COMPUTER NETWORK-BASED NEWS MEDIA
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GLOBALIZED COMMUNITIES

By

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

COMPUTER NETWORK-BASED NEWS MEDIA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GLOBALIZED COMMUNITIES

By

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The emerging phenomenon of globalized communities—the agglomeration of people at the global level assisted by new communication technologies—is challenging the traditional views of community, culture, and nation-state. This dissertation attempted to explore the relationship between computer network-based news media (CNBNM) and human groupings on a global scale. Two major research questions were asked: How are globalized communities possible? What are the role and function of CNBNM in the development of globalized communities?

By examining and synthesizing literature on community, culture, nation-state, ethnicity, and global computer networks from diverse fields, a theoretical framework linking computer electronic media to globalized community was developed. It is proposed that CNBNM could create and sustain various globalized communities by enabling people to engage in a decentralized and interactive communication at a vast
distance, maintaining a public sphere in the community, serving as community resource centers, and constructing various group cultures.

To evaluate the suggested theoretical propositions, the case of the China News Digest (CND), a volunteer-run computer network-based news service, was selected to examine how the news medium enhances the development of the overseas Chinese scholarly community. The study found that CND has used global computer networks as an alternative means for information dissemination and has linked the overseas Chinese students and scholars (CSS) together as a distinctive community. CND facilitates this development by utilizing various resources for constructing a group culture, providing collective symbols and defining a common purpose for the community.

The study demonstrates that change in communication technologies has brought about cultural changes in a globalized setting. CNBNM function as both cultural expression and carriers of cultural expression. The study also shows that CNBNM serve as sites for public discussion of social and political issues and enhance a public sphere in the community. It is concluded that new computer network-based news media can play a significant role in the construction and maintenance of globalized communities.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

We are living in an increasingly globalized world. The globalization of networks of all kinds has taken place during the past two decades. These global linkages range from international finance, trade and market networks, international standards and regulations, intellectual and information exchanges, multilateral treaties, and energy and technology flows to religious missionary movements, advertising media, and the cosmopolitanization of a middle-class consumer culture in the Western world (e.g., Appadurai, 1990; Bennett, 1987; L. Smith, 1992; Wakeman, 1988).

Today people are on the move all over the world. The interactions of people across national and cultural boundaries is more active than ever before. Every year tens of millions around the world relocate from country to country. Among them are business people, tourists, international students, diplomats, refugees, and immigrants. In this worldwide context of cultural exchanges and cross-cultural migration, the concept of community takes on a special social and academic significance, not only in the industrialized countries but also in many developing countries that are participating in the process of globalization.

Five dimensions of globalization and cross-cultural flows are described by Appadurai (1990): (a) ethnoscapes produced by flows of people; (b) technoscapes and machinery flows produced by multinational and national corporations and government agencies; (c) finanscapes produced by the rapid flows of money in the currency markets and stock exchanges; (d) mediascapes, the repertoires of images and information produced and distributed by mass media; (e) ideoscapes, linked to flows of images which are associated with state or counter-state movement ideologies, which
are comprised of elements of the Western Enlightenment world-view--images of democracy, freedom, welfare, rights.

History has shown that the introduction of new communication technologies has transformed humanity. From the development of oral language to literary, print, radio, television, computer, and other forms of telecommunication, information technologies have opened new doors for human contact and new avenues for political, economic, social, cultural, and intellectual growth. Today, communication media play a more important role in the processes of globalization. While important and significant cultural differences are realities of life, there has been a decided trend to transcend national and cultural boundaries in the global flow of goods, people, and information.

People of different cultures are increasingly connecting with each other by electronic means (e.g., international long distance telephone, fax machine, global computer network). The cultural isolation of the past has been reduced by new communication technologies such as jet aircraft, the microcomputer, the digitally switched relay, fiber-optic cable, satellite and microwave communication, and data packet transmission. The ubiquity and speed of the global flow made possible by these technologies, furthermore, have facilitated a new global organization of production and consumption, new global networks of information and communication, and new social and political spaces (Ganley, 1992; Hall & Jacques, 1990).

Global computer networks are among the fastest-developing communication technologies. They are based upon systems such as electronic mail, bulletin boards, and computer conferencing, interconnecting users locally, regionally, and globally for business, research, education, and social interaction. The first large-scale packet switched network, the ARPANET, was implemented in 1969, and electronic mail on the network soon followed. Two decades later, global networks link millions of users around the planet, and the rate of adoption is growing dramatically (Harasim, 1993b).
Social relationships on the global networks become a new academic interest. Computer networks have provided new environments or networlds for business, educational, and social communication. Some questions have been addressed about what kind of communication the networks support and how they can be shaped to enhance and improve human communication (Harasim, 1990, 1993b; Berge & Collins, 1995; Carley & Wendt, 1991; Lea 1992).

Among the most interesting questions concerning global networks is how information technology becomes an integral part of community, an indispensable part of the emerging "globalized" community. Computer networks are not just technology. Faster networks lead to new services, then new uses, then various communities. These communities could cross organizational, national, cultural, and time boundaries (Harasim, 1993b; Jones, 1995).

**Globalized Communities**

Marshall McLuhan foresaw global connectivity in the 1960s. His concept of "global village" has been spread worldwide. Today, close to the beginning point of the 21st century, we are experiencing emerging, unprecedented, and powerful social transformations: the extension of human community onto a global scale. Various kinds of globalized communities are connecting people around the world.

A globalized community in this study refers to the agglomeration of people who are globally dispersed. It is considered as a collectivity of groups and individuals who possess some "commonality" (e.g., ethnicity, religion, interest, goal) and who interact with each other frequently through mediated communication on a global scale. The interaction and communication among those globally dispersed individuals and groups are the main characteristics of the community.

The globalization entails an unparalleled increase in proximity, that is, the breakdown of isolation. For the first time in modern history world societies are in
close communication with one another and thus becoming dependent on one another. The notions of community, nation, and culture are undergoing many changes and have new meanings.

Some "diaspora" communities could be seen as one type of globalized community. The historical phenomenon of diaspora communities has been reshaping the nation-state. The term diaspora is first applied to the experience of Jews, and later to Armenians, who were forcibly exiled from their homelands (Heller, 1992a, p. A7). Many diaspora communities in the world could be viewed as globalized communities. For example, over 30 million people of Chinese origin now live in 130 countries on six continents (Poston, Mar & Yu, 1994; Wang, 1993). As noted by L. L. Wang, chairman of ethnic studies at the University of California at Berkeley, "The vast majority of the Chinese in diaspora have long abandoned their pre-World War II sojourner mentality. . . . They have successfully planted roots as a racial minority" (Heller, 1992a, p. A8). There are about 10 million expatriate immigrants from India worldwide, with 650,000 of them living in the United States (Lessinger, 1992, p. 55). There is evidence that in various ways and to different degrees, these dispersed populations, such as worldwide Jews, Iranians, and Palestinians, maintained networks of interconnection (Click-Schiller, Basch, & Szanton-Blanc, 1995; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990).

Another type of the globalized communities could be seen as the transnational Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs). NGOs have grown rapidly in number and in strength since the 1970s and are taking full advantage of the communication infrastructure originally developed for military and private corporations. There are about 18,000 transnational NGOs that span all continents and link households, local communities, and nation-states in networks based on the common interests of their members (Boulding, 1988, p. 35). These transnational voluntary associations cover the whole range of human interests and include such diverse groups as religion, trade,
education, arts, science, social welfare, sports, and recreation—any type of group that seeks relationships with people of like interests across national borders. NGOs are a force in international relations in the cause of peace, human rights, and the environmental movement (Harasim, 1993; Wakemen, 1988). For example, Amnesty International (AI) is a worldwide community of people acting on the conviction that governments must not deny individuals their basic human rights. It has more than 1,000,000 members, subscribers and regular donors in over 190 countries and territories, nationally organized sections in 54 countries, and over 4,341 local AI groups in 93 countries. The organization was awarded the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize for its efforts to promote global observance of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Amnesty International, 1996).

Since it enables people to pursue common goals across national boundaries, the growth of transnational NGOs is a continuing process, with new shared interests being discovered and new organizational networks being created every day (Boulding, 1988, p. 118).

Communities of faith have been organized transnationally for centuries. Complex globalized forces and communities of Christianity, Buddhism, Islamic fundamentalism, Hinduism, and Confucianism are playing more important roles in international political, economic and social fields (e.g., Beyer, 1990; Bennett, 1987; Wakeman, 1988). Globalized religious associations provide the most far-reaching networks available in the modern world. They touch individuals' hearts in most villages of every continent, as well as in most major population centers. No other associations have the grassroots capabilities of the local congregations of religious bodies (Boulding, 1988, p. 128).

Today there is an increasing importance of a limited number of universal models of communication. English spreads as an international language, especially in diplomacy, commerce, science, and technology (e.g., Fisher, 1989; Hall, 1991; Swann,
Meta-language such as computer language is becoming increasingly important. An intercultural "high culture" is emerging, which is exemplified in the arts, communication and entertainment media, design, architecture, and modes of expression (Bennett, 1987).

Academic communities are increasingly globalized in recent years. In the field of science, a new type of scientific research group is emerging—the extended research group (a large number of geographically dispersed researchers working together in a coordinated fashion). Those multi-institutional coordinated groups such as high-energy physicists working on accelerators are depending on new telecommunication technologies such as E-mail for scientific communication (e.g., Aborn & Thaler, 1988; Carley & Wendt, 1991). This new type of science, telescience, is characterized not only by the use of telecommunication technologies, but by the proliferation of extended research groups who conduct scientific research at a distance (Carley & Wendt, 1991, p. 407). Universities and research centers have been organizing regional databases and conferences, as well as transnational educational projects such as BESTNET, a rapidly expanding network of U.S., Latin American, and African researchers and teachers intent on creating a "South-South" flow of information (Bellman et al., 1993).

These globally organized networked groupings such as human rights, environment, and women's organizations are beginning to make their presence felt during global events such as the 1992 UN conference on the environment in Rio de Janeiro and the 1995 UN Conference on Women in Beijing. Some observers maintain that global computer networks are fostering a global "civil society," a public sphere that is increasingly independent from both governments and transnational markets (Harasim, 1993c; Jones, 1995).

New social reality has stimulated social research on various globalized community developments. Academic interest in worldwide diasporal communities is
increasing. For example, African diaspora studies are the increasingly popular scholarly approach to understanding the experiences of blacks worldwide (Gilroy, 1993; Heller, 1992b; Winkler, 1994). The phenomenon goes back to the early 20th century and flourishes today--blacks identifying themselves as hyphenated citizens: African-American, Afro-Caribbean, Black British. As noted by M. Priscilla Stone, program director in African studies for the Social Science Research Council, "There is an increasing trend to think more broadly and expansively about what Africa means--Africa as a state of mind more than a place on the map" (Heller, 1992b, p. A8). Similarly, Gilroy (1993) argues that a black diaspora culture developed as black people were dispersed from Africa transcends national boundaries.

There have been increasing studies on the phenomenon of communities and organizations whose activity minimizes the absoluteness of, or crosses, nation-state or cultural boundaries. Concepts such as "international community" (Lutzker, 1960), "universal community" (Walsh, 1973, 1979), "multicultural community" (Adler, 1974), "intercultural society" (Kim & Ruben, 1988; Kim 1992), and "transnational society" (Glick-Schiller & Fouron, 1990; Glick-Schiller et al., 1992), "global network" (Harasim, 1993c), "cybersociety" (Jones, 1995) have been used to represent various types of communities whose members are no longer rigidly bound by one nation or culture and by one geographical location.

Today more and more people are joining together through various new communication technologies on a global scale. Global computer networks offer a venue for the global village. They are not only enhancing and expanding how humans connect, communicate, and create community, but also enabling communities of active participants (Harasim, 1993; Jones 1995).

The broad implications of globalization and global computer networks for communication scholars are still to be fully realized. The changing reality challenges
many prevalent concepts in social sciences such as culture, community, and nation-state. As Wakeman (1988) said:

In intensifying the investigation of the relationship between politics and culture as an organizer of the traffic between states, it is crucial to remember that "culture" is itself no longer the sort of thing anthropologists once took it to be: homogeneous, local, well-bounded, and in clear one-to-one correspondence with distinct social units. Culture now leaks across national boundaries, and this transnational flow is intimately tied not only to the many diasporas that characterize national populations, but also to the incredible force of media (e.g., movies, magazines, cassettes, videotapes, computers) which close the cultural distance (and accelerate the traffic) between overseas populations and their home societies. (p. 88)

In examining the globalization process and its implication for anthropology, Bennett (1987, p. 47) argues that today all cultures are bicultures, which means whatever they may posses their own traditional, relatively isolated past, they now also share some component of international style and its media of communication and thought. Cultural blending is the way of life for many people in the world.

Robert Redfield (1962) recognized that culture arises when people have an opportunity to communicate intimately and regularly on the same set of topics. Culture, in this sense, is simply repeatedly shared experiences. While cultural differences should be respected, the commonality of different cultures should not be neglected (Bennett, 1987).

As we approach the 21st century, as Mowlana notes (1994, p. 364), the most wide-ranging questions regarding communication research will be seen at the international level. The trend of internationalization of domestic policies and domestication of international politics provides new challenges for communication scholars.

Interesting research questions have arisen, such as what should (or would be) the role of new information technologies such as computer network-based news media
in helping articulate and give identity to the various biological (e.g., age-group), sociological, psychological, and aesthetic groupings that have begun to emerge as a result of the decline of traditional groupings and the increase of the so-called postmodern environments (Mowlana, 1994).

Studies on emerging globalized communities and computer-mediated communication have been recent and scattered in various disciplines of social sciences and humanities. Few attempts have been made to link them together in a coherent fashion in the current literature. There has been little research into the communication dimension of this sense of community or the communication factors and processes that led to its development. Especially, there is little literature to draw upon that directly addresses the relationship between computer network-based news media and globalized community development.

**Purposes of This Study**

This dissertation was intended to explore a new social phenomenon, globalized communities, and a new medium, computer network-based news service. The major research questions in this study are as follows:

1. How are globalized communities possible?

2. What are the role and function of computer network-based news media in creating and sustaining globalized communities?

This study developed a theoretical framework linking computer-mediated communication with globalized community development. Relevant literature on community, culture, and nation-state from diverse fields of social sciences and humanities was analyzed and synthesized. The development of a new type of communication technology--global computer networks--and news services based on this kind of networks was examined. Propositions on the role of computer network-based news media in the creation and maintenance of globalized communities were
formulated. Then a case study on a computer network-based news service, the China News Digest (CND), and its role of helping the development of a globalized community, the overseas Chinese scholarly community, was undertaken to evaluate the proposed theoretical framework.

In short, the purposes of this study are, first, to develop a theoretical framework on the role of computer network-based news media in the construction and maintenance of globalized communities, and second, to conduct a case study to assess this theoretical framework.

**Research Approach**

A globalized community could be seen as a new grouping at the global level, or the agglomeration of people (individuals and groups) who interact on a global scale. There are two dimensions of groupness: the conceptual and organizational. The conceptual refers to individuals' behavior and attitude, the ways group members view themselves. The organizational refers to structures, the ways groups are organized as collective actors. Communication, specifically mediated communication, is considered as the core of both the development of community consciousness and consensus and the institutionalization of this consciousness and consensus (Regis, 1992).

Naturally, the rank level of a globalized community consciousness influences its institutionalization. On the other hand, grassroots consciousness does not necessarily precede the process of organizational consolidation. Globalized community organizations need not merely reflect existing community consciousness but can also generate and augment it. In building themselves, globalized organizations also build their community consciousness.

The main underlying interest for policy makers and researchers in the study of the content of various media is the potential influence of the media on societies and
individuals. However, before one can reasonably study the impact of the media content on an audience or make well-founded guesses about the quality of the influence, one should first take a closer look into what is there to make an impact. Analysis of media content should be the first step toward understanding the impact of a specific medium on its audience.

The case study of this dissertation investigates both the conceptual and organizational dimensions of a globalized community. The research focus in this dissertation is not a direct analysis of the audience response to the messages of a new medium, a computer network-based news service. It includes an investigation of medium operation and a content analysis of the medium message itself. As Jeffres & Hur (1980) noted, identification with an ethnic group was related to interest in news and information about that group. What this new medium, computer network-based news and information service, could provide to its readers is the focus of this dissertation.

**The Overseas Chinese Scholarly Community and China News Digest**

A globalized community could be created and sustained through a variety of mechanisms. This dissertation selects one case, the overseas Chinese scholarly community, and one mechanism, the China News Digest (CND), a computer network-based news service, to evaluate the proposed theoretical framework on globalized communities and computer-mediated communication.

In this study, the overseas Chinese scholarly community refers to the community composed of overseas students and scholars from the People’s Republic of China. Since 1979 when China started to implement its open-door policy and economic reforms, more than 200,000 Chinese students and scholars have gone outside mainland China for academic training and research. About one-third of them have returned to China after finishing their study and research (Lin, 1994). Among
those who remain outside China, most are engaged in advanced study or scientific research in universities or research laboratories or working as professionals in various industries or business in North America, West Europe, Japan, and Australia. Increasing numbers are working in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia. Overseas Chinese students have also been found in many other countries, e.g., Brazil, East Europe, Russia, and Spain (CND, 1995a). This is a well-educated group with the majority being scientists and engineers. Many members of this overseas Chinese scholarly community have been active in promoting democracy and human rights in China, academic exchanges with their colleagues in mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, and various community services (e.g., Broaded, 1993; Fu, 1995; Wang, 1995).

There are many communication mechanisms among the overseas Chinese scholarly community. For examples, global networks link them together whether they are in a university in Australia, a research institute in Finland, or a scientific research lab in the United States (Lu, 1995; Wu, 1995). China News Digest (CND), a computer network-based news and information service, is one electronic means by which they communicate with each other on a daily basis. It has been widely considered as the most popular and successful news service among the overseas Chinese students and scholars (Tempest, 1995; Wu, 1995).

Two research questions are asked in the case study: (a) How is the overseas Chinese scholarly community formed? (b) What is the role of computer network-based news media such as CND in the creation and maintenance of this community? One objective of this study was to determine how much an overseas Chinese scholarly community medium emphasized news and information about the subjects it covers.

This study focuses on communication and the relationships that overseas Chinese students and scholars (CSS) develop with their native referent groups. It assumes that a sense of community develops among those overseas CSS who live in different countries all over the world. It assumes that this sense of community is
reflected in the tendency among those CSS from different parts of the world to identify with each other as a whole. It assumes that the content of communication at the overseas Chinese scholarly community level will reflect the presence of this sense of community. And it seeks to determine how the presentation of news and information about this community by a community medium reflects the presence of this sense of community.

In short, little research has been conducted on the overseas Chinese scholarly community and its news media. This study should be regarded as a first step to find out whether a popular assumption about mediated processes of community building can be corroborated from an analysis of the organization and content of a new community medium.

The research approach in this dissertation is the case study, combining document analysis, personal observation, and quantitative and qualitative content analysis. Research sources come from various organization archives, public records, personal observation, and library resources.

**Outline of the Study**

This dissertation is organized in three parts. Chapters 1-6, the first part, cover the theoretical development of this dissertation. It provides the background and lays the conceptual foundations for the proposed case study. Chapter 1 lays out the background, current status, problems, and research theme of this study. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 examine changing concepts of community, nation-state, and culture respectively. Various approaches to community, nation-state, and culture are reviewed from communication perspectives. Chapter 5 discusses the current development of global computer networks and their implications for the construction of virtual community. Chapter 6 synthesizes the literature discussed in the previous chapters and outlines a
theoretical framework about computer network-based news media and the development of globalized community.

Chapters 7-9, the second part of the dissertation, cover the case study of a computer network-based news medium, the China News Digest, and the overseas Chinese scholarly community. The history and situation of the overseas Chinese scholarly community and communication mechanisms among it are analyzed in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 turns to the operation of the China News Digest (CND), a popular electronic news and information service among the overseas Chinese students and scholars around the globe. Chapter 9 further analyzes the selected content of CND in terms of community-building implications. Research design, procedure, and findings of the content analysis are covered in this chapter.

Chapter 10 is the final part of the dissertation. It concludes the investigation and explores the implications of the findings and further research directions.
CHAPTER 2
COMMUNITY AND COMMUNITY BUILDING

“Spiritual deprivation,” such as a feeling of emptiness associated with separation from fellow humans, has been considered as one of the major problems facing today's societies (Jampolsky, 1989). To build community among human beings is one way to solve the problems of this spiritual deprivation (Gudykunst, 1991, p. 142).

The term community is derived from the Latin *communitas*, which has two related but distinct interpretations: (1) the quality of “common interest and hence the quality of fellowship” and (2) “a body of people having in common an external bond” (Rosenthal, 1984, p. 219).

The modern concept of community derives from sociology, especially from Ferdinand Tonnies's analysis of the shift in social organization from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, or roughly, from community to society (Tonies, 1963). Tonnies' *gemeinschaft* is a natural grouping of people based on kinship and neighborhood, shared culture, and folkways—a tribe or a peasant village would be a classic example. His *gesellschaft* refers to impersonal contractual and legal relationships, based more upon mutual need to achieve specific tasks or general goals than on blood relationships (kinship) or proximal relationship (neighborhood).

In A. Cohen's (1985) view, community implies that the members of a group of people (a) have something in common with each other, which (b) distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups. Community thus seems to imply simultaneously both similarity and difference.
The notion of community has been central to the analysis of social and political life since Plato and Aristotle inquired into the character of the Greek *polis*. As a concept in modern scholarship, community was one of the central concerns of the nineteenth-century social thinkers who were among the founders of sociology in Europe and the United States (Bell, 1974; Bender, 1978). Modernity, urbanization, and capitalism all seemed to threaten traditional patterns of social life. Modern Americans fear that urbanization and modernization have destroyed the community that earlier shaped the lives of people particularly in small towns of the American past (Bender, 1978, p. 3).

**Sociological Approaches to Community**

The concept of community is considered as "the most fundamental and far-reaching of sociology's unit-ideas" (Nisbet, 1966, p. 47). This concept is complex and has many dimensions of meaning and value. Hillery (1955) developed 94 definitions of community after discovering that the concept of community is not easily reduced to just a few basic dimensions. From those 94 definitions, Hillery (1959) further identified 16 different concepts subsumed by community. Little basis exists for deciding which of these 16 concepts is most important or most basic to the notion of community (Stamm, 1985).

Among theoretical debates about the meaning of community over what constitutes a "real, "genuine," or "natural" community, there are basically four major views on the meaning of community. The first view emphasizes the territorial dimension. A particular place of an interdependent population is the center of this view. The second one focuses on institutional functions. A community is seen as a collection of institutions such as family, market, church and government which fulfill the basic needs of its members. The third view considers community as a process.
The fourth approach focuses on the social network dimension of community. Each of these approaches needs close examination.

Community as Place

One of the common sociological definitions focuses on a community as an aggregate of people who share a common interest in a particular locality. In this view, territorially based social organizations and social activity define a community. The literature is not precise about the size of this territory. It can range from a neighborhood to a town, to a medium-sized city (Bender, 1978). A community is assumed to be a localized or microcosmic example of the larger society (Warren, 1963).

Because community frequently is focused on localities, a colonial New England town was considered a typical community. This orientation is in part the product of a historical association dating from the 1920s linking community studies and rural sociology (Bender, 1978). A rural community, a town or farm neighborhood, was considered small, parochial, stable, and face-to face. People interacted with each other as total social persons informed by a comprehensive personal knowledge of each other. Their relationships were often undergirded by ties of affinity and consanguinity (Bender, 1978, p. 10). It was a traditional and conservative way of life, in which people valued custom for its own sake and, given a reasonable degree of potential self-sufficiency in the production of their subsistence, felt substantially in control of their lives (A. Cohen, 1985, p. 25).

Urban life, as suggested by community sociology, was different in almost every respect from rural society. It required the mental reconditioning of the individual, which, in the case of rural migrants, must be affected by resocialization. An individual in urban society lives his or her social life in a multiplicity of contexts, residing in one, working in another, traveling through still others, perhaps taking one's leisure
somewhere else altogether. The vestiges of community are to be found only at the level of the neighborhood. The old community of rural life is broken down by the division of specialized labor and is replaced by a solidarity built upon interdependence (A. Cohen, 1985, p. 26). In this view, rural society was contrary in every respect to the urban society. Personalistic, traditionalistic, stable, religious families commonly found in the rural society are the classical repository of community.

Critiques of this approach abound in the literature. First, it is incorrect in postulating the end of community. Many studies have shown that various communities exist within the city (A. Cohen, 1985, p. 27). People map out their social identities and find their social orientations among the relationships which are symbolically close to them, rather than in relation to an abstracted sense of society. Secondly, territorially based interaction represents only one pattern of community, a pattern that becomes less evident over the course of American history (Bender, 1978, p. 6).

Community as Structure

Community has also frequently been defined in terms of an existing institutional structure--e.g., collections of institutions and centers for trade. Much attention is concentrated upon the structures and forms of community organization and life (A. Cohen, 1985; Stamm, 1985). The community is considered as a structure of institutions capable of objective definition and description.

Effrat (1974) proposes a classification of communities in terms of territorial grounding and number of institutional functions, such as solidarity institutions, primary interaction, and institutionally distinct groups. Applying this classification, she suggests that neighborhoods and suburbs are considered communities primarily on territorial grounds; society on institutional grounds; and villages, towns, and cities on the basis of both.
Hillery (1961) develops a descriptive model of community— the "folk village," by using data from a number of different case studies. This model touches upon three dimensions of community: territory, institutional structure, and process. The village as a place was a type of ecological structure in which the residences are grouped in one location and are separated from the fields. The institutional structure was built around the family unit and a system of mutual aid among families. This social structure was maintained through a process of communication. Hillery identified five major categories under which various elements of community are listed: interaction, space, activities, sentiment, norms. However, his model focuses on "place" as well as "structure" as the most impotent dimension of community.

History has shown that the structural bases of community boundaries have become blurred because of social changes. Communities become increasingly subject to influences from across their boundaries. As Anthony Cohen (1985, p. 44) notes, the interrelated processes of industrialization and urbanization, the dominance of the cash economy and mass production, the centralization of markets, the spread of the mass media and of centrally disseminated information, and the growth of transportation infrastructure and increased mobility all undermine the structural bases of community boundaries.

Community as Process

The process element of community, a third dimension of community, can be found in the writings of sociologists (Stamm, 1985). However, this dimension of community has not received as much attention as the other two. Often it is rather vaguely subsumed under "interaction" or included as a component of institutional structure. Stamm (1985) argued that process and structural elements are separable. Process is necessary to the construction of institutions, but process may occur without
producing institutional structures, and social processes can occur outside the confines of formal structures.

Community as process gives emphasis to the social effort to create community through common endeavor and shared interest. The importance of recognizing process is illustrated by Suttles’ (1972) notion that the commitment of community is based largely on the hope that better communities are yet to be constructed. Suttles suggests that for many people involvement in the process of creating community may persist despite despair toward existing institutions.

Community as Social Network

The fourth dimension of community is the social network. Bender (1978) defines community as a network of social relations marked by mutuality and emotional bonds. In his view, there is an expectation of a special quality of human relationship in a community, and it is this experiential dimension that is crucial to its definition. Community can be defined better as an experience than as a place or structure. As simply as possible, community is where community happens (Bender, 1978, p. 6). As Nisbet (1966) put it, “Community is a fusion of feeling and thought, of tradition and commitment, of membership and volition” (p. 10)

Bender (1978) writes:

A community involves a limited number of people in a somewhat restricted social space or network held together by shared understandings and a sense of obligation. Relationships are close, often intimate, and usually face to face. Individuals are bound together by affective or emotional ties rather than by a perception of individual self-interest. There is a “we-ness” in a community; one is a member. Sense of self and of community may be difficult to distinguish. In its deepest sense, a community is a communion. (p. 8)

Bender (1978, p. 10) argues that the approach to community most often found in community sociology tends to divert attention away from the bonds of mutuality
and sentiment that historically define the experience of community. The territorial image of community makes it difficult to see the networks of experience that define community. A community is an end of itself: It may offer aid or advantage to its members, but its values are basically intrinsic to its own existence. It does not exist to serve an external or instrumental purpose.

Similarly, Walls (1993) considers community as human relations. In his view, there are three primary aspects of human social activity: the task-focused aspect, the relationship aspect, and the space-sharing aspect. If we say "human relationships consist of individuals who share space, interests, or goals," we might imply any of the following assumptions:

1. Individuals are related primarily through shared space, e.g., urban next-door neighbors.
2. Individuals are related primarily through shared interests, e.g., bridge club members.
3. Individuals are related primarily through shared goals, e.g., task force members.
4. Individuals are related primarily through shared space and interests, e.g., community center activity participants.
5. Individuals are related primarily through shared space and goals, e.g., condominium association members.
6. Individuals are related primarily through shared interests and goals, e.g., PeaceNet members.
7. Individuals are related primarily through shared space, interests, and goals, e.g., agricultural co-op members. (Walls, 1993, p. 154)

Wall's approach to community in terms of human relations has important implications for study of nontraditional types of community such as computer on-line networks. On-line networks are characterized by people who share time, virtual space, interests, and/or task focus. Computer on-line groups do share virtually the same elements that face-to-face groups share (Walls, 1993, p. 154).
Symbolic Construction of Community

While community remains a central concept in the field of sociology, anthropologists have also paid attention to community. For example, Anthony Cohen (1985) bases his analysis of community on symbolism and emphasizes the symbolic aspect of community.

According to A. Cohen (1985), community could be considered as a boundary-expressing symbol, which is largely constituted by people in interaction. As a symbol, it is held in common by its members, but its meaning varies with its members’ unique orientations to it (p. 13). The reality of community lies in its members’ perception of the vitality of its culture. People construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning and a referent of their identity (p. 118).

A. Cohen (1985) writes:

Community is that entity to which one belongs, greater than kinship but more immediately than the abstraction called “society.” It is the arena in which people acquire their most fundamental and most substantial experience of social life outside the confines of the home. In it they learn the meaning of kinship through being able to perceive its boundaries—that is, by juxtaposing it to non-kinship. They learn “friendship” and acquire the sentiments of close social association and the capacity to express or manage these in their social relationships. Community is the place to learn and to practice how to “be social.” (p. 15)

A. Cohen (1985, p. 20) tries to understand community by seeking to capture members’ experience of it. The “commonality” which is found in community is not very substantial, being form (ways of behaving) rather than content (meanings). Content differs widely among its members. Community provides the context for culture. Rather than thinking of it as an integration mechanism, community should be regarded instead as an aggregating device. The “commonality” in community need not be a uniformity.
A. Cohen (1985) considers community as a symbolic, rather than a structural, construct:

In seeking to understand the phenomenon of community, we have to regard its constituent social relations as repositories of meaning for its members, not as a set of mechanical linkages. Community exists in the minds of its members, and should not be confused with geographic or sociographic assertion of “fact.” By extension, the distinctiveness of communities and the reality of their boundaries similarly lies in the mind, in the meanings which people attach to them, not in their structural forms. (p. 98)

Symbol and Meaning

In A. Cohen's view (1985), communities are important repositories of symbols. The symbols of community provide people with the means to make meaning. Symbols do not tell us what to mean, but give us the capacity to make meaning. The sharing of symbol is not necessarily the same as the sharing of meaning. The same symbol can mean different things to different people, even though they may be closely associated with each other as members of the same community or bearers of the same culture (p. 70). The reality of community in people’s experience inheres in their attachment or commitment to a common body of symbols (p. 16).

A. Cohen (1985) maintains that symbols are effective because they are imprecise and part of their meaning is subjective. They are ideal media through which people can speak a common language, behave in apparently similar ways, participate in the same rituals, pray to the same gods, wear similar clothes, and so forth, without subordinating themselves to a tyranny of orthodoxy. Individuality and commonality are thus reconcilable. Just as the common form of the symbol aggregates the various meanings assigned to it, the symbolic repertoire of a community aggregates the individualities and other differences found within the community and provides the means for their expression, interpretation, and containment. Symbol provides the range within which individuality is recognizable (p. 21).
A. Cohen (1985, p. 17) further points out that meaning is not susceptible to objective description, but only to interpretation. Interpretation implies subjectivity. In other words, different people oriented to the same phenomenon are likely to differ from each other in certain respects in their interpretations of it.

According to Geertz (1975), culture, constituted by symbols, is created and continually recreated by people through their social interaction. Being continuously in process, culture has neither deterministic power nor objectively identifiable referents ("law"). Culture is manifest in the capacity with which it endows people to perceive meaning in, or to attach meaning to, social behavior. A. Cohen (1985, p. 38) approaches community as a phenomenon of culture, which is meaningfully constructed by people through their symbolic prowess and resources. In his view, cultures are ways of thinking and attachments to community (1985, p. 75). Community is where one acquires "culture," which means that he or she acquires the symbols which will equip one to be social (1985, p. 16).

Community, Ritual, and Identity

As A. Cohen (1985, p. 50) noted, the symbolic expression and affirmation of boundary heightens people's awareness of and sensitivity to their community. People participate in rituals for all sorts of reasons. It seems that ritual also has the capacity to heighten consciousness. Ritual occupies a prominent place in the repertoire of symbolic devices through which community boundaries are affirmed and reinforced. Both in its social and psychological consequences, ritual confirms and strengthens social identity and people's sense of social location; it is an important means through which people experience community.

A. Cohen (1985) points out that community is highly symbolized, with the consequence that its members can invest in it with their selves. Its character is sufficiently malleable that it can accommodate all of its members' selves without them
feeling their individuality to be overly compromised. Indeed, the gloss of commonality which it paints over its diverse components gives to each of them an additional referent for their identities (p. 109).

The sense of social self at the levels of both individuality and collectivity are informed by implicit or explicit contrast. Individuals are said to define themselves by reference to a “significant other.” James Boon (1982, p. 6, 25) argues that the need to draw and express such contrasts provides the essential character of cultures. They only need to formulate a sense of themselves as coherent and distinctive because they confront others. Moreover, just as other cultures are only observable from the perspective of a culture with which they are contrasted, so also people see their own culture from the supposed vantage point at which they imagine others to view it (A. Cohen, 1985, p. 115).

Implications

First, in studying community, A. Cohen (1985) seeks interpretations, and the means by which they are made, rather than an objective form of community. Community, in his view, can no longer be adequately described in terms of institutions and components. It should be recognized as a symbol to which its various adherents impute their own meanings. People can use the symbol, express their co-membership of the same community, yet assimilate it to the idiosyncrasies of their own experiences and personalities (A. Cohen, 1985, p. 74).

Secondly, the symbolic expression of community increases in importance as the actual geo-social structural boundaries of the community are undermined, blurred, or weakened as the consequence of social change. Supporting evidence may be found not only in settled communities, but also among those whose members have been dispersed and for whom ritual provides occasions to reconstitute the community (A. Cohen, 1985, p. 50).
Third, people become most sensitive to their own culture when they stand at its boundaries, when they encounter other cultures, or when they become aware of other ways of doing things, or merely of contradictions of their own culture (A. Cohen, 1985, p. 69). Such awareness is a necessary precondition for the valuing of culture and community.

Finally, the diminution of the geographical bases of community boundaries has also led to their renewed assertion in symbolic terms. Since the boundaries are inherently oppositional, almost any matter of perceived difference between the community and the outside world can be rendered symbolically as a result of its boundary. The symbolic nature of the opposition means that people can “think themselves into difference.” The boundaries consist essentially in the contrivance of distinctive meanings within the community’s social discourse. They provide people with a referent for their personal identities. Having done so, they are then themselves expressed and reinforced through the presentation of those identities in social life (A. Cohen, 1985, p. 117).

Globalized Community: A New Development

Today, close to the turning point of the 21st century, we are experiencing emerging, unprecedented, and powerful social transformations: the extension of human community to a global scale. Various kinds of globalized communities—such as ethnic, religious, political, economic, business, and cultural—are connecting people around the world (Appadurai, 1990; Glick-Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Sassen, 1994).

Globalized community, an emerging phenomenon, refers to the agglomeration of people (a new grouping) at the global level. It may be seen as a collectivity of groups and individuals who possess some “commonality” (e.g., ethnicity, religion,
interest, goal) and who interact with each other frequently through mediated communication on a global scale.

Historically, the globalized community is not a new phenomenon. "Diaspora" communities, such as the Jewish community around the globe, have existed for centuries. What is significant is the rapid growth of various kinds of globalized communities created and sustained by mediated communication, especially by new communication technologies during the past two decades.

How is a globalized community formed? What are the general characteristics of this kind of community? Who are the members of those communities? There is little literature on this subject. However, various studies on group and subculture could provide some food for thought.

When studying different kinds of groups and subcultures within a national culture, Donnelly (1981, p. 567) distinguishes two kinds of subculture in terms of the ascribed and achieved characteristics of the groups (see Table 1). Ascribed groups and subcultures were considered as social categories to which people belong because of particulars of birthplace, birthright, age, or other forms of sociological typing. Achieved groups and subcultures are those to which people consciously attain membership. All individuals will belong to several ascribed subcultures such as age, religious, political, social class, racial groups.

Donnelly (1981) pointed out that it is extremely difficult to determine boundaries, specific life styles, or any broadly based cultural characteristics for any of the ascribed subcultures and groups. Similarly, the fact that a person has a certain income, occupational index score, and/or education does not guarantee that his or her lifestyle or cultural characteristics will be similar to others with a similar income, occupational index score, and/or education. For example, there may be as wide a variety of individuals in one ethnic group as there are in the entire culture.
Table 1: Two Kinds of Group and Subculture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ascribed</th>
<th>Achieved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social classes</td>
<td>Occupational (Skills and aptitudes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic groups</td>
<td>Vocational (Skills and Interests)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial groups</td>
<td>Deviant (e.g., non-conformist or unconventional behavior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban/rural groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major religious groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major political groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(From Donnelly, 1981, p. 567)

There is considerable overlapping of membership in an ascribed group and subculture. Members of ascribed groups and subcultures may also belong to one or more achieved groups and subcultures (Donnelly, 1981). However, achieved groups tend to be much more distinct. They are characterized by the fact that members generally seek membership and learn the "meanings and ways" of a group and subculture. Cultural characteristics are more readily apparent and group and subculture boundaries are more easily determined.

In view of Donnelly's terms, it is probable that, in today's globalization process, both members of ascribed groups and achieved groups in various countries and cultures can interact and communicate on a global scale and develop globalized communities.

Group, Culture, and Communication

Community is composed of individuals and groups. Phillips & Schafer (1976) have noted the distinction between social groups and subcultures:

Subcultural values and norms are shared among members of groups, but those who share in a subculture need not interact with one another as a group any
more than those who share in the Japanese, Spanish or any other "parent" culture. Indeed, those who share in many subcultures--hippies, for example--are widely dispersed and could not possibly interact as a group. (p. 130)

As stated previously, a globalized community could be seen as a collectivity of groups and individuals who have some "commonalities" and who interact with each other symbolically through mediated communication on a global scale. As Donnelly (1981) points out, when a set of cultural characteristics is confined to a small group linked by informal means of communication, the term "groupculture" is applicable. Once the set of cultural characteristics spreads to other groups in a country and a (yet to be determined) critical mass is attained, the various groups may devise more formal means of communication (e.g., newsletter, specialized magazine) in order to propagate the cultural characteristics. The term subculture may be applied. When the set of cultural characteristics spreads to the entire nation-state via mass media (e.g., national radio and TV networks, mass-produced newspapers and general news magazines) and is shared by the majority of the people in that nation-state, mass society is formed and the concept of a mainstream national culture could be applied.

Following Donnelly's logic, it is proposed that when the set of cultural characteristics spreads to other groups in other countries (or more than two continents to be considered as global) and is propagated by transnational and specialized means of communication (e.g., international direct-dialing telephone, computer network, fax machine), the term supraculture may be applicable.

Tylor's (1871) classic definition of culture refers to "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (p. 1). These elements of culture are constantly being created and undergoing change as a result of interaction among people. Similarly, the customs, behavior, shared understanding, and artifacts of a supraculture in a globalized community are constantly evolving and changing.
Table 2 illustrates the four levels of group or community, the potential cultures these groups may develop, and the communication emphasis of each group. For example, the common way of communication among the members of a small group is interpersonal (face-to-face) contact. Members of a globalized community have to rely on mediated communication (e.g., fax, E-mail) to keep in touch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Cultures</th>
<th>Communication Emphasis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small group</td>
<td>Group culture</td>
<td>Interpersonal (face-to-face) communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various groups</td>
<td>Subculture</td>
<td>Interpersonal and mediated (small-scale) communication (e.g., newsletter, special magazine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nation-state</td>
<td>National culture</td>
<td>Mediated/mass communication (e.g., nationwide TV networks, newspapers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalized community</td>
<td>Supraculture</td>
<td>Mediated/specialized/electronic communication (e.g., E-mail, fax, international publications)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Members of a Globalized Community**

Borrowing from Donnelly’s (1981) analysis on subculture, we maintain that a globalized community may be pictured as a series of concentric circles, each representing one of several levels of membership. This model is based on the relationship between the community and people’s lifestyle, and on the premise that total membership in a community may be seen as the significant aspect of an individual’s lifestyle. Two additional variables are also relevant—commitment and information.
Members in a community could be classified as core members, associate members, and marginal members, depending on the level of analysis (Donnelly, 1981, pp. 571-573). The core members, or the most active ones, are the individuals for whom the globalized community activities are the most significant aspect of their lifestyle—individuals for whom the community represents a major commitment in terms of time, energy, information and other resources, those who are the most knowledgeable and informed about the community and the meanings and ways of community culture. For associate and marginal members, the community is a less important aspect of their lifestyle. They also commit a smaller proportion of their resources to membership in the community and possess less information about it.

The Scope and Potential of a Globalized Community

What accounts for the emergence and development of globalized communities? The two major themes that emerge from theoretical work on subculture formation could be applied for this new phenomenon. One theme focuses on environmental response, the other on "differential interaction" (Donnelly, 1981, p. 573).

The first theme views the emergence of subcultures as a problem-solving response by individuals with similar difficulties or concerns. The second theme views subcultural emergence as a result of the proximity of similar individuals or individuals with similar concerns, and the inevitable interaction of these individuals. There is a third approach which combines the two themes, and there is some indication of a temporal sequence with environmental response leading to differential interaction.

Pearson (1977) deals with the issue of why subcultures exist. Individuals in a similar social situation (e.g., with similar interests) begin to promote differential interaction and to form a group. The group begins to emphasize certain cultural characteristics relevant to the interests of the group and to reduce the importance of certain aspects of the "parent" culture. The attitudes, beliefs and behavior of the
individual group members are in turn affected and the group forms the basis of a new subculture.

One weakness of Pearson's work is that he does not address the question of why some activities, interests or beliefs result in the emergence of subcultures while others do not (Donnelly, 1981, p. 575). The answer appears to lie in the scope and potential of the activity, interest or belief. This analysis could be applied to the study of globalized community. Many globalized communities involve relatively stable and enduring groups while some may be based on unstable groups. So the basis for a well-established globalized community should be unlimited in scope, have the potential to continue developing, and have the potential to acquire additional characteristics that will become significant aspects of an individual's lifestyle.

For example, a number of dance crazes during the 1960s in the United States lacked the scope and potential necessary for supracultural development, but the more recent disco movement in music, dancing, and fashion proved to be much more enduring (Donnelly, 1981, p. 575). Individuals were able to develop a lifestyle around the music and dancing. The scope and potential of disco have resulted in the formation of a supraculture.

**Fulfilling Individual Needs**

Of equal importance to scope and potential in the formation and maintenance of a globalized community is the manner in which its creation meets the needs of the participants. Donnelly's (1981, pp. 575-76) analysis of subculture in this regard could also be applied to globalized community. In order for a community to develop, there must be some benefit to the individual members. Those members must act to create the community, and they are unlikely to act in such a manner if the creation and maintenance of community are not rewarding.
Three types of rewards may be identified: psychic, social, and material (Donnelly, 1981, pp. 575-76). Following Donnelly’s analysis, we believe that the principal psychic reward of globalized communities is that they provide their members with an identity. A community/cultural identity that is recognized by other members of the community, and by nonmembers, is extremely valuable in combating alienation in modern society (Glick-Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Involvement in a globalized community may also provide a type of alternative status for their members beyond the traditional means of attaining status. In addition, involvement in a group, feeling of fellowship, and the establishing of long-term friendships or even partnerships with individuals with similar interests are all potential benefits from membership in a globalized community.

One basic proposition here is that communities are actively created and maintained by their members as long as they meet the needs of their members.

**Diversity in Community Building**

Buber (1958, 1965) maintains that a community is not necessarily a group of like-minded people, but a group of individuals with complementary natures who have differing minds. Similarly, Friedman (1983) draws a distinction between a “community of otherness” and a “community of affinity.” A community of affinity is a group of like-minded people who have come together for security. In Friedman's view, they feel safe because they use a similar language and the same slogans, but they do not have close relations with one another. A community of otherness, on the other hand, begins from the assumption that each member has a different point of view that contributes to the group. Members of this community are not alike, but they share common concerns (Gudykunst, 1991, pp. 143-144).

In Buber's view (1965), openness, not intimacy, is one of the keys to developing community. “A real community need not consist of people who are
perpetually together; but it must consist of people who, precisely because they are comrades, have mutual access to one another and are ready for one another” (quoted by Friedman, 1986, p. xiii). Buber (1965) draws distinctions among three forms of communication: monologue, technical dialogue, and dialogue. Monologues are “self-centered” conversations in which the other person is treated as an object. Technical dialogues are information-centered conversations. Monologues and technical dialogues are necessary and appropriate at times, but problems emerge when they are used too frequently; that is, there is a lack of connection among the participants, so community cannot develop. For community to develop, dialogue is necessary. Dialogue involves communication among individuals. In a dialogue, each participant’s feeling of control and ownership is minimized; each participant confirms the other, even when conflict occurs (Gudykunst, 1991, p. 144).

Tinder (1980) suggests that the values of civility and tolerance of plurality and diversity are necessary for community. Building a community requires a commitment to values higher than one’s own. It is important to recognize that holding the values of civility and tolerance of plurality requires that a person accept that his or her own needs are not always met (Arnett, 1986).

In Buber’s (1965) view, the key to building community is for individuals to walk a “narrow ridge”—taking both one’s own and other’s viewpoints into consideration in one’s dealings with others. Arnett (1986) uses the metaphor of a tightrope walker to illustrate the narrow ridge concept. If a tightrope walker leans too much in one direction he or she will begin to lose his or her balance. To regain balance, the tightrope walker must compensate by leaning in the other direction. The same is true to walking the narrow ridge in one’s dealings with others. If one gives his own opinions too much weight in a conversation, he must compensate by giving the others’ opinions equal weight if he is going to walk a narrow ridge (Gudykunst, 1991, p. 145).
Community cannot exist without conflict. Hampshire (1989) argues that we should expect "ineliminable and acceptable conflicts, and . . . rationally controlled hostilities, as the normal condition" (p. 189).

Mass Media and Community Building

Since the end of the nineteenth century, mass media have inspired dreams of Great Communities (e.g., Kreiling, 1984; Peters, 1989) and nightmares of Big Brother (e.g., Davis & Puckett, 1992). With the introduction of each new medium during the development, similar hopes and fears have been expressed by observers. On one hand, each new medium inspires optimism that it might restore desirable features of past ways of life and integrate them into contemporary existence. On the other hand, each new medium also threatens to undermine desirable aspects of modern life and to aggravate social problems. Mass media have been viewed both as a "leading edge" for positive social change (e.g., Lerner, 1958; McLuhan, 1965) and as agents of mass society (e.g., Brantlinger, 1983).

The first major approach to studying mass media and community was found in sociological research. Robert Merton (1949) was one of the first researchers to examine some aspects of the relationship between community orientation and media use. In his view, orientation toward the local media is an integral component of community orientation. As part of his qualitative study of ordinary and influential citizens, Merton distinguished between "localites"--those persons with an exclusively local community orientation--and "cosmopolites"--individuals with interests placed in events occurring outside of the local community (Neuwirth, Salmon & Neff, 1989, p. 31).

Many studies following Robert Merton proposed that community newspaper readership facilitates the process of integrating into the community. Janowitz (1967) maintains that community press must both reflect underlying values and aspiration and
at the same time be sensitive enough to reflect rapid social change. In his view, the community press is a facilitator, a reinforcer of localistic tendencies and public interest, not a creator of community political activity. The community press acts as a mechanism which seeks to maintain local consensus through the emphasis on common values rather than on the solution of conflicting values. It avoids highly divisive issues and takes a stand only when it can speak for the community as a whole in opposition to some outside force.

The literature on journalistic values suggests that the values may be ranged along a continuum with community-centered values at one end and cosmopolitan values at the other (Viall, 1992). Small-town community journalists are an integral part of their community and are more concerned with community acceptance, community cohesion, and the maintenance of a stable advertising base. Cosmopolitan journalists have more autonomy and are more concerned with investigative reporting and their watchdog role (Viall, 1992).

Research has also been found on the role of mass media on "greater" communities. For example, Regis & Lashley (1992) use news stories in Iere, a Caribbean community newspaper in Washington, DC, to examine the communication and relationship that Caribbean immigrants develop with their native referent groups. The 98 stories reviewed suggest stronger identification with the Caribbean community as a whole than with the specific Caribbean islands where those immigrants came from.

The second approach examining mass media and community is within media criticism. In Davis & Puckett's view (1992), historically two schools of American social criticism toward mass media have developed; one is conservative social Darwinism and the other reform social Darwinism. Both schools were dedicated to social evolution, or “progress,” and both expressed concern about the unforeseen consequences of social changes associated with the new media. Both schools recognized that mass media had the ability to foment social unrest and disrupt local
communities and the cultures on which they were based. Conservatives favored strong elite control and the use of media to disseminate those forms of “high” culture favored by them. Reform Darwinists were more optimistic about democratic forms of politics and the ability of media to create the “Great Community,” in which new forms of mediated culture would be widely shared (Davis & Puckett, 1992, p. 5).

Today the development of mass media continues to provoke intense criticism inside and outside of academia from both conservative and reform critics. As Davis & Puckett (1992) note:

The deterministic assumptions that grounded earlier criticisms are being questioned and rejected. Audiences are now referred to as active rather than passive. It is recognized that media effects are rarely immediate and direct; rather, they tend to be subtle and long-term . . . . Some conservatives still maintain that mass culture distracts people from and disturbs their belief in traditional forms of culture. Traditional forms are considered essential if the social order is to be maintained. On the other hand, radicals still condemn the power of mass media to narcotize, desensitize, and alienate. They continue to argue that mass culture erodes the will of the people to seek necessary social change and thus serves to perpetuate an increasingly untenable status quo. (p. 6)

As we discussed before, many social theories concern the conceptualization of community and the role assigned to it in modern social orders. It is widely recognized that prior to urbanization and industrialization, most people were acculturated within geographically limited folk communities. It is likely that most social practices were learned through routine observation of others within the boundaries of a physically limited community. In these highly stable, geographically isolated, hierarchically structured, and culturally homogeneous communities, the dominant form of communication was interpersonal. The encoding and decoding of social practices by individuals were relatively unproblematic and static. The members of the community shared a commonality of experience that outsiders could never understand.
Ethnographic research in isolated folk communities has provided evidence in this regard (Marcus & Fischer, 1986).

While there is growing agreement over the historic role of folk communities, there is considerable debate over the role of communities in contemporary social orders. Davis & Puckett (1992) write:

Some theorists maintain considerable respect for the depth of meaning that they believe folk communities made possible. They argue that it may be possible and desirable to make communities the building block of modern social orders rather than rely on large-scale, bureaucratized institutions. However, these theorists are not proposing to recreate folk communities in the way that the hippie movement established communes. Rather, their intent is to create social units that can overcome obvious failings of folk communities (cultural homogeneity, hierarchical structure, social isolation, and so on) while realizing their greatest benefits, including deep sharing of meaning. (pp. 18-19)

In his survey of American attitude in the 1980s, Yankelovich (1982) reports that "ten years ago roughly one-third of Americans felt an intense need to compensate for the impersonal and threatening aspects of modern life by seeking mutual identification with others based on close ethnic ties or ties of shared interest, needs, background, age, or values." In the decade since, he said, the proportion "deeply involved in the Search for Community has increased to 47 percent" (p. 248)

Today, we are entering a new era of communication. A host of new communication technologies (e.g., computer, satellites, Internet) have extended the range and power of traditional mass media (e.g., newspaper, radio and television), and also offered the possibility of greater personal and local control. While we can begin to envision the world enmeshed in one gigantic media network, there is a powerful resurgence of local, ethnic cultures supported in part by new communication technologies. Various communication technologies could be configured in many different ways to develop and sustain very different social and political orders.
One of the most intriguing possibilities offered by new communication technologies is that of community creation at many geographical levels--local, global, and everything in between. Various innovative social units such as "new communities" could utilize new media technologies and innovative communication practices to transcend physical and social boundaries (Jones, 1995). The new media have potential of creating a broad range of new forms of content that might be used within communities to acculturate members (Davis & Puckett, 1992, p. 31).

Summary

Sociologists have defined community as a place, structure, process, network, and human relations. Human relations consist of individuals who share space, interests, or goals. These relations are considered as the core of a community. People have various levels of community involvement. Community cannot exist without conflict. Diversity and openness are required for community building.

Another useful approach focuses on the symbolic construction of community. Community is viewed as symbolic expression, or people's shared experience. Community consists of important repositories of symbols. Content (meaning) is considered more important than its form. Community provides context for culture. People can use the symbol, express their co-membership of the same community, yet assimilate it to the idiosyncrasies of their own experiences and personalities. Among all symbolic devices, ritual is an important means through which people experience community. Ritual has the capacity to heighten consciousness, strengthen social identity, and provide occasions to reconstitute the community.

One underlying assumption of various views of community in literature is that community is territorially based. An organic community is based on the interpersonal relationship. The new social reality shows that community could not be territorially based. There is a decline of traditional groupings and geographical bases of
community. People’s linkage to a community, or their sense of community, is constructed by communication. Interpersonal communication is the key to forming small groups. Mediated communication plays a crucial role in the development of national and globalized groupings.

The phenomenon of globalized community demonstrates that human beings need to communicate with each other at various levels, and human relations could be sustained by electronic means. New media technologies are increasingly disseminating information of interest to the members of globally dispersed groups and linking them together. They assure a certain amount of conformity in terms of information and cultural characteristic, and allow community members to remain in contact at the global level. They also tend to disseminate unintended information that assists in maintaining conformity. The development of globalized communities is also challenging traditional views of nation and culture.
CHAPTER 3
NATION-STATE AND ETHNICITY

In our effort to integrate many of the notions about community, nation, and culture, and to explore the role of new communication technologies in the emerging globalized communities, we need to go beyond traditional media and community studies approaches that are narrowly focused on local communities and that do not include the nation-state as a part of their investigations. This chapter begins with an examination of nation-state, nationalism, ethnicity, and mass media's role in the processes of nation building.

In the post-Cold War era, we have witnessed the resurgence of national and ethnic consciousness in many parts of the world. Alongside globalism, nowadays nationalism, localism, and tribalism are also growing (e.g., Tehranian, 1993; Kaplan, 1994). Nationalism especially has been the ideology that replaced Marxism in the former Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern Europe (Gutek, 1993). With extreme nationalism and localism comes danger to world peace, such as conflicts over borders in a region where the locations of different ethnic groups do not correspond neatly with the principle of self-determination of peoples.

In common political terminology, nation is often used as synonymous with the sovereign state and its inhabitants. As Even & Newnham (1990) put it, "the nation-state is the dominant political entity of the modern world and as such has be considered to be the primary unit of international relations. A nation is territorially defined by geo-political boundaries and controlled by a central government and a corresponding administrative apparatus" (p. 258). A nation confers citizenship, which is called "nationality," to its inhabitants.
The primary meaning of "nation" in the literature has been political (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990). However, a nation is not a primary and unchanging political entity. It describes a particular and historically recent phenomenon. Nation-state developed in Europe between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries after the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire and the emergence of the centralized state. This state claimed exclusive and monopolistic authority within a defined territorial area. Its characteristics include absolute political power within the community and independence outside it (Emerson, 1960; Tilly, 1975; Evan & Newnham, 1990).

Nations exist not only as functions of a particular kind of territorial state, but also in the context of a particular stage of technological and economic development (Smith, 1991a, Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990). For example, standard national languages cannot emerge as such before printing, mass literacy, and mass schooling. Nations and their associated phenomena must be analyzed in terms of political, technological, administrative, economic and other conditions and requirements (Bendix, 1977; Deutsch & Foltz, 1963).

**Nation Building and Nationalism**

Bogdanor (1987) defines nation building as “the sum of policies designed to promote national integration” (p. 379). “Nation building is an architectural metaphor for the process induced within a state to integrate the country and tie the inhabitants together in a national fellowship” (Bogdanor, 1987, p. 379). The elements of artifact, invention, and social engineering all enter into the making of nations (Anderson, 1991).

Historically, nation building processes produced shared national institutions, communications, and symbols of unity. Institutions such as administration, educational system, business association, military force, transportation, and mass media may serve the goal of national integration. Public architecture, status projects,
and national celebrations, flags, census, maps, and heroes may also be visible manifestations of nation building in progress. These policies are particularly crucial in recent states with artificial or accidental borders, and in states with different traditions, religions, and ethnic groups (Anderson, 1991).

As Bogdanor (1987) notes:

As a theme in political studies nation building became prominent after the dissolution of European colonialism. The borderlines drawn by the colonial powers became the frontiers of new states, largely irrespective of ethnic and cultural criteria. Nation building became a clue to the political aspects of modernization: the break-up of primordial loyalties was a prerequisite for modern citizenship and for a viable polity in a universe of nation-states. (p. 379)

Nation building has been conceptualized in many studies in terms of progressive states of political development (e.g., Rutland, 1995; Smith, 1991a). Indicators of this development include, first, the territorial penetration by state power. Second is the cultural standardization on the model of a nationwide code with standard education and assimilation of minorities. Third is the participation of wider sections of the population through political citizenship mobilizing peripheries and lower classes. Fourth is the redistribution and welfare policies as mechanisms of national integration. Nation building processes involve the growing public authority and control on the one hand and the extension of civil rights on the other (Bogdanor, 1987). As Hobsbawm (1990) notes, nation building consists of dual phenomena, constructed essentially from above, but which cannot be understood unless also analyzed from below, that is, in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people. National identification can change and shift in time.

The ideal of nation building is relative to the concept of a nation. When the nation is usually made synonymous with a modern state, or with the inhabitants of any established state, nation building could be the policies for real state control and public
obedience. When the nation is seen as an expression of cultural fellowship or ethnic characteristics, nation building may imply active assimilation and standardization towards an authorized national code, such as linguistic, religious or ethnic. Historical myths of identity and uniqueness often serve the same end. When the nation is viewed as an emotional fellowship, nation building could mean the policies intended to stimulate national fellow feeling, irrespective of the more objective characteristics of various subnational groups (Bogdanor, 1987, p. 380).

It is difficult to distinguish clearly between nation building as an explicit policy and the more spontaneous processes involved. Hobsbawm (1990) demonstrates that national consciousness developed unevenly among the social groupings and regions of a country. Whatever the nature of the social groups first captured by "national consciousness," the popular masses--workers, servants, peasants--are the last to be affected by it (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 12). Political leaderships played important roles in many nation-building processes (Seton-Satson, 1977).

**Nationalism**

The literature on nationalism consists of attempts to categorize the bases on which nationality or nationhood has been attributed to various groups in history. One division is between "objective" and "subjective" ideas of nationality. The "objective" view sees nationality as a natural fact about people, constituted by mother tongue, ethnic descent, etc. (e.g., Smith, 1991a). On the "subjective" view, nationality is a psychological phenomenon which "represents a common feeling and an organized claim rather than distinct attributes which can be comprised in a strict definition" (Miller, 1987, p. 354). The "objective" versions of nationality, in Miller's view (1987), are compounded of historical myth and pseudobiology. The "subjective" view is better able to accommodate the actual negotiability and mutability of national identity.
According to Even & Newnham (1990), nationalism in literature has been used in two related senses, first to identify an ideology and secondly to describe a sentiment. In the first usage, nationalism seeks to identify a behavioral entity, the "nation," and thereafter to pursue certain political and cultural goals on behalf of it. Pre-eminent among these will be national self-determination. Irredentism, independence, and secession are all goals that may be sought under its rubric (Evens & Newnham, 1990). Nationalism is a principle which holds that the "political and national unit should be congruent" (Gellner, 1983, p. 1).

In its second usage, nationalism is a sentiment of loyalty towards the nation which is shared by people (Even & Newnham, 1990). Elements of cohesion are provided by such factors as language, religion, shared historical experience, physical contiguity and so on. Such bonds must be integrated into a perceptual framework which subjectively defines a group of people as different from their neighbors and similar to each other. History shows that it is perfectly possible to create such a sense of national identity in the absence of some of the above factors (Anderson, 1991; Rutland, 1995).

Miller (1987) states:

Nationalism carries the implication that all human beings should have one and only one nationality, which should be their primary focus of identity and loyalty. This means that people should see themselves as members of a nationality before they are members of any narrower, more inclusive, or cross-cutting grouping; and that they should be prepared to make any sacrifices required to defend and advance the interests of the nation, whatever the expense may be to other interests. (p. 252)

The ideological origins of nationalism could be found in the political history of Western Europe after the collapse of feudalism (Even & Newnham, 1990). In general, intellectual opinion in the nineteenth century was inclined toward the view that the nation represented a "natural" bond among humans and that, accordingly, nations
should form the basis for states. This fusion of the nation and the state into the nation-state became such an influential factor that it gave rise to a whole category of relations, international politics (Emerson, 1960; Tilly, 1975; Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990).

Nationalism as an ideology was exported during the 19th and 20th centuries from Europe to the rest of the world. The nationalist ideology was turned against European control and used as a weapon of national liberation in many Third World countries (Bellner, 1983, Hobsbawm, 1990). In addition to turning against the foreigner, nationalists turned against their own parents and made the issue one between generations as well as between rulers and ruled. As a form of protest anti-colonial nationalism began as an elite expression of dissatisfaction and spread downwards thereafter to the masses (Even & Newnham, 1990).

Nationalism in the second sense, an attitude or sentiment, varies between individuals and groups within the extant nation (Even & Newnham, 1990). Elites such as political leaders, intellectuals, and the military are likely to show clear evidence of nationalist attitudes. Among the rest of the population nationalism will vary along a number of dimensions. Nationalism is diffused and spread among a population via the mechanism of socialization. While socialization processes start in the family, the growth of mass education and the mass media in the 20th century has created important transmission belts for this process (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawm, 1990).

Although there is no general theory of nationalism, there is a broad consensus that nationalism, both as a form of consciousness and as a political ideology, has been the single most important factor shaping the structure and the process of the modern world.
The Negative Side of Nationalism

The nationalist movements of the late twentieth century have been seen by many political analysts as an essentially negative, or rather divisive force in world politics. Some have argued that nationalism was a temporary phenomenon and with the imperative of economic interdependence would be replaced by internationalism and cosmopolitanism (Gellner, 1983).

Liberal analysts have warned of the inherent dangers of unrestrained nationalism (Reich, 1991). In the first half of the 19th century, nationalism was associated with democracy and liberalism. It later took on an aggressive, militaristic form and came to be identified with imperialism, fascism, and totalitarianism. In today's competing international environment, as Reich (1991) analyzed it, zero-sum nationalism, the assumption that either we win or they win, can corrode public values to the point where citizens support policies that marginally improve their own welfare while harming everyone else on the planet, thus forcing other nations to do the same in defense.

Reich (1991) further points out that unrestrained nationalism can cause civic values to degenerate at home. Negative consequences this ideology brings could be, for example, that nations grow paranoid about foreign agents in their midst, civil liberties are restricted on grounds of national security, neighbors begin to distrust one another, and tribal allegiances can even tear nation-states apart. The violence that periodically erupts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, Armenians and Azerbaijans, Albanians and Serbs, Vietnamese and Cambodians, Israelis and Palestinians, Sikhs and other Indians, and Lebanon's Christian and Muslim sects is grim evidence of the costs of tribal loyalty (Kaplan, 1994; Reich, 1991; Tehranian, 1993).

Unrestrained nationalism which focuses only on national well-being is also dangerously narrow in relation to other problems on which global cooperation is essential—acid rain, the depletion of the ozone, the pollution of oceans, the use of
fossil fuels and global warming, the destruction of species-rich tropical rain forests, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the assimilation of refugee populations, the drug trade, the spread of AIDS, and international terrorism (Reich, 1991).

**Cosmopolitanism**

In Reich's view (1991), the argument against zero-sum nationalism, and in favor of a larger and more cosmopolitan perspective, seems especially strong in light of the growing inequalities in the world.

Cosmopolitanism is viewed as a universalistic ideology based on claims to a common humanity (Walsh, 1973, 1979; R. Cohen, 1993). A cosmopolitan person with a sense of global citizenship is able to maintain appropriate perspective on the world's problems and possibilities. Devoid of strong patriotic impulse, cosmopolitans are likely to resist zero-sum nationalism and thus behave more responsibly than citizens whose frame of reference is narrower. Despite the emergence of nationalism in today's world, it is possible that once the nationalist impulse matures, it may yield to the kind of cosmopolitanism that embraces both national and global identity. It is possible, in Gutek's view (1993), that the new economic realities will bring about a sense of global interdependency.

However, there are problems with cosmopolitanism. Reich (1991) writes:

But will the cosmopolitan with a global perspective choose to act fairly and compassionately? For without strong attachments and loyalties extending beyond family and friends, the cosmopolitans may never develop the habits and attitudes of social responsibility. They will be world citizens, but without accepting or even acknowledging any of the obligations that citizenship in a polity normally implies. They will resist zero-sum solutions, but they may also resist all other solutions that require sacrifice and commitment. Without a real political community in which to learn, refine, and practice the ideals of justice and fairness, they may find these ideals to be meaningless abstractions. (1991, p. 203)
Reich (1991, p. 205) continues to argue that people's senses of justice and generosity are learned. The learning has many roots, but significant among them is membership in a political community. As members of a political community, we learn to feel responsible for other members because we share with them a common history, participate with them in a common culture, and face with them a common fate.

**Changing Role of the Nation-State**

The phenomenon of nation and nationalism today is functionally different from that of the 19th- and earlier 20th-century history. In the "developed" world of the 19th century, as Hobsbawm (1990) points out, the building of "nations" which combined nation-state and national economy was a central fact of historical transformation. In the "dependent" world of the first half of the 20th century, movements for national liberation and independence were the main agents for the political emancipation of people in the world.

Today, a study of world history can no longer be contained within the limits of "nations" and "nation-state" as these used to be defined. It will see "nation-states" and "nations" primarily as retreating before, resisting, adapting to, being absorbed or dislocated by, the new supranational restructuring of the globe. A supranational community is being formed in which each participant must recognize authority outside the state across the entire species (e.g., Boulding, 1988; R. Cohen, 1993; Inglehart, 1977, 1990; Walsh, 1979).

In the economic sphere, the "nation" today is in the process of losing an important part of its old functions, constituting a territorially bounded "national economy" which formed a building block in the larger "world economy." Since the 1960s, the role of "national economies" has been undermined by the major transformations in the international division of labor, whose basic units are transnational or multi-national enterprises of all sizes, and by the corresponding
development of international centers and networks of economic transaction which are outside the control of state governments. National borders are becoming less significant as transnational activities move outside a single state to an interstate environment (e.g., Hobsbawm, 1990; Sassen, 1994).

Global forces above the state include such formal institutions as the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and international regimes such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the International Declaration of Human Rights, not to speak of multinational corporations and clandestine arms and narcotics networks.

In the political and social sphere, the influence of state is also decreasing. There are more generalized global-wide processes or forces, or systems of international mass media, consumerization, and intellectual exchange. For example, complex globalized religious forces and communities of Christianity, Buddhism, Islamic fundamentalism, Hinduism, and Confucianism are playing important roles in international political and social fields (Bennett, 1987). The phenomenon of "deterritorialization" applies not only to examples like transnational corporations, but also to ethnic groups, sectarian allegiances, and political movements, which increasingly operate in ways that transcend specific territorial boundaries and identities (Click-Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Deterritorialization has affected the loyalties of groups involved in complex diasporas, their manipulation of currencies and other forms of wealth and investment, and the strategies of states. The loosening of the bonds between people, wealth, and territories in turn has altered the basis of many significant global interactions, while simultaneously calling into question the traditional definition of the nation-state (Wakeman, 1988).

In addition, the structural reach of the nation-state has been called into question by the increasingly international character of major threats to the environment, the growing interdependence of regional and global security systems, and
the weakening of the power that many states have relative to the societies they theoretically govern. All of these developments challenge the traditional roles of nation-states as providers of welfare for their citizens or elites and as mediators or transnational interactions and flows (Wakeman, 1988, p. 88).

In short, it seems that the presence, potency, and persistence of these relatively new and certainly more numerous supranational actors and processes require of us a new conceptualization and understanding of the nation-state and nationalism in the world today. Giving the outcomes of cultural nationalism, the destructiveness of modern warfare and the interdependence of global life forms, it has been necessary to shift our attention to that of humankind as a whole for a start, with the possible addition of all living matter. In other words to a surviving unit whose primary characteristic is its pluralism (R. Cohen, 1993).

Today the nation-state is also being weakened from within. At the micro or substate level, there is the growing number and influence of political, developmental, and environmental nongovernmental organizations, as well as a variety of ethnic and religious communities. Nationalism is seen by many as a divisive force today because it emphasizes "ethnicity" and linguistic differences, each or both sometimes combined with religion (Hobsbawm, 1990). Ethnicity is becoming a revived interest of academic studies.

**Ethnicity**

As nationalism has been emerging after the end of the Cold War, ethnic consciousness continues to thrive in today's world, despite Marxist and functionalist predictions that modernization and industrialization will bring about a decrease in the importance of ethnic ties (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967). Almost every country in the world today has some degree of ethnic diversity and for most, ethnicity appears to be a pivotal point of division and conflict (e.g., Bonacich & Modell, 1980). Many studies
have sought to explain the tenacity of ethnic boundaries. There are two divergent approaches in the literature: the primordialist and the instrumentalist views on ethnicity (Espiritu, 1992, p. 3).

**Primordialists**

Primordialists argue that ethnicity is an enduring and natural feature of human existence (Rutland, 1995, p. 901). They focus on culture and tradition to explain the emergence and retention of ethnicity. Ethnic cohesion is deemed as bound together by a “web of sentiment, belief, worldview, and practice” (Cornell, 1988b, p.178). Scholars taking this approach claim that this “intuitive bond” originated in the primordial past—at the beginning (e.g., ven den Berghe, 1981, p. 80). This “beginning” gives ethnicity a special tenacity and emotional force. In other words, the meaningfulness of ethnic identity derives from its birth connection; it came first. Capturing the emotive aspects of ethnicity, primordialism offers a plausible reason for the durability of such attachments (Espiritu, 1992, p. 4).

As Espiritu points out (1992), primordialism has its weaknesses. First, primordial ties do not always lead to ethnic solidarity. For example, the strained relationship between Canadian-born Chinese and Vietnamese-born Chinese in Canada suggests that groups sharing the same ancestry do not necessarily fraternize (Woon, 1985). Second, primordial explanations of ethnicity cannot readily account for variations in the intensity of ethnic awareness. As Light (1981) observed, these variations “indicate that living people are making a lot or little of their ‘primordial’ ties according to present convenience” (p. 55).

Another shortcoming of this view is that it focuses on the psychological origin of ethnicity and overlooks the economic and political interests that are so tightly bound up with ethnic sentiment and practice (Greenberg, 1980). Because conscious ethnic identity emerges and intensifies under situations of intergroup competition, there is a
need to address the structural conditions that produce ethnic groups—not only the cultural variables themselves (Espiritu, 1992, p. 4).

**Instrumentalism**

Unlike primordialists who assume that participation within the confines of one's ethnic group is valuable in and of itself (Lal, 1990), instrumentalists treat ethnicity as a strategic tool or resource. Scholars taking this approach argue that populations remain ethnic when their ethnicity yields greater returns than other statuses available to them. Ethnic groups are not only sentimental associations of persons sharing affective ties but also interest groups (Espiritu, 1992, p. 5). As Porters & Bach (1985) said, the functional advantages of ethnicity range from “the moral and material support provided by ethnic networks to political gains made through ethnic bloc voting” (p. 24).

The instrumentalist approach considers attributes of ethnic groups as primarily situational, generated and sustained by members’ interests. Membership in one group is only for the sake of obtaining comparative advantage vis-a-vis membership in another. As Patterson (1975) states, “The strength, scope, viability, and base of ethnic identity are determined by, and are used to serve, the economic and general class interests of individuals” (p. 348). A more moderate version combines an analysis of the external activators of ethnic behavior with their specific cultural form and content. For example, R. Cohen (1978) argued that because ethnic groups are culturally homogeneous, they can more effectively organize as interest groups. In either case, rational interests are assumed to play an important role in the retention or dissolution of ethnic ties (Bonacich & Modell, 1980).

Despite their differences, primordialists and instrumentalists both assume that ethnic groups are largely voluntary collectivities defined by national origin, whose members share a distinctive, integrated culture. However, as Espiritu (1992) said, the
phenomenon of panethnicity challenges these assumptions. Research on panethnicity calls attention to the coercively imposed nature of ethnicity, its multiple layers, and the continual creation and re-creation of culture.

Voluntary and Imposed Ethnicity

Focusing on sentimentality and rational interests, primordialists and instrumentalists hold that ethnicity endures because individuals derive psychological or material support from their ethnic affiliations. These two approaches imply that ethnicity is largely a matter of choice—in the sense that individuals and groups can choose to keep or discard their ethnicity according to their changing psychological and material needs (Espiritu, 1992, p. 6).

However, to conceptualize ethnicity as a matter of choice is to ignore "categorization," the process whereby one group ascriptively classifies another. Categorization is intimately bound up with power relations. As such, it characterizes a situation in which a more powerful group seeks to dominate another, and, in so doing, imposes upon these people a categorical identity that is defined by reference to their inherent differences from or inferiority to the dominant group (Jenkins, 1986, pp. 177-178). Thus, while ethnicity may be an exercise of personal choice for the majority, it is not so for the ethnic minorities.

Panethnicity—the generalization of solidarity among ethnic subgroups—is largely a product of categorization (Espiritu, 1992). An imposed category ignores subgroup boundaries, lumping together diverse peoples in a single, expanded "ethnic" framework. Individuals so categorized may have nothing in common except that which the categorizer uses to distinguish them. For example, diverse Latino populations have been treated by the larger society as a unitary group with common characteristics and common problems. And the term Asian-American arose out of the racist discourse that constructs Asians as a homogeneous group (Lowe, 1991, p. 30).
When manifested in racial violence, racial lumping necessarily leads to protective panethnicity. Groups often join forces when they recognize that the larger society does not acknowledge their differences. However, panethnicity is not solely an imposed identity. Although it originated in the minds of outsiders, today the panethnic concept is a political resource for insiders, a basis on which to mobilize diverse peoples and to force others to be more responsive to their grievances and agendas. According to Espiritu (1992, p. 7), panethnic boundaries are shaped and reshaped in the continuing interaction between both external and internal forces.

Primordialists and instrumentalists have used national origin to designate ethnic groups (Parsons, 1975, p. 56). This approach ignores the range of ethnicity—from small, relatively isolated kin groups to large categories of people bound together by symbolic attachments (Yinger, 1985, p. 161). Recent research has been more attentive to internal ethnicity, or ethnic differences within a national-origin group (Bhachu, 1985; Desbarats, 1986). At the other end of the spectrum is panethnicity, in which groups of different national origins merge into new larger-scale groupings (Nagel, 1982; Cornell, 1988a). The ebb and flow of panethnic tendencies indicates that ethnic organization is situational and partly ascribed.

Importance of Ethnicity

Ronald Cohen (1978) argues that ethnicity can never be eradicated because it constitutes the psychological boundaries that are necessary to structure cultural interaction. These boundaries are maintained according to the historically generated symbols that give meaning to each group's heritage. Common roots, language, understandings, and patterns of behavior are reproduced within networks of intermarrying families defined by ethnicity. This suggests that ethnicity is the naturally occurring social orbit within which personhood is meaningfully expressed and experienced. Ethnicity provides the wide sense of descent group solidarity and of the
myriads of meanings and patterns of behavior that go with it. In a world of growing impersonality, ethnicity could provide an immediate and often unconscious fellowship of identity and community. It is in this sense that it is an antidote to alienation.

In the modern world, individuals are often limited in obtaining rewards from the society because of their ethnic identities. Organized ethnic groups can fight for equal rights, or persons within them can leave and try to become members of more privileged groups. The fact is that many inequities remain group-determined. Democratic theory and ideology has shifted to include both individual and group rights. In this sense, ethnicity has been legitimized in political theory. It is a means not only of anti-alienative, diffuse identity but also a means of asserting one's rights in a political community in which ethnicity is a recognized element. Ethnicity is not just a conceptual tool. It also reflects an ideological position claiming recognition for ethnicity as a major sector of complex societies and points the way to a more just and equitable society (R. Cohen, 1978).

Mass Media and Nation Building

In Anderson's view (1991), capitalism and print technology were the vital forces in the formation of the modern nation-state. Capitalism played a large role in the development of this community and may have gained importance as book publishing spread across Europe during the early 1500s. This industry ignored national boundaries and frontiers as it spread through Europe. Books were first published in Latin to appeal to an elite group, but three factors contributed to the fall of Latin language and the rise of the vernacular in the publishing industry. First, Latin became more stylistic and sophisticated with the rise of Humanism and thus moved away from everyday life. Second, Martin Luther during the Reformation had his theses and other works published in German. Martin Luther printed material for the common man and became so popular he attracted a mass readership. Third, monarchs
pushed certain vernaculars other than Latin as the central administrative language, thus diminishing Latin's administrative importance (Anderson, 1991).

Anderson (1991) portrays nation and nationalism as essentially artificial constructs, capricious imagined communities that float out of the new forms of media that have spread with economic modernization. His view of the artificiality of the nation is supported by his case study, Indonesia, a country that created a new nation and an artificial language in order to rule its vast, ethnically diverse archipelago. Media play a crucial role in the nation-building process because they make the artificiality of nation possible.

Mass media facilitate nation-state building and the generation of national sentiment. For example, Deutsch (1961, 1966) views nation-building as the result of the twin processes of communication and social mobilization. He considers the nation as a purely modern phenomenon, for only in the modern era with modern mass media can there be any question of a large, participant culture (Smith, 1988, p.17). Similarly, Lerner (1958) views mass media as a crucial part of political modernization and national development. In his model of modernization, urbanization leads to education, which in turn leads to mass media consumption; mass media consumption eventually leads to political participation. Mass media are considered a powerful agent for social change and a crucial means of attaining national cohesion.

Mass media also provide channels for diverse voices in a nation-state and help the integration of the multinational societies. For example, without their own media, ethnic minorities in many countries generally remain relatively powerless (Riggins, 1992). In the United States, Calabrese & Burke (1992) argue that mass media tend to portray a national identity supposedly representative of the whole society but which neglects the diverse ethnic identities composing the nation. This is due to the increasing financial influence of select private interest groups on the print and broadcasting industries. The limitations inherent in mass media also make it unlikely
that the interests of other less influential groups can ever be adequately expressed.
While it is vital for the citizens to maintain their national identity, the public must see
to the survival of pluralism through alternative media.

Mass Media and Nation Building in the United States

Carey (1993, 1995) considers the communication revolution characterized by
mass media since the late part of the last century as the crucial force for the
development of the United States as a nation. National media and a national audience
did not emerge until the 1890s with the creation of national magazines and a national
network of newspapers interconnected via the wire services. Railroads to distribute
the publications and national brand-name advertising to finance them also were
essential. Such media were eventually supplemented by motion pictures produced in
Hollywood and distributed nationally, and by radio broadcasting in the 1920s. The
rise of national or mass media, first via print and then the airwaves, created “the great
audience.” These media cut across the structural divisions in society, drawing their
audience irrespective of race, ethnicity, occupation, region, or social class (Carey,

Modern communication media allowed individuals to be linked directly to the
“imaginary community of the nation” (Anderson, 1991, p. 6) without the mediating
influence of regional and other local affiliations. Such national media laid the basis for
a mass society—the development of a form of social organization in which intermediate
associations of community, occupation, and class did not inhibit direct linkage of the
individuals and primary groups to the state and other nationwide organizations
through mass communication (Carey, 1995, pp. 384-385).

The second dimension to the communication revolution of the 1890s in the
United States, according to Carey (1993), is the development of specialized media of
communication. Those specialized, minority media transformed inchoate groups into
national but specialized audiences organized around ethnic, occupation, class, religious, racial and other affiliations and interests. These media were in many ways more crucial forms of communication because they were the foundation stones upon which the social structure was built up and they served as intermediated mechanisms linking local and partial milieus to the wider national community (Carey, 1993, p. 176).

These specialized media mirrored a process whereby groups formerly dependent upon face-to-face contact were transformed into audiences, and audiences were, in turn, devolved into groups. More important, such media created entirely new groups by providing collective symbols that transcended space, time and culture. While such media addressed themselves to narrow dimensions of their audience's life, they created national communities of interest (e.g., economic, ethnic, racial, sexual, community) by allying themselves with national bureaucracies and selecting their audiences on a national basis (Carey, 1993, p. 176).

In short, the communication revolution since the 1890s in the United States created a national mass audience while at the same time creating new groups, transforming existing groups into audiences and nationalizing the sentiments and interests of everyone in virtually every dimension of their lives (Carey, 1993). Surrounding the structural changes of U.S. society were a variety of cultural and social movements. They were "organized by media, defined by media, commented upon by media, formed within media or at least as responses to new conditions of social life brought about in part by new media" (Carey, 1993, p. 179).

In Carey's view (1993), the social changes and communication revolution of the 1890s created a national economy, a national polity, and a national culture of the United States. Since the late 1970s, the world has been undergoing a similar communication revolution characterized by computer technology, but one whose dynamic is at the global rather than the national level. This new communication revolution has produced similar phenomena: a destruction of fixed subjective
identities, the search for new forms of self-understanding and new forms of social relations, a reconstruction of the dimensions of space and time through the agency of new communication technologies, and the international expansion of multinational capitalism. Today, "The old comparisons of East versus West, primitive versus modern, developed versus underdeveloped, anthropologist versus native do not work anymore. There is no longer an East here and a West there, a primitive in Malaysia and a modern in New York. ..." (Carey, 1993, p. 180). The new communication revolution is integrating the world as a whole, and challenging the traditional notion of the nation-state.

**Public Sphere**

One of the paramount tasks for nation building is the creation of the institutions and culture of a public sphere for the nations (White, 1994). The paradigm case of political communication in late 20th century democracies is the mediated public sphere suggested by Jurgen Habermas (1989). Public sphere could be defined at the community, national, and international levels. It refers to that dimension of social action, cultural institutions, and collective decision making that affects all people in defined areas and engages the interests of all people in the defined areas (White, 1994, p. 250). By contrast with this common, public sphere, the “particular” spheres could refer to the interests of limited sectors of society: different occupational or economic groups, different social classes and statues, religious or ethnic interests, regions, and local communities. All private and particular interests have a public dimension, and the public sphere must respect these particular interests. In fact, each of the particularistic groupings has its own internal public sphere (White, 1994).

The construction and maintenance of a public sphere has been a perennial problem in all societies, and a nation can be said to exist insofar as it has a core of social interaction that is truly common and public. The creation of the institutions and
culture of a public sphere has been a paramount task for the new nations. As national boundaries were drawn, people of different regional linguistic and cultural differences, divisions of caste and class, traditions of religious sectarianism, and deep familial, tribal identities found that they had to work together as a united people. Before, these societies often had been broken up into small self-subsistent economic units, and the challenge was to create a national economic system and a common political decision-making and service system that would incorporate and link these subsidiary units, while at the same time it respected their particularistic interests. Moreover, this common sphere was to be one of ever-improving services to an advancing quality of life, which requires an equitable advance in contribution from all sectors (White, 1994).

Communication and news media play a vital role in the creation of a public sphere (Curran, 1991; Garnham, 1992). The most evident level is the need for a physical structure of communication—for example, a telephone or postal system, broadcasting equipment, a press. There also had to be a definition of what public information is, that is, information that is significant for expressing the common interest and for participating in the debate about this common interest. This touched on deeper issues of common language, symbols of identification, systems of coding, and epistemologies arising from diverse philosophical and religious backgrounds. However, the most difficult question has been finding some combination of sectorial exchange networks, interests, cultures, or some entirely suprasectorial invention that subsumes most of the other communication issues and provides an acceptable common communication network (White, 1994, p. 252).

Summary

The process of community building has similarities to the search for nationalism in an emerging nation. Today national borders are becoming less
significant as transnational activities move outside a single state to an interstate environment. Economic, political, religious, social, and cultural forces outside and inside the older state are working to weaken its autonomous control over policies and praxis. Such forces represent the contemporary version of Enlightenment universalism and particularism of cultural nationalism. As R. Cohen (1993) states, particularism and universalism are two sides of the same coin—that of humankind's capacity to invent the means for its own survival.

The weakening of the state has provided an opportunity for cultural nationalism or ethnic statehood to revive all over the world. The resurgence of national and ethnic consciousness in the post-Cold War era world has proved nationalism to be a most potent force. Over seventy per cent of today's world conflicts are rooted in such age-old animosities (Tehranian, 1993). Despite significant global and regional formations, nationalism will continue to lead to a proliferation of nation-states and nations within nations.

There is a rich literature on political and ethnic grouping and regrouping at national level. One problems is that many researchers imply that all human beings should have only one nationality, which should be their primary focus of identity and loyalty. This means that people should see themselves as members of a nationality before they are members of any narrower grouping. National and ethnic identities were often presented as static, rigid, and non-negotiable.

Ethnicity is best understood as a dynamic, constantly evolving property of both individual identity and group organization. It is the product of actions undertaken by ethnic groups and is also constructed by external social forces as they shape and reshape ethnic categories and definitions. Ethnic identity is created and recreated through communication in modern societies. Communication media facilitate the creation of collective meaning, the construction of community through mythology and history, and the creation of symbolic bases for ethnic mobilization.
It is apparent that today a supranational community is being formed in which each participant must recognize authority outside the state. Our survival requires that we live by a widening set of species-wide agreements about morality and rules of conduct for individuals and collectivities. This involves legitimizing supranational authority, especially when not to do so endangers the global population and its sustaining environment.

Mass media have assisted nation-building processes by creating a public sphere, generating national sentiment, and serving as a crucial means of attaining national cohesion. As shown in the United States, mainstream media allowed individuals to be linked directly to the “imaginary community of the nation” (Anderson, 1991) without the mediating influence of regional and other local affiliations. Specialized, minority media transformed inchoate groups into national but specialized audiences organized around ethnic, occupation, class, religious, racial and other affiliations and interests. In short, mass media have helped to build communities and nations and they could be used for diverse political agendas and movements.
CHAPTER 4
CULTURE AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

The phenomenon of community and nation building cannot be adequately investigated without careful attention to culture. In the social sciences, anthropology has made culture its central concept, defining it as some sort of human substance—even though ideas about this substance have shifted over the course of a century (Appadurai, 1991). Culture is also a subfield within sociology, and the American Sociological Association has created a subunit, “the sociology of culture,” with an emphasis on the production and distribution of culture (Appadurai, 1991). The changing world situation in the past decade, especially the rapid development of globalization in the world’s political, economic, and social systems, has broad implications for studies of culture by social scientists (Bennett, 1987; Wakeman, 1988).

Criticism of the traditional view of culture in anthropology has developed. For example, Wakeman (1988) writes, in studying the relationship between politics and culture as an organizer of the traffic between states, that culture should not be considered as “homogeneous, local, well-bounded, and in clear one-to-one correspondence with distinct social units.”

Culture now leaks across national boundaries, and this transitional flow is intimately tied not only to the many diasporas that characterize national populations, but also to the incredible force of media (movies, magazines, cassettes, videotapes, computers, and the like) which close the cultural distance (and accelerate the traffic) between overseas populations and their home societies. (1988, p. 88)
Regardless of what is happening to local cultural style, increasing numbers of people over the world are learning to accept common mental images of the meaning of life and the nature of human survival. In Bennett’s (1987) view, today there is no pure culture; all cultures are bicultures. That is, while cultures may possess their own traditional, relatively isolated past, they now also share some component of international style and its media of communication and thought. Anthropologists who typically work in a local community will be identified with this international culture, or generally accepted principles such as human rights, for example. Anthropologists are frequently caught between the views of cultural relativism and cosmopolitanism. The international cultural component was often rejected by local people as an imposition, or worse, as a means of depriving them of the security and stability of their traditional way of life (Bennett, 1987, p. 47). A review of the change of the paradigm of culture in anthropology in the past four decades could further our understanding of the role of culture in today’s world.

The Paradigm of Culture

The paradigm of culture was developed in American anthropology in the 1930s. It has a enormous impact on the thinking of anthropologists since then and has important implications for their study of today’s changing world situation.

Bennett (1987, p. 48) identified four concepts as the characteristics of this traditional paradigm of culture: (1) Culture is self-generating, or tends to arise outside of the sphere of awareness of the people who bear it. (2) Cultures—those historical entities manifesting particular styles of culture—are all relatively valid and equal. (3) Culture is best represented in small, geographically isolated, self-contained, subsistence-oriented human communities, which have very different styles of life and meaning. (4) Culture is emphasized as mental or expressive phenomena. This is the idea that culture consists mainly of attitudes, values, preferences, and symbols.
These four concepts are basically descriptive and typological. They demonstrate a simple determinist approach to human behavior: Humans are the creatures of their cultures, as Ruth Benedict said (Bennett 1987, p. 48). A critical examination of these concepts raises the question of how to study the historical social present, the ongoing reality of human affairs. Bennett’s (1987) criticism on this paradigm could be summarized as follows:

The first concept, the notion of culture as a self-generating phenomenon, discourages a search for causation in human actions. These actions automatically arise wherever humans might be found. This concept did not recognize the perspective of human creation of culture in social interaction. The possibility that culture might be imposed on humans by the state or another social entity was neglected. The possibility that cultures might be absorbed into ever-larger systems of thought and action, channeled by institutions and organizations, was only dimly perceived (Bennett, 1987, p. 49).

In the second concept—the notion that all cultures are equally valid expressions of human attitudes and action—culture was a natural emergent, and nature is not subject to value judgments. The fact that some cultures might contain certain destructive forces, detrimental to the interests of their own “bearers” or to their neighbors was neglected in this view (Bennett, 1987, p. 50).

The third concept is that cultures arise in small, isolated, primary social groupings and that they differ greatly from one another. Culture arises when people have an opportunity to communicate intimately and regularly on the same set of topics (Redfield, 1962). Culture, in this sense, is simply repeatedly shared experiences. In large and complex societies, shared experiences do not penetrate below the surface of everyday participation (Bennett, 1987, p. 50). Therefore, however valid the concept, the third view of culture lacks a theory of cultural duality. The shared universals, from the standpoint of inter-group survival, are just as important as the shared experiences
and symbols. In today's world, they become all important—they are equivalent to "peace." Bennett (1987) argues that anthropologists neglected these universals because of their preoccupation with cultural diversity.

The fourth concept, emphasizing mentalistic phenomena and associated ritual, symbols, and so on, directed the attention of anthropologists away from the socially active nature of human behavior. The possibility that values, for example, might be manipulative strategies to accomplish specific ends and not enduring ideals guiding action was poorly understood (Bennett 1987, p. 51).

In short, Bennett (1987) maintains that these four concepts had the effect of directing the attention of anthropologists away from the living social reality of human affairs and back toward typology and static conceptions of social process. By holding this paradigm, anthropologists had difficulty understanding the nature of the nation-state and the force of trans-group organizations (Bennett, 1987, p. 52). The awareness that something more than cultural typology was needed began appearing in anthropology during the 1950s. Since then anthropologists began observing the dynamism of world events and processes in a world rapidly and drastically changing from the established routines of the prewar period (Bennett, 1987).

Today, emerging globalization entails an unparalleled increase in proximity, that is, the breakdown of isolation. For the first time in modern history world societies are in close communication with one another and becoming dependent on one another. The nation-state and the international economic order, implemented by development programs and the spread of communication media, have permitted social groups of all sizes to become aware of their neighbors' interests and values, and to conceive that these elements, real or imagined, might be antithetical to their own (Bennett, 1987). The result has been a rapid intensification of conflict and irreparable confrontation, nonnegotiable demands, and other alarming trends (Huntington, 1993). Tribal warfare arose in Africa as the state demanded universal conformity (Kaplan, 1994). Ethnic
warfare arose among components of the former Yugoslavia as territorial expansion became essential to the furthering of new national aims. Religious conflict arose in many parts of the world as external forces generated renewed prejudice and intolerance. But underneath all those manifestations of separation are forces toward conformity and unity (Bennett, 1987, p. 52)

It is clear that the bounded, static, non-negotiable concept of culture does not reflect correctly the changing reality. A dynamic, more accommodating, diverse cultural perspective would further our understanding of cultural development. In the following section, we will review another view about culture—the socially constructive perspective of culture.

**Culture Construction**

As a general category, culture is a characteristic of a group. It is not innate, but learned, acquired, and handed on from "older" members of the group to new ones. In this transmission process, symbols play an important role (Heidt, 1987). From a sociological perspective, cultural identity refers to the collective self-conception of a group. It is embodied and finds its expression in the specific culture of that group. As each human being has a character, each social group has a culture.

What constitutes a particular culture? Among the most frequently used categories in the search for more specific criteria for a particular culture are tradition, values, ethnicity, language, and geographically defined units, regions, etc. Values could be viewed as general conceptions of the desirable codes or standards of action (Heidt, 1987, p. 85).

Wagner's (1975) research explored symbolic invention as a general cultural process. In this approach, culture is an ongoing human creation. All traditions are invented in that they are symbolically constructed in the present and reflect contemporary concern and purposes rather than a passively inherited legacy (Linnekin,
“There is no essential, bounded tradition . . . the ongoing reconstruction of tradition is a facet of all social life” (Handler & Linnekin, 1984, p. 276).

Invention is an ordinary event in the development of all discourse (Hanson, 1989, p. 898). The invention of culture is no extraordinary occurrence but an activity of the same sort as the normal, everyday process of social life. Social reproduction—the process whereby people learn, embody, and transmit the conventional behaviors of their society—is basically a matter of interpersonal communication (Hanson, 1989, p. 897).

Culture is a process of symbolic construction through social interaction (A. Cohen, 1985). Culture and history are often intertwined in cultural construction activities. Culture is most closely associated with the issue of meaning. The construction of culture is a tale of human agency and internal group processes of cultural preservation, renewal, and innovation (Nagel, 1994a, p. 161). Culture is constructed by the actions of individuals and groups and their interactions with the larger society. Culture can be borrowed, blended, rediscovered, and reinterpreted.

**Cultural Construction Techniques**

How is a culture constructed? Many culture construction techniques are employed by various group members. Groups construct their cultures in many ways which involve mainly the reconstruction of historical culture and the construction of new culture. Reconstruction techniques, summarized by Nagle (1994a, p. 164), include revivals and restorations of historical practices and institution. New construction includes revisions of current culture and innovations, the creation of new cultural forms. Cultural construction and reconstruction are ongoing group tasks in which new and renovated symbols, activities, and materials are continually being added to and removed from existing repertories.
Culture revivals and restorations occur when lost or forgotten cultural forms or practices are excavated and reintroduced, or occasionally forms or practices are refurbished and reintegrated into contemporary culture (Nagel, 1994a). For example, among many immigrant and indigenous ethnic groups, native languages have fallen into disuse. Efforts to revitalize language and increase usage are often major cultural reconstruction projects. In Spain, both in Catalonia and the Basque region, declining use of the native tongues (Catalan and Euskera, respectively) due to immigration and/or Castilian Spanish domination, has spurred language education programs and linguistic renewal projects (Johnston, 1991). In the United States, the threatened loss of many Native American languages has produced similar language documentation and educational programs, as well as the creation of cultural centers, tribal museums, and educational programs to preserve and revive tribal cultural traditions. Study and instruction in cultural history is often a central part of cultural reconstruction. Cultural revisions and innovations occur when current cultural elements are changed or when new cultural forms or practices are created (Nagel, 1994a, p. 163).

Nagel (1994a) further points out that various cultural construction techniques serve two important collective ends. They aid in the construction of community and they serve as mechanisms of collective mobilization. They assist in the construction of community when they act to define the boundaries of collective identity, establish membership criteria, generate a shared symbolic vocabulary, and define a common purpose. They promote collective mobilization when they serve as a basis for group solidarity, combine into symbolic systems for defining grievances and setting agendas for collective action, and provide a blueprint or repertory of tactics.

Cultural Construction and Community Building

Anderson (1991) argues that there is no more evocative a symbol of modern nationalism than the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The illustrative power of this icon
lies in the fact that such tombs “are either deliberately empty or no one knows who lies inside them” (p. 9)—they are open to interpretation and waiting to be filled. The construction of culture supplies the contents for ethnic and national symbolic repositories.

Hobsbawm (1983) refers to this kind of symbolic work as “the invention of tradition”—i.e., the construction or reconstruction of rituals, practices, beliefs, customs, and other cultural apparatus. In his view, invented traditions serve three related purposes: (a) to establish or symbolize social cohesion or group membership in real or artificial communities, (b) to establish or legitimize institutions, status or relations of authority, and (c) to socialize or inculcate beliefs, values systems, and conventions of behaviors (1983, p. 9). He writes:

“Invented tradition” means a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. (1983, p. 1)

Invented tradition facilitates the development of a sense of identification with a “community” and/or institutions representing, expressing, or symbolizing it such as a “nation” (Hobsbawm, 1983, p. 9). By this analysis the invention of tradition is very much akin to what Anthony Cohen (1985) calls “the symbolic construction of community.”

The construction of history and culture is a major task facing all ethnic groups, particularly those that are newly forming or resurgent. In constructing culture, the past is a resource used by groups in the collective quest for meaning and community (A. Cohen, 1985, p. 99). The construction of community solidarity and shared meanings out of real or putative common history and ancestry involves both cultural constructions and reconstructions (Nagel, 1994a). For instance, Leong (1989) demonstrates how Singapore’s government has influenced the production and
The patterning of cultures through the policy of national tourism. By advertising and manufacturing ethnic "traditions" of selected groups for the potential tourist, the Singapore government actively created a national culture and projected it onto the international polity and international mass market.

The importance of cultural construction for purposes of community building is not limited to the creation of national unity. It also pertains especially to pan-ethnic groups, as they are often composed of subgroups with histories of conflict and animosity. For example, Espiritu (1992) documents the tensions surrounding nationality and cultural differences in the evolution of an Asian-American pan-ethnicity.

Building a cultural basis for new ethnic and national communities is not the only goal prompting cultural construction. Cultural construction is also a method for revitalizing ethnic boundaries and redefining the meaning of ethnicity in existing ethnic populations (Nagel, 1994a, p. 164).

**Cultural Construction and Ethnic Mobilization**

Nagel (1994a) further argues that cultural construction can also be placed in the service of ethnic mobilization. Cultural renewal and transformation are important aspects of ethnic movements. Cultural claims, icons, and imagery are used by activists in the mobilization process. Cultural symbols and meanings are also produced and transformed as ethnic movements emerge and grow. For example, Snow & Benford (1992) demonstrate that social movement organizers and activists use existing culture (rhetorical devices and various techniques of "frame alignment") to make movement goals and tactics seem reasonable, just, and feasible to participants, constituencies, and political officials.

While ethnic boundaries and the meanings attributed to them can be shown to be socially constructed, as Nagel (1994a, p. 168) points out, they must not be
underestimated as social forces. In fact, the constructionist model constitutes an argument for the durability, indeed the inevitability, of ethnicity in modern societies. As such, it represents a challenge to simple historical, biological, or cultural determinist models of human diversity.

**Cultural Development**

Today, as Syed Rahim (1989, p. 431) said, there is a continuing struggle between two views of culture, one emphasizing universality and the cosmopolitan nature of culture, and the other emphasizing nationalistic and particularistic aspects. This struggle has been active within a nation—between communities, ethnic and racial groups, economic classes, genders and generations—and between nations. One of the most important cultural consequences of economic and political modernization is that cultural contestations are sharpened, intensified, and even raised to a crisis level, as development accelerates material and symbolic transactions among the contestants.

In Hamlink's view (1989), a critical problem with the cultural identity studies is that they focus almost exclusively on the contents of culture ("what a culture is"). To him, "More important is 'how' people develop their modes of coping with the environment. . . . In this vein, one could argue that the adoption of foreign elements in a culture may not be a problem, it may even support the survival of a community or, at least, of some dissident faction in that community" (pp. 420-421).

How could a culture be developed in today's world? Hamlink (1989) argues that three conditions are essential: (a) Dynamism. It is the continuous dialectical process in which the human environment and modes of coping with this environment interact with each other, mutually influence each other, and change in the process. (b) Diversity. "Once systems become monolithic they become vulnerable to decay. The erosion of diversity seriously threatens ecological systems, for example. The more diverse an ecosystem is, the more stable it is . . . . The more diversity a group allows,
the more successful the process of independent cultural development is” (p. 421). (c) Dispute. “The elements of dynamism and diversity already imply the need for collectivities to tolerate the development of various personalities . . . . The minimal demand would be the possibility of open dispute” (pp. 421–422).

One of the new cultural developments in the 1990s is the extension of human communities on to a global scale. Various kinds of globalized communities are connecting people around the world. The next section of this chapter focuses on one aspect of the implications of globalization: development of new cultures and cultural identities.

Supraculture Building: An Emerging Field of Study

The past two decades have witnessed the more interactive social realities of our time and increasing academic interest in global cultures. Attempts have been made to explore ideologies that are larger than national and that potentially embrace all populations throughout the world. A new kind of human being is believed to be emerging from intercultural societies.

After the end of the WWII, Northrop (1946) suggested that all important cultural differences could be subsumed under the question of how human beings view themselves and the universe. He claimed that two fundamental views, one of the East and the other of the West, are complementary while each is incomplete in itself. A general human culture is possible if the essential insights of the East and the West are combined. Northrop proposed an "international cultural ideal" to provide intellectual and emotional foundations for what he envisioned as "partial world sovereignty" (1946, p. x). Similarly, other scholars have explored a "planetary culture" to integrate the Eastern holistic and spiritual orientation with the Western science and rationalism (e.g., Thompson, 1973; Elgin, 1981).
In Walsh's view (1973, 1979), a contemporary person must revise his or her educational experiences and institutions to foster a knowledge of two cultures— one's own, and a worldwide synthesis (comprised of integral similarities from all cultures) of which one's own is a part. To him, a universal culture is a culture of cultures, in which all human beings feel they have a part, with which they can positively identify, and to which they can look for encouragement and support. As he notes:

The movement toward creating a universal culture does not mean a call for the eventual disappearance of all individual cultures, or their amalgamation into some uniform world culture. Instead, those who see intercultural education as pointing toward the emergence of a universal or human culture have a profound respect for the individual cultures, and feel that each contributes something vital and unique to any world culture. A universal culture would be an organic, consistent, and integral drawing together of those universal ideas and values that all men share. (1973, p. 70)

A key concept, universal personhood, was developed in Walsh's research in cross-cultural education. He further writes:

The term universal man . . . means that the human beings share in, and contribute to, the entire universe of intellectual discourse and active knowing, each in his/her own way and to his own degree. The more fully, of course, a person shares in universal knowledge, the more of a universal man he is or becomes. The one-culture person who has not heard of, or thought about, anything other than what he has learned in his own particular culture is a universal man only to a minimal degree, if at all. (1973, p. 29)

Walsh argues that the concept of the universal person does not eliminate cultural differences. Rather it seeks to preserve whatever is most valid, significant, and valuable in each culture as a way of enriching and helping to form the whole.

Since the beginning of the 1980s, more studies have been focused on global cultures. For example, Bennett (1987) suggests indicators of the global cultures: (a) advanced communication technology and the international propensity toward English as a lingua franca, (b) a heightened sensitivity toward the use and benefit of societal
manipulation and planning, (c) the integration of local and sublocal cultures, and (d)
the appearance and increasing import of internationally coordinated and controlled
dimensions of global cultural flows as the flows of people, technology, money,
information, and mass media.

The above studies are rich in suggestions of visionary new vistas for creating a
world civic culture and personhood. Some theorists accept the argument about global
culture but consider it old news; their writing remains at the level of pure theory and
speculation. For other critics, claims about globalization and global culture are simply
unconvincing. For them, global or universal culture remains a utopian vision of the
distant future. The still fairly compact and frequently revived national cultures remain
valid (e.g., Smith, 1991).

Supraculture Building and Cultural Identity

Paralleling these philosophical and ideological visions of supracultural
perspectives, many social scientists have investigated experiences of individuals
extensively exposed to foreign cultures and the cultural changes in the Western
societies. Stimulated by the post-World War II boom in student exchange and
international migration, the Peace Corps movement in the 1960s, the expansion of
multinational trade, and the increase in overseas civil and military government
personnel, extensive literature has approached the development of supracultural
individuals (Kim & Ruben, 1988). Major approaches include the research on the
transnational identity in anthropology, intercultural identity in intercultural
communication, supranational identity in political science, and global/species identity
in education.
Transnational Identity

In the past few years, anthropologists have increasingly noted that immigrants maintain their ties to home while living their lives across borders, even when their countries of origin and settlement are geographically distant (Sutton & Chaney, 1987; Sutton & Makiesky-Barrow, 1987; Glick-Schiller & Fouron, 1990; Glick-Schiller et al., 1992). Studies found that migrants from the Caribbean, Haiti, and the Philippines were sustaining multi-stranded social relations that linked their societies of origin and settlement. This kind of immigrant experience is called "transnationalism" to emphasize the emergence of a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992, p. xi). Immigrants who build such social fields are designated "transmigrants." They develop and maintain multiple relations—familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political—that span borders. Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992).

Within their complex web of social relations, transmigrants create and draw upon fluid and multiple identities grounded both in their society of origin and in the host societies. While some migrants identify more with one society than the other, the majority seem to maintain several identities that link them simultaneously to more than one nation. Transnational networks are forged and sustained through a variety of mechanisms. These include regular communications through the telephone, visits and correspondence, economic remittances, and general social support (Wiltshire, 1992).

This approach maintains that, in all the social sciences, analyses of immigrant populations with their patterns of social relations and systems of meaning have continued to be enmeshed within theories that approached each society as a discrete and bounded entity with its own separate economy, culture, and historical trajectory.
All social sciences had for decades been dominated by such static models (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992).

The major contribution of this approach, as Rios (1992) suggests, is that it views ethnicity as a socially constructed phenomenon subject to deliberate manipulation. Immigrants construct and deconstruct their identities and roles within multiple contexts. They manipulate their ethnicity to advance their interests and satisfy their needs.

The transnational perspective has weaknesses. First, the term transnational identity allows for different interpretations. Many authors use the term to mean a bridge, but it is not clear whether this bridge constitutes a blending of cultures, a transitional phenomenon, or a completely new culture.

Second, in this approach, there is no place to fit those who did not migrate but who nevertheless participate in the transnational networks. A related issue is the future of the transnational. As Rios (1992) notes, transnationals do not fully belong to either of the societies in which they live. Often they are influenced by both, while as a group they remain relatively powerless at both ends.

Third, most studies in this approach fail to recognize the critical role played by communication in the making of transnationalism. Radical changes in communication technology and transportation make feasible the exchanges between immigrants and their native societies in ways that were not possible before. Communication technology sustains the transnational praxis (Rios, 1992). That one can call or fax anything to almost anywhere, or receive television transmissions of programs almost any place, is an important material fact that cannot be overlooked.

Intercultural Identity

Since the mid-1980s Young Yun Kim and others have developed the concept of intercultural identity in their studies in intercultural communication (Kim & Ruben,
In their views, the intercultural person represents a type of person whose cognitive, affective, and behavioral characteristics are not limited but are open to growth beyond the psychological parameters of his or her own culture. In the immigrant and sojourner context, the intercultural identity of strangers can be observed in terms of the development of a third-culture perspective, or an inclusive viewpoint that represents more than one cultural perspective—either the home culture or the host culture—transcending both groups (Kim, 1988). As Adler described it, intercultural identity is based not on "belongingness," which implies either owning or being owned by culture, but on a style of self-consciousness that situates oneself neither totally a part of nor totally apart from a given culture. (1982, p. 391)

Studies on the cross-cultural adaptation of individuals have shown that people who are born and raised in one culture find themselves in need of modifying their customary life patterns in a foreign culture. According to Kim (1992), social sciences have generated a great deal of information and insights into the historical and contemporary constraints that have been imposed on ethnic minorities in many societies. However, relatively little academic attention has been given to the changes that have taken place in individuals of all ethnic groups toward greater intercultural learning, understanding, adaptation, and accommodation. The concept of intercultural identity directs our attention to the fact that many people are not locked in a single cultural identity. To them, expanding their identity to incorporate new cultural elements is a matter of personal necessity and values that does not necessarily involve "throwing away" or "being disloyal to" their original identity (Kim, 1992).

Formation of an intercultural identity, in Kim's view, is one of the key outcomes of continuous, long-term intercultural communication experiences. System theory was used by her to explain the process of intercultural identity development. Individuals are viewed as open systems striving to regain internal equilibrium when
faced with environmental challenges. The stress-adaptation-growth dynamic is viewed as the evolutionary process of the development of intercultural identity. This dynamic underlies the psychic evolution toward increasing internalization and integration of alien cultural elements into one's original cultural identity (Kim, 1992, p. 22).

Furthermore, intercultural identity development may be reflected in: (a) the acceptance of the original and the new cultural elements; (b) increased scope, depth, and perspective in perception; (c) increased self-knowledge, self-trust, and self-directedness; (d) an increased inner resilience that facilitates further development; and (e) an increased creative resourcefulness to deal with new challenges (Kim, 1992, p. 22).

How is intercultural identity developed? Kim (1992) maintains that a cognitive complexity and flexibility and affective co-orientation are needed for developing it. In the intercultural context, cognitive complexity refers to the structure of cultural strangers' knowledge/thoughts/ideas, that is, how they know what they know with regard to the host cultural milieu (Kim, 1988, p. 94). Closely related to this concept is a capacity to be mentally flexible in dealing with ambiguity and unfamiliarity. Cognitive flexibility is viewed as "cognitive mobility" in supranational identity studies discussed in the following section (Inglehart, 1977, 1990) and as "empathy" by international educators (Boulding, 1988) and communication scholars (Lerner, 1958; Ruben & Kealey, 1970; Maruyama, 1970). In addition, affective co-orientation, proposed by Kim (1988), is also important for individuals' cultural transformation. In immigrant or sojourner contexts, this concept refers to a favorable attitude toward a successful adaptation in the host environment. It enables cultural strangers to position themselves in a psychological orientation that is "favorable" or "compatible" with that of the host culture (Kim, 1988, p. 99).

In short, this line of research provides a new avenue to the study of cultural identity by focusing on psychological changes of individuals in intercultural
communication. However, this approach also faces limitations. First, intercultural identity study is limited to the phenomenon in which people of one culture have face-to-face contact with people from another culture. The scope of the research is within the experiences of immigrants and sojourners. Interesting questions arise: What about those people who do not travel extensively overseas and who don't have extensive physical contacts with people of other cultures? Is it possible for them to develop an "intercultural identity"?

**Supranational Identity**

Political scientist Ronald Inglehart (1977, 1990) identifies two key changes in Western publics that have significant political and economic implications. The first is a valuative change. In his view, value priorities have gradually shifted from materialist to postmaterialist or "from giving top priority to physical sustenance and safety toward heavier emphasis on belonging, self-expression, and the quality of life" (1990, p. 66). The change in values facilitates the development of a cosmopolitan political identity. Postmaterialists tend to have a broader sense of belonging (Dobratz, 1993, p. 98).

The second is a cognitive change. Basically, cognition refers to the "process by which an individual comes to know and interpret his environment" (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 56). The essence of cognitive mobilization is the "development of the skills needed to manipulate political abstractions and thereby to coordinate activities that are remote in space and time" (Inglehart, 1977, p. 295). A greater proportion of the population develops interest in and understanding of national and international politics. An individual's ability to receive and interpret messages related to a remote political organization would be enhanced as one becomes more mobilized cognitively.

Four key sources of system-level change that lead to the individual-level changes in values and skills are identified by Inglehart (1977). These are economic
and technological development, distinctive cohort experiences (e.g., absence of "total war"), rising levels of education, and expansion of mass communication. The individual-level changes in values and skills will have system-level consequences, including changes in support for established national institutions and the rise of supranational loyalties, as well as changes in social bases of political conflict, prevailing political issues, and types of political participation (Inglehart, 1977).

Supranational loyalty in Inglehart's study refers to the European people's identification with the supranational European Community. In his view, the transformation in values and skills can lead to increased "openness to international integration" but also to the possibility of increased emphasis on subnationalities (1977, p. 15). Indeed, he notes that the same individual may emphasize both supranational and subnational ties. However, Inglehart doesn't seem to make it clear at the individual level how subnational, national, and supranational attachments are related (Dobratz, 1993). An interesting question remains: How important are individual-level post-materialist values and cognitive mobilization in shaping attitudes toward the supranational alliances?

Global/Species Identity

Since the beginning of 1980s, social theorists have been caught between the established vision of the world as a community of competing nation-states or civilizations (e.g., Huntington, 1993) and an emerging view of global interconnectedness (e.g., Wiley, 1994; Cogan, 1989). The global/species identity research emphasizes the global unity, or interconnectedness, of many dimensions of the world. However, much of this approach is idealistic or prescriptive rather than descriptive.

In the field of education, Taylor (1970) maintains that history has reached the stage where human loyalties and commitments need to be extended from identification
with a particular national context to the entire human race. Without a world perspective, the rapidly expanding and accelerating rate of specialized information will result in a fragmented understanding of reality. In an emerging world culture, the teacher and the school must be conscious agencies of the integration of knowledge and the creation of human unity in a world culture (Gutek, 1993, p. 24).

Boulding (1988) further develops the concept of species identity. He maintains that people around the world are much more alike than different and are all of one species. That fact will help us cope with the alien and unfamiliar cultures of the world. She notes:

> Whether based on religious or secular-humanist beliefs, there are people in all countries who feel allegiance to a community that in one sense does not exist—the community of humankind. It is this allegiance that we are calling species identity. The community of humankind is a country without borders, with no capital city and with only one law—to avoid doing harm to any fellow human being. However, one cannot feel allegiance to an abstraction. That is where the concept of civil culture comes in. . . . We have to enter into more social interaction and become more consciously linked across national borders, to give substance to that civil culture. (1988, p. 66)

In her view, from the sense of international commonality, international education becomes the vehicle for creating a common civic culture and has programmatic goals for shaping a new world society. Boulding asserts, "Civic culture represents the patterning of how we share a common space, common resources, and common opportunities and manage interdependence in that 'company of strangers'" (Gutek, 1993, p. 25). Empathy and altruism are two important bases for species identity in the planetary sense (Boulding, 1988, p. 72-73).

Global education portrays humankind as inhabiting a global village, a biosphere that is "spaceship Earth" (Gutek, 1993, p. 29). The focuses of this approach are commonalities rather than differences among the peoples and nations, and "emergent trends" that are identified through futuristic studies. In this view, the world is
becoming interdependent, and emerging problems and issues need to be studied and resolved. Among such problems are population explosion, environmental pollution, unequitable distribution of resources, women’s rights, famine, drug abuse, and disease. In short, the role of the nation-state is diminishing and that of a transnational global society is emerging. The Study Commission on Global Education has recommended the following curricular emphases:

a. developing a "better understanding of the world as a series of interrelated systems: physical, biological, economic, political, and informational-valuative";

b. devoting "more attention to the development of world civilizations as they relate to the history of the United States";

c. devoting "greater attention to the diversity of cultural patterns both around the world and within the United States";

d. providing more "training in policy analysis both of domestic and international issues" (Gutek, 1993, pp. 29-30).

As examined in Chapter 3, alongside globalism, nowadays nationalism, localism, and tribalism are also growing in many parts of the world. With nationalism and localism comes the danger to world peace, such as conflicts over borders in a region where the locations of different ethnic groups do not correspond neatly with the principle of self-determination of peoples. It is possible, however, that once the nationalist impulse matures, it may yield to the kind of cosmopolitanism that embraces both national and global identity. It is possible, in Gutek's view (1993), that the new economic realities will bring about a sense of global interdependency.

Discussion

Because of interconnectedness and interdependence, today, individuals are becoming increasingly aware of their multiple identities. In some parts of the world, such as Western Europe, continental (supranational) cultural constructs that go
beyond those of nationhood are in the making (Delors, 1990; Inglehart, 1990). In all parts of the world, individuals are becoming increasingly aware of not only the national but also the regional and global implications of their ethnic, "racial," and religious identities. For example, many black people throughout the world see with regard to developments in South Africa processes that are relevant to their own identity, as do Jewish people with respect to those in the Middle East (Belay, 1993). The massive migration processes that have taken place since World War II, especially the "transmigrant" phenomenon in the last decade, have resulted in identity constructions that defy singular cultural categories (Glick-Schiller et al., 1992; Rosaldo, 1989). Moreover, social discourses during the past three decades have made us aware of the cultural implications of various dimensions of the human personality such as race, gender, and age.

Rosaldo (1989) argues that in a world where "open borders" appear more salient than "closed communities," definitional categories of cultural identity often leak, owing to the existence of "several borderlands" and "busy intersections." Indeed, it is not simply the world around the individual that has become culturally complex, but also the world within the individual. The individual is in constant tension, negotiating meanings and priorities with respect to the various definitional parameters of identity, such as nationhood, "race," ethnicity, gender, organizational belonging, and religious denomination (Belay, 1993).

Resurgence of cultures, including a global culture, is one of the major trends in international communication research (Stevenson, 1992). For international communication and intercultural communication scholars, the approach of the symbolic construction of culture presents a productive theoretical perspective for the analysis of the changing reality of culture and its relations with the community, ethnicity, and nation-state.
Supraculture building has received more attention in academic research recently. As reviewed above, literature about immigrants' and sojourners' experiences shown by transnational and intercultural identity studies provides much information concerning the general patterns of adaptive change over time and transnational social reality. Belay (1993) proposes an interactive-multiculture building model. In its ethnic component, this model promotes tolerances for differences and mutual respect among cultures as a mark of enlightened national and global citizenship, whereby such ethical behavior applies equally to individuals as well as social, business, and political institutions, including the state. At the same time, however, the vision does not attempt to resolve cultural heterogeneity with mere static coexistence. It also affirms transformational processes through symmetrical interdependence (p. 451).

The relationship of communication and culture construction is particularly relevant since communication itself is both cultural expression and carrier of cultural expression (Hamlink, 1989). All culture, to become a social artifact, is both a mediator of and is mediated by communication, and is thus communicational by nature. Communication is mediated by culture; it is a mode through which culture is disseminated and rendered actual and effective. There is no communication without culture and no culture without communication (Kellner, 1995).

Communication plays a major role in the process of cultural identity development. Various forms of communication across cultural boundaries take place with individuals in this process, such as interpersonal (face-to-face) communication and interactions and the use of communication media. Communication media include mass media (e.g., newspaper, radio, television) and personalized media (e.g., computer, VCR, fax). For example, Chang (1972) reported recognizable differences in mass media behaviors among three groups of Korean immigrants ("cultural assimilation group," "bicultural group," and "nativistic group") that were distinct in the patterns of change in cultural values. In addition, the new communication
technologies have diluted the criteria traditionally used for demarcating communication issues as international (i.e., mediated) and intercultural (interpersonal, face-to-face). For example, computer-mediated communication, such as electronic mail, involves both mediated and interpersonal communication.

To conclude, several points should be made about cultural identity development:

(1) The change of cultural identity reflects the rapidly changing era of globalization and transnationalism. While the existence of global flows and people's identification across national/cultural boundaries is not new, the speed and size of current global flows and the ubiquity of global networks channeling those flows is unprecedented. Now the development of global networks is undercutting the sovereign space of the nation-state while permitting greater access to the globe on a local level. In this kind of new social environment, people are having an increasing amount of transnational or intercultural experiences, which in turn enable them to develop broader, more fluid (less rigid) cultural identities. The concept of bounded cultural identity is obviously inappropriate for describing the current reality of large portions of humanity.

(2) Cultural identity is not static. It is a process of development. The manifestation of holding a cultural identity is flexible and dependent on situations or contexts. Cultural identity could be changed over time due to the changes of social or cultural factors in the individual's life.

(3) The individual maintains multiple identifications and group affiliations. In a contemporary society, in particular, with its complexity and high degree of differentiation of labor and functions, there is a multiplicity of relations between an individual and different collectivities. An individual has the capacity to hold multiple identities to advance his or her own interests. He or she could select a certain identity according to circumstances.
(4) At certain extent, we are what we think. As Jampolsky (1989) points out, "Everything in life depends on thoughts we choose to hold in our minds and our willingness to change our belief systems" (p. 31).

(5) Communication plays a central role in culture construction because communication itself is both cultural expression and carrier of cultural expression. The use of communication media facilitate the individual's cultural identity development.
CHAPTER 5
GLOBAL COMPUTER NETWORKS AND VIRTUAL COMMUNITY

During the past two decades, new communication technologies have changed the social realities in many parts of the world. One significant change is that, as many people in the world begin to produce and share information within McLuhan's prophetic "global village," they naturally depend less and less on the information that flows from more traditional sources (e.g., Wright, 1990). The communication revolution has been challenging the dominance of traditional mass media such as newspaper, magazine, radio, and television, which were built from the one-to-many communication model. Computer-mediated communication now dominates information exchanges within the United States and is rapidly controlling global communication systems (Chesebro & Bonsall, 1989; Armstrong & Hagel, 1996).

Mass communication has increasingly computer-mediated infrastructures. As digital communication and computers merge with common carriers and mass media, the conventional distinctions between these categories have begun to dissolve. Computers are increasingly altering how people execute their daily activities and altering users' life-styles and values. Especially, computer networks have extended human community onto a global scale (Spar & Bussgang, 1996). This chapter reviews some of the new developments of communication technologies on which many globalized, virtual communities and cultures are created.

Global Computer Networks

The fusion of computers and telecommunications over the past twenty years has created a worldwide web of computer networks. These networks, initially
established for transferring data, have been adopted by people who want to communicate with other people. Interpersonal communication has become the major use of computer networks and has transformed them into a social space where people connect with one another (Harasim, 1993a; K.-J. Kim, 1994).

The range and speed of global computer networks has increased at a phenomenal rage, reaching tens of millions of personal computer users at home and at work, across globally connected telephone lines. Tools such as electronic mail, bulletin boards, and computer conferencing facilitate group communication across time and space (Harasim, 1993b; Jones, 1995). Groups can now socialize and work together regardless of different locations or schedules. Computer networking does not replace other forms of human communication. It increases our range of human connectedness and the number of ways in which we are able to make contact with others.

Many forums of social relations existing in computer networks have attracted the attention of social scientists. Various features of global computer networks, such as electronic mail, computer conferencing and bulletin board services, commercial on-line service, and the World Wide Web, have provided a new field of study concerning the relations between humanity and technology.

**Electronic Mail**

Electronic mail (or E-mail) is a generic term referring to a class of messages transmitted and distributed through any computerized system used as a kind of postal service (Chesebro & Bonsall, 1989, p. 98). E-mail on computer networks has a history of over two decades. It laid the basis for global connectivity by enabling computer users to exchange place-independent, asynchronous, text-based messages (Harasim, 1993b, p. 6). E-mail systems support one-to-one (personal) and one-to-many (broadcast) communication. User groups and bulletin board services support
group communication. The first electronic bulletin board system was established in Chicago in 1978 (Chesebro & Bonsall, 1989, p. 100). Local computer club members could call in and leave messages for one another. The systems developed to allow groups of individuals to exchange various kinds of information. In short, using a personal computer and modem linked by a telephone line to a computer network, people send and receive messages across the hallway or across the planet.

Today E-mail networks reach millions of people, at their offices, in their classrooms, at home, and on the road via portable computers. While many offices have local area networks (LANs) for messaging among employees in the same workplace, these are increasingly linked to the wide area networks (WANs), the basis for global networks (Harasim, 1993b, p. 6).

A global network is an interconnection of many smaller computer networks. The main global networks include Internet, BITNET, USENET, and others (Harasim, 1993a). Internet is a meganetwork, a network of networks connecting over 2,000 smaller networks. The Internet provides access to E-mail, bulletin boards, databases, library catalogues, chat lines, multi-user domain, discussion groups, and, for scientists and researchers, access to supercomputer. It hosts thousands of distributed groups, linking universities, offices, schools, and homes and diverse range of subjects (Harasim, 1993a; Jones, 1995).

BITNET (Because It’s Time Network) connects academic institutions in over thirty countries and offers mailing lists (discussion groups on various topics), E-mail, and short real-time interactions. USENET (User’s Network) is a series of newsgroups or discussion groups supported by a worldwide voluntary member network, with about 37,000 nodes in universities, government, business, and military sites (Harasim, 1993b).
Computer Conferencing

Computer conferencing systems are based on communication software specifically designed to facilitate collaboration among all sizes of groups, from two-person dialogues to conferences with hundreds or thousands of participants (Harasim, 1993b, p. 7). People can join conferences on topics of personal interest; all messages to those conferences are organized and stored sequentially in one's inbox. The system coordinates the messages. Computer conferencing is often used to describe a type of communication networking software, distinct from user groups on E-mail systems (Harasim, 1993b, p. 7).

Computer conferencing and bulletin board services are often organized around metaphors that reflect human settlement and activities—town halls, classrooms, villages, clubs, and shopping malls.

Videotex Systems

Another form of social networks is found on commercial videotex systems, which present information as a page of text-based message enhanced with graphics. CompuServe is one of the oldest systems in the United States, first launched as an information service in 1979. By 1991, an estimated 800,000 CompuServe users from over 100 countries had access to 1,400 databases and services for shopping, travel, financial and news reports, games, and the most dynamic and popular part of the service—the group forums. America Online, Prodigy, GEnie, Delphi, and others offer similar on-line services and social meeting places (Harasim, 1993a).

Teletel, the French government-owned videotex, has transformed France into a networked nation, providing a gateway to over 12,000 information services for about 20 percent of the households (Harasim, 1993c, p. 18). For example, more than 5 million Minitel terminals have been given away by the government to replace printed telephone directories and provide information services (Computer Chronicles, 1990).
World Wide Web

The World Wide Web is one of a number of ways of viewing the information and resources that exist on the Internet. Since the Internet encompasses hundreds of thousands of computers worldwide and grows daily, the amount of information available via the Internet is vast (Madsen, 1995). WWW is a multimedia environment that combines the net with words, images, and audio information.

As a way of organizing and presenting an interface to resources held on the Internet, several common ways of representing Internet resources have been developed. The oldest, dating back to the early 1970s, is FTP, or file transfer protocol. In FTP, users can log into a remote computer and retrieve files containing information for viewing on their own machines. This method, because of its antiquity, offers little interaction and thus is used today simply for archiving and retrieving of files. Other representations of Internet resources, such as Gopher, allow "browsing" of textual information "pages" as well as retrieval of files. With Gopher, organizations and individuals can present resources and information in a structured way.

Within the last few years, however, an alternative to Gopher has been gaining rapid support. The World Wide Web, or WWW, is a graphical representation of Internet resources based on the "hypertext" concept. In hypertext, the reader is not constrained to follow the text in linear fashion, but can jump to any point in a presentation or view graphics, listen to sounds, or see movies as an integral part of the viewing experience. On the Internet, the World Wide Web is a system whereby organizations and individuals may construct hypertext presentations, or "pages," which everyone may view using a WWW "browser," which is simply an application which retrieves and displays hypertext located elsewhere on the Internet.

People read information from the WWW by using a browser: There are graphical browsers such as Netscape, Mosaic, or Cello, and text-based browsers such
as Lynx. In any of these browsers, there is a common method by which hypertext is read, or "navigated." Because hypertext is typically not read from start to finish, but viewed in whatever fashion suits the viewer, "navigation" is a metaphor often used to describe the process of using the WWW.

The basic unit in hypertext is the "page," which is a self-contained set of information and graphics, complete with links to related information held on other pages. A World Wide Web page is a mixture of plain text, graphics, and links. A link is a spot where you can click with the mouse, or select with the arrow keys, and move to another page of information held elsewhere (Madsen, 1995). Domains offered by the WWW open up other possibilities and domains for study. In 1995 more than 40 million computers were connected to Internet hosts in 160 countries, and that number was growing by an estimated 10% to 20% per month (Teng, 1995; Spar & Bussgang, 1996). The U.S. White House has a web page, as do many organizations.

Communication, information dissemination, and publishing on the web grow along with the burgeoning infrastructure of global networks (December, 1995). In addition, because they have convenient access to the Internet, and also because of the prevalence of personal computers, university students and faculty can easily enjoy the benefits of information services.

Characteristics of Global Computer Networks

Place. Computer networks are forming new social realities, one of which, the "networlds," are demonstrated in Harasim’s study (1993c). They are distinguished by place-independent communication, expanding the human neighborhood to global proportions. Computer networks enable people to socialize, work, and learn based on who they are rather than where they are located. By mastering this new means of communication, individuals are having more choices.
Time. Most computer networks are based on asynchronous, not real-time, communication. The millions of messages that cross the globe each day testify to the power of overcoming time zones and personal schedules for enabling active communication (Harasim, 1993c).

Interactivity. Computer networks provide new ways to meet people. Computer on-line enables people to communicate with each other on the basis of shared interests, not merely shared geography. Posting a comment or question in a computer network invites response and feedback, often generating consultation and multiple perspectives on a topic. A computer network user receives not only a response to his or her message, but in the process meets someone with similar interests. Global networks provide links to many trusted sources and to new contacts (Harasim, 1993c; Jones, 1995).

Group interactivity creates the basis for community. In an electronic community people can act directly to question, probe, or elaborate on any piece of information that is posted. Different perspectives on an issue are generated and shared; the multilogue of the networld can provide a fuller picture. Moreover, group discussion and shared experience are powerful forces toward creating broad understanding.

Traditional mass media such as newspaper, magazine, radio, and television reach mass audiences for message dissemination. They are noninteractive, one-way media. Telephone and fax machine reach individuals and allow interaction among communicators. Computer-mediated communication can do both (Quarterman, 1993).

The distributed and interconnected nature of new media forms, such as computer bulletin board systems, means that the ability to broadcast belongs to any participant in the network.
Computer mediation. Information services and discussion groups on computer networks today are mediated by text-based messaging, imaging, and the computer. On-line interaction offers important benefits for establishing meaningful and effective communication.

In some aspects, on-line communication creates a new form of interpersonal interaction with advantages over postal mail, telephone calls, and even face-to-face encounters. It is at once direct while informal, enabling effective and efficient yet non-offensive communication. E-mail messages have not become associated with the formality of letters. Informality and imperfect typing are tolerated even in messages to an older person in superior position or to a person one does not know well (Licklider & Vezza, 1988, p.147; Harasim, 1993c, pp. 25-26)

On-line communication can free people from the bonds of physical appearance and enable communication at the level of ideas. For example, in face-to-face situations physical and social status cues extend authority and influence over others. Communication in computer networks is "blind" to vertical hierarchy in social relationships. On-line messaging benefits people who may not have a "voice" in face-to-face situation (Harasim, 1993c, p. 26). In examining E-mail users’ perceptions of computer-mediated vs. face-to-face communication, Yoojung Kim (1994) found that, for E-mail users, computer-mediated communication (CMC) was perceived as allowing for freer, more frequent, and more equal communication processing than face-to-face. While face-to-face communication must rely upon language skills and facial expressions, none of these are needed on the computer networks. Networks have also provided a space for people who are introverted and not good at expressing themselves.

Intellectual and social benefits are also associated with on-line communication. Traditional education is based on textbooks, lectures, and written assignments; interactive on-line communication with texts and images offers additional advantages
to learners. Students can improve their writing, reading, and analytical skills on-line (Harasim, 1990; Berge & Collins, 1995).

There is, moreover, a preservable record of information and discussions: Texts, voices, and images are stored on the computer and hence can be reread and reflected upon. A group memory is created. Asynchronous on-line conversation facilitates thoughtful consideration of messages and careful formulation of responses. In addition, on-line communication enables users to observe each other's contributions, enhancing group learning and group maintenance (Harasim, 1993a). Therefore, on-line communication enables new group cultures to develop.

The mediation of the computer transforms communication options. The features discussed above combine to provide new and unprecedented forms of human interaction. The ability of the computer to store and process data augments our communication and intellectual skills and extends our reach and opportunities for human community.

The basic function of computer networks is to transfer bits between computers for use by human beings. Computer network protocols are designed so that any pair of computers with the same protocols and a connection can transfer bits, regardless of where they are. This simplicity of abstraction makes its easy for computer networks to cross many kinds of boundaries. The utility of computer networks, partly derived from this ability, ensures that networks do cross political, culture, time, and specialties (organizational) boundaries (Quarterman, 1993, p. 48). They may also facilitate independence of individuals from large organizations.

**On-line News and Information Services**

Today on-line news and information services have become increasingly popular and useful in providing various, specialized information to dispersed audiences. This is in contrast to general information videotex systems of the 1980s, which were not very
successful. In fact, it has often been said that video has been a technology in search of an application (e.g., Ledingham, 1983).

Experience in the United States showed a rather public indifference to videotex news in the 1980s (Alber, 1985). For example, Viewtron (Knight-Ridder) folded in 1986 after attracting only 2,200 customers (Broadcasting, 1986a); Gateway (Times-Mirror) also ended its services in March, 1986 (Broadcasting, 1986b) with 3,000 subscribers; and Keyfax (Keycom Electronic Publishing) terminated its Chicago experiment in 1985 after attracting only 800 paying customers (Broadcasting, 1985). A number of other experiments have either folded or have never been launched on more than an experimental scale.

While general videotex information systems have not been widely adopted, specialized and business applications have been successful. For example, Dow Jones Information, airline travel reservation services, and automobile dealer videotex services which permit a national search of model and feature inventories have been in wide use. In agriculture, nearly one out of five Iowa farmers uses a videotex system to get the latest agricultural market information (Abbott, 1989). China News Digest (CND), a free network-based news service operated by volunteers, collects and disseminates news about China and overseas Chinese communities to a worldwide audience (CND, 1995).

A key factor in the growth and success of on-line information services has been the extent to which potential users have access to computers and modems and the training necessary to use them effectively (Atwater, 1985). University environments provide excellent growth opportunities for the development of these specialized videotex systems. The great majority of both professors and students have access to computers and know how to use them. The access to Internet and other electronic networks has provided a means of communicating with people on a global scale.
The increase of specialized on-line information services has raised many important research questions. In their study on China News Digest (CND), Sun & Abbott (1991) point out that the following factors are very important for the success of a specialized videotex news service:

1. Exclusivity. A major issue in videotex systems concerns the extent to which they are providing information that users need or desire which they cannot get elsewhere. As Anthony Smith (1980) observed, most of the news that flows into newspaper offices is never printed, and there are always individuals who are willing to pay for that information.

2. News Volatility. Electronic news systems have a great advantage over newspapers in their ability to provide immediate information. Abbott (1989) found that information volatility increased demand for videotex systems that could respond quickly with market information. The 1989 Tiananmen Square incident in China is the kind of volatile event which would attract users seeking the latest news. The explosive growth in the number of the users of the China News Digest (CND), from 400 in early 1989 to 10,000 in 1990, is one indication of how volatile situations can increase electronic system demand.

3. Volunteers. Any media effort produced by volunteers is subject to a number of changes brought about by the level of staff turnover, enthusiasm, and dedication. This has long been an important issue in studies of voluntary organizations and media (Abbott, 1988).

4. Power. Murdock & Golding (1989) predict that new communication technologies such as videotex will benefit only those in power—the information "haves" in society. Studies of computer adoption (Dutton et al., 1987) and videotex/teletext systems (Abbott, 1989) have all shown that higher socio-economic groups tend to adopt new technologies first. CND suggests a different possibility—that videotex can be used as an information medium to circumvent official censorship.
To the extent that CND covers information that is not available from China’s official media, it represents an alternative power. This would be in keeping with predictions of McLuhan and Powers (1989) that new communication technologies can lead to democratization of information.

In the 90s, the growing popularity of videotex-based news service is reflected by the emergence of on-line newspapers. Computer and network technology has seriously challenged the dominance of traditional forms of mass media. Newspapers, printing and delivering information on paper, are particularly vulnerable. Astute editors and publishers have recognized the threat digital delivery poses to the traditional newspapers and have started to take advantage of computer networks. In an effort to reach more and more “wired” audiences, they are creating new electronic publications. But many outlets have opted simply to put the content of the paper product on-line, only to discover that the on-line world had its own, often mysterious ethos (Lapham, 1995). Jon Kats, a media critic and former executive producer of the CBS Evening News, points out:

So far, at least, online papers don’t work commercially or conceptually. With few exceptions, they seem to be just what they are, expensive hedges against on rushing technology with little rationale of their own. They take away what’s best about reading a paper and don’t offer what’s best about being online. (Lapham, 1995)

The real beauty of computer network technology is its ability to enable newspapers to not only enhance their researching and reporting capabilities, but also to deliver a better, more audience-aware product in an immediate and inexpensive way. Digital delivery is greatly improved by publication in the World Wide Web, the fastest growing part of the Internet. One of the main attractions of the web is hypertext, a system that seamlessly links computers and files continents apart. By using computer
technology to produce and deliver a new product, newspapers have welded both the old (print) with new (computer-digital delivery) (Lapham, 1995).

The priority of electronic newspapers seems to be listening to the audience and creating innovative opportunities for ongoing communication. One of the many newspapers embarking on an electronic future is the Arizona Daily Star. The Star is working on a new service called “StarNet” that offers a comprehensive mix of features and services. Some of those features include Internet access, news from the paper edition, local discussion groups, and access to the paper’s archives. The Star is attempting to become an electronic home base for its readers and will give nonprofit organizations (with a budget of less than $1 million dollars) space on its service to publish local newsletters. The concept of the newspaper as the community’s electronic publishing hub is a critical component of the newspaper for the future (Lapham, 1995).

Virtual Communities

When a group of people remain in communication with one another for extended periods, the question of whether it is a community arises. People in many parts of the world have embraced computer-mediated communication (CMC) and instinctively formed various electronic, or “virtual communities” of like-minded individuals. Marshall McLuhan anticipated people’s response to the ethnological changes in communication more than 30 years ago. He predicted the formation of a “global village,” which in many ways is coming true in the form of the Internet.

While many studies have been focused on the speed and volume with which computers can be used as communication tools, there is a lack of research on how computers are used as tools for connectivity and community. What might electronic communities be like? How will sociologists, communication scholars and anthropologists grapple with issues related to studying electronic communities? We are facing many challenging questions.
Jones (1995) compares traditional conceptions of community to the social relationships that take shape in and through the new technologies. As reviewed in Chapter 2, definitions of community in sociology have largely centered around the unproblematized notion of place, a "where" that social scientists can observe, visit, and stay. Their observations had largely been formed by examination of events, artifacts, and social relations within distinct geographic boundaries.

One useful conception of community comes from Effrat (1974), who categorizes it into solidarity institutions, primary interaction, and institutionally distinct groups. Of Effrat's categories, the third seems to make the most sense in the context of computer-mediated communication (CMC). As Jones (1995, p. 25) points out, CMC is rarely a solidarity institution in Effrat's terms; that is, it rarely functions to produce solidarity. Primary interaction is virtually a function of a community defined as an institutionally distinct group, that is, a function of belonging to some social group or category.

Twenty-eight years ago, Licklider & Taylor (1968) predicted that computer-mediated community will affect our considerations of space:

What will on-line interactive communities be like? In most fields they will consist of geographically separated members, sometimes grouped in small clusters and sometimes working individually. They will be communities not of common location, but of common interest. (pp. 30-31)

As examined in Chapter 2, Bender (1978) defined communities as social networks marked by mutuality and emotional bonds. This definition is useful for the study of community in cyberspace for two reasons. First, it emphasizes the interactions that create communities. Second, it focuses away from place. In media that shift not only the sense of space but the sense of place, decentering the consideration of territory is necessary to permit entry of notions of power and its analysis (Jones, 1995, p. 24).
Stone (1991) defines "virtual communities" as incontrovertibly social spaces in which people still meet face-to-face, but under new definitions of both 'meet' and 'face'. Virtual communities are passage points for collections of common beliefs and practices that united people who were physically separated. (p. 85)

Virtual communities emerged from a intersection of humanity and technology. Computers, modems, and communication networks furnish the technological infrastructure of computer-mediated communication. Rheingold (1993) considers cyberspace a conceptual space where words and human relationship, data, and wealth and power are manifested by people using computer-mediated communication (CMC) technology. Virtual communities, in Rheingold's view, are cultural aggregations that emerge when enough people bump into each other often enough in cyberspace. Virtual community is also a place where individuals shape their own community by choosing which other communities to belong to (Rheingold, 1993). Individuals are free to choose whatever community he or she would like to participate in.

Another interesting question arises: What is the nature of individual members' commitments to virtual communities? In the physical world, community members live together. When community membership is in no small way a simple matter of subscribing or unsubscribing to a bulletin board or electronic newsgroup, is the nature of interaction different simply because one may disengage with little or no consequence (Jones, 1995)?

Applying Carey's (1989) view on the distinction between transmission and ritual views of communication seems fruitful for our understanding of virtual communities (Rheingold, 1993; Jones, 1995). In Carey's view, "Communication under a transmission view is the extension of messages across geography for the purposes of control. . . . The case under a ritual view is the sacred ceremony that draws persons
together in fellowship and commonality” (1989, p. 18). The distinctions Carey draws are critical to understanding the full range and cope of computer-mediated communication and virtual community. Communities can emerge from and exist within computer-linked groups, but that technical linkage of electronic personnae is not sufficient to create a community. It seems that the “fellowship and commonality,” or a "sense of belonging" among its members through computer networks, constitute the core of a virtual community.

Similarly, Stone (1991) argues that the important element in cyberspatial social relations is the sharing of information. It is not sharing in the sense of the transmission of information that binds communities in cyberspace. It is the ritual sharing of information that pulls it together. That sharing creates the second kind of communities that Carey (1993) identifies as arising from the growth of cities during the late 19th and early 20th century, the one

formed by imaginative Diaspora—cosmopolitans, and the new professionals who lived in the imaginative worlds of politics, art, fashion, medicine, law and so forth. These diasporic groups were twisted and knotted into one another within urban life. They were given form by the symbolic interactions of the city and the ecology of media, who reported on and defined these groups to one another, fostered and intensified antagonisms among them, and sought forms of mutual accommodation. (p.178)

Such a formation is recurring in the discourse within CMC and without it, in the conversations its participants have on-line, and off, and in the media coverage of electronic communication, electronic communities, and virtual reality (Jones, 1995).

Harasim (1993c) maintains that computer-mediated communication allows us to customize our social contacts from fragmented communities. Social communication has been found a primary component of computer-mediated communication (Jones, 1995). CMC not only structures social relations, it is the space within which the relations occur and the tool that individuals use to enter that space.
It is more than the context within which social relations occur. Virtual communities are commented on and imaginatively constructed by symbolic processes initiated and maintained by individuals and groups (Jones, 1995, p. 16).

There are many contradictions and problems embodied in CMC. On the one hand, it appears to foster community, at least the sense of community, among its users. On the other hand, it embodies the impersonal communication of the computer and of the written word. Can CMC be understood to build communities and form a part of the conduct of public life, as other forms of communication seem to, or does CMC problematize our very notions of community and public life?

Several authors, most notably Beniger (1987), have written about pseudo-community. For Beniger, a pseudo-community is one in which impersonal associations constitute simulated personalized communication, which he calls a “hybrid of interpersonal and mass communication” (p. 369). His criticisms on pseudo-community center on the insincerity (or inauthenticity) of communication that it represents and the goals toward which that communication may be directed (Jones, 1995, p. 24). CMC may yet be the clearest evidence of Beniger’s pseudo-community, part of the “reversal of a centuries-old trend from organic community--based on interpersonal relationships--to impersonal association integrated by mass means” (Beniger, 1987, p. 369).

In short, whatever it might be, i.e., real community, pseudo-community, or something entirely new in the realm of social contracts, virtual community is in part a response to the hunger for community that has followed the disintegration of traditional communities around the world.

Discussion

The world today is undergoing great changes and globalization. Globalization is the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such
a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (Giddens, 1990). The globalization process is having a great impact on the society in the United States and many other countries. One aspect is that the society is more divergent than ever before. As Carey (1993) points out, existing patterns of communications and social relations are displaced and existing structures of community life dissolved under the impact of new forms of communication technology and yet another phase of capitalist expansion.

The need for human beings to communicate and develop new tools to do so forms the history of civilization and culture. The social and intellectual isolation that characterized human history has only been reduced with the advent of new communication technologies, from the printing press to the telegraph, newspapers, the telephone, radio and television, and now increasingly, global computer networks. Computer networks are recent developments and immediately were adopted by people for human communication and adapted into various “networlds”--new spaces for social, work, and educational interaction.

Internet-based news media give people the ability to create news spaces for a broad range of activities that overlap and intertwine. These spaces include (1) communication spaces for scholarly activity, personal or group communication, and discussion groups (e.g., USENET), and (2) information spaces for the dissemination and retrieval of network-based information on a wide range of human activities and knowledge (e.g., WWW, Gopher) (December, 1995).

As occurring on the Internet, for the most part, activity in these spaces is neither centrally coordinated nor directed. We are gradually engaging in a decrease of leader-centered communication. Moreover, the spaces themselves are multi-dimensional. They cannot be completely characterized by the technical details of network infrastructure or computer software and hardware alone. These spaces encompass a broad range of human and social dimensions, including the psychological,
linguistic, cultural, and political dimensions of the experience. Communication in these spaces also takes place in a variety of contexts—ranging from individual perception of information to dyads of interaction, group communication, community formation, and societal or global communication (e.g., December, 1995).

Global network-based, computer-mediated communication does generate unique social consequences. For some, CMC seems to promote dehumanizing relationships because human communication is reduced to a purely verbal level and becomes more task-oriented and highly efficient. For others, CMC creates a new field of social science involving new time and space relationships and new patterns of human relationships. CMC offers a new place for individuals to meet and promises new forms of community.
The aim of this chapter is to synthesize various approaches to community, nation, culture, and new communication technologies examined in the previous chapters, and to develop a theoretical framework about computer-mediated communication, especially computer network-based news media, and community-building. Focused propositions are advanced to guide the latter case study in the following chapters. The case study was intended to demonstrate the formation of a new type of community as the consequence of the use of a new kind of communication technology--computer network-based news media.

In this chapter, first, several theoretical approaches to community and news media are synthesized. Second, a conceptualization of computer-mediated communication and community-building is proposed. Third, several assumptions and detailed research questions for the case study in the latter chapters are presented.

Media, Community, and Social Construction of Reality

As reviewed in Chapter 2, in contemporary society, traditional communities are increasingly fragmented because of the social, economic, and cultural changes. In Jensen's words (1990), traditional life "was marked by face-to-face, intimate relationships among friends, while modern life is characterized by distant, impersonal contact among strangers. Communities are defined as shared, close, and intimate, while societies are defined as separate, distanced, and anonymous" (p. 71). Virtual communities facilitated by computer-mediated communication are in part a response to
the hunger for community that has followed the disintegration of traditional communities around the world.

Many studies have shown that the boundaries of a community are not determined by geographical confines. In Chen's words (1993), concrete walls, state lines, oceans, or mountains do not prohibit the formation of communities. By using a common language—sending and receiving information through the use of significant symbols—people of different regions, nations, or cultures can form a community. For instance, an effective singer is able to enter into the attitudes of the group and make her own experience common to all so that others can enter into this form of communication through her (Chen, 1993).

As Chapter 5 shows, because of the rapid development of new communication and information technologies, today's society becomes more and more mediated and virtual. Critical to the discussion surrounding the information superhighway is the promise of a renewed sense of community and, in many instances, new types and formations of community (Jones, 1995). Various globalized communities facilitated by computer networks and other new media are among the new types of community in the information age.

Many social scientists forcefully argue that communication technologies shape social relations. Various print and electronic media are considered not just as a tool, but at once technology, medium, and engine of social relations. In fact, various computer network-based media are the space within which social relations occur and the tool that individuals use to enter that space. As people increasingly use computers, a new form of community—virtual community—based solely on the electronic messages transmitted among its members, has been rapidly developed in many parts of the world. However, virtual communities do not replace local face-to-face communities. They coexist in many societies. In fact, computer network-based news media such as electronic newspapers could not only serve readers or viewers globally but also serve
up the unique features within small locales. Many important community services could be provided by these new media.

Social scientists have often claimed that reality is socially constructed (e.g., Berger & Luchmann, 1967) and that the reality people perceive is the product of communication in everyday life (e.g., McLeod & Chaffee, 1972). Social reality is created when an individual gives information received through a mediated form of communication the same relative importance as that individual’s direct observation of physical reality. This social reality then becomes part and parcel of that individual’s culture. Every day, one receives information both through personal physical reception and technologically mediated reception. For example, this individual may have face-to-face conversation with other individuals or technologically mediated conversation (e.g., telephone, computer) with others. A telephone or computer conversation is a technologically mediated reality. In today’s world, people cannot communicate with others without the technology that makes it possible. Communication technologies are examples of what McLuhan (1965) called “extensions” of the human beings. Besides face-to-face communication, textual, radio, television, computer-mediated communications make up a large amount of human communication activities.

News organizations select the salient information about the outside world from many available sources and deliver it daily to consumers in the form of news. Media consumers subjectively interpret this news and tend to construct a meaningful image about the outside world based on this information.

Network-Based News Media and Globalized Communities: A Theoretical Framework

As Jones (1995) points out, computer-mediated communication (CMC) facilitates the creation and maintenance of various communities: Global, local, and everything in between. The use of computer technologies could remove the temporal, spatial, and social boundaries which separate people. The following propositions on
computer network-based news media (CNBNM) and globalized community building are suggested:

**Proposition 1**: Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) help to create and sustain a globalized community by breaking the geographical isolation of members of the community.

As reviewed in Chapter 2, a territorially based community represents only one type of community. The process of community building has similarities to the search for nationalism in an emerging nation. Today national borders are becoming less significant as transnational activities move outside a single state to an interstate environment (e.g., Hobsbawm, 1990; Sasses, 1994). The new phenomenon, "deterritorialization," applies to many examples of transnational activities and movements, which increasingly operates in ways that transcend specific territorial boundaries and identities. In fact, the loosening of the bonds between people and territories has called into question the traditional definitions of the community and state. Various globalized communities are emerging.

New communication technologies, especially global computer networks, entail an unparalleled increase in proximity, the breakdown of isolation. The fusion of computers and telecommunication over the past twenty years has created a worldwide web of computer networks. These networks, initially established for transferring data, have been adopted by private individuals who want to communicate with each other. More and more people connect with one another on the Internet and can really interact with the whole world. They want to communicate with each other on the basis of shared interests, not merely shared geography.

As showed in Chapter 5, the range and speed of computer networks has increased at a phenomenal rage, reaching tens of millions of personal computer users at home and at work, across globally connected telephone lines. Tools such as electronic mail, bulletin boards, and World Wide Web facilitate group communication
across time and space. Groups can now socialize and work together regardless of different geographical locations or schedules. Computer network-based news media, such as various electronic newspapers and magazines, can reach their readers globally. However, computer-mediated communication does not replace other forms of human communication. It increases the range of human connectedness and the number of ways in which people are able to make contact with each others. In short, it brings the breakdown of geographical isolation—allowing members of a community in widespread areas to remain in contact.

It would seem we now have our global village not just via computer networks but by way of the many media of communication ever present. As Jones (1995) said, everywhere we go we can join in that community with a cellular telephone, a modem, or a satellite dish. However, connection does not inherently make for community, nor does it lead to any necessary exchanges of information, meaning and sense-making at all.

**Proposition 2:** Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) help to create and sustain a globalized community by enabling the community members to engage in interactive (two-way) communication.

Chapter 5 demonstrates that computer network-based news media (CNBNM) such as on-line newspapers, magazines, or information servers provide new ways to meet people. Many on-line newspapers have popular chat areas where readers can converse with writers and editors. Posting a comment or question in a computer network invites response and feedback, often generating consultation and multiple perspectives on a topic. In fact, a computer network user receives not only a response to his or her message but in the process meets someone with similar interests (Harasim, 1993a; Jones, 1995).

Group interactivity is widely considered as the basis for a community. In a globalized community on computer networks, people can respond, probe, or elaborate
on any piece of information that is posted. Different perspectives on an issue are generated and shared; the multilogue of the networld can provide a fuller picture. Moreover, group discussion and shared experience are powerful forces toward creating broad understanding.

The distributed and interconnected nature of computer network-based news media (CNBNM), such as computer bulletin board systems, means that the ability to broadcast belongs to any participant in the network. Therefore by allowing for asynchronous text-based conversation, CNBNM facilitate thoughtful consideration and review of messages and careful formulation of responses. In addition, CNBNM enable users to observe each other's contributions, enhancing group learning and group maintenance.

**Proposition 3:** Computer network based news media (CNBNM) help to create and sustain a globalized community by functioning as a reservoir of information for the community.

What most distinguishes the electronic newspaper from the traditional newspaper is the ability to direct readers to vast amounts of information (OtaOnline, 1995). The new forms of computer-mediated communication, such as the World Wide Web (WWW), can provide multimedia information delivery including texts, graphics, and audio and video presentations. All this information can be preserved and stored on the computer and be reread and reflected upon.

As a graphical representation of Internet resources based on the "hypertext" concept, WWW allows its readers to jump to any point in a presentation or view graphics, listen to sounds, or see movies as an integral part of the viewing experience. On the Internet, more and more organizations and individuals are constructing hypertext presentations, or "pages," which everyone may view using a WWW "browser," an application which retrieves and displays hypertext located elsewhere on
the Internet. Global networks provide links to many trusted sources and to new contacts.

As Cameron & Curtin (1995) point out, on-line newspapers serve as gateways to information beyond the copy offered by the traditional newspaper. Readers can or soon will be able to jump from most electronic newspapers to electronic versions of the “yellow pages,” to chat groups on-line discussing special topics, to wire and news release services, to home shopping. Access is also available to files in the newspaper’s archive, related stories on a topic, stories buried in potentially vast electronic back pages, stories in other papers, and to newspaper data bases such as clip files, survey data, and reporters' notes (Reilly, 1993). In addition, electronic newspapers may afford access to reporters and editors who receive electronic mail from readers and are charged with responding appropriately.

In Lapham's view (1995), the advantage of electronic newspapers seems to be listening to the audience and creating innovative opportunities for ongoing communication. For instance, “StarNet” of the Arizona Daily Star offers a comprehensive mix of features and services including Internet access, news from the paper edition, local discussion groups, and access to the paper’s archives. The Star is attempting to become an electronic home base for its readers and will give nonprofit organizations (with a budget of less than $1 million dollars) space on their service to publish local newsletters (Lapham, 1995). Therefore, a new form of CMC such as the on-line newspaper assists in community development by functioning as the community’s electronic publishing hub or reservoir of information.

Proposition 4: Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) help to create and sustain a globalized community by providing the community members information on demand.

As examined in Chapter 2, communities are actively created and maintained by their members as long as they meet the needs of their members. News media have
potential to create a broad range of new forms of content that might be used within communities to acculturate members. Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) raise questions different from those of the conventional mass media such as television, radio, newspapers, and magazines. While an information retrieval system such as the on-line newspaper is not the sole format for the coming age, it is the prototype of what is becoming increasingly important. One chief characteristic of these new media is that they provide diverse material on demand to individuals. They also allow for fragmentation of the mass audience and in some cases even for customized or individualized communication. It seems that, in the future, the relevant research question will focus on the way the audience demands rather than what CNBNM are technically capable of delivering (Mowlana, 1994). In short, CNBNM assist in globalized community building by meeting the needs of the community members. Various community services are provided by these new media—News, entertainment, local discussion, electronic shopping, the archives of the news service, and access to Internet, etc.

Information on demand is a new feature that the computer network-based news media (CNBNM) are able to provide. As the sheer volume of information continues to increase, people automatically recoil from the overload. Increasingly, they are dealing with it by using on-line technology to make contact with only the specific topics that they request (The Nieman Foundation, 1994). Therefore, CNBNM can not only direct readers to vast amounts of information but also help them to overcome this information burden.

Today various forms of customized information, such as personalized news, is available through electronic newspapers (Rosenberg, 1993). Other custom features include advertisements tailored to the user's demographics or triggered by previous activity on-line. A more mundane but popular customization is the custom search of classifieds (Cameron & Curtin, 1995).
The unique or enhanced elements of content in on-line newspapers are wide-ranging. For example, management at Access Atlanta (on-line version of the Atlanta Journal and Constitution) believes users want highly localized news such as school menus and a Parent-Teacher Association newsletter (Cameron & Curtin, 1995).

Given the potentially unlimited newshole, this depth of localization is feasible for on-line services; given search capabilities, such information can be readily accessed.

**Proposition 5:** Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) help to create and sustain a globalized community by constructing a distinct culture for the community.

CNBNM help to articulate and give identity to members of various globalized communities—e.g., biological, sociological, psychological, and aesthetic groupings—that have begun to emerge as a result of the decline of traditional groupings and the increase of the so-called postmodern environments (e.g., Mowlana, 1994).

As Chapters 2-3 showed, the process of community building has similarities to the search for nationalism in an emerging nation, where the emphasis on expressive content and symbols of identification can outrun actual institution building and social change. Historically, mass media created entirely new groups in the United States by providing collective symbols that transcended space, time, and culture (Carey, 1993). While communities can emerge from and exist within computer-linked groups, the technical linkage of electronic personae is not sufficient to create a community. The feeling of "fellowship and commonality" (Carey, 1989, p. 18) among its members through computer networks constitutes the core of a virtual community. Collective symbols, among other things, seem to be able to generate such feelings of fellowship and commonality. Jones (1995) maintains that virtual communities are imaginatively constructed by symbolic processes initiated and maintained by individuals and groups.

Community should not only be described in terms of institutions and components, but also be recognized as a symbol to which its various adherents impute
their own meanings (e.g., A. Cohen, 1985). People can use the symbol, express their co-membership of the same community, yet assimilate it to the idiosyncrasies of their own experiences and personalities. In fact, the symbolic expression of community increases in importance as the actual geo-social structural boundaries of the community are undermined, blurred, or weakened as the consequence of social change. Since the boundaries are inherently oppositional, almost any matter of perceived difference between the community and the outside world can be rendered symbolically as a resource of its boundary. The symbolic nature of the opposition means that people can think themselves into difference.

As reviewed in Chapter 4, culture is a process of symbolic construction through social interaction. Culture can be borrowed, blended, rediscovered, and reinterpreted. People become most sensitive to their own culture when they stand at its boundaries, when they encounter other cultures, or when they become aware of other ways of doing things (A. Cohen, 1985). Cultural construction and reconstruction are ongoing group tasks in which new and renovated symbols, activities, and materials are continually being added to and removed from existing repertories. Nagel (1994a) maintains that various cultural construction techniques serve an important collective end. They aid in the construction of community when they act to define the boundaries of collective identity, establish membership criteria, generate a shared symbolic vocabulary, and define a common purpose.

Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) assist in creating and sustaining a community by making the meaning possible among its users. They are able to create a broad range of new forms of content that could be used within communities to acculturate members (Davis & Pucket, 1992). Such content would facilitate symbolic acculturation, in which individual desires for meaning are met at the same time institutional structures are elaborated and enhanced. The new electronic media give the participants a sense of belonging.
CNBNM help to create and sustain a new community by providing a channel for cultural exchange, negotiation, and construction. They assist in providing a channel for constructing a new group culture and a group memory. Symbols, icons, signs, and all other elements that go to make up a culture come to have meaning to an individual because of his or her past life experiences, and everything is interpreted through various filters such as CNBNM. Many studies (e.g., Naficy, 1994) demonstrate that the audiences are actively engaged in the social construction of the messages they receive. CNBNM help to reconstruct traditional cultural narratives and identities into new modes more in tune with community members’ new social environment. The media also reinforce the sense of ethnicity, which provides a fellowship of identity among the community members. In short, CNBNM make the artificiality of globalized communities possible.

**Proposition 6**: Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) help to create and sustain a globalized community by facilitating the growth of a public sphere in the community.

As discussed in Chapter 3, public sphere could be defined at the community, national, and international levels. It refers to the dimension of social action, cultural institutions, and collective decision making that affects all people in the defined areas and engages the interests of all people in the defined areas (White, 1994). By contrast with this common, public sphere, the “particular” spheres could refer to the interests of limited sectors of society: Different occupational or economic groups, different social classes and statues, religious or ethnic interests, regions, and local communities. All private and particular interests have a public dimension, and the public sphere must respect these particular interests. In fact, each of the particularistic groupings has its own internal public sphere (White, 1994).

A nation can be said to exist insofar as it has a core of social interaction that is truly common and public. The creation of the institutions and culture of a public
sphere has been a paramount task for the new nations. As national boundaries were drawn, people of different regional linguistic and cultural differences, divisions of caste and class, traditions of religious sectarianism, and deep familial, tribal identities found that they had to work together as a united people. Before these societies often had been broken up into small self-subsistent economic units, each with its own corporate status and history, the challenge was to create a national economic system and an common political decision-making and service system that would incorporate and link these subsidiary units, while at the same time it respected their particularistic interests. Moreover, this common sphere was to be one of ever-improving services to an advancing quality of life, which requires an equitable advance in contribution from all sectors (White, 1994).

Communication plays a vital role in the creation of a public sphere at community, national, and international levels. The most evident is the need for a physical structure of communication. There also had to be a definition of what public information is, that is, information that is significant for expressing the common interest and for participating in the debate about this common interest. The most difficult question has been finding some combination of sectorial exchange networks, interests, cultures, or some entirely suprasectorial invention that subsumes most of the other communication issues and provides an acceptable common communication network (White, 1994, p. 252).

New communication technologies such as CNBNM could serve as an effective communication network for the globalized communities. They could facilitate and reinforce the tendencies toward the community and public interest among the community. Through CNBNM, a globalized community could be institutionalized, public information is defined and debated, and collective decision making that affects all people in the community takes place. The diversity of content has been identified as a central component of public sphere (Croteau et al., 1996). CNBNM could
enhance a public sphere in the community by providing diverse content to the community members. CNBNM could also act as a mechanism which seeks to maintain a community consensus through emphasizing the common values rather than the solution of conflicting values.

Proposition 7: Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) reduce the role of a single leader or professional as a gatekeeper and regulator, and utilize more effectively the resources of members of globalized communities.

As examined in Chapter 5, computer-mediated communication (CMC) reduces the role of a single leader as a gatekeeper and regulator in business setting (e.g., Chesebro & Bonsall, 1989). Therefore CNBNM enable community leaders to become coordinators of the community. It might be reasonably established that CNBNM more effectively utilize the resources of all participants.

In order to evaluate the proposed theoretical framework about computer mediated communication and the development of globalized community, this writer conducted a case study about the role of the China News Digest on the creation and maintenance of the overseas Chinese scholarly community, which is reported in the following three chapters. Before we get into the following research, several assumptions about the case study should be pointed out:

(1) By human nature, people seek social contacts, connection, and community by whatever means it is available. Therefore, creating and maintaining community has traditionally been valued as a commendable goal (Jones, 1995).

(2) The emergence of globalization and transnationalism is facilitated by the major recent technological leaps in communication media that put the world in much more immediate interaction technologically as well as facilitate transitional processes.

(3) News could be considered as a social construction of reality and a significant cultural form.
The case study focuses on the organization and content of the China News Digest (CND), a computer network-based news and information service. Several questions about CND were explored:

(1) Questions concerning the overseas Chinese scholarly community: While various globalized communities have begun to emerge as a result of the decline of traditional groupings and the increase of the so-called postmodern environment, under what conditions does this globalized community, that of overseas Chinese students and scholars, develop?

(2) Questions concerning the organization of the China News Digest: How has CND developed in the past few years? How does CND operate? What groups produce such work? Who are the readers? How does CND help to create and maintain the overseas Chinese scholarly community?

(3) Questions concerning CND content: What content does CND offer to the overseas Chinese students and scholars? How does CND construct a special culture—the culture of overseas Chinese students and scholars? How does CND enhance a public sphere in the overseas Chinese scholarly community?

The above questions are explored in the following three chapters.
CHAPTER 7
THE OVERSEAS CHINESE SCHOLARLY COMMUNITY

As discussed in Chapter 2, various globalized communities (groupings) have begun to emerge as a result of the decline of traditional groupings and the increase of the so-called postmodern environment. The overseas Chinese scholarly community is one of such globalized communities.

The overseas Chinese scholarly community in this study refers to the community composed of students, scholars, and professionals from the People's Republic of China. Since China started to implement its open-door policy and economic reforms in 1979, about 250,000 Chinese students and scholars have gone outside mainland China for academic training and research. About one third of them have returned to China after finishing their study and research ("News of the week," 1996). For those who remain outside China, most are engaged in advanced study or scientific research in universities or research laboratories, or working as professionals in various industries or businesses in North America, West Europe, Japan, and Australia. Increasing numbers of Chinese scholars are working in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia. Overseas Chinese students have also been found in many other countries, e.g., Brazil, East Europe, Russia, and Spain (CND, 1995a). This is a well-educated group with a majority being scientists and engineers. Many members of this community have been active in promoting democracy and human rights in China, academic exchanges with their colleagues in mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, and providing various community services to their fellow Chinese (e.g., Fu, 1995; Lin, 1994).
There are many communication mechanisms among members of the overseas Chinese scholarly community. For example, traditional mass media such as newspapers and magazines exist in many overseas Chinese communities in major world cities (e.g., Ma, 1989). Furthermore, global computer networks link Chinese students and scholars (CSS) together no matter whether they are in a university in Australia, a research institute in Finland, or a scientific research lab in the United States (Lu, 1995; Wu, 1995).

This chapter begins with a discussion of the global distribution of overseas Chinese. Chinese students and scholars abroad since 1979 and the development of their community are reviewed. Some communication mechanisms among this community including traditional media and computer network-based media are further discussed.

The Global Distribution of Overseas Chinese

Migration to faraway geographical regions has resulted in the distribution of the Chinese people to practically every country of the world (Wang, 1993). As of 1990, about 37 million overseas Chinese, defined as individuals with Chinese ancestry living outside the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan, are residents in 136 countries or regions. Over 32 million of them are in Asia, primarily in Indonesia, Thailand, Hong Kong and Malaysia. The number of Chinese residing in each part of Asia is inversely related to the distance of the country from Canton (Poston, Mar, & Yu, 1994). Chinese in foreign countries generally live in largely populated countries (See Table 3).

According to Gungwu Wang (1991), four major patterns of Chinese migration have occurred over the past two centuries. The first is the Huashang (Chinese trader) pattern, which is characterized by merchants and artisans and their colleagues and members of their extended families, going abroad and eventually setting up businesses.
This has been the dominant pattern in the growth of Chinese emigration to other Asian countries, particularly Southeast Asia before 1850.

Table 3. Ten Countries with the Largest Overseas Chinese Population and Percentage of World Total of Overseas Chinese, Circa 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population (millions)</th>
<th>Percentage of the total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>7.31</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>5.68</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total (N=136) 36.76 99%

(Source: Poston, Mao, & Yu, 1994, pp. 634-637).

Second is the Huagong (Chinese coolie) pattern, which occurred from about the 1850s through the 1920s, when Chinese migrated to North America and Australia. This migration involved "coolie trade" in gold mining and railway building.

Third is the Huaqiao (Chinese sojourner) pattern. Although this pattern included all types of migrants, it was mostly comprised of well-educated professionals. This pattern predominated after the fall of imperial China in 1911 and was strongly tied to feelings of nationalism. Education was largely recognized as a deep commitment to promote Chinese culture and national salvation among overseas Chinese.

The fourth pattern is the Huayi (Chinese descent), which has been prevalent since the 1950s. The pattern involves persons of Chinese descent, Huayi, in one
foreign county migrating or remigrating to another foreign country. An example is the Chinese in Southeast Asia who migrated to Western Europe in recent decades. Of the four major patterns, the Huashang (Chinese trader) is the most elementary and has been occurring for the longest time. Much of today's global migration of Chinese is of the Huashang type (Wang, 1991, pp. 5-12).

Although the overseas Chinese in the early 1990s lived in almost all parts of the world, their distribution was uneven. They were a small minority in most countries. More than 90 percent lived in Asia, and over 80 percent of the overseas Chinese who lived outside Asia resided in the more developed countries (Poston, Mao, & Yu, 1994).

Mainland Chinese Students and Scholars Abroad

China started to send students to the West as early as the mid-19th century. The first overseas Chinese student graduated from Yale in 1863 (Hayhoe, 1989). At the turn of the 20th century and thereafter, large numbers of Chinese students went abroad to study science, technology, and social thought in Japan, Europe, and the United States. Among them were Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek, who was a military student in Japan in the early 1900s, and Communist leaders Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, who went to France for work and study in 1920s and joined the Communist Party there. After Communists took power in the mainland in 1949, China was allied with Soviet Union (USSR) and totally isolated from the West. During the 1950s, more than 11,000 students and about the same amount of engineers, technicians, and scientists were sent to USSR and the East European countries for study and training (Lofstedt, 1980).

In 1979, Deng Xiaoping began to launch his "open door" to the West and his economic reform policy, China again started to send students to the West in an even larger scale. Since then about 250,000 students and scholars have gone to North
America, West Europe, Japan, and Australia for academic training and research. Over 80,000 have returned to China and facilitated the fast economic and technological development of China in the last decade ("News of the Week," 1996). Others have stayed overseas, contributing to academic inquiry, technological achievement, and commercial development in the host countries, and, in the process, beginning to change the landscape of overseas Chinese communities (Broaded, 1993; Wang, 1995).

**Chinese Students and Scholars in the United States**

Chinese students and scholars (CSS) in the United States have been the largest and the most active group in the overseas Chinese scholarly community. They have also dominated the community of the people from mainland China in America. This is a result of a piece of history particular to Chinese in the United States.

Immigrants from China were not late-comers in the America compared with East and South European immigrants. In the 19th century a large number of Chinese came to the United States and made contributions in building the transcontinental railroad and agriculture on the West Coast. It was the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 and other racial discrimination that virtually strangled the growth of the Chinese American community for more than 80 years (e.g., Hsu, 1971; Zhou, 1992). Since the beginning of this century, large numbers of Chinese students have come to the United States for study. Their community was essentially separated from the descendants of the early Chinese immigrants, because they were not allowed to work or stay. The Chinese community was shattered within and enclosed without. It was only after the 1965 immigration reform that the Chinese community in the United States started to grow like other ethnic groups. However, mainland China was still closed by itself at that time. So the first generation of new immigrants were mostly students from Taiwan and Hong Kong (Lin, 1994).
In January 1979, China started its economic reform and established its formal diplomatic relationship with the United States. This change of domestic politics and international relations brought a dramatic number of mainland Chinese students to the West, especially the United States. The number rose from almost zero in 1978 to 60,000 in 1988 in the Western countries, including 93% in the United States (Orleans, 1988, p. 112). During 1987-88 academic year, the number of mainland Chinese students in America increased by 25.7%, which was the fastest growth rate among all foreign students (Institute for International Education, 1988). They became one of the largest foreign student groups in the United States, second only to students from Taiwan. This trend continued after the military crackdown on student demonstrations in Beijing in June 1989, despite the widespread fear that the Chinese authorities might stop it (Zhao & Xie, 1991, p. 1). In the 1988-89 academic year, the number of PRC students in U.S. colleges increased, surpassing the number of Taiwanese students. Since then mainland Chinese students continue to be the largest national group among foreign students in the United States (Lin, 1994).

The United States is the largest recipient of foreign student inflow in the world. The number of foreign students in the United States has increased virtually every year since the mid-1950s, and it has doubled every decade. The total rose from 34,000 in 1955 to 450,000 in 1993. Today the United States is accommodating one-third of all individuals studying outside their native lands. More than 1 in 10 of all foreign students in the United States come from mainland China. It has been estimated that there are 80,000 mainland Chinese students, scholars, and professionals presently living in the United States (Lin, 1994).

The composition of the community of people from mainland China in the United States has been changed in the past several years. The first generation that arrived after 1979 consisted mostly of students and visiting scholars. Since 1989, visiting scholars with public funds from China have ceased to be a significant portion
in terms of numbers. A large number of students stayed in academic areas or government research institutions after acquiring advanced degrees and working as postdoctoral researchers and faculty members; they constitute the "scholar group" in the new sense. More students graduate and enter the American workforce in scientific and professional fields (Luo, 1995).

However, graduate students are still the major force in the overseas Chinese scholarly community. A 1994 survey conducted by Xinshu Zhao shows that a typical Chinese student studying in the United States today is likely to be a 29-33-year-old childless husband pursuing a doctoral degree in the natural sciences or in engineering; he holds an F-1 student visa (rather than a J-1 for a visiting scholar) and lives with his wife. He has graduated from one of the most prestigious universities in China and was a college teacher prior to his departure. Once he finishes his studies, he is likely to seek employment in the United States or other Western countries. This is because he does not trust his government to let him move freely in and out of the country, and he values the opportunities to compete that are available to him in the West, but not yet in China. Privately he cherishes the thought of returning to his homeland in the not-so-distant future as a visiting professor, a consultant, or even as a permanent resident (Lin, 1994).

Community Organizations

The major grassroots organizations of overseas mainland Chinese students and scholars in the West are Chinese students and scholars associations (CSSA) at colleges, universities, and research institutes (Luo, 1995). Those organizations are the most dynamic groups of the community and are the source of new energy and new ideas. Their national organizations include the Independent Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars (IFCSS) in the United States and similar organizations in other
Western countries such as Canada, Germany, Britain, Australia, France, Norway, and Japan (CND, 1996b).

In recent years student organizations have been joined by "professional" associations in the overseas Chinese communities. Those have been established usually around major cities to accommodate the needs for those who have left schools. The early ones were mainly academic societies, and some of them have been established for over a decade. The fast growth came after 1990, when those associations acquired the purpose of promoting business opportunities for their members and resonating with the economic boom of China since 1992 (Luo, 1995). There have emerged many organizations with diverse objectives, such as alumni associations, hometown associations, organizations for cultural activities, and Chinese language and culture schools (CND, 1996b).

Corresponding to this change in the community composition is the change in the mode of community organizational development. When student associations were the only grassroots organizations, they organized their activities without much cooperation with people outside campuses. Now, with an increasing number of professional associations, the new trend is for local student and professional associations to share more activities (Luo, 1995). The sharing activity often happens around large urban areas and in many mid-sized cities where major universities and high-tech industries exist. Responding to this trend, many student associations around large cities have formed regional organizations or coordinating networks among themselves. By joining together with professional or other groups in the overseas Chinese communities, many student associations have connections to reach beyond academic horizons, and are able to provide more and better services to their members.
Media in the Overseas Chinese Scholarly Community

Traditional mass media available to overseas Chinese students and scholars vary according to different locations. In fact, mass media serving overseas Chinese communities have existed for over a century. For example, the first Chinese weekly newspaper in the United States started in 1854 (Lo, 1971). For most cities with a large number of Chinese immigrants, Chinese-language newspapers and magazines are available (e.g., Chang, 1983). The largest such daily in America is the Taiwan-supported World Journal. Its headquarters is in New York City and it reports news from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China. News is transmitted via satellite from Hong Kong and Taiwan to provide complete news coverage (Ma, 1989). Chinese-language radio and TV stations are also operating in cities such as New York City, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. In addition, with a satellite dish, people in the United States, no matter where they live, can receive satellite-transmitted television programs over ten hours every day from mainland China and Taiwan ("China's satellite television . . .", 1993).

As demonstrated by some researchers, the acculturation functions of overseas Chinese-language media include (a) separation: maintaining the Chinese cultural identity and disseminating information about the home countries; (b) integration: informing Chinese immigrants about local and national news and helping the immigrants fit into the host society; and (c) assimilation: enabling the Chinese to adopt host countries' values, customs, and behaviors (e.g., Chang, 1983).

However, existing overseas Chinese mass media cannot meet the need of students and scholars from mainland China. Information about their homeland and their overseas daily life is scarce. For those Chinese newspapers published in major cities in the West, news and information about mainland China usually occupies only about one page for each issue. Those political magazines published by overseas Chinese dissidents do not carry much information concerning the daily life of most
Chinese students abroad either. The Chinese official newspaper *People's Daily*, while it is available at many universities, does not have much trust among overseas Chinese students (Wu, 1995).

During the past six years or so, with the help of the emerging computer technology and network development, Chinese students and scholars in the Western countries have developed their own press on the Internet, including news services, literary journals, informal newsletters, discussion forums, and databases for Chinese language materials (Liu, 1996). Today such on-line publications reach thousands of readers and become an important part of the overseas Chinese scholarly community.

Electronic media run by expatriate Chinese students and scholars on Internet include both English and Chinese language publications. The most prominent among the English publications are CND news services and several others such as Chinese Community Forums.

**China News Digest (CND) news service.** This service was set up by Chinese students and scholars in North America after the Tiananmen student movement of 1989. It collects stories about China and overseas Chinese communities from many sources and distributes them in electronic newsletter form to subscribers (CND, 1996a). It is considered by many as one of the most successful electronic newsletters on the Internet and is among the most popular Internet sites in the world (Radin, 1995; Tempest, 1995). Detailed discussion of CND is held in the next two chapters.

**The Chinese Community Forum (CCF).** This is an electronic weekly dedicated to exchange of viewpoints and in-depth analyses of issues and ideas concerning Chinese students, scholars, and professionals in the West. Discussions are moderated by the Editorial Board, a group of volunteers in the United States. The first issue of CCF was published in September 1993. Besides the weekly edition, CCF has also been run irregular weekend and occasional special editions to deal with special issues and contributions. Each issue of the regular weekly edition has a particular theme or
themes. Many columns have been carried out in the CCF such as "Voices from Campuses," "China Watch," "Chinese Culture and Tradition," "Community and Society," "Life in a Foreign Land," "Amateur Storytellers," "Inter-Racial Dating/Marriage," and "Better Your English" (EBCCF, 1995).

Chinese-language publications run by overseas Chinese students on Internet include newsletters and magazines at local, national/regional, and global levels. The majority of them are local/campus newsletters and magazines, such as Bu Fa Luo Ren (Chinese in Buffalo), a bimonthly of CSS at the State University of New York at Buffalo, and Li Zi Tong Xun (Leeds newsletter), a bimonthly of CSS at Leeds University in Britain (Lu, 1995; Liu, 1996).

On-line magazines run by CSS national organizations include biweekly Hua De Tong Xun (newsletter for Chinese in Germany), bimonthly Mei Ren Yu in Denmark, Yu Jin Xiang (tulip) in Netherlands, and monthly Tong Bei Feng (Northeast Wind) in Japan (Lu, 1995; Liu, 1996).

On-line magazines targeting globally-distributed Chinese students and scholars include Hua Xia Wen Zai, a weekly run by the China News Digest, and Fong Hua Yian (Maple Garden) which is run by CSS in Canada and publishes three issues a month. These magazines cover news updates, entertainment, literature, science and technology (Lu, 1995; Liu, 1996).

Since 1994, an increasing number of Chinese-language newspapers and magazines in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and other parts of the world have been putting their publications on-line. For examples, Sing Tao Daily and Ming Pao daily in Hong Kong, China Times daily in Taiwan, and Lian He Zao Bao daily in Singapore have published their electronic editions and distributed them via Internet (Sing Tao Electronic Daily, 1996; Ming Pao Daily News, 1996; China Times Web Home Page, 1996; Lian He Zao Bao, 1996). The explosion of China and China-related information
on Internet will have enormous implications for the overseas Chinese scholarly community.

**Internet in China**

While those on-line Chinese or English-language publications run by overseas CSS are available to their global readers, an increasing number of readers in mainland China gain access to Internet. Susan Horvath, researcher in Merit Network—an Ann Arbor, Michigan, company that monitors international Internet traffic—reports that users in China is one of the world's fastest-growing Internet user groups, transmitting more than 12 billion bytes of data in January 1995 after starting at zero in early 1993 (Tempest, 1995). Significantly, Horvath noted that the number of bytes coming into China from the outside (9.3 billion bytes) in January far exceeded those going out (3.27 billion bytes). That means people in China, mostly university scholars and scientists, are already taking full advantage of a new gateway to Western databanks.

Along with the continued growth of economy and international trade, the demand for high speed and multi-function communication has grown stronger. Thus the Chinese government has paid much attention to the construction of an information infrastructure. The first direct link from mainland China to the Internet was established in 1993 in the Institute of High Energy Physics, Chinese Academy of Science (Zhu, 1995). Since then more people are getting access to Internet (Johnson, & Liu, 1995). China is heavily funding a project to build the non-profit China Education and Research Network (CERNET), which will link the nation's top 100 universities to the Internet by the end of 1996 and will link all 1,090 of them by 2,000. No less than five other Internet-linked networks have also been approved (Zhu, 1995; Johnson & Liu, 1995; Xu, 1996).

China has been the world's fastest-growing PC market in recent years ("Windows 95 Starts up in China 96," 1996). Sales of family-use personal computer
have had a 200 percent increase over the past two years (Sun, 1996). In 1995 about 1.8 million personal computers were bought across the country. Six percent of homes in Beijing have computers. The surging enthusiasm for computers is driven by both rapidly developing applications in personal life and a desire by parents to invest in the education of their children. Computer skills can now be judged through a nationwide computer proficiency test, an official examination first launched by the State Education Commission at the start of 1990s. The pressure of the examination has acted as a catalyst to the purchase motive among millions of "computer illiterates" (Sun, 1996).

Some official media in mainland China are getting into Internet and targeting overseas Chinese and other viewers. The official People's Daily and several other newspapers have published the electronic versions of their papers (People's Daily, 1996; Liu, 1996). The Chinese official Xinhua News Agency started to put its news services on-line in 1995 (China News Service & Agency, 1996). Starting on January 12, 1995, China's Scholars Abroad sponsored by the State Education Commission published its electronic edition on a weekly basis (Liu, 1996). It is the first periodical (weekly) in mainland China distributed via the Internet (Zhu, 1995).

The possibilities of the Internet have also been noticed by overseas Chinese dissident groups and international human rights organizations. China Human Rights Forum, directed by a board composed of Chinese political exiles—including well-known investigative journalist Liu Binyan—is one of several organizations that have established their own Internet addresses to disseminate articles opposing the Beijing authorities (Tempest, 1995). Overseas Chinese dissident publications such as Beijing Spring monthly have also been on the Internet (Beijing Spring, 1996).

The implications of the Internet development in mainland China are not yet clear. It will surely facilitate the modernization process in China and change the way the Chinese people work, live, learn, and communicate with one another. It will provide overseas Chinese closer links with their fellows at home. However, the boom
of Internet on the mainland could also be a serious threat to the Beijing authorities. As Robin Munro, a human rights activist in Hong Kong with Human Rights Watch/Asia, said,

The Internet coming to China obviously opens up major communications possibilities for progressive intellectuals and also for dissidents. . . . The security authorities [in China] are sure to pay increasingly close attention to e-mail use now that the Internet has officially arrived, since they'll be quite aware of the potential it holds for dissidents to network better. (Tempest, 1995)

In fact, the Chinese government has started to regulate the use of Internet, including requiring every Internet account owner to register with the local police department (Xinhua, 1996).

**Summary**

The community of students, scholars, and professionals from mainland China on a global scale has been rapidly developed during the past decade due to an increasing number of mainland Chinese going abroad for academic training. While they reside in many countries, especially in Western Europe, Australia, and Japan, the majority have gone to North America. While grassroots organizations such as student associations on campuses continue to develop, professional associations among CSS have mushroomed in recent years. More interaction and cooperation among these groups in urban areas are taking place, aimed at providing better services for their members.

While there is a diversity of media among the community of overseas Chinese students and scholars, the most effective way of information dissemination and communication among members of this highly educated group is through computer networks. While traditional Chinese newspapers are much needed, emerging new Internet-based media are playing a more important role in providing China and Chinese related news and linking overseas CSS together. New electronic media such as China
News Digest illustrate the fact that a global computer network serves as a community for many people not of common location but of common interest, in which the people with whom one interacts most strongly are selected more by commonality of interests and goals than by geographical proximity.

The most recent development in the overseas Chinese media environment is that traditional printed commercial media start to join Internet and provide electronic versions of their newspapers to global readers. These on-line newspapers headquartered in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore are providing an increasing amount of information about China. But network-based media run by overseas CSS fulfill a unique role of providing information about CSS themselves and cultural linkages among themselves. Commercial on-line media could not fulfill this role.

Development of Internet in China in the last three or four years shows that, with more people having access to Internet in the mainland, overseas CSS will be able to communicate with users at home more easily in the future. Students and scholars who return to China after their overseas studies and research will bring with them a familiarity with and mastery of the Internet.
As discussed in Chapter 5, global computer networks have made possible a whole new form of information distribution. Overseas Chinese students and scholars have shown a particular aptitude for this form. China News Digest (CND), covering daily news about China and the overseas Chinese community, has been widely considered an important and successful news service on global computer networks (Tempest, 1995; Wu, 1995).

China News Digest (CND) is a non-profit news and information service based on computer networks. It was founded by a group of Chinese students and scholars (CSS) in the United States and Canada on March 6, 1989, and has become a news and information distribution organization run by volunteers. Readers can be found on all continents and in more than 50 countries and regions including mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong (CND, 1995b).

During its seven-year history, CND has developed from the original English-language news service to Chinese students and scholars in North America into a news digesting and information distribution service of various sections customized for readers in the United States, Canada, Europe and the Pacific, and China. In addition to the English regional services, the global section provides China-related news of interest to all readers around the globe. CND also has distributed the first computer network-based Chinese-language weekly magazine, Hua Xia Wen Zhai (CND-Chinese Magazine). CND publications have been distributing via E-mail lists, FTP, Gopher and World Wide Web servers (Xiong et al., 1995).
The History of CND

China News Digest was born out of the ever-increasing need for information exchange on computer networks among Chinese students and scholars in the United States, Canada, and other parts of the world. It began as several informal electronic networks among the overseas Chinese students community. An electronic newsletter for Chinese students was established early in 1988 by two Chinese graduate students at the University of California at San Diego. The service was irregular and informal and reached about 300 users (Shen, 1991).

On March 6, 1989, two Chinese students in Canada and two in the United States launched another electronic news service, the News Digest (ND), for 400 Canadian users. ND was first transmitted two or three times each week. As events of the 1989 student movement in Beijing began to unfold, the service provided news updates daily and was expanded to the United States and other parts of the world (Xiong & Xu, 1991). In June 1989, the service had five volunteers, distributed from two personal computer accounts, one to Canada, another to the United States and other countries. It reached about 1,000 readers at the time.

The readership of ND kept growing in the summer of 1989, with two additions during this period. First, the electronic newsletter in San Diego was closed due to a shortage of manpower. The reader list of the service was handed over to the ND. The merger of the two reader lists was completed in August 1989. Second, another news service run by two Chinese students at Arizona State University joined the ND group (Xiong et al., 1995).

In September 1989, the ND group was renamed as China News Digest (CND) and served about 4,000 readers, mainly in the United States and Canada. With ten working staff volunteers, CND was distributed through two Listserv accounts at
Arizona State and Kent State University (Ohio), and a mailing list at the University of Toronto in Canada (Xiong et al., 1995).

CND has as one of its goals to “support long term pro-democracy activities for China” (Guan, 1989). In addition to providing China-related news, CND has been making extensive reports on student activities on campuses in the United States, Canada, and other countries. Many issues concerning overseas Chinese students and scholars (CSS) were covered and special reports were compiled such as job searching, immigration, China in the Olympic Games, and China’s most-favored-nation trade status in the United States. Those special packages have been archived for easy retrieval. Several special columns such as Books and Journals Review, Questions & Answers, Market Watch, and Sports Highlights were carried out in CND.

CND began to distribute its first issue of the Chinese-language weekly magazine Hua Xia Wen Zhai (HXWZ) on April 5, 1991. By the beginning of 1992, the direct subscribers of the magazine reached more than 4,000. Today it has over 15,800 direct subscriptions via e-mail. In addition, every week there are about 4,600 times of retrieval of the magazine's printable PostScript files and 8,900 times of retrievals of its GB-code (a standard Chinese code system) file from CND's FTP server. The magazine is available in USENET newsgroups and World Wide Web (Xiong et al., 1995).

In 1993, with a donation from readers, CND purchased its own workstation computer (cnd.org) with its own Internet connections. This machine has been heavily accessed by CND readers. Every week over 17,000 users from more than 11,000 Internet sites access the CND's FTP server and retrieve its various publications over 50,000 times (Xiong et al., 1995). In February 1993, a new working group named CND-IB for "Info-Base" was formed. It aimed to develop and maintain an electronic database for public access through global computer networks. The database includes
much information related to China and overseas Chinese scholarly community and is continually expanding (Xiong et al., 1995).

To facilitate more communication between the Internet community with mainland China, CND sponsored China InterNET Letter (CINET-L) in August 1993, a newsletter that serves as a forum for computer professionals in and outside China to exchange information (Xiong et al., 1995). Since 1994 computer networks with Internet connection have been rapidly developed in China and CINET-L remains a useful resource to Internet users in China (Zhu, 1995).

Another important development of CND is the opening of its World Wide Web server (http://www.cnd.org) to the public on June 4, 1994. It hosts all CND publications and the InfoBase material and points to many other China-related sites. The web server is visited more than 8,000 times a day (Wen, 1996). CND also established two mirror sites (uk.cnd.org and canada.cnd.org) to provide faster access for readers in Europe and Canada. On February 13, 1995, CND was registered as a non-profit organization in Maryland (Xiong et al., 1995).

The Nature of CND

CND has been maintaining its voluntary and non-profit nature of the organization and providing news and information about China and overseas Chinese scholarly community to global readers. CND claims to be independent and strives to be impartial on issues and news it reports (CND, 1995a). Specifically, it aims to

(1) disseminate in a timely fashion information related to China or other information considered to be of special interest to CND readers, (2) serve the overseas Chinese community, and (3) promote Chinese culture and Chinese computing. (Xiong, 1995a)

There are a number of journalistic conventions or professional practices in news writing to signify balance or impartiality—the working definition of "objectivity"
(Hackett, 1984; McManus, 1991). Although it is an volunteer organization, CND claims to hold the professional values and conventions of journalism such as independence, impartiality, and balance in reporting (e.g., Wen, 1996). Its news stories are brief to increase readability.

CND editors consider it a politically and financially independent organization. As Ming Zhang, a former CND editor-in-chief, said, CND

[does not receive any funds from any governments or political parties. It does not run advertisements. All donations to CND from persons or organizations do not come with any political conditions. (CND, 1995d)

While opinions on many political issues regarding China have been divided in the overseas Chinese scholarly community, such as China’s most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status in the United States, and China’s application to the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT), CND has provided diverse views on these issues. From time to time, CND received criticism about its political standing on his reports. While some complain that CND reported too much politics and others consider its reports as too trivial, CND responded to readers' criticism and made effort to accommodate different opinions in the community (e.g., HXWZ, 1995). In order to make a point, a CND editor even claims that "CND does not represent CSS [Chinese students and scholars]. CND does not fight for democracy. CND does not fight for human rights. CND reports news" (Xiong, 1995b).

CND has been positioning itself as a globalized organization targeting the overseas Chinese scholarly community. “CND is global-oriented. She is not a spokesperson for CSS of a particular geographical region or a particular demographic group” (Xiong, 1995b). Since August 1995, CND has compiled a directory of worldwide organizations of Chinese students and scholars to provide the CSS a convenient way to contact and get assistance from the grassroots organizations (“CND compiles . . .,” 1995).
The Services of CND

The main services provided by CND include:

(1) Global edition (CND-Global) carries news of general interest and is published daily Monday through Saturday and sometimes on Sunday as well.

(2) Three regional news services (CND-U.S., CND-Canada, and CND-European/Pacific) carry information about local Chinese scholarly communities such as activities of student organizations, job search, and immigration news. They are normally published one or twice a week.

(3) A Chinese-language weekly (Hua Xia Wen Zhai, or CND-CM) carries selected Chinese articles. Since April 1991, more than 200 regular issues and 67 supplement issues have been published with a total of more than 5,000,000 characters.

(4) Various CND information "packages" cover special topics related to the common concerns of the overseas Chinese students and scholars.


(6) China InterNET Letter (CINET-L), a newsletter serves as a forum for computer professionals in and outside China (Xiong, 1995b).

CND-InfoBase Project

With the acquisition of a workstation computer and a second 1.2-gigabyte hard disk installed on the machine, CND launched its InfoBase (CND-IB) project in March 1994. The purpose was to develop and maintain an electronic database for public access on information related to China and overseas Chinese communities. As the group states, this information should be of public interest, not suitable for CND
Listserv distribution, or have historical and/or long-term service values to the public (CND, 1994).

CND's InfoBase includes the following categories:

(1) Historical information. Major historical events about China and/or Chinese such as the Nanjing Massacre during the Sino-Japan war in the 1930s, Tiananmen incident on June 4, 1989 (texts and photographs), China in the Olympic Games, and Chinese Cultural Revolution of 1966-76.

(2) Service information on topics as immigration, home visit, tax return, insurance (health, life, auto, house, etc.), and travel.

(3) Academic and job information on topics such as conferences and workshops, academic societies, and research projects.

(4) Social information on topics as non-academic organizations, book reviews, and community activities.

(5) Technical information and introduction to computer network, database, and software.

The InfoBase part of the Tiananmen event of 1989 was opened for public access before June 4, 1993. Much of the existing information on this topic has been organized and is available in the appropriate cnd.org sub-directories through FTP and WWW. Many photos and text packages have been stored. New materials are continuously being added to the database (CND, 1994).

CND Web Page

CND's web server was created in 1994. The home page includes all current and past issues of CND's five sections and Chinese-language weekly since 1992. It also offers a large collection of classical Chinese literature in Chinese language (e.g., Confucius), images, a Chinese calendar, and public domain and shareware software to read and write Chinese characters. Many high-resolution scenic pictures of China are
collected there. The site also connects with many China/Chinese-related Internet resources, such as "Information Superhighway in China," "Information about China," "Chinese-related newsgroups," "China/Chinese-related information providers," etc. It links to web sites in mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and other Chinese communities. Especially, the CND web site could be a starting point for beginners to explore various ways of reading Chinese on WWW. A channel for online comments from readers is available in the web site.

**Information Sources**

Some studies showed that the CND's news sources were diverse, ranging from Western news agencies to the press in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and mainland China, plus CND own members' reports (Sun & Abbott, 1991; Bao, 1995).

CND's Chinese-language weekly (CND-CM, or HXWZ) is a digest service. It selects articles written by its readers and articles from publications in mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and other overseas Chinese communities. Many Chinese magazines have contributed their past or even current issues to HXWZ; these include Square, China Spring, IFCSS Newsletter, Press Freedom Guardian, Democratic China, Ming Bao Monthly ("Introduction . . .," 1994; Bao, 1995).

As former editor-in-chief of HXWZ Minyang Xu said, since the quality of HXWZ depends on its contributors, CND encourages its readers to contribute their own articles or those from other Chinese magazines. In the later case, HXWZ asks permission from the original author and publisher and all such articles are credited to their sources ("A computer talk . . .," 1993). Because of its increasing popularity, more professional writers are considering HXWZ as an important outlet and are sending their work to it (CND, 1995d).

What are HXWZ's criteria for article selection? "Criteria are CND members' judgments," said Minqi Bao, a CND editor. "They might seem somewhat arbitrary or
random from time to time" (Bao, 1995). Bao maintains that HXWZ selects articles based on the criteria of being informative and educational, being of common interest and entertaining, and being of historical significance and collectable. There is no implication that any selected articles necessarily reflect the point of view of the editors (Bao, 1995).

**Volunteer Workers**

While CND has a direct subscription of more than 35,200 in about a dozen mailing lists and maintains its FTP/Gopher/WWW servers, the number of its key volunteers (staff members) remains at around 50 people (CND, 1995c). Each volunteer may be involved with news collection, writing, editing, proofreading, management, and technical support to editing groups and to readers. CND volunteers are mostly full-time students, scholars, or other professionals, with ages ranging from 20 to over 50. Many of them reside in the United States and Canada, some in Europe, Australia, Japan and other countries. They work cooperatively through global computer networks. Throughout the years some volunteers have held small gatherings but most of them have never met each other in person. CND has no revenue and no volunteers are paid. Expenses are covered by donations from CND readers (Xiong, 1995b). The global distribution of CND staff members on March 1995 is showed in Table 4.

Bing Wen, current CND editor-in-chief, recalled how he joined as a volunteer in 1991. "It was quite simple: CND posted an advertisement in its second anniversary special edition, calling for volunteers. I replied, offering to help, and I was accepted. In fact, most people joined the group the way I did" (Wen, 1992).

In November 1994, to reduce the staff's workload, a news-writer group for CND's English services was established. This group of volunteers is in addition to the current staff members. Its main task is to rewrite news briefs, or to compile and
rewrite longer items in English. Most of the group members (29) were from the United States. There were five members from Canada, and three from Australia. The news-writer group has become one of CND’s crucial sectors (CND, 1995c).

Table 4. Distribution of CND Working Staff Members (March, 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: CND, 1995c)

Computer and global network technologies have changed the work methods of CND editors. Reixian Bao, a CND editor residing in Finland, describes his and his colleagues’ jobs as “flowing editing”—no fixed physical editing desk, office, or newsroom. Whenever there is a computer, a modem, and a telephone line, the job can be done (Bao, 1995). For example, one editor did all his editing on a laptop computer on the shuttle train between his office and home (“A computer talk . . .,” 1993).

In computer networks, geographical distance does not matter to globally located CND editors. By using Chinese software programs such as ZWDOS and others, editors are able to use Chinese language in their e-mail communication. But in computer on-line “talk,” one challenge is to find appropriate time for editors to contact each one. Since CND editors are residing in North America, Europe, and Australia, time difference can vary up to 19 hours. As Bao said, “We have to have a sense of ‘global time’” (“A computer talk . . .,” 1993).
CND volunteers seem to see themselves as a friendly and cooperative team working hard to serve their readers on a daily basis. As one editor said, "The most precious thing of being an editor of CND is the friendship and trust among its volunteer workers (CND, 1995d).

Some volunteers considered working for CND "exciting and exhausting." It is exciting because they encounter much China-related news. "Editing for CND is joyful because it forces you to read a large number of Chinese articles" (CND, 1995d). As one editor noted:

In several occasions, you have the feeling of being in China again.... Also exciting is to sit back to decide what will appear in many people's first reading tomorrow; yes, literally the first for many . . . . Too often, it [China-related news] is too bloomed and colorful, you are at a loss about what to pick up and present to your beloved readers. (Liu, 1994)

Working for CND is time-consuming and could be exhausting. As one editor said, "I have to deal with 30-50 e-mail everyday and talk to many friends (CND editors and readers) all over the world" ("A computer talk . . . .", 1995). Since most editors work full-time, managing possible conflicts between volunteering for CND and one's own work has been a challenge.

Because of the time constraint, hard work of CND volunteers cannot prevent them from making mistakes. As an editor said, "There's never a single time when you are comfortable to hit the send key. For you keep spotting a mistake here and there, till you are totally exhausted" (Liu, 1994). Working for CND is difficult, in another editor's view, "because you have to select a group of articles with great taste and characteristics. It's painful because you have to correct those vague misspellings in Chinese texts" (CND, 1995d).

After all the excitement and exhaustion, working in CND is still a most enjoyable experience for the "satisfaction you get from your sacrifice," said editor
Yuan Liu (1994). One editor wrote, “The most satisfactory moment for me was when I finished editing a new issue of HXWZ and was ready to send it out. After I pressed the ‘return’ key, a new issue of Chinese magazine went immediately to thousands of readers' mailboxes on the globe.” Another wrote, “I joined CND as a volunteer because it gave me so much and I want to pay it back . . . . People like what we do; this is the best encouragement for me” (CND, 1995d).

CND is also considered as an experiment in learning and practicing freedom of the press. One editor pointed out that, because of the CND, the Beijing regime can never say that Chinese students don’t need freedom of the press because they never exercise this freedom while they are abroad (CND, 1995d).

Global Readers

CND runs some of the largest electronic mailing lists in the world. According to a report in The Guardian in August 4, 1994, China is of great interest to people using List Servers. Three of CND’s dozen mailing lists were among the top ten mailing lists in the world. Although MINI-AIR, with 18,062 subscribers, is the world’s largest single mailing list, CND has combined subscribers of more than 35,000, almost double the subscription of MINI-AIR (Schofield, 1994).

CND readers reside in 43 countries and regions in Africa, Asia, Ocean, Europe, North America and South America. By March 1995, there were a total of 54,744 entries of e-mail addresses in CND's 12 mailing lists. Some e-mail addresses subscribe to more than one section of CND. This represents an increase of 14,498 entries from 1994. The total number of distinctive e-mail addresses is 34,281, an increase of 10,133 from 1994 (CND, 1995a).

Most CND readers are overseas Chinese students and scholars and the rest are other overseas Chinese and concerned people. Since each entry of subscription may represent more than one reader, the total number of CND readers is unknown. More
persons read CND publications from redistribution lists, newsgroups and other bulletin boards, and FTP/Gopher/WWW servers (CND, 1995a).

Table 5 lists the numbers of direct subscriptions to the five sections of CND in its mailing lists in March 1994. They should not be taken as proportional to the numbers of readers, because many subscriptions in Asia and Australia are redistribution mailing lists or bulletin boards themselves. Some of those mailing lists contain several hundred readers each (Lin, 1994). Table 6 shows the CND direct subscription growth from 1989 to 1995. In addition, Table 7 shows the geographical distribution of CND readers in March 1993.

Other than direct subscription, some read CND publications via anonymous FTP or Gopher servers. In March 1994, the number of FTP retrievals for each CND-Global package was about 800. For CND-EP it was about 120, and for CND-US it was about 400. For CND-CM (weekly magazine), each issue's GB file (a standard Chinese coding software used in mainland China) was retrieved more than 6,700 times and the printable Postscript version was retrieved more than 3,100 times via anonymous FTP. The total number of anonymous FTP users of cnd.org every week was more than 10,600; they came from more than 6,800 Internet sites around the world (the FTP data here were compiled from weekly statistics made by Yagui Wei). CND sponsored-CINET-L Newsletter was distributed via a Bitnet list not maintained by CND. The number of readers was 617, and they were in 23 countries or regions (Lin, 1994).

**Some Readers' Responses to CND**

Most of CND's readers are Chinese students and scholars (CSS) at university campuses across North America, West Europe, Australia, and Japan. CND's persistent appearance in the Internet has been appreciated by many CSS, some calling it "CSS' own press" (CND, 1995d). Readers have shown their support to CND's
### Table 5: Number of Direct Subscriptions (March 1994)

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<td>90</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Subscriptions        | 21299  | 14821  | 2877   | 3186   | 15438  |
| Number of areas      | 41     | 33     | 29     | 33     | 37     |

(Note: CND-Canada mailing list broadcasts CND-Global as well, so the number is not included in the total number of entries. Former USSR number excludes Estonia, and former Yugoslavia number excludes Slovenia. Source: Lin, 1994).

Table 6  CND Direct Subscription Growth 1989-1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>4,000 a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>13,000 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>24,148 c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>34,281 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>35,200 e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sources: a: Xiong et al., 1995; b: Xiong & Xu, 1992; c: Lin, 1993; d: CND, 1995; e: Xiong et al., 1995)

Table 7  Geographical Distribution of Readers in March/1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country or Region</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>71%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia, Asia, etc.</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
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</table>

(Source: Lin, 1993)
various projects. For example, in January 1993, after one editor expressed a hope of having CND's own workstation computer for its further development, 700 readers around the globe responded and donated money for purchasing the machine (Xiong et al., 1994).

CND news services have interactive capabilities. Any subscriber can contribute China or Chinese related news or write comments to CND editors. Some readers' letters to the editors have been carried in CND's publications.

Since CND reports what is happening in China and among the overseas Chinese scholarly community, some readers called it a "grain supply center" or a "personal friend." One reader wrote, "CND functions as a bridge connecting overseas Chinese students and scholars together. By reading CND regularly I feel that we thousands of overseas Chinese students are living in a same community"(CND, 1995d).

CND's Chinese-language weekly (HXWZ) has been enjoying special popularity among its readers. It covers political, social, and cultural issues in China and the overseas Chinese scholarly community and pays special attention to the well-being of the overseas Chinese students and scholars (CSS). One of its most popular columns is titled "Ourselves," which covers life experiences of overseas CSS. Most of the authors of this column are CSS themselves and use it as an open forum to express themselves. Reading HXWZ every Friday after it has been published on the Internet has become a habit for many CSS (CND, 1995d). One reader wrote to CND editor, "Especially those articles written by Chinese students themselves touched my heart.... When I feel lonely and home-sick, reading HXWZ makes me feel much better." Another wrote, "HXWZ brings me laughter, comfort, and a sense of companionship" ("A computer talk . . . ,"1995).
Characteristics of CND

CND experiences suggest that it is fast and convenient to exchange information and ideas on global computer networks. Running an electronic magazine is relatively cheaper and easier than a conventional one. Therefore, such on-line publications have the potential of overcoming economic constraints which limit the participation of the general public in the media production process. Freedom of the press and diversity of ideas could be realized easier in this kind of media environment. Overall, in the long run, on-line publications have potential of making a significant contribution to the development of a politically, socially, and culturally pluralistic society.

From a technological standpoint, CND has new features compared with traditional mass media:

a. Fast and easier production. The publications of CND take much smaller space to save. A whole year's publication of HXWZ (about 800,000 Chinese characters) could be saved in two small floppy diskettes.

b. Fast distribution. Each CND's news reports could reach its readers' E-mail accounts around the globe within several minutes.

c. Easy information sharing. Readers can download information from CND, make disk copy, or print them in different fonts for any number of copies anytime.

d. Public information. All back issues of the CND news reports, weekly magazine, and other information are archived in its database for easy retrieval ("A brief history of CND-CM," 1993). CND's web site has become the information center about China and Chinese-related issues on the computer networks.

Besides its information-providing function, CND has also played an important cultural role in the overseas Chinese scholarly community. It is not only a linkage among overseas Chinese students and scholars, but also a bridge between the overseas
CSS and Chinese culture (Lu, 1995). While overseas CSS have made contributions to introducing Chinese culture to people of other cultures, they need forums to reflect, express, and discuss their own life experiences and impacts of host cultures on them. Not only Chinese cultural heritage has been maintained through activities among CND and its readers, but also a new form of culture, reflecting the distinctive characteristics of the overseas Chinese scholarly community, is emerging in this intercultural communication process.

CND could be considered as a cultural bridge linking overseas Chinese students and scholars together, because it provides a "common language" for the community members CND (CND, 1995d). As editor Yungue Ding said, interaction with other volunteers is the most exciting thing to being a CND editor (CND, 1995d). Whenever the draft of a new issue of HXWZ is posted for comments and input among its editors, the network quickly becomes crowded and everyone makes comments, critiques, or suggestions regarding the draft. The dialogue is full of fun—some serious, some half-joking, some humorous or satirical, and being part of it is enjoyable and entertaining. Ding maintains that, by interacting daily with people of similar cultural background and life experience, an overseas Chinese student could overcome the problem of "cultural loss" in the Western world (CND, 1995d).

Psychological satisfaction and a sense of cultural enrichment are felt by some CND volunteers and readers ("A computer ...", 1993; Liu, 1994; Lu, 1995; CND, 1995d). They felt a sense of commonality and fellowship among their fellow Chinese through volunteering for and reading CND. CND seems to play a unique role among the overseas Chinese scholarly community—enabling globally-distributed CSS feel psychologically and culturally close with each other. CND helps them to express and reinforce their cultural identities, and to continue to construct and reconstruct their cultural identities. In fact, CND with its unique style may be itself the expression of an emerging new form of culture among the overseas Chinese scholarly community.
Summary

Despite its relatively short history, CND has gained an important position in the history of Chinese journalism, because of its use of computer networks as an alternative medium for news gathering, editing, and distribution, and its linking the overseas Chinese students and scholars together as a distinctive community.

As an independent communication medium, CND strives to keep its readers informed of activities and developments happening in China and the overseas Chinese scholarly community. Various projects and columns have been designed to facilitate the information flow among the community members. CND shows a remarkable grasp of the principles of organizing a news medium to suit journalistic purposes. As Wen (1992) pointed out, although amateurs organizations such as CND can not replace professional news media, CND has shown a new use of global computer networks and this use is needed and valuable.

CND is a news organization set up for and by the overseas Chinese students and scholars. Active participation by its volunteers and readers is the lifeblood of this organization, which is critical for CSS to develop and maintain a constructive, healthy, and lively environment when dealing with issues of their lives overseas.

Throughout history, the change of communication technologies has brought about the change of culture in various societies. By utilizing global computer network resources to meet information and cultural needs of CSS, CND enables CSS to continue the construction and reconstruction of their cultural identities. CND facilitates the development of an emerging new cultural form among the overseas Chinese scholarly community.
CHAPTER 9
THE CONTENT OF CHINA NEWS DIGEST

In Chapter 8, CND's history, operation, and readership were examined. In this chapter, the content of CND's English and Chinese-language news programs is the focus of analysis.

In Chapter 6 the writer suggested that computer network-based news media (CNBNM) help to create and sustain a community by providing collective symbols and a group culture. They also enhance a public sphere in the community. The goal of this chapter is to provide interpretation, perspectives, and insights from CND's content in terms of its community-building function. The following questions concerning CND need to be answered: What content does CND offer to the overseas Chinese students and scholars? How does CND construct a group culture for the overseas Chinese scholarly community? How does CND maintain a public sphere for the overseas Chinese scholarly community?

Few studies could be found on the effects of CND on the overseas Chinese scholarly community. To obtain sufficient information about CND's programs, a combined quantitative and qualitative approach has been chosen. A quantitative view is taken to identity the overall structure of CND's programs, in particular the source of information, types and story length, and topics of the news stories. On a second level, the analysis is a qualitative one. The focus of the study is what kind of texts are transmitted, and, in particular, what are the important ideas transmitted. Three topics in the selected sample of CND content, the events related to Beijing Spring 1989, overseas CSS' activities in general, and CSS' protest against CBS' distorted news report, were the focus of the qualitative analysis.
Methods

The source to be analyzed in this study was the contents of five CND news services, CND-Global News (CND-GL), three supplementary services: CND-US News (CND-US), CND-Canadian News (CND-CA), CND-Europe/Pacific News (CND-EP), and a Chinese language weekly magazine (CND-Chinese Magazine), Hua Xia Wen Zai (HXWZ).

In the context of this study, a sample period was chosen by randomly picking one week out of every two months of 1994. The analysis covers all of the CND texts (short news, editorials, essays, etc.) during the following 1994 periods:

- February 14 - February 20
- March 21 - March 27
- June 6 - June 12
- August 15 - August 21
- September 12 - September 18
- December 19 - December 25

Because of some irregularity of the CND publications, it is not possible to select a sample which can be regarded as truly representative of the CND contents. However, care was taken to make the sample as typical of the average CND content as possible. To identify deviations from the normal CND news service structure, the text of each selected week was compared with that of another two weeks in the same two-month period as shown in the topic index in the CND's archives (database). The comparison was made with respect to overall structure, number of issues of news in the week, type and content of the news programs. No major deviation was found.

All texts of five CND programs in the selected six weeks in 1994 were downloaded from the CND's archives (http://www.cnd.org). They were all printed out for easy reference.
Each news story and information item was coded for the following variables:

1. **Date of publication.**

2. **Origin.** The origin of each news story and information item was coded. News stories came from wire services, other newspapers or magazines, etc. Opinion and information items (e.g., announcements) came mainly from various CND contributors.

3. **Story length.** Because electronic articles did not always follow a traditional news format, and because the Chinese language symbols are very different than English, each CND story or information item was merely coded as being "short" (three paragraphs or less) or "regular" (more than three paragraphs in length) (Sun & Abbott, 1991, p. 6).

4. **Topic.** The most salient single theme of each story or item was coded. When it was difficult to choose a single topic, the first guideline was which topic took up most of the story text. If two or more topics were fairly evenly reported, the topic covered first in the story was selected (Straubhaar, 1992, p. 95). A total of 22 different major topics were identified from the sample stories.

The definitions of following topic categories were developed during a pilot study in which the text of one week of CND English news services and the Chinese weekly were coded. Some category definitions used by Straubhaar (1992, p. 96) in his research on international news media were incorporated into those the author identified from the CND sample texts:

**Sino-foreign relations:** Diplomacy, bilateral agreements between China and other countries; meeting, association, relations with other countries with political, economic, social, and cultural nature.

**Domestic politics:** Political processes, government actions, appointments, policies, meetings, etc.
Economy: Industry and manufacturing; agriculture; trade and commerce (sales, banking, loans); labor union activities and issues; foreign investment and joint ventures.

Social welfare: Social services and programs, population, nutrition, health, childcare, etc.

Culture: Art, religion, music, dance, language, poem, humor, movies, national flag, philosophy, food, recipes, etc.

Education.

Sports.

Military: Defense, intelligence, military exercises, nuclear arms.

Crime: Civil suits, law not political or economic in character; criminal trials, reporting of acts of crime, arrests, punishments, jails and prison conditions.

Accidents/Disasters.

Dissidence: Protest, demonstration, political prisoners, and other dissident activities in China.

Tibet: Tibetan news and issues, activities of overseas Tibetans such as Dalai Lame.

PRC/Hong Kong: Hong Kong news and issues; mainland China/Hong Kong relations.

PRC/Taiwan: Taiwan news and issues; mainland China/Taiwan relations.

Overseas Chinese: News and issues concerning Chinese living outside mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan; activities of overseas Chinese community organizations such as alumni associations, professional and trade associations, campus students' associations; individuals with Chinese cultural background; Chinese dissidents in foreign countries.

June 4 and related events: Commemoration of the June 4 Incident (Beijing Spring) of 1989, victims of the June 4 massacre, and other related issues.
International affairs: International politics, conference, agreement, treaty; world trade and marketing information; current affairs in countries other than China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

History.

Interracial marriage.

Visas/Immigration: Law, policy, regulation related to visa application, extension, work permit for international students in Western countries, and immigration information.

Taxes.

Workshops: On science, technology, management, and others.

Job openings.

A Quantitative Look of CND Content

To assess the extent to which five CND electronic news services offer information about China and Chinese-related affairs, comparisons were made concerning the total number of items (stories or articles) appearing in each CND news service, the difference in topics addressed, origins of the information used, and length of news reports in each service.

Number of News Stories and Information

Table 8 presents the total number of news stories, opinion, and information items disseminated by CND-Global, CND-United States, CND-Canada, CND-Europe & Pacific news service, and CND’s Chinese-language news weekly, Hua Xia Wen Zi (HXWZ), during the six one-week periods in 1994.

CND-Global, an English-language service is devoted almost exclusively to news reports (97.9% of its total items). The other four services provided fewer news reports and carried more items such as opinion, documents, and public
Table 8  Number of CND Sample Items

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Note:

S. News: Short news items with three paragraphs or less.
R. News: Regular news items with more than three paragraphs.
Opinion: Editorials, commentaries, readers letters, etc.
Docum.: Documents such as government regulations, laws, and public records.
Announ.: Public announcements and advertisements.
Prose: General articles or essays (not focusing on news events or current affairs) such as book reviews, literary critiques, travelogue, etc.
S. Story: Short stories.
announcements. News reports accounted for 91.1 percent of CND-EP items, 88.8 percent of CND-Canada, 66.9 percent of CND-US and 58.9 percent of HXWZ items.

Among all five CND services, CND-Global carried the most news stories about China. Its 375 news reports (275 short news and 100 regular news) accounted for more than half (53%) of the total news stories provided by all five CND news services. This finding agrees with the CND's policy that CND-Global is the major news carrier for its operation, targeting a global audience, while CND's other three regional news services supplement CND-GL programs.

Of the remaining three English news services and a Chinese weekly (HXWZ), CND-EP released 113 stories during the six weeks, accounting for about 16 percent of the total. This is more than the 105 stories in the HXWZ in Chinese (14.8% of the total), 76 in the CND-US (10.7% of the total), and 38 in the CND-CA (5.3% of the total).

The finding indicates that CND-Global news service is a prolific source of news about China and Chinese-related affairs. It plays an important role in telling people, especially readers outside China, what is happening in China. To many overseas Chinese expatriates, CND-GL provides more timely information about their homeland than many other sources. Research found that mainstream Western newspapers pay less attention to developing countries including China (e.g., Sun & Abbott, 1991). To people who cannot read Chinese but are interested in China, CND-Global is likely to offer the most China and Chinese-related news and information.

In CND-US and HXWZ, non-news items such as opinions, documents, announcements, and others accounted for 41.1 percent and 33.1 percent of the total items in these two services respectively. To serve Chinese students and scholars (CSS) in the United States, the largest group in the overseas CSS, CND-US provided them a forum for information exchange and public discussion. HXWZ carried the
most diverse contents among all CND services, including news, articles, reviews, critics, poems, and short stories.

**Origin of Information**

Table 9 presents the sources of information for news about China used by four CND English programs. CND-Global selected its China news stories from diversified sources. Its 382 items were from 54 sources located in North America, Asia, and Europe. The great majority (91.4%) were from the major wire services and newspapers published outside China, with 19.4 percent from AFP, 16.5 percent from Reuters, and 14.9 percent from AP. 8.4 percent of the CND-GL news came from North American newspapers and 6.5 percent was from the Japan Economic Newswire. Overseas Chinese students and scholars were important contributors to the CND-GL new service; so were the globally dispersed CND staffs. Individual contributors accounted for 5.2 percent of the CND-GL stories and CND-GL staff (news editors) collected 4.1 percent of its news items. CND-GL depended heavily on overseas news organs for information, while it used mainland China media as supplement news sources which accounted for 8.6% of its total stories.

The result supports earlier findings that wire services and newspapers are the main sources of news stories on electronic text news services (e.g., Weaver, 1983, p. 84).

CND's regional services depend more on individual contributors. 54 items (41.8%) of CND-US were from individual contributors, most of them being overseas Chinese students and scholars. Individual contributors accounted for 32.6 percent of the total sources for CND-CA and 12.9 percent for CND-EP. Compared with CND-GL, CND regional services carried less news from the major wire services (AFP, AP, and Reuters), which accounted for 43.8 percent of CND-EP, 23.2 percent of CND-Canada, and 11.6 percent of the CND-US. Staff members of CND-CA and CND-US
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were important news collectors, which accounted for 32.6 percent and 13.2 percent of the total of the each service respectively.

The sources of information in the Chinese weekly, HXWZ, are presented in Table 10. 92 short news under the column "Headline of the Week," selected by HXWZ's news editors, came mainly from the CND-Global English service, although the origin of each story was usually not identified. 32 items (20% of the total) appeared in the magazine, such as columns, reviews, essays, poems, and humors were from individual contributors. The remaining 33 items (21% of the total) were selected from 24 different journals, magazines, and newspapers published in mainland China (14% of the total), United States (5%), and Hong Kong (1.3%).

Among the news originally published in media in mainland China, only one article (0.6%) was from a Chinese government mouthpiece, the People's Daily. That one story concerned population growth and public health situation in China. The rest of the news stories selected by HXWZ were mostly from such mainland publications as literary journals, trade journals, and popular magazines (e.g., sports magazine).

**Topics**

Table 11 presents the major topics found in the news stories and information by the five CND services and the number of items involving each topic. The results show that, of the 26 topics, 18 were covered by the CND-GL, 17 in both CND-US and CND-EP, and 16 of them received coverage from HXWZ and 11 in CND-Canada. Seven topics (Sino-Foreign Relations, PRC Economy, PRC Social Welfare, Chinese Culture, Crime in PRC, and Overseas Chinese) were covered by CND's five services.

In CND-Global, the topic of PRC's economy accounted for 27.2 percent of the total topics. Other salient topics include Sino-foreign relations (19.6% of the total) and sports (11.3%).
Table 10: Sources of CND Chinese Weekly (HXWZ)

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### Table 11. Topics of CND Contents

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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.8</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>43</strong></td>
<td><strong>124</strong></td>
<td><strong>157</strong></td>
<td><strong>124</strong></td>
<td><strong>157</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The topics of overseas Chinese, visas/immigration, PRC economy, and June 4-related events are most salient in the CND-US, which accounted for 19.4%, 17.8%, 12.4%, and 10.9% of the total respectively. This is logical because the largest number of overseas Chinese students and scholars and many prominent Chinese dissidents resided in the United States. The issues of democracy and human rights in China, the welfare of the overseas Chinese, and graduate training and immigration are all among their concerns.

In CND-Canada, special attention was paid to the topics of the overseas Chinese and Chinese economy (27.9% of the total for each topic), and international affairs and sports (9.3% of the total for each). CND-EP devoted more to the issues of Chinese economy (30.6%), Sino-foreign relations (16.9%), and international affairs (14.5%).

Compared with CND English services, the Chinese weekly HXWZ focused more on the topic of culture (21.7%). In addition, Chinese economy (13.4%), Sino-foreign relations (10.8%), and overseas Chinese (8.9%) are salient topics in its news and articles.

The Chinese economy holds a prominent place in the news coverage in all CND services. This phenomenon reflects changing situations in China as well as in the overseas Chinese communities. Since the beginning of 1992, mainland China has been experiencing a tremendous economic growth which results in an expansion of foreign trade and new employment opportunities. The overseas Chinese business community has been heavily involved in the mainland economic development. Many overseas CSS are looking for new opportunities in this economic growth in their homeland. On the other hand, rapid economic growth in East and Southeast Asia in recent years has drawn an increasing attention from international media. More news coverage about the Chinese economic situation appeared in the international media. Carrying more
news about the Chinese economy in CND seems a natural result in responding to this new development in China and the overseas Chinese community.

The finding suggests that computer network-based electronic news services, like print newspapers, can also set agendas for receivers by giving salience to certain topics. As the results indicate, China News Digest, as a whole, puts emphasis on the topics of Chinese economy, Sino-foreign relations, overseas Chinese, and Chinese culture, which could have an important impact on the overseas Chinese scholarly community.

*News Story Length*

Table 12 presents the number of short and regular stories carried by four CND English news services. The results show that 200 stories or one third of the total CND news were of regular story length. This result indicates that China News Digest is not just a bulletin board service which provides only brief summaries of information. Instead, it also serves as an in-depth source of information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Short Stories* No.</th>
<th>Short Stories* %</th>
<th>Regular Stories** No.</th>
<th>Regular Stories** %</th>
<th>Total Stories No.</th>
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<td>CND-EP</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>402</td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Short stories include stories with three paragraphs or less.
** Regular stories include stories with more than three paragraphs.
A Qualitative Look of CND Content

This qualitative analysis examines how CND addresses some issues in the overseas Chinese scholarly community. The analysis focuses on the following issues in CND's coverage within the selected sample of 1994: the events related to Beijing Spring 1989, CSS community activities in general, and fight against CBS' distorted news reports. The purpose of this analysis is to see how CND helps to construct a group culture and enhance a public sphere for the overseas Chinese scholarly community.

Events Related to Beijing Spring 1989

During May-June 1989, hundreds of thousands of students and citizens in Beijing joined the protest against the communist rulers and called for democracy and freedom in China. The movement was crushed with bloodshed. Born in the spring 1989, CND became the most effective means of disseminating news and information about the event in the overseas Chinese scholarly community.

During 1994, after five years of the student movement, events related to Beijing Spring 1989 were regularly covered in the CND news services. In our sample, news reports and analysis on the events related to 1989 student demonstration appeared in three of CND's English news services and the Chinese weekly. The main focus of the reports was the June 4 memorial activities in overseas Chinese communities throughout the world. Most reports define Beijing Spring 1989 as Chinese students' fight for democracy, freedom, justice, and human rights.

Usually CND local contributors provided updates on June 4 memorial activities at various Chinese communities. The news reports of commemoration of the June 4 event on two US campuses define the event as a tragedy of China, and emphasize the moral duty of overseas CSS to speak out for their fellow people while such expression
is not allowed on mainland China. As an article states, although the Beijing Spring movement was crushed, its spirit did not die. It has been carried on. The movement preceded the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the dismantling of the East Bloc. It is not a victory of "the West over the East." It is a victory of a human noble spirit over the dark side of human nature.

While condemning the Beijing authorities' brutality toward peaceful demonstrators, some reports and articles criticize the movement as overheated, and Tiananmen student leaders' too radical and non-compromised approach. Hot debates were going on. An open letter from the president of Chinese Student Union at the University of Michigan (UM) calls for "no activity on June 4," "look forward," "put June 4 in history," and to "engage in the economic development of China." A UM Chinese student responded by criticizing the president and other CSS for political indifference, and calling for respect and sympathy toward those innocent deaths of the massacre.

A news report titled "Please afford them respect and sympathy" (CND-GL, 06/06/1994) tells a story about an overseas student's home visit to June 4 victims' families in Beijing. A 17-year-old son of a college professor was shot to death by soldiers in the early morning of June 4 near Tiananmen Square. After the tragedy, the professor went at a great risk to search out and help other victims in Beijing and other places. She collected a list of victims containing more than 100 killed and wounded and distributed humanitarian aid she collected from overseas to victims' families. She felt sad that people including overseas CSS are forgetting the June 4 event. At the end of the story, she appealed to everyone: "No matter what you think about the June 4 Movement, for those whose blood split on the streets on June 1989's Beijing, please, please afford them respect and sympathy!"

Several news items and analyses on Beijing Spring 1989 illustrate the humanity, diversity, and complexity of the Chinese society. What is the impact of
June 4 to the Chinese society? According to Xiao Qiang, the executive director of Human Rights in China, the issue of human rights got officially recognized by the Chinese government because of international pressure as a result of the June 4 massacre.

The Chinese economy has grown tremendously in recent years. Who should take the credit? One article points out that this is the fruit of the collective effort of the entire Chinese population as it has gradually broken loose from the iron grip of Beijing central authorities. It has not been caused by the continuation of the totalitarian reign, the author argues. In fact, the social reform and many of the Chinese people's endeavors have been severely hindered by the rampant corruption and lawless behavior of the communist officials.

The Joint Declaration on Fifth Anniversary of the June 4 Massacre by seven CSS organizations in North America states:

Chinese government officials have constantly used and continue to use cultural differences or national sovereignty as the excuses for their human rights abuses whenever challenged by the international community. It essentially amounts to a poor self-servicing defense. We must point out that this kind of propaganda is a direct insult to the Chinese citizenry and our civilization. We cannot and would not accept the so-called "special Chinese character," as the collective communist leadership refers to, the intolerance of difference of opinions, persecution of dissent, abusive use of brute force, widespread corruption, total disregard of human life, situational ethics, torture and killing. These are in no way of part of our heritage. (CND-US, 06/12/1994)

These reports show that the sacrifice and the courage demonstrated by the Chinese people during the peaceful 1989 movement upheld the same values as the overseas CSS. The task of CSS is to work with all people of goodwill to help the Chinese people rebuild a society of harmony with proper respect for the personal freedom of each individual.
In short, although diverse opinions toward Beijing Spring 1989 exist, it is clear that the majority of news reports regard the spirit of Beijing movement as an important part of the heritage of overseas CSS. By covering annual memorial activities about June 4 regularly and constantly, CND news reports revived the tragic science of Tiananmen demonstration in reader's minds and reminded overseas Chinese students and scholars about their historical responsibilities. Democracy, freedom, and human rights are powerful symbols associated with the Beijing Spring 1989 in these news coverage and analyses. Increasingly diverse opinions about June 4 appeared in the media. The annual events of June 4 memorials, showed in CND reports, helped to define a common purpose for the overseas Chinese scholarly community: to prevent the June 4 tragedy from happening again, we need to transform China into a civil society.

Overseas Chinese Students and Scholars Activities

CND has been considered as the voice and forum of the overseas Chinese students and scholars all around the world. Its three regional news services, focusing on news and information in the United States, Canada, and Europe and Pacific, paid special attention to the well being of the CSS themselves. The organizational development of the community was usually first covered by CND news services. Local CSS activists provided CND updates about various professional and social activities of the organizations.

One such development, reported in our CND-US samples, was the Education Fund project of the Independent Federation of Chinese Student and Scholars (IFCSS) in the United States, the largest overseas CSS organization. The project aimed to provide financial assistance to outstanding elementary and middle school teachers in China. Most of the candidates have been teachers all their lives and were much in need of financial and spiritual support. The project called on overseas CSS to
participate by nominating teachers and donating to the fund. The focus of the story is the participating spirit of overseas CSS in the China's social transformation process.

The education of Chinese children in a foreign land was the topic of another story. How to keep their children Chinese has been a concern for many overseas CSS. Many CSS send their children to Chinese Sunday schools to take Chinese language classes. The Chinese School Association in the United States (CSAUS), mostly founded by volunteer scholars from mainland China, was established to meet the increasing demand for Chinese schools to teach simplified Chinese characters and the Pin-Yin system, which are used in mainland China. By covering topics of education for CSS' children and Chinese Sunday schools, CND helps to enhance the Chinese ethnic values in the CSS community.

News items and analyses usually report outstanding achievements of overseas Chinese individuals, most of them being dedicated scientists and professionals. Gan Tian, a 35-year-old geometer, was the focus of a news report. He won the largest award in his field from the National Science Foundation, $500,000, "more than enough money to oil the only research tool he needs--his brain" (CND-US, 08/18/1994). The story emphasizes him as possibly the best geometrician of his generation.

CND also functioned as a forum for its users on various topics. CND-EP published an open letter from a Chinese physicist in Switzerland that criticized the bureaucracy of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. He was invited to present at an international conference in Japan and submitted his application for entry visa to the Japanese consulate six weeks ahead of time. However, his application was turned down only 24 hours before his scheduled departure, which burdened him emotionally and financially. The letter views this case as an example of "how bureaucrats can be extremely harmful to normal scientific exchanges between different countries and among the scientists of different ethnic origins" (CND-EP, 09/15/94).
Chinese cultural character could be revealed from some CND news services. A news report illustrates the daily life of Chinese in Ottawa, Canada. The story centers on family ties as a key feature in many overseas Chinese lives. The story explains that "Chinese names begin with the family name, putting a great deal of emphasis on the collective good of the family over the individuals' needs or desires." "Go to a dim sum [Cantonese style restaurant] and you'll see three or four generations eating together" (CND-Canada, 06/12/1994).

Articles written by CSS contributors regularly appear on CND news services and the Chinese weekly. Recollections of life in China or overseas provide food for thought. Before the 1994 Chinese New Year, CND-Canada published an essay titled "Spring festival and father." The author tells a story about his father, an employee of the Nationalist government before 1949. After the communists took power, he was put in jail for five years and then worked in a commune for "labor reform" for 22 years. The only crime he committed was that he joined the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) together with 500 other students when he was in college. During those years he could only come home once or twice a year for a week. In 1979, at the age of 63, he was finally allowed to return home and stay. The story reflects part of the darkness of the communist revolution in China. The authors wrote:

Now I am a father myself. With the Spring Festival of 1994 coming, I wrote to father and said: "Not until I became a father did I realize how hard it must have been for you to be kept away from us for such a long time. In almost all my childhood, I missed the chance to be with you. Now I will try everything to make sure that will not happen again to Jack (my son) and millions of other children at their homes..." (CND-Canada, 02/14/1994)

CBS Incident

In April 1994, CBS broadcast an evening news story on Chinese spying in the United States. Without proper evidence, the story implies that a widespread spy
network exists among "ordinary" Chinese people, especially overseas Chinese students and scholars living in the United States. This news evoked strong protests from the Chinese community in America. A group of CSS formed the CBS Incident Committee and coordinated the protest activities. After several months' engagement and negotiation, CBS finally issued an apology about its China spying reports in its evening news.

CND has covered the development of this event and considers the incident as "the first time that Chinese students and scholars in America have united and stood together to fight for their common interest and pride and have won." The CBS' Chinese spying report was seen as a challenge and insult to the overseas Chinese scholarly community. CND articles pointed out that there had been a long history of discrimination and exclusion against Chinese immigrants in the United States and CSS were fighting against media distortion as well as the public image about overseas Chinese. One central theme in CND news and analyses on this incident is that fighting against media distortion is a process to build self-confidence, integral identity, and community unity.

When CBS backed its spying story by saying that the news was based on a credible book titled "Chinese Intelligence Operation," CND responded by publishing a reader's review of the book. After a close examination of the book, the reviewer concluded that the CBS story did not reflect objectively what the book presents. The CBS report picked only a small part of the book about Chinese intelligence recruitment, misrepresented or maybe distorted deliberately the facts quoted in the book, and added fabrications. Updates of the current status of the CBS incident appeared continuously on CND news reports.

Several CND's articles maintain that the CSS' collective actions against slander and distortion of an ethnic minority group by a media giant is a departure from the traditional view that overseas Chinese are disintegrated. CND's coverage of the
incident provided the new ground of community development—the new trend among Chinese students and scholars. It emphasizes the contribution of this community toward American society. News stories tell, for instance, the high percentage of papers authored by CSS that have appeared in scientific journals in recent years and its potential significance in science and technology, and the fact that many members of this community had fought to defend democracy and human rights in China.

CND's news reports on CBS incident kept reminding its CSS readers that, as an ethnic minority group, CSS should never forget that "united, we stand; divided, we fall." "We will speak out our feeling and fight for our rights" (CND-Canada, 06/12/1994). In fact, by publicizing this event among CSS and Asian communities and the CSS' protest against the CBS' report, CND has gained more credibility as an important voice of the overseas Chinese scholarly community and enhanced Chinese cultural identities among CSS.

Summary

CND-Global is the major news carrier for its operation targeting a global audience, while CND's other three regional news services supplement the CND-Global program. CND-Global is devoted almost exclusively to news reports. CND's other programs provided fewer news reports and carried more opinion and information items.

CND-Global news service is a prolific source of news about China and Chinese-related affairs. It plays an important role in telling people, especially readers outside China, what is happening in China. To many overseas Chinese expatriates, CND provides more timely information about their homeland than many other sources.

CND-Global selected its China news stories from diversified sources in North America, Asia, and Europe. The great majority were from the major wire services and newspapers published outside China. Overseas Chinese students and scholars were
important contributors to the CND-GL news service; so were the globally dispersed CND volunteer staffs. CND's regional services depend more on individual contributors.

Computer network-based electronic news services, like print newspapers, can also set agendas for receivers by giving salience to certain topics. As the results indicate, CND as a whole puts emphasis on the topics of Chinese economy, Sino-foreign relations, overseas Chinese, Chinese culture, and events related to the Spring 1989, which could have important impact on the overseas Chinese scholarly community. CND is not just a bulletin board service which provides only brief summaries of information. Instead, it serves as an in-depth source of information.

A news medium itself could be both cultural expression and a carrier of cultural expression. Most of CND news reports regard the spirit of the Beijing student movement as an important part of the heritage of overseas CSS. Repeated reports remind overseas CSS about their historical responsibilities. The news coverage demonstrates that democracy, freedom, and human rights are powerful symbols associated with the Beijing Spring 1989. CND helps to reduce CSS' political loyalty to the Beijing authorities.

CND's reports on CSS community organizations, individual well being, and collective actions help to enhance Chinese ethnic values and cultural identity among CSS and to define a common purpose for the overseas Chinese scholarly community. The CND news services also help to develop a sense of responsibility (e.g., helping each other) among CSS themselves. By providing a large amount of information about community organizations, activities, reflections and opinions regarding CSS' overseas life experiences, CND's news services become a civic resource and the community glue for the overseas Chinese students and scholars. It remains as a forum on which overseas CSS could discuss how to keep the good of their mother culture
and absorb the best from the host cultures, and how to be integrated into the host society, and at the same time, maintain their distinguished cultural identity.

CND has demonstrated that computer-network based news media have the potential to serve as a site for public discussion of social and political issues and "recreate the media as a public sphere in a form that is relatively autonomous from both government and market" (Croteau et al., 1996, p. 9). Diverse public expression is identified as central component of public sphere. The ideal of content that is diverse in terms of authorship, subjects, and sources is at the heart of the reason why CND is held up as an important contributor to the public sphere in the overseas Chinese scholarly community.
CHAPTER 10
CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Despite its relatively short history, Chinese News Digest (CND) has become an important medium and integral part of the overseas Chinese scholarly community, because of its effective use of global computer networks as an alternative means for news and information dissemination, and its linking the overseas Chinese students and scholars (CSS) together as a distinctive community.

Many factors have contributed to CND's development. The June 4 event in China right after the birth of CND in 1989 had given a boost to its initial establishment. The need of the CSS community to know developments in China and overseas China communities from independent sources has been the most important challenge that CND has uncovered, established, explored, and expanded. Events in the spring of 1989 made it clear that no media short of electronic ones such as TV and computer network could catch up with the hour-by-hour development.

The existence of popular demand can only explain the possibility of the rapid growth of CND. The most important factor has been the CSS volunteers who initiated the project and kept it going. There had been a general "awakening" before 1989 within the CSS community that independent views, voices and identity of CSS were needed. Events in 1989 suddenly provided an impetus for all these drives to materialize. Various organizations in the CSS community have emerged since 1989. Among all these associations, CND has been recognized as the most successful one in terms of its effectiveness and efficiency in providing services to the community, its consistency and persistence, and its independent and participatory spirit. All these
have been achieved by a relatively small group of volunteers working on computer networks in a cooperative operation. People come in and go as in any volunteer organization, but the enterprise of CND runs steadily year by year, and the rate of increase in its readership is still going strong. CND's work provides evidence that a computer network-based news media can be a strong supporter of a globalized community.

In Chapter 6, seven major propositions were suggested to guide the case study. The following section examines each proposition by using the specific findings of the case study of CND.

The first proposition is: Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) help to create and sustain a globalized community by breaking the geographical isolation of members of the community. The experience of CND demonstrates a strong support of this proposition.

The overseas Chinese scholarly community developed rapidly during the past 15 years because more and more students and scholars from mainland China went overseas for academic training. Now more than 100,000 of CSS are studying or working in countries all around the world. New communication technologies provide them various tools of keeping contact. One of the most effective and efficient ways of communicating each other is through global computer networks. By utilizing computer resources easily accessible at universities or scientific research institutions where most of CSS are staying, these people have organized their own associations, conducted various activities, and created and maintained their own cultural identity. The distribution of CND volunteer staffs is an example in this regard. CND staff members live in North America, Far East, North Europe, and South Pacific region. They are running CND in an effective and cooperative way. Geographical distance is no longer a barrier for participant communication on global computer networks.
CND's experience shows that computer networks provide new ways to meet people, and enable people to socialize, work, and learn based on who they are rather than where they are located. By using computer network-based news media, individuals or groups who are globally dispersed are able to organize as a whole to pursue their political, economic, social, or cultural interests and goals. In this sense, we could say that new communication technologies have extended human community onto a global scale.

The second proposition is: Computer network-based news media help to create and sustain a community by enabling the community members to conduct two-way and interactive communication. This proposition is somewhat supported in the case study of CND.

Literature shows that human relations with group interactivity create the basis for community. One area in which CNBNM is distinctly different from traditional media is in its two-way communication model and its degree of interactivity. Traditional mass media such as newspapers, magazines, radio, and television reach mass audiences for information dissemination in a one-to-many and noninteractive (one-way) model. Telephones and fax machines reach individuals (one-to-one) and allow interactive (two-way) communication. Computer network-based news media can do both. Viewers can communicate with the editors of CNBNM via E-mail quickly. Many on-line newspapers provide discussion forums for their viewers. In the case of CND, viewers could send their opinions or contributions to editors via E-mail fast. On several occasions, CND staff have surveyed subscribers for their reactions to news events and have then published their findings. Subscribers often write guest editorials or letters to the editor. Although traditional newspapers conduct surveys and print letters to the editor, the speed with which CND can print the results and the user friendliness with which messages can be sent are advantages of CNBNM.
However, CND's home page does not have a discussion forum in which anyone can post his or her comments regarding CND's content. CND's news services publish readers letters selectively, acting more like a conventional newspaper. In fact, CND considers itself a news and information provider instead of a discussion forum. There are discussion forums available for CSS on the Internet, such as various newsgroups (e.g., alt.chinese.text). It seems that viewers' feedback and participation would be more encouraged if CND's home page provided a discussion forum for viewers' comments.

The third proposition is: Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) help to create and sustain a community by functioning as a reservoir of information for that community. This proposition is strongly supported by this case study.

CND runs some of the largest electronic mailing lists in the world, with combined subscribers of more than 35,000. The CND home page is visited more than 8,000 times daily. One of the most attractive aspects of its home page is its ability to collect a large amount of information about China and its connection with many China or Chinese-related web sites. The home page includes all current and past issues of CND's five sections since 1992. In CND archives, various information "packages" cover special topics relating to the common concerns of overseas CSS, such as academic conferences, home visits, taxes, insurance, jobs, and shareware software. It also offers a large collection of Chinese politics, history, literature, and other Chinese language materials (e.g., Tiananmen event of 1989, Chinese Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976). Especially, it could be a starting point for beginners to explore various ways of reading the Chinese language on the World Wide Web. In this new electronic environment, information retrieval and transmission takes the least effort. CND has been serving as an information center for the overseas Chinese scholarly community, and, as various anecdotal evidences show, it has become an indispensable part of overseas life for many CSS.
The fourth proposition is: Computer network-based news media (CNBNN) help to create and sustain a community by providing the community members information on demand. The CND experience somewhat supports this proposition.

Literature shows that communities are actively created and maintained by their members as long as they meet the needs of their members. One characteristic of online newspapers is that they provide diverse materials on demand to individuals. They also allow for fragmentation of the mass audience and in some cases even for customized or individualized communication. Providing information on demand to viewers could overcome the problem of information overload. People usually use online technology to request specific information. CNBNM can not only direct viewers to vast amount of information but also help them to overcome the information burden.

CND has provided diverse services to its viewers. CND-Global provides news and information about China and Chinese-related issues on a daily basis. Three CND regional services supplement CND-Global by providing specific news and information related to different regions. CND-US provides its viewers with a substantial amount of information about job searching and immigration. CND-Canada and CND-EP provide much information about academic conferences. Information exchange, opinions, and discussion from local contributors were transmitted in all three regional services. CND's home page put all its news and information together for easy access. It has been constantly adding new information services to the web page, such as job search, new archive materials, and new links to other related web sites.

However, CND does not provide customized or individualized information services to its viewers (e.g., personalized news), probably due to its limited manpower. It would be more valuable to its viewers and the community if CND could take on this direction in its further development.
The fifth proposition is: Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) help to create and sustain a globalized community by constructing a distinct culture for the community. The case study of CND provides some support of this proposition.

Culture is constituted by symbols and created by people through their social interaction. Cultural identity is the collective self-conception of a group. It is embodied and finds its expression in the specific culture of that group. Cultural constructions involve reconstruction of historical cultures and creation of new cultural forms. They are ongoing group tasks in which new and renovated symbols, activities, and materials are continually being added to and removed from existing repertories. Communication plays a central role in culture construction because communication itself is both cultural expression and carrier of cultural expression.

CND has helped to construct a distinct culture of the overseas Chinese scholarly community in the following four aspects. First, CND provides collective symbols for this globalized community. The technical linkage provided by computers and the Internet is not sufficient to create a community. The feelings of fellowship and commonality or a sense of belonging among its members through computer networks constitute the core of a virtual community. Collective symbols, among other things, seem to be able to generate such feelings. In CND's annual reports on June 4 activities and memorials, one sees that democracy, freedom, and human rights have been regarded as the spirit of Beijing movement in 1989. June 4 has been constructed as an important part of the heritage of the overseas Chinese scholarly community. Powerful symbols collected in CND home page, such as a young man standing in front of a column of tanks and the student-made Statue of Liberty at Tiananmen Square remind the overseas CSS of their historical responsibilities. Images, icons, and signs provided by CND go to make up a distinct culture of the community and come to have meaning to CSS because they reflect their life experiences.
Second, CND uses historical materials as a resource for constructing a new group culture and group memory. Literature shows that "invented tradition" involves a set of practices which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which implies continuity with the past. The past could be a resource used by groups in the collective quest for meaning and community. The construction of community solidarity and shared meanings out of common history and ancestry needs cultural construction. CND's home page collects a large amount of information about Chinese history and literature. Materials about Chinese civilization provided by CND gives CSS a sense of tradition and pride. Horrible pictures and eye-witness accounts of the Nanjing massacre by the Japanese army in World War II and the virtual library of China's Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in the CND web site illustrate a painful Chinese history in this century and remind the overseas CSS where they come from and who they are.

Third, CND helps to enhance the Chinese ethnic value among the overseas CSS and to define a common purpose for the overseas Chinese scholarly community. Literature shows that, in a world of growing impersonality, ethnicity could provide an immediate and often unconscious fellowship of identity and community. It is in this sense that it is an antidote to alienation. CND's coverage of the Chinese language classes for Chinese children, cultural shocks, and other overseas life experiences enhances the Chinese ethnic value among the overseas CSS. CND's coverage on CSS organization activities, individual well being, and collective actions (such as the protest against CBS' distorted report) helps to define a common purpose of the community: to build self-confidence, integral identity, and community unity.

Fourth, CND helps to develop a distinct culture for the overseas Chinese scholarly community by combining elements from the CSS' mother culture (mainland Chinese culture) with elements from the host cultures (e.g., Western individualism), and drawing from their own experiences of living on the borders of various national
cultures. CND has developed its own style of writing and editing. The Chinese language used in CND weekly magazine functions as a linkage between the overseas CSS and their mother culture. Living in foreign cultures has widened the CSS' horizons and enriched their overseas life experiences. Many CSS have been "Westernized" to a certain extent in aspects such as selective adoption of western civilization, progressive social philosophy, technological innovation, and scientific advancement. It seems that the interaction of the overseas CSS with their host societies and among themselves through media such as CND has facilitated the development of a new culture of the community. This process of cultural construction through interaction between CND and overseas CSS has been continuing.

The sixth proposition is: Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) help to create and sustain a community by maintaining a public sphere in the community. Chapter 9 demonstrates the ability of CND to serve as a site for public discussion of social, cultural, and political issues for the overseas Chinese scholarly community. The value of civility and tolerance of plurality and diversity are necessary for community. Diverse public expression is identified as the central component of a public sphere. The case study shows that CND's content has diverse sources, authorship, subjects, and opinions. CND provides more timely information about China and overseas Chinese communities than many other sources. It is more than a bulletin board service which provides only brief summaries of information. Instead, it serves as an in-depth source of information. CND has played an important role in forming public opinions in the community and has made a tremendous contribution to the public sphere in the community.

Again, as discussed in Chapter 9, a public sphere is a product of a variety of factors, including the health of other social institutions, the existence and accessibility of other locations for public dialogue, the willingness of individuals to engage in political and social debate and action, and the distribution of cultural and economic
resources to varied groups within society. There is no doubt that CND is one of the most important factors contributing to the building of this new community and enhancing a public sphere in the community. Other factors should be considered too.

The seventh proposition is: Computer network-based news media (CNBNM) reduce the role of a single leader or professional as a gatekeeper and regulator, and utilizes more effectively the resources of community members. This proposition is supported by the case of CND.

As an independent communication medium, CND strives to keep its readers informed of activities and developments happening in China and the overseas Chinese scholarly community. Various projects and columns have been designed to facilitate the information flow among the community members. CND shows a remarkable grasp of the principles of organizing a news medium to suit journalistic purposes. As Wen (1992) pointed out, although amateur organizations such as CND cannot replace professional news media, CND has shown a new use for global computer networks and this use is needed and valuable.

Volunteer organizations have a predictable life cycle which often includes a period of intense and productive activity followed by exhaustion, decline, or re-orientation toward other activities. CND is a news organization set up for and by the overseas Chinese students and scholars. Active participation by its volunteers and readers is the lifeblood of this organization, which is critical for CSS to develop and maintain a constructive, healthy, and lively environment when dealing with issues of their lives overseas. During the past seven years of its history, CND has been attracting new volunteers from time to time. When an "old" staff member left, a new volunteer joined. Announcements seeking new volunteers constantly appeared in CND reports. For every issue of CND, the executive editor takes main responsibility. More people are involved in decision-making process of CND. It is open to anyone who likes to work for it.
As Curran (1991) suggests, there is a need to "recreate the media as a public sphere in a form that is relatively autonomous from both government and market" (Croteau et al., 1996, p. 9). Because CND has been independent from both government and market, its potential of being a public voice and consensus builder in the overseas Chinese scholarly community is unlimited.

Today's communication revolution characterized by computer technology has intensified media competition, and major on-line newspapers headquartered in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and mainland China are competing for overseas readers and viewers. It seems the major role of providing news updates about China is being taken away by those major commercial on-line newspapers. The role of providing news and information about the overseas Chinese scholarly community is increasingly important. It seems no other media can replace CND. The cultural role of CND, functioning as a cultural linkage among the overseas Chinese scholarly community, remains as important as before.

The structure of CND dictates that its operation depends heavily on the volunteership of individuals, as editors come and go, due to academic or professional commitment. Students who return to China after their overseas studies bring with them a familiarity with and mastery of the Internet. CND hopes to enter China someday, bringing with it not only new communication technology but also freedom of speech, press, and information.

Limitations of the Study

This dissertation has demonstrated the development of a new form of community, globalized community, supported by a new kind of communication technology--computer network-based news services. It reviewed the conditions and concerns of the community of Chinese students, scholars, and professionals in the Western societies and investigated the operation and content of CND in terms of its
function and cultural role for the community development. However, several limitations of the present study should be mentioned.

First, more theoretical development on the research topic is needed. The studies of new groupings on the global level have been recent and scattered in different disciplines. Few attempts have been made to link them together from different fields of study. This dissertation is an attempt to integrate three types of theory (community, nation, and culture) into one, and focuses on the communication dimension of this grouping—the role of new communication technologies in creating and sustaining this grouping. As shown by the seven propositions in Chapter 6, the relationships between new communication technologies and community building were the main focus of this study. The theoretical linkages between computer network-based technologies and nation building, nationalism, and ethnicity are weak. More research should be done in this area in future research.

Second, many kinds of globalized communities have been emerging due to the accelerating speed of globalization and the rapid development of communication technologies. Besides ethnic-based communities, there have been political, social, cultural-based communities at the global level. This study selected one ethnic-based community, the overseas Chinese scholarly community. To evaluate the propositions suggested in this study, including different cases of globalized communities in a comparative study, could help us better understand the complexity of this phenomenon.

Third, the case study needs to deal with a wide spectrum of evidence. The more data sources that can be brought to bear in a case, the more likely it is that the study will be valid. The current study analyzed one electronic medium, even if it is the most important medium, in the overseas Chinese scholarly community in terms of its community-building implications. Further research should expand the study to other on-line Chinese media, such as China-related Internet newsgroups (e.g., alt.china.text).
and the China Community Forum. Comparing the similarities and differences among those media should shed light on the role of electronic media in the construction of the overseas Chinese scholarly community.

**Generalizability of the study**

To examine the effect of a new type of communication technologies on a new kind of community, the case study of a computer network-based news service is reported to illustrate the nature and structure of a globalized community made possible by the use of the computer electronic media.

The main purposes of this study were (1) generalizing theoretical propositions on new communication technology and community building, (2) conducting a case study to evaluate these propositions. As Wimmer & Domnick (1994, p.155) said, "If generalizing theoretic propositions is the main goal, the case study method is perfectly suited to the task."

This research project is highly exploratory. The main efforts were put into the development of theoretical propositions about computer network-based news media and globalized community building. The case study was performed in order to understand these two phenomena: new community and new medium. The researcher tried to read all the relevant text and images whenever possible and to obtain a wealth of information about the research topic.

The main analytical strategy in this case study is pattern-matching: An empirically based pattern is compared with a predicted pattern. If the predicted pattern did not match the actual one, the initial study propositions would have to be questioned (Wimmer & Domnick, 1994, p.156).

As qualitative research, the study is generalizable to the extent that some community of readers considers this study representative of a wider set of concerns. A qualitative researcher studies the typologies that groups invent as discourses in their
own right. The case of this study, the overseas Chinese scholarly community and the China News Digest, was selected to evaluate the theoretical propositions. The findings of the study provide new interpretations, perspectives, and insights about the relationships between computer electronic media and the forming of new groupings at the global level, which could be a foundation for further research.

Changing Notions of Community, Culture, and Nation

Today the globalization process is accelerating and social transformations are taking place in many societies. Globalization refers to the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. The new social reality is continually changing the notions of community, culture, and nation.

Community is as old as human history. Human communication results in the formation of community. The concepts of community and culture are highly related, since community provides a context for culture and culture characterizes a community. As shown in this study, the emergence of globalized communities is due to the accelerating speed of global processes, the decline of traditional grouping, and the rapid development of communication technologies. Because of the international flow of people, money, and information, many peoples now conduct their affairs on a transnational basis. Many globalized communities involve relatively stable and enduring groups while some may be based on unstable groups. Therefore the basis for a well-established globalized community should be unlimited in scope and have the potential to continue developing. Virtual communities have emerged from a intersection of humanity and technology. They are in part responses to the hunger for community that has followed the disintegration of traditional communities around the world.
The need for human beings to communicate and develop new tools to do so forms the history of civilization and culture. Culture is constituted by symbols and created by people through their social interaction. The approach of the symbolic construction of culture presents a productive theoretical perspective for the analysis of the changing reality of culture and its relations with the community, ethnicity, and nation-state. Today, culture is no longer homogeneous, local, well-bounded, static, non-negotiable. Culture can be created, borrowed, blended, rediscovered, and reinterpreted. Communication plays a central role in culture construction because communication itself is both cultural expression and carrier of cultural expression.

The notion of supraculture in this study needs more attention in future research. It is not nation/culture specific, in the sense of learned, shared, and transmitted norms of thinking and behaving. Supraculture promotes tolerances for differences and mutual respect among cultures as a mark of enlightened national and global citizenship. People create a supraculture by developing its own ethics for the community, by defining norms for addressing issues, by adopting customs for protocol, by setting standard operating procedures, and by having its own language.

Historically, nation-building processes produced shared national institutions, communications, and symbols of unity. Nationalism first refers to a political ideology and second refers to a sentiment. In the first usage, nationalism pursues certain political and cultural goals such as national self-determination, independence, or secession. In its second usage, nationalism is a sentiment (consciousness) of loyalty toward the nation. Language, religion, and shared historical experience are all used to generate this sentiment. This sentiment helps to define a group of people as different from their neighbors and similar to each other. Today national borders are becoming less significant as transnational activities move outside a single state to an interstate environment.
National/Ethnic/Cultural Identities

Recent studies show that, because of the increasing global flow of people, money, and information in the last two decades, people are having an increasing amount of international or intercultural experiences. These new experiences enable them to develop broader, more fluid (less rigid), and flexible national/ethnic/cultural identities. The concept of static and bounded national/ethnic/cultural identities is inappropriate for describing the current reality of large portions of humanity.

National/ethnic/cultural identities should be considered as processes of development. The manifestation of holding a national/ethnic/cultural identity is flexible and dependent on situations or contexts. These identities could be changed over time due to changes in social or cultural factors in the individual's life. In short, the acceleration of global processes has changed many people's lives and resulted in identity constructions that defy singular national/ethnic/cultural categories.

Recent research on supranational, transnational, and intercultural identities illustrates the negotiability and mutability of national/ethnic/cultural identities. Individuals are becoming increasingly aware of not only the national but also the regional and global implications of their national/ethnic/cultural identities. In fact, many members of globalized communities and supracultures have dual or multicultural personalities, speak more than one language, and go back and forth in their thought processes and perception habits when communicating with others.

New Communication Technologies

New communication technologies help to create and institutionalize community at many geographical levels—local, global, and everything in between. They allow people in widespread areas to remain in contact, define and debate public information and make collective decision that affects all people in the community. They are increasingly altering how people execute their daily activities and altering
users' life-styles and values. They facilitate the individual's national/ethnic/cultural identity development. They also facilitate the creation of collective meaning and symbolic bases for ethnic mobilization. In fact, new communication technologies provide a channel for cultural exchange, negotiation, and construction. They provide a channel for constructing a new group culture and a group memory.

Historically, communication media have played an important role in nation-building process by creating a public sphere, generating national sentiment, and serving as a crucial means of attaining national cohesion and integration. Today, new communication technologies could be configured in many different ways to develop and sustain very different social and political orders. Various social units and groupings could utilize new media technologies and innovative communication practices to transcend physical and social boundaries. The new technologies offer the possibility of greater personal and local control.

The investigation of CND has many implications for ethnic media. It can be seen that solid ethnic media can bring community members together in developing community solidarity and solving community problems. By having their own media, scattered members of ethnic minorities are able to develop their own ethnic interests, form community opinions, organize group resources, and hopefully solve intergroup conflicts. When ethnic media can bring the members of both ethnic and host communities together through their coverage of intergroup relations, the alternative voices of journalism will enrich the character of the multiethnic societies.

Whereas the Internet in the early 1980s consisted of only about 25 linked networks, it had grown by 1995 to include more that 44,000 networks extending to 160 countries and including 26,000 registered commercial entities. Somewhere between 40 million and 50 million computers were connected to Internet hosts in 1995, and that number was growing by an estimated 10% to 20% per month (Spar & Bussgang, 1996, p.127).
Cyberspace for many was simply an adventure—an opportunity to meet people, gain information, and perhaps re-create some sense of small-town intimacy and immediacy. But many newcomers also came to cyberspace for profit, to explore the net's potential, and to stake a claim in a technology that promised to revolutionize the nature of transaction. As a result, the Internet's new business district—the "com domain"—quickly become the largest sector of the net (Spar & Bussgang, 1996, p.127).

The making of CND tells something more than just a success story of one enterprise of CSS. The development of communication media has had profound impacts on the development of the whole human civilization. Telling stories about events which did not happen on site and at the moment was probably the most distinct characteristic of human nature which separated and drove our ancestors from the animal world. The invention of written language provided the means to code the civilization and pass it on beyond generational barriers, which coincided with the birth of what we call "the ancient civilizations" around the world. The spread of printing was one of the technological cornerstones of the social revolutions since the Renaissance. The birth of national states and modern democracy would be impossible without newspapers. The popularization of television has been attributed as one of the key factors that led to the recent wave of liberalization around the world. Now we are witnessing again another technological revolution which will eventually merge together all forms of media ever invented: voice, text, music, and picture, in an almost real-time fashion (i.e. no or very little delay) through the virtual land of cyberspace, which knows no boundary in real space on the Earth. What would be its impacts on community and society are hard to overestimate.

It has been said that the virtual world of the netland "is not real" and some associations initiated through network are "going out of E-mail network." Maybe not long from now we will realize that going to netland is not escape from reality but "escape into the reality," the imminent reality.
Challenges of Information Society

The development of communication technologies, such as global computer networks and on-line news and information services, has brought many new questions in today's society. Are we substituting a paper and electronic reality for the world of physical phenomena? Are information and computer relationships replacing human interactions? As people increasingly use computers, will they develop new types of friendships, "computer friendships," which are based solely on the electronic messages transmitted among them? Will the computer displace other communication media?

The manner in which we seek to find community, empowerment, and political action all embedded in our ability to use computer-mediated communication (CMC) is troubling. No one medium, no one technology, has been able to provide those elements in combination.

CMC has a potential for a variety of consequences. For some, CMC seems to promote dehumanizing relationships, because human communication is reduced to a mechanical level, becomes more task-oriented and highly efficient. For others, CMC creates a new field of social science involving new time and space relationships, new vocabularies, and new patterns of human relationships. CMC offers a new place for people to meet, and promises new forms of social discourse and community.

As Jones (1995) points out, a critical awareness of the social transformations that have occurred and continue to occur with or without technology will be our best ally as we incorporate CMC into contemporary social life.

The development of communication technologies with which to personalize mass communication has brought forth a new infrastructure for major societal change, a reversal of a centuries-old trend from organic community--based on interpersonal relationships--to impersonal association integrated by mass means. Increasingly we will experience the superficially personal relationships of pseudo-community, a hybrid
of interpersonal and mass communication—born largely of computer technology—that will mean both more intimate and more effective societal control (Beniger, 1987, p. 369).

Though modern communication technologies have been shrinking the world day by day, nothing can replace face-to-face exchange in human bonding. It is evident that there are more opportunities to meet people from different categories (e.g., students, professionals, and business) in a local area than to meet people of the same category but residing a thousand miles away.

Another implication of the information society concerns equality among the community members. People need financial resources and technical skills to drive around on the information superhighway. The gaps between the information haves and have-nots are increasing.

**Impact of New Technologies on China**

There are 57 million Chinese living outside mainland China. If the economy of this group is counted as if it were a country, their economy is the third largest in the world, only lagging behind the United States and Japan. But they are not only in Singapore, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, but in London, Los Angeles, Vancouver, and so on. The huge overseas ethnic Chinese community likes the Internet—no one is in charge and everyone experiences being in the center. New communication technologies, represented by CND in this case, have tremendous impact not only on the overseas Chinese scholarly community but also on all overseas Chinese communities, as CSS are becoming an important force in some parts of overseas Chinese communities.

The network association among overseas Chinese students and scholars (CSS) symbolized by the Chinese News Digest has created a new dimension of the Chinese scholarly community. Actually, due to the lack of the community development before
1989, this has been the major dimension of CSS community. Although the computer networks are now mainly accessible only by CSS in educational institutions and national research laboratories, where CND also draws the major portion of its readers, the expansion of the network to all persons is only a matter of time.

Now, on the threshold of the 21st century, China is again undergoing profound changes. Where is China heading? What are the roles of overseas Chinese students, scholars and professionals in the process? Overseas Chinese students enjoy the unique mix of life experiences of having lived and worked in both worlds. A sharing of such experience and perspectives among them is important particularly because their views and choices will considerably shape the future of China and the world beyond.

The significance of the CND model, in Tempest's (1995) view, is its implications in the future of Chinese society. Communication revolution is playing an increasingly important role in effecting the economic, political, and cultural dynamics in China under transition. It seems that, by providing information channels such as CND to China, overseas Chinese students can do much in the future to facilitate dynamic change in China.

If the Internet system eventually explodes into use inside China, blasting yet another hole in the isolationism that has long dominated Chinese politics, it probably will be on the basis of the highly successful CND established abroad. . . . If the government's laissez-faire policy regarding the Internet continues, the system has the potential to cause a revolution in the way information is shared and distributed here. (Tempest, 1995)

Today's world is becoming much more complex and uncertain. As mass media have helped to build communities and nations, those new computer electronic media could be used for diverse political agenda and movements. They could certainly be used in helping the conquest of ignorance, suffering and poverty, the achievement of a
new harmony among nations and people of different cultures, and the development of

a new sense of world community

One strength of computer networks is its ability to enable newspapers to not
only enhance their researching and reporting capabilities, but also to deliver a better,
more audience-aware product in an immediate and inexpensive way. Tomorrow, the
primary mission of computer network-based news media seems "to serve the local
area"—help customers find a washing machine repairman, reserve theater tickets, reach
city services, e-mail city council members, renew driver's licenses, check the test
scores for neighborhood schools—anything that is important to a community. These
news media should become the civic resource and the community glue.

Throughout history, change in communication technologies has brought about
cultural change in various societies. By utilizing global computer network resources
to meet information and cultural needs of individuals, globalized communities will
enable their members to continue the construction and reconstruction of their group
cultures. Computer network-based news media would facilitate the development of
many emerging globalized communities and contribute cultural diversity in today's
increasingly changing world.
APPENDIX

**China News Digest**

(News Global)

Wednesday, September 14, 1994

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1. News Brief (9 Items) .................................................. 95

[CND, 09/13/94] BEIJING -- The State Statistical Bureau is to increase manpower, improve its computer data system and set up a national sampling system, the China Daily reported. The problem of manipulating and even fabricating statistics has been a serious one. Last week, reports have revealed 60,000 cases of false statistic reports. The government is determined to monitor more closely the data collecting process to ensure a valid base for decision making. (Reported by: Dong Liu and Chuck Lin)

[CND, 09/13/94] PARIS -- France and China have signed economic agreements during Chinese president Jiang Zemin's visit here last week, according to an AP report. The agreements are valued at $2.5 billion, including a $2.1 billion project for an oil refinery in Shanghai. Jiang's five-day trip is the first such high-level visit since 1987. China protested the French sale of 60 fighter jets to Taiwan, which brought the relationship between the two countries to a standstill. (Reported by: Dong Liu and Chuck Lin)
[CND, 09/12/94] After more than three months of silence, Chinese police confirmed that labor activist Liu Nianchun had been detained for "political reasons", AP reported. Police would not say where he was being held or allow his wife to see him or send him clothes and toiletries, Liu's wife said Monday. Liu, 46, was among at least 17 dissidents in Beijing and Shanghai who have been arrested or have disappeared since February. Another dissident, Zhang Lin, 31, who also was involved in the labor union, was sentenced to a three-year labor camp term last week for having contacts with foreign reporters and for not registering his marriage. (Reported by: Ming Zhang, Chuck Lin)

[CND, 09/12/94] The most remembered deeds of Deng Xiaoping by Chinese people was the 1989 bloodshed, according to a survey conducted by privately owned Chinese Social and Economic Research Center which published by a Hong Kong newspaper Ming Pao, AP reported. Beijing authorities confirmed that the institute was closed, but said it was shut down only because it was not properly registered. A Beijing newspaper used to publish this institution's other surveys was searched and all related data were confiscated, Ming Pao said. (Reported by: Ming Zhang, Chuck Lin)

[Japan Economic Newswire, 09/13/94] BEIJING -- China's exports retained their growing momentum as the booming economy posted a 100 million dollar trade surplus for the first eight months of 1994, following 1993's 12.2 billion dollar trade deficit, the China Daily reported Tuesday. Total foreign trade at the end of August stood at 137.8 billion dollars, up 24.6%, with exports soaring 31.5% to 68.95 billion dollars and imports growing by 18.3% to 68.85 billion dollars, the report said. Trade officials attributed the boom in exports to the unification of China's two-tiered foreign exchange rate at the beginning of the year, which effectively devalued the Chinese yuan (RMB) by nearly 50%, the report said. (Forwarded by: Daluo Jia)

[AFP, 09/12/94] PARIS -- Beijing "has not abandoned the option of force" said Qian "but only in two cases: if Taiwan proclaims its independance and wishes to separate definitively from China or if a foreign power invades Taiwan," Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said here Monday. Qian was speaking at a press conference organised as part of Jiang Zemin's current visit to France. The minister noted China had protested to Washington after the United States raised the level of their relations with Taiwan. On the other hand, the foreign minister welcomed the fact that France and
China had been able to put differences over Taiwan behind them.
(Forwarded by: Daluo Jia)

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[AFP, 09/12/94] PARIS -- Kim Jong-il will not take over as North Korea's paramount leader until ongoing talks between Pyongyang and Washington on North Korea's nuclear programme have been resolved, China's foreign minister said here Monday. Qian Qichen said that the process of transferring power to Kim following the death in July of his father Kim Il-Sung "is not yet at an end." He said Kim's position could only be consolidated by a conclusion to the negotiations between North Korea and the United States, which have centred on ending the international standoff over the former's suspected nuclear weapons programme. (Forwarded by: Daluo Jia)

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[CND, 0913/94] BEIJING -- About 40,000 Beijing couples have purchased a marriage insurance policy which pays if the marriage lasts, an AP report said. The policy, offered by the Beijing branch of the People's Insurance Co. of China, will pay nothing if the couple end up in divorce. But if the couple stay together until their 25th, 40th or 50th anniversary, the payoff can be as high as seven times of the premium they pay. (Reported by: Dong Liu and Chuck Lin)

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[AFP, 09/12/94] BEIJING -- Beijing police released Monday the head of a Protestant church committee who had been detained for 20 hours over a property dispute with the official organisation overseeing Chinese Christians. Li Dequan, 34, said he had been picked up by uniformed and plain-clothes police at 4:40 p.m. on Sunday at the Gang Wa Shi church in downtown Beijing, before being released at noon Monday. Li said by telephone that he had been interrogated by police who said his committee had violated the law by carrying out construction work in the church against the wishes of the official Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) -- the state-sponsored body governing China's Protestants. (Forwarded by: Daluo Jia)

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2. Mainland Hails OCA Withdrawal of Lee's Asiad Invitation ........................ 28

Forwarded by: Daluo Jia
Source: Japan Economic Newswire, 09/13/94

BEIJING -- China on Tuesday welcomed a statement made by the Olympic Council of Asia (OCA) that no "political figure" will be invited to the upcoming 12th Asian Games in Hiroshima, Japan.
"We believe the decision made by the OCA is a wise one," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"The constitution of the OCA says the organizing committee should not accept or formally recognize any foreign diplomatic delegations bearing any kind of mission. We believe this regulation of the charter of the OCA should be strictly respected," he said.

The spokesman was responding to a statement issued by OCA President Ahmad al-Fahad on Monday, which will effectively prevent President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan from attending the Hiroshima Asian Games beginning October 2.

Lee was previously invited by the OCA to attend the games, causing an uproar from China which considers Taiwan to be an inalienable part of the mainland.

Meanwhile, informed sources in Tokyo said Monday evening that the Japanese government planned to allow three Taiwan officials, including Vice Premier Hsu Li-teh and Education Minister Kuo Wei-fan, to attend the games' opening ceremonies.

Japan has maintained a "one-China" policy since it reestablished diplomatic ties with Beijing and severed official links with Taiwan in 1972, limiting contacts with Taiwan to nongovernmental economic and private-sector exchanges.

3. Beijing Welcomes Outsiders -- at a Price ........................................ 39

Forwarded by: Daluo Jia
Source: Agence France Presse English Wire, 09/12/94

BEIJING -- Faced with a growing influx of temporary residents, the Beijing authorities have decided to make outsiders pay for the privilege of living and working in the Chinese capital, reports said Monday.

From November 1, organisations and work units wishing to locate outside employees in urban Beijing must pay a whopping 100,000 yuan (11,500 dollars) for each permanent resident, while individuals must fork out 50,000 yuan.

The new regulation was passed over the weekend by the city's top legislative body, which also formulated rules on trade unions in foreign-funded and private firms, military reserve training, statistical reporting, public complaints and the leasing of wasteland, the China Daily said.
According to the Beijing Public Security Bureau, some 35,000 people have moved to the capital so far this year, swelling its temporary population to more than one million.

Permanent residents in Beijing number more than 10.5 million.

People wishing to take up permanent residence in the suburbs of Beijing will face a cheaper levy of 30,000 yuan, the newspaper said.

While Beijing has not suffered the same level of urbanisation as major industrial and commercial cities such as Shanghai and Guangzhou, the influx of labourers from other provinces searching for work has placed an enormous strain on the capital's public services and facilities.

The city authorities also passed a regulation requiring all foreign-funded and private firms to support and finance their employees in setting up trade unions within a year of setting up business.

Union representatives will have the right to attend board meetings to discuss such issues as salaries, welfare, labour protection and social insurance.

The Chinese authorities have been pushing foreign-funded and private firms across the country to set up trade unions, amid reports of abuses of workers rights by overseas and individual managers who put profit before worker welfare.

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4. Problems Could Hurt China's Dramatic Economic Growth ............... 45

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Forwarded by: Daluo Jia
Source: Agence France Presse English Wire, 09/12/94

SINGAPORE -- Several deep-seated problems could halt China's dramatic economic growth, among them a political structure incompatible with a market economy and rampant corruption, a China expert said Monday.

Goh Keng Swee, Singapore's former deputy premier who is now economic adviser to the Chinese government, said the problems stem from Beijing's attempt at grafting a market economy on a political system designed for a command economy.

"This incompatibility between the requirement of a market economy and the political structure produced set-backs which have yet to be overcome," Goh told some 400 Asian securities analysts at their annual conference here.
The 73-year-old Goh, often described as the brains behind Singapore's economic success, now heads the Institute of East Asian Political Economy, a Singapore-based think-tank.

He said that while industrial countries had learnt how to moderate the business cycle, China had been groping for a solution without much success.

Beijing also refused to shut down state enterprises losing large sums of money.

Goh said that while enterprises that lost money year after year would be closed down in a market economy, this option was not open to Beijing because it meant laying off some 20 million workers.

"The leaders believe that the ensuing turmoil will cause an unacceptable level of political instability," he said.

Goh said that widespread corruption among those in positions of power could produce "the most dangerous long-term result" if unresolved.

"Given the low salaries which officials get, those with authority to grant licences or supplies at low planned prices or loans at negative interest rates will need to be saints not to fall to temptation," he said.

Although constitutionally a unitary state, China had effectively switched to a federal system with rich provinces negotiating with Beijing over sharing of taxes, credit, control of state businesses and other matters, Goh said.

He said that while a federal system would have built in provisions to settle disputes between the centre and the provinces, the lack of such a system had weakened China's one-party regime and its capacity to dictate policy.

5. Government Denies Banning Zhang Yimou from Making Movies ............ 38

Forced by: Daluo Jia
Source: Agence France Presse English Wire, 09/12/94

BEIJING -- China denied Monday reports that it had banned the country's best-known director, Zhang Yimou, from making films for five years as punishment for screening his most recent picture abroad without approval.

"These reports are groundless," said a spokesman for the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television's film bureau, referring to stories Monday in two Hong
Kong newspapers, the Overseas Chinese Daily News and the Express News.

The Overseas Chinese Daily News quoted a Chinese newspaper identified as the Radio, Television and Film News as saying Zhang had been banned from making any films, including co-productions with foreign countries, for a five-year period.

The so-called "Fifth Generation" director and his favoured actress and muse, Gong Li, had also been barred from travelling abroad for international film festivals, it quoted the newspaper as saying, adding that the move had sparked a flurry of protests from independent-minded Chinese film-makers.

"This newspaper does not even exist," the film bureau spokesman said, adding, "if there was any kind of ban on Zhang Yimou then we would be the first to know. But we have never heard of this punishment."

However, he confirmed reports that work on Zhang's latest project, "Shanghai," had stopped, but said this was only a "temporary delay" and had nothing to do with any official ban.

The Hong Kong newspapers said Beijing had halted work on the French-backed production -- on which one million yuan has already been spent -- as punishment for the Cannes Film Festival screening of Zhang's "Lifetimes" before it had been approved by Chinese censors.

"Lifetimes" -- which paints a bleak picture of life under communist rule by tracing the life of its characters through successive political turmoils from the 1940s to the 1970s -- won two major prizes at the festival in May.

Zhang, whose film was submitted to the censors in late March, would not be the first film director to suffer from Beijing's efforts over the past year to reassert its control over the troubled domestic industry.


*Broadcasting*. (1996a, March 10). In Brief, p. 112.


**On-Line Sources**


Xuejun Yu was born and raised in Jiujiang City, Jiangxi Province, People's Republic of China. He received a bachelor's degree in Chinese language and literature from Jiangxi University, Nanchang, China, and a master's degree in communication at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu. He did advanced studies in journalism at Fudan University in Shanghai, and was a Parvin Fellow at the University of Hawaii Journalism Department and the East-West Center's Institute of Culture and Communication during the 1986-87 academic year. Before he went to Hawaii for graduate studies, he was on the journalism faculty at Jiangxi University, Nanchang, China.
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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December, 1996

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