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Framing Tibet: A Comparative Study of Chinese and American Newspapers, 2008-2011

Xiangyi Shou
Iowa State University

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Framing Tibet: A comparative study

of Chinese and American newspapers, 2008-2011

by

Xiangyi Shou

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Lulu Rodriguez
David Peterson

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Abstract

Contemporary Tibet is the subject of one of the world's longest running ethno-territorial conflicts, dating from just after the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949 (Sautman & Dreyer, 2006). And due to the huge difference between U.S. and China on political as well as culture dimension, the understanding of Tibet is also varies. Since observing media frames is one of the ways to better understanding the relationship between U.S. vs. Tibet and China vs. Tibet according to Gamson and Modigliani (1987): a media frame as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events… The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (p. 143). Therefore, this study identifies the news frames present in American and Chinese newspapers' coverage about the Tibet issue, and ascertain differences between the two nations in the performance of the framing function. The study also aims to determine framing patterns: How did these frames change over the years.

Key Words: Tibet, Media Frames, China, U.S.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

Tibet, north of the Himalayas, has historically been part of a region of self-governing territories, vassal states, and provinces (PRC, 2001). Various sects of Buddhism, secular nobles, and foreign rulers have vied for power in this plateau (PRC, 2001). The latest religious struggle marked the ascendancy of the Dalai Lamas to power in the 17th century, although Lama rule was often merely nominal with the real power vested on various regents and viceroys. Modern Tibet, which occupies 1.22 million square kilometers (about one-eighth of the size of China) and a population of 2.62 million, is now governed as an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China (PRC, 2001). It is bounded on the west by the Kashmir zone, and shares borders with the South and Southeast Asian countries of Myanmar, India, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal (Tibet.net, 2011). As an important gateway to the southwest part of China, Tibet occupies a strategic military position in the region.

Contemporary Tibet is the subject of one of the world's longest running ethno-territorial conflicts, dating from just after the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949 (Sautman & Dreyer, 2006). The conflict involves two principal parties: the Tibetan exiles led by the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government led by the Chinese Communist Party. The core of the conflict is Tibet's political status: is it an inalienable part of China

or an independent state? Tibetan exiles maintain that for the past 2,000 years, Tibet has always been an independent political entity, while China contends that it has been part of the country since the Yuan dynasty dating back to the 13th century (PRC, 2001). For the most part, the debate about Tibet's status has focused on mobilizing support for either side rather than arriving at a common ground (Sautman & Dreyer, 2006).

Understanding the relationship between and among the United States, Tibet, and China is crucial in this contentious debate that has the potency to destabilize the region. In late 1986 and early 1987, the Dalai Lama, the titular head of Tibet, visited Latin America, the U.S., Europe, and the Soviet Union to galvanize support for an independent Tibet (Grunfeld, , 2006). Tibetans also initiated a political campaign with the help of a powerful law firm based in Washington, D.C., and founded the International Campaign for Tibet in 1988. These efforts began to bear fruit, especially in the U.S. Congress where some members were already lamenting China's record on human rights, the trade imbalance between the two nations, and military sales to the region. In an address to the U.S. Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the Dalai Lama outlined a five-point plan of independence. While public support for a free Tibet is high, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs J. Stapleton Roy reported to the Congress that "the United States government considers Tibet to be a part of China and does not in any way recognize the Tibetan government in exile that the Dalai Lama claims to head" (Elaine, 1987, p. 1). He added that the U.S. rejects the Dalai Lama's independence plan because it was "a political program advanced by a man who is the head of a government in exile" that no nation recognizes (Elaine, 1987, p. 1). Despite this policy pronouncement, both houses of Congress kept pressure on the White House to assist

Tibet, including passing a bill to support Tibetan refugees and exiles, a bill that prohibits the export of defense goods to China, a bill urging the U.S. to impose trade sanctions against China, and a bill that strengthens the Tibetan-language radio broadcasts over *Voice of America* (Grunfeld, 2006). Pundits agree that by that time, the internationalization of the Tibet issue had began in earnest.

It is no surprise that the American and Chinese public differ in opinion about this issue. According to a Gallup poll conducted in 1997, the American public strongly favors the U.S. taking principled stances to influence internal Chinese policies, even at the risk of losing some economic advantage (Newport, 1997). The results also indicate that the Americans are unsure whether China is a friend or an ally, and is wary about China's reluctance to adopt a free market economy and provide more freedom to its citizens. The report states that 37% of the respondents think it is important to take a stand on the status of Tibet although almost one out of five do not have an opinion on the topic. Despite Tibet's visibility as a result of being the subject of movies and the public relations efforts of actor Richard Gere, the results indicate that the fate of Tibet is one of the least important issues to Americans, lower in perceived public significance than other issues such as the control and regulation of nuclear weapons and Taiwan's bid for independence (Newport, 1997). In contrast, the Chinese people attach more importance to the Tibet issue, strongly adhering to the opinion that Tibet is part of China and that Tibetan separatists should not be tolerated. (World Public Opinion, 2008)

Such marked differences in public attitude are best expressed in the way the mass media cover this topic. Because the status of Tibet is a long-running issue with international significance, it is necessary to examine how the media portrayed this topic

to their respective audiences. This study focuses on how the U.S. and Chinese newspapers framed this ongoing issue by examining what frames were used to report on this topic, the extent to which these frames were deployed (frame visibility), and how these frames changed over time.

Gamson and Modigliani (1987) conceptually defined a media frame as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events… The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (p. 143) Viewing media frames as a way by which journalists turn meaningless events into a discernible string that ties them together, Tuchman (1978) says that the function of the news frame is to "organize every day reality…[framing] is an essential feature of news" (p. 193).

Specifically, this study identifies the news frames present in American and Chinese newspapers' coverage about the Tibet issue, and ascertain differences between the two nations in the performance of the framing function. The study also aims to determine framing patterns: How did these frames change over the years?

Observers say that media content can reveal a country's orientation toward certain political issues. (Hackett &Carrol, 1998) By examining frame use and frequency of use, communication practitioners, political analysts and policy makers are able to gain a better understanding of the relationship between and among the actors involved in a sensitive international political issue as drawn by the media. Such an analysis may assist foreign affairs experts by expanding their views about how the public may come to understand a complex topic of geopolitical importance. Journalists who cover the international political beat may be able to use the findings to gain insights as to how stories can offer multiple perspectives about a multi-faceted issue to a global audience. The findings of

this study may also help them to better interpret the political leanings and policy orientations of other governments based on the news reports from these countries.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Those who study the impact of mass media coverage on foreign policy argue that the media can help foment or resolve international conflicts. Indeed, international news coverage and other media reports provide snapshots of the state of the relationship between and among nations embroiled in disputes and sensitive political affairs (p'Lajur, 2006). Cognizant of this, Mowlana (1984) proposed an international code of media ethics in reporting conflicts based on four principles: "the prevention of war and promotion of peace; respect for culture, tradition and values; promotion of human rights and dignity; and the preservation of human associations in the context of the home, family, and the community" (as cited in Andrew, 1984, pp. 34-35).

Despite an international ethics code for reporting on international trouble spots, major differences in the portrayal of the same issue can be discerned from one country to the next. This may be because the media systems of different nations have their own way of framing an issue or event.

Framing and media frames

Gitlin (1980) claims that the media not only transmit knowledge and facts, but also reveal the dominant ideology in society through its power to define particular events and issues. News stories, he explains, are not "natural" but are the products of culture-engendered meanings, ideologies and practices. Inevitably, news reports omit or stress certain aspects of reality to create a cohesive story suitable for the mass audience. This is one of the reasons why the world as depicted in news reports may be different from objective reality. Because the media constitute a significant social force in forming and

delimiting ideology, the selection, emphasis and exclusion of items in news stories as practiced by journalists work to set the public agenda both politically and socially by influencing public political actors and individual readers alike (Gitlin, 1980). Thus, framing theory was formulated to explain the determinants of media behavior and the effects of media performance on audiences.

Scholars (e.g., Scheufele, 1999) suggest that framing can be regarded as a process. He posits that there are two types of frames: media frames and audience frames (Figure 1).
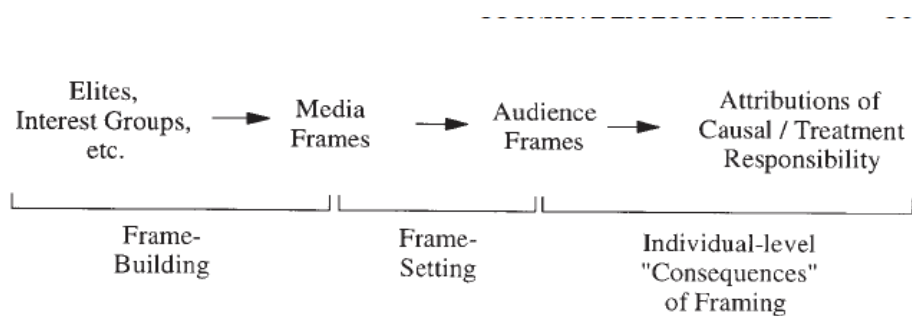
Figure 1. An overview of framing research (Scheufele, 2009)

A media frame has been defined as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events…The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143). News framing is part of journalists' work routine, allowing them to quickly identify and classify information and "to package it for efficient relay to their audiences" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). The framing and presentation of events and news in the mass media can thus systematically affect how recipients of the news come to understand these events (Piece, Tewksbury & Powers, 1995). The present study focuses on media frames.

According to Scheufele (1999), media frames can be studied as a dependent variable. Such studies are concerned with the factors that shape media frames. Van Dijk (1985) suspects that the way journalists frame news is influenced by social and professional routines. Edelman (1993) argues that the media choose frames based on "ideology and prejudice" (p. 232). Gamson and Modigliani (1987) see media frames as formed by the interaction of journalists' norms and practices and the influence of interest groups. Based on previous research, Scheufele (1999) concludes that there are at least five factors that may potentially affect how the media may frame a given issue: (1) social norms and values, (2) organizational pressures and constraints, (3) pressures of interest groups, (4) journalistic routines, and (5) the ideological or political orientation of journalists. The present study analyzes media frames as a dependent variable influenced by these factors.

Because events and the ways they are reported are dynamic, it is logical that the frames used by journalists to cover a specific event vary over the years. According to Kellstedt (2003), when people encounter ambivalent events, such as a political conflict of international magnitude, the policy options they support tend to depend upon the array of environmental cues that have been provided by the national media. Studying public opinions about a racial issue, Kellstedt (2003) found that media frames supported different points of view as the issue progressed. The results suggest that a longitudinal look at a protracted issue, such as the long-debated political status of Tibet, will reveal changes in the basic storylines reporters applied to explain the developments over the years. Therefore, the present study also aims to find out how media frames about this issue changed over time.

Differences in media frames about Tibet

The debate about Tibet's international standing has received a great deal of media coverage around the world. Tibet came to the world's attention when, in 1939, *Life* magazine did a story about the reincarnation of the 13th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso. When China took over Tibet in 1951, *Life* devoted its cover and 25 photos to the Dalai Lama as he sought temporary refuge in India. The Dalai Lama was again on the cover of the magazine's April 1959 issue (Roberts II & Roberts, 2009).

The very positive coverage of Tibet was not unique to *Life*. Foreign media reports about public demonstrations in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, in 1987 typify how the Western media interpret local uprisings as part of the broader Tibetan resistance against Chinese government control (Jing, 2008). Western reports portrayed the uprising as a revolt against the suppression of religious freedom (Crocenzi, 2008b). This may be because in general, Western countries support the Tibetans' fight for independence and self-determination in accordance with the universal declaration of human rights (United Nations, n.d.). The Western world sees Tibet as a country deprived of independence by the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The Western media thus focus on the Chinese government's repression of the uprising and violations of human rights in prisons, in effect proclaiming China as a state that does not tolerate dissidents. The "militarization" of Tibet is frequently shown as representing the widespread disruption of the Tibetan way of life (Crocenzi, 2009). Such story slants are often observed whenever the media serve as conduits for expression in societies that regard "democracy and the defense of human rights as two inspiring principles of social, political and ideological reconstruction after World War II" (Crocenzi, 2008a, p. 22).

One can expect a different kind of coverage within China (Crocenzi, 2008a). In contrast, the Chinese media generally depict the Dalai Lama as the instigator of the Lhasa uprisings and the manipulator of Tibetan resistance. As China proclaimed sovereignty over Tibet, the media argued that issues related to Tibet are a national Chinese affair (Crocenzi, 2008a). Weimin (2009) summarizes the significant differences between the Chinese and Western media's take on Tibet based on a number of dimensions. These are outlined in Table 1.

Comparing the Western and the Chinese coverage of the 1987 Lhasa uprisings, Crocenzi (2009) observes that the articles from the West "had some dangerous omissions and altered the facts in order to defend the 'purity' of the political and cultural values of Western countries" (p. 25). This general stance coincided with the emphasis on human rights in American foreign policy in the 1980s (van Wie Davis, 2000). To maintain ties with China, tough foreign policies were replaced by the "softer" human rights diplomacy. This shift in policy is reflected in Western news coverage of issues related to China. For example, in its coverage of the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, CNN avoided clear-cut judgments and criticisms of the Chinese government (Hoge, 1994).

During the Tibet riots in 2008 which left a number of people dead, "the Chinese and foreign press clashed in every respect" (Crocenzi, 2008a, p. 22). While the Western media interpreted the riots as a plea for human rights by a subjugated people, the Chinese press blamed the incident to a lawless group aiming to undermine social stability.

In a display of bias, a CNN photo was deliberately cropped to show Chinese police officers using force against the Tibetans. The original photo, however, tells a different

Table 1. Differences between the Western and Chinese media coverage of the Tibet issue (Weimin, 2009)

	Western media	Chinese media
Frames used	· Independence, freedom, and protection of Tibetan human rights. · A free, smaller nation is being swallowed by a large powerful one. · A weak, isolated group of people are being dominated by an oppressive government. · A holy man's struggle against a powerful neighboring government.	· National sovereignty, unity, and stability. · Poverty alleviation and emancipation of "slaves." · Raising the standard of living of ordinary Tibetans who suffered terribly under the former regime. · Uniting the diverse Chinese peoples as one nation while preserving their unique characteristics.
History	· China invaded and forced the exile of a peaceful leader from Tibet .	· China liberated a whole population from the cruel rule of slave-owning theocrats.
Cultural preservation	· Tibetan territory is flooded by Han immigrants who are eradicating traditional Tibetan way of life. · "Cultural genocide" of Tibet and the Tibetan way of life by the Han government.	· Tibetan culture is one of the most highly treasured in all of China. Preserving traditional Tibetan language, religion, food, dance, and lifestyle is high priority.
Political power	· Tibet is controlled by the Han-dominated Communist Party of China.	· Tibetans hold key political and decision-making positions in Tibet.
Religious freedom	· Monks live in fear of persecution. They need to hide photos of the Dalai Lama from Chinese authorities.	· Buddhism thrives in Tibet as it does in all of China. · Tibetan monks are highly regarded as holy people throughout China.
Journalistic freedom	· Foreign journalists are regularly expelled from Tibet because China is hiding something. · Journalists who write negative stories about Tibet are censored in the Chinese media.	· Objective, fair-minded journalists have never been denied entry and report constantly from Tibet. · Journalists who write positive stories about Tibet under China are censored in the Western press.
What do ordinary Tibetans think?	· Tibetans are united against the Chinese government's oppression though many are afraid to say so publicly. · The Dalai Lama is Tibet's spiritual leader-in-exile and speaks for all Tibetans.	· Tibetans are improving their standard of living. There are more civil liberties under Chinese rule than in the past. Tibetans do not want to return to the bad "old ways." · The Dalai Lama speaks only for an elite minority that is trying to hurt China.

story as discovered by a Chinese citizen examining the same images on the web (Figure

2). The BBC identified the vehicle under attack as an ambulance (Figure 3) while the

Berlin Morning Post describes armed police officers as rescuing the Tibetans instead of

attacking them (Figure 4). These varying interpretations of the same incident demonstrate

that even the so-called "fair and balanced" western press can twist coverage based on

some predispositions.

Figure 2. CNN cut the right side of a photograph to show that a Chinese person was
pelting a vehicle with stones. The original photo (right) shows, however, that the act was
being done by a mob.

Figure 3. The BBC says the vehicle being attacked was an ambulance

Figure 4. The *Berlin Morning Post* describes armed police officers as rescuing the Tibetans instead of attacking them.

According to Jing (2008), the incident produced several contemporary media frames about Tibet. The BBC and CNN showed an overwhelming use of the "attribution of responsibility" frame, which presents an issue or problem in such as way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution either to the government or to an individual or groups. The second frame most used by the two news outlets was "human interest," which brings a human face or an emotional angle to an event, issue, or problem. Such a frame aims to personalize, dramatize or "emotionalize" the news (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Another prominent frame used in the BBC and CNN reports was the "victim versus villain" frame. This frame creates a dichotomized world of victims and villains,

which generate confrontations between those who were supposedly subjected to brutality and those who inflicted violence on them (Jing, 2008). Victimization frames have been known to engender international resonance and public support (Bob, 2002). These commonly occurring frames indicate that the BBC and CNN gave precedence to the assignment of blame for the unrest over the other dimensions of this event. In these two networks, bias against the Chinese government was most noticeable when the "victim versus villain" frame was used.

There are fewer studies about Chinese media frames on Tibet, although pundits have observed that the media, as in many cases, have been used as a propaganda tool to strengthen the notion that Tibet is an inalienable part of China.

There is no doubt that there are stark differences between the Chinese and the U.S. media system. In the U.S., media organizations are staunchly independent from government control and are allowed to express ideas relatively freely. In contrast, the media in China are considered the mouthpiece of the Communist Party, expected to propagate the Party ideology and help the government maintain social stability. The media are under the direct control of the CCP through its Central Propaganda Departmen, which implements an elaborate system of regulations and laws, particularly regarding the handling of potentially sensitive topics. In China, the government allows key state-run media outlets to cover events in a timely but selective manner while other outlets are restricted. Reports that criticize top leaders and stories about Party abuses and the repression of minorities are censored. These differences in working orientation are likely to produce different news frames about political issues.

There are, however, similarities in the way the Western media and the Chinese media portray Tibet. Both often mention Tibet's rich and ancient culture, the people's profound spirituality and respect for nature. Western and Chinese articles extol the virtues of the people and their exotic food, music, and their intricate crafts. Both media systems depict the rugged beauty of the Tibetan countryside, describing it often as pure, vast, and pristine. Tibet is depicted as a place where the spirit can roam free, where one can meditate, relax, and escape the polluted and stressful big city life. Thus, as shown in Table 1, media frames often describe why the Tibetan people and their culture should be treasured, preserved, and encouraged to grow (Weimin, 2009).

Based on previous research (e.g., Scheufele, 2000), at least five factors have been identified as having the potential to influence how journalists frame a given issue: social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists. The differences in frame use about a single issue across nations suggest the potent influence of cultural and political factors in the determination of frames that are employed.

Therefore, pervious research identify these factors that has influence on media frames and developed frames to test the underlying meanings of political-sensitive issues. In this research, there also exists some research that relate with Tibet issue on framing. Based on their study, five frames would be adopted in this research.

News frames for the current study

Previous studies have identified five frames news reports display about the Tibet issue. These frames, which will serve as this study's preliminary frames, are as follows: (1) the human rights frame, (2) the colonialism versus native conflict frame, (3)

independence versus unification frame, (4) the attribution of responsibility frame, and (5)
the human interest frame. A description and examples of news paragraphs that
demonstrate these frames follow:

1. Human rights frame. Stories that demonstrate this frame discuss China's record
on human rights, especially as it applies in Tibet. This frame looks upon the Dalai Lama
as a champion of religious freedom that is being suppressed in Chinese-occupied Tibet.
Articles that employ this frame also talk about the use of weapons or other means of
coercion to force Tibetans to follow CCP mandates, including the banning of public
protests.

2. Colonialism versus native conflict frame. This frame emphasizes the Han
Chinese incursion into Tibetan culture, religion and traditions. This frame also highlights
Chinese control over Tibet's political and economic life.

3. Independence versus unification frame. This frame emphasizes the Tibetan
resistance against Chinese rule on the one hand and the Chinese claim that its take-over
of Tibet aims to re-unite the mainland with a historic vassal state on the other. This frame
also shows the Dalai Lama as trying to destroy Chinese unity by fomenting protests as he
demands for Tibetan independence. This frame stresses the Chinese claim of sovereignty
over Tibet and the need to maintain it as part of a unified and stable China.

4. Attribution of responsibility frame. This frame "presents an issue or problem in
such as way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government
or to an individual or groups" (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). Articles that exhibit
this frame may focus on the Chinese government's "military assault" on Tibet in 1959,
which ignited Tibetan uprisings and ostensibly brought social instability to Tibet and

adjacent provinces. Conversely, articles that demonstrate this frame cite the Chinese government's allegations that the Dalai Lama organized and monitored these riots. In this case, the "separatists," spearheaded by the Dalai Lama, are considered responsible for the unrest and its social and political consequences.

5. *Human interest frame.* The human interest frame "brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem" (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95). Such a frame attempts to personalize, dramatize or "emotionalize" (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96) the news to capture and retain audience interest.

Culture and Politics as determinants of media frames

In social anthropology, culture is a catchword for a people's patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting. "Culture is always a collective phenomenon because it is at least partly shared with people who live within the same social environment, which is where it was learned" (Hofstede, 2005, p. 4). The history of the world is filled with incidents of cultural conflicts.

To understand how culture influences media behavior, applying Hofstede's (2005) cultural dimensions will be highly instructive. These "culture dimensions" were first developed to gauge the influence of culture on organizational values. They were later adopted to assist in broad cross-cultural analyses (Yunjae, Kihan, & Lu, 2010).

According to Hofstede (2005), culture can be gauged using five factors or dimensions: individualism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity, and long-term orientation. Individualism measures the strength of individual rights in a nation. Power distance refers to the extent to which dependence relationships exist in a country.

Uncertainty avoidance is the degree which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations and thus find ways to prevent their occurrence. Masculinity refers to extent to which assertive and competitive values dominate a country. Long term orientation stands for the fostering of virtues oriented toward future rewards, in particular perseverance and thrift (Hofstede, 2005). Within this framework, a cultural setting, such as a country or a region, can be assigned a numerical score for each dimension. Table 2 displays how China and the U.S. scored on each of these culture dimensions and how these scores compare against the world average. A more in-depth description of each these dimensions is shown in Appendix B.

The political context is also an important factor with a strong tendency to influence media frames because it circumscribes the relationship between the media and the government, and the extent to which a country supports free speech, among others.

China is controlled by the Communist Party that took power in the mainland in 1949. With a monopoly on political power, the Party makes the most important political decisions and sets government policy. Party members hold almost all the top posts in government, the military, the internal security services, as well as economic entities and social organizations. The CCP exercises control through a network of committees at all levels (Freedom House, 2009).

There are many religious groups in China, but religious freedom remains sharply curtailed, and religious minorities remain a target of repression. All religious groups are required to register with the government, which regulates their activities and guides their theology (Freedom House, 2010).

On the other hand, the United States functions under a system in which the federal government has three co-equal branches—the executive, legislative, and judicial—that empower the state governments and the citizenry. The country has been judged as having a free, diverse, and constitutionally protected press (Freedom House, 2010). This is evidenced by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that protects citizens' right to free speech.

The U.S. has a long tradition of religious freedom. Adherents of practically every major religious denomination as well as many smaller groups can be found throughout the country, and rates of religious service attendance are high. The Constitution protects religious freedom while barring any official endorsement of a religious faith. There are no direct government subsidies to houses of worship (Freedom House, 2010).

Table 2. Hofstede's (2005) culture dimension scores for China and the U.S.

Culture dimensions	China	U.S.	World average
Individualism (ID)	20	91	43
Power distance (PD)	80	40	55
Uncertainty avoidance (UA)	30	46	66
Masculinity (MS)	66	62	51
Long-term orientation (LO)	118	29	45

(See Appendix B)

Table 3. China, U.S. and Tibet ratings on freedom status, political rights, and civil liberties (Freedom House, 2011)

Country	Freedom status	Political rights	Civil liberties
China	Not free	7	6
United States*	Free	1	1
Tibet	Not free	7	7

Note: The ratings reflect global events from January 1, 2010 to December 31, 2010. For these ratings, "1" represents the most free and "7" the least free rating. * Indicates a country's status as an electoral democracy.

Not surprisingly, according to Freedom House (2010), the freedom indexes in these two countries significantly differ. Table 3 lists the ratings on freedom status, political rights, and civil liberties for China, the U.S. and Tibet.

Research questions

Based on the above literature review, this study asks:

RQ1: What are the frames visibility in the U.S. and Chinese newspapers' coverage of the Tibet issue in the four years?

RQ2: What is the difference of the frame visibility between the two newspapers?

RQ3: Do frame visibilities of the two newspapers vary over years within newspaper?

RQ4: Do the two newspapers differ in variance of each frame's visibility over years?

Chapter 3

Method

To gather data for this study, a content analysis of an elite U.S. newspaper and what is generally considered as the most important Chinese newspaper was conducted.

Data sources

Two newspapers were examined in this study: the *New York Times* and the *People's Daily.* They were selected for their established reputation as exemplars of good journalism, which suggests that they their readers see them as highly credible information sources. They are also widely circulated to reach a broad audience. The two newspapers have a long history of covering significant events around world and are seen as reputable representatives of the mass media system of their respective countries.

The *People's Daily,* the largest and most authoritative daily in China, is ranked as one of the world's top ten newspapers by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The paper is the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, with a worldwide circulation of three million. It is the official purveyor of the policies and viewpoints of the Chinese Communist Party.

The *New York Times* is an American daily newspaper founded and continuously published in New York City since 1851. With a circulation of 1,150,589 (*Neal Lulofs,* 2011), the *Times* has won 106 Pulitzer Prizes, the most of any news organization in the country (Pérez-Peña.R, 2009). It boasts of the most popular online edition, with a website that receives more than 30 million unique visitors per month (Adams, 2011). It maintains bureaus in the most politically and socially important locations—16 in the state of New

York, 11 within the United States, and 26 abroad. Using a 100-point conservative-liberal scale, with 0 being most conservative and 100 being most liberal, the University of California gave the paper a score of 73.7 (Groseclose, 2004).

This study analyzes only straight news and feature reports that contain the word "Tibet" (*Xizang*) in the headline and/or the lead paragraph. The unit of analysis was the complete story.

Time frame

The time frame of analysis covers four years, from 2008 to 2011, to be able to observe whether media frames were affected by changes in the political and cultural environment over time. The time period saw major developments directly related to the Tibet issue, including the Lhasa riots and the Beijing Olympic games, which attracted substantial media attention and hefty coverage. The period also was marked by major conflicts between the Dalai Lama and his followers on one side and the Chinese central government on the other.

A preliminary search of the articles in the News Bank database produced 512 stories from the *Daily* and 356 articles from the *Times*. To arrive at a sample that is representative of the four-year coverage, all articles collected for a given year were analyzed when the total number of stories per newspaper was less than 30. When the total number of news reports was relatively large, a sub-sample of 30 articles was randomly selected from each newspaper following a simple random sampling technique. The random sample is choosing from an online random number generator: it will produce random numbers within a set range. A total of 240 news stories from the two papers were examined.

Variables and measures

After examining a random set of articles that comprise 10% of the population and based on the results of previous studies, five preliminary frames were identified. These are (1) the human rights frame, (2) colonialism *versus* independence conflict frame, (3) independence *versus* unification frame, (4) the attribution of responsibility frame, and (5) the human interest frame. Example of news that demonstrate each of these frames are shown below:

Based on the description of each frame presented in the literature review, five specific informational items that constitute each frame (also called frame indicators) were identified. Each article was examined for the presence or absence of each of the five frames based on the presence/absence of informational items specific to each or frame indicators. The presence of informational items indicates the extent to which a frame was employed in a given story. Appendix E illustrates how the frame variable was coded. A factor analysis was employed to identify whether these indicators cluster as a frame.

Other frames can emerge as the coding process ensues. De Vreese (2005) refers to these as "emergent" frames. Such frames contain more nuanced takes on or deeper interpretations of issues associated with a topic, and usually appear as a consequence of prolonged media coverage. These frames may emerge as more articles are analyzed. Frames that do not fall under any of the frame categories already identified were coded as "others." If a pre-defined frame was not detected, it was replaced by a frequently occurring emergent frame.

Frame Visibility. Visibility refers to the extent to which a frame can be recognized by readers. In this study, it is operationalized by the presence (coded as 1) or

absence (coded as 0) of the informational items that serve as indicators of a given frame. As shown in the codebook above, each frame has five indicators. The presence of these indicators was added and the average score for each frame was computed as a measure of visibility. Thus, visibility values for each frame ranged from 0.00 (frame not present) to 1.00 (frame present; see Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Intercoder reliability

Four second-year journalism and mass communication graduate students were trained as coders. Two of them were native English-speakers who were asked to code the *New York Times* reports. The other two were Chinese speakers who coded the articles from the *People's Daily*. They were asked to code a randomly selected sub-sample of 20% of the news reports to pretest the coding protocols.

The test for intercoder reliability was conducted by computing for Scott's pi. After three tests, the average Scott's pi value for the *People's Daily* was 0.89; the average value for the *New York Times* was 0.91. The breakdown of the intercoder reliability results by newspaper is detailed in Appendix C. The articles in the pretest sample were not included in the final analysis.

Data analysis

Factor analysis was conducted to determine whether the informational items or indicators were clustering to identify and describe each of the five frames. An independent samples t-test was employed to test the difference between the American and Chinese newspaper in terms of the number of frames used. An analysis of variance

(ANOVA) test was used to determine whether the newspapers from the two countries differed in terms of the actual frames employed.

Chapter 4

Results

This study aims to compare the frames applied by the *People's Daily* and the *New York Times* to report on Tibet. The study also sought to determine the visibility of these frames over a four-year period of coverage.

A total of 219 news articles from the web archives of the *Daily* and the *Times* published from 2008 to 2010 comprised the study's sample. The distribution of these stories is shown in Table 4. News reports from the *Daily* were culled from the paper's Important News Forum section while those from the *Times* were taken from the Foreign News Desk.

Presence of news frames

To verify whether the information items or frame indicators are clustering to form distinguishable frames, a principal component factor analysis (using Promax with Kaiser normalization factor solution) was employed. (Han, 2007) The results show low loading values for the items designed to detect the five pre-identified frames (*human rights, colonialism versus native conflict, independence versus unification, attribution of responsibility,* and *human interest*). Ten questions that did not cluster appropriately were omitted, leaving each frame with three indicators. The final factor solution is shown in Table 5. It shows that the five frames explain 62.95% of the total variance in initial eigenvalues (only factor loadings higher than 0.40 were included in the scales) (Han, 2007), indicating that the news frames were present and can be distinguished from each other in the two newspapers' coverage.

Cronbach's alphas were computed to measure the internal consistencies of the items that comprise each frame. The alpha values were .75 for the attribution of responsibility frame, .69 for the human interest frame, .81 for the colonialism versus native conflict frame, .65 for the human rights frame, and .44 for the independence versus unification frame. Because the Cronbach's alpha for the last frame was lower than .60, the independence versus unification frame was omitted, producing four frames for subsequent analyses

Table 6 reports the means and standard deviations for the visibility of news frames. Table 7 lists the percentage of frames found in the two newspapers. To carry out inferential statistical analyses, the presence of indicators for each of the remaining four frames were added and standardized to obtain a value for each news report. A General Linear Model (GLM) analysis using repeated measures and the results of a series of independent samples t-test further reveal the differences in the presence of news frames within and between the two newspapers.

The results of the repeated measures tests shown in Tables 8 and 9 indicate whether the visibility of news frames differs significantly within a newspaper. Post-hoc comparisons were performed using the Bonferroni adjustment. Within the *People's Daily,* the visibility difference between the human rights frame and the colonialism versus native conflict frame, the human rights frame and the attribution of responsibility frame, the human rights frame and the human interest frame, and the colonialism versus native conflict frame and the attribution of responsibility frame were significant ($p<0.001$). The human rights frame was the least perceptible frame, whereas the attribution of

Table 4. Breakdown of stories gathered from the two newspapers

Newspaper	N	% of total
People's Daily	111	50.68
New York Times	108	49.32
Total	219	100

Table 5. Factor solution for the frame indicators*

	Human Rights	Colonialist vs. Native Conflict	Independence vs. Unification	Attribution of Responsibility	Human Interest
Human Rights					
Does the story mention or imply China's human rights record?	-.147	.499	.326	-.075	.633
Does the story mention or imply China's contemporary human rights situation?	.166	-.012	**.571**	.538	.536
Does the story mention or suggest that the Chinese government strongly influences Tibet's human rights situation?	.071	.148	**.776**	.256	.278
Does the story indicate whether Tibetans can exercise their human rights under Chinese control?	.127	.015	.363	.663	.433
Does the story indicate that Tibetans are clamoring for human rights?	-.328	.621	**.584**	.065	.240
Colonialist vs. Native Conflict					
Does the story mention or imply disagreements between Tibet and China?	-.142	.585	.423	-.110	.163
Does the story mention or imply that China is trying to fix the disagreement between China and Tibet?	.692	-.235	-.264	.226	.154
Does the story depict that Tibet's political situation is controlled by the Chinese government?	.058	.622	.346	-.260	**.506**
Does the story depict Tibet's economy situation is controlled by the Chinese government?	.532	-.021	.119	.354	**.480**
Does the story show that Tibet's traditions and culture are under Chinese control?	.226	.170	.150	.034	**.781**
Independence vs. Unification					
Does the story depict China as the aggressor state?	-.473	**.476**	.659	-.019	.278
Does the story mention the Chinese unification policy with respect to Tibet?	.761	-.180	.005	.239	.187
Does the story mention or comment about China's unification (with Tibet) policy?	.535	.357	-.071	-.352	.335

Table 5 continued

Does the story mention or comment about the Tibetan exiles' request for independence?	.262	**.688**	-.088	-.383	.317
Does the story indicate that Tibetans are resisting and or trying to get rid of Chinese control?	-.156	**.740**	.263	-.077	.313
Attribution of Responsibility					
Does the story mention or suggest that the Chinese government at any level is responsible for the Tibet issue?	-.028	.182	.845	.213	.198
Does the story mention or suggest that Chinese government at any level has the ability to alleviate or resolve the Tibet issue	**.592**	-.147	.183	.334	.278
Does the story suggest solutions to the Tibet issue?	**.731**	-.231	.067	.210	.096
Does the story suggest that an individual or group is responsible for the Tibet issue?	-.181	.325	.244	-.078	.106
Does the story suggest that the Tibet issue requires urgent action?	**.465**	.409	.234	-.033	.003
Human Interest					
Does the story focus on one person or several individuals or groups?	-.440	.057	.034	-.038	-.022
Does the story show feelings of outrage?	-.256	.727	.206	-.108	.072
Does the story show feelings of empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion?	.384	-.552	.090	**.584**	.196
Does the story report the private or personal lives of actors involved in the issue?	.296	-.177	-.078	**.633**	-.095
Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the Tibet issue?	-.085	-.082	.361	**.680**	.050

* The wording of several questions is adopted from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000).

responsibility frame was most observable within *People's Daily,* followed by the

colonialism versus native conflict frame.

Based on the results shown in Tables 8, there was a significant difference in the

visibility of the frames found in the *People's Daily.* In this newspaper, the attribution of

responsibility was most observable (M= .37) while the human rights frame was the least

perceptible frame. (M= .23)

As the results shown in Table 9 suggest, there also was a significant difference in the visibility of the frames observed in the *Times*. In stark contrast with its Chinese counterpart, human interest was the most visible frame (M= .37) while the least observed was the attribution of responsibility frame (M= .17) in the American newspaper.

Difference in news frames between newspapers

A series of independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the means of the visibility of the frames in the two newspapers. The results detailed in Table 10 confirm that the human rights frame was more prominent in the *New York Times* than in the

Table 6. The mean visibility scores of the four remaining news frames

Frames	*People's Daily*		*New York Times*	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Human rights	.23	.16	.37	.22
Conflict	.34	.20	.34	.21
Attribution	.37	.21	.17	.19
Human interest	.32	.23	.22	.15

* Visibility was coded as 1= Present, 0= Absent. The presence of informational items or indicators for each frame was added and averaged. The visibility value of each frame thus range from 0.00 (frame not present) to 1.00 (frame present).

Table 7. The presence of news frames

Frames	People's Daily		New York Times	
	N	% of total number of frames found in the paper*	N	% of total number of frames found in the paper*
Human Rights	83	75	91	84
Colonialism vs. Native Conflict	97	87	91	84
Attribution of Responsibility	94	85	58	54
Human Interest	84	78	87	81

* The total percentage is more than 100% because more than one frame may be present in an article.

Table 8. General linear model (repeated measures) for the presence of four frames in the *People's Daily*

Frames	Mean (SD)	F	df	Sig.
Human rights	.23 (.02)			
Conflict	.34 (.02)	24.379	1,110	p<0.001
Attribution of Responsibility	.37 (.02)			
Human interest	.21 (.02)			

Table 9. General linear model (repeated measures) for the presence of four frames in the *New York Times*

Frames	Mean (SD)	F	df	Sig.
Human rights	.37 (.02)			
Conflict	.34 (.02)	50.85	1,107	*p*<0.001
Attribution of Responsibility	.17 (.02)			
Human interest	.22 (.01)			

Table 10. Results of independent samples t-tests showing differences in the presence of frames in the two newspapers

Frames	*People's Daily* (n=111)	*New York Times* (n=108)			
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	t-value	df	Sig.
Human rights	.22 (.16)	.37 (.22)	5.74	217	.000
Conflict	.33 (.20)	.34 (.20)	0.20	217	.839
Attribution	.37 (.21)	.17 (.19)	-6.98	217	.000
Human interest	.32 (.23)	.22 (.15)	-3.78	217	.000

People's Daily (p=000). On the other hand, the attribution of responsibility (p=.000) and

human interest frames (p=.000) were more visible in the *People's Daily*. No statistical

difference was found in terms of the two papers' use of the colonialism versus native

conflict frame.

Changes in frame use over time

Table 11 and Table 12 shows the results of a series of ANOVA tests conducted to

determine whether the visibility of news frames significantly differed within a newspaper

over the years. In the *People's Daily*, the visibility of the human rights, attribution of responsibility, and human interest frames were statistically significant (p=000) over the four-year period. A post-hoc Bonferroni test reveal that the use of the human rights frame was significant between the years 2008 and 2010, 2008 and 2011, 2009 and 2010, 2009 and 2011, 2010 and 2011. The use of the attribution of responsibility frame significantly varied between the years 2008 and 2010, 2008 and 2011, 2009 and 2010, 2009 and 2011. The use of the human interest frame was found to vary between the years 2008 and 2009, 2008 and 2010, 2008 and 2011, 2009 and 2010, 2009 and 2011.

In the *New York Times*, the visibility of the human rights, colonialism versus native conflict, and attribution of responsibility frames significantly changed over the years. The use of the human rights frame changed significantly between the years 2008 and 2010, and between 2010 and 2011. The visibility of the colonialism versus native conflict frame varied significantly between the years 2008 and 2010, 2009 and 2010, and 2010 and 2011. The presence of the attribution of responsibility frame also significantly changed over time, specifically between the years 2008 and 2010, and 2009 and 2010. (Detailed Results for one-way ANOVA tests for the visibility of frames over years for is in Appendix F)

Figures 5 to 8 show the trends in the visibility of the four frames in the two newspapers over the four-year span. The details of the computed visibility of the four frames in the two newspapers are shown in Appendix D.

The figure 5 shows the human rights frame had low visibility during 2008-2009 in People's Daily (M= .16; .14) and burst out in 2010 (M= .38) than go down a little in 2011

Table 11. Results of a series of one-way ANOVA tests for the visibility of frames over time for People's Daily

Frames	*People's Daily* (n=111)		
	F	df	Sig. (p<.05)
Human rights	18.41	3,110	**.000**
Colonialism versus Native Conflict	1.68	3,110	.176
Attribution of responsibility	19.5	3,110	**.000**
Human interest	28.21	3,110	**.000**

Table 12. Results of a series of one-way ANOVA tests for the visibility of frames over time for New York Times

Frames	*New York Times* (n=108)		
	df	df	Sig.(p<.05)
Human rights	3.75	3,107	**.013**
Colonialism versus Native Conflict	6.17	3,107	**.001**
Attribution of responsibility	5.1	3,107	**.002**
Human interest	2.51	3,107	.063

(M= .27). While New York Times has a high visibility of this frame in 2008-2009

(M= .42; .40) and contrary to People's Daily, it dropped in 2010 (M= .27) and go back in

2011 (M= .43). In general, the visibility of human rights frame in New York Times is

higher than People's Daily.

The figure 6 shows that the trajectory of the colonialism versus native conflict

frame's visibility is similar between People's Daily and New York Times. They both

have high visibility in 2008-2009 (People's Daily: M= .31; .36; New York Times:

M= .38; .40) and dropped in 2010 (People's Daily: M= .27; New York Times: M= .21),

then back to normal in 2011.

Figure 7 shows that People's Daily and New York Times have similar visibility of attribution of responsibility frame in 2008 and 2009. Then the visibility of People's Daily suddenly goes up and New York Times goes the other direction in 2010-2011.

Figure 8 displays that the visibility of human interest frame goes down in 2009 and sharply goes up in 2010. Then dropped a little in 2011 in People's Daily while New York Times has a steady trajectory during the four years.

Figure 5. Comparison of the means for the visibility of the human rights frame
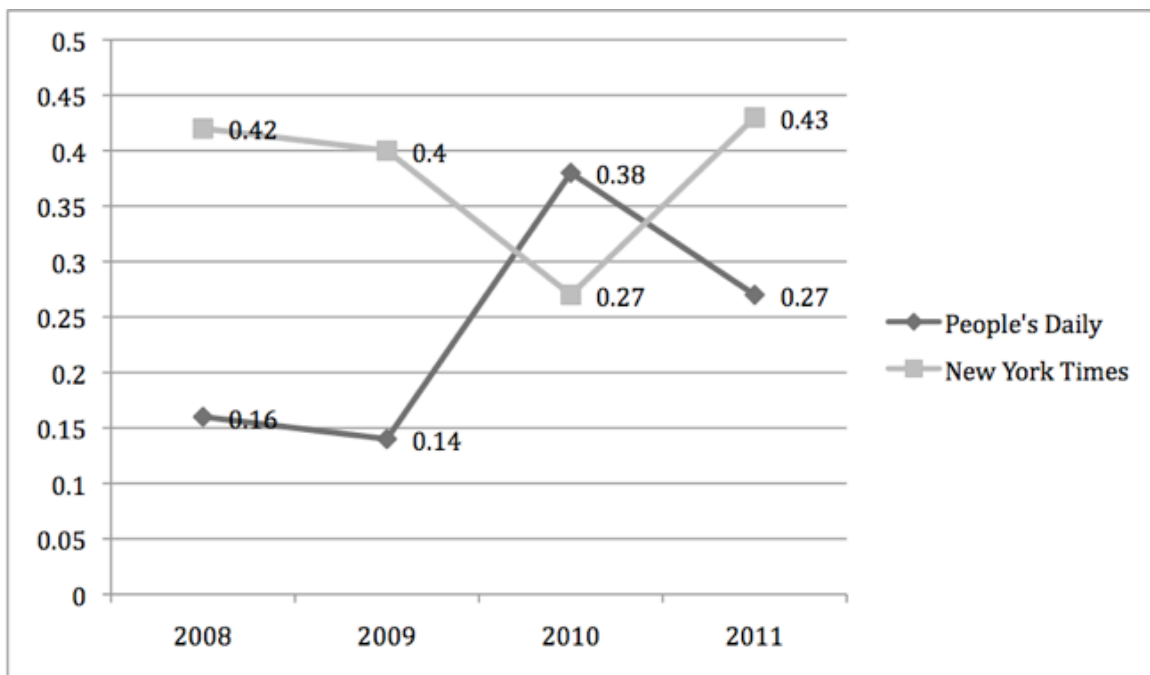
Figure 6. Comparison of the means for the visibility of the colonialism versus native conflict frame
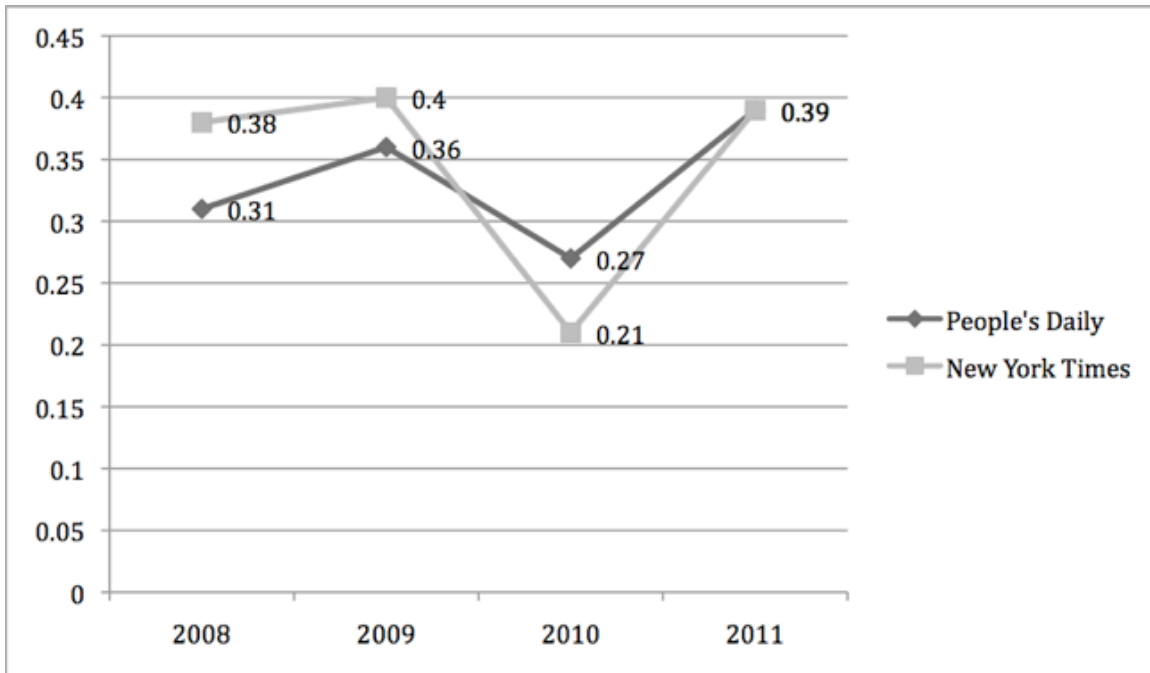

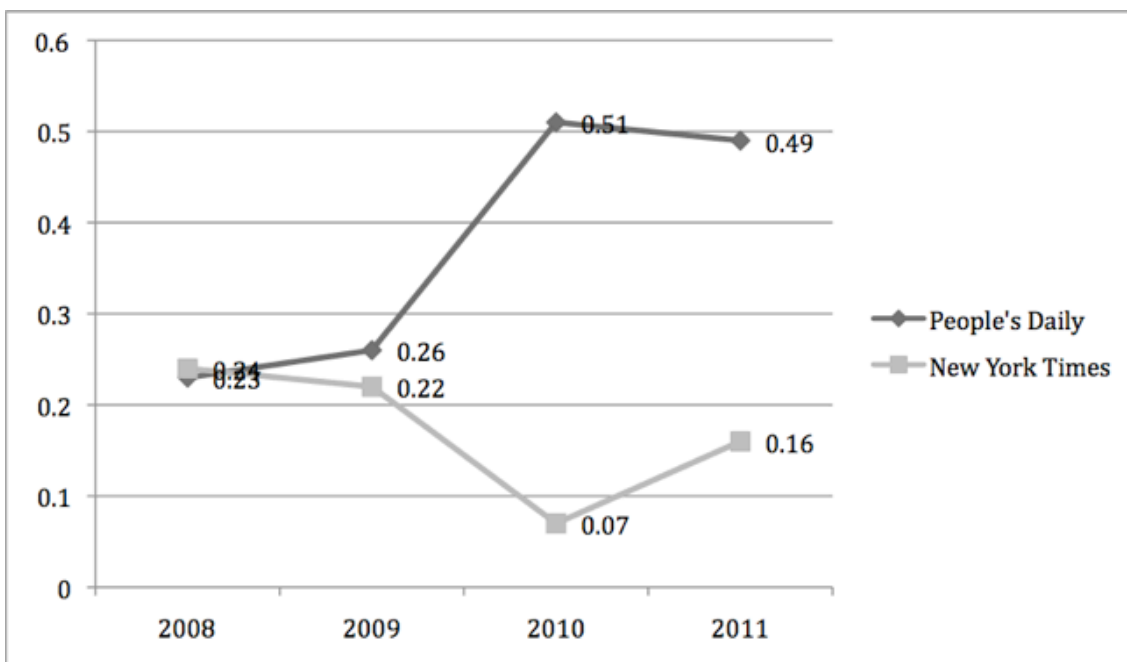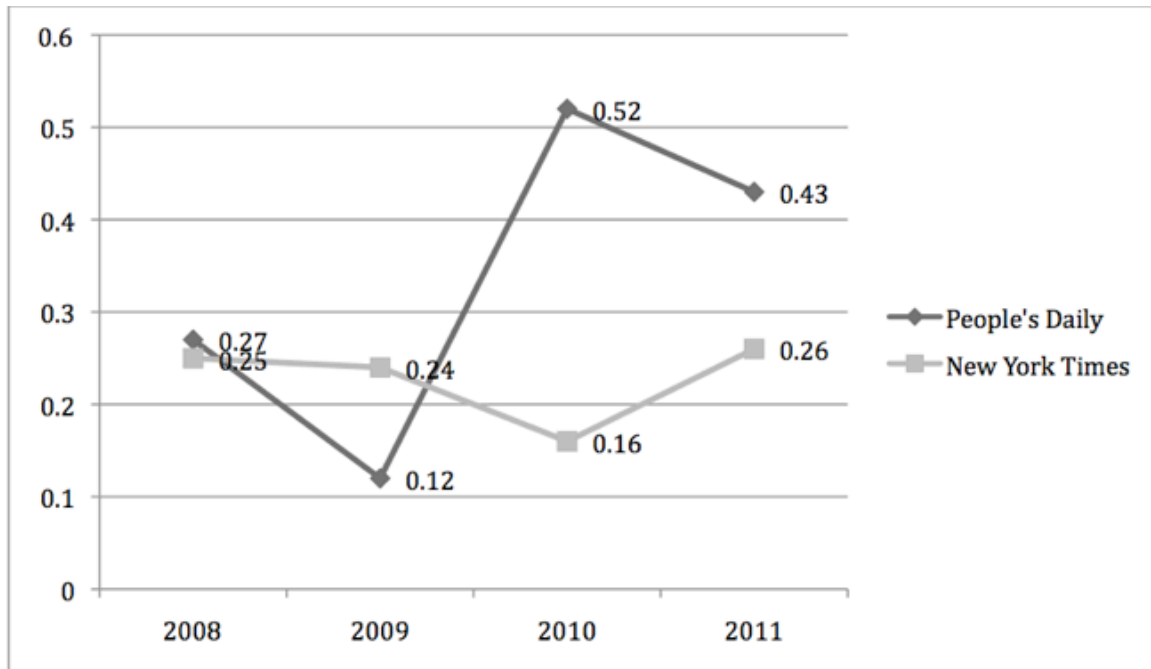Figure 7. Comparison of the means for the visibility of the attribution of responsibility frame

Figure 8. Comparison of means for the visibility of the human interest frame

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusions

This study aims to (1) identify the news frames present in an American and a Chinese newspaper's reports about the Tibet issue; (2) ascertain differences between the two nations in the performance of this framing function; and (3) analyze how the visibility of these identified frames changed over a four-year period.

This study applies framing analysis to probe different frame usage in newspapers between U.S. and China. It tries to reveal whether there exist frames underlying the news coverage in U.S. and China's newspaper about the Tibet issue, and if so, to access the difference in the presence of frames within a newspaper as well as between newspapers. The purpose of this study are: first, to evaluate the theoretical magnitude of the issue-specific in framing analysis; second, to analyze the news frames usage of a political sensitive issue (in this case, the disagreement between Tibet and Chinese government) produced in two different kinds of idiosyncratic media (in this case, China and U.S.); third, to observe the variance of frame usage over years of a political sensitive issue produced in two different kinds of idiosyncratic media.

News frames

The study started out with five news frames: (1) the human rights, (2) the colonialism versus native conflict, (3) the unification versus independence, (4) the attribution of responsibility, and (5) the human interest frames. The first three frames were identified based on the results of previous studies (e.g., Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Jing, 2008). The human rights and the unification versus independence frames were developed in this study. Of the frames in this original list, four survived the factor

analysis test: the (1) colonialism versus native conflict, (2) the human rights, (3) the attribution of responsibility, and (4) the human interest frames.

Visibility of news frames

The first research question asks whether the predefined frames were visible in the U.S. and Chinese newspapers' coverage of the Tibet issue from 2008-2011. The visibility of a frame describes the extent to which the frame can be observed within a story. The findings show that the four frames can in fact be detected in the coverage of the two newspapers and that their presence varied over time. This suggests that the papers show commonality in the use of these frames although the valence and content of such frames may differ.

The most observable frame in the *People's Daily* was the attribution of responsibility frame while the least observable was that about human rights. The attribution of responsibility frame is one that presents the topic in such as way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to government, individuals or groups (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This frame performs two of Entman's (1991) four functions of framing, which are "to make moral judgments" and "to suggest remedies." This frame is exhibited by articles that mention or suggest that the Dalai Lama incited yet a new round of protest against the Chinese incursion in Tibet, or that the Chinese government should initiate dialogues with the Dalai Lama and his supporters to improve the bilateral relationship. By using this frame the most, the *People's Daily* prioritized the question of who is responsible for the issue—or some aspects of it—over any other story angle. The overt or tacit assignment of blame prevents readers from drawing their own conclusions about who should be blamed for an incident.

Another very visible frame in the *People's Daily* is the colonialism versus native conflict frame, one that emphasizes the Han Chinese incursion into the Tibetan culture, religion and tradition. This frame also highlights the Chinese government's attempts to tighten its grip on Tibet's political and economic life. The indicators for this item assess the relationship between Tibet and China on three aspects: politics, the economy, and culture. The two newspapers depicted this frame in different ways. The *People's Daily,* whose responsibility is to follow the lead of the Chinese government, typically reports government efforts to resolve the clash between the Hans and the Tibetans and to narrow the economic gap between China and Tibet. For example, in a recent celebration of the Chinese New Year, the *Daily* reports that the government has issued a special invitation for Tibetans to showcase their traditional dances and songs on national TV. Therefore, the prominence of this frame in the *People's Daily* hints on who is "doing the right thing" for Tibet.

The most prominent frame in *New York Times* is the human rights frame, which discusses China's record on human rights, especially as they apply to Tibet. This frame looks upon the Dalai Lama as a champion of religious freedom that is being suppressed in Chinese-occupied Tibet. Articles that employ this frame also talk about the use of weapons or other means of coercion to force Tibetans to follow CCP mandates, including the banning of public protests. This frame also is used to portray China as a force that liberated Tibet from serfdom. Since the United States began publicly lamenting China's record on human rights in 1988, the western media has incessantly focused on the China's repression of domestic uprisings and the government's violations of human rights. To maintain ties with China, tough foreign policies were replaced by the "softer"

human rights diplomacy. The results of the content analysis show that the U.S. media still uses human rights as a salient aspect to report on Tibet. The higher a newspaper's score on this frame, the more negative is the slant toward China. The frequent use of this frame in the *Times*, therefore, suggests a continuing effort to remind the public of the need to improve China's dismal human rights record if the country is to take on a greater role in the world stage.

The largest gap between the two papers lies in their use of the attribution of responsibility frame while the shortest distance between them is in the use of the colonialism versus native conflict frame.

In its use of the attribution frame, the Chinese paper often implies that conflict has been and continues to be instigated by the Dalai Lama on whose shoulders are often laid the blame for the worsening condition in Tibet. Using the same frame, the *Times* often attacks China's disregard for human rights to define the Tibet issue. News reports would, for example, describe Tibet as a poverty-stricken region as a result of China's mismanagement.

Meanwhile, the use of the colonialism versus native conflict frame in the two papers suggests that both are aware of and recognizes China's strong influence on Tibetan politics, culture and economy. The *People's Daily* frequently refers to Chinese initiatives to narrow the difference between Tibetan and Han culture, improve the economy by investing in local industries, or give Tibet more autonomy in political decision-making. These themes are in accord with the Chinese media's function to serve the state. Such content goads people to think that Tibet is growing under Chinese rule and thus bolster their support for policies that aim to make Tibet an integral part of China.

The *New York Times,* on the other hand, frequently displayed the colonialism versus native conflict frame in terms of the incompatibility of the Han and Tibetan cultures. How the Han has tainted an authentic culture and the uneven economic development between the mainland and a subjugated people are examples of themes within this frame that can be found in the American paper. These reports tend to heighten public sympathy toward Tibet and nurture doubts about China's ability to effectively govern it. In short, there are permutations within a frame, which can be presented in several ways that may privilege or marginalize one country as opposed to another. The application of the same frame, therefore, can lead to different interpretations or "readings" of the same topic or event.

Visibility of frames over time

Did the visibility of the frames in these two papers varied over the years? Data to answer the third research question suggest that the *New York Times* favored the human rights and the colonialism versus native conflict frame in the years 2008-2009. The visibility of this frame sharply dropped in 2010 and rebounded in 2011. Although the attribution of responsibility and human interest frames' visibility was not as high during the earlier years, they also dropped to a much lower point in 2010 and then returned to its original level. The high visibility of the human rights frame can be attributed to the historically persistent presence of the Chinese human rights policy in the western media. The high visibility of the colonialism versus native conflict frame might be the result of a series of riots and protests during the Beijing Olympic games. In 2010, the decline in the visibility of all frames may have been an offshoot of the negative reaction of the Chinese public to U.S. President Obama's meeting with the Dalai Lama.

The frames' visibility in the *People's Daily* followed a trend that was opposite to that of the *New York Times.* The human rights, attribution of responsibility, and human interest frames became significantly visible in 2010. This may be because the human rights dimension was overshadowed by the glamour of the 2008 Olympiad and the efforts of the host country to beef up its image on the international scene. The Chinese media countered the Obama-Dalai Lama meeting by playing up a litany of initiatives to improve Tibet's political freedom, strengthen its economy, and preserve its cultural heritage. The Chinese media's focus on the human side of these efforts may have led to the visibility of the attribution of responsibility frame (predictably to the Dalai Lama) and the human interest frame in 2010 and 2011.

Research question 4 asks: Do the newspapers differ in each frame's visibility over the years? Significant differences between the two papers were found on this regard. The two media outlets under very different political environments varied greatly in terms of the number of articles they published about Tibet and in their use of all four frames in their coverage.

Subservient to the will of the Communist Party, the Chinese media functioned, as expected, to support the government's political goals, that of preserving national unity and stability. Incidences that threaten the stability of the state, such as the Lhasa riots in 2008, prompt the Chinese media to further downplay the human rights and the attribution of responsibility frame to avoid criticisms at home and abroad. The use of these two frames go on high gear when public opinion strongly favors the government as a reaction against western moves deemed inimical to the nation's reputation. Such a visibility pattern could also be explained by the Chinese culture, which Hofstedte (2005)

characterizes as having a large power distance. In this case, government might prevails over citizens' rights, whoever holds power is seen as right and good, and the powerful are seen as having innate privileges. In a culture with large power distances, there is less dialogue and more violence in domestic politics, and the way to change a political system is by changing the people at the top (revolution). In such societies, there is generally more corruption, and scandals are usually covered up. Also, in a collectivist-dominant country like China, opinions are predetermined by group membership, laws and rights differ by groups, human rights ratings are lower, harmony and consensus in society are considered the ultimate goals, and patriotism is seen as ideal (Hofstede, 2005).

In the U.S., on the other hand, the media tend to reflect contemporary public opinion. With greater press freedom comes the power to criticize freely. Thus, the American press tends to highlight the human rights situation in Tibet and the conflict between Tibet and China instead of giving hints about who or what is responsible for the Tibet issue. In such a culture, according to Hofstede's (2005) typology, there is a short power distance, the use of power is sanctioned only when people see it as legitimate and following the general criteria of what should be considered good and evil. Nations with these cultural characteristics believe that all have equal rights. In such places, more dialogue and less violence characterize domestic politics, and the political system can be changed by changing the rules (evolution). Moreover, in an individualist-dominant country like the U.S., everyone is expected to have a private opinion, laws and rights are supposed to be the same for all, there are higher human rights ratings, ideologies of individual freedom prevail over ideologies of equality, and autonomy is seen as the ideal (Hofstede, 2005). Therefore, the U.S. media treat conflict such as the break out of riots as

indicative of a sad human rights situation that readily captures readers' attention and sympathy. Lacking access to Tibet, the American media display little of the human interest frame.

Limitations of the study

The major limitation of this study is this study didn't test the how political and culture influence framing quantitatively. This study doesn't test to what extent, political and culture can change framing procedure respectively. Also, the other major limitation of this study lies in the wording of the questions that measured the frames. Based primarily from the items used by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), the wording for the indicators of three frames may not have fully tapped the meanings and sub-angles circumscribed by the issue under study.

Also, this research didn't discuss the difference or similarities between two newspapers for each year the reason of how they formed the over-years trends like this. Meanwhile, before testing all these frames, this study didn't explain how they come out one by one which might should be improved in future study.

Due to low internal reliability, the unification and independence frame was omitted. The unacceptable Cronbach's alpha computed for this frame indicates the absence of stories that state or suggest that Tibet is clamoring for autonomy under Chinese control. Secondly, the questions developed to test this frame might not be accurate enough to cover the multiple dimensions of this frame.

These weaknesses call for improved methods of identifying and measuring news frames.

Directions for future research

One of the strengths of framing analysis as a mechanism to understand news media coverage of issues is that it creates discrete categories of classification and measurement. However, the presence of more than one frame in a story requires more astuteness in assigning dominance to one frame over the next. Future studies should focus on how to resolve this methodological difficulty.

Even in a quantitative project, qualitative analysis help extend data interpretation. Future investigations should experiment with a more robust blend of quantitative and qualitative methods in framing research.

The results of a content analysis are, by nature, limited to an evaluation of media performance. More studies that examine the impact of frames on audiences' cognitions, attitudes, and behavioral intentions will provide stronger evidence for the strength of this theoretical framework.

Also, future study could test the correlation between frames and over years. For example, if two or more frames combined in one news article, how would the overall effects change accordingly? Or whether they're a perfect set of frames that works for a specific news topic. Meanwhile, it is also interesting to test how journalists influence framing process, is there any reasons for them to consciously or unconsciously utilize frames. These studies could deepen the framing theory.

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Appendix A

Coding Sheet

Variable name	Variable label	Instructions and values	Values
Coder	Coder's name	Enter coder's name	
ID	Article's ID number	Enter the article's ID number	
Newspaper	Newspaper that published the story	1= *USA Today* 2= *People's Daily*	
Date	Date of publication	Enter as mm-dd-yy	
Author	Name of the author or article source	Enter the author's name and affiliation (e.g., John Smith; AP release; Reuters)	
Length	Length of article in number of words	Enter as a numerical variable	
Human rights frame	Does the story describe or imply China's human rights record?	0= Absent 1= Present	
	Does the story describe or imply China's contemporary human rights situation?		
	Does the story suggest that the Chinese government strongly influences the human rights situation in Tibet?		
	Does the story indicate whether Tibetans can exercise their human rights under Chinese control?		
Colonialism versus native conflict frame	Does the story mention or imply disagreement between Tibet and China?	0= Absent 1= Present	
	Does the story mention or imply that China is trying to fix the disagreement with Tibet?		
	Does the story mention that Tibet's political situation is controlled by the Chinese government?		
	Does the story mention that Tibet's economy is controlled by the		

		Chinese government?		
		Does the story show that Tibet's traditions and culture are under Chinese control?		
Independence versus unification frame		Does the story depict China as the aggressor state?	0= Absent 1= Present	
		Does the story mention the Chinese unification policy with Tibet?		
		Does the story comment about China's unification (with Tibet) policy?		
		Does the story mention or comment about the Tibetan exiles' request for independence?		
		Does the story indicate that Tibetans are resisting or are trying to get rid of Chinese control?		
Attribution of responsibility frame		Does the story suggest that the Chinese government (at any level) is responsible for the issue?	0= Absent 1= Present	
		Does the story suggest that the Chinese government (at any level) has the ability to alleviate or resolve the issue?		
		Does the story suggest a solution or solutions to the issue?		
		Does the story mention or suggest that an individual or group is responsible for the issue?		
		Does the story suggest that the issue requires urgent action?		
Human interest frame		Does the story focus on one person or several individuals or groups?	0= Absent 1= Present	
		Does the story show feelings of outrage?		
		Does the story show feelings of empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion?		
		Does the story report the private or personal lives of actors involved in this issue?		
		Does the story mention how individuals and groups are affected by the issue?		

Other frames	Other frames detected	0= Absent 1= Present	

Appendix B

Hofstede's (2005) Culture Dimensions

Power distance (PD) refers to the extent to which dependence relationships exist in a country (Hofstede, 2005). In countries like the U.S. where there is a short power distance, the use of power is sanctioned only when people see it as legitimate and following the general criteria of what should be considered good and evil. These nations believe that all have equal rights. In such places, more dialogue and less violence characterize domestic politics; the political system can be changed by changing the rules (evolution). In large power-distance countries like China, government might prevails over citizens' rights⎯whoever holds power is seen as right and good, the powerful should have privileges, there is less dialogue and more violence in domestic politics, and the way to change a political system is by changing the people at the top (revolution). In such societies, there is generally more corruption, and scandals are usually covered up (Hofstede, 2005).

Individualism (ID) measures the strength of individual rights in a nation. In an individualist-dominant country like the the U.S., everyone is expected to have a private opinion, laws and rights are supposed to be the same for all, there are higher human rights ratings, ideologies of individual freedom prevail over ideologies of equality, and autonomy is seen as the ideal. In a collectivist-dominant country like China, opinions are predetermined by group membership, laws and rights differ by groups, human rights ratings are lower, harmony and consensus in society are considered the ultimate goals, and patriotism is seen as ideal (Hofstede, 2005).

Uncertainty avoidance (UA) can be defined as the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations and thus find ways to prevent their occurrence (Hofstede, 2005). This dimension is concerned with political processes. In weak uncertainty avoidance countries like the U.S. and China, protests are considered acceptable; citizens trust politicians, civil servants, and the legal system; liberalism reigns; and there is tolerance even of extreme ideas.

Masculinity-Femininity (MS) as a dimension of societal culture can be defined as: "A society is called masculine when emotional gender roles are clearly distinct: men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success, whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life; and a society is called feminine when emotional gender roles overlap: both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. The higher the score, the more masculine culture in this country." (Hofstede, 2005)

Long-term orientation (LO) as a dimension of societal culture stands for the " fostering of virtues oriented toward future rewards- in particular, perseverance and thrift. Its opposite pole, short-term orientation, stands for the fostering of virtues related to the past and present- in particular, respect for tradition, preservation of "face", and fulfilling social obligations. The key difference of long-term orientation and short-term orientation are: long term orientation focus on perseverance, sustained efforts toward slow results, thrift, being sparing with resources, respect for circumstances, concern with personal adaptiveness, willingness to subordinate oneself for a purpose and having a sense of shame. While short-term orientation focus on efforts should produce quick results, social pressure toward spending, respect for tradition, concern with personal

stability, concern with social and status obligations and concern with "face"." (Hofstede, 2005)

Based on these criteria, the table below displays the culture dimension scores for China and the U.S. and compares the scores of these two countries against the world average.

Culture dimensions	China	U.S.	World average
Individualism (ID)	20	91	43
Power distance (PD)	80	40	55
Uncertainty avoidance (UA)	30	46	66
Masculinity (MS)	66	62	51
Long-term orientation (LO)	118	29	45

Appendix C

Intercoder Reliabilities

For the *People's Daily*

Human rights frame	Scott's pi
Does the story describe or imply China's human rights record?	0.852
Does the story describe or imply China's contemporary human rights situation?	0.768
Does the story suggest that the Chinese government strongly influences the human rights situation in Tibet?	0.823
Does the story indicate whether Tibetans can exercise their human rights under Chinese control?	0.852
Does the story indicate that Tibet is fighting for human rights?	0.768

Colonialism versus native conflict frame	Scott's pi
Does the story mention or imply disagreement between Tibet and China?	1
Does the story mention or imply that China is trying to fix the disagreement with Tibet?	1
Does the story depict that Tibet's political situation is controlled by the Chinese government?	1
Does the story depict that Tibet's economy is controlled by the Chinese government?	1
Does the story show that Tibet's traditions and culture are under Chinese control?	1

Independence versus unification frame	Scott's pi
Does the story depict China as the aggressor state?	1
Does the story mention Chinese unification policies with Tibet?	1
Does the story comment about China's unification (with Tibet) policy?	1
Does the story comment about the Tibetan exiles' request for independence?	0.768
Does the story indicate that Tibetans are resisting and trying to get rid of Chinese	0.768

control?	

Attribution of responsibility frame	**Scott's pi**
Does the story suggest that the Chinese government at any level is responsible for the issue?	0.823
Does the story suggest that the Chinese government at any level has the ability to alleviate or resolve the issue?	0.768
Does the story suggest solution(s) to the issue?	0.768
Does the story suggest that an individual or group is responsible for the issue?	0.768
Does the story suggest that the issue requires urgent action?	0.869

Human interest frame	**Scott's pi**
Does the story focus on a person or several individuals?	1
Does the story show feelings of outrage?	1
Does the story show feelings of empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion?	1
Does the story report the private or personal lives of actors involved?	0.888
Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue?	0.768

For *The New York Times*

Human rights frame	**Scott's pi**
Does the story describe or imply China's human rights record?	1
Does the story describe or imply China's contemporary human rights situation?	0.886
Does the story suggest that the Chinese government strongly influences the human rights situation in Tibet?	0.9
Does the story indicate whether Tibetans can exercise their human rights under Chinese control?	1
Does the story indicate that Tibet is fighting for human rights?	0.798

Colonialism versus native conflict frame	**Scott's pi**
Does the story mention or imply disagreement between Tibet and China?	0.762

Does the story mention or imply that China is trying to fix the disagreement with Tibet?	1
Does the story depict that Tibet's political situation is controlled by the Chinese government?	0.893
Does the story depict that Tibet's economy is controlled by the Chinese government?	0.893
Does the story show that Tibet's traditions and culture are under Chinese control?	1

Independence versus unification frame	Scott's pi
Does the story depict China as the aggressor state?	1
Does the story mention Chinese unification policies with Tibet?	0.792
Does the story comment about China's unification (with Tibet) policy?	0.798
Does the story comment about the Tibetan exiles' request for independence?	0.792
Does the story indicate that Tibetans are resisting and trying to get rid of Chinese control?	1

Attribution of responsibility frame	Scott's pi
Does the story suggest that the Chinese government at any level is responsible for the issue?	1
Does the story suggest that the Chinese government at any level has the ability to alleviate or resolve the issue?	0.893
Does the story suggest solution(s) to the issue?	0.875
Does the story suggest that an individual or group is responsible for the issue?	0.762
Does the story suggest that the issue requires urgent action?	0.798

Human interest frame	Scott's pi
Does the story focus on a person or several individuals?	1
Does the story show feelings of outrage?	1
Does the story show feelings of empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion?	0.886
Does the story report the private or personal lives of actors involved?	0.898

Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue?	1

Appendix D

Mean and Standard Deviations for the Visibility of News Frames, 2008-2011

Visibility of news frames in the *People's Daily*

	Human rights		Colonialism versus native conflict		Attribution of responsibility		Human interest	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
2008	.16	.15	.31	.23	.23	.20	.27	.19
2009	.14	.15	.36	.22	.26	.20	.12	.16
2010	.38	.06	.27	.18	.51	.12	.52	.10
2011	.27	.12	.39	.17	.49	.15	.43	.19

Mean and Standard Deviations for the Visibility of News Frames, 2008-2011

Visibility of news frames in the *New York Times*

	Human rights		Colonialism versus native conflict		Attribution of responsibility		Human interest	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
2008	.42	.16	.38	.16	.24	.21	.25	.13
2009	.40	.23	.40	.26	.22	.23	.24	.20
2010	.27	.22	.21	.18	.07	.11	.16	.12
2011	.43	.22	.39	.10	.16	.11	.26	.11

Appendix E

2 More Cities in China Hit by Protests of the West

New York Times, **Monday, April 21, 2008**

By Andrews Jacobs

Nationwide demonstrations against the French supermarket chain Carrefour spread to the Chinese cities of Harbin and Jinan as thousands protest what they call France's sympathy for pro-Tibetan agitators. Protesters have also been singling out Western news outlets, especially CNN, for what they call biased coverage of Tibet. The protests indicate that Chinese authorities are still allowing anti-foreign sentiment to spill over into rare street demonstrations.

Most Chinese view the unrest as an outburst of hooliganism and wanton violence, and many have been infuriated by Western news accounts that portray the rioting in Tibet as a revolt against oppressive rule. The dismay turned to indignation after the Olympic torch relay became a magnet for anti-Chinese protests, especially in Paris, where pro-Tibet demonstrators attacked a Chinese amputee athlete in a wheelchair who was bearing the torch. The woman, Jin Jing, has become a national hero and a symbol of resistance against those who are seen as seeking to disrupt the Olympics and sully China's reputation.

The article above produced the following coding values:

News frame	Informational items that make up the frame	Coding values	Codes
1. Human rights frame	Does the story mention or imply China's human rights record?	0= Absent 1= Present	0
	Does the story mention or imply China's contemporary human rights situation?		0
	Does the story mention or suggest that the Chinese government strongly influences the human rights situation in Tibet?		1
	Does the story indicate whether Tibetans can exercise their human rights under Chinese control?		1
	Does the story indicate that Tibetans are clamoring for human rights?		1
2. Colonialism versus native conflict frame	Does the story mention or imply disagreements between Tibet and China?	0= Absent 1= Present	1
	Does the story mention or imply that China is trying to fix the disagreement with Tibet?		1
	Does the story suggest that Tibet's political situation is controlled by the Chinese government?		1

	Does the story depict or suggest that Tibet's economy is controlled by the Chinese government?		1
	Does the story mention or imply that Tibet's traditions and culture are under Chinese control?		1
3. Independence versus unification frame	Does the story depict China as the aggressor state?	0= Absent 1= Present	1
	Does the story mention the Chinese unification policy with respect to Tibet?		0
	Does the story comment about China's unification (with Tibet) policy?		0
	Does the story mention or comment about the Tibetan exiles' request for independence?		1
	Does the story indicate that Tibetans are resisting and or trying to get rid of Chinese control?		1
4. Attribution of responsibility frame	Does the story mention or suggest that the Chinese government (at any level) is responsible for the issue?	0= Absent 1= Present	0
	Does the story mention or suggest that the Chinese government (at any level) has the ability to alleviate or resolve the issue?		0
	Does the story suggest solutions to the issue?		0
	Does the story mention or suggest that an individual or group is responsible for the issue?		1
	Does the story mention or suggest that the issue requires urgent action?		0
5. Human interest frame	Does the story focus on one person or several individuals or groups?	0= Absent 1= Present	1
	Does the story show feelings of outrage?		1
	Does the story show feelings of empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion?		0
	Does the story report the private or personal lives of actors involved in this issue?		0
	Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue?		1
Other frames	Presence or absence of other frames detected	0= Absent 1= Present	

Appendix F

Results of one-way ANOVA tests for the visibility of frames over years for People's

Daily

Frames	Year	Sig.
Human Rights	2008 vs. 2009	1.000
	2008 vs. 2010	**.000**
	2008 vs. 2011	**.012**
	2009 vs. 2010	**.000**
	2009 vs. 2011	**.001**
	2010 vs. 2011	**.013**
Colonialism versus Native Conflict	2008 vs. 2009	1.000
	2008 vs. 2010	1.000
	2008 vs. 2011	.768
	2009 vs. 2010	.814
	2009 vs. 2011	1.000
	2010 vs. 2011	.282
Attribution of Responsibility	2008 vs. 2009	1.000
	2008 vs. 2010	**.000**
	2008 vs. 2011	**.000**
	2009 vs. 2010	**.000**
	2009 vs. 2011	**.000**
	2010 vs. 2011	1.000
Human Interest	2008 vs. 2009	**.007**
	2008 vs. 2010	**.000**
	2008 vs. 2011	**.003**
	2009 vs. 2010	**.000**
	2009 vs. 2011	**.000**
	2010 vs. 2011	.358

Results of one-way ANOVA tests for the visibility of frames over years for New York

Times

Frames	Year	Sig.
Human Rights	2008 vs. 2009	1.000
	2008 vs. 2010	**.033**
	2008 vs. 2011	1.000
	2009 vs. 2010	.091
	2009 vs. 2011	1.000
	2010 vs. 2011	**.053**
Colonialism versus Native Conflict	2008 vs. 2009	1.000
	2008 vs. 2010	**.006**
	2008 vs. 2011	1.000
	2009 vs. 2010	**.002**
	2009 vs. 2011	1.000
	2010 vs. 2011	**.016**
Attribution of Responsibility	2008 vs. 2009	1.000
	2008 vs. 2010	**.003**
	2008 vs. 2011	.729
	2009 vs. 2010	**.014**
	2009 vs. 2011	1.000
	2010 vs. 2011	.789
Human Interest	2008 vs. 2009	1.000
	2008 vs. 2010	.150
	2008 vs. 2011	1.000
	2009 vs. 2010	.229
	2009 vs. 2011	1.000
	2010 vs. 2011	.192