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ABSTRACT

The author outlines a study comparing the modes of communication in two newspapers: "Jen Min Jih Pao" (People's Daily) and the Des Moines "Register." He applies a content-category system, based on Hayakawa's trichotomy of sentence types, to the reporting of these two newspapers on five major international events: the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict, the first Chinese H-Bomb, the first U.S. moon landing, the launching of the Chinese satellite, and the killings at Kent State University. Analyses of the kinds of sentences used in different events show that those events involving the achievement of China or the failure of the U.S. were reported in "Jen Min Jih Pao" with a higher percentage of judgment and exhortation sentences; the Des Moines "Register's" approach is exemplified by the large number of report sentences and few inference or judgment sentences. Little interpretation of the report sentences is provided, and even contradictory statements from different sources are reported in the U.S. paper without an attempt to indicate which is correct.  
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A CONTENT ANALYTIC STUDY OF PEOPLE'S DAILY IN ITS SOCIALIZATION  
PROCESS: A CASE IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Theodore J. Marr

1972

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## AN ABSTRACT

The fact that one's individual experience influences his perception is particularly acute in the cross-cultural situation between the United States and the People's Republic of China. In this study, a comparison is made between the mode of communication of Jen Min Jih Pao (People's Daily) in its social context and the Des Moines Register (a local U.S. paper) with its mode of communication.

A content-category system based on S.T. Hayakawa's trichotomy of sentence types was applied to the reporting of these two newspapers on five major international events: 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict, First Chinese H-Bomb, First U.S. moon landing, Chinese satellite, and Kent State killing. The trichotomy types are expanded to six categories: Report sentences/attributed, report sentences/unattributed, inference sentences/labeled, inference sentences/unlabeled, judgment sentences, and sentences unrelated to the event reported (such as, exhortation statements). Report sentences can be used by the two papers for different socialization processes in relation with the inference and judgment sentences. Jen Min Jih Pao has significantly more report sentences than inferences sentences and only a small percentage of judgment sentences. There is a significantly higher percentage of report sentences in Des Moines Register than in Jen Min Jih Pao.

Analyses are also made of the kinds of sentences across different events. It was found that those events which involved the achievement of China and the failure of the United States were reported with higher percentage of judgment and exhortation sentences to promote social reconstruction and ideological education. The Des Moines Register's libertarian approach is exemplified in using a large number of report sentences and few inference or judgment sentences. Very little interpretation of the report sentences is provided. Its chief social function is to provide information efficiently

without regard to the interpretation of such information. Contradictory statements from different sources are reported without an attempt to clarify which is correct.

In this study we see that content analysis provides a very accurate method by which to demonstrate the two approaches in handling news, each striving to serve its own social function but in ways very differently from each other.

## INTRODUCTION

One of the obstacles in communication is our own individual experience which influences our perception. This problem is particularly acute in the cross-cultural situation between United States and the People's Republic of China. But, with the new Nixon policy toward China, it bears upon us to re-examine our understanding of its manner of communication within its own social context. In particular I will examine how the Jen Min Jih Pao (People's Daily) plays its role in the socialization process.

Immediately following Mao Tse Tung's takeover of mainland China, he delineated a system of communication to propagate his thoughts.<sup>1</sup> It is a very simple but immensely efficient one at the center of which is the Jen Min Jih Pao. Frederick Yu summarized the function of this central organ:

The key link in the entire communication system is Jen Min Jih Pao, through which the Department of propaganda operates and to which all papers in the nation turn for guidance and direction. . . . What is published in Jen Min Jih Pao is reprinted or quoted in Party newspapers at different levels, special newspapers (such as Worker's Daily of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, Youth Daily of the Democratic Youth Corps, etc.) and other trade, professional or special-purpose publications. Its reports are carried by the People's Broadcasting station in Peking, which transmits them to stations in the provinces and other cities, and these stations in turn send the word further down through the radio broadcasting network which makes the message available to listeners either in collective listening meetings or in blackboard or wall newspapers. Eventually its messages are printed as booklets or pamphlets that are made available for hsueh hsi, or study, groups, for cultural affairs study groups, and for hundreds of other groups or occasions.<sup>2</sup>

The messages of Jen Min Jih Pao are not always reproduced verbatim but are integrated with local affairs to set the stage for

local socialization activities.<sup>3</sup> This context is vitally important in the People's Republic of China's political re-education program, for Jen Min Jih Pao, became the basis of the content for the public self-correction.<sup>4</sup>

Jen Min Jih Pao's present circulation of one and a half to two million<sup>5</sup> is further expanded through a multiple readership of some nine persons and through bulletin boards. Paul Hiniku estimated that about twenty to forty per cent of the adults read it regularly.<sup>6</sup>

The newspaper is comparatively smaller in volume than most major western papers. Having gone through the years of 1956 to 1962 with an eight-page plan, it has since reverted to a six-page plan with an occasional four or eight-page plan. The size of the characters used in the articles is about twenty to thirty per cent larger than those used in most Chinese newspapers published in Southeast Asia. Since its reversion to a six-page plan, the general makeup has not been officially announced but it seems the following is the general scheme:

Page 1	Current News
Page 2	National News
Page 3 and 4	Editorials, i.e., specifically identified as editorials
Page 5 and 6	International News

There is little or no advertisement and if there is any, it is usually about party literary or dramatic productions, such as the writings of Mao.

A casual scanning of Jen Min Jih Pao or any translation of its articles reveals the strikingly different way in which it is put together and how the news items are related. This distinctly

different approach stems from the People's Republic of China's basic philosophies of life, economics, and politics. The basic philosophy begins with the Hegelian dialectics of the inevitable moving of the bourgeois thesis and the proletarian antithesis to the synthesis of the classless society. It is, therefore, the mission of the leaders of the state, elected by the one-class mass, to see that whatever is accomplished is done for the good of the mass, the classless mass, and to give an authoritative picture of the political, economic, and cultural life of the broad mass of the Chinese people.<sup>7</sup> It is structured to function, in this particular respect, as an effective instrument in the Chinese internal communication network.

China's definition of free press is then the freeing of the press from the special interest of the bourgeois class and from the provincialism of the controlling class.<sup>8</sup> Events are reported not for information's sake but for social construction. It is the socialization of the minds.

In this study, by the use of content analysis, I hope to show precisely how this socialization is done. When a United States newspaper is compared with Jen Min Jih Pao, and differences between their characteristics tested, the results should clarify the nature of the differences created by the different philosophies on the press.

#### METHODOLOGY

To quantitatively describe how Jen Min Jih Pao handles news differently from a United States newspaper, I selected a number of major events. This sampling approach, of course, has its

limitations, since it is piecemeal. It does not allow the powerful generalizations that random selection would, but it does afford a sharper kind of scrutiny into the particular question which was asked. Random selection does not guarantee that the days which have news stories are intimately related to the point at question, i.e., the delineation of world events from a particular philosophical view point.

Five recent events are chosen for the following reasons.

1. They all are very important. This increases the probability of their usefulness in our study.

2. They all have a specific time reference so the day on which the event took place can be pinpointed.

3. They were chosen so that two dealt with events which happened in the United States, two with events in Red China and one with an event that happened outside of both countries but is of great interest to both.

4. The two events in the United States are such that one is of negative and the other of positive value if the United States newspaper is interested in propropaganda.

The five events chosen for this study are the following:

1. Commencement of Arab-Israeli 1967 Conflict, or the Six Day War (June 5, 1967)

A number of recent works bring our attention to the possibility of biased presentation, i.e., "Israelism ideology" being advocated, in major United States news magazines.<sup>9</sup> This kind of questions and discussions lends support to our choice of this particular event.

2. Detonation of Chinese H-Bomb (June 17, 1967)

Since the first Chinese atomic device was detonated on October 16, 1964, the world has been watching China's advancement in nuclear capability. A series of successful operations has culminated in the actual detonation of an estimated three megaton H-bomb.<sup>10</sup> This accomplishment, according to experts, had goaded President Nixon in his decision to deploy the limited ABM system. This event seems to have strategic political significance.

3. United States Moon Landing (July 21, 1969)

The culmination of two decades of United States space exploration came when Neil Armstrong set foot on the moon. The world reacted with such excitement toward this space expedition that its importance can hardly be ignored.

4. Chinese Satellite (April 25, 1970)

Though much less spectacular than the United States moon landing, the Chinese satellite is, nevertheless, important for consideration because of its implications for other underdeveloped countries. It is after all the first and only underdeveloped country that has this space capability heretofore belonging only to the "big powers."

5. United States Kent State University Killing (May 4, 1970)

There are many events that have marred the history of the United States in recent years, but this incident seems to be the most tragic and spectacular. It contains a large amount of information as well as potential propaganda value.

There are a number of reasons why the Des Moines Register is suitable as the United States newspaper for comparison. First,

unlike large newspapers, the Des Moines Register relies primarily upon wire service.<sup>11</sup> This means whatever is available to the Des Moines Register could be equally available to other papers if they so choose to have it. Secondly, we must keep in mind that Jen Min Jih Pao is not an elite newspaper in the usual sense,<sup>12</sup> it is similar to the Des Moines Register in the sense that it is intended for an "average citizen." It has a circulation of over 364,000 reaching 94% of the households in the immediate area.

Operationally speaking the differences resulting from different ideologies should be definable on two levels:

1. the kinds of articles which, considered as a whole, give a composite picture,
2. the kinds of statements with which the event is reported.

In measuring the size of each article all the space occupied by the pictures, headings, and the body of the article are used.<sup>14</sup> The Des Moines Register is consistent in using an eight column format of 10.5 pica each. Sometimes double size or triple size columns are used. All the measurements can be converted to single column inches. The total amount of space on a page is approximately 180 column inches, with the exception of the front page with only 162 inches. However, the same kind of measuring unit cannot be used for Jen Min Jih Pao since it does not have a definite column format. It varies anywhere from a four-to-nine column format. To avoid conversion problems area units are used. Jen Min Jih Pao has 224 and 268 square inches of printing area for the first and subsequent pages, respectively. The choice of different measuring units for the two papers will not create

any further difficulties in comparison, for it is difficult to justify comparing the space parameter between two papers in terms of absolute numbers. At our present level of understanding we do not know the equivalent linguistic units of English and Chinese, the equivalent space unit of letter size, etc. Therefore, only relative measurements are compared.

For each article, headline size, page, and position of the story's first appearance are also rated.<sup>15</sup> Generally, the factor of space is also included in this attention score. Since this is not possible in our case, we will include only three factors: heading, position, and page. Each of the following characteristics is scored as designated:

1. Above center fold scores two points; otherwise, one point.
2. Appearing on page one of any section scores two points; otherwise, one point.
3. Headline length of two columns or more but less than half the width of the paper scores one point. In the case of Jen Min Jih Pao, two columns means two column width of an eight column format; otherwise, headline length longer than half the width of the paper scores two points.

The categories used for the analysis of the statements in each article are based on a trichotomy of sentence types discussed by S. T. Hayakawa in Language in Thought and Action.<sup>16</sup> This application and the subsequent design was first used by Dennis Lowry.<sup>17</sup> "According to Hayakawa, the report is the basic symbolic act that enables people to exchange information on what they have seen, heard, and felt."<sup>18</sup> "Reports adhere to the following rules: first, they are capable of verification; second, they exclude, as far as possible, inferences and judgments."<sup>19</sup> Lowry expanded the report, inference and judgment sentences into

nine categories. For this study the system is adapted into six categories, as follows:

1. Report sentences/attributed<sup>20</sup>
2. Report sentences/unattributed<sup>21</sup>
3. Inference sentences/labeled<sup>22</sup>
4. Inference sentence/unlabeled<sup>23</sup>
5. Judgment sentences<sup>24</sup>
6. Sentences unrelated to event reported<sup>25</sup>

Report sentences are those which state verifiable information. They can be verified if the researcher wishes to spend time and money to do so. Attribution can take the form of a direct or indirect quote.

Inference sentences are not capable of verification. Hayakawa defined them as "statements about the unknown on the basis of the known."<sup>26</sup> They are interpretations of the events. They are based on personal judgment, opinions, beliefs, and feelings. Labeled inferences are inferences which are specifically signalled through the reporter's use of certain words, such as appears, seems, looks, believes, feels, etc.

Judgment sentences as defined by Hayakawa are "expressions of the writer's approval or disapproval of the occurrences, persons, or objects he is describing."<sup>27</sup>

The number of times "Mao" or Johnson/Nixon" are used in the articles of Jen Min Jih Pao and of the Des Moines Register respectively are also noted. In the case of the Six Day War the source of the attributed report sentences (category 1) is also noted whether they are from Israel or Arab states.

If a sentence contains both fact and inference, it is coded as an inference sentence; if it contains both fact and judgment, as a judgment sentence; or, if it contains both inference and judgment, as a judgment sentence.

All the sentences were checked twice either by the same coder or by different coders. The intra-coder reliability was over 90 percent between the first and second times. The inter-coder reliability was better than 83 percent, but after discussion inter-coder agreement was well over 98 percent.

#### ANALYSIS

Considering the event most relevant to the respective readers, the Des Moines Register used up to 24 percent of the entire issue for the Moon Landing event, whereas Jen Min Jih Pao spent 42 percent and 34 percent on the Chinese Satellite and H-Bomb events, respectively. These proportions are significantly different (significance at .01 level), and should also be considered in light of the following comparison. Jen Min Jih Pao's layout is only six pages whereas the Des Moines Register has a twenty-three page layout. The former, furthermore, employs a large print and large banners, taking up to one-third of the page. Therefore, in these two issues, Jen Min Jih Pao actually left little room for anything else.

The Des Moines Register used pictures very liberally whenever possible. In the case of the Moon Landing over 250 column inches were devoted to pictures. Jen Min Jih Pao, however, utilized very few pictures. In fact, of the five events there were only three pictures of students huddling around a radio listening to the "East Is Red" beam down from the satellite.

Following the theoretical reasons given by Hayakawa we would expect report sentences to be used by different newspapers for different purposes. It can provide information data or it can be used to provide a basis from which ideological exhortations may be launched. We would expect both newspapers to use a fair proportion of report sentences, both attributed and unattributed. To maximize the impact of report sentences Jen Min Jih Pao would, however, have to use at least an equally large proportion of judgment sentences so that the report sentences can be interpreted and can be used to direct the readers' attention to the ideological teaching. Inference sentences are the least suitable for ideological purposes. They can only infer, imply, thus creating an uncertainty and subjective feeling. It is not definitive enough to be authoritative. With inference sentences the labeled ones probably are even less useful than the unlabeled ones since the former betrays a "de facto" uncertainty.

If a paper is following the libertarian principle of the press, i.e., the free flow of information, we assume it would be more interested in imparting information than in changing attitudes. It would have very few judgment sentences and would resort to inference sentences only to supplement what is not available through report sentences. By definition, Category 6 sentences -- sentences unrelated to the event -- lend themselves more readily to ideological purpose since they can be used to support judgment sentences. Since Category 6 is used for the similar purpose of exhortation, it will be considered together with the judgment sentences.

The overall usage of different categories of sentences in all five events is first examined. Jen Min Jih Pao has significantly more judgment and exhortation sentences (48.2 percent) than report sentences (44.4 percent). There are only 7.4 percent of unlabeled inference sentences and none of the labeled ones.

The Des Moines Register has a significantly larger number of report sentences (77 percent) than inference sentences (22.4 percent) and only a very small percentage of judgment sentences (0.6 percent). There is a significantly higher percentage of report sentences in the Des Moines Register than in Jen Min Jih Pao. These significant differences pinpoint the literary methods adopted by each paper to portray each's ideology and social function.

Of the thirty-five judgment sentences in Jen Min Jih Pao, twenty-seven (77 percent) are used in a manner favorable to China. Eight (23 percent), however, were employed in an unfavorable manner either toward Israel or the United States. They, thus provide a basis for the reader to interpret the story in the direction of the correct social construction.

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TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

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Though there are six times more sentences reported in the Des Moines Register (497) for the five events than in Jen Min Jih Pao (81), the former uses only two and one-half times the amount of space. This means, all things equal, the former packs

more information per unit space. The latter resorts to large banners, hugh headlines and large characters to create a more sensational atmosphere. In the cases of the H-Bomb and Satellite events they even printed the entire front page red.

In that events are reported in Jen Min Jih Pao for social construction, we would expect it to handle the five events differently. Theoretically those issues that can be most effectively used to promote unity are those involving the achievements of one's country and the failures of one's enemy. Then come the more neutral events, such as the Six Day War. The least effective or even destructive issue is one which glorifies one's enemy. Jen Min Jih Pao is expected to emphasize the H-Bomb and Satellite events. This is not only demonstrated in the significantly higher proportion of space devoted to these two events (41.5 percent and 33.5 percent) but also in the way in which the sentences are used. With regard to the H-Bomb event, 74.3 percent are either judgment or exhortation; of the Satellite event 57.2 percent are judgment; and, of the Kent State event 83.3 percent are judgment. But, the small number of sentences in the last event renders it somewhat impractical for comparison. On the other hand, the Six Day War has only 16.6 percent judgment sentences.

The corollary of this reasoning should hold true for the report sentences. There are proportionally more report sentences in the Six Day War (75 percent) than in the H-Bomb (8 percent), Satellite (42 percent), or Kent State (16.7 percent) events.

An interesting observation is made in the two major Chinese victories -- the H-Bomb and the Satellite; the name Mao is exalted

to a level of deification. His name is mentioned in honorific ways 25 times in 39 sentences. In contrast, the Des Moines Register mentioned in the Moon story, Nixon's name only 3 times in report sentences with no specific exaltation.

For the Six Day War event, the proportion of report sentences attributed to Arab sources and to Israeli sources are compared. Jen Min Jih Pao attributed all to Arab sources, whereas the Des Moines Register used Arab sources in 42 percent of its attributed report sentences and Israeli sources in 58 percent. This finding is consistent in that the former uses report sentences only to help propagate ideology. Arab and Israeli sources often contradict each other. If both sets of information are made available to the reader, the credibility of the sources are reduced. By only reporting one side of the story, one can portray a certain viewpoint in particularly for the proper social construction. On the other hand, the libertarian principle of the latter requires it to ensure free flow of information. When there are two contradictory sets of information, it attempts to provide both.

The Des Moines Register's libertarian approach is also exemplified in providing an informative article on the background of China's Space Chief along with its report on the Chinese Satellite.

Although there is insufficient data for significant testing, the attention score and the space factor for the event are consistent with the basic philosophies of the two papers. Furthermore, it seems that the attention scores and the amount of space

are somewhat related. The only exception would be the Des Moines Register's treatment of the Satellite event which has an attention score of 6 but only 47 column inches. This perhaps is due to the small amount of information released by the New China News Agency (NCNA).

Jen Min Jih Pao has high attention scores (6 points) for events most favorable to China. The Des Moines Register treats most of these events equally with 6 points each except for the H-Bomb event which is slightly lower at 4 points.

The wire services used by the Des Moines Register suggest to us that it intends to provide as much information to its reader as possible. Indirectly, it is hooked up with the New China News Agency (NCNA) because the Associated Press credits its information to be from NCNA. Jen Min Jih Pao, however, exclusively uses the New China News Agency. In reality, Jen Min Jih Pao and the Agency (NCNA) are more or less the same. The newspaper supplies editorials and party line pronouncements which are often carried on the news agency's daily broadcasts to clients.<sup>28</sup> This is substantiated if we compare the translations of the H-Bomb and Six Day War events in the Daily Report with the original in the newspaper.<sup>29</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The above analysis demonstrates the two approaches in handling news with each serving its own social function but in ways very different from each other. The Des Moines Register serves the function of free flow of information. It would go to the extent of quoting two sources whose contents are of apparent

contradiction. The Jen Min Jih Pao on the other hand is more concerned with the social construction of the society to a certain way of thinking. News reporting is only a servant to the people. Its social function is to educate the people. It attempts to achieve its goal through selective reporting of certain events, or to use judgment sentences in order to orient the reader to a proper interpretation of the news event.

TABLE 1

## CATEGORIES OF SENTENCES, ATTENTION SCORES AND SPACE

Event and Date	Kinds of Sentences in Per Centa						Total <sup>d</sup> Space <sup>b</sup>	% of Issue <sup>c</sup>	Attention Scores	
	1	2	3	4	5	6				
<u>JEN MIN JIH PAO</u>										
Six Day War, 6/6/67	27.8	47.2	0.0	8.3	16.6	0.0	36	70	19.7	3
H-Bomb, 6/17/67	8.0	0.0	0.0	12.0	64.0	16.0	25	223	33.5	6
Moon, 7/21/69	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0
Satellite, 4/25/70	0.0	42.8	0.0	0.0	57.2	0.0	14	223	41.5	6
Kent, 5/4/70	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	83.3	0.0	6	11	4.7	2
FOR ALL FIVE EVENTS	16.0	28.4	0.0	7.4	43.2	5.0	81			
<u>DES MOINES REGISTER</u>										
Six Day War, 6/6/67	40.0	43.9	2.3	13.8	0.0	0.0	130	216	8.4	6
H-Bomb, 6/17/67	66.7	5.5	11.2	16.7	0.0	0.0	18	18	.05	4
Moon, 7/21/69	37.7	41.0	1.6	19.7	0.0	0.0	183	200	24.0	6
Satellite, 4/25/70	44.6	33.3	0.0	29.1	0.0	0.0	27	47	1.5	6
Kent, 5/4/70	27.4	41.0	2.9	26.6	2.2	0.0	139	235	6.5	6
FOR ALL FIVE EVENTS	36.7	40.3	2.4	20.0	0.6	0.0	497			

a 1=Report sentence/attributed.  
 2=Report sentence/unattributed.  
 3=Inference sentence labeled.  
 4=Inference sentence unlabelled.  
 5=Judgment sentence.  
 6=Sentence unrelated to event reported.

b Jen Min Jih Pao is measured in units of square inches.  
 Des Moines Register is measured in units of column inches.

c Per cent of entire issue is that percentage taken up by all the articles related to the event. All the articles include main event articles (those which sentences are categorized), related event articles, and editorials.

d Absolute number of sentences counted.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For details on how Mao built up the communication system hardware see: James Markham, Voices of the Red Giants (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1967), pp. 347-64, and Alan Liu, Radio Broadcasting in Communist China (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for International Studies, MIT, 1964), pp. 11-30.
2. Frederick T. C. Yu, Mass Persuasion in Communist China (London: Pall Mall Press, 1964), p. 96.
3. Ibid., p. 97.
4. Theodore Chen, Thought Reform of the Chinese Intellectuals (Hong Kong: University Press, 1960), pp. 183-84 explains in detail how Jen Min Jih Pao played an important role in the Five-Self and Three-Self movements. Franklin Houn, To Change a Nation (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961), p. 50 describes the importance of Jen Min Jih Pao to the propaganda and reporting officers. Also, see Yu, op. cit., p. 100.
5. Markham, op. cit., p. 354.
6. Paul Hiniku, "The Effects of Mass Communication in Communist China: The Organization and Distribution of Exposure," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1966), p. 294.
7. Chung Kuo Jen Min, January 16, 1954. For a translation of the original see: Yu, op. cit., Appendix, pp. 161-69.
8. Alex Inkles, Public Opinion in Soviet Russia: A Study in Mass Communication (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 135-37, discussed more or less the same kind of interpretation by the Russian press.
9. Alfred M. Lilienthal, The Other Side of the Coin (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1965) analyzed the influence of Israelism over the American press centering on the Arab-Israeli struggle after the 1956 clash and up to the 1967 war. Later, Michael Suleiman, "Mass Media and the June Conflict," The Arab World, special issue (Vol. XIV, No. 10-11, n.d.), pp. 59-65, conducted a content analysis of seven leading U.S. magazines on the 1967 conflict. Finally, Judith F. Franklin, "A Content Analysis of the Coverage of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in 1967 by Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News and World Report," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1970), re-examined Lilienthal and Suleiman's data and assertions.
10. "Peking Adds Potent Punch to Its Arsenal," Business Week, (June 24, 1967), pp. 37-38.
11. Most of the news articles are directly transcribed from the wire services. Sometimes, however, a staff editor would take a number of wire services' reports and rewrite them into one article. It is then designated "Leased Wire Services."
12. John Merrill, The Elite Press (New York: Pitman Publishing Corp., 1968), p. 148 states that "in a way it is not a newspaper, being more of a governmental bulletin board or organ of political agitation and propaganda for the Communist regime of China."
13. 13th Annual Newspaper Circulation Analysis (Skokokei, Ill.: S.R.D.S., 1970), Section IV, p. 121.

14. Richard Budd, "Attention Scores: A device for Measuring News 'Play'," Journalism Quarterly, XXXXI (1964), 259-62, and Frederick T.C. Yu, "The Treatment of China in Four Daily Newspapers, July 1 through December 31, 1949," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1951), pp. 49-51.
15. Budd, "Attention Scores: . . .", 259-61.
16. S. T. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), chapter 3.
17. Dennis T. Lowry, "Agnew and the Network TV News: A Before/After Content Analysis," Journalism Quarterly, XXXXVIII (1971), 205-210.
18. Lowry, p. 6.
19. Hayakawa, op. cit., p. 38.
20. An example from the Des Moines Register (DMR): "However, the Syrians and the Jordanians disregarded this warning," he (Premier Eshkol) said.  
An example from Jen Min Jih Pao (JMJP): (English translation) Radio Cairo announced that Israel started its aggression against the UAR at 0900 today.
21. An example from DMR: Two men wearing American flags sewn to their left shoulders, landed on the Sea of Tranquility at 3:17 P.M. (Iowa time).  
An example from JMJP: (English translation) On April 24, 1970, our country successfully landed the first earth satellite.
22. An example from DMR for this category: He did not spell out what was meant by a significant number, but it is believed he meant in the neighborhood of about 75 missiles.  
No example from JMJP.
23. An example from DMR: At the U.N., Secretary-General U Thant expressed regret that Communist China had set off a hydrogen bomb.  
An example from JMJP: (English translation): The troops of the UAR, Syria, Iraq, and Jordan which have long been deployed in battle array immediately hit back hard after Israel unleashed the attack.
24. An example from DMR: "But nothing in their minds justified it."  
An example from JMJP: (English translation) The brilliant forecast of our great and admirable Chairman Mao has been realized.
25. No example from DMR.  
An example from JMJP: (English translation) Man is the factor that decides victory or defeat in war
26. Hayakawa, op. cit., p. 41.
27. Ibid., p.42.
28. Markham, Red Giants . . . , p. 368.
29. Daily Report, Foreign Broadcast Information Series; (No. 108) June 6, 1967, pp. BBB1, BBB2 and No. 118, June 19, 1967, pp. CC1, CCC2.