

**Perspectives toward the United States
in Selected Newspapers of the
People's Republic of China**

SPRING 2002 REPORT

for the

U.S. China Security Review Commission

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On behalf of the

**University of Maryland's
Institute for Global Chinese Affairs
and
the Department of Communication**

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Acknowledgements.....	4
Contact information.....	4
Introduction to the Project.....	5
Summary of the Results.....	5
Historical Background.....	14
Methods	
Selection of Newspapers.....	20
Coding for Topic.....	26
Coding for Valence.....	33
Coding for Weight.....	41
Composite Measure.....	42
Frequencies on Reporting Information and Date of Report	
February to April 2002.....	43
March 17 to April 15 2001.....	44
September 2001.....	45
Comparing Articles on Bush's Visit, the Reconnaissance Plane Incident, & 9/11.....	46
Three Month Overview: February to April 2002 Graphs and Analyses	
Overall Composite: 6 Newspapers.....	49
Number of Articles.....	50
Composite for Newspaper Regions.....	51
Xinhua vs. Non-Xinhua Reports.....	52
Comparing Composite for 6 Topics.....	53
Comparison of Composite Means by Month.....	54
Overall Composite: U.S. Foreign Policy.....	58
Overall Composite: U.S.-Sino Relations.....	60
Overall Composite: U.S. Economy & Trade.....	61
Overall Composite: Culture & Society.....	62
Overall Composite: Sports & Entertainment.....	63
Overall Composite: Other.....	64
February 2002 Graphs and Analyses	
Overall Composite: 6 Newspapers.....	66
Number of Articles.....	66
Composite for Newspaper Regions.....	67
Xinhua vs. Non-Xinhua Reports.....	68
Comparing Composite for 3 Topics.....	69
Comparing Composite for 6 Topics.....	70
Overall Composite: U.S. Foreign Policy.....	71
Composite for Newspaper Regions: U.S. Foreign Policy.....	72
Overall Composite: U.S.-Sino Relations.....	73
Composite for Newspaper Regions: U.S.-Sino Relations.....	74
Overall Composite: U.S. Economy & Trade.....	75
Composite for Newspaper Regions: U.S. Economy & Trade.....	76
Overall Composite: Culture & Society.....	77
Overall Composite: Sports & Entertainment.....	78
Overall Composite: Other.....	79

March 17 to April 15, 2001 Graphs and Analyses	
Overall Composite: 6 Newspapers.....	81
Composite for Newspaper Regions.....	83
Xinhua vs. Non-Xinhua Reports.....	84
Comparing Composite for 3 Topics.....	85
Comparing Composite for 6 Topics.....	86
Overall Composite: U.S. Foreign Policy.....	87
Composite for Newspaper Regions: U.S. Foreign Policy.....	89
Overall Composite: U.S.-Sino Relations.....	90
Composite for Newspaper Regions: U.S.-Sino Relations.....	92
Overall Composite: U.S. Economy & Trade.....	93
Composite for Newspaper Regions: U.S. Economy & Trade.....	95
Overall Composite: Culture & Society.....	96
Overall Composite: Sports & Entertainment.....	97
Overall Composite: Other.....	98
September 2001, Graphs and Analyses	
Overall Composite: 6 Newspapers.....	100
Number of Articles.....	100
Composite for Newspaper Regions.....	101
Xinhua vs. Non-Xinhua Reports.....	102
Comparing Composite for 3 Topics.....	103
Comparing Composite for 6 Topics.....	104
Overall Composite: U.S. Foreign Policy.....	105
Overall Composite: U.S.-Sino Relations.....	106
Composite for Newspaper Regions: U.S.-Sino Relations.....	107
Overall Composite: U.S. Economy & Trade.....	108
Composite for Newspaper Regions: U.S. Economy & Trade.....	109
Overall Composite: Culture & Society.....	110
Overall Composite: Sports & Entertainment.....	111
Overall Composite: Other.....	112
Sample Articles with Valences.....	113
Future Directions for Research.....	130

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The USCC has contracted with the Institute of Global Chinese Affairs (IGCA) at the University of Maryland to develop an Index of Chinese Media Reporting on the United States as reflected in articles in major newspapers published in the People's Republic of China. The goal of the project is to provide solid empirical evidence on how the tone of Chinese reporting on the U.S. changes over time and how it is affected by newsworthy phenomena. The project is based on the assumption that, to a significant degree the tone of Chinese newspaper reporting reflects the official PRC attitudes toward the U.S. and its policies.

This document is a report on the findings of research conducted between February 1 and May 29, 2002. The report focuses on four periods: (1) the month surrounding the reconnaissance plane incident of April 1, 2001 (March 17 to April 15, 2001), (2) the month following the events of 9/11 (September 7 to 29, 2001), (3) the month of the visit of President George W. Bush to the PRC, February 2002, and (4) a longitudinal look at a three month period that begins with February 1 and ends April 30, 2002.

Our research focuses on these periods for three primary reasons. First, the Commission identified the events of Reconnaissance Plane, 9/11, and President Bush's visit as priority. Second, these periods offer a contrast in positive and negative reporting about the United States. This contrast was initially important for testing our methodology and establishing a positive-negative range for our indices. The contrast also provides the basis for comparing the way news about the U.S. is reported in Chinese newspapers. The reconnaissance plane incident and its aftermath provide a benchmark for press reporting in a period of tension—crisis, even—in U.S.-Sino relations. The Bush visit, in contrast, provides a benchmark for a time we could expect PRC reporting on the U.S. to be more positive; as in the U.S., visits by U.S. presidents to China are viewed as a key media opportunity for legitimating the international stature of PRC leaders. In comparison with these two events, the current report provides comparable data covering the days surrounding September 11, 2001, and the weeks following the President's February visit. Third, the three month period of February to April 2002 provides the basis for examining longitudinal trends in reporting in contrast to reporting that surrounds specific events. By examining trends over time, we can begin to see patterns that emerge in the way the Chinese report about the United States in their newspapers.

Summary of the Results

Based on the five months of news coverage analyzed for this project (March-April and September 2001, and February through April 2002), we note the following major trends and patterns:

- **Overall balance.** Chinese reporting on the U.S. appears to be relatively balanced overall. Extreme negative tones toward the U.S. are rare and appear mostly during periods of overt Sino-U.S. confrontation, such as the reconnaissance plane incident or more recently following the U.S.'s decisions to raise steel import tariffs or conduct unilateral actions in the Middle East. We

found a current tendency toward generally objective reporting. Even when notably negative articles do appear, such as “World media condemns U.S. over hegemonic act” (*People’s Daily*, April 11, 2001), they can often be offset by articles with a notably positive tone in other articles, such as “Why does the U.S. lead the world’s high-tech industry?” (*PLA Daily*, April 11, 2001), appearing on the same day.

- **Diversity of topics and opinion.** There is coverage of a wide range of topics and a diversity of opinion among reporters regarding the U.S. in the Chinese press. Articles range in tone from straight official reporting to catchy satirical poems accompanied by zany, politically-charged caricatures. During the height of Chinese indignation over the reconnaissance plane incident, articles with headlines such as “The U.S. should apologize for plane collision” and “National dignity cannot be infringed upon” appeared alongside articles such as “Golf becomes a popular major at U.S. universities” and “Mariah Carey signs contract with Virgin Records” (all from the *Beijing Youth Daily*, April 5, 2001). In fact, there is no overall tone in reporting that cuts across all topic areas; each topic covered has its own issues and patterns.
- **Role of Xinhua.** The Xinhua (New China) News Agency functions as China's official wire service, and is extensive and sufficiently funded to have reporters posted all over the world. Articles taken from the Xinhua wire have been significantly present in all of the newspapers we have examined. In recent years, Xinhua has placed organizational emphasis on "objective" reporting in its push to stand among the world's major wire services along with the Associated Press, Reuters, and Agence France Presse. Snide editorials do appear in Chinese newspapers (particularly large urban papers such as the *Beijing Youth Daily*, or the *Xinmin* or *Yangcheng Evening News*), but Xinhua seems to try to adhere to a more fact-based presentation style. Our data show that Xinhua articles tend to be somewhat polarized—either more positive or more negative than non-Xinhua articles in general. Because Xinhua reporters are stationed overseas and thus have more exposure to actual American phenomena, their reactions may be somewhat stronger than reporters based in China. A Washington-based Xinhua news reporter interviewed during the course of this project commented that "Xinhua news tends to be more negative than other news because more of us actually live here in the States, and we see that life is not a paradise here" (personal communication, Washington, DC, May 1, 2002). In other words, the actual exposure to other parts of the world afforded to Xinhua reporters may cause them to report both more positive and negative news than reporters based in China. More investigation of this question is required to offer fuller analysis of this finding.
- **Separation of policy and people.** There appears to be a separation drawn in Chinese news coverage between official American policy and the American people. On one hand, there is general positive coverage of American technological advances, educational practices, and entertainment venues; on the other, there is a portrayal of official American policy, particularly foreign policy, as

hegemonic and regularly in violation of international norms. American perspectives are sometimes even cited to demonstrate the separation between the people and the government, as in “Times poll—77% of Americans think the U.S. should bear major responsibility for plane collision” (*People’s Daily*, April 5, 2001), or “U.S. scholar criticizes U.S. attitude over plane collision” (*Xinmin Evening News*, April 7, 2001).

- **“Borrowing a sword.”** The Chinese press often invokes other nations’ expressions of indignation against the U.S. to represent official editorial attitudes. This tactic is described by a traditional Chinese proverb as “Borrowing a sword to kill someone” (*jie dao sha ren*). Countries named in such articles range from China’s traditional allies, as in “North Korea lambastes the U.S.’s new nuclear attack plan” (*People’s Daily*, March 15, 2002), to America’s allies, as in “Canada criticizes the U.S. for violating world trade rules” (*People’s Daily*, March 25, 2002), to the world community at large: “International community condemns U.S. arrogance” (*People’s Daily*, April 9, 2001). When articles reflecting the view of others nations appear, such as “International society continues to show concern over escalation in the Middle East” (*People’s Daily*, April 4, 2002), it seems likely that such a viewpoint reflects the current official viewpoint prevailing in Beijing.
- **Overt policy commentary.** Chinese newspapers are sometimes strident in publishing articles, not only editorials, with a clear policy agenda. These articles often have headlines posed as questions, such as “Why did Bush adjust his Middle East policy?” (*Beijing Youth Daily*, April 6, 2002), “Why does the price of the dollar keep going up?” (*Beijing Youth Daily*, February 3, 2002), or “Why did the U.S. raise its steel import tariffs?” (*Yangcheng Evening News*, March 7, 2002) Such articles also appear as statements, such as “The world does not need a nuclear hegemon” (*People’s Daily*, March 19, 2002), or “New strategy is needed to fight terrorism” (*People’s Daily*, September 29, 2001). These articles are often more “official” in tone and style than articles written by regular journalists, and should be read carefully for their policy implications.
- **Human rights rebuttal.** Perhaps pursuant to America’s continual commentary on human rights issues in China, there is a corresponding tendency for Chinese journalists to emphasize the darker side of life in the United States. Just as stories about homicides and shocking immorality attract attention on American news shows, such stories also sell in China. News such as “320,000 U.S. teenagers involved in porn industry” (*PLA Daily*, September 11, 2001), and “A lot of hookers in Washington DC” (*Xinmin Evening News*, March 1, 2002), along with stories about violence and school shootings such as “9-year-old American girl carries gun to school” (*Xinmin Evening News*, April 7, 2001), may give the impression that “anything goes” in America. In addition to feeding sensationalism, Chinese papers seem to present such news to regain the moral high ground on human rights issues, as in such articles as “State Council Information Office to release article on U.S.’s human rights record” (*People’s Daily*, March 11, 2002), and “An insider’s story of how American police interrogate suspects” (*Beijing Youth Daily*, March 21, 2002).

- **Increasing Asian regionalism.** Although it may be premature to detect a prolonged trend in this area, it does appear that some regional winds are blowing in the Chinese press through articles such as “Asian economy: Mutual benefit, cooperation, and common prosperity” (*People’s Daily*, March 29, 2002), and “Serve Asia and open to the world” (*People’s Daily*, March 29, 2002). Our data collection system does not capture a sufficient number of articles on Asia to make solid conclusions, but articles such as “Introducing indigenous dolls to fend off cultural invasion” (*Xinmin Evening News*, March 15 2002) may indicate that this is a trend to be watched for in subsequent data analysis.
- **Rise of tabloidism.** It is not uncommon for American tabloids such as *The National Enquirer* to be cited in the Chinese press as “An American newspapers reports that” Chinese continue to be fascinated by scandals in general, and the adventures of the Clinton family in particular, as demonstrated in such stories as: “Clinton loves Brazilian prostitute, Hillary ready for divorce” (*Chongqing Evening News*, March 5, 2002), or “Chelsea leads star life in Europe, partying every night” (*Chongqing Evening News*, March 9, 2002). Also appearing with increasing frequency are articles appealing to what has been termed as increasing Chinese “commercial nationalism,” such as “Voice from Chinese people: To build a stronger China is the best answer to the U.S. hegemonic act” (*People’s Daily*, April 13, 2001). The popularity of Chinese tabloids is taking off at an unprecedented rate, and the topic of China once again regaining its legacy of greatness is certainly well-received among today’s Chinese readers. This may also be an important trend to monitor in future data analysis.
- **Variations in topic coverage.** One major finding of this study is that there is no “overall” valence of reporting tone—each topic has its own issues and patterns. Thus, it is important to understand the general themes that emerge under each topic in order to fully characterize the rather complex view of America conveyed in the Chinese press. The following provides an overview of the general positive and negative trends found within the topic areas coded for in the six newspapers.

 - **Military.** A rather large percentage of reporting on the U.S. military is found in the *PLA Daily*. It is not uncommon to see descriptive reports of troop movements, weapons systems, and budget expenditures, which are usually fairly objective in tone. The U.S. military is perceived to be the strongest and most technologically advanced in the world, thus there is frequently a degree of cynicism with regard to “mistakes” made, as in the embassy bombing or reconnaissance plane incident. Although commentary is made on positive U.S. advances, as in “U.S. makes ‘superman’ military uniform” (*Chongqing Evening News*, April 2, 2002), negative issues raised by the U.S. military presence around the world are also noted, as in “U.S. soldier who raped Japanese woman is sentenced to prison” (*Beijing Youth Daily*, March 29, 2002).

- **U.S. foreign policy.** A major theme emerging from the extensive amount of reporting done on U.S. foreign policy is of the United States as a hegemonic power that acts unilaterally and in opposition to general international principles. Aside from the embassy bombing and reconnaissance plane issues, other major themes that emerged included the U.S. war on terrorism, in which the U.S. is cast as taking increasingly strident steps away from international norms, and American involvement in the Middle East. Tension is highlighted as the U.S. is portrayed as clearly backing Israel, whereas the Chinese press reports more favorably on the Palestinian side, as in “Adamantly supporting Arafat” (*People’s Daily*, April 8, 2002). A high point in coverage of Sino-U.S. relations appeared, as anticipated, during President Bush’s visit to China in late February 2002, but was tempered somewhat by articles such as “Deep concern over the tense Middle East situation” (*People’s Daily*, February 21, 2002). Post-9/11 coverage, although relatively supportive at first of the U.S. anti-terrorist position, soon after introduced a more wary tone, as in articles such as “Jiang Zemin: War on terrorism shouldn’t hurt innocent civilians” (*Yangcheng Evening News*, September 19, 2001) and “Some countries appeal to U.S. to act cautiously” (*People’s Daily*, September 25, 2001). Current coverage remains supportive but cautious, as in “U.S. has justifiable reason to station troops in Central Asia” (*Xinmin Evening News*, March 21, 2002), and “U.S. listens to cell phones all over the world” (*Chongqing Evening News*, April 14, 2002). Reporting on Al-Qaeda movements tends to be relatively objective.

- **U.S. domestic policy.** Given that the months we have examined for this report do not include major election periods, reporting on U.S. domestic politics has tended to be relatively light. The coverage we have looked at includes news of scandals, such as dealings between Enron and the White House, the large amounts of cash required to fund viable political careers, and lobbying efforts to protect U.S. industry. The overall tone of reporting tends to be fairly negative, with few positive valence codes apart from descriptions of Hillary Clinton as “brilliant” and “ambitious.” A major theme that has emerged after 9/11 is concern over the status of American immigration policies, as in “U.S.: Thousands of foreigners illegally detained” (*Yangcheng Evening News*, March 15, 2002).

- **Sino-U.S. relations.** The greatest variance in reporting over time is in the area of Sino-U.S. relations; large changes over time from positive to negative are most evident in this area of reporting during all of the relevant periods covered in this project. Overall, reporting on Sino-U.S. relations has been described by our coders as “vibrating tightly over time.” Post-9/11 coverage is relatively sympathetic, with official expressions of condolences from the Chinese leadership to the U.S. and relative cooperation in the war on terrorism. February 2002 witnessed relatively quiet but positive coverage of President Bush’s China trip (commensurate with the positive coverage traditionally given to heads of state during

official visits to China), tempered somewhat by reminders that the U.S. needs to “Work hard to improve its cordial relationship with China” (*PLA Daily*, February 17, 2002). Emphasis was naturally placed on the status of U.S. relations with Taiwan, positively cast in such events as when “Jiang Zemin and President Bush exchanged letters to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the Shanghai Communiqué” (*PLA Daily*, March 1, 2002).

- **Taiwan-U.S. relations.** Although five months of coverage is too short to detect clear trends, it appears that the Chinese press may be becoming slightly more open in discussing Taiwan-U.S. relations and granting the US a slight degree of leeway in its position. Although overall reporting on American dealings with Taiwan tends to be stridently indignant in tone, such as describing the “shameless behavior of the U.S. government” in “brutally intervening” in China’s domestic affairs, there does appear to be some movement. For instance, “Bush’s slip of tongue: Taiwan is a ‘country’” (*Xinmin Evening News*, April 8, 2002) was cast as a mere “mistake” by the U.S. president instead of a major policy blunder, and acknowledgement that “The U.S. sells Taiwan wide-range radar” (*Yangcheng Evening News*, February 5, 2002) and “The U.S. is helping inflame ‘Taiwan independence’” (*Chongqing Evening News*, March 13, 2002) were not treated as cause for major alterations in Sino-U.S. policy. One area of ambiguity among our coders in which a cross-Strait bias was detected was over an article (appearing in the *Yangcheng Evening News* on April 26, 2002) reporting that the American government was criticized by an organization promoting Taiwan independence for not making sufficient efforts to overcome difficulties in helping Taiwan enter the World Health Organization. Our Taiwanese coders considered the article to be negative because the article reported that the US was criticized, but most of the Mainland coders felt that “America not helping Taiwan” would be considered as positive by Chinese readers. We continue to discuss this issue and hope to use it as a basis for judgment in other such articles as they appear.
- **Economics & trade.** As one article reports, “Trade is the stabilizer of Sino-U.S. relations” (*Beijing Youth Daily*, April 20, 2002), most reporting has emphasized economic cooperation between China and the U.S. as definitely positive. Americans are described as “savvy American businesspeople” (*PLA Daily*, February 21, 2002), and the spirit of American entrepreneurship is presented as a model worth emulating. However, insofar as it was reported that the “U.S. starts the steel trade war” (*People’s Daily*, March 7, 2002), and the international community is “Immensely dissatisfied with U.S. decision to raise steel tariffs” (*Xinmin Evening News*, March 7, 2002), the U.S. is not always seen as a positive participant in the world economy. Although it has been pointed out that the U.S.’s economic recession after 9/11 has not negatively impacted the Chinese economy, concern over increasing American protectionism has

made economic coverage grow slightly more negative over the past few months.

- **Science & technology.** Reporting on science and technology is one of the more positive topics on which Chinese media report. American developments are seen as innovative and having potential to significantly impact the world. Positive reports were given about artificial hearts and artificial wombs, cloning, and the increasing viability of space tourism. A challenge to the U.S.'s Global Positioning System (GPS) technology was reportedly made by similar technology under development in Europe, and reports were made on failed Nuclear Missile Defense tests (*Xinmin Evening News*, February 17, 2002). The most negative reporting touched on the vulnerability of American military computers to hackers, to which "Microsoft began a counter-offensive" (*Yangcheng Evening News*, February 25, 2002).
- **Academics & education.** Reporting on academics and education tends to be generally positive, most likely due to the perception that "Studying in America is an investment with high return" (*PLA Daily*, April 8, 2002). Cooperation between Chinese and American academic institutions is highlighted, and the hiring of American professors at Chinese universities such as Qinghua and Beijing University has received attention. A perception is fostered that the Chinese educational system focuses on knowledge, whereas the American system focuses more on creativity and encourages a closer bond between students and their academic advisors. Stories lauding the praises of individuals, such as "American professor tutors vocalists without asking for pay" (*Xinmin Evening News*, April 6, 2002) are not uncommon, although the firing of "Teacher Mark" from his post in China over political issues also received attention. Commentaries are about a variety of aspects of academia, ranging from "U.S. Ph.D.s to clone children for 12 couples this summer" (*Yangcheng Evening News*, April 22, 2002), to laments about school shootings and alcoholism at universities.
- **Culture & society.** Much reporting on American societal trends tends to focus either on America's higher standards of living (housing, automobiles, disposable income, etc.), or else on the down sides, such as crime, licentiousness, divorce, and poverty. The recent sex scandal within the Catholic Church has received a fair amount of coverage in Chinese papers, and American historical and social issues are called into question, such as "Prosperity built on the backs of black slaves" (*Yangcheng Evening News*, March 29, 2002). Reporting has emphasized the extent to which American society has been affected by the 9/11 attacks, insofar as Americans are more nervous about terrorism and willing to support public intrusion into their lives for the sake of security. Other coverage reports on the higher living standards in the US, and comments on positive

aspects of American life such as the prevalence of "rule of law" and a general sense of politeness and manners.

- **Sports & entertainment.** A significant segment of the coverage we have examined deals with sports and entertainment, ranging from NBA scores to the Oscars. A great deal of coverage is devoted to Hollywood, including weekly descriptions of box office successes, and detailed analysis of the Oscar awards. Basketball superstar Michael Jordan continues to receive a fair amount of attention in the Chinese press, although recent stories such as "Jordan not in the mood and Wizards lose" (*Xinmin Evening News*, April 4, 2002) may hint that the public adulation that has existed in the past may be starting to wane. Of course, current Chinese NBA recruits Wang ZhiZhi and Ba Ta'er, soon to be joined by 7'5" draft pick Yao Ming, are receiving increasing amounts of attention, which we may anticipate will only increase next season.
- **Olympics.** Coverage of the Salt Lake Winter Olympics was generally very positive, aside from reporting on the judging scandals that received worldwide concern. China is clearly gearing up for its own turn in the Olympic spotlight in 2008, and articles such as "Let tourism go hand in hand with the Olympics" (*People's Daily*, March 29, 2002) and "From Salt Lake City: To get rich, pave roads first" (*PLA Daily*, February 15, 2002) indicate the degree of infrastructural development currently under way in Beijing. We expect that this category will take on increasing importance during the coming years.
- **Environment.** Most of this environmental reporting casts the U.S. as an international renegade, abandoning the Kyoto Protocol, dumping "computer trash," and considering oil drilling in the Arctic Wildlife Refuge despite environmental concerns. Articles such as "The U.S. against the world in greenhouse gas emissions" (*Yangcheng Evening News*, April 3, 2001) tend to sum up the tone of articles in this category.

The following are highlights of specific findings and conclusions:

- As expected, PRC attitudes, as reflected in media reports, are more positive for the presidential visit than for the reconnaissance plane incident. Specifically, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) between the two months shows that the overall valence for the period between March 17 and April 15, 2001, is significantly lower than the overall valence for the month of February 2002. In other words, the portrayal of the United States was generally more negative during the period in which the reconnaissance plane incident occurred than during the month of February, which included the visit of President Bush in China. Reporting on 9/11 is relatively moderate compared to reporting on either the reconnaissance plane incident or President Bush's visit to China.

- Despite these expected differences, however, there is less divergence (based on composite scores) between these two periods than might be expected. On composite scores, the overall reporting on the U.S. during the Bush visit is less positive and the reporting during the reconnaissance plane incident less negative than might be expected. In other words, the average tone is steadier than might be expected. In general, reporting during the period of 9/11 falls between these two events.
- There tend to be no significant difference in the tone of the articles based on reports from the Xinhua News Agency compared to non-Xinhua reports during the three month period in 2002 and 9/11. It appears, however, that existing differences may not show in the statistical analyses; observation of the trends over time show that there is clear divergence between Xinhua and non-Xinhua sources on specific days, such that when Xinhua reports are very positive, non-Xinhua sources are very negative, and vice versa. During the crucial period of the reconnaissance plane incident (April 1 to 15), however, reports originating from the Xinhua News Agency were significantly more negative than non-Xinhua reports, but Xinhua reports during the crisis period immediately following 9/11 were substantially more positive about the U.S. than non-Xinhua reporting.
- In the month of February 2002, there is a significant interaction between date and the type of newspaper, such that valence differs across newspaper type at different times during the month. During February 2002, the national papers tend to be more positive than large city papers, especially during the time of President Bush's visit to China. During the period between March 17 and April 15, 2001, national papers tend to be the most negative, especially during the period between April 5 to April 15, immediately after the reconnaissance plane incident, which occurred on April 1.
- The comparison of composite scores over September 2001 across these three topic areas shows a significant interaction between topic and date, such that reports on Sino-U.S. relations are generally more positive throughout the month, followed by reports on U.S. foreign policy. As may be expected, given the events of the month, reports on economy and trade were the most negative of these topic areas, reflecting the economic struggles in the aftermath of 9/11.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Pre-Revolution

From its earliest beginnings, the Chinese Communist Party has concentrated on utilizing all available means of public discourse to build a modern socialist nation. The first task of budding communists after the overthrow of the imperial system and establishment of the Republic of China in 1911 was to organize masses of peasants and workers into open struggle against the ruling elite. This cause was fueled by public outrage over Japan's encroachment onto Chinese sovereignty, a condition that widespread sentiment held that the new Nationalist government was not doing enough to resist. Radical newsletters and magazines flourished during the 1910s and 1920s, strongly advocating the cause of revolution among labor, peasants, women, and youth readerships. The year 1919 found young Communist Mao Zedong in Beijing, where he established the Civilians' News Agency, issuing 150 news bulletins every day to major cities around China to expose the crimes of local warlords (Chang, 1989, pp. 12-13).

By 1931, the Party, engaged in rural-based guerrilla warfare with the ruling Nationalist government, established the Red China News Agency, the predecessor of today's Xinhua News Agency. This agency not only sent reports of what was going on inside China to the outside world, but also used army radio to collect outside news, to be edited and distributed to Party leaders. This practice of news organizations providing intelligence for high-level Party leaders continues today (Zhao, 1998). Thus, the official Chinese media was institutionalized as a "two-way red lens," a dual surveillance system through which the government may keep abreast of nationwide conditions and prevailing public opinion, as well as allowing the people to be apprised of the government's official actions and directives. Mao Zedong's expressed rationale toward this approach was that, "We should go to the masses and learn from them, synthesize their experience into better, articulated principles of methods, then do propaganda among the masses, and call upon them to put these principles and methods into practice so as to solve their problems and help them achieve liberation and happiness" (Mao, 1943).

By 1939, the Xinhua News Agency had become a professional wire service, providing translation, editing, news releases, and reception of news stories from main news agencies at home and abroad. The agency disseminated the Party's policies on the united front and provided significant support for anti-Japanese forces, actually playing the role of a national newspaper and eventually moving into broadcasting (Chang, 1989). Xinhua also launched an English service, the beginning of its overseas programming. BBC officials of the time even claimed that they could receive Xinhua signals from the Communist base at Yan'an more clearly than Nationalist broadcasts from the Chinese capital city of Nanjing, a condition surely foreboding of the ultimate victory of the Communists over the Nationalists for the voice of mainland China.

Post-Revolution

With the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, a major task of the new regime was to take stock of national conditions, chart a course toward socialist construction, and propagate its agenda nationwide among China's millions of poor,

illiterate peasants and workers. Toward this aim, oral media such as radio and film were brought into wider use than ever before with the public issuance of state-manufactured radios and eventually television sets, which were well-suited to the needs of rural populations who were largely illiterate and cut off from urban areas. These “media of agitation” were used to impart vivid images of national symbols, disseminating facts and focusing public attention on the tasks of construction at hand. Also brought into play were the print media of newspapers, journals, and books, which were more adapted to literate urban populations, complementing the work of audio-visual media by providing events with an ideological or cultural context. Thus, it was considered appropriate that “Radio and film exhort, but press and books contextualize” (Liu, 1971, p. 10-11).

Although resources for the development of the vast communications network needed nationwide were limited, the government did “develop a great many techniques to increase the effectiveness of the network by reaching more people with each particular message, devices such as collective newspaper reading, wired radio speaker systems, radio monitoring teams, and mobile film projection units” (Houn, 1961, p. 27). Thus, as people congregated to hear and discuss messages sent down from Beijing, popular sentiment could be monitored and crystallized by local Party cadres, and sent back to Beijing through channels of leadership. The Communist regime made this dual surveillance function a major national priority, with inestimable effects on the population. As for the impact of these media in affecting human behavior and teaching new roles in society, James Markham (1970) notes:

Communist communication systems have demonstrated a high capability to change people and society. They do this by using mass communication to create a strong feeling of ‘nation-ness’ and loyalty to the country, by helping prepare people to participate and to play their new roles in the new society, by promulgating and popularizing national plans and goals, by helping develop necessary skills, and eventually by preparing the people for their country’s role as a member of the family of nations – in short, to modify society and human behavior. (p. 44)

One major focus of the Party’s broad communication initiatives was to help China’s masses make sense of their new roles in society. China only recently had adopted Communism after a long history of feudalism and a very brief experiment with Nationalism, and in this context the Communist Party set very ambitious goals of increasing literacy, educating the masses, collectivizing agriculture, propelling industrialization, erecting a massive defense complex, promoting women’s liberation, and creating an entirely new national identity, among many other broad objectives to be achieved within the short period of a few decades. To accomplish these extraordinary goals quickly, the government took on a highly authoritarian position in directing people toward their appropriate roles in the new society, using the nation’s growing communications structure as a primary means of dissemination.

The Party Principle

Since its inception, the stated “Party principle” (*dangxing yuanze*) has been the central

principle underlying the Communist Party's use of the Chinese media system. This principle consists of three components: "1) the news media must accept the Party's guiding ideology as its own, 2) the media must propagate the Party's programs, policies, and directives, and 3) the media must accept the Party's leadership and stick to the Party's organizational principles and press policies" (Zhao, 1998, p. 21). Thus, the Party guards closely its prerogative to survey media content. This media monitoring is usually performed by special teams of veteran Party ideological workers. For editors as well as journalists, fear of post-publication retribution is always present. Punishment may range from being forced to write self-criticisms to demotion to unemployment and social ostracism. Under constant awareness of the need to avoid political "mistakes," many professionals learn to play it safe (Zhao, 1998, p. 21).

For the past half a century, journalists in China have thus grown up in a culture that unquestioningly expects the news media to serve the interests of the government. Traditionally, Chinese reporters have seen their jobs in terms of not only reflecting government policy—many would call this "guiding public opinion" (Dai, 1999, p. 78)—but also helping to maintain social stability and promoting economic growth. "For them, getting to the scene of a flood or plane crash as fast as possible is not as important as reporting what is being done by the government to battle the flood or improve the safety of air travel" (Nolan, 1999, p. 34).

However, decades of governmental manipulation of the media under Communist rule and resulting policy disasters such as the Great Leap Forward in the 1950s (which caused mass starvation due to improper reporting of agricultural yields) and the catastrophic Cultural Revolution of the 1960s-70s left the Chinese populace tired, shell-shocked, and ready for reform. By the time of the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, political winds were already blowing even from within the Party to create a new mandate that would lead to the gradual opening of Chinese society as well as its media system.

The Reform Period

December 1978 marked a crucial turning point in Chinese history with the Party Central Committee's decision to correct the "leftist" errors of the past. The pragmatic new central leader Deng Xiaoping made strong use of the mass media to give coverage to his regime's policies of invigorating the domestic economy and opening China to the outside world. A nationwide discussion commenced in the press about the importance of "seeking truth from facts," arguing that practice was the only basis for testing truth, and that "to get rich is glorious." Freer critical reporting slowly began to appear in the press in the 1980s, along with an increasing emphasis on economic news.

Despite China's obvious policy of opening gradually to the outside world, the Chinese leadership has taken pains to make sure that all reforms are perceived as uniquely Chinese, compelling Chinese journalists to operate within a twofold mandate: 1) to utilize the western concept of satisfying public tastes, while 2) adhering strictly to the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought. Thus has created a severe dialectic between pragmatism and ideology within which Chinese journalists continue to perform a high-stakes balancing act.

Challenges of Today's Chinese Press

Until very recently, the development of China's modern media system has been significantly hampered by governmental regulation and fixed revenue. Until the last few years, the Chinese press has rejected advertising, remained completely subsidized by the state, published relatively small numbers of overall titles (only 186 as late as 1978), produced papers small in size (typically four pages), and relied heavily on subscriptions at public expense for office reading, distributed exclusively through the postal service (Zhao, 2000, p. 6). This has left the overburdened state in the difficult position of having to support growing numbers of employees and retirees with declining sources of revenue. Given no choice but to boost income, the state has thus been actively pushing its press outlets to the market by severing direct subsidies and providing financial incentives, including tax breaks, performance-based salary supplements, and operational freedoms previously unheard of in order to make media profitable (Zhao, 2000, p. 5).

Today's Chinese media market thus rests on the principle of "regulated marketization," under which the Chinese licensing system ensures the Party's control over the fundamental structure of the press. Newspapers are not be set up independently, and all are assigned an official rank and must be registered under a recognized institutional publisher or sponsor (Zhao, 2000, p. 6). Papers after 1996 have thus become the products of "bureaucratic capitalism," a characteristic of today's Chinese "socialism with Chinese characteristics," whereby political power and official influence are used as means for commercial gain by individuals or bureaucratic units through capitalist or quasi-capitalist economic activities (Meisner, 1996).

The state has thus allowed for mass appeal papers, subsidized by advertising revenue and sold mostly on the streets below cost. These new publications emphasize breaking events, the consumer angle, story format, relevance to urban life, entertainment, sports, and other "soft" content, and are coming to be quite aggressive in marketing, packaging, distribution, and self-promotion. They satisfy consumer tastes and sell well, ushering in what some have called the Chinese equivalent of the American "penny press revolution" (Zhao, 2000, p. 11). The resulting phenomenon of consumer choice is indeed new in China, since for the past several decades, the custom was for work units or Party cells to purchase publications and make them available to workers and their families. This practice still goes on in China, but less and less (Nolan, 1999).

One recent measure, the Chinese government's three-year "media rationalization campaign," was launched in 1996 in an attempt to achieve optimal integration between propaganda effectiveness and economic efficiency. Under this plan, the bureaucratic press was to be consolidated, the number of professional papers reduced, and newspapers with small circulation numbers or records of breaking Party publication rules targeted for closure. Today's Chinese State Press and Publications Administration has thus been granted strong authority to rigorously implement three central controlling mechanisms for publications: licensing, annual review, and the certification of editors-in-chief (State Press and Publications Administration, 1997).

Although making every effort to retain its ideological high ground, the Communist Party “no longer believes in low-budget propaganda and the self-evident nature of its truth. It wants to capitalize its press to ensure wider circulation, higher production values, faster delivery, and better packaging of content” (Zhao, 2000, p. 17). Thus, the new role model of the day is no longer Mao Zedong but Rupert Murdoch, who now serves as one of the Party’s media business partners. Chinese authorities today have come to see western-style media conglomeration as a means to enhance press control, strengthen Party organs, and induce profitable outlets to cross-subsidize unprofitable venues viewed as socially and culturally important (Zhao, 2000, p. 16). For many in the Party elite, “economic reform is simply an opportunity for self-enrichment and for the continuation of social privilege. Although the Party’s slogans have changed from ‘fight selfishness’ to ‘getting rich is glorious,’ it’s essentially the same elite that has remained dominant” (Liu & Link, 1998, p. 22).

What appears to be happening in the Chinese media can be seen as a microcosm of what is happening in Chinese society at large. Economic liberalization means increased freedom for people in terms of movement, entertainment, standards of living, and job opportunities, however the Communist Party leadership has determined that this should not lead to strident calls for dramatic political reform. The government has seemed willing to indulge commercial tastes to allow for certain degrees of consumer satisfaction as long as forbidden political topics are not broached and the power of the Party remains entrenched. Thus, market liberalization on one hand, accompanied by political censorship on the other, does seem to make all too real the possibility of the Chinese government’s conscious effort to turn its citizenry into “a nation of tabloid-dazed couch potatoes” (Schell, 1995, p. 43).

Today, many feel that Chinese and American media mandates, at least outside the purview of the Party’s official press, are growing more and more similar month by month—it is difficult for researchers on the Chinese media to publish quickly enough to reflect current changes. Jia Qingguo, Dean of International Relations at Beijing University recently noted that today’s Chinese papers are prone to push what he calls “commercial nationalism” in an attempt to “do whatever sells” (personal communication, May 8, 2002). Today’s Chinese newspapers number over 8,000, magazines over 10,000, and television stations over 3,000, leading to fierce competition. At the same time, many Chinese are becoming increasingly sophisticated in their perspective on world affairs and are eager for China to take a more prominent place in the global community. Chinese media tend to foster a “love-hate relationship” with the United States, drawing a clear distinction between the American populace (with its generally friendly, democratic values) and official (hegemonic) U.S. policy. Chinese reporters abroad are still relatively few in number, but feel a tremendous responsibility to convey the “real” state of affairs in the U.S., with all of its negatives as well as its positives. Today’s Chinese press is far from monolithic, and continues to diversify and become more market-focused, seemingly with each passing day.

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METHODS

Selection of Newspapers

The newspapers used in this report were selected based on three essential criteria. First, newspapers were chosen to reflect different types of audiences the news sources would target, namely, whether the papers target the national population as a whole, the people of a major city in the east of China, or those living in inland cities. Second, the news source had to be accessible on the World Wide Web, which many Chinese news sources currently are. Web accessibility played a crucial role in making this project feasible. In addition, all of the papers used in this study have search engines, providing easy ability to access any articles that even mention the United States. Third, with the exception of one newspaper, all of the newspapers used for this report provide archives, so that access is available to reports surrounding recent historical events of interest, such as the reconnaissance plane incident and 9/11.

Six Chinese newspapers were selected to provide the data used in this report. Two newspapers, *People's Daily* and *PLA Daily*, are both based in Beijing, and are considered national sources because they are readily accessible to the national population. Two newspapers target the readership of two of China's major cities: *Beijing Youth Daily* in Beijing and *XinMin Evening News* in Shanghai. Two papers are local sources of news for two of China's inland cities: *YangCheng Evening News* in the southern city of Guangzhou in Guangdong Province, and *Chongqing Evening News* in the central inland city of Chongqing in Sichuan Province. The readership of each of these newspapers is estimated as follows:

Newspaper	Target Audience	Circulation (Paper version)
People's Daily	National	4,000,000
PLA Daily	National	480,000
Beijing Youth Daily	Major Eastern City	800,000
XinMin Evening News	Major Eastern City	1,700,000
Yang Cheng Evening News	Inland/Local	1,500,000
Chongqing Evening News	Inland/Local	150,000

Access to these newspapers via the World Wide Web provides a unique basis for this study. In the past, research that examines reports in the printed news media has had to gain access to the paper form of the newspapers, sort through each paper page by page and identify relevant articles by reading or scanning each article. Search engines on the Web now provide an efficient and reliable means for accessing newsprint from China while conducting the research in the U.S. The only potential negative aspect of using the Web as a source for gathering Chinese news is that newspapers such as *People's Daily* circulate more than one version of the newspaper depending on the audience likely to read the paper, thus the Web version of the paper may not reflect completely the news coverage that the *People's Daily* provides within China. But, for the most part, the papers used in this report simply transfer the content of their printed paper to the Web. The results reported here should still reflect the overall trends in China's newspaper reporting about the U.S.

Newspaper articles were collected, in Chinese, every two days during each of the five months included in this study, resulting in 3190 articles: 630 articles for the one month between March 17 and April 15, 2001; 583 articles for the days surrounding 9/11 (September 7 to 29, 2001), and 1977 articles for the three-month period between February 1 and April 30, 2002 (February = 666, March = 756, and April = 555). The articles were printed in Chinese and the titles were translated into English by the research assistants who are in charge of collecting articles off the Web, both of whom were trained in translation and interpretation in China. On the following pages are breakdowns of the number of articles found in each of the six newspapers related to the United States during each one-month period.

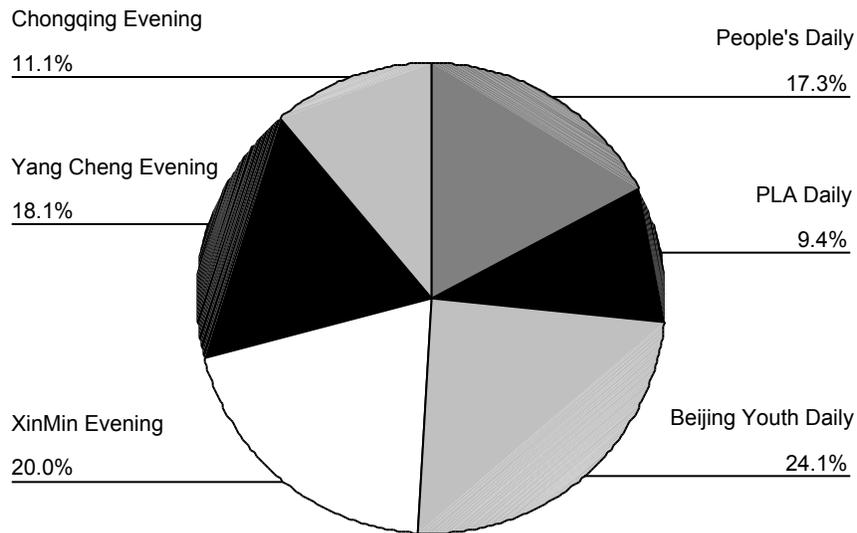
For both one-month periods, close to half of the coverage on the U.S. is found in the large city papers of *Beijing Youth Daily* and *XinMin Evening News*, followed by the national papers, *People's Daily* and *PLA Daily*, which provide about a third of the coverage on the U.S. in this report. Local city papers provide relatively little amount of coverage on the U.S. In other words, people who rely primarily on local papers as their news source are likely to receive less news concerning the United States.

Once the articles were obtained, each article was coded for various aspects of the article's content, including topic, valence, and weight. Each of these content issues will be discussed in turn. The articles were coded by a team of six graduate research assistants, three from the PRC and three from Taiwan. One of the advantages of this study is that the articles were coded in Chinese; we did not lose content or meaning by translating the articles into English. The coders were trained to use each aspect of the coding scheme employed in this study. At first, team members coded the same articles, working independently to code each article and then resolving any discrepancies in the use of the coding scheme through discussion, under the supervision of the principal investigator and project manager. As the team members learned to reliably employ the coding scheme, they were assigned to work in pairs, in combinations that mixed gender and national origin (in other words, each pair consists of one male, one female and one person from Mainland and one person from Taiwan). Although no systematic bias has

been evident across the coders, they have continued working in pairs to eliminate potential national or gender biases that may influence results.

FEBRUARY to APRIL 2002

Newspaper Coverage

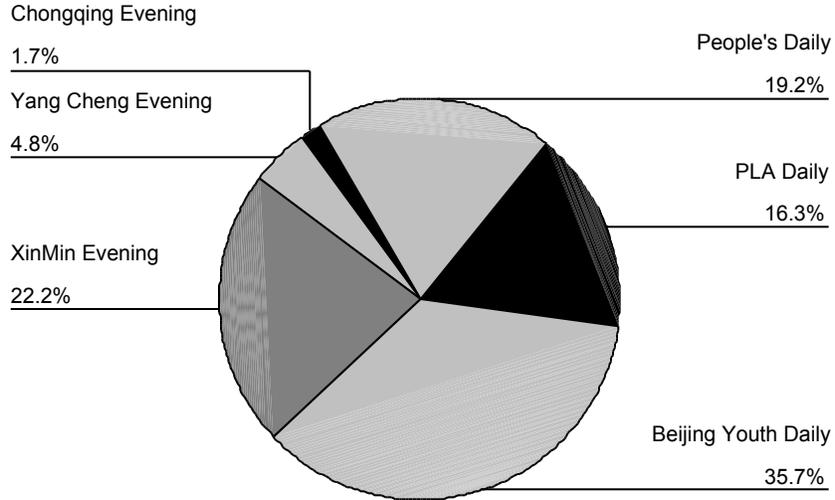


News Coverage: February to April 2002

	Frequency	Percent
People's Daily	342	17.3
PLA Daily	186	9.4
Beijing Youth Daily	476	24.1
XinMin Evening News	396	20.0
Yang Cheng Evening News	358	18.1
Chongqing Evening News	219	11.1
Total	1977	100.0

Newspaper Coverage

3-17-01 to 4-15-01

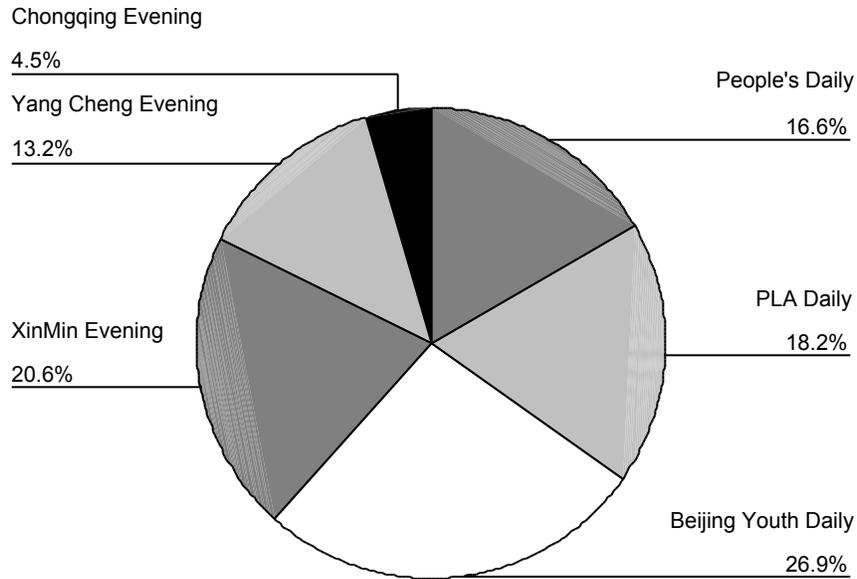


News Coverage: March 17 to April 15, 2001

	Frequency	Percent
People's Daily	121	19.2
PLA Daily	103	16.3
Beijing Youth Daily	225	35.7
XinMin Evening News	140	22.2
Yang Cheng Evening News	30	4.8
Chongqing Evening News	11	1.7
Total	630	100.0

September 7 to 29, 2001

Newspaper Coverage

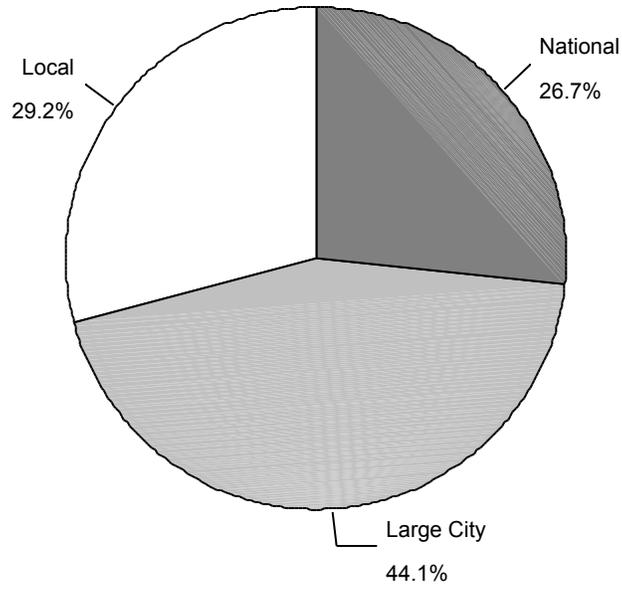


News Coverage: September 7 to 29, 2001

	Frequency	Percent
People's Daily	97	16.6
PLA Daily	106	18.2
Beijing Youth Daily	157	26.9
XinMin Evening News	120	20.6
Yang Cheng Evening News	77	13.2
Chongqing Evening News	26	4.5
Total	583	100.0

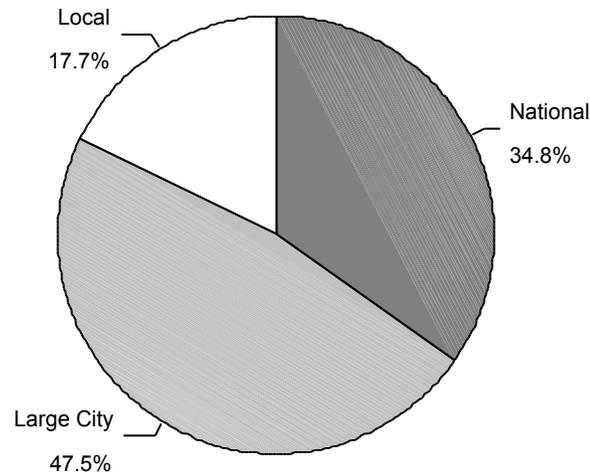
February to April 2002

Newspaper Regions



September 7 to 29, 2001

Newspaper Regions



Coding for Topic

The first aspect of the coding scheme addressed the topic of the articles. Each article was coded for the general topic of the report, especially as it related to the United States. In other words, although an article may be generally about the business practices of a Chinese company, if the report on the United States is on the contribution of U.S. technological developments, the article would be coded as one related to Science/Technology. The goal of coding for topic was to understand what aspects about the United States are reported in China's newspapers. The "Other" category was used only when articles fit into no other category. Few articles were coded as "other;" examples of articles coded into this category were articles describing the actual events of the 9/11 attacks, and the kidnapping and eventual murder of American journalist Daniel Pearl. These articles tended to report in as objective and fact-oriented a manner as possible.

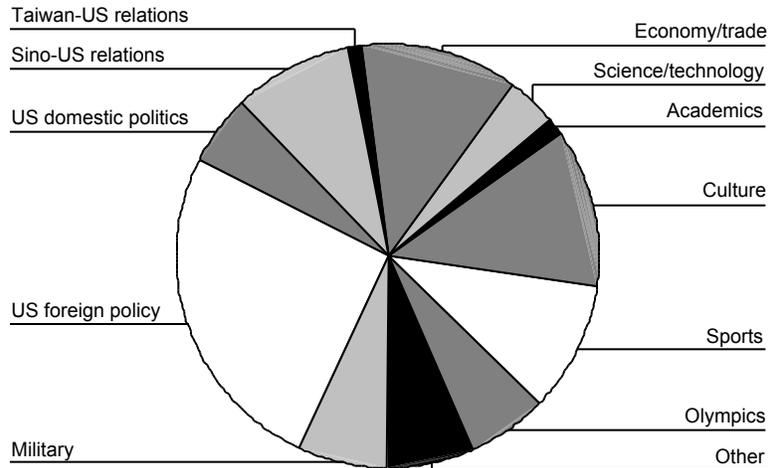
As evidenced in the following graphs, coverage during February 2002 focused primarily on U.S. foreign policy, whereas coverage during March-April 2001 focused primarily on U.S.-Sino relations, mostly due to the repercussions of the reconnaissance plane incident. Focus on the U.S. within the Chinese newspapers centers primarily on U.S. foreign policy and U.S.-Sino relations, along with U.S. economy and trade issues. The culture and society of the U.S. also draws a good deal of attention, including such aspects as the Oscars and Michael Jordan's possible divorce. One article even talked about a Chinese mother who was upset because her son wanted to quit school and attend wizard school like Harry Potter (although British, the U.S. was credited with promoting its content).

Sample Article Titles for Primary Topic Areas

Topic	Title
U.S. foreign policy & international relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Why has the U.S. extended its trade and investment sanction on Iran? (3-17-01) ■ FBI plans to recruit a Russian hacker (4-11-01) ■ U.S. sends warning signal to Iraq one more time (2-15-02) ■ U.S. pushes Afghanistan to create its own national army (2-25-02)
U.S.-Sino relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji meets with U.S. ex-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (3-17-01) ■ U.S. embassy officials meet U.S. plane crew for the 5th time (4-11-01) ■ Chances and challenges for Sino-U.S. trade relations after WTO (2-15-02) ■ Review of thirty years of Sino-U.S. relations and projection for the future (2-25-02)
U.S. economy & trade	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Stores closing due to the U.S.'s gloomy economy (3-17-01) ■ Dow Jones recovers to 10,000 points (4-11-01) ■ Enron jokes not funny (2-17-02) ■ U.S. trade volume with Taiwan decreases last year (2-25-02)

FEBRUARY 2002

TOPIC

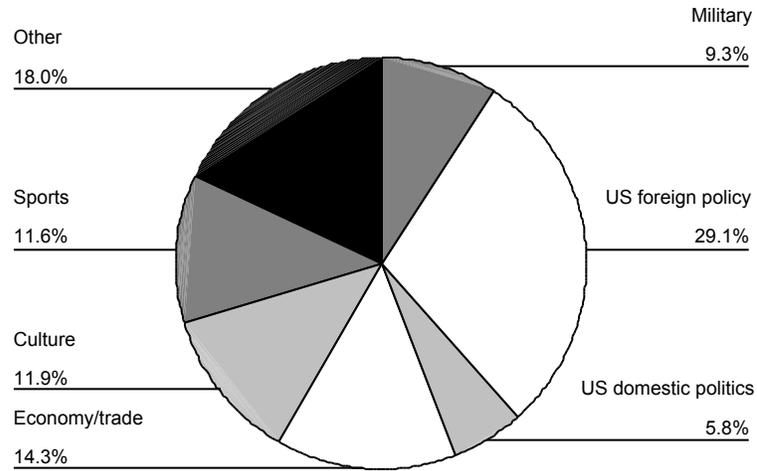


Topic Coverage: February 2002

	Frequency	Percent
Military	46	6.9
US foreign policy	170	25.5
US domestic politics	35	5.3
Sino-US relations	62	9.3
Taiwan-US relations	7	1.1
Economy/trade	80	12.0
Science/technology	25	3.8
Academics	9	1.4
Culture	81	12.2
Sports	65	9.8
Olympics	42	6.3
Other	44	6.6
Total	666	100.0

MARCH 2002

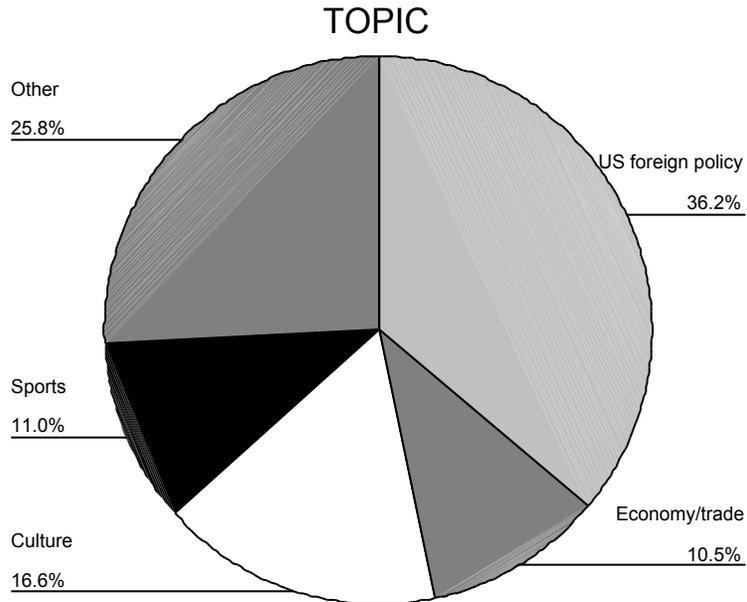
TOPIC



Coverage: March 2002

	Frequency	Percent
Military	70	9.3
U.S. foreign policy	220	29.1
U.S. domestic politics	44	5.8
Sino-U.S. relations	30	4.0
Taiwan-U.S. relations	23	3.0
Economy/trade	108	14.3
Science/technology	31	4.1
Academics	24	3.2
Culture	90	11.9
Sports	88	11.6
Olympics	2	.3
Other	26	3.4
Total	756	100.0

APRIL 2002

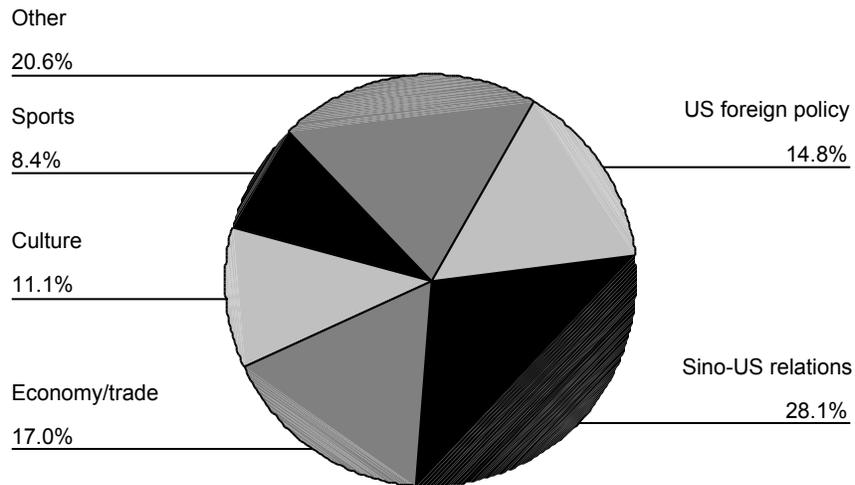


Topic Coverage: April 2002

	Frequency	Percent
Military	19	3.4
U.S. foreign policy	201	36.2
U.S. domestic politics	22	4.0
Sino-U.S. relations	21	3.8
Taiwan-U.S. relations	14	2.5
Economy/trade	58	10.5
Science/technology	22	4.0
Academics	13	2.3
Culture	92	16.6
Sports	61	11.0
Olympics	2	.4
Other	30	5.4
Total	555	100.0

Topic Coverage: Reconnaissance Plane

3-17-01 to 4-15-01

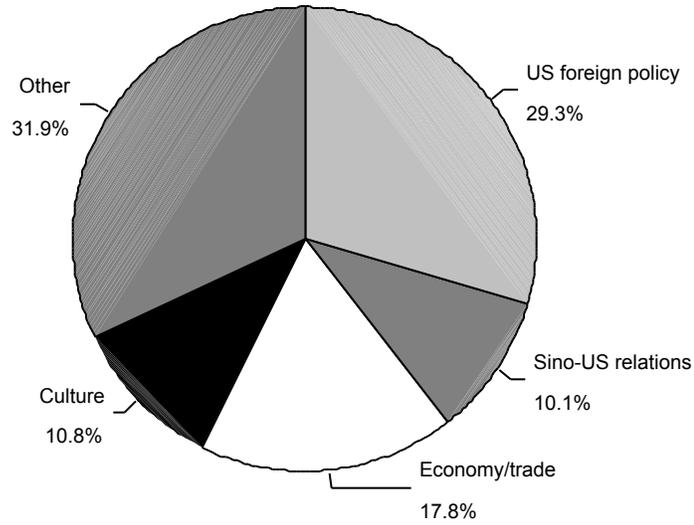


Topic Coverage: March 17 to April 15, 2001

	Frequency	Percent
Military	24	3.8
U.S. foreign policy	93	14.8
U.S. domestic politics	15	2.4
U.S.-Sino relations	177	28.1
Taiwan-U.S. relations	19	3.0
Economy/trade	107	17.0
Science/technology	29	4.6
Academics	11	1.7
Culture	70	11.1
Sports	53	8.4
Olympics	3	.5
Other	29	4.6
Total	630	100.0

SEPTEMBER 7 to 29, 2001

TOPIC



Topic Coverage: September 7 to 29, 2001

	Frequency	Percent
Military	57	9.8
U.S. foreign policy	171	29.3
U.S. domestic politics	36	6.2
Sino-U.S. relations	59	10.1
Economy/trade	104	17.8
Science/technology	12	2.1
Academics	9	1.5
Culture	63	10.8
Sports	18	3.1
Olympics	1	.2
Other	53	9.1
Total	583	100.0

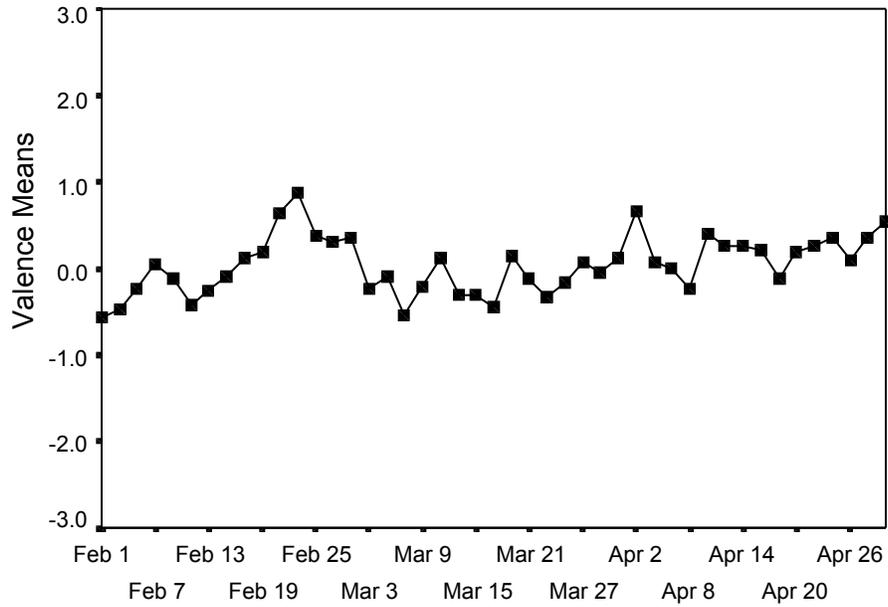
Coding for Valence

The second aspect of coding addressed the valence of the article, or the degree to which the United States is described in positive or negative terms. Valence codes could range between +3 and -3. No zero code was used, because even though many articles report about the United States in fairly neutral terms, we reasoned that the article still leaves an impression about the United States. Thus, articles that are relatively neutral or only mention the U.S. within a neutral or positive context were coded as +1. Articles that were slightly negative toward the U.S. or mentioned the U.S. within a negative context were coded as -1. Codes of +2 or -2 were applied to articles that provided information about the U.S. that was either positive or negative, respectively. Codes of +3 and -3 were used for articles that used strong commentary to portray the United States, such as effective and admirable, or as weak, hostile, or treacherous.

The following charts demonstrate that, for the most part, articles tend to be fairly objective and neutral regarding the United States. During the reconnaissance plane incident, reporting shows less neutral reporting and a higher proportion of negative reporting.

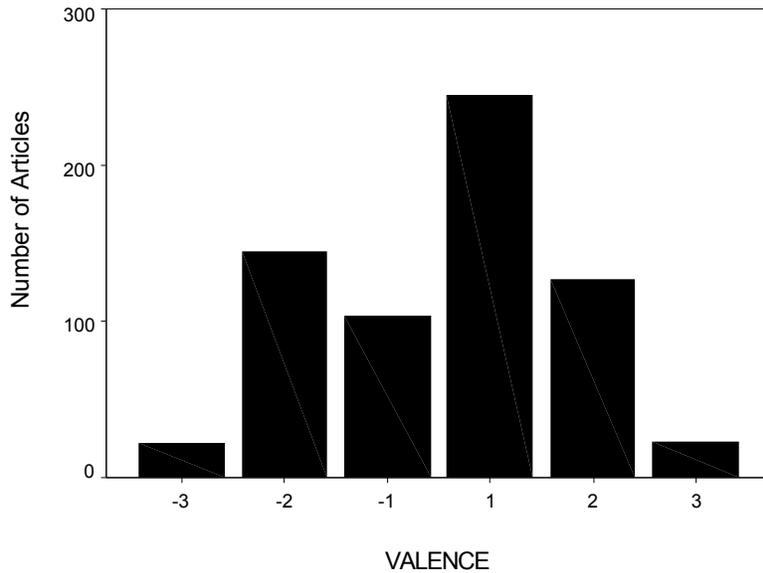
FEBRUARY to APRIL 2002

OVERALL VALENCE: SIX NEWSPAPERS

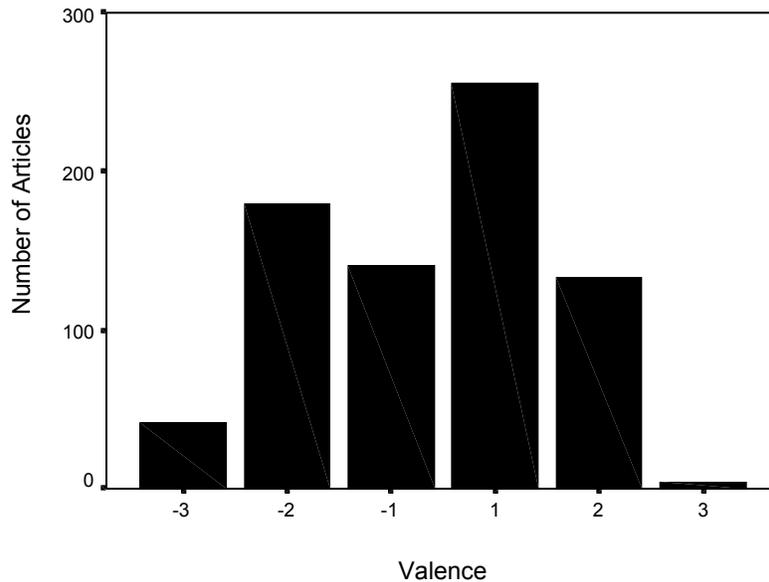


February to March 2002

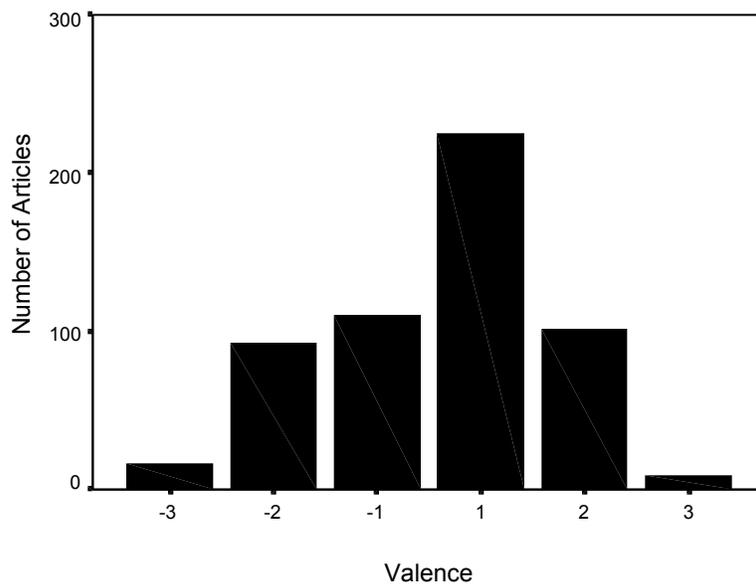
Valence: February 2002



Valence: March 2002



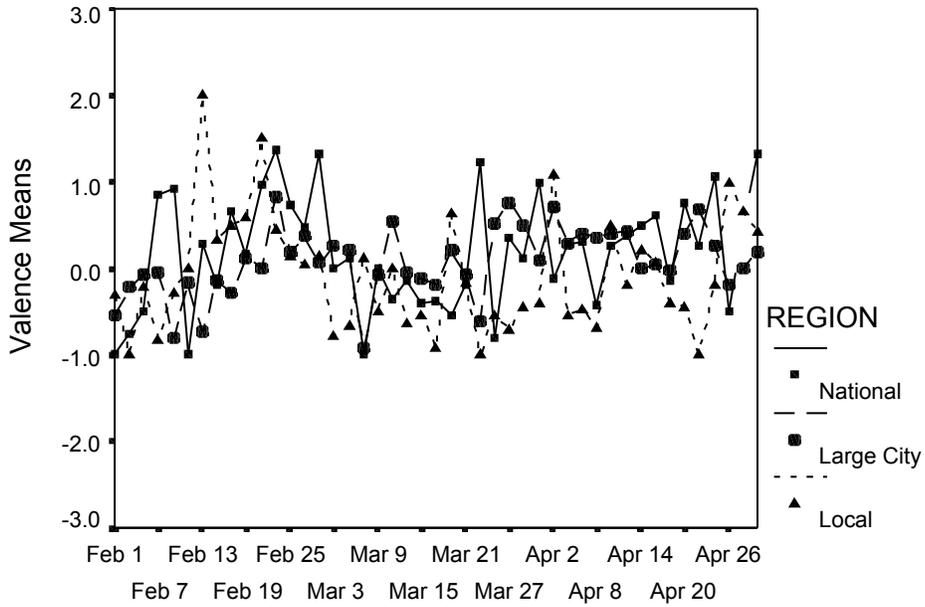
Valence: April 2002



Valence during this three month period shows moderate variation. The highest peak is during the period of President Bush's visit to China in late February. There is a peak around April 2 that is unrelated to any specific events; this day there happened to be several positive articles about American life in general (e.g., "Fortune releases new list of America's top 500 enterprises," "Whitman, one who helped e-Bay develop," "Jodie Foster's Panic Room tops box office," "Clinton speaks his heart," "Agassi wins 700th game," "Bold and candid Oprah makes Americans sweat.")

FEBRUARY to APRIL 2002

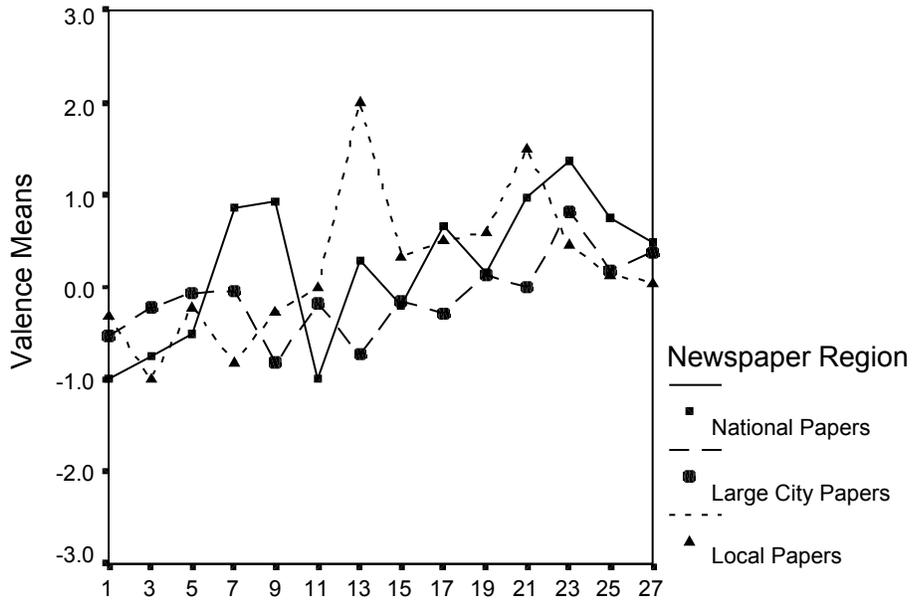
Valence by Newspaper Regions



February to April 2002

FEBRUARY 2002

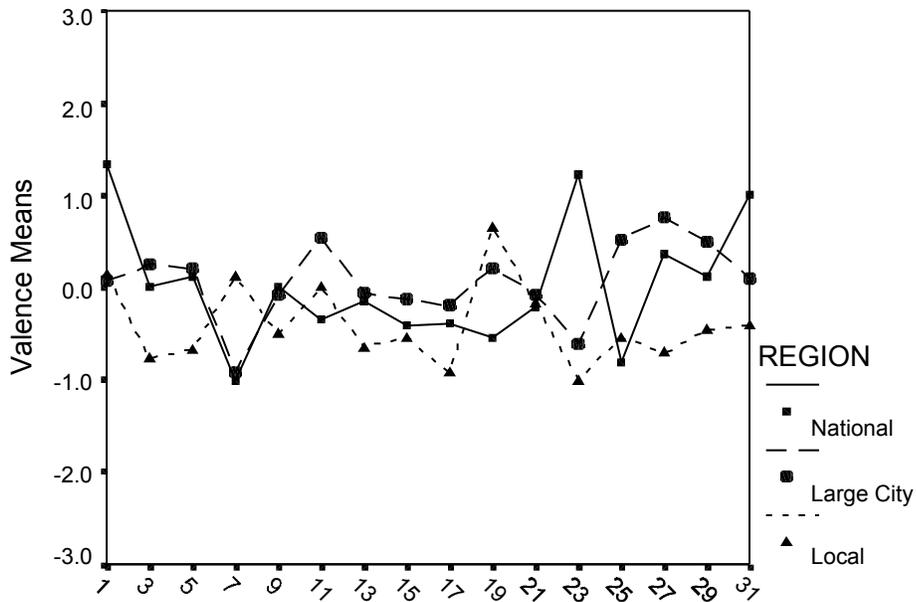
VALENCE by NEWSPAPER REGIONS



February 2002

MARCH 2002

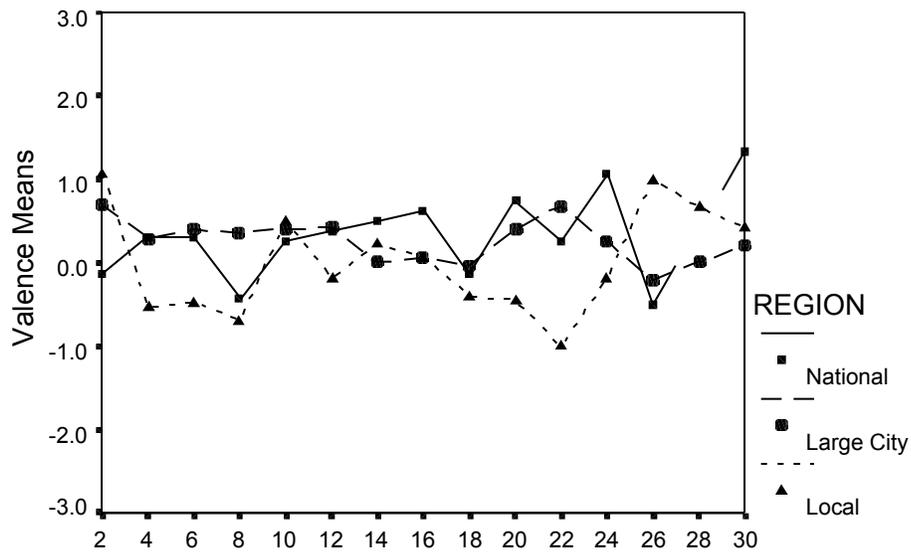
Valence by Newspaper Regions



March 2002

APRIL 2002

Valence by Newspaper Regions

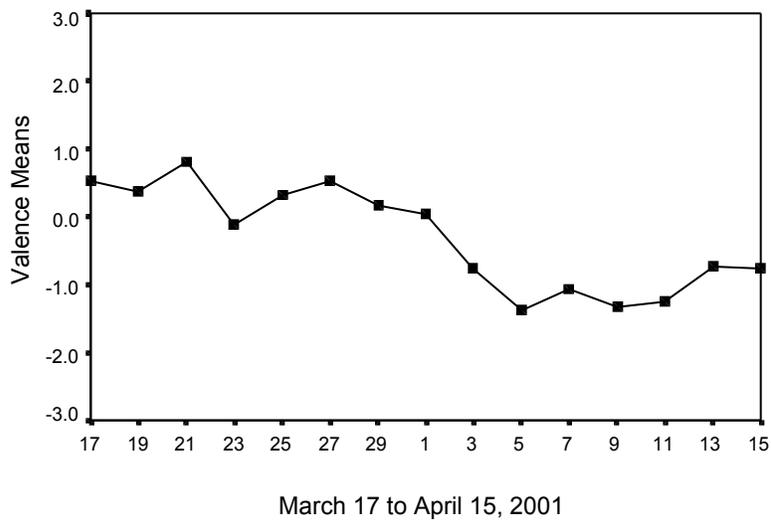


April 2002

Spaces show days with no articles on the U.S. in that region

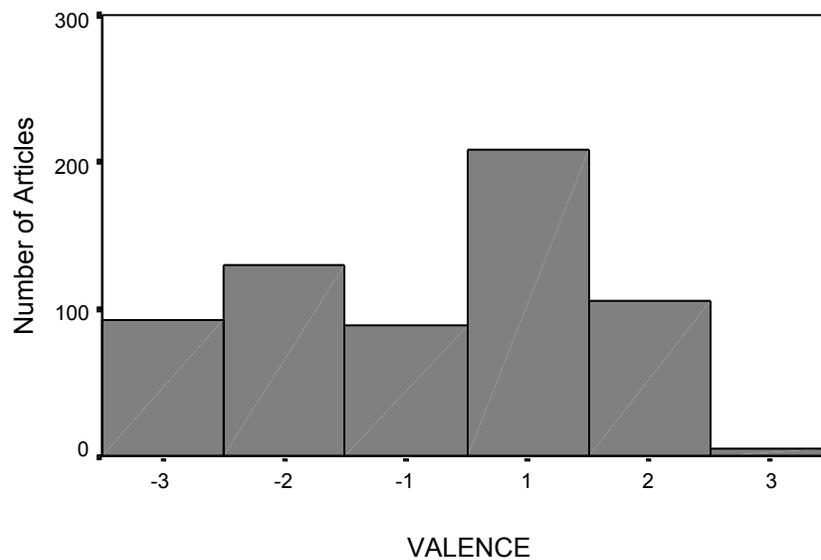
OVERALL VALENCE: SIX NEWSPAPERS

Reconnaissance Plane



Valence: Reconnaissance Plane

3-17-01 to 4-15-01

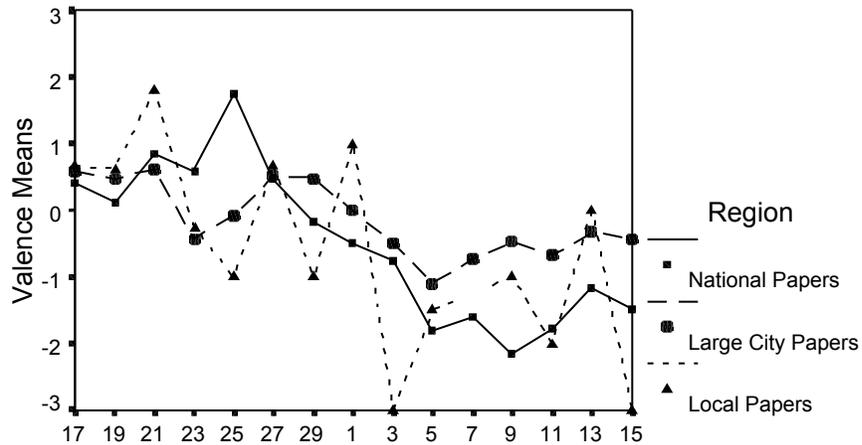


Reporting during this period is moderately neutral until the news breaks on April 3 about the reconnaissance plane incident, at which point the reporting becomes more negative throughout the crisis period until April 15.

March 17 to April 15, 2001

Valence by Newspaper Regions

Reconnaissance Plane

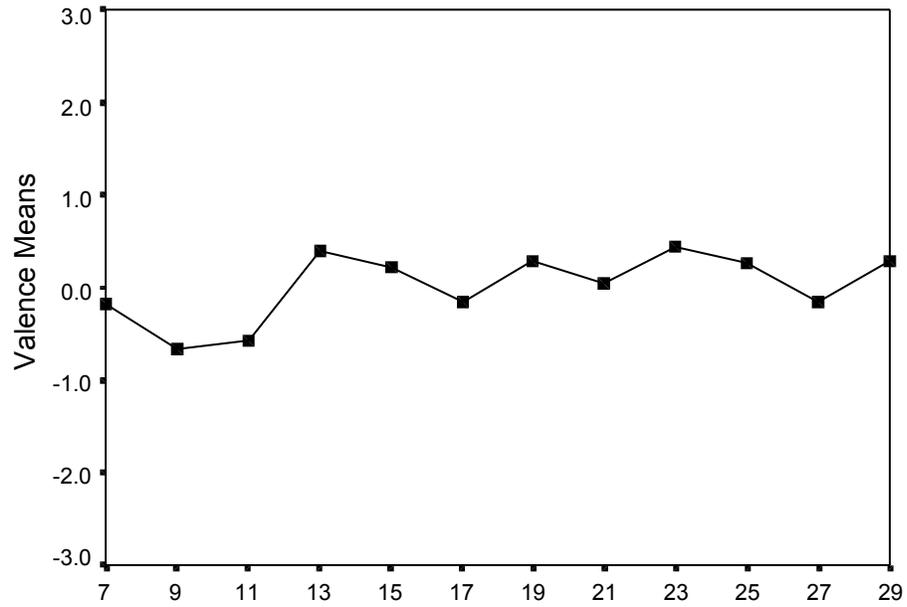


March 17 to April 15, 2001

Spaces show days with no articles on the U.S. in that region

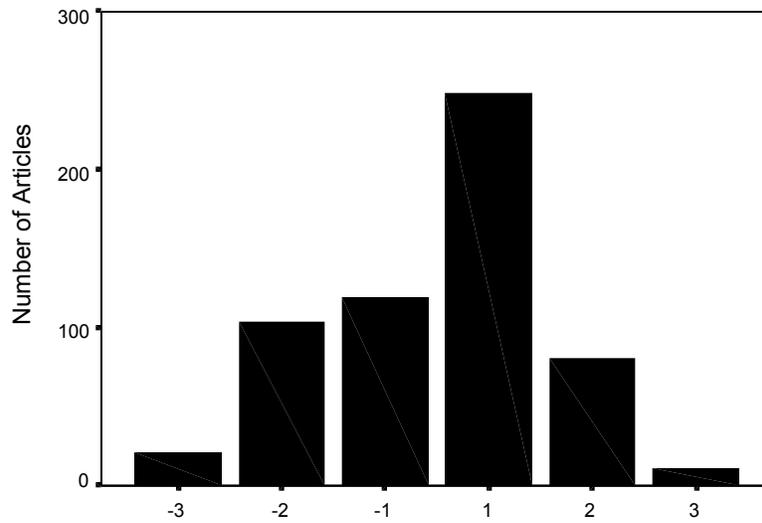
Note that prior to the reconnaissance plane incident, national papers were somewhat more positive in their reporting about the U.S., but during the crisis, national papers and local papers are substantially more negative in their reporting, with local papers are especially negative when the news first breaks on April 3 and are again very negative on April 15 (the day the flight crew was released).

OVERALL VALENCE: SIX NEWSPAPERS



September 2001

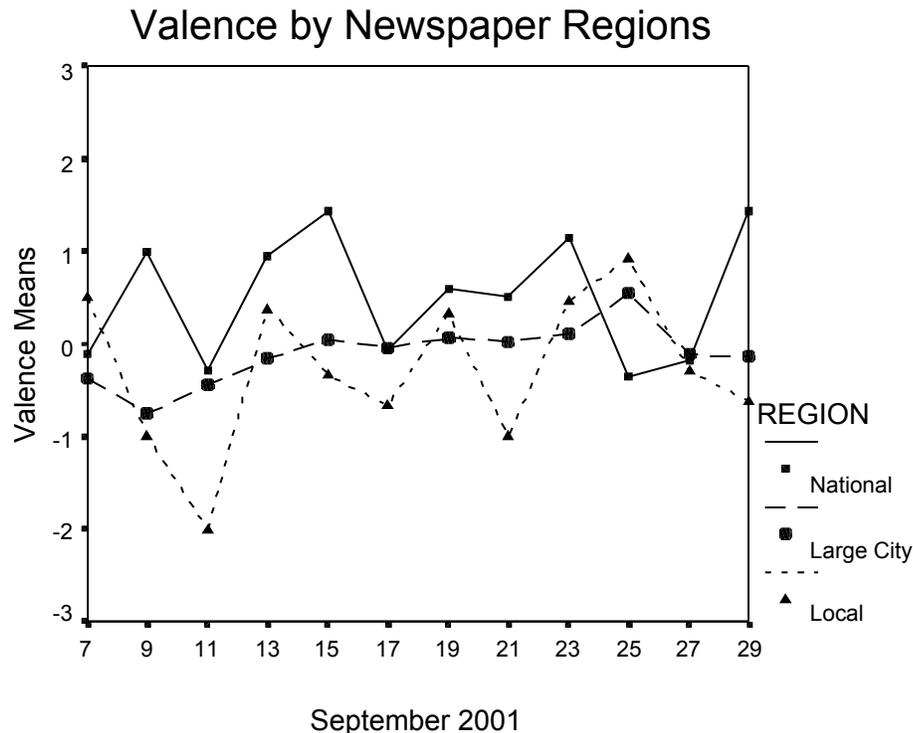
Valence: September 7 to 29, 2002



Valence

Reporting continues to be fairly objective but slightly higher around September 13, which is the first that news reporting would reflect the events of 9/11.

September 2001



In contrast to reporting at the time of the reconnaissance plane incident, note that during September 2001, national papers tend to report more positively whereas local papers tend to be more negative in their reporting; this trend continues even after 9/11.

Coding for Weight

The third aspect of coding was for the weight, or importance, of each article. The weight began with a code of +1 for mentioning the U.S. An additional point was given for each of the following attributes:

- An official Xinhua News Agency report
- A statement by a Chinese government leader, such as a member of the Standing Committee, Politburo, National People's Congress, Foreign Ministry or an official government spokesperson
- Headline mentions the United States or a representation of the United States, such as the President of the United States or the Pentagon, or a major location such as Washington DC or New York
- Front page or large article

This coding method weights articles within a range of 1 to 5. Information on the frequency of the various weights in the articles coded for these months is found on the following pages. See pages 44 through 46 for the frequencies of these weights for the three general time periods.

Composite Measure

To provide an overall measure that reflects both the positive or negative portrayal of the U.S. and the weight of the articles, we created a composite score:

$$\text{Valence} \times \text{Weight} = \text{Composite}$$

An average of the composite scores for each day provide useful information about the overall trends during each of the one month periods and allow comparisons to be made across topics. The remainder of the report provides these comparisons.

FREQUENCIES ON REPORTING INFORMATION
AND DATE OF REPORT

FEBRUARY to APRIL 2002

XINHUA REPORT

	Frequency	Percent
No	1119	56.6
Yes	858	43.4
Total	1977	100.0

REPORT BY GOVERNMENT LEADER

	Frequency	Percent
No	1879	95.0
Yes	98	5.0
Total	1977	100.0

U.S. IN HEADLINE

	Frequency	Percent
No	1002	50.7
Yes	975	49.3
Total	1977	100.0

FRONT PAGE OR LARGE ARTICLE

	Frequency	Percent
No	1314	66.5
Yes	663	33.5
Total	1977	100.0

WEIGHT (Measure of the prominence & significance of the article)

	Frequency	Percent
1	339	17.1
2	842	42.6
3	654	33.1
4	114	5.8
5	28	1.4
Total	1977	100.0

FREQUENCIES ON REPORTING INFORMATION
AND DATE OF REPORT

MARCH 17 to APRIL 15 2001

XINHUA

	Frequency	Percent
No	334	53.0
Yes	296	47.0

REPORT by GOVERNMENT LEADER

	Frequency	Percent
No	571	90.6
Yes	59	9.4

U.S. IN HEADLINE

	Frequency	Percent
No	299	47.5
Yes	331	52.5

FRONT PAGE OR LARGE ARTICLE

	Frequency	Percent
No	428	67.9
Yes	202	32.1

WEIGHT (Measure of the prominence & significance of the article)

	Frequency	Percent
1	118	18.7
2	224	35.6
3	216	34.3
4	59	9.4
5	13	2.1

FREQUENCIES ON REPORTING INFORMATION
AND DATE OF REPORT

SEPTEMBER 7 to 29 2001

XINHUA

	Frequency	Percent
No	228	39.1
Yes	355	60.9
Total	583	100.0

REPORT by GOVERNMENT LEADER

	Frequency	Percent
No	515	88.3
Yes	68	11.7
Total	583	100.0

U.S. IN HEADLINE

	Frequency	Percent
No	264	45.3
Yes	319	54.7
Total	583	100.0

FRONT PAGE OR LARGE ARTICLE

	Frequency	Percent
No	403	69.1
Yes	180	30.9
Total	583	100.0

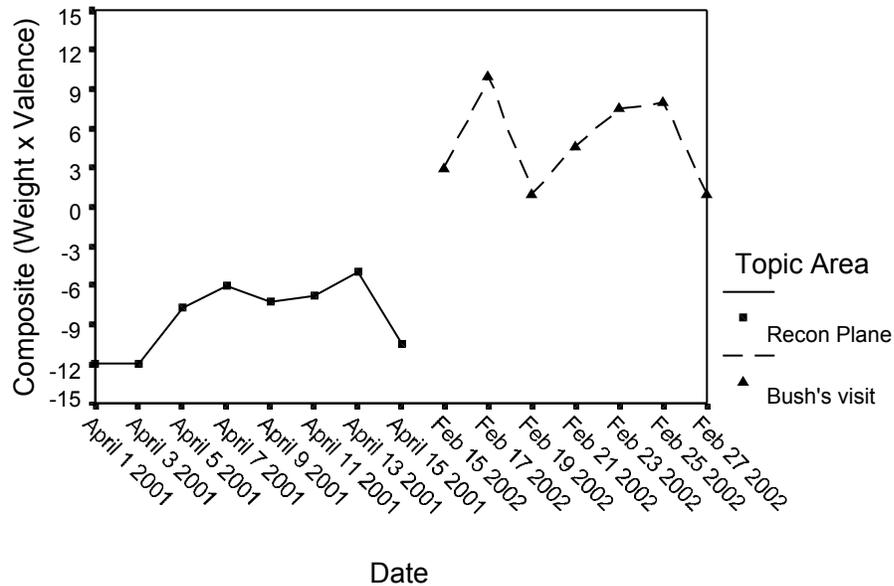
WEIGHT (Measure of the prominence & significance of the article)

	Frequency	Percent
1	76	13.0
2	185	31.7
3	246	42.2
4	65	11.1
5	11	1.9
Total	583	100.0

Comparing Bush's Visit, the Reconnaissance Plane Incident, and 9/11

As expected, a comparison of the articles that specifically mention President George W. Bush's China visit versus those articles that specifically mention the reconnaissance plane incident demonstrate a significant divergence in the attitudes in media reports ($F[1,187] = 381.13, p < .001, R^2 = .67$).

Comparing Articles Mentioning
Recon Plane and President Bush's Visit

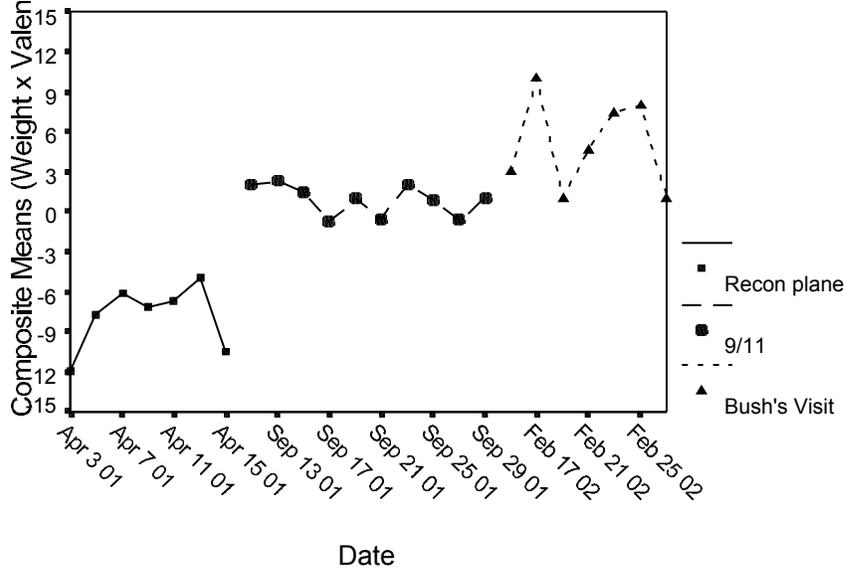


Comparison of Articles on Reconnaissance Plane Incident vs. President Bush's Visit

RECON PLANE	Mean	Standard Deviation	# of Articles	BUSH'S VISIT	Mean	Standard Deviation	# of Articles
2001				2002			
April 1	-12.00	.	1	Feb 15	3.00	.	1
April 3	-12.00	2.12	5	Feb 17	10.00	2.83	2
April 5	-7.72	4.36	39	Feb 19	1.00	7.07	2
April 7	-6.05	5.17	21	Feb 21	4.71	3.12	14
April 9	-7.16	2.09	19	Feb 23	7.48	4.59	33
April 11	-6.75	3.28	16	Feb 25	8.00	.00	2
April 13	-5.00	3.41	22	Feb 27	1.00	7.31	5
April 15	-10.50	1.64	6	March 1	10.00	.	1
Total	-7.11	4.07	129	Total	6.15	4.88	60

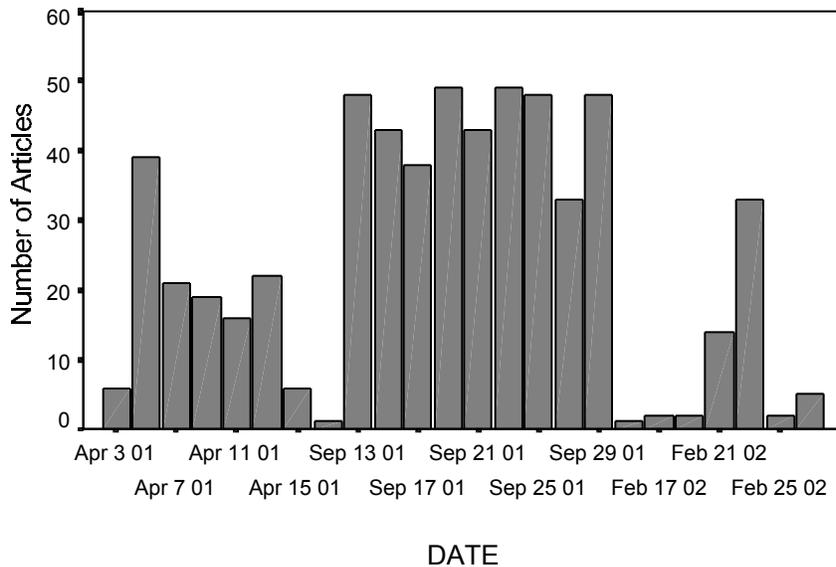
Comparing Articles on

Plane, 9/11, & President Bush's Visit



of Articles on

Plane, 9/11, and President Bush's Visit



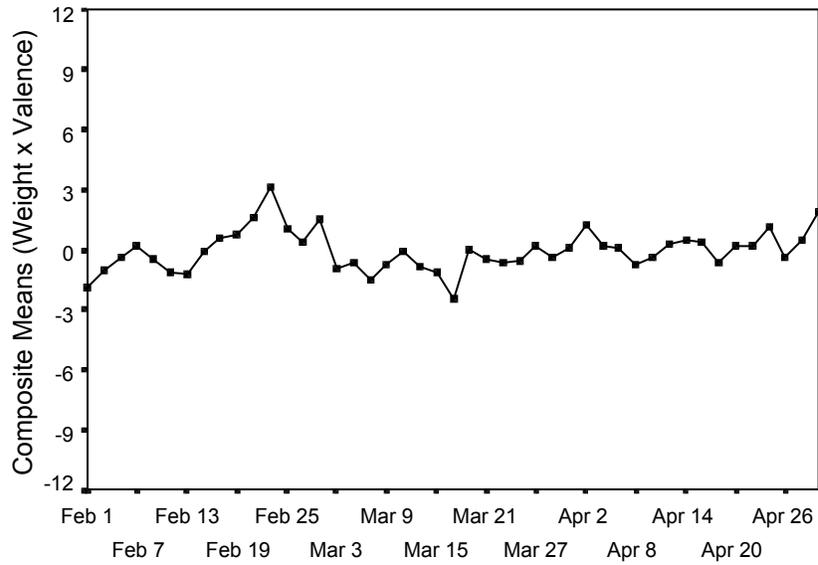
Reporting on 9/11 is generally more neutral than about either the reconnaissance plane incident or President Bush's visit. The amount of reporting regarding 9/11 and its aftermath is quite impressive and is substantially greater than about either the reconnaissance plane incident or President Bush's visit.

THREE MONTH OVERVIEW

FEBRUARY to APRIL 2002

FEBRUARY to APRIL 2002

OVERALL COMPOSITE: 6 NEWSPAPERS



February to April 2002

Analysis of Variance for ALL SIX NEWSPAPERS: Date on Composite Score

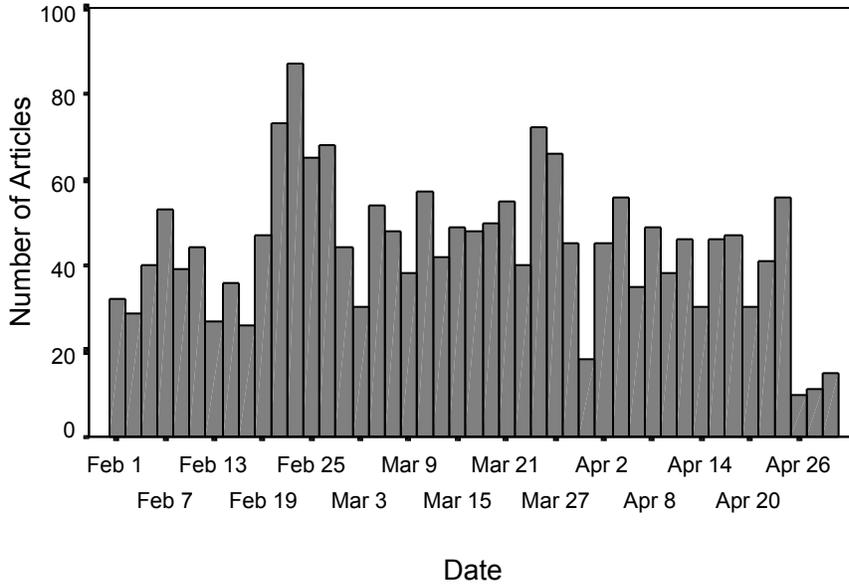
Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	2.721	42	.000
Error		1932	
Total		1977	

$R^2 = .067$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .045$)

There is a significant difference in composite scores across the three months of February through April 2002, with a positive peak at the end of February, coinciding with President Bush's visit, and a negative dip on March 17 related Chinese condemnation over the allowance of Taiwanese official Tang Yaoming's visit to the United States.

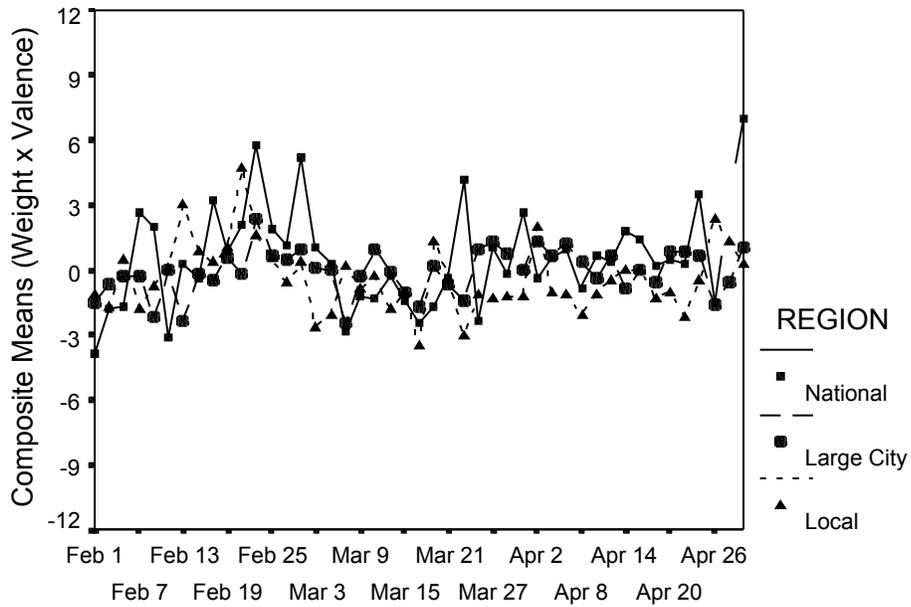
Number of Articles

February to April 2002



FEBRUARY to APRIL 2002

NEWSPAPER REGIONS



February to March 2002

ANOVA for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	3.445	44	.000
REGION	5.116	2	.006
DATE * REGION	1.706	87	.000
Error		1843	
Total		1977	

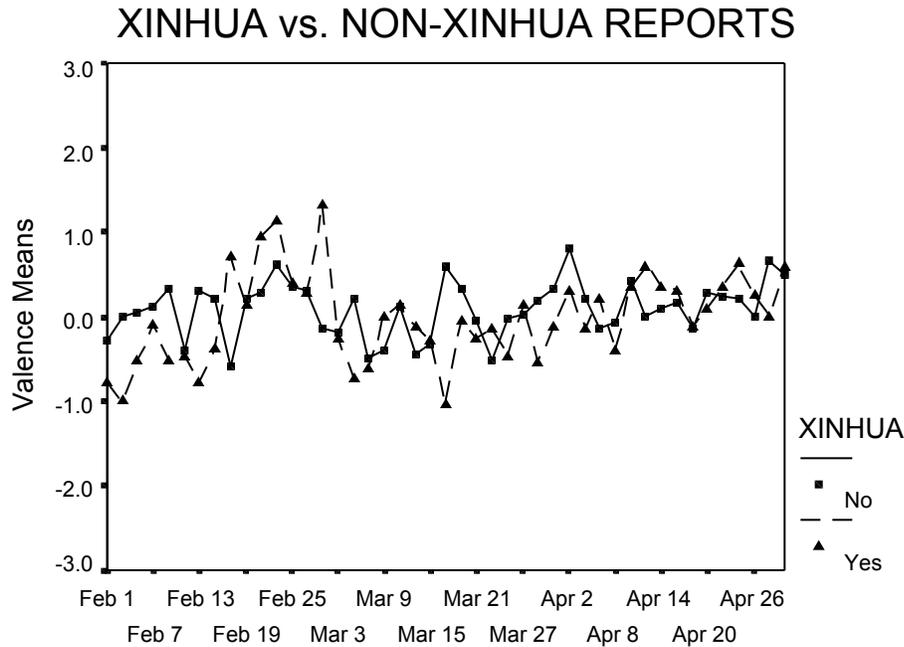
$R^2 = .144$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .082$)

COMPOSITE MEANS by REGION NEWSPAPER

REGION	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
National	.69	4.94	528
Large City	.0003	4.04	872
Local	-.51	3.85	577

Across the three regions, there is a significant interaction with date, such that local papers tend to be more negative in their reporting about the U.S. overall. Although national papers are slightly more positive than large city or local papers, national papers tend to show greater variance in their tone, reporting both more positively and more negatively about the U.S.

February to April 2002



ANOVA for DATE and XINHUA vs. NON-XINHUA REPORTING on VALENCE

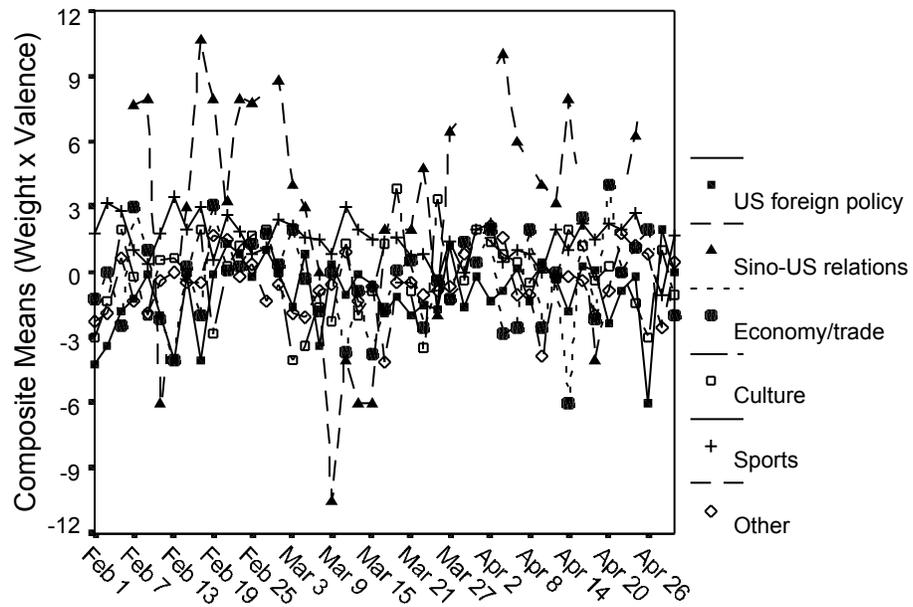
Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	2.097	44	.000
XINHUA	1.510	1	.219
XINHUA * DATE	1.292	44	.096
Error		1887	
Total		1977	

R^2 Squared = .075 (Adjusted R^2 = .031)

These results show that there is no significant difference in perspective between the reports issued by the Xinhua News Agency from reports issued by non-Xinhua sources. It appears, however, that existing differences may not show in the statistical analyses; observation of the trends over time show that there is clear divergence between Xinhua and non-Xinhua sources on specific days, such that when Xinhua reports are very positive, non-Xinhua sources are very negative, and vice versa.

FEBRUARY to APRIL 2002

COMPARING TOPICS



February to April 2002

The greatest variance in composite scores is evident in the reporting on Sino-U.S. relations, which has very high peaks and valleys across the three month period. See the additional charts for further analyses of these trends.

OVERALL COMPOSITE

Comparison of Means for February, March, & April 2002 on Composite Scores

MONTH	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
February	.49	4.57	666
March	-.53	4.28	756
April	.26	3.77	555
Total	.03	4.27	1977

OVERALL COMPOSITE

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by MONTH

Source	F	df	Sig.
MONTH	11.327	2	.000
Error		1974	
Total		1977	

$R^2 = .011$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .010$)

The composite score differs significantly by month; there is a significant difference between February's positive mean score and March's negative mean score. The significant difference is due primarily to differences in reporting related to Sino-U.S. Relations, as discussed below.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY + SINO-U.S. RELATIONS + U.S. ECONOMY & TRADE

Comparison of Means for February, March, & April 2002 on Composite Scores

MONTH	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
February	.89	5.32	312
March	-.63	4.44	358
April	.18	3.92	280
Total	.11	4.65	950

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY + SINO-U.S. RELATIONS + U.S. ECONOMY & TRADE

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by MONTH

Source	F	df	Sig.
MONTH	9.072	2	.000
Error		947	
Total		950	

$R^2 = .019$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .017$)

For the articles covering the categories of U.S. Foreign Policy, Sino-U.S. Relations, and U.S. Economy & Trade, there is a significant difference between February and March in the composite scores, with February more positive and March more negative.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY + SINO-U.S. RELATIONS + U.S. ECONOMY & TRADE + CULTURE/SOCIETY

Comparison of Means for February, March, & April 2002 on Composite Scores

MONTH	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
February	.78	5.08	393
March	-.61	4.34	448
April	.19	3.95	372
Total	.08	4.52	1213

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY + SINO-U.S. RELATIONS + U.S. ECONOMY & TRADE + CULTURE/SOCIETY

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by MONTH

Source	F	df	Sig.
MONTH	10.321	2	.000
Error		1210	
Total		1213	

$R^2 = .017$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .015$)

For the articles covering the categories of U.S. Foreign Policy, Sino-U.S. Relations, U.S. Economy & Trade, and Culture & Society, there is a significant difference between February and March in the composite scores, with February more positive than March.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Comparison of Means for February, March, & April 2002 on Composite Scores

MONTH	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
February	-.84	4.24	170
March	-.97	3.94	220
April	-.42	3.36	201
Total	-.75	3.85	591

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by MONTH

Source	F	df	Sig.
MONTH	1.137	2	.322
Error		588	
Total		591	

$R^2 = .004$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .000$)

There is no significant difference in composite scores across the three months of 2002 on articles of U.S. Foreign Policy. All three months tend to be negative, but March, which has the lowest mean, is not significantly lower than either February or April.

SINO-U.S. RELATIONS

Comparison of Means for February, March, & April 2002 on Composite Scores

MONTH	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
February	6.26	5.30	62
March	2.10	7.22	30
April	6.14	4.25	21
Total	5.13	5.95	113

SINO-U.S. RELATIONS

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by MONTH

Source	F	df	Sig.
MONTH	5.763	2	.004
Error		110	
Total		113	

$R^2 = .095$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .078$)

For articles related to Sino-U.S. Relations, there is a significant difference in the composite score means across the three months of 2002. Although all three months are positive, both February and April are significantly more positive than March. Note that although the means are comparable for February and April, there are substantially more articles on Sino-U.S. Relations in February than either March or April.

U.S. ECONOMY & TRADE

Comparison of Means for February, March, & April 2002 on Composite Scores

MONTH	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
February	.39	4.69	80
March	-.69	4.18	108
April	.12	3.84	58
Total	-.15	4.29	246

U.S. ECONOMY & TRADE

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by MONTH

Source	F	df	Sig.
MONTH	1.594	2	.205
Error		243	
Total		246	

$R^2 = .013$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .005$)

There is no significant difference in the composite score means across the three months in 2002. Reporting on the U.S. Economy and Trade is substantially higher in March than in February and even more so than in April.

U.S. CULTURE & SOCIETY

Comparison of Means for February, March, & April 2002 on Composite Scores

MONTH	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
February	.38	4.01	81
March	-.56	3.94	90
April	.20	4.05	92
Total	-.003	4.00	263

U.S. CULTURE & SOCIETY

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by MONTH

Source	F	df	Sig.
MONTH	1.349	2	.261
Error		260	
Total		263	

$R^2 = .010$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .003$)

Coverage of U.S. Culture and Society remains relatively stable and neutral overall across the three months, with no significant differences in the mean of the composite scores for each month.

SPORTS & ENTERTAINMENT

Comparison of Means for February, March, & April 2002 on Composite Scores

MONTH	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
February	1.63	2.27	65
March	1.14	2.20	88
April	1.48	1.89	61
Total	1.38	2.14	214

SPORTS & ENTERTAINMENT

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by MONTH

Source	df	F	Sig.
MONTH	2	1.079	.342
Error	211		
Total	214		

$R^2 = .010$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .001$)

Coverage of Sports and Entertainment remains relatively stable and somewhat positive across the three months, with no significant differences in the mean of the composite scores for each month.

OTHER

Comparison of Means for February, March, & April 2002 on Composite Scores

MONTH	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
February	-.73	3.82	44
March	-1.69	2.81	26
April	-.43	2.60	30
Total	-.89	3.25	100

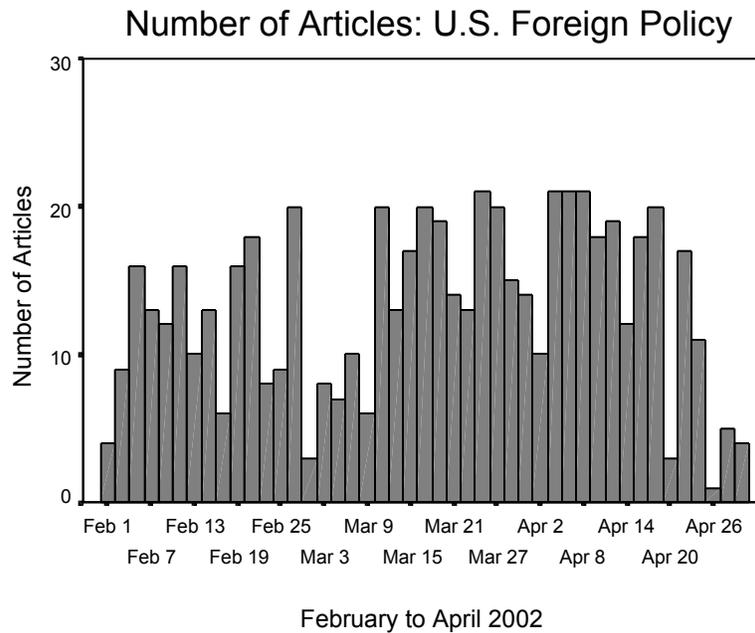
OTHER

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by MONTH

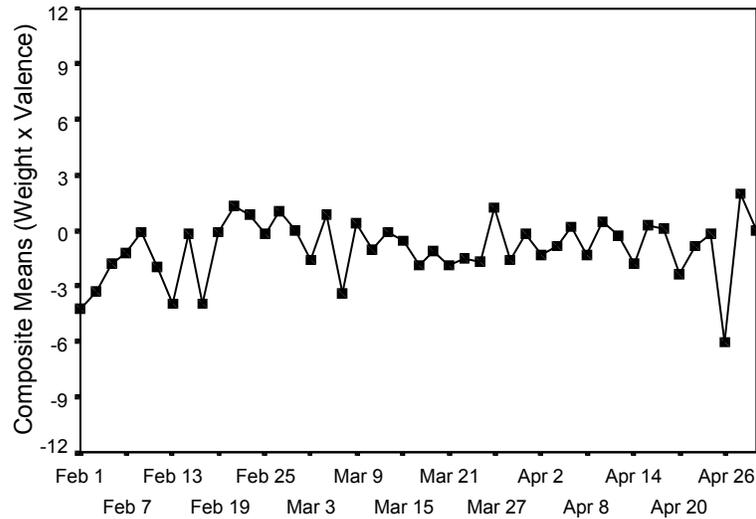
Source	F	df	Sig.
MONTH	1.147	2	.322
Error		97	
Total		100	

$R^2 = .023$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .003$)

Coverage of articles in the category of Other remains relatively stable and somewhat negative across the three months in 2002. Although March tends to be slightly negative than February and April, this difference is not significant.



U.S. FOREIGN POLICY



February to April 2002

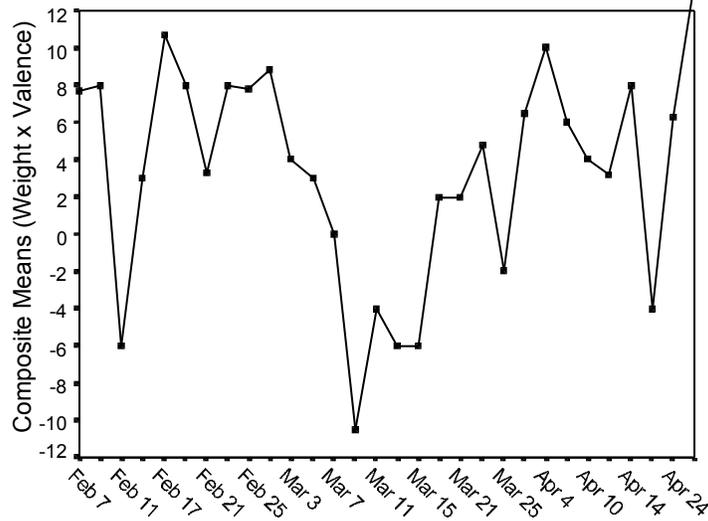
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	df	F	Sig.
DATE	44	1.551	.015
Error	546		
Total	591		

$R^2 = .111$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .039$)

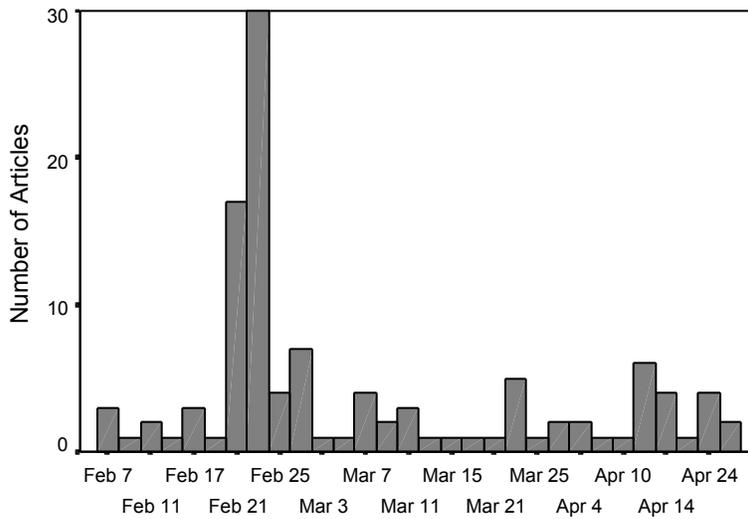
Overall composite scores for articles on U.S. foreign policy differ significantly across the three month period (see February 2002 charts for explanation of this one-month period specifically). April 26 is particularly low in comparison to the general varying trend across the three months, but this dip seems to be related mostly to the news on controversy within the Catholic Church and its relationship to Rome.

SINO-U.S. RELATIONS



February to April 2002

Number of Articles: Sino-U.S. Relations



February to April 2002

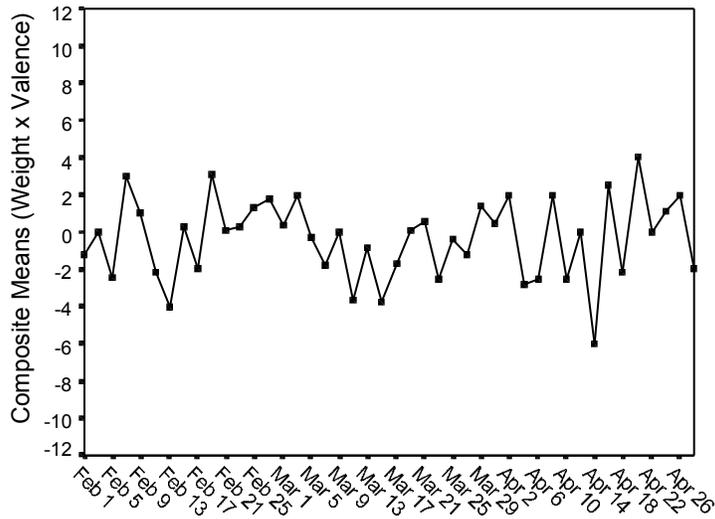
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	4.038	29	.000
Error		83	
Total		113	

$R^2 = .585$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .440$)

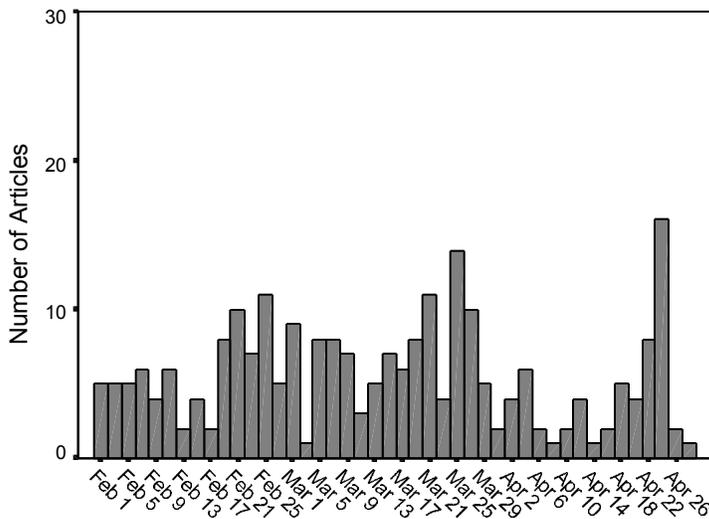
Sino-U.S. relations vary significantly over this three month period. A tremendous amount of reporting in this area occurred about the time of President Bush's visit.

U.S. ECONOMY & TRADE



February to April 2002

Number of Articles: U.S. Economy & Trade



February to April 2002

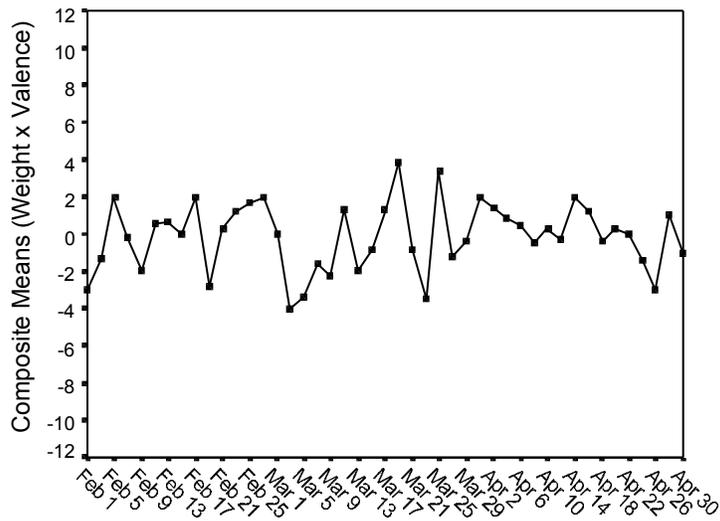
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	df	F
DATE	43	.975
Error	202	
Total	246	

$R^2 = .172$ (Adjusted $R^2 = -.004$)

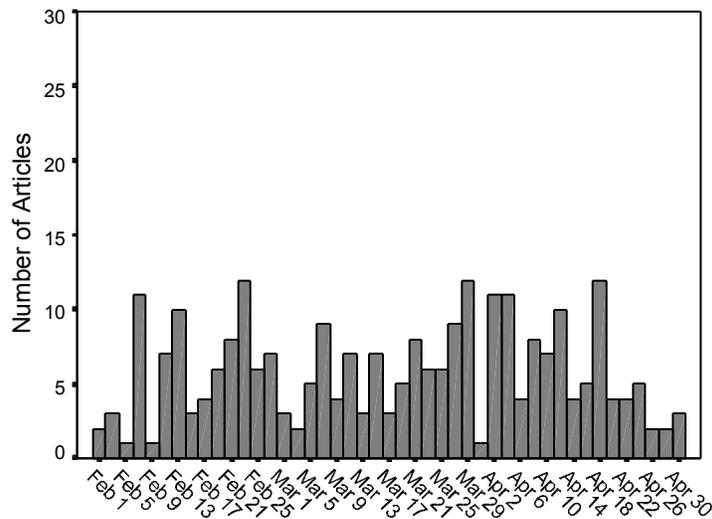
Composite scores for articles on economy and trade do not differ significantly. The trend is stable, with typical fluctuations in economic news accounting for variations.

CULTURE & SOCIETY



February to April 2002

Number of Articles: Culture & Society



February to April 2002

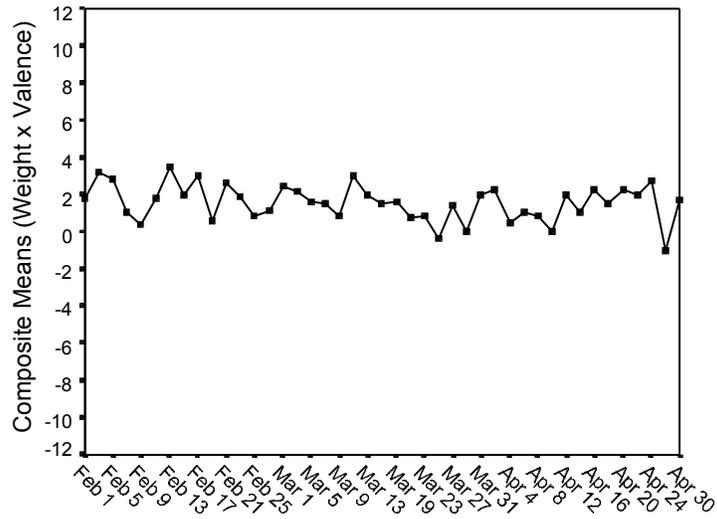
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	.925	44	.610
Error		218	
Total		263	

$R^2 = .157$ (Adjusted $R^2 = -.013$)

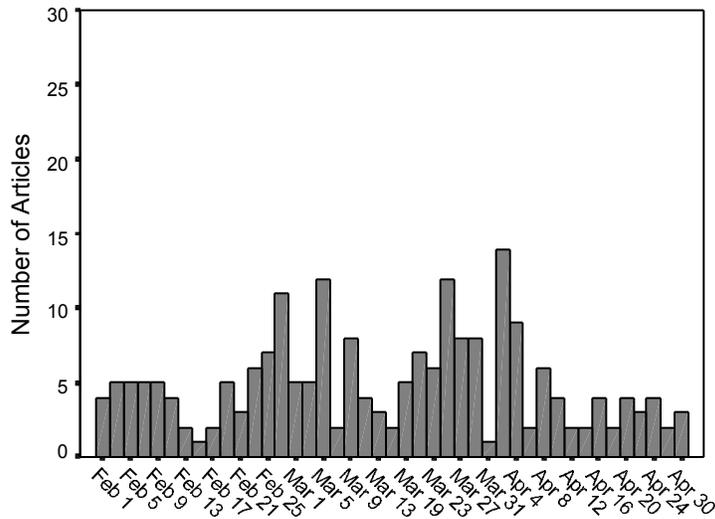
Composite scores for articles do not differ significantly. The trend is stable. Negative dips in March are associated with a variety of stories rather than any single issue.

SPORTS & ENTERTAINMENT



February to April 2002

Number of Articles: Sports & Entertainment



February to April 2002

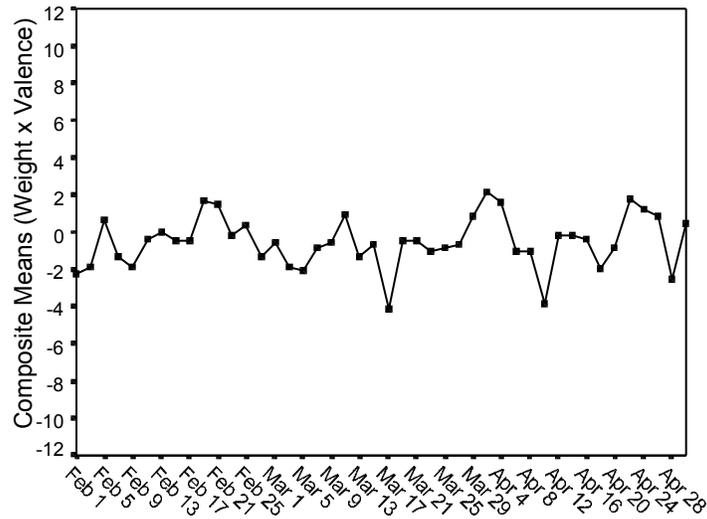
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	df	F	Sig.
DATE	42	1.020	.449
Error	171		
Total	214		

$R^2 = .200$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .004$)

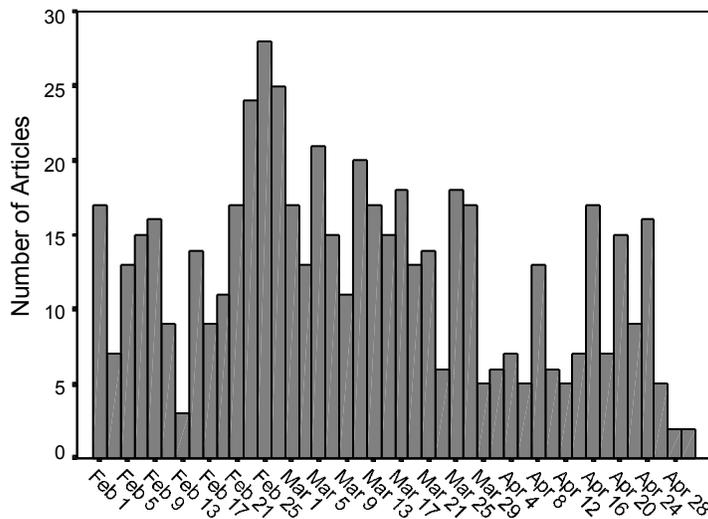
Composite scores are generally positive but do not differ significantly.

OTHER



February to April 2002

Number of Articles: Other



February to April 2002

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

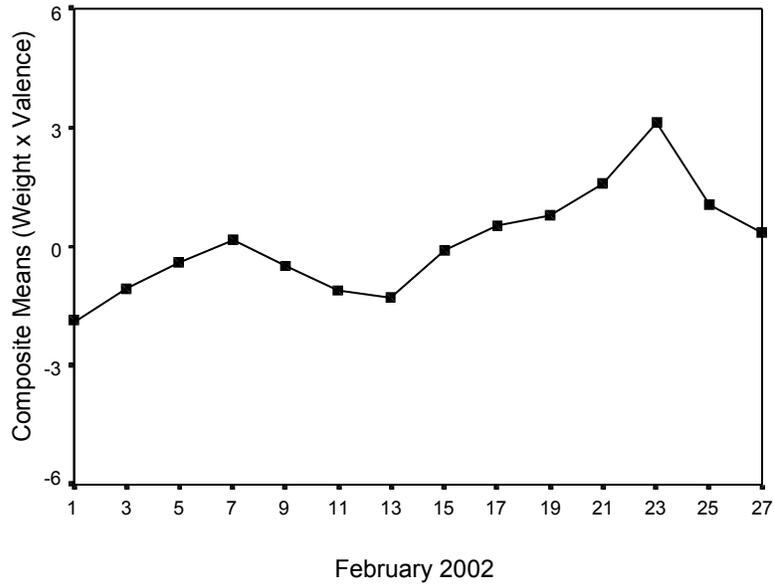
Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	1.258	43	.132
Error		506	
Total		550	

$R^2 = .097$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .020$)

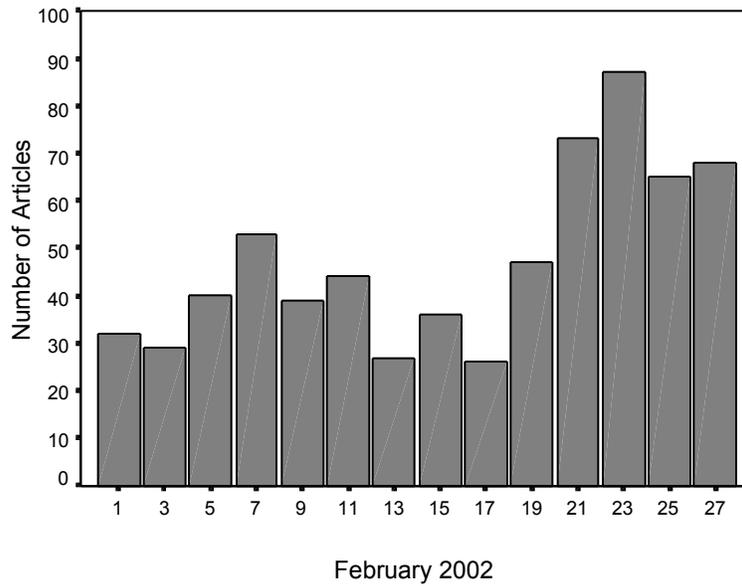
Composite scores do not differ significantly. Positive peaks and negative dips are associated with a variety of stories rather than any single issue.

FEBRUARY 2002
COVERAGE SURROUNDING
PRESIDENT BUSH'S VISIT TO CHINA

OVERALL COMPOSITE: 6 NEWSPAPERS



Number of Articles

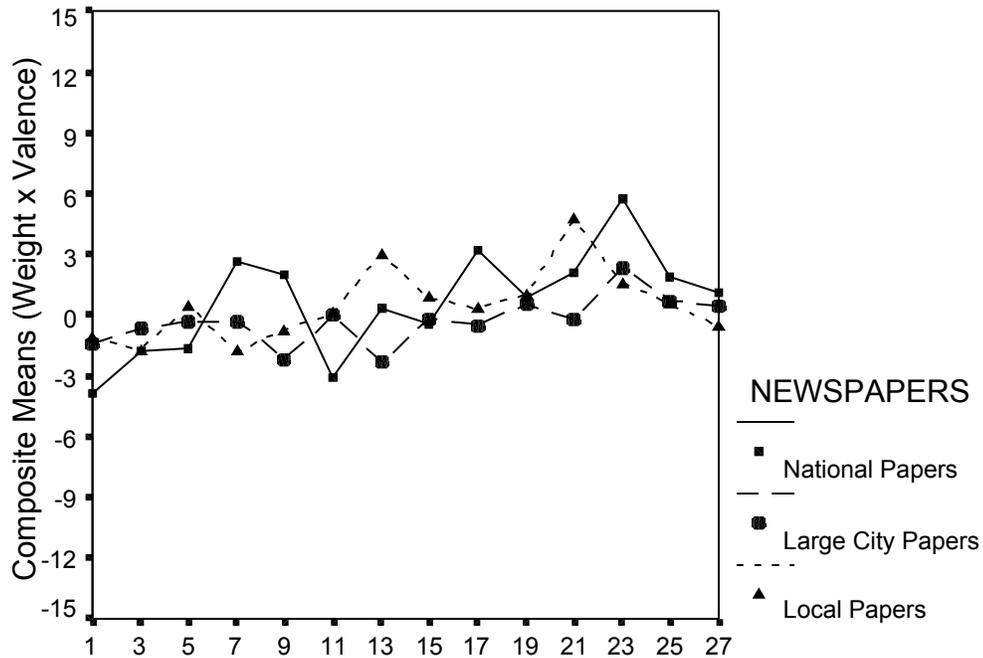


Analysis of Variance for ALL SIX NEWSPAPERS: DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	4.942	13	.000
Error		652	
Total		666	

There is a significant difference in composite scores across the days of the month of February, with a positive peak occurring during the time of President Bush's trip to China on February 23.

COMPOSITE for NEWSPAPER REGIONS



February 2002

ANOVA for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

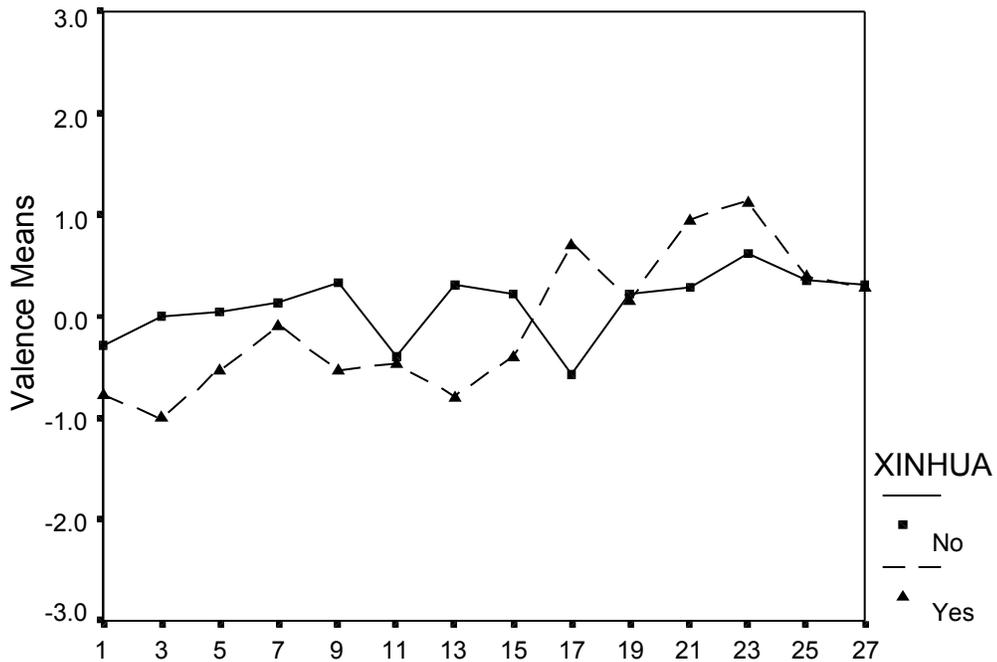
Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	5.159	13	.000
REGION	2.709	2	.067
DATE * REGION	1.959	26	.003
ERROR		624	
Total		666	

COMPOSITE MEANS by REGION of NEWSPAPER

REGION	Mean
National Papers	.639
Large City Papers	-.295
Local Papers	.472

Across the three regions, there is a significant interaction with date, such that large city papers tend to be more negative; although national papers are the most positive, national papers show greater variance in their tone toward the U.S. National papers report more positive and more negative views toward the U.S. than the other papers.

XINHUA vs. NON-XINHUA REPORTS



February 2002

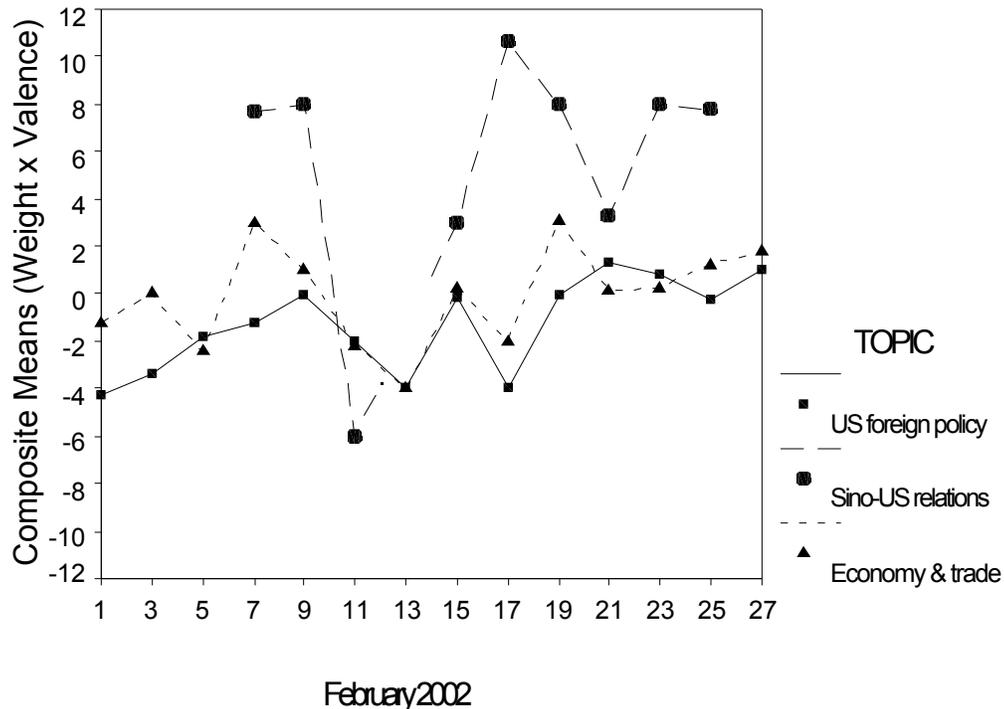
ANOVA for DATE and XINHUA vs. NON-XINHUA REPORTING on VALENCE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	3.696	13	.000
XINHUA	1.774	1	.183
DATE * XINHUA	1.659	13	.065
Error		638	
Total		666	

$R^2 = .101$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .063$)

These results show that there is no significant difference in perspective between the reports issued by the Xinhua News Agency from reports issued by non-Xinhua sources. Even during the time of President's Bush's visit to China, there is no significant divergence in perspectives between Xinhua and non-Xinhua reports. (Note, however, that it is possible some reports not credited to Xinhua may still originate from the Xinhua News Agency.)

COMPARING COMPOSITE for TOPICS



Spaces in graph show days with no articles on this topic

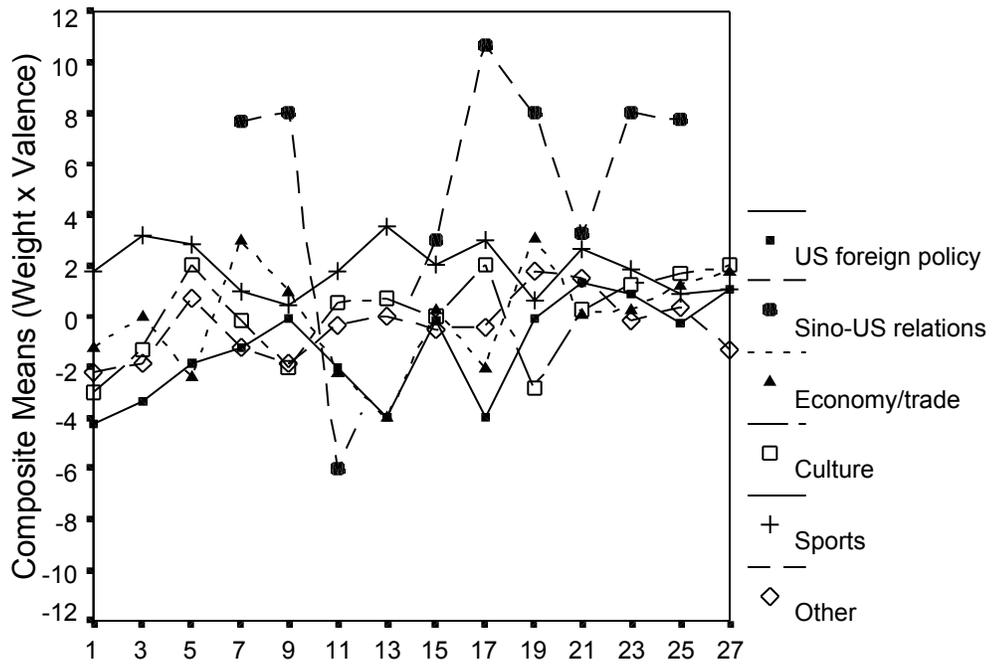
ANOVA for COMPARISON of TOPICS on COMPOSITE SCORES

Source	F	df	Sig.
TOPIC	16.322	2	.000
DATE	3.092	13	.000
TOPIC * DATE	1.713	21	.028
Error		275	
Total		312	

$R^2 = .423$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .347$)

The comparison of composite scores over February 2002 across these three topics shows that there is a significant interaction between topic and date, such that reports on U.S.-Sino relations were generally more positive throughout the month than reports on U.S. foreign policy and U.S. economy and trade, especially during President Bush's visit to China. The dip on February 11 reflects two articles reported in the two national papers (i.e., People's Daily and PLA Daily) having to do with human rights that are somewhat critical of the United States (titles: "China's human rights are the best in history," and "Zhao Qizhen interviewed by the Human Rights Magazine"). Whereas reports on U.S.-Sino relations are fairly positive, reports on U.S. economy and trade remain relatively stable and neutral. Further breakdowns of these results are found on the following pages.

COMPARING TOPICS

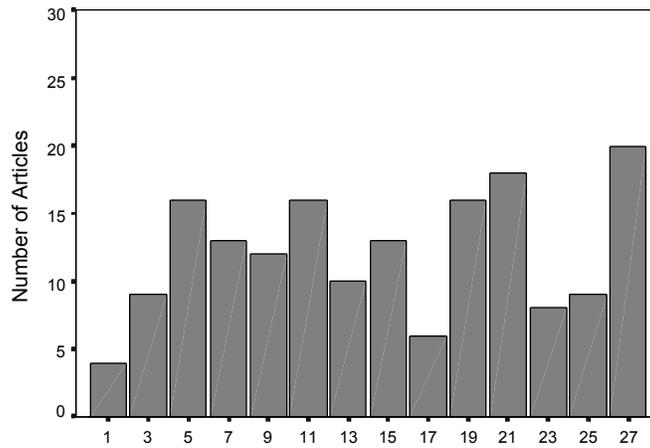


February 2002

The greatest variation in composite scores is in reporting on Sino-U.S. relations followed by U.S. foreign policy. Reporting in other areas tends to be relatively stable and neutral.

{ EMBED Word.Picture.8 }

Number of Articles: U.S. Foreign Policy



February 2002

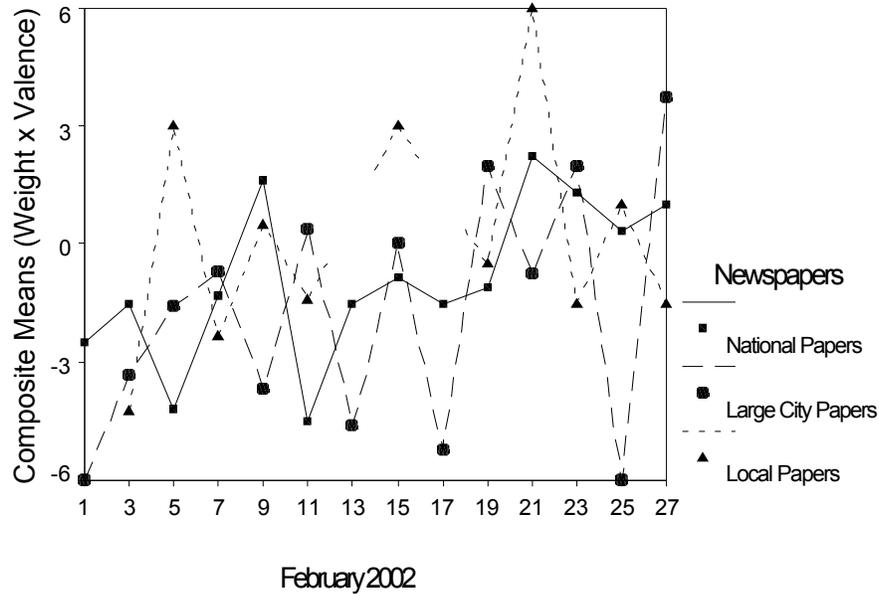
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	2.402	13	.006
Error		156	
Total		170	

Overall composite scores for articles on U.S. foreign policy differ significantly across the days of the month of February. The lowest points in the graph are February 1, 13, and 17. February 1 is negative due to news related primarily to challenges faced in Washington related to the war in Afghanistan. On February 13, President Bush’s speech on the “Axis of Evil” was criticized. February 17 is low due to a combination of reports on issues such as U.S. environmental policy on greenhouse gasses, European Union criticism of U.S. unilateralism related to the war on terrorism, and Russian and French concerns over possible U.S. attack on Iraq.

COMPOSITE for NEWSPAPER REGIONS

U.S. Foreign Policy



ANOVA for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	1.985	13	.027
REGION	.926	2	.399
DATE * REGION	1.389	23	.128
Error		131	
Total		170	

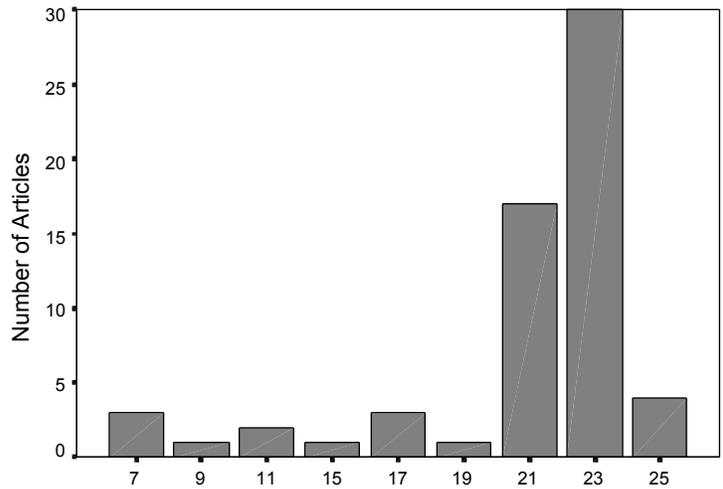
COMPOSITE MEANS by REGION of NEWSPAPER

REGION	Mean
National	-.890
Large City	-1.696
Local	.183

Composite scores for articles on U.S. foreign policy differ significantly across the days of the month of February, but not across newspapers. The reporting trend is slightly negative.

{ EMBED Word.Picture.8 }

Number of Articles: Sino-U.S. Relations



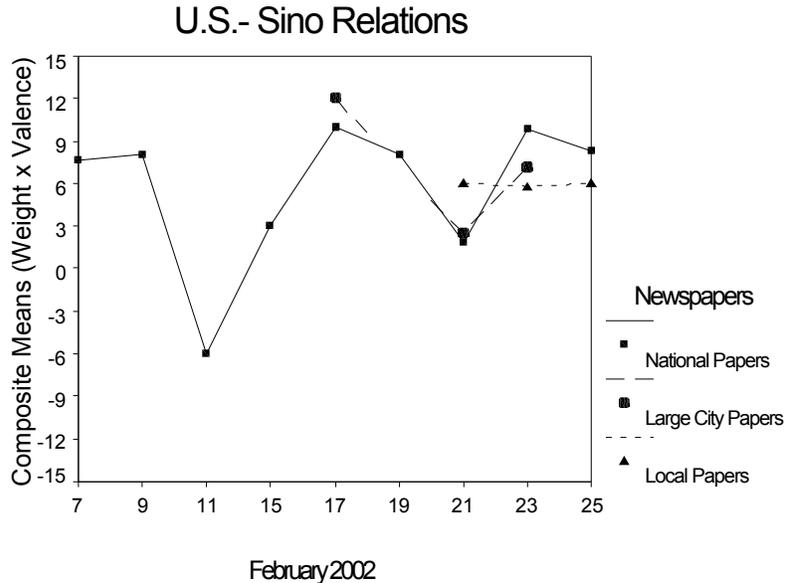
February 2002

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	df	F	Sig.
DATE	8	3.909	.001
Error	53		
Total	62		

Composite scores for articles on U.S.-Sino relations differ significantly across the month of February. The severe negative drop on February 11 is due primarily to two articles on China’s human rights that criticize the U.S. The remaining trend is relatively positive across the month. The majority of reporting occurs during President Bush’s visit.

COMPOSITE for NEWSPAPER REGIONS



ANOVA for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

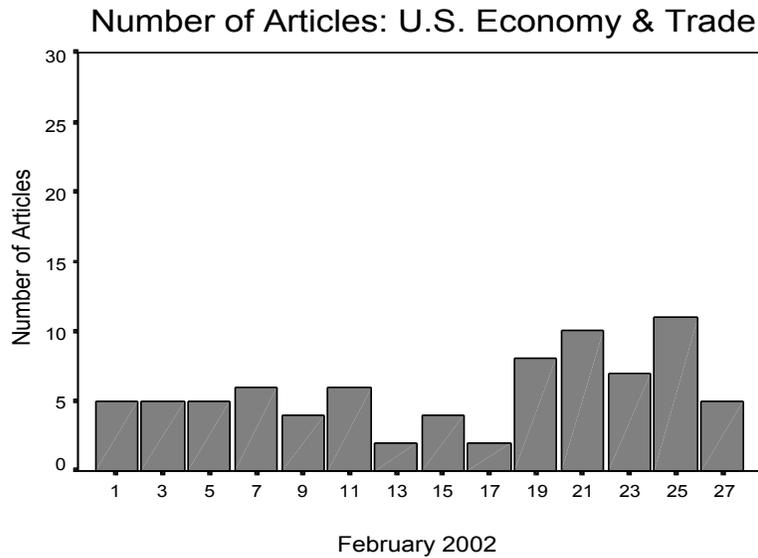
Source	df	F	Sig.
DATE	8	3.602	.002
REGION	2	.021	.979
DATE * REGION	4	1.806	.143
Error	47		
Total	62		

COMPOSITE MEANS by REGION of NEWSPAPER

REGION	Mean
National	5.637
Large City	7.214
Local	5.926

Composite scores for articles on U.S.-Sino relations differ significantly across the days of the month of February, but not across newspapers. The reporting trend is quite positive, although only National level newspapers provide frequent reporting. The negative report on February 11 is related to Chinese response to U.S. human rights perspectives.

{ EMBED Word.Picture.8 }



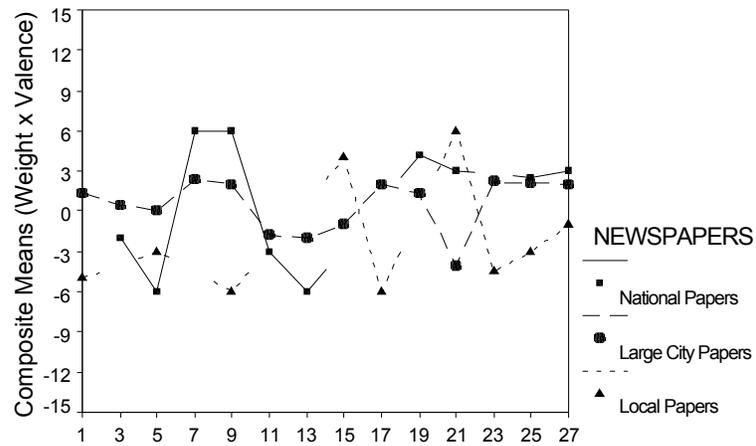
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	.908	13	.549
Total		80	

Overall composite scores on economy and trade do not differ significantly across the month of February. The overall scores vary from somewhat positive to somewhat negative across the month. The negative drops on February 5, 7, and 17 are due almost exclusively to negative reports related to Enron. No clear trend is associated with the positive peaks; these result from a variety of economic news such as improving U.S. economy, KFC increasing presence in China, and increases in U.S.-Sino trade volume. The amount of reporting is relatively stable.

COMPOSITE for NEWSPAPER REGIONS

U.S. Economy & Trade



February 2002

ANOVA for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

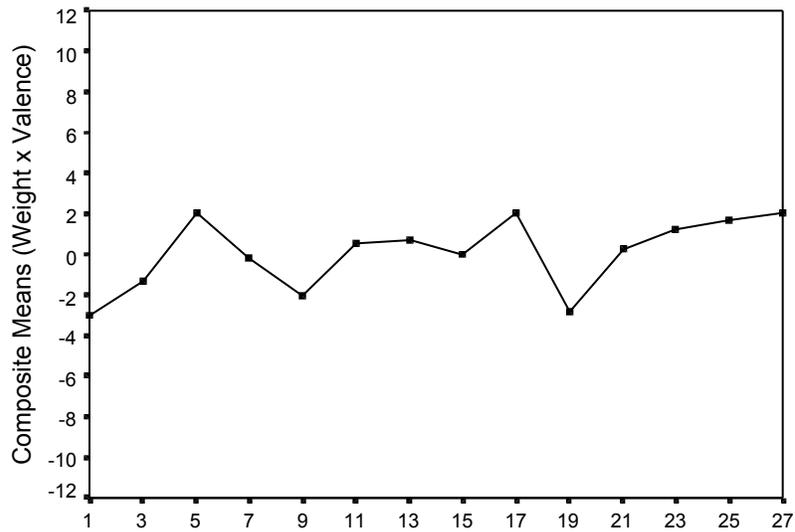
Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	1.102	13	.381
REGION	1.986	2	.149
DATE * REGION	1.371	17	.194
Error		47	
Total		80	

COMPOSITE MEANS by REGION of NEWSPAPER

REGION	Mean
National	.770
Large City	.511
Local	-2.056

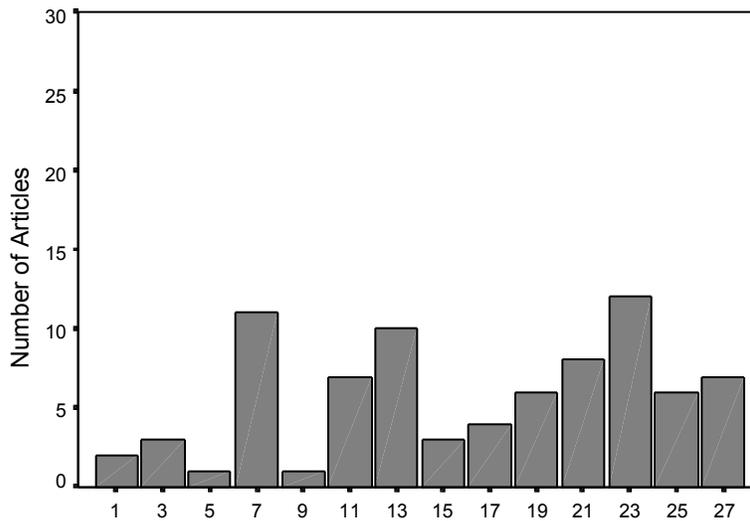
There are neither significant differences in composite scores for articles on U.S. economy and trade across days of the month nor across newspapers. Although local papers tend to be more negative, there is variance across the month and across papers.

CULTURE & SOCIETY



February 2002

Number of Articles: Culture & Society



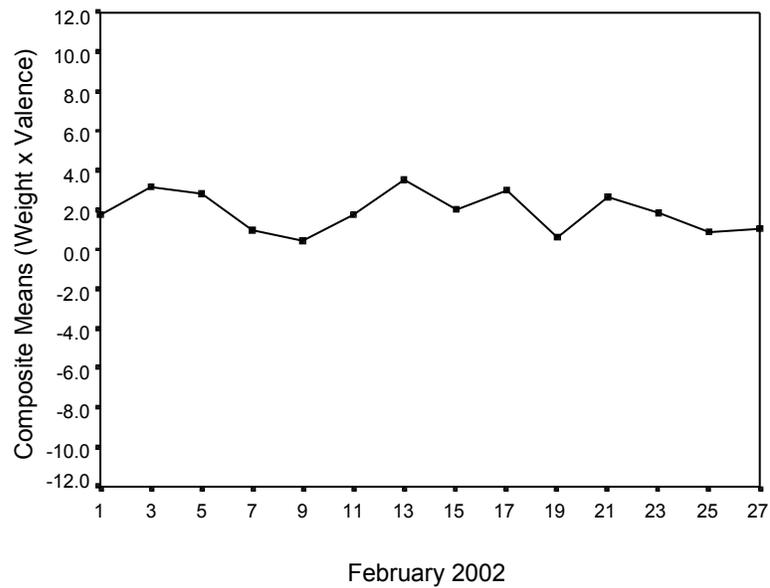
February 2002

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

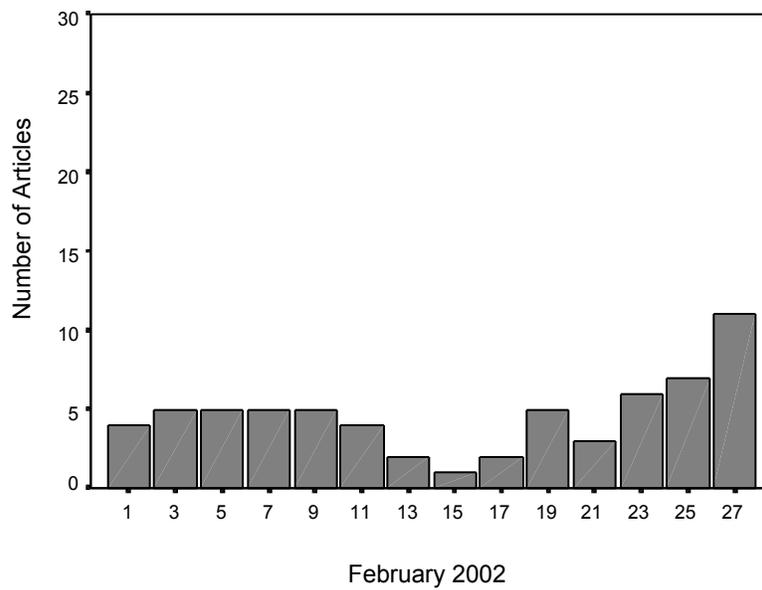
Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	.707	13	.750
Error		67	
Total		81	

Composite scores for articles do not differ significantly. The trend is stable. Note that during the time of President Bush's visit, reporting on U.S. culture increased. $R^2 = .121$ (Adjusted $R^2 = -.050$)

SPORTS & ENTERTAINMENT



Number of Articles: Sports & Entertainment

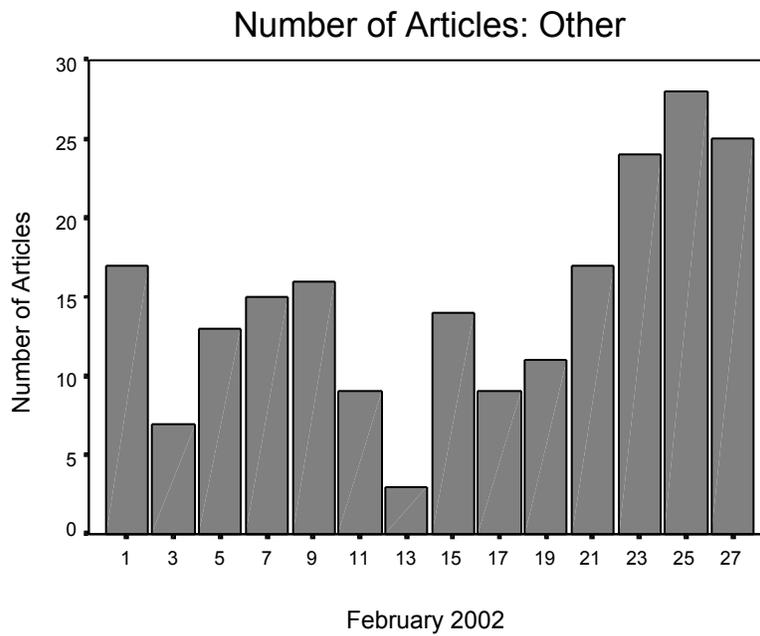
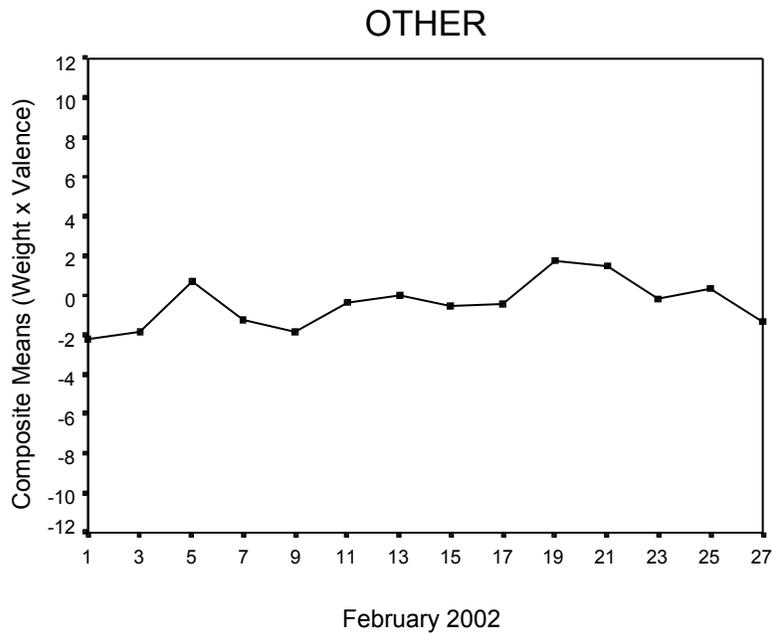


ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	df	F	Sig.
DATE	13	.802	.655
Error	51		
Total	65		

$R^2 = .170$ (Adjusted $R^2 = -.042$)

Composite scores for articles do not differ significantly. The trend is stable.



ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	1.472	13	.131
Error		194	
Total		208	

$R^2 = .090$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .029$)

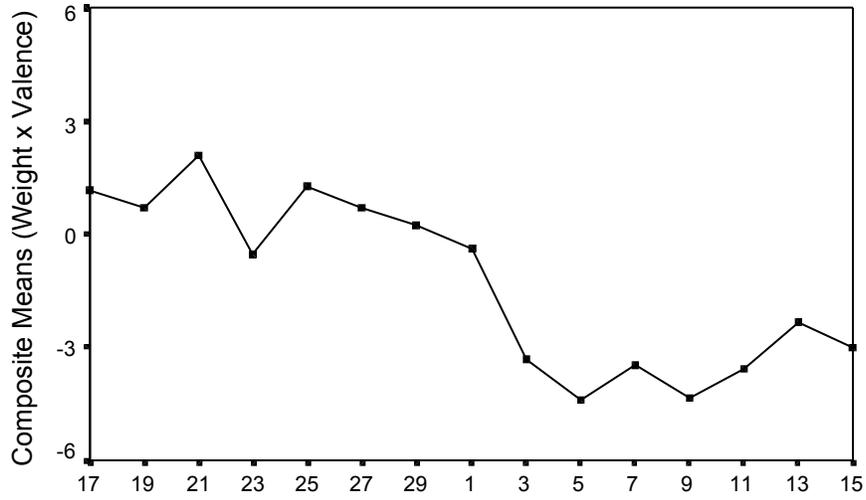
Composite scores for articles do not differ significantly. The trend is stable.

RECONNAISSANCE PLANE INCIDENT

MARCH 17 to APRIL 15 2001

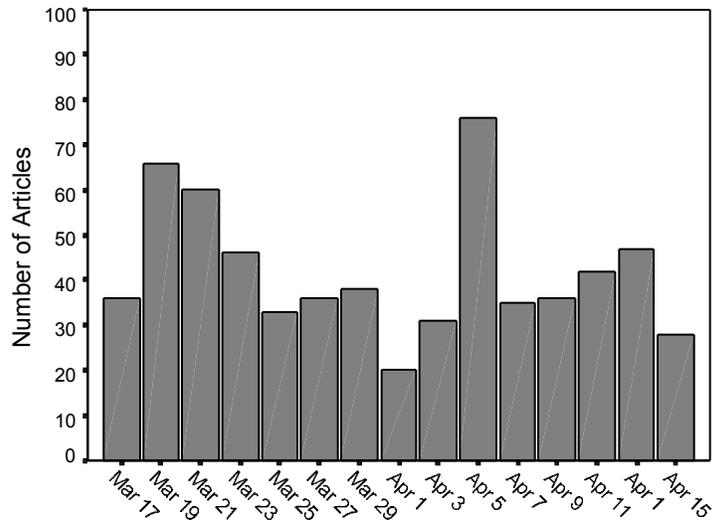
Overall Composite: 6 Newspapers

Reconnaissance Plane



March 17 to April 15, 2001

Number of Articles



March 17 to April 15 2001

Analysis of Variance for ALL SIX NEWSPAPERS: DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

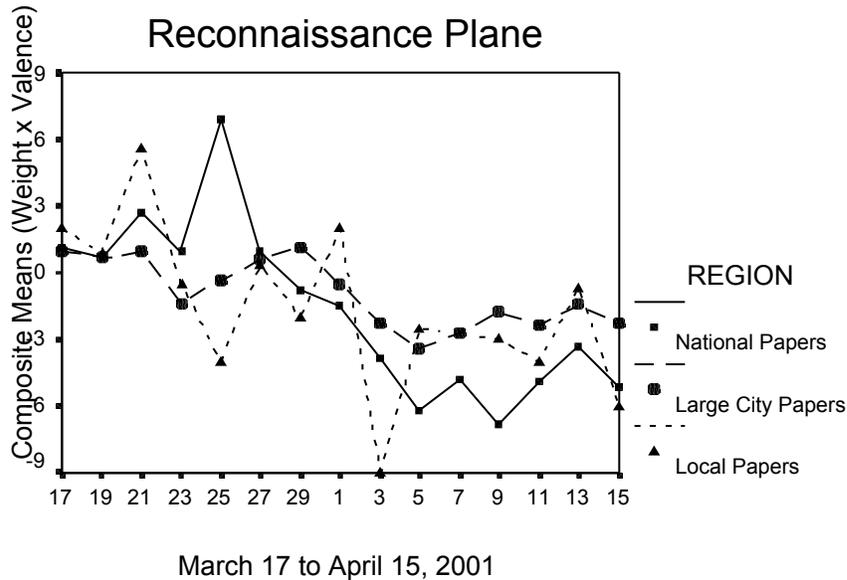
Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	11.464	14	.000
Error		615	
Total		630	

$R^2 = .207$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .189$)

Overall composite scores differ significantly across the days of March and April, with the lowest points occurring during the days between April 3 and April 15. The negative dip on March 23 was due to a variety of negative reports on both domestic and international issues, such as another high school shooting, U.S. policy in the Balkans, and one article entitled "Sharks love eating Americans." On April 3, negative reports on the U.S. include several articles condemning the reconnaissance plane collision as well as multiple articles that also criticize the U.S. for abandoning the Kyoto Protocol and for sailing a nuclear submarine into a Japanese harbor without permission.

From April 5 to 13, criticism of the U.S. is almost solely focused on the reconnaissance plane incident. April 15 once again introduces other sources of criticism, including racial riots related to the police shooting in Cincinnati.

Composite for Newspaper Regions



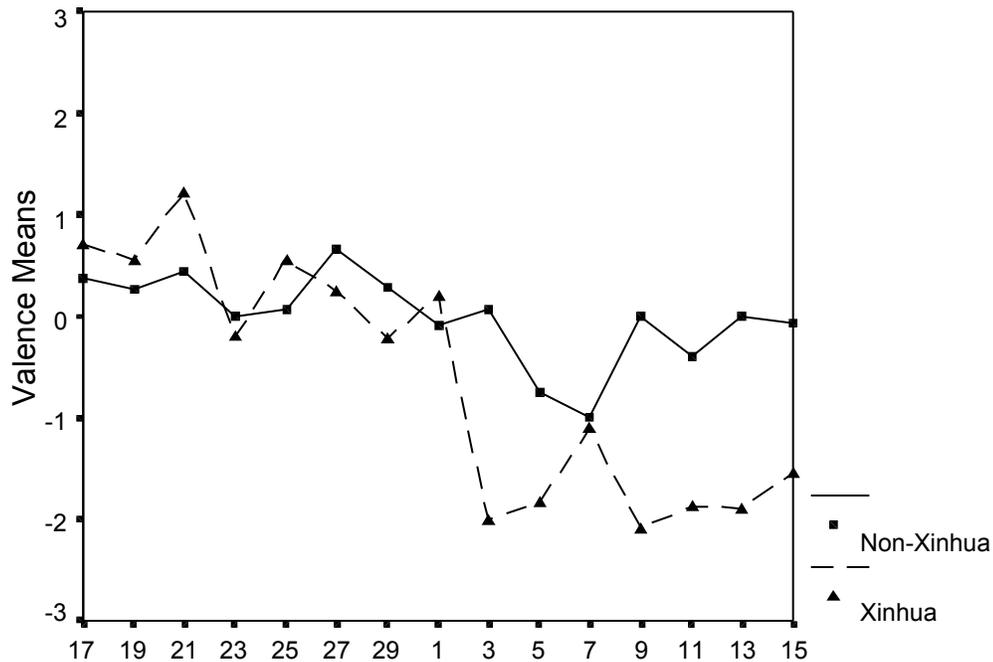
Analysis of Variance for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

Source	F	df	Sig.
REGION	1.274	2	.281
DATE	6.234	14	.000
REGION * DATE	2.097	27	.001
Error		586	
Total		630	

$R^2 = .282$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .229$)

Significant interaction; composite scores differ across newspaper regions by date. National and Local papers are the most negative; large city papers also tend to be negative but are not as negative as the national and local papers. All of the papers are the most negative during the period between April 3 and 15, with the National papers showing the most negativity.

XINHUA vs. NON-XINHUA REPORTS



March 17 to April 15 2001

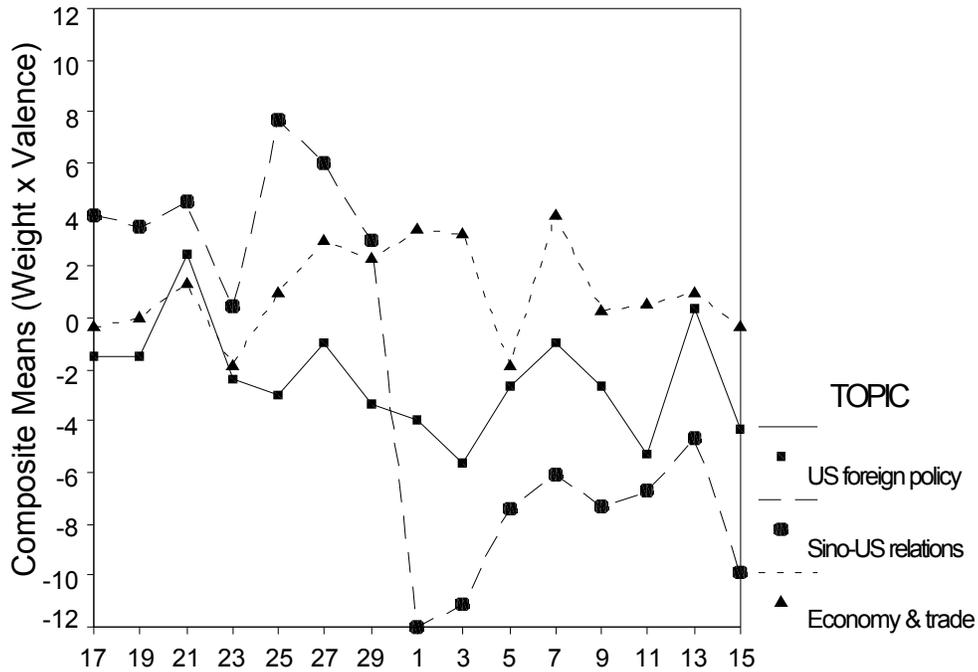
ANOVA for DATE and XINHUA vs. NON-XINHUA REPORTING
on VALENCE SCORES

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	10.013	14	.000
XINHUA	19.882	1	.000
DATE * XINHUA	3.903	14	.000
Error		600	
Total		630	

$R^2 = .274$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .239$)

These results show that there is a significant difference in perspective between the reports issued by the Xinhua News Agency from reports issued by non-Xinhua sources. Although there is little difference between the two sources during March, the two sources diverge in perspective during the crisis period of the reconnaissance plane incident; Xinhua reports are more negative than non-Xinhua reports during this time.

COMPARING COMPOSITE for TOPICS



March 17 to April 15, 2001

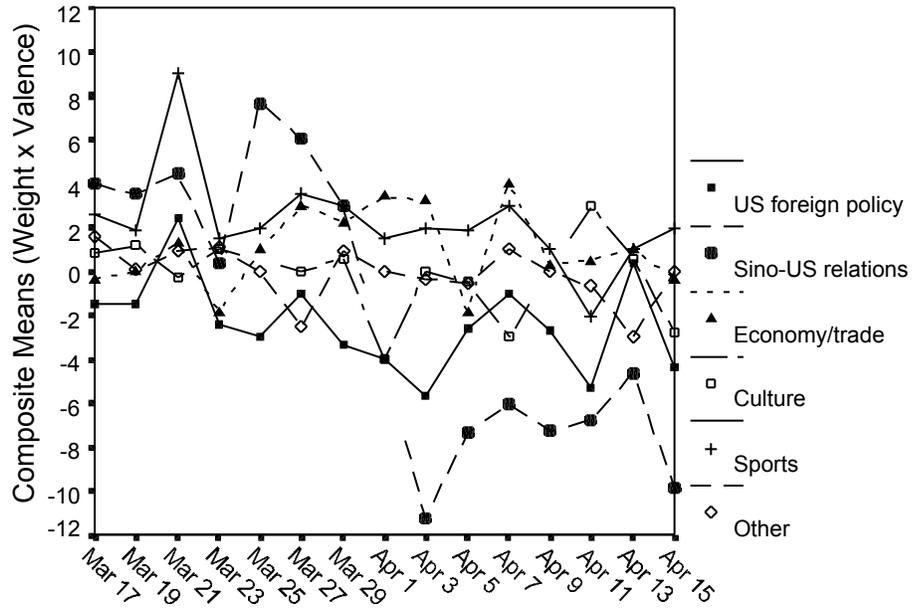
ANOVA for COMPARISON of TOPICS on COMPOSITE SCORES

Source	F	df	Sig.
TOPIC	15.774	2	.000
DATE	8.694	14	.000
TOPIC * DATE	6.118	28	.000
Error		332	
Total		377	

$R^2 = .579$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .523$)

The comparison of composite scores over this time period across these three topics shows that there is a significant interaction between topic and date, such that reports on U.S.-Sino relations tended to be more positive than reports on U.S. foreign policy and U.S. economy and trade during the last half of March. But the reports on U.S.-Sino relations take a drastic drop during the time of the reconnaissance plane incident, beginning April 1, to become significantly more negative than reports on the other topics. Although reports on U.S. foreign policy become slightly more negative, reports on U.S. economy and trade remain relatively stable and neutral. This result suggests that, although reporting may turn negative in one area due to a specific turn in events, the negative event does not necessarily result in an overall negativity toward the U.S. in other areas. Further breakdowns of these results are found on the following pages.

COMPARING TOPICS

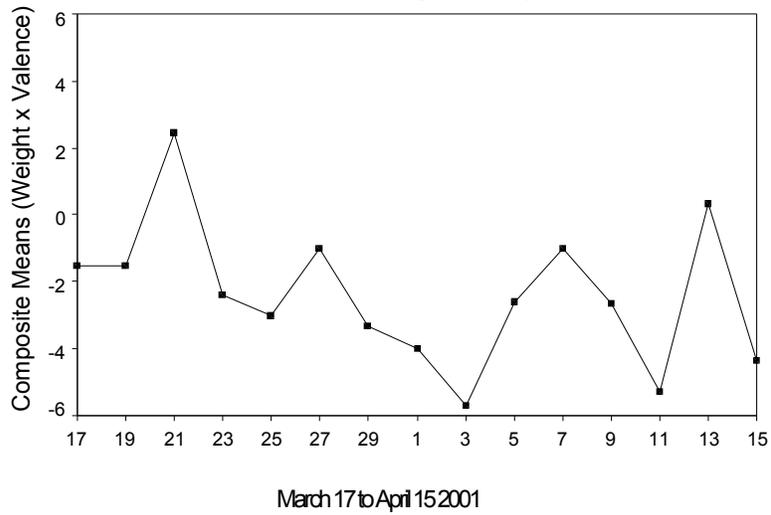


March 17 to April 15 2001

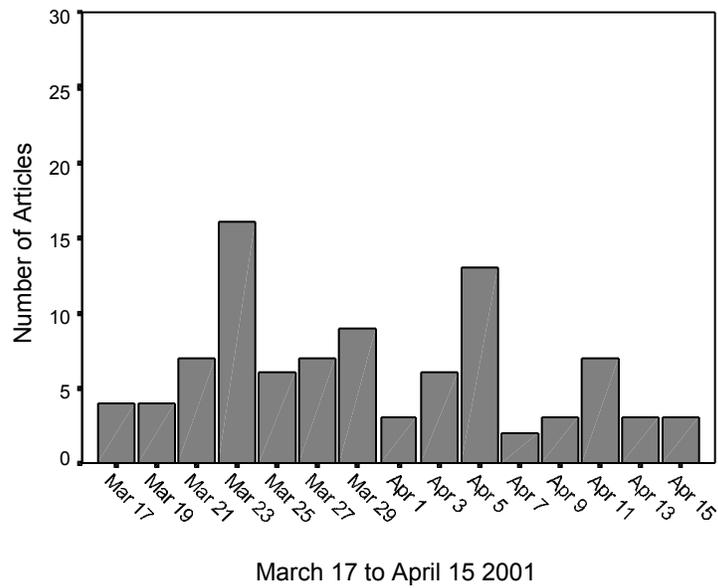
The greatest variation in composite scores is in reporting on Sino-U.S. relations followed by U.S. foreign policy. Reporting in other areas tends to be relatively stable and neutral.

COMPOSITE for NEWSPAPERS

U.S. Foreign Policy



Number of Articles: U.S. Foreign Policy



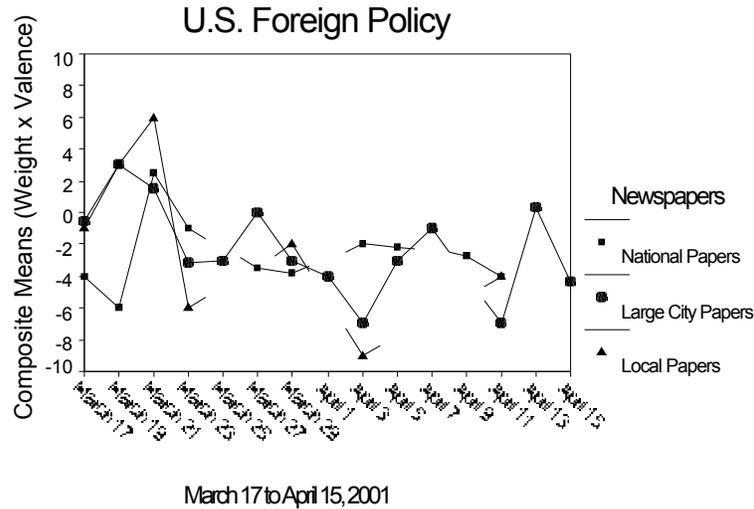
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	df	F	Sig.
DATE	14	2.024	.026
Error	78		
Total	93		

$R^2 = .267$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .135$)

The overall composite scores for articles on U.S. foreign policy differ significantly across the days between March 17 and April 15, 2001. April 3 and April 11 are particularly negative. The most negative reports on April 3 include the following titles: "U.S.—Do you understand the Middle East?"; "The U.S.'s motive behind its economic aid to Yugoslavia;" and "The U.S. against the world in greenhouse gas emissions." The most negative reports on April 11 include "Europe is surprised and disappointed by Bush's arrogance over a series of events including plane collision," "U.S. embassy officials in Russia plan to recruit a Russian hacker," and "Greece protests against U.S. abandonment of Kyoto Protocol."

COMPOSITE for NEWSPAPER REGIONS



Spaces in graph show days with no articles on the U.S. in that region

Analysis of Variance for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	2.008	14	.032
REGION	.212	2	.810
DATE* REGION	1.210	14	.291
Error		62	
Total		93	

$R^2 = .427$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .150$)

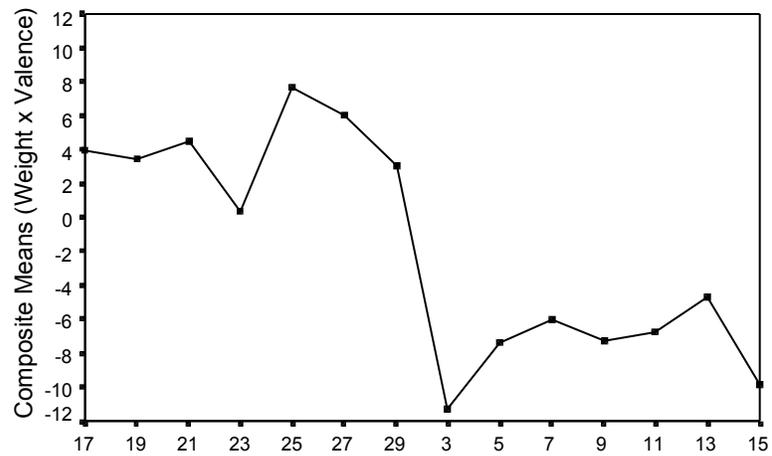
COMPOSITE MEANS by REGION of NEWSPAPER

REGION	Mean	sd	# of Articles
National	-2.45	3.61	33
Large City	-2.51	3.87	53
Local	-1.86	5.15	7
Total	-2.44	3.84	93

Composite scores for articles on U.S. foreign policy differ significantly across the days between March 17 and April 15, but not across newspapers. The reporting trend is increasingly negative, particularly during the period of the reconnaissance plane incident (April 1 to April 15). There are no significant differences found between types of newspapers.

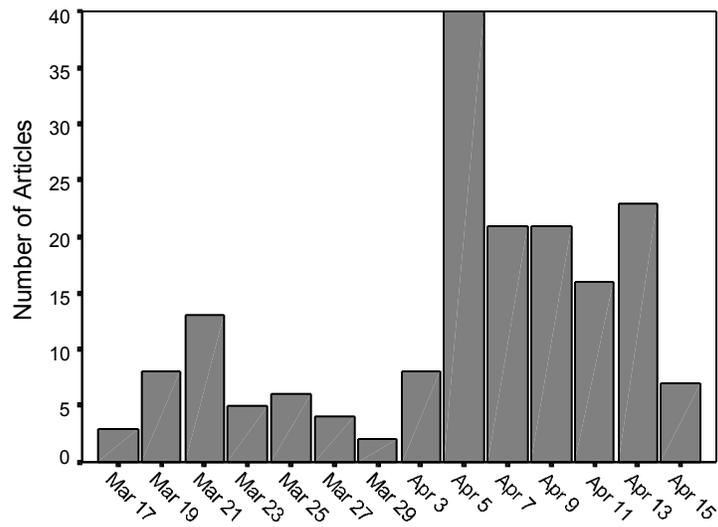
COMPOSITE for NEWSPAPERS

U.S.-Sino Relations



March 17 to April 15 2001

Number of Articles: Sino-U.S. Relations



March 17 to April 15 2001

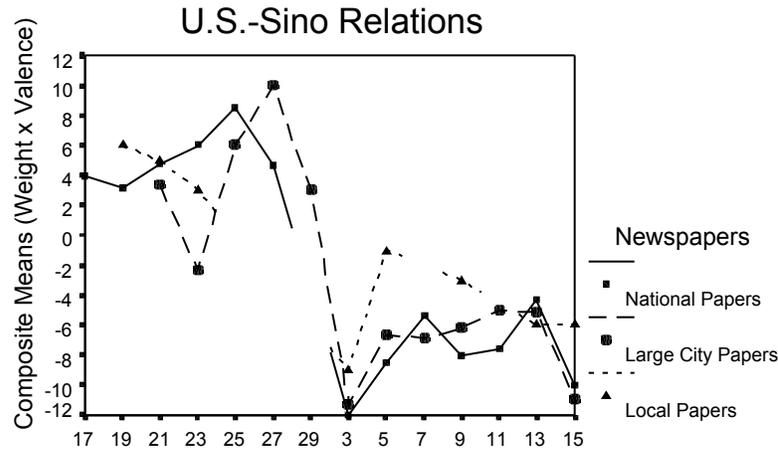
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	18.970	13	.000
Error		163	
Total		177	

R^2 Squared = .602 (Adjusted R^2 = .570)

Overall composite scores for articles on U.S. –Sino Relations differ significantly across the days between March 17 and April 15, 2001. In particular, the period between April 3 and April 15 – the time during which the reconnaissance plane incident occurred, is particularly negative. Although the reconnaissance plane incident occurred on April 1, evidence in reporting shows up on April 3. Before this time, overall composites for U.S.-Sino relations suggest a more positive trend.

COMPOSITE for NEWSPAPER REGIONS



ANOVA for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	12.155	13	.000
REGION	1.475	2	.232
DATE * REGION	.662	17	.836
Error		144	
Total		177	

$R^2 = .639$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .558$)

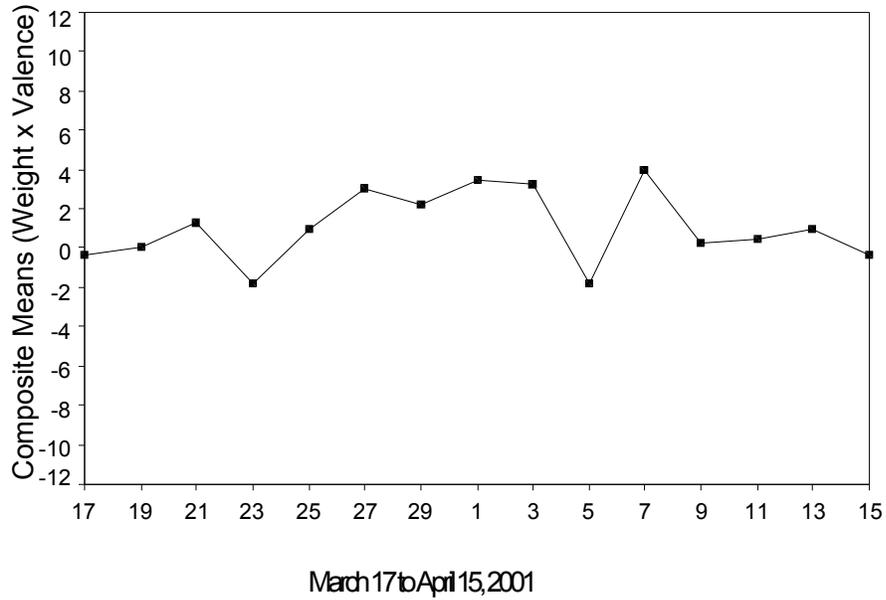
COMPOSITE MEANS by REGION of NEWSPAPER

REGION	Mean	sd	# of Articles
National	-4.15	6.81	103
Local	-.67	5.66	9
Large City	-5.23	6.06	65

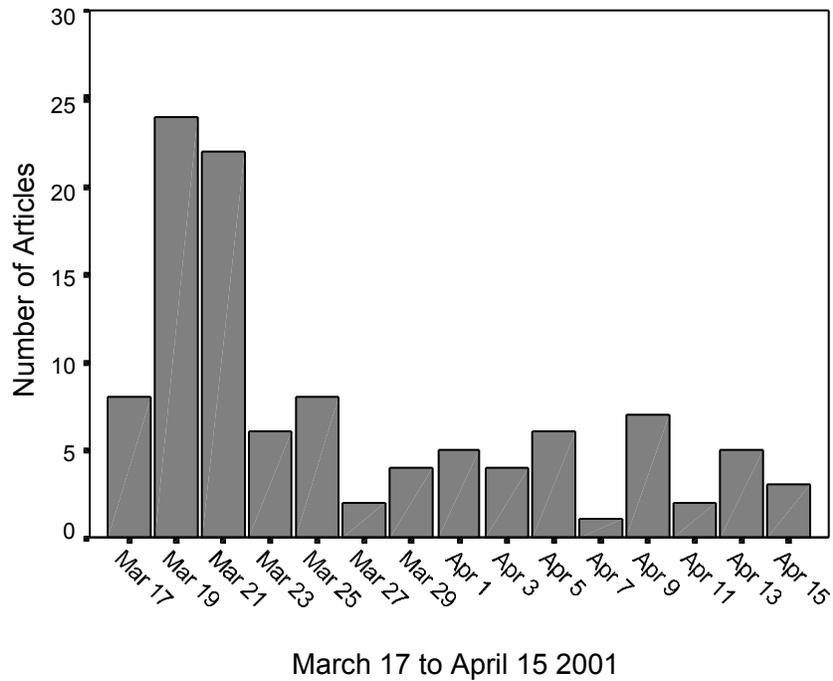
Composite scores for articles on U.S.-Sino relations differ significantly across the days between March and April but not across types of newspaper (local papers provided very little coverage related to U.S.-Sino relations during this period). The reporting trend is quite negative, especially in the National and Large City papers during April.

COMPOSITE for NEWSPAPERS

U.S. Economy & Trade



Number of Articles: Economy & Trade



ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

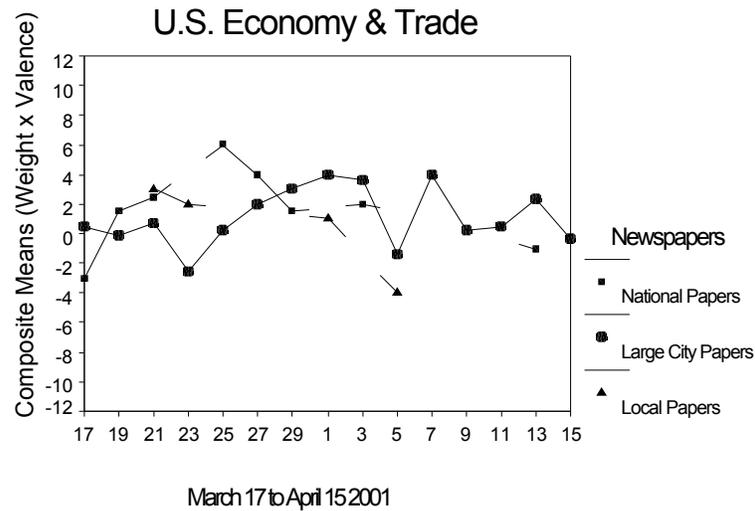
Source	F	df	Sig.
--------	---	----	------

DATE	1.437	14	.152
DATE	1.437	14	.152
Error		92	
Total		107	

$R^2 = .179$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .055$)

Overall composite scores for articles on the U.S. economy and trade do not differ significantly over the days between March 17 and April 15, 2001. The general trend is relatively neutral (mean = .64, sd = 3.27). The dip on March 23 is due primarily to three negative reports: U.S. household appliances coming to China with unknown prospects, the Dow Jones Industrial Average dropped, and the fortunes of IT magnates are shrinking. The drop on April 5 is due primarily to a report on a drop in the Dow Jones and the report on a Chinese company suing Canon for plagiarizing a patent.

COMPOSITE for NEWSPAPER REGIONS



ANOVA for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	1.084	14	.384
REGION	.007	2	.993
DATE * REGION	1.143	10	.341
Error		80	
Total		107	

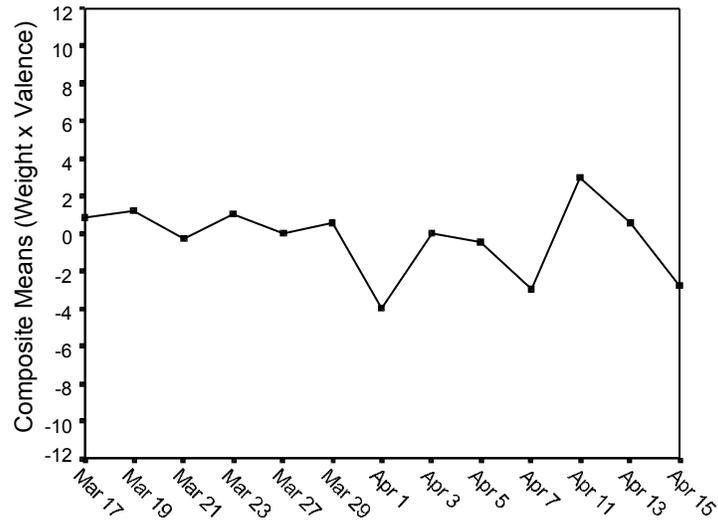
$R^2 = .283$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .050$)

COMPOSITE MEANS by REGION of NEWSPAPER

REGION	Mean	sd	N
National	1.47	4.16	17
Large City	.49	3.10	86
Local	.50	3.11	4
Total	.64	3.27	107

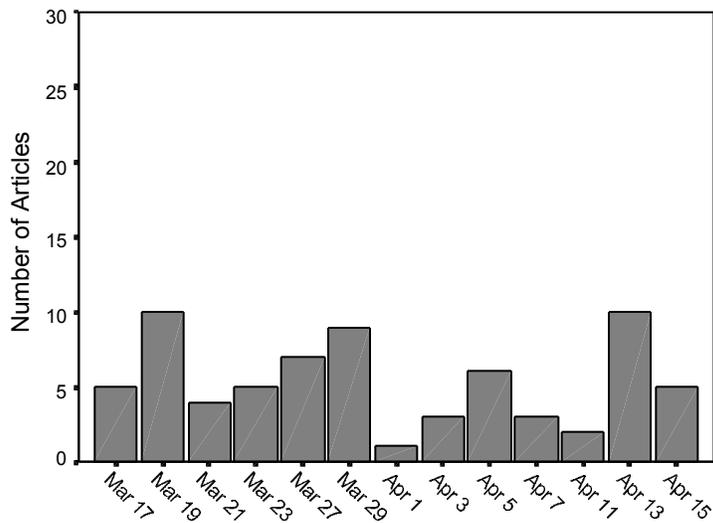
There are no significant differences in composite scores for articles on U.S. economy and trade across the days between March 17 and April 15, 2001. The overall trend is generally neutral regarding this topic.

CULTURE & SOCIETY



March 17 to April 15 2001

Number of Articles: Culture & Society



March 17 to April 15 2001

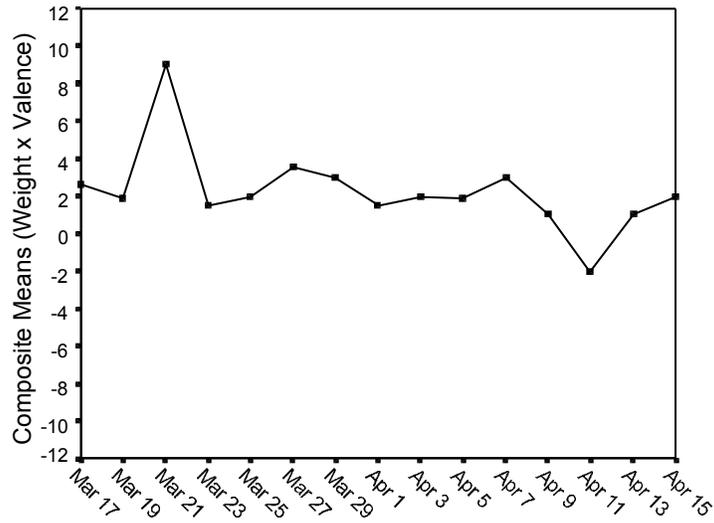
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	1.055	12	.414
Error		57	
Total		70	

$R^2 = .182$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .010$)

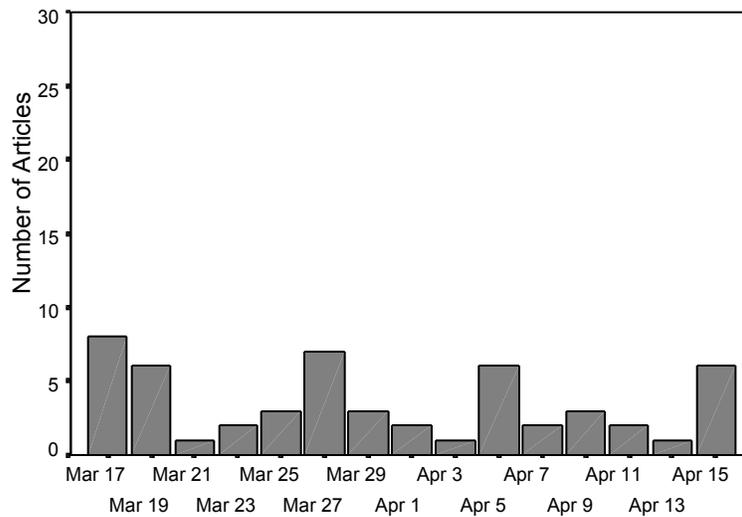
Composite scores do not differ significantly. Positive peaks and negative dips are associated with a variety of stories rather than any single issue.

SPORTS & ENTERTAINMENT



March 17 to April 15 2001

Number of Articles: Sports & Entertainment



March 17 to April 15 2001

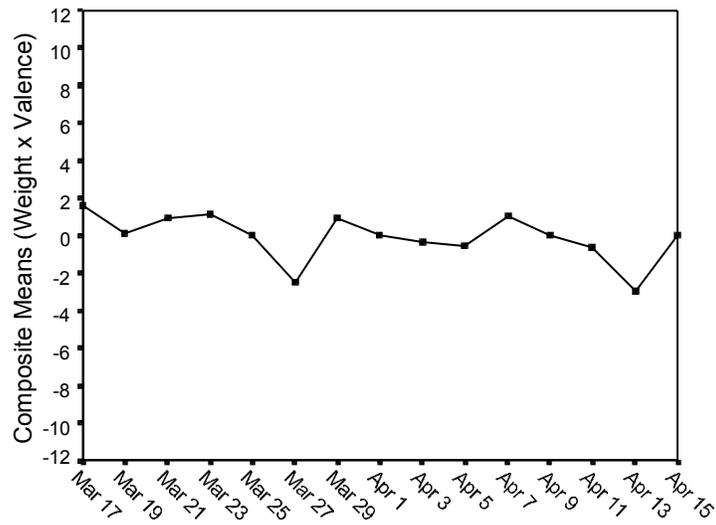
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	4.753	14	.000
Error		38	
Total		53	

$R^2 = .637$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .503$)

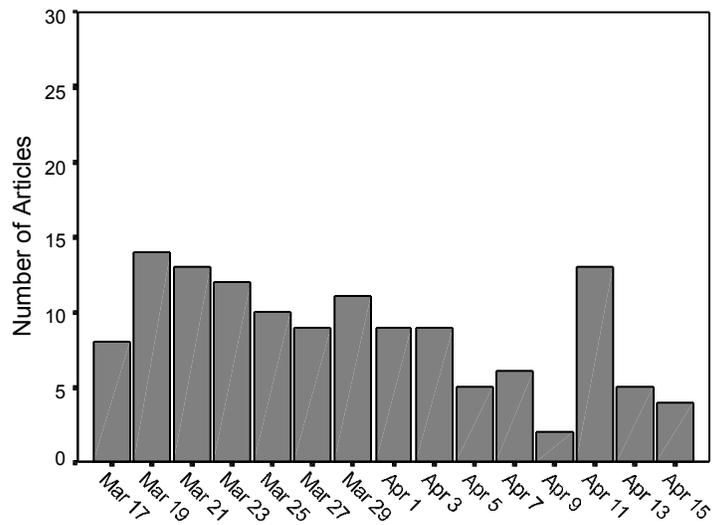
Composite scores differ significantly across the one month period. The peak around the end of March is due to reports regarding the Oscar awards.

OTHER



March 17 to April 15 2001

Number of Articles: Other



March 17 to April 15 2001

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	df	F	Sig.
DATE	14	.721	.750
Error	115		
Total	130		

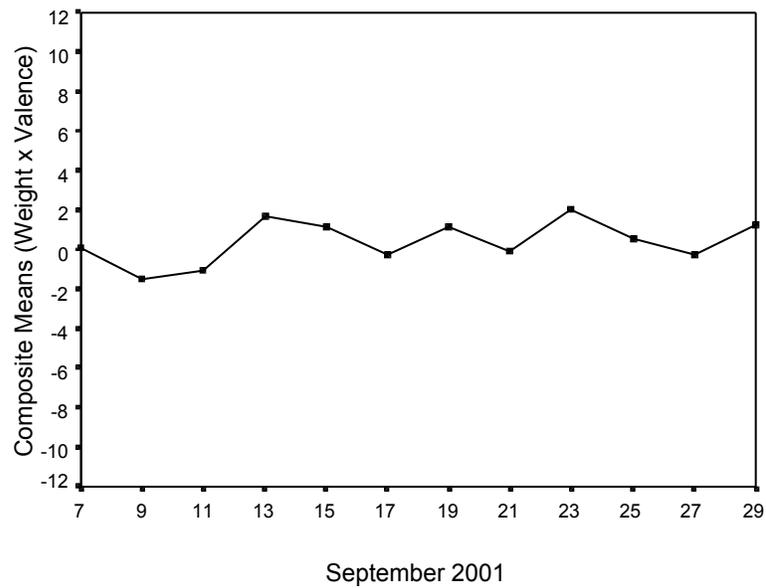
$R^2 = .081$ (Adjusted $R^2 = -.031$)

Composite scores do not differ significantly. Positive peaks and negative dips are associated with a variety of stories rather than any single issue.

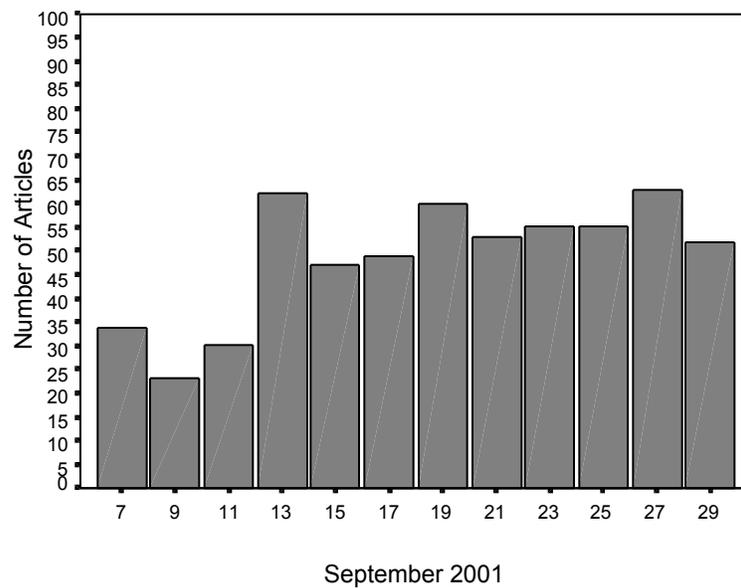
“9/11”

SEPTEMBER 7 to 29 2001

OVERALL COMPOSITE: 6 NEWSPAPERS



Number of Articles



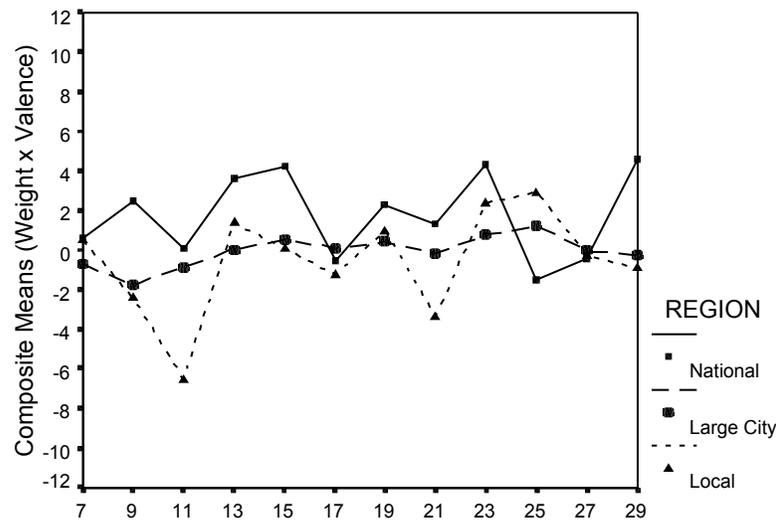
Analysis of Variance for ALL SIX NEWSPAPERS: Date on Composite Score

Source	df	F	Sig.
DATE	11	2.747	.002
Error	571		
Total	583		

$R^2 = .050$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .032$)

Composite scores differ significantly across September. Positive peaks are due to reporting related to events of 9/11 and its aftermath.

NEWSPAPER REGIONS



September 2001

ANOVA for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	3.610	11	.000
REGION	10.290	2	.000
DATE * REGION	2.442	22	.000
Error		547	
Total		583	

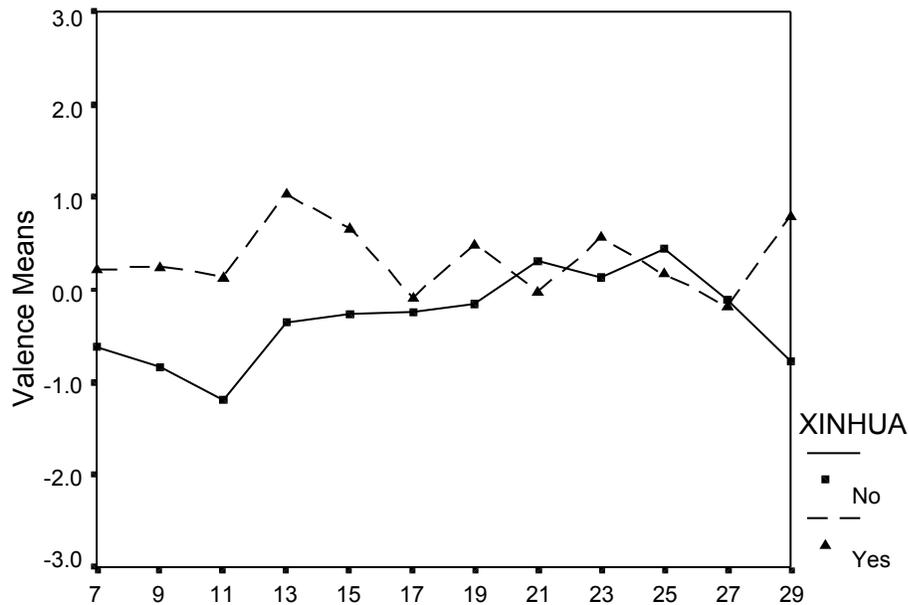
$R^2 = .161$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .107$)

COMPOSITE MEANS by REGION of NEWSPAPER

REGION	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
National	1.47	4.73	203
Large City	.07	3.93	277
Local	.12	4.25	103

There is a significant interaction between newspaper region and date, such that local papers tend to be the most negative and national papers, which are most likely to reflect the government position, are the most positive. During this period, large city papers remain relatively stable in their overall reporting.

XINHUA vs. NON-XINHUA REPORTS



September 2001

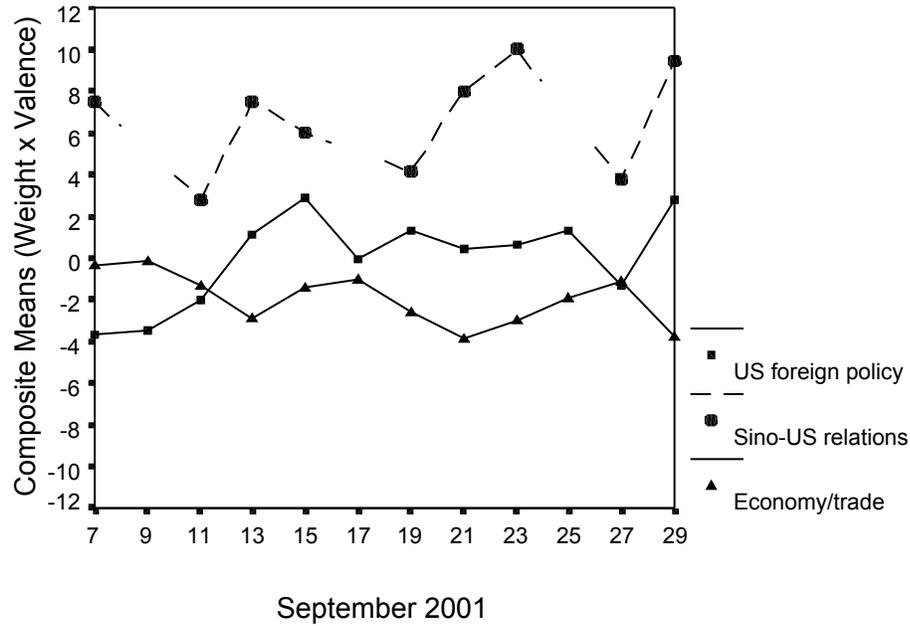
ANOVA for DATE and XINHUA vs. NON-XINHUA REPORTING on VALENCE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	1.336	11	.200
XINHUA	20.514	1	.000
DATE * XINHUA	2.139	11	.016
Error		559	
Total		583	

$R^2 = .111$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .075$)

There is a significant interaction between date and Xinhua vs. non-Xinhua reporting. Especially during the crisis period immediately following 9/11, Xinhua reporting was substantially more positive about the U.S. than non-Xinhua reporting.

COMPARING TOPICS



Spaces in graph show days with no articles on this topic

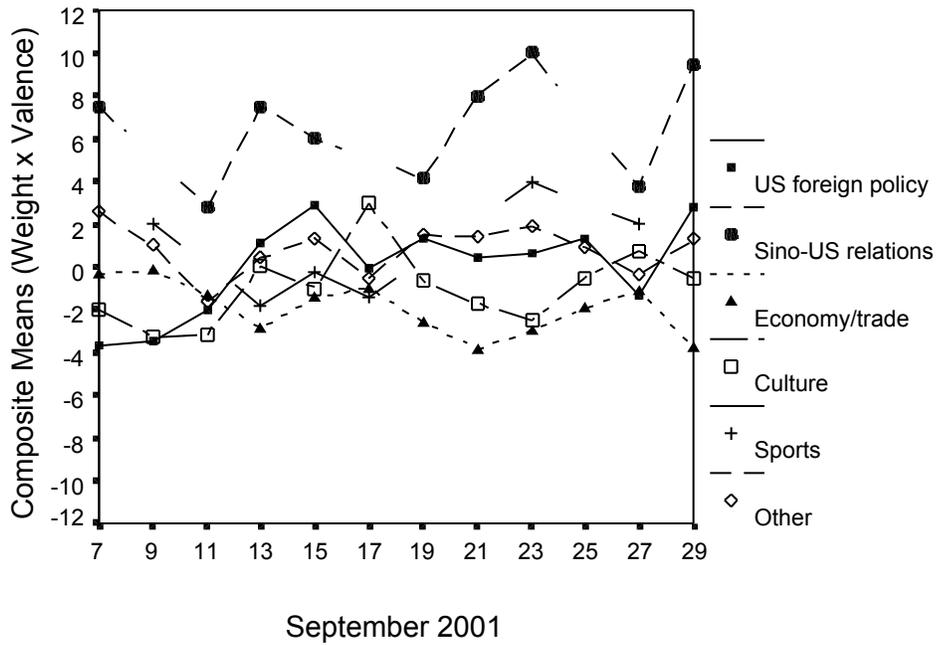
ANOVA for COMPARISON of 3 TOPICS on COMPOSITE SCORES

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	1.258	11	.248
TOPIC	70.971	2	.000
DATE * TOPIC	2.888	19	.000
Error		301	
Total		334	

$R^2 = .495$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .441$)

The comparison of composite scores over September 2001 across these three topic areas shows a significant interaction between topic and date, such that reports on Sino-U.S. relations are generally more positive throughout the month, followed by reports on U.S. foreign policy. As may be expected, given the events of the month, reports on economy and trade were the most negative of these topic areas, reflecting the economic struggles in the aftermath of 9/11.

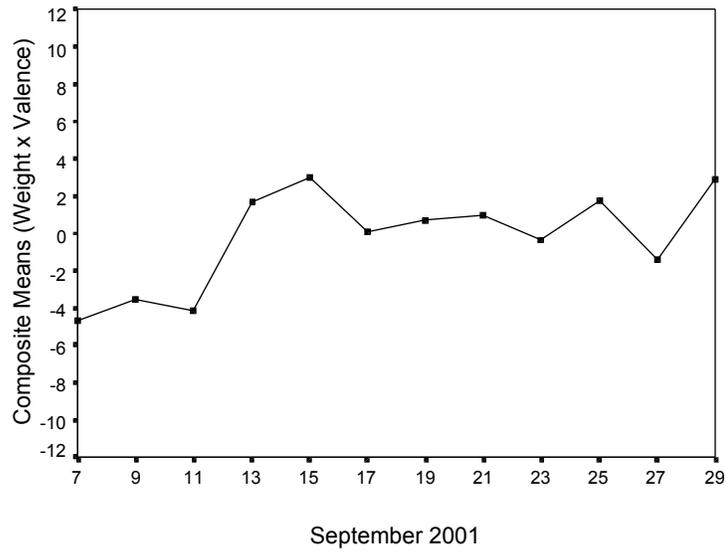
COMPARING TOPICS



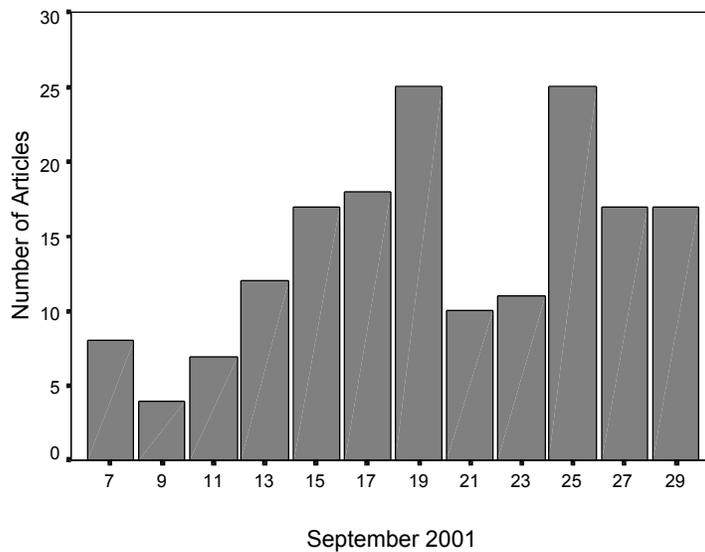
Spaces in graph show days with no articles on this topic

The greatest variation in composite scores is in reporting on Sino-U.S. relations, which is the most positive. followed by U.S. foreign policy. The most negative reporting is in the area of economy and trade. Reporting in other areas tends to be relatively stable and neutral.

U.S. Foreign Policy



Number of Articles: U.S. Foreign Policy



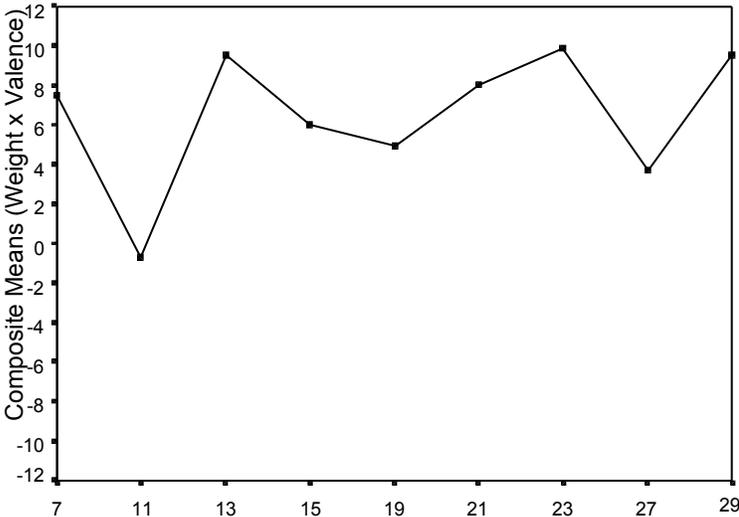
ANOVA for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	3.670	11	.000
REGION	.491	2	.613
DATE * REGION	1.413	18	.135
Error		139	
Total		171	

$R^2 = .321$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .169$)

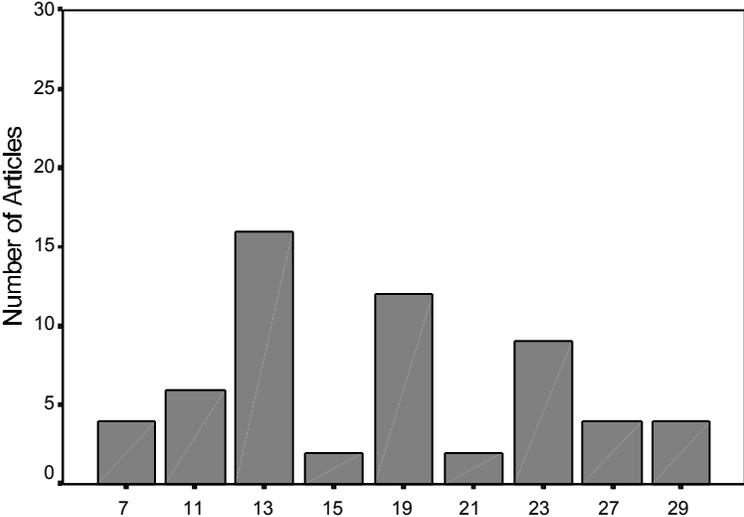
Reporting on U.S. foreign policy is significantly and consistently more positive after 9/11 than before the crisis.

SINO-U.S. RELATIONS

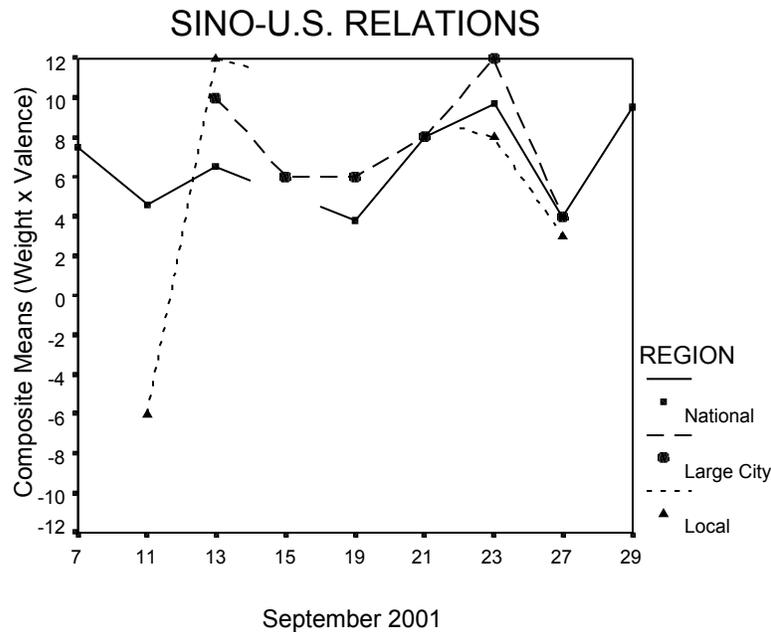


September 2001

Number of Articles: Sino-U.S. Relations



September 2001



ANOVA for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	5.339	8	.000
REGION	.931	2	.402
DATE * REGION	2.017	7	.076
Error		41	
Total		59	

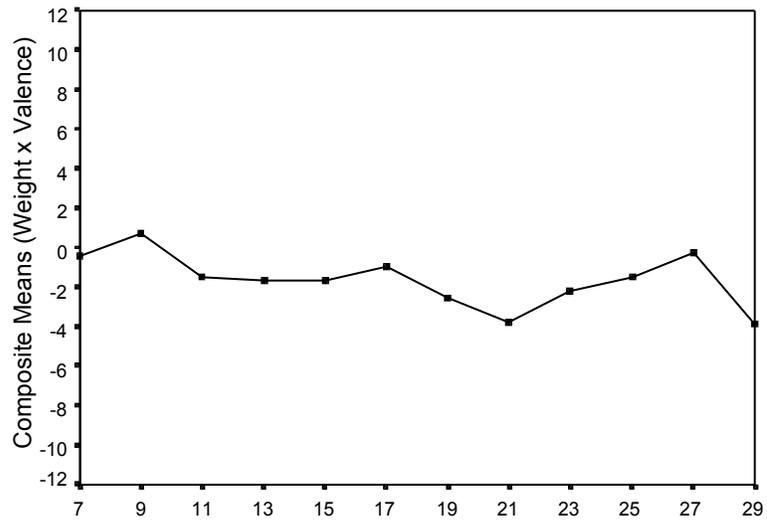
$R^2 = .591$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .421$)

COMPOSITE MEANS by REGION of NEWSPAPER

REGION	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
National	6.39	3.53	44
Local	4.25	7.76	4
Large City	8.18	3.16	11

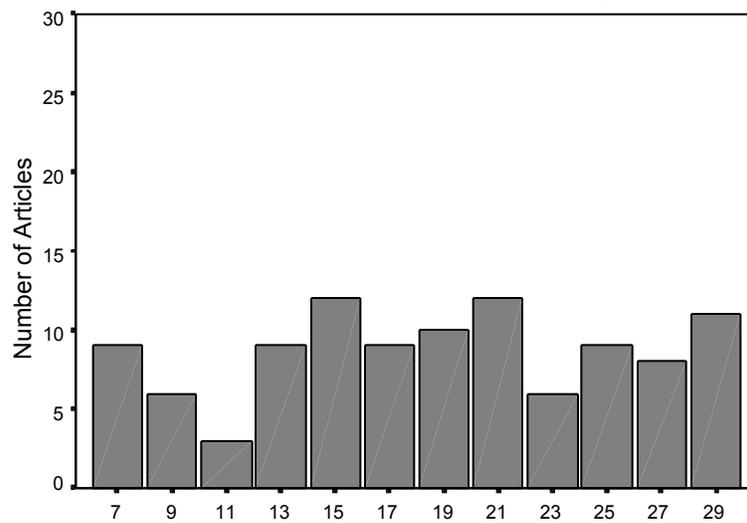
Prior to (and on the day of) 9/11, national newspapers are more negative than local or large city papers, but after 9/11, there is no significant difference between the papers. All three papers are generally more positive about U.S. Sino relations after 9/11. Even the least positive articles are still within the positive range of composite scores.

U.S. ECONOMY & TRADE



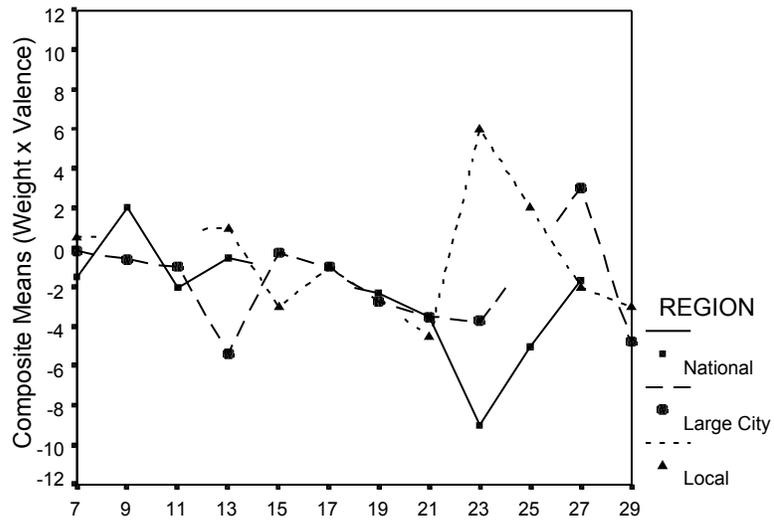
September 2001

Number of Articles: U.S. Economy & Trade



September 2001

U.S. ECONOMY & TRADE



September 2001

ANOVA for NEWSPAPER REGIONS by DATE on COMPOSITE SCORE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	1.298	11	.242
REGION	2.890	2	.062
DATE * REGION	1.690	15	.071
Error		75	
Total		104	

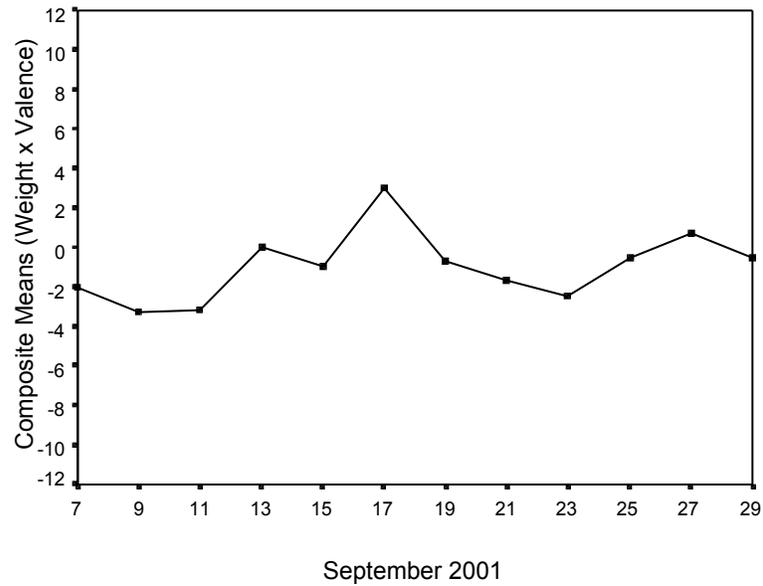
$R^2 = .365$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .129$)

COMPOSITE MEANS by REGION of NEWSPAPER

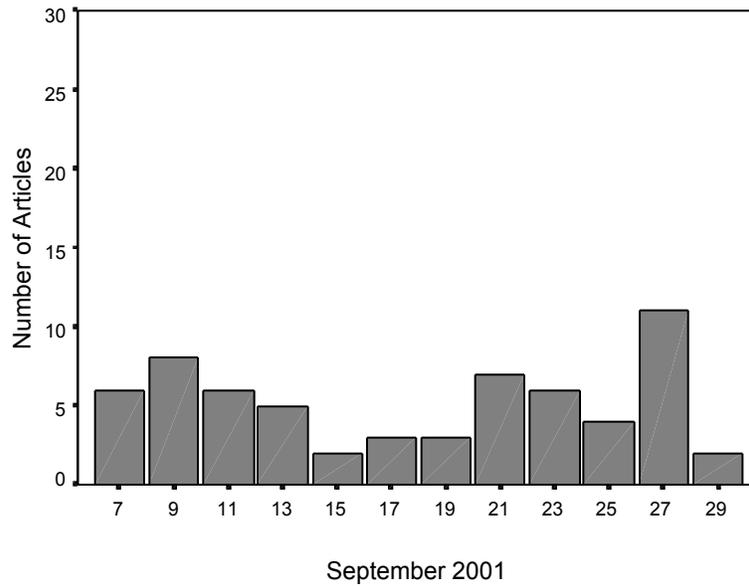
REGION	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
National	-2.70	3.85	23
Large City	-2.16	3.67	55
Local	-1.42	3.79	26

Overall composite scores for articles on the U.S. economy and trade do not differ significantly over September 2001. The general trend is relatively neutral. The type of newspaper differs marginally over the month, but no clear trend is evident; at times one paper will be much more positive and the others negative and at other times the opposite trend occurs.

CULTURE & SOCIETY



Number of Articles: Culture & Society



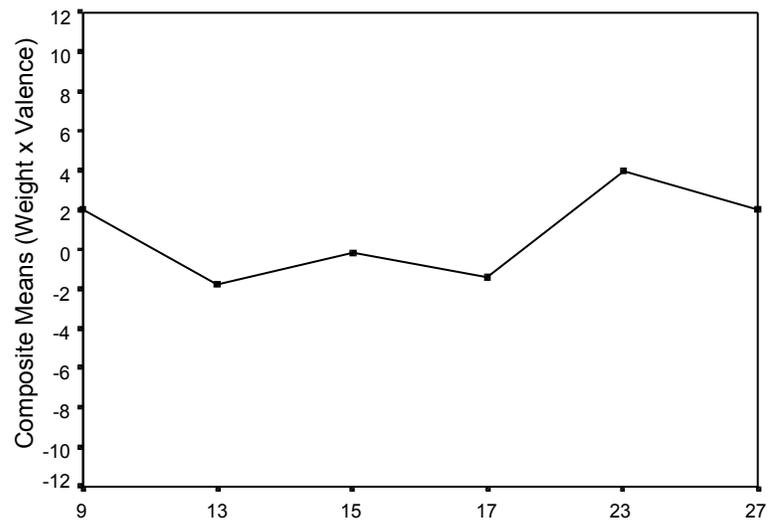
ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	1.221	11	.297
Error		51	
Total		63	

$R^2 = .209$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .038$)

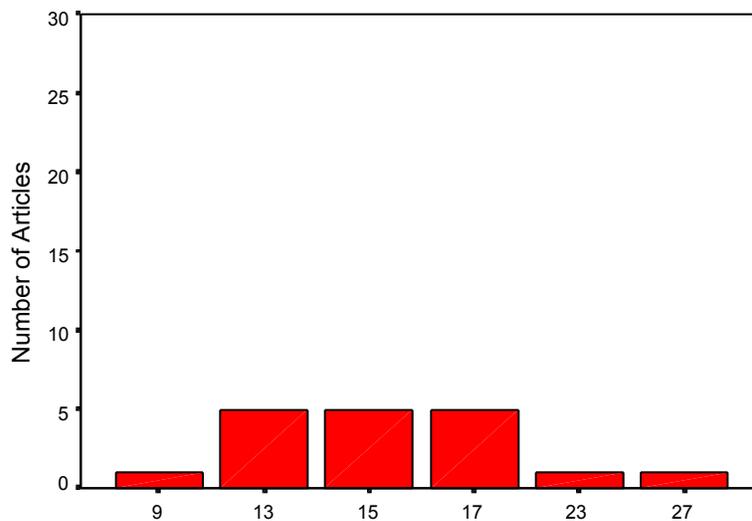
Overall composite scores do not differ significantly over the month. The general trend is relatively neutral.

SPORTS & ENTERTAINMENT



September 2001

Number of Articles: Sports & Entertainment



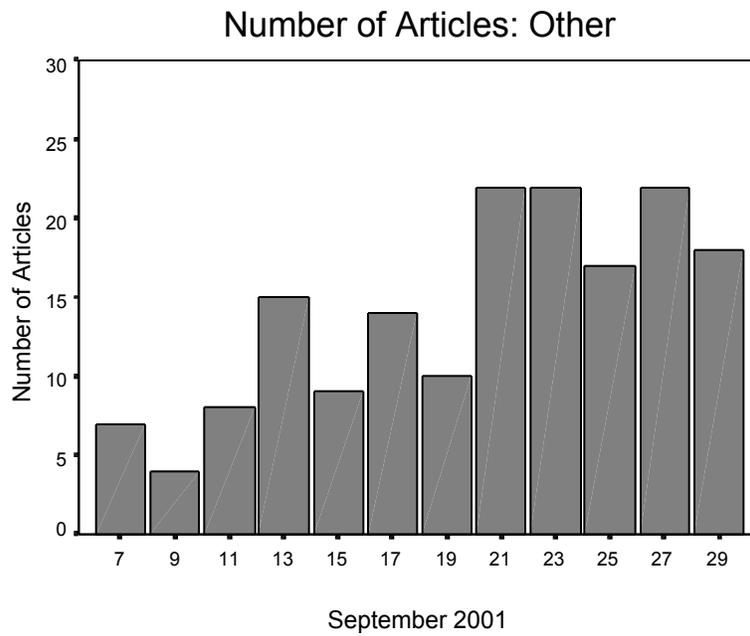
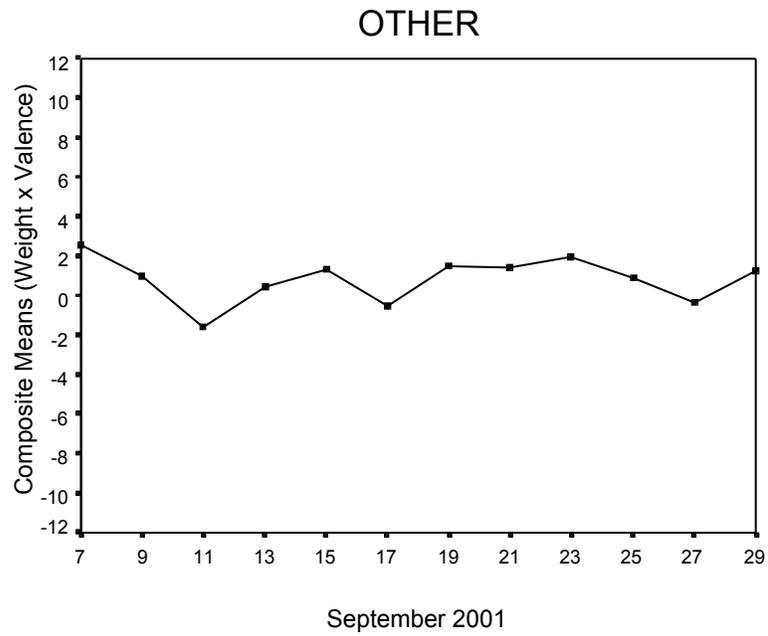
September 2001

ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	F	df	Sig.
DATE	1.594	5	.235
Error		12	
Total		18	

$R^2 = .399$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .149$)

Overall composite scores do not differ significantly over the month. The general trend is relatively positive but reporting is also very light.



ANOVA for OVERALL COMPOSITE SCORE by DATE

Source	df	F	Sig.
DATE	11	1.467	.149
Error	156		
Total	168		

$R^2 = .094$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .030$)

Overall composite scores do not differ. The general trend is relatively neutral.

SAMPLE ARTICLES
WITH VALENCES

[From the *Xinmin Evening News*, April 3, 2001]

(Valence: -3)

**China Protests the American Reconnaissance Plane's Collision with Chinese Military Aircraft: USA, Give Chinese People an Explanation!
The Pilot who Fell into the Water is Not Found Yet**

According to the Xinhua News Agency's telegram from Beijing on April 2nd, Wenzhong Zhou, the assistant to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs urgently calls for an interview with Mr. Prueher, American Ambassador to China, offering a grave dispute and protest on the event of American military reconnaissance aircraft's destruction of the Chinese military airplane above the South China Sea that morning.

Zhou said that, on the morning of April 1st, an American military reconnaissance aircraft reached the southeast area of the Hainan island, and two Chinese military airplanes carried on a mission to follow it and monitor its activity. At 9:07am, when China's airplanes were flying normally about 104 kilometers to the southeast Hainan Island, suddenly the U.S. airplane turned to the direction of China's airplane, colliding with its head and the left wing, causing the Chinese airplane to crash. China is searching for the location of the missing pilot. We are extremely concerned about this pilot's condition. After the crash, the U.S. airplane, entering Chinese territorial airspace without China's permission, landed at Linshui airport in Hainan province.

Zhou points out, the Chinese military airplane's monitoring of the American military reconnaissance aircraft in the Chinese territorial sky is a right protected under international convention. The crash of the Chinese airplane is exclusively caused by the U.S. aircraft's violation of flight regulations, suddenly changing its direction and approaching Chinese airplane. The U.S. should take the full responsibility for this incident. China is offering a grave dispute and the protest to the U.S. Chinese people request the U.S. to explain, why U.S. military airplanes fly so close to our country? Why did the American airplane suddenly alter its direction and crash into the Chinese airplane? Zhou emphasizes, the American airplane entered the Chinese territorial airspace and landed in the Chinese airport without permission, which is a serious activity of invading Chinese territorial airspace and sovereignty. As to the losses that this incident causes to China, as well as to the U.S. military airplane's entering the Chinese territorial airspace without the permission and landing in China's airport, China will maintain its right to discuss this incident further with the U.S.

U.S. Dollar Finds it Difficult to Withstand Heavy Pressure of Depreciation

After the 9/11 incident, the U.S. dollar exchange rate reversed and dropped rapidly. The dollar exchange rate to main currencies, such as the Japanese yen, European dollar, Swiss Franc, etc., has slumped below a critical supporting point. Changes of politics, economy, and financial situation make the U.S. dollar face multiple heavy pressures.

First, the American economy weakened and the 9-11 incident made it worse. The loss of the capital market exceeds 100 billion dollars. What's the worse is the impact of consumers' confidence and consumption. Consumers' expenditure was the last force to drive the American economy before the attack. After the attack, two major indexes of retail sales report both dropped a lot. In the first half of the month, the U.S.'s average retail sales were 3.2% less than that of the previous week. Compared with the same period in the last year, the index slid 3.5%, and this index rose by 1.7% in the last week. In view of this, more and more Wall Street investors adjust the 3rd quarter U.S. GDP growth as negative.

Second, the function of U.S. dollar as a hedge fund subsided after the attack. Consequently, the U.S. dollar exchange rate lost its support. Obviously, the situation reversed after the U.S. became the center of the catastrophe. This factor continues to direct investment to other currency with hedging function, such as the Swiss Franc. Last week, the U.S. dollar exchange rate to the Switzerland French Franc fell more than 1.60, dropping to the lowest point in 20 months. Switzerland, neutral during war in the past, replaced U.S. as a fund refuge as war approaches the U.S. In addition, the European economy and currency are steady. The issue of European paper currency, the real currency, embodied status and function of Euro. It improved the European's environment and policy to attract global capital, which increases the attraction of Euro.

Third, a slump in the U.S. stock market made funds flow out. Over several years, investors have regarded the U.S. stock market as a "safe paradise." After the continuous attacks of the World Trade Center and Pentagon, stock market stopped trading for 5 days, and nearly 2/3 of global capital flow was impacted. This serious impact not only made U.S. stock market slump, but also made the bond market, an attraction of hedge fund, face unprecedented pressure. The situation differs at this time. Over the past half-year, because the overall confidence of the market toward U.S. dollar assets has remained the same, investors have tended to change their investment into U.S. bonds, which has sustained the strength of U.S. currency. This time, however, the whole confidence of the market has panicked, and the market worried that the military action and other expenditure might incur extra bond issuing. At least in a short time, the situation won't change and it's hard to maintain a situation in favor of the circulation U.S. dollar capital.

Certainly, even if under the above heavy pressures, U.S. dollar may seek and obtain some support:

First is the intervention of the Japanese Central Bank. The Japanese Central Bank intervened in the market three times, saving the exchange rate of U.S. dollar over Japanese yen. The third intervention alone pushed the exchange rate of dollar/yen exchange rate up to 117.40 from 116.50.

Second, with the end of first half fiscal year of Japanese companies, the trading of U.S. dollar to Japanese yen will slow down. Market traders also testified that Japanese companies' sale of U.S. dollars to improve their fiscal report already ended. So it is estimated that U.S. dollar selling pressure would slightly slow down.

Except for these two factors, it's difficult to find other factors supporting the U.S. dollar exchange rate. Also, the first supporting factor is changing delicately now. On one hand, the officer of Japan's economic industry expressed on the 21st that the exchange rate of 115 already threatens Japanese exports. He also expressed the new price goal to which close attention must be paid. Since he has already pointed out the level of prices, the market may attempt to push the U.S. dollar to this level. It is obvious that Japanese Central Bank understands the trend of the market. Therefore, it didn't want to reverse the situation; it only tried to smooth drastic variation of foreign currency market.

On the other hand, joint intervention is hardly possible in the near future. Japan's financial ministers said on the 21st that he will try to let the USA and ECB participate in intervening jointly the foreign currency market. However, an officer responsible for global affairs was sent to Europe and the USA for discussion of the exchange rate. This shows that ECB and Federal Reserve Board are not eager to intervene now. It may take a while before joint intervention happens.

The market focus next week should be when and how the USA will take revenge for the terrorist attack. The simplest prediction is that investors might respond with buying more U.S. dollars because the retaliation may prove the power of the USA to deal with terrorism. But they will sell U.S. dollars afterwards because a protracted war is disadvantageous to the American economy.

Several Nations Criticize U.S. Human Rights Reports

The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign affairs of North Korea indicated that the position of the United States to criticize other states' human records as if it were a judge is ridiculous. The spokesman made this statement when being asked about the comment on the 2001 Human Rights Reports announced by the U.S. Department of State, which denounces North Korea as a country with a poor human rights records.

The spokesman stressed that the U.S. intention to subvert North Korea as a socialist country is just a vain attempt. Instead, it will strengthen North Korean people's will to defend their socialism.

The spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam expressed that the U.S. brutally intervened in Vietnam's domestic politics again by publishing the 2001 Human Rights Reports of individual states. The spokesperson said that the U.S. has endowed itself with the right to judge other states' human rights conditions. At the same time as the U.S. condemns human rights violations, it has not been elected to the UN human rights committee accordingly. She indicated that the 2001 Human Rights Report explicitly distorts Vietnam's actual human rights conditions and raises false "evidence;" therefore the U.S. behavior is a brutal intervention in Vietnam's domestic politics. Vietnam strongly opposed this Report.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan also declared that the 2001 Human Rights Reports of individual states announced by the U.S. was "untrue and groundless." This statement indicated that the Report disregarded all the important regulations and policies that the Pakistani government has made to improve human rights conditions. Nor did it take into consideration all the efforts that the Pakistani government has made to protect human rights within the past year. This sort of action totally ignores the facts, and therefore is "unacceptable" to the Pakistani authority.

The National Human Rights Committee of Mexico refuted the censure in the 2001 Human Rights Reports issued by the U.S. Department of State. It also indicated that it is "intolerable" that other states evaluated Mexico's human rights condition.

The spokesman of Cyprus also said that there were "many incorrect statements" in the 2001 Human Rights Reports declared by the U.S. He said that Cyprus would raise an objection against the U.S. equal consideration with regard to the legal government in Southern Cyprus and the illegal regime in Northern Cyprus. The spokesman indicated that this Report was political, because the U.S. Department of State is not a professional organization investigating human rights issues. This Report gave equal recognition to the two regimes in Cyprus, which was unacceptable to the government of Cyprus.

[From the *Beijing Youth Daily*, September 27, 2001]

(Valence: -2)

United States Government Is Drafting A New Immigration Act: No Need to Produce Evidence for Expelling Terrorist Suspects

In order to strengthen the force to fight terrorism, the Department of Justice is drafting a new immigration law, which allows the Attorney General to apprehend foreign suspects of terrorism and expel them without any evidence. According to this draft, suspects have only one chance to appeal against the sentence of deportation. According to Jenny Bartfield, executive director of the American Immigration Attorney Association, the proposed immigration law is stricter than the immigration act passed in 1996. The immigration act of 1996 has expanded the range of applying "secret evidence," which is evidence that doesn't need to be presented in front of the suspects. However, the draft of the new immigration law suggests that the U.S. government is capable of expelling the suspects of terrorism from the country without submitting any evidence to the court. "The new legislation essentially makes the constitution a subservient victim," said an immigration attorney. "It will allow the Immigration Bureau to become, without judicial review, a prosecutor, judge, and jury."

Although it seems that the U.S. Congress will give overwhelming support to the series of anti-terrorist acts initiated by Attorney General Ashcroft, assistants to the Congress warned that the public anxiety about the Constitution would have some influence in this debate. "What we wanted to do is to recklessly pass something which will be overridden by the court," said David Carle, the spokesman of Senator Patrick Leahy (Vermont). Nelson, the spokesman for the Department of Justice, refused to comment on the initiative draft. He only mentioned that the draft would be presented to the Congress on the 20th at the soonest.

According to the original act, the longest time for the Immigration Bureau to detain suspects is 24 hours if there is no clear evidence. However, 75 people have already been detained for 48 hours this time. Thus, the Immigration Bureau has started to detain those who stay in the United States illegally regardless of time of detention "for special reasons." An officer at the Department of Justice noted that the "special reasons" refer to the investigation of terrorist activity.

According to an informed source, the Immigration Service of the United States has detained 75 people who are under suspicion of violating immigration law. In addition, the FBI has listed 190 terrorist suspects, and six of them have been arrested because of the material evidence. A Federal Jury has been formed to examine the evidence under investigation. Immigration advocates noted that the detainment of a large number of immigrants and the new draft initiated by Ashcroft would arouse chaos. They argue that in terms of the draft of the new immigration legislation, the Head of the Immigration Bureau is able to submit a suggestion to the Attorney General, proposing that a certain foreigners in the States may be "confirmed" to be someone who has the potential to engage in terrorist activity. This person may be detained indefinitely and deported afterwards. As reported, the act will also apply to visitors and green card holders.

[From the *Beijing Youth Daily*, April 3, 2001]

(Valence: -2)

20% of U.S. High School Students have Taken Weapons to Campus

The U.S. reported a nationwide survey on Apr. 1, showing that 20% of high school students have taken weapons, including guns and knives, to school. In addition, nearly 50% of high school students reported that there is no difficulty to acquire guns.

Last year, Joseph Moral College conducted an investigation on 15,800 high school and middle school students. 47% of high school students and 22% of middle school students indicated that they can easily acquire guns if they want. The Dean of the College claimed that seeds of violence are everywhere on campus. Teenagers, especially boys, are becoming prone to violence. Now, they can acquire guns, drugs, and liquor without difficulties.

Besides, the investigation showed that acquiring drugs and liquor is even easier than guns. 19% of high school students and 9% of middle school students admitted they got drunk on campus last year. Among them, 83% students fought with their peers. Of all the drinking students, 48% of high school students and 57% of middle school students expressed that they had taken weapons to campus. 33% of the students who were interviewed considered school not secure enough.

[From the *Yangcheng Evening News*, March 27, 2001]

(Valence: -2)

The U.S. has Great Responsibility for the Taiwan Issue

The Taiwan issue has not been resolved. The U.S. should be responsible for this delay. You know, in the middle of the last century, the U.S. sailed the 7th Fleet into the Taiwan Strait. Over 20 years, the U.S. government has put Taiwan under its protection.

After China and the U.S. built up a relationship, the U.S. Congress has ignored objections by China and passed a Bill of Relationship with Taiwan. For years, the U.S. has sold modern arms to Taiwan. On one hand, the U.S. acknowledges the one China policy and makes promises to the Chinese government and people. On the other hand, it sells plenty of arms to Taiwan, facilitating the division of activities regarding Taiwan Independence.

We hope that the U.S. government realistically follows the Three Sino-U.S. Joint Communiqués, keeps relevant promises, and processes the Taiwan issue well, from a strategic and long-term perspective. This is crucial for the stability of the Taiwan Strait condition and Sino-U.S. relations as well.

In order to resolve the Taiwan issue, we have proposed a “peaceful reunion, a nation with two systems” policy. “A nation with two systems,” fully considering the history and the present conditions of Taiwan, corresponds to the wishes of the two sides to reunite and basic benefits of two sides as well as completely taking care of their social system and current living style under the Taiwanese *status quo*. As long as the Taiwan authority takes Taiwanese into serious consideration, this policy should be found to be the solution and the future.

[From the *People's Daily*, March 13, 2002]

(Valence: -1)

Russia Against Solving Iraq Issue by Force

Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov said on March 12, 2002 that handling Iraq issues with a military approach can only worsen the situation. Russia appeals to solve the problem by political means under UN resolutions.

According to the Russian Itar-Tass news service, Ivanov says Russia has never held any secret discussion or negotiation with any party on Iraq issues. The Russian stance on the issue has always been explicit: Russia welcomes UN conversations with Iraq, and advocates solving the Iraq issue by political means. Ivanov emphasizes that adopting a military approach can only intensify regional conflicts.

Russian experts hold that Russia has two tasks in current Iraq issue. One is to join with the UN in bringing international observers safely back to Iraq. The other is to prevent the U.S. from unilaterally launching a military attack against Iraq. Observers point out that the U.S. will pay an even higher price than what it has paid for Afghanistan war if it adopts military action against Iraq.

[From the *Xinmin Evening News*, March 1, 2002]

(Valence: +1)

Harvard University Study Finds that Eating Excess Processed Meat Results in Diabetes

An investigation by Harvard University reported that excessively eating processed meat increases the risk of contracting Type II diabetes.

Researchers investigated thousands of people who were inclined to eat processed meat, such as smoked meat, hot dogs, and sausages. The investigators also analyzed their eating habits. Results found that the possibility of these people to contract Type II diabetes is 46% higher than those who seldom consumed this type of food. Further contrast research also synthesized the variables--smoking, overweight, excessive fat intake, and exercise—finding that this habit of food inclination itself is sufficient to result in Type II diabetes.

[From the *Xinmin Evening News*, September 25, 2001]

(Valence: +1)

Internet News

Between the Internet and TV, Americans prefer television as the main information source in their daily lives. After the recent 9/11 event, a survey company in America immediately conducted an investigation on the diffusion of information. The result showed that four-fifths of Americans acquire relevant information from television; eleven percent of Americans acquire this information from radio; only three percent of Americans get such information from the Internet, and only twelve percent of American succeed in sending e-mail.

[From the *People's Daily*, September 29, 2001]

(Valence: +2)

NATO Secretary of Defense Meeting Stress that Anti-terrorism Needs New Thinking

The one-day informal meeting of NATO defense secretaries ends today at NATO headquarters in Brussels, the capital of Belgium. This is the first NATO secretarial defense meeting since the terrorism attack on the U.S. Attendees included the 17 secretaries of defense from NATO's member countries and Mr. Wolfowitz, the U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Terrorism and the situation in Macedonia were the main issues in this meeting. Mr. Wolfowitz, the U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense, introduced the U.S.'s anti-terrorism plan, but with no formal decision made.

As to terrorism, NATO emphasized that anti-terrorism will be a long-term and difficult mission. It needs "more nimble ways" and "new thinking," including use of political, diplomatic, and economic means. NATO reiterates that NATO will hold together with the U.S. in anti-terrorism.

[From the *Xinmin Evening News*, March 1, 2002]

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U.S. Ambassador Holds Reception

Foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan attended the reception to memorialize the 30th anniversary of the publication of the Sino-American Shanghai joint communiqué. The reception was hosted by American Ambassador Reid.

Tang Jiaxuan read the telegraph expressing congratulations from Chairman Jiang Zemin. Tang Jiaxuan said, as stated by Chairman Jiang in the telegraph, the foundation of Sino-America relationship is solid, and the three joint communiqués which guide the Sino-America relationship can withstand the test of time. We memorialize the 30th anniversary of the publication of the Sino-American Shanghai joint communiqué, which is to remember the principals set by the three joint communiqués, and to observe these principals in dealing with the relationship between our two countries. As long as the two sides put the overall situation in mind, keep the future in sight, and scrupulously abide by the principals of the three joint communiqués, the Sino-America relationship would get a greater development in the next 30 years.

[From the PLA Daily, September 29, 2001]

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U.S.A. Succeeds in Transplanting the Third "Fully Implanted Artificial Heart" in the World

After a 6-hour operation on the 27th, experts at Archbishop Luke's Medical Institute, located in Houston, succeeded in transplanting a "fully implanted artificial heart" into a patient with a deadly disease. This is the third successful transplant of this type of artificial heart into a human body, following two successful transplants by the researchers at the University of Louisville in Kentucky.

Based on Archbishop Luke's press release, the operation successfully finished as planned and the patient is resting quietly at present.

According to the introduction, a "fully implanted artificial heart" weights a kilogram, and its main component is a pump made of titanium and plastics with electronic control systems regulating the speed of the pump according to the needs of body. It has been regarded as a great leap in artificial heart technology since the 80s. The old model artificial heart requires a pipe and a wire to link with a cumbersome external machine, which makes it difficult for a patient to move in his daily life after operation. The new model, requiring no external machine, takes only a small external battery offering the electric current through the skin only. Patients can take the battery off when having a bath; a rechargeable battery in the artificial heart will supply the electricity.

Such an artificial heart has two chambers constituting the two atriums. It has 4 pipes, connected to the two atriums, main artery and lung artery separately. One pipe among four connects the right atrium to the lung artery, and connects the body vein through the atrium dextrum. Another pipe connects the main artery and connects the lung vein through the atrium sinistrum. Between the two chambers are a motor and pump, equipped with a piston in the interface part of the heart and blood vessel, acting as heart valve.

The full circulation task of the artificial heart includes two steps: At first, it pumps blood in the veins through the right heart into the lung; then the arterial blood, after absorbing oxygen from the lungs, passes through the lung vein and atrium sinistru, and is pumped into left chambers of heart.

According to the introduction of the doctor responsible for the operation at Archbishop Luke Hospital, the patient given the transplant at this time suffered from serious heart and lung and disease. Therefore, he was unsuitable for a human heart transplant operation, and he can only accept artificial heart transplant to extend his life.

700,000 people die of the heart disease every year in USA. 4,200 patients waited for the heart transplant last year, but only half if them got it. So, the development of a practical artificial heart is meaningful.

[From the *People's Daily*, February 23, 2002]

(Valence: +3)

Bush's Visit Significant to Sino-U.S. Relations

Exactly 30 years after U.S. President Richard Nixon's historic visit to China, U.S. President George W. Bush made a 30-hour China visit. At a historic moment, with the two heads of state meeting in { HYPERLINK "http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/beijing.html" } to review history and look ahead, China and the { HYPERLINK "http://www.peopledaily.com.cn/english/data/usa.html" }, two big countries bearing special responsibilities for world peace, stability and prosperity, have begun a new stage of developing constructive relations of cooperation in the new century.

The meeting between Chinese President { HYPERLINK "http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/people/jiangzemin.shtml" } and Bush is rich in content and has drawn world attention.

Since last year, Jiang and Bush have made many telephone conversations and exchanged letters, keeping in close touch on bilateral relations and international and regional issues of common concern. Four months ago the two presidents had a successful meeting in { HYPERLINK "http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/province/Shanghai.html" }. Jiang will visit the United States later this year at the invitation of Bush, and Chinese Vice-President { HYPERLINK "http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/data/people/hujintao.shtml" } will also visit the United States in the near future at the invitation of U.S. Vice President Richard Bruce Cheney. The frequent exchange of visits by the two countries' leaders shows a sound momentum for the development of bilateral relations.

During his stay in China, Bush also met with other Chinese leaders, delivered a speech at Qinghua University, and visited the Great Wall. He said he saw "amazing progress" of the great country.

During Bush's visit, both presidents spoke highly of the development of bilateral relations. In his talks with Bush, Jiang said development of bilateral relations has maintained a good momentum. "The two countries' people are happy about it, so are the people of the world," he said. When meeting the press jointly with Jiang, Bush said, "Our ties are mature, respectful and important to both our nations and the world." Bush described his talks with Jiang as "candid, positive." While visiting a demonstration of Cummins compressed natural gas engines here Thursday, Bush once again said his talks with Jiang were "fruitful."

The remarks of the leaders of the two big countries show that the strategic significance of developing Sino-U.S. constructive relations of cooperation cannot be ignored in face of the complicated and volatile international situation. Just as Jiang put it, "China and the United States have more, rather than less, shared interests and more, rather than

less, common responsibilities for world peace. The importance of the relationship has increased rather than decreased."

To maintain a sound momentum for developing bilateral relations, Jiang put forward a four-point proposition.

In addition to maintaining high-level contacts and dialogues, the two heads of state have agreed to actively carry out exchanges and cooperation in areas of economy and trade, energy, science and technology, environmental protection, AIDS prevention and treatment and law enforcement. Sino-U.S. joint meetings on economy, commerce and trade, and science and technology will be held this year.

Jiang and Bush held in-depth discussions on counter-terrorism and agreed to strengthen consultations and cooperation on the basis of reciprocity and mutual benefit, and reinforce medium- and long-term mechanisms for exchanges and cooperation for combating terrorism.

During his visit Bush once again expressed thanks to China for its support to and cooperation with the United States in combating terrorism.

The two sides did not deny their differences in the candid and positive talks. Both agreed they should continue to reduce differences, expand common understandings and promote cooperation in the spirit of mutual respect, treating each other as equals, and seeking common ground while reserving differences.

Jiang explained to Bush China's basic policy of "peaceful reunification, 'one country, two systems'" for solving the issue, which is the key to a steady development of Sino-U.S. relations.

Bush reiterated that the U.S. side upholds the "one China" policy and abides by the three Sino-U.S. joint communiqués, stressing that it is the consistent position of the U.S. government.

Three decades ago, leaders of China and the United States ended estrangement between the two countries with bold vision. Bilateral relations have kept developing despite twists and turns. This shows that the two countries' leaders who know best their respective national interests, and people who are fully aware of the value of bilateral ties, have come to realize that the world's largest developing and developed countries have shared interests in many areas, which constitutes an important basis for a further development of bilateral relations.

The Chinese and American peoples are great, intelligent and creative. As long as both sides keep in mind their common interests, follow the trend of the times, abide by the three Sino-U.S. joint communiques, and as long as both sides maintain high-level dialogues, promote exchanges and cooperation and handle their differences properly, Sino-U.S. relations are sure to keep consolidating, improving and developing in the new

century. This has been proven by the development of Sino-U.S. relations over the past three decades, and has been recognized by U.S. presidents in the last 30 years, including President Bush. It will also be proven by further development of Sino-U.S. relations in days to come.

[From the *PLA Daily*, February 23, 2002]

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Hu Jintao Accompanies Bush to Speak at Qinghua

National vice chairman Hu Jintao accompanied American President Bush to give a speech at Qinghua University. Before the speech, Hu Jintao addressed his welcome to Bush's visiting China and introduced his speech at Qinghua University. Hu Jintao said, "I am glad to come back to my alma mater, and welcome the honored guest from the other side of the ocean, President Bush, with the faculty and students of Qinghua University. The visit of President Bush is coincident with the 30th anniversary of the visit of Nixon to China and the publication of Sino-American Shanghai communiqué. 30 years are a transitory period in human history, but the huge change it has brought to Sino-American relationship will be recorded in history forever."

Hu Jintao said that Chairman Jiang Zemin and President Bush changed their view about the Sino-American relationship and international situation. They reached many important agreements and achieved good results. The successful meeting of Chinese and American chief leaders will produce profound influence to further development of Sino-American constructive collaborative relationship. Hu Jintao said, China and America are both great countries, the people of the two countries are great people. The progress of the international situation indicates that, in maintaining the peace and stability of Asia and the Pacific and the world, promoting the development and prosperity of regional and global economy, beating terrorism and other cross-country crime, and resolving global problems such as environment pollution, China and America take crucial responsibility and have intensive joint benefit. The friendly collaboration between China and America meets the will of the people of the two countries and conforms to the tendency of history. As long as the two countries respect each other, treat each other equally, and seek common points while reserving differences, the Sino-American relationship will develop healthily and stably.

Bush first recalled the developmental course of Sino-American relationship, indicating that the meeting of chief leaders of two countries 30 years ago put an end to the decades of years of dissociation between the two countries, and set the foundation of the communication and collaboration of the two sides. He said, "Compared with my first visit to China in 1975, China has undertaken tremendous changes, and China is becoming one of the most vibrant and creative countries. China is growing up, and America is welcoming a strong and prosperous China." Bush also introduced the relation between American legislative, juridical, and executive institutions, and talked about his own opinion about family, religious belief, immigration, and beating terrorism. Bush hopes the communication and collaboration in education and culture between American and China will be further reinforced, and the communication and collaboration between Qinghua University and American colleges could be intensified. Bush also answered the questions by Qinghua students in the following time. The president of Qinghua University presided over today's speech. More than 400 faculty and students were present.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Qualitative analysis. The major need at this point in the study is to institutionalize a greater degree of qualitative investigation to provide meaningful descriptive analysis supporting the now-established quantitative methodology. To this end, we suggest the addition of a qualitative research position to work with the Principal Investigator on answering some of the Commission's content-related questions yet unanswerable through the quantitative methods undertaken during this stage of the study.

Television coverage. Although newspapers offer us a glimpse of one important slice of international news reporting in China, a notable hole is presented by our inability to monitor the influential outlet of television coverage. Content analysis of a limited amount of television news, particularly the official China Central Television news broadcast on weekday evenings (similar to the US's *World News Tonight*) in conjunction with some commercial programming could offer a degree of meaningful insight currently unavailable. Our team could cooperate with communication researchers in China to videorecord selected news shows and content analyze them using methods consistent with those already in progress.

BBS discussions. One very important means of public discourse emerging in China are "billboard systems," or chat rooms affiliated with major reporting venues on which Chinese post their opinions on major current events. These have become an important forum for articulation of public opinion and the testing of limits of freedom of expression. Comments allowed or "deleted" from these BBS rooms can provide an important indication of official views and tolerances. We suggest posting one researcher for a few hours a week on the most major venues to track public sentiment on the news we are in the process of analyzing in the other segments of the study.

Journalist interviews. Many questions raised by this study are unanswerable without actually asking questions of the organizations and individuals that produce them. Although there are a limited number of Chinese reporters posted here in the Washington DC area, we propose extending this analysis to reporters at the headquarters of these news organizations in China. Existing connections can open doors to the Xinhua News Agency, *People's Daily*, *China Daily*, China Central Television, China Radio International, and other major international Chinese news outlets. At this stage of the project, two weeks of interviewing in China could yield valuable insights into the operation of Chinese media organizations that would provide a greater degree of substantive depth to this research.