A Comparative Analysis of the New York Times and China Daily's 2011 News Coverage of the Chinese Government

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to analyze comparatively the New York Times and China Daily's 2011 news coverage regarding the portrayal of the Chinese government. The study is positioned in international communication studies. The research employs a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods: content analysis and discourse analysis. 252 news articles from the China Daily and 324 from the New York Times during 01-01-2011 to 31-12-2011 were selected for the content analysis in order to compare the theme of news, news sources, comments on the Chinese government. Furthermore, six news articles on three cases were selected for the discourse analysis to further examine the representation of the Chinese government and the framing types embedded in the news coverage of the two newspapers. The study suggests that although the two newspapers share some similarities regarding the portrayal of the Chinese government, differences can be obviously observed. In particular, the New York Times tends to apply an anti-Chinese government frame while a pro-government frame is common in the China Daily. As a result, the Chinese government is represented as "other" by the New York Times and as "us" by the China Daily.

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1. Introduction

With the rapid development of China in recent decades, the issues concerning China have attracted considerable attention from western society in terms of political, economic, social aspects, etc. (He 2005). The phenomenon can be easily observed from the increasing amount of the media's attention to Chinese issues in western countries (Craig 2012). The Chinese government, which functions as the only legal government under the control of Communist Party of China (CCP), has been put under the spotlight concerning multiple issues. At the same time, the increasing openness and pluralism of public opinion have made the media more powerful in terms of evaluating and commenting on the performance of the government in domestic circumstances (Li 1995). Both national and international media outlets are paying more attention to the Chinese government's policy making, policy implementation, administrative performance, and engagement in international affairs (ibid).

1.1 Research Question

The research question is formulated as follows:
How do the New York Times' and China Daily's 2011 news coverage compare regarding the representation of the Chinese government?

In order to answer the research question, both quantitative and qualitative approaches are applied to the study. In the first place, the study is conducted by using content analysis. In addition, the purpose is fulfilled by taking a closer look at the news discourse. In this sense, the research question can be explored in a more precise and specific way by answering two sub-questions:

(1) What are the similarities and differences between the 2011 news coverage of the New York Times and China Daily regarding the representation of the Chinese

government in terms of the selection of news sources, news themes, comments on the Chinese government?

(2) How was the image of the Chinese government framed by the New York Times and China Daily during 2011 in the six selected news articles on three incidences (A,B,C)? What are the differences and similarities?

1.2 Purpose of the Study

This research aims at exploring the similarities and differences between the Chinese and the U.S. newspaper coverage regarding the portrayal of the Chinese government by combining quantitative and qualitative methods on the basis of a theoretical framework. In doing so, an attempt is made to explore the implicit ideological reasons behind the different representations.

This study falls into the areas of international communication studies. In the book *International Communication* (2000), Thussu has discussed the scope and content of international communication studies. By citing Fortner, Thussu indicates that international communication deals with "communication that occurs across international borders" (Fortner 1993, 1). The field of international communication studies has transcended "government-to-government information exchanges," and "encompasses political, economic, social, cultural and military concerns" nowadays (2000, 2). It is agreed that the western media, led by the U.S., have acted as "the key agenda-setter" in the global communication sphere (2000, 3). A few influential western media organizations, including the international print media, have the power to decide the framing of international news and have exerted a considerable impact on public opinion (2000). Referring to Fortner's (1993) arguments, he claims that "one key of international communication has been for public diplomacy, with the aim of influencing the policies of other nations by appeals to its citizens through means of public communication" (2000, 3). The leading western news outlets have been proved to initiate public diplomacy successfully by marketing their media products to the

international public (2000). Nevertheless, China, as an important growing power, has advocated public diplomacy strategies worldwide. International broadcasting programs, including the publication of international newspapers, has been an effective means to compete with the western media. According to Thussu, communication studies itself is "increasingly being taught in a comparative and international framework" (2000, 2). Thus, the comparative analysis of news framing in cross-national contexts can be situated in the field of international communication.

1.3 Significance of Study

It has been widely witnessed that dramatic changes have occurred in China in recent decades with the acceleration of globalization and the tendency toward pluralism. Accompanied by remarkable achievements in economics and other fields, a series of thorny issues have emerged at the same time (Li 1995). For example, the economic and social development is still uneven. Furthermore, environmental issues are becoming more serious (Liao 2001). More importantly, a democratic and legally-institutional mechanism needs to be developed. In particular, with the aggravation of corruption, the public has tended to lose confidence in the government (Liu 2005). In this circumstance, the Chinese government has been thrown under the spotlight in her home country and abroad since it is has been governed by the CCP.

Maintaining the consistency of public consensus is a priority task in the contemporary society and Media play a crucial role (Karl 1966; Richard 1992; Stephen 1996). The media functions as a bridge between the government and the public (Pan 2003). To a large extent, the public's perception of the Chinese government is obtained through the media. Although the political and ideological control of the CCP over the media has seen no fundamental change, some changes can still be witnessed. Pan has suggested that the routine "commanding system" has been eroded, and the journalistic system is undertaking deconstruction and reconstruction in China (Pan 1997). Thus,

the Chinese government's image represented by the domestic media today might be different as compared to the past.

On the other hand, the Chinese government depicted by the international media, especially western elite media outlets, is also important because they have a considerable impact on the perception of the international public on the Chinese government and the image tends to be different from that in the Chinese media. Therefore, it is academically relevant and important to comparatively analyze how the Chinese government is represented in cross-national contexts.

1.4 Structure

The aim of this study is to analyze comparatively the Chinese government's image portrayed by the Chinese media and the U.S. media. Here, focus will be placed only on the newspaper coverage of China Daily and the New York Times.

In this chapter, the main research question and two sub-questions are formulated. Additionally, the purpose and significance of the study are also provided. The following chapter introduces the background of American and Chinese press and outlines two relevant literatures. The chapter of theoretical framework will begin with an introduction of two relevant concepts: soft power and public diplomacy. The main theories used in this study consist of the framing theory and ideology. On the basis of the theoretical approaches, an empirical study will also be offered by combining both content analysis and discourse analysis. Particularly, content analysis is used to examine different media uses of news sources, themes, comments on the Chinese government, and frame types. The study is further conducted by examining the news discourse of selected articles. The limitations and further research will also illustrated in methodology. In the discussion chapter, the political and ideological influence behind the similarities and differences between the news coverage of the New York Times and China Daily will be discussed.

2. Background

2.1 The Shift in American Press Landscape

Defleur and Dennis (1998) addressed the history and development of American press in their book Understanding Mass Communication. It can be tracked back to the age of American colonies. The newspapers emerged from colonial papers, which were "small, slow, aimed at affluent and educated reader and limited in coverage" (Defleur and Dennis 1998, 95). They can be categorized as partisan papers and commercial papers according to different purposes (ibid). Although colonial papers are the earliest form of newspapers, good traditions of free expression are gradually established during this period. Furthermore, colonial papers are considered to be "important traditions as guardians of public interest" and made a significant contribution to the establishment of the new country (ibid). The development of new technologies caused by the Industrial Revolution, the "rapid population growth" and the "increasing literacy" made "the newspaper for common people" possible (ibid). The so-called "penny papers" spread around the country owing to "the printing technology, advertising support, news content with wide popular appeal, and an effective distribution system" (ibid). Nevertheless, the fierce competitiveness in the press industry led to the period of "yellow journalism". In this period, most newspapers had to compete for audience by selling sensational news (ibid). Newspapers are "the nation's only mass medium" until other media forms emerged in early 20th century. In order to compete with television and radio, "the tradition of in-depth coverage and interpretation" has been extremely valued (ibid). Entertainment news has been a new focus of newspapers other than its function of informing readers. However, with the emergence of Internet and multi-media, newspaper is in face of more challenges. As Sylvie and Witherspoon noted, "the Internet and its associated ramifications posed one of the most puzzling, persistent threats to newspapers" (2001, 4). It has proven that the development of newspapers is experiencing a gradual decline in terms of "readership, advertising revenues and profits" (Defleur and Dennis 1998, 96).

However, in response to the debate that traditional media, such as newspapers and television will go extinction in the future, Downie, Jr. and Schudson claimed that "newspapers and television news are not going to vanish in the foreseeable future" (2009, 1). However, they noted that American journalism will face the reconstruction (ibid).

Regarding "trends that shaped today's newspapers", Defleur and Dennis claimed that newspapers can be undoubtedly considered as "cultural innovation" (1998, 74). What is more, wire services and syndicates provide newspapers with more news source, and "non-news features" makes newspapers more attracting but "more and more oriented toward entertainment" (ibid). Computers also push forward the development of newspaper and "change the nature of the way journalists work" in terms of the means of editing and reporting news. More importantly, "the consolidation of their ownership" is seen as another important trend that affects today's newspaper (1998, 81). The fierce competitive environment for advertising revenue has given rise to "a great expansion of chain ownership of newspapers" (ibid). As they claimed, "the profitability of American papers is due largely to the buying up of individual papers by chains". As a result, "chain ownership implies an ability on their part to control the news and thereby (potentially) to shape how readers think about events" (1998, 82).

In general, most American media are privately-owned. That is, the U.S. media organizations often claim to be independent from any political parties and interest groups. However, a reciprocal influence and dependency can be observed between the political realm and the journalistic coverage (Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2001, 15). Besides, Chomsky explored the ownership intervention by examining "memos between the late owner and publisher of the NewYork Times Arthur Hays Sulzberger and editor Turner Catledge" (2006, 1). He argued, "Editorial independence was a farce" (ibid). He pointed out that media owner always exerts great impact on editorial decision and political and ideological intervention is another factor that embedded in newsroom.

2.2 The Shift in Chinese Press Landscape

Since the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has followed with "Soviet Russia's communist media model", which "justifies the subordination of all media to the line of the party leadership" (Yang 2012, 65; Curran and Park 2000, 38). The ten year Cultural Revolution accelerated the party's control over the media, during which period the media functioned as a tool for disseminating political information and thereby controlling the public's minds. Additionally, the media were characterized as "a relatively poor professional level of journalism practitioners and technological journalism infrastructure" (ibid). Before the profound social reformation, as Susan L. Shirk has noted, "China had no journalism as we know it, only propaganda" (2011, 7). The media content, at the same time, was labeled as "repetition of the party principles and inane contents" (Yang 2012, 65). According to Liebman, only a total of 69 newspapers existed in China, and all of them owned by the CCP and government before 1979, which are known as "Dang Bao" (2005, 17).

A huge shift in Chinese society can be observed since the social reformation was led by Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s. Since then, the market-oriented economy opened up a new era in China. The media structure unsurprisingly has evolved over time to echo the changes in Chinese society. According to Luther and Zhou, "marketing is of increasing concern to China's news media, as the growth in the number of available news outlets has made commercial survival imperative" (2005, 858). That is to say, owing to the sudden cuts in financial support from authorities, most media organizations have to enter the market and compete with rivals in order to survive in the fierce market-economy environment. Accordingly, market-oriented media have been a new tendency of the Chinese media industry. As is known, more than 2000 newspapers and 9000 magazines had published by 2005 (Shirk 2011). In fact, even state newspapers, such as the People's Daily, the Guangming Daily, and the Economics Daily, have to make a profit and appeal to their audience. (Shirk 2011, 9).

The emergence of the media-oriented media was driven by two factors. On the one hand, the "profit-driven business model" has dominated the operation of the media industry (Yang 2012, 65). On the other hand, the media policy made by the Chinese government has also facilitated the commercialization of the media industry, which urges the commercialization of most Chinese media agencies. Zhao claims that "this initial step toward commercializing the media was quickly followed by the introduction of advertising in broadcasting in 1979 and waves of market-driven business expansions in the print and broadcasting media" (2008, 77). What is more, the Chinese government "sought to strengthen Chinese media organizations to withstand competition from foreign media companies" after 2000 (Shirk 2011, 9).

2.2.1   Media Change and Government Control

Consistent with the profound change in Chinese society, the government's control of the mass media has evolved over time. During the period 1949-1979, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) "monopolistically controlled all mass media," when "its political system was characterized by a hierarchical structure" (Pashupati et al. 2003, 255). The completely monopolized ownership of the mass media can be understood with an understanding of the background of "Mao's totalitarian communist press approach" (Huang 2003, 446). During this period, the propagandist function and ideological attribution of the media were valued by the rule class.

Since the proliferation of social reformation in China, the "single purpose" of the mass media to "serve party and state policies" began to be undermined by the authorities. With the development of information communication technology in the globalized era, the mass media in China have presented features of a "diversification of the media structure, expansion of the media function, and comprehensive media commercialization" (Huang 2003, 477). The industrialization and commercialization of the media have started to develop since the market economy launched in China.

Most of the media outlets need to take the audience into account by expanding their functions "from propagating to providing news, general information, knowledge and entertainment, and expressing public opinion" (Huang 2003, 447). Most importantly, it provides a platform for the public to "criticize the daily workings of the government and the wrongdoing of officials" (ibid). This trend can be observed from the more important role of the mass media in supervising government behaviors and uncovering political scandals. For instance, the elite newspaper *Nan Fang Weekend* is famous for criticizing the authorities. Additionally, Chinese Central Television (CCTV), which serves as one of the most influential state television stations, has also provide the public with a series of news programs, such as News Probe, that specialize in follow-up reports concerning the performance of the government.

However, many scholars still note that "this hierarchical political structure has continued to the present day with few substantial changes" (Pashupati et al. 2003, 255). Zhao also claims that "ideological continuity and policy differences still matter a great deal, and the central leadership's imperative to maintain ideological and political unity has become stronger" (2008, 41). Despite the autonomy that media organizations have gained, all changes and actions are still under the control of the CCP, even in this new media era. Therefore, governmental influences on the journalistic system are still prominent. Chinese media outlets, especially state-owned mainstream media, still take responsibility to help the Party and the government to "publicize and explain policies, and maintain social order and stability, to follow the government's guidelines and to prevent anti-Party and anti-government coverage" (Pashupati et al. 2003, 258). As Zhao argues, "what is apparent is the party's determination to sustain this regime at all costs and by all means" (2008, 61).

2.3 Literature Review

The author found that the topics of the relevant studies mainly dealt with the framing

of China's national image in the western media (e.g. Xie 2007; Pan 2003, etc.) and the comparative analysis of Chinese and U.S. news coverage regarding a specific issue or event (e.g. Wu 2006; Roya and Jyotika 1998, etc.). After carefully searching, two studies were most relevant and to my study in terms of theoretical framework, methods, and main findings. One was *Framing and ideology: a comparative analysis of U.S. and Chinese newspaper coverage of the Fourth United Nations Conference on Women and the NGO forum* by Majid and Ramaprasad (1998), while the other was *Framing AIDS in China: a comparative analysis of US and Chinese Wire News Coverage of HIV/AIDS in China* by Wu (2006). In this section, thus, I am attempting to outline these two articles.

Majid and Ramaprasad dealt with "a comparative analysis of U.S. and Chinese newspaper coverage of the Fourth United Nations Conference on Women and the NGO Forum" (1998). In this research, they aimed to assess "the coverage of the global feminist event and the extent to which its critical areas of concern were communicated to the public and to illuminate the dynamics of framing in a comparative context and contribute to its further theoretical development" (ibid). The methodology was a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis; more specifically, both content analysis and discourse analysis are applied. A total of 329 news articles and 4030 paragraphs from seven U.S. newspapers and one Chinese state newspaper, China Daily, were coded, thereby quantitatively examining the specific themes of news and qualitatively investigating the overall frames regarding the global feminist event held in Beijing, China in 1995. The results of the content analysis and discourse analysis basically reinforced the hypothesis that frames driven by ideological factors were reflected in the selected news coverage.

In U.S. newspapers, the results of content analysis are shown as follows:

The bulk of coverage given by the U.S. newspapers to the Conference and the Forum focused not on the critical areas of concern about which the Conference

had hoped to raise global consciousness, but on criticism of China; Hillary Clinton's visit; and other descriptions of activity, logistics, conflict, and protest. (Majid and Ramaprasad 1998, 144).

On the other hand, the discourse analysis provided evidence of the U.S. newspapers' "emphasis on the familiar themes of oppression and deceitfulness that have long been associated with coverage of China as a communist country" (1998, 145). Overall, the U.S. news reporting was concluded as "far more concerned with attacking China as a communist country than focusing on the substance of the global issues raised by the Conference" (1998, 147). The reason is attributed fundamentally to "the strong influence of dominant anticommunist ideology" embedded in the operations of the U.S. newspapers.

The results from the Chinese coverage clearly show "a proequality frame and a clear focus on the critical issues of concern to the Conference" (ibid). This claim is reflected in the results of the content analysis. It was proved that 46% of Chinese coverage is concerned with critical issues. What is more, the China Daily's news coverage "went beyond merely listing the problems and presented extensive discussions of the issues, interlaced with quotes from delegates and participants from around the world" and "emphasized the cooperative efforts of the delegates to reach agreements in the platform" (ibid). More importantly, the authors also investigated that the Chinese news coverage that "contained very little propagandistic praise for China (only 3%)". In general, the authors concluded the following regarding the depiction of China in relation to the specific influential event:

China's preparations and defense of China emerged as major frames in the coverage, taking the place of a more direct and propagandistic praise for China. overall, the policy- and ideology-driven efforts to present China in a positive light, including defending in against criticism, were done in a far more balanced and indirect manner than originally expected (Majid and Ramaprasad 1998, 149).

Wu (2006) also conducted a relevant analysis with the title of "*Framing AIDS in China: a comparative analysis of US and Chinese wire news coverage of HIV/AIDS in China*." The objective of her study was to "uncover how the social reality of HIV/AIDS in China [was] constructed by the two leading news organizations" (the Xinhua News Agency of China and the Associated Press of the United States) in 2004 (2006). Qualitative in-depth analysis was used in her study to identify the frames embedded in the news discourse of the two news agencies. One-year data (a total of 149 news coverage items) were collected. Based on previous studies, Wu employed two frames (pro-and anti-government frames) to analyze the news articles on Chinese and the U.S. media. More specifically, the dishonesty/oppression frame, the human rights abuser frame, and the incompetence frame were used for AP news coverage while the defense frame, progress frame, and ambivalence/ambiguity frame were used for the Xinhua news reporting. The main findings regarding the representation of the Chinese government in the AP and Xinhua news coverage were concluded by Wu as follows.

> In both framings, the Chinese government is constructed as the major stakeholder in the entire process, although it is depicted as playing totally different roles. In Xinhua's report, the government officials are the dominant news makers. It is their voices, their actions, and their perspectives on the issue that are represented to the audience. On the contrary, the AP discourse constructs the Chinese government and its officials as incredible, dishonest, and inefficient in addressing the AIDS problem in China. It attempts to attribute the government's incompetence to the factors of traditional culture, the impetus of economic development and most importantly the inherent problem in its political system (Wu, 2006, 270).

When it comes to the factors which affect the representation of the Chinese government in newspapers, Wu claims that "the concept of ideology provides a useful tool to understand AP's coverage of HIV/AIDS in China" (2006, 268). The reasons

for the AP's negative representation of the Chinese government are attributed to "the journalistic routine of focus on conflict and abnormity and dominant ideology of anticommunism" (ibid), whereas, the existence of a pro-government frame in Xinhua's report is owed to "the history of state-press relations and the tension that the Chinese government and the media is currently experiencing in the increasingly globalized world" (ibid).

3 Theoretical Framework

This chapter consists of two relevant concepts, framing theory and the ideological perspective. Specifically, the concepts of soft power and public diplomacy will be introduced. Moreover, a literature review concerning the application of the two concepts to China will be provided. In terms of framing theory, the definition, process model, and frame strategies will be discussed. The section on ideology involves the relationship between ideology and frame and the introduction of the dominant ideology in Chinese and the U.S. society. Further, the representation of others will be introduced as a subsection.

3.1. Two Concepts: Soft Power, Public Diplomacy

3.1.1. Soft Power

The term "soft power" has been frequently mentioned in recent decades (Hayden 2012). Opposite "hard power," soft power is considered as "the second face of power" (Nye 2004, 5). Nye, an advocate of the concept "soft power," emphasizes the power and significance of intangible assets, such as political ideology, culture, and values. He claims that "hard power," such as military and economics, is paid too heavy attention to, whereas "invisible" power tends to be neglected (2004). Compared to commanding others, soft power "rests on the ability to shape the preference of others" by attracting and persuading others; that is, it "co-opts people rather than coerces them" (Nye 2004, 5). Based on the study of Nye on "soft power," the term has been conceptualized by Craig Hayden as "an ability to get preferred outcomes through specific behaviors (agenda-setting, persuasion, attraction) that draw upon specific types of resources (culture, political ideas, and foreign policy legitimacy" (2012, 29).

In Hayden's understanding, soft power connotes "three broad categories: (a) influence, (b) the force of an actor's argument, (c) the attractiveness of an actor's culture and

institutions" (2012, 5). In terms of influence, soft power exerts external and internal impacts on the target audience in some form. An actor will affect foreign populace through soft power such as communicative strategies or activities directly, and as a result, further influence foreign governments, in order to achieve political goals and foreign policy objectives. The impacts on governments, however, are considered to be more crucial (Hayden 2012). That is to say, the goal of "getting others to want what you want" might be effectively fulfilled by means of the attraction of a nation's culture, values, and other intangible assets (Hayden 2012, 5). According to Hayden, soft power is "both an asset to cultivate and a tool to use," and is "both a measure of 'resources' as well as a reflection on 'behavioral outcomes.'" (2012, 4-5). It plays a multifunctional role in "leading many countries to pursue communication-based goals, such as to improve a credibility, to influence media representation, and to establish stronger ties with foreign publics" (2012, 2).

It is noteworthy that the notion "soft power" advocated by Nye (1990) aimed at offering a remedy and new insights to the American government in order to improve its competitive power and to strengthen its dominant potion in the world. Nevertheless, as Hayden claimed, "it is not just a policy corrective designed for the United States but a general indictment of how global politics gets resolved in the present context." Therefore, soft power has become a ubiquitous and applicable "exportable strategic notion" in the globalized age (2012, 5).

As stated above, soft power contains two aspects: "resources for achieving objectives and measurable behaviors" (Hayden 2012, 5). Public diplomacy, one of the forms of communicative strategies, is considered a necessary means of soft power. On the one hand, it is "an instrument that governments use to mobilize these resources to communicate with and attract the publics of other countries" (Nye 2008, 95). On the other hand, "it renders the audience of soft power efforts as targets, susceptible to campaigns of 'attraction' and yet empowers them with a valuable potential agency" (Hayden 2012, 6).

3.1.2. Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy can be seen as "the practices of transnational communicative engagement" (Hayden 2012, 3). It is largely accepted that the term "public diplomacy" originally derived from Gullion (1965), the dean of Fletcher School of Law. The definition was elaborately summarized by Edward R. Murrow Center as follows:

> Public diplomacy… deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications (Cull 2009, 19).

Public diplomacy can be understood from three dimensions: "(a) daily communication; (b) strategic communication; (c) the development of lasting relationships with key individuals" (Nye 2004, 107-110). Daily communication contains an explanation of "the context of domestic and foreign policy decision" (2004, 107). According to Nye, the role of foreign public is always ignored. Except for a nation's image in the domestic environment, he claims, its international image should be paid more attention to. Further, how to handle crises and attacks should be taken into consideration. For the second dimension, "a set of simple themes is developed, much like what occurs in a political or advertising campaign" (2004, 108). The third dimension could be achieved by means of "scholarship, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences, and access to media channels" (2004, 108). All three dimensions are considered to be necessary and Nye believes that "they require different relative proportions of direct government information and long-term cultural relationship"

(2004, 107).

Nye's viewpoint on the dimension of public diplomacy strategy reflects two controversial views on communication discussed by scholars in this field. One considers communication as "a linear process of transferring information often with the goal of persuasion or control." The other regards it as "a social process of building relationships and fostering harmony" (Zaharna 2009, 86). Accordingly, the nature of public diplomacy has been summarized by R.S. Zaharna into two categories: "information framework and relational framework (2009). The debate thus falls into answering the question "whether public diplomacy is propaganda or cultural relations, international broadcasts or educational exchanges, tough- or tender-minded, mutual understanding or persuasion" (Zaharna 2009, 86). It has been noted that international broadcasts serve as one of the effective public diplomacy initiatives to disseminate information domestically and internationally (Hayden 2012). Due to the insufficient and biased representation of other countries' press organizations, one nation-state is more willing to advocate its own broadcasting to make its voice heard worldwide. Nevertheless, as Zaharna claims, "All international broadcasts tend to reflect the views of their political sponsor either explicitly in their pronouncements or implicitly via the subtle selection, tone, and phrasing of their information content" (2009, 90). He further emphasizes that political sponsored broadcasting tends to be closely linked to propaganda (2009).

Two of the most crucial resources are claimed to be "attention" and "credibility" nowadays (Nye 2004, 106). First, due to the overload of information in contemporary society, "attention," instead of "information," plays a vital role. Nye believes that a "paradox of plenty" is the main reason that people have difficulty in selecting useful and valuable information. Moreover, he further asserts that "politics has become a contest of competitive credibility." This is attributed to the fact that the public has become more rational and sensitive when confronting propagandistic information. As he states, "political struggles occur over the creation and destruction of credibility."

The competition of other governments has not been seen as the only element of one country gaining credibility; instead, a considerable number of actors such as news media, corporations, nongovernmental actors, should be taken into account (Nye 2004, 106).

The notion "propaganda" is always discussed in connection with public diplomacy. When it comes to the relations between the two communicative strategies, there are various perspectives on whether propagandistic activities can reinforce public diplomacy or whether propaganda and public diplomacy are the same thing. It is believed that propaganda connotes "secrecy, deception and coercion," whereas public diplomacy tends to be "open public communication" (Zaharna 2004, 223). From this point of view, propaganda contains a negative connotation. However, "public diplomacy" is seen as the best form of propaganda (Nye 2004). In other words, public diplomacy works with the new name of "propaganda," which is still largely employed as a communicative technique today (Nye 2004). Nevertheless, it is still widely accepted that "transparency" and "credibility" are crucial when it comes to the application of communication initiatives. Simple propaganda, however, is always seen as "a lack of credibility and thus is counterproductive as public diplomacy" (Nye 2004, 107). The short-term diplomatic technique, propaganda, might lead to negative outcomes at the expense of one country's long-term trust and reputation for credibility (Nye 2004).

3.1.3 The Adaptation of Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in the Chinese Context

China has been considered to have a long tradition of soft power awareness and public diplomacy efforts, which can be traced back thousands of years (Hayden 2012). The concept "harmonious community" is not a new idea for today's China when it comes to international relations. Instead, the great thinkers in ancient China, such as

Confucius, Mencius, and Sun, advocated winning active and leading position with foreign competition without violent force. This does not suggest that commanding and hard power is not important. In many Chinese scholars' understanding, "power" can be interpreted as "persuading other nations through attraction to one's policies, performance, identity, and culture" (Jia 2010).

With the advent of a globalized and information age, and the development of Chinese society, the idea of soft power has not lost its prominence; rather, it is emphasized by Chinese scholars and policymakers in the international communication and politics sphere. In order to "temper fears abroad of its growing material power, as well as to shape global opinion by highlighting cultural strength," China has a strong desire to "cultivate and amplify" its soft power strategies and techniques, which could be observed in a series of soft power efforts, ranging from news reporting to official government statements (Hayden 2012, 169). In addition, "China's vulnerabilities to foreign media framing, its ability to project an undistorted vision of its image to foreign audiences" are considered as another motivation to promote communicative and diplomatic strategies, thereby fulfilling its national relation potentials (ibid). As Kalathil (2011) states, "China is expanding its soft power through strategically deploying cultural, media, and economic resources and amplifying these efforts in the global networked information space".

China has taken actions to "translate resources into desired outcomes" (Hayden 2012, 173). Based on a 2009 report on Chinese soft power by a Chinese official institution, Hayden summarized a wide range of soft power initiatives as follows:

> Foreign aid and foreign direct investment, participation in peacekeeping and humanitarian missions, cultural exchange programs like the Confucius Institutes, reinvigorated diplomacy initiatives and increased involvement in multilateral governance (ibid).

Accompanied with the comprehensive application of the soft power concept in

Chinese foreign policy, public diplomacy undoubtedly has become a focus in China's foreign relations (Hayden 2012). According to Mackinnon, Hayden briefly summarizes that a variety of public diplomacy initiatives involve "cultural and mediacentric initiatives; a multifront concern for image cultivation, information sovereignty, and increasingly, network authoritarianism to cultivate power for the Chinese state" (Hayden 2012, 189). Rawnsley defines Chinese soft power strategy as "talking back" on the basis of a reflection on a Chinese official's statement, which suggest that China "must represent an accurate picture of itself to the world…China should not only listen, but talk back" (2009, 283). He also thinks China's public diplomacy approach mainly lies in two aspects: economics and culture.

When it comes to public diplomacy in the economic area, there is no doubt that China has gained tremendous economic achievement during these decades. Hence, the so-called "Chinese model" has become very popular among many developing countries. They hope to learn or copy the successful model, which emphasizes "marketing-led development and authoritarian politics" (ibid). However, he further claims, China "has difficulty in selling its political values except to governments in need of, or experienced in, undemocratic politics" (ibid). What is more, Hayden claims that "culture is a soft power resource that aids in the competitive distinction of China" (2012, 189). Public diplomacy policymakers and practitioners obviously are aware of how to translate cultural "assets" to "strategies" when selling their countries (Craig 2012). The cultural diplomatic strategies have retained their prosperity. According to Hayden, the limitations can still be noticed. He has claimed that Chinese culture might be incompatible with other western cultures (ibid). It thus requires "more rigorous cultural polices to deal with this disparity" (2012, 183). More importantly, he asserts that some dimensions might be more important than cultural power. Chinese scholar Zhu's arguments are cited by Hayden: "political institutions, like policies and choices in foreign policy are more important than culture in soft power" (2012, 184-185).

International broadcasting is regarded as another crucial form of public diplomacy efforts in China. Relying on the communication infrastructure and technology, the public diplomacy program has launched a variety of media practices around the world, which includes China Radio International (CRI), China Central Television (CCTV), the Xinhua agency, and the China Daily newspaper (Hayden 2012, 197-201). Owing to the predominance of western countries over information and media flows, soft power initiatives are described as "an instrument to create a better image for China, to influence perceptions, and to defend China from Western culture and ideology" (Hayden 2012, 176). Additionally, a Chinese political leader justifies: "its own material communication assets can help to translate the resources of Chinese soft power into soft power outcomes" (2012, 198). The struggle of the Chinese government with soft power and public diplomacy aims at solving the problem that "its economic development has not been matched by a concurrent rise of favorable public opinion around the world" (ibid).

However, the adaptation of soft power and public diplomacy initiatives are still problematic in Chinese context. This could be attributed to "strict lines for media ownership, content, and flow across its borders" and "the relationship between mediated information and political control" (Hayden 2012, 202). That is to say, the CCP and the government keep media and information control in mind, even in the globalized age. The evidence shows that "consolidation of information and media control" are emphasized in a 2001 Communist Party memo (2012, 203). "The party governs the media" is still the focus of the CCP today in order to maintain "national unity" and "harmony" in Chinese society (ibid). China's soft power and public diplomacy strategies have been criticized by Nye. He argues that the problems are embedded in its actions (2010). Hayden suggests that "China must balance its hard power concerns with the long term benefits that ultimately demand attention to soft power" (2012, 208). What is more, Rawnsley defines China's soft power actions as a "narrow success." He expresses his worries: "it is not yet clear if China has the capacity to convert public diplomacy resources and effort into achievable foreign

policy aspirations" (2009, 289-290).

3.2 Framing Theory

3.2.1 Why Use the Framing Theory?

According to Wu, the study of framing is "one way, and indeed a most important way, of uncovering the complexity of the social construction of reality" (2006, 253). The media content does not mirror the real world. Instead, it is through the framing of media discourses that reality is rearrange and organized. The mass media thus have the potential to decide "not only what events to be covered but also how the events to be covered" (Liu 2009, 6).

In addition, Liu claims that framing theory is "appropriate for analyzing political issues and public controversy, especially in the international context because frames have the potential to explain cultural dynamics" (2009, 8). Entman also noted that "culture might be defined as the empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse" (Entman 1993, 53). That is to say, different cultural contexts might lead to different news framing to a large degree. What is more, according to Lippmann, with "the artificial censorships, the limitations of social contact, the comparatively meager time available in each day for paying attention to public affairs", people rely largely on the information from the media in order to know the outside world (1921, 22). Especially, due to restrains from geographical elements people are not able to personally engage in an event. It creates the possibility of media framing (McQuail 1994).

The objective of this study is to analyze comparatively the representation of the Chinese government in China Daily and the New York Times. In order to answer the research question, media coverage will be examined within cross-national contexts. Framing theory here is considered as a useful tool to study comparatively the

characteristics of media discourse in different social-cultural settings. Additionally, it could be assumed that the foreign public, especially the American audience, mainly depends on the mass media to gain information about China and the Chinese government. Therefore, how the media frame the reality of Chinese society plays an important role in the audiences' perception. More importantly, a variety of framing strategies mentioned below can serve as the analytical categories for discourse analysis, thereby answering the research question.

3.2.2   Introduction to Framing Theory

The term "frame" originated from Bateson's argument (Bateson 1955) and was later applied to mass media studies by Goffman (1974). Goffman claims that humans organize their experience and guide their behavior by framing. Inspired by Goffman's (1974) interpretation of a frame, a great number of scholars began to conceptualize "frame" and have developed a frame theory from cognitive, constructivist, and critical perspectives (D'Angelo 2002). The notion of the frame has been conceptualized to question wording differences (Vreese 2005). However, it is difficult to generalize and explain more complicated communicative situations and politics (Sniderman and Theriault, 2004). In a broad sense, the media frame is described to be an "organization mechanism for media content" (Dimitrova and Connolly-Ahern 2007, 155). It is argued that the term could be understood as either a noun of frame or the process of framing (Zang 1999). Referring to the studies on how the framing mechanism works, Gitlin defines that it is "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse" (1980, 7), whereas Entman claims that framing "essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text" (1993, 53). What is more, framing is defined as the process of selection and rearrangement. Hackett defines frame from the angle of ideology, which refers to "a system of ideas,

values and propositions which is characteristic of a particular social class" (1984, 261).

When one deals with media discourse, the difficulty lies in the identification of which components in a news story compose a frame (Vreese 2005). Entman (1993) suggests that news frames can be examined and identified through "the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (Entman 1993, 52). In addition, some researchers have pointed out "the choices about language, quotations and relevant information" (Shah et al. 2002, 367). Other "framing devices" include the use of metaphors, exemplars, catch-phrases, depictions, and visual images (Gamson and Modigliani 1989). Pan and Kosicki have suggested four main news dimensions that influence the development of frames as "syntactic structures, or word choice; script structures, or an evaluation of the newsworthiness of an event; thematic structures, including causal themes for news events; and rhetorical structures, which includes 'stylistic' choices made by journalists" (1993, 61). Tankard has offered the most comprehensive identification, which consists of 11 news framing mechanisms: "(1) headlines, (2) subheads, (3) photos, (4) photo captions, (5) leads, (6) source selection, (7) quotes selection, (8) pull quotes, (9) logos, (10) statistics and charts, and (11) concluding statements and paragraph" (2001, 101).

3.2.3 Process Model of News Framing

Scheufele identifies the process model of framing in a rather comprehensive way. According to him, the model consists of four processes: frame building; frame setting; individual-level effects of framing; and a link between individual frames and media frames (1999, 114-118, see figure 1). In this model, Scheufele sees framing as "a continuous process where outcomes of certain processes serve as input for subsequent processes" (1999, 114). In particular, frame building is developed from the study of

agenda-setting. Here, he emphasizes that "the key question is what kinds of organizational or structural factors of the media system, or which individual characteristics of journalists, can impact the framing of news content" (ibid). On the basis of Gans (1979), Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) research, Scheufele summarizes three factors which affect media content: (1) journalist-centered influences; (2) the selection of frames as a result of factors such as the type or political orientation of the medium or "organizational routines;" and (3) external sources of influence (e.g. political actors, authorities, interest groups, and other elites) (1999, 115).
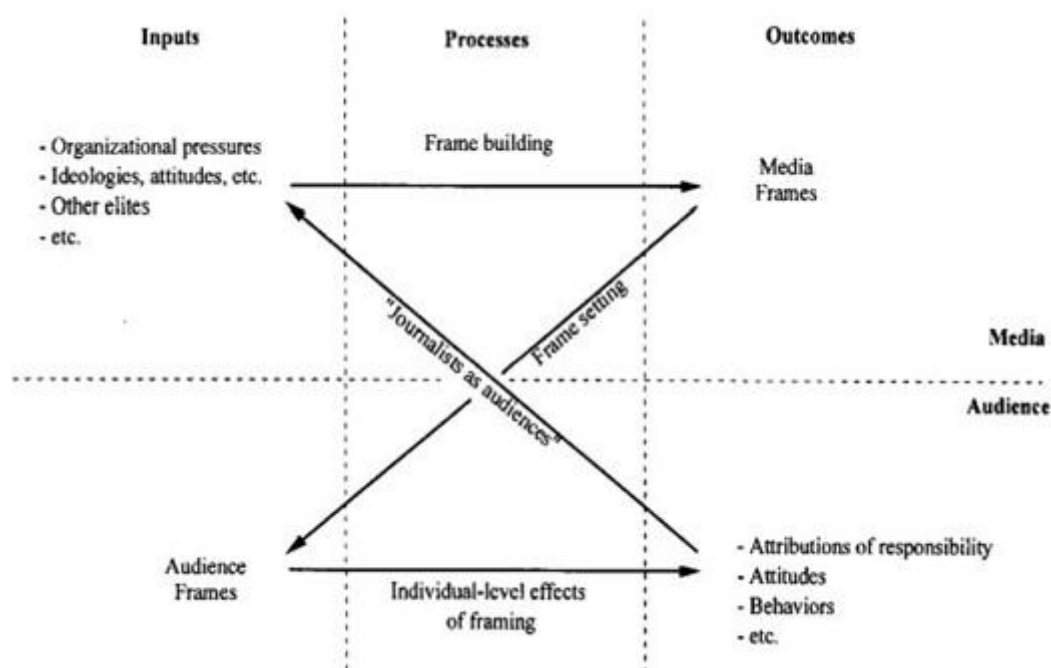
Figure 1: **A process model of Framing Research (source, Scheufele, 1999)**

Similar to frame building, frame setting is also inspired from the concept "agenda setting." However, it is claimed that they have different focuses, namely, agenda setting deals with "the salience of issues" while framing setting deals with "the salience of issue attributes" (1996, 116). The process of frame-setting is explained by Vreese as "the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions" (2005, 52). It helps to examine the degree of impacts of news frames over the audience and their reactions toward frames, both on individual and

societal levels (ibid). Media framing here has been considered as a routine for journalists. They tend to work with being guided, intentionally or unconsciously (Gitlin 1980; Gamson 1989). Therefore, framing an event or issue through the mass media means the process of highlighting the specific aspects of an event or issue and thereby "promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman 1993, 52). As opposed to media frames, the audience frames refer to how people perceive, interpret, and react to issues and events. It could be described as "mental schemas, heuristics or scripts" (Dimitrova and Strömbäck 2005, 404).

The third process refers to the individual-level effects of framing. Scheufele thinks that the individual-level audience frames can affect "several behavioral, attitudinal, and cognitive variables" (1999, 117). However, he also argues that the existing studies emphasize inputs and outputs and ignore the tie between these variables (ibid). The final process of "journalists as audiences" argued by Scheufele "deserves more attention than it has received." He claims that, like other audiences, journalists tend to be influenced by the news frames that are used in their reporting (ibid).

As Scheufele himself claims, this process model of framing is more comprehensive, which helps to "explicate framing as a theory of media effects" (1999, 114). Rather than "a mere description of variables or classification of previous research," this model bridges the four cells mentioned above and explores the relations between the main variables (ibid). This model covers the key elements of the framing process which will serve this study; namely, the inputs of media frames and the process of frame building. It could thus be considered as a comprehensive and suitable process model for the present study. However, it is noteworthy that this study focuses on the partial process of framing; namely, frame building. Framing setting, however, is beyond the scope of this study. That is to say, how the Chinese government is framed by the two different newspapers in different social-political contexts is examined. At the same time, how multi-level "inputs" affect the portrayal of the Chinese

government in the two different newspapers will also be explored. In particular, from this model, it is clear that several factors have to be considered when selecting media frames, such as journalistic norms and routines, the journalists' individual schemas, and political ideology (Reese et al. 2001). What is more, according to Liao, the framing process is largely affected by political parties and the government, "especially in one journalism with high proportion elements of so-called authoritarianism/autocracy" (2010, 70). Additionally, the sweeping trend of globalization makes the dissemination of news information easy from one country to another in contemporary society (ibid).

3.2.4   News Framing Strategies

News framing is summarized by Manheim (1994) according to three dimensions: visibility, valence, and frame genres. Visibility refers to "both the amount and the prominence of an event/issue or a nation receives in news coverage" (Liu 2009, 8). More specifically, the prominence is usually examined by "a news article's placement in the newspaper or websites, the headline, the visual tools associated with the text, mention on the evening television news." etc. (ibid.). Valence refers to "the tone of a news story or comment regarding certain frames" (ibid.). According to Manheim (1994), the news' attitude (favorable or unfavorable) towards the target events, issues or nations is thereby examined.

As Vreese (2005) has discussed, two approaches can be used to identify frames in news. The first approach is "inductive in nature and refrains from analyzing news stories with a prior defined news frames in mind," whereas the second approach is "rather deductive in nature and investigates frames that are defined and operationalized prior to the investigation" (Vreese 2005, 53). Frame genres are seen as "journalistic schemes," which are usually summarized from existing studies of media discourse and serve the latter relevant research (ibid). According to the study of

current issues, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identifies five news frames: conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality, and economic consequences. When it comes to the frame genres used in this topic, however, the author found that a study on the framing of HIV/AIDS in China conducted by Wu (2006, 251-272) is most relevant and inspiring. In her paper, she identified two distinguished sets of frame genres of the Chinese government on Chinese and U.S. news coverage. In particular, the generic news frames of the Chinese government in the U.S. newspaper were categorized as anti-government frames, followed by three sub-themes: the "dishonesty/oppression frame, human rights abuser frame and incompetence frame." On the other hand, the frames used in the Chinese media were summarized as a "pro-government frame," which is supported by three sub-categories: "defense frame, progress frame and ambivalence/ambiguity frame" (ibid). A detailed explanation of each frame will be offered in the methodology section.

3.2.5. Problems in Framing Research

Borah claimed that "A large and growing body of literature in framing studies has emerged in recent years from a range of disciplines and academic domains" (2011, 246). However, there are still debates and a variety of problems in framing studies. Entman regards framing as "scattered conceptualization" (1993, 51). Scheufele considers framing as "theoretical and empirical vagueness" (1999, 103). According to him, the existing framing research is lack of "clear conceptual definitions and relying on context-specific, rather than generally applicable operationalizations" (ibid). According to Brosius and Eps (1995), the concept framing is "only a metaphor that cannot be directly translated into research questions" (Scheufele 1999, 103). Scheufele (1999) also refers to many scholars' studies so as to illustrate the unclear conceptualization of framing. For example, Lodge & Hamill (1986) analyze the conceptual differences among frame, schema and script. What is more, framing is compared with other terms, like agenda-setting or priming (Iyengar & kinder 1987).

Scheufele suggests that "research should address framing from a more meta-theoretical perspective" (1999, 104).

In addition, various perspectives exist in framing studies due to "different approaches and theoretical positions" (D'Angelo 2002, 870). For example, Entman (1999) suggests a general paradigm of framing research. However, D'Angelo argues that "there is not, nor should there be, a single 'mended' paradigm of framing research" (2002, 870). He further claims that "theoretical and paradigmatic diversity has led to a comprehensive view of the framing process, not fragmented findings in isolated research agendas" (2002, 871). Vreese notices that "either content (e.g., frames in news) or framing effects" have be emphasized by most framing studies (2005, 51). He argues, however, that "becoming aware of different types of frames is necessary to understand when and why different frames are at work" (ibid). Besides, according to Borah (2011), some aspects in the research of framing are likely to be neglected, such as frame production.

3.2.6   Summary

Framing theory is useful in this study based on the above outline of theory and relevant studies. The process of framing constructed by Scheufele (1999) is considered as continuous and dynamic, where inputs and outputs interact with each other in terms of media frames and audience frames, and frame building and frame setting. In this study, media frames are examined in the news coverage during 2011 regarding the Chinese government based on his process model, and the frame building is focused on exploring the ideological reasons that affected the representation of the Chinese government. Therefore, the framing of the Chinese government is positioned in the context of a vastly different political, journalistic, socio-cultural environment in China and the U.S.. Referring to previous studies, several framing strategies have been used to investigate the news source, the news topics and the tone over the

Chinese government. In addition, the news source is also considered as a useful device for examining the framing of the Chinese government regarding the news coverage in the two countries. More importantly, the frame genres used by Min Wu (2006) will be tested in this study. When examining news coverage content, a variety of "framing devices" mentioned above will also serve the study as well.

3.3 Ideology and Representation

3.3.1   Ideology

Ideology is considered as a valuable concept when discussing issues in social and political science studies. As a "complicated and contradictory" concept, it contains a wide range of meanings from different angles. As Eagleton claims, "nobody has yet come up with a single adequate definition of ideology" (1996, 1). Moreover, "not all of definitions are compatible with each other" (ibid). Ideology is interpreted by him in six ways:

1. The general material process of production of ideas, beliefs and values in social life

2. Ideas and beliefs (whether true or false) which symbolize the conditions and life experiences of a specific, socially significant group or class

3. The promotion and legitimation of the interests of such social groups in the face of opposing interests

4. Retaining this emphasis on the promotion and legitimation of sectoral interests but it to the activities of a dominant social power

5. Ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group or class specifically by distortion and dissimulation

6. Retaining an emphasis on false or deceptive beliefs but regards such beliefs as arising not from the interests of a dominant class but from the material structure of society as a whole (Eagleton 1996, 28-31)

Briefly, the traditional framework of ideological analysis is summarized by Höijer according to three dimensions: mental representations, social agents, and (flawed) truth-value (2007, 13). According to his definition, ideology is "constituted by cognitive and emotive mental entities, and in its implications it amounts more or less to a worldview, a comprehensive way of looking at things- in particular when it comes to the social and political world" (Höijer 2007, 14). Becker also defines ideology as "an integrated set of frames of reference through which each of us sees the world and to which all of us adjust our actions" (1984, 69). In fact, the discussion of ideology can be observed among a great number of notable scholars' studies, such as Marx (18633), Lukacs (1979), Gramsci (1971), Adorno (2001), just to name a few. However, the present discussion is not an attempt to systematically outline the conceptive evolution of ideology due to the limited space of this paper. Instead, the link between frame and ideology will be discussed. In addition, the dominant ideology embedded in U.S. and Chinese society will be emphasized, as they serve as important factors which influence the news framing of the Chinese government in different social-political contexts.

3.3.2   Frame and Ideology

The notion of ideology is always mentioned along with frame because of their conceptual commonalities and differences. According to Snow and Benford, they are not "different words for the same thing but are, in fact, different entities" (2005, 11). Hence, both concepts have different analytic functions in academic research (ibid). Nevertheless, it is unavoidable that they are closely tied with each other. The relationship between frame and ideology is summarized by Snow and Benford according to four aspects (2005, 9-11), as discussed below.

First, ideology can be seen as "cultural source for framing activity" (2005, 9). In

particular, ideology is connected with "the articulation and accenting or amplification of elements of events, experiences, and existing beliefs and values," which in most cases exists in the process of framing activities (ibid). As they note, collective action frames are typical and a good example to illustrate the link between ideology and frame from this point of view. Several ideologies serve as inputs in the framing of collective action. That is to say, "Collective action frames are rooted, in varying degrees, in extant ideologies" (ibid). Second, framing is claimed to function as "remedial ideological work" (2005, 10). Specifically, given that any individual or community in the world faces ideological contradictions between its experiences or activities and values or beliefs, framing is required to be "a conceptual handle for thinking about and the not infrequent remedial, reconstitutive work" (ibid). In this case, by citing Goffman's (1974) arguments, Snow and Benford argue that a "re-framing" or "keying" is required to "stitch together of the disjunctions of the tear or rip in the ideology" (2005, 10). Third, the connection between ideology and frame can be described as follows: "framing mutes the vulnerability of ideology to reification" (ibid). Namely, discursive framing makes interpretive orientations "develop, evolve, and change, and thereby triggers warning signals about the prospects of reifying existing ideologies or the production of framing activity" (2005, 11). Last, as they highlight, framing is "a more readily empirically observable activity" compared to ideology (ibid). As framing and the framing process largely rely on "group-based social interaction," "first-hand observation and analysis" fulfills the function of framing. What is more, they claim that it is meaning, beliefs, and values that constitute the ideology which is created by the framing process. Similarly, both concepts are regarded as "the belief systems of collective actors" (Gerhards and Rucht 1992, 15).

Responding to Snow and Benford's (2005) arguments, Liu's brief summary may fit this study, which suggests that "a frame is the important mechanism by which ideology is transmitted through news messages" (Liu 2009, 10). For this study, ideology functions as one of the "inputs" which exert and impact on the framing

process while framing functions as a vehicle by which ideology is manifested within the media content.

3.3.3   Dominant Ideology in the U.S. and China

Dominant ideology is defined by Majid and Ramaprasad as "views and ideas shared by the majority of people in a given society" (1998, 134). According to Hall (1986), the ideology of a ruling class tends remain stable over time. It has been noted that U.S. society is dominated by several ideological ideas, such as capitalism, anticommunism, liberalism, and democracy (Roya and Jyotika 1998). Communism, at the same time, is shared as the dominant ideology within Chinese society with the governance of the CCP (ibid). Within Chinese society, there is no doubt that the dominant communist ideology is embedded in the political system. The one-party political system exerts considerable influence on the relationship between the CCP and media organizations. Thus, the framing of the Chinese government on media coverage is to a large degree affected by the close relationship between the media agencies and the government. Since the relationship between the Chinese government and media outlets has been elaborately discussed in the section of introduction, the dominant ideology in the U.S. will be the main focus here.

It is claimed that anti-communism is a predominant news frame conducted by the elite media in the west (Elfriede 2010). When Herman and Chomsky discussed propaganda models of Cold War era, they claimed, "communism as the ultimate evil has always been the specter haunting property owners, as it threatens the very root of their class position and superior status" (1998, 108). Thus, anti-communism is usually regarded as a "religious faith" and control mechanism by western elites (Herman 2000, 65). The opposition to communism can be observed in the news coverage when it critically discussed the Chinese government. Du and Kwan's (1992) argument is cited by Majid and Ramaprasad, who note that "the 'deceitfulness of communists' has been

a common narrative in the U.S. media, and coverage about communist states has 'almost entirely focused on the problems and failures of Marxist governments'" (1998, 135). Similarly, as Nye notes, U.S. foreign cultural products tend to be "sucked into the vortex of an aggressive anticommunist foreign policy" (2004, 103).

Though "anticommunism" is regarded as a dominant ideology in 20th century, it might "play out in different ways at different times, contingent upon specific time/place contexts, and is extremely broad" (Klaehn 2009, 45). The dominant ideology in the U.S. society has evolved with the advent of post-Cold War era. According to Mullen, "anti-communism is redundant" (2009, 18). The reason falls into the prevailing of its alternatives, namely, "free market ideology, antiterrorism and the 'war on terror'" in today's American society (ibid). These alternative ideological factors have become "a strong co-replacement for anticommunism and the basis for the new world order of neoliberalism now in some disarray but without an ideological rival resting on any kind of power base" (Mullen 2009, 15). However, it is argued that anti-communism is "not dead [and] is still used when needed" (ibid). Reffering to Herman (2000), Branaman also claimed that "ideological base underpinning anti-communism remains" (2009, 133).

Accordingly, the influence of ideology in media discourse is impermanent and contingent with the adjustment of foreign policy over time. As Mosher (1990) points out, the Unites States' mixed feelings toward China can be explained as a "love-hate" dilemma. A typical example falls into the most important turning point of foreign policy in Sino-American relationship history—President Nixon's visit to China in 1972. The ideological impact can be easily observed through the lens of word usage in the media coverage, such as, the shift of "ideological symbols" (e.g. "Red China") to "geographical symbols" (e.g. People's Republic of China) (Majid and Ramaprasad 1998, 136). The signal of the regression of a dominant anticommunism frame was the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989. The conflicts "between pro-democratic, pro-change college students and corrupt, incompetent, and unyielding communist

regime" were highlighted (Wang 1991, 59). With the rapid development of China, the largest communist country has become closely tied to U.S. society in terms of "deep interweaving benefits" in the political, economic, and military sphere (Liu, 2009, 11). In a globalized era, as Liu notes, "the theme of cooperation is intermingled with the one of competition" (2009, 12). Hence, the influence of anticommunist ideology in current context of the U.S. society is still awaiting the exploration regarding the U.S. news frame of Chinese issues.

3.3.4   Representation of "Others"

Representation, along with language, concepts, categories, imagery of thought, is employed as a "label" that embodies and reinforces the dominant ideology in a given society (Liu 2009, 10). In addition, Wu cited Reese's (2001) argument that "bridging the media production, representation, and consumption processes has been regarded as one of the most important potentials of framing research" (Wu 2006, 254). It can be concluded that the concept of representation has a close conceptual link to framing and ideology.

The term representation literally refers to the images, analogues, and copies of object (McQueen 1998). However, many scholars that have examined the connotation of representation suggest that media content cannot be simply interpreted as a portrayal or reflection of the real world. Instead, it is "embedded in the 24-hour saturated media stream and establish norms and common sense about people, groups and institutions in contemporary society" (Fursich 2010, 115). Hall (1997) claims that shared meaning is produced through the signifying practice which is created by the representation of media content. Thus, the essence of representation not only reflects media content and signals, but also process and practice. In the process of representation, a range of discursive elements are assembled into a kind of manifest form, which is illustrated as selection and construction. Specific world views and ideology are thus formed or

highlighted by creating a reality in the discourse practice.

Representation was regarded as substantially important by the famous scholar Derrida in cultural studies. He claims that representation is the only possibility compared to "presentation." However, it is difficult to distinguish right or wrong representation, reality from fiction. In fact, representation is inevitably accompanied by fictions and mistakes (Derrida 1973). Furthermore, Foucault (1980) believes that power and knowledge always tend to be closely connected with representation. Representation itself embodies the internal power relations in culture. That is to say, those that have power have more possibility to represent themselves or others while their counterparts have to be represented or constructed. Thus, representation tends to be related to the implications of ideology and power relations. Political, gender, economic, and cultural power relations are usually embedded in practice (Liu 2005). For example, the representation of politics in the mass media does not mirror the reality of politics, but the construction of it in a certain way. As a result, specific ideology and implicit power relations will be embodied either within the linguistic organization or conscious discourse arrangement (Ni 2003).

Several questions follow based on the interpretation of the term "representation:" who is considered as the "others" during the process of representation? What strategies are there for distorted representation? What is the distorted representation of "others"? In humanistic studies, the representation of "Others" has been discussed in cultural-critical media studies (Fursich 2005).

'Others' are seen by post-colonialists as those who have been excluded from the same cultural background. Fursich argues that it can be divided into two categories: "ethnic, racial, gender or sexual minorities in a nation" and "international others" (Fursich 2005, 116). "International others" can be easily observed in international media coverage. When it comes to the representation of international Others, Hall (1997) believes that identification depends on the process of excluding others. It is through

the cognition of others that individuals, groups, institutions or nations become aware of the existence of themselves: who they are and where are they from. That is, who-you-are is defined by who-you-are-not. Rather than the exclusion of others, the representation of oriental others was also elaborated in the book "Orientalism" written by Said (1978). It illustrates that the Middle East is in most cases misrepresented by western society. Western people tend to come to the conclusion that all eastern countries are similar to each other while dissimilar from the west, which is not based on reality or facts, but on pre-perception and western knowledge (Said 1978). As he also indicates, orientation is not only a geographical concept. From a post-colonial perspective, the existence of the word "orientation" in western society is to emphasize the central position of the west. He points out that "Orientalism" as a historical and hegemonic discourse not only exerts an impact on literature and art, but also the news coverage on oriental nations (Said 1981). Said's studies on western "othering" have motivated the scholars of many cultural studies to examine the phenomenon by analyzing media the texts in newspapers, television programs, and advertisements (Fursich 2005).

Framing international others in a negative light is another means of media-distorted representation. Gans (1979) criticizes that the American media outlets always report international news from the American perspective. For example, Lule (2001) explores that an underdeveloped national image of Haiti was framed in the New York Times in a negative way. What is worse, as discussed previously, the persistent news frames such as the Cold War and anticommunism has been existing in western international news reporting for a long time (Entman 2004; Herman and Chomsky 1998; Fursich 2005). According to Snow and Taylor, the U.S. media always focus on "communism's ideological contradictions, forced labor camps, absence of freedom, and lack of consumer goods in the Soviet Union and its communist surrogates" (2009, 336). Therefore, it is through the negative framing of chaotic developing countries and "othering anyone outsider national borders" that the central position and the west's role of savior is highlighted (Fursich 2005, 118).

Three main reasons for the unfair international representation of the others were also presented by Fursich (2005). First, he explained that "national media tend to cater to national audiences whether they follow a commercial or public service model." In this process, foreigners are usually portrayed as others (2005, 119). Additionally, owing to "intrinsic and traditional work routines," media workers are unable to "represent diversity" (ibid). Last but not least, "the relationship between the media, governments and elites" also affects the media representation of others. He argues that although the close relationship is considered to be rooted in authoritarian systems and in developing countries, it inevitably exists in the Western media system (ibid).

4 Methodology

The methodology in this study is a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis. More specifically, both content analysis and critical discourse analysis will be employed in this research. As Berger suggests, content analysis is used to deal with "manifest or more readily apparent meanings" and at the same time generalizes the results to a broader extent; while discourse analysis is better at analyzing the "latent or hidden meanings" embedded in the texts (2005, 154).

4.1. Selection of the Sample

The objective of the research is to analyze comparatively the New York Times' and China Daily's 2011 news coverage regarding the portrayal of the Chinese government. The main reason why the two specific newspapers are selected is that both of them are representatives of influential and leading newspapers in China and the U.S.

China Daily is Run by the state and regarded as one of the most reliable and authoritative newspapers in China (Xie, 2007). Being a unique national English newspaper in China, it is published and distributed in most cities in China and more than 150 countries and regions outside China (chinadaily.com.cn). Statistics indicate that the readers of China Daily abroad involve elites groups, such as government officers, the management personnel in finance, governmental and non-governmental trade organizations, and educational and cultural practitioners (ibid). China Daily does not only impacts domestic readers, but also functions as a window for the public abroad to get to know China (Wikipedia.org). China Daily is claimed to "objective presentation of 'China and China's news to a unique group of readers and providing services and entertainment specially suited to those readers'" (Herbet 2001). Additionally, it is considered to be "most resemble Western journalism, but it is still clearly more controlled than most international media" (Wikipedia.org). Even though

it is stated-owned, the government does not provide subsidies with the operation of the newspaper. Regardless of the ownership of the paper, China Daily still has freedom to criticize the domestic and international sensitive issues (ibid).

On the other hand, the New York Times has insisted on its motto, "All the News That's Fit to Print," since it was founded. This newspaper is privately owned by Ochs-Sulzberger family, one of American newspaper dynasties since 1896 (Wikipedia.org). It is considered as a good model of agenda setter of international media (Althaus and Tewksbur 2002). It is worth noting that the New York Times has a good reputation on reporting international crises and political issues. It is famous for international news coverage with the largest number of international news pages in the world (Li, 1986). What is more, the perception and judgments of other media agencies toward international situations have been affected by the news reported by the New York Times due to its reputation and up-to-date international news coverage (Xie 2008). Thus, it could be assumed that how the public abroad perceives international "Others" to some extent relies on the news coverage of the New York Times. In short, the China Daily and the New York Times are elite media agencies which have international news-gathering abilities and comprehensive viewpoints in reporting international events and issues. To some extent, they respectively represent Chinese and American newspapers in framing the Chinese government.

In addition, this study focuses on the online news coverage presented by the two news outlets. That is to say, instead of traditionally-printed newspapers, the news in the online version of the China Daily and the New York Times will be applied in this study, first, because of the convenience of accessing the online databases and the 2011's news archives. Second, it is universally accepted that the Internet has been a major means for the public to gain information in the new media era. In terms of news reading, Althaus and Tewksbur (2002) argue that online news has altered the traditional ways of reading newspapers. Editorial decisions are not that influential; instead, online news formats show greater flexibility. They conclude that the online

version of newspapers affects the agenda-setting of news. Therefore, the updated news platform offers a new angle to examine how the Chinese government is framed by the two different newspapers.

This study focuses on the particular year 2011, because a large amount of breaking news in China happened in this year, ranging from the Wenzhou high-speed train accident and the Red Cross scandal to the social network real-name identification, just to name a few. The Chinese government has unsurprisingly been involved in these controversial events when they were reported by domestic and international media outlets, including the China Daily and the New York Times. In addition, the limited space and time in this research was also a reason why only one year was focused on.

4.2 Content Analysis

4.2.1 Introduction to Content Analysis

Based on hard facts, content analysis is considered as a relatively proper research method by quantifying the characteristics of variables into particular data, as opposed to discourse analysis. What is more, it is more suitable for dealing with explicit meaning. Referring to the historic or comparative dimensions, content analysis is considered to be most useful (Berger 2005, 138).

Content analysis generally includes the "establishment of objectives, identification of study population and unit of data selection of analysis, design and analysis of the dimensions systems, sampling and quantitative analysis of materials, recording the results and making a conclusion." In short, four main steps are suggested to be followed: "formulate a problem, range and size of sample, counting, coding and interpreting" (Berger 2005, 142).

The reason why content analysis was chosen to deal with the present topic rests upon several virtues of the specific approach. First, it is agreed on as an objective, systematic and general approach. What is more, it allows both quantitative and qualitative operations. Compared with mere qualitative studies, the features of variables can be quantified into particular data. Therefore, with the use of the quantitative approach, the results of the study are believed to be more precise and objective (berger 2005).

This study will investigate three categories to quantify the image of the Chinese government framed by the China Daily and New York Times in 2011. Following the main steps of content analysis, three questions are formulated in terms of news source; the theme of the selected news reporting and the comments on the Chinese government. The sample was targeted based on specific principles. Selected news articles were coded and analyzed by two qualified coders in order to interpret the data and features, thereby fulfilling the research goal.

4.2.2 Coding Procedure

The websites of the China Daily and the New York Times are available for retrieving news articles. The individual news article was seen as the unit of analysis. "The Chinese government" was used as the key word for searching. The period was set from 01-01-2011 to 31-12-2011. As a result, there were 26,764 articles in the China Daily and 35,500 in the New York Times matching the above criteria. As every page of results on the China Daily website shows 20 articles, while 10 articles are shown on the New York Times page, a different technique was used to obtain the random samples on the two different news websites. For China Daily, the second article from page 1 to 10 was selected, then the second one from page 11 to 20, and so forth. In doing so, 268 news articles were collected. For the New York Times, the selecting method is almost the same to that of China Daily but both the second and twelfth

article were chosen. In doing so, 356 news articles were collected for coding. After further examining these selected articles, it was found that the main focus for some articles was not the Chinese government. For instance, in one news article entitled *"In one slum, Misery, Work, Politics and Hope"* (nytimes.com), the Chinese government was just mentioned to compare it with the situation in India. India was the actual focus of this report, so this piece of news was seen as an invalid item. In this case, the articles were removed from the sample. Thus, the number of valid units in the final sample used for the comparative content analysis was 252 from the China Daily and 324 from the New York Times.

In this study, several coding categories were designed to answer the first sub-research question. Both the objective and subjective features of the specific articles were captured. For example, the date of publication can be seen as an objective characteristic. Subjective variables include: the types of news sources cited and the topic of the specific news articles, the comments on the Chinese government, the use of moral terms the Chinese government.

At first, based on the previous studies on China-related news coverage (e.g. Xie 2007; Pan 2003; Sun 2008; Li 2010), the news sources cited in this study can be categorized into six types: the Chinese government (central or local); foreign government or international authoritative institutions; journalists; Chinese citizens; foreign citizens, Chinese media agencies; and foreign media agencies. It is noteworthy that normally there was more than one news source cited in one news article. Thus, the news sources in this study refer to all sources cited in new texts. For example, both the arguments of the journalist and the Chinese government are cited as a source in the news *"Outrage Grows Over Air Pollution and China's Response"* reported by the New York Times on Dec. 6th of 2011 (nytime.com). Therefore, the source of the specific news coverage was coded as both "journalists" and "the Chinese government."

Second, whether the remarks on the Chinese government were presented in the articles was also examined. The category of "comments on the Chinese government" concerns the language used in news reporting. If comments were present, they were rated as "positive, negative, or neutral" based on the criteria if they benefited the Chinese government or not. If we take the above-mentioned news as an example, the Chinese government is described in terms of "hostility toward involving grass-roots organizations" in the news (nytime.com). It is clear that in this news item the Chinese government was criticized owing to its wrongdoings, which might do harm to its reputation and give the audience a negative impression of the Chinese government. In this case, it was coded as a "negative" comment. A typical example regarding positive comments on the Chinese government falls into the news item "*China fully committed to democracy*" available in the China Daily on Dec. 9th of 2011 (nytime.com). This news coverage illustrated that "the CPC and the Chinese government are supported by most people；the Chinese government has embraced respecting and safeguarding human rights as one of the major principles for managing state affairs" (chinadaily.com). It is evident in this news item that the news speaks for the government and is consistent with the government's benefits regarding the issue of democracy in China. A "neutral" comment was considered as an objective description of the Chinese government while any favorable argument was absent. For instance, in the China Daily's report "*New AU headquarters passes initial inspection*" on Nov. 26th of 2011, it said that "the Chinese government announced it would support the project to promote integration and unification in Africa" (chinadaily.com). Since only objective facts were offered without any obvious favorableness, it was coded as "neutral" comments on the Chinese government. It is noteworthy, however, to mention that different categorized comments might be present in the same news. In this case, the specific news coverage was coded according to the most commonly-used comments. A coding example is provided as follows (see the table below).

Neutral	Positive	Negative	Overall comments
2	4	7	Negative

Figure 2: **A Coding Example of the Comments on the Chinese Government**

Since many Chinese scholars have defined multidimensional and multilayer classifications of the themes in newspaper coverage regarding the representation of China, the author has classified the various topics of online news articles on two levels based on existing research (Xie 2007; Pan 2003). Specifically, the first level involves politics, the economy, culture, society, the environment, animal protection and "others" (if the topic is excluded from the above five categories). The second level is the sub-division of the first-stage categories. For example, the category of politics can be subdivided into domestic politics (China), diplomacy, military affairs, and others.

Two coders were selected and trained to undertake the coding process. One of them is a Chinese postgraduate student major in media, while the other is a native English speaker and now is an exchange student in China, with a great passion for Chinese issues. Both of them are competent in English and have media backgrounds. After learning the use of the coding instruments and becoming aware of all of the definitions, the Chinese coder worked on the sample from the China Daily, while the other was responsible for the sample coding from the New York Times. More importantly, with the guidance of Peter and Lauf (2002), the validity of content analysis should be precautious. In order to take objectivity and reliability into account, ten percent of the articles were randomly selected to check intercoder reliability, which was established at 0.86 for all categories based on Holsti's formula.

4.3 Discourse Analysis

4.3.1   Introduction to Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis pays close attention to "language-based media, alongside with the use of images" (Berger 2005, 120). Discourse is claimed to be applied in various ways in linguistic and other social science studies (Berger 2005, 122). This term can be considered from two aspects: on the one hand, it focuses on language use itself; on the other hand, it is closely related to social practice. Foucault realizes the vital role of discourse in the process of representation within media texts. He believes that discourse is not merely a linguistic concept, but is the production of knowledge and power through language. Discourse helps to construct meaning and meaningful practice (Foucault 1980). The predominant term of discourse was afterwards developed by many scholars, such as Fairclough, and Dijk and Wodak. They have explored how discourse reflects social reality, and manifests power relations and ideology. Critical discourse analysis has become a new focus within discourse research.

Fairclough (1989) associated sociological theories with linguistics to analyze the use of discourse. He considers discourse as the practice of written and spoken language, which is a form of social practice. It can be interpreted in two ways: first, discourse is "a mode of action." Second, it is "socially shaped, but it is also socially shaping, or constitutive" (Fairclough 1993, 134). His argument illustrates the close relationships between discourse and society, and ideology and power. In order to explore these connections, he came up with a three-dimensional framework of analysis: "a spoken or written language text; an instance of discourse practice involving the production and interpretation of text; a piece of social practice" (Fairclough 1993, 136). The means of discourse analysis should correspondingly involve three facets: the description of language text; the explanation of the relations between text and discursive structure and discursive practice; and social practice. In particular, textual

analysis is seen as the first-level dimension, which is based on Halliday's (1978) studies on systemic functional linguistics. Discursive practice is considered as a necessary agency between language structure and social structure, which refers to the production, distribution, and consumption of media discourse. The order of discourse and intertextuality analysis could help to analyze discourse practice (Fairclough 1992). That is, Fairclough proceeds in his analysis as follows: he begins from "micro" concerns of language use and then goes further to the "macro" implications of "arrangements of authority and power in society" (Berger, 2005, 129). Fairclough (1995) applied the three categories of identity, relations, and representation the practical analysis of media discourse. Fairclough (1995) claimed that "a useful working assumption is that any part of any text… will be simultaneously representing 'the world', setting up identities and setting up relations" (Fairclough 1995, 5).

In addition, Dijk, another influential scholar in the field of critical discourse analysis, has offered a set of terms to analyze media discourse in detail. The "toolbox" provided by Dijk involves: the persuasive function of language (rhetoric, hyperbole, metaphor, rhetoric repetition); language structure (passive sentences, comment, topicalisation); selection of words (register, lexicalisation, ingroup designator), etc. (Berger 2005, 135).

Wodak and Meyer have identified several steps in conducting critical discourse analysis. They include:

(1) a brief characterization of the sector of the discourse analysis;

(2) establishing and processing a material base or archive;

(3) structure analysis: evaluating the material processed with regard to the discourse strand to be analyzed;

(4) fine analysis of one or several articles which are as typical as possible of the sector, for instance, and also of the discourse position of the newspaper; this article (discourse fragment) has of course to be allocated to a superior theme;

(5) an overall analysis of the sector concerned (Wodak and Meyer 2001, 53)

As Wodak and Meyer emphasized that "Variations are in fact possible" (2001, 54). Therefore, an adjusted plan of discourse analysis could be designed based on the steps proposed by Wodak and Meyer (2001, chapter 3).

4.3.2   CDA procedure

The aim of discourse analysis is to further test the results concluded from content analysis by analyzing the selected news discourse. In particular, based on Wodak and Meyer (2001)'s CDA plan, three steps were designed in order to answer the second research question.

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(1) test assumptions

Based on the theories, it can be assumed that the framing of the New York Times and China Daily will show significantly different characteristics.

(2) processing the material for the structure analysis

In this step, several frame types will be identified in order to compare thoroughly the news coverage of the New York Times and China Daily. As mentioned in the chapter on theory, the frame types of this study will be based on Wu's (2006) classification of frames; namely, the pro-government frame and the anti-government frame.

Specifically, the anti-government frame consists of three sub-frames: the dishonesty frame, human rights abuser frame, and incompetence frame. First, the dishonesty frame is "the casting of the Chinese government's dishonest and oppressive nature" in dealing with a variety of issues (Wu 2006, 256). This frame can be evaluated by a "statistic script" and "denial script" in news discourse. A "statistic script" captures "the questionable statistics" provided by the government. According to Wu, "major variations of the script include the different sources which were cited to refute the official Chinese figures" (ibid). On the other hand, a denial script could be identified

by the word "'deny' in its variations 'denial', 'deny', 'denying', 'denied'" (2006, 258). Moreover, words, such as "control," "suppress," etc. and express the "dishonest nature of the Chinese government and its fear of revealing the truth" (ibid). Wu claims that the use of reasoning devices "provide plausible explanations for the Chinese government's denial" of various problems in China (2006, 259). Second, the human rights abuser frame concerns the sensitive topic of human rights in China. It could be identified by the frequent use of vocabulary items such as "harass," "arrest," "detain," etc. Additionally, issues such as internet censorship, speech freedom, etc. always tend to be closely linked to this frame (2006, 260). Third, the incompetence frame emphasizes an "incompetent and inept government." According to Wu, three steps could help to examine the presence of this frame: (1) "forced into action" (passive attitude in the face of social crisis); (2) "lack of effective action;" and (3) "less than satisfactory results" (2006, 261-262).

Similarly, the pro-government frame could be supported by three sub-frame types: "the defense frame, progress frame and ambivalence/ambiguity frame" (2006, 263). First, three pieces of evidence could manifest the defense frame: "the Chinese government's 'open' attitude, 'concrete' action, and repeated 'commitment'" in dealing with various social crises. The 'open' attitude refers to the tolerant manner of the government in the face of sensitive issues, such as AIDS, homosexuality, etc. Concrete action rests upon the prompt response of the government in the face of a crisis. The repeated commitment of the government is always reinforced by "government statements, official speeches, the establishment of government agencies concerning the Chinese government's commitment to confronting and addressing the issue in an all-out manner" (2006, 264). She also notes that a "more implicit and indirect way is to cite comments from external sources on the Chinese government's commitment" to overcoming social crisis (ibid). Second, the progress frame focuses on three-level changes in Chinese society when confronting social crises. They involve "the change in the Chinese government and Chinese society as a whole," "changes in the legislation," and "changes at the grassroots level" (265-266). In doing

so, an overall optimistic picture of the Chinese government will be observed. The last frame, the pro-government frame, is the ambivalence/ambiguity frame. Wu notes that "this frame reflects the Chinese government's dilemma and tension both internally and externally during the process of some social issues" (2006, 266). A common technique for this frame, as Wu mentions, is to "construct the gravity [of the issue] theoretically instead of statistically." Even though statistics are used in a news narrative, it is downplayed by "putting them in the middle or near the end of the news story" (2006, 267). In this frame, the Chinese government tends to be framed as "increasingly open to acknowledging the gravity of the problem by being quoted" (ibid).

(3) Processing the Material for the Sample Fine Analysis of the Selected Six News Articles

In this step, six selected articles on three topics were thoroughly and deeply examined. The process of the analysis was mainly based on Wodak and Meyer's study (2011, 55).

1) Institutional Framework: "context"

1.1) The Justification of the Selection of Articles

As the results of the content analysis show, political, economic, and social news are the most frequently-reported news topics when it comes to the Chinese government on China Daily and the New York Times. Therefore, three cases will be focused on in the specific three spheres. Moreover, the selection of news articles also relies on the 2011 TOP 10 news ranked by one of the most influential websites in China; namely, Baidu (Baidu.com). By examining the specific ten pieces of news on this list, the six pieces of news are founded which were concerned with the three topics. After archiving the particular six pieces of news, only three were reported by both the China Daily and the New York Times. In order to conduct a comparative analysis, the six online news articles on the three topics were selected respectively from the China Daily and the New York Times. These three topics include: (1) the new rule of real-name registration on social networking sites; (2) food safety scandals in China; (3)

Huawei Technologies' unsuccessful acquisition in the U.S. In doing so, a comparative discourse analysis can be conducted more easily with the same topic.

1.2) Brief Description of the Selected Articles: Publication Date, Stories, etc.

1.2.1) Content "surface"

1.2.2) Article Title

1.2.3) Headlines, headings, subheadings

1.2.4) Structure of the Article in Units of Meaning

1.3) Rhetorical Means

1.3.1) Kind and Form of Argumentation, Argumentation Strategies

1.3.2) Logic and Composition

1.3.3) Implications and Insinuations

1.3.4) Collective Symbolism or Metaphor, etc.

1.3.5) Idioms, Sayings, Clichés

1.3.6) References

1.3.7) Vocabulary and Style

1.3.8) Players Involved in the Article

1.4) Ideological Statements Based on Contents

1.4.1) What Notion of the Chinese Government does the Article Convey?

1.4.2) What Kind of Understanding of, for instance Government Behavior, does the Article Convey?

1.4.3) What is the Future Perspective (for instance, suggestions about the Chinese government) that the Article Sets Out?

1.5) Other Prominent Findings

1.6) Summary of the General "Message" the Article Expresses and Its Link to the Discourse Positions

2.) Concluding analysis

2.1) Interpretation of all of the findings

2.2) Summary of the Similarities of all of the Selected Articles Regarding News Sources, Tone of the Article and Frame Types

2.3) Summary of the Differences Shown in all the Articles

2.4) Illustration of the Ideological Meanings Embedded in all the Articles (Wodak and Meyer 2001, chapter 3)

4.4   The Combination of Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis

Berger (2005) claimed that content analysis and discourse analysis are both potentially suitable methods to investigate issues of media and power. However, the questions of coherence, comprehensiveness and empirical adequacy should be taken into account. There are two recommended ways of combining the discourse analysis with content analysis: One is to apply content analysis to test the comprehensiveness of the results concluded by discourse analysis; the other is to focus on different dimensions of the news coverage to examine both explicit and implicit meanings within the texts. (Berger, 2005) This study combines content analysis with discourse analysis to investigate the representation of Chinese government in China Daily and the New York Times news reporting. The results from discourse analysis could to some extent reinforce the results of content analysis regarding the comments on the Chinese government. On the other hand, frame types embedded in selected news discourse are examined by thoroughly analyzing the texts. In doing so, the results from discourse analysis supplement the quantitative facts and more implicit findings will be explored regarding the representation of the Chinese government in cross-national settings.

4.5   Limitations and Further Research

Regarding to the operation of the empirical study, the results of this study are limited due to the selection of the sample. First, the results are based on online reporting randomly selected from the websites of the New York Times and China Daily. A total of 576 online news articles were used as the sample. However, the number of news

articles from each newspaper appeared to be insufficient in comparison to thousands of reports presented on the two specific newspapers' databases. Additionally, the particular year 2011 was focused on in this study, yet the selection of only one year tends to restrain the generalization of the results, as the portrayal of the Chinese government changes with time. Further, the fact that only one media outlet was chosen from the U.S. and China might have led to a lack of reliability and generalization in the study. After all, media organizations are inclined to be more diverse and show different features nowadays (Danielav and Colleen 2007).

Another major limitation rests upon the comparison of the two newspapers, which might lead to biased results. In particular, the New York Times and China Daily basically have different characteristics in terms of their ownership. That is, the New York Times is privately owned whereas China Daily is state controlled. Although, it is the fact that China Daily is operated under the market-economy environment nowadays, it still needs to strictly comply with the Party's line, especially when it comes to sensitive issues. The New York Times aims at maximizing profit while China Daily need to consider the Chinese government's stance as well. Thus, ownership of the two newspapers could be considered as one of important influences and is supposed to be taken into consideration.

Another problem falls into the adaptation of the concept "other" and "us". It might be biased from the beginning, since the objective of this study is to analyze the representation of the Chinese government in the two cross-national newspapers. The results might be biased due to the unfair comparison. Therefore, it could be interesting for scholars to further do the study of the "other". That is, China Daily's representation of the U.S. government compares to the New York Times' coverage of the Chinese government.

5. Analysis and Results

5.1 Content Analysis

By strictly following the procedure mentioned in the methodology section, 252 news articles from China Daily and 324 from the New York Times were collected for the purpose of the content analysis. In order to answer the first sub-research question, the following stacked bar charts and pie charts were conducted in terms of the theme of the news coverage, the source of the news, the comments on the Chinese government, and the moral terms used in the news reporting. In doing so, the similarities and differences can be explored regarding the portrayal of the Chinese government.

5.1.1 The Theme of News Coverage

The stacked bar chart clearly shows that the themes of the news articles in the New York Times and China Daily in 2011 include: politics, economy, society, culture, environment and animal protection, and others. In particular, for the New York Times, political news constitutes the majority of the total news reporting (42.44%), followed by economic coverage, which accounts for 29.52%. That is to say, the political realm is unsurprisingly the biggest concern of the New York Times when it comes to the Chinese government, while the economic news takes second place. The news on the social, cultural, animal protection and environmental field was relatively less reported on by the New York Times. The situation, however, is quite different with the China Daily. As compared to the New York Times, the China Daily is most concerned with economic news when it comes to Chinese government, which constitutes 41.33%. However, political news was not the main focus. The other four aspects, similar to the New York Times, were paid comparatively less attention to by the China Daily. Above all, by comparing the news articles about the Chinese government in the New York Times and the China Daily, the major difference falls into their concerns with the

fields of politics and economy to different degrees.

Figure 3**: the Theme of News Coverage Regarding the Chinese Government in the New York Times and China Daily**

N_1=252, N_2=324 (N_1: China Daily, N_2: the New York Times)

It can be noted from the above analysis that politics and economy are the two major concerns in the New York Times and China Daily concerning the Chinese government when it comes to news coverage presented. Therefore, the author further examined the two particular fields of politics and economy. When a closer look is taken into the political and economic news, more interesting results come about. The second-level category in politics was categorized as domestic politics, diplomacy, military and others. The New York Times paid considerable attention to domestic politics in China, which accounted for 61.74%, while the diplomacy news involving the Chinese

government only constituted 25.22%, followed by military (7.83%) and other fields (5.21%). The China Daily, on the other hand, paid almost equivalent attention to domestic politics and diplomacy (42.67% and 44% respectively). The news articles were much less concerned with military and other fields of politics as compared to domestic politics and diplomacy. Comparing the reporting on politics presented by two newspapers, it is noteworthy that domestic political affairs were the major focus of the reporting in the New York Times in contrast to the China Daily.
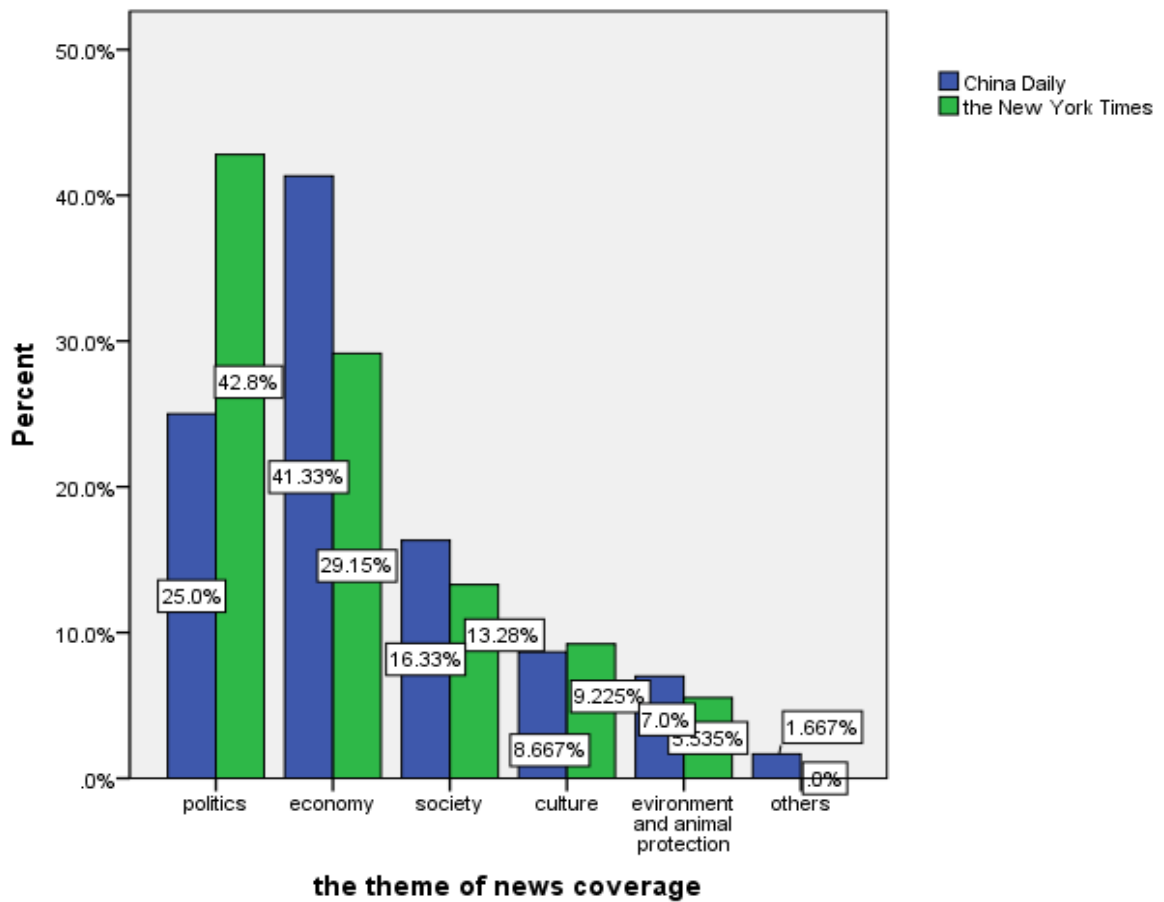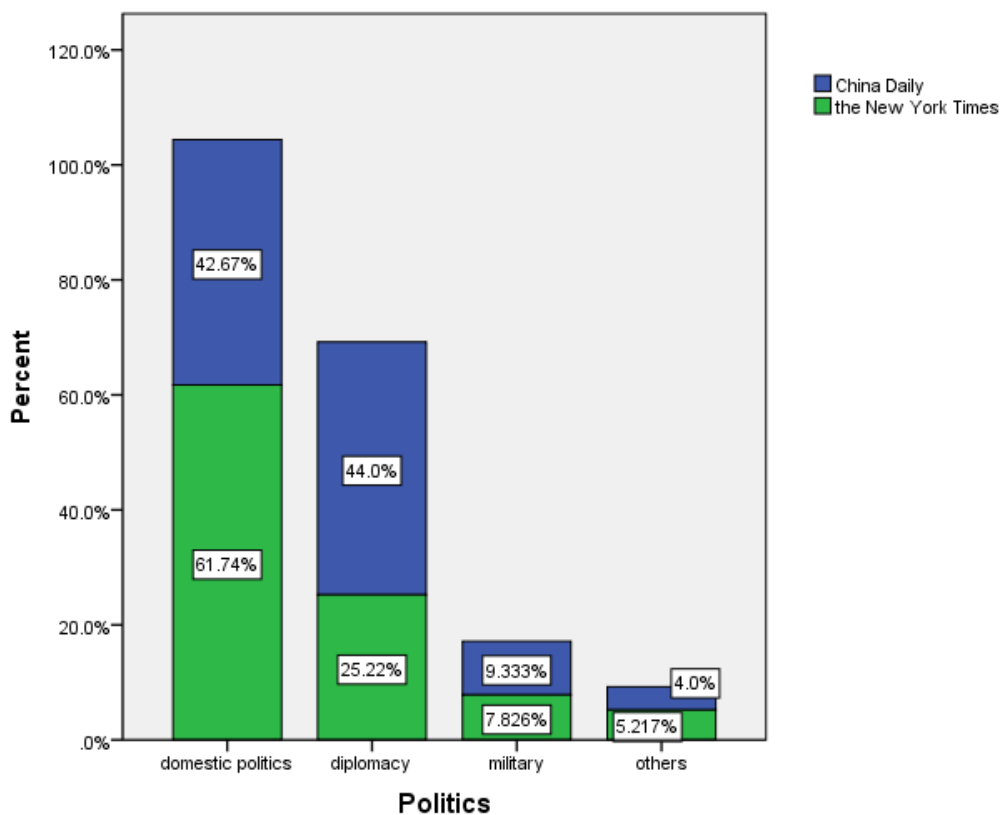

Figure 4**: the Categories of Political News Coverage Regarding the Chinese Government in the New York Times and China Daily**

N_1=252, N_2=324 (N_1: China Daily, N_2: the New York Times)

5.1.2   The Source of News

According to the classification mentioned in the methodology section, the source of news concerning the Chinese government falls into seven categories. By comparing

the news sources for the coverage about the Chinese government, some interesting findings were gained. The New York Times relies to a large extent on journalists as the source of Chinese government-related news. As much as 81.18% of the news articles were seized and gathered by journalists themselves. The proportion is significantly higher than with the other sources. The Chinese government is the second main source of news; the proportion, however, only accounts for 7.38%. Other evident statistical data rest on the Chinese news agencies. That is, Chinese news agencies only account for 0.37% of the news sources, which indicates that the news from the Chinese media agencies are barely used by the New York Times. Other news sources take similar places in contributing to the Chinese government-related news presented by the New York Times.

It seems that the proportion is distributed more evenly regarding the news reported by the China Daily. In particular, the news concerning the Chinese government was mainly sourced from the journalists, which accounted for 38.67%. However, the proportion was much lower than its counterpart in the New York Times. What is more, the China Daily also relies on Chinese news agencies and Chinese government as the main sources of the news, which constitute 29% and 26% respectively. Additionally, it is reasonable and understandable that Chinese media agencies hardly rely on foreign citizens and organizations as news sources, especially when the news is regarding the Chinese government. However, news agencies abroad are relatively used as the source by the China Daily (2%) more often, compared to foreign citizens, the government, and organizations. To sum up, the New York Times relies mostly on journalists to report Chinese government-related news, while the China Daily relies largely on the government and Chinese news agencies, rather than journalists, as a news source.
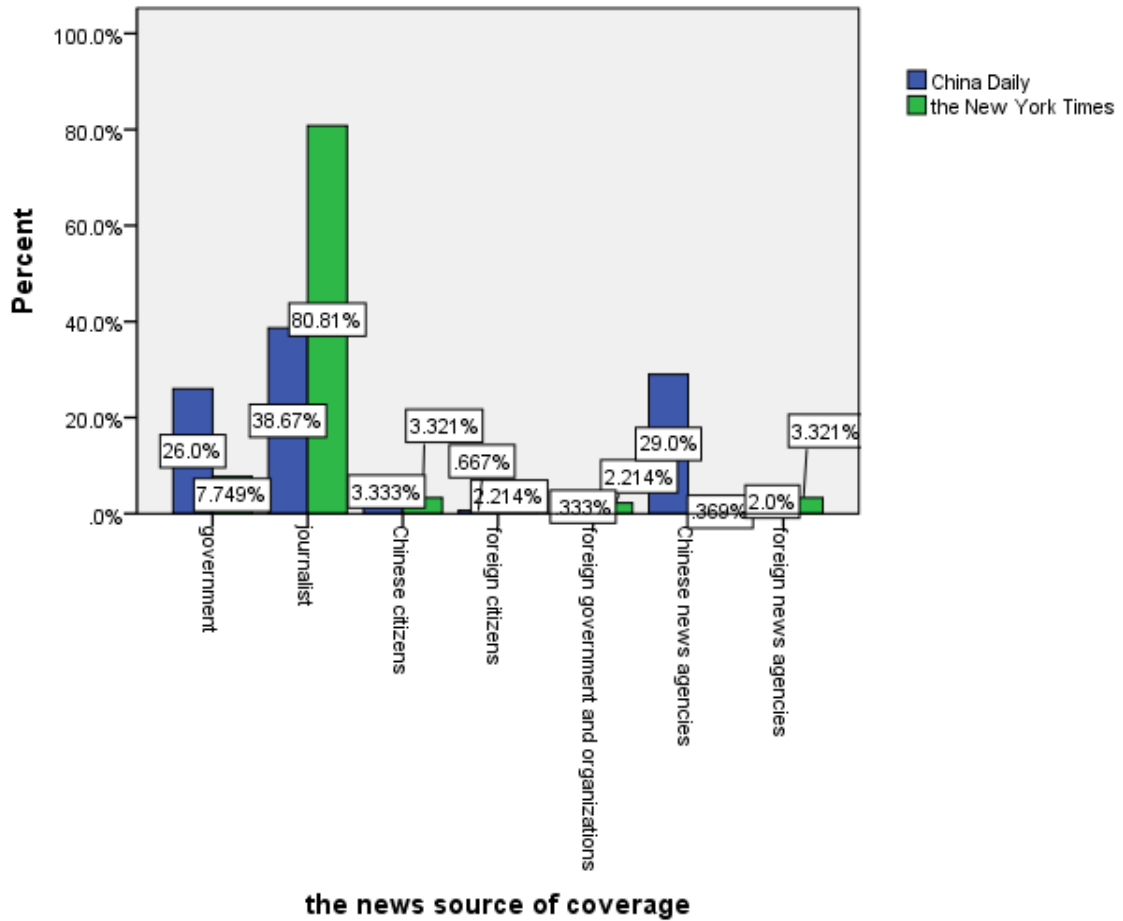
Figure 5**: the News Source of Coverage Regarding the Chinese Government in the New York Times and China Daily respectively**

N_1=252, N_2=324 (N_1: China Daily, N_2: the New York Times)

5.1.3   Comments on the Chinese Government

This study investigates the remarks in news coverage on the Chinese government in the New York Times and China Daily. The comprehensive results can be observed from several sets of pie charts. In particular, the first set of pie charts presents the remarks on the Chinese government constructed by the two specific newspapers. As the pie charts show, neutral comments take the largest share at 38.38%, followed by the negative remarks, which account for 36.53%. In other words, neutral and negative comments constitute the most comments in the news discourse of the New York Times regarding the Chinese government. What is more, the statistics indicate that 14.02% of news reporting involves the Chinese government; however, it does not

make comments on the Chinese government. Positive comments only account for 11.07%, which suggests that the news coverage tends not to give positive comments on the Chinese government compared to other three categories (neutral, negative, and no mention).

The China Daily, however, shows significant differences in terms of its comments on the Chinese government. The pie chart clearly shows that positive comments make up the majority of the total of 300 news articles reported by the China Daily, which constitutes 54.33%. The proportion of positive comments is much larger than its counterpart in the New York Times (11.07%). The neutral comments on the Chinese government reported by China Daily almost show the same proportion, which make up of 38.33%. The most dramatic differences are rooted in the percentage of negative comments given by China Daily, which only constitutes 2.33% in contrast to positive comments (54.33%). Moreover, 5% of the news coverage does not make any remarks on the Chinese government. By comparing the comments on the Chinese government presented by the two particular newspapers, it seems that the New York Times places more effort into constructing a neutral or negative view of the Chinese government by providing more negative comments than positive ones on the Chinese government. The China Daily, on the other hand, tends to construct its own government in a positive way. It is worth noting that the negative comments only take a small percentage, which suggests that the China Daily tends not to make negative comments when it comes to the Chinese government.

the comments on the
Chinese government
- neutral
- positive
- negative
- no

38.38%

14.02%

36.53%

11.07%

the New York Times

the comments on the
Chinese government
- neutral
- positive
- negative
- no

5.00%

2.33%

38.33%

54.33%
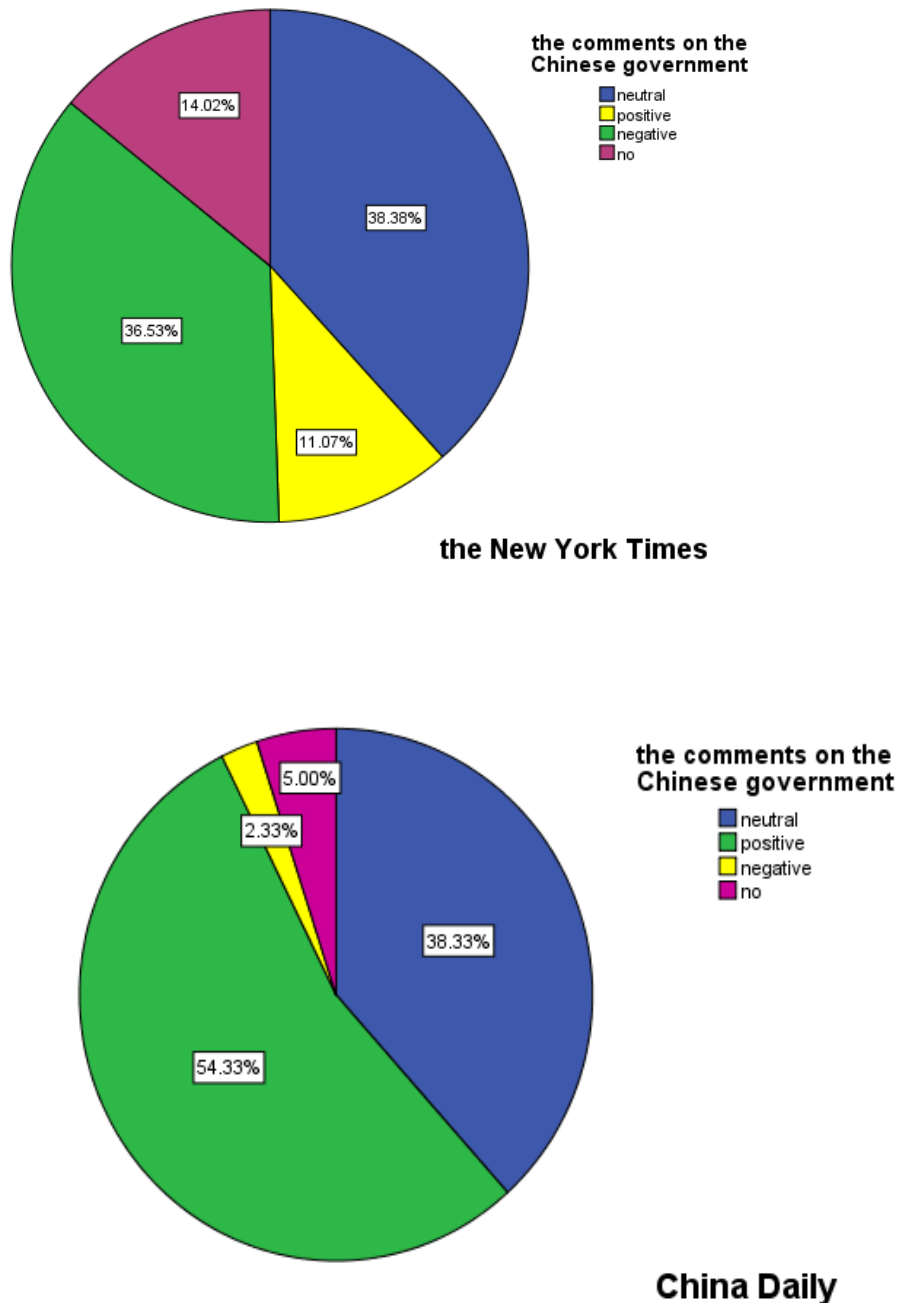
China Daily

Figure 6**: Comments on the Chinese Government in the News Coverage in the New York Times and China Daily**

N_1=252, N_2=324 (N_1: China Daily, N_2: the New York Times)

5.1.4   Summary

In terms of the main topic of news reporting regarding the Chinese government, both the New York Times and China Daily are concerned more with politics and economy than social, cultural, environmental and animal protection, and other issues. Still, they

have different focuses in the fields of politics and economy. The New York Times pays more attention to political news (42.44%), while the Chinese government is mentioned more often in the economic news (41.33%) in the China Daily. By taking further examination on political news, domestic politics is the biggest concern in the New York Times, which constitutes 61.74%, while domestic politics and diplomacy are the major focus in the China Daily (42.67% and 44% respectively).

The news sources about the Chinese government also show significant differences in the representation of the Chinese government by the two specific newspapers. Journalists are considered to be the predominant source, as compared to others, which comprises 81.18%, while the news from the Chinese news agencies tends not to be cited, which only account for 0.37%. Although journalists are also regarded as the main source (38.67%), the China Daily on the other hand emphasizes the source of the government itself and other Chinese news agencies (26% and 29%). Unsurprisingly, news from foreign governments, organizations, and citizens are barely cited by the China Daily when it comes to the Chinese government.

With regard to the comments on the Chinese government, the New York Times and China Daily share some similarities but also show major differences. Both news agencies tend to contain an equivalently percentage of neutral comments on the Chinese government (38%). However, they have different focuses regarding the positive and negative comments toward the Chinese government. In particular, the New York Times has a relatively great percentage of negative comments (36.53%), which is approximately equal to the neutral tone. The positive comments, however, take the smallest proportion (11.07%). As opposed to the New York Times, the positive comments consist of the majority of comments on the Chinese government in the China Daily (54.33%), while negative comments barely existed in the news articles, which only accounted for 2.33%. Additionally, this study paid close attention to the comments in terms of the news topics. More specifically, the fields of politics and the economy contained the largest proportion of positive comments on the

Chinese government. Political issues unexpectedly gained most positive comments in the New York Times (43.33%), whereas the China Daily, in its economic news, received the largest proportion of positive comments (38.04%). The statistics predominantly showed that politics was the main field for negative comments in the New York Times (54.55%), while the China Daily in most cases criticized the government in its economic news (42.86%), but exhibited fewer negative comments on the government regarding political issues (14.29%). Both of them constituted the largest proportion of neutral comments in economic news (39.42% and 47.37% respectively).

5.2 Discourse Analysis

5.2.1 Case A: News Reporting on New Rules for Social Networking Sites in China

The New York Times

The news about the new policy for online social networking sites was reported by the New York Times on December 16th, 2011. The coverage was entitled "*Beijing Imposes New Rules on Social Networking Sites*." By taking a closer look at the headline, first, it can be seen that the term "Beijing" refers to the Beijing authorities or officials, which can be proved by the texts. On the other hand, use of the word Beijing tends to imply the central government in general due to its central political position. Second, the headline is written in active form. Dijk (1991) was aware of the use of passive sentences when carefully investigating news articles regarding racism. He suggests that the use of sentences could reflect the priority of the structure. In this particular case, the journalist intends to give the audience an impression through the headline that the government took actions actively to impose the new rules on social networking.

The main meanings of this article could be easily seized by reading the lead paragraph, which is considered to be a brief explanation of the topic. The aim of the new policy was explained as "controlling the way Chinese Internet users post messages on social networking sites." The word "control" is used, rather than other words. The implicit reason is further explained as "having posed challenges to the Chinese Communist Party's propaganda machinery." The readers could interpret the action of imposing new rules as another case of Internet censorship in China. In the following paragraph, the article claims that real-name registration on microblogs (Weibo in Chinese) is "striking" news for many users. However, a report by Xinhua, which is regarded as a state news agency, is cited to emphasize that Weibo users "will still be able to post under aliases." This interesting citation is not unconscious arrangement. Instead, the state agency might be satirized, as Weibo users are forced to register with their real identity. The implications of the enactment of the new rules are summarized by "some analysts" as "dampening some of the freewheeling conversations and criticizing officials and government policy."

The author of this article intends to show more evidence that the Chinese government is sensitive to the contents posted online and thus Internet information censorship is strengthened. The news highlights that there are 17 newly-issued regulations on microblogs in total. It intends to offer objective and reliable evidence to make readers believe that identity registration is not the only regulation, but one of many regulations to supervise the way that social networking sites operate. Furthermore, the role of the central authorities is emphasized by using the word "charge" and "rein," which indicates that the series of actions are conducted by the central government. The report further addresses the idea that the authorities have placed more stress on the Internet companies and that the restrictions on the online content are "more an articulation of the boundaries already in place.'". Yet the claim appears not to be supported by any research. By citing an editor's argument from a famous Shenzhen-based Internet company and the analysts' expectations, the news also predicts that though the policy was only put into practice in Beijing at the beginning,

other cities will take similar actions as Beijing has.

The comments are made in the following contents by offering the comments of several parties on the policy. Bill Bishop, who was working in China, responded to this issue by asking, "Why bother to say something? You never know." As a foreigner, his response to the news is not a surprise and his argument fits the articles' tone. Moreover, the comments from the microblog users in China enhanced the negative tone. For example, one user expressed his anger and worried: "society is going backwards" and "where is China's path?," and what is more, many influential celebrities that have a great impact on public opinion have posted using their real identity. Pan Shiyi, a famous real estate developer, is an example. He used the platform of Weibo to question the air pollution report published by the Beijing Government. Therefore, it is shown that social networking sites like Weibo are seen as an increasing threat to the Chinese government.

The article also questions the efficiency of the policy. Two specific numbers were offered: "Internet companies have been told to comply with the new rules within three months" and "Sina and Tencent have more than 200 million registered users each." Thus, it is still a serious question to ensure each user with real name when posting on Weibo. However, this "annoying" question could be solved by the existing technology, which was stated by the above-mentioned analyst. With the help of specific technology, users' personal information online could be connected with a police database. Readers might be really astonished by the government's deliberation to control online social networks and to censor online information.

In the news article, the history of how the Chinese government has controlled the Internet was briefly reviewed. The crucial role of microblogs in criticizing the government was highlighted with several examples. The article mentions that Facebook and Twitter have been blocked for several years in order to link to the issue of real-name registration. Interestingly, the article asserts that "officials here carefully

monitored the rebellions this year in the Middle East to see how they were organized and what role social networking sites played." This could be interpreted as the government's anxiety toward the rebellions, but the news source was not shown in the article.

It is noteworthy that the article looked more balanced and less biased by mentioning the importance of microblogs for the Chinese officials. However, this frame looks rather weak in comparison with the argument that microblogs do harm to the Chinese government.

China Daily

Simultaneously, the China Daily reported the same topic with the title "*Weibo asking users to register identities*," The subject of the headline was obviously "Weibo," which is completely different from the headline presented by the New York Times. This headline intended deliberately to play down the role of the Chinese government by using Weibo as the active agent. At the same time, the word "asking" is down playing in mandatory agent also showed the activeness of the mircoblogs. The headline might give readers an impression that it was necessary to issue the policy because of the specific characteristics of the new media. In the lead paragraph, "Microblogs" were still placed as the subject. The slight difference rests upon the fact that that an influential company, Sina, which is famous for the microblog function, was mentioned. In doing so, the news reporting offered more evidence that the action was conducted by a company rather than the government. The article emphasizes the intention of registering with real names by placing it at the beginning of this paragraph; that is, "to prevent the use of fake identities and make it easier to trace the source of online rumors." Different from the aim of controlling public opinion, it focused on "fake identity" and "the source of online rumor." which may make people aware of the harm Weibo might have for society and individuals. The proceedings were introduced in the name of an insider of Sina Weibo. The word of "voluntarily" connotes that the identity registration is not forced, as opposed to the New York

Times' claim that it was imposed by the authorities. This argument was proved by the insider's claim that "we are encouraging micro-bloggers to apply for the real-name system, but we don't expect all users to do that." The insider also emphasized other measurements, together with real identity verification, which tended to tell the readers that the relevant companies were active in taking action so as to "keep things clean online."

It is noteworthy that the phrases "false information," "false identity," and "online rumor" were repeated several times in this article, which seems very serious and harmful. When these words appear very often in the article, the readers might draw a conclusion that it is necessary to take action to solve the problems; otherwise it might do harm to users and social order. Thus, the repetition of the vocabulary has emphasized the necessity of real-name registration. What is more, if one looks at the choice of verbs in dealing with the "false information" and "online rumor," it could be observed that the words are chosen from "prevent," "check," and "remove" to "eradicate" and "eliminate." Interestingly, words like "eradicate" and "eliminate" were stated by the director of Sina Weibo rather than by a journalist. It suggests that the enforcement of real-name registration was advocated by the industry practitioners.

The authorities were not mentioned in the article until a recent false-content post. An example of false online information stated that "several people had taken syringes containing HIV to Beijing to use in attacks against others." The Beijing public security bureau played the key role in cracking down on this online rumor. An announcement made by the spokesman of the Beijing public security bureau indicated that the government acted as a helper of the public, not the beneficiary from the policy. Similar to the news reporting in the New York Times, the coverage reported by the China Daily also applied a balanced writing technique. They presented different voices from various interest groups. In this case, Weibo users' concerns are presented. One user expressed her worries that "the information might be leaked to the company." As a result, she said that she would not upload her private information.

Additionally, a Beijing lawyer mentioned the possibility that many netizens would spread rumors by using other' names. However, the reason for rejecting the new policy seems not to get to the point and intends to distract the readers' attention from exploring the implicit reasons behind the new policy issue.

At the end of the article, a suggestion was submitted by a lawyer. That is, "the company and government departments should manage private information properly." It means that the government should take responsibility for the new policy. Still, the government is tended to be placed in the "assistant" position, but not in the active role.

Summary of case A

Above all, it is noted that there are significant differences in the same topic presented by the New York Times and China Daily. Overall, the Chinese government or Beijing authorities are thrown under the spotlight while the government plays an indirect role in the new policy. In doing so, the Chinese government is framed in completely different ways. On the one hand, the Chinese government is represented by the China Daily as a dictator that is sensitive to the dissent and dissemination of "online rumors," and therefore struggles to control the way in which microblog users post on the Internet. On the other hand, the government is constructed as a kind-hearted assistant to serve a great number of users on social networking sites. It seems that the purpose of the new policy is to help users to maintain the harmony and the stability of Chinese society. The limitations of this specific policy were neglected.

The frame types embedded in the two news discourses could also reinforce the way in which the Chinese government is framed. The anti-government frame is obvious in the New York Times, while the pro-frame could be easily seen in the China Daily. In particular, the human rights abuser frame can be clearly observed in the New York Times. The new rule on social networking websites is another case of harsh Internet censorship in China. The author intends to express the idea that Internet companies,

not only is Beijing but also in other regions of China, are forced to carry out the rule. Further, the repetition of the word "control" appears several times, which frames the Chinese government's image of controller over freedom of speech in the domestic context. From another perspective, the outrage of social networking users shows more evidence that they cannot bear the human rights situation under the CCP's governance. The action of "blocking Twitter and Facebook, as well as monitoring the rebellions in the Middle East" appears familiar to international audiences, which unsurprisingly depicts the overall image of the Chinese government as a human rights abuser.

In contrast, the defense frame works for this specific news article of the China Daily. "Concrete action" is frequently used to justify the necessity and rationality of implementing the real name registration on social networking sites. The reason is conveyed with various expressions, for instance, "to prevent the use of fake identities and make it easier to trace the source of online rumors," "to monitor Weibo posts and remove false information," "to eradicate online rumors," etc. More importantly, the arguments of many actors, such as experts or insiders, are employed to speak for the government's "concrete action," For instance, a media worker claimed, "The new policy, together with the previous one, will help to keep things clean online." Apart from the frame of "concrete action" that the Chinese government takes to deal with social problems, "repeated commitment" is also frequently used in the news discourse. For instance, when it comes to the spread of online rumors, a Beijing official made a commitment that "The police will crack down on online rumors."

5.2.2   Case B: News Reporting on Food Safety in China

The New York Times

This news coverage is presented by the New York Times with the headline *"In China, fear of fake eggs and "recycled' buns"*. At first glance, the headline looks rather eye-catching and astonishing. Accompanying the headline is an picture shown at the

beginning of the article, which depicts the scene of a street-side bun shop in Shanghai on an ordinary morning where the "fresh, soft, and tasty" buns are offered. The text began with a close-up of a confusing phenomenon: why people choose the buns produced by a "filthy" workshop where the expired buns are "repackaged and sold anew." Readers might be shocked by the description of the production of "recycled" buns. Then the focus is switched to the recent years' reviews of food safety problems in China. The Chinese government is claimed to be the focus since the milk scandal happened two years ago. The government played an active role: it "threatened, raided, arrested and even executed" the relevant individuals and groups. However, the article argues that "it is clear that official efforts are falling short," which could be seen as a negative remark on the government's behavior in reacting to the series of food-safety scandals. The article argues that although a modern food-safety system has been established, it is still problematic. The enforcers are harshly described as "ill-trained, ill-equipped and outnumbered." This attitude was proved by a food safety expert from World Health Organization that has described the food inspectors in China with the metaphor "headless chickens," expressing his dissatisfaction with the food industry practitioners. However, readers might be surprised when these serious words are applied to portray the relevant enforcers.

In the following paragraph, a series of food safety scandals is listed, ranging from "pork adulterated with the drug clenbuterol" and "rice contaminated with cadmium" to "popcorn and mushrooms treated with fluorescent bleach." The examples have supplied more evidence to the current situation regarding food safety in China. It is noteworthy that the scandal was first disclosed by China's news media, which undoubtedly enhanced the credibility and seriousness of the problem. The Chinese media acted as the news source when further examining the fake egg problems. The authorities next verified the reason why supervision is difficult in China. At the same time, the data were used in the article to show a clear picture of the industry's situation: "four-fifths of an amount of half a million food producers employ 10 or fewer workers." However, latent reasons have been revealed by the article, which

have attributed the food safety problem to "China's iron political controls." As a consequence, a "powerful consumer lobby" does not exist in China since the government wants to "control threat to its own power." In other words, the Chinese government's control could be seen as a fundamental reason that so many scandals happen in the food industry there.

When it comes to consumers' reactions to the series of food safety scandals, another metaphor has been applied. In particular, people do not trust any kind of food produced by domestic companies, just like "Alice after falling through the rabbit hole." The well-known fairy tale "Alice in Wonderland" helps the readers, especially the western readers, to better understand the public's panic and helplessness in the face of the food safety scandals. Additionally, a leader from a private food-related agency further indicates that "people feel nothing is safe to eat" and "they are really very helpless." Furthermore, the situation has also made the middle-class and well-educated individuals "dismayed," and even top officials felt "discomfited." The use of a series of negative words has raised awareness among citizens, and people are desperate to know more about the serious problems. The article then cites the comments on the issue from two top officials: the Prime Minister and Vice Premier. Both of them expressed their embarrassment and guilt over the problems. The Vice Premier said that he was "really ashamed" and mentioned "really embarrassing" twice, which suggests that even top officials were feeling sorry and could not shirk from their responsibility for the food-safety scandals.

However, what surprised people was that the food-safety law was mentioned in the following paragraph and the benefits of the law were also presented despite the fact that the law is described as "far-reaching." What is more, an expert defends the situation: "it is not as bad as people think it is." The article says, however, "nor is it good," which could be seen as a reflection of the "far-reaching" food-safety law. It further examined the relevant regulations. However, the above-mentioned expert from the World Health Organization claimed that the food-safety problems were due to

institutional fault; in other words, "Oversight remains shared among disparate bureaucracies." Further explanation also provides readers with a better and deeper understanding of the hidden problems in the system. In addition, the article investigates the inefficiency of relevant policies and regulations. For instance, even "the government's most dramatic crackdowns have fallen short." That is, the strictest new policy could not prevent an increasing number of contaminated dairy products.

The news reporting has cited experts, Chinese news media agencies, or even state news agencies many times. In doing so, the coverage is believed to be more objective and reliable. On the other hand, it implies that all news sources have come to agreement that the current situation in the food industry in China is really disappointing, and although the government has made efforts to deal with it, its reactions have not been satisfactory. Additionally, more than eight cases are mentioned in the article to demonstrate the seriousness of the contaminated food problems. It is evident that food safety is a national issue, and consumers obviously become direct victims. The question has been asked, "How many others fall sick or die from contaminated food is anyone's guess because data on food-borne diseases is spotty at best?" As a consequence, one expert said, "We operate in the dark in many ways." This illustrates the chaotic situation in the food industry in China to some extent and the difficulties in conducting investigations. Meanwhile, the majority of the manufacturers have lost considerable benefits because of the food-safety scandals. The article ends with the involvement of steamed buns. One consumer asserted that he would not eat buns any more even though actions have been taken by the authorities. In the end, his comments expressed the desperation with and distrust in the whole industry: "none of them are reliable. They really have no morals. They will do anything for money."

China Daily

When it comes to the coverage of food safety issues in the China Daily, one article en titled *"Food Safety is still crucial issue in China"* is focused on in this study. By

taking a look at the headline, the word "still" indicates that food safety had been a serious problem for a long time in China. In the lead paragraph, the article mentioned the significance of food safety in China. More importantly, the efforts of the Chinese government to deal with the problems are presented. In particular, it said, "the Chinese government has stepped up supervision of food and dairy and liquor sold in rural areas at all points in the supply chain." This could be regarded as a positive comment on the government's actions concerning food safety regulations.

However, it claims that more effective actions should be taken. The several following paragraphs describe the situation of food safety in China. Similar to the article reported by the New York Times, a series of scandals are taken as examples in this section. The reasons why the problems have not been solved are analyzed by the author. The main reason is that many food producers tend to pursue economic benefits at the expense of the consumers' health. Further, the lack of quality supervision could be seen as another reason. One likely reason is attributed to the local officials' covering-up; that is, because the local economy can benefit from contaminated food production by enhancing employment rates and increasing the government's tax. In addition, this article also mentions the problematic food safety regulatory system. That is, different government agencies take charge of different parts of the authority. Although a new administration (State Food and Drug Administration) was established to integrate the authority, it has not operated in an effective way. Above all, the reasons mentioned in this article tend to construct a negative and inefficient image of the government. However, following the negative remarks on the government's behavior, the article praises the progress that the government has made. Just as in the reporting on the New York Times, the Food Safety Law is also mentioned in this coverage, but the focus is different. The disadvantages of the regulations are given more attention by the New York Times, whereas the strengths of relevant laws and agencies are the focus in the China Daily. Additionally, the Chinese government is given several suggestions regarding how to improve the current food safety situation in China.

Summary of case B

Several features could be highlighted by comparing the reports presented by the New York Times and China Daily on the food safety issue in China. In general, both articles tend to question the efficiency of the Chinese government and the role it played in dealing with the problem. In this case, the government is framed in a negative way. Still, the differences can be examined. In the article in the China Daily, several implicit and explicit factors are presented. However, the food regulatory factor is relatively weakened by emphasizing the economic reasons from the food producers' perspective. On the other hand, the factor of the government is the stronger focus of the article in the New York Times. What is more, the China Daily criticizes the Chinese government's behavior in a relatively mild and tolerant manner. The actions taken by the government are also mentioned and advice is put forward in the reporting. The New York Times, however, also mentioned the actions taken by the government, but this seems to facilitate the negative remarks since most of the actions were not effective in solving the problems.

By examining the frames in the two articles, it is clear that different frames are incorporated, namely, the incompetency frame in the New York Times and the progress and ambiguity frame in the China Daily. Specifically, both the unsatisfactory results and ineffective action taken by the Chinese government were highlighted by the New York Times. The author of that article provided a great amount of evidence to show that "official efforts are falling short," ranging from the unqualified food inspectors to the chaotic supervision system. The defense frame seems embedded in the article, as some progress made by the government was mentioned, such as the food-safety law. Even an expert claimed, "The situation is steadily improving" and "It is not as bad as people think it is." It is noteworthy, however, that the argument was refuted by the author immediately. In addition, the Chinese government's iron political control was attributed as the fundamental reason for the series of food safety scandals.

The China Daily, however, tends to incorporate pro-government frames in its

reporting. In particular, changes and progress are frequently mentioned by the author. For example, it claims that the "Chinese government has stepped up supervision of food and dairy products." Though the author criticized the quality supervisors and food producers and questioned the regulatory authority and government, they seem not to be considered as the key factors. In the article, the complex situations in China are supposed to be blamed, created by various severe social problems. For example, the economic factor and low education level of villagers are taken into account. Therefore, it reflects the Chinese government's dilemma and tension within the special and complex context of current Chinese society. In doing so, the responsibility of the government becomes blurred in the social crisis.

5.2.3　Case C: Huawei Technologies' Unsuccessful Acquisition in the U.S.

The New York Times

This event was reported by both the New York Times and China Daily—that one of the Chinese most famous telecom companies, Huawei, had failed to purchase an insolvent American company in February, 2011. The news reporting presented by the New York Times was entitled "China telecom giant, thwarted in U.S. Deals, seeks inquiry to clear name." It was clear from the headlines that the Chinese telecom giant was frustrated when making a deal with the U.S. However, it might have aroused the readers' curiosity why it required to clear name. At the very beginning, the article briefly introduces the latest action taken by Huawei technologies, in which, the company asked the U.S. government to investigate its background to clean up the accusation that it was closely linked to the Chinese government and was not concerned with intellectual rights. The action was described as "a highly unusual move." The "Huawei Open Letter" was then mentioned. The telecom giant as the "victim" expressed its complaint to the U.S. government since it was asked to "unwind" the acquisition in the U.S.

Unsurprisingly, the Chinese government responded to the accusation and this was

mentioned in this article. An official at the Chinese Ministry of Commerce denounced the American authorities' action and claimed that the Chinese investment in the U.S. was interfered with in the name of "national security concerns and other reasons," and that this could influence the Sino-American relationship. It is noteworthy that the word "interfere" was marked by quotations. That is, the use of quotation marks could clearly express the attitude of the article, which questioned if the move could be considered as "interfering." Then the article reviewed the failed experiences when Huawei tried to make a deal with the U.S. in the past few years. However, it offered multiple parties' perspectives in accordance with the series of unsuccessful deals with the U.S. The most important response was from the Treasury Department, senators, and many national security experts that were mostly concerned with the issue regarding national interests. On the one hand, the Treasury Department claimed that "We strongly support the longstanding bipartisan U.S. commitment to welcoming foreign investment, consistent with national security. This includes investment from China." Senators and experts, on the other hand, asserted that making a deal with Huawei may do harm to American national interest. What was worse, the officials depicted Huawei as "having close ties to the Chinese government and its military." The company is also claimed to have received financial support from the Chinese government.　All of the above-mentioned remarks from the U.S. justified the U.S. government's action toward Huawei technologies to some extent. In comparison to the American officials' and experts' claims, the voice of the Chinese government was relatively weak. However, the article offered the company's voice to speak for itself. When the issue of intellectual property protection was questioned, both involved parties spoke for themselves. What is more, the achievements that Huawei made in the field of telecommunications were discussed in this article. However, the article pointed out that "the company has struggled to win business in the United States, despite having hired influential lobbyists and public relations firms." The comment embodied empathy and expectation toward the Chinese telecom giant. Overall, the article paid equal concern to the target company and the U.S. government, including the senators and experts. In other words, both sides defended their interests.

Comprehensive and critical viewpoints were presented to readers through the news discourse. However, the Chinese government appeared to be powerless and useless in the process. The only thing it did was to accuse the American government. As a result, the role of the Chinese government in this international economic imbroglio tended to be weakened by having less attention over the Chinese government.

China Daily

The China Daily reported the event as well with the title "China Irked by Unfair Treatment." It can be noted that the incident was not presented in the headline as Huawei's prohibition from purchasing an American company. Instead, the incident was defined as "unfair treatment," which expressed China Daily's stand in this cross-national event. Further, China was framed as the victim of "unfair treatment" by the use of passive voice. That is to say, other than the specific company, China as a whole was annoyed by the "unfair treatment." The lead paragraph in the article defined the event as "another instance of intentional efforts to block Chinese investment in advanced technology." It claimed that the failed acquisition of Huawei technologies in the U.S. was due to "political resistance."

The Chinese government and officials appeared in this article to appeal to the U.S. government's decision and to support Huawei. As compared with the New York Times, the China Daily focused more on the official responses from the Chinese government. At the same time, a spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Commerce suggested that the U.S. should enhance its "transparency" and give Chinese investment "fair treatment." It seems that this article was in line with the government's stand in considering the U.S. government's reaction as "unfair treatment." Interestingly, the remarks from an expert at a Washington-based think tank took a lot of space in this article. He also described the rejection of the acquisition as "an implicit American prohibition on Chinese participation in advanced technology" since the "U.S. doesn't trust the Chinese government." He said that Huawei had close links with the Chinese government. And he further questioned: "if it were a State-controlled French firm,

could it have been different? I don't know." This seems to suggest that the U.S. government is meant to China. Consistent with the Chinese official's response, he also mentioned that the U.S. lacked transparency. He further explained that "China has been criticized for not being transparent. In this particular case, the U.S. is not transparent and we should fix this." It is noteworthy that the word of "transparency" as rhetorically repeated for several times, indicating that the article intended to construct a non-transparent U.S. government image regarding this incident.

Additionally, the article also mentions Huawei's founder's background, who used to be a former military officer. Compared to the New York Times, the China Daily highlights that its connection with the government was denied by the founder. This indicated that the allegation of the U.S. government was biased and groundless. The company's previous unsuccessful deals with the U.S. were mentioned, as in the New York Time. However, more unsuccessful cases were also revealed—that other Chinese companies were prohibited from investing in the U.S. In doing so, more Chinese companies were portrayed as the victims of "political resistance." As a consequence, the director of InterChina Consulting claimed that "many Chinese companies have decided not to consider the U.S. as a first choice for investment in sensitive sectors."

Summary of case C

Comparing the articles on this same topic between the New York Times and China Daily, it is evident that this specific cross-national economic incident was constructed in different ways. The New York Times tended to act as an outsider when reporting it. The arguments from both sides, namely, the U.S. government and the Huawei tech company, are presented with the same concern. Specifically, the company Huawei Technologies spoke for itself and made an appeal for clear name. On the other hand, the U.S. government's voice as also been heard by justifying their decision on the grounds of national security concerns. Yet the voice of the Chinese government was relatively weak. Although officials accused the actions of the U.S. government, the Chinese government seemed to remain silent during this event. In general, the article

tended to be neutral in portraying all parties, which can be seen in the choice of vocabulary. Unlike the New York Times, the China Daily tended to present its stand from the headlines and the content. The rejection of the acquisition in America was depicted as "unfair treatment," "political resistance," and lack of "transparency." Those negative narrations were demonstrated more than once in the article. The U.S. government served as the target, while the real victim, Huawei Technologies, was paid relatively less attention to. The Chinese government was more emphasized by the China Daily than the New York Times in order to express the displeasure with the decision made by the U.S. Further, the China Daily cited the remarks from an American expert in condemning the U.S. government regarding the event, thereby enhancing the stance of this article. Therefore, the article tended to support the Chinese government and other Chinese companies, which have had the same troubles when making deals with the U.S.

No obvious frames are shown in the article of the New York Times. The role of the Chinese government was comparatively weakened. Instead, the focus was the tech company and the U.S. government. In contrast, however, the Chinese government was still framed positively. Concrete actions could be observed when the company was treated "unfairly" in the international trade. Chinese government's voice could be heard to express voluble protests toward the U.S. government. Moreover, the claim was reinforced by an America-based expert. In doing so, the role of the Chinese government in the incident was emphasized.

5.2.4 Concluding Analysis

In this section, six news articles presented by the China Daily and the New York Times have been examined on three different topics. Through the selected news discourse, the similarities and differences were summarized regarding the construction of the image of the Chinese government in the two newspapers as

follows:

Similarities

In general, the two news agencies constructed a comprehensive and multi-dimensional image of the Chinese government in various aspects, ranging from the political and economic to the social sphere. A majority of news articles tended to present a neutral viewpoint and the real Chinese government's image was based on journalistic principles. In particular, the achievements made by the government could on the one hand be witnessed in the New York Times and China Daily. On the other hand, the government's wrongdoings were also criticized and questioned based on the facts and real situations. For instance, when both news agencies reported the controversial issue of food safety in China, the China Daily on the one hand mentioned the efforts made by the government in solving food safety problems by imposing the Food Safety Law and educating rural citizens and so on. On the other hand, it also criticized that the local government pursued economic profits at the cost of the individuals' health. The New York Times on one hand argued that the government's tight political control resulted in the lack of powerful consumer lobbying, which led to inefficient supervision of the food industry. On the other hand, it was also concerned with the authorities' actions in dealing with the problem. The New York Times tends to report news more objectively and critically. At the same time, even though it is state-controlled, the China Daily tends to be independent and critical, especially when it reports controversial issues.

What is more, both the New York Times and China Daily have offered different viewpoints regarding the Chinese government. This can be proved by the analysis of the selected news discourses. That is, the voices from various parties can be heard, thereby shaping government's image. For example, the New York Times uses some analysts' arguments to criticize the real-name registration policy on microblogs. Further, editors as the representatives of a famous Internet company analyzed the potential impact it would have on the social networking services. The microblogs

users' complaints and accusation toward the policy played a greater role in the construction of the Chinese government's image. In doing so, the government was portrayed as a sensitive political ruler that intended to restrict public opinion by controlling the way in which Chinese people used social networking sites. In contrast, in the report of the China Daily, professionals from an Internet company were often quoted. In doing so, the policy looked useful in terms of securing users' rights and avoiding online rumors. Furthermore, the words from the officials always helped to shape a positive image of the government—that it always considers Internet users' interests. Therefore, although various parties' arguments were cited for different purposes, the diversity of the arguments shows the different points of view of the different parties. In doing so, the readers could gain a better understanding of the government.

Differences:

Of course, it is evident that different features are shown in the news reporting regarding the portrayal of the Chinese government in the New York Times and China Daily. First of all, the Chinese government was framed in different ways by the New York Times and China Daily by means of the selection of words. The term "lexicalization" was applied by Van Dijk (1995) to express the news media's favorable attitude toward an issue or subject through specific words or phrases. In doing so, some aspects of issues or subjects were often consciously selected or highlighted. As Claes H. de Vreese summarized, lexicalization refers to a selection of words. "A particular selection has a particular persuasive function" (2005, 135). Pan and Kosicki (1993) also claimed that the syntactic structure or word choice has an impact on the development of frames. It can be noted that a selection of vocabulary plays a significant role in framing a specific event or issue. Referring to the portrayal of the Chinese government, the two specific newspapers used various sets of words to express their stands in the news discourse.

The New York Times tended to use negative words, whereas positive words were

more often selected by the China Daily. For instance, in the news coverage regarding the new regulation of real-name registration, the New York Times claimed that the purpose was to "control the way Chinese Internet users post messages on social networking sites." The word "control" was also used in the news regarding the food safety issue in China. Particularly, the system defect in food supervision was attributed to "China's iron political controls." It was said that the Chinese government is struggling to "[control] threats to its own power" in every aspect. To sum up, it can be assumed that the repetition of the word "control" in the New York Times aims at explaining a variety of existing problems in the Chinese society in a negative way.

In contrast, the Chinese government was framed by the China Daily in a relatively positive way with the help of the selection of specific words. This was shown in the news discourse when it came to the implementation of new policies and regulations or the government's actions. For instance, the reform and opening-up policy has always been described as "effective" in the China Daily while alleviating the issue of poverty during the past three decades. In an article entitled "China pursues no hegemony," the author repeatedly highlights that the "peaceful" development strategy is a basic principle for the Chinese Communist Party. Further, the Chinese government was depicted as playing a "positive" role in engaging in various projects at home and in cross-national cooperation. The efforts were described as "serious" and "remarkable."

Nevertheless, the selection of words was not the only approach used to frame the Chinese government. Apart from word choice, which can be regarded as an explicit means, the implicit framing techniques rested upon the contents and structure within the media discourse. In particular, the Chinese government was differently framed by the selection, emphasis, and exclusion of some aspects of the events and issues, thereby reinforcing the stands of the media outlets. The argument can be proved from three dimensions.

First, even though the same facts were described by both newspapers, they had

different focuses. For instance, both the New York Times and China Daily reported on the food safety scandal in China during 2011. The coverage of both reviewed the current situation. The efforts made by the Chinese government were mentioned, including the implementation of the food-safety law in 2009 and the crackdown on illegal food production. What is more, both articles investigated the implications behind the series of scandals, such as the lack of supervision and unqualified enforcers and inspectors. However, the New York Times paid more attention to criticizing the institutional problems and political implications, while China Daily reacted relatively mildly toward the system's failure and was concerned more with economic factors. Furthermore, the political implication was not covered in the news reporting. As a result, the statement "official efforts are falling short" was highlighted by the New York Times while the China Daily attempted to tell the readers that the "Chinese government has made some progress on the issue". Thus, the readers of the New York Times might wrongly think that the Chinese authorities have taken inefficient action in dealing with food-safety problem, whereas in the China Daily the government was depicted as having tried to solve the problem and made progress, although more efforts should be made.

In addition, the Chinese government was also depicted by the New York Times and China Daily from different angles by enhancing or weakening its role in the events or issues. For instance, in referring to the same event—that Huawei Technologies was prohibited from making deals in the U.S.—the Chinese government was mentioned by both news agencies. Both newspapers reported the Chinese government's allegation toward the U.S. government's decision on the trading prohibition. However, the Chinese government did not take much space in the news coverage in the New York Times, while the China Daily paid more attention to the authorities' responses to the specific event. In doing so, the role of the Chinese government was depicted differently in this Sino-American economic incident. In particular, the Chinese government's appeal looked unimportant and played less of a role in making decisions, whereas in the China Daily the government responded to the decision actively, and it

was depicted as a responsible government when the Chinese companies encountered "unfair treatment" in international trade.

It is also noteworthy that the Chinese government was deliberately framed by the two specific newspapers in different ways through the exclusion of some dimensions. This claim can be easily noticed in the reporting on different topics. For instance, the issue of human rights has been valued by Western media for a long time. Due to its political ideology, China is often considered as a country with fewer human rights under the governance of the Communist Party. Therefore, the human rights issue has been highlighted in western media, and the New York Times is no exception. It was shown that the news articles on the top of the list were almost all related to human rights issue when the author attempted to archived the key word "Chinese government" in the New York Times 2011 online database sorted by closest match. For example, the news that took the first place was entitled "Journalists Should Be Government Mouthpieces, Chinese Media Leader Says." This article is about the new president of CCTV, a state-run television network, and advocates that journalists in China should serve as mouthpieces of the government rather than professional media workers. The news coverage then criticizes the argument. Additionally, Chinese dissents are always given special attention in the New York Times. For example, it pays attention to the well-known dissident artist, Ai Weiwei, who is a pro-democracy activist. What is more, Internet censorship is another controversial issue that the media always target in relation to the Chinese government. For example, the new policy of real-name registration on social networking sites is reported. According to the New York Times, the implicit reason is that microblogs provide the users with a platform to spread online rumors, which would pose a threat to the Chinese government. In China, however, the relevant issues could not be observed in the news coverage, especially in the state media agencies. The China Daily, as a state-run newspaper, inevitably has to follow the hidden rule to avoid reporting about sensitive issues. In doing so, the New York Times attempts to present human right-related issues in China to its readers while this aspect tends to be excluded in the news reporting by the China Daily.

When it comes to the frame types embedded in the news, the New York Times tends to incorporate anti-government frames. More specifically, the human rights abuser frame and the incompetency frame were used in the selected articles on the New York Times. For example, the implicit reason for the implementation of real name registration on Internet was explained as the Chinese government's "iron political control." Further, the institutive problem behind the food safety scandals was also related to political implications in China. In addition, the actions taken by the government were always proved to be ineffective. As a result, they tended to be "falling short." The China Daily, in contrast, tends to use a pro-government frame. The defense frame could be supported by its concrete actions in the face of social crises and repeated commitment toward the public. The case A reported by the China Daily can be seen as a good example. The rule of real name registration was justified by the government and seen as a necessary measure in prohibiting online rumors. What is more, the progress frame and ambiguity frame were also frequently used in selected news. For instance, when dealing with the food safety issues that happened in 2011, the China Daily tried to distract the audiences' attention—from the authorities' incompetency to the complex situation in the current Chinese context. Also, the progress made by the government was highlighted in order to illustrate the legislative changes regarding food safety regulations in recent years.

6. Discussion

6.1 Comparison to Previous Studies

In this section, the author attempts to compare my study to the two articles outlined above in terms of the objective, method and results of study. In comparison to the results of the research conducted by Majid and Ramaprasad (1998), this study shows both commonalities and differences. First of all, the research cited above focuses on the depiction of China in relation to specific global event here as the author attempts to explore the general image of the Chinese government framed by the U.S. and Chinese newspaper. That is, we have different tasks, although both studies chose to do comparative analysis in the U.S. and Chinese contexts. Similar to their study, the author employs both content and discourse analysis in my study. In terms of content analysis, however, the author examines the news source, the comments on the Chinese government, apart from the theme of the news. Moreover, the theme of the news for their study was based on the topics related to the specific event while the themes of this study are designed on the basis of previous studies on the representation of China by media agencies. Therefore, the results of the content analysis are basically not comparative.

The results of the discourse analysis basically show similar characteristics. In particular, China is framed in a negative light by the U.S. in the conference-related news coverage, though in specific forms, such as characterizing China as the "clumsy and inept host." In my study, however, more frames can be observed, such as "human right abuser," "dishonesty." etc. In addition, my study shows that the pro-government frame is still a regular strategy embedded in the Chinese newspaper (China Daily), such as the defense frame, progress frame, and ambiguity frame. According to Majid and Ramaprasad, however, the Chinese news coverage employed "a proequality frame and a clear focus on the critical issues of concern to the Conference" (1998,

147). They note that "China Daily's coverage contained very little propagandistic praise for China" when reporting this global event (1998, 148). It seems that China Daily keep a neutral manner to avoid speaking for China in the reporting of the event.

This study draws similar findings in comparison to Wu's (2006) research, even though we deal with different topics. In particular, both studies take a look at the image of the Chinese government framed by the U.S. and Chinese media. Nevertheless, her study focuses on the representation of the government in handling the social issue of HIV/AIDS in China; this study, however, concerns more the general image of the Chinese government in various stories. Additionally, she applies one analytic method, namely, the qualitative analysis, while this study combines discourse analysis with content analysis. In terms of the identification of several frame categories, I mainly refer to the classification in this study. For the qualitative analysis, the anti-government frame can be mainly detected in the U.S. reports, especially the use of the incompetency and human rights abuser frames can be easily observed in the selected three articles in the political, economic, and social spheres. The dishonesty/oppression frame, however, is rarely reflected. The reason might lie in the limited sample of discourse analyses in my study. The pro-government frame on the other hand exists in China Daily's reports. All three sub-types are easily detected in the Chinese government-related news coverage; namely, the defense, progress, and ambiguity frames. It is noteworthy that the anti-government frame is also reflected in the China Daily's coverage. For instance, the incompetency frame can be observed when the food safety scandal was discussed. The author criticized the inefficiency of the measures taken by the government; however, soon after the criticism, the progresses that the government undertook and the complex social-cultural situations were claimed to be the implicit reasons. Therefore, unlike Wu's (2006) analysis, two frames were examined in the two newspapers, though the results tended to be similar.

6.2 Interpretation of Results

Basically, the anti-government frame is manifested in the news coverage in the New York Times, whereas pro-government frame is frequently applied by the China Daily. Nevertheless, some similarities can still be observed in the two newspapers. Based on the relevant concepts and theories discussed in the section of theoretical framework, in this section, the author attempts to interpret the similarities and differences mainly from an ideological perspective, thereby concluding the image of the Chinese government represented by the New York Times and China Daily.

6.2.1 The Interpretation of the Neutral Representation

Overall, the two specific newspapers tend to represent a neutral image of the Chinese government. It can be observed from the results of the content analysis. From the collected data, it is evident that the neutral comments on the Chinese government account for approximately 38% of both newspapers. What is more, the results of the selected news discourse analysis provide more evidence that the Chinese government is represented by the New York Times and China Daily from multi-dimensional perspectives. The different voices are given space to make remarks on the government's behaviors. Balanced comments can also be noticed in the news reporting. In doing so, the relatively neutral and objective image of the Chinese government is shown to the readers. The reasons are as follows:

The two newspapers function as communicative strategies to "transform soft power to soft power outcomes," thereby expanding their political, economic, and cultural influences to a global extent (Hayden, 2012, 6-9). In this progress, as Hayden claims, "credibility and trustworthiness contribute to perceptions of an actor's attractiveness" (2012, 8). They exert an important influence on the fulfillment of soft power. As the representatives of the prestigious media outlets in the U.S and China, the New York

Times and China Daily have to take credibility and trustworthiness into account in order to win their position under the uneven informative environment in the world.

Furthermore, in the era of globalization, information consumers are confronting a "paradox of plenty," which has been a motive for nation-states to "compete with other actors in order to gain the attention of public crucial to their foreign policy objectives" (Hayden, 2012, 9). In this sense, "whose story wins" has been crucial for every country. Especially, the rapid development of information and technology has gradually shifted the individuals' habits of obtaining information. In particular, the new media allow people to access an increasing variety of information. Further, it is more likely that different voices are heard by means of the new media platforms. Compared to the situation in the traditional media era, consumers can actively produce and diffuse information by themselves, rather than just passively receiving the information from the traditional media. As a result, the information received by the audience tends to be comprehensive and transparent nowadays, and the ability of the audience to comprehensively interpret news has been improved. The New York Times and China Daily have been involved in the digital revolution. As the market shifted, they have established online news websites. However, the online version of the news alters the way in which news is delivered. As Althaus and Tewksbur (2002) claimed, online news weakens the editorial influence.

All in all, in order to adapt to the new informative environment and achieve soft power outcomes, the three elements--credibility, trustworthiness, and objectivity--have to be taken as a priority when reporting news, and at the same time depicting the Chinese government. Therefore, a balanced and objective journalistic principle contributes to the neutral representation of the Chinese government.

6.2.2 The interpretation of distorted representation

The vastly different factors in the cross-national contexts affect the process of frame building, and therefore the Chinese government is represented by the different ways. Shoemaker and Reese attribute the influences on mass media contents to several factors, which involve five levels in the hierarchical model. More specifically, the influences fall into the following groups: "individual media workers, media routines, organizational factor, the factor from outside of organizations and ideology" (1996, 214). Among them, the ideological level is ranked at the top of the model of influences. The ideological factor is regarded as "working toward an ideologically related pattern of messages and on behalf of the higher power centers in society" (ibid). At the level of ideology, as they note, media practice tends to be read from an overall perspective; namely, how any component part hangs together, rather than at the specific operational level. In this regard, journalistic practice is operated under the motivation of the collective class interest beyond any individuals or organizations' interest. Shoemaker and Reese further assert that "ideas have links to interests and power and that the power to create symbols is not a neutral force" (1996, 215). That is, the very same events or issues might be differently represented and interpreted according to different media organizations due to diverse ideological values. In a specific case, political ideology could be considered as the main factor that influences the representation of the Chinese government in news discourse.

6.2.2.1 The reasons behind the negative representation in the New York Times

According to the empirical results of the study, the news regarding the Chinese government in the New York Times is mostly sourced from journalists, while the Chinese government and news agencies are barely cited. What is more, the political news about the Chinese government is of most concern by the New York Times. Domestic news takes a predominantly high proportion. Issues that are related to human rights and democracy are overwhelmingly highlighted in the news reporting

concerning the Chinese government. Additionally, the comments and the use of moral terms about the Chinese government tend to be negative. The proportion of negative comments is approximately the same as that of the neutral comments. The results of the discourse analysis also show negative and biased language use about the Chinese government. The anti-government frame is regularly present in the New York Times.

Ideological factors could be considered as the fundamental reason for the negative portrayal of the Chinese government in the New York Times. It is true that completely different ideologies are regarded as an irreconcilable contradiction between China and the U.S. And Klaehn claimed that anti-communism can offer "a framework for assessing othering in the mainstream media (2009, 45). Nevertheless, the ideological theme of anti-communism is contingent on and changed according to different situations and eras. As is discussed in theory section, "free market ideology, antiterrorism and the 'war on terror,'" have been considered as major ideological factors in the U.S. society nowadays (Klaehn 2009, 45). The new world order, namely, neoliberalism, requires new ideological status to deal with foreign affairs and frame any kind of power in elite media (Mullen 2009). Zollmann notes that "'a liberal humanitarian discourse' has become a new and powerful notion to frame and understand political events" (2009, 99). Therefore, it can be claimed that anti-communism ideology has gradually given way to its substitutes. For the case under study, the New York Times mostly criticizes the issues over the human rights, democracy, and speech freedom in China. Furthermore, anti-government frame can be obviously observed from the selected news articles regarding the Chinese government. It is evident that the New York Times is concerned more with human right situation in China than ideological factors in news discourse. In short, anti-communism ideology is hardly observed in current context of the U.S. media while anti-Chinese government, especially "liberal humanitarian" is a common discourse regarding the representation of the Chinese government.

6.2.2.2 The Reasons Behind the Positive Representation in the China Daily

The results clearly show that the news coverage in China Daily often avoids reporting too many political issues, as compared to its counterpart, the New York Times. The topics of human rights and democracy are especially barely mentioned in the news coverage in China Daily. Unlike the preference for the specific topics in the New York Times, Chinese media are sensitive to them, especially state media agencies, such as China Daily. What is more, the information from the government is more likely to be applied as a news source by the China Daily compared to the New York Times. More importantly, the positive comments on the Chinese government framed by the China Daily constitute the majority of all comments, whereas the negative comments can only be seen in a very small proportion. It is also the same case for the moral terms used in the discussion of the Chinese government, which has been noted in the discourse analysis of the three specific cases. In addition, a pro-government frame can be easily noticed in news discourse when it comes to the Chinese government. The positive representation could be mainly attributed to the intricate relationship between the Chinese government and state media outlets.

A propaganda model is embedded in the states where a national bureaucracy holds the lever of power. Herman and Chomsky claim that "the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serve the ends of the dominant elite" (1998, 53). China is a typical example where the elite media play a propagandistic role in the portrayal of the government's image. Most mainstream media organizations are controlled by the Communist Party and run by the government. As discussed in the introduction, though the media structure today has experienced some changes, the mainstream media organizations are still controlled by the government.

It is no doubt that the government's control over the mass media has changed over time; that is, the single purpose of serving government and party has enlarged to

multi-functions, such as "providing news, general information, knowledge and entertainment, expressing public opinion, criticizing the daily workings of government and the wrongdoing of officials" (Huang, 2003). Nevertheless, the essential attribution of the mass media in China still has not changed dramatically, even in this day and age—the ideological factor still exerts an impact on journalistic operations. China Daily, functioning as one of the public diplomacy strategies, is never an exception. According to Hayden, China's international broadcasting programs are served as "persuasive tool" to "sustain media sovereignty objectives, and cultivating communities of support across geographic highlights the need to project some sort of distributed control of media messaging" (2012, 204). Although China claims to keep "transparency" in order to win in the informative competition worldwide, the implicit political dimension is still a fundamental barrier to fulfilling the goals of "credibility" and "trustworthiness" (Hayden 2012, 202-209). Especially when it comes to the sensitive issues that are believed to threaten China's Communist Party's governance, the media control becomes even more serious. A close relationship between the Chinese government and the media outlets can be observed from the politically-related news reporting. For instance, when the new policy of real-name registration was introduced on social networking sites, the China Daily avoided getting involved in this sensitive political issue and formulated its news in a relatively "safe" way, even though the New York Times interpreted the policy as a new case of Internet censorship conducted by the Chinese government to control online public opinion and the way in which online information spreads.

6.2.3 "Others" Representation in the New York Times and "Us" in the China Daily

By discussing the ideological factors behind the distorted image of the Chinese government, it is evident that different frames are applied in the news coverage by the two newspapers. In the New York Times, the Chinese government tends to be

considered as the "other". In contrast, unlike the image of the "other" in the New York Times, the Chinese government is regarded by China Daily as a member of "us," which connotes that the particular state-run news agency tends to speak for the government due to the close relationship between the government and state news outlets.

7. Conclusion

As Hayden notes, "the Soft power concept has been appropriated to justify the authority of the state and, by extension, the Chinese Communist Party" (2012, 170). The soft power has been given significance for several decades and is especially highlighted in contemporary China. A wide range of public diplomacy strategies, at the same time, has been advocated as a useful instrument to "cultivate or amplify soft power through strategies of international communication and cross-cultural engagement" (ibid). The image of the Chinese government can be assumed to be an important embodiment of soft power. As we know, the Chinese government has been reported frequently by the national and international media, alongside a variety of Chinese issues in recent decades. Therefore, how it is portrayed by media exerts great impacts the perception of the international public of the Chinese government, thereby influencing the outcomes of soft power calculation at a global level. Based on previous studies, it is evident that the image of the Chinese government is distortedly represented by western media (Zhang 2007; Li and Liu 1999; Xia 2004). Therefore, in order to resist negative media framing by the western media, the government has advocated a series of "media-centric interventions" (ibid). The international broadcasting efforts can be seen as a typical program to "clarify and explain China's position against perceived misrepresentation" (2012, 189). Nevertheless, a new question can be raised: Is the image represented by the Chinese media neutral and unbiased? The existing studies have not shed light on this area. This study is devoted to the comparative analysis of the image of the Chinese government represented by both Chinese and U.S. media. It aimed to provide an overall image of the Chinese government in the two different newspapers in cross-national settings. In doing so, the results of the study may provide the public with a picture of how reality is organized by different media outlets. What is more, it also provides Chinese leadership with a new perspective to understand the gap between the image framed by the U.S. media and that framed by the domestic media. More importantly, it helps to examine the effectiveness and problems of the public diplomacy efforts.

It is noteworthy that ethical aspects were involved in this research. According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), the hierarchy of influences on media content takes place on several levels: ideology, external factors, organizational influence, journalistic routines, and the individual level. Among the several levels, the individual factor is on the most micro level. However, it exerts a significant influence on the construction of social reality in the media. At this level, "the attitudes, training, and background of the journalist" were examined (Reese 2001). According to an analysis of the Center for International Media Ethics CIME, one of the three main goals to fulfill media ethics is to maintain "objectivity by providing different sides of an issue, which empowers audiences to formulate their own judgments and increases levels of truthfulness in reporting" (Center for International Media Ethics CIME 2009, 5). Thus it is obvious that objectivity is a crucial principle of reporting the news.

The issue of emotionality inevitably was involved in this study. For instance, stereotypical thinking exists and unconsciously affects the judgments. The same topic might be considered completely differently by individuals living in other social-political environments. For instance, influenced by the news reporting and some Chinese scholars, the author might have been sensitive to the issues of democracy and human rights that are often discussed by Western media outlets, and as a result, regarded them as biased and negative comments on the Chinese government. To deal with this problem, the author tried to be cautious in maintaining neutrality and objectivity in the process of interpreting the chosen news articles. Additionally, in the content analysis, both Chinese and English-speaking coders were chosen to ensure objectivity and reliability.

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9. APPENDIX

Coding Sheet of the Content Analysis of News Coverage regarding the Chinese Government in the New York Times and China Daily

Coder:	
Number:	
Date of publication:	
Title of the article:	

1. What is the theme of this article?

A. politics	a. domestic politics
	b. diplomacy
	c. military
	d. others
B. economy	a. overall economic trend
	b. economic policy
	c. trade
	d. exchange
	e. finance
	f. Chinese corporations
	g. productions
	h. international cooperation
	i.infrastructure
	j. international corporations in China
	h. others
C. society	
D. culture	

E. environment and animal protection	
F. others	

2. Where is the article sourced from?

1) the government (local and central)

2) journalists

3) Chinese citizens

4) foreign citizens

5) foreign government organizations

6) others

3. What are the comments on the Chinese government in the article?

1) no

2) positive

3) negative

4) neutral

4. How the moral terms are used to comments on the Chinese government in the article?

1) no

2) positive

3) negative

4) neutral

5. The extracts of the descriptions that are frequently used on Chinese government: