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FROM AGENDA-SETTING TO FRAMING AND RESPONSIBILITY ATTRIBUTION IN A CULTURAL MOSAIC

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Wen-Hui Wu

May 1998

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Abstract

FROM AGENDA-SETTING TO FRAMING AND RESPONSIBILITY ATTRIBUTION IN A CULTURAL MOSAIC

by Wen-Hui Wu

Built on and extending literature of agenda-setting, framing and responsibility attribution, this study investigated the relationship between the responsibility attribution pattern in the media and that among the audience in Santa Clara County, using a classic research design of a cross-lagged content analysis and survey at two points in time. The responsibility pattern of the mainstream English-language media and that of the Chinese-language media were compared, and their possible effect on the general public and Chinese-American audiences was examined.

The results showed that the responsibility pattern of the mainstream English-language media and that of the Chinese-language media were significantly different, and that in most cases, the responsibility attribution pattern of the Chinese-American subjects differed significantly from that of the general public.

The evidence of media effects on the audience's pattern of responsibility attribution was mixed. The mainstream English-language media did not appear to influence the responsibility attribution pattern of either the general public or the Chinese-American subjects who used those media. However, the Chinese-language media apparently had a noticeable impact on Chinese-American audience's responsibility attribution on U.S. domestic issues.

Dedication

My graduation would not have been possible without the help of countless kind and generous people. First, and foremost, I would like to thank my family, whose support and encouragement have inspired me throughout my life. Your love and caring kept me going through the lean years of graduate school. I will always love you.

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Chapter I

Introduction

As research on the media's agenda-setting function extends itself from an exclusive concern over the media's cognitive effects to an interest in attitudinal effects and takes media's framing effects as its second dimension (McCombs, 1995), there is a new appreciation for the influence of the media's responsibility attribution to explicate the roles of the news media in political and civil life. Built on and extending the logic of agenda-setting and framing theories, this study examines an important dimension of media framing function — the media's role in influencing the audience's attribution of responsibility — a content analysis of the mainstream English-language media and the Chinese-language media and a survey of a representative sample of the general public and the Chinese-American audience members in Santa Clara County, California.

The United States is a nation of immigrants, with the Chinese being one of the fastest growing groups. "The United States is on the verge of being transformed ethnically and racially," said Leon Bouvior of the Population Reference Bureau and former senior demographer for the Census Bureau (Sung, 1987, p.1.).

Since the Immigration Act of 1965, a large number of immigrants have come to the United States. According to the 1990 census, 40% of the immigrants admitted to the United States prior to the census were from Asia. In addition to the annual quota of

20,000 given to Taiwan since 1981, immigrants from China and Hong Kong averaged from 30,000 to 35,000 each year. This influx of large numbers of immigrants with different features, cultures, languages, and religions has aroused tremendous interest in media effects on these different people.

Santa Clara County, one of the popular destinations for Chinese immigrants, is the home of Silicon Valley, the center of the semiconductor and computer industry in the United States. Because of the development of the high technology computer industry, Santa Clara County has attracted many immigrants. The county has a liberal government policy toward employment acceptance (Menhardt, Tom, Tse, & Yu, 1986). Silicon Valley has a mild Mediterranean climate with no temperature extremes. Many Asian immigrants come here for these reasons. In Silicon Valley, while some Chinese are the descendants of the earliest immigrant groups, the majority have immigrated for school or work. The county is an almost perfect laboratory for this research. In this county, according to the 1990 U.S. census, the population is made up of 48.7% Caucasians, 0.6% American Indian, 20.5% Hispanics, 17.1% Asians, 0.4% Pacific Islander, 3.7% Blacks, and about 9.1% other racial groups. It is projected by the Advanced Planning Department of Santa Clara County that by 2010 the Hispanic, Asian, and other ethnic groups combined will become the majority in this county as the Caucasian population will drop to 34.3%. In this racial mosaic, almost every major ethnic group has its own media outlets. The Hispanic community, for example, is served in Spanish by at least three TV

channels, four radio stations and five newspapers published in the Bay Area. The

Chinese community has access to a dozen or so Chinese-language media outlets,
including three radio stations, three TV channels and four major newspapers published in

North America. Although such a community may not represent today's America as a

whole, it reflects many communities on both coasts of the country and represents many of
the on-going trends in America. By studying such a compressed cultural and media

mosaic, this research can yield results that are not only valid for communities like Santa

Clara County at the present time but also predictions of future trends and possibilities in
the nation.

The Responsibility Attribution

In order to investigate how the media affect the opinions of audiences in Santa Clara County, responsibility attribution needs to be examined in this research.

Responsibility attribution says that how the media report issues affects the opinions of audiences. People think about the responsibility for the issues instinctively because the attribution of responsibility represents a powerful psychological cue.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this research is to explore media framing effects, especially the attribution of responsibility, on the general public and the Chinese-American audience. As Mcleod, Sun, Chi and Pan (1990, p.1) have pointed out, "the media influence not only what we think about an issue but also how we think about an issue." The general

public is defined in this study as a representative group picked randomly from the general population. "Chinese-American" is defined in as someone who is of Chinese origin and has a green card or citizenship of the United States. Examining how the media attribute responsibility and how such attribution influences the audience's responsibility attribution patterns helps us understand the relationship of the media's cognitive and attitudinal effects, which has not been adequately examined in traditional agenda-setting studies.

Problem Statement

Through a content analysis of both Chinese-oriented media channels and general-public-oriented media outlets and a random-sample survey of an audience from both the general public and the Chinese-American community in Santa Clara County, this project will explore the following general research questions:

- 1. What is the relationship between the responsibility attribution pattern of the media and that of the ethnically diverse audiences?
- 2. Do the mainstream English-language media differ from the ethnic Chinese-language media in their patterns of responsibility attribution?
- 3. Does the general public differ from the Chinese-Americans in its patterns of responsibility?
- 4. What role do the different media outlets play in influencing different audience groups' patterns of responsibility attribution?

Significance

This is a quantitative study that uses telephone surveys and content analysis to explore the role of the media on the audience's patterns of responsibility attribution. It departs from previous studies in that it tries to investigate this role of the media in an ethnically diverse environment, and it is the first time a Chinese community is studied in this regard.

This study will contribute to the body of knowledge in mass communication by plowing a fairly new dimension of framing analysis and helping re-align mass communication research with the changing social and cultural environment in the United States.

Chapter II

Literature Review

This chapter reviews relevant literature tracing the evolution from agenda setting to framing and responsibility attribution and providing a theoretical framework for examining the mass media's role in responsibility attribution in ethnically diverse community.

The Concept of Agenda-Setting

Walter Lippmann's (1922) *Public Opinion* about public opinion and journalism is the principal intellectual antecedent of the contemporary theory of the agenda-setting role of the mass media. Without using the term, "agenda-setting," Lippmann wrote about what would be called public agenda. Later, Cohen (1963) asserted that the press "may not be successful much of the time telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (p. 13). McCombs and Shaw (1972) expanded this idea and made it the basis for their pioneering empirical study of agenda-setting. McCombs and Shaw (1972, 1993) adopted the term "agenda-setting" to describe in general terms a phenomenon that had long been studied in election campaign. Their first agenda-setting study during the 1968 U.S. presidential election initiated a continuing trend of research on media's agenda-setting function.

Mass Media and Public Agenda

Agenda-setting, in its broadest form, is what Rogers and Dearing (1988, p. 556) called a "process." This process has three subareas: public agenda, policy agenda, and media agenda. Public agenda setting starts from the original agenda-setting McCombs and Shaw (1972) article. Public agenda setting deals with the link between issues as portrayed in mass media content and the issue priorities of the public. Policy agendasetting grows out of the institutional analysis perspective in political science. It includes those studies that deal with the issue agenda of governmental bodies or elected officials, or those focusing on issues in the legislative arena and their connections to media content or procedures. Media agenda setting examines the antecedents of media content relating to the public's issue definition, selection, and emphasis. This work includes sociology, political science and mass communication.

However, media agenda setting has been treated as irrelevant to the public agenda setting work (Lang & Lang, 1983; Reese, 1991; Rogers, Dearing, & Chang, 1991; Shoemaker, 1989).

According to McCombs (1995, p. 2), public agenda has remained as the dominant domain of agenda-setting research:

First, the obvious and easy fit of the metaphor to an agenda composed of public issues provided a strong, explicit theoretical link between mass communication and public opinion. Second, there exists a strong normative tradition in social science research on presidential elections that places great emphasis on the importance of issues to informed public opinion. Finally, the well-established practices of public opinion polling with its emphasis on public

issues provided the methodology that most commonly has been used to measure the public agenda.

For public opinion, Shaw and McCombs (1977) conducted a large panel study in Charlotte, North Carolina, during the 1972 presidential election campaign. This study used a three-wave panel design to measure the public agenda and a content analysis of the Charlotte Observer, a local newspaper, and three evening television networks to measure the media agenda. The finding of McCombs and Shaw's initial study published in 1972 were replicated many times.

In the first agenda-setting study, McCombs and Shaw found a nearly perfect rankorder correlation (.97) between the issues considered most important by voters and the
coverage of these issues in the news media used by these voters. Instead of conducting
research in local communities during presidential elections as did McCombs and Shaw,
Funkhouser (1973) conducted a national study to examined the turbulent 1960s. He
compared the trends in public view about the most important problems facing the United
States during this decade with the decline and flow of news coverage on those issues,
finding there was important correspondence (.78) between the media agenda and the
public agenda.

Winter and Eyal (1981) investigated the natural history of single issues on the civil rights agenda. They discovered that the decline and flow of national concern about civil rights from 1954 to 1976 reflected the rise and fall of news coverage during this period, with a correlation coefficient of .71. Like Funkhouser, their measure of the public

agenda was based on the Gallup Poll's long-running question: "What is the most important problem facing this country today?"

Another study based on the Gallup Poll's "most important problem" question was conducted by Eaton (1989). He traced the salience of 11 individual issues over 42 months during the 1980s. In these issues, unemployment, crime, fear of war, poverty, and inflation were studied. The shift salience of 10 of the 11 issues on the public agenda was positively correlated with the news coverage of those issues, as in the previous study by Winter and Eyal.

A study in Germany by Brosius and Kepplinger that lasted for one year provided a comparison of the media agenda and public agenda across time. The newscasts of four major German television stations for the year 1986 were compared with 53 weekly national opinion polls. The researchers found that there were significant agenda-setting effects for five issues: energy supply, East-West relations, European politics, environmental protection, and defense.

These studies have shown two principal research strategies used to study the agenda-setting role of the news media (Dearing and Rogers, 1996). The first strategy is to investigate the complete set of issues on the agenda. In this strategy the rank order of these issues on the news agenda is compared with the rank-order of these issues on the public agenda. The initial Chapel Hill study and Funkhouser's national study of the 1960s fall under this strategy.

The other strategy is to investigate a single issue over an extended period of time. In this strategy, the rise and fall of news coverage is compared with the rise and fall of public concern over the same period. Most issues rise and then fall on the national agenda, usually after being at the top only for a rather short period of several months or years, such as the War of Drugs issue, which rose and fell on the national agenda from 1986 to 1991. Some examples of the extended investigation strategy are: Winter and Eyal's analysis of civil rights issues, Eaton's analysis of individual American public issues during the 1980s, Brosius and Kepplinger's analysis of individual issues in Germany during 1986. Yet, other issues, such as AIDS, for example, once on the media agenda in 1985 stayed there, although with some ups and downs.

Cognition, Attitude and Demographic Attributes

Roberts and Maccoby (1985, p. 546) view the agenda-setting hypothesis as affecting people's cognitions, saying that "approach focuses on how the media influence their knowledge about those issues." They note that it is now recognized that some media campaigns and programs may have an influence on people's attitudes and values. They observe that "it appears that even when the impact of mass communication is primarily effective, attitude change usually is characterized by a slow process of erosion and accretion rather than by one of sudden upheaval and conversion" (p. 547). Even though the agenda-setting effect of the media is on people's cognitions, Roberts and Maccoby

argue that "what influence occurs takes place through changes in cognitions is what, in turn, influence people's attitudes" (p. 547).

Likewise, Shaw (1979) believes that "attitudes and behaviors are usually governed by cognitions--what a person knows, thinks, believes" (p. 101). He argues that "only with long-term studies can media's influence on cognition be traced validly to their ultimate behavioral effects" (p. 104).

Winter (1981) believes that people do not have uniform influence in all mass media settings because people are not the same. People's specific demographic attributes, such as age, gender, education, and ethnicity are regarded as predictors in the agenda-setting process process (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Weaver, Graber, McCombs, & Eyal, 1981). For example, Shaw and Martin (1992) compared media use and agenda agreement for different types of standard demographic groups by using statewide public opinion polls and media content analysis. They found that the people have different agendas according to their gender, ethnicity, age, levels of education, and economic status.

Age and gender are important variables that impact the media agenda-setting effects. Atwood, Sohn, and Sohn (1976) found that women and specially those who were under 35 were likely to discuss issues interpersonally, and concluded that they would be more easily influenced by the mass media. McLeod, Becker, and Byrnes (1974)

discovered no media agenda-setting effect for voters under 25 but a positive correlation for those above that age.

Moreover, men and women have differences in the learning process and in the salience they perceive of certain issues (Weaver, Graber, McCombs, and Eyal, 1981).

Kessel (1980), however, has found that the age and sex distinctions in political learning disappear when education is controlled for.

The effects of education on learning the political issues from the media were examined by Weaver, Graber, McCombs, and Eyal (1981) who found that the respondents with higher education displayed greater knowledge during election years and learned more from the mass media than those with low education.

Wanta and Miller (1994) said that race is as a variable in the agenda-setting process, because they rely on different media and different agenda.

Races in Agenda-Setting

This study focuses on Chinese in Chinese-language mass media, which have been negelected by previous research. Certain racial segments of U.S. society may have an agenda-setting process that is different from the national agenda-setting process. For example, Cherry (1986) found that black people in the United States ranked a different set of issues in high priority than did the white population when answering national polls. Black Ameicans use distinctive media, such as *Jet, Ebony*, whose media agenda of issues corresponds closely to the public agenda of issues for African Americans. Perhaps

Chinese in this study have a unique agenda-setting process as well. This is what this study will determine.

Media Framing

Framing refers to how an event is described in particular news stories. An examination of the various uses of the term "frame" shows three distinct ways in which the framing metaphor applies to media content. Some metaphorical uses of the term "frame" are based on picture frame functions. Bateson (1972, p. 186) defines a psychological frame as "(or delimits) a class or set of messages (or meaningful actions)." Psychological frames are both exclusive and inclusive. The message within the frame is "intended to order or organize the perception of the viewer" (p. 187) by telling the viewer to pay attention to that which is within the frame, and not attend to that which is outside. Several frame concept researchers, such as Goffman and Tuchman, got the idea for this term 'frame' from Bateson. For example, Goffman (1974, pp. 10-11) borrows Basteson's term framing and sees a frame as a definition of a situation built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events--at least social ones--and our subjective involvement in them. He says, "frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify". In her book Making News, Tuchman (1978, p. 192) uses a frame from Goffman and defines a frame as "the principles of organization which govern events --at least social one--and our subjective involvement in them."

Frames can also be divided into strips. According to Goffman (1974, p. 192), a strip is "an arbitrary slice or cut from the stream of ongoing activity." Tuchman (1978) borrowed the concept of a 'strip' from Goffman (1974) and said, "Frames organize 'strips' of the everyday world." Such 'strips' are found in a picture frame. A small frame put in a large picture—whether it is a photograph, a painting, or a real-world scene—should cut some 'slice' from that picture at the expense of other possible slices (Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss & Ghanem, 1991). Gitlin (1980, p. 29) discusses how the media framing influence the Students for a Democratic Society. He defines media frames as "selection, emphasis, and exclusion" to cause this image of a picture frame. Gitlin also suggests that if the media can be mirrors, it should be as "mirrors in a fun house." He believes many bits of information included in or excluded from a story can influence the framing of an issue. Gamson (1989) noted a frame suggests "what is at issue" and what is not.

Another use of the picture frame metaphor indicates that the media supply different tones for events or issues through the choices of frame. Drawing on Gitlin's definition of media frames, Hackett (1984, p. 262-263) suggested that ideology transcends the concept of bias and that ideology provides a framework through which events are presented. For example, "framing is not necessarily a conscious process on the part of journalists; it may well be the result of the unconscious absorption of assumptions about the social world in which the news must be embedded in order to be intelligible to

its intended audience." Later, Graber (1989) said that "framing supplies the interpretive background by which the story is judged." She also mentioned frames are patterns of "interpretation, and presentation."

The third metaphorical use of the term frame can be visualized as the frame of a house or other building. Gamson (1989) said, "A frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue."

Looking at the concept from the media level, Gamson defines a frame as "a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue." Frames organize the news stories and emphasize certain facts while neglecting others.

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) saw media discourse as a set of interpretive packages that give meaning to an issue. The interpretative package has an internal structure which is a central organizing idea, or frame. After studying news magazines, cartoons, television discourse, and opinion columns, they composed five framing devices, including metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images.

Examining the framing in television, Barkin (1989) noted that television can frame events not only with verbal content but with television syntax. He said that "each television news story produces meaning through the combination of temporal, verbal, visual, and audial signs." For example, the verbal text does not convey meaning apart

from the progression of visual images. Even within the verbal text itself, the meaning of the story would be different if the sequence of scenes were to be altered.

In this study, a frame is defined as the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.

The Second Dimension of Agenda-Setting--Framing

This study will explore the influence of agenda-setting and framing of the media among the Chinese audience in Santa Clara County. Framing, as McCombs (1995) said, can be the second dimension of agenda-setting.

Framing is not as seen as an extension of agenda-setting. It begins from explicit cognitive perspectives and leads in new directions unanticipated by the original agenda-setting model (Kosicki, 1993). Agenda-setting is about "telling people what to think about," while framing is about "telling them what to think." This is why framing is an important dimension. Kosicki also says that if the initial phase of mass communication research involving mass media and public agenda examined primarily what topics made it onto the public agenda, the next phase is likely to examine how the issue is framed and discussed, and the consequences of such framing. Examining agenda-setting and framing together can add to traditional agenda-setting research.

During the 1980 U.S. presidential campaign, Williams, Shapiro and Cutbirth (1983) documented that a simple demonstration of how the salience of issues on the

public agenda could be influenced by how these issues were framed on the news agenda.

They examined what Lasswell (1948) called the correlation or leadership function of mass communication and hypothesized:

If the logic of framing pertains to the agenda setting process, then the media should have more impact on the perceived importance of campaign issues when they give issues a campaign frame (p. 228).

They found that television agendas based on campaign frames were correlated with the public agenda of campaign issues (Median correlation =.64). So, framing and public agenda do have a correlation.

A framing examination of U.S. presidential issues was also conducted. Tulis (1987) observed that many of the excesses of Cold War anti-communism could be traced to Truman's presidential speech, saying that this particular framing of East-West relations by President Truman shaped subsequent elite debate, news coverage, and congressional deliberation.

Gandy (1994) has investigated how different ways of framing social and economic risk for whites and blacks can have dramatic consequences for social policy.

Moreover, Pollster Louis Harris examined how two different ways of framing a

California ballot proposition about affirmative action can affect public opinion (Charlotte Observer, 1995).

In his book *Is anyone responsible*?, Iyengar (1991) says that the only area of political life in which the impact of television has been established is public opinion.

Issues and events highlighted by television news become influential as criteria for evaluating public officials and choosing between political candidates. This is evidence that television news persuades viewers to change their opinions. It extends the analysis of the television's impact on public opinion to the question of political responsibility and accountability. Specifically, the effects of TV frames can influence public opinion.

These studies have advanced the hypothesis of agenda-setting to impact on public attitudes. Rephrase Cohen's (1963) remark, "the media may not only tell us what to think about, they also may tell us how and what to think about it, and even what to do about it."

An Important Dimension of Framing - Responsibility Attribution

A careful look at the emerging studies on media's framing effects, especially those conducted by Iyengar, would reveal that a major underlying concept -- and concern -- is the assignment of responsibility, or how the media frame issues that give cues to attribution of responsibility and how these cues affect the audience's attribution of responsibility (see for example Iyengar, 1987, 1989, 1991). As Iyengar pointed out:

[A]ttributions of causal and treatment responsibility for national issues will dictate the opinions people hold on these issues. People think about responsibility instinctively, and attribution of responsibility represents a powerful psychological cue... Just as individual behavior is marked by variability rather than consistency across situation, so too are attributions of responsibility likely to depend upon the context in which political issues and events appear. Today, the most important of these contextual influences is television news (Iyengar, 1991, 9-10).

There is an increasing body of literature that suggests that how the mass media frame issues have an impact on the audience's attribution of responsibility. For example,

Iyengar (1991, p.128) found that the "episodic news frame" used by television networks tended to produce individualistic attributions among the audience on such issues as poverty and terrorism.

However, much of the research along the line of responsibility attribution, especially that by Iyengar, has been conducted in such a way that the examination of the relationship between the mass media and the audience is rather indirect and billed in an effort to link very general or abstract frames in the media to fairly specific attributions of responsibility on the part of the audience. For example, Iyengar's seminal study (1991) on the relationship between television news frames and the audience's attributions of responsibility used two very general categories to represent television news frames:

"episodic" and "thematic." But the attributions of responsibility were rather specific across issues, including "individual causal responsibility," "societal causal responsibility," "punitive treatment," "guardianship,"and as "compensatory." To a great extent, what Iyengar used as television news frames could be viewed as "master frames," which could be more specified to match the audience's attributions of responsibility.

As we all know, the media do attribute responsibility to various sources for social, political, cultural and economic issues. Where such attribution is not very explicit, the focus on the main players, causes and treatments of news events would give cues to where the responsibility is and should be placed. In another vein, if we construct the responsibility attribution patterns in the media at more concrete and specific level, those

patterns can effectively serve as what can be called "specific news frames." For example, "societal responsibility" can be a news frame, so can "punitive treatment."

This is the approach this study took in its analysis of the relationship between the media's frames – or more specifically the media's responsibility attribution patterns – and the diverse audience groups' attributions of responsibility.

An Ethnic Mosaic

America is a land of immigrants, from different countries with different national origins, creeds, and shades of skin color. These immigrants have struggled for economic and political power, status, and mobility to contribute to America. Many ethnic groups have retained their own languages, social organizations, cultures and physical types.

Most people do not think of other ethnic groups--who could be dominant or minority--from a national perspective. Instead, they see them within the framework of family attitudes and local experience.

Therefore, in seeking their own cultural identification, Asians seek out Asians, Hispanics seek out Hispanics, Blacks seek out Blacks, each forming a self-enclosed ghetto where old-world traditions and languages can be maintained.

As Johnson (1976) observes, time has changed and America is coming of age.

Children and youths are encouraged to be proud of their parents' culture and recognize the unique contributions of these cultures to the development of this country.

This situation is changing the United States from a "melting pot" to a mosaic, which blends different languages, cultures, and values.

Chinese Immigrants

Since the Immigration Act of 1965 that permitted large-scale immigration from Asia, this population has grown tremendously. According to the 1990 census, 40% of the new immigrants to the United States were Asian. The Asian population has grown by more than 80% since 1980 in the San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles. By 1990 Asians numbered more than 900,000 (15.4 % of the total population in California). Among them, Chinese immigrants were the largest subgroup in the Bay Area. According to the 1990 census, the San Francisco Bay Area has 324,000 Chinese—twice as many as in 1980. This number accounts for 10% of the total Bay Area population and 30% of the total Bay Area Asian population.

The effects of the new immigrants are widely felt at all levels of American society because they are highly visible by virtue of their racial characteristics, economic success and educational achievements.

Because of their higher income and job positions than other ethnic groups,

Chinese immigrants are becoming an important segment of the nation's economic

mainstream (Sing, 1989). A large segment of Chinese immigrants has college degrees,

and young Chinese immigrants are fast becoming the largest minority group on American

campuses. According to the <u>U.S. Civil Right Commission Study</u> (1990), Chinese adult

immigrants are twice as likely as the average American to have a college degree and hold a high-income professional jobs.

Because of the increasingly important status of the Chinese ethnic group in the United States, it is interesting to examine how they form their attributions of responsibility and where the influence comes from.

Chinese Media Environment

As the Chinese population continues to grow, so does the Chinese--language media and information environment in the San Francisco Bay Area.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, there are three Chinese TV stations, (China TV-CTV, Channel 26, Overseas Chinese TV-OCTV, Channel 38, and Pacific TV -PTV Channel 66), eight Chinese newspapers, (The World Journal, Cheng Pao, The China Press, The International Daily News (published in the United States); Central Daily (published in Taiwan); Sing Tao Daily Newspaper, and Ming Pao (Hong Kong); People's Daily (published in China) (Huang, 1993), and four radio stations, (Chinese Today Radio, KALW, KEST-AM 1450, and Sinocast Radio). Besides, there are a dozen other Chinese-language publications coming from other parts of the United States as well as Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China.

The reasons for the popularity of the Chinese-language media are obvious: a) Chinese-language media are able to communicate messages in Chinese to those who demonstrate a marked inability to communicate in English (Sing, 1989); b) Chinese-

language media bring back the native cultures, traditions, and values that are especially important for the foreign-born Chinese immigrants, who constantly live in nostalgia (Fong, 1974); and c) Chinese-language media update immigrants on the political, economic, or social development in Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, or other areas where they are from (Chen, 1992; Pang, 1986). In short, Chinese-language media help Chinese immigrants maintain cultural and communication ties with their homelands.

Hypotheses

Based on the previous literature review, this study attempted to answer the general research questions presented in the introduction by testing the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: The attribution of responsibility will be different between the Chineselanguage media and the mainstream English-language media.

Hypothesis 2: The attribution of responsibility by the Chinese audience will be different from the attribution of responsibility by the general public.

Hypothesis 3: The general public's attribution of responsibility will be significantly associated with the mainstream English-language media's attribution of responsibility; its attribution of responsibility at Time 2 will be significantly associated with the media's attribution of responsibility at Time 1.

Hypothesis 4: The attribution of responsibility by the Chinese audience members who mainly use the English-language media will be significantly associated with the attribution

of responsibility in the mainstream English-language media; their attribution at Time 2 will be significantly associated with the media's attribution of responsibility at Time 1.

Hypothesis 5: The attribution of responsibility by the Chinese audience members who mainly use the Chinese-language media will be significantly associated with the attribution of responsibility in the Chinese-language media; their attribution of responsibility at Time 2 will be significantly associated with the media's attribution of responsibility at Time 1.

Chapter III

Research Method

This study selected Santa Clara County as the site of investigation because it is an almost perfect laboratory. According to the 1990 U.S. census, the county is made up of 48.7% Caucasians, 0.6% American Indian, 20.5% Hispanics, 17.1% Asians, 0.4% Pacific Islander, 3.7% Blacks, and about 9.1% other racial groups. It is projected by the Advanced Planning Department of Santa Clara County that, by 2010, the Hispanic, Asian, and other ethnic groups combined will make up the majority as the Caucasian population drops to 34.3%. In this racial mosaic, almost every major ethnic group has its own media outlets. The Hispanic community, for example, is served in Spanish by at least three TV channels, four radio stations, and five newspapers published in the Bay Area. The Chinese community has access to a dozen or so Chinese-language media outlets, including three radio stations, three TV channels, and four major newspapers published in North America. Although such a community may not yet represent today's American society as a whole, it nevertheless represents many communities on both coasts of the country and reflects many of the on-going trends in the nation. By studying such a compressed cultural and media mosaic, this project can yield results that are not only valid for communities like Santa Clara County at the present time but also predictive of future trends and possibilities in the nation.

Part of the data collection was completed as part of a larger project led and coordinated by Professor Zhou He of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications.

The project used a classic design of media effects research: a cross-lagged content analysis and survey at two points in time (see Figure 1).

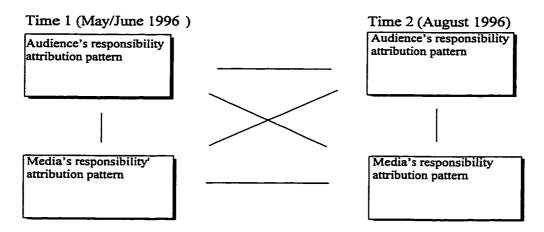


Figure 1. A Cross-lagged Research Design

This cross-lagged design was adopted for two reasons. First, by examining the media's responsibility attribution pattern and the public's responsibility attribution pattern at two points in time, it was expected that a somewhat causal relationship could be established. If the media's responsibility attribution pattern preceded that of the public's, then it could be said with some confidence that the media influence the public's responsibility attribution pattern. Otherwise, it is perhaps the public that influences the media's responsibility attribution pattern. Second, as some previous studies, especially agenda-setting studies, have shown, it takes from three to six weeks for the media's cognitive effects to demonstrate themselves, although some recent studies have found a shortened or simultaneous time span of media effects. By using this cross-lagged design, it was possible

to examine the function of the media in responsibility attribution either simultaneously or over time.

Audience Sample

A probability sample of 1,000 Chinese-American subjects was drawn by the Survey Sampling Inc. in Fairfield, CT, using telephone listings of residents in Santa Clara County. It was done through a multi-stage procedure. In the first stage, census tracts in which Chinese-Americans tend to live were selected. In the second stage, all residents whose family names look Chinese were chosen. In the third stage, 1,000 individuals were drawn through a systematic sampling procedure. For the subjects in the general public, 1,000 subjects were drawn from telephone listings of residents in Santa Clara County through a systematic sampling procedure. All subjects were listed by their names, addresses, and telephone numbers. To better detect the changes in the audience's responsibility attribution pattern, the respondents were used as a panel. In other words, the same groups of subjects were surveyed at two points in time.

Two waves of telephone interviews of the panel were conducted, the first from May 28 to June 30, 1996, and the second from August 1 to August 31, 1996. Five graduate students who speak English, Spanish and/or Chinese (including Mandarin, Cantonese, and Hakka) worked fulltime on the surveys. A tremendous effort was made to get back valid responses. Except for those subjects who firmly refused to respond to the interviews and those who were not qualified for the survey, every connected telephone number was called at least four times. Despite such an effort, however, the return rate was not as high as

expected. Table 1 summarizes the responses from the subjects of the Chinese-American community (see Table 1).

The return rate for the Chinese-American sample was computed using the following formula:

$$A/[N - (NC + DW)]$$

A is the number of subjects who completed the telephone survey, N is the total sample, NC is the number of non-Chinese subjects, and DW is the number of subjects who had disconnected phones, moved, died, or were not the people drawn for the sample. Thus:

$$203/[1000 - (131 + 231)] = .318$$

Table 1

Distribution of Responses of Chinese Subjects to the Survey

Response		%
Answer	203	20.3
No Answer	292	29.2
Not Chinese	131	13.1
Refusal	143	14.3
Disconnected and wrong	231	23.1
numbers		
Total	1,000	100.0

Table 2 summarizes the responses from the general public.

Table 2

Distribution of Responses of Subjects in the General Population to the Survey

Response	N	%
Answer	186	18.6
No Answer	145	14.5
Refusal	458	45.8
Disconnected and wrong	211	21.1
numbers		
Total	1,000	100.0

The return rate of the sample of the general public was computed using the following formula:

$$A/(N - DM)$$

A is the number of subjects who completed the telephone survey, N is the total sample, and DW is the number of subjects who had disconnected phones, moved, died, or were not the people drawn for the sample. Thus:

$$186/(1000 - 211) = .235$$

Obviously, the return rate was low and less than desirable. There were several reasons for this low return rate. First, it was found through the survey that residents in Santa Clara County have been excessively bombarded by telemarketers and pollsters. Many times people refused to answer the survey questions because they were tired of surveys and similar endeavors. Second, the survey was carried out in the summer when many people were on vacation. Because of the panel design of the study, if people missed the first wave, they weren't interviewed for the second wave. Third, a lot of Chinese-Americans were not used to interactions with strange callers, especially survey researchers. Despite the effort to speak the language or dialect they used, many declined to be interviewed.

Because of the low return rate, the complete interviews represented a somewhat skewed sample. As Table 3 through Table 6 show, this sample was very well educated, and a large number of respondents, especially Chinese-Americans, were engineers, other professionals, and retirees. In the Chinese-American sub-sample, for example, about 81% of the respondents had a college degree, and about 46% had a graduate degree. About 52% of them were engineers. In the general public sample, about 76% of the respondents had a college degree, and about 21% had a graduate degree. About 28% of the respondents from the general public were retirees (see Table 3 through Table 6).

Table 3

Demographics of the General Public Sub-group (Gender, Party Affiliation, and Household Income)

		N	%
Gender	Male	77	55.7
	Female	97	44.3
	Total	174	100.0
Party Affiliation	Republican	49	28.2
	Democrat	67	38.7
	Other	57	22.9
	Missing	1	.6
	Total	174	100.0
Household Income	Under \$20,000	10	5.7
	\$20,001-40,000	39	22.4
	\$40,001-60,000	36	20.7
	\$60,001-80,000	30	17.2
	\$80,001-100,000	12	6.9
	Above \$100,000	20	11.5
	Missing	27	15.5
	Total	174	100.0

Table 4

Demographics of the General Public Sub-group (Education and Occupation)

		N	%
Education	Primary Education	3	1.7
	Secondary Education	38	21.8
	College Education	97	55.7
	Graduate Education	36	20.7
	Total	174	100.0_
Occupation	CEO & Large Business Owner	0	0
	High-pay Professional (Doctor, Lawyer, etc.)	7	4.0
	Engineer	17	9.8
	Other Professional (Professor, Artist, Realtor)	18	10.3
	Service Professional (Nurse, Sales, Secretary)	31	17.8
	Blue-collar Worker	21	12.1
	Self-employed	5	2.9
	Unemployed	1	.6
	Student	16	9.2
	Retiree	48	27.6
	Housewife	6	3.4
	Missing	4	2.3
	Total	174	100.0

Table 5

Demographics of the Chinese-American Sub-group (Gender, Party Affiliation, and Household Income)

		N	%
Gender	Male	160	78.8
	Female	43	21.2
	Total	203	100.0
Party Affiliation	Republican	32	15.8
	Democrat	16	7.9
	Other	140	69.0
	Missing	1	.5
	Total	203	100.0
Household Income	Under \$20,000	16	7.9
	\$20,001-40,000	22	10.8
	\$40,001-60,000	32	15.8
	\$60,001-80,000	27	13.3
	\$80,001-100,000	24	11.8
	Above \$100,000	31	15.3
	Missing	51	25.1
	Total	203	100.0

Table 6

Demographics of the Chinese-American Sub-group (Education and Occupation)

		N	%
Education	Primary Education	3	1.5
	Secondary Education	24	11.8
	College Education	71	35.0
	Graduate Education	93	45.8
	Missing	12	5.9
	- — — — — <u>Total</u> — — — — -	203	100.0
Occupation	CEO & Large Business Owner	2	1.0
·	High-pay Professional (Doctor, Lawyer, etc.)	3	1.5
	Engineer	103	52.2
	Other Professional (Professor, Artist, Realtor)	11	5.4
	Service Professional (Nurse, Sales, Secretary)	18	8.9
	Blue-collar Worker	8	3.9
	Self-employed	5	2.5
	Unemployed	0	0
	Student	13	6.4
	Retiree	20	9.9
	Housewife	11	3.4
	Missing	10	4.9
	Total	174	100.0

However, even though the response rate was a bit below what had been expected and the sample was somewhat skewed, it still served the main purpose of this study, which was a ground-breaking investigation of the media function on the responsibility attribution pattern among different ethnic groups using different media in a multi-cultural setting.

In the survey, the audience's responsibility attribution pattern was measured by a question: "Who is responsible for the issue?" This question was asked following a standard agenda-setting question: "What is the most important issues today?" Because this study attempted to examine the media's effects on the audience's responsibility attribution pattern on both international and national issues, this standard agenda-setting question was slightly modified and broken into two questions: "What are the most important issues in the world?" and "What are the most important issues in the United States?"

In addition to the question about responsibility, measures were taken of subjects' basic demographics, such as gender, income, occupation, education, and affiliation to political parties (see questionnaire in Appendix A).

Media Sample

For the media sample, two media outlets were chosen from the English-language media: the *San Jose Mercury News* and KNTV Channel 11 (television). Copies of the newspaper from May 28 to June 30 and from August 1 to August 31 were collected. For the television sample, prime-time news programs at 6 o'clock were taped for the same periods. The sample of the Chinese-language media consisted mainly of one Chinese-language newspapers: the *World Journal*. This newspaper was chosen because it was the largest and

most widely read Chinese-language newspaper in North America. If anybody reads a Chinese newspaper, he or she is most likely to read this newspaper in North America. The prime news programs of two Chinese-language stations were collected but found unsuitable for this study. First, they were an hour long each. Second and more important, they devoted their coverage almost exclusively to international news. In fact, they were relayed news programs either from Taiwan or from Hong Kong.

To measure the responsibility attribution pattern of these media, a fairly comprehensive content analysis was carried out. Every story and photo in the news sections of all the newspapers was analyzed, and every news story in the television news programs was coded. The coding covered these categories: media type (which medium); position of the story; type of issues covered (international, domestic, or local); size of headline (in column inches); use of photos; use of graphics; total space of story (in column inches); quadrant on page; starting time of story from beginning (in seconds for television news stories); total length of story (in seconds for television); use of visual or video (for television); length of visual or video (in seconds for television); issue topic (a brief description); and responsibility attribution (see Appendix B for details). All together, 10,275 stories and photos were analyzed.

The coding of the responsibility attribution took two steps. First, a brief description was taken from each story about the responsibility attribution. Second, a code number was

assigned to the story according to a coding scheme developed for this study. All together, 12 categories were coded.

As psychological research suggests, the two major types of responsibility attribution: "causal responsibility" and "treatment responsibility" (Iyengar, 1991). "Causal responsibility" emphasizes the origin of a problem, whereas "treatment responsibility" focuses on who or what has the power to alleviate (or forestall alleviation of) of the problem (Iyengar, 1991). In the coding of media's attribution of responsibility, both types of responsibility were treated as "responsibility." The following categories were constructed for the coding of responsibility attribution:

1. Individuals; 2. Society; 3. Nature; 4. Mankind; 5. Others; 6. Self; 7. Religion; 8. Economic forces; 9. Social forces; 10. Cultural forces; 11. Citizens (voters); 12. Political authorities. The coding was done following these guidelines:

1. Individuals

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to individuals if it emphasizes individual activities, individual character deficiencies (such as greed, personality disorders or the desire to avoid working or taking responsible and constructive actions), or it focuses on individual treatment or actions as the solution to the issue/problem.

2. Society

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to society if it focuses on society, the social system, and social conditions as the cause of the issue/problem, or emphasizes societal changes and improvement as the solution to the issue/problem.

3. Nature

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to nature if it focuses on natural conditions such as floods, tornados, earthquakes, droughts and so on as the cause of the issue/problem, or emphasizes changes in or preservation of natural conditions as the solution to the issue/problem.

4. Mankind

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to mankind if it focuses on human beings' actions (as opposed to nature) such as errors committed in an airplane accidents and destruction of nature as the cause of the issue/problem, or emphasizes changes in human behavior and relationship with nature as the solution to the issue/problem.

5. Others

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to others if it focuses on other people, other countries or other racial groups as the cause of the issue/problem, or emphasizes the treatment by others as the solution to the issue/problem.

6. Self

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to self if it focuses on the main players themselves or all people and countries themselves as the cause of the issue/problem, or emphasizes the treatment by the people, groups, countries and "all of us" as the solution to the issue/problem.

7. Religion

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to religion if it focuses on various religions, churches and religious groups as the cause of the issue/problem, or emphasizes the treatment by all religions and religious groups as the solution to the issue/problem.

8. Economic forces

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to economic forces if it focuses on the operation of the market, investment, production, distribution, stock market, and so on as the cause of the issue/problem, or emphasizes the treatment by economic activities as the solution to the issue/problem.

9. Social forces

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to social forces if it focuses on social movements such as human rights and civil rights movement, non-governmental social institutions, grass-roots political activities, and so on,

as the cause of the issue/problem, or emphasizes the treatment by those forces as the solution to the issue/problem.

10. Cultural forces

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to cultural forces if it focuses on such factors as customs, habits, ethics, entertainment, tradition, and the mass media as the cause of the issue/problem, or emphasizes the treatment by those forces as the solution to the issue/problem.

11. Citizens (voters)

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to citizens who do or do not exercise their voting rights or their responsibility as the cause of the issue/problem, or emphasizes the treatment by citizens as the solution to the issue/problem.

12. Political authorities

An item (or survey response) is coded as attributing responsibility for the issue to political authorities such as the government, military, legislature and law enforcement as the cause of the issue/problem, or emphasizes the treatment by authorities as the solution to the issue/problem.

Three coders did the coding. An intercoder reliability test was conducted before the actual coding of all categories. Ideally, 10% of the content should be included in the test. However, because the sample of the media content was extremely large (10,275 items), it

was impractical to test the intercoder reliability on 10% of them. Therefore, a random sample of 112 stories from a full week of the observed period was selected from all the media, averaging four per day for each medium.

The formula used to test the intercoder reliability was:

Reliability =
$$\frac{M}{N + N + N}$$

M is the number of agreements, and N is the total number of judgments made.

Despite extensive training of the coders and fine-tuning of the category definitions, the intercoder reliability score was not extremely high because of the complexity and subtlety of assigning responsibility. For the intercoder reliability test of the coding of newspaper stories, 10 categories were entered into the **equation**: media type; position of the story; type of story; type of issue; size of headline; use of photos; **use of graphics**; total space of story; and responsibility attribution. The result was:

Most of the disagreement came in the coding of some stories that covered international issues in which there were not clear main players or too many players.

For the test of intercoder reliability in the coding of television news, five categories were entered into the equation: starting time of story from beginning; total length of story;

use of visual or video; length of visual or video; and responsibility attribution. The result was:

Reliability =
$$\frac{3(114)}{140+140+140}$$
 = .81

Ideally, 10% of the content should be entered into the co-coder reliability test. However, because the sample of the media content was extremely large (10,358 items), it was impractical and unnecessary to test the co-coder reliability on 10% (or 1,035) of them. We selected 140 stories from a full week to do the test. Because these stories were picked through a systematic sampling procedure, we assumed that they were fairly representative of the mixture of the stories in the entire sample. Indeed, when we checked the variety of these stories, we found that they reflected the entire sample fairly well. Of course, a larger number of items could have been used for the test to ensure a higher level of confidence in the co-coder reliability.

In the coding of responses from the survey subjects, only the first response was used because many subjects did not provide answers to issues whose rank was lower than the top issue.

To examine the issues, the content of the media and the responses were coded into 18 categories of issues. First, a brief description was taken from each story/response. Second, a code number was assigned to the story/response according to a coding scheme developed by Mocombs and Zhu (1995) and slightly modified for this study. All together,

200 categories were coded. Third, for the final analysis, all these individual categories were lumped into 18 major categories. They were: 1. Job; 2. Money; 3. Spending; 4. Welfare; 5. General Economic; 6 General international issues; 8. Asia/China; 9. Middle East; 10. Latin America/Africa; 11. Law and order; 12. Health; 13. Environment; 14. Education; 15. Government/political; 16. Social relations; 17. Technology; 18. Miscellaneous. (See Appendix C for details.)

Chapter IV

Results

The results of the study supported some of the hypotheses while rejecting others. Overall, the evidence shows that the two types of media attributed responsibility differently, that the responsibility attribution patterns of the general public and the Chinese-American groups were significantly different, and that the attribution of responsibility by some subjects among the Chinese-American audience groups was significantly associated with the attribution of responsibility in the Chinese-language media over time, indicating that there may be a media effect.

Hypothesis 1: The attribution of responsibility will be different between the Chinese-language media and the mainstream English-language media.

This hypothesis, tested by six chi-square analyses, found fairly strong support from the content data. Table 7 shows a comparison between the overall attribution in the Chinese-language media and that of the mainstream English-language media based on the rankings of different types of responsibility attribution. Statistically, there was a significant difference between the two sets of responsibility attribution (χ^2 (11, N=10,275) = 1670.5, p < .001) (see Table 7). The parallel list of responsibility attribution in Table 7 shows that the Chinese-language media emphasized, in ranked order, the responsibility of such factors as individuals, political authorities, self, nature, and economic forces, while the mainstream English-language media focused on the responsibility of such factors as the political

authorities, individuals, social forces, others and nature. The difference was most outstanding in the top two responsibility attribution items. While the Chinese-language media ranked individuals (43% of the stories) and political authorities (26%) as the first and second source of responsibility, the mainstream English-language media reversed the order, holding political authorities as the first source of responsibility (31% of stories) and individuals as the second source (19%).

To check whether there was a significant difference between the top three attributions in the two types of media, these attributions were singled out and put through another chi-square test. As Table 8 shows, there was a statistically significant difference between the two sets of attributions (χ^2 (11, N=10,275) = 1670.5, p < .001). The top three attributions of responsibility in the mainstream English-language media were political authorities, individuals and self, while the top three attributions in the Chinese-language media were individuals, political authorities and self.

Table 7

A Comparison of the Overall Attribution of Responsibility in the Mainstream Englishlanguage Media and in the Chinese-language Media

Media Mainstream English					e	
Ran	k Attribution	N	%	Attribution	N	%
1	Political Authorities	641	30.8	Individuals	3,531	43.2
2	Individuals	403	19.4	Political Authorities	2,150	26.3
3	Social Forces	261	12.6	Self	938	11.5
4	Others	195	9.4	Nature	456	5.6
5	Nature	143	6.9	Economic Forces	427	5.2
6	Mankind	129	6.2	Mankind	356	4.4
7	Self	123	5.9	Others	235	2.9
8	Economic Forces	81	3.9	Religion	36	.4
9	Cultural Forces	50	2.4	Citizens (Voters)	23	.3
10	Religion	24	1.2	Social Forces	18	.2
11	Society	20	1.1	Society	10	.1
12	Citizens (Voters)	8	.4	Cultural Forces	1	.0
	Total	2078	100.0		8,197	100.0

 χ^2 (11, N = 10,275) = 1670.5, p < .001

Table 8

A Comparison of the Top Three Attributions of Responsibility in the Mainstream Englishlanguage Media and in the Chinese-language Media

Me	Media Mainstream English			lish Chinese			
Rar	ık Attribution	N	%	Attribution	N	%	
1	Political Authorities	641	54.9	Individuals	3,531	53.3	
2	Individuals	403	34.5	Political Authorities	2,150	32.5	
3	Self	123	10.5	Self	938	14.2	
	Total	1167	99.9		6619	100	

$$\chi^2$$
 (2, N = 7786) = 218.5, p < .001

When the responsibility attribution in those two types of media was broken down and examined at the two different times observed for this study, the difference was also obvious and significant. Table 9 shows a comparison between the responsibility attribution in those media in May/June 1996 (or Time 1 in this study) based on the rankings of responsibility items. All together, 5,535 stories were analyzed. The results of the statistical analysis demonstrate a statistically significant difference between the two sets of responsibility attribution(χ^2 (11, N=5,535) =951.7, p < .001) (see Table 9). The general pattern of responsibility attribution at this point in time was similar to the overall pattern in both time periods. Where the Chinese-language media attributed responsibility to individuals, self and nature, the mainstream English-language media attributed responsibility to political authorities, social forces and others. An examination of the top three attributions of

responsibility confirmed this pattern. As Table 10 shows, when the top three attributions were singled out and analyzed, the results were similarly to the pattern of all attributions. There was a statistically significant difference between the top three attributions of responsibility in the mainstream English-language media and those in the Chinese-language media (χ^2 (2, N = 4221) = 141.9, p < .001) (see Table 10).

The analysis of 4,742 stories for the attribution of responsibility in the two types of media in August 1996 (or Time 2 in this study) shows very similar results. Over time, the pattern of responsibility attribution in both the Chinese-language media and the mainstream English-language media remained very consistent. The chi-square analysis shows that there was statistically significant difference between the two types of media in their attribution of responsibility at the second point in time ($\chi^2(17, N=9,230)=1,504.3, p<.001$) (see Table 11). An analysis of the top three attributions of responsibility in both types of media yields similar results and shows that there was a statistically significant difference ($\chi^2(2, N=3565)=80.1, p<.001$). While the mainstream English-language media emphasized the responsibility of political authorities, the Chinese-language media put more weight on individuals.

All those analyses demonstrate that the patterns of responsibility attribution in the Chinese-language media and in the mainstream English-language media were significantly different over time and at each point in time. The results, therefore, supported Hypothesis 1.

Table 9

A Comparison of the Attribution of Responsibility in English-language Media and the Attribution of Responsibility in the Chinese-language Media at Time I (May/ June 1996)

Me	dia Mainstream	English		Chinese			
Rar	ık Attribution	N	%	Attribution	N	%	
1	Political Authorities	351	30.6	Individuals	1,876	42.9	
2	Individuals	210	18.3	Political Authorities	1,091	25.0	
3	Social Forces	146	12.7	Self	611	14.0	
4	Others	119	10.4	Nature	209	4.8	
5	Self	82	7.2	Mankind	200	4.6	
6	Nature	72	6.3	Economic Forces	186	4.3	
7	Mankind	61	5.3	Others	159	3.6	
8	Economic Forces	45	3.7	Citizens	16	.4	
9	Cultural Forces	28	2.4	Religion	14	.2	
10	Religion	14	1.2	Social Forces	5	.1	
11	Society	10	.9	Society	2	.1	
12	Citizens(Voters)	8	.7	Cultural Forces			
	Total	1,164	100.0		4,371	100.0	

 $[\]chi^2$ (11, N = 5,535)=951.7, p < .001

Table 10

A Comparison of the Top Three Attributions of Responsibility in the Mainstream English-language Media and in the Chinese-language Media at Time 1 (May/ June 1996)

Me	dia Mainstream	English	glish Chinese			
Rai	nk Attribution	N	%	Attribution	N	%
1	Political Authorities	351	54.9	Individuals	1,876	52.4
2	Individuals	403	34.5	Political Authorities	1,091	30.5
3	Self	123	10.5	Self	611	17.1
	Total	643	99.9		3578	100

 χ^2 (2, N = 4221) = 141.9, p < .001

Table 11

A Comparison of the Attribution of Responsibility in the Mainstream English-language Media and the Attribution of Responsibility in the Chinese-language Media at Time 2 (August 1996)

Med	lia Mainstream E	English		Chinese	;	
Ranl	k Attribution	N	%	Attribution	N	%
1	Political Authorities	290	31.1	Individuals	1,655	43.4
2	Individuals	193	20.7	Political Authorities	1,059	27.8
3	Social Forces	115	12.3	Self	327	8.6
4	Others	76	8.2	Nature	247	6.5
5	Nature	71	7.6	Economic Forces	241	6.3
6	Mankind	68	7.3	Mankind	156	4.1
7	Self	41	4.2	Others	76	2.0
8	Economic Forces	36	3.9	Religion	22	.6
9	Cultural Forces	22	2.4	Social Forces	13	.3
10	Society	10	1.1	Citizens (Voters)	7	.2
11	Religion	10	1.1	Society	6	.1
12	Citizens (Voters)			Cultural Forces	1	.0
	Total	932	100.0		3,810	100.0

 $[\]chi^2$ (11, N = 4,742) = 739.7, p < .001

Table 12

A Comparison of the Top Three Attributions of Responsibility in the Mainstream Englishlanguage Media and in the Chinese-language Media at Time 2 (August 1996)

Me	dia Mainstream	tream English Chinese				
Rai	ak Attribution	N	%	Attribution	N	%
1	Political Authorities	290	55.3	Individuals	1,655	54.4
2	Individuals	193	36.8	Political Authorities	1,059	34.8
3	Self	41	7.8	Self	327	10.7
	Total	524	99.9		3041	99.9

 χ^2 (2, N = 3565) = 80.1, p < .001

Hypothesis 2: The attribution of responsibility by the Chinese audience will be different from the attribution of responsibility by the general public.

To test this hypothesis, eight chi-square analyses were conducted of the patterns of responsibility attribution among the Chinese-American and general public audiences on international and U.S. domestic issues at two points in time during the period of this study. The evidence was mixed. When all the attributions of responsibility on U.S. domestic issues at Time 1 were examined, the patterns of responsibility attribution among the two audience groups were statistically different (χ^2 (10, N=332) = 20.8, p<.05) (see Table 13). However, when the top three attributions of responsibility in the two general audience groups were singled out and compared through a chi-square test, the picture was different. There statistically significant difference disappeared (χ^2 (2, N=302) = 5.1, p<.08) (see Table 14).

On international issues at Time 1, the overall patterns of responsibility attribution in the two groups were not significantly different (χ^2 (11, N = 336) = 16.6, p < .12) (see Table 15). This finding was confirmed by a chi-square test of the top three attributions of (χ^2 (2, N = 270) = 1.5, p < .47) (see Table 16).

On U.S. domestic issues at Time 2, the two groups were found to be significantly different when all the attributions of responsibility were examined (χ^2 (10, N = 302) = 26.1, p < .01) (see Table 17). This was confirmed by the comparison of the top three attributions of responsibility in the two groups (χ^2 (2, N = 265) = 10.6, p < .01) (see Table 18).

On international issues at Time 2, the overall patterns of responsibility attribution in the two groups shows a statistically significant difference (χ^2 (9, N=225)= 31.8, p < .001) (see Table 19). A test of the top three attributions also shows a statistically significant difference (χ^2 (2, N=205) = 8.1, p < .05) (see Table 20).

Although the evidence was mixed, especially when the top three attributions were compared, the overall evidence seems to lean toward some support to the hypothesis.

Table 13

A Comparison of the Attribution of Responsibility on U.S. Domestic Issues by the General Public and by the Chinese-American Audience at Time 1 (May/June 1996)

Aud	lience General Public	;	Chinese-American					
Ran	Rank Attribution		%	Attribution	N	%		
1	Political Authorities	73	43.2	Political Authorities	73	42.2		
2	Individuals	55	32.5	Individuals	57	32.9		
3	Others	19	11.2	Others	25	14.5		
4	Economic Forces	11	6.5	Society	7	4.0		
5	Society	5	3.0	Self	3	1.5		
6	Citizens (Voters)	3	1.8	Citizens (Voters)	3	1.5		
7	Religion	2	1.2	Economic Forces	2	1.2		
8	Mankind	1	.6	Cultural Forces	2	1.2		
9	Nature			Nature	1	.6		
10	Social Forces			Mankind				
11	Cultural Forces			Religion				
12	Self			Social Forces				
	Total	169	100.0		173	100.0		

 χ^2 (11, N = 332) = 20.8, p < .05

Table 14

A Comparison of the Top Three Attributions of Responsibility on U.S. Domestic Issues by the General Public and by the Chinese-American Audience at Time 1 (May/June 1996)

Me	edia Mainstream	Mainstream English			Chinese		
Raı	nk Attribution	N	%	Attribution	N	%	
1	Individuals	73	49.7	Political Authorities	73	47.1	
2	Political authorities	55	37.4	Individuals	57	36.8	
3	Others	19	12.9	Others	25	16.1	
	Total	147	100		155	100	

 χ^2 (2, N = 302) = 5.1, p < .08

Table 15

A Comparison of the Attribution of Responsibility on International Issues by the General Public and by the Chinese-American Audience at Time 1 (May/June 1996)

Audience General Public		c		Chinese-American				
Ran	Rank Attribution		%	Attribution	N	%		
1	Individuals	78	47.6	Individuals	84	48.8		
2	Political Authorities	30	18.3	Political Authorities	36	20.9		
3	Others	24	14.6	Others	18	8.9		
4	Religion	8	4.9	Self	14	8.1		
5	Economic Forces	6	3.7	Society	5	2.9		
6	Society	5	3.0	Citizens (Voters)	4	2.0		
7	Mankind	4	2.4	Religion	4	2.0		
8	Self	3	1.8	Economic Forces	4	2.0		
9	Social Forces	2	1.2	Social Forces	1	.6		
10	Cultural Forces	2	1.2	Cultural Forces	1	.6		
11	Citizens (Voters)	2	1.2	Nature	1	.6		
12	Nature			Mankind				
	Total	164	100.0		172	100.0		

 χ^2 (11, N = 336) = 16.6, p < .12

Table 16

A Comparison of the Top Three Attributions of Responsibility on International Issues by the General Public and by the Chinese-American Audience at Time 1 (May/June 1996)

Media Mainstream English			Chinese				
Rank Attribution		N	%	% Attribution A		%	
1	Individuals	78	59.1	Individuals	84	60.9	
2	Political authorities	30	22.7	Political Authorities	36	26.1	
3	Others	24	18.2	Others	18	13.0	
	Total	132	100		138	100	

 χ^2 (2, N = 270) = 1.5, p < .47

Table 17

A Comparison of the Attribution of Responsibility on U.S. Domestic Issues by the General Public and the Chinese-American Audience at Time 2 (August 1996)

Audience General Public				Chinese-Arr	nerican	· <u></u> .
Ran	k Attribution	N	N % Attribution N		%	
1	Individuals	64	44.4	Political Authorities	78	49.4
2	Political Authorities	49	34.0	Individuals	45	28.5
3	Others	11	7.6	Others	18	11.4
4	Social Forces	8	5.6	Society	7	4.4
5	Society	3	2.1	Citizens (Voters)	5	3.2
6	Citizens (Voters)	3	2.1	Economic Forces	3	1.9
7	Economic Forces	3	2.1	Self	1	.6
8	Religion	2	1.4	Cultural Forces	1	.6
9	Mankind	1	.6	Nature		
10	Nature			Mankind		
11	Self			Religion	- -	
12	Cultural Forces			Social Forces		
	Total	144	100.0		158	100.0

 χ^{2} (11, N = 302) = 26.1, p < .01

Table 18

A Comparison of the Top Three Attributions of Responsibility on U.S. Domestic Issues by the General Public and by the Chinese-American Audience at Time 2 (August 1996)

Media Mainstream Engli		English	h Chinese				
Rank Attribution		N	%	Attribution A		%	
1	Individuals	64	51.6	Political Authorities	78	55.3	
2	Political authorities	49	39.5	Individuals	45	31.9	
3	Others	11	8.9	Others	18	12.8	
	Total	124	100		141	100	

 χ^2 (2, N = 265) = 10.6, p < .01

Table 19

A Comparison of the Attribution of Responsibility on International Issues by the General Public and by the Chinese-American Audience at Time 2 (August 1996)

Audience General Public		c		Chinese-Am	nerican	
Ran	k Attribution	n N % Attribution		N	%	
1	Individuals	64	53.3	Individuals	58	46.4
2	Others	18	15.0	Political Authorities	35	28.8
3	Political Authorities	17	14.2	Others	12	9.6
4	Religion	8	6.7	Self	11	8.8
5	Mankind	5	4.2	Society	4	3.2
6	Cultural Forces	4	3.3	Mankind	I	.8
7	Economic Forces	2	1.7	Religion	I	.8
8	Society	1	.8	Economic Forces	I	.8
9	Self	1	.8	Cultural Forces	1	.8
10	Nature			Nature		
11	Cultural Forces			Social Forces		
12	Citizens (Voters)			Citizens (Voters)		
	Total	120	100.0		125	100.0

 χ^2 (9, N = 225)= 31.8, p < .001

Table 20

A Comparison of the Top Three Attributions of Responsibility on International Issues by the General Public and by the Chinese-American Audience at Time 2 (August 1996)

Media Mainstream Eng.		English	ish Chinese				
Rai	nk Attribution	N	%	Attribution	N	%	
1	Individuals	64	64.6	Individuals	58	54.7	
2	Others	18	18.2	Political Authorities	36	34.0	
3	Political Authorities	17	17.2	Others	12	11.3	
	Total	99	100		106	100	

 χ^2 (2, N = 205) = 8.1, p < .05

Hypothesis 3: The general public's attribution of responsibility will be significantly associated with the mainstream English-language media's attribution of responsibility; its attribution of responsibility at Time 2 will be significantly associated with the media's attribution of responsibility at Time 1.

This hypothesis was not supported. To test this hypothesis, two cross-lagged Spearman rank-order correlation analyses were conducted with three groups that used the mainstream English-language media: Group A (the general public), Group B (Chinese-Americans who mainly used the English-language media), and Group D (Chinese-Americans who used both Chinese-language and mainstream English-language media). One analysis was on the relationship between the responsibility attribution ranking patterns of these groups and that in the English-language media on international issues at both Time 1 (May/June 1996) and Time 2 (August 1996). The other analysis was on the same relationship in the area of U.S. domestic issues. The analyses were based on data aggregated out from the individual data.

As Figure 2 shows, the responsibility attribution pattern of Group A (the general public group) was not significantly correlated with the responsibility attribution pattern of the English-language media on international issues at both Time 1 (r = .25, p > .05) and Time 2 (r = .23, p > .05). The cross-lagged correlations show a similar relationship. This group's responsibility attribution pattern at Time 2 was not significantly correlated with the media's responsibility attribution pattern at Time 1 (r = .13, p > .05).

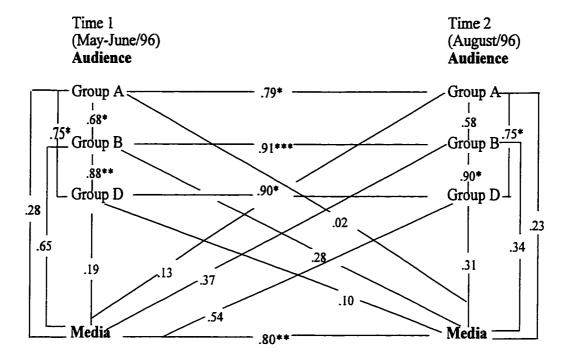


Figure 2. Cross-lagged Spearman Correlations between the Attribution of Responsibility in the English-language Media and Attribution of Responsibility by Three English-media-using Groups on International Issues in May/June and August 1996

On U.S. domestic issues, the evidence for Hypothesis 3 was equally weak. As Figure 3 shows, all the correlations between Group A's responsibility attribution pattern and the media's responsibility attribution pattern were fairly weak and statistically insignificant. The parallel correlation coefficient was r = .45, p > .05 at Time 1, and r = .40, p > .05 at Time

2. The cross-lagged correlation was r = .46, p > .05. None of the correlation coefficients was significant at the p < .05 level.

All these statistics rejected this hypothesis, indicating that the responsibility attribution pattern in the mainstream English-language media had very little, if any, impact on the responsibility attribution pattern of the general public.

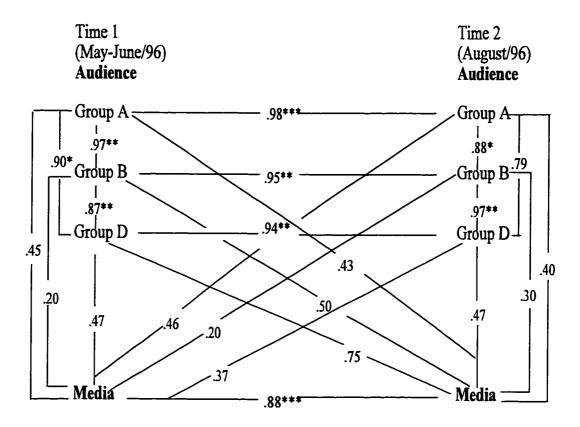


Figure 3. Cross-lagged Spearman Correlations between the Attribution of Responsibility by the English-language Media and Attribution of Responsibility by Three English-media-using Groups on U.S. Domestic Issues in May/June and August 1996

Hypothesis 4: The attribution of responsibility by the Chinese audience members who mainly use the English-language media will be significantly associated with the attribution of responsibility in the mainstream English-language media; their attribution at

Time 2 will be significantly associated with the media's attribution of responsibility at Time 1.

Based on the assumption that people's responsibility attribution pattern would be influenced more by what media they use than by what race they belong to, this study attempted to establish such a relationship. However, the data rejected Hypothesis 4 completely. As Figure 2 shows, the responsibility attribution pattern of Group B (Chinese-Americans who used primarily the English-language media) and the responsibility attribution pattern of the mainstream English-language media on international issues was very weak and insignificantly correlated both in the same time periods or across time. The lowest Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient was .34 (p > .05) at Time 2, and the highest was .65 (p >.05) at Time 1. The cross-lagged correlation coefficient was .37 (p > .05) with the media at Time 1. On U.S. domestic issues, the correlations were even weaker. The parallel correlation yielded coefficients of .20 (p > .05) at Time 1 and .30 (p > .05) at Time 2. The cross-lagged correlation with the media at Time 1 was .20, p > .05. Clearly, for this group, their responsibility attribution pattern on international issues did not correspond to that of the English-language media, and there was no evidence at all that the English-language media influenced this group's responsibility attribution pattern on both international and U.S. domestic issues.

The same was true between the responsibility attribution pattern of Group D (Chinese-Americans who used both the English-language and the Chinese-language media)

and the that of the English-language media. All the correlations were weak and statistically insignificant. The lowest correlation was found between the this group's responsibility attribution pattern at Time 1 and the media's pattern at the same time (r = .19, p > .05) on international issues. The two cross-lagged correlation coefficients that stood for media effects were .54 (p > .05) on international issues and .31 (p > .05) on U.S. domestic issues. (See Figure 3 and 4.)

Hypothesis 5: The attribution of responsibility by the Chinese audience members who mainly use the Chinese-language media will be significantly associated with the attribution of responsibility in the Chinese-language media; their attribution of responsibility at Time 2 will be significantly associated with the media's attribution of responsibility at Time 1.

This hypothesis found some interesting and puzzling evidence. To test this hypothesis, all the three Chinese-American groups were entered into the analysis. The reason why Group B (Chinese-Americans who primarily used the English-language media) was included was that it might serve as a good comparison and a check on correlations by chance. As in the case of the English-language media, two correlational runs were carried: one on international issues and the other on U.S. domestic issues.

The Spearman correlation coefficients presented in Figure 4 show that on international issues, the responsibility attribution patterns of the two groups that used mainly the Chinese-language media and both the Chinese-language and English-language media did

not correspond in any statistically significant way with that of the Chinese-language media both at the same time or across time. The correlations were all weak and insignificant, with the highest coefficient being .67, p > .05 between Group C (mainly Chinese-language media) and the media at Time 2 and across time (with the media at Time 1). A puzzling result was the correlation coefficient for the relationship between the media's responsibility attribution at Time 1 and Group B's responsibility attribution at Time 2, which stood at .78, p < .05. This indicates that Group B (Chinese-Americans who used mainly the mainstream English-language media) might have been influenced by the Chinese-language media's responsibility attribution on international issues – a finding that goes directly against the hypothesis (see Figure 4).

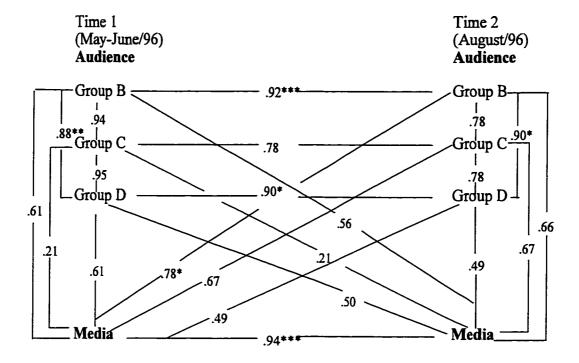


Figure 4. Cross-lagged Spearman Correlations between the Attribution of Responsibility by the Chinese-language Media and Attribution of Responsibility by Three Chinese-American Groups on International Issues in May/June and August 1996

However, in the area of U.S. domestic issues, the picture was drastically different. As Figure 5 shows, the responsibility attribution pattern of two groups demonstrated a significant correlation with the responsibility pattern of the Chinese-language media at Time 1 (.67, p < .05 for Group B; .73, p < .05 for Group C). At Time 2, the responsibility

attribution of Group C was also significantly correlated with that of the Chinese-language media (.58, p < .05). These statistics gave partial support to the first part of the hypothesis.

When the cross-lagged correlation was examined, the evidence supporting the hypothesis appeared even stronger. The responsibility attribution patterns of all the Chinese-American groups at Time 2 were significantly correlated with that of the Chinese-language media at Time 1. Even though the correlation between Group C (which used mainly the Chinese-language media) and the Chinese-language media was not the highest as hypothesized, it was at least as strong as that between Group B and the media (.62, p < .05). The correlation between Group D at Time 2 and the media at Time 1 was also in the hypothesized direction (.59, p < .05). If one looked at only the cross-lagged correlation between Group C and Group D at Time 2 on the one hand and the media at Time 1 on the other, a natural conclusion would be that the hypothesis was clearly supported. However, the fairly strong correlation between Group B (the group that used mainly the Englishlanguage media) and the media at Time 1 and across time (with the media at Time 1) made the whole picture fuzzy. If the Chinese-media had had a clear influence on the responsibility attribution of the Chinese-American audience, such a relationship should have demonstrated itself only between the media and the two groups that used those media - not the group that used mainly the English-language media.

For these reasons, what can be said is that this hypothesis found only partial support.

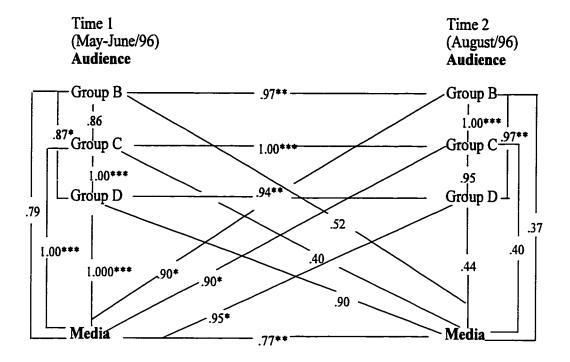


Figure 5. Cross-lagged Spearman Correlations between the Attribution of Responsibility by the Chinese-language Media and Attribution of Responsibility by Three Chinese-American Groups on U.S. Domestic Issues in May/June and August 1996

Chapter V

Conclusion and Discussion

Built on and extending the literature of media's agenda-setting, framing and responsibility attribution, this study focused on an investigation of the media's effects on the audience's attribution of responsibility in a multi-media and multi-cultural setting. It assumed that as the United States has gradually grown from the myth of a "melting pot" to a "cultural and racial mosaic," different types of media, especially ethnic media, would have different effects on their audiences. Based on such an assumption, this study set out to test a number of hypotheses related to the differentiating effects of the mainstream English-language media and the Chinese-language media on the general public and the Chinese-American audiences.

It was found that the responsibility attribution patterns of the two types of media were indeed different, as shown by the results of three chi-square analyses presented in the previous chapter. It was also found that in most cases, the responsibility attribution pattern of the Chinese-American subjects differed significantly from that of the general public. Where the mainstream English-language media and the general public tended to hold political authorities and social forces responsible for a lot of issues internationally and domestically, the Chinese-language media and the Chinese audience tended to hold individuals and "self" responsible. These two findings clearly supported the basic

assumption and the first two hypotheses of this study and directly challenged the notion of a "melting pot." Given the fact that cultures differ from each other and, as a result, the attribution of responsibility differs, these findings were not completely a surprise. But did the different responsibility attribution patterns of those two types different media have a differentiating impact on their users?

The evidence was quite mixed. The data rejected most of the primary hypotheses on the different media's differentiating effect on the two types of audience. The mainstream English-language media did not appear to influence the responsibility attribution pattern of either the general public or the Chinese-American subjects who used those media. As Figure 2 through Figure 5 in the previous chapter show, the responsibility attribution pattern of the mainstream English-language media did not have any significant correlation with that of the three groups of audience that used those media both at the same time and across time on international and U.S. domestic issues. However, the data on the relationship between the responsibility pattern of the Chinese-language media and that of the Chinese-American audiences were interesting and partially supported the hypothesis. Although only Group B (the one that used mainly the English-language media) registered a statistically significant correlation on international issues at Time 2 with and Chinese-language media at Time 1, all three Chinese-American groups demonstrated a statistically significant correlation on U.S. domestic issues at Time 2 with the Chinese-language media at Time 1. Despite the fact that the significant correlation between Group B and the Chinese-language media made the

picture fuzzy, the other two groups' relationship with the Chinese-language media was obviously in the hypothesized direction.

Several reasons may account for this interesting mix. First, there might be an effect of duration of responsibility attribution patterns. As McCombs and Zhu (1995) found in a study of the duration of the American public's agendas from 1954 to 1994, the average duration of the public's agendas was 18 months and that the public held its agendas for as long as 40 months or as briefly as 1.5 months. Even though that study did not deal with responsibility attribution patterns, the same could be said of these patterns. The two waves of the current study were carried out a month apart based on some literature of media's shortened agenda-setting and framing time in today's information age. It might well be that when the mass media changed its attribution of responsibility together with the issues they covered, the audience might still be locked in its responsibility attribution patterns of the previous period.

Second, unlike agenda-setting effects, which emphasize the cognitive impact of the salience of issues that change very frequently with the short attention span of the mass media, the attribution of responsibility is an attitude effect that is often influenced by long-standing cultural and ideological dispositions (Iyengar, 1991). Even though the political and cultural context (of which the mass media are an important part) is an major source of influence on people's attribution of responsibility, it is logical to assert that the audience's

responsibility attribution patterns are not easily swayed by the media's attribution of responsibility that ebb with ephemeral "current" issues.

Third, as Liao (1997) found about the agenda-setting effect of the same mass media on the same audience groups in a separate study, there was very little evidence to indicate that the two types of media set the agenda for those audience groups. It was possible that the media covered some issues and attributed responsibility in those specific issues while the audience was thinking about almost completely different issues. As a result, the attribution of responsibility differed.

Fourth, for the Chinese-American audience members, many of whom are first-generation immigrants, what the Chinese-language media covered as international issues in such places as Taiwan, mainland China and Hong Kong was actually "obtrusive" issues they knew fairly well and held deeply entrenched predispositions. Therefore, it was difficult for the mass media to change those predispositions in a short span of time. In contrast, the U.S. domestic issues the Chinese-language covered were "unobtrusive" issues for many Chinese-American audience members. Consequently, how those media covered those issues and to whom the responsibility was attributed might have a noticeable impact.

Fifth, although the statistically significant correlation between Group B (made up of Chinese-American subjects who used mainly the English-language media) and the Chinese-language media in the attribution of responsibility on U.S. domestic issues appeared puzzling, it might not be a big upset if one considers the fact that many of those people were

new immigrants who shared the basic cultural and political dispositions with other Chinese-Americans despite the fact that they chose to use the English-language media more than other media. Another reason was probably that they might be influenced by interpersonal communication with other Chinese-Americans in a "two-step flow" fashion.

Contributions to the Field

This study contributes to the field in several ways. First, it has plowed an area that has rarely been investigated -- the impact of diverse media on the audience's responsibility attribution patterns in a multi-racial setting. Although the theoretical importance of the findings is limited because of the low return rate, the general conceptualization and many of the findings have laid a foundation for future investigations.

Second, it has yielded some interesting findings that challenge the notion of "melting pot" and point to the diversifying role of the mass media, especially ethnic media, in an increasingly diverse United States.

Third, it offers accumulation of knowledge on an important extension of research on the media's framing effects. As framing has increasingly been considered a second dimension of agenda-setting, the attribution of responsibility is shown to be an important dimension of framing. While Liao's study (1997) suggests that there has apparently emerged a public-sphere community that thinks about a different set of issues than that presented in the media, this study shows that members of this community view those issues differently from each other.

Limitations of the Study and Future Research

Although this study started out as an ambitious project, it suffered from several limitations. The major limitation was the low return rate, which, to a great extent, could not be well controlled by the researcher. Because of this low return rate, the audience sample was skewed, making it extremely difficult to generalize the findings.

Another limitation was the relatively small number of survey subjects and the relatively large number of responsibility attribution categories that are inherent in research that examines the overall pattern of responsibility attribution. Because of the small number of subjects under each of the category of responsibility attribution and the resultant lack of variance, the researcher couldn't effectively examine the attribution of responsibility attribution on specific issues.

Future research can build on what has been done in this study and avoid the limitations. Ideally, an experiment should be carried out that focuses on a handful of important but specific issues using the content of the different media as the stimuli to avoid the possibility that the media and the audience are thinking about different issues and to establish a direct causal relationship.

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Appendix A

1996 Agenda-setting Survey in Santa Clara County

	Serial Number _	Phone Number
		Date:
Hello! We are a research team at Sar	n Jose University.	We are conducting a survey of
what you think are the most importan		
kindly answer the following question		
1. What are the most important issues	s in the <u>world</u> toda	ay? I will give you a rank order.
(1) The number one issue is:	(1) Who	is responsible?
(2) The number two issue is:		
(3) The number three issue is:	(3) Who	is responsible?
(4) The number four issue is:	(4) Who	is responsible?
(5) The number five issue is:	(5) Who	is responsible?
(6) The number six issue is:	(6) Who	is responsible?
(7) The number seven issue is:	(7) Who	is responsible?
2. What are the most important issues	in the United Sta	ates today? Please rank the issues
according to their importance.		
(1) The number one issue is:	(1) Who	is responsible?
(2) The number two issue is:		
(3) The number three issue is:	(3) Who	is responsible?
(4) The number four issue is:	(4) Who	is responsible?
(5) The number five issue is:	(5) Who	is responsible?
(6) The number six issue is:	(6) Who	is responsible?
(7) The number seven issue is:	(7) Who	is responsible?
3. Could you tell us what media you i	ise most often?	
(1) Which television channel?		
(2) Which radio station?		
(3) Which newspaper?	-	
4. Finally, we would like to know son	nething about you	•
a. What is you occupation?		-
b. What is your education back	kground?	
c. What political party are you		
(1) Republican		

(2)	Democrat
-----	----------

d. I would like you to indicate your ar	inual household income under the
following categories:	
(1) Below \$20,000	(2) Between \$20,001 and \$40,000
(3) Between \$40,001 and \$60,000	(4) Between \$60,001 and \$80,000
(5) Between \$80,001 and \$100,000	(6) Over \$100,000
e. Could you tell me your ethnicity? _	
h. (Interviewer, please check the follo	wing. If you are unsure, ask.):
(1) Male (2) Female	

Appendix B 1996 Santa Clara County Responsibility Attribution Coding Sheet

	Codes	Verbal description
1. Coder #		
2. Story #		
3. Date: (Month, Day, Year)		
4. Media Type		
5. Page #		
6. Type of story		
7. Type of issue (world=3, national=2, local=1)		
8. Size of headline (inches)	-	
9. Use of photos (yes=1, no=0)		
10. Use of graphics (yes=1, no=0)		
11. Total space of story (in inches)		
12. Quadrant on page		
13. Starting time of story from beginning (in seconds)		
14. Total length of story (in seconds)		
15. Use of visual or video (yes=1, no=0)		
16. Length of visual or video (in seconds)		
17. Issue topic (be a little specific in verbal description)		
18. Responsibility placement		

Coding Criteria and Category Values

- Coder #: Liao=1; Wu=2; He=3.
- Story #: Give every story a serial number. Put this number both in the sheet and on the story. Stories coded by Liao uses a prefix of 1; by Wu a prefix of 2; by He a prefix of 3; and by Merroda a prefix of 4.
- **Type of media**: 1= KNTV (channel 11); 2= KGO (radio); 3= Mercury News; 4= Channel 38 (Chinese); 5=World Journal; 6=Sing Tao; 7= China Press; 8= Channel 44.
- Type of story: 1=straight news; 2=feature and analysis; 3=listing; 4= other.
- Quadrant on page for English newspapers: 1=upper right; 2= upper left; 3=lower right; 4=lower left; 5=upper; 6=lower.
- Quadrant on page for Chinese newspapers: 1=upper right; 2=upper left; 3=lower right; 4=lower left.
- Type of issue: world = 3 (including all diplomatic and foreign relations issues, and all events and issues that take place in countries other than the United States); national =2 (all issues of national importance, implications and scale, excluding purely California and local issues).
- **Issue topic:** For issue topic, check the headline and lead for the summary and be a bit specific. For example, put "China-Taiwan missile crisis," not "China-Taiwan tension," for a story that deals with this crisis.
- **Responsibility**: For the placement of responsibility, also be a bit specific. For example, in the Serbia crisis, you need to put "Serbian government responsible" rather than "government responsible" in the coding sheet.
- Total space: all space, including blank, headline and graphics. 1/3=0.5; 1/2=0.5; 2/3=1.
- **Column**: the calculation of column inches of English-language newspaper stories is based on six columns per page.

Appendix C

Most Important Issue Codes

I. Job

- 101. Unemployment
- 104. Recession
- 105. Recovery
- 106. Labor/unions/strike
- 107. Labor problems, labor management
- 108. Imports/loss of American jobs
- 110. Downsizing
- 143. Trade deficit
- 601. Jobs/employment
- 602. Personal bankruptcy
- 603. NAFTA

II. Money

- 109. Inflation
- 110. Cost of living
- 112. Tax
- 114. Food prices
- 115. Gasoline/oil price
- 117. Housing prices
- 118. Wages/salaries
- 119. Interest rates
- 379. Housing shortage
- 605. Stock market

III. Spending

- 122. Budget/deficit/national debt
- 123. Government spending
- 124. Military spending
- 125. Social spending
- 126. Government spending too much for space
- 606. Clinton/House budget cuts

- 607. Closure of military bases/military budget cuts
- 608. Government size

IV. Welfare

- 128. Elderly/pension
- 131. Social security/welfare
- 132. Too much welfare
- 142. "Fairness" issue: government
- policies favoring rich
- 609. Child support
- 610. Welfare reform

V. General economic

- 134. General economic
- 135. Farms
- 137. Industrial competitiveness
- 144. Spending more for industry
- 145. Other economy (when "general
- economy" is present).
- 146. Small business
- 611. Economic boom
- 612. Business mergers

VI. General international issues

- 201. General war/peace/arms race/arms talks
- 209. Foreign aid
- 210. Defense/military/national security
- 211. Disarmament/nuclear disarmament
- 212. Atomic/nuclear/hydrogen bomb
- 215. Preparedness of navy and army

216. General international problems/foreign relations/foreign policy/international politics

217. Foreign policy, getting along with other nations/helping other countries

218. Failure of summit conference

219. SDI/space spending

220. Imprisoned flyers/POWs

241. Peace/war/nuclear war

244. Peace/war/atomic bomb

245. Second rate nation prestige

246. Nuclear testing/arm race

371. Fear of war

701. Wars

702. United Nations (operation, future and problems)/international

organizations

703. World poverty/hunger

704. World population growth

705. International conflict

706. Global pollution

707. Global economy/distribution of world wealth

708. Trade wars

709. Trade barriers

VII. Soviet/Eastern Europe

221. Soviet

222. Relations/communications with

223. Russia (threat of war with)

224. Republics in Russia

710. Bosnia war

711. Russian nuclear spread

VIII. Asia/China

203. Vietnam

204. Korea(s)

226. Japan

227. Southeast Asia

228. Quemoy, Formosa (Taiwan), China, Communist blockade of offshore islands

229. China, Asia, Taiwan, Hong Kong

230. Communist China

231. Laos

232. Indochina

712. China-Taiwan tension

IX. Middle East

205. Gulf

206. Saddam Hussein (Iraq)

207. Middle East.Persian Gulf crisis

239. Suez Cana, Egypt

240. Situation in Algeria

242. Iranian situation

713. Syria, Lebanon

714. Israel

715. Palestine

X. Latin America/Africa

234. South-Central/Latin America

235. Cuban problem

236. Fear of communism in Cuba

237. Central America

238, Africa

248. Dominican Republican

255. Somalia

375. Iran/Contra

382. Haiti

XI. Law and Order

301. Crimes/juvenile delinquency

302. Terrorism/hijacking

303. Amnesty

304. Spying/espionage

305. CIA/FBI

306. Crimes/law and order/riots

- 307. Lenient judiciary system
- 308. Courts/Supreme court
- 345. Drugs
- 381. Gun control
- 801. Gangs
- 802. Violence
- 803. TV violence

XII. Health

- 309. Health care for the elderly
- 310. Health/medical care
- 311. Number of people without health care
- 312. Rehabilitating returning veterans
- 313. Salk vaccine, polio
- 314. AIDS
- 346. Alcoholism
- 804. Medicare
- 805. Medical care reform

XIII. Environment

- 315. Environment
- 316. Water shortages
- 317. Water pollution
- 318. Litter and garbage
- 319. Air pollution
- 321. Nuclear power plant accidents
- 322. Nuclear test/wastes
- 372. Water/air pollution
- 806. Rain forest

XIV. Education

- 323. Education
- 324. Education costs (quality, tuition, credits)
- 325. Youth/children
- 807. Schools

XV. Government/political

- 243. Communism in U.S.A.
- 247. Federal control
- 326. Government leadership
- 327. Political corruption
- 328. Watergate
- 330. Distrust in government
- 331. Domestic politics, presidential elections
- 334. Apathy
- 335. Moral
- 337. Religion
- 338. Religion and politics
- 339. School prayer
- 340. Racial/civil rights
- 341. Protest/demonstrations
- 342. Draft
- 344. Campus unrest/riots
- 345. Abortion (pro)
- 346. Abortion (con)
- 348. Women issues
- 349. National unity
- 350. General unrest
- 370. Dissatisfaction with government
- 373. Communism/socialism in U.S.
- 374. Big government

XVI. Social Relations

- 351. Slums/urban ghettos
- 352. Poverty
- 353. Food shortages
- 354. Population explosion
- 355. Immigration
- 356. Refugee problems
- 357. Aliens
- 358. Senior citizens
- 360. Communication/lack of/generation gap
- 361. Family problems/child rearing

- 362. Children problems/parental
- discipline
- 364. Busing
- 378. Teen's problems
- 380. Racial tension/problems/relations
- 808. Social injustice
- 809. Minority participation
- 810. Gay/lesbian issues

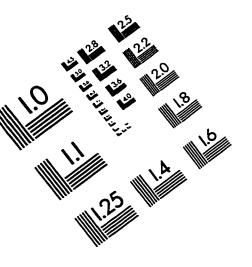
XVII. Technology

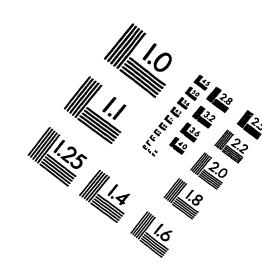
- 320. Energy crisis
- 365. Space
- 366. Technology
- 367. Transportation
- 368. Mass transportation
- 376. Automation
- 391. Traffic
- 901. Energy
- 902. Computer issues
- 903. Internet
- 905. High-tech

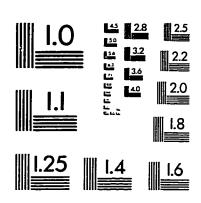
XVIII. Miscellaneous

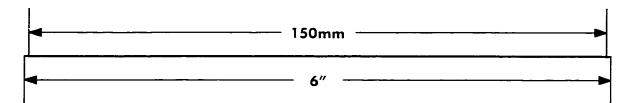
- 401. Miscellaneous (general)
- 402. Miscellaneous (domestic)
- 403. Miscellaneous (foreign)
- 405. Others

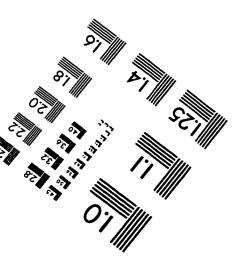
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)













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