FOREIGN NEWS COVERAGE IN U.S. NEWSMAGAZINES

by

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A THESIS IN COMMUNICATIONS

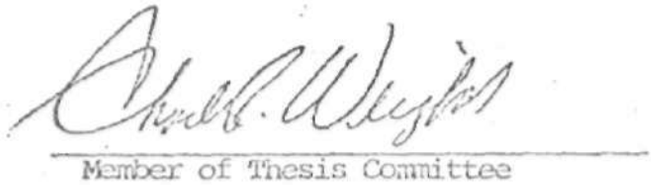
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ABSTRACT

FOREIGN NEWS COVERAGE IN U.S. NEWSMAGAZINES
1960 and 1970

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This investigation explored and analyzed the coverage of foreign news events in Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report in 1960 and 1970. It specifically explored trends in 'attention' devoted to various geopolitical regions of the world, and various subject-matter and their related issues. Intermagazine analysis showed no differences. However, cumulatively the three newsmagazines revealed some concrete trends: (1) Dominance of World, West European and Asian affairs, and also of political/diplomatic, military/defense and economic/business affairs during the two periods. (2) Persistence of 'cold war' and 'cold war-related' themes on the cover stories during the two periods. (3) At the international level there was greater interaction between developed countries and least interaction between underdeveloped countries. (4) A generally narrow dispersion of foreign news coverage: more about developed and less about underdeveloped countries and (5) A

general decrease in the number of foreign stories, but a small increase in space allocation. Explanations for these trends were suggested from the data, extra-media data and other conjectural sources: certain regions and subject-matter dominated the coverage possibly because of greater U.S. national interest in and/or closer political-cultural affinity to those regions and issues of events. 1960 being the edge of the climax of the 'cold-war' period naturally demanded greater attention to this theme, and 1970, though it saw the thawing of the cold-war and the beginning of detente, yet had some spillovers from the 'cold-war' period. The third and fourth trends possibly reflected the relative significance of various countries in international politics. The fifth trend primarily reflected the turning away from the multifarious concerns of the 'cold-war' period to a concern with more detailed analysis of events and issues. Possible consequences of the trends on public opinion and foreign policy were suggested and limited research recommendations made.

PREFACE

This study investigated the trends of foreign reporting in American newsmagazines. Three newsmagazines were studied across two periods, 1960 and 1970, each set in different periods of global events. The purpose was to explore the differential 'attentions' given to various geopolitical regions and subject-matter. It is an exercise in the growing need to monitor media content and explore the elements by which the media draws 'images' and 'characteristics' of foreign countries and people, and hence what agenda it set for public discourse regarding world events. Such monitoring of media performance is undertaken in the belief that we need to understand the forces that define and shape our symbolic environment.

Chapter One is a general introduction, setting the world-political antecedents of post-war era, when expanded communication and a new world setting created new problems in international relations and communications. The research problem and conceptual ideas underlying the study are discussed. Chapter Two discusses the content analysis method used. Chapter Three presents the findings. Chapter Four discusses further the problems encountered and the possible meanings, and implications of the study; it concludes with a number of recommendations in this area of investigation.

This study is generally dedicated to all those who believe in and work for better understanding among world's people, and to all the researchers who dedicate themselves to helping us understand

the new social technologies which are today reshaping our world.

I wish to acknowledge my gratitude and indebtedness to Professor George Gerbner whose inspiration, insights and thorough approach spurred my thinking into positively new directions. I am also grateful to Professor Charles R. Wright whose ideas gave me insights into the various dimensions of modern media activity and cross-cultural studies.

I also wish to express my thanks to Mrs. Eleanor Moloney, Mrs. Kiki Schiller and Mrs. Mary A. Blue (who helped me with the typing) and to the other Annenberg School Faculty Members who have variously contributed in my new learning experience.

All shortcomings and errors, in this study, however, are mine.

Yusufu Abba

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CHAPTER ONE

I. INTRODUCTION

Post-War Setting

The speed with which news of events and happenings in other parts of the world are reported is so fast that many people may be inclined to take the modern mass media and their functions and consequences for granted. Organizationally and technologically the mass media have grown into a full and self-perpetuating institution in its own right; and their presence, consequences and ramifications on other institutions of society, and dimensions of domestic and international relations are pervasive. Therefore the need to understand the media, and the various functions that they perform in international communications and international relations, becomes more urgent. The fact that we live in a world comprising of different nations and societies, at different levels of development and technology, and whose systems of total societal organizations are often different, underscores the urgency of this need. Of course the mass media is only one of many other channels through which citizens and governments of the different nations and countries try to communicate with and understand one another, yet the pervasiveness and speed of the media makes it the primary source of information for citizens and groups across cultural and geopolitical boundaries.[1] Let us briefly examine the mass communications and political-diplomatic antecedents of the present state of the world, that links it to international communication.[2]

general decrease in the number of foreign stories, but a small increase in space allocation. Explanations for these trends were suggested from the data, extra-media data and other conjectural sources: certain regions and subject-matter dominated the coverage possibly because of greater U.S. national interest in and/or closer political-cultural affinity to those regions and issues of events. 1960 being the edge of the climax of the 'cold-war' period naturally demanded greater attention to this theme, and 1970, though it saw the thawing of the cold-war and the beginning of detente, yet had some spillovers from the 'cold-war' period. The third and fourth trends possibly reflected the relative significance of various countries in international politics. The fifth trend primarily reflected the turning away from the multifarious concerns of the 'cold-war' period to a concern with more detailed analysis of events and issues. Possible consequences of the trends on public opinion and foreign policy were suggested and limited research recommendations made.

international and domestic."[7] Schiller's approach here therefore will suggest the need to take a new look at the new pattern of international relations from the perspective of mass communications. In the next section we will again briefly look at how, in the transformed world of the post war era, communications between nations may help in creating and maintaining world peace -- from the perspectives of policy-makers, theoreticians and communication researchers and practioners.

Communications and World Peace

Today, more than ever before, the different nations of the world are economically and technologically interdependent, and indisputably the peace of the world depends on cooperation and understanding between them, through meaningful discourse and exchanges. However we live in a world of numerous different social systems, each with its own peculiar institutions designed to serve the system. Consequently the communication system of each society not only serve the particular needs of that system[8] but also creates special 'images' about foreign people and nations for its own public. These 'images' are the outcome of the flow of information and 'messages' between the systems. The mass media then become one of the major sources of information and knowledge, factors that are a prerequisite in the continuing interactions and interchanges between the nations. Then the understanding of the communication media of each country of the different countries from a comparative perspective becomes paramount. Thus in abenchmarch study of the different

press systems of the world Gerbner and Marvanyi asked the pertinent and inevitable question, 'many worlds or one'?[9] They were able to show that each press selected what it considered important and from that material constructed 'images' which it believed were the realities of the outside world. Thus each press system in its own way form images which in the long-run become the reference maps by which the public and government of one country views and treats the public and government of other countries; this point is more succintly put forth by Gerbner and Marvanyi.

> "The reality of that world is presumably common to all, but what each system selects and projects is clearly not the same. The differences are not so much that some are 'biased' and others are not as that all are highly selective, synthetic, and proposive even if they seem to operate under some impersonal code of 'news values' or of 'historical necessity.'"[10]

How does communication through the mass media, contribute toward the promotion of world peace? This question has no easy answers, nor have the problems it raises any easy solutions. However, the primary belief by theoreticians and practitioners[11] is that the fact that the mass media is more pervasive, has more quantity of information for public use and is more accessible to the citizen, makes it a potentially more effective force in informing the public in a responsible manner[12] about what the state of the world is what caused that state, and existing alternatives for the desired action. We can then breakdown the above question into two (1) how in general does communication between nations promote peace? and (2) how does

the media in practice and/or in the eyes of policy makers, the citizens, media managers, the theoreticians and the researchers, function in such a way as to promote understanding and peace in the world?

Quincy Wright has observed that the maintenance of peace depends on a 'correct image' of the world as a whole, and on the guidance of political decisions by knowledge of the probable reaction to each of the systems of action able to precipitate hostilities.[13] In their simplest form information and knowledge are a prerequisite in the formulation of attitudes and policies, and in the determination of how nations behave toward each other in all dimensions of international relations. Therefore a body of common information and knowledge is necessary to create a universe of discourse the framework within which they can jointly, but consciously, calculatingly and rationally do or undo things and agree or disagree about problems. Gerbner and Marvanyi have observed and elaborated on this point:

> "But how would we function as 'one world'? We must assume that the ability of different people to relate to each other depends largely on what they know -- or think they know -- about each other, when citizens of different countries interact, they usually have some conceptions about each other and about the rest of the world. If these conceptions are based on a substantial body of common knowledge, it becomes possible to exchange ideas and to agree or disagree about the same set of facts, terms and issues. But if the fact, definitions and assumptions are out of tune, the discourse is likely to be disjointed."[14]

We can then posit that increased knowledge of the world may help promote world peace,[15] and as Jerome Frank observed, the more complete the

information people have about each other, the harder it is, in general, to maintain mutual hatred based on partial or distorted views.[16]

Turning to the second question in this section we are on a more fertile ground to see how the media, in practice and/or in the eyes of policy-makers, the citizen, media managers, the theoretician and the researcher, functions and operates to promote understanding and world peace. The processes of political democratization and economic industrialization, all over the world in the current century have made government more open and flexible, and given the citizen mental and material resources to participate more actively in the process of government and social organization. It is within this context that we can see how the mass media in its functioning may interact with the government and the publics to create conditions conducive to the promotion of world peace. In a broad way it is believed that the mass media create such conditions through three major processes; Viz: (1) agenda-setting, (2) public opinion formation and (3) influence on foreign policy.[17] Cohen in his 1953-54 landmark study of the press and foreign policy underscored this agenda-setting function, about which he concluded:

> "That is to say, then, that the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful most of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think 'about'. It is an atlas of policy possibilities, alternatives and choices."[18]

In this way the agenda set by the media becomes a framework of reference for the citizens and on the basis of the information and knowledge they thus acquire, they would, hopefully, behave politically

in such a way as to promote world peace through influencing their government. On this matter Cohen added:

> "For most foreign policy audience, the really effective political map of the world -- that is to say their operational map of the world -- is drawn by the reporter and the editor, not by the cartographer."[19]

Clauss Mueller has added another dimension to it, by observing that in the process of adult political socialization, this media activity makes the public more articulate and therefore more capable of influencing their government at home and abroad.[20] Charles Siepmann has made similar remarkes and observations.[21] The public-opinion formation process by the media, has been observed in the U.S. since the turn of the century. Walter Lippmann, writing in 1920, observed that the media creates the phenomenon called 'public opinion', by which is meant the popular feelings and attitudes regarding the issue or issues under public discussions.[22] Thus since individuals get complex information, and great differences occur, the media creates a compromise platform, and Lippman put it thus :

> "It is not possible to assume that a world, carried on by division of labor and distrition of authority, can be governed by universal opinions in the whole population. Acting upon everybody for thirty minutes in twenty four hours, the press is asked to create a mystical force called 'public opinion' that will take up the slack in public institutions."[23]

The third process, influence on foreign policy, is also a well studied phenomenon, though with no definitive conclusions. Many foreign policy-makers feel that the media does not influence their

decisions,[24] while on the other hand the media practitioners feel that they have substantial effect on the development of the foreign policy thinking of officials.[25] The three processes, however, extensively overlap and are in fact aspects of the same phenomenon; therefore we can legitimately view these processes as cumulative over time, and it is in this manner that they permit sensible and democratic exchanges between the government, the public and the media; this resulting in some implicit mutual agreement to promote domestic and world peace and minimize conflict.

Though nobody can definitively argue or conclusively illustrates the direct relationship between communications and world peace, it is widely believed that in the long run hostility barriers will be reduced and better peace and prospects for peace achieved.[26]

Stocktaking and Monitoring

It we accept the fore-going propositions then we should accept the need to conduct regular stocktaking, in order to discern the trends and changing trends in the interaction between nations. We can profitably do this by the regular analysis of the media and media content, since it is this social force which define our symbolic environment, set our priorities and our public agenda.[27] The individual citizen today, more than ever before, rely on the mass media for his day to day existence, and for the information and knowledge necessary to make him an active participant in domestic and world politics, rather than just a passenger in the train of history. This proposition has become an established fact in the United States and other

developed countries, and it is becoming more and more true in developing countries as literacy and media use expand , and as the individual citizen builds more stakes and interests from increasing economic affluence and political freedom.[28]

Government diplomacy, usually conducted in secrecy, and very complex, naturally leaves the ordinary citizen out. This and others leave only the mass media as the more accessible, more plentiful and, in some cases, more reliable, sources of, news, events and people of foreign countries.[29] The trends of all social phenomena in the media are indicators of the possible or probable directions of changes. The media chronicles these events and in some cases even lead in speculating and interpreting, in a predictive way, the likely trends and outcomes of events.[30] We therefore need to carry on regular stocktaking and monitoring of media performance, because as Charles R. Wright put it, it is 'the media's combined activities of surveillance,correlation, cultural transmission and entertainment' that need to be studied, because they set our agenda for public discourse and create the 'images' through which we perceive other people and countries.[31]

When media data is collected and analyzed and the results are corraborated with information from other sources, policy-makers may have before them sufficient information on the basis of which to formulate and reformulate policies and to make appropriate and responsible decisions. It is a big task and may have to be on small scales,and by scientists in every part of the world.[32]

This introduction has been made fairly extensive in order to underscore the significance of communication between nations, and the need for a regular survey of the media and media content in order to get information that is important and useful to the citizen and which may aid policy-makers and the citizen. The present study, though on a small scale, is carried out within this wider setting and framework. We now turn to the discussion of the research problem within the conceptual.

II. WHAT THE STUDY IS ABOUT

The foundation for this study was laid in the Spring of 1976. Then, I conducted a comparative study dealing with foreign news coverage by the New York Times and the Philadelphia Inquirer. It was an exploratory study investigating the quantitative and qualitative elements and characteristics of the coverage; though there were significant differences in the quantity of the news, yet no significant differences in their qualitative treatments were found. These findings lend support to the assumptions and views of Gerbner and Marvanyi's study[33] and to the proposition and findings of Galtung and Ruge.[34]

The research problem is to investigate the coverage of foreign news in three American newsmagazines in 1960 and 1970 -- Times, Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report -- and to find the coverage patterns of nine geopolitical regions of the world and the subsequent treatment of events and issues in those regions. Why conduct such a study? Primarily for the need of collecting data and getting some insights into different organs of one single press system; the

accruing data from all such studies could then be used for more comprehensive sophisticated and large-scale comparative studies in international communication. International communication is a much talked-about area but its dimension of comparative international communication has often been neglected or lightly treated.[35] By studying foreign news in any organ of the media that has national circulation and is 'presumably' infleuntial on policy-makers and the business and industrial communities, we can hope to have information that will throw some light on the behavior of the different publics and the government of a country toward other countries and other people. This is no ordinary task, but it is in the small beginnings of my study and similar studies that substantial data can gradually be built and generated.[36] In addition it will examine the four propositions of the Galtung-Ruge theory about foreign news in the domestic press.[37] More will be said on these propositions later.

What are the general views and theoretical assumptions underlying this study and the problem it tackles? These can best be appreciated if we look at the characteristics of and views about the magazines, and by extension the press in general, the magazine world, foreign news in the press, and the regions and period covered and involved in the study. Newsmagazines, essentially a product of the 20th century, evolved primarily to provide news summary and opinion, chiefly for middle class readers who have little time to spare for the more bulky daily newspapers. Kiplinger writing in 1936, not long after the newsmagazines have made their debut on the market scene, argued that the raison-de-etre of newsmagazines is the provision to

the reader with news and opinion through detailed background and interpretation of the news events.[38] He concluded:

> "The poor reader! Why the poor reader? Because he has to read so much to get a bit of light. What is the remedy? Two things: first brevity, second interpretation."[39]

And he suggested that it would be this conception which will continue to be at the core of newsmagazines. Unlike newspapers, newsmagazines are generally not rushed or understaffed and hence their presentation of events and opinions is well laid out and more consistent.[40] It is some time assumed that part of the potential or real effectiveness of the newsmagazine stems from both its simple style of writing and from its middle-class-oriented readers.[41] Worsely put the structure and operation of the newsmagazine in a graphic way:

> "They departmentalize news, print short conversations, concentrate on news rather than opinion in summarizing, maintain no direct editorial policy, develop highly original styles of writing, winnow out duplications, repetitious and unnecessary details, take time to provide hisotical background, use pictures, draw special charts to make complex material clear, play up letters to the editor, delve into news areas neglected by newspapers (e.g., fine art, science and medicine) and develop sources throughout the world untouched by wire services."[42]

John H. Schacht has maintained that it is these characteristics which make them wield influence, on the public and policy making, on a scale bigger than their circulation would normally warrant.[43] In a survey trying to find the leading sources of events and opinions for reference

he found that the newsmagazines were more frequently mentioned by editors and congressmen.[44] The impact of the newsmagazine, and the high level quality of its production and performance,[45] have been noted by many other writers.[46] Normally the readership of newsmagazines is about three times the size of their actual circulation: people pass them round, and peers discuss issues of common interests that appear in them.[47] For example, Time, Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report have each a circulation above one million and collectively have a circulation of 6,000,000 but with a total readership of 15,000,000 people.[48]

What is the compositon and nature of the newsmagazines audiences? What is the potential impact of newsmagazines on the world affairs thinking and behavior of the audiences? With the three magazines of this study certain statistics have been established. In his 1959 study, Hero found that of all readers of the three newsmagazines, 2% were grade scholars, 7% high scholars and 21% college graduates (who number about 7 million), in addition to the fact that in 75% of all homes that subscribe for any of them at least one member of the family had been to college.[49] These magazines reach 40%-60% of all college students and most of them claim to gain more knowledge from these magazines on world affairs.[50] About 3 million Americans who had not been to college read them, and these particular adults appeared very dynamic and successful in life.[51] The subscribers mostly come from the middle-income group, the average annual income being: Newsweek $13,226, U.S. News and World Report, $15,009 and Time $11,386. Most

of the readers were urbanites and suburbanites and cosmopolitan in outlook. On the social and political behvior of these readers Hero reported:

> "Those who are active in civic life and take a leading part in important community decisions are more apt to read these newsmagazines than others of similar income, education and occupation: four out of five top local businessmen who are community leaders in twelve cities in 1955-57 read one or, often, several newsmagazines."[52]

Thus newsmagazines are potentially very influential on policy-makers and the foreign policy audience, especially leaders of industrial, business and educational communities.

Overall World Image in the News Media

It has often been said that there is an assymetrical distribution of 'attention' by the news media, toward different regions of the world and also the subject matter they reported.[53] Herbert I. Schiller believes that the multi-billion dollar investment of U.S. corporations abroad and the need for their protection using cultural instruments necessitates the regular and more detailed information from areas where most of the investments are, and hence there is more European news than Latin American or African.[54] However, Galtung and Ruge, concluding from their study of foreign news in four Norwegian newspapers, identified four other major factors that allow for what foreign news is selected and for the subsequent unequal distribution of attention to differeng region.[55] In addition to unequal

distribution of attention toward the different regions it is believed that there is also an unequal distribution of attention toward subject-matter, with more reporting of sensation and crisis events.[56] Gerbner and Marvanyi noted the unequal space allocation in U.S. newspapers compared to sizes of regions.[57] An IPI study of global flow noted that the U.S. papers have the smallest space devoted to foreign news.[58] James W. Markham found that Latin American press devoted about 40% of its news space to U.S., while U.S. press devoted only about 5% of its total news space to Latin America.[59] He commented:

> "It has become a truism that it takes a revolution to get Latin America in the U.S. news. This is a puzzling fact that belies not only the vast amount of dollar investment this country has in Central and Latin America but also the strategic importance to us of the Latin American republics in the world power struggle."[60]

He further noted from the wider policy and international political implications that:

> "Those who believe that peace and security depend upon world public opinion based on international understanding recognize the growing importance of an adequate and meaningful flow of information among people as one main means of achieving such goals. They expect the socially responsible mass communication media to provide comprehensive coverage."[61]

Anthony A.E. Onyisi studying the image of Africa in U.S. press in 1960 and 1976 found that there is some support for the argument about skewed distribution, between North, South, and Central regions of Africa, and also the criticism of sensationalism and crisis report-

ing.[62] M.E. Fowler studying images of foreign people and cultures in high school literature anthologies found similar patterns.[63] Other communication researchers have shown the overrepresentation of Western European material and underepresentationof material from the 'third world'.[64] And finally even news flowing through the wire services from abroad have been noted as one of the earlier stages for this unequal distribution of 'attention' to different regions and different subject matters.[65] What does all this mean in conceptual and assumptive terms? It means that from the point of view of 'image — formation', the resultant and unequal distribution will shape and cultivate for the audience 'images' of foreign people, cultures and governments that may not be in a satisfactory manner. Of course unequal distribution is a common phenomenon noted in all press and media systems,[66] however it only further underscores the need to understand the phenomenon/problem better, so that communication research data could be more positively used by policy-makers and the public. So far our two broad conceptual ideas are that: (1) the nature, structure and audiences of the newsmagazines make them influential on policy-makers and foreign policy audiences and (2) that foreign news in the news media generally is characterized by unequal distribution of 'attention' to different geopolitical regions and different subject matters, consequently with potential ramifications on the 'images' of the outside world drawn for the public. The underlying aspects of these conceptions may help us in making meaningful statements from the results of the study.

Dimensions of the Problem

As earlier stated this study investigates how these newsmagazines, urban, elite, and policy-oriented by nature, report the outside world for its audience.[67] The overall 'images' will be measured from the physical characteristics -- number of stories, type of stories, regions, pictures, and length of stories -- which we assume will be measures of 'attention' to portrayal techniques of foreign countries, people and cultures. Here I will investigate 'attention' and 'emphasis' given to different regions and different people of the world. From the cover stories and our common knowledge about the real world we will make certain qualitative statements and speculations, however this will be on a limited scale due to the validity problems raised by such subjective approach. In addition to the major task of exploring the portrayal pattern, this study will also try and test a hypothesis on foreign news reporting in national press; this hypothesis set by Galtung and Ruge suggest that four factors determine by-and-large the 'newsworthiness' of foreign news events, and hence consequently whether they are reported or not, these four are (1) proximity of area of event, (2) cultural similarity of context where events are happening, (3) interests of the country, whose media is doing the reporting, in the events, and (4) size and significance of the country where the events are happening, i.e., its importance as a factor in international relations.[68] This hypothesis testing is part of the qualitative question and it is important because it will throw some light on the quantitative portrayal pattern, and it may be possible to make wider meaningful statements by looking at the

quantitative and qualitative results together.

The general questions are:

1) What are the portrayal patterns of the outside world and what are the techniques used?

2) Do the results from the study of foreign news in U.S. newsmagazine shed any light or give any support to any or all of the propositions of the Galtung-Ruge theory?

3) What other statements about the image of the outside world in this news media can we make by comparing it with other relevant and corraborative information of the outside 'real' world we know?

These general question will be approached through more specific questions when we analyze the results; these questions include:

1) Trends in the 'attention' and 'emphasis' given to the ten geopolitical regions in three U.S. newsmagazines across two contrasting periods 1960 and 1970.

2) Trends in what is reported -- regions and subject matter, etc.

3) Relationship between national interest and foreign reporting (national interests in terms of economics, politics, ideology and culture).

4) Conceptualization of events in the western world, the communist world and the nonaligned world -- the relative 'attentions'.

Aspects of the general and specific questions have been touched on in this section of conceptual framework in the hope that we may be able to see the media 'images' and make statements about the image-formation process and the 'real' outside world.

Time, Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report have been selected because (1) they are the most easily accessible weekly newsmagazines to me (2) they are generally considered the leading American weekly newsmagazines intended for general reading but whose main readership is usually middle-income, college-educated, and successful community and business leaders' and (3) also considered to have some influence on opinion and decision makers in government and also on the foreign policy audience [69] and (4) the three newsmagazines made their real debut between the late 1920s and 1930s when the U.S. was emerging as the world's leading power, with increasing relations with the outside world and consequent increase of foreign policy audience and interest.[70] These reasons make it interesting to see the flow of foreign news in these newsmagazines, since one of their oft-noted characteristics is opinion 'construction.'[71] With knowledge of the outside world and the audiences of the newsmagazines we may be able to make certain conjectures and statements. The three newsmagazines are not monolithic or homogenous in their perspectives but exhibit certain differences, and it would be useful to discover what kind of differences these are and how and when they emerge. For example it is considered by many that on critical, domestic and international issues and problems Newsweek is to the left, Time at the center and U.S. News and World Report at the right; however these differences are not fundamental, but of method and procedure.[72] Since the three newsmagazines have foreign editions, whose main foreign reading audience is also elited-oriented, our understanding of flow of foreign news in them may throw certain light on what this organ of the media wants its

audience to believe and/or what it thinks its audience expects.

This study is relevant to the general area of international communication, and the role of the mass media in promoting it; but it is more directly relevant to the role of one medium, in this case weekly newsmagazines, in international communications through its reporting and commenting on events and people in foreign countries. Though compared to daily newspapers they have a lower circulation, their considerable social, political and foreign policy influence have been noted elsewhere; hence they substantially help in furthering our understanding of how other people live, work and view the world, thus increasing the possibilities of better peace, harmony and progress in the world.

The proposed study is significant, since with the elite-orientation, national circulation and foreign policy leverage of the three news magazines, the images they draw of the outside world may tell us something about American international relations and how it is related to domestic events and politics. The slight differences between the three newsmagazines may also indirectly tell us about the nature of the political opinion spectrum of the domestic foreign policy audience. By looking at the quantitative and qualitative differences between the magazines, we may be able to see the nature of the basic assumptions of the research hypothesis of Gerbner and Marvanyi in their benchmark study of the world press systems, where it is assumed 'that every stem of communications serves the social structure which shapes and supports it.'[73] Its main contribution stem from this significance. First it will

contribute to a neglected area of study -- portrayal of the outside world in elite-oriented weekly newsmagazines that have considerable leverage. Secondly, it will provide data that could be used for comparative studies across media and across cultures. It is a modest study and stems from the need for such studies that Gerbner and Marvanyi underscored.[74]

The last section, which follows, discusses the background and research literature which are of direct and indirect relevance to this study.

III. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

World's News Flow

The McLuhanian concept of the 'global village' implies not only the shrinking of the world due to various forms of modern communcation technology, but also that the various nation have more knowledge about each other and more cultural, political and economic interactions between them. However differences in levels of technological development and economic power between various nations -- especially between developed and developing nations -- and the consequent differences in communication, technology and control of international news agencies, make the flow between nations lop-sided. As Schiller has demonstrated there is a much greater flow from developed to underdeveloped nations than the reverse.[75] Many other studies in different parts of the world have shown that both the quantity of foreign news and their sources are predominantly from the industrialized countries. The

result is that international communication become a 'one-way street traveled by the powerful few.[76] What the cultural consequences this lop-sided flow of information has on both the industrial and non-industrialized nations are yet to be determined by researchers, scholars and policy-makers. Another observed element of international communication in the media is that each nation or press system portrays foreign countries and people in ways that those foreign people consider unsatisfactory and 'biased'. Alexander Dallin found that Soviet reality in U.S. news media is distorted, Soviet 'images' especially those of 'Stalinism' and 'cold war' are frozen.[77] As a general pattern Gerbner and Marvanyi stated that though the reality of the outside world is presumably the same yet what each press system selects and projects as its 'image' is clearly not the same.[78] John V. Vilanilam[79] and Raymond F. Smith,[80] in separate studies, comparing Indian and U.S. newspapers' coverage of certain issues over certain periods, have shown how the two press systems portrayed the same events and issues differently. The various researchers feel that on foreign reporting a press system concentrates on crisis reporting or sensationalism or the strange and exotic. These observations imply that foreign news reporting in every press system in the world has some qualitative 'deficiency'.

The U.S. news media, supported by sophisticated technology and served by the major international news agencies, has a vast international network of reporting. An understanding of the characteristics of this network will probably give us more insight into the foreign news reporting pattern which this study is investigating.

Tables I and II show us the relative weights of the various regions of the world in terms of distribution of U.S. foreign correspondents. Consistently Africa and the Middle East have the fewest reporters, though the Middle East is strategic to the U.S. and is a crisis area while Africa emerged vigorously in the 1960's on the world political scene. Europe is more extensively covered. It is surprising however that this disparity in distribution is not directly reflected in the news flow through the wire service in the U.S. (at least from the results of one study), which Jim A. Hart found to be: Western Europe 28.6%, Africa 17.5%, International-land 16.3%, Latin America 10.6%, Far East 11.8%, Canada 1%, Australia .8% and others 1%.[81]

Time, Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report also have a few of their correspondents abroad, however in most cases they use the correspondents of the T.V. networks and the newspapers, and often stringers. Table III shows the distribution of the foreign correspondents of these magazines. In terms of foreign reporters the three newsmagazine have more representation and sources abroad than the T.V. networks; this may be explained by the need of these newsmagazines for extensive research and background material, and for some detailed reports which characterize the newsmagazines. However they exhibit differences between themselves, with Time having twice more than the other two combined. The allocation abroad for the newsmagazines also show greater attention toward Western Europe and less toward the developing countries. The unequal distribution of reporters to different regions can best be appreciated by noting that Africa and Asia have more than

TABLE I

Geographical Distribution of U.S. Network T.V. Foreign Correspondents
1965

	NBC	CBS	ABC	Total
Europe	23	25	19	67
Asia	24	14	16	54
Africa	2	1	1	4
Mid-East	4	2	2	8
The Americas	10	8	4	22
Totals	63	50	42	155

Source: T.V. Guide, Philadelphia Edition, August 21-27, 1976 by Frank Sean Swertiow 'African Coverage is A Struggle for Network Newsmen'.

TABLE II

Location of U.S. Foreign Correspondents
1963 and 1969

Region	Number		Percentage	
	1963	1969	1963	1969
Europe	625	793	51%	54%
Asia/Australia	255	332	20%	23%
Africa	59	92	5%	6%
Mid-East	64	76	5%	5%
Latin/America/Canada	229	169	19%	12%
Totals	1233	1462	100%	100%

Source: John Wilhein, "The Reappearing Foreign Correspondent," Journalism Quarterly 40, 1963, p. 147.

Ralph E. Kliesch, "The Press Corps Abroad Revisited: A Fourth World Survey of Foreign Correspondents." Paper presented at Association for Education in Journalism Convention, Berkeley, August 1969, p. 8.

TABLE III

Foreign Correspondents for Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report (gleaned from tables on pp. 154-108)[82] 1963

Region	Time	Newsweek	U.S. News and World Report	Totals
Africa	18	6	---	24
Asia	60	36	12	108
Latin America	84	24	9	117
Middle-East	9	9	---	18
Russia	6	—	---	6
Western Europe	102	33	19	154
	279	108	40	427

Source: John Wilheim, "The Reappearing Foreign Correspondent," Journalism Quarterly 40, 1963, pp. 147-168.

65% of the world's population while they consistently have below 30% of U.S. foreign correspondents. Many researchers, as we would see later, argue from their findings that a region's economic power,[83] or cultural pattern [84] or the existence of conflict and crisis[85] lead to these differences and to the subsequent quantitative and qualitative reporting. The significances of crisis element in the distribution of correspondents and what they report has been supported in a survey study by T.C. Yu Frederick and John Luter in which 73% of reporters asked answered yes and 23% answered no.[86] We shall now turn to more directly relevant research literature which have significance for their data, methodology or theory to the present study.

The News Media and Foreign Reporting

Various communication studies have findings and conclusions about the quantitative and qualitative nature of foreign news in a national press, and in addition they have raised significant theoretical and methodological questions in conducting such studies. The quantitative aspects usually reveal the unequal distribution of 'attention' and 'emphasis' in terms of space allocation, number of stories and pictorial illustrations, toward different regions and different subject matters. The qualitative aspects underscore the point that every press system has its ways of reporting foreign events, which make it look 'biased' in the eyes of those foreign countries. Special studies about individual organs of the news media have been done to try and reveal

the peculiar characteristics of that organ and to provide comparative data. Others have combined extra media data in such studies,in an attempt to build comprehensive theoretical propositions about foreign news reporting and portrayal patterns. Gerbner and Marvanyi in their 1974 benchmark study, which my present study uses as a springboard, compared the foreign coverage of five press systems of the world, drawn from nine countries in the capitalist, socialist and 'third' worlds, found that each press system draws different 'images' of the 'outside world' for its members.[87] Thus though the outside world is presumably the same yet what each system selects and projects as its 'image' is clearly not the same. This underscores the question of the'quality' of information that crosses cultural or geopolitical boundaries; probing this qualitative problem in foreign reporting they stated:

> "Distinctive standards of reporting are products of each social system's condition for industrial investment, national security and popularity. When the subject is foreign news the process (of selection, etc.) can be even more flexible; there is no effective reality check. Many versions of the days world news could be equally true, equally significant and all different.[88]

In addition to the different operative criteria which determines the different'images' the study also found that each press system placed different 'emphasis' and paid different 'attention' to different regions and different issues and subject matter. The U.S. press system allocated the following space and emphasis: North America 10.6%,

Latin America 6.6%, Western Eruope 28.2%, Eastern Europe 3.0%, Soviet Union 3.6%, Middle East 9.4%, Africa 3.8%, Asia and Australia 26.4%.[89] The third 'world' is under-represented and the western world is over-represented, commenturate to the sizes of their land areas and population, a phenomenon which has wide policy-implications and ramifications in international communication. Jim A. Hart's study of the flow of news in 6 selected metropolitan papers into Ohio state found results supportive of Gerbner and Marvanyi findings about asymetrical distribution. In addition Hart found that out of 14 subject matters 4 dominated with 72.3% of total space allocation, these four subject-matter being foreign relations, politics, armed conflict and human interest. Agreed that there have been increased changes since World War II yet the change in attention is not substantial, rather it reflects the result of overall increase in coverage.[90] These two studies underscored the necessity for exhaustive categories as a methodological technique to minimize errors during analysis and for better understanding of the important things that would be uncovered in a thorough study. Al Hester looked at news flow through the wire services over a 14 day period, and corraborating this with similar data from 15 small-to-medium size dailies and interviewing AP editors and newspaper editors he found a narrow dispersion of foriegn news -- more from the few developed countries and less from the numerous developing countries in addition to the fact that there was more emphasis on crisis reporting from developing countries and less of news about economic and social development.[91]

Table IV illustrates Hester's findings. The bulk of the news from

TABLE IV

Percentage of News by Subject-Matter From Developed and Developing Countries in the Wire-Services and 15 Dailies[92]

Subject Matter	Flow from Region	
	Developed Countries	Developing Countries
Military-Defense	23.7	40.8
Foreign Relations	13.3	14.9
Human Interest	9.9	11.8
Domestic Government-Politics	9.8	10.4
Sports	8.9	5.2
Prominent People	5.8	4.8
Disasters	5.7	2.2
Others	22.9	.9
Totals	100%	100%

Source: Al Hester, "An Analysis of News Flow From Developed and Developing Nations," Gazette 17, 1971, p. 32.

developing countries was military-defense and most of this was about coups, crisis, military intervention. News from developed countries amount to 17,587 inches while that for developing countries is only 6,019 inches. Jacques Kayser's earlier study of seven days world news in 17 major dailies drawn from seventeen countries provides a comparative analysis of how the newspapers used their space.[93] The diversity of the findings and results emphasizes the need for similar systematic studies in order that we may find similarities and differences in reporting and subject-matter trends, and what meaning they may have on international relations. Kayser concluded from his study:

> "The 17 papers we have examined, while each successful in its own way, often differ widely from each other. Some are plain instruments of government policy, other are free of official entanglement. Some have no serious competitors, others have to keep an eye constantly on their rivals . Some try to cover 'everything'; others leave subjects like sports, literature or economic problems to supplements or affiliated publications. Some are very wealthy, others are not. Others are produced in countries where newsprint is restricted, others in countries where it is plentiful. Some are profit-making concerns and go out of their way to attract and flatter their readers. Others consider that they have a mission. These and other differences largely determine the outward appearance of newspapers, the kind of news that is given preference and the amount of entertainment which they provide."[94]

The studies so far cited have all shown not only how each press system works differently, but how it translates this into qualitative and quantitative elements which in the end constitute the 'images' they are drawing for their publics about foreign events and foreign people. The above studies have also developed methods of problem definition and

operationalization of definitions and concepts and other characteristics that are being measured in similar studies. John David Dupree has argued that in order to find meaning to why certain foreign countries and certain issues are reported more than others we must corroborate the media data with extra-media data. He was looking for a method and data that would tell us both what the "image" of a foreign country is, and in U.S. media also how this 'image' is reflected by its 'status' and its mail-correspondence with U.S.; this would be a more comprehensive data for policy-matters and interdisciplinary researchers. His study covered 1961-69. A nation's 'status' (index-of-importance) was measured, in terms of its volume of international trade, GNP, GDP per capita, population size, population density per square kilometers, distance from U.S., daily newspaper available per 1,000 population, literacy rate, official language translate-ability as to whether it is used for UN purposes or not, foreign stock residing in U.S. and Continent. The measures from this were compared with mail sizes to and from U.S. with 166 countries and the space devoted to news from these countries in Atlas, an internationally-oriented U.S. newsmagazine. Positive correlation was found between the 3 elements of coverage by Atlas, mail quantity and level of 'status.'[95] This study suggests or supports the idea that elite-oriented newsmagazines like, Time, Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report could be good sources of finding trends of changes in the international power distribution, and the resultant data may be of use to policy-makers and researchers.

The problematic areas of theory and methodology in the study of foreign news in the news media have also been tackled by other researchers.

Galtung and Ruge in their study of foreign news in Norwegian dailies have tackled the methodological problem of developing a framework that will help enable us to understand what makes a foreign news event worthy of reporting or not.[96] From their data they developed twelve propositional sets around which they formulated four hypotheses about the main factors determining what is finally selected and emphasized by the media. These include, (1) proximity of area of event, (2) cultural similarity of context where the events are happening, (3) interests of the country, whose media is doing the reporting, in the events, and (4) size and significance of country where the events are happening, i.e., its importance as a factor in international relations. This study, approaching foreign news study differently, indirectly tried to emphasize the significance of cultural, ideological and economic variables in how and what 'image' of foreign countries is drawn by the media. These propositions are of heuristic and theoretical value to research in this area of foreign news. My study will make a side attempt to see how much support my datagives to this hypothesis. Raymond F. Smith has tested this hypothesis and found it useful in spite of some weaknesses it has.[97] Since meaningful and useful results from foreign news studies will stem from understanding the trends, Karl E. Rosengren has urged the need for more research attention to what he calls "time perspective', i.e., how particular news events develop over time.[98] By 'time-perspective' he means three thing:[99]

1) Trends over time, e.g., how over a period or decade different regions and events receive greater attention or decline.

2) What happens to the news as it passes through the news machinery (correspondent-wire-media) i.e., what are the determining factors of the varying amount of time between event and report and

3) What happens to the international flow of news about a given event, or rather, a given sequence of events (e.g., a crisis of some sort), as time passes by and new events are added to the 'first' one.

The Galtung-Ruge theory on foreign news in addition to its contribution to methodological, empirical and theoretical perspectives on the study of foreign news has prompted similar efforts in the same areas e.g., Sande[100], Tunstall[101], Cheesman[102] and Rosengren.[103] Since the mass media is the dominant channel of interaction between different people in the world, little wonder that the studies cited above have emphasized the need for understanding more properly those 'images' about foreign people created by the media, within the wider effort to understand the role played by the media in international communication.

An overview of the literature reviewed shows that they have direct and indirect relation to the present study. A picture of U.S. correspondents abroad is indicative of what performance the media would likely achieve in reporting the different regions and events occurring within them. The second section explores the different benchmark studies and the problems they have emphasized; also the other studies variously give us some theoretical, empirical, methodological and heuristic guidelines, in addition to the data they provide which is useful for comparative purposes.

SUMMARY

The aim of this chapter has been to create a supportive framework for this research. The introductory section examined the post-war international relations stage, emphasized the need of communication between nations as a prerequisite for peace and progress and also emphasized the need for stocktaking trends in world events from the media for the provision of useful data for the citizen and the policy-maker. Discussion of research problem and conceptual framework discussed what this study intends to do, and refered to some of the numerous views held by researchers and policy-makers as to the nature and outcome of the interaction between the media, the public and foreign policy. And finally we looked at the nature of U.S. media's foreign network and also some researches in foreign news and international communication. A lot of the questions raised so far will be raised again as we explore the 'attentions' toward the ten geopolitical regions and their trends over time and across the newsmagazines; and the agenda set for public discourse will also duely be investigated and discussed.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Content analysis was used for this investigation. Three newsmagazines, Time, Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report, were selected for the purposes of this study. They were selected for a number of reasons;[1] the primary ones being that (1) they have a national circulation, (2) are elite-oriented and (3) have potential leverage on policy and decision makers because of their relative accuracy, details and cosmopolitanism.[2] Table V illustrates how these three newsmagazines compare in terms of circulation, and their relative growth over a six year period. The mean average increase of all the five magazines, 131.3, shows that the three newsmagazines selected for this study have a wider circulation and a faster rate of growth. It is assumed that these manifest characteristics will make these newsmagazines representative of all news media organs of reportage and opinion which draw images and set agenda for public perception and discourse. Their national circulation and relatively educated and influential audience, make them reliable sources for the study of foreign reporting, the techniques used and the 'image' drawn. They are circulation leaders in the newsmagazine world.[3] Smaller than newspapers in size, these magazines are relatively voluminous, each weekly issue being between 70 and 140 pages, the sudden upsurge or decline resulting from sudden upturns or downturns in the development of new or old news events. Their weekly nature is an advantage over both the daily newspapers or the monthly (or any period

TABLE V

Comparative Circulation Changes of Five Newsmagazines
1958-1963

Newsmagazines	Year 1958	1963	% Changes
Newsweek	277,899	1,531,023	450.9
Time	670,341	2,737,925	308.4
U.S. News and World Report	76,613	1,256,198	1539.7
Totals	1,024,833	5,525,146	
Net Average of all Three =			131.3

Source: R. Root and C.V. Root, "Magazines in the U.S. Dying or Thriving?" Journalism Quarterly 41, 1964, p. 18.

longer than one week) newsmagazine because it is able to do intensive research and write detailed stories, and at the same time is able to capture new events, periscope future developments and still keep an eye on the old events.[4] It is this weekly news summarization over which is added opinion from detailed research which gives these newsmagazines a little more perspective on news events and their developments. The simplicity of their language, the clearness of their format, the smoothness of their style and their simplification of complex tables and maps make them attractive reading material to other millions of nonsubscribers; and therefore through interpersonal communication and the process of two-step flow communication, they become important sources of news and opinions to both segments of the middle-class and some members of the lower-middle and working classes.[5] Other characteristics of these magazines include their personalized coverage of foreign events as a double-check on their use and reliance on other media for daily news. Table III shows that, like the TV networks and the newspapers, they have hundreds of reporters abroad. And finally they all make effective use of their cover to state and define the leading story or stories; competing domestic and foreign stories can be a good indicator of major international events and their developments.

Period in Sample

The population of the phenomenon under study consist of all foreign news items in the three newsmagazines during the period of 1960 and 1970

The month of June for each period was purposively selected as the sample period, and all the weekly issues of the three magazines during June of the two periods constituted the sample; there were four issues in June 1960 and five issues in June 1970, for each of the newsmagazines thus yielding a total of 27 issues. 1960 and 1970 were selected primarily for comparative purposes. Each of the period was eventful in its own unique way and the intervening decade was very eventful and saw many changes in the international system. The two periods exhibit interesting events around the world. In 1960 most African countries achieved independence and 1960 is in fact referred to as 'Africa's year of independence' because that was the year when most of the African countries became independent; it was the edge of the height of the cold war which a few years later culminated into the Berlin crisis and Cuban missile crisis, Europe was adjusting to what Britain's McMillan called the wind of change; the U.S. was building new relations with the emergent third world nations and was marked by the peace corp program and the beginning of political and military involvement in Asia; the emergence of the third world bloc marked a watershed in the world bipolar power system and turned it into a multipolar system in which the developing nations of Africa, Asia and Latin American became an effective power bloc in international politics.[6] In 1970 the 'cold war' had thawed and the era of 'detente' had began; African nations had gone through several tests of independence and self-government manifesting themselves in governmental instabilities, economic and financial crisis and military coups; Western Europe was in a new economic boom and

and competition with U.S. and Japan and increased trade with third world nations was increasing general world prosperity; Indochina was engulfed in war and the U.S. was caught in it. These two periods were quite active and may yield good comparative data. The months in sample to a large extent reflect trends of events in the respective years. In June 1960 the Eisenhower-Kruschev summit in Paris collapsed over U.S. spying incident and general espionage; King Hassan of Morocco assumed total power; student riot in Japan cancelled Eisenhower's planned visit and threatened to topple Primier Kishi's government; civil war was breaking in the newly-independent Congo; the new Cuban communist regime seized U.S. proeprty and U.S. retaliated by cutting its sugar-import quota from Cuba; racial violence in South Africa; Adolf Eichmann, Hitler's henchman, was secretely captured by Israeli agents in Argentine; Adnan Menderes was over-thrown in Turkey, etc. etc. June 1970 had its own unique and rightful share of events: labor government was defeted in British elections; Nixon was formulating the Vietnanization policy; U.N. celebrated its 25th anniversary; world-wide oil rush; a new dilemma in the Middle-East; world-wide student riots; Suharto of Indoensia visited U.S.; Japan's auto production now 2nd in the world, etc. etc. The chronology of events, almost endless, exhibit the wide ranging and differing happenings across the globe. The purposive sampling of the month of June for the two periods was done for a number of reasons. First a simple straight-line assumption would mean that June being midway in the year, would show as much of old news events development as it would show the beginning of new events and a periscope of possible future trends. Secondly, sampling

a whole month would hopefully enable us to see unbroken trends over this period and from it we may be able to make certain conjectures and substantive speculations. The significance of a continuous 'time-perspective' in communication research have elsewhere been suggested and underscored by Karl E. Rosengren;[7] this theoretical suggestion, as has been discussed earlier, will enable us to see trends in 'attention' to regions, to subject matter and possibly to specific issues and problems. And thirdly, since each month of the two periods is relatively busy and unique in its own way, we assume that the sampled month would be unbiased. It is possible that the operation of peculiar and abnormal factors in any month of any year could make it unrepresentative and biased to such a degree as to question the validity of the results; however for the reasons stated above and the average quite and noise of events during the two months, it is hoped that bias has been minimized. The relatively equal sizes and ciruclation rates of the three newsmagazines is an added factor to reduce bias that might stem from inter-magazine differences as the cumulative Appendix II illustrates. There is very little difference between the three newsmagazines. In fact Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report have equal total spaces (pages) during the sample period. This relatively little differences of certain general characteristics is likely to overcompensate for any biases stemming from inter-magazine differences over the study period.

Identifications, Definitions and Item Analysis

Our starting point is the analysis of foreign news. Therefore foreign news story is our unit of analysis. News was defined as all non-

advertising printed matter in a newsmagazine (text, picture, and tabular information) including cartoons and any sorts of graphic or pictorial illustrations; for codification and analytic purposes these are simply identified as either printed matter or picture. Tabular information is considered text and all pictorial illustrations and drawings are considered as pictures. Letters to the editor are excluded for the simple reason that they are too numerous, and in most cases related to subjects published long ago, and hence unwieldy.

The world, meaning the outside world, was defined as all territories outside the legal geopolitical boundaries of the United States where these newsmagazines under study are published. The general rule for the identification of foreign news is that the bulk of information and its subject matter deal with events in and of other parts of the outside world.[9] However, international events in which the U.S. and/or other countries are involved, whether it occurred in U.S. soil or abroad was considered foreign news: for example a foreign officials visiting U.S., a U.S. official visiting abroad or conducting negotiations at U.N. are all considered foreign news. Since all news stories in the newsmagazines lack datelines and are usually produced by teams of researchers, reporters and writers, the source of the news was hence not considered an important element of identification. Therefore generally foreign news here is defined as any news about foreign or international events and will be identified by one or a combination of the following:

1. Foreign subject materials

2. Origin U.S. or abroad, but about a foreign topic. [This applied to only very few cases especially in U.S. News and World Report when a dateline appeared, though credit had been given to the team that produced the story].

3. About international agencies or events, e.g., U.N., NATO, OAU, OAS, sports, exchanges, conferences, agreements, etc. between or among nations.

4. Pictures, cartoons, graphs, tables, and drawings about foreign or international subject or event.

The unit of analysis was the foreign story or item which we defined as a substantively and typographically distinct unit of relevant printed matter and its accompanying pictures or pictorial illustrations. Several items sharing the same headline were considered separate items if they were substantively and typographically distinct. Each item was marked, measured and coded separately, except that a block of tabular information from abroad printed without other text, such as financial, weather or sports statistics, were to be considered a single item. All foreign news located on any page other than the two cover sheets were identified and coded. Foreign cover storieswere identified and coded; domestic stories on the cover were also identified and coded to be used for analytic comparative purposes. The regional and subject-matter characteristics of the news story were identified and coded and the primary and the secondary theme [not more than one for the purposes of this study] were identified and coded.

On the basis of general geographical and geopolitical consideration the world, meaning the outside world, was divided into ten regions in

which the foreign or international news events were happening. These regions include Africa, Asia, Canada, China, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Middle-East, Russia, Western Europe, and the World. Distinctive regions in the capitalist, socialist and 'third' worlds, as appear in the regionalization, would thus make more handy reference areas, than would the individual 160 odd nations in the world. Groups of/or individual islands geographically related or near to each of these regions was treated under that region, e.g. the West Indies was considered part of Latin America, etc. The region entitled 'world' related to the whole community of nations and was almost always related to international events.

The subject-matter, which was also to be identified and coded, was categorized under ten broad headings. The subject-matter was defined as the dominant theme; one other secondary them was coded, and this was done largely to allow us to see which themes and related issues and problems were more compositely treated, an element which might indicate or reveal some significance. The thematic categories were:

1. Political-Diplomatic News
2. Military-Defense News
3. Economic--Business News
4. Cultural News
5. Social News
6. Human Interest Stories
7. Disaster and Crime
8. Science and Invention
9. Education
10. Miscellaneous

'Political-Diplomatic' news consist of all such news as relate to authorities or would be authorities of a state and/or its subdivisions

or/of an international body performing similar functions. These will include domestic events, diplomatic events and such other events in which such authority or authorities were involved. We would note whether the nations of the event was conflictual or nonconflictual.

'Military-Defense' news consisted of all such stories with a military-defense theme, regarding conflict, arm deals, peace negotiations or settlements and the armed forces.

'Economic-Business' news was defined as transactions that pertain to the acquisition and allocation of goods and services between individuals, institutions or goverments. These will deal with trade, investment, general development reports or problems of daily economics, e.g., inflation, strikes, industrial unrest and poverty.

'Cultural' news consisted of all news about entertainment, festivals, art, books, religion, music, sports and the general social customs or habits of groups of people. Religion was included in this category because it was considered as one element of societal ethics.

'Social' news were those about people and their relationships with one another except when those pertain to government or are of the other categories.

'Human Interest' stories were defined as those concerning the oddities, the so-called brightness, and these are usually sensitive and real dimension of human life, e.g., in Argentine a flight was banned to a small airport because people continue grazing their cows or about a funny advertisement in London Times looking for a young house-maid whose pay would be one gentleman.

'Diaster and Crime' news includedthose dealing with natural or man-made accidents and disaster, e.g., automobile crash or earthquake, and those thatcontravene established norms of society and consequently warrant social/legal sanctions, e.g., enbezzlement, murder, rape and such others defined by a constituted authority as criminal. Diaster and crime were collapsed together because usually most members of society do not condone them or are afraid of them.

'Science and Invention' stories that dealt with scientific work or inventions, excluding science - education which was coded under 'education'.

'Education' news included those stories about schools and educational institutions, and about educational problems and policy problems.

'Miscellaneous' news consist of all those news stories that couldn't be categorized under any of the other categories satisfactorily.

Detailed aspects of all definitions so far can be found on the coding instrument which was developed and revised starting from the pilot survey to the further discussions with Dr. Gerbner and other discussions with my two coding assistants.

Other characteristics of the story items that were identified, measured and coded for the purposes of this study included a secondary theme, length of story, number of accompanying pictures, cover story/ stories and international actors. A secondary theme of a story was one that was prominent and emphasized but was not the dominant theme; when many secondary themes were present only one, which appeared more prominent

than the rest in the judgment of the coder, was selected and coded. The length of a story was the total column inches covered by the story even if it jumped to other pages.[10] Pictures, accompanying each story or standing alone with no text, consisted of all photos, drawings and pictorial illustrations were coded; their sizes or depiction were not coded for this study. Cover story/stories, usually being the leading topic/topics of the week were also identified and coded. International actors, i.e., when two or more persons, groups or countries at the international stage were the focus of the events, were identified and codified on the regional basis of capitalist, socialist or 'third' worlds.

Thus each story item was analyzed from the perspectives of its various physical characteristics and content characteristics as summarized below:

1. Region of event
2. Subject-matter of story -- both the primary and a secondary theme
3. Length of story
4. Pictures accompanying story
5. Cover story (if it is) -- whether foreign or domestic
6. International actors (if it was an international news story)

The immediate question is how would these elements help us answer the research question and enable us to make valid statements and suggestions about foreign news coverage and the portrayal of foreign lands to the memebers of the society which these organs of the news media serve? These and other reliability and validity questions will be discussed in the next section and also in the fourth chapter.

It is pertinent at this stage to briefly mention other significant aspects of the procedural work. Two coding assistants, an American and a foreigner, helped in the process of coding. Drill exercises between the three of us ensured that they got familiarized with the details of all definitions. They worked independently and in subsequent discussions some reliability problems were minimized. I prepared a master list of all the foreign items, in order that easy references could be made in the discussion of the results and conjectures that were made. Since this study did not specifically delve into any subjective phenomenon, except by way of conjectural discussion, the summary section of the coding instrument was used to summarize, clarify and tabulate the data. The data in the summary section was quite brief and uncomplicated, and consequently a desk computer was used for all computations. The data collection and organization took one and a half month and the writing of the report together with discussion lasted another two months, all between beginning January 1977 to mid-April 1977.

Theoretical and Methodological Problems

This study investigated foreign news coverage by selected U.S. newsmagazines. I was interested in selecting those elements and characteristics of the foreign news items which would indicate how 'attention' and 'emphasis' were allocated to different regions and different subject-matter. The degree to which these characteristics would provide valid results would thus be the

degree of the validity of the data and the results. Since this study was largely quantitative, it was probable that these measurements would satisfactorily portray the amounts of 'attention' and 'emphasis' and from extra media data we might corraborate these and hence cross-check other validity questions. Whatdid we expect these characteristics to reveal relevant to the problem of the investigation? The differences in the quantity of stories and types of stories might tell us either the relative significance of a region in the eyes of the U.S. media or U.S. national interest; some communication studies have revealed contradictory answers to this: Walter Lippman had shown direct relation of U.S. national interest and foreign reporting,[11] T.C. Yu Frederick and John Luter had shown that no such direct relation exist.[12] Length of story and number of pictures would be good indicators of 'attention' and as a technique of the media to draw instant interest of the reader. Cover stories of newsmagazines are strategic placement and techniques of drawing attention and emphasizing subtle ideas to the readers as Gerbner had shown in another study.[13] Usually a cover story is the climax or continuing climax in the development of news events, and such a story is usually extensively discussed under various headlines and themes thus becoming so pervasive that the reader has to take notice/interest in it. The underlying idea for identifying and measuring the regional actors in international events is the presumption that it might show us trends in interactions between nations of the Eastern, Western and 'Third' worlds or developed and underdeveloped nations.

Another validity problem is: since no specific qualitative measures were used for this study how valid would speculations and conjectural

discussions be? There is no simple answer to this, however, social science sometime gains some insight from limited speculation because the subjective dimension of human behavior and events sometime defy easy quantification. And such conjectures if made by corraborating media and extra-media data may be useful statements; Karl E. Rosengren[14] and John David Dupree,[15] as revelantly discussed earlier, have suggested and discussed this need and the problem.

How reliable were the definitions and how reliable was the instrument? The regionalization of the outside world into ten regions was for the purposes of this study, and merely tried to create regions that would easily be identified with Eastern, Western, and 'Third' Worlds since these three 'worlds' would also feature in our discussions. The subject-matter categories theoretically were not exhaustive, but from the empirical results of the pilot survey done earlier, and subsequent reliability tests carried out, they were found to be very satisfactory. These categories were made very broad as a check to a potential reliability problem: it was noted that these newsmagazines contain news stories that are well researched, detailed and backgrounded to the extent that a single story item could have anything between two to nine themes. Therefore the subject-matter category of a story was determined only by its primary theme [a secondary theme was only coded for another different dimension of the research discussion]. Since all stories in the magazines have these composite themes the arbitrary elimination of secondary themes as determinants of identification, it was hoped, would cross-cancel errors, and thus give us fairly reliable measures with which to conduct the investigation of this

study. From an 'objectivity' point of view the variables here were easily measurable because they were not subjective; a reliability test of the subject-matter categorization between me and the two coding assistants yielded fairly reliable coefficients on the basis of the standard of Scott's formulae. The inter-coder agreement formulae developed by William A. Scott.[16] was used and the following Table VI shows the results.

Summary

By looking at the general physical characteristics of these news-magazines we have tried to emphasize their comparability for the purpose of this study: elite-oriented, with a national circulation of over one million each, a cosmopolitan attitude and foreign editions, a readership with intense foreign affairs and foreign policy interest, and their own correspondents abroad, these magazines are good sources for understanting the relation being the media, public opinion, and foreign policy and of the images they create of foreign lands and the issues and problems of international relations they lay down for public discourse. 1960 and 1970 were selected for comparative purposes and also because they cover a decade that exhibited important dramatic events that affected the structure of the international system. June was selected as the sample month because it was mid-year and hopefully would exhibit old, current and emerging events and also to permit us to use the 'time-perspective' idea to observe trends over a continuous one month period. Finally the unit of analysis, foreign news story, was identified and its characteristic to be measured were identified and defined.

TABLE VI

Inter-Coder Agreement Coefficients on Subject-Matter

Subject-Matter	Coefficient
Political/Diplomatic News	.015
Military/Defense News	.020
Economic/Business News	.017
Cultural News	.027
Human Interest Stories	.026
Diaster/Crime	.024
Science/Invention	.016
Education	.020
Miscellaneous	.030

Note: According to Scott these levels are reliable. According to this reliability test all agreements below .05 are significant and reliable; unsignificant and unreliable agreements would have coefficients ranging between .05 to 1.00.

Ten geopolitical regions were selected from general consideration of geographic and geopolitical factors. Ten subject-matter categories were created and were operationally defined. And finally the theoretical and methodological problems of the central reliability and validity issues were discussed: it was felt that the numerous revisions of the instrument, the elimination of subjective measures and the breadth subject-matter categories and some underlying assumptions have minimized reliability problems; and the various measures by providing certain kind of information, largely nonsubjective, would ensure high degree of validity of the results. The use of extra-media data for corraborative support would allow for a limited amount of speculative and conjectural statements. Other problems related to the methodology will be further discussed later in this report.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the findings of the study. It is divided into two sections: the first presents the data from the perspective of the elements of the measures of 'attention' and 'emphasis' as placed by the newsmagazines on different regions and different subject-matter, and also how the newsmagazines exhibited differences and similarities in their coverage of foreign news; the second section is an attempt to use some of the quantitative data to make some qualitative inferences and statements. Discussions of possible meanings and implications are carried on side by side with the data analysis. The first section essentially answers the first two specific questions of this exploratory study and the second section tackles the other two specific questions (see page 27).

I. Attention Measures and Observed Trends

Foreign news coverage by the newsmagazines was fairly extensive. During the two periods of the study there were 661 foreign news stories, covering a space of 9863 column inches and these stories were accompanied by 649 pictures. How this was done, its specific meanings and its general theoretical and empirical implications are tackled throughout this chapter. We may appreciate the extent of this coverage by comparing the total foreign news space to the total printed space of the magazines used during the period of study;[1] the average space devoted by each magazine during the period, 11.1%, was considerable, and in fact much

larger than many major daily newspapers,[2] (see Table VII). This is indicative of the potentials in the coverage and treatment of foreign news and events by these newsmagazines.

How much attention? How much emphasis? And what meaning? Table VIII shows how the three magazines covered the ten regions during the 1960 and 1970 in terms of number of story items. Out of a total of 661 news stories in the three newsmagazines during 1960 and 1970, Western Europe and the World had more than half, and the World alone had more than one third. In regional percentage representation the situation appears in the % column in Table . World and Western Europe had more than 60% (34.0% and 27.4% respectively). Out of the other eight regions, only Asia had more than 10%, the rest having percentage amounts ranging from Eastern Europe with 1.9% to Latin America with 6.2%. By combining the percentages we can appreciate further the narrow dispersion of news regionally. For example the World, Western Europe and Asia combined had 72.0% of total stories and the other seven regions had only 28.0%. Thus in terms of number of stories, the bulk of the third world region, other than Asia, the communist bloc and Canada received very little attention. Space allocation exhibit the phenomena of dispersion in another way as shown in Table IX. Out of a total news space of 9863 inches, more than half was devoted to world events, which totaled 5907 inches. The other nine regions received the other half but with none of them having up to 1,000. Western Europe had about 900; Mid-East and Asia had each between 500 to 800; Africa and Latin America had each between 200 to 400; and Canada, China, Eastern Europe and Russia had each less than 200 inches. In

TABLE VII

Foreign News Space as Percentage of Total Printed Space

Magazine	Total Printed Space	Total Foreign News Space	% of Foreign News Spaces
Time	23,571	2768	11.7%
Newsweek	25,974	2549	10.9%
U.S. News and World Report	26,352	2201	8.7%
Total	75,897	9863	$\bar{X}$ = 11.1%

TABLE VIII

Number of Stories by Region, Period and Magazine

Region	Time 1960	Time 1970	Newsweek 1960	Newsweek 1970	U.S. News & World Report 1960	U.S. News & World Report 1970	Totals	Cumulative Regional %
Africa	10	1	5	3	6	----	25	3.8
Asia	25	17	7	16	2	3	70	10.6
Canada	3	3	5	2	5	----	18	2.7
China	----	1	8	1	3	2	15	2.3
East Europe	2	3	2	5	1	----	13	1.9
Latin America	12	5	6	6	11	1	41	6.2
Mid-East	7	8	9	8	5	2	39	5.9
Russia	5	2	12	5	11	1	36	5.0
West Europe	51	42	37	40	6	3	179	24.4
World	18	10	42	27	81	48	226	34.0
Sub-Totals	133	92	132	113	131	60	661	
Totals	225		245		191			
$\bar{X}$ by Region	22.5		24.5		19.1		66.1	100.0

TABLE IX

Space Allocation by Region, Period and Magazine
(in column inches)

Region	Time 1960	Time 1970	Newsweek 1960	Newsweek 1970	U.S. News & World Report 1960	U.S. News & World Report 1970	Total	Cumulative Regional %
Africa	105	3	27	30	78	----	243	3.0
Asia	222	224	21	198	5	81	771	7.8
Canada	17	12	44	12	65	----	150	2.0
China	---	1	20	2	7	110	140	1.9
Eastern Europe	7	47	6	83	1	----	144	2.0
Latin America	102	61	36	65	62	40	366	3.7
Mid-East	69	148	84	143	45	69	558	5.7
Russia	16	18	47	56	26	15	178	2.3
Western Europe	366	136	238	67	28	72	907	9.0
World	477	717	518	252	2028	1814	5907	61.0
Subtotals	1381	1387	1014	1508	2345	2201	9863	100.0
Grand Totals	2763		2549		4546		9863	
$\bar{X}$ =	276.3		254.9		454.6		986.3	100.0

percentage terms the regional allocation of space appears in the % column. Clearly 61% of total space allocated by the three newsmagazines to world affairs dwarfed the other regions as less important, at least in amount of attention. None of the other nine regions had up to 10% of the total space allocated to it.

We have so far seen attention allocation in terms of number of stories devoted to and space allocated to regions. Of the ten subject-matter categories in this study there was found also differential distribution. Table X shows cumulative space allocation by subject-matter during 1960 and 1970. By far the largest space was allocated to political/diplomatic affairs; military/defense and economic/business had each between 1000 to 2000 inches with cultural affairs following them. The rest had between 100 to 300 inches, except education and miscellaneous which had each 18 and 47 inches respectively. The percentage weights of each of the ten subject-matter is shown in Table XI. Political/diplomatic, military/defense and economic/business, with 75% of the total news space, therefore received more attention in this dimension. The other subject-matters had different percentage weights ranging from education with 0.2% to cultural news with 9.8% and the rest lying in between. What do all these differences in differential allocation of attention and emphasis in terms of space and number of stories to various regions and subject-matter mean so far? From this cumulative data we can thus far say that the World, Western Europe and Asia occupied the attention of the three newsmagazines more than events in the other parts of the world. Also world and foreign problems and issues that dealt with political/diplomatic, military/defense and economic/

TABLE X

Space Allocation by Subject Matter, Period and Magazine
(column inches)

Subject-Matter	Time 1960	Time 1970	Newsweek 1960	Newsweek 1970	U.S. News & World Report 1960	U.S. News & World Report 1970	Totals
Political/Diplomatic	612	437	669	356	1453	969	4496
Military/Defense	165	520	14	582	146	532	1959
Economic/Business	123	75	72	166	342	676	1454
Cultural	344	216	145	216	46	----	967
Social	47	36	33	136	10	----	262
Disaster	11	34	25	79	----	----	149
Science/Inventory	25	34	40	73	42	15	229
Education	----	18	----	----	----	----	18
Human Interest	50	18	----	----	293	----	361
Miscellaneous	4	----	21	----	13	9	47
Subtotals	1381	1387	1041	1508	2345	2201	9863
Subtotals	2678		2549		4546		
$\bar{X}$ =	276.8		254.9		454.6		986.2

TABLE XI

Space Allocation by Subject Matter, 1960 and 1970

Subject-Matter	% Allocation of Total Space
Political/Diplomatic	40.0%
Military/Defense	20.0%
Economic/Business	14.0
Cultural	9.0
Social	2.7%
Diaster/Crime	1.5%
Science/Invention	2.3%
Education	0.2%
Human Interest	3.7%
Miscellaneous	0.60%
	100.00

business affairs dominated the attention of these magazines, and by extension that of their audience. With more data later on, more will be said on these observations.

The data discussed so far dealt with the cumulative coverage and treatment of foreign news and events. A wider analysis dealing with the comparative coverages by the magazines and the trends over the period would give us more insight. Table XII shows composite figures of weekly number of stories by magazine and period. No significant differences were found between the magazines in each of the two periods and across the two periods. However visible differences clearly exist and these may become increasingly important, in terms of creating long-term trends. For example there seemed to have been a substantial decrease of total news between 1960 and 1970 and a significant difference exist at the 5% level thus possibly indicating major changes elsewhere that affected the decrease in cumulative number of news stories; in 1960 there was a total of 406 news stories as compared with 263 in 1970, a decrease of 35.3%. The possible and potential importance of such trends will be further discussed later. Another form of trend is visible from the way the three newsmagazines allocated space and pictures through the weeks of the study period (Tables XIII and XIV). During 1960 and 1970 in terms of sp allocation the trend was not visible; however there was a slight increase in foreign news space of about 321 inches or about 7% increase in total space allocation. Also the illustrative elements of pictures, graphics, etc. increased by 41 pictures or about 13% increase. Thus sofar we have observed decreasing trend in number of stories and increasing space and pictures between 1960 and 1970 i.e., contradictory trends in the same

TABLE XII

Number of Stories: By Week, Magazine and Period

Period	Magazine			
June 1960	T	N	USN	Total
6th	32	26	43	
13th	38	34	36	
20th	31	34	27	
27th	32	38	25	
	133	132	131	406
Weekly $\bar{X}$	33.25	33.00	32.75	
June 1970				
1st	13	24	11	
8th	21	21	12	
15th	23	25	13	
22nd	19	19	14	
29th	16	24	10	
	92	113	60	263
Weekly $\bar{X}$	18.4	22.6	12.00	
Total Items for 1960 and 1970	225	245	191	
Cumulative Weekly $\bar{X}$ -	25.00	27.2	21.2	

Abbreviations Used: T = Time, N = Newsweek, USN = U.S. News & World Report

TABLE XIII

Space Allocation and Pictures by Magazine 1960

June 1960	Time		Newsweek		U.S. News & World Report		Total	
	Inches	Pictures	Inches	Pictures	Inches	Pictures	Space	Picture
6th	293	17	241	28	706	23		
13th	470	22	253	18	583	42		
20th	283	23	206	32	528	19		
27th	345	26	341	20	528	34		
Total	1391	88	1041	98	2345	118		
Weekly $\bar{X}$	347.7	22	360.2	24.5	474	29.5	4777	304

TABLE XIV

Space Allocation and Picture by Magazines 1970

June 1970	Time		Newsweek		U.S. News & World Report		Total	
	Inches	Pictures	Inches	Pictures	Inches	Pictures		
1st	191	15	327	29	343	17		
8th	270	26	243	16	489	22		
15th	284	35	275	24	470	18		
22nd	331	23	259	21	531	23		
29th	311	34	404	30	368	12		
	1387	133	1508	120	2201	92	5098	345
Weekly $\bar{X}$	277.4	26.6	301.6	34	440.1	18.4		

phenomenon.

In comparing the three newsmagazines a third and final area where a trend was observed was in the allocation of number of stories by subject-matter between 1960 and 1970. This was the trend of decreasing number of stories, that was earlier observed, but here from the perspective of individual subject-matter. The trend here is puzzling, some having dramatically gained and others having dramatically dropped; this is clear from the column with percentage weights in Table XV. The number of political/diplomatic stories between 1960 and 1970 dropped by 58%; military/defense rose by 13.6%; miscellaneous rose by 86%; disaster/crime rose by 50%; while human interest news dropped by 76%, science/invention by 37%, cultural by 25%, economic/business by 15% and social news by 6%. This trend looked at in conjunction with the other trends may provide some insight, that is the task of the next section.

II. Qualitative Analysis

One of the theoretical assumptions underlying this investigation is that the news media through their regular surveillance of the world around us, through their use of certain implied or explicit values and frameworks, through their pervasiveness in the life of the citizens and through their easy accessibility for citizens in a democratic society, are able to define issues and set agenda for public discourse. Other related assumptions posit that the news media through its ability to surveil the outside world and define issues, goes a long way to directly and/or indirectly influence the public foreign policy audience and the policy makers, and consequently in a wider way influence the direction

TABLE XV

Subject-Matter by Magazine and Period
(Number of Stories)

Subject Matter	Time		Newsweek		U.S. News & World Report		Total	Total	Percent Change Over Period
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	
Political/ Diplomatic	48	23	63	35	90	26	201	84	- 58%
Military/Defense	4	21	9	17	9	14	22	52	+ 136
Economic/Business	10	7	12	8	16	17	38	32	- 15
Cultural	31	17	30	25	4	--	65	42	- 35
Social	19	17	11	14	3	—	33	31	- 6
Disaster/Crime	1	2	1	1	—	—	2	3	+ 50
Science/Invention	2	3	3	1	3	1	8	5	- 37
Education	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	2
Human Interest	17	1	3	--	4	--	21	5	- 76
Miscellaneous	1	--	3	—	3	1	7	1	+ 86
Subtotals	133	92	134	101	132	59	399	262	- 30
Totals	255		245		191		399	262	- 30

and nature of world peace and progress. These general assumptions are also very true of the newsmagazines who in fact have made news reporting their primary function and raison dêtre. To be able to draw conjectures, and make statements on how these newsmagazines carry out this task and roles, we have to look at various dimensions of the data from this study. In the first section we discussed important trends observed in foreign news reporting by the newsmagazines, these include:

1. Continued dominance of World, Western European and Asian regions and affairs in the newsmagazines in 1960 and 1970 both in terms of number of stories and space allocation.

2. Continued dominance of political/diplomatic, military/defense and economic/business affairs around the world in terms number of stories and space allocation in 1960 and 1970.

3. Decrease in number of total stories between 1960 and 1970 devoted to foreign news events.

4. Increase in total space allocation and number of pictures devoted to foreign news events.

5. Irregular pattern of change of individual subject-matter in terms of number of stories between 1960 and 1970.

These trends were all visible and some of them significant, to the extent that we ask what it is that they reveal and what could be their meanings and policy implications. In the real world, the World, Western Europe, and Asia have remained relatively the most active areas in terms of power politics, interaction between nations of different political preferences and ideologies, and also areas of potential and real military/political conflicts; and I think this trend observed in the magazines

only reflected that reality. We may further appreciate these trends if we go one step backward and examine some of the major events in World, West European and Asian affairs in 1960 and 1970. 1960 was the cold war peak; Asia was just recovering from the Korean war; Third World Nations were caught in the heat of the cold war but at the same time trying to consolidate their newly acquired statehoods. Western Europe was the eastern defenses of the west against communist threats, which soon escalated into the Berlin crisis. Little wonder then the newsmagazines reflected the scale and gravity of events in these regions; a brief glance at the foreign cover stories of these newsmagazines during 1960 illustrate the points made -

Time - 1960

June 13th "Kruschev Attacks U.S."
27th "Japan: Cold War Cockpit"

Newsweek - 1960

June 6th "Cold War and Politics - Our Allies in Turmoil"

27th "Far East Fiasco"

U.S. News and World Report - 1960

June 6th "Why Student Riot Around the World?"
"Where the War Stands Now - The Kruschev Mystery"

June 13th "A New Size-Up of Soviet Weakness"
"Going Abroad - How to Keep Well"

June 20th "Communists Take Over 90 Miles From U.S."

June 27th "The U-2 Must Fly Again"

Except the second cover story in U.S. News and World Report of June 13th, 1960,all the other nine cover stories are directly or/and indirectly related to cold war issues.

In 1970 these three regions dominated foreign reporting in these magazines for similar reasons, though with some differences this time. In 1970 the cold war had thawed and was replaced by detente, but not before the cold war had spilled over to Asia and the Middle East, where the superpowers were indirectly involved. These news-magazines reflected that situation, as their foriegn cover-stories indicated -

Time - 1970

June 22nd "Middle-East in Turmoil"

June 29th "Upset in Britain"

Newsweek - 1970

June 1st "Russia in the Middle-East"
29th "The Winner Prime Minister Heath"

U.S. News and World Report - 1970

June 1st "After U.S. Leaves Cambodia?"
8th "Can Russia Take Over the Middle-East?"
15th "Nixon's Plan for Vietnam"
"U.S. Dilemma in the Middle-East"
22nd "Big Changes Inside China"
29th "World Danger Zones: U.S. Appraisals"

Out of these ten foreign cover stories only two were not related to the indirect cold war conflict in Asia and the Middle-East -- those of Time

June 29th and Newsweek, June 29th. The trend regarding dominance of political/diplomatic, military/defense and economic/business affairs were indirectly related to the first trend of regional dominance. Most of the interaction between nations at international level and also between U.S., Western Europe and Asia were of this nature. If we combine the two trends we can see that the three regions constituted the structure of interaction, and the three subject-matters the substance of the interaction. Since specific issues about those subject-matters and regions were emphasized, the views expressed, the stands taken, and the extent and nature of information provided will in a cumulative process be cultivated[3] in the thinking and actions of readers of these magazines, and others they discuss such matters with. These magazines will create frameworks of terms of reference and values on the basis of which the outside world is perceived and reported upon. The other regions and subject-matters, though not emphasized as the three leading regions and three leading subject-matters, will undoubtedly also be considered by the audience of this news media. The consideration is likely to be on a priority basis, as Gerbner had indicated and stressed in a theoretical discussion of the cultivation process by the media;[4] and it is this priority framework which may be the reader's and/or audience 'window' to the world. The first two trends by emphasizing some things through selection and sythesis were attempts to structure the outside world and produce certain understandable and easily referable images. Since the foreign policy audiences comprise both private citizens and policy-makers the ramifications of this media activity on public opinion and foreign policy may be significant, even if indirect and subtle.

The third and fourth trends seem to contradict one another, though they are different dimensions of the same phenomenon. It is possible that the number of foreign news stories dropped between 1960 and 1970, while in fact the space allocated and number of pictures increased, due to changes in directions of world events. Detente in 1970 possibly meant greater need by the news media to make more in-depth and integrated analysis of related issues instead of fragmenting them, thus the result was a decrease in number of stories but increase in space and pictures. If this is so, would it mean that newsmagazines in the U.S. have been changing the nature of their analysis? Table VIII shows that the drop in number of stories affected all the regions while there was increase in space and pictures. We may hence suggest that greater analytical and more detailed attention to various regions and issues is likely to provide readers with deeper appreciation of the outside world and people and hopefully would be a positive indication in new hopes and steps in communication between people across geopolitical boundaries. The fifth trend may be indirectly related to the third and fourth trends, in that general changes in total number of stories and total space and pictures got reflected into individual subject-matters. It is interesting to note that (see Table XV) though the number of political/diplomatic stories dropped by 58%, yet it continued to be the leading subject matter in these terms and in the other measures.

The relative importance and priority order of the various subject-matters were reflected in other dimensions, one of which is worth noting -- composition of secondary themes. Table XVI below shows that even in terms of quantity (number) of secondary themes by subject-

TABLE XVI

Cumulative Composition of Secondary Theme by Subject Matter
1960 and 1970

Subject-Matter	Number of Stories	%
Political/Diplomatic	199	48%
Military/Defense	148	36%
Economic/Business	14	3%
Cultural	11	2.0%
Social	23	6%
Disaster/Crime	2	0.5%
Science/Invention	2	0.5%
Education	—	—
Human Interest	16	4%
Miscellaneous	—	—
	415	100.0

matter, the three leading subject matters noted above still led the rest. However social and human interest stories seemed have gained substantially as secondary themes compared to their actual number as primary themes. This composition of secondary them, in conjunction with the primary themes to reveal the complex nature of foreign news reporting by these magazines as well as the complex nature of the actual news events themselves. For example as secondary themes political/diplomatic and military/defense news still constitute 84% of the total, indicating that these two subject-matters in actual world events usually are different elements of the same events. This to a large extent is a reflection of the true world. What would be of interest from the point of view of the readers and researchers would be how they would accept this structing of themes or what they will accept and what they will reject, and consequently how their foreign policy thinking is affected by this, and how in turn as active citizens they influence the media on the related issues and how they are they are portrayed.

A considerable percentage of foreign news in these magazines was of international nature, i.e., where many nations were interacting at official-diplomatic and non-diplomatic-private levels. In terms of number of stories such international events had 34.0% (see Table VIII of the cumulative totals for the study period, and also in terms of space allocated they had 60.2%(see Table IX) of the cumulative totals for the same period. Then we may ask, in today's current dimensions of conflicts and cooperation between developed countries and underdeveloped countries, and also amongst themselves, how did this news media structure this international interaction for the perception of its audience.[5]

Only the number of world news stories were analyzed for the purpose of this brief examination. (For definitions of categories, used here, see Footnote 5). Table XVII shows this interaction as the newsmagazines structured it. With 126 of the total 226 stories, which is 55.8%, there was more interaction between developed countries. Interaction at arenas and forums where developed and underdeveloped nations were interacting without distinction of status (mostly at UN or UN agencies), was second comprising 25.3% of total interaction. Interaction between a developed and an underdeveloped country or a group of developed countries and a group of underdeveloped countries in such a way that there was distinction of statuses (mostly in non UN sponsored bilateral or multilateral meetings and negotiations) comprised 18.6% of total interaction. The least interact was between underdeveloped countries which amounted to only 0.3% of total meetings. What does this result mean to readers, foreign policy audience and researchers in international communication and politics? In terms of world and world events the newsmagazines would focus the attention of the reader and foreign policy audience mainly to relations between developed countries; also substantial attention would be focused on relations between developed and underdeveloped countries and those at UN or UN sponsored forums, but nevertheless at both these levels the developed countries are likely to be leaders, than equal partners to underdeveloped countries. Interaction between underdeveloped nations was almost negligible. This media structuring of the world is likely to define for the readers and audience what nations are important and why, and what nations are less important and why; and around this scaling

the media is likely to draw images about what the world system is, what it was and what it is changing into. During the period of this study I would conjecture that the media pictured the division of the world as it was,because within that decade, most of the third world countries had just emerged into nationhood and were and still are struggling with problems of economic development and industrialization,and hence most of their relevant/important relations were with the developed countries rather than with each other. For the research a relevant question would be how the structure and images drawn by the media are perceived by the foreign policy audience, and in what ways they interact with public opinion and foreign policy making.

We now turn to the last qualitative exploration,which deal with to what extent could we say any of the above findings have relevance to any of the four propositions of the Galtung-Ruge hypothesis on foreign news.[6] In terms of military-political commitments and investments abroad. U.S. has more interest in Western Europe, Asia and through UN agencies, and hence the greater attention paid by this news media to these areas (see Table VIII and XV). Since every media serves the social structure that supports it, these newsmagazines made greater surveillence of areas strategic to U.S. interests. The proposition of significance of proximity as a criteria in determining what foreign news events are newsworthy, is only partly supported by the data Latin America received substantial attention (6% of total number of stories) which supports the proposition; but Canada where U.S. has both large investments and are neighbors received very little attention (only 2.7% of total number of stories) which thus rejects the propositon. Western Europe which is

culturally similar to U.S. received great attention (27% of total number of stories) and hence lends support to the propositon which says cultural similarity is a determinant factor in determing what outside regions are newsworthy to a national media. At regional level the greater level of interaction between developed countries (See Table XVII) would suggest support for the fourth hypothesis, which says significance of a foreign country/region as a factor in international politics, is a determinant factor in selecting events within it as newsworthy by the national media. However those conclusions are merely tentative and not determinative; and the data of this study is not broad enough to answer questions about the Galtung-Ruge theory satisfactorily.

This section has tried to use the quantitative results in conjunction with the theoretical and empirical assumptions of the study, together with certain commonly known events that happened or are happening in the world to make some qualitative statements. We tried to explain the main trends observed. The composition of secondary themes indicated that many of the major news events were dimensions of the same major event or events; for example military/defense, political/diplomatic and economic/business news appear together in many story items. It was also found that at the international evel there was more interaction between developed countries and least between underdeveloped countries. Some of the findings lend support to the propositions of the Galtung-Ruge theory.

Summary

Using elements of pictures, number of stories and space allocation as measures of attention we found that greater attention and emphasis

TABLE XVII

Interaction at International Level by Major Geoeconomic Blocs
(by number of stories)

Interactions	Times 1960	Times 1970	Sub-total	Newsweek 1960	Newsweek 1970	Sub-total	U.S. News and World Report 1960	U.S. News and World Report 1970	Sub-total	Totals	Total Regional %
Between DC	12	6	18	28	11	39	44	25	72	126	55.8%
Between DC and UDC	1	2	3	6	12	18	11	10	21	42	18.6%
Between UDC and UDC	1	-	1	2	1	3	3	---	3	7	0.3%
General	4	2	6	6	3	9	20	16	36	51	25.3%
	18	10	27	42	27	69	78	51	132	226	100%

Abbreviations:

DC = Developed Country/Countries

UDC = Underdeveloped Country/Countries

General - This refers to interaction among nations of various statuses with no distinction based on status (mostly at UN or UN agencies).

was placed on World, West European, and Asian regions and also to political/diplomatic, military/defense and economic/business affairs. However substantial attention and emphasis were placed on the other regions and problems. There was very little differences between the magazines; however in terms of number of stories U.S. News and World Report had more on World affairs and Times and Newsweek had more on West European affairs, with very little difference on the other regions. In intermagazine differences only one significant difference was found and it was between U.S. News and World Report and Times in terms of number of stories reported in 1970. The qualitative findings suggest that the trends found is attention and emphasis and intermagazine reporting pattern were good indicators and reflectors of the real outside world. The policy implications of all the findings were discussed and it was felt that there is some important influence that this news media might have on public opinion and foreign policy formation by directly or indirectly influencing policy makers and community leaders, as an earlier study by Alfred O. Hero had indicated.[7]

We now turn to the last chapter to look at most of the problems encountered, the limitations of the research, other discussions and suggestions emanating from this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding chapters we presented the problem, methodology of investigation and the study results and findings. Some of the problems encountered have been partly touched upon as well as possible meanings, ramifications and policy implications of the findings. In this last chapter we will discuss these problems further and conclude with what ideas and directions the study suggests.

Problems and Limitations

The springboard of this study was Gerbner and Marvanyi's benchmark study of the press systems of the world.[1] That study having discussed the significance of international communication, and having shown that each press system has a different image and outlook of the outside world, suggested the need for detailed study of each press system so that comprehensive data may be generated for more large scale and sophisticated comparative studies. I chose to look at the news media of the American press system and I further narrowed down by selecting the news magazines. This narrowing down had its advantages and disadvantages. It made the data more easier to grasp and removed the need to compare across with the other organs of the news media. At the same time the inability to compare instantly with other news media organs meant that we were likely to

to overgeneralize from the narrow base of this study; we tried minimizing this by reviewing and using research literature and findings that dealt with the news media from a wider angle and hence provided guidelines for generalization.

The conceptual framework was made broad enough to allow us to (1) see the post-world war II world's setting within which we can appreciate the need for communication between different people for the promotion of peace, (2) reveal the pervasiveness of the media in the lives of people today and as the main channel by which they come into contact with the outside world, (3) that the dynamic nature of the 20th century in both its industrialization and urbanization efforts was largely supported by the media,communicating values, ideas and techniques within and between geopolitical entities, and (4) consequently that if we can carefully and gradually understand the media as one of those forces that shape and define our symbolic environment we can in turn put the media to other uses. Hence we need regular stocktaking of the world around us by monitoring its images as structured and defined by the media. It may be questioned that these underlying assumptions are very optimistic compared to the real outside world; the answer to this would be that the democratic process and its solution-finding orientation is one of the critical and most important forces today,and it is the duty of the communications researcher to try and uncover some elements of this process in the media; and the news media is an equally legitimate starting point.

Having defined the research problem, the next step was to identify elements and characteristics of the foreign news story that would answer the research questions. Length of story in column inches, number of stories, pictures, foreign cover stories, geo-political region, subject-matter of story and total printed space of each magazine were identified as those elements whose analysis would show us the patterns and techniques by which the newsmagazines report the outside world for its readers and foreign policy audience. The main aim was to find trends in how these three magazines report the world and also variations in these trends between the three magazines. Since the basic problem was exploratory and the setting nonexperimental, it was felt that these various characteristics were satisfactory enough to give us a good idea about the foreign news coverage in these magazines. They would gives us good measures of the attention the news media paid to various regions of the world and various issues in form of subject-matter, and the trends over the period and within each magazines might be indicative of how the media responded to changes and events in the real world; however since this study was not using message system analysis the actual nature of the content was not measured. Couldn't we have explored other characteristics to show certain dimensions of the coverage? Of course we could, especially if we developed some qualitative measures to explore other characteristics; however this was not done because of the serious validity and reliability problems that could accompany such measures and might ultimately confound our

findings. However since subjectivity and qualitative elements are integral elements of all social phenomenon including the media developed two minor qualitative questions to accompany the main question of the investigation; these two questions dealt with (1) making qualitative statements and conjectures about the outside world from the way the newsmagazines reported it through the use of implicit or explicit extra-media data,[2] and (2) to try and briefly test the Galtung-Ruge theory from the data we had and from other sources. For the first one we wanted to suggest what influence the pattern of foreign news coverage might have on readers and audiences, especially considering that these newsmagazines are considered very influential on community leaders and policy-makers.[3] The second qualitative question was discussed from some of the findings. In answering these two questions, nothing was definitive and statements and suggestions were only tentative, and a more sophisticated and detailed research whose main focus is these two questions would be needed to answer them satisfactorily. In short the measures developed were satisfactory for the main question; and those for the minor two qualitative questions, though they pose serious validity questions, were narrowed to use data only from the findings including other known extra-media data, and even these were restrained to minimal use.

A coding instrument was constructed on the basis of the measures and characteristics identified, and their operational definitions. We presented and measured foreign news from ten geopolitical

regions which were created on the basis of common geographical and political factors. Since a news story's bulk of information had to deal with events and/or subjects of a particular region, our tenth region was called "world" and dealt with events covering many different countries. It was important to create this regional category because it would in fact provide us with data that would show us the pattern and nature of interaction between nations at international-multilaterallevel. Eight subject-matter categories were developed in the initial study proposal, but this was modified to ten: two value-laden categories 'anti-social news' and 'pro-grossive news' were eliminated and we included and added 'human interest','science/invention', 'education' and 'disaster/crime'. The categories were created by collapsing together related subjects, e.g., economics and business or political and diplomatic, into a single category. This had the advantage of providing broad categories within which we could easily fit most of the things observed during the preceeding pilot survey. However there was the fear that these ten categories wouldn't be exhaustive enough. It was difficult to avoid some kind of overlapping in one way or another since the style of these newsmagazines includes backgrounding each specific story against all its related issues in order to give the story a balance. One way we thought to minimize this was to make a separate recording of the major secondary theme of each news story (the infomration which we used later to make certain qualitative discussion), this measure gave us an idea of the relative weights and complexity of

certain subject-matters. Did all of the measures in the coding instrument measure those characteristics satisfactorily? The definition of all subject-matter and physical characteristics of the news story were discussed thoroughly with two coding assistants. A reliability test on the subject-matter categories yielded satisfactory intercoder reliability coefficients (see Table VI).

The data were organized through varying combinations of all the characteristics measured, in such a way as to give us (1) the relative 'attention' and 'emphasis' paid to the different subject-matters and regions, (2) the general nature of content of foreign reporting by looking at all the foreign cover stories, (3) who interacted with who at the international levels, this was designed to see varying interactions between developed and developing countries, (4) composition of themes in the stories for other indicators of the relevant weight and importance of different subject-matters and (5) the proportion of total foreign news space to total printed space in each magazine as a relative indicator of 'attention' to the outside world vis-a-vis other news media. The findings focused around these five centers. We discovered greater 'attention' paid to Western European, Asian and World affairs and also to issues dealing with political/diplomatic, military/defense and economic/business. The other regions and subject-matters received little 'attention.' We conjectured that looking at 1960 and 1970 these news media reflected exactly the major areas of events and substance of interaction: the 1960 'cold war' stage was reflected in 9 of the 10

cover stories in 1960, and the 'cold war' related issues and superpower politics were reflected in 8 of the 10 cover stories in 1970. There was considerably great interaction among developed countries, a moderate level interaction between developed and underdeveloped countries, and almost negligible between underdeveloped countries. The emergence of the developing nations onto the world stage had only been recent and slow, and the media perhaps only reflected this reality. The images these differential 'attentions' and 'emphases' might create on the audience are a matter of conjecture, but from the cultivation process[4] point of view, the audience would likely to see the world in this order of 'important' and 'less' important actors in international relations and politics. Especially in 1960 the audience were likely to conceive of most world events in terms of the 'cold war', but by 1970 the marginality of the cold war and greater emphasis on detente might likely make the audience begin reorienting their outlook on the world and world issues.

In an overall way these newsmagazines devoted more space to foreign news proportionate to their sizes compared to most newspapers; they devoted an average of 11% of total printed space as against the newspaper who usually devote between 2%-6% of total space.[5] This would be indicative of the great quantity the newsmagazines feeds its audience with. The Galtung-Ruge hypothesis was looked at from all these dimensions of the results and in a limited way they supported the four propositions except one aspect of one proporition, as was discussed earlier.

In the absence of much substantive evidence from the content of the actual stories, it is difficult to make a specific generalization

just from the results obtained here. However I would venture to make one, recognizing that it would take comparative and more detailed data to fully support it,: "that newsmagazines more than other news media by supplying greater and more analytic information about the outside world, would have greater influence on the thinking of the elite foreign policy audience and policy makers."

Summary

This chapter went over the main procedures of the investigation and the problems encountered and what measures were taken to minimize then in order to improve validity and reliability aspects of the investigation. Discussion here included possible meanings and policy implications of the effects these news media may have on its audience and on foreign policy making. The study itself was so limited in the sense that it only dealt with one organ of the news media.

SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research by attempting to fill some gap by providing preliminary steps and data in the study of foreign news coverage in newsmagazines, only touches on the broader question of the needs of the broader area of investigation. The broader area is international communication and the role of the mass media in that domain. First it is within such a practice of narrowing the areas of study that researchers all over the world could hope to gather detailed and

comprehensive data which could be pooled for use in broader comparative analysis. Efforts like those of Gerbner and Marvanyi[6] have underscored the need. This study, for example, by revealing that U.S. newsmagazines between 1960 and 1970 have gradually abandoned 'cold war' themes and had devoted more space, which meant more in-depth analysis, to foreign affairs, meant that trends like these were and have been emerging and researchers and policy makers should gather the relevant data for use. Also by showing that methodology, especially qualitative measures, in international communication study is yet to be fully developed means that researchers in various countries by cooperating in research, exchanging of data and subsequent seminar discussions would held in developing a good methodology or methodologies. In brief this study suggests the following:

1. Need to pay more attention to studying foreign newsmagazines since their audience comprise of foreign news in newsmagazines opinion, decision, and policy makers both at home and at the international level.

2. Need to narrow down areas of study to individual news media organs so that data could be generated faster.

3. Need for corporation between communication researchers in all parts of the world. It is in order here to say that the greatest need today in developing countries is for the rapid communications of ideas and techniques to generate faster development in society, government and economy.

The need to know and to pass and use knowledge has been as old as man, but with the coming of the modern communications technology

the social process is so radically changed that we need to monitor and analyse the mass media for the new structure and direction in information and knowledge diffusion.[7]

FOOTNOTES

Chapter One

[1]Many writers and researchers have made this observation, emphasizing government and diplomatic secrecy and the limited personal contacts between citizens of different countries as factors which tend to increase the significance of the media in international communication. See, International Communication as a Field of Study, edited by James W. Markham (Iowa University Press, 1970, Iowa) pp. i-viii and pp. 117-119. Phillips W. Davison, International Political Communication, (New York, Praeger, 1965) pp. 68-69 and pp. 327-381.

[2]The term "international communication" is here used in its simplest form meaning "people speaking to people and/or government speaking to government," i.e., citizens and groups acting as private actors and government acting as the actors responsible for legal policy decisions at domestic and international levels. For a more detailed but simple discussion of the term and concept see, International Communication as a Field of Study, edited by Markham (Iowa University Press, 1970, Iowa), pp. vii-viii.

[3]A lot of interest has been shown here by policy-makers and academic researchers. For example the 1952 and 1953 volumes of Journalism Quarterly contain more than 20 symposia papers on the problems and perspectives in international communication vis-a-vis international relations. The emphasis throughout is that America's new world leadership role in extriably links its domestic efforts with events outside.

[4]Henry Kissinger, "The End of Bipolarity," in The Theory and Practice of International Relations, ed. Fred A. Sunderman, William C. Colson and David A. McLellan, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1960) pp. 50-33. Kissinger's thesis' main thrust is that the interdependency and complexity of the new world stage necessitates a flexible and graduated policy towards both the east and the third world nations.

[5]Committee on Foreign Affairs, Report No. 2 on 'Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive', 88th Congress House Report No. 1352 April 27, 1964, pp. 6-7. Also quoted in Herbert I. Schiller, Mass Communications and the American Empire (Beacon Press Boston, 1969), p. 12.

[6]Herbert I. Schiller, 1969, ibid. For the main thrust of his ideas see especially Chapter One, pp. 1-17.

[7]_____, 1969, ibid, p. 1.

[8]This basic assumption and thesis has been dwelt on extensively by George Gerbner and Geroge Marvanyi 1974, Many Worlds of the World Press, mimeograph. The Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania, see especially pp. 3-4 where the idea that "every

system of communications serves the social structure which shapes and supports it" is discussed. See George Gerbner, "Press Perspectives in World Communication: A Pilot Study," Journalism Quarterly 38, 1961, pp. 313-327; in this study of the U.S. and Hungarian press coverage of U.N. meetings in 1960 it was demonstrated that each of the two press systems sees and treats the world differently, the U.S. press emphasizing 'procedural' problems, while the Hungarian press was emphasizing problems of 'goals and ends'.

[9] Ibid, see especially pp. 15-24.

[10] Ibid, p. 3.

[11] Phillips W. Davison, 1965, op. cit. - See especially pp. 68-69 where he discusses the media and public opinion; and pp. 327-31 where he dwells as how mass media transmits information and here he tries to show how the media's domestic activity of image formation gets translated in international relations and behavior in international politics.

[12] See Fred. S. Siebert, et. al. (ed.) 'The Social Responsibility Theory' in Four Theories of the Press , pp. 73-104. This theory suggests, in line with many other thinkers, that the press behaves within certain bounds as to maintain the system and promote changes within the established legal and legitimate frameworks of the society.

[13] Quincy Wright, cited by Phillips W. Davison in Mass Communications and Conflict Resolution (New York, Praeger, 1974), p. 5.

[14] Gerbner and Marvanyi, op. cit., p. 4.

[15] C.A. Manning calls this increased knowledge "social cosmology" and noted the increased ability of different people to relate better to each other as a result of this. The Proper Study and the U.G.O. International Relations 11, 1, 1960, p. 25.

[16] Davison, op. cit., citing Jerome D. Frank, Sanity and Survival (New York, Vintage Books, 1968), p. 231.

[17] The discussions of the concepts around these three processes, and the operation of the phenomenon they give rise to, are scattered in various books and research reports. See for example articles in Phillips W. Davison and Frederick T.C. Yu (eds.) Mass Communications Research (New York, Praeger, 1974). Robert O. Carlson (eds.) Communications and Public Opinions (New York, Praeger, 1975).

[18] Bernard C. Cohen, The Press and Foreign Policy (Princeton, New Jersey; Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 13.

[19] Ibid, 1963, p. 13.

[20] Clauss Mueller, The Politics of Communication: A Study in the Sociology of Language Socialization and Legitimation (Oxford University Press, 1973) see especially Chapter 2, pp. 43-85.

[21] See the quotes from Charles Siefmann in Bernard C. Cohen, 1963, op. cit., pp. 25-26 ff.

[22] Walter Lippman, Public Opinion (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1922).

[23] Lippmann, ibid, 1920, p. 274. Also quoted in Bernard C. Cohen, 1963, op. cit., p. 250. Actually in peruance of his study of the relationship between the media, public opinion and foreign events Lippman and Charles Merz did a study in 1920 about The New York Times coverage of the Russian Revolution between 1917-20; in Walter Lippman and Charles Merz, "A Test of the News," in The New Republic, August 4, 1920.

[24] See Bernard C. Cohen, 1963, op. cit. especially Chapter 5, pp. 133-168.

[25] See research report by Timothy Schiltz, Lee Siegelman and Robert Neal, "Perspectivies of Managing Editors on Coverage of Foreign Policy News," in Journalism Quarterly, 50, 1973, pp. 716-721.

[26] This is a well-argued and a well-discussed idea by Jerome A. Frank in Davison, 1968, op. cit., Sanity and Survival (New York, Vantage Books, 1968), p. 231.

[27] This need has been especially underscored by George Gerbner, "Cultural Indicators: The Third Voice," in Communications Technology and Social Policy, eds. George Gerbner, Larry Gross and William Melody (New York John Wiley and Sons, 1973). Charles R. Wright has also dealt with the need of regular stocktaking of trends in the media. See Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective by Charles R. Wright (2nd Edition, New York, Random House, 1975).

[28] These ideas and proposition are extensively discussed in Lucian W. Pye (ed) Communications and Political Development (Princeton, New Jersey; Princeton University Press, 1972, Third Printing). See especially Chapter 6, 7, and 8, pp. 82-148.

[29] An extensive discussion of the possibilities and potentialities of the media in these directions can be gleemed from Phillips W. Davison, International Political Communication (New York, Praeger, 1965). See especially pp. 88-91 and pp. 163-165 where he discusses access to media in democracies, and gauging potentialities of the media, respectively.

[30]For instance researches done in 1936 on how the mass media was treating the evolving conflict in Europe showed convincingly how the media predicted a war if the conflicts were not resolved in the next three years. See such articles in Journalism Quarterly 13, 1936.

[31]Charles R. Wright, 1975, op. cit., see especially pp. 25-28.

[32]The difficulty of international cooperation in this wise has been pointed out by Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit.. They have observed that the methodology for comparative studies in international communication has not been fully developed.

[33]George Gerbner and George Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit., one of their assumptions is that "every system of communication serves the social structure which shapes and supports it," p. 3. This assumption implies that on issues where the community is involved, we may expect to find the same attitudes in the different organs of the media.

[34]Johan Galtung and M.H. Ruge, "The Structure of Foreign News," Journal of Peace Research 2/1, 1961, pp. 64-91. One of the four propositions of their hypothesis holds that cultural similarities between nations is a determinant of the newsworthiness of event in their respective countries -- the consistently similar percentages of news devoted to the various geopolitical regions by the two papers in my study also supported that proposition.

[35]This problem has been explicitly observed and stated in Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit., p. 6.

[36]This is one of the inspiring ideas of the benchmark study conducted by Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit.. See statement on pp. 1-5.

[37]Johan Galtung and M.H. Ruge, 1961, op. cit.

[38]W.M. Kiplinger, "Interpret the News," Journalism Quarterly, 13, 1936, pp. 289-294.

[39]Ibid, 1936, p. 289.

[40]Roland E. Worseley, "The Magazine World," (New York Prentice-Hall, 1961). For a detailed discussion of the economics of newsmagazines and their more organized style see pp. 43-47.

[41]Worseley, 19 , ibid, p. 44.

[42]Worseley, 19 , ibid, p. 45.

[43]John H. Schacht, The Journals of Opinoin and Reportage: An Assessment (Magazine Publishers Association, Inc., Boston, 1966), p. 1.

[44]Schacht, 1966, ibid, p. 53.

[45]Schacht, 1966, ibid, pp. 1-3.

[46]Especially on how the newsmagazine is able to present all the available facts and combine them with a detailed background and then weave a well-discussed opinion see Frank Luther Mott: The News in America (Oxford University Press, 1952) pp. 15-16, 37 and 81; Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the 20th Century (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1956) especially pp. 294-327.

[47]R. Root and C.V. Root, "Magazines in the U.S.: Dying or Thriving?" Journalism Quarterly, 41, 1964, pp. 18-19.

[48]In fact it was also found that the majority of the readers read foreign affairs news from the magazines, which thus make the readership potentially very significant. See Alfred O. Hero, Mass Media and World Affairs (World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1959), pp. 65-68.

[49]Hero, 1959, ibid, p. 65.

[50]Hero, 1959, ibid, pp. 65-66.

[51]Hero, 1959, ibid, p. 66.

[52]Hero, 1959, ibid, p. 68.

[53]See Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit., especially pp. 11-16; the general trend found was that there was more news from developed countries than from developing countries and that in U.S., in particular, Western Europe dominates with Latin America and Africa having the least. Also see the foriegn news hypothesis of Galtung and Ruge, 1961, op. cit., especially pp. 64-70; from their study of Norwegian papers they feel that 'national interest' and cultural similarity are some of the determinants of newsworthiness of foreign events.

[54]Schiller, 1969, op. cit., pp. 1-6

[55]Galtung and Ruge, 1961, op. cit.

[56]See for example Anthony Amechi Ezenweze Onyisi, The Image of Africa in the American Press, 1976. M.A. Thesis, Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, pp. 15-16. In ASC Library. M.E. Fowler, Literature for International Understanding: A Survey of the Presentation of Foreign People and Cultures in Secondary School Literature Anthologies Dissertation Abstract 14, 1954, pp. 2421-2422.

[57]Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit., see map on p. 21b and pp. 23-24.

[58]International Press Institute, The Flow of the News, Zurich, 1953, p. 179; also cited by James W. Markham, "Foreign News in U.S. and South American Press," Public Opinion Quarterly, 25, 1961, p. 250.

[59]James W. Markham, "Foreign News in U.S. and South American Press," Public Opinion Quarterly, 25, 1961, pp. 259-262.

[60]Markham, 1961, ibid., p. 249.

[61]Markham, 1961, ibid., p. 251.

[62]Anthony A.E. Onyisi, The Image of Africa in the American Press, 1976, M.A. Thesis, Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania , especially pp. 15-16, 20-31, 78-89.

[63]M.E. Fowler, Literature for International Understanding: A Study of the Presentation of Foreign People and Culture in Secondary School Literature Anthologies Dissertation Abstracts, 14, 1954, pp. 2421-2422.

[64]L.J. Martin, "American Newsmagazines and the European Scene," Gazette 1960, pp. 206-221.

[65]John B. Adams, "A Qualitative Analysis of Domestic and Foreign News on the AP/TA Wire," Gazette, 10, 1964, pp. 285-291.

[66]Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit., especially pp. 23-24.

[67]Roger H. Smith, ed. The American Reading Public: What it Reads, Why it Reads (R.R. Booker, New York, 1962). This provides a very good background on different reading audiences. See especially pp. 180-192.

[68]Galtung and Ruge, 1961, op. cit.

[69]For a detailed discussion on these and research study that support the propositions see Afred O. Hero, 1959, op. cit., pp. 45-77. Other sources include, Bernard C. Cohen, 1963, op. cit., and Timothy Schlitz, Lee Siegelman and Robert Neal, 1973, op. cit.

[70]See Herbert I. Shiller, 1969, op. cit., pp. 1-19; Theodore Peterson, 1956, op. cit., pp. 294-327; and Roland E. Worseley, 1961, op. cit. pp. 33-27 and 44-46.

[71]See John H. Schacht, 1966, op. cit., pp. 1-3.

[72]On domestic issues see J.C. Hilliard, "Education and Three Weekly Newsmagazines 1954-1960," Dissertation Abstracts, 22, 1961, pp. 2655-2656; on international issues see L.J. Martin, 1960, pp. 206-221.

[73]Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit., p. 3.

[74]_____, ibid, p. 2 and pp. 23-24.

[75]Herbert I. Schiller, 1969, op. cit.

[76]_____, "International Communication, Sovereignty and Domestic Emergency," in Mass Media and International Understanding (Ljubljana, Yugolslavia School of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, University of Ljubljana, 1969).

[77]Alexander Dallin, "The News Firm Moscoro-Scholars View," Columbia Journalism Review, 2, pp. 5-8.

[78]Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit., p. 3.

[79]John V. Vilanilam, "Foreign News in Two U.S. Newspapers and Indian Newspaper During Selected Periods," Gazette, 17, 1972, pp. 96-108.

[80]Raymond F. Smith, "On the Structure of Foreign News: A Comparison of the New York Times and the Indian White Papers," Journal of Peace Research, 6, 1969, pp. 23-36.

[81]Jim A. Hart, "The Flow of Foreign News into Ohio State," Journalism Quarterly, 38, 1961, pp. 541-543. See p. 542 for this statistics.

[82] Only about 1/3 of these correspondents are U.S. citizens, the rest being locals and stringers. Also one correspondent works for many papers, magazines and networks, which gives the above figures on inflated nature.

[83]Herbert I. Schiller, 1969, op. cit.

[84]Galtung and Ruge, 1961, op. cit.

[85]Wesley L. Gould, cited by Phillip W. Davison, op. cit.

[86]T.C. Yu Frederick and John Luter, "The Foreign Correspondent and His Work," Columbia Journalism Review, 3, pp. 5-12.

[87]Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit.

[88]_____, 1974, ibid, p. 4.

[89]_____, 1974, ibid, p. 21b.

[90]Jim A. Hart, 1961, op. cit.

[91]Al Hester, "An Analysis of News Flow from Developed and Developing Nations," Gazette, 17, 1971, pp. 29-43.

[92]Source: Al Hester, 1971, ibid.

[93]Jacques Kayser, "One Weeks News: A Comparative Study of 17 Major Dailies for a Seven-Day Period," UNESCO, 1953, Paris.

[94]_____, 1953, ibid, p. 90.

[95]John David Dupree, "International Communications: View from a 'Window' on the World," Gazette, 17, 1971, pp. 224-236.

[96]Galtung and Ruge, 1961, op. cit.

[97]Raymond F. Smith, 1969, op. cit.

[98]Karl E. Rosengren, "International News: Time and Type of Report," unpublished paper, University of Lund, Sweden, September 1969.

[99]_____, 1969, ibid, p. 3.

[100]Oystein Sande, "The Perceptin of Foreign News," Journal of Peace Research, 8, 1971, pp. 221-237.

[101]Jeremy Tunstall, Media Sociology, Constable Press, London, 1970.

[102]Robert Cheesmann, "Foreign News in Broadcasting," Journal of Peace Research, 8, 1971, pp. 301-309.

[103]Karl E. Rosengren, "International News: Method, Data and Theory," Journal of Peace Research, 11/2, 1974, pp. 145-156.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter Two

[1] See page 27-28 of this study for a more detailed discussion of this. Also see Alfred O. Hero, op. cit., 1959, pp. 45-77.

[2] Alfred O. Hero, 1959, ibid.

[3] Theodore Peterson, 1956, op. cit., p. 59.

[4] L.J. Martin, 1960, op. cit., p. 206.

[5] Alfred O. Hero, 1959, op. cit. From his 1958 study and from citations of results from some pioneers in communication research (Paul F. Lazarsfeld, etc.) he showed how these newsmagazines are used by members of the upper and lower echelons of society. The idea of two-step communication flow sugguest that opinion leaders inform and influence others below them, through discussion of the news and opinions in the media. For some details on the theory of two-step flow communication, see Elihu Datz et. al. (ed.) Personal Influence (The Free Press, New York, 1955), pp. 1-136.

[6] For a good thesis on the fading out of the bipolar system, see Henry Kissinger, "The End of Bipolarity," op. cit., 1960.

[7] Karl E. Rosengren, September, 1969, op. cit.

[8] Figures of circulation rate are for 1963.

[9] The definitions in this section are all within the general patterns of definitions of similar phenomenon made in the benchmark study by Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit., see especially pp. 9-10.

[10] Time, Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report formats mostly consisted of three columns per page and each column was standardly 9 column inches thus giving a 27 column inch space for possible printed matter. In very few cases we found that the three columns were collapsed or divided into two on which the whole news story was spread; in such a case, a simple arithmatic formulae was used to convert collapsed pages into standard 3-column measures: Length = X x 1.5 in the case of a two column page, and Length = X x 3 in the case of a one-column page, X here being whatever the actual length of the column was.

[11] Walter Lippman and Charles Merz, 1920, op. cit.

[12] T.C. Yu Frederic and John Luter, 1964, op. cit.

[13] George Gerbner, "Sin, Suffer, Repent - The Social Role of the Confession Magazine," in Studies in Mass Communication, ASC Handbook, 1976, pp. 53-70.

[14]Karl E. Rosengren, October 1969, op. cit.

[15]John D. Dupree, 1971, op. cit.

[16]William A. Scott, "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding," Public Opinion Quarterly 17/3, 1955, pp. 321-325.

The formulae is : $\frac{\text{Possible Agreements - Observed Agreements}}{\text{Possible Agreements}} \times 100$

When coefficient is 0 it is perfect, when it is one it is by chance; anything lower than 0.5 is a positive reliability measure.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter Three

[1]In measuring the total printed space of each magazine the cover sheets were excluded because they are totally devoted to advertising while this is not so with the rest of the magazine.

[2]Compared to total printed space foreign news space % was found much smaller, c.f., Gerbner and Marvaryi, 1974, op. cit. especially the tables in Appendix A; and Kayser, op. cit.

[3]See Gerge Gerbner, "Cultural Indicators: The Third Voice" in Communications Technology and Social Policy (eds.) George Gerbner, William Melody and Larry Gross, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1973.

[4]George Gerbner, 1973, ibid.

[5]It is easy here to consider the interaction between geoeconomic regions, rather specific political or ideological or cultural differences/criteria, since industrialization and economic development and relations seem more profound in today's world. Developed countries here include all industrial western and communist nations, and underdeveloped countries include all third world countries; those items that dealt with interaction between many nations, developed and underdeveloped.

[6]The Galtung-Ruge hypothesis has been discussed earlier in this report (see page 22).

[7]Alfred O. Hero, 1958, op. cit.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter Four

[1]Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit.

[2]Rosengren, Karl E., October 1969, op. cit. He had convincingly argued the need for communication research to make use of extra-media data, e.g., from demography, industrial indices and other useful statistics.

[3]Alfred A. Hero, 1959, op. cit., see especially Chapter III, pp.

[4]This has been discussed earlier. See George Gerbner, 1973, op. cit.

[5]C.F. Findings by Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit. See also a short term paper I did under Dr. Gerbner in the Spring 1976. I found that The Philadelphia Inquirer devoted only 4% of its total printed space to foreign news.

[6]Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1974, op. cit.

[7]For approaches as relationship between communication technology and the social process, see Communication Technology and Social Policy, edited by Gerbner et. al., 1973, op. cit.

APPENDIX I

Coding Instrument

Foreign News Research: Foreign News Coverage in Time, Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report, Magazines.

Note: All coders must familiarize themselves with the details of all definitions as contained in the proposal for this study and the subsequent discussion of it.

Check as appropriate for each foreign news item:

A. Name of Coder _____ Date _____

Name of Magazine _____ Date of Issue _____

B. Geograhic Region of Event:

Africa ___ Asia ___ Canada ___ China ___ Eastern Europe ___

Latin America ___ Middle East ___ Russia ___ Western Europe ___

World ___

1. If Region, Specify Country if Possible:

Name of Country _____

2. If World Event, Who are the Principal Actors?

Name of Actors' (on basis of regional category) _____

3. Other

C. Subject-Matter of News Story

1. Political/Diplomatic _____

a. conflict ___ b. non-conflict ___

2. Military/Defense _____

   a. conflict ___ b. arms deals ___ c. peace negotiation or settlement ___ d. armed forces ___

3. Economic/Business ___

   a. development reports ___ b. trade ___

   c. investment ___ d. daily economics ___

4. Cultural News ___

   a. entertainment ___ b. books ___ c. art ___

   d. religion ___ e. music ___ f. sports ___

   g. other ___

5. Social News ___

   a. individual ___ b. group ___ c. other ___

6. Diaster/Crime ___

   a. crime ___ b. accidents ___ c. diaster ___

   d. other ___

7. Science/Invention ___

   a. science ___ b. invention ___

8. Education ___

   a. institutions/schools ___ b. policy problems ___

9. Human Interest ___

10. Miscellaneous ___

). Primary and Secondary Themes if Possible

   a. primary ___ b. secondary ___ (on basis of subject matter categories) ___

E. Length of Story in Column Inches _____

F. Number of Pictures/Tables/Graphs/Maps ____

a. number of cover story/stories _____

b. title of cover story/stories: foreign ____ domestic ____

SUMMARY

A. Coder _____ Date of Issue _____ Magazine _____

B. Region _____ Country _____ Actors (if world):

East _____ West _____ Third World _____

C. Subject Matter _____

D. Primary Theme _____ Secondary Theme _____

E. Length of Story _____

F. Number of Pictures, etc. _____

G. Number of Cover Story_____

a. Number of Foreign _____ Number of Domestic _____

APPENDIX II

General Characteristics of the Newsmagazine During the in Sample[8]

Period	Date of Issue	Circulation (000)			No. of Pages		
		T	N	USN	T	N	USN
	June 6				104	120	125
1960	June 13	T = 2,738			128	112	128
	June 20	N = 1,531			88	116	140
	June 27	USN = 1,256			96	108	116
	June 1				92	106	92
	June 8				87	108	96
1970	June 15				106	112	92
	June 22				90	92	100
	June 29				82	88	88
Totals			5,525		873	962	976
Averages		$\bar{X}$ = 1,842		$\bar{X}$	97	107	107

Source: My computations. For the circulation figures see footnote 8.

Note : All aveages here rounded to whole numbers; circulation rounded to the 000.

Abbreviations used: T = Time
N = Newsweek
USN = U.S. News and World Report

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