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OBJECTIVITY AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS:  
NEWSWEEK AND TIME NEWS REPORTS  
ON THE 1989 CHINESE STUDENT MOVEMENT

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A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of Master of Arts

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Jin Yang

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PITTSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY

Pittsburg, Kansas

July, 1999

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## ABSTRACT

A central question in mass media research concerns whether the American press observes the journalistic norm of objectivity or not. Some scholars believe that the American press covers international news from the American perspective. They also propose that the American press is dominated by such American ideologies as ethnocentrism, individualism, anticommunism and free market economic principles. But there are other scholars who argue that the American press holds a detached and objective manner toward international affairs.

This study attempts to apply W. L. Bennett's theory of political symbolism to approach the issue of objectivity. A content analysis is designed to examine the symbol usage of *Newsweek* and *Time* in their coverage of the 1989 Chinese Student Movement. It is assumed that referential symbols represent the objective attitude of the journalists and condensational symbols show the journalists' biased tendency in their news reports. By examining the usage of these two kinds of symbols, the author hopes that the findings will make some empirical contribution to the academic research concerning the objectivity of the American press. At the same time, a qualitative approach of text analysis in the discussion of American press ideologies will add some new evidence to the similar research.

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### Basic Issues

The news reporting in America has developed from a politically oriented reporting style to a documentary reporting fashion. This historical process indicates, objectivity, as a journalistic norm, was not born out of the air. Instead, it developed out of the sensational news reporting style and politically committed reporting practice (Bennett, 1983).

However, the issue of objectivity is still at debate partially because there is "no single, unchallenged meaning of the concept" (Rachlin, 1988, p. 6) in the research. Therefore Gans (1979) pointed out the importance of judging objectivity in relation to a specified standard.

The American press has long been charged by critics for its lack of neutrality and fairness in its coverage of international news. They claim that the American public is not given the full picture of international events. International events happen in distant areas and the American public has to rely heavily on the press to be informed about the world. Their perception of the world comes totally from the world presented in the press. In this sense, the objectivity issue stands out more obviously.

This study will explore whether the American press is covering international news in an objective and reserved manner. In other words, the author is asking whether the

American press acts as an ideological proponent and tries to appeal to readers emotionally to promote American ideologies. These issues will be examined in terms of political symbols. Specifically, this study will analyze how these symbols were used in the news coverage of the 1989 Chinese Student Movement. If the press is found to be promoting American ideologies, the study will identify the kind of ideologies.

## Significance of the Study

This study is both empirically and theoretically significant. Empirically, it investigates the issue of objectivity in the American press. Thus, as one case study, it will provide evidence to the much debated research question of objectivity: Is the American press objectively reporting news or not? On the other hand, most research on international news coverage uses newspapers as the analyzed object. This study takes newsmagazine as the studied object in the hope that it could extend its findings to embrace the wider American press.

Theoretically, the distinction of condensational and referential symbols proposed by Bennett (1983) is a very new and unique way of studying the issue of objectivity. This new approach will contribute to a better understanding of symbol usage and objectivity argument in mass media.

The 1989 Chinese Student Movement involved 1,200 different news organizations from all over the world. Its influence spread across the national border and attracted the attention of the whole world. It is considered a milestone both in Chinese history and in world history. Thus the study will enrich the research that has been conducted on this event.

### Limitations

This study, however, has some limitations. First of all, newsmagazines are issued weekly rather than daily. Compared with newspapers, newsmagazines can't give timely accounts of an event. The development and continuance of the event may be neglected to some degree. However, newsmagazines feature in-depth coverage of an event. By providing background information and knowledge of the event, the newsmagazine stories facilitate a better understanding of the event for the readers.

Second, both the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative textual discussion can only describe the news stories or reports per se. It is impossible to know how the American readers interpret these messages. The findings are merely descriptive discussions about the media messages.

## Background

After a long-time closure of its door to the world, China began its capitalist economic transformation in 1978-79. The economic reform led by Deng Xiaoping, the then leader of China, had multiple effects.

On the one hand, the average living standard of the people improved greatly compared with the past. The Chinese people experienced the benefits of the economic reform and showed their enthusiasm and support for the continuance of the reform. On the other hand, social problems arose in China one after another. Government corruption tarnished the image of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the unequal distribution of the resources and wealth aroused people's anger and indignation (Zhang and Kraus, 1995). Furthermore, the economic reform didn't initiate a consequent political reform. The severe control and restriction of political discourse started mass discontent in both cities and the countryside.

Under these circumstances, the Chinese people needed a channel to express their discontent and desires. The death of Hu Yaobang, the former general secretary of the CCP before Zhao Ziyang, provided such a chance. Students from colleges and universities in Beijing initiated protests on April 15, 1989. Then the movement spread to some major cities. The students made three major demands of the government: elimination of government corruption, freedom of the press

and speeding-up of the economic and political reform (Smith, 1992).

The Chinese government, however, not only refused to negotiate with students but adopted a stern attitude as the protest continued. They labeled the students' reasonable demands as "planned conspiracy and disturbance". This reaction ignited the participation of the citizens in the movement along with the students' hunger strike and sit-ins (Lee and Yang, 1995). The hard-liners in the government represented by Premiere Li Peng and real leader Deng Xiaoping won over the soft-liners represented by the General Secretary, Zhao Ziyang. Zhao was ousted from office as a result. Martial law was imposed in Beijing on May 20, 1989. However, the resistance to the army's entry into Tiananmen Square from citizens angered the government. On June 4, the army forced its way into the Square resulting in the killings of many people and the student movement was suppressed.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

### Objectivity

#### Definitions and Meanings

According to Schudson (1978) and Goodman (1990), the ideal of objective reporting was born in the United States. In Schudson's words, objectivity was taken as an "emblem of American journalism" (p. 9). Bennett (1983) attributed the birth of objectivity to the need for national news, expansion of American territory and an economical way of transmitting news. As a matter of fact, the formation of the Associated Press (AP) indicated that the then popular sensationalistic reporting style and politically oriented newspapers could no longer satisfy the needs of that particular time and fostered the new idea of objectivity in the journalism field. The Society of Professional Journalists defined objectivity as follows:

Objectivity in reporting the news is another goal that serves as the mark of an experienced professional and news reports should be free of opinion or bias and represent all sides of an issue (1997, p. 1).

Murdock (1980) expressed his understanding of objectivity in a more detailed and specific way.

The canon of objectivity requires that news should offer as complete a capture of events in the world as possible, and that the presentation of those accounts should not be shaped by the personal values or commitments of the journalists involved. The ideal of objectivity then, rests on the claim that news is accurate, comprehensive and neutral, and consists of independently verifiable facts that are clearly separated from expression of opinions or values (p. 460).

Unfortunately concerning the exact meaning of objectivity, journalistic practitioners, researchers and scholars have never reached an agreement. According to Schudson (1978), by the late nineteenth century objectivity meant nonpartisan and strictly factual news accounts, represented by the practice of the Associated Press. Around the beginning of the twentieth century, the common belief in objectivity was considered "a faith in facts, a distrust of rules and a commitment to their segregation" (p. 6). After World War I, the journalists realized that facts alone could not be independent of people and thus could not be trusted. Therefore, objectivity was no longer considered equivalent to facts but "consensually validated statements" about the world among the journalistic community (p. 7).

Generally in the academic research, there are three different ways of understanding objective reporting. The first approach emphasized the issue of accuracy to check the correspondence between truth and news accounts. The second approach tried to detect bias in the news, and bias is defined as a systematic distortion of reality. If the news account is biased, it failed to meet the standard of objectivity. The strategic ritual approach, however, believes that objectivity serves to defend journalists from public criticism, peer criticism and the criticism from superiors within the organizational hierarchy (Rachlin, 1988).

The accuracy issue is more or less approached by researchers from journalists' perspective. Researchers tried to identify the rhetorical mistakes or errors that journalists made in their news stories to test whether they were objective or not. However, journalists would not regard the reporting mistakes as not objective. Instead, they acknowledged that personal values or preferences and ideological commitment might influence their work and could be regarded as bias (Altheide, 1974).

This view was confirmed by Kobland, Du and Kwon (1992) that "news reporting in U.S. mass media are not simply a conveyer of independent, neutral facts about some event but are embedded with symbolic references to the particular sociopolitical relationships that produce them" (p. 72). Their case study of *New York Times* coverage of the student demonstrations in China and South Korea challenged the precept of "objective news" and displayed the biased nature of news reporting.

Bennett (1983) identified six key practices or defining elements that constitute the meaning of "objective journalism". The six elements are: adversarial role of the press, standards of decency and good taste, documentary reporting practices, the use of stories as standardized news formats, reporters as generalists and the practice of editorial review. He argued that all six defining elements unavoidably led to bias rather than guarded against bias.

The above mentioned understandings and definitions of objectivity prompted many researchers (Altheide, 1974; Gans, 1979; Bennett, 1983; Adoni and Mane, 1984; Rachlin, 1988; Goodman, 1990; Kobland, Du and Kwon, 1992) to pursue the objectivity issue in their academic inquiry and research. However, the distortion or bias consideration to approach objectivity dominated the majority of the research. Gans (1979) found out that news was considered distorted in several ways: its favor to one or another ideology, its superficiality, its concern with personalities at the cost of issues, its being given to dramatic action and exaggeration, its preoccupation with official sources and its obsession with social disorder or bad news. Adoni and Mane (1984) studied the bias aspect of news by distinguishing three realities: objective, symbolic and subjective. They affirmed that "the portrayal of objective social reality in these symbolic contents is distorted" (p. 332) and the consequent subjective reality developed the false consciousness of the individuals.

#### The Argument on the Impossibility of Objectivity

On the one hand, the journalists claimed to be objective in their professional practices. On the other hand, their works are distorted pictures of the real world. How can the conflict between the norm that guides journalists and the actual journalistic practice be explained?

Bennett (1983) explained the paradox of professional journalism in light of a hypothetical impression. He said "the news is not biased in spite of, but precisely because of, the professional journalism standards intended to prevent bias" (p. 76). His central idea is that the norm of objectivity and independence nurtured conditions favorable to one-sided and narrow official perspectives. But at the same time, the postures of objectivity and independence left the public with the impression that the news account was the best representation of reality. That is to say, professional journalism norms can both lead to the distorted political perspective and legitimate that perspective at the same time. Whether this explanation is sound needs further examination, but many other researchers and scholars attacked the issue from broader social and cultural contexts.

Lippmann (1922) in his "Public Opinion" claimed that news and truth were two distinct things. "The function of news is to signalize an event, the function of truth is to bring to light the hidden facts" (p. 358). In Lippmann's view, the news report of the journalist was only the result of his understanding of the truth according to his judgment. "He knows that he is seeing the world through subjective lenses" (p. 360). Lippmann's explanation derived from philosophical inquiry of the relationship between news and truth. He concluded that the truth was untenable through journalistic accounts. Bennett (1983), however, provided the

reasons by arguing the journalistic practices per se were the very reasons for the news distortion. For example, he argued that standards of good taste implied that offensive ideas were to be avoided and therefore drove away many "undesirable but true aspects of the real world" out of public awareness. Therefore, it was the standard of good taste that developed bias or distortion. Another reason to explain the impossibility of neutral facts in the news provided by Koblan, Du and Kwon (1992) was the congruence between journalists' world view and their society's social and political values. According to them, it was this conformity that resulted in biased news reporting practices.

#### The Argument on the Possibility of Objectivity

However, some researchers like Lichter and Rothman (1981) examined the contrast between media views and elite views on some domestic and international issues. Their research results revealed that journalists blamed business for its profit at the expense of Third World countries, and "had little regard for the wisdom and ability of major national leaders" (Altheide, 1984, p. 481). This conclusion denied the claim that there existed the congruence of journalists' views with society's elite views. Moreover, the empirical evidence collected in the 1960s and 1970s also suggested that media had functioned as "a maverick third party which never feel the sobering experience of governing" (Huntington, 1975, p. 99).

## Ideologies of American Press

Those who believed that journalists can't be objective furthered their inquiry into why and what ideologies were proposed in American press. The Marxist perspective believed that media functioned as ideological agencies to keep and maintain class domination in society (Rachlin, 1988). The study of the role of news media by Patterson (1997) furthered the evidence that ideology played an important role in news reporting especially in the interpretive style of news reporting.

Today, facts and interpretation are freely intermixed in news reporting. Interpretation provides the theme, and the facts illuminate it. The theme is primary; the facts are illustrative. As a result, events are compressed and joined together within a common theme (p. 451).

Altheide (1974) explored the origin of ideologies in the American press. He found out that journalists' own professional practice, personal values or preferences and ideological commitments influenced their work. Then what kind of ideologies were exhibited in the American press? The following scholars contributed their efforts to the investigation of the question.

Gans (1979) identified eight enduring values which commonly appeared in the American press: ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, small-town pastoralism, individualism, moderatism, the desire of social order and the need for national leadership. These eight values, together with the reality judgment, were termed by

Gans "paraideologies" to distinguish it from "the deliberate, integrated, and more doctrinaire set of values usually defined as ideology" (p. 68). But Gans admitted paraideology was ideology as well. Herman and Chomsky (1988), in their study of political economy of mass media, proposed a propaganda model with five essential ingredients or news filters: economic considerations, advertising, information source, flak and anticommunism. The final filter of anticommunism was the "ultimate evil" in the eyes of the Western ideologies and politics. Lee and Yang (1995) summarized the American media's ideologies as "pax Americana", cold war framework, individual freedom and free market economy. Pax Americana is a word coined by Hallin (1986) meaning America dominated the world capitalist system both politically and economically. Before the disintegration of the Soviet Union, its dominant position compared to other communist countries made it equivalent to the communist. Rachlin (1988) identified anti-Soviet and pro-business as two primary elements of American hegemonic ideologies.

However, the ideological character of news was not an intentional product according to Fishman (1980). It developed out of journalists' heavy reliance on bureaucratic raw materials "which are already ideological" (p. 140). Trew (1979) shared the same point of view: Social order, maintained by the organs of the state, was expressed in media through ideology to legitimate the maintenance of that order.

Thus what was expressed in media was the view of the official sources. Koblan, Du and Kwon (1992) claimed that even in pluralistic societies, unchallenged and immutable universals still remained. Since news professionals come from such a shared cultural environment, "they cannot be expected to frame their accounts as other than reflective of these assumptions" (p. 74). In other words, American journalists, being born, raised and enculturated in America, can only report events from an American perspective.

The holistic approach to the process of the social construction of reality proposed by Adoni and Mane (1984) distinguished three realities: objective reality, symbolic reality and subjective reality. According to them, since the purpose of "culture industry" was to maintain and legitimate the existing social order by providing ideological products, the picture of the objective social reality in the symbolic one could not be undistorted. The symbolic reality was permeated with ideological expressions and developed a "false" consciousness or subjective reality for the individuals. With these ideologies dominating American mass media, the American public could only learn what the media wanted it to learn and learned it in their desired way.

## International News in American Press

The conflicting arguments concerning the issue of objectivity did not stay at the level of the study of American national news in American press. American ideologies usually show themselves more obviously in the international news coverage. Therefore the research extends itself to the study of international news in American media.

### Attention Pattern

A benchmark study of foreign news coverage in nine countries representing the capitalist, socialist and "third" worlds was conducted by Gerbner and Marvanyi (1977). Their purpose was "to explore the similarities and differences in the images of the 'outside world' that each type of society projects for its members" (p. 52). They found out that two thirds of American news content was composed of events happening in Western Europe, South Asia and the Far East, North America and the Middle East. All press systems including the American press put their priority on Western Europe. The next priority for the American press was non-communist Asia and the Mideast. Its relative blind spot was Latin America. The research of Larson (1979) on international affairs coverage by US network television established the following conclusions.

1. Third World countries receive less coverage than developed nations.
2. Coverage of Third World countries contains a higher proportion of crisis stories than does coverage of developed nations.

3. Third World countries appear most often in news stories that mention the US or other developed countries.

4. Third World countries appear relatively less often than developed nations in news stories that mention only one country (pp. 137-139).

Though this news attention pattern discovered in the 1970s may no longer be true for today's American press, still the studies provided some insight into the unbalanced treatment of countries in the American press.

In his study of foreign news in four U.S. elite dailies, Semmel (1976) depicted news attention patterns in a much more specific way. Not only did he conclude that the four newspapers' news attention patterns were similar, but also he was able to trace their similarity. Generally, American press was "Eurocentric, big-power dominant and western-oriented" (p. 736). According to him, the prevailing American perspective was "economically affluent, politically powerful and culturally similar", which served as the decisive factor in its treatment of international news. Those who fall outside the mainstream of the perspective got the least attention or no attention at all. The studies of attention tell which countries are able to get into the American press. But how these countries are portrayed and reported in the press prompted researchers to explore further.

#### Coverage Pattern

Lent (1977) and Larson (1979) both studied and examined the coverage patterns. Their findings revealed that

international news coverage was crisis-oriented. Riff and Shaw (1982) reached the same conclusion in their study of coverage of Third World in two U.S. papers. They concluded that "American press throughout the 1970s tended to foster images of Third World Nations as political systems rife with conflict" (p. 626). Wilhort and Weaver (1983) observed that "conflict, however, whether violent or non-violent, does dominate foreign news, especially for the less developed countries of the world..." (p. 132). In search of the reasons to explain the tendency, Larson (1979) believed that international news coverage was affected by international diplomacy, policies and cultural heritage. Lent (1977) added that it was also influenced by censorship policies, image-building activities of the reported countries and the number of trained correspondents abroad.

Some scholars investigated American press coverage of international events of the same nature and found out the coverage was strikingly different. Herman (1985) compared the coverage of an international event to "a massive publicity campaign" in which an issue usually served the demands of a certain power group. The publicity of the event controlled and mobilized public opinion. The sharp dichotomous treatment of killings in Cambodia and East Timor and the elections in two Central American countries, according to him, revealed the intent of the media campaigns to score political points and to make important ideological statements to the public.

In all these cases dissent voices were not heard in the American press and "the propaganda framework" drove out the meaningful diversity of opinion from the media coverage. Another comparison by Entman (1991) of a Soviet fighter plane shooting down Korean Air Lines and a U.S. navy ship shooting down Iran Air Flight once again affirmed the "framing" of U.S. coverage of international news. While the first case was framed to emphasize "the moral bankruptcy" and guilt of the Soviet Union, the second case frame "de-emphasized" the guilt and projected the complex problem of technology as the reason.

Though there are many factors to filter international events into the American press, national interest functions as the most important role in the media accounts. As Lee and Yang (1995) argued, national interest transcended everything else. The media usually "rally around the flag" (p. 2) reproducing the definition, agendas and even language of the government-business of their own countries. Dickson, Hill and Pilson (1995) also admitted that though reporters lost the "cold war viewing prism", nationalism was frequently present in international news reports. The priority of nationalism in international event coverage deprived the American press the forum for public debate of issues. For example, the media addressed the demonstrations as the "pro-democracy movement" without being able to explain what it meant. The American media defined and explained democracy in the American way

(Tenney, 1992). This American definition of democracy was a series of constitutional rights such as elections, press freedom and the right to consume (Friedland and Zhong, 1996). Therefore this narrow understanding of democracy eliminated the chance for the public to pursue and reflect on the meanings of democracy and ignored the important contextual considerations of the reported countries.

#### Hegemony Approach

Among all the ideological theories, hegemony theory was the most frequent theoretical frame used by scholars in their research. The hegemony theory with its ideological perpetuation thesis put a particular emphasis on the control of ideology by ruling groups in the society. One explicit consequence of the ruling group control is the tendency of journalists "to present pro-American and negative coverage of foreign countries, especially Third World nations" (Altheide, 1984, p. 478).

Applying this hegemony principle to the comparative study of the *New York Times'* coverage of Nixon's trip and the 1989 Chinese Student Movement, Wang (1991) found the support for the thesis. She argued that American mass media has long followed the anti-communism guideline in its coverage of international events. This guideline facilitates the "good-versus-bad" distinction.

However, some researchers challenged the explanation of international news coverage by media hegemonists. Morales (1982) concluded in his study of Chile and Nicaragua coverage that

Marxism in Chile was not presented as necessary evil and the U.S. Government was not painted as an entirely innocent bystander. The absence of a strong "red menace" theme came as a surprise to this research and contradicted, as least in this instance, part of the left's critique of TV news (p. 102).

The contradictory evidence from the research necessitates the proponents of the hegemony theory to reevaluate the theory per se and justifies the need for further empirical data to test the validity of the claim. After all, if there exists the tendency of American journalists to cover other countries by the standard of American ideologies, the principle of objectivity is impossible to observe in the journalistic practice.

## CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

### Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study is designed to discover and understand how the American press covered international news. Specifically, it will examine the content of two American news magazines, *Newsweek* and *Time*, during the period when the 1989 Chinese student movement was taking place. The research questions for this study are as follows.

**RQ 1:** Did the American newsmagazines report this Chinese historical event objectively or judge the event from the American point of view?

**RQ 2:** What kind of ideological values were they using to frame this judgment if American newsmagazines were found to be judging the event?

Two opposite views concerning the objectivity issue have evolved and have persisted in the scholarly research. One view believes that the American press covers international news from the American point of view for the benefit of American interests. Another view sees American press as fairly covering the international news and not imposing their preferred ideological values.

Political symbolism, proposed by Bennett (1980), distinguished referential symbols and condensational symbols used in the discourse. Referential symbols are those which are precise, concise and specific. They are not prone to attract emotional feelings of the readers. Condensational

symbols, however, are used to appeal to the powerful and emotional associations with the audience. This distinction inspired the author to examine the symbol usage in the media texts to further the empirical evidence argument of objectivity in the research. As a result, two research hypotheses are developed for the content analysis of the study.

**H1:** During the whole time frame of the 1989 Chinese Student Movement, there were more condensational symbols than referential symbols used in the newsmagazines.

**H2:** Condensational symbols increased from before June 4 to after June 4 and referential symbols decreased from before June 4 to after June 4.

## Methodology

### Justification

#### Symbols

Among the various methods and approaches to the content of the print press, the study of the meanings that news might give to the events is of special interest. The meaning includes "the subtleties and spins, symbols and shading that literally make sense of the event" (Lule, 1989, p. 615). However, the function of symbols doesn't remain at the level of "literally making sense." Through the use of stylistic variation in lexicalization and structure, the ideology, values or preference statements contained in the news can be expressed and positions can be promoted. In other words, news reports are embedded with symbols which could signify practices and define them (Koblan, Du & Kwon, 1992). In this way, a news account actively rather than passively "orders a view of events" for the public (Lule, 1989, p. 620).

According to Bennett (1980), a symbol is "a communication device that represents and stands for some other thing" (p. 250). Symbols build the foundation for all the meaning interaction among the public about distant objects and abstract ideas. The significance or power of symbols, in Burke's (1986) words, lay in influencing people's response to that thing and transforming the nature of the thing itself. Bennett believed the power was in the creation of the world people live in. Lippmann (1922) had a similar

idea: Symbols created a "pseudo-environment" between people and their real environment. Bennett (1980) defined and distinguished two kinds of symbols:

When a symbol format reduces the scope of meaning and emotion associated with a message, we may say the symbols have been used as referential symbols. When a symbolic format expands the scope of symbolism and invites the interpretation to project broad understandings and emotions onto it, we may say that symbols have been used as condensational symbols (p. 256).

For example, the phrase "protective reaction strikes" is considered to be a referential symbol for its dry and unemotional implication. So is the sentence: "Deng Xiaoping, then Communist Party General Secretary, who at one point was paraded around Beijing wearing a dunce cap". The feelings of the writer can't be detected from the phrase and the sentence. However, terms like "inhuman acts of terror", "spasm of unrest" and the sentence "Of all the conceits of communism, none is more pervasive and none more dubious, than its claim to serve the interests of people" are classified in the category of condensational symbols. "Terror" "inhuman", "unrest", "dubious" and "claim" all indicate the negative definition in the eyes of the writer. Overall, condensational symbols compress a wide range of individual concerns and represent broad social understandings. Referential symbols are alien and lacking in emotional or social references (Bennett, 1980).

By identifying the usage of these two kinds of symbols in *Newsweek* and *Time* coverage of the 1989 Chinese Student Movement, the study will be able to clarify whether American journalists were objective through the usage of referential symbols or they were appealing to the public emotion through the usage of condensational symbols. Therefore the study will be able to reveal whether the American press is judging the Chinese historical event from the American cultural point of view.

#### Content Analysis and Textual Analysis

According to Berelson (1952), content analysis is "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p. 18). Budd, Thorp and Donohew (1967) interpreted the method of content analysis as a systematic technique for analyzing message content and message handling. According to them, content analysis involved six stages of analysis: developing research questions, defining samples and categories, coding the content, assigning numerical values, comparing the values with other relevant variables if there are other variables and explaining the results. In this study, the author followed all the stages of analysis except for the fifth one of comparing variables since the study was not designed to compare other relevant variables.

However, there are some limitations with the use of content analysis. First, counting frequency of certain

classified items is not sufficient to make inferences about the whole discourse. It doesn't take nuances and subtleties of meanings into account. Second, assuming the symbols analyzed have a universal meaning limits the researcher to explore the underlying presuppositions and values (Wang, 1991).

Due to the two deficiencies and limitations, this study will combine qualitative analysis and content analysis together. The text analysis, a qualitative approach, will try to grasp the nuances and subtleties of meanings and presuppositions missed by the quantitative effort to the content of news reports.

#### Time Frame

The time frame in this study incorporates three complete months from April 15, 1989 to July 17, 1989. April 15, the day Hu Yaobang died, was the starting point of the Movement. It was students mourning his death that ignited the later mass protest against the government. Therefore April 15 was taken as the starting date of the time period of the study. June 4 is the date the Movement ended, but the time frame was extended to July 17. There are two reasons for this extension. First, the aftermath of the military crackdown on the student movement is one of the research questions pursued in this study. The author intends to test whether there is any symbol change in the coverage due to the military action influence. Therefore it was impossible to take June 4 as the

last day of this time frame and the time frame had to go beyond June 4. Second, in the respect of time, the news report in the newsmagazine is usually later than the news event itself. For instance, though the Chinese students' mourning the former General Secretary Hu Yaobang took place on April 15, it was not until May 1 that *Newsweek* picked up its first news report about the Movement. It was reasonable, therefore, to extend the time frame at least half a month later than the June 4 crackdown. That made it to June 19. However, the author wanted to check the after-crackdown coverage. To make the after-crackdown data size comparable with the before-crackdown coverage size, nearly one month after June 19, July 17, was chosen as the last date of the sample time frame.

### Newsmagazine

There are three reasons for the author to choose the newsmagazine as the study object. First, according to Tebbel and Zuckerman (1991) who studied the American magazine history from 1741-1990, millions of Americans have been absorbing their ideas about life at home and abroad from the newsmagazine. The newsmagazines have been an important political and cultural influence on the American public. As they noted: "At the near end of the twentieth century, these newsmagazines were still rich and powerful" (p. 304). Second, *Time* led the newsmagazine industry with a circulation of 4.7 million copies in 1989. And *Newsweek* numbered second with a

circulation of 3.2 million in 1989. In 1998, *Time's* circulation decreased to 4.16 million and *Newsweek* to 3.18 million. However, it is still safe to claim that these two newsmagazines are the top-ranked magazines and representative of the newsmagazine business. Third, newsmagazines, as weeklies and without too much pressure from deadlines, usually "review the major events of the week, summarizing and integrating the daily newspaper and television reports into a single whole" (Gans, 1979, p.4). This characteristic enables the more comprehensive and in-depth exploration of the news events and the grasp of wide dimensions of the issue.

#### Sample & Population

*Newsweek*, during the defined time frame of three months, contained 33 news reports related to China. *Time* had 18 such news reports. For the purpose of this study, only those news stories related to the Student Pro-democracy Movement belonged to the sampled population. The "related" news reports meant those stories that covered any of the following people participating in the pro-democracy movement: Chinese college students (including student leaders), Chinese citizens (including the people of Hong Kong), Chinese government, Chinese police and army. The stories about Gorbachev's visit to China, the summit meeting between Gorbachev and Deng, China's economic situation, and American opinions concerning the Movement and Sino-American relationship were excluded from the sampled population.

According to this criterion, there were 23 news reports from *Newsweek* which qualified for the inclusion in the sampled population and there were 16 such news reports from *Time*. Together the studied population amounted to 39 news reports. Considering the small size of the population, the author took all the 39 news reports as the sample.

#### Category and Coding Procedure

##### Category Design

The purpose of the study was to examine the objectivity by comparing the usage of two kinds of symbols. As was explained in the justification part, referential symbols and condensational symbols implied in news stories are the study's main concern. According to Bennett (1980), symbols are revealed in association with messages. As long as there is a message, there exists the use of symbols. He classified two kinds of symbols. He called the first kind referential symbols. These are meant to reduce the scope of meaning and emotion associated with a message. He referred to the second kind of symbols as condensational symbols. These are intended to appeal to the readers' emotions. In language, every sentence can be taken as an independent message. Therefore, the symbols attached to the sentences were analyzed to check the objectivity of the reporter.

This study took sentences in headlines, photo captions and lead paragraphs as its coding units and every news report as its context unit. The reason to choose headlines, photo

captions and lead paragraphs rather than the whole story is based on the fact that the most important message or information is disclosed in these parts of a news story. Van Dijk (1985) believed that leads and headlines provided a meaningful indicator about the important information that the writer wished to convey. In other words, by reading leads and headlines, readers are able to know the theme of the news story. According to Edelman (1989), leads and headlines served as cues for tone and tenor of news stories. Rachlin (1989) has suggested that leads and headlines offered a certain congruity of meaningful messages. Kobland, Du and Kwon (1992) thought that photo captions contained many of the same qualities as leads and headlines by using short and concise statements. Tebbel (1991) observed that magazine images impressed themselves on the public more deeply than television images. In a word, it is proper and significant to take lead sentences, photo captions and headlines as representative of the whole news stories. By analyzing lead sentences, photo captions and headlines, the author could trace the whole story's pattern, on the basis of which the objectivity could be discussed.

A complete sentence, in the author's definition, is a group of words containing a subject and predicate. It is begun with a capital letter and concluded with an end mark which may be a period, a question mark, an exclamation mark or a quotation mark. Based on this standard, the sample had

12 *Time* headlines, 16 *Newsweek* headlines, 72 *Time* lead sentences, 144 *Newsweek* lead sentences, 44 *Time* photo captions and 51 *Newsweek* photo captions.

There are two categories designed for headlines, lead sentences and photo captions: referential symbols and condensational symbols. Under the category of condensational symbols, the further division between positive symbols and negative symbols was made. Positive symbols are meant to arouse positive attitude toward the Chinese government while negative symbols are used to elicit negative feelings from readers toward the Chinese government. For instance, the sentence "The events of last weekend are a tragedy for China" was labeled as condensational symbol because of the use of the word "tragedy". Obviously "tragedy" implies an indirect criticism of the status quo in China, for which the government was responsible. Then it can be logically reasoned that this was a negative attitude toward the Chinese government. The sentence "Deng Xiaoping was determined to give China not only economic reform, but an orderly and predictable political system" can be coded as "positive" because it implied a good side of the Chinese leader.

#### Coding Training

Considering the subjective nature of coding sentences as symbols, the author designed this way of training two coders. First, the author wrote a detailed instruction for coders (See Appendix A). The instruction included the explanation of

the meanings and difference of referential symbols and condensational symbols. The definition of positive and negative symbols was also elaborated. The author emphasized that the most distinct difference between the two symbols was to decide whether the reporter was judging the reported fact or not. If the sentence was labeled as condensational, the coders were asked to further decide whether the judgement was against the Chinese government or for the Chinese government so that the positive or the negative symbol could be attached to the sentence.

Second, the author offered some illustrative examples for the coders to study and compare. The examples involved both referential symbols, condensational symbols and positive and negative symbols. To practice what they learned, the two coders independently coded one news story from the issue of May 24, 1999 *Newsweek*.

Third, the author and the coders compared their coding results. Special attention was given to the sentences which were coded differently. After the discussion of the difference, the disagreed sentences were agreed on by the coders and the two coders were ready for coding the to-be-analyzed sample.

#### Testing Inter-coder Reliability

To test for inter-coder reliability, the author selected 10% of the sample randomly by using a deck of cards and a table of random numbers. After the coding of the ten percent

sample by the two coders, the author compared the coding results. It turned out that the coders had a little higher agreement percentage for *Time* than for *Newsweek* in terms of condensational symbols and referential symbols. Overall, the *Time* agreement percentage was 67% and the *Newsweek* percentage was only 57%. In terms of positive and negative symbols, the agreement level for *Time* was 100% and for *Newsweek* it was 83%. Specifically in terms of referential and condensational symbols, for *Time*, the headlines had a 100% agreement, the lead sentences had a 100% agreement and photo captions had a 25% agreement. For *Newsweek*, the headlines had a 0% agreement, the lead sentences had a 71% agreement level and photo captions had 40% agreement level. In terms of positive and negative symbols, *Time* headlines and lead both had a 100% agreement level. *Newsweek* lead had a 80% agreement and photo captions had a 100% agreement level (See Appendix B).

To improve the reliability coefficient, the author went through the differently coded sentences very carefully and checked with the two coders about their reasons for coding. After the investigation, the author realized that the coders sometimes forgot that they should put themselves in the reporter's position to see whether the reporter was reporting the fact or judging the fact. The author, therefore, went back to the instruction part, revised the instruction and added some guidelines for coding sentences (See Appendix C). These guidelines explained how to deal with sentences that

had metaphors, questions and quotations and how to code the sentence with ironic tone. The author made the rule that all the sentences with the terms of "massacre, bloodshed, bloodbath" be coded as condensational symbols.

For the second time, the author selected another 10 percent to test the second time intercoder reliability. This time the same coders coded the newly selected 10 percent. And the reliability improved greatly. In terms of condensational and referential symbols, the overall reliability for *Time* was 92% and for *Newsweek* it was 90%. Specifically, *Time* headlines had a 100% agreement level, *Time* lead had a 86% agreement level and *Time* photo captions had a 100% level. For *Newsweek*, the agreement levels for headlines, lead, photo captions were respectively 100%, 86% and 100%. In terms of negative and positive symbols, *Time* had a overall 100% agreement level and *Newsweek* had a 88% level (See Appendix D).

According to Nunnally (1967), a satisfactory level of reliability depends on how the measure is to be used. A 90% reliability might not be high enough in areas where great precision is needed. A 50% to a 60% reliability level may suffice in early stages of research in a domain when determining its dimensions. An 80% reliability is commonly used. Considering the domain of the study in social sciences, the reliability level from 86% upward was quite acceptable in the study.

### Coding Procedure

After the establishment of the coding reliability, the two coders coded the sample on the prepared coding sheet prepared by the author (See Appendix E and Appendix F). The sample was split in half among them and a coin was tossed to decide who should take the first half and who should take the second half. After the coding was done, the statistical calculation was performed on the data. In fact, in this study, frequency and percentages were counted in all the categories.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS**

There are two major parts in Chapter Four. The first part concerns presenting and describing the statistical findings from the content analysis of a quantitative approach. The second part concentrates on the qualitative textual analysis to discuss the kind of ideological values implied in the American press.

## Quantitative Approach: Content Analysis

The study involved a census of 39 news stories from the newsmagazines of *Time* and *Newsweek* during a three-month period yielding 339 coding units (sentences). Specifically, *Time* yielded 128 coding units while *Newsweek* yielded 211 coding units.

### First Hypothesis

#### Both Newsmagazines

In order to test the first hypothesis of the study (during the whole time period of three months, there were more condensational symbols than referential symbols in the newsmagazines), the frequency of condensational symbols and referential symbols were calculated. Table I shows the result of the calculation of the two symbols for both newsmagazines. Throughout the three-month period from April 15, 1989 to July 17, 1989, it was found out that there were more referential symbols than condensational symbols. Among the total number of 339 coding units, 177 contained referential symbols and 162 contained condensational symbols. In terms of percentage, 52.2% of all the coding units had referential symbols and 47.8% condensational symbols. The percentage distribution of the two symbols was almost even with referential symbols 2.2% more than half and condensational symbols 2.2% less than half. Therefore, overall the first hypothesis of the study was not supported.

TABLE I

Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in Newsmagazines

From April 15, 1989 to July 17, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Condensational Symbols	162	47.8
Referential Symbols	177	52.2
TOTAL	339	100

### Time

However, when the two newsmagazines were studied separately, it turned out that the first hypothesis was supported in the case of *Time*. Table II shows that during the three-month period, among the 128 coding units from *Time*, 77 coding units or 60.2% implied condensational symbols and 51 or 39.8% contained referential symbols. This finding was consistent with the prediction of the first hypothesis of the study. But of course it was based on one newsmagazine only: *Time*. The finding was also true of the subdivision of three categories: headline, lead and photo. In the category of headline, condensational symbols were 5.5% while referential symbols were 3.9%. For lead, condensational symbols took 35.9% and referential symbols took 20.3%. The third category of photo contained more condensational symbols (18.8%) than referential symbols (15.6%). In summary, the general tendency of *Time* using symbols was found to have a slant of condensational symbols over referential symbols. To be specific, there was 20.4% more condensational symbols than referential symbols. This slant was found in all the three categories of headlines, lead and photo caption.

### Newsweek

The symbol usage in *Newsweek* was totally different from that in *Time*. Table III indicates that during the three-month period, *Newsweek* stories used more referential symbols. Among

TABLE II

Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in *Time*

From April 15, 1989 to July 17, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Condensational Symbols	77	60.2
headline	(7)	(5.5)
lead	(46)	(35.9)
photo	(24)	(18.8)
Referential Symbols	51	39.8
headline	(5)	(3.9)
lead	(26)	(20.3)
photo	(20)	(15.6)
TOTAL	128	100

TABLE III  
 Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in *Newsweek*  
 From April 15, 1989 to July 17, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Condensational Symbols	85	40.3
headlines	(10)	(4.7)
lead	(58)	(27.5)
photo	(17)	(8.1)
Referential Symbols	126	59.7
headlines	(6)	(2.8)
lead	(86)	(40.8)
photo	(34)	(16.1)
TOTAL	211	100

the 211 coding units, 126 or 59.7% accommodated referential symbols and only 85 or 40.3% held condensational symbols. The breakdown of both symbols into headline, lead and photo revealed the same trend except for headline. Only headline had more condensational symbols than referential symbols. But since the difference between the two symbols was only 1.9% (4.7% condensational symbols minus 2.8% referential symbols), the whole direction of more referential symbols than condensational was not changed. In summary, the overall tendency of *Newsweek* symbol usage was found to be slanted to referential symbols. Therefore, the first hypothesis was not supported in the case of *Newsweek's* coverage of the movement.

### Second Hypothesis

#### Both Newsmagazines

In order to test the second hypothesis of the study (condensational symbols increased from before June 4 to after June 4 and referential symbols decreased from before June 4 to after June 4), a breakdown of the two symbols in two periods was conducted. As is shown from Table IV and Table V, the symbol usage pattern before June 4 deviated greatly from that after June 4. Before June 4, the newsmagazines were preoccupied with more referential symbols. To be accurate, 58.3% of all the 151 newsmagazine sentences before June 4 were simply giving facts by applying referential symbols. Only 41.7% were appealing to readers' emotions. However,

TABLE IV

Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in Newsmagazines Before June 4, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Condensational Symbols	63	41.7
Referential Symbols	88	58.3
TOTAL	151	100

TABLE V

Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in Newsmagazines After June 4, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Condensational Symbols	99	52.7
Referential Symbols	89	47.3
TOTAL	188	100

TABLE VI

Comparison of Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in Newsmagazines

Before June 4, 1989 and After June 4, 1989

Symbols	Frequency		%		% Change
	Before	After	Before	After	
Condensational Symbols	63	99	41.7	52.7	+ 11.0
Referential Symbols	88	89	58.3	47.3	- 11.0
TOTAL	151	188	100	100	

Note: + means increase from before to after and - means decrease from before to after

after June 4, the direction of symbol usage was switched. While 47.3% were using referential symbols, 52.7% were resorting to condensational symbols. From Table VI it was clear that referential symbols decreased from 58.3% to 47.3% and condensational symbols increased from 41.7% to 52.7%. In other words, condensational symbols increased by 11.0% and referential symbols decreased by 11.0% after June 4. It was safe to conclude that before June 4, the newsmagazines gave more than half of its space to referential symbols and after June 4, the newsmagazines gave more than half of its space to condensational symbols. The 11.0% change shows that the military action on June 4 did have some effect on the American newsmagazine coverage of the movement. Therefore, the second hypothesis was supported.

The author further investigated the two newsmagazines separately to check whether they were following the same trend or a different trend in two time blocks. Table VII, Table VIII and Table IX traced the trend of *Time* in two periods and Table X, Table XI and Table XII described the trend of *Newsweek* in two periods.

#### Time

It was found out that concerning *Time's* symbols usage, condensational symbols increased by 3.6% after June 4 and referential symbols decreased by 3.6% after June 4. Table IX obviously shows the increase and the decrease. To be

TABLE VII

Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in *Time* Before June 4, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Condensational Symbols	26	57.8
headline	(3)	(6.7)*
lead	(7)	(15.6)*
photo	(16)	(35.6)*
Referential Symbols	19	42.2
headline	(2)	(4.4)
lead	(9)	(20.0)
photo	(8)	(17.8)
TOTAL	45	100

\* Does not add up to 57.8 because of rounding errors

TABLE VIII

Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in *Time* After June 4, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Condensational Symbols	51	61.4
headline	(4)	(4.8)
lead	(39)	(47.0)
photo	(8)	(9.6)
Referential Symbols	32	38.6
headline	(3)	(3.6)*
lead	(17)	(20.5)*
photo	(12)	(14.6)*
TOTAL	83	100

\* Does not add up to 38.6 because of rounding errors

TABLE IX

Comparison of Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in *Time*

Before June 4, 1989 and After June 4, 1989

Symbols	Frequency		%		% Change
	Before	After	Before	After	
Condensational Symbols	26	51	57.8	61.4	+ 3.6
headline	(3)	(4)	(6.7)*	(4.8)	(- 1.9)
lead	(7)	(39)	(15.6)*	(47.0)	(+ 31.4)
photo	(16)	(8)	(35.6)*	(9.6)	(- 26.0)
Referential Symbols	19	32	42.2	38.6	- 3.6
headline	(2)	(3)	(4.4)	(3.6)*	(- 0.8)*
lead	(9)	(17)	(20.0)	(20.5)*	(+ 0.5)*
photo	(8)	(12)	(17.8)	(14.6)*	(- 3.2)*
TOTAL	45	83	100	100	

Note: “+” means increase from before to after and “-” means decrease from before to after

\* Does not add up to the above number because of rounding errors

specific, before June 4, condensational symbol percentage was 57.8% and referential symbol percentage was 42.2% (Table VII). After June 4, condensational symbols increased to 61.4% and referential symbols decreased to 38.6% (Table VIII). Therefore, the second hypothesis was supported in the case of *Time*. It was also found that *Time* was quite consistent in its usage of symbols. No matter when *Time* covered the 1989 Chinese student movement, whether it was before June 4 or after June 4, *Time*'s condensational symbols were always more than its referential symbols. Another observation concerning the breakdown into headline, lead and photo needs to be pointed out here. *Time*'s lead condensational symbols jumped from 15.0% to 47% around June 4. This 31.4% increase justified the *Time* lead as the strongest indicator of symbol change.

#### Newsweek

Now it was time to discuss *Newsweek*'s symbol usage in two periods: before June 4 and after June 4. Table X provided information about the symbol usage before June 4 and Table XI displayed the symbol usage after June 4. Table XII compared the before and the after usage. The overall symbol pattern found in *Newsweek* was in agreement with *Time* and newsmagazines. In other words, it was found out that before June 4, *Newsweek* had less condensational symbols than after June 4 and more referential symbols were used before June 4

TABLE X

Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in *Newsweek* Before June 4, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Condensational Symbols	37	34.9
headline	(5)	(4.7)
lead	(22)	(20.8)
photo	(10)	(9.4)
Referential Symbols	69	65.1
headline	(3)	(2.8)*
lead	(49)	(46.2)*
photo	(17)	(16.0)*
TOTAL	106	100

\* Does not add up to 65.1 because of rounding errors

TABLE XI

Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in *Newsweek* After June 4, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Condensational Symbols	48	45.7
headline	(5)	(4.8)*
lead	(36)	(34.3)*
photo	(7)	(6.7)*
Referential Symbols	57	54.3
headline	(3)	(2.9)
lead	(37)	(35.2)
photo	(17)	(16.2)
TOTAL	105	100

\* Does not add up to 45.7 because of rounding errors

TABLE XII

Comparison of Condensational Symbols and Referential Symbols in *Newsweek*

Before June 4, 1989 and After June 4, 1989

Symbols Change	Frequency		%		%
	Before	After	Before	After	
Condensational Symbols	37	48	34.9	45.7	+ 10.8
headline	(5)	(5)	(4.7)	(4.8)	(+ 0.1)*
lead	(22)	(36)	(20.8)	(34.3)	(+ 13.5)*
photo	(10)	(7)	(9.4)	(6.7)	(- 2.7)*
Referential Symbols	69	57	65.1	54.3	- 10.8
headline	(3)	(3)	(2.8)	(2.9)	(+ 0.1)*
lead	(49)	(37)	(46.2)	(35.2)	(- 11.0)*
photo	(17)	(17)	(16.0)	(16.2)	(+ 0.2)*
TOTAL	106	105	100	100	

Note: "+" means increase from before to after and "-" means decrease from before to after

\* Does not add up to + 10.8 and - 10.8 because of rounding errors

than after June 4. The three tables shows the evidence very clearly. Therefore the second hypothesis was supported in the case of *Newsweek* too.

Table XII tells that before June 4, 34.9% of the *Newsweek* sampled sentence of 106 was given to condensational symbols. After June 4, 45.7% were given to them. This was a 10.8% increase in the use of condensational symbols.

Conversely, in terms of referential symbols, there was a 10.8% decrease after June 4. In other words, before June 4, *Newsweek* took 65.1% of the space to attach referential symbols but after June 4, *Newsweek* only used 54.3% to attach referential symbols.

Before June 4, the distance between condensational symbol percentage and referential symbol percentage was 30.2%. After June 4, the distance shortened to 8.6%. This means that before June 4, *Newsweek* was dominated by referential symbols. After June 4, no domination existed. The distribution of two symbols tended to be even. The evenness was reached because of the increase in the amount of condensational symbols. The comparison of subdivision of *Newsweek* in two periods displays that lead was a strong indicator of symbol change after June 4. Lead condensational symbols increased by 13.5% and its referential symbols decreased by 11.0%. The other two categories of headline and photo didn't have significant changes, the change rate ranging from 2.7% to 0.1%.

### Ideological Tendency

In order to facilitate the textual discussion of ideologies implied in the American press, the author detected the usage difference between negative and positive symbols under the category of condensational symbols. Therefore, the frequency and percentage of negative and positive symbols were counted among the identified condensational sentences. The findings disclosed from Table XIII described a stark usage difference between the two symbols. Among the 162 coded condensational sentences from both newsmagazines, 93.8% of them were negative toward the Chinese government and only 6.2% were positive toward the Chinese government. This tendency was true of both newsmagazines when they were analyzed separately. In Table XIV, negative symbols took 96.1% and positive symbols took 3.9% among the 77 *Time* condensational sentences. In Table XV, it shows for *Newsweek*, negative symbols and positive symbols shared 91.8% and 8.2% respectively. Again negative symbols were dominant in *Newsweek*.

When Table XIV and Table XV were compared with each other, it was found out that comparatively speaking *Time* was slightly more negative toward the Chinese government than *Newsweek*. *Time* used 96.4% of all its condensational symbols to be against the Chinese government while *Newsweek* used 91.8% to oppose the Chinese government. *Time* reserved 3.9% of its condensational symbols to arouse positive feelings or

TABLE XIII  
Negative and Positive Symbols in Newsmagazines  
From April 15, 1989 to July 17, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Negative Symbols	152	93.8
Positive Symbols	10	6.2
TOTAL	162	100

TABLE XIV

Negative Symbols and Positive Symbols in *Time*

From April 15, 1989 to July 17, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Negative Symbols	74	96.1
Positive Symbols	3	3.9
TOTAL	77	100

TABLE XV

Negative Symbols and Positive Symbols in *Newsweek*

From April 15, 1989 to July 17, 1989

Symbols	Frequency	%
Negative Symbols	78	91.8
Positive Symbols	7	8.2
TOTAL	85	100

attitudes toward the Chinese government while *Newsweek* reserved a little more of its condensational symbols to elicit positive feelings toward it: 8.2%.