1-1-1987

The coverage of the People's Republic of China by Time magazine: a 1966-1985 content analysis

Qinqin Ge
Iowa State University

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

Recommended Citation
https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd/18374

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Retrospective Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact digirep@iastate.edu.
The coverage of the People's Republic of China

by *Time* magazine:

A 1966-1985 content analysis

by

Qin Qin Ge

A Thesis Submitted to the

Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Journalism and Mass Communication

Signatures have been redacted for privacy

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa
1987
TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Background Information on Sino-US Relations (1966-1985) 2

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Four Theories of the Press 9
Interaction Between Government and Press 15
Gatekeeping Theory 18
International News Criteria 19
Summary 23

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

Content Analysis 24
Selection of Time Magazine 26
Unit of Analysis 27
Subject-Matter Categories 27
Hypotheses 28
Analysis 33

CHAPTER IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings 35
Discussion 42

CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION

Recommendations for Future Research 47

REFERENCES 49
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. A list of people that the reporter interviewed 16

Table 2. Average emphasis on five subject matter categories among articles within three periods (in percents) 36

Table 3. T-Test of emphasis on economic subject matter among articles between the third and the first periods (in percents) 39

Table 4. T-Test of emphasis on economic subject matter among articles between the third and the second periods (in percents) 39

Table 5. Trends in the amount of positive and negative evaluations of China, 1966 to 1985 42
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate how Time magazine portrayed the People's Republic of China (PRC) and its people between 1966 and 1985 in terms of the types of articles published and the evaluations reflected by their authors.

On December 16, 1978, President Carter announced on national television a "historic agreement" with China. The United States and the People's Republic of China were to establish full diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979 (21). Carter proclaimed that the United States recognized the government of China. He continued by saying that the normalization and expanded commercial and cultural relations with the People's Republic of China would contribute to the well-being and interest of the United States. President Carter even said that the normalization with the People's Republic of China would also enhance stability in Asia (21). His eight-minute speech marked a dramatic change in Sino-US relationships since the 1950s. This speech was the culmination of U.S. foreign policy toward the People's Republic of China that had evolved steadily from 1966 to 1985.

China is the world's largest country in population and the third largest in area. With the longest continuous history of any present-day nation, China has been a center of civilization for over 3,000 years. Today it is a major regional power in East Asia. Since 1949 the country has been divided into two separate entities: the
People's Republic of China, in control of the main-land, and the Republic of China (ROC), in control of Taiwan.

Background Information of Sino-US Relations (1966-1985)

Background information on Sino-US relations is introduced as a way to explain the theory and methods of this study. Following events which occurred in the history of Sino-US relations, three time periods will be examined. They are the "Unhappy" period from 1966 to 1970, the "Pre-Normalization and Normalization" period from 1971 to 1978, and the "Post-Normalization" period from 1979 to 1985.

"Unhappy" period (1966-1970)

During 1966-1970 Sino-US relations were in a shadow. Both sides felt like enemies toward each other. Early in the 1950s Dean Rusk, the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs of the State Department and United State Secretary of State in 1961, stressed in a speech that the PRC had already become a Russian satellite and was incapable of representing China. Dean Rusk stated: "the United States recognizes the government of the Republic of China, Taiwan (ROC). Although the territory under its control has been greatly reduced, we believe that it truly represents the ideals of the great Chinese people, especially in its historical demand to be free from
foreign control. The government of ROC will continue to receive our aid and support" (8:175). This policy toward the Republic of China continued through the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations, although with occasional reconsiderations.

In the 1960s, the US involvement in the Vietnam War split Sino-US relations even wider than before. US policy toward the PRC at that time was to isolate "Communist China," labeling it "an evil thing". The US also opposed admission of Communist China to the United Nations at the expense of the expulsion of the Republic of China (21). Inside mainland China, "the Cultural Revolution" was taking place. During this period of upheaval, China turned ever more inward, recalling forty-four of China's forty-five ambassadors and closing several embassies. The PRC had adopted a "closed door" policy toward the world. At the same time, the PRC was strongly anti-US. The principal Chinese news magazine written in English (Newsweek) repeatedly referred to the US as "imperialistic."

**Pre-Normalization and Normalization Period (1971-1978)**

The year 1971 was a dramatic one for the People's Republic of China. It saw new departures from Chinese foreign policy, symbolized by Henry Kissinger's two visits to Beijing and the announcement that President Nixon would visit China in February 1972. It also saw the most sweeping surge of the central leadership of the Chinese Communist Party since 1967. On April 10, 1971, an American ping-pong
team, which had been participating in a tournament in Japan, arrived in China to open, as Chou Enlai put it, a "new page in the relations of the Chinese and American people" (21:188). Kissinger, in July, made a secret trip to Beijing and held talks with Chou Enlai in which the two leaders paved the way for Nixon's visit to China the following year.

In February 1972, President Richard M. Nixon's state visit to Beijing, the first such visit by an American president, proved to be an event of historic importance. A joint communique was signed in Shanghai on February 27th. In the communique Nixon and Chou took note of their differences, but said that these should not prevent the normalization of Sino-US relationships. The document formalized agreements usually concluded between allies. Among these agreements were the acceptance of the principles of peaceful coexistence, renunciation of the use of force, and agreement not to seek domination of the Pacific area. The communique also touched on the Taiwan problem. Nixon acknowledged that the nationalist-held island was part of China and recognized that its future was for the Chinese themselves to settle. He said that the US objective was to withdraw all US military men (about 9,000) from the island. Later in the year, Henry Kissinger visited China for three days. He met with Chinese premier Chou Enlai. The two leaders laid the groundwork for future Sino-US relations by reaching understandings on three principles: 1) that Taiwan was part of China, 2) that the political
future of South Vietnam should be decided by the Vietnamese people, and 3) that all Asian disputes should be settled by peaceful means (21). In 1975 Gerald R. Ford's trip to China advanced Sino-US relations more. By 1978, Deng Xiao-ping had come to power. Since then he has maintained an "open door" policy. Deng also initiated economic reforms, which brought the nation into a new phase. In the meantime, full diplomatic recognition was established between the PRC and the US.

"Post-Normalization" Period (1979-1985)

At the beginning of 1979, Deng visited the US. Some further questions on world issues were discussed between the two sides. On May 4 of the same year, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Trade, Li Qiang, and the US Commerce Secretary, Juanita Kreps, initiated a bilateral trade agreement in Beijing after ten days of intense negotiation. The trade agreement established the framework for normal commercial relations between the two countries, ending a 30-year hiatus. The agreement also paved the way for the US to grant China most-favored-nation status, which would reduce tariffs on Chinese goods imported into the US by up to 75 percent. In 1982, the Joint Economic Committee was fashioned. In 1984, Premier Zhao visited the US and President Reagan returned the visit the same year. In the course of these two visits, the outline of a new Sino-US economic relationship developed. These dramatic changes in the Sino-
US relationship were inevitable because both China and the US wanted to improve their mutual relationships and because they recognized that their interdependency in the world had increased.
CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Political communication specialists and researchers have long contemplated media portrayals of government policies and relations. The normalization of relations between China and the United States has already been the subject of social scientific investigation. Researchers have analyzed the phenomenon using a variety of methodological approaches. For instance, Christian Chang (7), using content analysis, conducted a coverage study of New York Times from 1975-1982. A total of six variables was utilized to evaluate each article. The variables concerned: 1) type of item, 2) item length, 3) subject matter, 4) news source who originally provide the information, 5) filing agencies, 6) direction (negative or positive).

The New York Times was found to devote significantly greater space and more items to Chinese news after normalization. In regard to the type of news presented by the New York Times, it was found that the event-oriented straight news dominated the paper. The result also demonstrate that much of the information about China took the form of factual articles of nonevaluative content. After normalization however, negative articles decreased by 15% of total space and positive articles went up slightly in news space.

In his study, six special events related to the normalization issue were chosen as the six subject matters for study. They were: Woodcock's proposal of finalizing the normalization issue (February 3, 1987); US arms sales to the ROC (July 1, 1978); the announcement of the normalization between the United States and PRC (December 16, 1978); PRC's Deputy Prime minister Deng Xiao-ping's visit to the United States (January 28, 1979); the passing of the Taiwan Relation Act by Congress (March 29, 1979); and the initialing of the Trade Accord between the United States and the PRC (May 15, 1979).

The findings of his study supported the hypotheses that the difference in the three newspapers' presentation of the normalization issue were caused by the different operational principles of the individual newspapers' press system in relation to their individual political system. Overall, the findings suggest that the political system of a regime influences certain aspects of coverage of the press system of that regime and that the press system in turn defines the operational principles of the press.

Each of these two studies presented a unique point of view to observe the coverage of newspapers in terms of articles, their subject matter and their evaluations. However, this study is different from the above study for 1) it analyzes Time magazine; 2) it observes Time for twenty years; and 3) it looks for the relationships between government policy and press attitudes.

Before beginning the content analysis of Time magazine, it is
essential to review the various theories of the press to be taken into account in this study. Thus far this chapter has consisted of a summary of the major studies dealing with international news coverage by the American press. For the purpose of this section, the research will be roughly divided into the following four categories: four theories of the press, interaction between government and press, gatekeeping theory, and international news criteria.

Four Theories of the Press

The four theories, the libertarian theory, the social responsibility theory, the Soviet-communist theory, and the authoritarian theory, on the proper relationship between the press and government (Siebert, 36) provide a reasonably good explanation of the general operating principles of the press under different social and political systems.

Libertarian Theory

People are rational beings. Offered a choice between truth and falsehood, they will unerringly choose truth -- at least in the long run. It follows that the best thing a government can do with the media is to leave them alone, let them publish whatever they want to publish. This is the libertarian theory of the press.

The libertarian theory developed out of the Enlightenment, out of science, but it is doubtful that it would have done so without the
parallel development of democracy. In a democracy, the people do the governing. If they are to make the right decisions, they must know the truth. James Madison put it this way: "Nothing could be more irrational than to give the people power, and to withhold from them information without which power is abused. A people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with power which knowledge gives. A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or perhaps both" (4). Thomas Jefferson was more blunt: "If a nation expects to be both ignorant and free it expects what never was and never will be" (4). It is no coincidence that the growth of libertarian theory in eighteenth-century England was accompanied by the rising power of Parliament over the king. Nor is it accidental that libertarianism achieved its most nearly ideal form in the democracy of nineteenth-century America. Other countries with a libertarian press include Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Israel and England—all democracies.

Social Responsibility Theory

The social responsibility theory was first articulated in 1947, by the Hutchins Commission Report on A Free and Responsible Press. This important piece of press criticism from scholars in many fields accepted the basic assumption of the libertarian theory. It agreed, in other words, that the way to run a democracy is to expose the people to all kinds of information and all kinds of opinions, and
then let them decide for themselves. But the Hutchins Commission questioned whether the libertarian theory was working, whether the people were getting enough information and opinions to give them a fair chance of making the right decision. It therefore proposed five "requirements," designed to guarantee that the media include "all important viewpoints, not merely those with which the publisher or operator agrees" (37: 70). According to the Hutchins Commission, the mass media should:

1. Provide a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning.

2. Provide a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism.

3. Provide a representative picture of the constituent groups in society.

4. Be responsible for the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of society.

5. Provide full access to the day's intelligence (37).

The difference between the libertarian and social responsibility theories is subtle, but vitally important. The libertarian theory holds that if each publication and station does whatever it wants, all will work out for the best. The social responsibility theory disagrees. It urges the media to do what the libertarian theory assumes they will do—provide a free marketplace of ideas. The essence of the social responsibility theory is that the media have an obligation to behave in certain ways. If they do not meet that
obligation, the government may help them to do so.

**Soviet Theory**

The problem of controlling private owners of the media is solved in the Soviet Union through state ownership. Newspapers, magazines, and broadcast stations are all owned and operated by the government itself. Under state ownership there is no question of whether the mass media will support or oppose government policy. They are part of government policy. The fundamental purpose of the press, states the 1952 Russian Constitution, is "to strengthen the Communist social order." Consider these instructions offered to a broadcasting trainee in the Soviet Union: "The Soviet radio must carry to the widest masses the teachings of Marx-Lenin-Stalin, must raise the cultural-political level of the workers, must daily inform the workers of the success of socialist construction, must spread the word about the class struggle taking place throughout the world" (37).

Professor Fred S. Siebert offers this description of the Soviet theory:

The function of the press is not to aid in the search for truth since the truth has already been determined by the Communist ideology. No tempering with the fundamental Marxist system is tolerated (36).

However, the Soviet media are free to criticize the government--
not the basic dogmas of Communism, of course, but the actions of specific government agencies and officials. Because the media are part of the government, such criticism is considered to be self-criticism, and is therefore acceptable.

**Authoritarian Theory**

The printing press was born in the wholly authoritarian environment of fifteenth-century Europe. The Church and local political leaders exercised their waning power with little thought for the will of the people. Absolute monarchies demanded absolute obedience. It was no time for a small printer with a small hand press to insist on freedom. A philosophy of regulation developed. By definition, the ruling classes were right in everything they did and said. Any published statement that supported or benefited the government was therefore "truth." Any statement that questioned or damaged the government obviously had to be "falsehood." Consistently truthful publishers--those who regularly supported the government--were rewarded with permission to print religious texts, commercial newsletters, and other nonpolitical material. Untruthful publishers--dissenters--were denied permission to print anything; many wound up in prison as well. The function of the mass media in the sixteenth century was to "support and advance the policies of government as determined by the political machinery then in operation" (36). This is the authoritarian theory of the press.
The authoritarian theory is not some dead notion dredged up from seventeenth-century history. Many Asian, African, and South American countries today maintain authoritarian controls reminiscent of Henry VIII. About 60 percent of the world's population today lives in countries whose media are ranked by experts as "controlled" or "partially controlled" (32).

There are three essential differences between the authoritarian and Soviet theories of the press: (1) The media are privately owned in the authoritarian theory, state-owned in the Soviet theory; (2) Authoritarian control of the media is negative, while Soviet control is affirmative; (3) The authoritarian theory permits no criticism of the government, while the Soviet theory allows some criticism but forbids the questioning of ideology. In the authoritarian theory, the government decides what the media should not do, and punishes it. In the Soviet theory, the government decides what the media should do, and does it.

For this study, the libertarian and social responsibility theories were more relevant than the authoritarian and the Soviet-communist theories, because the former theories can be adopted by democratic societies in which freedom of speech and expression is guaranteed by a national constitution. However, Sandman et al. (34) argued:

"The traditional American commitment to freedom of the press is an unusual idea. Throughout history most governments have controlled their media, and
most governments continue to do so today, justified by theories of press-government relations that make as much sense to them as the First Amendment makes to us. Even in the United States, press freedom is far from absolute. New theories and new laws are constantly evolving in pursuit of the proper balance between the rights of the media and the rights of the rest of society."

Interaction Between Government and Press

A government, such as the United States, can manipulate the press directly in two ways. First, a president has maximum leverage in his relationship with the news media (Hulteng, 20). He can command newspaper space or broadcast time whenever he chooses to hold a press conference or report to the nation on a matter of significance (20). In a press conference setting, a president can, to a considerable degree, control the flow of news emanating from the interchange. He recognizes the next questioner amid the insistent clamor of "Mr. President!". He knows which correspondents are likely to raise safe issues and pose the sort of questions to which an ambiguous response can be made. Nixon used the press conference sparingly but effectively during his first administration. He also caused a deliberate and concerted campaign to be mounted to undermine public confidence in the press and to put journalism on the defensive.

Government may also manipulate the press by government
information sources. Hess study (16) of the activities of a reporter on the diplomatic beat in Washington over one week reveals the dependence of the press on government information. The reporter wrote 21 stories for which he interviewed 72 people (16). Table 1 presents a breakdown of these people according to type of occupation.

Table 1. A list of people that the reporter interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of People interviewed</th>
<th>No. of People interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executive branch civil servant</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive branch political appointee</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congressional staff member</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign diplomat</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic senator</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican senator</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic House member</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This dependence of the media on official sources of information may explain why much media content appears to advocate government positions. In terms of the press role in foreign policy, Cohen (10) contends that the mass media perform three functions in the field of foreign policy formation: information, transmissonal interpretation, and advocacy. While performing these functions, the press plays an important role in the political process; it helps to create or shape the outlines of foreign policy issues in the minds of the general public, government officials and organized groups. The
relationship between the press and government officials can be discussed from several perspectives.

Sigal (38) sees foreign policy news as the product of the interaction between newsmen and officials, especially because the sources for reporters of foreign policy issues are mainly government officials. With the dwindling population of foreign correspondents, the dependence has become even more extreme in foreign news reporting (Lent, 23). This dependence can 1) spawn media-government elite ties resulting in an unwillingness on the former's part to offend their sources and 2) lead government to manipulate the press to its advantage. Rosenblum (33) writes that when "reporters are forced to rely on official American dispatches, they are no longer watchdogs". Diplomats will depict events to push a certain political line or hide their mistakes. Further, official information collected in Washington is usually "relayed uncritically." In fact, because of this routine dependence, Fishman (13) believes that "manipulated journalism presupposes routine journalism". This phenomenon has also received attention from Bullion (6) within the context of diplomatic communication.

"Lacking any other daily link to the outside," Cohen (10) states, "The policy maker reaches for the newspaper as an important source of public opinion, as the instrument of 'feedback'".
Gatekeeping Theory

The concept of 'gatekeeper' was first used by White (39) to describe the activity of the wire editor who must choose a small number of items from the large supply of news agency stories which may provide the bulk of news in many newspapers. The seminal work in the theory of gatekeeping of international news is Galtung and Ruge's "The Structure of Foreign News," written in 1965 for the Journal of Peace Research. Cohen (10) says that "the media may not be very effective in telling people how to think, but are very effective in telling people what to think about." Roper indicates that the vast majority of the American public rely on either television or newspapers as their primary source of information on important social and political events. Atkin (3) further suggests that the cognitive, affective, behavioral and entertainment effects of the mass media make them the most significant institution in the political socialization processes. Additionally, McCombs and Shaw (26) argue that:

In choosing and displaying news, the editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality.

The gatekeeping or news selecting activity also has been a focus of interest mainly because of its potential for revealing the nature of 'news values' as applied by the media. The original issue was how far editors applied personal and arbitrary criteria and this
The pattern of selection for international news has its unique characteristics. In 1965, Johan Galtung and H. M. Ruge (14) viewed the news-gathering process as one indivisible process and investigated the nature of what they considered to be the first half of the chain of news communication between world events and final, personal world images. They theorized that events would become news to the degree that the events were characterized by the following 12 factors:

1) Frequency. The more that the time span needed for the event to uncover itself is similar to the time frequencies of the news medium, then the more it is probable that the event will be considered a news item by that medium.

2) Threshold. While it is difficult to determine which news stories have reached greater threshold levels, what is important here is the fact that there is a threshold to pass before the event will be considered a news item at all. Included in this factor, then, are considerations of absolute intensity and intensity increase.

3) Unambiguity. This is not necessarily a measure of an event's complexity, but a measure of the ambiguity of its meaning,
the clearness of its interpretation. The less ambiguity, the more likely the event will be noticed.

4) Meaningfulness. Apart from ambiguity, meaning has several implication of its own. On one level, the gatekeeper will notice the familiar and the culturally similar, and will filter out events that are culturally irrelevant or distant; thus, cultural proximity (ethnocentrism) becomes important. An equally significant dimension of meaningfulness is relevance; events in a culturally distant area may still be meaningful in terms of implied effects on the reader.

5) Consonance. This factor links the predispositions of the event scanner to the events he sees. Reception of certain events is psychologically facilitated by expecting or wanting those events to happen.

6) Unexpectedness. This is not a contradiction of the fourth and fifth correlates, but a refinement of them. Out of the vast array of meaningful and consonant events, the unexpected have the best chances of being perceived as news. Attention will be directed not at what is regular and common, but at events characterized by unpredictability and scarcity.

7) Continuity. The idea involved here is that once an event has been printed as news it will have momentum and continue to be seen as news.

8) Composition. This takes into consideration the existence of the medium and the journalists' desire to present a "balanced"
presentation, whether in a news broadcast or on a front page. For example, if an editor had a large number of local items, then the threshold value of new foreign items would be increased.

9) Reference to Elite Nations. The more the event concerns elite nations, the more probable that it will be seen as news.

10) Reference to Elite people. The more the event deals with elite people, the more likely that it will become a news item.

11) Reference to Persons. The more that the event can be viewed in personal terms, because of the action of specific individuals, the more probable that it will become a news item.

12) Reference to Something Negative. The more negative the consequences of an event, the more likely that it will be considered a news item.

Galtung and Ruge then hypothesized that the factors would operate in the following ways:

1) The more that events meet the above criteria, the more probable that they will be registered as news (selection).

2) Once a news item has been selected, the factors making it newsworthy will be accentuated (distortion).

3) Both selection and distortion will take place during all stages in the chain from event to reader (replication).

Their study showed that the more distant the nations, the higher the tendency to report elite action; the lower the rank of the person, the more negative the event; the more distant the nation, the
more negative the event; and the more culturally distant the theater, the more relevant must the event appear to be. For the individual 12 factors and their combinations, Galtung and Ruge hypothesized, but did not demonstrate, their presence and effects.

Unlike Galtung and Ruge, Gans did not confine himself to international news in his exploration of the criteria of newsworthiness, and it should be fruitful to compare his criteria to those of the former. For Gans, story importance was decided by rank, impact on the nation, impact on large numbers of people, and significance for the past and future.

Gans (15) went on to identify the seven types of foreign news, which are likely to reach the public:

1. American activities in foreign countries.
2. When foreign events affect America.
3. Changes in heads of state.
4. Dramatic conflicts -- wars, coups, revolution, violent protests.
5. Disasters, natural or caused by men.
6. The excesses of foreign dictators.
7. The "Communist Menace."

In all, the "gatekeepers" seem even more powerful for the international news reporting, because the audiences do not have much chance to check back. They listen to the news and subconsciously believe it as they listen to it more.
Summary

It is not easy to draw generalizations from the above literature. Nevertheless, some implications do emerge.

1. Four theories give a general picture of relationships between government and the media under different social systems.

2. Hulteng, Hess, Cohen, Lent and Fishman's studies provide a more detailed explanation about how government and media interact, especially in a democratic society.

3. Government officials have special access to the media and control information flow to a certain extent.

4. "Gatekeepers" control the decision as to selection of news.

5. Galtung Ruge's 12 principles mentioned earlier set the criteria for international news coverage.
CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to find out how *Time* magazine portrayed the People's Republic of China (PRC) and her people between 1966 and 1985. The study analyzes the content of all articles referring to the PRC, and is, therefore, a census of that coverage. The study first analyzes the coverage of *Time* magazine according to its subject matter. Then the study analyzes authors' evaluations of the PRC and its people.

During the twenty-year span from January 1966 to December 1985, 208 articles totaling 2352 paragraphs dealt with the People's Republic of China in 960 issues. This thesis will analyze two significant changes that have taken place in China during this period of time. 1) Changes in China herself in terms of politics and economics. 2) Changes of relationship between the PRC and the U.S. Changes of authors' evaluations of PRC in *Time* are expected to parallel these great changes.

Content Analysis

To allow a quantitative analysis of the articles in *Time*, content analysis was chosen as the research method. Many studies in the area of communication have been conducted by using content analysis.
Content analysis can be applied to any medium of communication. As Richard W. Budd (5) pointed out in *An Introduction to Content Analysis*, "The technique of content analysis may be applied to study of the contents of any book, magazine, newspaper, individual story or article, motion picture, news broadcast, or a series or combination of these."

As Holsti (18) noted, definitions of content analysis have varied over time to reflect developments in technique and new applications. However, three basic criteria remain constant: a content analysis must be objective, systematic and have theoretical relevance.

In order for a content analysis to be objective (or replicable), other analysts should arrive at the same conclusions about the data if they follow procedures identical to those used by the original researcher. Systematization was described by Danielson (12) as a formal, predetermined and unbiased plan which will not eliminate or ignore data which are not necessarily related to the hypotheses. Theoretical relevance (or generality) implies that the data are comparable with other data, and so do not stand alone, according to Holsti (18).

The main elements of the communication process are the source, the message, the channel and the receiver. According to Budd (5), the content analyst empirically studies the second step in this process: the message. From this analysis, the researcher is
able to enumerate basics of the message and make deductions about the source and, perhaps, the receiver. Krippendorff (22) said that the messages are disconnected from their source or surrounding conditions and are relayed to the researcher, who placed them within the context dictated by the study's design.

As Budd (5) indicated, "There is clearly no reason for content analysis unless the question one wants to answer is quantitative. Content analysis will not tell us whether a given work is good literature; it will tell us whether the style is varied. It will not tell us whether a paper is subversive; it will tell us if its content changes with the party line. It will not tell us how to convince the Russians; it will tell us what are the most frequent themes of Soviet propaganda." It is for just such a quantitative purpose that a content analysis of articles in *Time* has been performed for this thesis.

Selection of *Time* Magazine

*Time* magazine has long been one of the most popular of the general news magazine in the United States. It had a circulation of 4,619,777 copies in 1984 and is considered to have a strong influence on other media and readers because of its wide national readership. According to the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, there were 208 articles concerning the People's Republic of China during the

Unit of Analysis

The single article was selected as the unit of analysis. It was decided to code both the length of each article and its number of paragraphs. All articles were divided into three groups according to the three time periods (1966-1970, 1971-1978 and 1979-1985) so as to conduct a comparative study.

Subject-Matter Categories

In an analysis that documented the politicization of the mass media in China over time, Alan Liu (25) employed thematic analysis in tracing the ratio of political, economic and foreign news in Jen-Min Jih-Pao. Adams (1) and others have pointed out that foreign news emphasizes "hard news"—politics, economics, disasters, and conflict. Harrell Allen (2) divided all US-Chinese dialogues from 1969 to 1972 into four types—cultural, commercial, military, and governmental message. This thesis divided all articles on Time from 1966 to 1985 into five categories—politics, economics, human interest, culture and other—which are related with the four hypotheses.
Hypotheses

In all, based on the previous study and research work, four hypotheses were developed for this study.

Hypothesis 1: The average percentage of articles in each category—politics, economics, human interests, culture, and other—will vary among the three periods.

Hypothesis 2: The "hard news"—politics—will account for the most emphasis of articles written during the three periods.

Hypothesis 3: The average percentage of articles written concerning economics in the third period will be larger than that of the first period and also than that of the second period.

Hypothesis 4: Authors' evaluations of PRC within political and economic subject matter categories will become progressively positive from the first period through to the third period.

In order to test these hypotheses, the following methods for coding were designed:

Each article is a unit of analysis and must be assigned two codes to its principal subject matter.

First, paragraphs will be classified into one of five categories:

1. Chinese politics: the Chinese government and its policy development and implementation (including economic and cultural policy), Chinese officials, and foreign relations.

2. Chinese economy: Chinese commercial or economic
development (not policy implementation); Chinese industries and agriculture.

3. Human interest: general discussions of specific Chinese people—peasants, workers, soldiers, intellectuals, etc., who are non-politicians.

4. Chinese culture: Chinese education, science, social conditions, social life or customs (not government implementation of cultural policies). This category was only used when any such aspect of Chinese society was related to traditionally Chinese habits or values, and which (in turn) actively (or casually) shaped (positively or negatively) these aspects of Chinese society. If the government or the economy actively determined the lot of the Chinese, codes of 1 or 2 (respectively) were used. In cases of natural phenomena, such as floods (that cause positive or negative conditions), category five was used. For example, a discussion of the economic consequences of educational reforms should be coded either as in category 1 (if emphasis is on reforms) or as in category 2 (if emphasis is on the economy).

5. Other: the subject matter not dealt with PRC and its people.

Next, paragraphs are assigned evaluation codes.

Paragraphs were coded according to the author's evaluations of
specific referents, determined by the category into which a paragraph is classified. For example, an author's opinion regarding Chinese tradition is ignored once a paragraph is classified as in category 1 (Chinese government and politics). The reference to be evaluated within each of the four categories are as follows:

Category 1: Chinese politics ("what" it does, how it does what it does, and what has happened).

Category 2: Chinese economic developments ("what" is done and "how" it developed).

Category 3: The topic of human interest written about.

Category 4: The Chinese cultural phenomenon written about.

Three evaluations can be made of these referents:

Negative: A paragraph coded as "negative" has at least one disapproving statement and no supportive statements (1/3 or fewer supportive than disapproving statements) regarding the referent. Negative comments were assigned a score of 'zero'.

Neutral: A paragraph coded as "neutral" has both supportive and disapproving statements or neither supportive nor disapproving statements regarding the referent. Neutral statements were assigned a score of '1'.

Positive: A paragraph coded as "positive" has at least one supportive statement and no disapproval statements
(1/3 or fewer disapproving than supportive statements) regarding the referent. Positive statements were assigned a score of '2'.

Hints on coding evaluations:

A. The contents of direct quotations are generally not to be considered as of the author's opinion unless the quotation is given as an illustration of the author's ideas. This is usually the case, for example, when an outsider's opinion is quoted.

* If an insider is quoted (e.g., Hanoi radio regarding Chinese policies), then the author distances him/herself from topic and does not evaluate.

* If an outsiders is quoted, then the author uses the speaker as spokes man of his/her evaluations:
  a. If the outsider is a popular source, then the opinion quoted is to be taken at face value as author's evaluation.
  b. If the outsider is neutral source, then the opinion should be scored as a neutral evaluation.
  c. If the outsider is an infamous source (e.g., Hitler), then the opinion quoted is to be taken as the opposite of the author's evaluations.

B. Evaluations within category 1 (Chinese government):

* If the government's action is consistent with US values, the
evaluation is (assuming that the author espouses US values)
positive even though members of the Chinese government may
be unhappy with it.

* When internal government affairs are discussed, if the process
is democratic, evaluate positively; if process is heavy-handed, evaluate negatively.

* If a paragraph mentions past government activities in
a negative light in order to provide contrast to present
government activities, the paragraph should be coded
positively.

C. Evaluating within category 3 (human interest):

* If an individual is "liked" by the author, evaluation is
  positive even though terrible things may have happened to him
  or her.

D. Evaluating within category 5 (Other):

The paragraphs which belong to category 5 will always be coded
as neutral to avoid biasing overall evaluation scores.

In order to establish reliability, one professor and one
graduate student were invited to read the articles from *Time* magazine
and judge article's evaluation and subject matters. Altogether 171
paragraphs were coded. These coding resulted in 88% percent
agreement among the coders and this author in evaluation of the
articles (kappa=.84) and 99% percent agreement in subject matter
categories (kappa=.98).
Analysis

This paper will use three statistical procedures: t-test, one-way analysis of variance, and correlation coefficient. Brief descriptions of these procedures follow:

The t-test procedure is used to test hypotheses about the equality of two means for variables measured on an interval or ratio scale (28). The statistic used to test the hypothesis that the two population variances are equal is the F-value. If the observed significant level for the F-test is small, the hypothesis that the population variance are equal is rejected, and the separate-variance t-test for the means should be used. A two-tailed test is used to detect a difference in means between two populations regardless of the direction of the difference.

Another statistical technique used was one-way analysis of variance (Nie et al., 27). One-way analysis of variance allows users to statistically test whether means of subsamples into which the sample data are broken are significantly different from each other. If it is found that the mean are significantly different, users can reject the null hypothesis that the true subpopulation means are equal and the deviations which occur are the result of sampling error. The F-test statistic is the ratio of the between estimate to the within estimate. When null hypothesis is false, the between estimate tends to be larger than the within
estimate and the ratio of the two tends to be considerably larger than one. Hence, large F-values lead to small attained significance levels in the test. Scheffe method is conservative for pairwise comparisons of means. It requires larger difference between means for significance at the 0.05 level.

The Pearson correlation coefficient (28) denoted by r is used to measure the strength of the linear association between two variables. The absolute value of r indicates the strength of the linear relationship. The largest possible absolute value is 1, which only occurs when all points fall exactly on a straight line. When the line has a positive slope, the value of r is positive, and when the slope of the line is negative, the value of r is negative. A value of 0 indicates no linear relationship.

In this study, the significance level was set at .05. If the reported F-value was higher than the critical value, then it is significantly larger than one and the null hypothesis is rejected.

Using the SPSS program, statistical analyses were run on the mainframe computer at Iowa State University.
CHAPTER IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The four hypotheses were tested against the data coded from *Time* using the methods listed in Chapter III. The findings, generally, supported the hypotheses. In this chapter, the findings will be presented for each hypothesis and a brief discussion will be given.

Findings

Hypothesis 1. The average percentage of articles in each category—politics, economics, human interest, culture and other—will vary among the three periods.

In this study, an article's emphasis score on a given category is the percent of the article's paragraphs that deal primarily with the subject matter of that category.

Of the 208 articles analyzed, it was found (Table 2) that articles written in the first "Unhappy" period (1966-1970) place the most emphasis on politics (89.18%), while the articles written in the second "Pre-Normalization" period (1971-1978) and the third "Post-Normalization" period placed less emphasis on politics (80.47%, 75.13%). A decreasing effect can be seen in the politics subject matter category.

Within the third period an average of 12.19% of paragraphs within the articles dealing with economics appeared. This corresponds to average of 3.45% in the first period, and of 2.18% in
the second period. A slightly curvilinear pattern was found among emphasis on economics subject matter category.

Within the first period an average of 0.27% of paragraphs among the articles regarded human interest. This corresponds to average of 0.87% in the second period and of 4.81% in the third period, indicating that there was an increase in human interest subject matter from the first to the third period.

Table 2. Average emphasis on five subject matter categories among articles within three periods (in percents)\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Politic Mean (SE)</th>
<th>Economics Mean (SE)</th>
<th>Interest Mean (SE)</th>
<th>Culture Mean (SE)</th>
<th>Other Mean (SE)</th>
<th>Number of Paragraphs Mean (SE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66/70</td>
<td>89.18 (2.62)</td>
<td>3.45 (1.02)</td>
<td>0.27 (0.27)</td>
<td>0.68 (0.39)</td>
<td>6.60 (2.26)</td>
<td>7.70 (.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71/78</td>
<td>80.47 (3.66)</td>
<td>2.18 (0.72)</td>
<td>0.87 (0.61)</td>
<td>11.28 (3.04)</td>
<td>4.73 (1.81)</td>
<td>13.24 (1.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/85</td>
<td>75.13 (4.32)</td>
<td>12.19 (3.22)</td>
<td>4.81 (2.08)</td>
<td>7.0 (2.05)</td>
<td>3.90 (0.60)</td>
<td>12.94 (1.93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>3.50 (.032)</td>
<td>7.33 (.001)</td>
<td>3.68 (.027)</td>
<td>5.10 (.007)</td>
<td>3.27 (.040)</td>
<td>3.96 (.021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>.032</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>.040</td>
<td>.021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)An article's emphasis score on a given category is the percent of the article's paragraphs that deal primarily with the subject matter of that category.
In the first period, 0.68% of paragraphs within the articles dealt primarily with cultural subject matter category. This corresponds to average of 11.28% in the second period, and of 7% in the third period.

Referring to Table 2, the greatest emphasis within politics subject matter category occurred in the first period; the greatest emphasis within the culture category was in the second period, and that within economics and human interest categories was in the third period. The table also indicates that the largest overall average percentage of paragraphs (13.24) written is in the second period. The overall average number of paragraphs written in the first and the third periods were 7.70 and 12.94 respectively. F-ratio of the analysis was 3.96, with a sample probability of .021.

In order to test for statistically significant differences between specific pairs of means, Scheffé tests were conducted. The only significant difference found among these tests was in the length of articles written in the first and second periods. Articles written in the second period were significantly (at the .05 level) longer than that of the first period.

Overall, the average percentage of paragraphs emphasizing each of the five categories differed significantly among the three periods. Therefore, the first hypothesis is supported. It was also found that the average number of paragraphs per article differed significantly among the three periods.
Hypothesis 2. The "hard news"—politics—will receive the most emphasis compared with the remaining subject matters.

In Table 2, the average emphasis on politics subject matter is 89.18% in the first period, 80.47% in the second period, and 75.3% in the third period. However, no subject matter received an average of more than 13% emphasis among any of the remaining four categories during any of the time periods. These data show that politics subject matter was overwhelmingly emphasized in each period. The second hypothesis is, therefore, supported.

Hypothesis 3. The average percentage of articles written concerning economics in the third period will be larger than that of the first period and also larger than that of the second.

With regard to different emphasis on economic subject matter category within the three periods, two t-tests were conducted to test the average emphasis of articles between the first period, group (66/70) and the third period, group (79/85), the first and the second period group (71/78).

The results (in Table 3) indicate that the average emphasis within the economics subject matter category between the third and the first period differed by 8.73%. The F-ratio was 8.08 and the 2-tailed probability was less than .001. Both values implied that group (79/85) and group (71/78) were significantly different in terms of average emphasis on economics within articles.
Table 4 indicates that the average emphases on economics subject matter category between the third and the second period differ by 10.01%. The F-ratio was 18.30, which was fairly large. The 2-tailed probability was less than .001. Again, both values showed that group (79/85) and group (71/78) were significantly different as well. The data in Table 3 and Table 4 provide support for hypothesis 3.

Table 3. T-Test of emphasis on economic subject matter among articles between the third and the first periods (in percents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Group (79/85)</th>
<th>Group (66/70)</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># cases</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>12.1853</td>
<td>3.4526</td>
<td>8.7329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard error</td>
<td>3.222</td>
<td>1.204</td>
<td>2.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-ratio</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-tail prob.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\leq 0.001)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. T-test of emphasis on economic subject matter among articles between the third and second periods (in percents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Group (79/85)</th>
<th>Group (71/78)</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># cases</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>12.1853</td>
<td>2.1799</td>
<td>10.0054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard error</td>
<td>3.222</td>
<td>0.723</td>
<td>2.499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-ratio</td>
<td>18.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-tail prob.</td>
<td>(\leq 0.001)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hypothesis 4. Evaluation of author's attitudes within politics and economics interest will become progressively more positive from the first period through to the third period.

One hundred and ninety-five articles with at least one paragraph dealing primarily with politics as subject matter were found during the twenty years. Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated to test hypothesis 4. In Table 5, we found a correlation of .4158 (p .001) between article year (1966-1985) and percent of positively evaluated paragraphs within the politics subject matter category. That is, there was a strong positive linear association between the two variables.

A correlation of .0386 between article year and politics neutrally evaluated paragraphs within the politics subject matter category was found. The correlation of -.3462 (p .01) between article year and politics negative evaluated paragraphs was found. This latter correlation shows a strong negative association between the two variables. It means that as time passed by, there were fewer negative evaluations of PRC and its people in Time. The evaluation of author's attitudes within politics was more positive from the first period through to the third period.

There were thirty-nine articles with at least one paragraph dealing with economics subject matter. The correlation coefficient between article year and percent of positively, neutrally and negatively evaluated paragraphs were .3471, .0931, and -.2261.
respectively. Among them, only the correlation between article year and percent of positive evaluated paragraphs within the economics subject matter category was significant at the .05 level. This indicates that there is a strong positive linear association between the two variables. The other two correlation were not significantly large. Therefore, the percent of authors' evaluations within economics subject matter category were increasingly positive from the first through to the third periods.

There were fourteen articles with at least one paragraph dealing with human interest subject matter. The Pearson correlation coefficient between article year and the percent of positive, neutral, and negative evaluations in human interest subject matter category were .1607, .0455, and .2371 respectively.

There were thirty-seven articles with at least one paragraph dealing with culture subject matter. The Pearson correlation coefficient between article year and the percent of positive, neutral, and negative evaluations in this subject matter were -.0686, -.0591, .1182 respectively.

There were twenty-eight articles with at least one paragraph dealing with other subject matter. The Pearson correlation coefficient between article year and the percent of positive, neutral, and negative evaluations in this subject matter were .0277, .1499 and -.1789 respectively.

According to Table 5, human interest, culture and other subject
matter categories are not significantly correlated with the article year.

In all, percentage of evaluations within politics, and economics subject matter categories have a positive linear association with article year. Therefore, hypothesis 4 was supported.

Table 5. Trends in the amount of positive and negative evaluations of China, 1966 to 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject matter category</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>.4158***</td>
<td>.0386</td>
<td>-.3462**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>.3471*</td>
<td>.0931</td>
<td>-.2261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>.1607</td>
<td>.0455</td>
<td>-.2371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>-.0686</td>
<td>-.0591</td>
<td>.1182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>.0277</td>
<td>.1499</td>
<td>-.1789</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Statistical significance at the .05 level.
** Statistical significance at the .01 level.
*** Statistical significance at the .001 level.

Discussion

From these findings, the following generalization emerge:

Generalization I:

Politics and economics paragraphs always accounted for the majority of paragraphs, because of two reasons.

1: *Time* is a news magazine, and news reporting is its task.
According to Allen's theory (Chapter III), "hard news"—politics and economics—is emphasized in foreign news reporting. In the articles in the first period, the main topic was politics, because a sweeping political movement, the Cultural Revolution, was taking place inside China, and there were many conflicts occurring in that period of upheaval. Therefore, reporting the events or the activities became the main theme of the American media especially *Time* magazine. Economics paragraphs occurred less frequently. The remaining three categories—human interest, culture and other—occurred even less frequently.

In articles in the second period, great attention was paid to politics because of the death of certain high officials, and the situation gave rise to an important question: "Who will be the head of China?" Meantime, the Sino-US relationship was developing quickly. In 1972, the Sino-US Shanghai communiques surprised the world, and in January of 1979, China and the US announced the establishment of diplomatic relations.

In 1979-1985, there was a threefold increase in economics paragraphs because China began the "open door" policy and "economic reform" was undertaken. The Sino-US relationship promised further economic development.

2: The interdependency among the nations is increasing.

China can no longer be an isolated country. The US noted that China will be a very important partner for commercial business. Up
to 1974, China had trade relations with 150 countries and regions and had signed trade agreements or protocols with more than 50 countries. China's world trade volume in 1974 was two and a half times what it had been in 1965 (30). Right after 1979's establishment of diplomatic relations, a bilateral trade agreement was initiated in Beijing. The total two-way trade between the US and China has mounted quickly since then. In 1985, it increased to $8.08 billion, up more than 26 percent over the previous year. This trade constitutes 11.6 percent of China's total two-way trade, placing the US third (behind Japan and Hong Kong) among China's trading partners.

In addition to expanding trade relations, the Chinese have actively encouraged foreign investment in their economy. Laws governing the operation of equity joint ventures were promulgated in 1984. Special economic zones (SEZs) in which preferential regulations favoring foreign investors applied, were set up in Guangdong and Fujing provinces. Subsequently, 14 cities located along the China coast were given the autonomy to sign agreements with foreign firms. This hectic economic activity was naturally followed by increased coverage by the media.

Generalization Two:

More positive attitudes were found in the second and third periods for two reasons.

1: As mentioned in the introduction, during the twenty years
from 1966 to 1985, there were great social changes in China.

   a) The political upheaval of the Cultural Revolution and
economic depression in the first period.

   b) The installment of high officials with a new approach to
economic recovery and reform in the second period.

   c) The "open door" policy and economic development
undertaken in the third period.

   d) The people's life improved quickly.

   In *Time* changes prior to 1971 were evaluated negatively than
those occurring later.

   2: Sino-US relationship improved quickly after the "unhappy"
period mentioned in Chapter I. Briefly, China and the US had no
diplomatic relations in the first period; however, China and the US
began a dialogue and established diplomatic relations in the second
period. Diplomats from both countries made official visits and two­
way trade boomed. In addition to all these developments in Sino-US
relations, right after the American ping-pong team visited China in
1971, many American journalists went to China to see for themselves
and do the reporting. They became interested in China's culture and
its long history.
CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to find how *Time* portrayed the People's Republic of China and its people between 1966 to 1985 in terms of type of article and evaluation of authors. Content analysis was undertaken to analyze the articles in *Time*. Two kinds of coding were done for each paragraph: category of article and evaluation of article. According to the development of Sino-US relations, three time periods were created.

Articles with any reference to politics, economics, human interest, culture and other were analyzed. Four hypotheses were developed. The data collected for the study support the four hypotheses. The average percentage of articles emphasis on each of the five subject matter categories varied throughout the three periods. However, "hard news"--politics--always received the most emphasis of all categories. This finding indicated that over the twenty-year period, the readers of *Time* were exposed to more "hard news" about China particularly in the first period than any other period.

With regard to authors' evaluation of China and its people, an increase in positive evaluations regarding politics and economics were found across the three periods. This result was reflected in the two nations' foreign policies and two-way trade development. In other words, the better the relationship between the two nations, the
more positive became the evaluations by authors of articles in *Time* regarding China and its people. This finding is similar to Christian Chang's study in 1984. He found out that much of the information about China took a neutral direction before the Normalization period. After the Normalization period, the percentage of negative articles in *New York Times* to have decreased by 15% and that of positive articles to be found to increase slightly.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

Although the research study showed a relationship between foreign policy and media attitudes (i.e., evaluations that are expressed in the media), there is a need to develop a solid theory to explain the relationship.

Second, some subcategories are needed to show a clear picture of authors' evaluation. For example, the first category, Chinese government and its policy, included the Chinese officials. Actually, "Chinese officials" should have been coded as an individual category because very different attitudes were found toward different Chinese officials. More favorable attitudes were found toward Premier Chou and Deng Xiaoping than were found towards Mao Zedong and other officials. Having been put in the Chinese government category, the attitude differences towards different official were not analyzed.

In all, one could conclude from this study that during the
twenty years, the US foreign policy toward PRC was reflected in Time to a certain extent. Also, Time's reporting does appear to have provided its readers with a comprehensive outline of US foreign policy.
REFERENCES


27. Nie, Norman H., C. Hadlai Hull, Jean G. Jenkins, Karen Steinbrenner and Dale H. Bent. "Subprograms breakdown and T-


