

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CHINESE AND U.S.  
NEWS COVERAGE OF THE 2014 HONG KONG UPRISING

by

CHAO MENG

B.A., Tianjin Foreign Studies University, 2013

A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

A. Q. Miller School of Journalism and Mass Communications  
College of Arts and Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
Manhattan, Kansas

2015

Approved by:

Major Professor  
Angela M. Powers

# **Copyright**

CHAO MENG

2015

## Abstract

**Background:** During the 2014 Hong Kong protests, with the growing concern of various perspectives in the international media, news coverage, as the main source of information transportation has become an issue of research interest. According to framing theory, for a certain event, media is likely to place it within a field of meaning. Furthermore, the message meaning, framed by media, influence audience's information processing. Different media organizations might have different perspectives on framing same event. This study examined how Chinese news coverage and U.S. news coverage framed an event.

**Method:** A quantitative content analysis was conducted among a sample of 152 news stories from *China Daily* and *The New York Times*. All the stories from August 17<sup>th</sup> 2014 to January 8<sup>th</sup> 2015 were analyzed to determine whether the 2014 Hong Kong protest was framed by *China Daily* and *The New York Times* differently. The code sheet was structured with key variables derived from former published articles. Furthermore, the categories of main issue and secondary issue came from pre-tests with another co-coder. Data analysis was conducted with frequency counts, cross tabulations and Pearson's chi-square analysis in SPSS.

**Results:** Findings suggested that news coverage of *China Daily* focused on the issues of politics and protest, as well as did the coverage of *The New York Times*. However they have significant differences on framing of history, profiles of protesters and others. The findings suggested that the *China Daily* and *The New York Times* have significant differences on overall bias in terms of Pro-change, Anti-change and Neutral.

**Conclusion:** Samples in this study, as prosperous news organizations with the reputation and resources to conduct fair reporting and to set journalistic standards in China and The United States respectively, represented most perspectives in general. According to different factors of

national interest, political ideology and history, Chinese news coverage and U.S. news coverage have significant differences on framing the issues and overall bias.

Keywords: *Hong Kong protests, framing, newspaper, politics, China, U.S., journalism*

# Table of Contents

List of Tables .....	vii
Acknowledgements.....	viii
Chapter 1 - Introduction.....	1
The 2014 Hong Kong Uprising.....	2
Chinese Journalism .....	3
China Through the Insight of U.S. Journalism .....	4
Chapter 2 - Literature Review.....	6
Theoretical Review: Framing Theory.....	6
Framing as Media Discourse .....	6
Process of Framing Work .....	7
Framing Theory Practiced in U.S. News Media .....	8
Four Phases of Research on Media Effects.....	9
Framing Works on Audience .....	10
Framing Theory Practiced in Political Issues .....	12
Framing Theory Practiced in International Journalism .....	13
Practical Review: International Journalism .....	13
Comparative Studies between China and the U.S. in terms of Public Risk.....	13
Comparative Studies between China and the U.S. in terms of International Public issue.....	15
How China is Portrayed by U.S. Media Coverage .....	16
Chapter 3 - Methodology .....	22
Materials .....	22

Procedures .....	22
Data Analysis .....	24
Chapter 4 - Results .....	25
Main Issue .....	25
Secondary Issue .....	26
Overall Bias .....	27
Differences in Coverage .....	28
Chapter 5 - Discussion .....	32
Study Implication .....	32
Limitation .....	35
Future Study .....	36
Bibliography .....	37
Appendix A - Code Sheet .....	45
Appendix B - IRB Approval Letter .....	47

## List of Tables

Table 4.1. Main Issues and Secondary Issues of Stories in <i>China Daily</i> and <i>The New York Times</i> .....	25
Table 4.2 Overall Bias of Stories in <i>China Daily</i> and <i>The New York Times</i> .....	27
Table 4.3. Comparisons of Main Issues of Stories in <i>China Daily</i> and <i>The New York Times</i> .....	29
Table 4.4. Comparison of Secondary Issues of Stories in <i>China Daily</i> and <i>The New York Times</i> .....	30
Table 4.5. Comparison of Overall Bias of Stories in <i>China Daily</i> and <i>The New York Times</i> .....	31

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express my deep gratitude to my major professor, Dr. Angela M Powers who guided and supported me through the research process in my master's study and made this accomplishment possible for me. I am grateful to have such a patient and knowledgeable advisor, who brought my goals to fruition this semester and helped me keep motivated. I would also like to thank Dr. Curtis Matthews and Dr. Tom Hallaq for being such supportive and encouraging committee members. Their incredible insight and valuable feedback helped me to make this thesis better and better.

I would also like to thank Dean Kimathi Choma for supporting my thesis process during my assistantship time here. Thank you for sharing your successful experience that drove me to be positive and motivated for my master's study. I am deeply grateful for your encouragement when I am suffered the tough time.

I would also like to thank all the friends who have come into my life. Every one of them has given me the chance to improve myself.

Finally I would like to acknowledge my parents — Liying Hua and Xiangchao Meng — for supporting me in pursuing my dream. I deeply appreciate their unconditional helps and encouragement during my master' s study. Both of you are always be there to remind me about the positive change this study could bring about, and to re-ignite my passion for it when it felt lost. For all the love and helps, among countless other reasons, I owe you both the world.

Give thanks in all circumstance, for this is God's will for me in Christ Jesus.



## Chapter 1 - Introduction

When you throw a stone in the lake, you will see the water ripple for a long while and then lay quiet again. In international news coverage, we can see a stone was dropped in one place and ripples in another. But those ripples of public issues are differing from one country to the other, which means different countries frame the same international public issue differently. The present study focuses the difference between the Chinese news media and U.S. news media in terms of reporting Chinese political events of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising.

Most previous comparative studies examined the difference between Chinese news media and U.S. news media based on the topics of public health, sporting events or an economic crisis. Jingjing (2006) conducted a comparative analysis of AIDS in Chinese and U.S. newspapers from 2001 to 2004, which examined how the newspapers framed AIDS under respective types of ideologies and environments. Mei and Alexis (2012) found that individual accounts of achievements as reported in the media are consistent with cultural norms and values, in media reports of success by Chinese and the U.S. gold medalists at the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics. Also Lulu and Jiajun (2012) examined how the Chinese and American financial newspapers framed coverage of the *Sanlu* milk scandal. The results of those studies indicated that U.S. news coverage framed Chinese public issues consistently with dominant democratic ideology instead of alternative perspectives. However most of these studies showed a negative bias of Chinese news reporting in U.S. news coverage, according to the U.S. foreign policy and national background, subtle shifts in coverage occurred when former U.S. President Clinton visited China in 1998. The major U.S. news media such as *The The New York Times*,

*USA Today*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, reported news on China's progress and openness much more objectively and differently than before (Ching, 1998). This change in the political environment impacted news coverage. Thus the present study focuses on comparing Chinese and U.S. news coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising. As events in China continue to evolve, media coverage may continue to change.

### **The 2014 Hong Kong Uprising**

Since the coverage of crises can greatly impact society, a great deal of attention is attracted by media coverage of national crises (Constantinescu&Tedesco, 2007; Luther&Zhou, 2005; Tian&Stewart, 2005; Beaudoin, 2007b; Yang, 2012). Recognizing the significant values of crises coverage, this study proposes to compare the Chinese and U.S. news coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising. Since September 26<sup>th</sup> 2014, the situation in Hong Kong has created an unpredictable challenge to the overall stability of China. During the student uprising of the decision to give Mainland China veto power over candidates in future elections, the protestors were scattered by Hong Kong authorities in using pepper spray and tear gas. The protestors blocked the city center and impeded traffic. The central government could not permit this situation to worsen because Hong Kong's reputation as a financial center and tourist attraction would suffer. During this time, Beijing had difficulty negotiating with Hong Kong protestors in the streets of Hong Kong. However in 2013, even though the gross domestic product per capita of Hong Kong is 53,203 that much more than 11,904 in Mandarin China (Beauchamp, 2014), the protestors were still not satisfied with Hong Kong's autonomy and freedoms. China faced a serious political crisis problem with inner citizens and government, which challenges the "One Country, Two Systems" policy. In January

1997, Hong Kong's public opinion on this policy was 57.0 percent of confidence rate; the highest confidence rate was 74.9 percent in 2007 July. During July 2014, it came down to the lowest rate 37.6 percent (Beauchamp, 2014). With plenty of problems between central government and Hong Kong protestors, this national political crisis attracted a great deal of international attention. Especially when Chinese news media is getting more freedom in its field of journalism, the value of studying a comparative analysis between Chinese and U.S. news coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising has significance to international journalism.

### **Chinese Journalism**

The situation of the Chinese Communist Party on journalism and media was established during the Rectification Campaign of 1924-1944 in Yen-an (Burgh, 2000). By means of this, the mass media were to be used to shape public opinion. At that time, the newspapers were dreary and dominated with content of standardized political bulletins. The democracy movement of 1979-1989 caused economic reforms, bringing an upsurge of optimism and radical thinking since the mid-1980s. After that, differently from the mid-1980s, Chinese media is no longer under the Soviet Press Model and controlled by the government. Chinese media have changed to provide more freedom in the field of journalism. Furthermore, there is an increasing number of media staff on private sector contracts and more permission to diversify (Burgh, 2000). More and more stories on common citizen life make audience-led more important than leadership-led stories (Polumbaum, 1990). Under the relative free market structure, Journalists have more freedom to cover news today than they did as civil servants in the 1980s (Arant, 2014;

Burgh, 2000). However, while the Chinese journalism is much more free and diverse than before, it still has problems with censorship. In order to keep stable in China, Chinese government blocked activists from using media as an effective political tool through censorship and regulation. The filtered information could lead audience to have a positive perspective on Chinese policies. Thus the news releasing plays a significant role in shaping public opinion. Different media system framed same topic differently. The framing of news coverage might be affected by various factors, such as history, political ideology and national interest.

### **China Through the Insight of U.S. Journalism**

Currently the most powerful nation in the world, United States, is a place to conduct international public relations campaigns by many other countries (Johnson, 2004; Manheim, 1994). More importantly, as political conductors constantly explore public attitudes when improving policies on international issues, public opinion increasingly influences foreign policy in democratic countries (Holst, 2004; Sobel, 2001). With this U.S. foreign policy, the international news coverage by the media is often consistent with the native ideology and perspectives (Bennett, 1990). It is obvious that the U.S. and China are two respective nations with structural contradictions such as ideology and cultural perspectives (Liu, 2009). Based on their public relations, the complex relations between China and the U.S., is described as a “love-hate” dilemma (Mosher, 1990). From the late 1970s to the early 1980s, with the lack of knowledge in Chinese issues, the U.S. viewed China as a politically repressive place (Mann, 1999). After the economic reform in China, the U.S. published much more positive evaluations on Chinese events (Liu, 2009).

In a global era, to a large extent, Chinese media does not only report the domestic news for itself but also creates an international image for foreign countries. Thus foreign public press has played a significant role in Chinese international marketing and foreign policy marketing (Wang, 2011). Since China and the United States established diplomatic relations in the 1970s, most Americans rely on information from news coverage to build their perspectives of China because of less practical direct contact with China. However, American news media report much more Chinese information in order to create good public relations. Furthermore, U.S. media coverage of China more often focuses on real-world events, especially political crises (Wang X., 2011), which could gain much more attention from the public and influence judgments. Compared with the relative free news environment of the U.S., however, Chinese journalism has been heavily concerned with the impact and pressure of politics. Thus news coverage would be framed differently between Chinese news media and American news media. The bias of stories between U.S. and Chinese media may be different. Few studies have examined Chinese political crisis from a framing perspective and what little research that has been done focuses mostly on responses by U.S. news media. Therefore, the current research also extends the framing literature by considering public relations as a factor that may shape news framing differently. It focuses on examining the gap between Chinese news media and U.S. news media in terms of news coverage of a Chinese public crisis.

## **Chapter 2 - Literature Review**

### **Theoretical Review: Framing Theory**

#### ***Framing as Media Discourse***

Framing theory will be applied for this research on a major Chinese newspaper and a U.S. newspaper covering the topic of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising differently. Frames can be employed in many areas including media systems, audience and social organizations. Goffman has defined frames as “ the principles of organization, which regulate events and our individual involvement in them,” (Goffman, 1974). What’s more, Goffman argued that the journalists were in charge of producing and contextualizing, which is the first idea of framing news messages (Goffman, 1974; Liu Y. , 2009).

The earliest framing studies in American media studies were introduced by Tuchman (1978) and Gitlin (1980). These researchers pointed out the essential idea of framing is certain significant procedures of social construction. On the other hand, it emphasizes certain attributes of the social resource (Tuchman, 1978). Tuchman (1978) suggested that framing in mass communication was the approach of how the reality and news is constructed by media. The primary idea and news coverage of a frame supplies meaningful information and background by selecting, highlighting and giving details of events (Tankard, 1991). Generally speaking, framing theory is employed by indicating and explaining media structures and ideological hegemony in terms of content, which has been developed in sociology studies. Its assumption is that the existing influences could shape the structures and patterns that could be predicted and recognized in apparently intricate and diversified news content (Goffman, 1978; Dai, 2006).

#### ***Seven Dimensions of Framing***

The most comprehensive and precise understanding of the framing concept is from the Entman's (1993) study, which indicated that this concept could be explained by seven dimensions: the accurate angle of reality, the significant part of reality emphasized, communicating in a promotional way, making up a special view of a problem, explaining the reasons, ignoring the judgment in terms of humanitarian and providing a solution for the issue. Entman (1993) stated that framing is a process to "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more prominent in a context of communication, as to promote a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation." Thus, the procedure of making some background references, selecting some visual materials and choosing some reference sources is defined as framing (Entman, 1993).

### ***Process of Framing Work***

There are four evident and succeeding processes in framing work, which included frame building, frame setting, individual-level outcomes of framing and a feedback loop from audiences to journalists. The frame setting and individual-level outcomes of framing are relative to the influence of media frames on audience frames (Scheufele, 1999; 2000; Zhou, 2008). In the previous studies, some scholars suggested that framing is actually an extension of agenda setting and described as second-level agenda setting. It is indicated that the prominent features of media coverage have an impact on public understanding of those news content (McCombs; Shaw; Weaver, 1997). Under the certain social contexts, a complete process of framing could be conceptualized as a circle of media production, media representation, and media consumption (Wu, 2006). During the process of framing, journalists transport, explain and value information by selecting, setting

priorities and constructing the message of events. This means, under the journalists' consequential indication, the information released by the media organization is sensitive and fragile to construction (Liu Y. , 2009). The news by a journalistic organization is a process of gatekeeping. The process depends on how all potential news materials are selected, edited and added into the news that is distributed to the public (Eichholz, 2001). Therefore, during the process of news production, selecting, highlighting and publishing certain aspects of current happenings, could create 'reality'. Framing is referred to as ignoring or taking useless information which misinterpret metaphors or confused context from they would like to present to the audience (Eko, 1999; Bateson, 1972; Dennis, 2007).

### ***Framing Theory Practiced in U.S. News Media***

Shoemaker, Chang and Brendlinger (1987) suggested that the definition of U.S. news media as newsworthy is close to the deviance of such issues from societal norms- including circumstances or people who are fresh, unusual, subtle or significant- are worthy to be news. The journalists tend to reveal disorder rather than normal order and deviance rather than peace (Schudson, 2003). The journalistic workers are likely to find news bias by means of framing theory (Dennis, 2007). Before the reporting released, journalists are likely to create a perspective based on the news values when they reaching an event or making stories. The journalists always keep these in mind during the whole process of the news construction (Shoemaker&Reese, 1996), because time is a significant consideration to news producers because they have to make the latest stories currently and finish those events with high quality before meeting their deadlines. (Schudson, 2003). Those prominent elite or important people, unordinary happenings or large-scale



influences which have an impact on most of people, normal society and the milk of human kindness could included into criteria of newsworthiness, which could be sort through a set of sustained news values (Gans, 1979; Topp, 2010). Reliance on coessential and cogent information sources as well as building a construction of news stories based on the news values can lead to a certain coessential mixer of news production (Buehner, 2009). The topics would be chosen based upon convenience and reachability, which depend on accessible sources such like media conference, public speaker, wire services and other predicable events that could be scheduled before it happens (Deuze, 2008; Gans, 1978; Schudson, 2003). Thus those public elites, academic experts, and official workers in government are frequently used as authoritative sources because of their efficient and prescheduled (Schudson, 2003).

Furthermore, the news frames are built from and evinced in the meaningful words, metaphors, symbols, definitions and visual information which are stressed in a news storytelling (Entman, 1991). However, to some extent, the news media provide the point of perspective of elites and try to transmit hegemonic explanation of events to the audience, which through selection and ascription (Tuchman, 1978; Gamson, 1992). The procedure of news production in such condition let journalists construct reality by means of news frames with whether consciousness or unconsciousness (Su, 2004).

### ***Four Phases of Research on Media Effects***

The overall study of mass communication is based on the precondition that the media have remarkable effects (McQuail, 1994). It indicated that there were four phases of research of media effects: Firstly, it was dominated by a practice with skillful propaganda, which induced to an increasing fear of the impact of media information on

attitudes. Secondly, attitude change is mainly impacted by existing personal influence. Thirdly, the more cognitive effects of mass media became a new focus of media effects. At last, presently, media and audience could become both powerful and limited influence of mass media, which by social events of reality and interaction between media and audience (McQuail, 1994; Klapper, 1960; NoelleNeumann, 1973; Beniger&Gusek, 1995; Scheufele D. A., 1999; Gamson&Modigliani, 1989; McLeod, 1987; Scheufele D. A., 1999). The frames could not be significance unless it stays in its endurance and be used persistently and routinely (Reese, 2001).

### ***Framing Works on Audience***

To some extent, framing is to pick some certain useful aspects of a reality and modify them more prominent, which is the approach that could possibly have an impact on changing audiences' perspective of the issue (Entman, 1993). A traditional perspective indicates that news release is harmonious and impersonal, and the news identification exactly could display reality to the public (Liu Y. , 2009). When the latest information happens in the news world, is selected only by the news media (Tuchman, 1978). However there are some scholars have announced that the process of frame production is not always driven by elites, in different directions, the citizens has involved in framing by stating their personal understanding of public message and using the available resources from the media, personal experiences (Pan&Kosicki, 2001). There are previous researches have focused on audiences' attitudes can be affected by different frames (Iyengar, 1987; 1991; Nelson, 1997; Shah, 1996). The basic assumption of framing theory is that the pursuant thoughts and reactions are affected by organization of messages (Goffman, 1974). Thus the news product cannot prevent being framed from this

procedure of limited space or time. That could explain those audiences' ideological content and judgments of the presented problems, which might be influenced by news frames potentially (Eko, 1999). One study analyzed four groups and asked each group to read different news frames with the same topic. Results indicated that there was a significant interrelation between the frames and the understanding of the problem (Price, 1997). This procedure indicated that news not only composed a common social phenomenon, it also stated and shaped social events (Tuchman, 1978). The contemporary scholars are likely to address that news is produced reality, and mass media play a significant role in the procedure of social construction in terms of reality (Tuchman, 1978; Adoni&Mane, 1984; Gamson, 1992; Hawkins&Pingree, 1981). Which means, the framing and presentation of news can affect how audiences of the media messages come to understand these events in a systematic way (Price, 1995). To a large extent, the news frames may indirect audience's perspective. Thus the news frames could be used to promote national image and explain specific problem by selecting certain aspects of a current event and making them more prominent. Especially for foreign audience, they lean largely upon news media for information about inexperienced country's issue due to historic and geographic reasons. During the process of news framing in different countries' news media, the ideological divergence could be transmitted by journalists consciously or unconsciously. In 2011, Liu also used *Xinhua* and *Associated Press's* coverage to discover that the values, practices and institutions are different in respective news media between the U.S. and China, which may have certain impact on audience's perceptions (Liu L. , 2011).

### *Framing Theory Practiced in Political Issues*

Manheim (1994) pointed out that visibility, valence and frame genres would be covered by news framing analyses. In the television news, visibility refers to the visual approaches regarding to words, pictures and videos. Valence refers to the hues of news, which could make certain behavioral influences potentially (Kahneman&Tversky, 1979). By practicing some previous mass media schemes, journalists tend to conduct certain news frame that included conflict frame, responsibility frame, economic consequence frame, morality frame, and human-interest frame (Vreese, 2002; Semetko&Valkenburg, 2000; Liu Y. , 2009). Furthermore, responsibility frame could be used in politics research and effect public comments of social issues (Iyengar, 1987).

Framing theory is proper for elaborating political events and social controversy, especially under the international circumstance, which is able to analyze the cultural issues potentially. By this means, since the certain events are so distant that there is less approach and personal involvement in the sources of alternative perspectives, the consensual framing is much more easier to be achieved (McQuail, 2000). The framing theory is impacted by the input of social-political reality. What's more, it represents the outcome of modes, which is the essential part of realities in terms of culture produced and exchanged. (First, 2010).

Within the domain of political mass communication, framing is defined and conducted based on the social constructivism. Media positively conduct the frames of reference that audiences use to understand and discuss public events (Tuchman, 1978; Scheufele D. A., 1999). There was a more specific interpretation of how media offer audiences with schemas for interpreting event. The prominence and selection are the

major factors that could promote a definition, interpretation and evaluation of social events (Entman, 1993).

### ***Framing Theory Practiced in International Journalism***

Researches of international news coverage are likely to use framing theory widely (Liu Y. , 2009). The framing of journalism in the phase of media production is figured as the approach in which news work under the impact of cultural principles and cognitive schemata to give meaning to the events they cover in news (D'Angelo, 2002; Wicks, 2005). Under the international background of culture and politic, the cascade model that made by Entman (2004) examines the intricacy of the process of frame production. Furthermore it tends to be useful in the case of foreign policy issues, which generated from the administration could shape the frames conducted by media or Congress. What's more, it gives an understandable approach to explain how public's reactions have an impact on administrations' revised frames and process of frame production (Entman, 2004). What's more, from the former studies, the cross-national studies of international events identified various factors that might impact the international news coverage (Yang, 2003). The factors could be history (Pan et al., 1999), national interest (Lee & Yang, 1995), political ideology (Wang, 1992; Pan et al., 1999) and diplomatic sensitivity (Wang, 1992).

### **Practical Review: International Journalism**

#### ***Comparative Studies between China and the U.S. in terms of Public Risk***

Some of previous studies have found differences in Chinese and U.S. news framing of public health issues such as Beaudoin (2007a) who investigated the different news frames from Xinhua News Agency and Associated Press in terms of SARS event. In

conducting factor analysis, the responsibility, human interest and severity were common in Associated Press than Xinhua. And it also pointed out that Chinese news environment which controlled by the Communist Party generally serve as an intervention to reportage (Beaudoin, 2007a). In another news framing of SARS study, Luther and Zhou done a comparative study of news coverage of SARS by newspaper in the U.S. and China, they found more parallels between China Daily and U.S. newspaper. It suggested that the Communist Party has further loosened its limitation on this major foreigner-targeted newspaper because of China's efforts to achieve respectful global status (Luther&Zhou, 2005). In recent years, the comparative studies between U.S. and Chinese news media would likely to stress the important of dominant ideologies. Jingjing (2006) conducted the comparative study of the HIV/AIDS news narratives in two newspapers from *The New York Times* and *China Daily* in terms of shaping public opinion and influencing policy. It revealed differences in the respective cultural and specific ideological representation of news topic. Another comparative study of AIDS in China was conducted in 2006. Wu (2006) examined the news frames of HIV/AIDS from Xinhua News Agency of China and Associated Press of the U.S. in 2004. It indicated that a principle anti-government frame was distinct in Associated Press' s report whereas Xinhua's coverage has articulated a pro-government frame. Then Feng and other scholars (2011) examined a comparative study on a completed Chinese issue of a baby formula scandal by measuring the news coverage from Xinhua and Associated Press. Results indicated that the meaning of same product could be constructed differently in the different national contexts. (Feng M, 2011).

## ***Comparative Studies between China and the U.S. in terms of International Public issue***

Previous researchers have examined that differences in Chinese and U.S. news framing of political events such as the Fourth United Nations Conference on Women and the NGO Forum. Result indicated that U.S. coverage clearly reflected the radical perspectives and the Chinese coverage was generally positive. It pointed out that an essential role displayed by dominant ideology in the framing of international news existed. (Akhavan-Majid&Ramaprasad, 1998). Another study by Parsons and Xu (2001), compared *People's Daily* with *The New York Times* in reporting the bombing of the Chinese Embassy. Findings indicated mutual beneficial Chinese-US media images. (Parsons&Xu, 2001). And the NATO air strikes in Kosovo had been studied as a comparative study between two Chinese major newspapers and two U.S. newspapers in 1999. Findings indicated that national interest play an active role in framing the international news coverage because of its decisive role in making government policies and subsequent actions (Yang, 2003). What's more, Dai and Hyun (2010) explored how media coverage of the same international topic shared concerns and multinational communication by conducting comparative study on coverage of the North Korean nuclear test in *Associated Press*, *Xinhua* and *Yonhap* news agencies. It concluded that national political interests had an important impact in supporting the construction of specific frames. (Dai&Hyun, 2010).

Journalists often rely on public relations professionals as authorities for information, including health information (Powers, 1999). By reviewing these comparative studies of international journalism, it is obvious to indicate that the previous

research attempted to explore journalistic objectivity and effects of news frames in different countries.

For journalists who do the international news, three dimensions of borders they may cross in terms of cultural borders, mental boundaries, and the time barrier. At the first of all, the cultural borders could be caused by geographic, language and culture. The geographic would be the least important factor for influencing the culture-borders differently. The second dimension involves mental factors like race, gender, class and other components of our mental thoughts. At last, time could be easily understood as time travel. (Sims, 2012). By this means, the mental thoughts could be the major factor makes countries reporting the same issue differently. On the one hand, professional journalism forbids news coverage from intentional distortion of information in foreign news media (Herbert, 2001). On the other hand, however the news media must try to stand a point neutrally on international public events, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) stated that news is a socially created product, not a reflection of an objective reality. To some extent, the traditional media-newspaper is covering events freely and aggressively (Coronel, 2002).

### ***How China is Portrayed by U.S. Media Coverage***

Previous studies have stated that U.S. news reporting on foreign countries has a lack of alternative viewpoints, and shows its dominant capitalist and liberal democratic ideology consistently (Donohue&Glasser, 1978; Gaziano, 1989). Bennett and Edelman (1985) indicated that U.S. media has misunderstanding of communist regimes in the news narrative commonly. U.S.-China relationships went through a tense and hostile period after the victory of the Communists over the Nationalists since the U.S. was the major supporter of the Nationalists (Du, 2012). U.S. media generally covered Chinese issues



with the “anti-communism” theme and dominant capitalist ideology with coverage focusing on the problems and failures of Marxist ideology (Kobland, 1992). Chang, Wang, and Chen’s (1998) study suggested, “ Chinese news usually results from the strategic position of the mass media embedded in the broader political system and their attachment to the powers that be as part of the ideological state apparatus. Chinese news is likely to be predicated on how it might best serve the interests of the state’s structural needs in political and social control, not on enlightening or alerting the public. This is the essence of the mass propaganda model that became the received perspective on mass communication in China throughout the first three decades after 1949”.

Furthermore, the developing countries were usually portrayed with the negative perspectives in terms of crisis, social conflicts (UNESCO, 1985). Goodman (1999) examined that the coverage of China by *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* from the cold war’s collapse to post cold war years, 24% of the reports were about severe crisis, 70% about social conflicts, and 32% about violence. China has received more negative coverage after the collapse of Soviet Union further described China as the enemy of the United States (Stone&Xiao, 2007). For instance, In Perlmutter’s study (1996), the bias and evaluation of China was based on the American foreign policy. The coverage of China reflected American ideological perspectives and tended to concentrate on disorder public crisis. For example, Xie (2008) conducted a research study on examining the news framing of Nixon’s visit to China in 1972 and Chinese President Hu Jintao’s visit to the U.S. in 2006. It found that the dominant ideology in U.S. society functioned as the major source of news framing in the coverage by measuring a qualitative framing analysis of two elite newspapers. Both of the two newspapers’

coverage reflected the ideology of negative bias in terms of anti-communism in the 1970s and China's threat as a developing power in late 1990s. Another study of reports on China from *The New York Times* during 1949 to 1988 revealed that the news was consistent with the shift of U.S. China policy (Yan, 1993). What's more, from 1992 to 2001, *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* reported on Chinese issues with negative and unfavorable tone generally in terms of political frame (Peng, 2003). In the 1990s, the theme of "anti-communism" and the depiction of "corrupt, incompetent, and unyielding communist regime" often largely and frequently covered U.S. news media of China (Wang, 1991). The news narrative on China's human rights events has been shared widely and has become a major focus by U.S. media coverage since 1990s, the U.S. media put on steam human rights violation in unfriendly and Communist countries and overlook disagreement in friendly countries (Herman&Chomsky, 1988). Xu and Parsons (1997) conducted content analysis to explore the image-making news flow between China and U.S. during a time of diplomatic stability in the mid-1990s by measuring 2,000 news stories from six major Chinese and U.S. newspapers including *People's Daily*, *Guangming Daily*, *China Youth Daily*, *The New York Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Washington Post*. They found that China's newspapers expressed considerable emphasis on American interventionism through diplomatic activities and military initiatives, while U.S. newspapers emphasized human rights abuses and U.S.-China trade issues. China's newspaper commented any viewpoint on the U.S cautiously and politely, or they rarely did comment. In contrast, U.S. newspapers regularly used harsh terms in describing China's government. They called China "repressive" and "an international outlaw" regarding political dissent and religious freedom.

However, the subtle shift as a tendency to change Chinese issues framed by U.S. media, which occurred when the former U.S. president Clinton visited to China in 1998. The major U.S. media, which like *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, reported news on China's progress and openness much more objectively and differently than before (Ching, 1998).

Currently, the coexistence of state-controlled 'party organs' and market-oriented 'mass appeal media' is a distinct characteristic of the media market in China (Chan, 2003). Both types of media competed with each other for readers. Also, some Chinese media have served as the agenda setters of the governments' response (King-wa Fu, 2012). Chinese political system has stayed mostly completed and conducts under the sustained influence of communist ideology, which was expected to practice obvious influence on the news coverage (Ramaprasad, 1998). Furthermore, political ideology is a very strong indicator and factor in determining the overall direction of foreign news coverage (Wang, 1992). Instead of focusing on expressing the Communist Party's perspectives on issues through obvious international propaganda, China increasingly seeks to build global public image by disseminating stories in China and the world via foreign media outlets (Bakshi, 2011). Under the system of Chinese media, media outlets of different types utilized news frames in varying degrees in their reporting of topic. Some certain media like Sohu, although limited by government oversight, covered the SARS outbreak in a manner that would both appease the Chinese government and provide coverage appropriate for its distinct Internet audience (Hong, 2007).

In China, media are treated as propaganda tools to promote party lines and policies. In the US, media are known for professionalism and autonomy (Yang, 2003).

For the present study, a smaller set of studies have compared Chinese and U.S. news media framing of specific events and issues. Taken as a whole, these previous studies suggested that news media framing often differs from one country to the other.

Thus, this study addresses the following research questions based on the literature review:

RQ1: What is the main issue identified in the Chinese newspaper coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising?

RO2: What is the main issue identified in the U.S. newspaper coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising?

RQ3: What is the secondary issue identified in the Chinese newspaper coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising?

RO4: What is the secondary issue identified in the U.S. newspaper coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising?

RQ5: What is the overall bias of Chinese newspaper coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising?

RQ6: What is the overall bias of U.S. newspaper coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising?

RQ7: What are the differences of main issue between Chinese newspaper coverage and U.S. newspaper coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising?

RQ8: What are the differences of secondary issue between Chinese newspaper coverage and U.S. newspaper coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising?

RQ9: What are the differences of overall bias between Chinese newspaper coverage and U.S. newspaper coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising?



## **Chapter 3 - Methodology**

### **Materials**

All news articles on 2014 Hong Kong uprising from the *China Daily* and *The New York Times* from August 17<sup>th</sup> 2014 through January 8<sup>th</sup> 2015 were chosen for analysis. The time frame was selected because it represented the most controversial period from when Chinese government announced the 2017 Hong Kong election wouldn't be changed in August 15<sup>th</sup> 2014 until a certain period after December 15<sup>th</sup> when Hong Kong uprising officially be ended. These newspapers were chosen for analysis because they are prosperous news media with outstanding reputation and resources to conduct fair reporting and they set high journalistic standards. Each newspaper also targets largely different audiences in terms of international area. The *China Daily* and *The New York Times* are both national newspaper. In total, 152 articles were analyzed. 81 were from *China Daily*; and 71 were from *The New York Times*.

### **Procedures**

In a preliminary reading of the articles, six categories of issues for measuring main issue and secondary issue were identified: (1) history, (2) economy, (3) politics, (4) protest, (5) profile of protesters, (6) others. Using these categories, two coders identified the main issue and secondary issue of each story in the pre-test. If more than half of a story was devoted to one of the six issues identified, then the overall story issue was identified as such. Coder reliability after twenty pretests for this measure was 90 percent.

Three categories of overall bias used in the articles were also identified in the preliminary readings: Pro-change, Anti-change and Neutral. Pro-change refers to a story which is inclined to express a perspective of supporting 2017 Hong Kong election should

be changed. This position is the same point of view as the protesters. Anti-change refers to a story which is inclined to express a perspective of supporting 2014 Hong Kong election should not be changed, which corresponds to the same side as the Mainland Chinese government. Neutral refers to a story which does not express a clear perspective on bias of Pro-change or Anti-change.

To measure overall bias, a method similar to Powers (2000) was used. The two coders used a quantitative procedure to measure overall bias. Two coders counted the direct quotes and leads according to the different bias. If an item from either direct quotes or lead was constructed like an argument support statement of 2017 Hong Kong Election should be changed, it was coded as Pro-change with a positive one. If an item from either direct quotes or leads was constructed like an argument against statement of 2017 Hong Kong Election should be changed, it was coded as Anti-change with a negative one. If an item from either direct quotes or leads was constructed like a statement does not have any bias on this event, it was coded as neutral with a zero. Items included official direct quotes (government figure, society scholar, journalist, etc.), unofficial direct quotes (citizen, protesters, etc.) and leads. A positive number was recorded as a symbol of Pro-change bias, a negative number was marked as an indicator of Anti-change bias and a zero indicated the article was neutral or free of bias. The final step was to sum all the numbers. If the result was a positive number, the overall bias of this article was coded as Pro-change; If the result was a negative number, the overall bias of this article was coded as Anti-change; If the result was zero, the overall bias of this article was coded as neutral. Coder reliability after twenty pretests for direct quotes and leads was 90 percent. Coder reliability after three pretests for overall story balance was 94 percent.

## **Data Analysis**

All 152 articles were identified, bookmarked and viewed online. The codebook was marked by hand for each article, entered into Microsoft Excel, and then imported into IBM SPSS Statistics 22.0 for analysis. The codebook for this study primarily relied on categorical information. As such, SPSS analysis was conducted using, frequency counts, cross tabulations and Pearson's chi-square.



## Chapter 4 - Results

### Main Issue

The first research question identified the main issue covered in the coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong Uprising in the *China Daily* during the August 17<sup>th</sup> 2014 – December 18<sup>th</sup> 2014. For the *China Daily*, Table 1 indicates that the largest category of coverage was the protest, with 45.7 percent of the stories being devoted to this topic. Politics was the next largest category, with 40.7 percent. Economy was the third largest category (6.2 percent); followed by profile of protesters (4.9 percent) and history (2.5 percent); the category of others was the smallest category (0 percent). Since the coverage of protest and politics has the similar percentage, the Research Question One has been identified as protests and politics are the main issue covered in the *China Daily*.

**Table 4.1. Main Issues and Secondary Issues of Stories in *China Daily* and *The New York Times***

Percent	Main Issue of China Daily	Main Issue of The NYTs	Secondary Issue of China Daily	Secondary Issue of The NYTs
Protest	45.7	35.2	29.6	32.4
Politics	40.7	35.2	28.4	32.4
Economy	6.2	1.4	8.6	4.2
Profile of Protesters	4.9	25.4	4.9	15.5
History	2.5	1.4	0	15.5
Others	0	1.4	28.4	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The second research question identified the main issue covered in the coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong Uprising in *The New York Times* during the September 23<sup>th</sup> 2014 – January 7<sup>th</sup> 2015. For *The New York Times*, Table 1 indicates that the largest category of coverage were the protests and politics, with each of these topics representing 35.2 percent of the total stories. Profiles of protesters was the next largest category, with 25.4 percent. History, economy and others were the smallest categories (1.4 percent). Since the coverage of protest and politics has the same percentage, the Research Question Two

has been identified as protests and politics are the main issue covered in *The New York Times*.

### **Secondary Issue**

The third research question identified the secondary issue covered in the coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong Uprising in *China Daily* during August 17<sup>th</sup> 2014 – December 18<sup>th</sup> 2014. For the *China Daily*, Table 1 indicates that the largest category of coverage was the protest, with 29.6 percent of the stories attributed to this topic. Politics and Others were the next largest category, with 28.4 percent, followed by the economy (8.6 percent) and profiles of protesters (4.9 percent). History was the smallest category (0 percent). Since the coverage of protest and politics have the similar percentage, Research Question Three has been identified as the largest occurrences of secondary issues in the *China Daily*. Another category is also necessary to be addressed for analyzing the secondary issues framing, which is the category of “others”. It included topics such as critics of interference in Chinese internal affairs, description of other student organizations and evolution of Chinese law in Hong Kong. For instance, one of the samples talked about another student organization in Hong Kong and suggested Hong Kong needs more youths like this.

The fourth research question addressed the secondary issue covered in the coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong Uprising in *The New York Times* during September 23<sup>th</sup> 2014 – January 7<sup>th</sup> 2015. For *The New York Times*, Table 1 indicates that the largest category of coverage were politics and protest, with 32.4 percent of stories attributed to this topic. History and profiles of protesters were the next largest category, with 15.5 percent, followed by the economy (4.2 percent). Other was the smallest category (0

percent). Since the coverage of protest and politics has the same percentage, Research Question Four has been identified protest and politics are the secondary issue covered by *The New York Times*.

### Overall Bias

The fifth research question examined the overall bias of *China Daily* during the August 17<sup>th</sup> 2014 – December 18<sup>th</sup> 2014. For *China Daily*, Table 2 indicates that the largest number of stories framed the topic as containing a neutral bias (59.3 percent). A bias of anti-change was detected in the second-largest number of stories (37.0 percent). A bias of pro-change was found in only 3.7 percent of the stories used in this study. From this statistical report, the Research Question Five has identified the overall bias of *China Daily* as Neutral.

**Table 4.2 Overall Bias of Stories in *China Daily* and *The New York Times***

Percent	China Daily	The New York Times
Neutral	59.3	25.4
Anti-Change	37.0	11.3
Pro-Change	3.7	63.4
Total	100.0	100.0

The sixth research question examined the overall bias of *The New York Times* during September 23<sup>th</sup> 2014 – January 7<sup>th</sup> 2015. For *The New York Times*, Table 2 indicates that the largest number of stories framed the story as pro-change (63.4 percent). A bias of neutral was detected in 25.4 percent of the articles. Only 11.3 percent of the stories were coded as anti-change. From this statistical report, the Research Question Six indicates the overall bias of *The New York Times* is pro-change.

## Differences in Coverage

The seventh research question asked whether or not there were differences in main issues in coverage between *China Daily* and *The New York Times*. A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the difference of main issues between *China Daily* and *The New York Times*. The difference between these variables was significant,  $X^2(5, 152) = 15.745, p \leq .01$ . An analysis of the cross tabulations statistics (See Table 3), indicates that the expected count, as calculated in SPSS, for politics and protest among the samples of *China Daily* were expected to be 30.9 and 33.0, as calculated in SPSS, respectively, and 33 and 37 were observed, respectively. However, that is not where the difference between the coverage of the two publications really exists, nor is it within the categories of history, economy and others. The biggest difference in coverage is the treatment of profiles of protesters. *China Daily* was expected to have 11.7, as calculated in SPSS, but only 4 were found. What's more, for *The New York Times*, 10.3 were expected as calculated in SPSS, but 18 were identified. From these findings, the difference of main issues between *China Daily* and *The New York Times* is the treatment of the profiles of protesters category.

**Table 4.3. Comparisons of Main Issues of Stories in *China Daily* and *The New York Times***

			Main issue					Total	
			History	Economy	Politics	Protest	Profile of Protesters		Others
Newspaper	China Daily	Count	2	5	33	37	4	0	81
		Expected Count	1.6	3.2	30.9	33.0	11.7	.5	81.0
	The New York Times	Count	1	1	25	25	18	1	71
		Expected Count	1.4	2.8	27.1	29.0	10.3	.5	71.0
Total	Count	3	6	58	62	22	1	152	
	Expected Count	3.0	6.0	58.0	62.0	22.0	1.0	152.0	

N=152, Chi-square = 15.745<sup>a</sup>, df=5, p≤.01

The eighth research question concerned whether or not there were differences of secondary issue coverage between *China Daily* and *The New York Times*. A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the difference of secondary issue between the two publications. The difference between these variables was significant,  $X^2(5, 152) = 38.396, p \leq .000$ . A cross tabulations analysis (See Table 4), indicates that the expected count for politics and protests stories among the samples of *China Daily* was expected to be 24.5 and 25.0, as calculated in SPSS, and 23 and 24 were observed, respectively. Minimal differences were also identified between the expected and observed frequencies of coverage in the category of economy between the two publications. Once again, the biggest difference was found in the categories of profile of protesters and others. *China Daily* was expected to have 5.9 occurrences of history coverage, as calculated in SPSS, but none were found. What's more, for *The New York Times*, 5.1 were expected, as calculated in SPSS, but 11 were observed. In the category of others, *China Daily* was expected to have 12.3 occurrences, as calculated in SPSS, but 23 were observed. Lastly, *The New York Times* was expected to contain 10.7, as calculated

in SPSS, but none were observed. Added together, the findings indicate that the primary difference of main issues between *China Daily* and *The New York Times* are the categories of history and others.

**Table 4.4. Comparison of Secondary Issues of Stories in *China Daily* and *The New York Times***

		Secondary issue						Total
		History	Economy	Politics	Protest	Profile of Protesters	Others	
China Daily	Count	0	7	23	24	4	23	81
	Expected Count	5.9	5.3	24.5	25.0	8.0	12.3	81.0
The New York Times	Count	11	3	23	23	11	0	71
	Expected Count	5.1	4.7	21.5	22.0	7.0	10.7	71.0
Total	Count	11	10	58	46	15	23	152
	Expected Count	11.0	10.0	58.0	46.0	15.0	23.0	152.0

N=152, Chi-square = 38.396<sup>a</sup>, df=5, p≤.000

The ninth research question aimed to examine if there was a difference of overall bias between *China Daily* and *The New York Times*. A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the difference of overall bias between *China Daily* and *The New York Times*. The difference between these variables was significant,  $X^2(2, 152) = 62.737, p \leq .000$ . A cross tabulations analysis (See Table 5) indicates that the expected count for Pro-change articles in *China Daily* is 25.6, as calculated in SPSS, but only 3 were found. Conversely, *The New York Times* was expected to yield 22.4 Pro-change articles, as calculated in SPSS, but 45 were found. Furthermore, the expected count for Anti-change in *China Daily* is 20.3, as calculated in SPSS, but 30 were found. For *The New York Times*, the expected count of Anti-change articles was 17.8, as calculated in SPSS, but 8 were found. Lastly, the expected count for Neutral articles in *China Daily* was 35.2, as calculated in SPSS, but 48 were found. And for *The New York Times*, the expected count of Neutral is 30.8, as calculated in SPSS, but 18 were observed. Thus

there's a significant difference of overall bias between *China Daily* and *The New York Times*. From these findings, the difference of overall bias between *China Daily* and *The New York Times* is completely difference in terms of Pro-change, Anti-change and Neutral bias.

**Table 4.5. Comparison of Overall Bias of Stories in *China Daily* and *The New York Times***

			Overall bias			Total
			Pro-Change	Anti-Change	Neutral	
Newspaper	China Daily	Count	3	30	48	81
		Expected Count	25.6	20.3	35.2	81.0
	The New York Times	Count	45	8	18	71
		Expected Count	22.4	17.8	30.8	71.0
Total	Count	48	38	66	152	
	Expected Count	48.0	38.0	66.0	152.0	

N=152, Chi-square = 62.737<sup>a</sup>, df=2, p≤.000

## Chapter 5 - Discussion

### Study Implication

This study suggests that the framing of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising in *China Daily* and *The New York Times* differs significantly. The two publications paid similar amounts of focus on the same main issues and secondary issues for covering stories, but they have completely different ways to frame this public event to their readers. The identified issues comprising the frames suggest quantitative differences in the way the newspaper covered the 2014 Hong Kong uprising. *China Daily* was less likely than *The New York Times* to include information on the coverage of profiles of protesters and the history of protests. This could possibly mean that the political ideology and history could be major factors that impact the overall bias of news coverage. *China Daily* included very few stories that were framed as supporting pro-change. Conversely, *The New York Times* included more than double the expected numbers, as calculated on SPSS, of stories with a pro-change bias.

Although the coverage of *China Daily* and *The New York Times* focused on the same main issues of politics and protest, the secondary category of main issue comprising the frames indicate quantitative difference between the two publications. The results of this content analysis show that they have significant difference on covering profiles of protesters. The stories of *China Daily* reflect far less humanism on covering this event. By comparison, *The New York Times* was far more likely to include coverage of the protesters and contain a human element in their stories. From the literature review, the political ideology could be a factor, which can impact the framing of news coverage. This indicates, the authors, editors and gatekeepers of a news story are likely to be inclined to



follow their own political ideology on story framing. Under the system of Chinese media, news reporting of different types utilized news frames in varying degrees in their reporting of topic. Most of protesters description were more likely to express the bias of Pro-change, as propaganda tools to promote Chinese party lines and policies which is different from the United States, it may not covered as much as *The New York Times* did. But *China Daily* and *New York Times* have the same main focuses on covering the 2014 Hong Kong Uprising, which shows that although the news media limited by government oversight, covered the internal affairs in a manner that could both appease the Chinese government and provide coverage appropriate for global audience. This could possibly mean that Chinese news coverage shows less humanism for certain political affairs, which might harms Chinese public images and policies.

Secondly, from the literature review, the news framing could be impacted by history as well. This means, the history of Chinese protests could possibly be a factor that could impact the framing contained within stories. The quantitative differences in covering history of secondary issues between the two publications indicate that *China Daily* did not mention the former history of protests at all. However, *The New York Times* was much more likely to cover the history of Chinese protests. For example, *The York Times* included many historical stories of Tiananmen Square and other former protests in Chinese history. These kinds of articles potentially related negative history its readers in the coverage of the current Hong Kong Uprising. Furthermore, most of the stories about the history of Tiananmen Square provided potential similarities to the 2014 Hong Kong Uprising. The *China Daily* avoided any historical impact, by not including any aspect of previous protests in their coverage. By comparison, U.S. coverage was more likely to

include a historical perspective in its stories rather Chinese coverage. From the literature review, Chinese government blocked activists from using media as an effective political tool through censorship and regulation in order to lead Chinese audience to have a supportive perspective of Chinese policies. Thus China Daily, as Chinese government mouthpiece, it gives supportive direction to audience by avoiding to include the detrimental historical events. Since the meaning of same topic could be framed differently in different national contexts and cultural background, U.S. media are known for professionalism and autonomy. Thus The New York Times has far less limitation on covering foreign political issues. However, with lack of history coverage, the result of this study also shows another significant difference on examining secondary issue- the use of what was coded as an “other” category. Compared to The New York Times, the China Daily was more likely to cover irrelevant things rather than history of protests. Such as a reporting from China Daily was titled “HK needs responsible youth”, it talked about another organization of students in Hong Kong and how protesters harm the city’s job market. Other irrelevant things also included Chinese law, Hong Kong in 1997, critics of interference in China’s internal affairs and so on. This perhaps suggests that Chinese news coverage included numerous irrelevant stories and plenty of distraction from main issues in an attempt to avoid any negative effects of covering the historical failures or other anti-Chinese government topics.

According to the former differences of issues framing, the quantitative results of content analysis show a significant difference on overall framing bias between *China Daily* and *The New York Times* in terms of Pro-change, Anti-change and Neutral frames. *China Daily* shows a distinctly Pro-Mainland China bias in its coverage. The findings of

this study support this perspective, which has been mentioned in previous research. It indicates that national political interests play a significant role in framing the international news coverage because of its decisive role in making government policies and subsequent actions. Liu (2009) had pointed out that the U.S. and China are two respective nations with structural contradictions such as ideology cultural perspectives. Furthermore, Chinese journalism has been heavily concerned with the impact and pressure of politics. Thus the result of *China Daily* overall bias supports previous research. It indicates that the Chinese government plays a significant role in controlling the process and development of journalism. Chinese journalism is likely to show its political bias toward patriotism for Mainland China. However, while the *China Daily* includes a large number of stories with an overall bias of Anti-change, by comparison, *The New York Times* is far less likely to do so. From former studies, Wang (1991) concluded that in the 1990s, the theme of “anti-communism” often largely and frequently covered U.S. news media of China. Furthermore, Yan (2003) founded *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* reported on Chinese uses with a negative and unfavorable tone generally in terms of political frame. Xie (2008) also discovered that negative bias in terms of anti-communism was reflected in the U.S. newspaper. From the results of this study, similar results emerge in terms of bias on Chinese political affair. In conclusion, U.S. news media and Chinese news media still have major differences regarding of political interests and national context.

### **Limitation**

Several limitations exist for this study. First, although the two newspaper chosen could be said to be representative of the news media in their respective country, the

amount and representation of the sample does not cover all media frames of Chinese news media and U.S. news media. A sample of multiple newspapers rather than just one would increase the generalizability of the findings and significance level. Furthermore, the findings from visual media, social media or other forms of media may likely yield different results. One final limitation to note is the conceptualization of some of the variables used in the study, particularly debatable ones such as overall bias. The coder reliability of certain variables is a possible limitation. The gap between perspectives of definitions may impact code result. For example, the variables of bias include categories of Pro-change, Anti-change and Neutral, and coders had to make a qualitative decision about content. Although particular caution was paid to intercoder reliability in this study, validity and reliability of the concepts are still legitimate concerns.

### **Future Study**

While this study analyzed only two newspapers, future studies must compare coverage of more newspapers or television. Meanwhile, since news stories also include pictures, it is important that future studies examine the visual element. Another area of future study is Chinese news coverage of external affairs. For example, what if Chinese news coverage covered U.S. political events? Chinese news coverage may frame it differently from current study. As studies move toward more Chinese news coverage of external affairs in the future, it is imperative that the news media provide a comprehensive look at issues that affect their audience and society. There is no better institution than news media to provide various perspectives on society.

## Bibliography

- Akhavan-Majid, R., & Ramaprasad, J. (1998). Framing and ideology: A comparative analysis of US and Chinese newspaper coverage of the fourth United Nations conference on women and the NGO forum. *Mass Communication and Society, 1*(3-4), 131-152.
- Bakshi, A. C. (2011). China's Challenge to International Journalism. *SAIS Review, 31*(1), 147-151.
- Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an ecology of mind*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Beauchamp, Z. (2014). The anger behind the Hong Kong uprising, in one chart. Retrieved from <http://www.vox.com/2014/9/29/6865681/one-chart-that-explains-the-protests-in-hong-kong>.
- Beaudoin, C. E. (2007a). SARS news coverage and its determinants in China and the US. *International Communication Gazette, 69*(6), 509-524.
- Beaudoin, C. E. (2007b). Media effects on public safety following a natural disaster: Testing lagged dependent variable models. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 84*, 695-712.
- Beniger, J. R., & Gusek, J. A. (1995). The Cognitive Revolution in Public Opinion and communication research. *Public opinion and the communication of consent*, 217-248. New York: Guilford Press.
- Bennett, W. L. & M. Edelman. (1985). Toward a New Political Narrative. *Journal of Communication, 35*(4), 156-171.
- Bennett, L. W. (1990). Toward a theory of press-state relations in the U.S. *Journal of Communication, 40*(2). 103-125.
- Benson, R. (2005). American journalism and the politics of diversity. *Media, Culture & Society, 27*(1), 5-20.
- Billings, A. C., Angelini, J. R., & Wu, D. (2011). Nationalistic notions of the superpowers: Comparative analyses of the American and Chinese telecasts in the 2008 Beijing Olympiad. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 55*(2), 251-266.
- Brady, A. M. (2008). *Marketing Dictatorship: Propaganda and Thought Work in Contemporary China*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Burgh, H. D. (2000). Chinese Journalism and the Academy: the politics and pedagogy of the media. *Journalism Studies, 1*(4), 549-558.

- Constantinescu, A. R., & Tedesco, J. C. (2007). Framing a kidnapping: Frame convergence between online newspaper coverage and reader discussion posts about three kidnapped Romanian journalists, *Journalism Studies*, 8, 444-446.
- Chan, J. M. (2003). Administrative boundaries and media marketization. *Chinese media, global contexts*, 160-176.
- Chang, T., Wang, J. & Chen, C. (1998). The social construction of international imagery in the Post-Cold War era: A comparative analysis of U.S. and Chinese National TV news. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 42(3), 277-296.
- Ching, Frank. (1998) U.S. Pressing Shifting on China. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 161(29), 57.
- Coronel, S.S.(2002). New Media Played a Role in the People's Uprising. *International Journalism*, 61-63
- Dai, J. (2006, June). Evolving frame: US newspaper coverage of China in the Olympic Games, 1980–2004. In Mass Communication Division, *2006 Conference of International Communication Association*, held (pp. 19-23).
- Dai, J., & Hyun, K. (2010). Global risk, domestic framing: Coverage of the North Korean nuclear test by US, Chinese, and South Korean news agencies. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 20(3), 299-317.
- Deuze, M. (2008). Understanding journalism as newswork: How it changes, and how it remains the same. *Westminister Papers in Communication and Culture*, 5(2), 4-23.
- Donohue, T.R. & T. L. Glasser. (1978). Homogeneity in Connecticut Newspaper Coverage. *Journalism Quarterly*, 55, 592-296.
- Du, Y. (2012). The Reciprocal China-U.S. Images Within News Frames: A Literature Review. *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association*, Sheraton Phoenix Downtown, Phoenix, AZ.
- Eko, L. (1999). Framing and priming effects. In G. Stone (Ed.), *Clarifying communication theories: a hands-on approach* (pp. 276-290). Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press.
- Entman, R., M. (1991). Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents, *Journal of Communication*, 41(4), pp.6-25.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.

- Feng, M., Brewer, P. R., & Ley, B. L. (2012). Framing the Chinese baby formula scandal: a comparative analysis of US and Chinese news coverage. *Asian Journal of Communication, 22*(3), 253-269.
- Fu, K. W., Zhou, L., Zhang, Q., Chan, Y. Y., & Burkhart, F. (2012). Newspaper coverage of emergency response and government responsibility in domestic natural disasters: China-US and within-China comparisons. *Health, Risk & Society, 14*(1), 71-85.
- Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1987). The changing culture of affirmative action. In R. G. Braungart & M. M. Braungart (Eds.), *Research in political sociology, 3*, 137-177. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Gamson, W.A., D. Croteau, W. Hoynes & T. Sasson. 1992. "Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality." *Annual Review of Sociology, 18*, 373-393.
- Gans, H. (1979) *Deciding What's News*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Gaziano, C. (1989). Chain Newspaper Homogeneity and presidential Endorsements. *Journalism Quarterly, 1971-1988, 66*(4), 836-845.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Goodman, R. S. (1999). Prestige Press Coverage of Us-China Policy During the Cold War's Collapse and Post-Cold War Years Did a Deteriorating Cold War Paradigm Set the Stage for More Independent Press Coverage. *International Communication Gazette, 61*(5), 391-410.
- Hallin, D.C.(1996) 'Commercialism and Professionalism in the American News Media', in J. Curran and M. Gurevitch (eds) *Mass Media and Society*. London: Arnold.
- Herbert, J. (2001). *Practicing global journalism: Exploring reporting issues worldwide*. Oxford: Focal Press.
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. NY: Pantheon Books.
- Holsti, O. R. (2004). *Public opinion and American foreign policy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Hong, T. (2007). Information control in time of crisis: The framing of SARS in China-based newspapers and Internet sources. *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 10*(5), 696-699.

- Hua, M., & Tan, A. (2012). Media Reports of Olympic Success by Chinese and American Gold Medalists: Cultural Differences in Causal Attribution. *Mass Communication & Society, 15*(4), 546-558.
- Iyengar, Shanto (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Iyengar, S., & Simon, A. (1993). News coverage of the Gulf Crisis and public opinion-A study of agenda-setting, priming, and framing. *Communication Research, 20*, 365-383.
- JingJing, T. (2006). Framing AIDS: A comparative analysis of AIDS coverage in US and Chinese Newspaper, 2001-2004. *Perspectives: Working Papers in English and Communication, 17*(1), 1-21.
- Johnson, M. A. (2004). Five decades of Mexican public relations in the United States: From propaganda to strategic counsel. *Public Relations Review, 31*, 11-20.
- Klapper, J. (1960). *The effects of mass communication*. New York: Free Press.
- Kobland, C. E., Du, L., & Kwon, J. (1992). Influence of ideology in news reporting case study of The New York Times' coverage of student demonstrations in China and South Korea 1. *Asian Journal of Communication, 2*(2), 64-77.
- Lee, C. C., & Yang, J. (1996). Foreign news and national interest: Comparing US and Japanese coverage of a Chinese student movement. *International Communication Gazette, 56*(1), 1-18.
- Liu, B., Ley, B. L., & Brewer, P. R. (2011). Breast cancer coverage in China and the United States: a comparative analysis of wire service news stories. *Chinese Journal of Communication, 4*(02), 182-197.
- Liu, Y. (2009). "China Through the Eyes of American Newspapers: Representation and Framing" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the *International Communication Association*.
- Lowry, D. T., & Xie, L. T. (2007). Agenda setting and framing by topic proximity: A new technique for the computerized content analysis of network TV news presidential campaign coverage. *In Conference Papers—International Communication Association* (pp. 1-34).
- Luther, C. A., & Zhou, X. (2005). Within the boundaries of politics: News framing of SARS in China and the United States. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 82*(4), 857-872.



- Lynch, D. (1999). *After the propaganda state: Media, politics and "thought work" in reformed China*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.
- Manheim, J.B.(1994). *Strategic public diplomacy and foreign policy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Mann, J. (1999). Framing China: A complex country cannot be explained with simplistic formulas. *Media Studies Journal* 13(1), 102-107.
- McLeod, J. M. (1987). Audience Perspectives on the News: Assessing Their Complexity and Conceptual Frames. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, San Antonio, TX.
- McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass Communication theory: An introduction* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- McCombs, Maxwell & Donald L. Shaw & David Weaver 1997. *Communication and Democracy: Exploring the intellectual frontiers in agenda-setting theory*, Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Mosher, S.W.(1990). *China misperceived: American illusions and Chinese realities*. New York: Basic Books.
- Nelson, T. E., Clawson, R. A., & Oxley, Z. M. (1997). Media framing of a civil liberties conflict and its effect on tolerance. *American Political Science Review*, 91, 567-583.
- Noelle-Neumann, E. (1973). Return to the concept of powerful mass media. *Studies of Broadcasting*, 9, 67-112.
- Pan, Z., Lee, C. C., Chan, J. M., & So, C. Y. (1999). One Event, Three Stories Media Narratives of the Handover of Hong Kong in Cultural China. *International Communication Gazette*, 61(2), 99-112.
- Pan, Zhongdang & Kosicki, Gerald, M. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication*, 10, 57-61.
- Parsons, P., & Xiaoge, X. (2001). News framing of the Chinese embassy bombing by the People's Daily and the The New York Times. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 11(1), 51-67.
- Peng, Z. (2003). Representation of China: An across time analysis of coverage in the The New York Times and Los Angeles Times. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 14(1), 53-67.

- Peng, Z. (2008). Framing the Anti-War Protests in the Global Village A Comparative Study of Newspaper Coverage in Three Countries. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(5), 361-377.
- Perlmutter, D. Dimitri. (1996). *Visual Images and Foreign Policy: Picturing China in the American Press, 1949-1989*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 465.
- Polumbaum, J. (1990). The tribulations of China's journalists after a decade of reform. *Voices of China: The interplay of politics and journalism*, 33-68.
- Powers, A. (2000). Newspaper coverage of the breast implant controversy. *Women & health*, 30(2), 83-98.
- Powers, A., & Andsager, J. L. (1999). How newspapers framed breast implants in the 1990s. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 76(3), 551-564.
- Reese, S. D. (2001). Framing public life: A bridging model for media research. In *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world*, edited by S.D. Reese, O. H Gandy, and A. E Grant. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Rodriguez, L., & Jiajun, Y. (2012). U.S., Chinese Newspapers Differ On Reports of Tainted Milk Scandal. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 33(3), 110-116.
- Rosen, S. (2000). Appropriate behavior under a market economy. In C-C. Lee (Ed.), *Power, money, and media: Communication patterns and bureaucratic control in cultural China*. 152-178. Evanstown IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103-122.
- Scheufele, D. A. (2000). Agenda-setting, priming, and framing revisited: another look at cognitive effects of political communication. *Mass Communication & Society*, 3(2 & 3), 297 - 316.
- Schudson, M. (2003). *The Sociology of News*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- Shah, D. V., Domke, D., & Wackman, D. B. (1996). "To thine own self be true": Values, framing, and voter decision-making strategies. *Communication Research*, 23(5), 509-560.
- Shoemaker, P. J., Chang, T., & Brendlinger, N. (1987). Deviance as a predictor of newsworthiness: Coverage of international events in U.S. media. *Communication Yearbook*, 10, 348-365.
- Shoemaker, P.J., M. Eichholz, E. Kim and B. Wrigley (2001) 'Individual and Routine

- Forces in Gate-Keeping', *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 78: 233–46.
- Shoemaker, P.J., & Reese, S.D. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Sims, N. (2012). International Literary Journalism in Three Dimensions. *World Literature Today*, 86(2), 32-36.
- Sobel, R. (2001). *The impact of public opinion on U.S. foreign policy since Vietnam*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Sparks, C. (2012). Beyond political communication: towards a broader perspective on the Chinese press. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 5(1), 61-67.
- Squires, J. D. (1993). *Read All About It! The Corporate Takeover of America's Newspapers*. New York: Random House.
- Stone, G. C., & Xiao, Z. (2007). Anointing a New Enemy The Rise of Anti-China Coverage after the USSR's Demise. *International Communication Gazette*, 69(1), 91-108.
- Su, W. (2004) "Between Hope and Despair: China's Struggle for Democracy and Modernization as Seen through US Media--The The New York Times Coverage of China between 2002-2003" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the *International Communication Association*, New Orleans Sheraton, New Orleans.
- Tankard, J. W., Hendrickson, L., Silberman, J., Bliss, K., & Ghanem, S. (1991, August) *Media frames: Approaches to conceptualization and measurement*. Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication annual convention, Boston, MA.
- Tian, Y., & Stewart, C. M. (2005). Framing the SARS crisis: A computer-assisted text analysis of CNN and BBC online news reports of SARS. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 15, 289-301.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making New: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- UNESCO Publications. (1985). *Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 Countries*. Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. (Ed.). Paris.
- Wang, M. (1991). Who is Dominating Whose Ideology: The New York Times Reporting on China. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 2(1), 51-69.
- Wang, S. (1992). Factors influencing cross-national news treatment of a critical national

event A comparative study of six countries' media coverage of the 1989 Chinese student demonstrations. *International Communication Gazette*, 49(3), 193-214.

- Wang, X., & Shoemaker, P. J. (2011). What shapes Americans' opinion of China? Country characteristics, public relations and mass media. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 4(01), 1-20.
- Wu, M. (2006). Framing AIDS in China: A comparative analysis of US and Chinese wire news coverage of HIV/AIDS in China. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 16(3), 251-272.
- Volz, Y. Z., & LEE, C. C. (2009). American pragmatism and Chinese modernization: importing the Missouri model of journalism education to modern China. *Media, Culture and Society*.
- Xiaoming, H., & Xiaoyan, H. (2005). Party Journalism Vs. Market Journalism: The Coverage of SARS by Chinese Newspaper. *Conference Papers—International Communication Association*, 1-28.
- Xie, W. (2008). Framing China: A comparative study of U.S. Elite Newspaper's coverage of Nixon's visit to China and the Chinese Presidents' visit to the U.S. *Paper presented at the International Communication Association Convention*.
- Xu, X., & Parsons, P. (1997). The image-making news flow between China and the United States. *Mass Comm Rreview*, 24(3/4), 57-70.
- Yang, A. (2012). Understanding the Changing Chinese Media: Through the Lens of Crises. *China Media Research*, 8(2), 63-75.
- Yang, J. (2003). Framing the NATO air strikes on Kosovo across countries comparison of Chinese and US newspaper coverage. *Gazette*, 65(3), 231-249.
- Yang, J., & Arant, D. (2014). The Roles and Ethics of Journalism How Chinese Students and American Students Perceive Them Similarly and Differently. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 69(1), 33-48.
- Zhou, X. (2008). Cultural Dimensions and Framing the Internet in China A Cross-Cultural Study of Newspapers' Coverage in Hong Kong, Singapore, the US and the UK. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(2), 117-136.

## Appendix A - Code Sheet

Code sheet: The current research is to analyze the newspaper of China Daily and The New York Times that covered Hong Kong Uprising.

V1. Story ID: \_\_\_\_\_

V2. NEWSPAPER 0=China Daily 1=The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_

V3. ITEM DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

V4. LENGTH OF STORY: \_\_\_\_\_ (Words)

V5. MAIN ISSUE: \_\_\_\_\_

- |             |                          |
|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1. HISTORY  | 4. PROTEST               |
| 2. ECONOMY  | 5. PROFILE OF PROTESTORS |
| 3. POLITICS | 6. Others                |

V6. THE SECONDARY ISSUE: \_\_\_\_\_

- |             |                          |
|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1. HISTORY  | 4. PROTEST               |
| 2. ECONOMY  | 5. PROFILE OF PROTESTORS |
| 3. POLITICS | 6. Others                |

V7. STORY TYPE: \_\_\_\_\_

0= Hard News

1= Soft News

V8. USE OF VISUALS: \_\_\_\_\_ (NUMBERS)

V9. CONTENT OF PICTURE: \_\_\_\_\_ (MULTI-CHOICES)

0=PROTEST SCENCE

2=FEATURES MAJOR PROTESTER

1=GOVERNMENT FIGURE

3=DRAWING

4=Others

V10. NUMBER OF CRITICS OF COUNTRY: \_\_\_\_\_

V11. NUMBER OF DIRECT QUOTES: \_\_\_\_\_

NUMBER OF DIRECT OFFICIAL QUOTES: \_\_\_\_\_

NUMBER OF DIRECT UNOFFICIAL QUOTES: \_\_\_\_\_

V12. THE NUMBER OF DIRECT QUOTES MENTIONED PRO-CHANGE: \_\_\_\_\_

V13. THE NUMBER OF DIRECT QUOTES MENTIONED STATUS QUO: \_\_\_\_\_

V14. THE NUMBER OF DIRECT QUOTES MENTIONED NEUTRAL: \_\_\_\_\_

V15. THE NUMBER OF LEADS FOR PRO-CHANGE: \_\_\_\_\_

V16. THE NUMBER OF LEADS FOR STATUS QUO: \_\_\_\_\_

V17. THE NUMBER OF LEADS FOR NEUTRAL: \_\_\_\_\_

V18. BIAS OF NEWS STORY: \_\_\_\_\_

0=PRO CHANGE 1=ANTI CHANGE 2=NEUTRAL

## Appendix B - IRB Approval Letter

**KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY** | University Research Compliance Office

TO: Angela M. Powers  
Journalism & Mass Communication  
Kedzie Hall, 217

Proposal Number: 7438

FROM: Rick Scheidt, Chair  
Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects

DATE: 11/17/2014

RE: Proposal Entitled, "A comparative study of U.S. and Chinese news coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong uprising"

The Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects / Institutional Review Board (IRB) for Kansas State University has reviewed the proposal identified above and has determined that it is EXEMPT from further IRB review. This exemption applies only to the proposal - as written - and currently on file with the IRB. Any change potentially affecting human subjects must be approved by the IRB prior to implementation and may disqualify the proposal from exemption.

Based upon information provided to the IRB, this activity is exempt under the criteria set forth in the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects, **45 CFR §46.101, paragraph b, category: 4.**

Certain research is exempt from the requirements of HHS/OHRP regulations. A determination that research is exempt does not imply that investigators have no ethical responsibilities to subjects in such research; it means only that the regulatory requirements related to IRB review, informed consent, and assurance of compliance do not apply to the research.

Any unanticipated problems involving risk to subjects or to others must be reported immediately to the Chair of the Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, the University Research Compliance Office, and if the subjects are KSU students, to the Director of the Student Health Center.