

Prejudices in journalistic coverage of foreign culture

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Abstract

This essay investigates the representation of distinct cultures in media, specifically, how biases are formed, maintained, and propagated through these representations. The biases and cultural misinterpretation in reports will be shown using coverages of foreign events from prominent news press in the United States and China. The essay will question impartiality in modern news reporting, discuss the role of prejudice in the media, and explore the model of a truthful journalistic report.

1.Introduction

While modern transportation effectively dismantled geographical barriers of the world, still only a narrow range of viewers can personally visit and immerse in a foreign culture. The interdependent model of international affairs and an overwhelming influx of information, adding with the lack of personal experience, make people dependent on the media to provide accurate reports in order to stay informed. However, when reporting foreign events, not everyone's voice could be heard, which often creates one-side-arguments that include biases of nationality, race, etc. Using the US-China relation as the main example to explore cultural misrepresentation, this essay questions

impartiality in modern journalism, and explore whether journalistic objectivity is helpful in this context.

2. Conceptual model of truthful journalism with Gadamer's view of truth

In order to evaluate how objective or truthful a journalistic report is, we need to first conceptualize the definition of truth. As journalism is a subject closely related and influenced by the use of languages, the examination of a truthful report is inseparable with the linguistic aspect of it. In Gadamer's *Truth and Method*, he expressed that the true meaning of language transcends the limits of methodological interpretation.

According to Gadamer, we already have some preconception of its meaning when interpreting words and sentences: "A person who is trying to understand a text is always projecting. He projects a meaning for the text as a whole as soon as some initial meaning emerges in the text."¹ Prejudices of languages can mislead or guide us in determining the understanding of a certain text. Thus, the truth of written language can only be revealed when we discover the conditions for understanding its meaning.

Applying it to the subject of journalism, we find that questioning whether one report is "truthful" is not about whether it is entirely descriptive, as it is hard for any article to use only neutral diction and include no personal analysis of the event. Thus, when investigating the distinction between "truthful" and "biased" in journalism, it is not about the difference between "descriptive" and "non descriptive", but rather the difference between a judgement of a current event that remains comparatively impartial despite

¹ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd ed. (New York, US: Continuum, 2011), 269.

inclusion of inevitable prejudices, and an opinionated report that use the reporter's own prejudice as a primal reasoning of right or wrong.

This is especially useful in journalistic reports about other cultures with which a personal connection is made impossible by geographical and language barriers. Like Gadamer says, "A person who is trying to understand is exposed to distraction from fore-meanings that are not borne out by the things themselves."² Intrinsically, the judgments we put forth are products of our own environment and are unique to our own discourses. We interpret everything with our prejudgements. However, there are certain standards that can be utilized to make one more impartial. One being to address the inevitable prejudice we have before interpreting a conversation, a blob of text, or any other medium of this sort, and become aware of it. Gadamer explains that "A person trying to understand something will not resign himself from the start to relying on his own accidental fore-meanings, ignoring as consistently and stubbornly as possible the actual meaning of the text until the latter becomes so persistently audible that it breaks through what the interpreter imagines it to be."³ Thus when one's inevitable prejudices are not recognized by oneself and repeatedly affect how one interprets the other person's expression, the message that one receives from this conversation is likely to be very biased and skewed from what the other is trying to express. Being aware of one's own bias can "present itself in all its otherness and thus assert its own truth against one's own fore-meanings."⁴ However, Gadamer also noted here that this does not mean one

² Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 270.

³ Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 271.

⁴ Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 272.

needs to “forget” all fore-meanings when trying to interpret the other. Instead it is just asking to remain open to the others’ point of view, which “includes our situating the other meaning in relation to the whole of our own meanings or ourselves in relation to it.” ⁵

In conclusion, the model used in this essay to evaluate a “truthful journalism” does not require one to be completely descriptive, but rather being aware of the prejudgments one has when understanding and reporting a foreign event. It is important for journalists to conceptualize and address the different ideals people have regarding a certain event, instead of simply regarding the other side as exotic, incorrect or inferior.

3. Examples of Media coverage

In this part of the essay, we look upon the rhetoric employed by Chinese and American media in major series of protests having taken much of the attention of their respective populace. Specifically, we compare and contrast their description of the dissents and conclude with their effects on the readers.

The Hong Kong protests, consisting of continuing protests organized by Hong Kong citizens that initially targeted the Fugitive Offenders amendment bill since 2019, which quickly elevated to conflicts of many other aspects of the relation between Hong Kong and China mainland, have been a focus of public opinion. Chinese media and the US media took different perspectives of this event, and provide perfect examples of “impartial journalism” that are in reality very opinionated. The general opinion of the

⁵ Gadamer, Truth and Method, 271.

Chinese media being condemning 'the riots' for causing social turmoil with physical violence, and the American side accusing China of using police force to 'limit Hong Kong's liberty'.

3.1 The Chinese side

On August 10th, days after the passing of the National Security Law, Global Times, a Chinese media associated with the Chinese Government, reported that 7 people had been arrested for violation of the new laws.⁶ The article reads that “ since this operation implicated Li Zhiying himself [A prominent dissident]... This means that Li... after the laws had taken effect, still continues to conspire with foreign groups to inflict harm on national security.” The Global Times wrote: “Taking action on such a large scale tells us that this is an important case, also tells us that the police have assessed the leads and evidence on hand are sufficient to form an effective chain, having a high chance of conviction.” Two premises were used at the core of this claim: the first is explicit, that this case is important to the police; the second is implicit, that the police only move when there is enough evidence. This leaves the conclusion that the people arrested must have deserved it. Only the first premise was corroborated by evidence they provided. However, by combining different arguments together and consolidating them in a single sentence, they effectively make the logical flaws insignificant, as the reader most likely would not peruse through everything written. The seemingly factual claims

⁶ Global Times, "乱港头目黎智英被拘捕 学者：这是'大案要案'不排除国安公署后续参与" [Li Zhiying, leader of Luan Gang, arrested; scholar said: This is a "major case", which does not exclude the subsequent involvement of the national security administration], Global Times, August 10, 2020, <https://china.huanqiu.com/article/3zPmA26xE6m>.

such as these, with the help of carefully chosen syntax and diction, serve to create an extremely unfavorable view of the dissents.

Another example of the Global Times' reports that is seemingly descriptive but involves biased messages is a comic designed to "explain the security laws."⁷ One page of the comics titled "Control by brainwashing, destruction and burglary" features a fly whose head mimics that of a protester (with helmet and mask) sitting on top of a person breaking a window. Another page displays a cockroach with a human head bearing resemblance to student leaders pulling a rope connected to HK. The very last page includes a figure of national police kicking rats and flies (with human heads) while commenting "support security legislation." The comics, while consisting of descriptive law codes, is accompanied with dehumanizing aspects of the comics, for they translate into a fanatical abhorrence against the protesters among the readers. Specifically, we identify three effects of such linguistic dehumanization. The first is that they evoke people's innate bias against vermin. By painting protesters as mice, flies, and cockroaches, the comics make it harder for people to entertain the notion of their potential innocence, as the first instinct arising from encounter is to kill or drive away. In some scenarios, they would even begin to praise those who exterminate the vermin. The second is the deprivation of rights. The vast majority of the audience do not recognize or have little regard for the notion of animal rights. If a group is deemed as the equivalent of animals, or any organism except the homo sapiens, their rights are less likely to be accepted by the population. Linking protesters to vermin, the paper

⁷ Youlieryoumian, "香港国安法动漫解读" [Comics Interpretation of Hong Kong National Security Law], Global Times, August 13, 2020, <https://china.huanqiu.com/article/3zSCG4demBc>.

achieves this exact effect. The third has to do with othering. Even if the readers should choose to recognize animal rights and pass the comics off as silly, the distinct imageries of the police and the dissents would still perpetuate a mark of otherness in their minds. So long as a us versus them mentality is constructed, there will always be room to categorically establish the evil of the other.

3.2 The American side

Simultaneously, the western media paints a rather dark and grim picture of the current state of Hong Kong.

An article published on the New York Time articulates that “The chill over the city has booksellers, professors and nonprofits questioning their future.”⁸ They use language and mechanisms that sustain biases against China. Specifically, in describing the effect of the new National Security Law, the New York Time writes: “Booksellers are nervously eyeing customers, worried they could be government spies. Writers have asked a news site to delete more than 100 articles, anxious that old posts could be used against them.” As much as the National Security law opens the door to police cooperation with the mainland, the primary source of enforcement remains the Hong Kong police themselves. Therefore, it is reasonable for one to assume with a certain degree of certainty, that the “government” in question is the Hong Kong government, making the officials more of an undercover policing nature than a spying one. However, the diction

⁸ Vivian Wang and Alexandra Stevenson, "In Hong Kong, Arrests and Fear Mark First Day of New Security Law," New York Times, July 1, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/01/world/asia/hong-kong-security-law-china.html?searchResultPosition=15>.

choice of “spy” distorts such fundamental distinction. It functions by placing citizens as enemies that require not policing but spying. Moreover, the description of “eyeing” and “anxious” employs figurative language to produce vivid imagery, which inherently possesses an opinionated element.

In *"Hong Kong Has Lost Autonomy, Pompeo Says, Opening Door to U.S. Action"*

published in New York Times, Wong describes “In recent days, protesters in Hong Kong have taken to the streets to voice outrage at the proposed law, only to be beaten back by police officers clad in riot gear and firing tear gas.”⁹ On the Chinese’s side, numerous reports focused on “riots setting people up on fire”, “looting police’s guns”¹⁰, and “beating innocent citizens”¹¹. In fact, reports that focus on only one part of the story is not uncommon when addressing the Hong Kong protests on both the US side and the Chinese side. In *"Hong Kong Police Shoot Protester Amid Clashes"* in New York Times, it is described that “The video shows a police officer in a white shirt and neon vest pulling his gun on a group of protesters surrounding him at an intersection in the Sai Wan Ho neighborhood.”¹² The article then describes how the man was shot and how he is in “critical circumstance”. The report does not mention the critical reason for the shot

⁹ Edward Wong, "Hong Kong Has Lost Autonomy, Pompeo Says, Opening Door to U.S. Action," New York Times, May 27, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/27/us/politics/china-hong-kong-pompeo-trade.html>.

¹⁰ Jiangxiao Zhang, "暴民政治现场：香港暴徒开始夺枪，炸街，烧人了..." [Ochlocracy: Hong Kong mobs began to snatch guns, blow up streets and set people on fire], Guancha (China), November 13, 2019, <https://user.guancha.cn/main/content?id=197661&s=fwzxfbt>.

¹¹ "香港周日再发生暴力冲突 入夜后暴徒劣行尽露人前" [Violence occurred again in Hong Kong on Sunday, the behaviors of the mobs are revealed after nightfall], Sina News (China), August 26, 2019, <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2019-08-26/doc-ihytcern3551837.shtml>.

¹² Elaine Yu, Mike Ives, and Edward Wong, "Hong Kong Police Shoot Protester amid Clashes," New York Times, November 13, 2019, [Page #], <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/10/world/asia/hong-kong-protests-general-strike.html>.

-- that the Hong Kong police believed the man was trying to snatch the gun from him, and that the man did make a move that seems like snatching the police's gun in the video. Similarly, other reports on New York Times regarding this event like "*Ugly From the Outset: Hong Kong's Day of Widespread Violence*" also fails to address the other side of the story.¹³

Words that are purely descriptive can be taking a perspective on an idea by only reporting one aspect of the whole picture -- the Chinese side reports violence of the riots; the US side reports the violence of the police. This is called Gatekeeping bias, which will be illustrated in a later part of the essay.

On the same event however, CNN provided a more impartial report titled "We 'shouldn't have to give our lives:' Hong Kong protester shot by police speaks out".¹⁴ This report, although uses diction that implies alignment with the protestors, does not exclude voices of the Hong Kong government. It describes that "In the video, the officer raises his gun, and Chow appears to try to wave or slap the gun away as he nears the officer." This is perceived as a description that includes biases, that the movement is described to be decisively "wave or snatch" instead of other possibilities. However, the report mentioned that "The officer fired the gun because he believed Chow[the man shot] was trying to snatch his gun." The article expressed that "The government has regularly

¹³ Mike Ives, Elaine Yu, and Edward Wong, "Ugly from the Outset: Hong Kong's Day of Widespread Violence," New York Times, November 11, 2019, [Page #], <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/11/world/hong-kong-protests.html>.

¹⁴ Jessie Yeung, Sandi Sidhu, and Nick Paton Walsh, "We 'shouldn't have to give our lives:' Hong Kong Protester Shot by Police Speaks Out," CNN, November 24, 2019, [Page #], <https://www.cnn.com/2019/11/23/asia/hong-kong-protester-shot-intv-intl-hnk/index.html>.

claimed that protest support is waning, and that a silent majority of Hong Kongers are sick and tired of the violence. Protesters offer a different take -- that the city is with them, no matter the cost, and the recent lack of mass public rallies is only due to increasing restrictions on public assembly.” Although this report does include sensational arguments, it is inevitable that the reporters take a side on certain events and base certain ideas on the preconceptions they have. The merit of this particular article is it offers both side’s point of views, which is an example of a more impartial report.

4. Biases in journalism

The above examples covered various types of biases in modern news reporting. To further examine prejudices and preconceptions in journalism covering foreign events, the essay will first introduce common types of biases in journalism. The most commonly discussed types are Coverage bias, Gatekeeping bias, and Statement bias. These are considered to be very widely used when attacking a particular political party or candidates. As intuitively a foreign culture usually consists of a different political party and often holds different perspectives on events, these three biases are also used very often in international news reports. Coverage bias appears “when actors or issues are more or less visible in the news”.¹⁵ Gatekeeping basis is a phenomenon “when stories are selected or deselected, sometimes on ideological grounds”.¹⁶ It is a wide-spread

¹⁵ Jakob-Moritz Eberl, Hajo G. Boomgaarden, and Markus Wagner, One Bias Fits All? Three Types of Media Bias and Their Effects on Party Preferences, November 19, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650215614364>.

¹⁶ Eberl, Boomgaarden, and Wagner, One Bias.

phenomenon when only a part of the story is being told. Both Coverage bias and Gatekeeping bias creates an illusion that the reports are simply being descriptive. However, only describing one part of the story when the other is also inseparable from the whole picture can also mislead the readers, the news reports on the Hong Kong protests above being an example of news press only reporting the stories that benefit their own side. Lastly, Statement bias is used to “describe a tendency towards using more favorable statements to refer to one political party at the expense of another”.¹⁷ This is probably the most obvious bias that can be seen in nearly every journalistic report with political tendencies.

As demonstrated in the early parts of the essay, the contemporary form of reporting from all perspectives are saturated with prejudices like those listed above, implicitly or explicitly altering the nature of the subject and projecting a particular representation. In this part of the essay, the effects prejudices bring will be examined.

4.1 Perceptions that can be illuminating

In certain scenarios, prejudices included in journalism are not necessarily harmful, but can instead be illuminating. It is important to note here that these kinds of prejudices are not biased forms of reporting that include Coverage bias or Gatekeeping bias, i.e. intentional biases that simply ignore or disregard a certain part of the story, but those

¹⁷ Dave D'Alessio and Mike Allen, Media Bias in Presidential Elections: A Meta-Analysis, January 10, 2006, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02866.x>.

preconceptions cause by different environment the reporter is immersed in or the different ideals the reporter has.

When understanding an event, reading a certain text, or doing anything of this sort that requires being introduced to something new, we conceptualize and judge these events with our preconceptions. Every piece of knowledge we have is a part of our prejudice. In Gadamer's *Truth and Method*, he illustrated that "'prejudice' certainly does not necessarily mean a false judgment, but part of the idea is that it can have either a positive or a negative value."¹⁸ And in fact, in certain scenarios, being introduced to and familiarized with a prejudice can create a wild contrast between one's previous belief and what other people might think of it. For example, if one has been receiving news from CCTV all the time and is suddenly exposed to western media like NYT, it is very possible that the person will be astonished by others' preconceptions on the same event. This conflict between different ideals will then promote the person to re-examine events, and might illuminate one to discover that the ideals one had was not the truth, but rather a form of prejudice fostered by the environment one is raised in.

4.2 Negative influence of prejudices

However, even though certain innate prejudices in journalism might be illuminating, the majority of cases is that prejudice defeats one of the most important qualities or journalism -- objectivity. As many biases included in journalistic reports is hard to decipher for ordinary viewers, it is very easy for journalism to decide what they want the

¹⁸ Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 273.

readers to get from a certain article, which can be misleading. The negative effects of prejudices in coverage of foreign events include creating biased profiles, promoting discrimination, causing sensational responses, etc.

The negative effects of journalistic biases have been magnified as social media and different forms of technology became the main medium of communication between foreign events and the general public, and in many cases the goal of journalism ceases being to inform, but instead to influence. It is part of the definition of journalistic objectivity to help viewers make up their own mind about different events, instead of using rhetoric choices and biased reporting to persuade viewers of one specific perspective.

5. What leads to prejudices

This leads to the question of where certain prejudices are derived and how their impacts sustained, a question which this essay shall endeavor to answer in the following paragraphs. The answer is mainly separated into two categories in this part of the essay. The first is to influence audiences to conceptualize ideas in a certain way for the writer's interest; the second one being unintentional words of choice caused by inevitable prejudice held by writers.

5.1 Intentional misrepresentation

To start, let us consider the more glaring answer to the question: these prejudices are facilitated to further an agenda that inevitably benefits the ones who pursue them. In the example of Chinese media, the agenda in question is that of the party's exertion of control. George Orwell wrote in 1984 that “who controls the past controls the future; who controls the present controls the past.”¹⁹ The key takeaway is that it matters little what happened -- it matters how people perceive them. By manipulating the narrative of the present, one may easily instill a revisionist view of history, from which only ideas that are good for the corresponding party may be derived. And the most effective way to achieve this end rests in positioning the right set of prejudices. Prejudice, as we literally understand it, serves as a pre-condition of understanding, the power of prejudice is that it saves us efforts. The task of reading something new is immensely difficult when we are forced to change our minds about some previous subjects. The efficacy of prejudice is that if we cling onto them, we will not have to think for ourselves and simply give in to our innate conservatism. Recall from earlier, when Global Times equates foreigners and dissents with vermin. The readers could very well accept it to be true and prescribe them with the negative denotation of vermin. After that, it becomes unlikely for the readers to start pondering about what exactly happened during the protests. Using biases to frame the discourse essentially lends power to the influencer as when the audience has catered to their prejudices, they subconsciously will begin rejecting new ideas.

5.2 Unintentional misrepresentation

¹⁹ George Orwell, 1984

The second part of our answer addresses prejudices that are produced by the writers' and reporters' personal background, and thus considered less intentional. A journalist representing CCTV in America can easily be fluent in English but retain a vastly different understanding of certain words; a journalist from CNN in China can speak Chinese perfectly but still fails to grasp the intricacy of Chinese culture. To further explain this, we'll discuss the conception of dictatorship in East and West. A classical dictator in the west usually follows the same schema: an ambitious individual in a time of crisis procures the support of the people using his unimpeachable skill of speech and promises to fix the status quo with an iron fist, and suddenly seizes control before dismantling the democratic institution which put him to power in the first place and falling to fear as the primary source for stability in the newly formed dictatorship. This is the reason why the images westerners conjure up when they react to the word "dictatorship," are those of Adolf Hitler, Julius Caesar, and some would say, Donald Trump. This is also why they immediately dismiss the idea of a dictator and point out that the people will eventually realize the truth and fight back, for as Charlie Chaplin articulated it in the *Great Dictator*, "The hate of men will pass, and dictators die."²⁰ However, such a mantra is not one held by many outside of the western civilization. Thus, the citizens under a democracy must be the victim and government the victimizer. In former Czechoslovakian statesman Vaclav Havel's essay "The Power of the Powerless", he indicates the ephemeral connotation of dictatorship.²¹ Most Western countries have a long-standing tradition of representative government and therefore people can easily

²⁰ The Great Dictator, performed by Charlie Chaplin.

²¹ Vaclav Havel, "'The Power of the Powerless' - Vaclav Havel," HAC Bard, last modified December 23, 2011, <https://hac.bard.edu/amor-mundi/the-power-of-the-powerless-vaclav-havel-2011-12-23>.

develop a mindset antagonizing dictators for they intrude the historical processes of democracy. But, in the case of Russia, it is democracy and representative government that are short-lived (consider the Provisional Government). Tsarism, which had lasted centuries before its ultimate demise, provided a powerful historical context for the centralization of power. People look up to the government in the capital and await instructions. Such idea of centralization was then reinforced by the Soviet rule and is now inherited by the Russian Federation. Havel concludes that “for even though our dictatorship has long since alienated itself completely from the social movements that give birth to it, the authenticity of these movements...gives it undeniable historicity.”²² The people living in a totalitarian society are alien to the democratic ideas and believe that they should but stick to what they have already; as for the one pushing for alienated ideals, they would perceive them as enemies.

The second challenge faced by the conception of classical dictatorship is that it does not account for the stasis within these dictatorships. Consider the quote below: “Finally, if an atmosphere of revolutionary excitement, heroism, dedication, and boisterous violence on all sides characterizes classical dictatorships, then the last traces of such an atmosphere have vanished from the Soviet bloc...the Soviet bloc is an integral part of that larger world... This means in concrete terms that the hierarchy of values existing in the developed countries of the West has, in essence, appeared in our society...In other words, what we have here is simply another form of the consumer and industrial

²² Havel, "The Power," HAC Bard.

society...It is impossible to understand the nature of power in our system properly without taking this into account.”²³

Hearing the term “dictatorship,” liberal westerners pre-supposes it to be something inherently and structurally violent, something, in short, ought not to be granted existence. What they fail to see is that even inside these dictatorships, there are vibrant and stable ecosystems of commerce, governance, and living. Their supposed “righteousness” will only result in the disintegration of said ecosystems, and by extension, the hopes of those believed in their institutions. An assumption like this most certainly would not stir much sympathy as opposed to animosity.

6. What would be a more truthful journalism

As we have demonstrated that the mutual hostility between citizens from a democracy and a totalitarian society can be effectively explained by the biases they hold toward their counterparts’ systems, we will then begin discussing the ways through which some aforementioned problems can be resolved.

The essay will further explain two approaches. First, the individual reporting the event should carry out extensive contextualization. This includes giving out historical framework for the event to take place and the significance of the event to the culture in question. The digestion of foreign information could provoke serious contemplation among the readers whose curiosity may push them to further discovery. What’s more,

²³ Havel, "The Power," HAC Bard.

this leads to an increase in one's own reflection on their own culture. Biases are pernicious because they instigate an abhorrence against the Other; contextualization checks the oversimplification that propels its very own construction. Second, in introducing concepts inherent in one culture but alien to another, generating new words and phrases would be more preferable over conforming them into a familiar concept. There are two advantages in doing so. One is the decrease in prejudice. Previously, it is examined how the precarious use of the word "dictatorship" could further entrench the audience from different backgrounds deeper in their prior interpretation. New words and phrases, being entirely or partially alien to the readers, could prevent the evocation of presuppositions, thereby making it easier to keep an open mind to the dialogue. The second is accuracy. Naturally, the human mind makes association with the terms and concepts with which it is familiar. But the extent to which the knowledge accessible and akin to one's upbringing can encapsulate all distinct ideologies is severely limited. That said, it is sometimes necessary to incorporate a foreign concept into a new representation. Going back to Havel, who spectacularly articulates the term "posttotalitarian": "If I refer to it henceforth as a "posttotalitarian" system... I do not wish to imply by the prefix "post" that the system is no longer totalitarian; on the contrary, I mean that it is totalitarian in a way fundamentally different from classical dictatorships, different from totalitarianism as we usually understand it."²⁴

The act of formulating new concepts may prove easier than one might expect. The key point is to adequately differentiate between the subject and its "counterpart" in the native culture. The prefix "post" implies that this particular political system inherits

²⁴ Havel, "The Power," HAC Bard.

certain characteristics of classical totalitarianism, but at the same time demonstrates that it transcends the latter's limits.

7. Conclusion

Gadamer said "It is the tyranny of hidden prejudices that makes us deaf to what speaks to us in tradition."²⁵ In journalism covering foreign events, it is inevitable that one either intentional or unintentionally expresses biased viewpoints. However, this does not mean that it is impossible for journalism to be truthful or impartial. This essay addresses the common prejudices in journalism, and provides approaches for one to be more unbiased in reporting a foreign culture. It is a hope that journalism can thrive to be a medium through which the general public can familiarize with a foreign culture in a less biased way, and that less reports will misrepresent a culture for their personal agenda.

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²⁵ Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 272.

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