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# The Hostile Media Effect and Its Potential Consequences: Examining the Influence of Presumed Influence of International Media Coverage

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The Hostile Media Effect and Its Potential Consequences:

Examining the influence of presumed influence of international media coverage

by

Zhennan Liu

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirement for the degree of  
Master of Arts  
Zimmerman School of Mass Communications  
College of Arts & Sciences  
University of South Florida

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## **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to my grandfather, Zhongli Liu, whose passion for truth and justice is an everlasting inspiration, and all my family and friends who supported and encouraged me during the process of completing my master's degree.

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## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this study is to explore American and Chinese's perception towards foreign media's coverage about their own country, as well as the main influencing factors and its consequences of this phenomenon. We designed an online survey based on the existing literature on hostile media perception. The sample included 301 American participants and 300 Chinese participants (N=601).

The current study used paired sample T test, Pearson correlation coefficient and SEM model test. Three important results were found. First, hostile media perception is widespread. In the study, both American and Chinese participants were biased to varying degrees against foreign media coverage about their country. Second, people's group identification was directly affects their perception about foreign media coverage. Finally, people's acceptance of the influence of foreign media's reports on their own countries will directly lead to participants' support the government increase the budget on public relationship.

The main significance of this study is to discuss the hostile media perception towards non-domestic media in different countries and its consequences. From the overall perspective, group identification (GI), media credibility (MC), hostile media perception (HMP), influence of presumed influence (IPI) and corrective action (A) are a set of links with causal relationship. After model testing, we found that the results support this causal model too.

## **CHAPTER ONE:**

### **BACKGROUND**

With the trend of globalization, people realize that the media coverage is no longer just a means of domestic communication. It is also means a national propaganda and diplomatic strategy, which has attracted countries to spend millions of dollars trying to improve their national image and influence (Silver, 2016). Due to the innovation of network technology, new media and traditional media have become the two main structures in national media systems and form the national public as well (Gray, & Andersen, 2008). Various countries have begun to use media to spread and carry out targeted public diplomacy, such as shaping national brands, opening media overseas, and even advertising in foreign media. In order to cope with possible negative impacts, some countries have adopted legislation to restrict them. For example, the United States' Foreign Agents Registration Act is set up for those foreign media that may cover the media and broadcast in United States without revealing foreign sponsorships (Lauder, 2017). It can be seen that the influence of the media coverage can not be underestimated, which is mainly reflected in the construction of national identity (Anderson & Glazer, 198; Deutsch, 1966; Schlesinger, 1991a, 1991b; Sheikh, Price. & Oshagan, 1995; Higson, 2002; Polonska-Kimunguyi & Kimunguyi, 2011) and its impact on foreign policy (Hartley and Russett, 1992; Hill, 1998; Sobel, 2001; Wlezien, 1996).

Many scholars have demonstrated the impact of the media coverage on social identity (ethnic group, international and international). Blain et al. (1993) showed that the media coverage has a positive

impact on building national self-images. Similar results have appeared in studies such as Brookes (1999) (BSE/CJD crisis), Nossek (2004) (terrorism and political violence), and Hall (2000) (audiovisual material in the GATT); The media coverage also works for international. Cormack's (1998) study which focus on the coverage of minority language media in Europe and the study on Canada and Quebec (Antecol and Endersby, 1999) have found the positive significance of media communication in the context of domestic context; In addition, as a topic of this research, research on how the media cover shapes the image of foreign countries has also attracted the attention of many scholars. Wanta et al (2004) found through content analysis that the media cover is relatively positive or neutral to the description of the country, but the description of foreign countries is often more negative. Moreover, Brewer et al (2003) and Wanta et al (2004) used framing, agenda-setting, priming effects and other research methods to demonstrate the impact of international media coverage on country identity and public opinion about other countries. Nevertheless, some studies are focus on the impact of the media coverage on their country too (e.g. Muller, 2013). The impact of the media coverage on people's views is very similar to the empirical findings of group psychology. On the one hand, people use the exposure to domestic media coverage to enhance their sense of identity, and on the other hand strengthen group identity by perceiving group biases from media coverage (Hamilton and Troler, 1986; Hinkle and Schopler, 1986; Struch and Schwartz, 1989). Alternatively, the media coverage and public opinion can directly affect on individuals and countries' impression of other countries and attitudes toward foreign policy. (Hartley and Russett, 1992; Hill, 1998; Sobel, 2001; Wlezien, 1996). Berinsky (2009) argues that when individuals are positive about a country, they are more likely to add a positive impression of the country and are willing to support and represent them on humanitarian intervention. For example, in the mid-2000s, Americans were

willing to safeguard the interests of Afghanistan by dispatch the US International Peacekeeping Force (Page & Bouton, 2006). When people receive negative media coverage or receive hostile media perception, people are more inclined to produce negative emotions and behaviors toward that country.

To better understanding how the media bias in media coverage will affects people's attitudes and behaviors in international communication. This study will examine the Americans' views on Chinese media coverage of the USA and Chinese's attitude of Chinese reports on the USA media coverage.

The reason for choosing to study the media coverage of the USA and Chinese is that the political and economic relations between the two countries are highly concerned by all around the world especially the Sino-US trade war start in 2018. In addition, The USA and China have two completely different political systems which made their media systems are completely different. Historically, the media system in Western Europe and the United States has been dominated by private markets; the Chinese media is a state-owned system controlled by the government. Under the one-party system control, the Chinese news media are more willing to help government educate citizens and gain citizens' political support for the party (Kennedy, 2009). We hope through this comparative surveys can help us deeply understanding how audience attitude and behavior changes based on media bias they receive in deferent media system.

### **The USA Media Coverage of China**

The US media system is active, open, and even highly commercial (Bennett, 2003). Since most media organizations are privately owned (Croteau and Hoynes, 2001), people hope the media system

will become the supervisor of the government and other powerful institutions and promote the content on the market. For the American public, the media should have no government or external interference and serve the people's right (Stevenson, 1995, P63, p. 63). News framework is also influenced by various mainstream ideologies, however including capitalism and opposition to communism (Akhavan-Majid, R., & Ramaprasad, J., 1998) and even interest-driven McChesney (2004). But no matter what, the US media has been working hard to be completely independent of state control (Stevenson, 1995). This is reflected in the fact that journalists can sacrifice their personal views on the government's ideological frames, labels, and assessments and trying to evaluate the event more objectively especially on foreign news (Dorman, 1988).

In the early days, most American media reports on China reflected the US-led capitalist ideology. As Kobland, Du and Kwan (1992) found, the main framework of these reports is "anti-communism" (Kobland, Du., & Kwan, 1992, p. 66). Liss (2003) did a study on how China was described by four major US media ("Washington Post", "New York Times", "Los Angeles Times" and "Wall Street Journal") in 2000-2002. The results show that, in addition to the Wall Street Journal, other newspapers are all believe China is a threat to the Orientalist framework. It is worth noting that the US media coverage of China is not completely negative. Wang (1998) did a discourse and ideological analysis research of the New York Times's report on Nixon's visit to China in 1972 shows that the New York Times' description of China is not only positive, but also shows a more vivid picture of China. This confirms the view of Chang (1989) that the US news media will change their narratives of the People's Republic of China in the news as the political elites change their attitude toward China. This view was also confirmed by a study by Yu and Riffe who studied the coverage of US news magazines (Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report) of Mao Zedong and

Chiang Kai-shek (the leader of the Republic of China) during 1949 to 1976. The results of the study show that due to the change of political views, the US media also changed the news framework of Mao and Jiang.

However, the media reports of United States and China are mutually antagonistic, this is because of the long-standing complex political and economic relations between two countries (Willnat et al, 2013). A study of content analysis of Chinese reports in the US media found that three-quarters of the headlines in the US media about China are neutral, while the rest are mostly negative and almost none are positive (Willnat& Luo, 2011; Willnat et al., 2013). Besides, the result shows most of these reports are tend to be related to the country's internal political and foreign policy. In addition, Liu and Li (1996) found that the US media tends to “demonize China” by focusing on China's human rights issues (Liu and Li, 1996; Song et al., 1996; Li, J., 2009).

### **Chinese Media Coverage of the USA**

Under the Chinese political system, the media is seen as a propaganda tool for communism (Schramm, 1964). Due to advances in communication technology (especially the Internet), there are some less rigorous ideologies affecting Chinese media (Xiaoming, Zhang & Yu, 1996), which has prompted Chinese mass media to become more diverse and complex over time. (Akhavan-Majid 2004). For specific topics (such as politics, diplomacy, economics, etc.), however, the Chinese government still control over the media system. Considering the situation of China's political society, Chinese media reports generally tend to promote government behavior with a positive attitude. For example, in the study by Brewer, & Ley (2012) found when faced with the crisis of food and food security, the Chinese media will tend to promote government advocacy with a positive attitude. Zhao

(2008) believes by faced with the expansion of liberalism on a global scale (Hallin and Mancini, 2012), although the Chinese media is rigid in some topics, it is sometimes flexible (Zhao, 2008). In other words, in the case of commercialization of the media industry, although China is not completely privatized (the media organization is still a subsidiary of the party state), when the content of the report does not pose any threat to the ruling party, the government's control will not be so strict (Zhao, 2008). Therefore, the Chinese media is influenced by double asylum (Ren, Peters, Allgaier & Lo, 2012).

Since the Chinese media has long been controlled by government parties and has a fixed position on specific topics, only very limited research has focused on the study of Chinese media coverage of US or other foreign countries. A more comprehensive study is use contextualized method to analysis the coverage of the United States in Chinese newspaper during 2009-2014. In this study, Yan et al (2015) argue that in the report of the United States, Chinese media reflects its functions: shaping the national image, expressing the government's position and acting as the “gatekeeper” of Chinese information. In the report, the Chinese media will tend to use Chinese sources and always ensure that their content is inclined to China's position. Although the Chinese image in the report is not always neutral or positive, the purpose is to improve current systems and practices instead of criticizing the horizontal government (Yan et al, 2015). In addition, through the analysis of the framework of the report, Yan found that the Chinese media often used the US issues, conflicts and unsuccessful framing to describe the United States, and even chose to compare the favorable aspects of China with the unfavorable aspects of the United States to affecting audience's views on the two countries. In addition, most of the research on Chinese media reports in the United States focuses on different media reports on the same incident or reports on different countries. For example, Leshuo and Chitty

(2012)'s research is about the US and Chinese news media reports on Xi Jinping's official US trip during the 2012. They conducted a comparative analysis of Chinese and American news media through framework theory and content analysis. The result shows that based on the very different political characteristics of China and the United States, Chinese media mainly believed that the visit was a success; while the US media believed that it was only a "challenging visit". Through the previous review, we can find that although many scholars analyze and summarize the content of the report itself, few scholars investigate the impact of the media cover on the audience. Through the previous review, we can find that although many scholars analyze and summarize the content of the report itself, few scholars investigate the impact of the media cover on the audience. This survey hopes to provide a more constructive reference for the further study.



## **CHAPTER TWO:**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **Media Credibility**

In the study of media credibility, it often involves the discussion of media source attributes, channel attributes, information attributes, audience attributes, etc. The earliest media credibility research can be traced back to the 1936 study of news accuracy reporting (Charnley, 1936) and the study of the relationship between credibility and persuasiveness of news sources by the Yale University research team (Hovland, Irving, & Kelley, 1953). This type of research uses quantitative methods of investigation or experimentation to explore the basic model of media credibility from the relationship between dependent and independent variables. However, scholars have different opinions on this type of research. Some scholars believe that media credibility is a property description (a characteristic of the media itself (Bucy, 2003; Markham, 1968; Mulac & Sherman, 1975)), this research method can well standardize media credibility study. Others believe that media credibility is a relationship description (the extent to which an audience believes a particular media can be trusted (Freeman & Spyridakis, 2004; Gunther, 1992; Metzger, Flanagin, Eyal, Lemus, & McCann, 2003)), this method does not well presented audience factor in the study. In fact, media credibility is a composite concept, so a comprehensive discussion is necessarily. Specifically, media credibility is a subjective perception that is influenced by objective factors such as source, medium, information, and the audience itself (Flanagin & Metzger, 2007). In addition, this perception comes from the recipient, so it changes with specific information, context, and individual characteristics

(Freeman & Spyridakis, 2004). When media credibility is transformed into a social level, as a comprehensive subjective perception, media credibility offsets individual differences and becomes relatively stable. Since people's acceptance of news depends on trust, so trust is a key variable in media effects (Tsafti, 2003; Karlsson, 2011). If individual does not trust a news organization will directly negative impact on his consumption behavior and attitude towards the media (Cassidy, 2007). Therefore, more and more countries regard news media and transnational news as a disguised public diplomacy tool to shape their positive national image (Wang, 2006; Dale, 2009; Gilboa, 2008; Seib, 2010; Mogensen, 2014).

As mentioned above, media credibility is a comprehensive subjective perception. When it is combined under different assumptions or with different concepts, it can be given different definitions. (Self, 1996, p.421). These concepts can include the characteristics or transmitted messages and channels of the communicator; they can also be information about the personal factors of the person and the surrounding factors (Jadick, 2017). Scholars' research on credibility is divided into three categories: Source credibility, Medium credibility and Message credibility. The Source credibility study investigates how the characteristics of communicators are “influence the processing of the message” (Kiousis, 2001, p. 382). Hovland et al.(1953) and Pornpitakpan, (2004)’s studies all indicate that people processing information based on the trustworthiness and professionalism of the sender/source; message credibility focuses on examining the impact of information characteristics and information quality ( Metzger et al., 2003). Sundar (1998), Greer (2003), Fico, Richardson, & Edwards (2004) and Cheong-Yi (2006)’s studies all detect the information and content itself make a key role to influence audiences’ attribute of credibility; in addition, Medium credibility studies, paying more attention to the channel that deliver information like newspaper television network and

so on. This type of research is presented in the study by Johnson & Kay (1998), Flanagin & Metzger (2000) and Johnson & Kaye (2002).

The source of information can be people, groups, institutions, cultures, and ideologies, all of which influence people's perception of credibility by their own characteristics (Markham, 1968; Mulac & Sherman, 1975). The study of source credibility is the earliest type of media credibility research that can be traced back to the persuasion study of Hovland and his colleagues. Their results show that expertness and trustworthiness are the two component elements that most influence credibility perception (Hovland et al., 1953). Here, Expertise refers to how a communicator correctly states a subject through his personal abilities and professionalism (Sternthal et al., 1978). Similarly, Sundar & Nass's findings also indicate that source expertise can be used to evaluate source credibility (Sundar & Nass, 2001). Expertise is attributed to age, social background, and leadership. Those who are older, have a strong professional background and are leaders are considered to be more specialized in their particular field (Hovland et al., 1953; Levine, 1978). Trustworthiness is another predictor, if audience believes that the communicator's statement is correct, more convincing, or allows the audience to gain something, the communicator will be considered trustworthy (Sternthal et al., 1978; McGinnies & Ward), 1980). Similarly, whether a person is trustworthy is also affected by the super facial factor. If the communicator has a distinct personality, is attractive, has an admirable appearance or belongs to an influential team, he is also considered more credible by the audience. (Hovland et al., 1953; Sternthal et al., 1978). The follow-up researchers further explore the composition of source credibility. For example, Berlo et al. (1970) used safety, qualification, and dynamism as three predictors of source credibility; Whitehead (1968) added factor of competence and objectivity base on Berlo et al(1970)'s result. Scholars realize that source credibility is one of

many aspects of media credibility rather than media credibility itself. A growing body of research confirms that high-confidence messages are more likely to successfully convince audiences due to source credibility (Hovland and Weiss, 1952; Hovland et al., 1953, 1959; Milburn, 1991) and form public trust. (Chaiken & Maheswaran, 1994). Therefore, the credibility of media sources is a major factor affecting the perception of media credibility (Jo, 2005). The more credible a person believes, the higher the credibility of the information provided by the source (Freeman & Spyridakis, 2004). Explain with the elaboration likelihood model (ELM), which is people use the source trait as a clue to make judgments about the credibility of the information.

As with other concepts in communication research, media credibility is not just an objective attribute of the source, but more of the recipient's perception (Berio, Lemert, & Mertz, 1969). The credibility of this credibility makes it contextual and biased (Chaffee, 1982). Obviously, this echoes the basic theoretical assumptions in the theory of hostile media perception (HMP), that is, the evaluation of media performance is sensitive and influenced by individual factors such as social identity. In some messages, separate content may be more important than the source of the message (Metzger et al., 2003). This usually happens when there is limited information about the source (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986), or when the problem involves so much personal relevance which made audience more relies on message clues rather than cognitive-dependent logic (Petty and Cacioppo) , 1981). Metzger et al. (2003) proposed three influencing factors of content credibility: 1. Content structure (whether the content is organized or unorganized), 2. Message or information include in the content (the credibility or quality of the content), and 3. Melivery or presentation style (how the author presents the content) (Kim, 2012). Scholars have done a wider range of research on message credibility based on previous research results. For example, research by Rains and Donnerstein

Karmikel (2008) found a positive relationship between message characteristics (such as statistics and external references) and high website credibility assessments. In addition, the author also argued that the structural characteristics of the website, such as third-party accreditation and privacy policy statements, also play an important role in the credibility assessment of the website.

Most studies of message credibility examine the credibility of information in news from a single country (Müller, 2013; Pjesivac and Rui, 2014). Only a few studies have compared the impact of different news standards on the audience's trust in news outside a particular country. In the context of cross-cultural exchanges, different forms of news media communication in various countries can directly reflect their national image and national values. For example, China's cross-border news coverage heralds a positive image of China. Therefore, the position of the Chinese media is always consistent with national interests, which is considered to be a norm in the practice of Chinese journalism. On the other hand, US news reports are relatively more negative, not only negative for other countries (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1981, 1983; Beaudoin and Thorson, 2001a, 2001b; Golan & Wanta, 2003), but also for the United States itself. Given these different news practices, American may viewers negative news is more trustworthy than positive news (Yuan, 2017).

The most common way to measure message trust is to use survey methods to explore the composition of media credibility through factor analysis (Berlo, Lemert, & Mertz, 1970; Meyer, 1988; Rimmer & Weaver, 1987; West, 1994). One of the most important early studies was the National Telephone Survey conducted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) from 1984 to 1985. The 16 items used in the study were evaluated by factor analysis and presented with two aspects of reporting credibility and social concern (West, 1994). A second analysis of this survey by Meyer (1988) shows that only fairness, unbiased, tell the whole story, accuracy, and

trustworthiness are needed. Finally, Capella and Jameison (1997) added the “contribution” factor and collated the six scales that proposed media credibility: fair, complete, accurate, bias (reverse coded), trustworthy, and beneficial to the community. Those scales were already used by a large number of scholars in HMP learning (Gunther, 1992; McLemore, 2015; Feldman, 2008).

Medium credibility focuses on the role of communicators as individuals or organizations in communication (Bucy, 2003; Kiouisis, 2001). In the field of mass communication, there are mainly three types of research on medium reliability. The first is to study the medium as the independent variable or the main independent variable. There have been two peaks in this type of research. One was the beginning of the media credibility study from the late 1970s to the early 1980s. Most scholars conducted large-scale surveys to collect and analyze different media channels, such as newspapers and radio. (Abel & Wirth, 1977; Gantz, 1981). The second peak period was from the late 1990s to the beginning of this century, when the Internet emerged as a new media unit and became popular, (Schweiger, 2000). During this time, Burns W. Roper's research was known for its continuity. Since 1959, the Roper survey he conducted every two years provides a report on the perception of the credibility of American social media. The 1961 turn that was often mentioned by scholars (the number of people who chose to trust TV media exceeded the newspaper for the first time since 1961) came from this research. (Roper, 1985). However, some scholars think Roper's survey method is too general because the conclusions of many studies are different, depending on the factors such as the survey object, the survey content and the survey method. For example, some studies have found that newspapers have a higher level of credibility than television, radio, and the Internet (Flanagin & Metzger, 2000; Kiouisis, 2001); others have found that television gains more trust (Abel & Wirth, 1977; Westley) & Severin, 1964); Most studies have found that network

information has the lowest credibility (Pew Research Center, 2000); however, there are still some studies on specific content that report the credibility advantage of online information over traditional media. (Johnson & Kaye, 1998). In addition, the difference in credibility between different media is even influenced by geographic, cultural and national factors (Gunter, Sancho-Aldridge, & Winstone, 1994).

The second type of research attempts to combine information content with channels to study the perception of credibility of the same type of information in different media. Flanagin and Metzger (2007) found that even if the same information is published by different media, the differences in specific channel attributes directly affect people's credibility judgment. In addition, Major and Atwood (1997) found that when the predictions about natural disasters were inaccurate, the level of televisions credibility did not decrease significantly, while the level of newspapers credibility fell sharply, which indicating that television was even more stable and sustainable. Those interested in political news believe that online newspapers and online candidates are more trustworthy than traditional media (Johnson & Kaye, 1998); opinion polls reported by newspapers and television media are more credible than online media surveys (Kim, Weaver, & Willnat, 2000), etc.

The third type of study explores the impact of media on credibility perception at a more abstract level, such as the study of the technical content of the media. Studies have shown that media attributes strongly influence people's perception of the online news credibility. In the Internet environment, these attributes include: the amount of visual information in the web page, the interactivity of the website, the design style, the depth of the information, the complexity of the website, etc (Flanagin & Metzger, 2007). Since the scope of medium credibility is beyond the scope of this study, this study will more focus on source credibility and message credibility.

In summary, the study of media credibility is a convenient categorization (from an academic perspective) that allows scholars to isolate and measure the specific effects of individual variables (such as source, medium, information, audience itself, etc.) on the perception of media credibility. But from the perspective of the audience, trust is a result of the overall perception. This perception is not separate, but integral and integrated. People's trust in news channels will affect their trust in news content (Greer, 2003), resulting in a perception of media bias (Fico, Richardson, & Edwards, 2004).

### **Hostile Media Perception (HMP)**

Since mass communication has noticed the importance of the audience in communication, many scholars have investigated the audience's feelings about receiving the message. The media credibility mentioned above and the Hostile Media Perception are all the important part of the category. Hostile media perception phenomenon was first noticed by Hastorf and Cantril (1954). In their experiments study, two different groups were investigated: Dartmouth and Princeton. The partisans were asked to watch the film "particularly rough gridiron struggle" at the same time and were asked about their personal views on the film. The results showed that although the two groups watched the same movie, Dartmouth fans saw Princeton's cruel provocation, and Princeton fans saw the continued pattern of Dartmouth's atrocities. Stevenson and Greene (1980) conducted an experimental investigation in the 1976 presidential election. In the experiment, the investigators asked participants to read positive and negative news stories about candidates Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. Although the findings are difficult to interpret, they point out that participants have produced more or less media bias in articles that are not biased. The first person to explicitly use the term "hostile media effect" was Vallone, Ross and Lepper (1985). In the experiment, the



investigators showed the media cover of the 1982 Beirut massacre to pro-Arab and pro-Israeli students, and asked for their views on the report. The results confirmed the existence of media bias, the participants believed the report was more favorable to the other side and think the neutral person would be more inclined to sway to the other side after reading the report. The authors made two interpretations of the results of this study. First of all, they pointed out that the two sides may have recognized the balanced coverage of the news reports on both sides, but based on the amount of evidence they stored on their own, it would be unfair about 50 to 50 balances, so the audience feels that the media is biased. Therefore, the audience feels that the media is biased and more maintains the opposition; the author's other interpretation of the result is that this is an instinctive cognitive bias (in the negative direction), which leads to a completely different idea. Although the media report is composed of 50 white to 50 black (balanced gray), but White believes that it looks 100% black, and the black also feels that the report is white, thus causing both sides to misinterpret the report is biased. As more scholars further study and research, more explanation mechanisms for HMP are proposed, including Theory of information processing, the theory of bedding effects and the Social Identification theory. We will conduct detailed analysis in the following sections.

Like other theories, the early development of HMP was based on repeated experiments on theory, and the same or similar research methods were applied to different objects and fields to measure the applicability limits of the theory, such as, a study about Sarajevo market explosion in 1994 (Matheson & Dursun, 2001), A comparative survey of Republican and Democratic members in the 2004 presidential election (Hoffner & Toohey, 2007) and so on. These early studies focused on controversial topics, selected objective reports, and conducted questionnaires or experimental studies on people with opposing positions or conflicting views. Fifteen years after the publication of Vallone

et al., Gunter, Christen, Liebhart, and Chia proposed the concept of "relative hostile media effect" in 2001. They believe no matter the types and positions of the content, the opposing parties will always have completely different perception. This conclusion extends HMP's research to all positions and general topics. One of the most famous experiments is study by Gunther and Chia (2001). They asked participants to read the same report about against to use primates as test item and doing a nationwide survey. The results showed that the supporters believed that the media was strongly hostile to their own side; the participants of the opposition also expressed a certain degree of media bias. This means the perception of media hostility is truning from the direction of the media which is opposed to oneself to the degree of media bias which both sides feel media bias but the degree is different. Guthur & Christen (2002) also found the evidence of relative hostile media perception in the study about issue coverage of physicianassisted suicide. Thus, the essence of media hostility perception is not the objective bias of media content, but the deviation between the subjective perceived of media and self-view (Hwang, Pan & Sun, 2008) Interestingly, the definition of HMP is that party members will generate Hostile media perception for a media message that is not biased, and thus may case the rejection to useful messages. However, the meaning of the relative hostile media is somewhat different, which may make participants not being able to effectively identify bias in the bias information. The study of "bias against bias" basically still stays in a single test of hostile mediation of one party's supporters and neutrals, without comparing them. Therefore, it will lead to the study of relative hostile media perception still test of single media inclination, and it is irrelevant to of different groups of people. But it is undeniable that the concept of relative media expands the scope of scholars' research on media hostility (Gunther & Chia, 2001) and combines media views and personal views into one relationship element. Han & Kim (2011) also summarizing that HMP is

indeed a ubiquitous medium ( $r=296$ ) media effect based on his study (meta-analysis of thirty-four studies of HMP).

The results of a large number of scholars have shown that both media hostility and relative media hostility are influenced by audience involvement and prior beliefs (including media positions, sources and reach). First, the audience's involvement is the primary factor affecting HMP. Giner-Sorolla & Chaiken (1994) pointed out that the results of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict research have indicated that the participants in both parties have indicated that the TV news reports they watch are negative and biased against themselves. Similar studies include Hwang, et al. (2008) for bone marrow stem cells, Kim (2011) on topics such as global warming and etc. These results support that if people's partisanism is stronger, they stronger HMP they will perceive. It should be pointed out that the degree of involvement is not limited to political factions, but also includes occupation, religion and so on. As the research progressed, Chol, et. al. in 2009 divided the involvement into value-relevant involvement and outcome-relevant involvement. The former is a type of identity that combines personal and social values (Johnson & Eagly, 1989). In other words, it is a theoretical framework for people to judge the impact of their social behavior on society (Sheriff & Cantril, (1947); The latter one represents the impact of the outcome of a specific event and behavior (Johnson & Eagly, 1989). In most cases, the result of this behavior is a short-lived rather than make a long-term social influence. Value-relevant involvement is one of the important factors affecting HMP. Cho & Boster (2005) shows a study of value-, outcome-, and impressive-relevant dimensions. Both Value-relevant and outcome-relevant involvement are closely related to HMP, but the impact of value-related involvement is more pronounced. This is because value-relevant involvement directly reflects people's basic values and identities. When people feel HMP,

sub-consciousness is more likely to lead people to attitudes and behaviors against; outcome-relevant involvement, however, usually arises from the resolution of a specific thing, so people tend to carefully sort out the conditioning and content of the event, and tend to solve it in a more rational way, such as discussion, negotiation, etc. (Choi, et. al., 2009).

Secondly, the audience's prior belief is another important element of the impression of HMP. In here, 'prior belief' refers to people's understanding of other factors in media content, including media positions, sources and media reach. It is often difficult for an audience to have the opportunity to contact the information itself. The general information is transmitted to the public through media's re-creation and re-dissemination. Therefore, scholars have found from experiments that when the same piece of information is passed to different 'packaging' and then passed to the audience, the participants will give different evaluations. In a study of Arpan & Raney's (2003) report on college football games, the researchers provided the same story to the participants and noted that the messages were from local media, media in the region where the opponent was located, and media in other neutral regions. Participants believe that although the reports in the neutral region are neutral, the news from the other side has still been biased. This result proves that different levels of HMP are generated due to different sources. In addition, Arpan, Bae, Chen & Greene (2011) also got disparate evaluations of various media platforms because different political parties they stand. The study found that Democrats apparently felt strong hostility when watching Fox News; the Republicans, on the other hand, believed that the news reported by the ABC, CNN, CBS AND NBC platforms was more hostile. It can be argued that people will make heuristic perceptions based on their previous stereotypes of the media platform.

In addition, the information source and media reach are also important factors of people's prior

belief which will be influenced on people's HMP about media. Reid (2012) presented the same report to two different groups and informed one group the news is from in-group and told the other group it is an out-group news. The results and expectations have been consistent, participants believe that sources from out-group are full of hostility, and the news from in-group is positive. Iord, Ross & Jepper (1979) argue that those two phenomena are due to the fact that people will accept the same position message without thinking, and ignore or dilute the opposite voice which is called bias assimilation. In general, messages from the out-group will trigger HMP; and in-group information will trigger the audience's bias assimilation, which explains the importance of people's preparation for cognition and proves the information source is associated with HMP. Moreover, Media reach hypothesis represent that the perceived media reach will affect the audience's perception of hostile media effects. Dalton et al (1998) conducted a comprehensive field-based study, the investigators did a content analysis experiments on the feedback of local newspaper services about the 1996 presidential election. Although they did not find sufficient systematic bias, the audience generally believed that newspaper bias was ubiquitous and most of the audience believed that the newspaper favored Clinton, followed by Bush and Pero. Most importantly, people think this prejudice is more prevalent in newspapers with small coverage rather than the newspapers with a wide coverage. Later, the study by Schmitt (2004) and Schmitt, Gunter & Liebhart (2004) provided strong evidence that the media Reach would influence the HMP. He provided the same story to the participants and told them that the report was from newspapers and college essays. As a result, the audience argued that there were more media bias in newspaper sources. The author considered this is because people perceive newspaper's media reach is much larger than the student's article and newspaper's influencing is stronger too. Therefore, evaluating reports from newspapers is more likely to have a

negative impression on the public.

### **HMP Psychological Mechanism**

Based on the two interpretations of the HMP phenomenon produced by Vallone et al. in 1985, there were a large number of scholars who proved that all theory of information processing, Priming effect and Social identification theory can explain the formation of HMP. Theory of information processing is mainly to support the dimension of the audience in HMP; the priming effect explains the role of stereotypes in the hostile media; social identification theory is the macroscopic interpretation framework of HMP. In the early studies, scholars focused their attention on the prejudice perception of participants with the same report, and did not involve other external external forms. Through these investigations and studies, scholars have introduced theory of information processing into the interpretation mechanism of HMP. First, scholars argue that selection recall may explain people's HMP. Because the audience will subconsciously remember the opposite views and ignore the information against each other (Arinyato, Hornsey, & Gallouis, 2007). Research by Iang, Newhagen, & Reeves (1996) also shows that when people perceive negative, angry and negative emotions are more likely to stimulate skin's electrical conductivity and muscle activity than pleasant positive emotions. Theory of negative memory bias further proves that people with negative emotions have more memory of negative news than those with positive emotions (Beck, Rush, Shaw & Emery, 1979). However, no relevant HMP studies have confirmed this interpretation so far. This may be due to the fact that the experimental materials and the methods of detection are not well controlled. For example, most experiments are evaluated for a specific content due to limited materials. It does not cause measurement of recall accuracy (Schmitt, et. al., 2004). The second

explanation is people's selective categorization. The classification and interpretation of people's accurate memory based on different positions can also explain the willingness of HMP production. Shmitt (2004) showed the same story to participants in the study of whether or not to promote GM foods, he asked partisans to recall the five most impressive content and classify their nature (positive and negative) of the report. The results show that there is no difference in the degree and accuracy of information recall between the opposing parties, but participants with deeper party identities feel stronger media hostility. Moreover, Different standard of judgment is another interpretation of HMP. This theory explains that the audience has no objection to the importance and tone of the report, but the degree of suitability and suitability about the content (Schmitt, et. al., 2004) . Arinytao, et. al. (2007) considered that people generally have a positive attitude towards their own values and behaviors, so they generally ignore the effectiveness of the other content in the report and even believe that the media reports are inaccurate and incomplete. In a study of Israelis and Pakistanis, Giner-Sorolla & Chaiken (1994) found that participants' sense of belonging to the country directly affected HMP, and the stronger the sense of national belonging, the stronger the perceived media as biased.

Besides, priming theory can also be used to explain audiences' HMP. This theory holds that when people process information, it is not always comprehensive and in-depth, but is based on the combination of information frequency. Anderson (1983) believes that information is generally stored in the form of nodes in human's brain and people built their memory by connecting those nodes together. When a new information node is created, the associated and salience information nodes are prioritized and help people interpret the new information. In the context of HMP, people's "stereotype" nodes of the media are first associated, which affects people's perception of information

(Weisbach, 2005). For example, Fox News is a representative of typical conservatism. When an audience watches news from Fox News, they are subconsciously influenced by stereotypes and believe that information is endorsing for conservative and anti-democratic parties. A study of Christians in the Philippines found that based on the stereotypes of Christians against Muslims, even if the partisans never read *Republika* and Sara Pemberuan's reports before, they were still considered Sare Pemberuan 's report is support Muslims to against them (Ariyanto, et.al., 2007).

Finally, social identification can also explain the production of HMP. Reid (2012) believes that although the information processing theory and priming theory can explain HMP from the aspect of information and information docking, it does not explain HMP from the source. He pointed out that the concept of Self-categorization of people's social identity can be explained by the source of HMP. Since Social Identification is the focus of this study, we will use a section below to explain its mechanisms and research results in detail.

### **Social Identity Theory**

The social identity theory explains the deep mechanism of the hostile media effect from a macro level. Reid (2012) argues that although the information processing theory and priming theory explain media bias is formed in information processing, it can not explain the source of bias. Based on Chor, Yang and Chang's study (2009), the judgment theory (Sheri & Nebergall, 1965) can be used as the basis for perceiving to drive perceived differences attitudes, Reid (2012) proposed a self-classification theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), he believes that self-categorization based on social identity is the source of hostile media perception. Self-categorization is an extension of the social identity theory in the composition and function of



self-concept (Tajfel, 1978, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) Since social identity has been proven to be the driving force of motivational reasoning in many early studies (Hindman, 2009; Veenstra, Lyons, & Fowler-Dawson, 2016), it is logical to play a role in HMP. Its core idea is to define social reality by reaching an agreement with internal members based on subjectively defined. When this affiliation is combined with self-concept, it creates an individual's social identity, which may affect the formation and maintenance of personal attitudes (Huddy 2013).

The premise of the self-categorization theory assumes that the self is a semi-independent concept that must depend on other elements. An extremely important component of self-identity is social identity, such as gender, age, partisanship, etc. As Matheson and Durson (2001) mentioned psychological self-advantage is the basic requirement of human beings. Many scholars like to regard the centrality of the self-concept (the overlap of “social identity” and the “self-classification”) as an important component (Cameron. 2004; Ieach et. Al., 2008). Because of the centrality and identity’s cognitive salience impinges, people naturally tend to actively protect the particularity and superiority of the self and the group in which they live. Fair or objective reporting is considered biased because the report does not cater to above requirements which are considered to be positive and distinct from other groups (Ariyanto, et. Al., 2007; Vallone, et, al., 1985). This is why HMP appears: the subjective expectation is not in line with the facts, so any objective report is considered to be unfavorable (Reid, 2012).

According to the self-categorization theory, social identity is cognitively defined as a feature cluster that is defined as an in-group associated with a particular out-group. When an in-group prototype is activated, it will be internalized and form the basis of individual’s knowledge and judgment (Reid, 2012). So when an individual is processing information, the in-group effect will influence people's

judgment and pass this value to emotional valence (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Cameron, 2004). The study by Reid (2012) explains this phenomenon well through three sets of progressive experiments. The results show that people will feel that media bias depends on group identification; in addition, when people have more assimilation of in-group source message will be more contrast from out-group source message and think the messages are strong bias against themselves. The interesting finding is that in Experiment 1, Reid verified the phenomenon of people's multiple identities (political parties and national identity). In other words, the definition of in-group will be change depends on the comparison of correlation of their identity. Since in-groups are not necessarily static, they also produce different social judgments. For example, supporters of the Democratic or Republican party will strongly dictate their own parties during elections and policy debates. When conflicts with foreign countries break out, however, people are more likely to share identity as American and put political differences in the background. Based on self-categorization, Reid (2012) argues that panelists' bias toward information is based on the metacontrast principle (Campbell, 1985; Haslam & Turner, 1995). In metacontrast, people use membership as a reminder of information accuracy. They want to agree and trust internal (in-group) information and members, not external (out-group). Therefore, when the message comes from the out-group, HMP is generated; when the information comes from in-group, there will be prejudice assimilation (Arpan & Raney, 2003).

Under this framework, if people have stronger self-categorization, the higher the awareness of 'Group Identity', and the wider the scope of interpretation of events by using the "in-group cognitive model". Sherif et al. (1965) argue that people's attitudes toward information, tasks, or events contain three consecutive ranges: a latitude of acceptance, a latitude of noncommitment and a latitude of rejection. The location of an event in the radius of an attitude determines how it may be perceived

and processed. The higher the level of involvement the greater the radius of rejection will be. Therefore, some neutral and objective information can easily enter the radius of rejection of those who stand in a Specific position (Sherif, Sherif & Nebergall, 1965). Specific to HMP, the higher possibility of information being excluded, the greater the degree of media bias will be. This provides an explanation for the relationship between self-categorization and HMP, and also provides a basic theoretical framework for information processing, media preconceptions and HMP associations.

We can realize that self-identification (self-classification) is a complex multidisciplinary concept, so scholars examining and testing it in different ways for many years. Social psychologists focus on people's identification of multiple groups (e.g., Gaertner and Insko, 2000); organizational researchers focus on how to attach people to work in organization (e.g., Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994); Political scientists focus on political identity and the relationship between political identity and national identity (e.g., Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989) and so on. Until Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy & Eidelaon (2008) proposed an identity model in the context of a relatively large social classification-distinguishing models of identification. Based on previous scholars' study on social identity perspective y (eg, Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1999; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Brown, 2000; Hogg, 2000), individualism m (eg, Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998), nationalism-patriotism (eg, Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989; Bar-Tal, 1993; Staub, 2000) and identification with organization (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Riketta, 2005), Roccas et al (2008) It is argue that the test of people's social identity can be carried out in four aspects: importance (belonging to the group is an important part of individuals life), Commitment (individuals are strongly committed to their group), Superiority (compared to other groups of its kind, Their group is especially good) and deference(there is usually a good reason for any rule or regulation that the group's leadership

proposal). Finally, they designed a 16items questionnaire to test the four identification models. The results show that all four models are likely to be correlated with the contribution to the group identification (Roccas et al. 2008). In this study, we will use this Distinguishing Models of Identification Inspecting the identification of American and Chinese in the context of HMP. Based on the above description of social identity and HMP, this paper makes the following assumptions:

In general, people who have a strong sense of group identity are more likely to be sensitive to reports about their group, and thus more prone to HMP. They believe that they are under more pressure to maintain positive group impressions (Hartmann & Tanis, 2013). Therefore, in-group identification can be one of the major mediators of HMP. There is also evidence that members with a strong sense of identity with a group organization have a more significant perception of HMP (Duck et al., 1988; Reid, 2012). Therefore, this study believes that HMP will prevail in both Chinese and American participants. In addition, Chinese and American citizens with a stronger sense of identity with their own country are more likely to feel that the foreign media is biased. Specific assumptions are as follows:

H1: Participants will perceive media coverage as biased against their country.

H2: The higher the group identification, the greater the HMP will be.

### **Model of Influence of Presumed Influence (IPI)**

The IPI model (Gunther & Storey, 2003) is a good explanation for the shift in ideology after the audience receives media bias. This model was created by Gunther et al (2003) through the derivation of the third person effect theory (TPE) (Davison, 1983). However these two concepts are contrary to each other. TPE focuses on the influence of media information on self and others and the resulting

behavior; while IPI research focuses on how individuals predict the impact of media on others and thus respond by “correcting behavior” in the real world. The IPI phenomenon is based on a more general concept - ‘persuasive press inference’ (Gunther, 1998), which recognizes people's attention and forms a media bias after participating in media information. Besides, people think that media information is representative and widely disseminate, so many others will also be exposed to similar information (Gunther, Christen, Liebhart, & Chia, 2001). Although they think that they are smart enough to resist media effects, people tend to adopt a relatively naive model (for example, The Magic Bullet Theory), based on their assumptions about other people's exposure to media information and believe they will be influence by media. (McLeod, Eveland, & Nathanson, 1997; Gunther & Storey, 2003, p. 202). According to previous research results, Shen & Huggins (2013) examined the IPI model. The results confirm the four steps that IPI leads to individuals experiencing media bias: 1. Self-exposure (personal contact with the media and a basic sense of information). 2. Shift from self-exposure to perceived exposure (assume the universality and broadness of media messages). 3. Assume that others are affected by the content of the media. 4. Adjust self-attitude and behavioral responses based on the assumptions of others. These four steps constitute an IPI causal chain: self-exposure → other-exposure→perceived effects on others→behavior (Shen, Huggins, 2013). This result confirms the role of IPI in perceived media bias. According to the model detected by Shen & Huggins (2013), the IPI process is mainly divided into two stages: 1. People's perception of the influence of media bias on others; 2. Changes of attitude and behavior for this perception.

First of all, when people think that other people pay more attention to the media, they will think this media effect has a greater impact on others (Eveland, Nathanson, Detenber, & McLeod, 1999). Gunther et al, (2003) argue that IPI consists of two parts: “assuming the influence of the media on

others” and “the influence of presumed media influence”. People will assume that others are exposed to similar information through their own perception of information (Gunther & Storey, 2003). The theoretical basis of this phenomenon is the persuasive press inference theory proposed by Guther (1998). He believes that people will form different opinions on different media and believe the spread of these messages is common. So based on the extrapolation effect, one would assume that other people are affected by the information when they receive it. (Gunther, 1998). Other related researches include Gunther&Store (2003), Tsifti & Cohe (2005), etc. However, some scholars believe that IPI should be influenced by the theoretical framework of Self-projection Theory. They believe people should tend to think of their viewpoint is more fair and standard in public ((Gunther & Chia, 2001). Christen et al (2002)'s study of United parcel services of 1997, however, shows that Both Teamster Union and UPS believe that there is media bias, but public opinion is consistent with their own views. Beside, the college students who participated in the physics field of the questionnaire believed that the media reports were neutral and supported their own views, and public opinion should be consistent with the media viewpoint (their own views). The author believes that this may be related to the strong demand for public opinion support, which offsets the impact of media bias on the audience and overestimates the consistency of public opinion. Finally, Gunther & Chia (2001) found in the experiment that the two opposite theories of persuasive press inference theory and Self-projection Theory occur simultaneously. people will think in the Persuasive press inference that media reports under HMP will influenced public to against themselves (Vallone et, al, 1985), but under the influence of Self-projection theory, public opinion should be consistent with its own views and will not affected by media (Gunther & Chia, 2001). A survey of whether primates should be used as experimental products found existence of both Persuasive Press Inference and

Self-projection Theory. The results show that Persuasive Press Inference is more effective than Self-projection in this research, and the public opinion has been guided to a certain extent (Gunther & Chia, 2001).

Second, the IPI model also explains the changes in attitudes and behaviors that people generate under the influence of media bias. As mentioned earlier, people are consider others will more easily influenced by media and the information they explore will reform their thoughts and behaviors (Gunther, 1998). Thus, individuals are willing to guide others' thinking and actions by changing their own attitudes and behaviors (Gunther, 1998; Paek & Gunther, 2007). When people perceived media bias, the attitude changes are mainly reflected in: evaluation of media credibility will be decrease, change the media's interest and informative cognition, generate media indignation and lead people to worried about public opinion (minority group alienation). Tsfaty & Cohen (2005) found that due to hostility to the media, people's evaluation of media credibility declined. They investigated the attitude of Jews settled in the Gaza Strip to the reports related to their shelter. As a result, it was confirmed that media bias was related to media credibility. It also found that media credibility is positively related to democratic trust, and that trust in democracy was negatively correlated with violence against the government. Therefore, media bias will also succinctly affect people's intention to resist the government. Coe et. al. (2008) found that media bias is positively related to whether the media is interesting and informative. Both liberal and conservative participants believe that The Daily Show is more biased and less interesting and informative than CNN and Fox news. At the same time, conservatives believe that Fox News is more interesting than liberals, which confirms the opposition between liberals and conservatives. In general, when people think that a media has less prejudice, then his interest and knowledge are stronger. In addition,

Hwang, Pan & Sun (2008) found that media bias also led to media indignation, which they defined as the anger, disgust and resentment of the audience due to media coverage. Interestingly, however, their research found that this media indignation may increase the probability that an audience will engage in media interaction and expose more relevant news. The Arpan & Nabi (2011) study also validates this conclusion. So more biased people think the media is, the more angry they will be. Moreover this kind of hostile media perception will lead the audience more worried about the public opinion. Many studies have studied this possible consequence. Suppose people think that media content reflects a majority opinion, or that the audience believes that the media will influence the opinions of others. Therefore, it affects public opinion. However, some scholars have verified the research on the contrary. They believe that people's mediation analysis of information will produce both hostile media effect and general media effect (Gunther et al., 2001; Gunther & Christen, 2002; Choi et al. 2009; cf. Huges & Glynn, 2010), in the case of Oita, the influence of the latter is often greater than the former, so even in the case of public perception of HME, public opinion is considered to be the same as themselves. However, Tsafati (2007) pointed out in the study of Arabs in the State of Israel that when the group in which it is in a weak position, the HMP felt by Arab group became particularly strong, resulting in the Arabs in Israel felt local (Israeli) have more negative impact on them and leading minority felt group alienation. It should be pointed out that the minimum group alienation reflected in this research is not directly caused by HMP or other people's behavior, but the influence that the audience feels on others under the influence of HMP.

In addition, has implication for behavioral intentions. If people think that others are more susceptible to harmful effects than themselves, they are more likely to take action (Huh et al., 2004). Therefore when people think the media is bias, and the information has obvious intentions of



malicious or over-operation, and will have a disproportionate impact on the public (TPE), people will try to "correct" the information they believe it is "wrong" (Barnidge & Rojas, 2014). The corrective behavior hypothesis was first found in Davison's (1983) seminal article outlining the third-person effect. The author shared his anecdote in the political elections. When he received a leaflet from a candidate he did not support in his mailbox, he thought he needed to make a neutral act, so he produced and distributed the flyer about the candidate he supported. In the beginning, this phenomenon was considered to be related to the third-person effect (Sun et al., 2008) but later it confirmed to be also related with HMP and presumed media influence (PMI) (Rojas, 2010). Davison also mentioned other similar study in the article. For example, in Tsfaty, Ribak & Cohen's study (2005) mentioned that when parents think that their children have a greater influence on violent media content, they will monitor the children watching TV. If parents think that other children have a greater impact on their children, they will also monitor the children's social relationships; Su, Shen & Pan (2008) found that students are willing to participate in the correction of "reality TV programs." Similarly, Neuwin, Frederrivk & Mayyo (2002) also found that those who perceive more media effects are more willing to participate in controversial topics.

The most studied behavioral effect of HMP and IPI has been support the censorship of the information which perceived negative influences (Gunther, 1995; McMeed, Eveland & Nathanson, 1997; Rojas, Shah, & Faber, 1996; Wei & Lo, 2007). Gunther (1995) found that people tend to underestimate the extent to which the media influences themselves and think those news content is acceptable. When assessing the impact of news on others, however, they usually believe those news are generally unacceptable. In other words, the more cautious they are, the more likely they want to protect others by supporting government censorship. This phenomenon is consistent with the

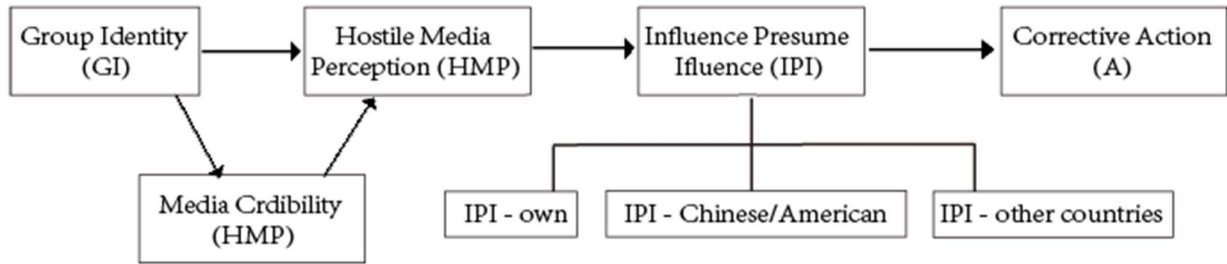
paternalism argument. In essence, People think they can handle themselves well with media bias, but others need to be regulated when they receive bias from the media. Lo, Lu & Hou, (2015)'s study about provide evidence supporting the relationship between hostile media effect and desire for censorship, the result shoes that the participants' controversial news had a greater impact on others. In addition, people also believe that they may oppose the government's policy of restoring imports of US beef. Similar results have appeared in the reports of Xu and Gonzenbach (2008), they demonstrated that the hostile media perception were positively associated with the influence on others and support for censorship as the corrective action. Moreover, In a study on presumed influence of American news about China on Chinese people (Wei, Lo & Golan, 2017) indicate that when residents of Country A feel the media bias from country B, they will think that their government should take action to influence the media of Country B to correct any uncompromising reports of their country. In other words, residents of country A will assume that their country's influence has significant and positive predictive power, so they will support their global public relations campaign to present their ideal image against negative reports from foreign media (Wei, Lo & Golan, 2017).

In the present study we designed to provide a test of the relationship between IPI and corrective behavior components of the HMP. Following Guther (1995), Rojas et al.(1996), Lo, Lu & Hou, (2015), and Wei, Lo & Golan (2017) we predict::

H3: IPI will be positively related to people support for government's global engagement (increase global public relation funds; increase the fund for Multilanguage television services; increase funds that can influence foreign social media and improve foreign media's coverage of US/ China)

## **The Structural Equation Model (SEM)**

In order to better explore the relationship between the theories and phenomenon involved in this study, we established a new model. Structural Equation Model (SEM) was first proposed by Bock and Bargmann in the field of psychometrics in the 1960s. It is a multivariate statistical method based on variable covariance matrix to analyze the relationship between variables and makes it possible to construct all the potential factors into complex theoretical relations (Bollen, 1987). This model will help us frame A model that can support the structure of the variables of this study. Thus the model in this study has set up 5 potential variables which include: theoretical connection of Group Identification (GI), Media credibility (MC), Hostile Media Perception (HMP), Influence of Presumed Influence (IPI) and constructive Action(A). Besides, corresponding observation variables were set to better support our potential variables. For details, please refer to the measurement section. Through testing various variables in the model, we will further explore whether the GI of participants will act on HMP, and try to prove the relationship between IPI and Corrective Action (support the government to strengthen the public relations budget). As shown in figure 1, the relationship we established is: people's Group Identification will directly act on HMP and MC, and MC will negatively affect people's perception of media bias. As an intermediary between HMP and corrective action (A), IPI will make participants more inclined to support the government to carry out relevant global public relations activities.



**Figure 1.** Theoretical Model

*\*Information provided by the student for the purposes of this study.*

## CHAPTER THREE:

### METHOD

#### Survey Design

This study will use the online survey to investigate of Americans/Chinese views on Chinese media coverage of US/ American media coverage of China. Survey, as one of the most commonly research methods, have been used by many scholars in surveys related to national imagery. Custodio & Gouveia (2007) evaluated the cognitive image of Portugal based on the media coverage during 2004 European Football Championships. Similar studies include Giraldi, Ikeda, & Campomar (2011) and Godey & colleagues (2012). In addition, the questionnaire method is often used in research on HMP too and contributed a lot (Hwang, Pan & Sun, 2008; Choi, Yang, & Chang, 2009; Rojas, 2010; Barnidge & Rojas, 2014; Feldman, Hart, Leiserowitz, Maibach & Renouf, 2015). Although both questionnaires and experimental methods (most studies) are commonly used in HMP research (Matheson & Dursun, 2001; Gunther & Liebhart, 2006; Lim & Golan, 2011; Brubaker, 2012), Hansen & Kim (2011) did Meta-analysis for 34 HMP studies and indicates that there is no statistical significance about whether using experimental methods or questionnaires method in the HMP study. Moreover, because of the development of technology, Yang & Wang (2018) believes that the online questionnaire is an approach to international education scholars and researchers as an alternative research (e. g., Hwang, Pan & Sun, 2008, Brubaker, 2012; Liu, 2017, etc). Therefore, this study will collect research data through Qualtrics ([www.qualtrics.com](http://www.qualtrics.com)), an online survey platform in the US, and AskForm ([www.askform.cn](http://www.askform.cn)), an online survey platform in China. Qualtrics website was founded

in 2002, and its clients include American universities, Barnes & Noble, CVS Caremark, Geico, Microsoft and other companies; AskForm was established in 2001, China Unicom, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Merck, and Multinational clients such as the American Marketing Association provide services.

## **Participants**

Researchers will recruit students, professors and employees from different fields to participate in the survey and ask participants to share links with other participants through famous social platforms and websites such as Facebook, Twitter, Wechat, Weibo and QQ. To be specific, the author has Shared the questionnaire link on Facebook, Twitter (USA); Wechat, Weibo and QQ (China), asking classmates, friends and teachers to fill in the questionnaire and share the questionnaire link again on social media to get more participants. In addition, in the distribution of questionnaires in the United States, this study also distributed questionnaires through mTurk, and asked people who were interested to participate in this study to answer the questionnaires. This no-probability, self-selected, volunteer sampling method, combined with the snowball sampling method allows participants to share the questionnaire with participants who are interested. Similar sampling methods have been successfully used in studies by Johnson & Kaye, 2004; 2007; 2009; Kaye, 2005, 2007; Kaye & Johnson, 2011. Since the samples are from the United States and China, the instrument will be translated into Chinese by Chinese researchers. Considering that Chinese is the native language of the researcher, item linguistic integrity was not a problem.

The total number of samples collected in this study was 601 (300 in China; 301 in the United States). The proportion of men (46.1%) and women (52.3%) in the U.S. sample was roughly equal

(the other 1.3%). However, this proportion is somewhat different from the overall situation of American Internet users (38.3% male, 66.7% female; See ICTFactsFigures 2017). The age distribution of participants was relatively average, among which 18-25 years old (25.3%), 26-35 years old (37.5%), 36-45 years old (18.9%), 46-55 years old (11.6%) and over 56 years old (6%).

Among 301 respondents in the U.S., 37.9% participants had Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA, BS), 24.3% are in some college but without the degree, 15.3% had a Master's degree (e.g. MA, MS, MEd), 10% had an associate degree (e.g. AA, AS), 8.3% had a high school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED), 2% had a professional degree (e.g. MD, DDS, DVM), 1.3% had a doctorate degree (e.g. PhD, EdD) and only 1% participants are less than a high school diploma. In terms of race, 77.4% of the respondents were White, 7.2% were Asian, 6.6% were Black or African American, 1.3% were American Indian or Alaska Native, and 7.3% were refer not to answer the question. In terms of political intention, 29.2% of the American respondents said they were independents. In terms of political intention, 29.2% of the American respondents said they were independents. 44.9% of respondents supported conservatives, while 25.9% supported liberals. 22.6% of American participants were politically neutral, 55.5% were liberal and only 26.9% were conservative.

In China, total of 300 samples were collected, among which there was little difference between male (52%) and female (46.3%) (other gender accounted 1.7%). Participants were mainly aged from 18 to 35 years old (89.3% of the total sample), while participants over 35 years old only accounted for 10.7%. In terms of gender, this sample is very close to the proportion of Chinese Internet users. For the age, however, the participants in this study is much younger (in the total number of Chinese Internet users, male accounts for 52.7%, female accounts for 47.3%; 67.8 percent were between the ages of 10 and 39. See China Internet network information center, 2019).

Among 300 respondents in Chinese, 41.3% participants had Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA, BS), 29.3% had a Master's degree (e.g. MA, MS, MEd), 15.7% are in some college but without the degree, 7.7% had a high school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED), 10% had an associate degree (e.g. AA, AS), 1.3% had a professional degree (e.g. MD, DDS, DVM), 1.7% had a doctorate degree (e.g. PhD, EdD) and 3% participants are less than a high school diploma. In terms of race, 78% of the respondents were Asian, 2.7% were multiracial or other, 0.7% were White and 18.7% were prefer not to answer the question. In terms of political intention, 29.2% of the American respondents said they were independents. In terms of political intention, 61% of the Chinese respondents said they were independents. 33.37% of respondents supported conservatives, while 25.9% supported liberals. 22.6% of American participants were politically neutral, 55.5% were liberal and only 26.9% were conservative. In the sample, more than half (61%) of Chinese respondents said they were independents when it came to political intentions. Supporters of the communist party of China (CPC) account for 33.37%, with the overwhelming majority expressing strong support for CPC, while those from other parties account for 5.3% of the total. Half (50.3%) of Chinese respondents were politically neutral, 38.7% were liberal and only 11% were conservative.



## **CHAPTER FOUR:**

### **MEASUREMENT**

#### **Pre-exposure**

Since our research is aimed at Americans and Chinese, all participants will be asked before answering the online survey “what is your nationality?”, only the United States and Chinese participants can continue answer the survey.

#### **Group Identification (GI)**

To examine the role of identity variables in HMP, this study will use ‘Distinguishing Models of Identification’ (Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy & Eideison, 2008). Based on previous studies (eg, Gaertner, Dovudio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust , 1993; Miller, Brewer, & Edwards, 1985; see Brown, 2000, for a review), Roccas et al (2008) believe that the model used to study the social identity perspective can be further divided into four conceptually distinct modes of identification: importance – How much individuals view the group as part of who they are; commitment – how much they want to benefit their group; superiority – how much they view their group as superior group; and deference – how much they honor, submit and revere to the group's Norms, leadership and symbols.

By asking 382 volunteers and 102 college students to answer a 16-items survey to examine identification with the United States. The experimental results verify the validity of the model proposed by Roccas et al (2008). In addition, Sagiv, Roccas & Hazan (2012); Rinker & Neighbors

(2014); Weller & Kurman (2017); Ardag & Cohrs (2017); Zhixian (2018) and other scholars also used this measurement model in their research.

In this study, 16 items survey questions proposed by Roccas et al (2008) will be used to verify participants' perception of group identification using 7-point response scale rating from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). 16 items are include: importance (' Being American/Chinese is an important part of my identity'; 'It is important to me that I view myself as American/Chinese'; 'It is important to me that others see me as American/Chinese 'When I talk about American/Chinese, I usually say “we” rather than “they”'), commitment ('I feel strongly affiliated with the USA/China' I am glad to contribute to the USA/China. I'm strongly committed to the USA/China'; 'I like to help the USA/China'), superiority ('Other countries can learn a lot from the USA'; 'Compared to other countries, the UAS/China is particularly good'; 'Relative To other countries, the USA/China is a very moral country'; 'The USA/China is better than other countries in all respects'), and deference ('In times of trouble, the only way to know what to do is depends on the president'; 'All Americans should respect the customs, the institutions, and the leaders of the country'; 'It is disloyal to criticize the USA/China'; 'There is usually a good reason for every rule and regulation that the USA/Chinese leaders propose') (Roccas et. ql., 2008).

### **Hostile Media Perception (HMP)**

Previous HMP studies examined HMP by examining people's personal opinions and perceived media slant or media biases (e. g., Vallone, Ross & Lepper, 1985; Gunther & Chia, 2001; Gunther & Liebhart, 2006). When there is a negative relationship between personal opinion and media perception, it indicates the existence of HMP. Base on this, Choi et al (2009) argue that when the

score of perceived media slant is away from the score of the individual opinion in the opposite direction, the HMP will increase and she called value as the 'HMP score'. The advantage of this measurement is that it is convenient to obtain individual differences and to explore the relationship between HMP and other traction and the consequences of HMP (Choi et. al., 2009).

The specific process of detection is as follows: first, investigate the participants' personal views and perceived media slant (eg Vallone et. al., 1985; Gunther et. sl., 2001). Second, average two items to yield a single measure of perceived media slant. Finally, the HMP is calculated in two stages: a subtracting the perceived media slant score from the individual opinion score; b. The reverse coded score indicates the appropriate perception (HMP score). Barnifge & Rojas (2014), McLemore (2015) and other studies have verified the validity of this calculation method.

Besides, the questions asking about the participants' personal views and perceived media bias are refer to Gunther & Liebhart 's research in 2006. First, when asking participants about their personal views on US-China relations by asking “When it comes to the USA – China relationship, I support:” using a response scale from – 4 (The USA) to +4 (China). In addition, to examining the perceived media slant, participants were asked: "As far as you can tell media coverage of the USA/China in China/the USA is strongly bias against or in favor of the USA/China?" ; ”About what percentage of the Chinese/the USA media coverage of the USA/China was favorable/ unfavorable to the issue of the USA and China relationship?” and “As far as you can tell Chinese/American journalists and editors are strongly bias against or in favor of the USA/China?”. Responses were rating by respond scale from 4 (strongly biased against) to +4(strongly biased in favor) with0 as the (neutral) midpoint; the percentage answer were rating by 11-point scales varying from 0% (none) to 100% (all). This questioning method is also often used in other studies (e.g., Perloff. 1989; Giner-Sorolla & Chaiken,

1994; Gunther & Schmitt, 2004; Schmitt et al, 2004).

Moreover, this study will remove participants who do not have a (neutral) position (with a personal opinion score of 0), as was done by Vallone et. al (1985), Gunther et al (2001), and others. The purpose is to leave participants who have an opinion on the topic in the analysis.

### **Media Credibility (MC)**

The media credibility test index was first proposed by Gaziano and McGrath's (1986), and then simplified by Meyer's (1988). Finally, the six scales of media credibility be proposed by Capella and Jameison (1997), include: fair, complete, accurate, biased (reverse coded), reliable, and beneficial to the community. This method has been used by a large number of scholars in HMP filed (e.g. Gunther, 1992; McLemore, 2015; Feldman, 2008). Thus, this study will use these six items to measure media credibility of Chinese media coverage of U.S. and U.S. media coverage of China by using 7-point Scale rating from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

### **Perceived Influence (IPI)**

IPI is a phenomenon in which individuals tend to infer other people's perception about the information (Gunther & Storey, 2003). Individuals believe others are likely to exposed similar news with themselves due to media's widely influences (Gunther, Christen, Liebhart, & Chia, 2001). Thus, the information will easily influence others' opinions and attitudes (Gunther & Storey, 2003, p.202). There are many studies on this research phenomenon, including Gunther & Christen, 1999, 2002; Mutz & Soss, 1997; Salwen, 1998 Gunther & Storey, 2003; Tsfati & Cohen, 2005). Most of the tests for the IPI phenomenon are tested by asking participants about their own and their perceived impact

on others. There are many scholars studying the IPI phenomenon, including Gunther & Christen, 1999, 2002; Mutz & Soss, 1997; Salwen, 1998 Gunther & Storey, 2003; Tsfati & Cohen, 2005. Most of the tests are tested by asking participants about their own views and their perceptions about how information may impact on others. Related studies in recent years include: Neuwirth & Frederick (2009); Chia (2010); Ho, Ng, Leong & Tham (2015). This study will continue to use this method and draw on the questions asked by Wei, Lo & Golan (2017). Similar usage also appears in studies by Neuwirth & Frederick, 2009; Shen & Huggins, 2013; and Lo, Wei, Lu & Huo, 2015. Participants were asked to answer “To what extent do you think Chinese/the USA made coverage of the USA/China influences you on: (1) China/the USA (2) Chinese/the USA Government (3) Chinese/the USA values (4) Chinese/the USA People (5) Chinese/the USA company?” To examine participants’ perception about how media coverage affects others, the other two questions had asked by replacing "you" with "Chinese" and "people’s view in other countries" on 5-point scale, where 1 = "no influence", 3 = "neutral" and 5 = "great influence".

### **Corrective Action (A)**

Based on the premise of IPI, people attribute the impact of media messages to others and then respond to this perception by changing their attitudes or behaviors (Gunther & Storey, 2003). In other words, when people receive the “wrong” information, they are willing to “correct” it to influence public through corrective actions. There has been a lot of research focused on corrective behavior generated by media bias (e. g. Gunther & Storey, 2003; Cohen, & Tsfati, 2010, Rojas, 2010; Wei, Lo & Golan, 2017, etc.). Wei et al (2017) pointed out that residents of country A believe their government should act to influence the media of country B and to 'correct' any negative

coverage of their country when they feel the media bias from country B. Therefore, this study asks partisans whether support for their government's global profile (increase its global relationship budget; increase its global foreign social media engagement budget; increase its global TV broadcasting budget; and priorities improving its image broad.) with 5-point Scales Rating from 1(Strongly disagree) to 5(strongly agree).

### **General Demographic**

Last but not the less, the questionnaire will demographic variables (gender, age, and education level). By examine the demographic variable can help researcher gives a better description of the samples in this study. Besides, these variables are considered related to American media coverage of China (Andsager & White, 2007; Rojas, 2010; Kim, 2015.) and Chinese media coverage of U.S. (Yang, 2016).

## **CHAPTER FIVE:**

### **RESULT**

Descriptive and judgmental statistics of each variable in this study will be presented in this chapter, including media credibility, social identification, HMP, IPI and corrective behaviors. The test results of the three research hypotheses are also shown below.

#### **Main Variables**

##### **Group identification**

Based on 'Distinguishing Models of Identification '(Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy & Eideison, 2008). Fourteen questions were set in this study to evaluate the Group Identification of the respondents. From the point of data analysis, the results of this study, all of the scales for group identity yielded a strong reliability coefficient ( $\alpha = .945$ ;  $\alpha = .911$ ), the additive index was computed for American's group identification ( $M = 3.29$ ,  $SD = 1.704$ ). And Chinese's group identification ( $M = 5.35$ ,  $SD = 1.108$ ).

##### **Hostile media perception**

This study follows the method of HMP detection in Gunther & Liebhart (2006). American participants were asked their opinions about the United States, including: US government ( $M = .60$ ,  $SD = 1.715$ ), foreign policy ( $M = .55$ ,  $SD = 1.541$ ), role in the world ( $M = .66$ ,  $SD = 1.771$ ), economic

policies (M=.53, SD=1.743) and American people (M= -.65, SD= 2.043); And their views on Chinese media coverage about the United States (M=-1.03, SD= 1.267), the degree they view on Chinese media's bias against the United States (M=-.85, SD=2.552), and Chinese journalists' attitudes towards the United States (M= -.81, SD= 1.583).

Meanwhile, Chinese participants were asked their views on China, including: Chinese government (M= 1.80, SD=1.721), foreign policy (M=1.87, SD= 1.615), role in the world (M= 1.97, SD= 1.523), economic policies (M=1.35, SD= 1.678) and Chinese people (M= 1.58, SD=1.713); And their views on the American media coverage about China (M=-1.09, SD= 1.950), the degree they view American media coverage is bias against China (M=-.92, SD= 1.840), and their attitudes towards China (M= -1.24, SD= 1.632). Those two scales are all got a strong reliability coefficient in both American (a=.826) and Chinese (a=.875) region.

### **Media credibility**

Participants were asked to rate foreign media coverage of their country based on a series of measures of media credibility for life. Mean and standard deviation of media credibility evaluation of American participants as follow, fairness (M=-.59, SD=1.155), accuracy (M=.55, SD=1.231), credibility (M=-.60, SD=1.307), completeness (M= .57, SD= 1.288), and whether it is good for society (M= .21, SD=1.368).

In turn, the mean and standard deviation of Chinese participants' evaluation of media credibility as follow, fairness (M=-1.25, SD=1.360), accuracy (M=-1.13, SD=1.250), credibility (M=-.78, SD=1.287), completeness (M= -1.18, SD= 1.350), and whether it is good for society (M=-.81, SD=1.399). Since all of the scale for media credibility yielded strong reliability coefficients, a =.735



and  $\alpha = .880$ .

### **The Influence of Presumed Influence**

We asked participants of both countries to evaluate the impact of foreign media on domestic packages, specifically divided into three dimensions. American participants were asked to rate the impact of Chinese media reports about United States on Americans ( $M=1.96$ ,  $SD=1.163$ ), on Chinese people ( $M= 3.49$ ,  $SD=1.272$ ), and on people from other countries ( $M=2.86$ ,  $SD=1.062$ ). Chinese participants were asked to rate the impact of U.S. media coverage of China on Chinese ( $M=3.12$ ,  $SD=1.156$ ), on Americans ( $M= 1.349$ ,  $SD=1.085$ ), and people from other countries ( $M=3.28$ ,  $SD=.944$ ). The data of the United States ( $\alpha=.907$ ) and China ( $\alpha=.865$ ) all showed that the IPI scale had a strong reliability coefficient, so the index was also computed for this variable ( $M=3.18$ ,  $SD =.630$ ).

### **Corrective Action**

There are many ways for people to correct their behavior. This study limits this behavior to the participants' support for the foreign policy of their government. The same survey method has been used in Wei, Lo, & Golan's study (2017). This research requires participants to rate will they willing to support their government to increase its global public relationship budget (US:  $M=3.55$ ,  $SD=1.412$ ; Chinese:  $M=3.57$ ,  $SD=.904$ ), global foreign social media engagement budget (US:  $M=3.89$ ,  $SD=1.491$ ; Chinese:  $M=3.61$ ,  $SD=.857$ ), global TV broadcasting budget (US:  $M=4.09$ ,  $SD=1.512$ ; Chinese:  $M=3.71$ ,  $SD=.872$ ) and the budget improving its image abroad (US:  $M=3.14$ ,  $SD=1.512$ ; Chinese:  $M=3.67$ ,  $SD=1.032$ ). As expected, measurement of participants' corrective

action also yielded strong reliability coefficients,  $\alpha = .844$  and  $\alpha = .809$ , an additive index was computed for this variable ( $M = 3.067$   $SD = .589$ ).

### **Hypothesis Testing**

The first hypothesis is that respondents in both countries will generally feel that foreign media reports about their own countries are biased. To calculate participants' hostile media perception, this study still followed previous research method which subtracting the hostile media perception from personal opinion and revers coding the HMP score (Gunther et al., 2001; Choi et al, 2009; McLemore, 2015, etc.). In this study both American participants ( $M = 1.39$ ,  $SD = 1.365$ ) and Chinese participants ( $M = 4.80$ ,  $SD = 2.288$ ) showed the HMP phenomenon is widespread in both countries. In order to better understanding HMP phenomenon, this study use both Paired-Samples T test and Independent T test to further test H1, as well as compare the performance of HMP in China and the United States. The results showed that there were significant differences between people's personal opinions ( $M = .33$ ,  $SD = 1.355$ ) and the perception of foreign media reports about their own country ( $M = -2.56$ ,  $SD = 1.228$ ),  $T(301) = 24.749$ ,  $p = .000$  in the United States; Chinese participants also showed significant different opinion between personal opinions ( $M = 1.72$ ,  $SD = 1.349$ ) and the perception of foreign media reports about their own country  $M = -3.09$ ,  $SD = 1.575$ ,  $T(300) = 536.345$ ,  $p = .000$ . Furthermore, we found that American and Chinese participants show different level of HMP. Specifically, the independent T test result shows that Chinese participants HMP ( $M = 4.80$ ,  $SD = 2.288$ ) is much more higher than Americans ( $M = 1.39$ ,  $SD = 1.365$ ),  $T(601) = 12.497$ ,  $p = .000$ . The second hypothesis holds that the higher the group identification, the greater the HMP will be. To test this hypothesis, Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated to evaluate the relationship

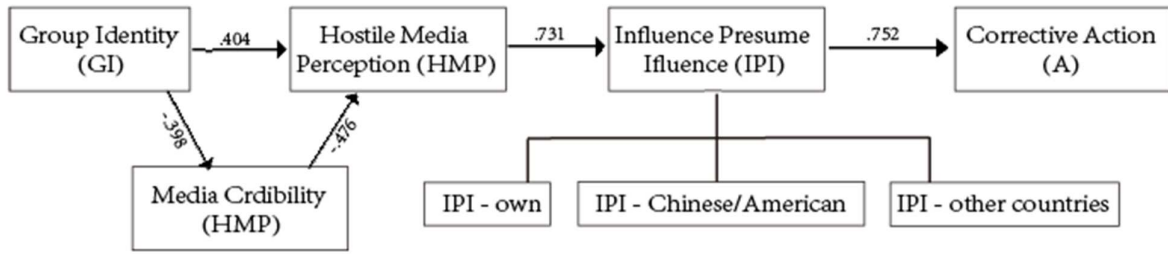
between GI and HMP. The results showed a statistically significant positive correlation between GI and HMP, in both American ( $r = .540$ ,  $N = 301$ ,  $p = .000$ ) and China ( $r = .652$ ,  $N = 300$ ,  $p = .000$ ). Therefore, hypothesis 2 is supported. To further discuss the relationship between GI and HMP, we conducted a further regression analysis of these two variables, and the results showed that GI can predict the degree of HMP to some extent in both American ( $b = .461$ ,  $p = .000$ ) and Chinese ( $b = 1.690$ ,  $p = .000$ ).

The third hypothesis believes that IPI will be positively related to people supporting for government's foreign policy. To test this hypothesis, multiple linear regression method was used to evaluate the relationship between the independent variable (corrective action) and independent variables (IPI1- influence on themselves, IPI2- influence on Chinese/Americans, IPI3- influence on the people in other countries). The results show that both American participants presumed influence of Chinese media coverage about the US on themselves ( $b = -.022$ ,  $p = .000$ ); on Chinese ( $b = .421$ ,  $p = .000$ ); on people in other country ( $b = .165$ ,  $p = .000$ ) and Chinese participants presumed influence of American media coverage about China on themselves ( $b = .408$ ,  $p = .000$ ); on Americans ( $b = .344$ ,  $p = .000$ ); on people in other country ( $b = .292$ ,  $p = .000$ ) were all significant and positive predictor of corrective action (support for government increase the budget on public relationship). However, the IPI evaluate by American participants on themselves ( $b = -.028$ ,  $p = .466$ ) did not shows the statistic significant associate with corrective actions. Thus H3 are partly supported.

### **Model Analysis**

In this paper, ML method in AMOS software is used to estimate the coefficient of SEM model. This approach was considered to produce more reliable estimates (Enders & Bandalos, 2001). Besides,

the standardized coefficients are given to measure the coefficients between different paths. X2, Root Mean Square Residual (RMR), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), Confirmatory Fit Index (CFI), Normed Fit Index (NFI), Independence (AIC) and the p of close fit (PCLOSE) was used to evaluate the model fit. In order to test the invariance of measurement, we set Group Identification (GI), Media credibility (MC), Hostile Media Perception (HMP), Influence of Presumed Influence (IPI) and constructive Action(A) as potential variables. After preliminary analysis, we obtained the initial model (chi-square =284.088, df=70, GFI=.852, RMSEA=.127, RMR=.144, CFI=.796, NFI=.746, AIC=321.078). Violation estimation and model fit test are used to observe the degree of consistency between the measurement model and the observed data. Generally, a good model fit is considered to have: chi-square value as small as possible; GFI > 0.9; RMR < 0.05; RMSEA<0.05 excellent (0.05-0.08, good; 0.08-0.1, moderate; >0.1 bad); NFI > 0.9, CFI > 0.9; And the smallest possible AIC value. Since the results of the initial model did not meet the criteria of the rational model, we modified the initial model by Modification Index (MI). After freed paths among the variables and removing non-significant variables, the final model is obtained (chi-square =148.151, df =67, GFI=.904, RMSEA=.081, RMR=.097, CFI=.933, NFI=.870, AIC=224.151), as shown in figure 2. It can be found that chi-square of the optimal model decreased significantly after adjustment, CGF value reached the optimal model standard, RMSEA value was close to 0.8, CFI value was greater than 0.9, and AIC value also decreased significantly. The results show that our best model can fit the original data well and carry out practical analysis and discussion.



**Figure 2.** Structural equation model of HMP phenomenon

*\*Information provided by the student for the purposes of this study.*

## CHAPTER SIX:

### CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The current study aims to study whether there is an HMP in Chinese and American citizens' attitudes towards foreign media's reports about their own countries. What role did 'Group Identification' play? Will Hostile media perception induced 'Influence of Presumed Influence' directly lead to people's "corrective action"? What are the differences between Chinese and American participants? An online questionnaire was used to assess the HMP phenomenon reported by foreign media in China by Chinese and American people. Three key results from the hypothesis and data analysis are described and explained in this section. An online questionnaire was used to assess the views of Chinese and American people on foreign media coverage of their own countries. Three key results from the hypothesis and data analysis are described and explained in this section. The first investigation hypothesis focuses on whether the HMP phenomenon of foreign media is prevalent in China and the United States. All the participants are not asked to evaluate specific news reports, but rather foreign media's reports about the country as a whole. This is anchored in the HMP reference. The essence of hostile media perception does not depend on the media content itself, but people's subjective perception (Hwang, Pan, Sun, 2008). T-test results of paired samples showed that there was a statistically significant difference between the two dimensions of Hostile Media Perception (personal opinions & opinions on media reports) in American ( $t(301) = 24.749, p < .000$ ) and China ( $t(300) = 36.345, p < .000$ ). In addition, American participants' hostile media perception of Chinese media coverage about the U.S. ( $M = 1.92, SD = 1.839$ ) was found to be less than Chinese

participants' hostile media perception of US media coverage about China ( $M=2.34$ ,  $SD=1.766$ ) ( $t(601) = 512.497$ ,  $p < .000$ ).

As for the causes of hostile media, this study explores the influence of people's involvement in in-group. In this process, people will achieve the realization of social identity and the completion of social cognition by keeping consistent with the cognition of their group (Turner, et Al., 1987). According to previous studies on hostile media perception, audiences' different definitions and degrees of involvement in in-group will directly lead to different perceptions and degrees of hostile media (Ginersorolla, Chaiken, 1994; Oh, Park, 2011; Kim, 2011, etc.). Therefore, as one of the most important influencing factors, 'Group Identification' is predicted to have the most direct impact on people's perception of media bias.

The second hypothesis of this study is that the higher the 'Group identification' of the Chinese and American participants, the deeper the HMP will be generated. According to the analysis, there was a statistically significant positive correlation between two variables, and group identification (GI) plays a certain role in predicting participants' hostile media perception (HMP) (American:  $b = .540$ ,  $p < .000$ ; China:  $b = .652$ ,  $p < .000$ ). This result complements previous studies on GI and HMP (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1999; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Brown, 2000; Hogg, 2000, etc). Besides, This result, to some extent, explains why Chinese participants showed higher HMP than American participants.

In addition to the degree to which GI affects HMP, we believe that different media environment may also cause explain the reason why people in different countries perceived media bias differently. It has to be admitted that the media environment in China and the United States is extremely different. Fundamentally, the role of the media in the two countries is quite different due to their

different polity and political environment. It has to be admitted that the media environment in China and the United States is very different. Fundamentally speaking, the role of the media in the two countries is quite different due to their different polity and political environment. In China, the news media is the mouthpiece of the Chinese communist party and government (introduction to journalism: Li Liangrong, 2005). As an important part of the whole cause of the party, the news media must adhere to the principle of party spirit (Jiang, 1989). In addition, China is a one-party state, so it is conceivable that Chinese media have a relatively positive evaluation of China, which indirectly shapes the Chinese people's extraordinarily optimistic attitude towards China. Due to the multi-party political system in the United States, the press environment is relatively free. A batch of media with a certain political tendency was generated, such as CNN, FOX News, etc. Because the American public has long been accustomed to different views in the media, it indirectly leads to a more open attitude towards views that may do not agree with them.

H3 of this study explores the relationship between Influence of Presumed Influence (IPI) and consequences - 'corrective action'. Based on the literature of hostile media perception, scholars have suggested that perceptions of the strong influence of biased media coverage will indirectly led people increased the willingness to implement relevant corrective actions (Tsfati & Cohen, 2005; Cohen & Tsfati, 2009; Golan & Lim, 2016; Wei, Lo, & Golan, 2017, etc.). What we can find from most the results is that the perceived influence from bias media coverage of Chinese and American participants will directly lead to their support for the government's public relations. However, the result did not show any statistically significant relationship between American perceived impact from bias media coverage on themselves and willingness to support government public relationship ( $b=-.028, p=.466$ ).



To be more specific, as we predicted above, Chinese participants generally believe that biased media covers affect others more than themselves. They argue that biased American media coverage of China affects Americans ( $M=3.49$ ,  $SD=.902$ ) more than people in other countries ( $M=3.48$ ,  $SD=.820$ ), and themselves ( $M=3.12$ ,  $SD=.919$ ) are the least affected. This is understandable, since previous research has shown that people subconsciously assume that others are more susceptible to media effects when they pay attention to media covers than they are (Eveland, Nathanson, Detenber, & McLeod, 1999; Gunther, & Store, 2003; Tsfaty & Cohe, 2005, etc). In addition, since biased media covers produced by American media, participants will assume that the involvement of American audiences is much higher than that of participants in other countries, which leads to greater influence on American participants. At the same time, it is theoretically consistent with the academic theory that involvement of participants affects HMP (Giner-Sorolla, & Chaiken, 1994; Hwang, et al. 2008; Kim, 2011). But interestingly, we found that American participants in this study generally believed that bias media coverage had a greater impact on people in other countries ( $M=3.53$ ,  $SD=.913$ ) than on themselves ( $M=3.29$ ,  $SD=1.065$ ) than on the Chinese ( $M=3.18$ ,  $SD=.974$ ). In other words, they believe that Chinese media coverage of American has far less impact on Chinese people than people in other countries and themselves. Perhaps the reason for this phenomenon may be because the differences between two countries' social (political) systems. We believe this will be an interesting subject for future research.

Finally, in order to test the proposed causal model, structural equation modeling is carried out. The results show our model is significant important (chi-square =148.151,  $df =67$ ,  $GFI=.904$ ,  $RMSEA=.081$ ,  $RMR=.097$ ,  $CFI=.933$ ,  $NFI=.870$ ,  $AIC=224.151$ ). As shown in the following, SEM model shows that people's group identity had a direct effect on hostile media perception ( $B=.404$ ,

$p < .001$ ) and had negative effect on media credibility ( $B = -.398, P < .001$ ). People's media credibility also influenced on hostile media perception ( $B = -.476, P < .001$ ). Besides people's hostile media perception had directly impacted on influence of presumed influence ( $B = .731, P < .001$ ). Furthermore, people's perception of biased media coverage had also direct effect on corrective action ( $B = .752, p < .001$ ). The results can also support data analysis for H2 and H3 hypothesis.

The present study is try to address how do American and Chinese people perceived the influence from Chinese or US media coverage about their own country? Besides, how do individuals think people from other countries will influenced by the media coverage that they think biased. Finally, how would presumed influence affect individuals 'corrective' actions by supporting government global public relations campaigns and international broadcasting services.

To solving above three problems, this study can supplement the application of IPI model in HMP. Secondly it can provide more powerful evidence for HMP theory in an international communication environment. Third, it can provide meaningful reference for international relation institutions.

In theory, use the IPI model in HMP study proposed by Shen & Huggins in 2013. They argue that IPI model can explain how people's perception changes after receiving media bias. However, there are very few studies that officially apply the IPI model to HMP research. Therefore, this study is looking forward to make the supplement for this field.

Although there has been a lot of research on HMP in international communication background in the past, most of the study are limited to test how media coverage of one country influence people from the other country. Although the research scope of media hostility is very wide, some scholars have expressed the need to study it from the perspective of critical culture (Ganther, 1992). This

study aims to compare countries from different politic systems. We hope this study can provide more comprehensive and systematically comparison about HMP in international communication environment.

In the end, the results also provide useful advises to international relation institutions and policy makers. Wei, Lo and Golan (2017) indicated that the influence of presumed influence will not only lead individuals support for the censorship but also the corrective actions to face the negative influences. Moreover, they suggest further research can focus on IPI in the context of western countries such as United States. Thus, this study aimed to offer the practical guidance about the potential influence of presumed media influence on public opinion.

In the field of international communication, global public relationship is one of the important ways to help a country provide credibility and external image. Thus it has been used as the main way to correct the behavior in this study. Thus, it is used in this study as the way to test people's desire to carry out "corrective action". This is because global public relationship is a way to realize international political intention and influence by taking a country as a whole and utilizing various power resources to changing people or institutions' value judgment other countries. With the general development of mass politics in the world, the government's political judgment and policy choices are more involved by public opinion and public cognition. In the new environment, public relationship is transformed into 'building preference', that is, seeking ways to change the value judgment and target selection of other countries by persuading, attracting or taking advantage of information asymmetry. Therefore, when the government increases the investment in public relations with foreign countries, it also needs to pay more attention to the ways of information exchange and value transmission to foreign society and people, so as to better adapt to the environment of

globalization and digital age.

The current study has some limitations. Since the snowball sampling procedure has been used in this study. Participants are likely to rely on personal and professional connections, as well as social media, to disseminate the questionnaire, which means that participants may shape the demographic and attitude information differently in this study. In addition, this method of research design in the form of online questionnaire which requires participants to have certain technical and Internet access capabilities, which may limit the potential respondents.

Furthermore, the age distribution of the participants in this study is a limiting factor, especially 89.3% of the participants in China (N=300) are between 18 and 35 years old. This skewed age distribution is likely to cause differences in perceptions of media bias.

Future studies may consider testing the hypotheses of this study in different situations. The potential research package compares domestic and foreign media coverage of the country. In addition, qualitative research methods, such as controlled experiments, focus groups and in-depth interviews, can be considered. Besides, the current study can also be replicated in other countries and different populations. In the future, this kind of research will supplement the findings of the existing research and further explore and discover the globalization of international communication.

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**APPENDIX A**

**TABLES**

Table 1

T-test for Personal Opinion (PO) and Media Bias (MB) in America:

**Paired Samples Test**

	Paired differences				
				95 % Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Lower	Upper
Pair 1 PO-MB	2.89413	2.02886	.11694	2.66400	3.12126

**Paired Samples Test**

	t	df	Sig. (two- tail)
Pair 1 PO-MB	24.746	300	.000

Table 2

T-test for Personal Opinion (PO) and Media Bias (MB) in China:

**Paired Samples Test**

	Paired differences				
				95 Confidence Interval of the Differe	
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Lower	Upper
Pair 1 PO-MB	4.80089	2.28792	.13209	4.54094	5.06084

Table 2 (Continued)

Paired Samples Test			
	t	df	Sig.(two- tail)
Pair 1 PO-MB	36.345	299	.000

Table 3

T-test the different between American and Chinese participants on Hostile Media perception (HMP).

Independent Sample Test							
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means			
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
HMP	Equal variances assumed	170.126	.000	12.629	390.957	.000	1.24980
	Equal variances not assumed			12.497			

Independent Sample Test

		t-test for Equality of Means		
		Std. Error Differen	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
			Lower	Upper
HMP	Equal variances assumed	.09896	1.05544	1.44416
	Equal variances not assumed	.10000	1.05319	1.44641

Table 4

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients for Group Identification (GI) and Hostile Media Perception (HMP) in American:

**Model Summary**

Model				
	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.540 <sup>a</sup>	.291	.290	1.15005

a. Predictors (Constant), GI

**Model Summary**

Model	Change Statistics				
	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.291	245.740	1	298	.000

**Anova<sup>b</sup>**

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	325.018	1	325.018	245.740	.000 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	790.921	299	1.323		
	Total	1115.938	300			

a. Predictors (Constant), GI

b. Dependent Variable: HMP

**Coefficients<sup>a</sup>**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.642	.138		-4.649	.000
	GI	.461	.029	.540	15.676	.000

a. Independent Variable: HMP HMP



Table 5  
 Pearson's Correlation Coefficients for Group Identification (GI) and Hostile Media Perception (HMP)  
 in China:

**Model Summary**

Model				
	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.652 <sup>a</sup>	.426	.424	1.73689

a. Predictors: (Constant), GI

Model	Change Statistics				
	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
	.426	220.808	1	298	.000

**Anova<sup>b</sup>**

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	666.133	1	666.133	220.808	.000 <sup>a</sup>
Residual	899.004	298	3.017		
Total	1565.138	299			

a. Predictors (Constant), GI

b. Dependent Variable: HMP

**Coefficients<sup>a</sup>**

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	-4.599	.640		-7.180	.000
GI	1.690	.114	.652	14.860	.000

a. Independent Variable: HMP

Table 6

Multiple regression analysis prediction participants support for government’s public relationship in America:

**Coefficients**

		A	IPI1	IPI2	IPI3
Pearson correlation A		1.000	.114	.437	.218
	IPI1	.114	1.000	.266	.179
	IPI2	.437	.266	1.000	.138
	IPI3	.218	.179	.138	1.000
Sig. (two – tailed) A		.	.003	.000	.000
	IPI1	.003	.	.000	.000
	IPI2	.000	.000	.	.000
	IPI3	.000	.000	.000	.
N	A	301	301	301	301
	IPI1	301	301	301	301
	IPI2	301	301	301	301
	IPI3	301	301	301	301

**Model Summary**

Model				
	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.466 <sup>a</sup>	.217	.213	.76206

a. Predictors (Constant), IPI1, IPI2,

**Model Summary**

Model	Change Statistics				
	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
	.217	55.112	3	297	.000

Table 6 (Continued)

Anova<sup>b</sup>

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	96.016	3	32.005	55.112	.000 <sup>a</sup>
Residual	346.696	297	.581		
Total	442.713	300			

a. Predictors (Constant), IPI1, IPI2, IPI3

b. Dependent Variable: A

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference			
	B	Std. Error	Beta	Upper	Sig.	Lower	Upper
N (Constant)	1.414	.161		8.781	.000	1.097	1.730
IPI1	-.022	.031	-.028	-.729	.466	-.083	.038
IPI2	.371	.033	.421	11.166	.000	.306	.437
IPI3	.155	.035	.165	4.461	.000	.087	.224

a. Independent Variable: A

Table 7

Multiple regression analysis prediction participants support for government's public relationship in China:

**Coefficients**

		A	PIP1	PIP2	PIP3
Pearson correlation A		1.000	.535	.472	.570
	IPI1	.535	1.000	.052	.373
	IPI2	.472	.052	1.000	.365
	IPI3	.570	.373	.365	1.000
Sig. (two – tailed) A		.	.000	.000	.000
	IPI1	.000	.	.186	.000
	IPI2	.000	.186	.	.000
	IPI3	.000	.000	.000	.
N	A	300	300	300	300
	IPI1	300	300	300	300
	IPI2	300	300	300	300
	IPI3	300	300	300	300

**Model Summary**

Model				
	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.740 <sup>a</sup>	.547	.543	.49537

a. Predictors (Constant), IPI1, IPI2, IPI3

**Model Summary**

Model	Change Statistics				
	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
	.547	119.240	3	296	.000

Table 7 (Contiued)

**Anova<sup>b</sup>**

Model	Sum of Square	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	87.781	3	29.260	119.240	.000 <sup>a</sup>
Residual	72.635	296	.245		
Total	160.417	299			

a. Predictors (Constant), IPI1, IPI2, IPI3

b. Dependent Variable: A

**Coefficients<sup>a</sup>**

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference			
	B	Std. Error	Beta	Upper	Sig.	Lower	Upper
N (Constant)	.735	.157		4.675	.000	.425	1.044
IPI1	.325	.034	.408	9.630	.000	.259	.391
IPI2	.280	.034	.344	8.157	.000	.212	.347
IPI3	.261	.041	.292	6.432	.000	.181	.341

a. Independent Variable: A

## APPENDIX B

### QUESTIONNAIRE: ENGLISH VERION

#### Survey (U.S. version)

##### Introduction page

Thank you your interest in our study on Americans' perceptions of Chinese media coverage of the USA. This study is anonymous and is open to any U.S. citizens 18 years of age or older. Thank you for your time.

##### ABOUT US

The researcher of this study is Zhennan Liu from The Zimmerman School of Advertising and Mass Communications at University of South Florida. The purpose of this study is to better understand how people process foreign media coverage of their country.

##### WHAT YOU WILL DO

You will be asked to choices and answer the questions about personal opinions on media coverage and it influences. The average time to complete this survey is 10 to15 minutes. You can now choose to either proceed to the next page for details OR close this page to exit if you do not wish to participate.

##### Consent Form Page

Your agreement indicates that you have read the consent form below:

you are a U.S. citizen at least 18 years of age;

your questions have been answered to your satisfaction and you voluntarily agree to participate in this survey.

If you do not wish to continue, you may now close this window.

(\*Followed by a checkbox next to the statement: "I understand and wish to proceed with the experiment.")

##### CONSENT FORM

**RISKS:** There are no known risks associated with participating in this project. You are asked to read and respond online questioner. This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help us to understand more about how people look on the foreign media coverage based on their own perspective. We hope that, in the future, others may benefit from this study through improved understanding of these effects.

**PRIVACY :** We will do our best to keep your provided data confidential. To help protect your confidentiality, data

collected through the survey will remain anonymous and will not contain information that may personally identify you. Any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized by storing data in a password-protected computer.

**RIGHT TO TERMINATE AT ANY TIME:** Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate, you may stop at any time. You will not be otherwise penalized or lose any other benefits to which you otherwise qualify.

If you have questions, concerns, complaints, or if you need to report an injury related to the research, please contact the investigators: Zhennan Liu (Email: zhennanl@mail.usf.edu, Office: 813-230-6910).

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact:

USF Institutional Review Boards  
Research Integrity and Compliance  
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd.  
MOV035, Tampa, FL  
Zip code: 33612-4799  
Tel: (813) 974-5638.

This research has been reviewed according to the University of South Florida, IRB procedures for research involving human subjects. Your signature indicates that you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction and you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. You may now print this page if you would like a copy of this consent form or you can email us for a copy of the form.

**Before you start the survey, we need to ask :**

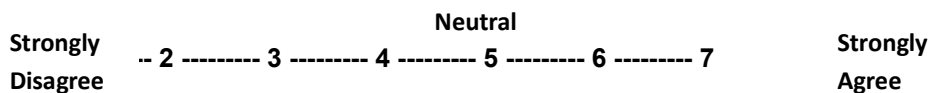
**1. What is your nationality?**

- a. American
- b. Others

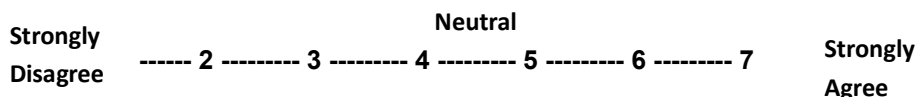
**Please to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements:**

(1= strongly disagree; 2= disagree; 3= somehow disagree; 4= neutral; 5= somehow agree; 6= agree; 7= strongly agree)

**2. I feel a strong sense of belonging to the United States.**



**3. Other countries can learn a lot from the United States.**



4. Being American is an important part of who I am.

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral

5. Compared to other countries, the United States is particularly good.

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral

6. It is important to me that I view myself as American.

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral

7. All Americans should respect the customs, the institutions, and the leadership of the United States.

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral

8. I am strongly committed to the United States

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral

9. Relative to other countries, the United States is a very moral country.

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral



10. It is important to me that others see me as American.

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral

11. It is disloyal to criticize the United States.

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral

12. I am glad to make contribution to the United States.

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral

13. The United States is better than other countries in all respects.

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral

14. When I talk about Americans, I usually say “we” rather than “they”.

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral

15. There is usually a good reason why American leaders support US foreign policy.

Strongly Disagree ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7 Strongly Agree  
Neutral

16. How would you describe your attitude towards China regarding:

	Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive
a. China’s Government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- b. China's Foreign Policy
- c. China's role in the world
- d. China's economic policies
- e. The Chinese people

**17. How would you describe your attitude towards the USA regarding:**

- |                             | Very<br>Negative         | Negative                 | Neutral                  | Positive                 | Very<br>Positive         |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. The US Government        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The US Foreign Policy    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. The US role in the world | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. The US economic policies | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. The American people      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**18. How would you describe Chinese media coverage of the United States?**

(-4 = strongly biased against; 0 = strictly neutral; +4 = strongly biased in favor )

Strongly Biased Against	Strictly Neutral	Strongly Biased In Favor
) ----- (-3) ----- (-2) ----- (-1) ----- (0) ----- (1) ----- (2) ----- (3) ----- (4)		

**19. What percentage if any of Chinese media coverage biased against the United States?(0% = none; 100% = all)**

None ---10%---20%---30%---40%---50%---60%---70%---80%---90%---100% All

**20. As far as you can tell what is your perception about how Chinese journalists and editors cover the United States?**

(-4 = strongly biased against; 0 = strictly neutral; +4 = strongly biased in favor )

Strongly Biased Against	Strictly Neutral	Strongly Biased In Favor
	81	

(-4) ----- (-3) ----- (-2) ----- (-1) ----- (0) ----- (1) ----- (2) ----- (3) ----- (4)

21. How would you describe Chinese media coverage of the United States?

Unfair	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Fair
Inaccurate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Accurate
Unreliable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Reliable
Incomplete	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Complete
Beneficial to the community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not beneficial to the community at all

22. To what extent do you think that Chinese media coverage of the United States may influence your opinion of:

	No influence				Great influence
a. The United States.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. The US government.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. The American values.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. The American people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. The American companies.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. To what extent do you think that Chinese media coverage of the United States may influence Chinese people's opinion of:

	No influence	Very little influence	Neutral	Somewhat influence	Great influence
a. The USA.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. The USA Government.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. The USA values.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. The USA People.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. The USA companies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**24. To what extent do you think that Chinese media coverage of the United States may influence international audiences' views of:**

	No influence	Very little influence	Neutral	Somewhat influence	Great influence
a. The USA.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. The USA Government.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. The USA values.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. The USA People.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. The USA companies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**25. To what extent do you disagree or agree with the following statements?**

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
a. The USA needs to increase its global public relationship budget.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. The USA needs to increase its global foreign social media engagement budget.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. The USA needs to increase its global TV broadcasting budget.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. The USA needs to priorities improving its image abroad.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**26. Please tell us your opinions about China in general:**

Enemy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Friend
Negative	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Positive

Make the world  
Dangers

Make the world  
safe

**27. What is your gender?**

- a. Male
- b. Female
- c. Other

**28. What is your age?**

\_\_\_\_ (Put a number to indicate your age)

**29. Your race / ethnicity is:**

- a. White
- b. Black
- c. Hispanic
- d. Asian
- e. Other or multiracial
- f. Prefer not to answer

**30. How would you describe your political ideology?**

				Moderate									
Strong	---	2	-----	3	-----	4	-----	5	-----	6	-----	7	Strong
Democrat													Republican
Conservative	-----	2	-----	3	-----	4	-----	5	-----	6	-----	7	Liberal

**31. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? (If you're currently enrolled in school, please indicate the highest degree you have *received*.)**

- a. Less than a high school diploma
- b. High school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED)
- c. Some college, no degree
- d. Associate degree (e.g. AA, AS)
- e. Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA, BS)
- f. Master's degree (e.g. MA, MS, MEd)
- g. Professional degree (e.g. MD, DDS, DVM)
- h. Doctorate (e.g. PhD, EdD)

Thank you for taking our survey! Your response is very important to us. If you have any questions about the survey, please feel free to email: [zhennanl@mail.usf.edu](mailto:zhennanl@mail.usf.edu).

## APPENDIX C

### QUESTIONNAIRE: CHINESE VERION

#### 调查问卷

#### 介绍

感谢您对我们研究中国人对美国媒体中关于中国报道的课题感兴趣。这项研究是匿名的，对所有 18 岁或以上的中国公民开放。感谢您的支持。

#### 关于我们

这项研究的研究人员是来自南佛罗里达大学齐默尔曼广告和大众传播学院的研究员 Zhennan Liu。本研究的目的是更好地了解人们如何处理外国媒体对其国家的报道。

#### 您需要做什么

您将被要求做出选择并回答有关媒体报道及其影响的个人意见的问题。完成此调查的平均时间为 10 到 15 分钟。您现在可以选择进入下一页以获取详细信息，或者如果您不想参加，请关闭此页面以退出。

#### 同意书

您的协议表明您已阅读下面的同意书：

您是至少 18 岁的中国公民；

您对本研究的疑问已得到满意答复，并且您自愿同意参与此调查。

如果您不想继续，可以关闭此窗口。

(\*后跟一个复选框声明旁边：“我理解并希望继续进行实验。”)

#### 同意书

**风险：**参与此项目没有已知的风险。您被要求阅读并回复在线问卷。这项研究的宗旨并非是对您个人提供帮助，但结果可能有助于我们更多地了解人们如何根据自己的观点看待外国媒体报道。我们希望，将来其他人可以从这项研究中更好地理解这些影响并从中受益。

**隐私：**我们会尽力保密您提供的数据。为了保护您的隐私，通过调查收集的数据将保持匿名，不包含可能会识别您个人身份的信息。并将数据存储在受密码保护的计算机中，以最大限度地减少任何潜在泄露隐私的可能性。

**随时终止的权利：**您参与此项研究完全是自愿的。你可以选择不参加。即使您决定参加，您也可以随时停止。您不会受到其他方面的处罚或失去您有资格获得的任何其他福利。

如果您有任何问题、疑虑、投诉，或者感受到任何由于研究导致的相关伤害，请联系调查人员：  
 Zhennan Liu（电子邮件：zhennanl@mail.usf.edu，办公室：813-230-6910）。  
 如果您对作为研究参与者的权利有疑问或希望举报研究相关的伤害，请联系：  
 南佛罗里达大学机构审查委员会  
 研究诚信与合规 办公室  
 12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd.  
 MOV035, Tampa, FL  
 邮编：33612-4799  
 电话：（813）974-5638。

该研究已经接受了涉及人类接受誓实验的 IRB 程序审查。您的签名表明您已阅读或收听了此同意书、您的疑问已得到满意的答复，并且您自愿同意参与此研究。如果您需要此同意书的副本，您现在可以打印此页面，或者您可以通过电子邮件向我们索取表格的副本。

**在您开始填写调查问卷之前，我们需要问您。**

1. 你的国籍是？
  - a. 中国
  - b. 其他国家

请说明您在何种程度上同意或不同意以下的说法：

（1 =非常不同意; 2 =不同意; 3 =某种程度上不同意; 4 =中立; 5 =不知何故同意; 6 =同意; 7 =非常同意）

2. 我觉得自己对中国有很强的归属感。

中立

非常不同意 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常同意

3. 其他国家可以从中国这里学到很多东西。

中立

非常不同意 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常同意

4. 作为一名中国人是回答我是谁的重要组成部分。

中立

非常不同意 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常同意

5. 与其他国家相比中国是格外好的国家。

中立

非常不同意 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常同意

1 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 7

6. 我是一名中国人这对我很重要。

非常  
不同意 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常  
同意

中立

7. 所有中国人都应该尊重中国的习俗机构和领导人。

非常  
不同意 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常  
同意

中立

8. 我与中国的联系非常紧密。

非常  
不同意 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常  
同意

中立

9. 相对于其他国家中国是一个非常道德的国家。

非常  
不同意 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常  
同意

中立

10. 其他人把我当做一个中国人这对我来说很重要。

非常  
不同意 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常  
同意

中立

11. 作为中国人批评中国是不忠诚的。

非常  
不同意 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常  
同意

中立

12. 我很乐意为中国做出贡献。

非常  
不同意 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常  
同意

中立

13. 中国在各方面都优于其他国家。



中立

非常不同意见 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常同意

14. 当我谈到中国人时我通常说我们而不是他们。

中立

非常不同意见 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常同意

15. 中国领导人提出的外交政策都具备充分的理由。

中立

非常不同意见 ----- 2 ----- 3 ----- 4 ----- 5 ----- 6 ----- 非常同意

16. 描述您的态度：

对中国政府

非常消极 ) ----- (-3) ----- (-2) ----- (-1) ----- (0) ----- (1) ----- (2) ----- (3) 非常积极

对中国整体

非常消极 ) ----- (-3) ----- (-2) ----- (-1) ----- (0) ----- (1) ----- (2) ----- (3) 非常积极

中国在全球的角色

非常消极 ) ----- (-3) ----- (-2) ----- (-1) ----- (0) ----- (1) ----- (2) ----- (3) 非常积极

中国经济政策

非常消极 ) ----- (-3) ----- (-2) ----- (-1) ----- (0) ----- (1) ----- (2) ----- (3) 非常积极

中国人民

非常消极 ) ----- (-3) ----- (-2) ----- (-1) ----- (0) ----- (1) ----- (2) ----- (3) 非常积极

中立

17. 您认为美国媒体对中国的报道对中国是强烈反对还是支持的？

(-4 =强烈反对中国; 0 =中立; +4 =强烈支持中国)

强烈  
反对 ) ----- (-3) ----- (-2) ----- (-1) ----- (0) ----- ( 1) ----- (2) ----- (3) 强烈  
中国 中国 (4)

18. 您认为, 大约有百分之多少美国媒体对中国的报道对美中关系有利/不利?

(0%=无; 100%=全部)

无 ---- 10%---- 20%---- 30%---- 40%---- 50%---- 60%---- 70%---- 80% ---- 90 -- 全部 %

19. 您认为负责媒体报道中国的美国记者或编辑是偏向于支持还是反对中国?

(-4 =强烈反对中国; 0 =严格中立; +4 =强烈支持中国)

强烈  
反对 ) ----- (-3) ----- (-2) ----- (-1) ----- (0) ----- ( 1) ----- (2) ----- (3) 强烈  
中国 中国 (4)

### 媒体信誉

20. 您将如何描述美国媒体关于中国的报道在以下几方面的表现?

				中立				
不公平	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	公平
不准确	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	准确
不可信	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	可信
不完整	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	完整
对社会有益	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	对社会无益

### 影响力感知

21. 在谈到以下话题时, 您认为美国媒体关于中国的报道对您影响有多大:

		没有				很大
		影响				影响
f. 中国	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

g. 中国政府	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. 中国价值观	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. 中国人民	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. 中国公司	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. 在谈到以下话题时，您认为美国媒体关于中国的报道对美国人影响有多大：

	没有影响	很少影响	中立	一些影响	很大影响
f. 中国	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. 中国政府	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. 中国价值观	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. 中国人民	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. 中国公司	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. 在谈到以下话题时，您认为美国媒体关于中国的报道对美国人影响有多大：

	没有影响	很少影响	中立	一些影响	很大影响
e. 中国	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. 中国政府	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. 中国价值观	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. 中国人民	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. 中国公司	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. 在何种程度上同意或不同意以下陈述：

强烈反对	有些反对	中立	有些同意	强烈同意
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- e. 中国需要增加有关全球国际关系的预算
- f. 中国需要增加参与外国社交媒体的预算
- g. 中国需要增加多种语言电视服务的预算
- h. 中国需要把提高本国在国外的国家形象放在首位

25. 请描述您对美国的整体看法:

- 敌意的        友好的
- 消极的        积极的
- 把世界变得危险        把世界变得安全

26. 您的性别是什么?

- a. 男
- b. 女
- c. 其他

27. 您的年龄是多少?

- a. 18-25
- b. 26-30
- c. 31-35
- d. 36-40
- e. 41-45
- f. 46-50
- g. 51+

28. 您的种族是:

- a. 白人
- b. 黑人
- c. 西班牙裔
- d. 亚裔
- e. 其他种族或混血
- f. 不想回答

29. 您的政治意识形态更偏向共产党其他党派还是无党派温和派？

温和派/无党派人士

非常支持 中国共产  
党 ( -2 ) ( -1 ) ( 0 ) ( 1 ) ( 2 ) 非常支持  
其他党派

30. 的政治意识形态偏保守还是自由

中立

非常保守派 ( -2 ) ( -1 ) ( 0 ) ( 1 ) ( 2 ) 非常自由  
派

31. 您完成的最高学历是多少？（如果您目前就读于学校，请选择您获得的最高学位。）

- a. 高中以下
- b. 高中毕业或同等学历（比如：GED）
- c. 大学（无学历）
- d. 副学士学位（例如 AA, AS）
- e. 学士学位（例如 BA, BS）
- F. 硕士学位（例如 MA, MS, MEd）
- G. 专业学位（例如 MD, DDS, DVM）
- H. 博士学位（例如 PhD, EdD）

非常感谢您参与我们的调查，您的回答对我们很重要。如果您对这次的调查有任何疑问，欢迎您发送邮件到：[zhennanl@mail.usf.edu](mailto:zhennanl@mail.usf.edu)。

**APPENDIX D**  
**IRB APPROVAL LETTER**



RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE  
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669  
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799  
(813) 974-5638 • FAX(813)974-7091

May 20, 2019

Zhennan Liu  
Zimmerman School of Advertising and Mass Communications  
Tampa, FL 33617

**RE: Exempt Certification**  
IRB#: Pro00039741  
Title: The Hostile Media Effect and Its Potential Consequences: Examining the influence of presumed influence of international media coverage

Dear Ms. Liu:

On 5/19/2019, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) determined that your research meets criteria for exemption from the federal regulations as outlined by 45 CFR 46.104(d):

(2) Research that only includes interactions involving educational tests(cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior (including visual or auditory recording) if at least one of the following criteria is met:(i) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; (ii) Any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation; or (iii) The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects can readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, and an IRB conducts a limited IRB review to make the determination required by 45 CFR 46.111(a)(7).

As the principal investigator for this study, it is your responsibility to ensure that this research is conducted as outlined in your application and consistent with the ethical principles outlined in the Belmont Report and with USF HRPP policies and procedures.

Please note, as per USF HRPP Policy, once the exempt determination is made, the application is closed in ARC. This does not limit your ability to conduct the research. Any proposed or anticipated change to the study design that was previously declared exempt from IRB oversight must be submitted to the IRB as a new study prior to initiation of the change. However,

administrative changes, including changes in research personnel, do not warrant an Amendment or new application.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subjects research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kristen Salomon', followed by a horizontal line.

Kristen Salomon, Ph.D., Chairperson  
USF Institutional Review Board