

**BROADER IMPACTS AND FRAMING THE GOOGLE CHINA INTERNET ISSUE:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE
IN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES**

A thesis submitted
to DePaul University in
fulfillment of the requirement for the
degree of Master of Arts

by

Chun Zhou

June, 2011

Director of Thesis: Dr. Teresa Mastin

Abstract

On January 12, 2010, Google closed its official website in China due to China's Internet censorship policy. After the announcement, the manner in which Google should operate appropriately in the Chinese mainland was discussed widely in Chinese and U.S. media. This research examines how four newspapers, two U.S. and two Chinese, framed the Google China Internet issue: the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *People's Daily* and the *21st Century Business Herald*. While previous framing studies often focused on influence from cultural or political factors that might cause differences in how countries framed news i.e., extra-media factors, this current study adds an exploratory view of impact from inner-media factors, e.g., media habitual activity. Results indicate that besides cultural factors (e.g. long- and short-term orientation) and political factors (e.g. national interests), media habitual activity and interest groups also play an important role in the framing process. In other words, inner-media factors' influence may outweigh the impact of extra-media factors.

Keywords: the Google China Internet issue, framing, news frames, framing determinant, Hofstede's cultural dimensions

Introduction

A fundamental strategic decision global marketing managers must make is a determination of whether a global or local approach to the market should be undertaken (Lwin et al., 2010). Furthermore, when the situation involves a U.S. multinational company that highly emphasizes freedom and a relatively authoritative Chinese government, fierce debates about economic globalization and cultural differences are injected into the decision making process.

On January 12, 2010, Google suddenly announced on its official website that the search engine “is no longer willing to continue censoring” results on Google.cn because of “a breach of Gmail accounts of Chinese human rights activists” (Drummond, 2010, para. 3). In addition, the company stated that Google “recognizes this may well mean having to shut down Google.cn, and potentially Google’s offices in China” (Drummond, 2010, para. 8). Immediately, all visits to Google.cn were automatically transferred to Google Hong Kong’s main page, Google.hk, which faces no censorship.

After Google claimed it would withdraw from one of the largest Internet markets, the media all over the world gave an inordinate amount of coverage to this Google China Internet issue. Besides, the issue was addressed in a number of ways including Internet safety, China’s censorship policy, how U.S. multinational companies should operate in other countries, and whether the issue would have an impact on China-U.S. relation.

Moreover, the U.S. government and China’s government reacted to the issue differently. On January 13, 2010, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton made a statement emphasizing the importance of free flow of information. The U.S. Congress also issued a mandate to investigate Google’s allegations of the Chinese government using Google’s service to spy on human rights

activists. In response, the Chinese Foreign Ministry made a general statement regarding Secretary of State Clinton's criticism. In the speech from the Chinese Foreign Ministry, the spokesperson reinforced the illegitimacy of cyber attacks according to China's Internet law, and emphasized that the Chinese government was committed to reducing online crimes. Furthermore, the spokesperson called on the United States government "to respect the truth and to stop using the so-called Internet freedom question to level baseless accusations" (Wong, 2010, para. 1).

On one hand, Google is a high-profile company that has been greatly successful in the global Internet market. On the other hand, China has the world's largest population which represents the largest potential Internet market. As a result, Google's actions are unusual because of China's market potential. While previous studies have indicated that aligning business goals with Chinese government policies is the strategy that most multinational companies have adopted in the Chinese market (e.g. Maynard and Tian, 2004; Chen, 2007), there are few cases of global companies that have chosen to fight the Chinese government. Therefore, it is important to examine how the two countries' newspapers covered this conflict between the U.S. democratic economic system and China's authoritative political system. Simply, the Google China Internet issue provides an excellent opportunity to study how macro-system factors in different countries influence the media framing of such issues.

The current study has three purposes: (1) to examine how Chinese and U.S. newspapers framed the Google China Internet issue, (2) to study how cultural factors, guided by existing research, influenced issue framing in the two countries' newspapers, and (3) to explore different dimensions of each frame as a function of newspaper.

Literature Review

Framing Theory

The framing concept has been widely studied in communication research. Most of these studies agreed that rather than an objective entity, the process of news production was a combination of social influences, media routines, organizational sociology, and journalists' ideology (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). In 1974, Erving Goffman used the idea of frame to indicate a "schemata of interpretation" that allowed individuals or groups "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences that rendered meaning and experiences (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). Based on this concept, an increasing number of research studies examined "frame" as a meaning of how individuals' interpretations of reality affected their perceptions and behaviors.

In social movement studies, some scholars (Gamson et al., 1996, p. 278; Snow et al., 1986, p. 464; Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 613) employed the verb "framing" as a meaning construction process to denote "an active, processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction".

In media studies, researchers focused on active selection of frame, thus treating framing as a more conscious process (D'Angelo, 2002; Tankard, 2001; Reese, 2001). According to Tankard et al., a frame is "the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration" (Tankard et al., 1991, p. 3). Another widely accepted definition of frame comes from Entman, as he suggested "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p.

52). Some scholars also suggested that the news media did more than create saliency (Hallahan, 1999; Scheufele, 2000). According to Scheufele, framing assumes “subtle changes in the description of a situation invoke interpretive schemas that influence the interpretation of incoming information” (Scheufele, 2000, p. 309).

While the framing process can be understood as unintentionally or intentionally, this study is based on Entman’s definition and treats framing as an intentional process, that is, media workers consciously make definitions or create salience on specific issues thus having a certain effect on how receivers process the news information.

A Retrospect to Previous Cross-National Studies of Framing

There have been a large number of cross-national studies that compared a communication phenomenon in two or more countries. In these studies, those phenomena have been found to vary in news reports based on different country’s characteristics. This indicates that systemic variables - political, social and cultural - at the national level provide causal explanations for the variations of observations between countries (Chang et al., 2009). Consequently, this effect has been reported consistently in comparative studies of the media coverage of two polarized media systems - China and the United States.

In fact, numerous scholars have compared how the Chinese and U.S. media systems framed issues. For example, Luther and Zhou examined news frames in both U.S. and Chinese newspapers’ coverage of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), and concluded that the number and type of frames used in the two media systems varied because of political and ideological environments (Luther and Zhou, 2005). Yang compared how Chinese and U.S.

newspapers framed the 1999 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air strike over Kosovo, and found that in international news reports, national interest outweighed other factors (Yang, 2003). Another study conducted by Peng (2008) compared newspapers' framing of anti-war protests in China, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Study results indicated that on the one hand, media coverage was generally confined within the political and social systems; on the other hand, the media contents were dependent on the specific political climate, public mood, and journalistic practices at particular historical moments.

Two similarities emerged from these studies: first, most comparative studies focused on a specific issue, which had some political or social implications from the international scope. Second, all studies in the area indicated that media coverage and media frames were influenced by political, social and cultural variables. Thus, the Google China Internet issue, which was widely covered by the media, is an excellent case to examine in regard to differences in how Chinese and U.S. newspapers frame issues.

Type of News Frame

Previous news content studies have identified different types of news frames. Neuman et al. (1992) demonstrated conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and attribution of responsibility as the most commonly used frames in U.S. news coverage. Based on this research, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) examined the prevalence of these five news frames in five national newspapers and television news stories surrounding the 1997 meeting of European heads of state. According to their definitions, the conflict frame emphasizes conflicts and disagreements between individuals and groups to capture audience interest. The human

interest frame brings a human face or an emotional angle to personalize an event with affection. The economic consequences frame reports on the economic impact an event will have on individuals or groups. The morality frame portrays issue in the context of moral prescriptions, and the attribution of responsibility frame encompasses discussion of responsibility attribution, for example, whom to blame for the action or event. The current study adopts these five frames.

Additionally, another important frame that could contribute to this study is news source, which also plays an important role in the framing process. Sources often provide journalists not only information but also influence how an issue is defined, thus they have an impact on controlling the media's information flow as well as biases (McQuail, 1992; Entman, 1993). Gitlin (1980) argued that sources preferred by media were allowed to influence media frames. When the media are choosing sources, some of them have a tendency to seek balance in their treatment of controversial issues (Terkildsen et al., 1998), as they always want to be perceived as presenting fair and independent platforms that allow a variety of opinions to be expressed. As a result, these media cite sources and quotations from two opposite sides of a controversy, which is called issue dualism (Terkildsen et al., 1998). Thus, in this study I examined six frames:

Conflict frame. The framing of conflicts, disagreements and criticisms that resulted from the Google China Internet issue;

Human interest frame. The framing of individuals and their feelings toward the Google China Internet issue;

Morality frame. The framing of ethical, moral judgments of the Google China Internet issue;

Economic consequences frame. The framing of the economic impact that resulted

from the Google China Internet issue;

Attribution of responsibility frame. The framing of who should be blamed and/or take responsibility for the Google China Internet issue.

Source frame. The framing of citing or quoting from sources in which the Google China Internet issue is mentioned.

Framing Determinant: Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions

News frames result from a "frame-building" process (Scheufele, 1999). In viewing mass media content as "a socially created product", Shoemaker and Reese (1996) developed a hierarchical model of determinants to influence media framing. As Figure 1 shows, this model indicates that individual media worker, i.e., personal attitude and value; media routine, i.e., news sources and conception of newsworthiness; organizational and interest group pressures, i.e., organizational endorsements; extra-media influences, i.e., economic factors, political factors, cultural factors; and ideological influences, from lowest to highest, have an impact on the media's frame building process.

[Figure 1 here]

Based on Shoemaker and Reese's conceptualization, various studies have examined the influence of specific factors on issue framing. For example, Lewis and Reese (2009) found that journalists themselves played a role in the frame building process, as they "transmitted" information into frame, "reified" the frame as concrete, and "naturalized" it as a taken-for-granted condition (Lewis and Reese, 2009, p. 85). Luther and Zhou examined the influence of political and ideological factors on U.S. and Chinese newspapers' coverage of SARS

(Luther and Zhou, 2005). Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions was introduced also by Zhou into a comparative analysis of news coverage of the Internet in China from four countries/districts newspapers: Hong Kong, Singapore, the United States and the United Kingdom (Zhou, 2008).

While all levels of framing determinants have been studied, the current research emphasizes one factor: culture. This factor is chosen for two reasons: first, as stated by Shoemaker and Reese (1996), the extra-media factors, i.e., economic factors, cultural factors, political factors and ideological factors, are supposed to have a stronger impact on newspapers' coverage than inner-media factors (individual media worker, media routine and organizational and interest group pressures). Therefore, in this study the relationship between framing determinant and framing presence is studied from an extra-media perspective. Second, as Hofstede defined, culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another (Hofstede, 1980). Hence from a broader view, culture comprises some social, political and ideological factors, more or less. Under these circumstances, culture is believed to be one representative determinant; therefore, Hofstede's five cultural dimensions are reintroduced in the current study:

Power Distance Index (PDI). PDI is the extent to which people accept unequal distributions of power in society and organizations (Hofstede, 2001). Societies with a high score on PDI are more tolerant of hierarchies (Fernandez et al., 1997), while low PDI societies are less tolerant of inequity. According to Hofstede (1980), China has a PDI of 80, U.S. has a PDI of 40 and the world's average score is 56.5. This means compared with U.S. society, China's society is much more accustomed to accepting unequal distribution of power, and is more likely to tolerate government using its power to censor a company's business.

Individualism (IDV). IDV means the extent to which people emphasize individualism and independence. Societies with a high score on IDV are expected to look after him/herself and his/her immediate family; thus the social ties between individuals are loose (Hofstede, 1980). Conversely, low IDV societies are more willing to integrate into collective groups, which provide protection in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (Hofstede, 1980). According to Hofstede (Hofstede, 1980), China has an IDV of 20, U.S. has an IDV of 91 and the world's average score is 50. This means compared to China, U.S. society is much more likely to emphasize individualism, thus is more willing to use laws, rules and regulations (Kim et al., 1994) to judge and to protect individual and corporate rights.

Zhou (2008) found the PDI and IDV scores together had a significant impact on newspapers presenting the conflict frame. Her research concluded that a society with higher PDI and IDV scores is more likely to present a conflict frame than a society with lower PDI and IDV score. However, it is important to acknowledge that according to Hofstede (1980), China has a higher PDI score and the United States has a lower IDV score. To explain it, Zhou (2008) discussed that from an interactive impact of both PDI and IDV, extremely high/low scores on IDV may outweigh medium high/low scores on PDI as a determinant factor. As such, the current study examines Zhou's discussion by formulating a research question:

RQ1: Which country's newspapers, China or the United States, will be more likely to present the conflict frame?

Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI). UAI indicates the extent to which people tolerate uncertainty and ambiguity. Societies with a high score on UAI are uncomfortable with uncertainty, ambiguity and unknown situations. Thus, they try to minimize the possibility of such

situations by strict laws and rules, safety and security measures (Hofstede, 1980). In contrast, societies with a low score on UAI are more tolerant of differing opinions (Hofstede, 1980). According to Hofstede (1980), China has a UAI of 40, U.S. has a UAI of 46 and the world's average score is 65. This means that to some extent U.S. society, compared with Chinese society, is more likely to accept different voices from activists and other interest groups. Zhou (2008) also found that a society with lower UAI score, compared with a society with a higher UAI score, is more likely to present a morality frame. Therefore, the following hypothesis was posed:

H1: Chinese newspapers, compared with U.S. newspapers, will be more likely to present the morality frame.

Long-Term Orientation (LTO). LTO is the extent to which people emphasize long-term goals and long-term rewards (Hofstede, 2001). Societies with a high score on LTO are committed to the value of long-term rewards, thus they emphasize thrift and perseverance for today. While good or evil depends on circumstances, people in a higher score LTO society think personal adaptability is important. In contrast, societies with a lower score on LTO do not reinforce the value of long-term rewards, and believe in absolutes about what is good and what is evil. According to Hofstede (1980), China has a LTO of 118, U.S. has a LTO of 29, and the world's average score is 48. This means to a large extent U.S. society, compared with Chinese society, is more likely to emphasize on short-term rewards and hold a uniform guideline on what is good and what is evil. Zhou (2008) found that newspapers in societies with lower LTO scores, compared to newspapers in societies with higher LTO scores, are more likely to present a human interest frame, but are less likely to present an economic consequences frame. Thus, the following hypotheses were posed:

H2: U.S. newspapers, compared with Chinese newspapers, will be more likely to present the human interest frame.

H3: U.S. newspapers, compared with Chinese newspapers, will be less likely to present the economic consequences frame.

Zhou (2008) also found that LTO scores together with PDI scores have a significant impact on newspapers presenting responsibility frame. She proposed that higher PDI and lower LTO societies tend to have a greater likelihood to present the attribution of responsibility frame. Again, it is important to acknowledge that according to Hofstede (1980) China has a higher PDI score and U.S. has a lower LTO score. Consequently, Zhou (2008) discussed that from an interactive impact of both PDI and LTO, extremely high/low scores on LTO may outweigh medium high/low scores on PDI as a determinant factor. As such, the current study examines Zhou's discussion by formulating a research question:

RQ2: Which country's newspapers, China or the United States, will be more likely to present the attribution of responsibility frame?

Masculinity (MAS). MAS is the extent to which gender roles influence social behavior. This dimension is less likely to have an influence on the Google China Internet issue, thus will not be addressed in this study.

Moreover, because no previous research explores the relationship between cultural dimension index and how newspapers use sources, the third research question is formulated:

RQ3: Which country's newspapers, China or the United States, will be more likely to present the source frame?

Not only did I compare the presence of six frames in the two countries' newspapers to

examine country difference, I also compared these six frames among the four newspapers to explore whether there are significant differences among these newspapers, therefore the following research questions are posed:

RQ4 (a): How do the four newspapers present the conflict frame differently?

RQ4 (b): How do the four newspapers present the human interest frame differently?

RQ4 (c): How do the four newspapers present the morality frame differently?

RQ4 (d): How do the four newspapers present the economic consequences frame differently?

RQ4 (e): How do the four newspapers present the attribution of responsibility frame differently?

RQ4 (f): How do the four newspapers present the source frame differently?

Method

Data Collection

To compare Chinese and U.S. news coverage of the Google China Internet issue, news stories were collected from four newspapers: the *People's Daily* and the *21st Century Business Herald*, the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*. These four newspapers were chosen because of their large daily circulation and their comparability.

Numerous research studies have identified the *New York Times* and the *People's Daily* as representative of the two countries' elite newspapers (Luther and Zhou, 2005; Peng, 2008). In other words, the contents of both papers have an influence on other media outlets in the respective country. More specifically, previous research indicated that the *New York Times* is a prestige newspaper in the United States (Merril, 1983), and it often sets the agenda for other U.S. news media (Luther and Zhou, 2005). The *People's Daily*, founded in 1948, is the official paper of the Chinese Communist Party. Similar to the manner in which the *New York Times* sets the agenda for other U.S. newspaper, other Chinese newspapers tend to stay away from violating the party's propaganda codes, thus they share similarities with the *People's Daily* when covering politically sensitive topics (Chen and Lee, 1998). Although there is also an English version of the *People's Daily*; only the Chinese edition is examined in this study, as the purpose is to consider news frames directed to the Chinese public.

Additionally, considering the Google China Internet issue has important economic implications, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *21st Century Business Herald* were examined because of their focus on economic and business news. The *Wall Street Journal* is another U.S. elite newspaper that has an influential impact on economy and business worldwide (Xie, 2007). Correspondingly,

the *21st Century Business Herald* is considered as China's *Wall Street Journal* by its peer newspapers. According to its official website¹, this Chinese-language international daily newspaper has a daily circulation of more than 762,000 as well as 2,600,000 Chinese elite readers, making it the most influential mainstream financial and economic newspaper in China. Moreover, the *21st Century Business Herald* belongs to Nanfang Press Corporation, which is one of the most successful and influential market-oriented media corporations in China (Yang, 2009).

The time frame examined was from January 12, 2010 to June 30, 2010, which corresponds with the issue's news life cycle. The *New York Times* news articles were collected via the Lexis-Nexis database search, using the key words "Google" and "China", and resulted in 111 articles. News articles from the *Wall Street Journal* were collected via the ProQuest database search, using the key words "Google" and "China," and resulted in 116 articles. The *People's Daily* and the *21st Century Business Herald* news articles were collected via the China Core Newspapers Full-text Database search, using the key words "Google"(谷歌) and "China"(中国) in Chinese, and resulted in 51 articles from the *People's Daily* and 57 articles from the *21st Century Business Herald*.

For all four newspapers, articles were discarded when the keywords were mentioned but were unrelated to the Google China Internet issue. Based on the relatively small size of results, a census of the articles was examined.

Framing Measures

To measure the extent to which certain frames emerged in news reports, Semetko &

¹ <http://en.21cbh.com/corp/about/>

Valkenburg's (2000) developed a series of twenty questions to measure the five frames (conflict, attribution of responsibility, human interest, morality and economic consequences). Since then, the questions have been widely used in research studies (Beaudoin, 2007). As a result, Semetko & Valkenburg's questions were used to inform this study (Appendix A). However, as their questions do not completely represent all news content related to the Google China Internet issue, the questions were revised to include related questions. The end result was 23 questions for the U.S. newspapers and 25 questions for the Chinese newspapers (Appendix B). Furthermore, to establish an in-depth view of the newspapers' coverage of the six frames, these 23/25 questions were categorized into dimensions that represent each frame:

The conflict frame has four dimensions:

- ***Disagreement***: whether one party/group/country, (e.g., Chinese government) disagrees with another party/group/country's opinion or statement, (e.g., Secretary Hillary Clinton's speech of information freedom).
- ***Reproach***: whether one party/group/country, (e.g., a letter to the *New York Times* within an American citizen's opinion) criticizes another party/group/country's opinion or behavior (e.g. Chinese government's handling of the Internet censorship).
- ***Censorship***: whether the article mentions China's censorship policy.
- ***Non-censorship***: whether the article mentions conflicts or clashes regarding this issue but having nothing to do with China's censorship policy, e.g., China-U.S. relations, Google's competence with local Chinese search engines.

The morality frame has six dimensions:

- ***China right:*** whether the article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating China/Chinese government is right on this issue.
- ***China wrong:*** whether the article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating China/Chinese government is wrong on this issue.
- ***Google right:*** whether the article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating Google is right on this issue.
- ***Google wrong:*** whether the article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating Google is wrong on this issue.
- ***U.S. government wrong:*** whether the article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating U.S. government is wrong on this issue.
- ***U.S. media wrong:*** whether the article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating U.S. media is wrong on this issue.

The economic consequences frame has four dimensions:

- ***Google's situation before this issue:*** whether the article describes Google's economic situation in China (e.g., Google's annual revenue, Google's competence with local companies) before this issue.
- ***Google's loss/gain:*** whether the article describes Google's financial loss or gain in China because of the issue.
- ***Others' loss/gain:*** whether the article describes others companies' financial loss or gain in China because of the issue.
- ***The economic implication of this issue:*** whether the article describes economic

implications of the issue (e.g. the influence of this issue on other multinational companies' operation in China).

The attribution of responsibility frame has two dimensions:

- ***China's responsibility:*** whether the article indicates or cites any quotation stating that Chinese government should be responsible for this issue.
- ***Google's responsibility:*** whether the article indicates or cites any quotation stating that Google should be responsible for this issue.

The human interest frame has three dimensions:

- ***Human example:*** whether the article gives examples from individuals (e.g. opinion from individuals to the issue).
- ***Human feeling:*** whether the article portrays individuals' feelings such as angry, surprise.
- ***Human impact:*** whether the article portrays the impact of this issue on people's daily life.

The source frame has six dimensions:

- ***Quotations from both Chinese government and Google/U.S. government:*** whether the article cites official announcements from both Chinese government and Google/U.S. government.
- ***Quotations from the Chinese government:*** whether the article cites official

announcements from the Chinese government.

- ***Quotations from Google/the U.S. government:*** whether the article cites official announcements from Google/ the U.S. government.
- ***Quotations from two third-party organizations:*** whether the article cites two third-party organizations or individuals with opposite opinions on this issue.
- ***Quotations from China's third-party organizations or individuals:*** whether the article cites China's third-party organizations or individuals' comments on this issue.
- ***Quotations from U.S. third-party organizations or individuals:*** whether the article cites U.S. third-party organizations or individuals' comments on this issue.

Inter-coder Reliability

After the dimensions were finalized, two trained coders were asked to establish inter-coder reliability. Two independent coders with Chinese and English bilingual backgrounds were trained to code approximate 20% of the articles, 24 from the *New York Times/Wall Street Journal*, 12 from the *People's Daily/21st Century Business Herald*. The reliability coefficients were highly reliable for both Holsti's = 0.993 and Scott's pi = 0.972².

Analysis Method

The statistical methods adopted to analyze the data were multi-dimensional chi-square test

²The reliability coefficients for conflict frame are Holsti's = 0.993 and Scott's pi = 0.986.

The reliability coefficients for morality frame are Holsti's = 0.985 and Scott's pi = 0.903.

The reliability coefficients for economic consequences frame are Holsti's = 0.997 and Scott's pi = 0.985.

The reliability coefficients for attribution of responsibility frame are Holsti's = 0.993 and Scott's pi = 0.851.

The reliability coefficients for human interest frame are Holsti's = 0.991 and Scott's pi = 0.914.

The reliability coefficients for source frame are Holsti's = 1 and Scott's pi = 1.

and multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). SPSS 18.0 was used.

Multi-dimensional chi-square test is a statistical method used to test differences between independent groups (Brace, Kemp & Snelgar, 2009). It was applied in this research to determine whether there would be a difference between the frames presented by the two countries' newspapers.

MANOVA is a statistical method used when there are multiple independent variables (Stevens, 2002). In the current research, MANOVA is applied to test (1) if changes in the independent variables (four newspapers) have significant effects on the dependent variables (frame presence), and (2) what interactions exist among the independent variables (four newspapers). To examine these interactions, Scheffe post-hoc comparisons were conducted.

Results

This research examined frames regarding the Google China Internet issue presented in four newspapers: the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* from the United States, the *People's Daily* and *21st Century Business Herald* from China. The following news frames were examined: conflict frame, morality frame, economic consequences frame, attribution of responsibility frame, human interest frame, and source frame.

The results are broke down into three sections: (1) comparison of frame presence by country; (2) comparison of frame presence as a function of newspaper; and (3) comparison of dimensions within each frame by newspapers. The structural relationships between each section are showed in Figure 2.

[Figure 2 here]

In each of these three sections, three measures were used to examine the difference between the newspapers:

(1) The mean score of presence times of each frame. This measure shows which country/newspaper was more likely to present a certain frame;

(2) The significant level. This measure addresses whether or not there is a statistically significant difference in regard to how the two countries/four newspapers used the six frames;

(3) The percentage of times a frame was mentioned in a certain newspaper's coverage. This measure explores which frame was the primary focus and which frame was the least focus of a certain newspaper.

Comparison of Frame Presence by Country

Table 1 summarizes the mean score, the standard deviation and the significant level when comparing frame presence by country.

[Table 1 here]

RQ1 asked which country's newspapers would be more likely to present the conflict frame. As Table 1 shows, U.S. newspapers ($n=227$, 100%, $M=2.25$, $SD=.961$) used conflict frame more often than Chinese newspapers ($n=108$, 100%, $M=1.77$, $SD=.882$)³. The difference was statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=19.443$, $p=.000$). Therefore, U.S. newspapers were more likely to present the conflict frame than Chinese newspapers.

H1 assumed Chinese newspapers would be more likely to present the morality frame than U.S. newspapers. As Table 1 shows, U.S. newspapers ($n=74$, 32.6%, $M=.49$, $SD=.806$) adopted the morality frame more often than Chinese newspapers ($n=22$, 20.37%, $M=.39$, $SD=.915$)⁴. However, the difference between the two countries' newspapers was not statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=1.126$, $p=.289$). H1 was not supported.

H2 hypothesized that U.S. newspapers would be more likely to present the human interest frame than Chinese newspapers. As Table 1 exhibits, U.S. newspapers ($n=29$, 12.78%, $M=.27$, $SD=.767$) applied the human interest frame more often than Chinese newspapers ($n=6$, 5.56%, $M=.06$, $SD=.230$)⁵. The difference between the two countries' newspapers was statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=8.315$, $p=.004$). H2 was supported.

H3 speculated that U.S. newspapers would be more likely to present the economic

³ The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted conflict frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for conflict frame is from 0 to 4.

⁴ The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted morality frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for morality frame is from 0 to 6.

⁵ The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted human interest frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for human interest frame is from 0 to 3.

consequences frame than Chinese newspapers. As Table 1 displays, U.S. newspapers ($n=82$, 36.12%, $M=.61$, $SD=.968$) employed the economic consequences frame less often than the Chinese newspapers ($n=64$, 59.26%, $M=.87$, $SD=.958$)⁶. The difference between the two countries' newspapers was statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=5.233$, $p=.023$). H3 was supported.

RQ2 asked which country's newspapers would be more likely to present the attribution of responsibility frame. As Table 1 shows, U.S. newspapers ($n=15$, 6.61%, $M=.07$, $SD=.295$) used the attribution of responsibility frame more often than Chinese newspapers ($n=5$, 4.63%, $M=.05$, $SD=.211$)⁷. However, the difference was not statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=.613$, $p=.368$).

RQ3 asked which country's newspapers would be more likely to present the source frame. As Table 1 exhibits, U.S. newspapers ($n=108$, 47.58%, $M=1.03$, $SD=1.303$) presented the source frame more often than Chinese newspapers ($n=31$, 28.7%, $M=.42$, $SD=0.810$)⁸. The difference was statistically significant ($\chi^2(1)=19.954$, $p=.000$). The U.S. newspapers were more likely to present the source frame than Chinese newspapers.

Table 2 shows the percentage of times a frame was mentioned in a certain newspaper's coverage.

[Table 2 here]

The conflict frame was the primary subject of given stories in both Chinese (45.76%, $n=108$) and U.S. (42.43%, $n=227$) newspapers in their respective frame totals (U.S.: $N=535$ and Chinese: $N=236$). In contrast, the human interest frame (U.S.: 5.42%, $n=29$ and Chinese: 2.54%,

⁶ The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted economic consequences frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for economic consequences frame is from 0 to 4.

⁷ The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted attribution of responsibility frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for attribution of responsibility frame is from 0 to 2.

⁸ The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted source frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for source frame is from 0 to 4.

$n=6$) and the attribution of responsibility frame (U.S.: 2.8%, $n=15$ and Chinese: 2.12%, $n=5$) were the frames addressed least often for both countries' newspapers. For the second most frequently adopted frame, a higher percentage of the Chinese newspapers articles (27.12%, $n=64$) featured the economic consequences frame, followed by the source frame (13.14%, $n=22$). By comparison, the U.S. newspapers used the source frame second most frequently (20.19%, $n=74$), followed by the economic consequences frame (15.33%, $n=82$).

Comparison of Frame Presence by Newspaper

After comparing how the newspapers framed the Google China Internet issue as a function of country, several research questions were posed to examine the differences of frame presence by newspaper. Table 3 summarizes the mean score, the standard deviation and the significant level when comparing frame presence as a function of newspaper.

[Table 3 here]

In terms of the conflict frame, while the *New York Times* employed this frame most often ($n=111$, 100%, $M=2.32$, $SD=.991$), the *21st Century Business Herald* employed it least often ($n=57$, 100%, $M=1.58$, $SD=.596$)⁹. There was a statistically significant difference in how the four newspapers used the conflict frame ($F(3,331)=8.574$, $p=.000$).

As for the morality frame, the *People's Daily* used this frame most often ($n=19$, 37.25%, $M=.71$, $SD=1.154$). In contrast, the *21st Century Business Herald* used it least often ($n=3$, 5.26%, $M=.11$, $SD=.489$)¹⁰. There was a statistically significant difference in terms of how the four

⁹ The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted conflict frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for conflict frame is from 0 to 4.

¹⁰ The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted morality frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for morality frame is from 0 to 6.

newspapers used the morality frame ($F(3,331)=5.885, p=.001$).

In regard to the economic consequences frame, the *21st Century Business Herald* presented this frame most often ($n=52, 91.23\%, M=1.19, SD=.718$). Correspondingly, the *New York Times* presented it least often ($n=35, 31.53\%, M=.42, SD=.695$)¹¹. There was a statistically significant difference in terms of how the four newspapers used the economic consequences frame ($F(3,331)=9.591, p=.000$).

For the attribution of responsibility frame, the *New York Times* adopted this frame most often ($n=9, 8.11\%, M=.09, SD=.318$), while the *21st Century Business Herald* adopted it least often ($n=2, 3.51\%, M=.04, SD=.186$)¹². However, the difference of how the four newspapers used the attribution of responsibility frame was not statistically significant ($F(3,331)=.565, p=.638$).

For the human interest frame, the *21st Century Business Herald* presented this frame least often ($n=3, 5.26\%, M=.05, SD=.225$). In contrast, the *Wall Street Journal* presented it most often ($n=14, 12.07\%, M=.28, SD=.776$)¹³. There was a statistically significant difference in how the four newspapers used the human interest frame ($F(3,331)=2.757, p=.42$).

In so far as the source frame, the *Wall Street Journal* employed this the most often ($n=58, 50\%, M=1.07, SD=1.330$), while the *21st Century Business Herald* employed this frame least often ($n=12, 21.05\%, M=.32, SD=.805$)¹⁴. It was statistically significant different in regard to how the four newspapers used the source frame ($F(3,331)=6.570, p=.000$).

¹¹ The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted economic consequences frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for economic consequences frame is from 0 to 4.

¹² The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted attribution of responsibility frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for attribution of responsibility frame is from 0 to 2.

¹³ The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted human interest frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for human interest frame is from 0 to 3.

¹⁴ The percent represents the numbers of article which adopted source frame in total article number. The measurement scale of mean score for source frame is from 0 to 4.

Table 4 shows the numbers of times the four newspapers presented each of the six frames and their percentages.

[Table 4 here]

The total numbers of times each newspaper presented all six frames were as follow: the *New York Times* (N=225), the *Wall Street Journal* (N=270), the *People's Daily* (N=107) and the *21st Century Business Herald* (N=129). In all four newspapers, the conflict frame was the primary subject of given stories (NYT: 41.89%, $n=111$; WSJ: 42.96%, $n=116$; PD: 47.66%, $n=51$; 21C: 44.19%, $n=57$). In contrast, the human interest frame (NYT: 5.66%, $n=15$; WSJ: 5.19%, $n=14$; PD: 2.8%, $n=3$; 21C: 2.33%, $n=3$) and the attribution of responsibility frame (NYT: 3.4%, $n=9$; WSJ: 2.22%, $n=6$; PD: 2.8%, $n=3$; 21C: 1.55%, $n=2$) were the two least addressed frames in four newspapers. The difference among the newspapers occurred in the second, third and fourth most frequently adopted frames, that is, the prominence of the source frame, the morality frame and the economic consequences frame. In particular, The *New York Times* and the *People's Daily* tended to have similar proportions in adopting these three frames, as their source percents (NYT: 18.86%, $n=50$; PD: 17.77%, $n=19$) were greater than the morality percents (NYT: 16.98%, $n=45$; PD: 17.76%, $n=19$), and the morality percents were greater than the economic consequences percents (NYT: 13.21%, $n=35$; PD: 11.21%, $n=12$). For the two economic newspapers, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *21st Century Business Herald* paid least attention to the morality frame (WSJ: 10.74%, $n=29$; 21C: 2.33%, $n=3$). More specifically, the *Wall Street Journal's* second most frequently reported frame was source (21.48%, $n=58$), followed by economic consequences (17.41%, $n=47$). By comparison, the *21st Century Business Herald's* second most frequently reported frame was economic consequences (40.31%, $n=52$), followed by source (9.29%, $n=12$).

Finally, the Scheffe post-hoc scores were computed to examine relationships among the four newspapers. The test revealed significant differences ($p < 0.05$) between nine groups: two groups for the conflict frame and the morality frame respectively, three groups for the economic consequences frame, and two groups for the source frame.

[Table 5 here]

As Table 5 displays, the *21st Century Business Herald's* coverage of the issue tended to differ from the other three newspapers' coverage.

Newspapers' Use of Individual Dimensions within Frames

Newspapers' use of individual dimensions within the conflict frame. Table 6 provides details in terms of each newspaper's use of the dimensions within the conflict frame.

In regard to percentage comparison, the largest difference occurred between the *New York Times* and the *21st Century Business Herald*. The *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=257$) used the "reproach" (8.95%, $n=23$) and "censorship" (31.52%, $n=81$) dimensions most often. In contrast, the *21st Century Business Herald* ($N_{21CBH}=90$) used these two dimensions least often (reproach, 2.22%, $n=2$; censorship, 3.33%, $n=3$).

On the other hand, the *21st Century Business Herald* had the largest percentage in presenting the "disagreement" (63.33%, $n=57$) and "non-censorship" (31.11%, $n=28$) dimensions. However, the *New York Times* had the smallest percentage in presenting these two dimensions (43.19% for "disagreement", $n=111$; and 16.34% for "non-censorship", $n=42$).

Moreover, Table 6 summarizes row totals which show the total numbers of times the four newspapers addressed a certain dimension within the conflict frame ($N=702$). It is obvious that

the first dimension, “disagreement” between two countries is the most prominent dimension ($n=335$). In addition, while the U.S. newspapers presented more “censorship” dimension, Chinese newspapers presented more dimension of “non-censorship”.

Newspapers’ use of individual dimensions within the morality frame. Table 7 provides details in terms of how the individual dimensions within the morality frame were applied by the each newspaper:

For the first dimension, “China right”, the *People’s Daily* ($N_{PD}=36$) presented this dimension most often (22.22%, $n=8$) while the *Wall Street Journal* ($N_{WSJ}=48$) adopted this dimension least often (12.5%, $n=6$).

For the second dimension, “China wrong”, both the *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=64$) and the *Wall Street Journal* ($N_{WSJ}=48$) had the largest percentages (both 31.25%, $n_{NYT}=20$ and $n_{WSJ}=15$) to adopt it. In contrast, the two Chinese newspapers seldom used this dimension, for only 5.56% ($n=2$) of reports from *People’s Daily* ($N_{PD}=36$).

For the third dimension, “Google right”, again, the two U.S. newspapers, the *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=64$) and the *Wall Street Journal* ($N_{WSJ}=48$) presented this dimension most often (43.75%, $n=28$ and 41.67%, $n=20$). In contrast, no Chinese newspaper adopted this dimension.

In regard to the fourth dimension, “Google wrong”, the most significant difference occurred between the *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=64$) and the *21st Century Business Herald* ($N_{21CBH}=6$), while the former one had the smallest percentage (6.25%, $n=4$) to employ it and the latter one had the largest percentage (50%. $n=3$) to employ it.

As of the fifth dimension, whether “U.S. government is wrong”, both the *People’s Daily*

($N_{PD}=36$) and the *21st Century Business Herald* ($N_{21CBH}=6$) presented this dimension most often (27.78%, $n=10$ and 33.33%, $n=2$). However, no U.S. newspaper adopted it.

For the sixth dimension, “U.S. media wrong”, only part of the *People’s Daily’s* ($N_{PD}=36$) reports (8.33%, $n=3$) mentioned it.

Newspapers’ use of individual dimensions within the economic consequences frame. Table 8 shows how the individual dimensions within the economic consequences frame were employed by the each newspaper:

For the first two dimensions, “Google’s situation before this issue” and “Google’s lose or gain”, the most significant differences occurred between the *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=47$) and the *21st Century Business Herald* ($N_{21CBH}=68$). The *New York Times* (25.53%, $n=12$ and 36.17%, $n=17$) employed these two dimensions most often, while the *21st Century Business Herald* (8.82%, $n=6$ and 14.71%, $n=10$) employed these two dimensions least often.

For the third dimension, “others’ lose or gain”, the most significant difference occurred between the *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=47$) and the *21st Century Business Herald* ($N_{21CBH}=68$). The former one has the smallest percentage (23.4%, $n=11$) to present it, and the latter one has the largest (69.12%, $n=47$).

In terms of the fourth dimension “the economic implication of this issue”, the most significant difference occurred between the *People’s Daily* ($N_{PD}=26$) and the *21st Century Business Herald* ($N_{21CBH}=68$). The former one had the largest percentage (19.23%, $n=5$) to present it, and the latter one had the smallest (7.35%, $n=5$).

In addition, because of the *21st Century Business Herald’s* extremely large coverage of the

third dimension “others’ lose or gain”, this dimension is the most prominent one ($n=107$) among all these four dimensions ($N=233$). Also, it is important to acknowledge that while the *21st Century Business Herald* had the highest frequency of presenting the economic consequences frame, this Chinese economic newspaper had the least percentage of articles when addressing three other dimensions except for the “others’ lose or gain” dimension.

Newspapers’ use of individual dimensions within the attribution of responsibility frame. Table 9 exhibits how the individual dimensions within the attribution of responsibility frame were employed by the each newspaper:

For the first dimension “China’s responsibility”, the two U.S. newspapers, the *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=10$) and the *Wall Street Journal* ($N_{WSJ}=7$) adopted it most often (80%, $n=8$ and 85.71%, $n=6$). In contrast, no Chinese newspaper agreed with it.

For the second dimension “Google’s responsibility”, reports from the *People’s Daily* ($N_{PD}=3$) and *21st Century Business Herald* ($N_{21CBH}=2$) presented it most often (100%, $n=3$ and 100%, $n=2$) while only a small part of reports (20%, $n_{NYT}=2$ and 14.29%, $n_{WSJ}=1$) from U.S. newspapers agreed with it.

Newspapers’ use of individual dimensions within the human interest frame. Table 10 provides details regarding how the individual dimensions within the human interest frame were used by the each newspaper:

For the first dimension “human example”, only the *New York Times* (43.33%, $n=13$, $N_{NYT}=30$) and the *Wall Street Journal* (40.63%, $n=13$, $N_{WSJ}=32$) had articles that dealt with this

dimension.

For the second dimension “human feeling”, the *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=30$) had the largest percentage (33.33%, $n=10$) of using it. By comparison, reports from the *21st Century Business Herald* never used this dimension.

As of the third dimension “human impact”, the *21st Century Business Herald* used this dimension most often. (100%, $n=3$, $N_{21CBH}=3$). Conversely, the *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=30$) used it least often (23.33%, $n=7$).

Also, it is important to acknowledge that compared with Chinese newspapers, not only were U.S. newspapers more likely to adopt the human interest frame, the U.S. newspapers also presented this frame from various ways, e.g., gave vivid human examples and portrayed people’s feeling toward the issue. Correspondingly, the Chinese newspapers more often described the impact of the Google China Internet issue on people’s daily life generally.

Newspapers’ use of individual dimensions within the source frame. Table 11 provides details in terms of how the individual dimensions within the source frame were applied by each newspaper:

For the first dimension “quotations from both Chinese government and Google/the U.S. government”, the *People’s Daily* ($N_{PD}=31$) had the smallest percentage (6.45%, $n=2$) of presenting this dimension, while the *Wall Street Journal* ($N_{WSJ}=161$) had the largest (16.77%, $n=27$).

For the second dimension “quotations from the Chinese government”, the *People’s Daily* ($N_{PD}=31$) used it most often (29.03%, $n=9$). In contrast, the *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=138$) adopted it least often (16.67%, $n=23$).

For the third dimension “quotations from Google/the U.S. government”, the *Wall Street Journal* ($N_{WSJ}=161$) had the largest percentage (28.57%, $n=46$) of presenting it, while the *21st Century Business Herald* ($N_{21CBH}=22$) had the least percentage (9.09%, $n=2$).

In regard to the fourth dimension “quotations from two third-party organizations”, the most significant difference occurred between the *Wall Street Journal* ($N_{WSJ}=161$) and the *21st Century Business Herald* ($N_{21CBH}=22$). The former one used this dimension least often (6.21%, $n=10$) and the latter one used it most often (9.09%, $n=2$).

As of the fifth dimension “quotations from China’s third-party organizations”, the *21st Century Business Herald* ($N_{21CBH}=22$) had the largest percentage (36.36%, $n=8$) of using it, while the *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=138$) had the smallest (10.87%, $n=15$).

For the sixth dimension “quotations from U.S. third-party organizations”, the *New York Times* ($N_{NYT}=138$) had the largest percentage (26.09%, $n=36$) of presenting this dimension. Conversely, the *21st Century Business Herald* ($N_{21CBH}=22$) had the smallest (13.64%, $n=3$).

Discussion

The primary purpose of the current study is to examine Chinese and U.S. newspapers' differences of framing, and the cultural factors influencing the differences, in regard to the Google China Internet issue. A causal relationship between cultural factors and the difference of presenting the six frames was inferred from a previous study conducted by Zhou in 2008. Zhou explored how seven frames, i.e., factual, conflict, morality, attribution of responsibility, economic consequences, human interest, and leadership, were presented in news reports from four countries/districts: Hong Kong, Singapore, the United States, and the United Kingdom within the context of the Internet in China. The relationship between Hofstede's cultural dimensions and the presence of these seven frames was addressed in her study. Her findings showed that for the presence of each frame, one or two cultural dimensions have significant influence, and "when more than one cultural dimension were significantly involved, the presence of a given type of news frame depended to a great degree on the interaction between the dimensions involved" (Zhou, 2008, p. 132). Therefore, the findings from the current research support Zhou's (2008) findings from various perspectives.

In particular, the current study found that the U.S. newspapers, compared with the Chinese newspapers, were more likely to present the human interest frame and less likely to employ the economic consequences frame. Therefore, this finding supports Zhou's (2008) result, as the cultural dimension of *Long-/Short-Term Orientation* (LTO) plays a significant role in the presence of these two types of news frames. The LTO score¹⁵ has a positive effect on the presence of the economic consequences frame, as a society with a higher LTO score such as

¹⁵ According to Hofstede (1998), China has a LTO score of 118 and the United States has a LTO score of 29.

China, featured this frame more often. In addition, the LTO score has a negative effect on the presence of the human interest frame, as a society with a lower LTO score such as the United States, featured this frame more often.

Additionally, the current study found that compared with the Chinese newspapers, the U.S. newspapers were more likely to adopt the conflict frame. This shows that *Individualism/Collectivism* dimension (IDV) plays the most important role in the presence of the conflict frame. While Zhou (2008) proposed the presence of the conflict frame depended on the interaction between both the PDI¹⁶ and the IDV¹⁷, she found that a society with higher PDI and IDV scores was more likely to present a conflict frame than a society with lower PDI and IDV scores. But if only PDI is considered, it is clear that the United States has a lower score than China (Hofstede, 1998), thus the causal relationship between the PDI score and the presence of conflict frame does not make sense in the current study. However, if IDV is also considered, it is reasonable that the U.S. newspapers were more likely to adopt the conflict frame, as the United States has a higher IDV score than China, and the impact from different IDV scores between the two countries is much more significant than the impact from different PDI scores. As a result, when presenting the conflict frame, extremely high/low scores on IDV may outweigh medium high/low scores on PDI as a determinant factor.

National Interest as a Significant Determinant

The current study also explored the frequency in which each newspaper featured the individual dimensions of each frame, i.e., conflict, morality, economic consequences, attribution

¹⁶ According to Hofstede (1998), China has a PDI score of 80 and the United States has a PDI score of 40.

¹⁷ According to Hofstede (1998), China has a IDV score of 20 and the United States has a IDV score of 91.

of responsibility, human interest and source. In terms of the conflict frame, the U.S. newspapers focused mainly on China's Internet censorship and content control, which is a standard controversial agenda item for the western media (Zhou, 2008). In contrast, compared with the U.S. newspapers, the Chinese newspapers addressed the censorship policy much less frequently. Instead they focused on other conflicts such as U.S.-China relation and the disagreement between Google and other multinational companies. Even when the policy was mentioned, the frame prevalence was always positive with all Chinese reports supporting the policy for the country's national interest.

This finding can be explained by the *Power Distance Index* (PDI) and *Individualism vs. Collectivism* (IDV) cultural dimensions. China has a higher PDI score, which means that Chinese people are more tolerant of hierarchy and inequity. Thus the Chinese government has more power to control media content. Besides, China has a lower score on IDV, which means that the Chinese culture is more collective and it emphasizes less on individualism. Therefore Chinese public opinion is represented by the single message given by the government in support of the censorship policy.

In regard to the morality, economic consequences, and attribution of responsibility frames, both countries' newspapers took a clear stand for their own national interests. For example, in presenting the morality and the attribution of responsibility frames, a large number of reports from each country's newspapers blamed the other side for the Google China Internet issue. Moreover, in presenting the economic consequences frame, the U.S. newspapers tended to emphasize Google's economic situation both before and after the issue. In contrast, the Chinese newspapers tended to focus mainly on economic loss or gain of other Chinese companies

because of the issue.

The current study found no significant differences in employing the morality frame and the attribution of responsibility frame between the two countries. However, the comparisons of individual dimensions within the morality, economic consequences, attribution of responsibility and conflict frames indicate that in the same time of reporting the reality of the issue, both of the two countries' newspapers selected to report, as well as gave prominence to aspects which supported their own countries' worldview. Thus, national interests also played an important role in framing the Google China Internet issue.

The Development of Chinese Media Industry

Numerous studies have compared framing differences as a function of country. However, minimal research has compared the difference between newspapers within a country. Therefore, the current study examines individual newspapers as an independent variable.

The Scheffe Post-hoc test shows differences among the four newspapers examined. The *21st Century Business Herald* was noticeably different from the two U.S. newspapers. Moreover, this Chinese economic newspaper was also strikingly different from the other Chinese newspaper the *People's Daily*, whose manner of framing news was much more similar to the *New York Times* except for aspects involving national interests. Besides cultural differences between two countries, this can be explained by the development of Chinese media industry.

China has given the world an impression of strict media manipulation which is undeniable. In the middle of the Twentieth Century (1960-1970), all newspapers, TV and radio stations were owned by the state-run media agency and outlets that constrained the availability of information

in China. Nevertheless, with the development of the market economy, the trend of decentralization began to challenge China's traditional media system. Sometimes the central government has had to rely on local authorities to implement political control. Therefore, operating in smaller local departments and agencies rather than in central ministries was allowed. In such a condition, decentralization became an inclination for those smaller local departments and agencies (Wu, 2000). Throughout the history, China's Communist Party has operated a morning newspaper to emphasize party decrees, and because of financial pressure, an evening paper to provide soft news and entertainment. These “evening newspapers” sprung up quickly in at least 20 urban areas between 1994 and 1998, and gradually the difference between “morning” and “evening” blurred. This situation produced specific topical-focused newspapers such as the *21st Century Business Herald*, which explores China’s rapidly developing economy, but has limitations in reporting when certain political taboos are concerned. This generates a large difference for newspapers like the *21st Century Business Herald* from traditional state-owned newspapers, such as the *People’s Daily*.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) suggested a hierarchical model of determinants that influence how the media frame issues. This model indicates that the individual media worker, media routine, organizational and interest group pressures, extra-media influences, and ideological influences, from the lowest to the highest, have an impact on the media’s frame building process. Although the current study focuses primarily on extra-media factors such as the culture and political environments, the striking difference between the *21st Century Business Herald* and other three newspapers demonstrates that Shoemaker and Reese’s model of framing does not necessarily hold true in the Chinese media environment. In presenting the Google China

Internet issue, media routine and organizational pressures may outweigh cultural and political factors' impact on news frames. The differences between the *21st Century Business Herald* and the other three newspapers provide insight in this regard.

A Focus on Source Frame

Source is argued to be an important factor that influences the frame building process (Gintlin, 1980). Some media representatives attempt to seek balance in using sources when reporting controversial issues (Terkildsen et al., 1998). Yang (2009) conducted research to study the source used in reporting the 2003 SARS crisis by Chinese and U.S. newspapers. In her research, she concluded that China's political party media significantly used fewer sources than U.S. market-oriented media. The current study supports Yang's finding. The U.S. newspapers, compared with the Chinese newspapers, presented significantly more source frames in framing the Google China Internet issue. This could be explained by the *Uncertainty Avoidance Index* (UAI) dimension. Simply, The United States has a higher UAI score; therefore, U.S. citizens are less tolerant of uncertainty than are Chinese citizens, thus they have a high requirement on where are information coming from. This fact results in more source frames and issue dualism featured in U.S. newspapers.

According to Yang (2009), political party media significantly used fewer sources than market-oriented media. However, while the *21st Century Business Herald* is more likely to be a market-oriented newspaper and *People's Daily* is more representative of Chinese political party newspaper, it is important to acknowledge that the *People's Daily* presented slightly more source frames than the *21st Century Business Herald*. This is a conflict with Yang's finding, and it could be

explained by the comparison of each individual dimensions within the source frame. Although the *21st Century Business Herald* used Chinese third-party sources most often, it fell far behind the *People's Daily* for using governmental sources. Thus the difference can be seen clearly that while government source dominate in party newspapers such as the *People's Daily*, the market-oriented newspapers such as the *21st Century Business Herald* are relying more on non-governmental sources such as quotes and comments from third-party organizations or individuals.

Furthermore, U.S. newspapers adopted significantly more issue-dualism than Chinese newspapers when citing from both sides governmental sources. But the difference is not that significant when comparing the two countries' newspapers citing from both sides third-parties sources. This shows that compared with the Chinese newspapers, the U.S. newspapers attempted to seek more balance when citing government and official sources, which may indicate U.S. newspapers' attempt to be perceived as objective media and build a more candid image in front of the public. However, when citing non-government and other sources, the difference between the two countries' newspapers is minimal, which may due to the accessibility of the information sources.

Conclusion

Guided by existing research, the current study examined Chinese and U.S. newspapers framing differences as a function of cultural factors in regard to the China Google Internet issue. As a result, the study supports the influences on issues framing of cultural factors from previous studies.

Besides difference of framing between two countries, the current study explored how different countries/newspapers framed the Google China Internet issue, by studying each dimensions within the six frames in details. Study results do not support Shoemaker and Reese's model of framing determinant (1996). In presenting the Google China issue, media routine, organizational pressure, and national interests together had an impact on news framing. This finding suggests that the inner-media factors may outweigh the extra-media factors and may explain differences found between the *21st Century Business Herald* and other three newspapers.

Moreover, sources were studied as a frame type in this research. The result shows that there is a significant difference in regard to sources used between the Chinese and the U.S. newspapers. The U.S. newspapers featured sources much more often. Furthermore, between the two Chinese newspapers, it is clear that while government sources dominated in the political party newspaper, the *People's Daily*, the market-oriented newspaper, i.e., *21st Century Business Herald* relied heavily on non-governmental sources.

Study Limitations and Future Research

Rather than examine the exact effects of cultural dimensions on framing the Google China Internet issue, the current study inferred the result from a previous study conducted by Zhou (2008). As a result, the current study has two limitations:

First, although most of Zhou's findings are supported, there are still a few points that need further exploration, e.g., the relationship between Hofstede's cultural dimensions and how each country presented the morality frame and the attribution of responsibility frame (the significant level of the difference of presenting these two frame is low between the United States and China). This is caused by the relatively minimal coverage of these two frames because of studying the particular case of the Google China issue. Future research can focus on a more general topic reported by media rather than a specific case.

Moreover, the *Uncertainty Avoidance* cultural dimension was proposed to have little influence on the other three frames, i.e., the conflict, human interest and economic consequences in Zhou's study, thus this dimension is addressed little in the current study. Also, the current study does not examine the relationship between cultural dimensions and presence of the source frame as a function of country. A value future study would be to focus on this perspective.

Additionally, although this research starts from an explanatory perspective by comparing difference of framing the Google China Internet issue between countries and newspapers, it goes into an exploratory perspective by studying news frames from the aspect of dimensions within each frame. While several previous studies (Luther & Zhou, 2005; Zhou, 2008) only examined the difference between countries, e.g., which country presented a certain frame more and which country presented a certain frame less, the current research provides an in-depth view

of categories within a given frame, e.g. which kind of conflicts, censorship or disagreement is used more when presenting conflict frame.

Bibliography

- Bardhan, N.R. (2001). Transnational AIDS/HIV news narratives: a critical exploration of overarching frames. *Mass Media and Society*, 4(3), 283–310.
- Beaudoin, C.E. (2007). SARS news coverage and its determinants in China and the U.S. *International Communication Gazette*, 69(6), 509–524.
- Benford, R.D. & D.A. Snow. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: an overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611-639.
- Brace, N., Kemp, R. and Snelgar, R. (2009). *SPSS for psychologists* (4th Ed.). London: Palgrave.
- Briggs, W. (2004). North America. In A.S. de Beer & J.C. Merrill (Eds), *Global Journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems* (pp. 430–464). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Chang, T.K., Huh, J., Mckinney, K., Sar, S., Wei, W., & Schneeweis, A. (2009). Culture and its influence on advertising: misguided framework, inadequate comparative design and dubious knowledge claim. *International Communication Gazette*, 71(8), 671–692.
- Chen, H. & Lee, C. (1998). *Press finance and economic reform in China: China Review 1998* (pp. 577-610). Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.
- Chen, Y.R. (2007). The strategic management of government affairs in China: how multinational corporations in China interact with the Chinese government. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 19(3), 283–306.
- Cutlip, S. M., Center, A. H., & Broom, G. M. (1999). *Effective public relations* (8th Ed.). New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- D'Angelo, P. (2002). News framing as a multi-paradigmatic research program: A response to Entman. *Journal of Communication*, 52 (4), 870-88.

- Dozier, D. M., & Ehling, W. P. (1992). Evaluation of public relations programs: What the literature tells us about their effects. In J. Grunig (Ed.), *Excellence in public relations and communications management* (pp. 159–184). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Drummond, D. (2010, Jan 12). A new approach to China. *Official Google blog*. Retrieved from <http://googleblog.blogspot.com/2010/01/new-approach-to-china.html>
- Entman, R.M. (1993). Framing: toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.
- Fernandez, D.R., Carlson D.S., Stepina L.P. & Nicholson J.D. (1997). Hofstede's country classification 25 years later. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 137, 43–54.
- Gamson, W. A. & Mayer D. S. (1996). Framing political opportunity. In D. McAdam, et al. (Eds.), *Comparative perspectives on social movements: political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and cultural framings* (pp. 275-290). Cambridge England: Cambridge University Press.
- Garrison, J. (2001). Framing foreign policy alternatives in the inner circle: President Carter, his advisors, and the struggle for the arms control agenda. *Political Psychology*, 22 (4), 775-807.
- Gitlin, T. (1979). Prime time ideology: the hegemonic process in television entertainment. *Social Problems* 26, 251–266.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman, E (1974). *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience* (pp. 21). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hallahan, K. (1999). Seven models of framing: implications for public relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 11, 205–242.

- Heath, R.L. (2005). *Encyclopedia of Public Relations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences: international differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Kim, U., Triandis, H.C., Kagitcibasi C., Choi S.-C. & Yoon G. (1994). *Individualism and collectivism: theory, method, and applications*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Lewis, S. C. & Reese, S. D. (2009). What is the war on terror? Exploring framing through the eyes of journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86(1), 85-102.
- Luther, C. A. & Zhou, X. (2005). Within the boundaries of politics: News framing of SARS in China and the United States. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(4), 857-872.
- Lwin, M., Stanaland, A. & Williams, J. (2010). Exporting America: Usage of symbols in international advertising under conditions of consumer ethnocentrism and US-focused animosity. *International Journal of Advertising*, 29(2), 245–277.
- McQuail, D. (1992) *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Maynard, M. & Tian, Y. (2004). Between global and glocal: content analysis of the Chinese Web Sites of the 100 top global brands. *Public Relations Review* 30, 285–291.
- McCombs, M. & Shaw, D. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36,176-187.
- Merrill, J. (1983) *Global Journalism: a Survey of the World's Mass Media*. New York: Longman.
- Neuman,W. R., Just, M.R., & Crigler, A.N. (1992). *Common knowledge*. Chicago: University of

Chicago Press.

- Peng, Z. (2008). Framing the anti-war protests in the global village: a comparative study of newspaper coverage in three countries. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(5), 361-377.
- Reese, S. D. (2001). Prologue - framing public life: a bridging model for media research. In Reese S. D., Gandy O. H., & Grant A. E. Mahwah (Ed.), *framing public life: perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world*. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Rosenstock, I.M., Strecher V.J. & Becker M. (1988). Social learning theory and the health belief model. *Health Education Quarterly*, 15, 175–183.
- Scheff, T. J. (1967). Toward a sociological model of consensus. *American Sociological Review*, 32(1), 32–46.
- Scheufele, D.A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication* 49(1), 103–22.
- Scheufele, D.A. (2000). Agenda-setting, priming and framing revisited: Another look at cognitive effects of political communication. *Mass Communication & Society*, 3, 297-361.
- Semetko, H.A. & Valkenburg P.M. (2000). Framing european politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication* 50(2), 93–109.
- Shoemaker, P.J. & Reese S.D. (1996). *Mediating the Message*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Snow, D.A., Rochford E.B., Worden S.K., & Benford R.D. (1986). Frame alignment processes, micromobilization and movement participation. *American Sociological Review* 51, 464-481.
- Snow, D.A. & Benford R.D. (1988). Ideology, frame resonance and participant mobilization. *International Social Movement Research*, 1, 197-219.
- Stevens, J. P. (2002). *Applied multivariate statistics for the social sciences*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence

Erblum.

- Tankard, J. W., Handerson, L., Sillberman, J., Bliss, K., & Ghanem, S. (1991). Media frames: Approaches to conceptualization and measurement. Paper presented at the *Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication*, Boston, MA, August 7-10, 1991.
- Tankard, J. W., Jr. (2001). The empirical approach to the study of media framing. In Reese S. D., Gandy O. H. & Grant A. E. (Ed.), *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (pp. 95-106), Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Terkildsen, N., Schnell, F.I. & Ling, C. (1998). Interest groups, the media, and policy debate for information: An analysis of message structure, rhetoric, and source cues. *Political Communication*, 15(1), 45-61.
- Tichenor, P. J., & Wackman, D. B. (1973). Mass media and community public opinion. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 16, 593–606.
- Witte, K. (1992). Putting the fear back into fear appeals: The extended parallel process model. *Communication Monographs*, 59, 329–349.
- Wong, E. (2010). China rebuffs Clinton on Internet warning. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/23/world/asia/23diplo.html>
- Wu, G. (1994). Command communication: The politics of editorial formulation in the People's Daily. *China Quarterly*, 137, 194-211.
- Wu, G. (2000). One head, many mouths: diversifying press structures in reform China. In C. C. Lee (Ed.), *Power, money, and media: communication patterns and bureaucratic control in culture China* (pp. 45-67). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Xie, W. (2007). Framing China: A comparative study of U.S. elite newspaper's coverage of

- nixon's visit to China and the Chinese president's visit to the U.S. Paper presented at the *International Communication Association*, Montreal, Canada 2008.
- Yang, J. (2003). Framing the NATO air strikes on Kosovo across countries: Comparison of Chinese and US Newspaper coverage. *International Communication Gazette*, 65(3), 231–249.
- Yang, J. (2008). U.S., Chinese newspapers frame Iraq war differently. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 29(3), 80-93.
- Yang, K. S. (1992). Chinese social orientation: From the social interaction perspective. In Yang K. S. & Yu A. B. (Eds.), *Chinese psychology and behavior* (pp. 87-142). Taipei: Laurel.
- Yin, J. & Payne G. (2004). Asia and the Pacific. In A. de Beer and J.C. Merrill (eds.), *Global Journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems* (pp. 342–398). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Zhou, X. (2008). Cultural dimensions and framing the Internet in China: A cross-cultural study of newspapers' coverage in Hong Kong, Singapore, the US and the UK. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(2), 117–136.
- Yang, A. M. (2009) Chinese media in change: A comparison of Chinese media framing of the 2003 SARS crisis and the 2008 Sichuan earthquake. Paper presented at the *International Communication Association*, 2009 Annual Meeting, 1-41.

Appendix A: A Comparison between Semetko & Valkenburg's Twenty Questions (*italic type*) and the Twenty-Three/Five Questions in the Current Research

Conflict frame:

1. *Does the story reflect disagreement between parties/individuals/groups/countries?*
2. *Does one party/individual/group/country reproach another?*
3. *Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem of issue?*

1. Does the story reflect disagreement between parties/individuals/groups/countries?
2. Does one party/individual/group/country reproach another?
3. Does the story relate the issue to China's Internet censorship policy?
4. Does the story relate the issue to any other conflicts except for censorship?

Morality frame:

1. *Does the story contain any moral message?*
2. *Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?*
3. *Does the story offer special social prescriptions about how to behave?*

1. Does the story offer implication about China is doing anything right?
2. Does the story offer implication about China is doing anything wrong?
3. Does the story offer implication about Google is doing anything right?
4. Does the story offer implication about Google is doing anything wrong?
5. Does the story offer implication about US government is doing anything wrong?
6. Does the story offer implication about US media are doing anything wrong?

Economic frame:

1. *Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?*
 2. *Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?*
 3. *Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?*
1. Does the story talk about Google's economic situation before the issue?
 2. Does the story refer to the direct financial loss of Google because of the issue?
 3. Does the story refer to the direct financial win/loss of others in relate to the issue?
 4. Does the story refer to any financial implications of the issue?

Attribution of responsibility frame:

1. *Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?*
 2. *Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?*
 3. *Does the story suggest solutions to the problem/issue?*
 4. *Does the story suggest that an Ind. (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?*
1. Does the story mention that China's government should be responsible for the issue?
 2. Does the story mention that Google should be responsible for the issue?

Human Interest frame:

1. *Does the story provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?*
2. *Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feeling of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?*
3. *Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?*
4. *Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?*
5. *Does the story contain visual information that might generate feeling of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy?*

1. Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?
2. Does the story portray any human feelings or emotions such as outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?
3. Does the story provide the impact of the issue on people’s daily life?

Source

1. Does the story cite official governmental/organizational announcements from both China and U.S.?
2. Does the story cite official governmental/organizational announcements from China?
3. Does the story cite official governmental/organizational announcements from U.S.?
4. Does the story include quotations or comments from two third-party organizations or individuals with opposite opinions?
5. Does the story include quotations or comments from the U.S. third-party organizations?
6. Does the story include quotations or comments from the China’s third-party organizations?

Appendix B: Coding Scheme

This coding scheme is developed to facilitate the coding of content for a study of exploring the differences of frame used in China and U.S. newspapers as well as to what extent do the national environments and their social, political or cultural variables affect each country's newspaper coverage. The following instruction provides guidance on how to code the content of this study.

News

With the given four Word documents, each document contains news reports about the Google China issue. Document named NYT represents articles from *New York Times* and contains 111 articles. Document named WSJ represents articles from *Wall Street Journal* and contains 116 articles. Document named PD represents articles from *People's Daily* and contains 51 articles. Document named 21C represents articles from *21 Century Business China* and contains 57 articles.

Frames

Please indicate the presence of the following news frames in the news item you are coding by marking each question as: (1) Yes or (2) No.

Conflict – the portrayal of conflicts, disagreements and criticisms resulted from Google China issue. In this study, I developed four dimensions to represent this frame:

1. Disagreement: if one party/group/country (e.g. Chinese government) disagrees with another party/group/country's opinion or statement (e.g. Secretary Hillary Clinton's speech of information freedom), then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "disagree" of the conflict frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *The company, saying the security of its e-mail had been breached in a campaign to spy on Chinese dissidents, announced last week that it would stop censoring Google.cn, its Chinese Web site, and might have to withdraw from China.*

2) *Google has said it has grown increasingly worried about Beijing's restrictions on its operations in China and has threatened to pull out.*

3) *Google said it would stop redirecting Internet users in China to an uncensored site in Hong Kong after the Chinese government threatened the company's license.*

4) *"We have decided we are no longer willing to continue censoring our results on google.cn, and so over the next few weeks we will be discussing with the Chinese government the basis on which we could operate an unfiltered search engine within the law, if at all," David Drummond, senior vice president for corporate development and the chief legal officer, said in a statement.*

Wenqi Gao, a spokesman for the Chinese Consulate in New York, said he did not see any problems with google.cn. "I want to reaffirm that China is committed to protecting the legitimate rights and interests of foreign companies in our country," he said in a phone interview.

5) *An Internet expert who insisted on anonymity for fear of repercussions from the government said: "They have bought into the bargain of get rich, have a good job, life gets better, just don't mess with the Communist*

Party." If Google leaves, he said, "they may start asking, 'What's wrong with my country that it doesn't let me do this?' "

Other Internet users argue that Google must respect the Chinese government's policies if it wants to do business here. "I think government control of this is quite reasonable," said Liu Qiang, 29, a Tsinghua University mechanical engineer graduate student. "Our party needs to stabilize its governance."

2. Reproach: if one party/group/country (e.g. a letter to *New York Times* within an American citizen's opinion) criticize or reproach another party/group/country's opinion or behavior (e.g. Chinese government handling of the Internet censorship), then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "reproach" of the conflict frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *The statement was a stunning rebuke of the Chinese government.*

2) *The move, if followed through, would be a highly unusual rebuke of China by one of the largest and most admired technology companies.*

3) *Some company executives suggested then that the campaign was a concerted effort to stain Google's image.*

4) *Google complained on Tuesday about attacks on its computers that it said originated in China and said it was no longer willing to censor its Chinese site's search results.*

5) *Complying with Chinese censorship is complicated and politically risky, exposing companies to criticism from rights advocates back home.*

6) *Censorship -- which covers content ranging from pornography to criticism of Communist Party leaders to unauthorized religious material -- is a core policy of the Chinese government, which has been tightening controls over the Internet in recent years.*

7) 连日来，美国媒体热炒“谷歌事件”，美国政要接连“发声”，指责中国的互联网管理政策，影射中国限制互联网自由，炮制所谓“中国政府参与黑客攻击”论。这些罔顾事实的言行损害了中国国家形象，干扰了中美关系的健康稳定发展。

(Translation: After Google claimed to quit from China, U.S. government and U.S. media both put their focus on this issue, rebuking China's Internet control policy and indicating that China restrict Internet freedom. They accuse Chinese government is behind this Internet attack but have no evidence to prove it.)

3. Censorship: if the article deals with any topic that mentions China's censor of Internet information or Chinese government's policy of censorship, then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "censor" of the conflict frame. We decided to separate this conflict from others because after we first read through all collected articles, we found this is the most widely used conflict frame and it will provide a deeper view of this issue if it is separated from other conflicts. Examples from articles are given below:

1) Google has come under fire for abetting a system that increasingly restricts what citizens can read online.

2) It is also likely to enrage the Chinese authorities, who deny that they censor the Internet and are accustomed to having major foreign companies adapt their practices to Chinese norms.

3)that is a highly unlikely prospect in a country that has the most sweeping Web filtering system in the world.

4) In recent months, the government has also blocked YouTube, Google's video-sharing service.

5) He cited recent crackdowns on Web sites and an attempt to force all PC makers to install software that censors the Internet.

6) In China, search requests that include words like "Tiananmen Square massacre" or "Dalai Lama" come up blank. In recent months, the government has also blocked YouTube, Google's video-sharing service.

7) In June, after briefly blocking access nationwide to its main search engine and other services like Gmail, the government forced the company to disable a function that lets the search engine suggest terms. At the time, the government said it was simply seeking to remove pornographic material from the company's search engine results.

8) He is now the guiding force behind Google's decision to stop filtering search results in China, say people familiar with the decision.

4. Non-censorship: if the article deals with any topic that mentions conflicts or clashes of this issue or because of this issue (e.g. China-U.S. relations, Google's competence with local Chinese search engines etc.), then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "Ncensor" of the conflict frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *In Spain, for instance, you can share music and movies with virtual impunity; in France, doing that is likely to cost you your Internet connection.*

In South Korea last year, Google blocked users of the local version of its YouTube video service from uploading material after the government imposed rules requiring contributors to register with their real names. Ostensibly, the law is intended to curb anonymous abuse that is said to have contributed to suicides, but critics say it stifles political dissent.

2) *Western companies contend that they face a lengthening list of obstacles to doing business in China, including "buy Chinese" government procurement policies, widespread counterfeiting and growing restrictions on foreign investments.*

3) *Foreign companies have long complained of being cheated by joint venture partners who set up parallel businesses on the side or abscond with assets.*

4) *Other strains between China and the West over business matters have grown out of government policies that shield Chinese companies from international competition. These policies allow companies to grow in a large home market and prepare to export to less-protected markets abroad.*

5) *While each failure has been different, analysts say the cases may help explain why Google is frustrated -- not just by government censors but by its inability to catch its big Chinese rival, Baidu.*

6) *2009年稳定发展的中美关系今年可谓“开局不利”：对台军售、贸易保护、“谷歌事件”、美国总统计划会见达赖喇嘛的传言,这一切使中美关系面临严峻挑战。*

(Translation: While China-U.S. relation had a stable improvement in 2009, this year it begins to deteriorate: selling weapons to Taiwan, Google China issue, President Obama's meeting with Dalai Lama, all these challenge China-U.S. relation in 2010.)

Morality – the portrayal of ethical, moral judgments of Google China issue. In this study, I developed four dimensions to represent this frame for U.S. newspapers, and add another two to represent this frame for China’s newspapers:

1. China is right: if one article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating China/Chinese government is right on this issue, then a “1” will be recorded in the sub-column named “ChinaR” of the morality frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *Other Internet users argue that Google must respect the Chinese government's policies if it wants to do business here. "I think government control of this is quite reasonable," said Liu Qiang, 29, a Tsinghua University mechanical engineer graduate student. "Our party needs to stabilize its governance."*

2) *Wenqi Gao, a spokesman for the Chinese Consulate in New York, said he did not see any problems with google.cn. "I want to reaffirm that China is committed to protecting the legitimate rights and interests of foreign companies in our country," he said in a phone interview.*

3) *外交部答记者问：将网络黑客行为与中国政府和军队扯在一起，是毫无根据、极不负责任的，是别有用心的炒作。事实上，中国信息网络，尤其是军方网络一直受到境外黑客攻击。中国法律禁止任何形式的网络黑客攻击行为。中国重视打击网络犯罪，并致力于与其他国家和国际组织加强相关合作。*

(Translation: The spokesperson from China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs told our journalist: it is irresponsible to relate this web attack to Chinese government. As a matter of fact, China’s military network is always facing attacks from other countries, too. Chinese law forbids any form of web attack and our government is always committed to cooperate with other countries to reduce online crime.)

2. China is wrong: if one article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating China/Chinese government is wrong on this issue, then a “1” will be recorded in the sub-column named “ChinaW” of the morality frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) If Google leaves, he said, "they may start asking, 'What's wrong with my country that it doesn't let me do this?' ". "It is not like they are going to take to the streets," he added. "But it further erodes the legitimacy of what the Communist Party is doing. This is a group the party doesn't want to lose any more than it already has."

2) A 21-year old civil engineering student predicted a strong reaction against the government. "If Google really leaves, people will feel the government has gone too far," he insisted over lunch in the university cafe.

3. Google is right: if one article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating Google is right on this issue, then a “1” will be recorded in the sub-column named “GoogleR” of the morality frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) Google's decision to stop cooperating with Chinese government censors is galvanizing an unusually broad coalition, including technology communities and human rights groups.

2) "I think it's both the right move and a brilliant one," said Jonathan Zittrain.

4. Google is wrong: if one article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating Google is wrong on this issue, then a “1” will be recorded in the sub-column named “GoogleW” of the morality frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *"When Yahoo China came up with new ideas and strategies, we had to report to the headquarters and wait for their feedback," he said. "It usually took a long time to get their agreement. And when we got it, it was too late, too late for us to compete with local competitors."*

2) 从严格意义上说，谷歌并没有“退出中国”。其一，谷歌把域名转至香港，而香港是中国的特别行政区。其二，谷歌很可能试图保留在中国内地的部分业务。3月23日，打开谷歌的搜索服务，赫然可见“欢迎您来到谷歌搜索在中国的新家”的字句，“退出中国”之说，只是个障眼法。

(Translation: Strictly speaking, Google doesn't "quit out of China". First, Google only transfer its domain to HongKong, while HongKong is still part of China. Second, Google is still trying to preserve some of its China's business. On March 23, it still shows in Google's new homepage that "Welcome to Google's new home in China". As a result, saying quitting out of China is obviously ridiculous, and it's just a distraction.)

3) 实际上，谷歌也并非“价值观贞女”。谷歌与美国情报安全部门的合作与配合是众所周知的，为此还引发了与欧洲的分歧。

(Translation: As a matter of fact, Google is not as that integrate as itself labels. It is well known that Google has a collaboration with U.S. intelligence and security departments, which led to dispute with European countries.)

4) “不作恶”是谷歌公司标榜的座右铭，然而连日来，越来越多的事实表明，谷歌似乎正成为“恶之花”。由于涉嫌垄断、不正当竞争、侵犯隐私权与人的尊严等，谷歌目前正面临来自欧盟相关监管机构、竞争对手乃至法院的投诉与调查，广遭各方诟病，可谓四面楚歌，处境不妙。

(Translation: "Do not be evil" is the motto of Google, but the past few days, more and more facts show that Google seems to be "Flowers of Evil. " Being suspected of monopoly, unfair competition, invasion of privacy and other rights, Google is currently facing complaints and investigation from the EU regulators, competitors and even the Court.)

5. U.S. government is wrong (only in Chinese newspapers): we added two other morality dimensions according to China's newspaper reports, which means these two dimensions only appear in Chinese newspapers. If one article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating U.S. government is wrong on this issue, then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "USGW" of the morality frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) 美方制造事端进而“绑架”中美关系，有损两国关系大局，有悖发展进步的时代潮流，也捞不到任何好处。

(Translation: U.S. tries to create disturbances to "kidnapped" China-U.S. relations and undermine the overall situation of bilateral relations.)

2) 美国众议院刚刚通过一个法案，将把黎巴嫩Al—Manar 电视台、巴勒斯坦Al—Aqsa 电视台、叙利亚Al—Zawra 电视列入恐怖主义支持名单，表示将“抵制所有助长反美情绪的中东地区电视台”。Al—Manar 电视台说，美国向阿拉伯世界的舆论攻势中用得最多的就是民主和言论自由这两个口号。现在看来，民主和言论自由不过是美国又一个用来骗人的幌子而已。

(Translation: U.S. House of Representatives just passed a bill to label the Lebanese Al-Manar TV station, the Palestinian Al-Aqsa TV station and the Syrian Al-Zawra TV with the name of "terrorism supporters", and said it would "boycott all Middle East TV stations whoever contributes to anti-American sentiment ". Just as Al-Manar television station said, the most frequently used weapon for U.S. to attack the Arab world are the two slogans of democracy and freedom of speech. However, it now appears that democracy and freedom of speech are just a deceptive cover.)

6. U.S. media is wrong (only in Chinese newspapers): if one article contains any message or cites any quotation indicating U.S. media is wrong on this issue, then a “1” will be recorded in the sub-column named “USMW” of the morality frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) 对谷歌“退出中国”的风波，美国媒体做足了文章，《华盛顿邮报》的说法最夸张，“对中国人来说，失去谷歌意味着只剩一片黑暗”，仿佛谷歌是中国人的精神上帝。

(Translation: On Google China issue, U.S. media give an exaggerated report on it. Washington Post said: "To Chinese people, the loss of Google means only darkness", as if Google is Chinese spirit God.)

2) 针对美国国务卿克林顿表态支持谷歌，文章指出，这说明美国支持本国公司向境外扩张。美国的主流媒体早就开始为谷歌辩护，众口一词到了不体面的地步，是为华盛顿攫取“很好的行政资源”。美国政府和美国媒体打算维持社会公众对中国的适度的不满情绪。

(Translation: Aimed at the support from Secretary Clinton's speech, this article pointed out that U.S. government supports their companies' overseas expansion. U.S. mainstream media have also defended Google for a long time, which provides Washington D.C. "very good administrative resources". In all, U.S. government and U.S. media intend to maintain a modest public discontent on China.)

Economic consequences – the portrayal of economic impacts resulted from Google China issue.

In this study, I developed four dimensions to represent this frame:

1. Google's economic situation in China before this issue: if one article describes Google's economic situation (e.g. Google's annual revenue in China, Google's competence with local companies) in China before this issue, then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "EcoSitu" of the economic consequences frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) According to figures from Analysys International, Google's market share in China declined to 31% in the 2010 first quarter from 35.6% in the previous quarter, with Chinese rival Baidu Inc. benefiting at Google's expense.

2) Google's share had increased in all but two quarters since 2006, according to Analysys data. The company said Baidu's market share in the latest quarter rose to 64% from 58.4% in the final three months of last year.

3) But Google's interest in China grew by 2004, when it bought a 2.6% stake in Chinese search company Baidu for \$5 million. Google later sold its stake for more than ten times the amount, citing its desires to focus on its own business, and it did.

2. Google's lose or gain because of this issue: if one article describes Google's financial loss or gain in China because of the issue, then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named

"GoogleE" of the economic consequences frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *The Nasdaq Composite Index fell 0.2%, hurt by a 2.8% drop in Google after weekend reports that a dispute with China may end with the search giant closing its Chinese site altogether.*

2) *Shares in Google slipped 2.8%, closing at \$563.18.*

3) *Google (Nasdaq) edged up 2.76, or 0.5%, to 589.85 as the technology sector climbed.*

4) *The measure's gains came despite a drop in Google (Nasdaq) of 3.39, or 0.6%, to 587.09, after the Internet-search company threatened to leave China following an investigation found the company had been hit with cyber attacks it believes originated from the country.*

5)..... *a withdrawal would significantly reduce Google's long-term growth.*

3. Others' lose or gain because of this issue: if one article describes others' financial loss or gain in China because of the issue, then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "OthersE" of the economic consequences frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) Monday, Baidu shares gained 4.8% in trading on the Nasdaq Stock Market, closing at \$576.84.

2) Baidu shares climbed 24.75, or 5.6%, to 464.23 on the Nasdaq.

3) American depositary receipts of Baidu (Nasdaq) tumbled 6.87, or 9.2%, to 67.57, after Google said it will change the way it operates in China to keep providing online content in the country.

4) Market share for Sogou.com Inc.'s Sogou dropped to 0.7% from 1%, and that for Tencent Holdings Ltd.'s Soso dropped to 0.4% from 0.7%, Analysys said. Overall search-market revenue in China dropped slightly to \$285.6 million from \$288.6 million.

5) China Mobile, the biggest cellular company in the country, was expected to cancel a deal to use Google's search engine on its home page.

4. The economic implication of this issue: if one article describes an economic implication of the issue (e.g. the influence of this issue on other multinational companies' operation in China), then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "EcoImp" of the economic consequences frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *Google's difficulties and its strong response are indicative of a broader shift in sentiment among multinational executives in China.*

2) *Google's difficulties were indicative of broader troubles for foreign companies in China.*

3) *Google's move also put pressure on large multinationals, at a time when many are feeling their own tensions in China.*

4) *“谷歌一旦撤出中国，技术开发的标杆没有了。”吕伯望说，这会直接影响百度对技术研发的紧迫性和必要性。*

(Translation: Once Google withdraw from China, there will be no competence for Chinese companies to innovate their technology.)

Attribution of responsibility – the portrayal of who should be blamed and/or take responsibility for Google China issue. In this study, I developed only two dimensions to represent this frame because after we first read through all articles, I found that the responsibility frame is not as widely used as other frames, and finally our coding result proves it:

1. China's responsibility: if one article indicates or cites any quotation stating that China/Chinese government should be responsible for this issue, then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "ChiResp" of the attribution of responsibility frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) But Google's statement earlier this week suggested the Chinese government may have orchestrated the attacks in order to get hold of information stored in the e-mail accounts of Chinese dissidents or human rights activists.

2. Google's responsibility: if one article indicates or cites any quotation stating that Google should be responsible for this issue, then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "GoogleR" of the attribution of responsibility frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *Alibaba called the Yahoo statement premature and 'reckless' because Google had not released any proof to support its announcement.*

Human interest – the portrayal of individuals and their feelings toward Google China issue. In this study, I developed three dimensions to represent this frame:

1. Human example: if one article gives any detailed example from individuals (e.g. opinion from one Chinese/American citizen toward the issue), then a “1” will be recorded in the sub-column named “HumanEG” of the human interest frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) Li An, a Tsinghua University senior, said she used to download episodes of "Desperate Housewives" and "Grey's Anatomy" from sites run by BT China that are now closed. "I love American television series," she said with frustration during a pause from studying Japanese at a university fast-food restaurant on Friday. The loss of Google would hit her much harder, she said, because she relies on Google Scholar to download academic papers for her classes in polymer science. "For me, this is terrible," Ms. Li said.

2) In China, many students and professionals said they feared they were about to lose access to Google's vast resources.

3) Google's announcement Tuesday drew praise from free speech and human rights advocates.

2. Human's feeling: if one article portrays individuals' feeling such as angry, surprise etc., then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "Feel" of the human interest frame.

Examples from articles are given below:

- 1) *Google's stance won applause around the world from free speech advocates and prominent voices in business.*
- 2) *Google's announcement Tuesday drew praise from free speech and human rights advocates.*
- 3) *Many people in Silicon Valley were surprised by Google's stance.*

3. Human impact: if one article portrays the impact of this issue on people's daily life, then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "HImpact" of the human interest frame.

Examples from articles are given below:

1) *Li An, a Tsinghua University senior, said she used to download episodes of "Desperate Housewives" and "Grey's Anatomy" from sites run by BT China that are now closed. "I love American television series," she said with frustration during a pause from studying Japanese at a university fast-food restaurant on Friday. The loss of Google would hit her much harder, she said, because she relies on Google Scholar to download academic papers for her classes in polymer science. "For me, this is terrible," Ms. Li said.*

2) *"Without Google, Baidu will be very easy to manipulate," he said. "I don't want to see this trend."*

3) *Google said it would otherwise cease to run google.cn and would consider shutting its offices in China, where it employs some 700 people, many of them highly compensated software engineers, and has an estimated \$300 million in annual revenue.*

Source – In the issue portrayal, the balanced reports on both countries' attitudes and opinions toward Google China issue. In this study, I developed six dimensions to represent this frame:

1. Dual quotation from both China/Chinese government and Google/U.S. government: if the article cites official announcements from both China/Chinese government and Google/U.S. government, then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "DualGov" of the issue dualism frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *"We have decided we are no longer willing to continue censoring our results on google.cn, and so over the next few weeks we will be discussing with the Chinese government the basis on which we could operate an unfiltered search engine within the law, if at all," David Drummond, senior vice president for corporate development and the chief legal officer, said in a statement.*

Wenqi Gao, a spokesman for the Chinese Consulate in New York, said he did not see any problems with google.cn. "I want to reaffirm that China is committed to protecting the legitimate rights and interests of foreign companies in our country," he said in a phone interview.

2. Quotation from China/Chinese government: if the article cites official announcements from China/Chinese government, then a “1” will be recorded in the sub-column named “ChiGov” of the issue dualism frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *Wenqi Gao, a spokesman for the Chinese Consulate in New York, said he did not see any problems with google.cn. "I want to reaffirm that China is committed to protecting the legitimate rights and interests of foreign companies in our country," he said in a phone interview.*

3. Quotation from Google/U.S. government: if the article cites official announcements from Google/U.S. government, then a “1” will be recorded in the sub-column named “USGov” of the issue dualism frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *"We have decided we are no longer willing to continue censoring our results on google.cn, and so over the next few weeks we will be discussing with the Chinese government the basis on which we could operate an unfiltered search engine within the law, if at all," David Drummond, senior vice president for corporate development and the chief legal officer, said in a statement.*

2) *The Chinese Foreign Ministry lashed out Friday against criticism of China in a speech on Internet censorship made by Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, calling on the United States government "to respect the truth and to stop using the so-called Internet freedom question to level baseless accusations."*

4. Dual quotation from two third-party organizations or individuals: if the article cites two third-party organizations or individuals' comments on this issue that are apparently having opposite opinions to each other then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "DualThi" of the issue dualism frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *From blocking or closing down thousands of blogs and social-networking sites to accusing the United States of seeking information hegemony, the government has made it clear that the control of information has become even more of a central priority than in years past, according to David Bandurski, an analyst and author at the Hong Kong-based China Media Project, who spoke in a telephone interview on Monday. "The C.C.P. media worldview is that you have China versus a hostile West in this global war for public opinion," he said, referring to the China Communist Party. China's paradox, he said, is that while Beijing accuses the United States of "information imperialism," its own policies seek to shut out dissenting voices -- including those of many of its own citizens -- and to make the Beijing government's view of the world China's dominant voice.*

.....

"As the global landscape is undergoing profound irreversible shifts, the calculated free-Internet scheme is just one step of a U.S. tactic to preserve its hegemonic domination," Yan Xuetong, who heads the Institute of International Studies at Beijing's Tsinghua University, said in the article.

5. Quotation from China's third-party organizations or individuals: if the article cites China's third-party organizations or individuals' comments on this issue, then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "ChiThi" of the issue dualism frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *"China wants to make clear that it too is under serious attack from spies on the Internet," said Cheng Gang, author of the Global Times article.*

6. Quotation from U.S. third-party organizations or individuals: if the article cites U.S. third-party organizations or individuals' comments on this issue, then a "1" will be recorded in the sub-column named "USThi" of the issue dualism frame. Examples from articles are given below:

1) *Rebecca MacKinnon, a fellow at the Open Space Institute and an expert on the Chinese Internet, said that Google had endured repeated harassment in recent months and that by having operations in China it potentially risked the security of its users in China. She said many Chinese dissidents used Gmail because its servers are hosted overseas and that it offered extra encryption. "Unless they turn themselves into a Chinese company, Google could not win," she said. "The company has clearly put its foot down and said enough is enough."*

2) *"The consequences of not playing the China market could be very big for any company, but particularly for an Internet company that makes its money from advertising," said David B. Yoffie, a Harvard Business School professor.*

Figures and Tables

Figure 1

Model of hierarchy of influence on media contents (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996)

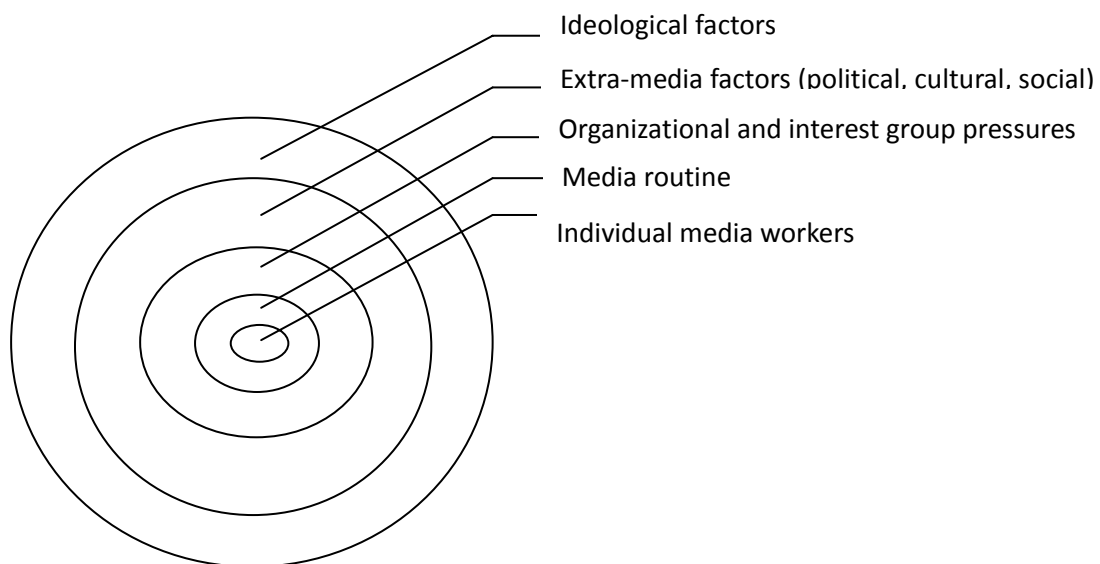
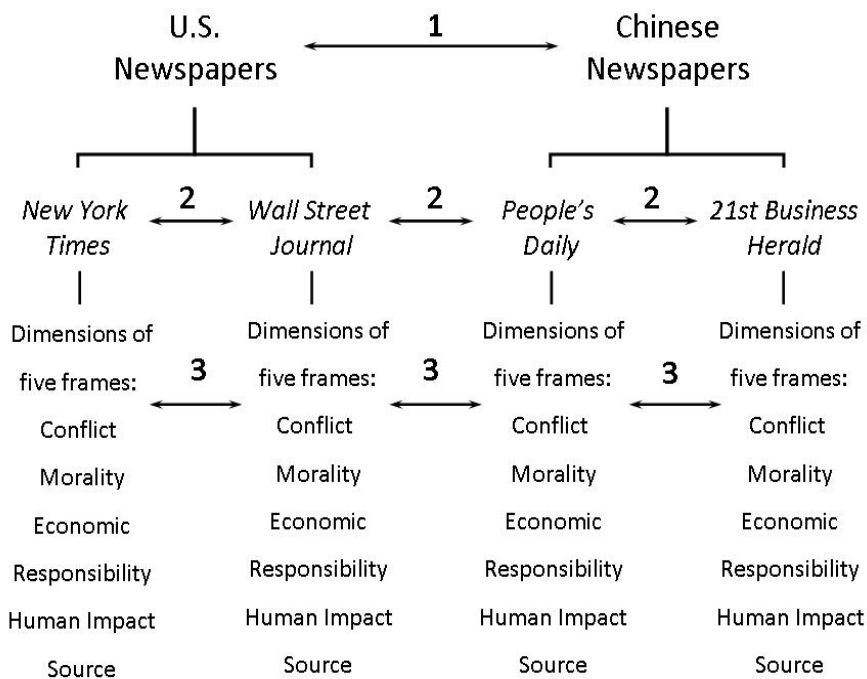


Figure 2

The structural relationships between each result section:



Note: The arrow under each number represents a comparison between multiple subjects; 1 represents a comparison between U. S. and Chinese newspapers; 2 represents comparisons between the four newspapers; and 3 represents comparisons between the frame dimensions.

Table 1

Comparison of Frame Presence by Country

<i>Frame</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>percentage</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Conflict ¹	U.S.	227	227	100%	2.25	.961	19.443	1	.000
	China	108	108	100%	1.77	.882			
Morality ²	U.S.	227	74	32.6%	.49	.806	1.126	1	.289
	China	108	22	20.37%	.39	.915			
Economic Consequence ³	U.S.	227	82	36.12%	.61	.968	5.233	1	.023
	China	108	64	59.26%	.87	.958			
Responsibility ⁴	U.S.	227	15	6.61%	.07	.295	.613	1	.368
	China	108	5	4.63%	.05	.211			
Human Interest ⁵	U.S.	227	29	12.78%	.27	.767	8.315	1	.004
	China	108	6	5.56%	.06	.230			
Source ⁶	U.S.	227	108	47.58%	1.03	1.303	19.954	1	.000
	China	108	31	28.7%	.42	0.810			
Totals	U.S.		535						
	China		236						

Note: *N* represents the total number of reports by each country and *n* represents the report numbers which used certain frames. *Percentage* equals n/N .

- 1: The measurement scale of mean score for conflict frame is from 0 to 4;
- 2: The measurement scale of mean score for morality frame is from 0 to 6;
- 3: The measurement scale of mean score for economic consequences frame is from 0 to 4;
- 4: The measurement scale of mean score for responsibility frame is from 0 to 2;
- 5: The measurement scale of mean score for human interest frame is from 0 to 3;
- 6: The measurement scale of mean score for source frame is from 0 to 4.

Table 2

Comparison of News Frames in Frame Total by Country

	<i>The United States</i>	<i>China</i>
Conflict	227 42.43%	108 45.76%
Morality	74 13.83%	22 9.32%
Economic Consequence	82 15.33%	64 27.12%
Responsibility	15 2.8%	5 2.12%
Human Interest	29 5.42%	6 2.54%
Source	108 20.19%	31 13.14%
Column Total	535 100%	236 100%

Note: The percentage in this table is different from the meaning of percentage in the above table. Here it represents the percentage of times a frame was mentioned in a certain newspaper's coverage in the total number times of all six frames mentioned in that newspaper.

Table 3

Comparisons of Frame Presence in Four Newspapers

<i>Frame</i>	<i>News paper</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>percentage</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Conflict	NYT	111	111	100%	2.32	.991	8.574	3	.000
	WSJ	116	116	100%	2.19	.932			
	PD	51	51	100%	1.98	1.086			
	21C	57	57	100%	1.58	.596			
Morality	NYT	111	45	40.54%	.58	.804	5.885	3	.001
	WSJ	116	29	25%	.41	.803			
	PD	51	19	37.25%	.71	1.154			
	21C	57	3	5.26%	.11	.489			
Economic Consequences	NYT	111	35	31.53%	.42	.695	9.591	3	.000
	WSJ	116	47	40.52%	.79	1.146			
	PD	51	12	23.53%	.52	1.065			
	21C	57	52	91.23%	1.19	.718			
Attribution of Responsibility	NYT	111	9	8.11%	.09	.318	.565	3	.638
	WSJ	116	6	5.17%	.06	.273			
	PD	51	3	5.88%	.06	.238			
	21C	57	2	3.51%	.04	.186			
Human Interest	NYT	111	15	13.51%	.27	.762	2.757	3	.042
	WSJ	116	14	12.07%	.28	.776			
	PD	51	3	5.88%	.06	.238			
	21C	57	3	5.26%	.05	.225			
Source	NYT	111	50	45.05%	.98	1.279	7.040	3	.000
	WSJ	116	58	50%	1.07	1.330			
	PD	51	19	37.25%	.53	.809			
	21C	57	12	21.05%	.32	.805			
Totals	NYT		225						
	WSJ		270						
	PD		107						
	21C		129						

Note: NYT=*New York Times*, WSJ=*Wall Street Journal*, PD=*People's Daily*, 21C=*21st Century Business Herald*.

N represents the total number of reports by each country and *n* represents the report numbers which used certain frames. *Percentage* equals n/N .

1: The measurement scale of mean score for conflict frame is from 0 to 4;

2: The measurement scale of mean score for morality frame is from 0 to 6;

- 3: The measurement scale of mean score for economic consequences frame is from 0 to 4;
- 4: The measurement scale of mean score for responsibility frame is from 0 to 2;
- 5: The measurement scale of mean score for human interest frame is from 0 to 3;
- 6: The measurement scale of mean score for source frame is from 0 to 6.

Table 4

Comparison of News Frames in Frame Total by Newspaper

	<i>New York Times</i>	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	<i>People's Daily</i>	<i>21st Century Business Herald</i>
Conflict	111 41.89%	116 42.96%	51 47.66%	57 44.19%
Morality	45 16.98%	29 10.74%	19 17.76%	3 2.33%
Economic Consequence	35 13.21%	47 17.41%	12 11.21%	52 40.31%
Responsibility	9 3.40%	6 2.22%	3 2.80%	2 1.55%
Human Interest	15 5.66%	14 5.19%	3 2.80%	3 2.33%
Source	50 18.86%	58 21.48%	19 17.77%	12 9.29%
Column Total	225 100%	270 100%	107 100%	129 100%

Note: The percentage in this table is different from the meaning of percentage in the above table. Here it represents the percentage of times a frame was mentioned in a certain newspaper's coverage in the total number times of all six frames mentioned in that newspaper.

Table 5

The Significant Different ($p < 0.05$) Groups Revealed by the Scheffe Post-Hoc Test among Four Newspapers

Conflict frame	
21st Century Business Herald	New York Times
	Wall Street Journal
Morality frame	
21st Century Business Herald	New York Times
	People's Daily
Economic Consequences Frame	
New York Times	Wall Street Journal
21st Century Business Herald	New York Times
	People's Daily
Source frame	
21st Century Business Herald	New York Times
	Wall Street Journal

Note: The newspapers in one column are significant different ($p < 0.05$) from the newspapers in the other column. E.g., when presenting the source frame, the *21st Century Business Herald* is significant different from the *New York Times*, plus the *21st Century Business Herald* is significant different from the *Wall Street Journal*.

Table 6

Newspapers' Use of Individual Dimensions within the Conflict Frame

	<i>The United States</i>		<i>China</i>		Row Total
	<i>New York Times</i>	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	<i>People's Daily</i>	<i>21st Century Business Herald</i>	
Conflict1 (disagreements)	111 43.19%	116 45.67%	51 50.5%	57 63.33%	335
Conflict2 (reproach)	23 8.95%	16 6.3%	7 6.93%	2 2.22%	48
Conflict3 (censorship)	81 31.52%	79 31.1%	15 14.85%	3 3.33%	178
Conflict4 (non-censorship)	42 16.34%	43 16.93%	28 27.72%	28 31.11%	141
Colum Total	257 100%	254 100%	101 100%	90 100%	702

Table 7

Newspapers' Use of Individual Dimensions within the Morality Frame

	<i>The United States</i>		<i>China</i>		Row Total
	<i>New York Times</i>	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	<i>People's Daily</i>	<i>21st Century Business Herald</i>	
Morality1 (China right)	12 18.75%	6 12.5%	8 22.22%	1 16.67%	27
Morality2 (China wrong)	20 31.25%	15 31.25%	2 5.56%		37
Morality3 (Google right)	28 43.75%	20 41.67%			48
Morality4 (Google wrong)	4 6.25%	7 14.58%	13 36.11%	3 50%	27
Morality5 (USGov wrong)			10 27.78%	2 33.33%	12
Morality6 (USMedia wrong)			3 8.33%		3
Colum Total	64 100%	48 100%	36 100%	6 100%	154

Table 8

Newspapers' Use of Individual Dimensions within the Economic Consequences Frame

	<i>The United States</i>		<i>China</i>		Row Total
	<i>New York Times</i>	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	<i>People's Daily</i>	<i>21st Century Business Herald</i>	
Economic Consequence1 (situation before)	12 25. 53%	18 19. 57%	3 11. 54%	6 8. 82%	39
Economic Consequence2 (Google lose/gain)	17 36. 17%	22 23. 91%	6 23. 08%	10 14. 71%	55
Economic Consequence3 (others lose/gain)	11 23. 4%	37 40. 22%	12 46. 15%	47 69. 12%	107
Economic Consequence4 (implication)	7 14. 89%	15 16. 3%	5 19. 23%	5 7. 35%	32
Colum Total	47 100%	92 100%	26 100%	68 100%	233

Table 9

Newspapers' Use of Individual Dimensions within the Attribution of Responsibility Frame

	<i>The United States</i>		<i>China</i>		Row Total
	<i>New York Times</i>	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	<i>People's Daily</i>	<i>21st Century Business Herald</i>	
Responsibility1 (China)	8 80%	6 85.71%			14
Responsibility2 (Google)	2 20%	1 14.29%	3 100%	2 100%	8
Colum Total	10 100%	7 100%	3 100%	2 100%	22

Table 10

Newspapers' Use of Individual Dimensions within the Human Interest Frame

	<i>The United States</i>		<i>China</i>		Row Total
	<i>New York Times</i>	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	<i>People's Daily</i>	<i>21st Century Business Herald</i>	
Human Interest1 (example)	13 43.33%	13 40.63%			26
Human Interest2 (feelings)	10 33.33%	7 21.87%	1 33.33%		18
Human Interest3 (daily-life imp)	7 23.33%	12 37.5%	2 66.67%	3 100%	24
Colum Total	30 100%	32 100%	3 100%	3 100%	68

Table 11

Newspapers' Use of Individual Dimensions within the source Frame

	<i>The United States</i>		<i>China</i>		Row Total
	<i>New York Times</i>	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	<i>People's Daily</i>	<i>21st Century Business Herald</i>	
Source 1 (gov-dualism)	17 12.32%	27 16.77%	2 6.45%	2 9.09%	48
Source 2 (China-gov)	23 16.67%	30 18.63%	9 29.03%	5 22.73%	67
Source 3 (US-gov)	35 25.36%	46 28.57%	7 22.58%	2 9.09%	90
Source 4 (third-dualism)	12 8.7%	10 6.21%	2 6.45%	2 9.09%	26
Source 5 (China-third)	15 10.87%	21 13.04%	6 19.35%	8 36.36%	50
Source 6 (US-third)	36 26.09%	27 16.77%	5 16.13%	3 13.64%	71
Colum Total	138 100%	161 100%	31 100%	22 100%	352