

How Foreign Correspondents Cover American Presidential Elections? *

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《本文節要》

本研究旨在檢視外國駐美京華府特派員的背景；對新聞價值的評估；他們如何報導美國總統大選新聞；以及他們對大選期間美國各媒體的評估。

研究採問卷調查法，以一九八八年美國總統大選為研究背景。在選前寄發問卷給各國駐華盛頓特派記者，總計534名，名單由美新處的「外國新聞中心」提供；詢問他們的人口變項、對美國總統選舉活動的報導、對選舉報導重要性的評估。並依這些記者來自的國家，將之分成第一、第二、第三世界等三種類型。

四週以後，再郵寄問卷給沒有回答的特派記者，並以電話催收，共得有效問卷199份。

研究結果發現：

1. 第一世界的特派員較第三世界的記者較多赴各政黨的提名大會，以及各個候選人的競選旅行。
2. 這些駐華盛頓的特派員認為，他們對大選的報導比較專注新聞的實質；而美國媒體（電視、報紙）的報導，比較偏向賽馬（horse-race）的競賽性質。
3. 不同性質媒體（如電視、報紙）駐華府特派員在報導美國大選時，對新聞評估的差異不大。

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The August 29, 1988 issue of Time magazine had an article discussing how journalists from 51 countries cover American political conventions. On October 19, 1988 The Public Broadcasting System around the United States devoted an hour of prime time to examine campaign '88: A View From Abroad.

Christian Science Monitor also published a series of articles beginning in March to Election eve, titled "campaign '88: Through Foreign Eyes." This series, which was written by some distinguished foreign correspondents in the U.S., described how they cover the American presidential election. "The one big story of the U.S. presidential race is really many stories to foreign journalists, depending on which aspects of the candidates views or the parties platforms is or greatest concern to their own countries." (Time, 1988, p.65)

The American president, the so-called "leader of the free world," stands in the world have a stake in who Americans chose as their president. Some feel that presidential actions may affect their livelihoods, perhaps even their very survival (May, 1987). The importance given to American presidential politics, therefore, is indicated by the significant amount of media coverage in many countries around the world.

A study prepared for the U.S. Information Agency in 1976 reported almost comparable levels of attention to American politics during the election year in newspapers of the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia. The Social Science Index, a annual guide to periodical literature in the social sciences, lists 106 articles dealing with 1976 American presidential election published in Great Britain that year (May, 1987).

In 1984, according to Bonafede, "a surprisingly large number of foreign correspondents travelled at least part of the time on the campaign circuit during presidential contest and attended both party conventions" (p.422). In 1988, there were a record of 1,300 foreign correspondents, representing more than 300 news organizations in 51 countries, covering both the Democratic and Republican party conventions, exposing more TV viewers and newspaper readers around the world to events in the U.S.

The driving force behind foreign coverage is always national self-interest. Many reporters are primarily concerned with country-to-country issues. The reporters from Japan, for example, pay more attention to the trade issues. Canadians, on the other hand, are concerned with acid rain and trade barriers. Journalists from Western Europe are mostly interested in East-West relations and NATO.

Most of the foreign journalists based in Washington represent the best and brightest of the profession in their native countries. For them, this post is considered a coveted assignment and a high point in their career. Regardless of ideological biases and differing concepts of the media's role and responsibility, most foreign correspondents in Washington view the coverage of the American presidential election as a major task for them in the election year.

"The role of a foreign correspondent is not just to report the straight news but

to clarify, analyze and explain what is going on in the U.S. and to interpret its significance and meaning to his/her country and the rest of the world. He/She becomes a player in a sophisticated game and influences policy," said de Medici, (1985, p.425), correspondent for Rome's *Tempo*. This study tries to examine the background of the Washington correspondents, their assessment of news values, their campaign coverage and their evaluation of American media performance during the campaign year 88.

Martin and Chaudhary (1983) used six key concepts or functions of the media to differentiate media in the First World and in the Third World, including the concept of news, the concept of the role of mass media, the concept of press freedom, the educational, persuasive, and opinion-making functions of the media, and the concept of media economics. Lang (1984) examined the press in the West and the Third World from the perspectives of national development and news value. He argues that the differences in news value might be the result of different political environments, economic environments or social-psychological environments. Galtung indicates that news is not selected from a known reality, but that reality is created by journalists describing events in terms that fit their ideologies and values (Lang, 1984). One purpose of this study is to find out how different foreign correspondents from different nations and regions cover American presidential elections.

An important aspect of the literature on media coverage of elections is the question of whether the media emphasize "horse-race" or "substantive" characteristics of the campaign: do the media view elections in terms of a "dramatic contest" or is more attention given to issues? (Sinclair, 1986) Graber has noted that "judging from the highly consistent patterns of the 1968-1980 period, it is clear that the media discuss the qualifications of presidential candidates more amply than campaign events and issues." (1989, p.212.)

Some scholars worried that horserace coverage may have negative effects on the democratic process (Graber, 1989; Patterson and Robinson, 1980). Nonsubstantive coverage may obscure the important issues which may go unnoticed and thus trivialize the campaign. Sinclair argued that the British press--like the press in other Western democracies -- reports many opinion poll results, constituency and regional reports, and discussions of campaign strategy and tactics (Sinclair, 1986). This study will examine the election coverage of foreign correspondents in terms of their emphasis of the "horse-race vs. substantive" nature of campaigns.

New York and Washington, D.C. are major world news centers, drawing reporters from over seventy countries but principally from Britain, West Germany, Japan, France, Italy, and Canada (Hachten, 1987). Mowlana's study of the foreign correspondents in Washington, D.C. and New York in 1975 found a total of 865 foreign correspondents reporting for foreign news media in the U.S. His 1981 update showed that there were 1,262 foreign correspondents covering the U.S. --an increase of over 45 percent in six years (Mowlana, 1986). This study will examine the

journalists who cover the American presidential elections for the audience outside the U.S. and will examine the characteristics of these journalists, their media organizations, and their views of journalism.

RELATED STUDIES

Demographics of Foreign Correspondents

One of the earliest studies of foreign correspondents covering the U.S. was conducted by Lambert in 1956. There were 250 foreign journalists in the United States at that time, of whom 111 replied to Lamberts questionnaire. He found that the correspondents were predominantly male. The mean age was 45.6 years old. Three quarters of them had some form of higher education. The mean years of journalistic experience was 19.95 years. The average time spent as a foreign correspondents was 10.6 years. And they had been stationed in the U.S. for the average of 8.4 years. Every week they worked 42.95 hours. The greatest amount of their writing fell into straight factual news, interpretive news or creative writing categories. More than half of them thought that the foreign news in American newspapers was inadequate and unbalanced, giving a misleading picture of countries with which they were familiar. And more than half of them believed that the American press devoted too much space to trivial matters.

Mowlana (1975) also tried to examine who covered America and found that the typical foreign correspondent working in the U.S. at that time entered journalism for serious reasons which included "social duty or obligation" and an interest in politics and public affairs. He or she had been a journalist for about 12 years and had worked for three to four different newspapers and news services. The correspondents filed between five and seven stories per week, mostly of the "general coverage type." Mowlana found the foreign press corps in the United States to be a highly liberal, extremely well-educated, and socially unorthodox group.

A recent study by Ghorpade (1984) created a demographic portrait of Washington-based foreign correspondents. In 1983, There were more than 480 accredited correspondents in Washington, representing 286 foreign media organizations from 61 countries. There were twice as many journalists from developed countries as there were from the rest of the world. He found that the typical Washington-based foreign correspondent in 1982 was a man in his early 40s, with a university education in the liberal arts, who spoke at least one foreign language, and had 18 years of journalistic experience.

When Ghorpade (1984) asked correspondents: "How would you consider reports about your country, in the U.S. newspapers and on TV?", he found that the foreign correspondents rated newspapers more positive than TV on four counts: accuracy, objectivity, familiarity with the originating country, and news balance. However, he found that both media were judged as doing a less-than satisfactory

job of foreign news coverage. Interestingly enough, he found that the reporters from the Third World were more negative on all four counts for both newspapers and TV. He also found that the U.S. media were praised by several correspondents for investigative reports of national events but were criticized for their "insufficient" coverage of foreign news and for a tendency to concentrate on "negative" news.

Compared to most other occupations, the occupational hierarchy of journalism is not complex. Foreign correspondents in particular have more autonomy than other reporters in selecting stories and sources. Foreign correspondents are typically among the most trusted reporters, having served long apprenticeships before assignment overseas (Pollock, 1981).

British social scientist Tunstall found that foreign correspondents then do come from elite backgrounds and to exhibit precocious, meteoric careers, enjoy high status within the journalism profession, and, in their daily work as newsgatherers, they cover a wide range of issues (Tunstall, 1972; 1974).

The Craft of Journalism: "Examiner" vs. "Chronicler"

As Phillips (1977) suggested, the craft of journalism in itself, carries with it concomitant perspectives on the nature of the political world and on the way evidence is used. Rather than searching for abstract truth, journalists look for salient facts—readily available and easily located.

Pollock (1981, p.29) used the terms "chronicler" and "examiner" to represent reporters' orientations. A "chronicler" perspective refers to breadth, restraint, and "technically efficient" journalism, while an "examiner" perspective would emphasize "investigative, analytic, and interpretive reporting." In his foreign correspondents study, Pollock found that examiners tend to be young and accustomed to responsibility at an early age. Examiners tend to be less experienced in journalism or reporting foreign affairs than non-examiners.

Pollock also found that for some professional perspectives, foreign affairs reporters who have spent a great many years working for wire services hold orientations different from those who work outside wire services. His explanation is that wire services are constructed to sell the maximum amount of news to the broadest possible market, and in so doing develop both a set of news standards and organizational principles consistent with those goals.

It is, however, noted that the American definition of news is not necessarily the same as in other countries (Davison, et al., 1980). Since the defense of professionalism in foreign affairs journalism rests so heavily on the shoulders of the individual journalist "solo craftsmen" (rather than with managers or supervisors), the study of foreign correspondents from different news organizations and different countries becomes crucial in deciding the presentation of news for readers/audiences around the world.

METHOD

All foreign correspondents stationed in Washington, D.C. in the middle of 1988 were surveyed before elections to examine their background, their coverage of presidential election activities, and to evaluate the craft of journalism and the importance of election coverage. There were 543 correspondents, including 368 from the First World, 47 from the Second World and 128 from the Third World, listed in a roster maintained by the USIA Foreign Press Center in Washington.

First World countries, following usage common in the study of economics and political science, refer to the industrialized market economies of North America, Western Europe, and Japan; the Second World is made up of non-market industrialized economies of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. Third World countries are those nations that have not been privileged enough to become industrialized and wealthy, and include most countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Mody, 1985).

A four-page questionnaire was mailed in two waves, the second to non-respondents after a four-week interval, followed by a personal phone call to urge response. A total of 199 responses (37%) were received from all contactable correspondents in the sample, including 125 First World correspondents, 10 Second World correspondents, and 61 Third World journalists, and three respondents didn't identify where they came from. Because the limited numbers of foreign correspondents from the second world, this study combined reporters from the Second World and the Third World into one category. Figure 1 lists the numbers and responses of the correspondents of each country or region stationed in Washington.

Foreign operations in the U.S. are smaller and operate on minuscule budgets when compared to American bureaus abroad. That is even true for those nations with the largest journalistic presences in Washington.

The largest press corps are from Japan (73), England (53), Germany (39), and France (32). It is understandable that none of the foreign news bureaus has a reporter whose solo assignment is covering the presidential elections.

This study hypothesized that:

1. There are differences in terms of the election coverage between reporters from the First World and those from the Third World. The reporters from the First World, because of diversified division of labor and sufficient financial support, spent more time covering American Presidential elections than those reporters from the Third World.

2. There are differences, in terms of the assessment of the craft of journalism, the importance of election coverage, and campaign coverage, between the reporters from the wire services and those from print and electronic media.

3. There are differences in the perception of election coverage between foreign correspondents and those of the American media. Foreign correspondents stationed

in Washington think that their coverage of elections is more substance-oriented while they feel their American counterparts emphasize more the horse-race nature of election.

4. There are relationships between correspondents' journalistic orientations and their coverage of American presidential elections. An "examiner" will be more substance-oriented while a "chronicler" will primarily emphasize the horse-race nature of election.

Figure 1: Foreign correspondents in Washington (USIA Foreign Press Center, 1988)

	Number of Correspondents based in Washington	Number of questionnaire respondents
Africa	2	0
Argentina	2	1
Australia	14	5
Austria	8	4
Belgium	3	0
Bolivia	1	0
Brazil	8	3
Bulgaria	2	0
Canada	25	7
China	21	6
Colombia	2	1
Czechoslovakia	1	1
Denmark	6	4
Egypt	5	1
Finland	8	5
France	2	9
Fdr	4	0
Ffr	39	12
Greece	8	2
Honduras	1	0
Hong Kong	4	4
Hungary	3	1
Iceland	1	0
India	10	4
Iraq	1	0

Ireland	3	0
Israel	9	2
Italy	15	4
Japan	73	33
Jerusalem	1	1
Jordan	1	0
Korea	12	3
Kuwait	6	2
Latin America	6	2
Lebanon	6	4
Luxembourg	1	1
Malaysia	2	1
Mexico	5	3
Middle East	8	2
Morocco	3	0
Netherland	9	5
New Zealand	3	0
Nicaragua	1	0
Nigeria	2	2
Norway	4	1
Pakistan	3	0
Philippines	1	1
Poland	2	1
Portugal	2	0
Qatar	2	0
Saudi Arabia	9	4
Singapore	2	0
South Africa	7	3
Spain	16	3
Sweden	6	3
Switzerland	13	6
Taiwan (R.O.C.)	13	11
Thailand	1	1
Tunisia	1	0
Turkey	9	6
United Arab Emirates	1	1
UEK	53	16
USSR	12	0
Uruguay	1	0
Venezuzela	3	2

Yugoslavia	4	1
Others		3
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TOTAL	543	199
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RESULTS

What are the demographics of the foreign correspondents who covered the United States elections in 1988? The study found that 82 percent of those who replied were male while 18 Percent were female. Their mean age was 43.057 years old. Seventy-nine of the 199 respondents had earned bachelor degrees, sixty had master degrees, or the equivalent of a master, while twenty-three (11.7 percent) had a Ph. D. in hand. The average college-level study was 5.059 years (foreign academic degrees are sometimes not the same as in the U.S.). Three quarters of them were married. Twenty four (12.2 percent) were single. About ten percent of them were divorced or widowed.

Their journalistic experience ranged from one to forty-six years. The average was 17.933 years. Their experience as foreign correspondents covering Washington, D.C. ranged from one to twenty-nine years. The mean was 5.629 years.

Forty-five percent of the Washington foreign correspondents in 1988 earned more than \$40,000 a year, one fifth of them earned between \$30,000 to \$39,999 a year, 10 percent of them earned between \$20,000 to 29,999 a year, while the rest (8.7 percent) earned less than \$20,000 a year.

About 60 percent of them planned to work for the same news organization as a foreign correspondent within next five year. Fifteen of them said they would like to work for the same news organization elsewhere, while 13.5 percent said they wanted to work elsewhere in the news media. About 6 percent said they would like to work outside news media while the rest (6.2 percent) answered "don't know."

Twenty-seven percent of the foreign correspondents stationed in Washington, D.C. worked for wire services, and 104 (53.1 percent) of respondents worked for the print media, while the rest of them (17.9 percent) worked for the electronic media.

There were no basic differences between the correspondents from the First World and the Third World in terms of their ages, the length of their college study or in academic degrees received, the length of their experience as journalists, the length of their stay in Washington, their sex or marital status. It was found, however, that there was a significant difference in the type of news organization that the First World and the Third World reporters ($X^2 = 8.10$, $p < .05$; Table 1) work for. Most reporters from the First World were working for print and electronic media while most reporters from the Third World were working for the wire services.

Table 1: Correspondents News Organization by Countries

Count	Row Pct	Col Pct	Tot Pct	wire	Print	electronic	Row Total
				1	2	3	
1				25	70	27	122
First World				20.5	57.4	22.1	64.2
				49.0	67.3	77.1	
				13.2	36.8	14.2	
2				26	34	8	68
Third World				38.2	50.0	11.8	35.8
				51.0	32.7	22.9	
				13.7	17.9	4.2	
Column Total				51	104	35	190
				26.8	54.7	18.4	100.0

Table 2: Correspondents Income by Countries

Count	Row Pct	Col Pct	Tot Pct	under \$20,000	20,000 24,999	25,000 29,999	30,000 34,999	35,000 39,999	40,000 44,999	45,000 49,999	50,000 up	Row Total	
1				5	3	6	8	14	15	10	45	16	122
				4.1	2.5	4.9	6.6	11.5	12.3	8.2	36.9	13.1	64.6
				33.3	33.3	50.0	44.4	66.7	78.9	71.4	84.9	57.1	
				2.6	1.6	3.2	4.2	7.4	7.9	5.3	23.8	8.5	
2				10	6	6	10	7	4	4	8	12	67
				14.9	9.0	9.0	14.9	10.4	6.0	6.0	11.9	17.9	35.4
				66.7	66.7	50.0	55.6	33.3	21.1	28.6	15.1	42.9	
				5.3	3.2	3.2	5.3	3.7	2.1	2.1	4.2	6.3	
Column Total				15	9	12	18	21	19	14	53	28	189
				7.9	4.8	6.3	9.5	11.1	10.1	7.4	28.0	14.8	100.0

There was also a significant difference between the First World and the Third World reporters regarding their income ($X^2 = 26.60$, $p < .001$; Table 2). The results showed that reporters from the First World made more money than their Third World counterparts.

Election Coverage

More than half (55.6 percent) of the foreign correspondents based in Washington went to Atlanta to cover the Democratic convention. The study also found that more than half (50.5 percent) went to New Orleans to cover the Republican convention.

One hundred and twelve (58.6 percent) of the foreign correspondents travelled on the campaign circuit at least part of the time in 1988. Less than 10 percent of them filed a campaign story everyday. Half of them filed campaign articles at least once a week, while the rest (38.3 percent) filed campaign stories occasionally.

For those who did not go to Atlanta to cover the Democratic convention, 27 percent said that there was another reporter from the same news organization attending the convention. For those reporters who did not cover the New Orleans Republican convention, 53 (26.5 percent) said the news organization he/she worked for sent other reporters to cover it.

There were significant differences between the reporters from the First World and those from the Third World in terms of their coverage of the Atlanta convention ($X^2 = 5.048$, $p < .05$), the New Orleans convention ($X^2 = 5.21$, $p < .05$), and election travel ($X^2 = 28.42$, $p < .001$).

More reporters from the First World went to Atlanta and New Orleans to cover the party convention than reporters from the Third World. And more First World correspondents travelled with the candidates during the campaign period than Third World reporters.

If the correspondents from the First World did not go to Atlanta and New Orleans, more of them said their news organization sent other reporters there to cover the party conventions than did reporters from the Third World. And more reporters from the First World than from the Third World said if they didn't travel on the campaign trail, there were other reporters from their news organization who had travelled with the candidates.

But there were no differences between First World correspondents and Third World correspondents regarding how often they filed a campaign story or the percentage of their time spent each week editing, reporting, writing editorials, or on special assignment during the American election period.

When asked, "In general, when you write about the American elections, how did you feel about the emphasis placed by your supervisor?" Seventy percent of the correspondents said they received about the right amount of play. However, 17.4 percent of them said their stories received somewhat less play than they deserved. There was no difference between the First World correspondents and the Third

World correspondents regarding their feelings about the emphasis placed by their supervisors when they wrote about the American elections.

More than 80 percent (82.5 percent) of the foreign correspondents said their supervisor exercised no (or very little) control on their coverage of the American elections, leaving the initiative completely with them. Sixteen percent of the reporters said their supervisor had considerable control on what they're writing about, but encouraged independent action. Only 1 percent of the reporters said their supervisor had strong control over their reporting and assignments when covering the American elections. There was no difference between First World correspondents and Third World reporters in terms of the control exerted over them by their supervisors.

This finding is complemented by with Boyd-Barrett's study of journalist that foreign correspondents in general feel freer in reporting what they want to report than do local journalists, especially in those countries where there existed a strong degree of government control over domestic media (Boyd-Barrett, 1980,p.101).

There were significant differences between reporters from different news organizations in terms of their coverage of the Atlanta Democratic convention ($X^2 = 14.044$, $p < .01$), the New Orleans Republic convention ($X^2 = 17.23$, $p < .01$), and the candidates' campaign trails ($X^2 = 17.55$, $p < .01$).

About three quarters of the electronic media reporters covered the conventions and the candidates campaign trails. And more reporters from the print media went to Atlanta and New Orleans to cover the party convention and travelled with the candidates during the campaign period than did reporters from the wire services.

It might be concluded that since more reporters from the Third World were working for the wire services, tight budgets and limited personnel prohibited them from travelling.

It was found, however, that there were no differences between reporters who worked for the wire services and the print and electronic media in terms of their demographics or in their assessment of the campaign coverage.

More than two thirds of the correspondents agreed that editors and readers were less interested in foreign news per se than in what happened in their own countries. And about 45 percent of the foreign correspondents disagreed that their editors and readers in own countries were less interested in American election news than in what happened in general in the U.S.

More than 66 percent of the correspondents disagreed that the election coverage by the American media is more concerned with substance than with horse-race coverage. A similar percentage (59.1 percent) agreed that campaign reporting by American media concentrates on the superficial aspects of politics. But more than 70 percent of the foreign correspondents agreed that their coverage of the American election is more concerned with substance than with horse-race coverage. The difference was significant ($t = 3.46$, $p < .01$), which indicated that correspondents

thought their coverage of the American election was more concerned with substance, while they believed the American media was more concerned with horse-race coverage.

Importance of Campaign Coverage

Table 3 lists the importance placed on different angles of campaign coverage as evaluated by foreign correspondents in Washington. Most of the correspondents thought that it was very important to tell the readers/audience how the candidates stand on the issues and what the candidate would do if elected. It was also important for reporter to tell their readers/audience which candidate was likely to win. "Telling the readers/audience how exciting the election is" was the least important job for the correspondents.

There were no significant differences in the evaluation of the importance of campaign coverage between the reporters of the First World and those of the Third World.

Table 3: Question: "What importance do you assign to the election coverage listed below?"

	essential	very important	important	seldom important	not important
To tell my readers/audience how the candidates stand on the issues	50.3	34.2	25.1	3.5	1.5
To tell my readers/audience what the candidates would do if elected	40.7	30.7	20.6	4.0	1.5
To tell my readers/audience what the personal qualities of the candidates are	18.1	30.2	35.7	9.0	4.0
To tell my readers/audience which candidate is likely to win the election	14.6	20.1	39.2	16.1	7.0
To tell my readers/audience how exciting the election is	5.5	9.0	42.7	25.6	13.6

These five questionnaire items were used to measure the reporters' assessment of the value placed on different angles used in election coverage were then factor analyzed with principal axes, utilizing R2 communality estimates, and varimax rotation. The results of the N-factor analyses, with minimum eigenvalue factoring as 1.0, was that there were two factors. This explained 67.6% of the total variance.

Factor I is the "substance" factor which accounts for 44.0% of the total variance. Factor II is the "horse-race" factor which accounts for 23.6% of the total variance (Table 4).

Table 4: Factor Solutions for Campaign Coverage by Foreign Correspondents

	"SUBSTANCE"	"HORSERACE"
To tell my readers/audience how the candidates stand on the issues	.87539	
To tell my readers/audience what the candidates would do if elected	.82999	
To tell my readers/audience what the personal qualities of the candidates are		.56988
To tell my readers/audience which candidate is likely to win the election		.80777
To tell my readers/audience how exciting the election is		.80819
percent of total variance explained by factor	44.0%	23.6%
Total variance accounted for		67.6%

Factor I, the "substance" factor, was more heavily regarded by those correspondents who perceived that their editors and readers held an interest in American election news ($r = .196$, $p < .05$). The reporters who put more emphasis on the candidates' stand in issues and policies perceived that their editors and readers were more interested in American election news.

The "substance" factor, however, was not related to the foreign correspondents level of education, experience as a journalist, length of stay in Washington, D.C., or age. Factor II, the "horse-race" factor, was significantly related to the length of a correspondent's experience as journalist ($r = -.2118$, $p < .01$). The longer the correspondents worked as journalists, the less emphasis they put on the "horse-race" nature of campaign coverage.

The Craft of Journalism

There were no significant differences between First World reporters and Third World reporters regarding their evaluations of journalism. They all agreed that discussing American policy while it's being developed, concentrating on news which was of interest to the widest possible public, providing analysis and interpretation of complex problems, investigating claims and statements made by governing groups, parties, etc., were essential or very important (Table 5). There was, however, a difference ($t = 2.41$, $p < .05$) between the First World reporters and the Third World reporters regarding how important it is for them to get information to the public as quickly as possible. Interestingly enough, more reporters from the Third World than the First World thought that getting information to the public as quickly as possible was important.

Pollock (1981) used the terms "chronicler" and "examiner" to represent two perspectives taken by reporters. A "chronicler" perspective refers to breadth, restraint, and "technically efficient" journalism, while an "examiner" perspective would

Table 5: Question: "What importance do you assign to the mass media activities listed below?"

	essential	very important	important	seldom important	not important
Discuss American policy while it is being developed	44.7	25.1	25.1	2.5	0.0
Concentrate on news which is of interest to the widest possible public	28.6	24.6	36.7	6.0	1.0
Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems	48.7	34.2	14.1	0.5	2.5
Get information to the public as quickly as possible	40.7	27.1	24.1	4.0	0.5
Investigate claims and statements made by gov't officials	30.7	28.6	29.1	7.5	1.5
Depict the viewpoints and interests of competing groups, parties, etc.	33.2	34.2	25.1	3.5	1.5

emphasize "investigative, analytic, and interpretive reporting."

Building on the work of Pollock, the researcher used six questionnaire items to measure the foreign reporters' assessment of journalism as a profession. Six items have been subjected to a factor analysis to assess the overall pattern of dimensions. The result of the N-factor analyses, in which the minimum eigenvalue for factoring was 1.0, was two factors (Table 6). This explained 56.3% of the total variance.

Factor I was the "examiner" factor, picking up the primary loadings of four items, which accounts for 36.9% of the total variance. Factor II is the "chronicler" factor, which accounts 19.4% of the total variance.

Table 6: Factor Solutions for the Craft of Journalism by Foreign Correspondents

	"examiner"	"chronicler"
Discuss American policy while it is being developed	.70507	
Concentrate on news which is of interest to the widest possible public		.85318
Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems	.58031	
Get information to the public as quickly as possible		.72074
Investigate claims and statements made by gov't officials	.73714	
Depict the viewpoints and interests of competing groups, parties, etc.	.79108	
percent of total variance explained by factor	36.9%	19.4%
Total variance accounted for		56.3%

According to Pollock, examiner and chronicler orientations are usually considered to be “opposing” viewpoints. This study found that there was a negative relationship ($r = -.169$, $p < .05$) between “examiner” and “chronicler”. But “examiner” and “chronicler” perspectives were not significantly related to the correspondents demographic data.

It was found, however, that the “examiner” factor was related to the “substance” factor ($r = .3856$, $p < .001$) and the “chronicler” factor was related to the “horse-race” factor ($r = .2556$, $p < .001$), which indicated that a reporter with an examiner orientation would put more emphasis on substance in his/her campaign coverage while a chronicler would emphasize more the horse-race nature of the campaign.

CONCLUSION

“American presidents come and go. The rest of the world has to live with them, adjust to their agendas and their virtues as well as their occasional naivete,” says Leo Willand, correspondent of the *Frankfurter Allegemerine Zeitung* (1988). This study examined the background of foreign correspondents in Washington D.C. and their 1988 American presidential campaign coverage.

Ghorpade's study in 1982 found that the typical Washington-based foreign correspondent as a man in his early 40s. They were extremely well-educated and experienced. This study found demographics for foreign correspondents similar to those in the previous study. The mean age of the reporters was 43 years. Their average college-level study totalled more than five years. They had an average of 18 years experience in journalism and worked in Washington for more than five and a half years.

More than half of them worked for the print media, while the rest of them worked for the wire services and the electronic media. Most reporters from the First World worked for print and electronic media while most reporters from the Third World worked for wire services.

More reporters from the First World went to Atlanta and New Orleans to cover the party convention and travelled with the candidates during the campaign periods than did Third World reporters. But there were no differences between the First World correspondents and the Third World correspondents regarding how often they filed a campaign story or the average time they spent each week editing, reporting, writing editorials, or on special assignment during the American election period.

This study also found that the foreign correspondents thought that their coverage of the American election was more concerned with substance, while they believed the American media was more concerned with horse-race coverage.

This study hypothesized that foreign correspondents who working for wire services held different orientations than those working outside services. And the result could not support this statement. Foreign correspondents in this study, regardless where they're working, had similar background and assessment of journalism as a profession, also had similar campaign coverage during the 1988 presidential election period.

Johnstone and his colleagues' natural-participant dichotomy in describing the opposing viewpoints about the roles for journalists suggested that one role is extremely passive, the other extremely active. This study used "examiner" and "chronicler" orientations to describe two distinct visions of roles for journalists. The result found that news values that emphasize speed, "technically efficient" journalism, the central ingredients of a chronicler perspective, were related to reporters' orientation toward horse-racing coverage of presidential campaign. Examiners who likely to display a broader historical and social perspective on events, on the other hand, tended to emphasize more on the substantive nature of campaign coverage.

Several literature on media coverage of election generally agreed that media either emphasize "horserace" or "substantive" characteristics of the campaign. This study confirmed this distinction. It was found, however, that "substantive" and "horserace" coverage of campaign were not related to foreign correspondents' education, age, length of being a Washington-based reporters. The only relationship existed was between foreign correspondents' experience in journalism and "horserace" factor indicating the longer the reporter worked in journalism, the less likely would he/she emphasized on the "dramatic contest" of the campaign.

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