,” “the U.S. plane,” and “U.S. reconnaissance patrol” in the three newspapers were 45.96 percent, 41.29 percent and 43.06 percent, far higher those of the quote categories pertinent to China, which only had 14.62 percent, 24.72 percent and 20.84 percent. The difference between the two sides was especially distinct in the New York Times. The discrepancy was 31.34 percent point.

On the other hand, the statistical result of counting who or what was (were) in the headlines of the news articles, including hard news items and editorial items, in the examined newspapers did not completely supported H3. Only the New York Times displayed prominently people or matters from the United States in headline. This will be discussed in the following text responding to RQ3.

H4: More voices from the core or semi-periphery countries will be heard than the periphery countries.

As shown in Table 5.8, the frequency percentage of the sentences related to the theme “Global response(s)” was very low, only 0.45 percent, 1.2 percent and 0.17 percent respectively in the New York Times, the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times. Among the total 46 sentences concerning this theme in the three newspapers, the core countries, such as Japan and Western countries, composed 36.96 percent, with 17 related sentences. There were 16 sentences pertinent to the responses from the semi-peripheral countries and regions, such as South Korean, Russia, Australia

and Taiwan, occupying 34.78 percent of the total. And only four sentences were related to the responses from the peripheral countries, like North Korean, with a much lower percentage (8.7%). In the remaining sentences, the countries mentioned were not identified, being referred to as the Asian countries. The result might support Hypothesis 5. However, it is not strong enough to prove it, since the number of the related sentences was too small.

RQ2: What image of China in the conflict was reflected in the newspapers' coverage?

H5: The overall image of China in the newspapers tends to be negative. More space concerning the plane conflict will be devoted to the negative aspects of China.

The information in Table 5.11 and Table 5.12 generally supports that the overall image of China in the newspapers was negative. The frequency and percentage of negative sentences in each newspaper tended to be larger than that of positive sentences, especially in the New York Times, in which the difference between the negative and positive sentences was very significant compared with the other two. In the category of "evaluation on Chinese leadership," for example, in the New York Times, the negative variable had 73.2 percent of the total sum of the sentences involved in the topic, much larger than the positive variable with only 6.5 percent. In the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times, these two figures respectively were 65.3 percent and 5.6

Table 5.11 Image of China in Hard News & Editorial Items by Newspapers
(Frequency and Percentage of Related Sentences)

	New York Times				International Herald Tribune				Los Angeles Times			
	negative	neutral	positive	mixed/unapplicable	negative	neutral	positive	mixed/unapplicable	negative	neutral	positive	mixed/unapplicable
Chinese Leadership	90 (73.2 %)	23 (18.7 %)	8 (6.5 %)	2 (1.63 %)	47 (65.3 %)	20 (27.8 %)	4 (5.6 %)	1 (1.4 %)	46 (52.9 %)	20 (23 %)	12 (13.8 %)	9 (10.3 %)
Favorable or not reaction	55 (83.3 %)	5 (7.6 %)	6 (9.1 %)	0	29 (70.7 %)	3 (7.3 %)	9 (22 %)	0	17 (85 %)	0	3 (15 %)	0
Evaluation on Chinese pilot	30 (49.2 %)	10 (16.4 %)	10 (16.4 %)	11 (18 %)	16 (44.4 %)	11 (30.6 %)	9 (25 %)	0	13 (28.9 %)	11 (24.4 %)	20 (44.4 %)	1 (2.2 %)
Evaluation on China	73 (73 %)	17 (17 %)	7 (7 %)	3 (3 %)	52 (47.7 %)	25 (22.9 %)	18 (16.5 %)	14 (12.8 %)	39 (25.2 %)	45 (29 %)	51 (32.9 %)	23 (14.8 %)
Treatment and Crew's life in China	27 (34.6 %)	31 (39.7 %)	16 (20.5 %)	4 (5.1 %)	10 (29.4 %)	8 (23.5 %)	14 (41.2 %)	2 (5.9 %)	18 (16.4 %)	43 (39.1 %)	41 (37.2 %)	8 (7.3 %)
Attitude of Chinese to the United States and the U.S. crew	29 (40.3 %)	38 (52.8 %)	4 (5.6 %)	1 (1.4 %)	10 (66.7 %)	4 (26.7 %)	0	1 (0.9 %)	39 (55.7 %)	15 (21.4 %)	14 (20 %)	2 (2.9 %)

percent, 52.9 percent and 13.8 percent.

Table 5.12 shows estimated marginal means of the four variables of evaluation in various categories. It can be clearly seen that the total mean of the negative variable in each category for all the three newspapers was always larger than the positive variable.

In the T-test for all the three newspapers, the level of significance of evaluation type in each of the six variable categories list in the tables respectively was all .000, much

Table 5.12 Estimated Marginal Means by Variable Category (Image of China in Hard News & Editorial Items)

Variable Category	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
Chinese leadership			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
negative	.943	.042	.861	1.024
neutral	.334	.042	.253	.416
positive	.123	.042	4.162E-02	.205
mixed/not applicable	6.157E-02	.042	-2.002E-02	.143
Whether China was favorable or not				
negative	.521	.011	.499	.542
neutral	4.175E-02	.011	2.009E-02	6.341E-02
positive	.100	.011	7.845E-02	.122
mix/not applicable	7.112E-17	.011	-2.166E-02	2.166E-02
Chinese pilot Wang Wei				
negative	.304	.028	.249	.359
neutral	.172	.028	.117	.227
positive	.205	.028	.150	.260
mixed/not applicable	5.468E-02	.028	-4.558E-04	.110
Evaluation on China				
negative	.862	.024	.816	.909
neutral	.468	.024	.421	.514
positive	.408	.024	.362	.455
mixed/not applicable	.221	.024	.175	.268
Chinese attitude on America or U.S. crew				
negative	.395	.016	.363	.427
neutral	.274	.016	.242	.306
positive	8.981E-02	.016	5.803E-02	.122
mixed/not applicable	2.123E-02	.016	-1.061E-02	5.308E-02

below the threshold .05. Specifically speaking, in the categories of “Chinese leadership,” “whether China was favorable or not,” only the significance of the negative variable ($p_1=0.05$, $p_2=0.00$) was under the threshold .05. In the category of “Chinese pilot,” the significances of the negative, neutral and positive variables – respectively .006, .023 and .000 – were all low enough. In the categories of “evaluation on China” and “attitude of Chinese people on the United States and the U.S. crew,” the four variables of evaluation

shared the same level of significance .000. In the category of “treatment and the life of the U.S. crew in China,” the significances of the negative, neutral and positive variables were .003, .000 and .000.

In order to provide readers with some concrete ideas about the negative or positive images, the author quoted some related sample sentences here:

Chinese leadership –

“We’ve got a weak, risk-averse, defensive leadership in China where no one can make the concessions without being undermined from within,” said James Mulvenon of the Rand Corporation. (NYT, 409 –S-I)²

... the voices of nationalistic military leaders, like the defense minister, Gen. Chi Haotian, seem to have drowned out the nuances of diplomacy. (NYT, 409-Ed.)

Mr.Jiang lacks the personal authority of earlier Chinese leaders and apparently needs to negotiate major decisions with senior security officials. (NYT, 409-Ed.)

... such a bootless demand would reveal national insecurity, as China’s nervous politicians now display. (NYT, 405-Op.)

Whether China was favorable or not to resolve the conflict –

The process of working out a solution was complicated by the absence from Beijing of President Jiang Zemin. (NYT, 409 –S-I)

Beijing’s unyielding position suggests that it is unwilling or unable to put this episode into perspective and look at the long-term consequences for relations between the United States and China. (NYT, 409-Ed.)

“Failure of the Chinese government to react promptly to our request,” Mr. Bush said, “is inconsistent with standard diplomatic practice and with the expressed desire of both our countries for better relations.” (NYT, 403-S-F)

Evaluation on China –

² NYT – New York Times; IHT – International Herald Tribune; LAT – Los Angeles Times; 409 – April 9, the date when the article was published; S – hard news story; I – inside page; F – front page; Ed. – Editorial; Op. – opinion.

Ultimately, the crisis will be resolved against the backdrop of domestic Chinese politics, the ongoing leadership succession process, the insecurity apparent in the government's recent handling of the Falun Gong movement and other nagging domestic issues. (NYT, 403-Op.)

The forces even now affecting the outcome include the struggle between would-be political liberalizers and conservatives who insist on perpetuating centralized power, and a conflict of interest between the People's Army – the most important organized force in the country – and civilian authority. The transition may not be peaceful. The Communist Party is ideologically exhausted, and not entirely in control of a vast country, which continues to experience social and economic upheaval. Events may culminate in political upheaval. (IHT, 405-Ed.)

The tension in Washington does not quite translate here, where the high temperatures, the humidity and the lazy island [Hainan] mood slow most things down. (NYT, 410-S-I)

They matter to a regime whose Communist ideology is largely defunct and whose only basis of legitimacy is its ability to keep incomes rising. ... The more China is integrated with the global economy and international rules-based systems like the W.T.O., the more these will be a source of restraint on the regime. (NYT, 413-Op.)

Professor Pye's answer: "Chinese culture is a bargaining, haggling culture..." (NYT, 407-Op.)

Evaluation on Chinese pilot(s) –

American official say that Wang Wei, the Chinese pilot, was a dangerous daredevil. (NYT, 418-S-F)

Rumsfeld bluntly blamed the recklessness of the Chinese pilot for the accident. (NYT, 414-S-F)

"Obviously, he was just being flashy and wanted to show off his stuff," an American official said. (NYT, 406-S-F)

Chinese pilots had acted recklessly in previous encounters and most likely caused the collision with the American aircraft, an EP-3E Aries II. (NYT, 406-S-F)

Treatment on the U.S. crew and their life in China –

Hold our crew incommunicado and then, against all civilized custom, treat them as prisoners. (NYT, 405-Op.)

Osborn described the conditions as being the best the Chinese had to offer but said the quarters were hot and buzzing with mosquitoes and other insects. (LAT, 416-S-F)

He and his crew were well treated by the Chinese, but they suffered from sleep deprivation during interrogation, he said. (LAT, 415-S-F)

U.S. leadership –

The public expressions of regret by President Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell for the loss of the Chinese airman are appropriate and should suffice to win the release of the 24 American crew members. (NYT, 409-Ed.)

Both General Powell ... and Mr. Armitage, ... have deep experience in a variety of negotiations. (NYT, 407-S-I)

“I think people are becoming happier with President Bush,” said Xiao Gongqin, a professor of history and a social commentator at Shanghai Normal University. “He is shifting from his initial stance about China as he has learned more about our country and had more experience with it, just as President Clinton did.” (NYT, 412-S-I)

Whether the United States was favorable or not to resolve the conflict –

The administration has offered Beijing a fair way out of this crisis. (NYT, 409-Ed.)

Our “explanation” and “regret” will lead to its release of our detainees or internees. (NYT, 405-Op.)

Mr. Bush repeated an offer this morning to provide search and rescue assistance, but the Chinese have not requested such help. (NYT, 403-S-F)

Evaluation on the United States –

The United States looks absurd talking about its airplane having something called “sovereign immune status” and claiming that China is being “inconsistent with standard diplomatic practice.” (IHT, 409-Op.)

What is at issue in the spy plane incident is whether the United States is interested in being a decent citizen of the world or whether it is merely a bully whose president is primarily preoccupied with not making the same mistakes made by his daddy in dealing with the right wing of the Republican Party. (IHT, 409-Op.)

H6: Compared with matters or people of the United State, reports of matters or people of China will be more negative.

On the contrary to the information revealed in Table 5.12, Table 5.13 shows that, for all the three newspapers, the means of the positive variables tended to be larger than that of the negative variables, except for the variables in the category of “evaluation on the United States.” However, the mean of the negative variable in this category (0.362) was smaller than that in the category of “evaluation on China” (0.862). In fact, all the negative variables in the categories related to the Chinese side had larger means than

Table 5.13 Parameter Estimates of Variables about Image of the United States

Variable Category	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
U.S. leadership			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
negative	.330	.076	.180	.480
neutral	.427	.076	.277	.577
positive	.491	.076	.341	.640
mixed/not applicable	1.667E-02	.076	-.133	.166
whether the U.S. was favorable or not			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
negative	7.436E-02	.022	3.142E-02	.117
neutral	2.082E-17	.022	-4.294E-02	4.294E-02
positive	.198	.022	.155	.241
mixed/not applicable	2.372E-17	.022	-4.294E-02	4.294E-02
evaluation on the U.S. crew			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
negative	5.066E-02	.007	3.779E-02	6.353E-02
neutral	2.564E-02	.007	1.274E-02	3.854E-02
positive	.162	.007	.150	.175
mixed/not applicable	5.128E-03	.007	-7.744E-03	1.800E-02
evaluation on the U.S.			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
negative	.362	.011	.340	.383
neutral	4.872E-02	.011	2.710E-02	7.034E-02
positive	.101	.011	7.973E-02	.123
mixed/not applicable	2.692E-02	.011	5.302E-03	4.854E-02

those negative variables related to the U.S. side. The total percentage of negative sentences of the Chinese side in each paper tended larger than that of negative sentences of the U.S. side, except for in the Los Angeles Times, which will be discussed in the part of RQ3, whereas the total percentage of positive sentences of the Chinese side in each paper was always smaller than that of positive sentences of the U.S. side (Table 5.24).

RQ3: What differences, if any, existed across the newspapers when they covered the story? And how much variation exists?

In fact, the question has already been touched in the script above. In this part, more details and further analysis will be developed based on the following hypotheses.

H7: The New York Times will use less diverse sources, like Chinese sources or others, than the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times. The proportion of specific sources will be significantly higher in the newspaper with a larger Asian audience than in papers with a smaller Asian audience, and higher in the newspaper with a larger international audience than in papers with a smaller international audience.

Overall, the Los Angeles Times used sources more often (See Table 5.14). The total mean of various sources was 1.073, higher than the means of the New York Times and the International Tribune. The sum of the sentences with any type of source in the Los Angeles Times (976) was more than the other two (837 and 408, see Table 5.4).

Table 5.14 Parameter Estimates of Used Sources by Newspaper

Newspaper	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
New York Times	.808	.094	.624	.992
International Herald Tribune	.560	.112	.341	.780
Los Angeles Times	1.073	.100	.876	1.269

Except for “U.S. official,” Table 5.4 reveals that the most often used sources in the New York Times were, “U.S. common people” (10.39 percent), “U.S. crew” (9.32 percent) and “U.S. non-official” (8.72 percent), which were all from the U.S. side and totally occupied 76.58 percent of all the sentences with source(s). In the International Herald Tribune, the most often used sources were “Chinese official” (12.25 percent) and “Chinese common people” (7.6 percent), and non-identified source (6.86%), among which two types of source were from China. In the Los Angeles Times, five types of source had close percentage with one another. They were “U.S. non-official” (10.76 percent), “U.S. crew” (9.12 percent), “Chinese official” (7.99 percent), “U.S. common people” (7.79 percent) and “Chinese common people” (7.68 percent).

As far as the used Chinese sources, the percentage in the New York Times (19.95%) was less than in the International Herald Tribune (27.94%) and the Los Angeles Times (22.33%). The percentage of each type of Chinese sources, except for Chinese Media, which are seen as Chinese propaganda machine, in the New York Times was always lower than the average percentage (See Table 5.4). On the contrary, the percentage of each type of Chinese sources in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times tended to be higher than the average (Table 5.4). The source type

“Chinese pilot(s),” which was significantly positively associated with the theme of “reporting the collision” in the International Herald Tribune (Pearson $r = .368$, $p = .007$) and the Los Angeles Times (Pearson $r = .247$, $p = .047$) and with the theme of “cause and responsibility of the collision” in the Los Angeles Times” (Pearson $r = .261$, $p = .036$; See Table A-8 in Appendix), were absent in the New York Times. But the Los Angeles Times, in which the percentage of the source in the first 10 paragraphs occupied 6.19 percent (Table 5.6), displayed this source type more prominently than the others.

Generally, the New York Times tended to use U.S. official and other U.S. sources more often; the International Herald Tribune tended to more often use official sources, no matter from what side, and sources from other countries; and the Los Angeles Times tended to use Chinese sources, especially those other than Chinese officials, more often compared with the two others. Such differences are visually distinguished in Figure 5.4, Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.6, which are GLM (General Linear Model) profile plots produced by the SPSS. In the Los Angeles Times for instance, four of the five U.S. source variables have lower estimated marginal means than those in the New York Times (See Figure 5.4. The estimated marginal means of “other U.S. media” in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times were too few to show in the figure.), whereas its estimated marginal means of the variables of Chinese sources were distinctly higher than those in the other two newspapers (See Figure 5.5), except for the variable “Chinese media,” which are usually viewed by the U.S. media as the propaganda tool of the Chinese government. Figure 5.6 clearly shows that the estimated marginal means of the variables of other sources, including other country’s official and non-official sources, used in the International Herald Tribune were higher than both of the other newspapers. In the New

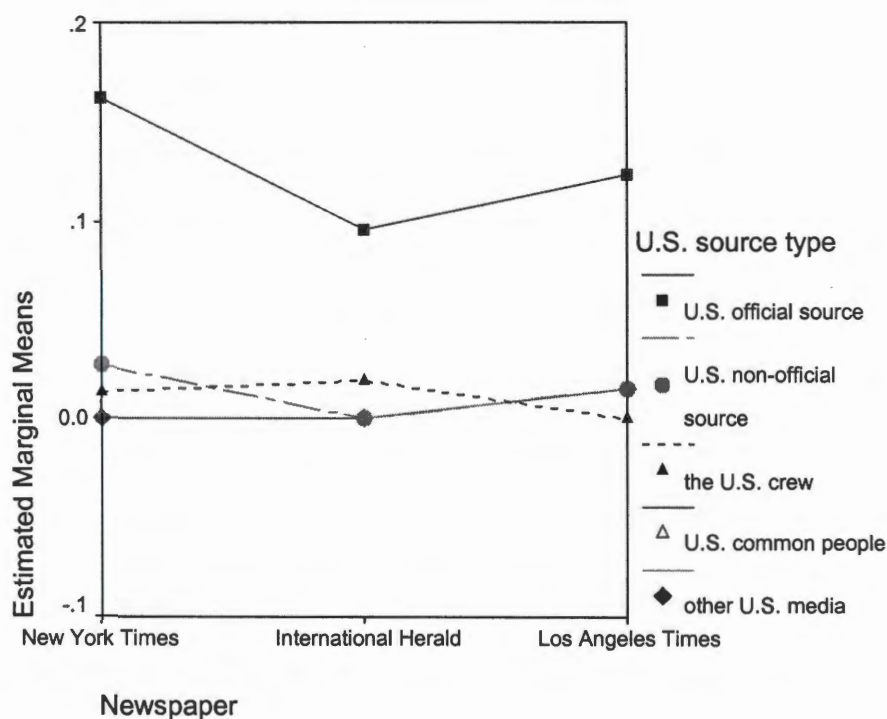


Figure 5.4 Estimated Marginal Means of U.S. Sources by Newspaper

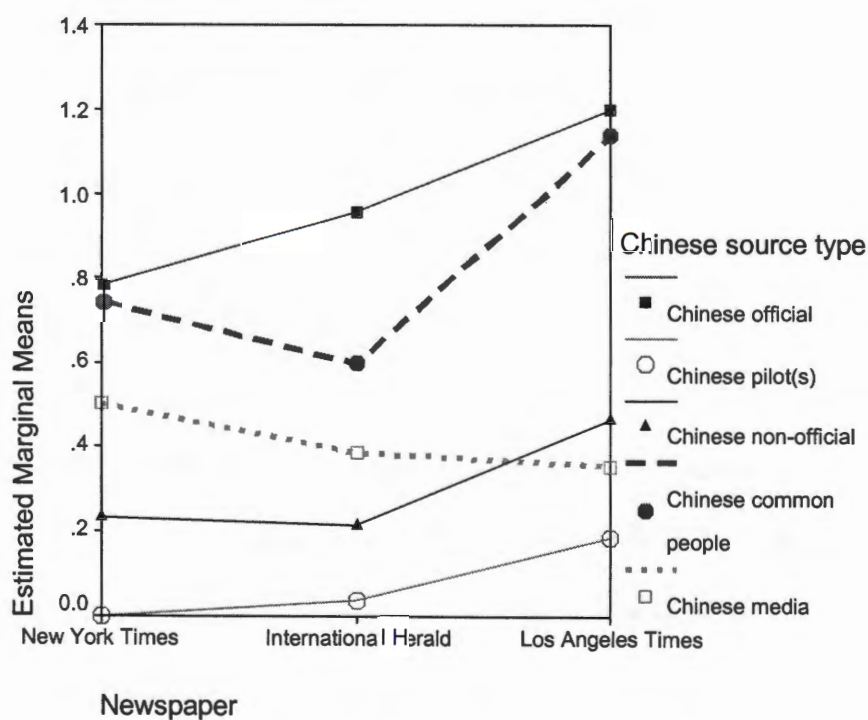


Figure 5.5 Estimated Marginal Means of Chinese Sources by Newspaper

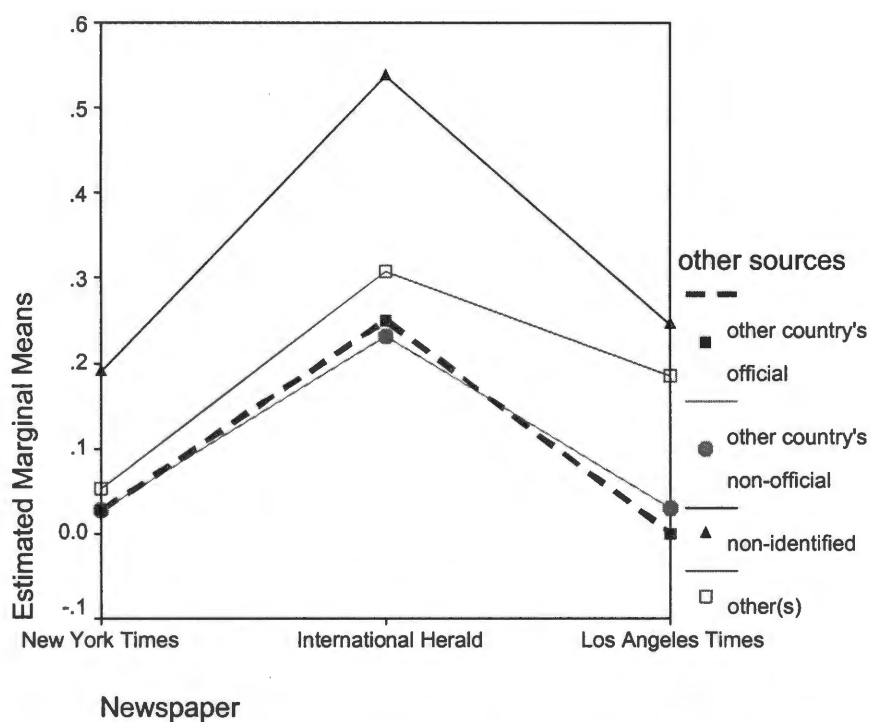


Figure 5.6 Estimated Marginal Means of Other Sources by Newspaper

Table 5.15 Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: frequency of sentence with different source type (a R Squared = .182; Adjusted R Squared = .169)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	5327.827	41	129.947	14.245	.000
Intercept	1733.068	1	1733.068	189.977	.000
PAPER	106.929	2	53.464	5.861	.003
SOURCE	4475.893	13	344.299	37.742	.000
PAPER * SOURCE	409.604	26	15.754	1.727	.013
Error	24010.430	2632	9.123		
Total	31183.000	2674			
Corrected Total	29338.258	2673			

York Times, only in the category of “U.S. sources,” the means of the variables tended to be higher than those in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times, especially the mean of the variable “U.S. official source.”

Besides the figures above, the results produced by the Restructure and GLM Univariate procedure of the SPSS for regression analysis provide good evidence to prove that differences of source use did exist across the newspaper (See Table 5.15), and the effect of the type of newspaper on the use of various sources was not random because of the good figures for significance.

H8: The New York Times will use less diverse sources for the coverage of controversial issues, such as the cause and responsibility of the collision and the legality of U.S. spy flights along the South China Sea, than the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune.

The hypothesis is supported. Based on the information in the series of the correlation tables of theme and source type in the Appendix, Table 5.16, in which those sources significantly positively associated with the related themes were displayed, was produced to clearly show that only in the New York Times, the reports of themes related to the controversial topics primarily relied on U.S. official sources. The use of sources in the other two newspapers tended to be more diverse, and more non-official sources and Chinese sources were used. On the hot topic of “cause and responsibility of the collision,” for example, in the New York Times, only two types of source were positively associated with it, corresponding to a probability of that being lower than the .05

Table 5.16 Sources Significantly Associated with Themes Related to Controversial Topics by Newspaper

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
Report the collision itself and the progress of the event	U.S. official U.S. crew	U.S. official U.S. non-official Chinese official Chinese pilot(s)	U.S. official U.S. common people Chinese pilot(s)
Cause & responsibility of the collision	U.S. official Chinese official	Chinese official	Chinese official Chinese non-official Chinese pilot(s) Chinese media
About apology/regret/sorry		U.S. official	Chinese official
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	U.S. official		U.S. non-official
China's counter-patrol	U.S. official		U.S. official
China's waters/airspace in the South China Sea		Other country's official Other country's non-official	

threshold for significance (See the second row in Table A-1 and Table A-6 in the Appendix). They were “U.S. official source” and “Chinese official source,” respectively with the Pearson r coefficient .232 and .263, with the level of significance .047 and .024. In the other two papers, this topic was not significantly associated with “U.S. official source” but “Chinese official source,” with the r coefficient .291 and .381 respectively, and .036 and .002 for significance. In the Los Angeles Times, the theme was also significantly positively associated with other three Chinese sources, Chinese non-official source ($r=0.310$, $p=0.012$, Table A-7 in the Appendix), Chinese pilot(s) ($r=0.261$, $p=0.036$, Table A-8 in the Appendix) and Chinese media ($r=0.257$, $p=0.039$, Table A-10 in the Appendix).

H9: The New York Times will devote less space and less prominence to the Chinese side than will the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune. Fewer voices slanted to the Chinese side will be heard in the New York Times than in the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune, when controversial topics were involved.

As mentioned in the analysis of Hypothesis 3 above, the difference between the percentage of the sentences involved in matters or people from the U.S. side and from the Chinese side was much more significant in the New York Times than the other two newspapers. As seen in Table 5.8, in fact, the total percentages of the sentences covering the themes pertinent to the Chinese side in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times were respectively 28.19 percent and 22.68 percent, both higher than that in the New York Times, 19.54 percent. In the T-test, the means of the Chinese variables in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times, especially the latter, tended to be higher than that in the New York Times. For example, the means of the variables "Chinese diplomatic announcement(s)/position(s)/reaction(s)/activities around the event," "the Chinese pilot Wang Wei," and "evaluation on or introduction of China or Chinese official(s)" were 3.423 ($p = .000$), 2.096 ($p = .001$) and 3.308 ($p = .000$) in the International Herald Tribune, and 3.4 ($p = .000$), 2.846 ($p = .000$) and 3.477 ($p = .023$) in the Los Angeles Times, all higher than their counterparts in the New York Times, which were 2.419, 1.838 and 2.189 with the same level of significance .000.

Figure 5.7 and Figure 5.8 indicate whether one newspaper played more prominently matters or people from the Chinese side than the other. As shown in Figure

5.7, the name of “China” or the symbol of China, “Beijing,” was more often written as the grammatical subject of headline in the International Herald and the Los Angeles Times, both with more than 10 percent of the total frequency sum, than in the New York Times with less than 10 percent, while the New York Times put “China” or “Chinese official(s)” more in the other grammatical placement, such as object, than the other two papers. The bar of “Chinese fighter(s)” in the New York Times was so low that it even disappeared from the figure, whereas the frequency of “the U.S. plane” appearing in the headlines in the paper was higher than in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times. It also can be seen that other Chinese matters or people appeared much more often in the headlines in the International Herald Tribune than the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times, which shared the same percentage each other.

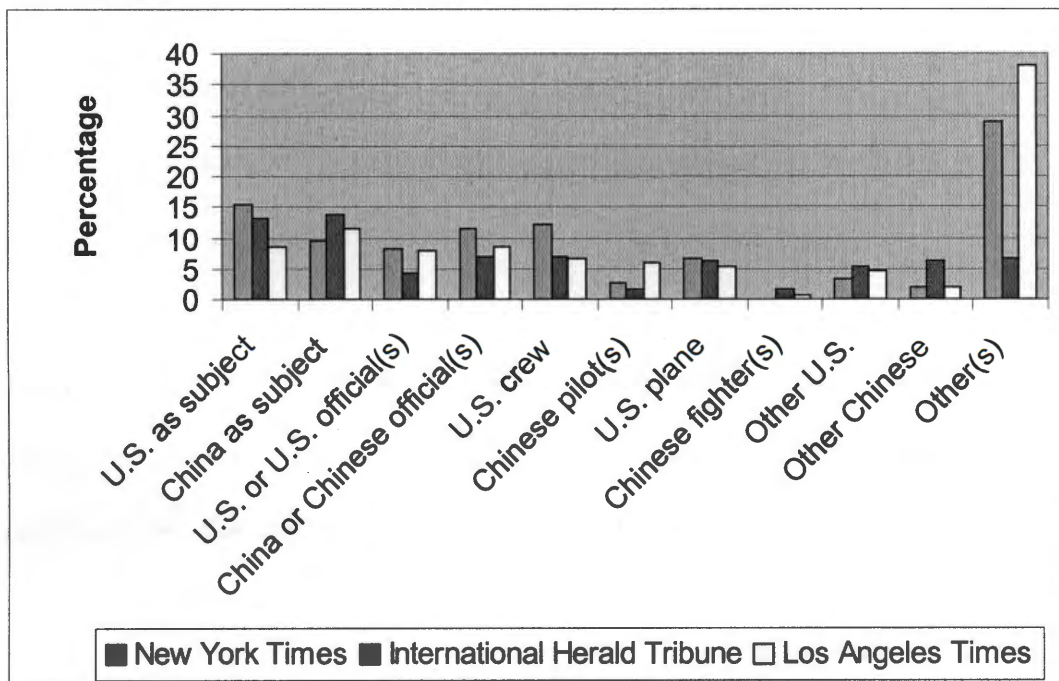


Figure 5.7 Who or What in Headline by Newspaper

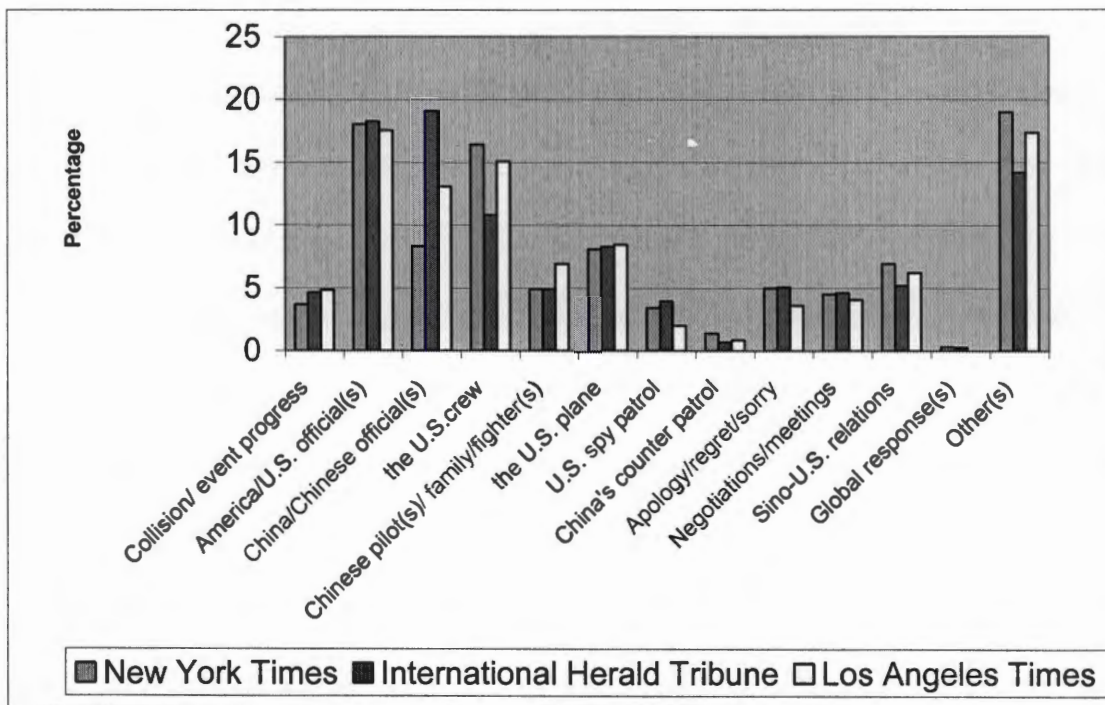


Figure 5.8 Who or What Was Quoted by Newspaper

Figure 5.8 shows who or what was quoted directly in the news stories in each of the newspapers. The third and fifth groups of columns indicate that in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times, the percentages of the matters and people from China, such as China, Chinese official(s), China's position(s), Chinese pilot Wang Wei or his family or his fighter, were higher than the New York Times. In the International Herald Tribune, China, Chinese official(s) or Chinese position(s), whose percentage was as high as 19.1 percent, were quoted much often than the others. In the quotations in the Los Angeles Times, the Chinese pilot or his family or his fighter appeared, whose percentage was 6.92 percent, more often than the other two.

The following series of tables and charts provide us with enough information on whether the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times published more

sentences than the New York Times concerning the voices from China or from those whose positions slanted to China.

As shown in Table 5.17 and Figure 5.9, when the controversial topic about the cause of the collision, the most sensitive topic in this event, was touched, the New York Times gave the most space to the U.S. government announcements or positions, which occupied the largest percent (41.07) of the total frequency of the sentences involved in the topic in the paper and whose percentage was much higher than those of its other two counterparts. Meanwhile, the percentages of the voices from the Chinese government in the International Tribune and the Los Angeles Times were not only higher than that in the New York Times, but also much higher than the percentages of the voices from the U.S. government in these two newspapers themselves, especially in the International Herald

Table 5.17 Frequency and Percentage of Various Responses to “Cause & Responsibility of Collision” by Newspaper

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
U.S govt. announcement(s)/position	46 (41.07%)	14 (17.95%)	25 (23.58%)	85 (28.72%)
Opinion(s) slant to U.S. position or opposite to China's position	7 (6.25%)	7 (8.97%)	8 (7.55%)	22 (7.43%)
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/position	38 (33.93%)	29 (37.18%)	39 (36.79%)	106 (35.81%)
Opinion(s) slant to China's position or opposite to U.S. position	1 (0.89%)	6 (7.69%)	12 (11.32%)	19 (6.42%)
Neutral	20 (17.86%)	22 (28.21%)	22 (20.75%)	64 (21.62%)
Column Total	112	78	106	296

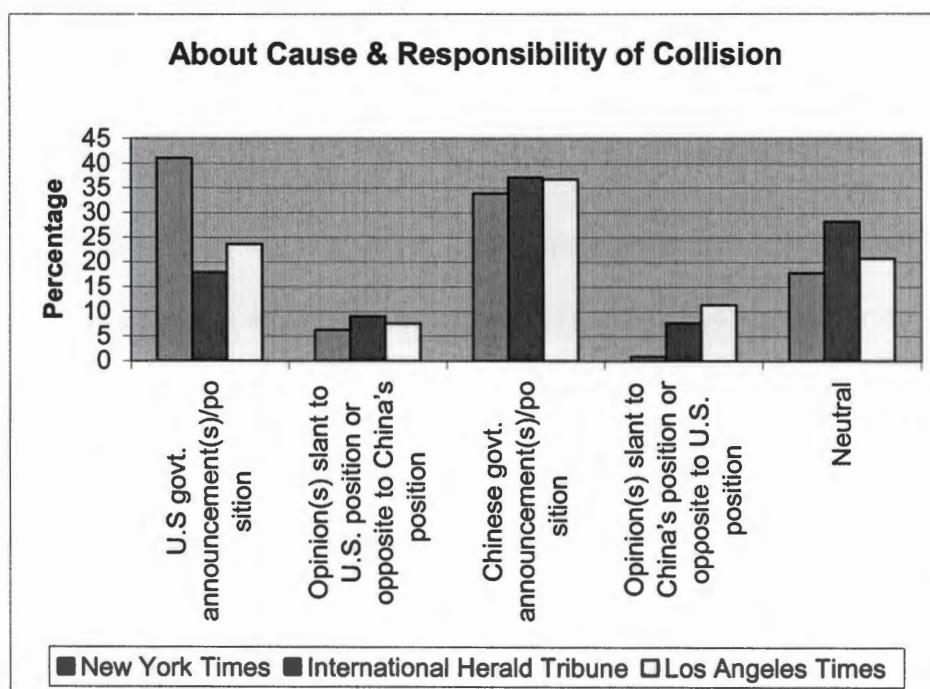


Figure 5.9 Percentage of Various Responses to “Cause & Responsibility of Collision” by Newspaper

Tribune, which gave twice as much coverage to the Chinese position as to the U.S. stance. Furthermore, as far as the variable “opinion(s) slant to China’s position or opposite to U.S. position,” the percentages in the International Herald Tribune (7.69 percent) and the Los Angeles Times (11.32 percent) were much higher than that in the New York Times, whose percentage was less than 1 percent.

Another sensitive topic in this event was whether the United States should send a formal apology to China, which was directly involved in the national interests of the two countries. As shown in Table 5.18 and Figure 5.10, the New York Times, in which the two variables of “the U.S. government announcement(s) and position” and “opinion(s)

Table 5.18 Frequency and Percentage of Various Responses to “An Apology to China” by Newspaper

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
U.S govt. announcement(s)/position	35 (36.08%)	13 (24.53%)	16 (27.12%)	64 (30.62%)
Opinion(s) slant to U.S. position or opposite to China's position	26 (26.8%)	5 (9.43%)	5 (8.47%)	36 (17.22%)
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/position	16 (16.49%)	20 (47.74%)	27 (45.76%)	63 (30.14%)
Opinion(s) slant to China's position or opposite to U.S. position	2 (2.06%)	6 (11.32%)	9 (15.25%)	17 (8.13%)
Neutral	18 (18.56%)	9 (16.98%)	2 (3.39%)	29 (13.88%)
Column Total	97	53	59	209

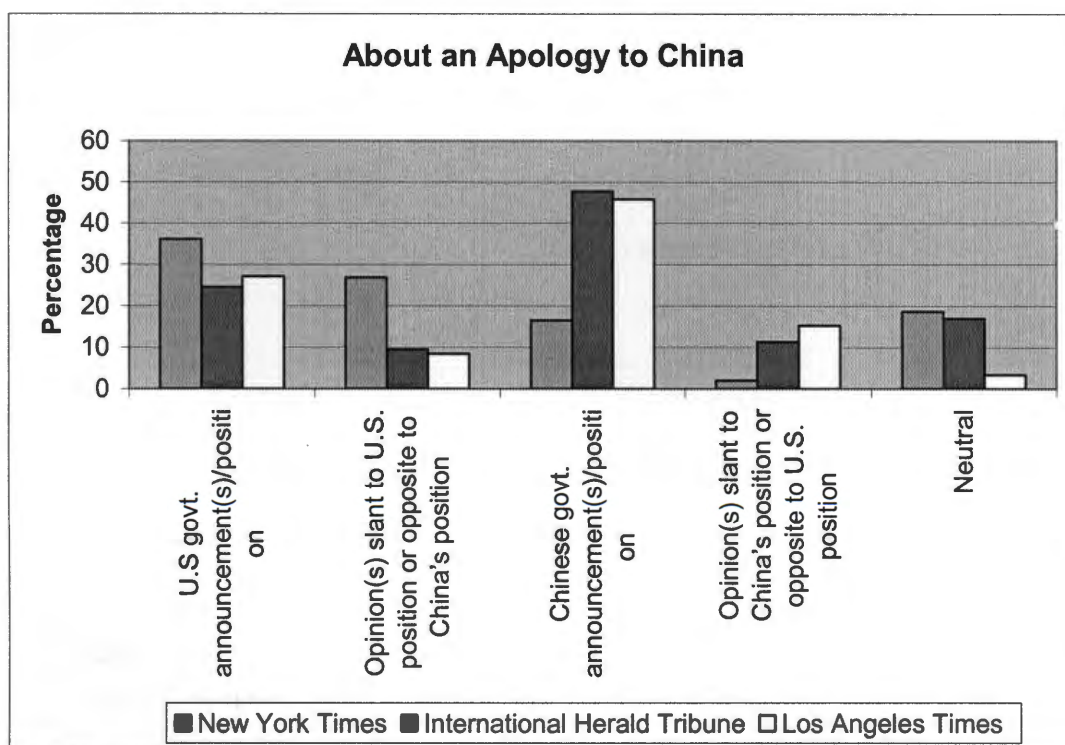


Figure 5.10 Percentage of Various Responses to “An Apology to China” by Newspaper

slant to the U.S. position or opposite to China's position" dominated 62.88 percent of the total sentences pertinent to the topic, distinctly slanted to the U.S. side. The total percentage of the variables "the Chinese government announcement(s) and position" and "Opinion(s) slant to China's position or opposite to the U.S. position" even was lower than that of the "neutral" variable. On the contrary, the voices from the Chinese side or those who hold the similar position dominated the coverage of the topic in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times, in which both of the two variables pertinent to the Chinese side had greater percentages than their respective counterparts from the U.S. side.

The coverage of other controversial topics displayed the similar tendency across the three newspapers. In Tables 5.19, 5.20 and 5.21, the percentages of the voices from the U.S. side in the New York Times tend to be greater than the average of the three papers, whereas the percentages of the voices from the Chinese side tend to be less than the average in the other two newspapers.

Table 5.19 Frequency and Percentage of Various Responses to "U.S. Reconnaissance Patrol along China's Border" by Newspaper

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
U.S govt. announcement(s)/position	38 (43.68%)	13 (37.14%)	14 (23.33%)	65 (35.33%)
Opinion(s) slant to U.S. position or opposite to China's position	8 (9.2%)	6 (17.14%)	4 (6.67%)	18 (9.78%)
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/position	20 (22.99%)	11 (31.43%)	14 (23.33%)	45 (24.46%)
Opinion(s) slant to China's position or opposite to U.S. position	1 (1.15%)	3 (8.57%)	14 (23.33%)	18 (9.78%)
Neutral	20 (22.99%)	2 (5.7%)	14 (23.33%)	36 (19.57%)
Column Total	87	35	60	184

Table 5.20 Frequency and Percentage of Various Responses to “Justifications of the U.S. Spy Plane” by Newspaper

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
U.S govt. announcement(s)/position	27 (45.76%)	13 (37.14%)	13 (33.33%)	53 (39.85%)
Opinion(s) slant to U.S. position or opposite to China's position	11 (18.64%)	6 (17.14%)	2 (5.13%)	19 (14.29%)
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/position	11 (18.64%)	11 (31.43%)	7 (17.95%)	29 (21.8%)
Opinion(s) slant to China's position or opposite to U.S. position	7 (11.86%)	3 (8.57%)	15 (38.46%)	25 (18.8%)
Neutral	3 (5.08%)	2 (5.71%)	2 (5.13%)	7 (5.26%)
Column Total	59	35	39	133

Table 5.21 Frequency and Percentage of Various Responses to “China’s Waters/Airspace in/over the South China Sea” by Newspaper

	New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times	Row Total
China's position	4 (23.53%)	11 (44%)	1 (10%)	16 (30.77%)
Opinion(s) slant to China's position	0	0	0	0
Other country's opposite position	3 (17.65%)	5 (20%)	4 (40%)	12 (23.08%)
Opinion(s) slant to opposite position	7 (41.18%)	0	0	7 (13.46%)
Neutral	3 (17.65%)	9 (36%)	5 (50%)	17 (32.69%)
Column Total	17	25	10	52

Table 5.22 Parameter Estimates of Variables about Image of China by Newspaper
Dependent Variable: frequency of sentences involved in related topics

Newspaper	Variable Category	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Chinese leadership					
New York Times	negative	1.216	.066	1.087	1.346
International Herald Tribune		.904	.079	.749	1.059
Los Angeles Times		.708	.071	.569	.846
New York Times	neutral	.311	.066	.181	.441
INT		.385	.079	.230	.539
LAT		.308	.071	.169	.446
New York Times	positive	.108	.066	-2.160E-02	.238
INT		7.692E-02	.079	-7.781E-02	.232
LAT		.185	.071	4.622E-02	.323
New York Times	mixed/	2.703E-02	.066	-.103	.157
INT	not applicable	1.923E-02	.079	-.136	.174
LAT		.138	.071	6.124E-05	.277
Evaluation on China					
New York Times	negative	.986	.038	.913	1.060
International Herald Tribune		1.000	.045	.912	1.088
Los Angeles Times		.600	.040	.521	.679
New York Times	neutral	.230	.038	.156	.304
IHT		.481	.045	.393	.569
LAT		.692	.040	.613	.771
New York Times	positive	9.459E-02	.038	2.072E-02	.168
IHT		.346	.045	.258	.434
LAT		.785	.040	.706	.863
New York Times	mixed/	4.054E-02	.038	-3.333E-02	.114
IHT	not applicable	.269	.045	.181	.357
LAT		.354	.040	.275	.433
Chinese pilot Wang Wei					
New York Times	negative	.405	.045	.318	.493
International Herald Tribune		.308	.053	.203	.412
Los Angeles Times		.200	.048	.106	.294
New York Times	neutral	.135	.045	4.749E-02	.223
IHT		.212	.053	.107	.316
LAT		.169	.048	7.572E-02	.263
New York Times	positive	.135	.045	4.749E-02	.223

Table 5.22 Continued

Newspaper	Variable Category	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
IHT	positive	.173	.053	6.852E-02	.278
LAT		.308	.048	.214	.401
New York Times	mixed/	.149	.045	6.101E-02	.236
IHT	not applicable	-1.908E-17	.053	-.105	.105
LAT		1.538E-02	.048	-7.813E-02	.109
Treatment and Life of the U.S. Crew in China					
New York Times	negative	.365	.034	.299	.431
IHT		.192	.040	.113	.271
LAT		.277	.036	.206	.348
New York Times	neutral	.419	.034	.353	.485
IHT		.154	.040	7.492E-02	.233
LAT		.662	.036	.591	.732
New York Times	positive	.219	.034	.153	.286
IHT		.269	.040	.190	.348
LAT		.631	.036	.560	.701
New York Times	mixed/	5.405E-02	.034	-1.211E-02	.120
IHT	not applicable	3.846E-02	.040	-4.046E-02	.117
LAT		.123	.036	5.248E-02	.194
Chinese attitude on America or the U.S. crew					
New York Times	negative	.392	.026	.341	.442
International Herald Tribune		.192	.031	.132	.253
Los Angeles Times		.600	.028	.546	.654
New York Times	neutral	.514	.026	.463	.564
IHT		7.692E-02	.031	1.665E-02	.137
LAT		.231	.028	.177	.285
New York Times	positive	5.405E-02	.026	3.526E-03	.105
IHT		-2.776E-17	.031	-6.028E-02	6.028E-02
LAT		.215	.028	.161	.269
New York Times	mixed/	1.370E-02	.026	-3.717E-02	6.457E-02
IHT	not applicable	1.923E-02	.031	-4.105E-02	7.951E-02
LAT		3.077E-02	.028	-2.314E-02	8.468E-02
Whether China was favorable or not					
New York Times	negative	.743	.018	.709	.778
International Herald Tribune		.558	.021	.517	.599
Los Angeles Times		.262	.019	.225	.298
New York Times	neutral	6.757E-02	.018	3.314E-02	.102
IHT		5.769E-02	.021	1.662E-02	9.876E-02
LAT		-2.458E-02	.019	-3.674E-02	3.674E-02
New York Times	positive	8.108E-02	.018	4.665E-02	.116
IHT		.173	.021	.132	.214
LAT		4.615E-02	.019	9.418E-03	8.289E-02
New York Times	mixed/	-2.573E-17	.018	-3.443E-02	3.443E-02
IHT	not applicable	-1.828E-17	.021	.225	.298
LAT		2.574E-16	.019	-3.674E-02	3.674E-02

The data analyses above, therefore, strongly support Hypothesis 9.

H10: The New York Times will cover the Chinese side less neutrally and the U.S. side more positively than the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune.

The following table and figures strongly support the expectation. As can be seen in Table 5.22, the means of the “negative” variables tended to be smaller in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times than in the New York Times. In the category of “Chinese leadership,” “Chinese pilot Wang Wei,” and “whether China was favorable or not in the event,” for instance, the means of the variable “negative” were smaller and smaller from the New York Times (1.216, 0.405, and 0.743) to the International Herald Tribune (0.904, 0.308, and 0.558) to the Los Angeles Times (0.708, 0.200, and 0.262). In the category of “Treatment and life of the U.S. crew in China,” the biggest mean of the negative variable was 0.365 of the New York Times and the smallest one was 0.192 of the International Herald Tribune.

However, the situations for the positive variables were exactly reverse to the negative variables. The means of the “positive” variables tended to be bigger in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times than in the New York Times, especially in the categories of “evaluation on China,” in which the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune had the means (0.785, 0.346) as many times as that of the New York Times (9.459E-02).

On the other side, Table 5.23 reveals that the coverage of the U.S. side in the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune tended to be more negative than in the New York Times. In each category with four evaluation variables, the frequency and the percentage of the negative variable either in the International Herald Tribune or in the Los Angeles Times were larger than in the New York Times. As can be seen in Table 5.24, the Los Angeles Times, in which the total percentage of the positive and neutral variables was as high as 56.1 percent, covered matters or people from the Chinese side most neutrally among these newspapers, whereas the New York Times with the highest percentage of the negative variable (60.8%) covered the Chinese side most negatively. On the contrary, the New York Times had largest percentage (59.2%) among all three papers of the positive variable covering matters or people from the U.S. side.

Table 5.23 Image of the United States in Newspapers (Frequency and Percentage of Related Sentences)

	New York Times				International Herald Tribune				Los Angeles Times			
	negative	neutral	positive	mixed /not applicable	negative	neutral	positive	mixed/ not applicable	negative	neutral	positive	mixed/ not applicable
U.S. Leadership	22 (19.8 %)	37 (33.3 %)	52 (46.8 %)	0	12 (33.3 %)	11 (30.6 %)	12 (33.3 %)	1 (2.8 %)	30 (28.8 %)	37 (35.6 %)	35 (33.7 %)	2 (1.9 %)
Favorable or not	0	0	20 (100 %)	0	10 (41.7 %)	0	12 (59.3 %)	0	2 (25 %)	0	6 (75 %)	0
Evaluation on the crew	1 (5.6 %)	0	17 (94.4 %)	0	4 (57.1 %)	0	3 (42.9 %)	0	4 (17.4 %)	5 (21.7 %)	13 (56.5 %)	1 (4.3 %)
Evaluation on U.S.	4 (50 %)	0	4 (50 %)	0	24 (85.7 %)	2 (7.1 %)	1 (3.6 %)	1 (3.6 %)	37 (58.7 %)	7 (11.1 %)	15 (23.8 %)	4 (6.3 %)

Table 5.24 Total Frequency and Percentage of Evaluation Variables in Three Newspapers

Chinese side	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Mixed/Not Applicable
New York Times	304 (60.8%)	124 (24.8%)	51 (10.2%)	21 (4.2%)
International Herald Tribune	164 (55.2%)	71 (23.9%)	44 (14.8%)	18 (6.1%)
Los Angeles Times	172 (35.1%)	134 (27.3%)	141 (28.8%)	43 (8.8%)
U.S. side	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Mixed/Not Applicable
New York Times	27 (17.2%)	37 (23.6%)	93 (59.2%)	0
International Herald Tribune	50 (54.34%)	13 (14.1%)	27 (29.3%)	2 (2.2%)
Los Angeles Times	73 (36.9%)	49 (24.7%)	69 (34.8%)	7 (3.5%)

In order to clearly show the differences across the newspapers, the author grouped the following series of GLM profile plots (Figure 5.11 – Figure 5.13) based on pairwise comparisons of the coverage of the two sides on different topics, such as leadership and people involved in the event. Through this visual comparison, the evidence to support Hypothesis 10 is clearly indicated. As shown in Figure 5.11, the line of the negative variable of Chinese leadership descends continuously from the New York Times to the Los Angeles Times, while the line of the positive variable generally remains consistent from the New York Times, in which the difference between the mean of the positive variable and the negative one was much larger than in other two papers, to the International Herald Tribune, and then rises up to the highest point of the Los Angeles Times. In the category of U.S. leadership, the difference between the means of the positive variable and the negative variable was very close in the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times, but rather large in the New York Times. Similar tendency was reflected in the other two groups of plots.

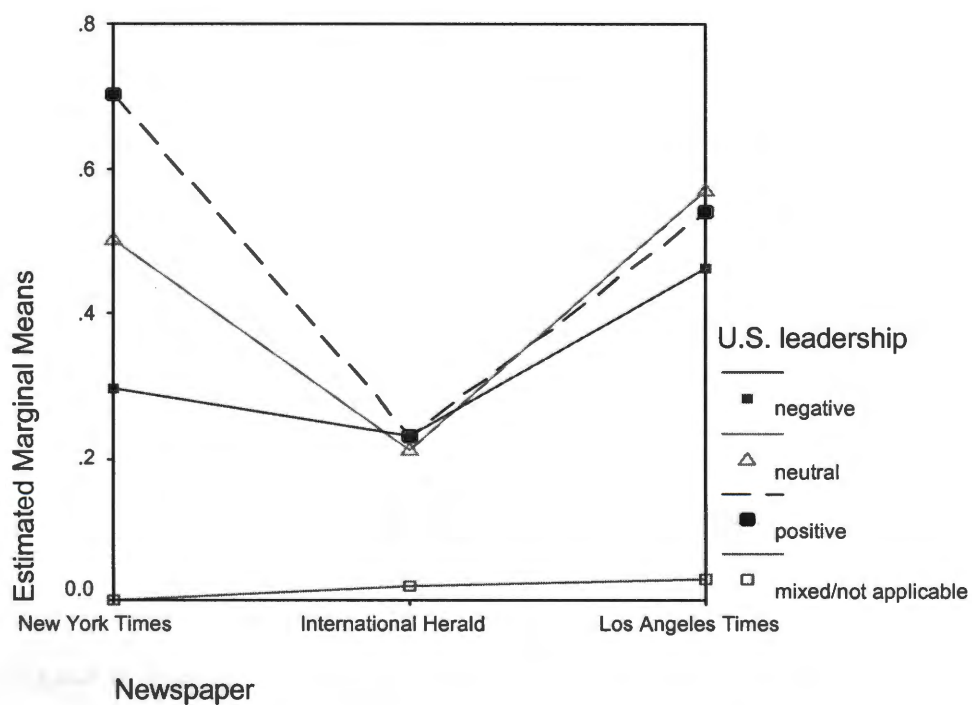
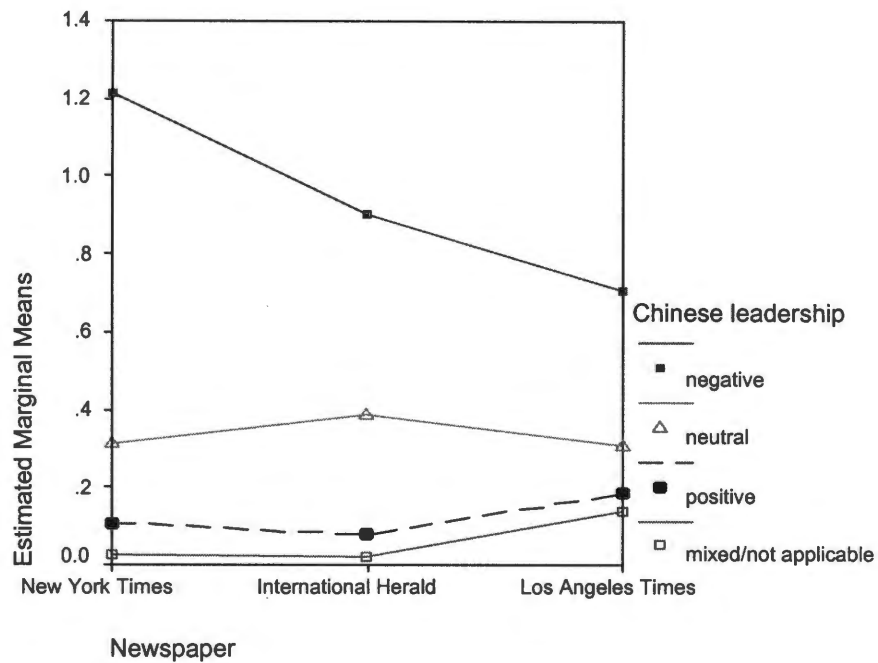


Figure 5.11. Comparison of Estimated Marginal Means of Frequency of Sentence Related to Evaluation of Chinese/U.S. Leadership by Newspaper

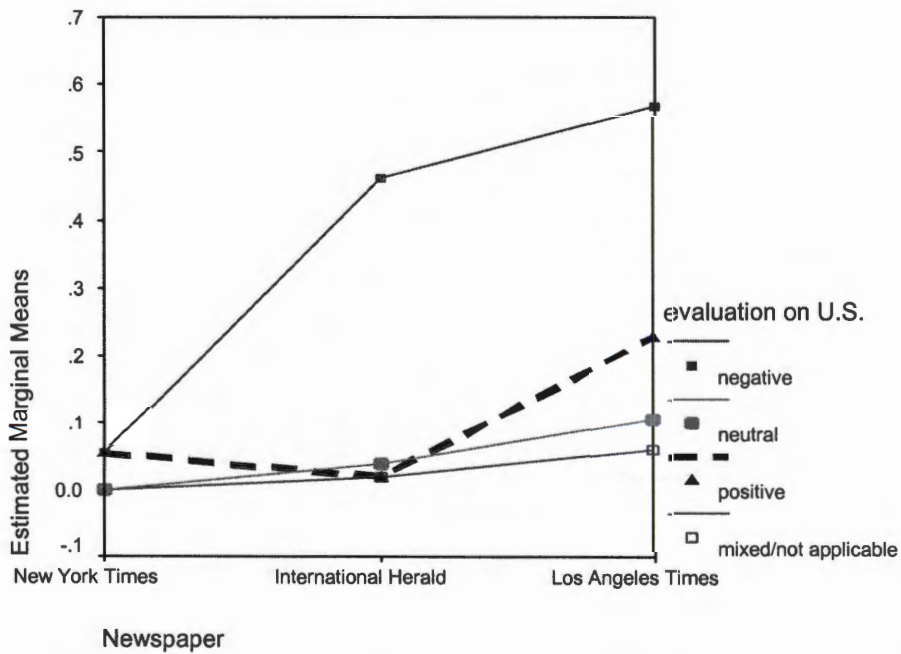
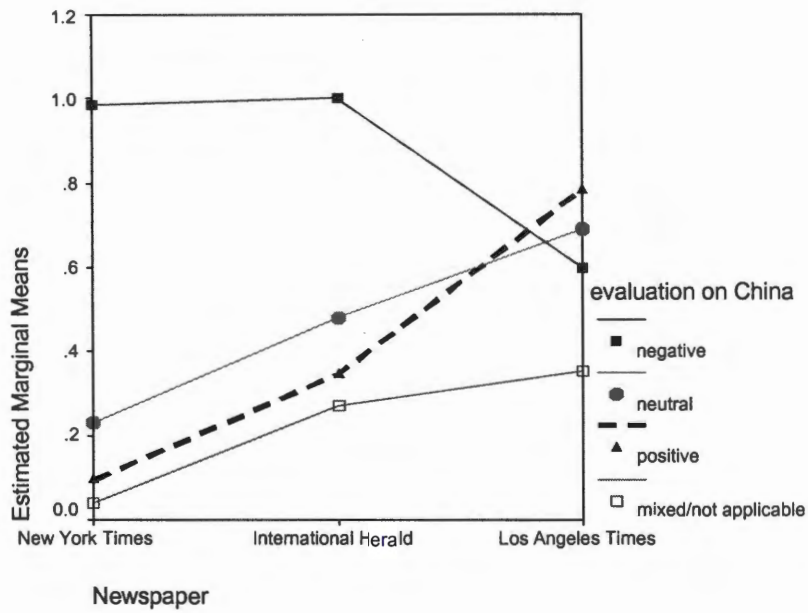


Figure 5.12. Comparison of Estimated Marginal Means of Frequency of Sentence Related to Evaluation of China/the United States by Newspaper

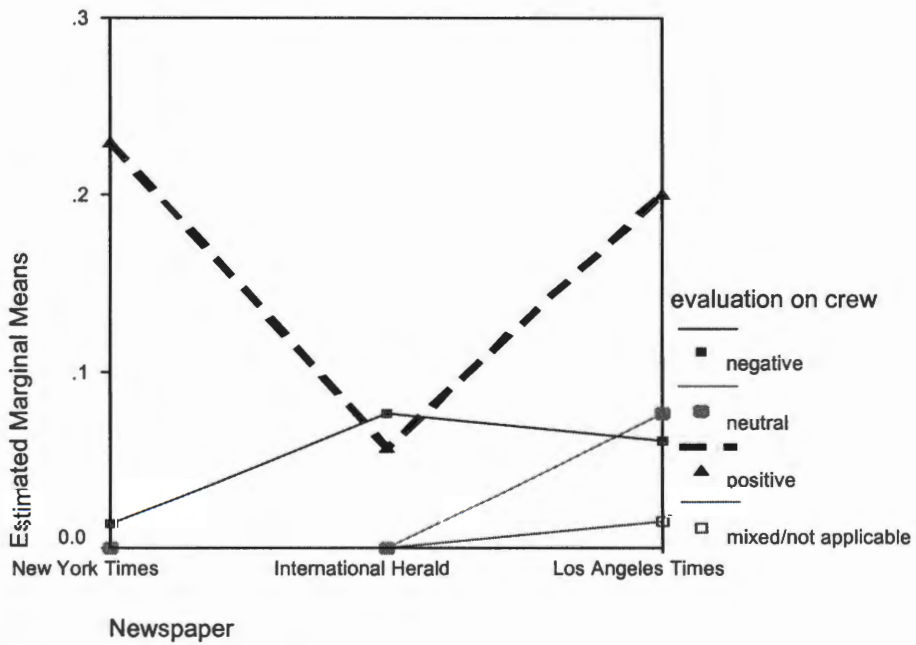
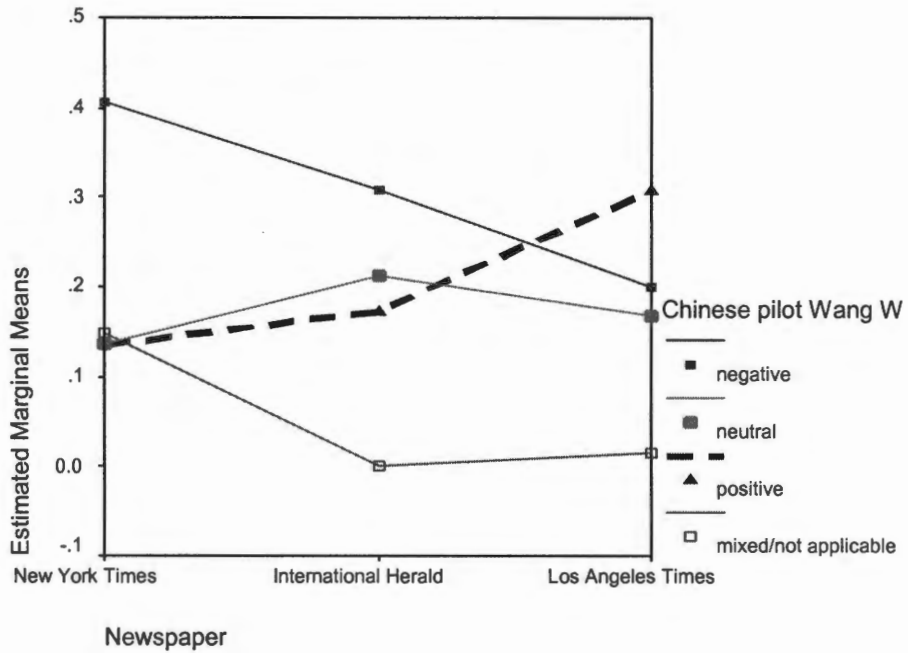


Figure 5.13. Comparison of Estimated Marginal Means of Frequency of Sentence Related to Evaluation of the Chinese Pilot/the U.S. Crew by Newspaper

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

This study begins with a brief review of Sino-U.S. relations and background of the April 2001 standoff between the two countries, indicating that a series of complex factors and issues have affected the interactions between the United States and China, and there were historical reasons behind the conflict. An overview of the scholarly and professional literature concerning the determinants of international news coverage, the press images of Third World countries in the U.S. media, the hegemony theory and propaganda model, and the U.S. coverage of China comes next. As discussed, scholars have found such factors as geographical and cultural proximity, dominant ideology, national interest, foreign policy and national status determine whether a country or an event will be covered, and how a country or an event will be portrayed. They also have found a steady reliance on official news sources prevailed in the U.S. media. Previous research guided the selection of the three newspapers for this study.

The findings from the quantitative analyses show that the hypotheses are supported to more or less degree. The three newspapers covered the standoff extensively. The New York Times had the largest number of both items and words, with the Los Angeles Times in second and the International Herald Tribune in third. During the 29 days analyzed for this study, the Los Angeles Times published 24 front-page items, while the New York Times carried 21 stories on Page 1 and the International Herald Tribune, 18 stories. The proportion of editorial items to news items in both the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times was greater than in the New York Times.

Two other differences across the newspapers in the structural characteristics of stories were that (1) the International Herald Tribune tended to be more internationalized and less closely associated with its home country, which can be inferred from its proportion of the category of “other international place” in dateline, its item distribution by date and the use of sources from other countries, and that (2) the New York Times bylines indicated less diversity in reporters, meaning that it primarily relied on its staff to cover the story. This finding might be attributable to its tradition of employing more international reporters and maintaining more foreign bureaus than the typical U.S. newspaper. The International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times may have published more articles written by freelancers or guests on their editorial pages than the New York Times in an attempt to pay more attention to diverse opinions because of their diverse readership and business interests. Or reliance on freelancers rather than staff reporters might be simply a means of reducing payroll costs. In the International Herald Tribune, for example, among the total 22 editorial items, there were 9 items written by freelancers or guests, who were mostly from non-official institutions inside or outside the United States. The other reason for the differences in byline might be the ownership. Since the International Herald Tribune is jointly owned by the New York Times and the Washington Post, most of the related articles in this paper were from “syndicate,” which totally had 18 items in the 30 hard news stories and 7 in the 22 editorial items. And the major ingredients of syndicate were the staff of the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times.

The results and analyses of sources, another factor of structural characteristics, used in the newspapers indicate the importance of U.S. officials as a news source. All

three newspapers used U.S. official sources much more often than any other sources. It is consistent with previous studies' finding that foreign affairs news originated mainly from Washington, and the U.S. media heavily rely on official story lines. The study also microscopically investigated the prominence of U.S. official sources used in these newspapers through testing the placement of various sources in stories. The results reveal that the three newspapers projected U.S. official sources more prominently than any of other sources. The findings raised some interesting questions, such as whether such results can be generalized to all international news coverage in the U.S. press (or press in other countries), especially coverage of foreign countries or foreign affairs in which the United States itself was not as deeply involved as in this case, and what implication it will be if similar results are obtained. Scholars and professionals (e.g., Kellner, 1993) might argue that the reason for the press' relying on the U.S. official sources results from journalistic practices, such as consideration of source credibility and more difficult access to sources from foreign countries. These journalistic practices might explain why U.S. official sources dominated news coverage of international affairs. From a logical viewpoint, however, it cannot convincingly account for why this type of source was placed much more prominently in stories than other sources that were readily available. In the New York Times, for example, no Chinese source, except for Chinese common people, appeared in the lead of stories (See Table 5.6-1), even though the total percentage of Chinese sources were 19.95 percent (See Table 5.4). As can be seen from the study, interactive correlations between sources and themes – the literature in hand shows that no similar statistical exploration has been done in previous studies – did exist. The kind of sources used, to a more or less degree, determined or reflected what voices were heard.

As Sigal (1973) put it, sources define the news. If a certain source is used more often and more prominently, a certain voice will be heard more often and more easily accepted by readers.

Another commonness in source use shared in the three newspapers was that more diverse or dissident sources were used in covering China, the Chinese government and officials. In this case, on the other side, readers did hear more about U.S.- related matters and people from U.S. sources, particularly from U.S. official sources, in the New York Times, and particularly when controversial issues were involved. It might not be convincing to say the reports of the complex conflict in the newspaper was balanced, considering some diverse voices could be heard from the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times, and the other media in other countries, as mentioned in the Story Background section in Chapter I. In Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model, the way the U.S. media joined a government campaign was by relying on the primary information sources such as government and power groups, especially when the U.S. national interest was concerned. And especially in news about communist countries, as Gans (1980) noted, the reports were treated with near unanimity with governmental protocols. On the other side of the coin, however, some homogeneity in the choice of sources does exist in the normal journalistic practices, as Chafetz (1985) suggested that Western journalists usually competed with each other in a location for what amounts to the same story. The key questions here are whether any other factors play a role in the integral process of the choice of sources, and what will it imply if the examined newspapers, all from the United States, differed in this process, no matter to a great degree or to some degree.

This study illustrates two aspects of news selection: linkage and evaluation. Linkage was the highly frequent use of U.S. official source and the connection of sources to coverage themes concerning the U.S. side or the Chinese side. Evaluation consisted of positive or negative information on policies or actions of the U.S. side or the Chinese side. One of major justifications for the U.S. press's emphasizing negative stories in the coverage of international news is based on the basic news values of conflict and unusualness, and the same selection exists in domestic news coverage. We have to admit that journalistic values affect the process of news reports, but they cannot explain everything. This study, in which the analysis unit was the sentence, statistically provides a microscopic look at how the three newspapers played the story and how they portrayed China in comparison with the United States. In this case, matters or people from the U.S. side in the three newspapers were covered more often and more prominently than the Chinese side. The image of China was negative overall in all three newspapers, especially on the issues of "Chinese leadership" and "whether China was favorable or not to resolve the conflict." On the other side, the image of the United States tended to be positive in all three newspapers. If we say that same news values dominated the coverage of the event, why were the dichotomous images portrayed in the same event? The "systematic dichotomization between us and them" constitutes the foundation of the hegemony theory and the propaganda model and provides another explanation for the differences of story emphasis and the images of the two countries in the event.

The statistical results in this study reveal that all three papers relied primarily on U.S. government sources, but differences in sources, themes and story prominence did exist across the newspapers. In general, the New York Times used more U.S. official or

other U.S. sources than the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times; the Los Angeles Times used more Chinese sources, especially those other than Chinese officials than the other newspapers, and the International Herald Tribune used more sources from other countries than the other two papers. The New York Times used fewer diverse sources than the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune, especially when controversial issues were involved. Here, a specific question is posed, if the International Herald Tribune and the Los Angeles Times could get access to the colleague of Chinese pilot Wang Wei as a source to report the collision itself and the cause of the collision, why could not the New York Times in which this type of source was absent?

Although the findings in this study added empirical support to the view that the U.S. coverage of international news is not simply a conveyor of independent and neutral facts, it is not meant to raise a challenge to the system of institutional news organizations in capitalist states. As Kobland et al. (1992) argued, “ideology is an inevitable by-product of any communicative account” (p.73). Journalists are rooted in an integral part of society in which their ideas and values have inextricably constructed with the social structure. This study provides only a quantitative analysis of the coverage of China in the April 2001 event, which needs further qualitative exploration. It also might be an interesting future project to compare the coverage of the event in the U.S. newspapers with that in major Chinese newspapers.

Moreover, the findings that both the Los Angeles Times and the International Herald Tribune included more voices slanted to the Chinese side, which was covered more neutrally or positively, than did the New York Times raised a series of questions,

such as to what extent such differences exist, whether such differences exist only when the Chinese-related matters are covered, whether it means the hegemony theory will lose effectiveness, to a more or less degree, under the influence of the interweave of various factors, and what kinds of factors will execute their effects. The assumption in this study that differences will exist across the three newspapers is based on the analysis of their readerships and the locations of the publications. The study empirically confirms the assumption, but it does not mean they are virtually associated with each other. Further study on whether readership in today's competitive market environment constitutes one of the important factors influencing the international news flow and coverage and if it does, how it influences the selection process of international news should be done in the future. This might be the major implication of the study.

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APPENDIX

I. Correlation of Source and Theme

Table A-1. Correlation of U.S. Official Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme-U.S.official source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		U.S. official source		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.338 * .003	.304* .028	.489** .000
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.232* .047	.179 .204	.232 .063
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.708** .000	.791** .000	.710** .000
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.139 .236	.440** .001	.379** .002
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.356** .002	.413** .002	.454** .000
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.079 .502	.597** .000	.114 .368
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.052 .659	.178 .206	.135 .284
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.362** .002	.391** .004	.387** .001
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.050 .674	.040 .779	-.122 .335
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.280* .016	-.355** .010	-.330** .007
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.019 .871	.058 .682	.077 .542
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.147 .211	-.091 .521	-.092 .466
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.255* .028	-.200 .154	-.122 .333
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.087 .460	-.090 .525	.251* .044
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.063 .598	-.104 .462	-.016 .896
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.308** .007	-.067 .635	.112 .376
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.024 .837	.509** .000	.089 .479
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.362** .002	-.167 .237	.101 .426
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.338** .003	.041 .774	.331** .007
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.153 .193	-.147 .297	.055 .661
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.113 .339	-.305* .028	-.055 .663

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The cells are shaded because of significant correlation

Table A-2 Correlation of U.S. Non-official Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/U.S. non-official source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		U.S.non-official source		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.150 .202	.306* .027	-.166 .187
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.107 .363	.215 .126	-.102 .419
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.207 .076	-.067 .635	-.055 .661
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.100 .397	.265 .058	-.104 .411
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.095 .420	.297* .032	-.062 .623
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.141 .231	-.072 .613	-.158 .208
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.172 .142	.061 .666	-.141 .262
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.056 .638	.270 .053	-.045 .721
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.09 .448	.119 .402	.234 .061
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.149 .206	-.033 .816	.139 .269
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.105 .372	-.094 .506	-.055 .661
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.353** .002	-.052 .714	-.091 .471
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.040 .733	-.002 .991	-.067 .597
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.046 .696	.191 .175	-.031 .805
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.194 .100	-.084 .552	.228 .068
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.071 .546	-.102 .470	.213 .088
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.131 .265	-.224 .110	-.128 .311
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.009 .940	.036 .801	.266* .032
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.035 .765	.242 .084	.005 .971
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.039 .739	.191 .175	-.008 .948
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.013 .912	.035 .803	.348** .004

Table A-3. Correlation of U.S. Crew as Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/U.S. crew as source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		U.S. crew		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation	.354**	.230	.116
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.102	.356
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation	-.092	.167	-.001
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.437	.238	.994
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation	-.132	-.041	-.184
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.262	.774	.143
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation	-.125	-.097	-.162
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.287	.494	.197
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation	-.095	.107	-.133
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.422	.452	.290
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation	.763**	.324*	.706**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.019	.000
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation	-.014	.010	-.029
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.903	.945	.819
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation	.243*	.151	.031
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.037	.285	.805
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation	-.103	-.121	.031
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.382	.394	.805
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation	-.120	-.088	-.131
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.308	.534	.300
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation	.219	.325*	-.110
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.061	.019	.383
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation	-.060	-.027	.272*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.612	.848	.029
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation	-.087	-.032	-.054
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.463	.824	.671
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation	-.024	-.077	-.070
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.839	.588	.577
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation	-.127	-.107	-.046
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.284	.450	.719
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation	-.090	-.087	-.137
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.445	.541	.276
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation	-.113	-.066	-.012
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.337	.643	.927
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation	-.073	-.079	-.109
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.536	.576	.389
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation	-.056	-.095	-.079
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.615	.503	.530
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation	-.058	-.051	-.064
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.621	.719	.612
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation	-.059	-.125	-.119
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.615	.378	.346

Table A-4. Correlation of U.S. Common People as Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/U.S. common people as source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		U.S.common people		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.149 .204	.a .	.351** .004
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.149 .205	.a .	-.082 .514
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.194 .097	.a .	-.068 .590
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.189 .107	.a .	-.073 .564
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.170 .147	.a .	-.129 .306
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.134 .254	.a .	.291* .019
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.141 .229	.a .	-.126 .318
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.144 .222	.a .	.022 .862
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.084 .475	.a .	-.123 .329
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.114 .333	.a .	-.131 .298
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.096 .416	.a .	.431** .000
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.706** .000	.a .	.615** .000
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.011 .924	.a .	-.068 .590
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.030 .797	.a .	-.044 .728
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.169 .153	.a .	-.119 .347
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.119 .314	.a .	-.074 .559
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.004 .971	.a .	-.031 .808
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.125 .289	.a .	-.034 .788
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.086 .469	.a .	-.077 .544
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.074 .531	.a .	-.062 .624
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.046 .700	.a .	-.137 .276

a. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

Table A-5. Correlation of Other U.S. Media as Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/other U.S. media as source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		other U.S. media		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.083 .481	.332* .016	.a .
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.065 .582	-.029 .837	.a .
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.035 .769	.248 .076	.a .
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.065 .582	.000 .998	.a .
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.081 .490	.012 .933	.a .
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.021 .860	.286* .040	.a .
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.090 .445	-.076 .592	.a .
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.072 .540	.187 .185	.a .
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.044 .709	-.180 .203	.a .
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.120 .310	-.163 .249	.a .
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.040 .737	.678** .000	.a .
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.121 .304	-.036 .799	.a .
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.032 .788	-.094 .505	.a .
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.025 .832	.050 .726	.a .
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.071 .549	.000 .998	.a .
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.085 .473	-.115 .416	.a .
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.114 .334	.127 .371	.a .
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.068 .568	.124 .381	.a .
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.051 .663	-.022 .877	.a .
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.061 .605	.033 .817	.a .
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.094 .424	-.138 .330	.a .

Table A-6. Correlation of Chinese Official Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/Chinese official source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		Chinese official source		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.134 .253	.364** .008	.199 .112
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.263* .024	.291* .036	.381** .002
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.013 .913	.229 .102	.327** .008
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.681** .000	.532** .000	.622** .000
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.097 .412	.378** .006	.081 .521
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.015 .899	.141 .320	-.020 .877
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.207 .077	-.028 .846	.301* .015
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.363** .001	.488** .000	.153 .223
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.089 .452	-.135 .339	-.227 .068
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.034 .774	-.169 .232	-.154 .219
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.100 .396	-.032 .822	-.097 .441
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.106 .396	-.075 .595	-.130 .302
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.000 .997	-.106 .456	.182 .147
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.044 .710	.062 .664	.312* .012
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.062 .605	-.073 .607	-.043 .734
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.704 .529	-.141 .318	-.105 .406
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.218 .062	.112 .431	.329** .008
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.005 .965	-.016 .911	.023 .855
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.034 .774	.162 .251	-.015 .908
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.177 .131	.105 .457	.154 .222
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.053 .656	-.128 .368	-.134 .288

Table A-7. Correlation of Chinese Non-official Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/Chinese non-official source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		Chinese	non-official	source
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.064 .589	-.103 .463	.094 .457
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.001 .991	-.088 .536	.310* .012
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.128 .276	-.084 .553	-.118 .349
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.244* .036	-.099 .485	.076 .547
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.112 .342	-.088 .535	-.105 .404
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.053 .654	-.054 .705	.065 .607
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.404** .000	-.066 .640	-.115 .363
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.095 .419	-.106 .453	-.087 .490
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.171 .145	-.026 .855	-.143 .255
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.234* .045	.490** .000	.100 .430
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.062 .602	-.039 .784	.129 .304
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.067 .568	-.022 .880	-.043 .732
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.231* .048	-.052 .712	.704** .000
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.027 .819	.398** .003	-.049 .696
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.032 .790	-.026 .852	.079 .532
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.098 .407	-.068 .630	-.035 .785
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.045 .702	.030 .832	.188 .135
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.053 .653	-.094 .505	-.067 .594
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.076 .520	-.049 .732	-.086 .496
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.066 .578	.040 .777	-.069 .583
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.013 .916	-.111 .432	-.144 .252

Table A-8. Correlation of Chinese Pilot(s) as Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/Chinese pilot(s) as source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		Chinese pilot(s)		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	.368** .007	.247* .047
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	.084 .554	.261* .036
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	.095 .503	-.064 .612
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	.184 .191	-.105 .405
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	.207 .140	-.074 .556
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	.080 .572	-.056 .660
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	.063 .656	.259* .037
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	.001 .993	-.028 .824
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.097 .493	-.084 .506
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.008 .954	-.076 .055
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.035 .803	-.029 .818
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.020 .890	-.031 .805
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.051 .719	-.039 .756
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.055 .697	-.025 .841
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.082 .564	-.056 .657
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.062 .661	-.043 .736
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	.023 .874	.076 .545
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.086 .544	-.063 .618
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.068 .631	-.044 .727
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.037 .796	-.036 .778
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.a .	-.094 .506	-.149 .235

Table A-9. Correlation of Chinese Common People as Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/Chinese common people as source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		Chinese common people		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.130 .268	-.093 .510	-.162 .197
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.097 .410	-.151 .285	.032 .798
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.148 .210	-.138 .330	-.085 .502
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.028 .810	-.171 .226	.040 .751
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.103 .381	-.083 .561	-.103 .415
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.094 .424	-.086 .544	-.085 .500
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.173 .140	.178 .207	.560** .000
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.218 .062	-.232 .097	-.155 .218
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.030 .801	.353* .010	.185 .141
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.219 .061	.068 .633	-.013 .917
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.031 .792	-.073 .608	-.071 .573
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.117 .320	-.040 .777	.219 .079
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.776** .000	.798** .000	.711** .000
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.047 .691	-.113 .424	-.053 .676
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.103 .386	-.174 .217	-.104 .412
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.074 .532	-.128 .367	-.102 .418
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.035 .767	.018 .899	.106 .402
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.122 .301	.156 .270	-.129 .305
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.068 .564	-.140 .323	-.041 .744
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.114 .333	-.075 .590	-.071 .575
Others)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.117 .319	-.096 .498	-.111 .378

Table A-10. Correlation of Chinese Media as Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/Chinese media as source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		Chinese media		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.001 .990	.048 .737	.038 .761
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.034 .775	.018 .901	.257* .039
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.066 .577	-.129 .363	.411** .001
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.060 .613	.096 .497	.635** .000
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.108 .359	-.079 .576	.365** .003
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.124 .292	-.079 .578	.016 .897
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.469** .000	.339* .014	.290* .019
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.116 .325	-.017 .906	-.013 .918
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.104 .376	.146 .303	-.087 .493
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.114 .333	.061 .669	-.110 .383
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.080 .497	-.117 .410	-.006 .964
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.039 .741	.438** .001	-.077 .543
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.394** .001	.536** .000	.136 .279
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.035 .766	-.068 .630	-.085 .503
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.142 .231	-.139 .327	-.142 .259
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.099 .402	-.007 .963	-.111 .378
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.053 .652	-.005 .973	.189 .132
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.088 .457	-.097 .496	-.002 .988
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.063 .592	-.030 .833	-.147 .242
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.078 .507	-.020 .887	.025 .842
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.076 .520	-.049 .730	-.158 .209

Table A-11. Correlation of Other Country's Official Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/other country's official source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		other country's official source		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.069 .559	-.048 .735	.a .
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.067 .570	-.103 .468	.a .
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.102 .385	-.146 .302	.a .
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.085 .472	.041 .772	.a .
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.077 .517	-.166 .240	.a .
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.065 .583	-.126 .372	.a .
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.064 .588	-.132 .351	.a .
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.083 .481	-.017 .902	.a .
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.063 .595	-.156 .269	.a .
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.075 .526	.218 .121	.a .
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.031 .792	-.072 .610	.a .
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.034 .773	-.040 .778	.a .
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.053 .654	-.099 .487	.a .
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000** .	.592** .000	.a .
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.048 .684	-.139 .327	.a .
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.053 .652	-.007 .963	.a .
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.066 .578	-.005 .973	.a .
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.034 .773	-.097 .496	.a .
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.038 .745	-.015 .913	.a .
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.033 .778	.573** .000	.a .
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.004 .972	.016 .908	.a .

Table A-12. Correlation of Other Country's Non-official Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/other country's non-official source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		other country's non-official source		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.069 .559	-.102 .474	.183 .145
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.067 .570	.115 .415	.023 .857
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.102 .385	-.122 .391	.102 .420
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.085 .472	.055 .698	.204 .104
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.077 .517	-.109 .442	.339** .006
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.065 .583	-.124 .381	.141 .262
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.064 .588	-.089 .532	.131 .297
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.083 .481	-.099 .483	-.002 .990
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.063 .595	-.124 .383	-.084 .506
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.075 .526	-.061 .666	-.032 .800
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.031 .792	-.045 .751	-.029 .818
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.034 .773	-.025 .861	-.31 .805
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.053 .654	-.065 .647	-.011 .931
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000**	.113 .427	-.025 .841
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.048 .684	-.074 .603	-.056 .657
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.053 .652	-.079 .576	-.043 .736
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.066 .578	-.107 .449	-.004 .972
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.034 .773	.051 .072	-.063 .618
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.038 .745	.039 .786	-.044 .727
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.033 .778	.876** .000	-.036 .778
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.004 .972	.284* .041	.101 .422

Table A-13. Correlation of Non-identified Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/non-identified source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		non-identified source		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.024 .840	-.046 .745	-.172 .174
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.065 .581	.037 .795	-.137 .280
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.088 .456	.181 .198	-.150 .236
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.072 .540	.471** .000	-.131 .302
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.138 .239	-.060 .673	-.103 .420
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.066 .574	.152 .282	.016 .898
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.347** .002	.341* .013	-.100 .433
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.047 .692	.270 .053	.207 .101
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.230* .048	-.077 .585	-.164 .196
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.006 .962	-.072 .610	-.009 .945
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.076 .521	.148 .294	-.072 .572
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.121 .303	-.047 .740	-.023 .854
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.155 .186	-.075 .595	-.007 .957
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.208 .075	.075 .600	-.066 .602
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.064 .590	-.129 .363	.277* .027
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.102 .387	-.137 .333	-.009 .946
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.093 .433	.183 .194	-.166 .191
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.007 .954	-.104 .462	.126 .320
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.030 .800	.096 .500	-.047 .712
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.142 .227	.049 .728	-.093 .463
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.089 .453	-.015 .914	.057 .654

Table A-14. Correlation of Other Source and Theme

CORRELATION (theme/other source)		New York Times	International Herald Tribune	Los Angeles Times
		other source		
Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.020 .866	-.069 .625	.203 .105
Cause and responsibility of the collision	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.095 .418	.205 .145	.206 .099
U.S. govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.146 .215	-.119 .399	.181 .149
Chinese govt. announcement(s)/ position(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.121 .305	-.034 .808	.219 .080
Negotiation(s)/ meeting(s)/ agreement(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.109 .355	.181 .200	-.122 .332
U.S. crew/activities in China	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.023 .844	-.018 .899	-.035 .770
Chinese pilot Wang Wei/ his family	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.066 .574	.057 .690	.066 .602
The U.S. plane	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.009 .936	.206 .142	.277* .026
Evaluation on/introduction of America/U.S. officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.064 .588	.151 .287	.002 .985
Evaluation on/ introduction of China, or Chinese officials	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.107 .366	.039 .783	.058 .648
U.S. crew leaving China/ activities after being released	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.285* .014	-.055 .697	-.054 .671
Response(s) of U.S. common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.049 .681	-.031 .829	-.057 .650
Response(s) of Chinese common people	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.076 .523	-.044 .758	.019 .880
Global Response(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.702** .000	.295* .034	.670** .000
Sino-U.S. relations	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.089 .456	-.155 .415	-.113 .370
U.S. China policy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.076 .520	-.083 .561	-.070 .578
About apology/regrets/sorry	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.094 .427	-.111 .435	.086 .497
U.S. reconnaissance patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.016 .895	-.036 .800	.031 .807
China's counter-patrol	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.055 .643	-.107 .452	.000 .998
About China's waters/ airspace in the South China Sea	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	-.047 .688	-.057 .687	.061 .627
Other(s)	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	.012 .918	.118 .404	.080 .529

II. Mean Differences among Sources

Table A-15. Multiple Comparisons of Mean Difference among Sources

Dependent Variable: source frequency (Tukey HSD)

(I) source type	(J) source type	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std.Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
U.S. official	U.S. non-official	4.46	.309	.000	3.42	5.49
	The U.S. crew	4.54	.309	.000	3.51	5.58
	U.S. common people	4.63	.309	.000	3.60	5.67
	Other U.S. media	5.41	.309	.000	4.38	6.45
	Chinese official	4.51	.309	.000	3.48	5.55
	The Chinese pilot(s)	5.41	.309	.000	4.38	6.45
	Chinese media	5.18	.309	.000	4.15	6.22
	Chinese non-official	4.65	.309	.000	3.61	5.69
	Chinese common people	5.07	.309	.000	4.03	6.11
	Other country's official	5.41	.309	.000	4.37	6.45
	Other country's non-official	5.40	.309	.000	4.37	6.44
	Non-identified source	5.18	.309	.000	4.15	6.22
	Other(s)	5.32	.309	.000	4.28	6.36
U.S. non-official	U.S. official	-4.46	.309	.000	-5.49	-3.42
	The U.S. crew	.09	.309	1.000	-.95	1.13
	U.S. common people	.18	.309	1.000	-.86	1.22
	Other U.S. media	.96	.309	.106	-.08	2.00
	Chinese official source	.06	.309	1.000	-.98	1.10
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.96	.309	.106	-.08	2.00
	Chinese media	.73	.309	.514	-.31	1.77
	Chinese non-official source	.19	.309	1.000	-.84	1.23
	Chinese common people	.61	.309	.779	-.42	1.65
	Other country's official	.95	.309	.111	-.08	1.99
	Other country's non-official	.95	.309	.117	-.09	1.99
	Non-identified source	.73	.309	.514	-.31	1.77
	Other(s)	.86	.309	.227	-.17	1.90
The U.S.crew	U.S. official source	-4.54	.309	.000	-5.58	-3.51
	U.S. non-official source	-.09	.309	1.000	-1.13	.95
	U.S. common people	.09	.309	1.000	-.95	1.13
	Other U.S. media	.87	.309	.219	-.17	1.91
	Chinese official source	-.03	.309	1.000	-1.07	1.01
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.87	.309	.219	-.17	1.91
	Chinese media	.64	.309	.724	-.40	1.68
	Chinese non-official source	.10	.309	1.000	-.93	1.14
	Chinese common people	.52	.309	.918	-.51	1.56

Table A-15 Continued

(I) source type	(J) source type	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std.Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
U.S. common people	Other country's official	.86	.309	.227	-.17	1.90
	Other country's non-official	.86	.309	.236	-.18	1.90
	Non-identified source	.64	.309	.724	-.40	1.68
	Other(s)	.77	.309	.403	-.26	1.81
	U.S. official source	-4.63	.309	.000	-5.67	-3.60
	U.S. non-official source	-.18	.309	1.000	-1.22	.86
	The U.S. crew	-.09	.309	1.000	-1.13	.95
	Other U.S. media	.78	.309	.392	-.26	1.82
	Chinese official source	-.12	.309	1.000	-1.16	.92
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.78	.309	.392	-.26	1.82
	Chinese media	.55	.309	.886	-.49	1.59
	Chinese non-official	.02	.309	1.000	-1.02	1.05
	Chinese common people	.43	.309	.981	-.60	1.47
	Other country's official source	.77	.309	.403	-.26	1.81
	Other country's non-official source	.77	.309	.415	-.27	1.81
	Non-identified source	.55	.309	.886	-.49	1.59
	Other(s)	.69	.309	.616	-.35	1.72
Other U.S. media	U.S. official source	-5.41	.309	.000	-6.45	-4.38
	U.S. non-official source	-.96	.309	.106	-2.00	.08
	The U.S. crew	-.87	.309	.219	-1.91	.17
	U.S. common people	-.78	.309	.392	-1.82	.26
	Chinese official source	-.90	.309	.172	-1.94	.14
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.00	.309	1.000	-1.04	1.04
	Chinese media	-.23	.309	1.000	-1.27	.81
	Chinese non-official	-.76	.309	.427	-1.80	.27
	Chinese common people	-.35	.309	.998	-1.38	.69
	Other country's official source	-.01	.309	1.000	-1.04	1.03
	Other country's non-official source	-.01	.309	1.000	-1.05	1.03
	Non-identified source	-.23	.309	1.000	-1.27	.81
	Other(s)	-.09	.309	1.000	-1.13	.94
	U.S. official source	-4.51	.309	.000	-5.55	-3.48
	U.S. non-official source	-.06	.309	1.000	-1.10	.98
Chinese official source	The U.S. crew	.03	.309	1.000	-1.01	1.07
	U.S. common people	.12	.309	1.000	-.92	1.16
	Other U.S. media	.90	.309	.172	-.14	1.94
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.90	.309	.172	-.14	1.94
	Chinese media	.67	.309	.653	-.37	1.71
	Chinese non-official source	.14	.309	1.000	-.90	1.17

Table A-15 Continued

(I) source type	(J) source type	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
	Chinese common people	.55	.309	.878	-.48	1.59
	Other country's official source	.90	.309	.179	-.14	1.93
	Other country's non-official source	.89	.309	.187	-.15	1.93
	Non-identified source	.67	.309	.653	-.37	1.71
	Other(s)	.81	.309	.335	-.23	1.84
The Chinese pilot(s)	U.S. official source	-5.41	.309	.000	-6.45	-4.38
	U.S. non-official source	-.96	.309	.106	-2.00	.08
	The U.S. crew	-.87	.309	.219	-1.91	.17
	U.S. common people	-.78	.309	.392	-1.82	.26
	Other U.S. media	.00	.309	1.000	-1.04	1.04
	Chinese official source	-.90	.309	.172	-1.94	.14
	Chinese media	-.23	.309	1.000	-1.27	.81
	Chinese non-official source	-.76	.309	.427	-1.80	.27
	Chinese common people	-.35	.309	.998	-1.38	.69
	Other country's official source	-.01	.309	1.000	-1.04	1.03
	Other country's non-official source	-.01	.309	1.000	-1.05	1.03
	Non-identified source	-.23	.309	1.000	-1.27	.81
	Other(s)	-.09	.309	1.000	-1.13	.94
Chinese media	U.S. official source	-5.18	.309	.000	-6.22	-4.15
	U.S. non-official source	-.73	.309	.514	-1.77	.31
	The U.S. crew	-.64	.309	.724	-1.68	.40
	U.S. common people	-.55	.309	.886	-1.59	.49
	Other U.S. media	.23	.309	1.000	-.81	1.27
	Chinese official source	-.67	.309	.653	-1.71	.37
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.23	.309	1.000	-.81	1.27
	Chinese non-official	-.53	.309	.906	-1.57	.50
	Chinese common people	-.12	.309	1.000	-1.15	.92
	Other country's official	.23	.309	1.000	-.81	1.26
	Other country's non-official source	.22	.309	1.000	-.82	1.26
	Non-identified source	.00	.309	1.000	-1.04	1.04
	Other(s)	.14	.309	1.000	-.90	1.17
Chinese non-official source	U.S. official source	-4.65	.309	.000	-5.69	-3.61
	U.S. non-official source	-.19	.309	1.000	-1.23	.84
	The U.S. crew	-.10	.309	1.000	-1.14	.93
	U.S. common people	-.02	.309	1.000	-1.05	1.02
	Other U.S. media	.76	.309	.427	-.27	1.80
	Chinese official source	-.14	.309	1.000	-1.17	.90
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.76	.309	.427	-.27	1.80

Table A-15 Continued

(I) source type	(J) source type	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std.Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
	Chinese media	.53	.309	.906	-.50	1.57
	Chinese common people	.42	.309	.987	-.62	1.46
	Other country's official source	.76	.309	.439	-.28	1.80
	Other country's non-official source	.75	.309	.452	-.28	1.79
	Non-identified source	.53	.309	.906	-.50	1.57
	Other(s)	.67	.309	.653	-.37	1.71
Chinese common people	U.S. official source	-5.07	.309	.000	-6.11	-4.03
	U.S. non-official source	-.61	.309	.779	-1.65	.42
	The U.S. crew	-.52	.309	.918	-1.56	.51
	U.S. common people	-.43	.309	.981	-1.47	.60
	Other U.S. media	.35	.309	.998	-.69	1.38
	Chinese official source	-.55	.309	.878	-1.59	.48
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.35	.309	.998	-.69	1.38
	Chinese media	.12	.309	1.000	-.92	1.15
	Chinese non-official source	-.42	.309	.987	-1.46	.62
	Other country's official source	.34	.309	.998	-.70	1.38
	Other country's non-official source	.34	.309	.998	-.70	1.37
	Non-identified source	.12	.309	1.000	-.92	1.15
	Other(s)	.25	.309	1.000	-.79	1.29
	Other country's official source	-5.41	.309	.000	-6.45	-4.37
Other country's non-official source	U.S. non-official source	-.95	.309	.111	-1.99	.08
	The U.S. crew	-.86	.309	.227	-1.90	.17
	U.S. common people	-.77	.309	.403	-1.81	.26
	Other U.S. media	.01	.309	1.000	-1.03	1.04
	Chinese official source	-.90	.309	.179	-1.93	.14
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.01	.309	1.000	-1.03	1.04
	Chinese media	-.23	.309	1.000	-1.26	.81
	Chinese non-official	-.76	.309	.439	-1.80	.28
	Chinese common people	-.34	.309	.998	-1.38	.70
	Other country's non-official source	-.01	.309	1.000	-1.04	1.03
	Non-identified source	-.23	.309	1.000	-1.26	.81
	Other(s)	-.09	.309	1.000	-1.13	.95
	Other country's non-official source	-5.40	.309	.000	-6.44	-4.37
	U.S. non-official source	-.95	.309	.117	-1.99	.09
	The U.S. crew	-.86	.309	.236	-1.90	.18
	U.S. common people	-.77	.309	.415	-1.81	.27
	Other U.S. media	.01	.309	1.000	-1.03	1.05

Table A-15 Continued

(I) source type	(J) source type	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std.Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
	Chinese official source	-.89	.309	.187	-1.93	.15
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.01	.309	1.000	-1.03	1.05
	Chinese media	-.22	.309	1.000	-1.26	.82
	Chinese non-official source	-.75	.309	.452	-1.79	.28
	Chinese common people	-.34	.309	.998	-1.37	.70
	Other country's official source	.01	.309	1.000	-1.03	1.04
	Non-identified source	-.22	.309	1.000	-1.26	.82
	Other(s)	-.08	.309	1.000	-1.12	.95
Non-identified source	U.S. official source	-5.18	.309	.000	-6.22	-4.15
	U.S. non-official source	-.73	.309	.514	-1.77	.31
	The U.S. crew	-.64	.309	.724	-1.68	.40
	U.S. common people	-.55	.309	.886	-1.59	.49
	Other U.S. media	.23	.309	1.000	-.81	1.27
	Chinese official source	-.67	.309	.653	-1.71	.37
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.23	.309	1.000	-.81	1.27
	Chinese media	.00	.309	1.000	-1.04	1.04
	Chinese non-official source	-.53	.309	.906	-1.57	.50
	Chinese common people	-.12	.309	1.000	-1.15	.92
	Other country's official source	.23	.309	1.000	-.81	1.26
	Other country's non- official source	.22	.309	1.000	-.82	1.26
	Other(s)	.14	.309	1.000	-.90	1.17
	U.S. official source	-5.32	.309	.000	-6.36	-4.28
	U.S. non-official source	-.86	.309	.227	-1.90	.17
	The U.S. crew	-.77	.309	.403	-1.81	.26
Other(s)	U.S. common people	-.69	.309	.616	-1.72	.35
	Other U.S. media	.09	.309	1.000	-.94	1.13
	Chinese official source	-.81	.309	.335	-1.84	.23
	The Chinese pilot(s)	.09	.309	1.000	-.94	1.13
	Chinese media	-.14	.309	1.000	-1.17	.90
	Chinese non-official	-.67	.309	.653	-1.71	.37
	Chinese common people	-.25	.309	1.000	-1.29	.79
	Other country's official source	.09	.309	1.000	-.95	1.13
	Other country's non- official source	.08	.309	1.000	-.95	1.12
	Non-identified source	-.14	.309	1.000	-1.17	.90

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

III. Coding Form

1. Name of publication
New York Times – 1 International Herald Tribune – 2 Los Angeles Times – 3
2. Date of publication ____ / ____
Month Day
3. Approximate length of item (in words) ____
4. Placement of story on page
Front page – 1 Inside page – 2
5. Origination of item
Staff – 1 News Agency – 2 Freelance/ Guest – 3 Syndicate – 4
Combination – 5 Other – 6 Non-identified – 7
6. Geographic level of item
Washington – 1 Other place in the United States – 2
Beijing - 3 Haikou – 4 Other place in China – 5
Paris – 6 Other international place – 7 Non-identified – 8
7. Type of item
Hard News – 1 Editorial – 2 Opinion/column/ comment – 3
8. Number of various sources
____ 1.U.S. official source
 ____ Executive ____ President
 ____ Other(s)
 Legislative
 U.S. Military
 Generic Official(s)
 U.S. Govt. Routine Channel
____ 2.U.S. non-official source
____ 3.The U.S. crew
____ 4.U.S. common people
____ 5.Other U.S. media
____ 6.Chinese official source
 President of China
 Foreign Ministry
 Chinese Military
 General Official(s)
____ 7.The Chinese pilots
____ 8.Chinese media
____ 9.Chinese non-official source
____ 10.Chinese common people
____ 11.Other country's official source
____ 12.Other country's non-official source
____ 13.Non-identified source
____ 14.Other(s)

9. Number of named and unnamed sources
 ___ Named source
 ___ Unnamed source
10. Number of sentences _____
11. Who is the subject in the headline
 ___ U.S., or U.S. official(s)
 ___ China, or Chinese official(s)
 ___ Other(s)
12. Who/what is (are) in the headline
 ___ 1. U.S., or U.S. official(s) (except for those as the subject)
 ___ 2. China, or Chinese official(s) (except for those as the subject)
 ___ 3. The U.S. crew
 ___ 4. The Chinese pilot(s)
 ___ 5. The U.S. plane
 ___ 6. Chinese jet(s)
 ___ 7. Other U.S. people or thing(s)
 ___ 8. Other Chinese people or thing(s)
 ___ 9. Other(s)
13. Quote: Who/what is quoted
 ___ 1. The collision itself and the progress of the event
 ___ 2. The United State, U.S. official(s) or U.S. position
 ___ 3. The U.S. pilot and U.S. crew
 ___ 4. The U.S. plane
 ___ 5. About U.S. reconnaissance patrol
 ___ 6. China, Chinese official(s), Chinese soldiers, or Chinese position
 ___ 7. The Chinese pilot, his colleague, and/or his family, or Chinese jet(s)
 ___ 8. About Chinese counter-patrol
 ___ 9. Apology, or regrets, or sorry
 ___ 10. Negotiations, and/or meeting between two countries
 ___ 11. Sino-U.S. relations and U.S. China policy
 ___ 12. Global response(s)
 ___ 13. Other
14. Source(s) used in lead or 1st paragraph
 ___ 1. U.S. official source
 ___ 2. U.S. non-official source
 ___ 3. The U.S. crew
 ___ 4. U.S. common people
 ___ 5. Other U.S. media
 ___ 6. Chinese official source
 ___ 7. Chinese non-official source
 ___ 8. The Chinese pilots
 ___ 9. Chinese common people
 ___ 10. Chinese media
 ___ 11. Other country's official source
 ___ 12. Other country's non-official source

- ☐ 13. Non-identified source
- ☐ 14. Other(s)
- ☐ 15. No source
- 15a. Source(s) used in 2-5 paragraphs
 - ☐ 1. U.S. official source
 - ☐ 2. U.S. non-official source
 - ☐ 3. The U.S. crew
 - ☐ 4. U.S. common people
 - ☐ 5. Other U.S. media
 - ☐ 6. Chinese official source
 - ☐ 7. Chinese non-official source
 - ☐ 8. The Chinese pilots
 - ☐ 9. Chinese common people
 - ☐ 10. Chinese media
 - ☐ 11. Other country's official source
 - ☐ 12. Other country's non-official source
 - ☐ 13. Non-identified source
 - ☐ 14. Other(s)
 - ☐ 15. No source
- 15b. Source(s) used in 6-10 paragraphs
 - ☐ 1. U.S. official source
 - ☐ 2. U.S. non-official source
 - ☐ 3. The U.S. crew
 - ☐ 4. U.S. common people
 - ☐ 5. Other U.S. media
 - ☐ 6. Chinese official source
 - ☐ 7. Chinese non-official source
 - ☐ 8. The Chinese pilots
 - ☐ 9. Chinese common people
 - ☐ 10. Chinese media
 - ☐ 11. Other country's official source
 - ☐ 12. Other country's non-official source
 - ☐ 13. Non-identified source (any source cannot be identified what country it is from, e.g., Western sources)
 - ☐ 14. Other(s)
 - ☐ 15. No source
- 16. Themes or motifs in lead or 1st paragraph
 - ☐ 1. Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event;
 - ☐ 2. Cause and responsibility of the collision;
 - ☐ 3. U.S. diplomatic announcement(s), and/or reaction(s), and/or position(s), and/or activities around the event;
 - ☐ 4. Chinese diplomatic announcement(s), and/or reaction(s), and/or position(s), and/or activities around the event;
 - ☐ 5. Negotiation(s), or meeting(s), or agreement(s) between two countries around the event;

- ___ 6. The U.S. crew, or their activities during the collision and landing and in China, or their situation and/or life in China;
- ___ 7. The Chinese pilot Wang Wei, and/or his family or other Chinese pilot(s), and/or the Chinese flight jet;
- ___ 8. The U.S. plane (e.g., description, data and equipment, return)
- ___ 9. Evaluation on, or introduction of the United States, or U.S. officials (e.g. President Bush, Ambassador Prueher), and/or their background and activities before the event;
- ___ 10. Evaluation on, or introduction of China, or Chinese officials (e.g., President Jiang), and/or their background and activities before the event;
- ___ 11. The crew's departure from China and activities after being released;
- ___ 12. Response(s) of the U.S. common people (including the crew's families, American businesspeople, and so on);
- ___ 13. Response(s) of the Chinese common people (including the Chinese pilot's family, Chinese students, and so on);
- ___ 14. Global Response(s);
- ___ 15. Sino-U.S. relations
- ___ 16. China policy of the United States;
- ___ 17. About apology or regret or sorry;
- ___ 18. About the U.S. reconnaissance patrol;
- ___ 19. About China's counter-patrol;
- ___ 20. About China's waters and/or airspace in the South China Sea; and
- ___ 21. Other
- 17. Themes or motifs of story
 - ___ 1. Reporting the collision itself and the progress of the event;
 - ___ 2. Cause and responsibility of the collision;
 - ___ 3. U.S. diplomatic announcement(s), and/or reaction(s), and/or position(s), and/or activities around the event;
 - ___ 4. Chinese diplomatic announcement(s), and/or reaction(s), and/or position(s), and/or activities around the event;
 - ___ 5. Negotiation(s) and/or agreement(s) between two countries;
 - ___ 6. The U.S. crew, and/or their activities during the collision and landing and in China, and/or their life in China;
 - ___ 7. The Chinese pilot Wang Wei, and/or his family or other Chinese pilot(s), and/or the Chinese flight jet;
 - ___ 8. The U.S. plane (e.g., description, data and equipment, return)
 - ___ 9. Evaluation on, or introduction of the United States, or U.S. officials (e.g. President Bush, Ambassador Prueher), and/or their background and activities before the event;
 - ___ 10. Evaluation on, or introduction of China, or Chinese officials (e.g., President Jiang), and/or their background and activities before the event;
 - ___ 11. The crew's departure from China and activities after being released;
 - ___ 12. Response(s) of the U.S. common people (including the crew's families, American businesspeople, and so on);
 - ___ 13. Response(s) of the Chinese common people (including the Chinese

- _____ pilot's family, Chinese students, and so on);
- _____ 14. Response(s) of international society;
- _____ 15. Sino-U.S. relations
- _____ 16. China policy of the United States;
- _____ 17. About an apology or regrets or sorry;
- _____ 18. About U.S. reconnaissance patrol;
- _____ 19. About Chinese counter-patrol;
- _____ 20. About China's waters and/or airspace in the South China Sea; and
- _____ 21. Other
18. Controversial topics in stories
- A. The cause of the collision
- _____ U.S government announcement(s) or position on it (e.g., The United States had no responsibility for the collision; It was because of the reckless Chinese pilot; and so on)
- _____ Opinion(s) slant to U.S. position, or slant to opposite to China's position
- _____ Chinese government announcement(s) position on it (e.g. The United States should take the whole responsibility for the collision; It was because the U.S. plane suddenly veered at a wide angle towards the Chinese jet; and so on.)
- _____ Opinion(s) slant to China's position, or slant to opposite to U.S. position (e.g., it may not a deliberate effort by the Chinese pilot to bump and disable the American aircraft.)
- _____ Neutral (Factual statement(s) about it without any opinion; or opinion(s) without any slant, for example, it may have been an accident; or opinion(s) blaming or criticizing both sides; and so on)
- B. The U.S. reconnaissance patrol along China's border
- _____ U.S government announcement(s) or position on it (e.g., It's O.K. or the right of the United States. The United States will not give up its right to conduct such flights; and so on)
- _____ Opinion(s) slant to U.S. position, or slant to opposite to China's position
- _____ Chinese government announcement(s) position on it (e.g., The United States should stop such flights; and so on)
- _____ Opinion(s) slant to China's position, or slant to opposite to U.S. position (e.g., It's unfriendly or affront to China or it's an action that no country would want to be suffered; and so on)
- _____ Neutral (Factual statement(s) about it without any opinion; or opinion(s) without any slant; or opinion(s) blaming or criticizing both sides; and so on)
- C. The justification of the U.S. spy plane
- _____ U.S government announcement(s) or position on it (e.g., It was O.K. to fly over the South China Sea because it was in international airspace; or it is a routine surveillance mission; or it was O.K. or it broke no law to land the Chinese airport in an emergency; or it sent the Mayday signal before its emergent landing; and so on)
- _____ Opinion(s) slant to U.S. position, or slant to opposite to China's position

____ Chinese government announcement(s) position on it (e.g. It was illegal for the spy plane to do so; or it was intruding in Chinese airspace when the collision occurred; or it didn't send the Mayday signal before landing; and so on)

____ Opinion(s) slant to China's position, or slant to opposite to U.S. position

____ Neutral (Factual statement(s) about it without any opinion; or opinion(s) without any slant; or opinion(s) blaming or criticizing both sides; and so on)

D. An apology to China

____ U.S government announcement(s) or position on it (reject the kind of apology that China has demanded. The formal announcements or statements which "regret" or "sorry" were expressed are not included)

____ Opinion(s) slant to U.S. position, or slant to opposite to China's position

____ China's government announcement(s) position on it

____ Opinion(s) slant to China's position, or slant to opposite to U.S. position

____ Neutral

E. About Chinese flights' counter-patrol

____ U.S government announcement(s) or position on it

____ Opinion(s) slant to U.S. position (It is aggressive or it is not normal. there is no justification for China to confront them)

____ China's government announcement(s) position on it

____ Opinion(s) slant to China's position, or slant to opposite to U.S. position (It is normal reaction.)

____ Neutral

F. China's waters and/or airspace in the South China Sea

____ Chinese government announcement(s) or position on it

____ Opinion(s) slant to China's position

____ Other government announcement(s) or position opposite to the Chinese government position

____ Opinion(s) slant to the opposite position

____ Neutral

19.The image of China

____ Chinese Leadership (1=negative, 2=neutral, 3=positive, 4=mixed or not applicable)

1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____

____ Favorable or unfavorable reaction and activity to peacefully and immediately resolve the conflict

1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____

____ Evaluation on the Chinese pilot(s)

1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____

____ Evaluation on China

1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____

____ Treatment and Life of the crew in China

1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____

____ Attitude of the Chinese common people to U.S. or the crew

1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____

20. The image of the United State

____ Leadership of President Bush and other officials
(1=negative, 2=neutral, 3=positive, 4=mixed or not applicable)

1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____

____ Favorable or unfavorable reaction and activity to peacefully and immediately resolve the conflict

1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____

____ Evaluation on the U.S. crew

1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____

____ Evaluation on the United States

1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____

Guidelines

Approximate length of item (in words) – If the word count is given, list that. If not, count the number of words in five line; divided by five. Then multiply that number by the number of lines in the story to calculate an approximate length in words.

Section of publication – If a letter is provided for the section, please list it. If no letter is provided, list the name of the section in which the item is found. The first section of the newspaper may have more than one section; indicate front page if on page one; otherwise, look for the name of the section.

Origination of item – Considering the story only, identify whether the writer is local (also called staff), a guest or freelance writer, a news service writer, a syndicate writer (most often columnists), or other. Some stories originated partially with a news service and were updated or localized by a staff writer; or some stories were written by two or more staff writers from two or more newspapers; these are to be identified as combination.

Dateline of item – To figure this out, it's easiest to look at the dateline, if there is one, as well as the sources used in the item. Lingshui is a very small town near Haikou, the capital of Hainan Province. Reporters normally released their stories from Haikou. Therefore, Lingshui won't be coded separately in this study, and it will be included in the category of "other place in China", like Hong Kong.

Type of item – If the item is news item, it will have a time element in the lead. Ask yourself, "Could this story run two days or a week later with the exact same wording?" If the answer is no, then this is likely a news story. Feature stories are less focused on time. Opinion articles generally take a stance on some issue and present arguments for and/or against that issue.

Evaluation – Coders were instructed to look for specific evaluative references to the subjects and not to make inferences from the topics or the statements themselves. Sentences involved in the related topics would be coded as "neutral" if the report did not contain explicit evaluative references. The category of "mixed" was used if the affective evaluation included both positive and negative words, for example, the first clause of a sentence contained a positive evaluation while the second half of the sentence tends to be negative.

VITA

Xiang Zhou was born in Wuhan, China, in the age of the Cultural Revolution. The hard time in childhood shaped her sensitive and thoughtful mind. In July 1986, she graduated from Wuhan Fourteenth Middle School, a famous local public school with a long history. In the same year, with a grade ranked 8th in the National College Entrance Examination in Hubei Province, she entered Wuhan University, one of the top ten universities in China, where she received a Bachelor of Arts in Chinese Literature and Language and a Master of Arts in Rhetoric and Grammar. At the time of the Tiananmen student movement, she was a junior, aware of the situation.

Since March 1993, she was employed with the Xinhua News Agency in Beijing. At the state agency she worked as a copy editor, researcher and assistant managing editor with concentration on international news coverage. While employed with Xinhua, she was able to explore the newspaper industry in Beijing.

In August 2000, she came to the United States to pursue her graduate education with a China Scholarship. She entered the Master's program in journalism and communication at the University of Tennessee, where she was twice awarded Edward J. Meeman Fellowship in International Communications. Zhou completed the requirements for her Master of Science in May 2002.

