



# **A Comparative Study of Television Coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong Protests on Global Media BBC World News and CCTV News**

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## **ABSTRACT**

In a globalizing world, different media representations have been witnessed from various global newsrooms, particularly with reference to issues relating to politics such as war and protest. This study focuses on cross-cultural media representations of the 2014 Hong Kong Protests on two leading global media: *BBC World News* based in the United Kingdom and *CCTV News* based in China. Drawing from a comparative perspective of the traditional and new global powers, this research sheds more light on representation of protest by global media. By using a combination method of quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis, two television flagship news programs broadcast on *BBC World News* and *CCTV News* in the two weeks following the 2014 Hong Kong Protests (i.e. from 26th September to 9th October 2014) have been analyzed to find out similarities and differences between their representations. The results show that there is a significant difference in the way the 2014 Hong Kong Protests were portrayed by the two global media. The *BBC World News* frames the protest as a democracy movement driven by students against the government for the election issue; while *CCTV News* claims the protest is illegal, and argues more about the negative economic consequences of the protest by quoting much from local retailers and general publics. The findings suggest that media representation is not an emerging hegemony due to media globalization. Instead, media system and political backgrounds still play a key role in framing the news between different global newsrooms. The scientific novelty and significance of the study lie in its empirical evidence with a novel comparative perspective, which contributes to bridging the research gap between traditional and new media powers in global media studies.

### **Keywords:**

Global Media, Comparative Study, Framing Analysis, Hong Kong Protests, BBCW, CCTV.

## List of Acronyms

<b>BBCW</b>	<b>BBC</b> (British Broadcasting Corporation) <b>World News</b>
<b>CCTV</b>	<b>CCTV</b> (China Central Television) <b>News</b>
<b>HKP</b>	The 2014 <b>Hong Kong Protests</b>

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## 1. Introduction

Protest is “a way to publicly express protesters’ opinion in an attempt to influence public opinion or government policy” and it plays a crucial role in the development of democracy (Shekhawat, 2013). To enable the protest voices being maximally heard, public places such as streets, squares, etc. were and still are the main physical sites chosen by protesters to express themselves. Meanwhile, due to the rapid development of modern technology that transcends the challenges of distance and time in a world increasingly globalized, the use of media is becoming more and more important for protests. Today, protests are not only happening in public streets, but also on “public screens” (Cottle, 2008). Global media’s coverage of such protests varies from one medium to another, and there are many different factors that can be attributed to this practice.

In the contemporary globalizing world, the reports of protests are changing significantly. Protests are no longer limited to relevant audiences at local or national level. Instead they reach a much wider range of audiences at the global level. Based on the long history of protests, a large number of examples of protest reporting on different levels can be found around the world, such as Martin Luther King’s 1963 March on Washington at local level (Johnson, 2007), the Tiananmen Square Protests of 1989 at limited international level (Calhoun, 1989, Wasserstrom and Perry, 1994), and the 2014 Hong Kong Protests at global level (O’Neill, 2014).

The 2014 Hong Kong Protest, also known as the Umbrella Revolution (or Umbrella Movement) and Occupy Central, took place from 26th September to 15th December 2014. According to the biggest English newspaper published in Hong Kong, the South China Morning Post: “the protests began after a decision regarding proposed reforms of the Hong Kong electoral system. The decision was widely seen as highly restrictive, and tantamount to Communist Party control over the Hong Kong electorate” (Cheung, 2014). As a result, more than 50,000 people had filled the streets of Hong Kong to protest. While the protesters claim that it is a democracy protest, government officials in Hong Kong and in Beijing, however, denounced the occupation as “illegal” and a “violation of the rule of law” (Applebaum, 2014). As one of the hottest global news topic in 2014, the Hong Kong Protests had attracted a wide range of media coverage worldwide. Yet, these media coverage had been completely blocked in Mainland China due to the strict censorship from Chinese government (Duggan, 2014). Meanwhile, most Chinese local media had been observed ‘mute’ or ‘blackout’ on the Hong Kong Protests (Wong, 2014), but how about Chinese global media? It would be interesting to

find out how Chinese media reported the protest to the world while they kept silence within the country.

As the world is increasingly becoming a “global village” (McLuhan, 1969) with blurring borders, media landscapes are rapidly changing and evolving. The new media revolution (including digital media, online media, social media, etc.) has been claimed as a new trend for media development in the modern technology era. However, “traditional” media television news remains the primary source of political information for most people (Robertson, 2015b) when protesters try to speak to the world in their protest. This is because television is no longer broadcasted in the “traditional” way, since it is consumed commonly and widely in digital format today. For example, nowadays television news can be easily archived through online sources, or be popularly forwarded and commented in social media. As a result, most global audiences prefer well-organized news broadcasted in global media over unsorted information in the new media. Another reason for the popularity of television news is that television can bring the protests from streets to screens and from distant to nearby by its visual narratives. The audiences can see and even feel the protests via live and on-site reports, as well as understand and perceive the protests through televisual representations. Therefore, there is a need identified for shifting the research focus from the new media to the “traditional but also new” television studies, particularly for the global ones in contemporary globalizing world.

However, various versions of stories have been observed from different global media sources, in particular for the ones from different cultural and political backgrounds. This is not a new topic in academic research. Yet, western scholars carried out most previous studies with a focus on empirical materials within western countries. It would not be global if new global powers like China and India are excluded in the studies. Furthermore, there is a noticeable lack of studies comparing the global television news coverage of protests between traditional and new global powers. Thus, this research aims to conduct a systematic comparison of television news coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong Protests between traditional and new global media powers. This research investigates representations of the 2014 Hong Kong Protests in two global television newsrooms namely the *BBC World News (BBCW)* from the United Kingdom and *CCTV News (CCTV)* from China, by using a combination method of quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis.

Content analysis is a popular research methodology in media studies, particularly for studies relating to television programs. Simultaneously, frame/framing analysis has been identified as

a feasible and powerful mechanism to compare different media representations, in particular for the ones from different media systems (An and Gower, 2009, Schnell, 2001). It helps define the problem framed in the media, and also indicate how the frame shapes public opinion (Knight, 1999). Thus framing analysis and content analysis are both adopted in this research to compare and contrast how the two global media reported the 2014 Hong Kong Protests.

### **1.1 Research Aim and Questions**

The purpose of the study is to shed more light on the scholarship on media globalization by comparing reporting of the 2014 Hong Kong Protests on global media *BBC World News* and *CCTV News* during the first two weeks of the protests (i.e. from 26th September to 9th October 2014), in order to better understand how the two global media from different cultural and political backgrounds representing old and new media powers reported the same protest in the bigger picture of contemporary globalizing media landscape. Further, the comparison will examine whether the protest was mediated in a ‘global’ account or through national frames in the selected global broadcasts, which will provide empirical research evidence to the theoretical discussions in global media studies.

The main research question is thus formulated as follows:

**Research Question:** How were the 2014 Hong Kong Protests reported on the flagship television news programs from BBCW and CCTV during the first two weeks of the protests? (i.e. from 26th September to 9th October 2014)

To answer the research question above, three hypotheses are proposed accordingly:

**Hypothesis 1.** The 2014 Hong Kong Protests were **framed differently** on the flagship television news programs from BBCW and CCTV.

**Hypothesis 2.** The **use of sources** was **different** on the flagship television news programs from BBCW and CCTV in their coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong Protests.

**Hypothesis 3.** BBCW and CCTV held **different valences towards protest** when reporting the 2014 Hong Kong Protests.

### **1.2 Significance of the Study**

This research adds value to other research done on the subject of protest, and also bridges the research gap in comparative studies of global media, as well as to enhance our understanding of different global newsrooms. On the other hand, since China’s global impact is increasing

under globalization, shedding light on how the Chinese global media CCTV reports political conflict such as protests, compared to the traditional western global media like BBCW, will help us gain a better understanding of the current evolving media landscape under globalization.

### **1.3 Thesis Outline**

In this thesis, the research problem and aim with research questions have been covered in the introduction, along with the significance of the study. Section 2 will represent the relevant literature review and theoretical framework, followed by a presentation of the analytical approach with empirical material used in this study in the third section. After that, findings will be presented and analyzed in the results section (Section 4). In the end, Section 5 will provide further discussion and final conclusion.

## **2. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review**

The theoretical section indicates where this study fits in scholarly debate, and how this research develops based on the review of previous relevant research. To answer the research question and test the three hypotheses, the research field will be surveyed from media globalization, global media and television on a broader level, then moving to a discussion on mediated protests studies, and finally zooming into comparative studies of global television with a focus on the cases of BBCW and CCTV. In addition, previous research on a useful analytical approach, framing analysis, will be reviewed as well. When exploring the realms mentioned above, answers are seeking for the questions proposed in this survey, such as “What is media globalization?”, “How the protest is mediated?”, “What are the key findings in previous research?”, “Why comparative studies?”, “Why study on television?”, “How to approach the mediated protest?” and so on. Meanwhile, some key concepts and findings will be highlighted during the discussion, such as the notion of ‘hybridity’ proposed by the political scientist Andrew Chadwick (2013), the media system models developed by Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004, 2011), and so on. The detailed explanation and discussion on these concepts will be presented next.

### **2.1 In the Bigger Picture**

In the early 1960s, the Canadian scholar Marshall McLuhan proposed the notion of the ‘global village’ drawing from his earlier work with Harold Innis. It was a technological deterministic view and McLuhan argued that “the emergency of the new age of electronic media would transform humankind from individualism and fragmentation to a collective identity, with a ‘tribal base’”(McLuhan, 1969). In today’s interconnected world, the idea of a ‘global village’ is not only an accurate prediction, but a reality that continues to manifest itself through globalization. Although it is still on going and far from complete, globalization has a dramatic impact on reshaping the world from various perspectives. While globalization makes the big world feel like a small ‘village’, a bigger picture is proposed to the media area. Then, what does the new bigger picture bring to the media landscape? This problem will be investigated through the discussions on media globalization and global media.

#### **2.1.1 Media Globalization**

In the last decades, a wide range of attention on media globalization has been observed in academia. Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2009) describes globalization as “a diverse concept that can be defined within different disciplines from different perspectives in different ways”

(P17). In media studies, the main arguments come from the key concept 'globalization' and the debates indicate that the concept is still ambiguous and surrounded by contradictions. Some scholars believe that global media is manifestly growing, though in a complex situation (Berglez, 2008, Sparks, 2013); while others argue that globalization phenomenon is a myth in the media sphere (Hafez, 2013). Nevertheless, it can be argued that media landscapes are evolving in the globalizing world (Crane et al., 2002, Ritzer, 2008, Wagner, 2014), as the world is increasingly becoming a "global village" in which the boundaries of national borders are blurring under globalization (Jenkins, 2006). Thus, a new bigger picture is proposed by globalization in media landscape. Based on Thompson's (1995) research, Devereux (2013) concluded several characteristics of 'media globalization' as follows: the widely used new information and communication technologies; the increasingly deregulated environment; a small number of dominant transnational media; the growingly homogenized and standardized content; the uneven flow of information and different level of access around the world; and the inextricable link with the promotion of the ideology .

Media globalization is one aspect of cultural globalization, as argued by Alexa Robertson (2015:176). Thus the anxieties about cultural homogenization due to media globalization were widely raised. A conversation on media globalization and the increasing hegemony was firstly invited by American scholar Lee Artz (2012) through his case study of how American culture 'influences' others under globalization. The topic of 'globalization and hegemony' not only points out that a potential problem lies in the media globalization, but also offers an analytical perspective to the development of media globalization. It has been widely observed that western values play an important role in contemporary media globalization, so concerns with 'hegemonic' globalization were raised by scholars on its consequences for homogenizing cultural diversity (Marsella, 2005). That said, if a global perspective was formed with one or two 'hegemonic' voices over the world, it might lead to the culture imperialism and colonialism in the world system (McPhail, 2010, Sparks, 2013).

However, other scholars hold different views on the homogeneity and media globalization. Paul Hopper (2006) claimed that media globalization is more appropriate when viewed as "encapsulating heterogeneity rather than homogeneity", since aspects of globalization are provoking cultural resistance at the same time.

Further, Chadwick (2011) argued that the ontology of hybridity offers a powerful way of thinking about politics and society, a means of seeing the world that highlights complexity, interdependence, and transition. The term of 'hybridity' originates from biology (Hermsen

and Ramanna, 1976) and then uses across numerous academic disciplines and salient in popular culture recently (Hutnyk, 1998). As a jargon term, the concept of ‘hybridity’ was used to describe “a type of media convergence whereby a new mode emerges containing combined elements”, or a new means used together with an old one, or various mixed phenomenon in contemporary media studies (Griffiths, 2014). As numerous information and logics are wandering in the new bigger picture; it is wise to follow the notion of ‘hybridity’ and approach the ‘in-betweenness’ situation of contemporary globalizing media landscape from ‘either/or’ thinking toward ‘not only, but also’ thinking (Chadwick 2013: 6). To get a better understanding of this hybrid globalizing media landscape, global media, which are also hybrid, are the next study objectives in this research.

### **2.1.2 Global Media**

Berglez (2008) points out that global media should adhere to a ‘global outlook’ in their global news reporting style and represent the world in terms of ‘global space’, ‘global power’ and ‘global identity’. Meanwhile, other voices such as Hemer and Tufte (2005) also argue that the nation-state will vanish if globalization truly creates a ‘world without borders’. Recently, scholars even argue that ‘we are all immigrants’ in the modern globe (Bata, 2008). Followed by this way, global media should be widely shared as the main source of information for global citizens living in the globalized world. Yet, current developments of global media are quite different from this scenario.

In fact, global media share a tight bond with their own unique backgrounds nowadays, since ‘the global is informed by local influences and vice versa’ (Hopper, 2007:183). In this globalized era, global media echo people’s needs of discovering the world. They not only broaden people’s vision but also make a connection between the inside and outside. Specifically, they aim to bring the outside in, and take the inside out (Cottle, 2014). In other words, it can be understood that different global media stand at different places to report the world (different outsides) for different audiences (different insides). With this perspective, a wide range of examples can be found from previous comparative studies in practice, which indicating that not all global media tell the same story at the same time, in particular for issues with relation to politics, such as war, conflict and protest (Berenger, 2004, Cottle, 2006, De Jong et al., 2005).

## **2.2 Mediated Protest**

Today, protests are not only ‘demonstrated’ in public squares and streets but also in and through the media, especially the news media to reach a wider range of audiences (Cottle, 2008); because they need the news media for wider mobilization, validation and to broaden the scope of conflict (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). As Robertson argued (2012), “protesters raise their voices not only to challenge their own governments, but also to speak to a global audience in these days.”

It is the globalization that “offers unprecedented opportunities for the reporting of protests from traditional to new media, and from the local to the global level” (McNair, 2006, Cottle, 2008, Robertson, 2015a). The reason for this is complex. On one hand, it is because “some new protests whose origins and outcomes cannot adequately be encompassed or explained by national or international frames of reference” (Cottle, 2009). On the other hand, reporting these issues on global level can “effectively promote people’s awareness, active people’s sympathy, and help people’s identifications” (Robertson, 2010).

### **2.2.1 The ‘Protest’ Paradigm**

A long history of research on mediated protest can be found in the academia. Results from Harlow and Johanson’s studies (2011) indicate that “how the media portray protesters influences not only how the public will perceive the protesters and their claims, but also whether the public will support the protesters” (McLeod, 1995, McLeod and Detenber, 1999, Detenber et al., 2007). Furthermore, Chan and Lee (1984) developed a notion of the ‘protest paradigm’ that concluded “a set of routine and pattern of characteristics that traditional news media tend to follow when reporting the protest events”. Later, this idea was extended to a news template for protest coverage, which further elaborates elements such as narrative structure, or framing, etc. (McLeod and Hertog, 1999) and highlights sensational details such as violence, visible drama, strange behavior and so on (Gitlin, 1980, Hertog and McLeod, 1995, Kielbowicz and Scherer, 1984). This theory is useful and helpful to study mediated protest. However, it is still mostly based on portrays from Western media. Therefore, it can be extended to use in a wider range under globalization. This research helps to add more value in further developing this theory.

On the other hand, an emerging phenomenon was identified by Daya Kishan Thussu (2008), namely the ‘infotainment’, which had been proven as a useful study perspective to approach the protest paradigm. While media globalization enables the information flows and power

relations reach a higher level of global sphere with multiple media overlapping and merging, the notion of 'infotainment' refers to the phenomenon of emerging and delivering the information and entertainment at the same time in order to attract and maintain attentions from audiences. This theory provides a possible theoretical explanation to why the same protest was reported different from different media sources, in particular for the global media with different political and economic backgrounds.

As mentioned earlier, contrary to claims about the universal news values shape representation of protest, it was identified that the protests were reported differently from different media sources in a series of previous research, such as the following examples in next sub-section.

### **2.2.2 Previous Research on Mediated Protest**

There are a lot of research conducted to focus on same issue but different districts, or different media sources, and then to compare. These kind of empirical researches make contributions to the media studies. Such as in Nohrstedt and Ottosen's research (2005), the topic of the war in Iraq has been intensively discussed from almost all parts of the world. As they argued in their book, "in the era of globalization it is urgent that media scholars develop global perspectives on media, in particular in relation to media discourses on international conflicts. This cannot be achieved unless researchers from various countries, cultures and continents make joint efforts." A need for further research with a focus on different subjects with different global media is thus identified and justified. Furthermore, the global perspective is also able to be learned from the focus to protests.

*Reporting demonstrations: The changing media politics of dissent* by the British scholar Simon Cottle (2008) is an influential paper in the research area, in which Cottle identified six contexts of change that need be further addressed when examining the mediated protest in contemporary changing mediated world, including the change of geo-politics and media frames, the change from the local and global, etc. Further, he pointed out that detailed and comparative research is much needed on exactly how protests around the world elaborated in the news media. This research is thus aimed to contribute in this research gap.

In Margaret Cissel's (2012) comparative research on the Occupy Wall Street demonstrations, she found that the portrayal of the movement differed greatly between mainstream media and alternative media. Her research not only confirms that protest, as a controversial political conflict, is often framed differently on different media sources, but also indicates that further comparative research on protests is needed. Additionally, she adopted the media framing

theory in her research, which was proved as a useful analytical tool to compare different media coverage, and will be used in this research as well.

Another famous example on mediated protest is the 2011 Arab Spring. That protest was a revolutionary wave not only in the Arab world, but also in the media landscape. A number of researches were carried out on the discussions between media and protest: while most studies focused on the use of social media (Lotan et al., 2011, Khondker, 2011, Howard et al., 2011); Robertson (2012) explored the global news coverage of the “Arab Awakening” by comparing the reports from global media Al Jazeera English and BBC World. The study investigated the reporting gaze as well as the way audiences situated between the two broadcasters. With little surprise, differences between the two global media outlets were also found in the results.

Based on these conclusions from previous studies, is it a logical thinking that the same protest is often mediated differently in different media sources? If yes, then what is the difference? Is the difference related to the media outlet or not? With these questions, the comparative analysis is required for the hybrid global media, in particular “between different national and political cultures, and across the local/national/global interface”, as Robertson argued in her new book *Media and Politics in a globalizing world* (2015a).

### **2.3 Comparative Studies**

In contemporary globalizing world, it is no longer sufficient to approach the mediated protest through one single country (Beck, 2006). Although comparative research between subsystems within a single ‘living system’ (for example, a nation-state) or several living systems (such as the European Union) were suggested by Shelton A. Gunaratne (2007), the research limited to these levels are still not enough to understand what happened in contemporary globalizing media landscape. In other words, there is a need for transnational comparative research, in particular for the ones from different media systems, and between old and new global powers.

#### **2.3.1 Media Systems**

In 2004, Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini proposed a framework for comparative analysis of media-politics system in their book ‘*Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*’ and pinpointed three major models of media system models, e.g. the Polarized Pluralist, Democratic Corporatist and Liberal models (2004). Their conceptual framework of media system consists of four dimensions, i.e. structure of media markets, political parallelism, professionalization of journalism, and the role of the state with regards to media systems. These principal dimensions of variation in media and political systems (Blumler and

Gurevitch, 1975) are of great value and worth to follow in future studies in attempt to better understand media-politics relationship globally. However, only eighteen democracies were included in the three models, which mainly from Europe and North America. Against this backdrop, Hallin and Mancini later published another book *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world* to offer a broad exploration of the conceptual framework at global level (2011). Their new book provided an insight into other parts of the world, including Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Latin, America, Asia and Africa. In the case of China, in particular, the writer emphasized the dominant role of the Chinese state media in its media system. More detailed review on China's case will be presented in the following sections, after the discussions on old and new global powers.

The media system models and the comparative analysis methods proposed by Hallin and Mancini are very useful and helpful for the future studies. The United Kingdom was analyzed in their Liberal Model, while China was studied in their recent book as mentioned earlier. The basic characteristics of their media systems are identified with the discussion on the relationship of media and politics. In this research, the study objectives are thus chosen based on this valuable theoretical framework.

### **2.3.2 Old and New Global Powers**

Entering a new era of globalization with the 'rise of the South' and the increasing powers of emerging economies, new global powers such as China, India, Brazil, Russia and South Africa are getting more visible in the media landscape (Guerrero, 2013). The global powers are defined in relation to 'hard power' and 'soft power'. While 'hard power' indicates the military and economic influence, 'soft power' deals more with diplomacy, culture and history (Wilson, 2008). The concept of 'soft power' was initially proposed by Joseph Nye (1990), and had been further developed (Nye, 2004) and widely discussed recently (Nye Jr, 2009, Kurlantzick, 2007, Hayashi and Eun-Jeung, 2007). It not only provided a useful term to politics studies, but also for media research. As discussed earlier, current development of global media is uneven and hybrid. Relevant scholarly debate can be found from *The West and the Rest* (Hall, 1992), to the discussions about the Growing BRICS Model<sup>1</sup> (Sparks, 2013). The traditional global powers have been recognized commonly as the USA and the Europe, while the new global powers often refer to the BRICS Model. In particular, Roselle et al. (2014) emphasized that "the 'emergence' of new global powers like China and India and

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<sup>1</sup> Brail, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

the continuation of major changes to media ecologies demand the development and attention in global media studies”. This is a good argument, since it will not be ‘global’ if any important nations are missing in the bigger pictures. For example of ‘Virtual Conference’ in 2012, Weibo as Chinese based Twitter was not included in the list, although its user amount was almost same as Twitter (Sparks, 2013). With this mistake of ignorance, the results may not be valid enough for presenting in the global media studies. As a result, multiple perspectives are encouraged to be brought into the emerging global media sphere (Thussu, 2008), in particular a large number of researches were carried out with a focus on China’s case recently.

### **2.3.2 The case of China**

In the bigger picture, China has now become a new hot research topic in global media studies. The notion of ‘de-westernization’ proposed by James Curran and Myung-Jin Park (2000) aims to contribute to “broadening of media theory and understanding in a way that takes account of experiences of countries outside the Anglo-American orbit”. During the process of ‘de-westernization’, China as an emerging global power has attracted a wide range of attentions in the academia.

Based on China’s unique political background, media studies often relate to the politics. Since the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, almost all media outlets in Mainland China were state-run. Until the economic reforms, independent media outlets only began to emerge (Fogg, 2014). However, state-run media (such as China’s largest and most powerful national television station CCTV) were and are still dominant voice by now. A strict censorship has been observed in Chinese media. One significant issue was the 1989 Tiananmen Square Protests, where relevant information was and remains under control in China, even private discussions on social media are forbidden. In this way, China has been consistently ranked as very poor on media freedoms in the Press Freedom Index (ReportersWithoutBorders, 2015).

Simultaneously, several difficulties have been identified in Chinese media studies. First and foremost is the media control problem. Take the Great Firewall case in China as an example (Fackler, 2000, Zhang, 2006, Elgin and Einhorn, 2006, Winter and Lindskog, 2012), media freedom is lost in hands of government for the sake of information control. In order to ensure no harmful political information able to reach audiences in China, the government establishes the world’s biggest firewall and regulates a strict censorship over media. As a result, the press freedom in China is lost, so is the media power of ‘watchdog’. Against this backdrop, Chinese

media, the state media in particular, have been framed as a tool for propaganda and hegemony (Chan, 2002).

However, globalization brings new possibilities to re-define the evolving media landscape in multiple perspectives, as argued above. It thus would be interesting to conduct relevant research to examine what happened in China. It is found from previous research that the research focus was put much on either within China at local or national level, or the connection between China and the outside at international or global level (Stephanie Hemelryk Donald, 2002, Li, 1994, Li, 2000, Qian and Bandurski, 2011, Rosen, 2010, Xu, 2014); while only a small number of research carried out on how Chinese media react under globalization (Chin-Chuan, 2003, Liu, 2004, Lee, 2003). As discussed earlier, there is a need for further research on how the new global power, China in this, is changing and developing in the bigger picture. The predominant global media the *CCTV News*, in particular, is a well-worth study objective in this research area, since it is China's window to the world.

#### **2.4 On the Public Screen**

The notion of 'public screen' was proposed by Kevin Michael DeLuca and Jennifer Peeples in their influential paper "*From Public Sphere to Public Screen: Democracy, Activism, and the 'Violence' of Seattle*" (2002). It was a notion developed from Habermas' concept 'public sphere' (Habermas et al., 1974). Through the case study of the WTO protests in Seattle, DeLuca and Peeples (2002) argued that the 'public screen' highlights dissemination, images, hypermediacy, publicity, distraction, and dissent. Their findings are in particular helpful for further research on media and protest, since the notion of 'public screen' illustrated the relationship of media and protest as 'the public discussions take place via screens.' This is true as a lot of examples can be found that public protests are now happening on the 'public screens' (Cottle, 2008). However, it is noted that the screens here do not refer to the physical screens on television, but meaning to media in general. Thanks to the development of modern technology, it is found that recent research focuses more on the rise of new media than the traditional screen, television, under the emerging globalization (DeLuca et al., 2012). Yet, previous research indicated that television, television news in particular, "remains the primary source of political information for most people nowadays" (Robertson, 2015b).

In the globalizing world, television was not only able to transmit moving images and sound as it used to be in the past days, but also "across geographical boundaries and greatly contribute to the making of rich and complex hybrid and diaspora identities" as an agent of globalization

(Barker, 1999). Further, “despite the incursion of social media, television continues to help ‘define’ society insofar as it gives us the language and symbolic repertoire to help us make sense of, and agree on, the terms in which we speak about the world around” (Robertson 2015:26). Not to mention that television no longer only broadcasts in the traditional way, but also in many new ways of transmitting media content through digital television, internet television, and so on. In other words, although television is often framed as a traditional medium, it has been used in a new way under globalization. Nevertheless, television was, is and still will be a powerful medium in the new era of globalization. Global television newsrooms, as the new format of television under globalization, play an important role as connection between the local and global, as well as the inside and the outside.

#### **2.4.1 The Global Newsrooms**

News media serve as “an effective source of information and powerful mode of communication”, as Cissel claimed (2012). Television news programs and formats also “demonstrate more variability than generally acknowledged” (Cottle, 2008). Further, the news media at global level aim at reporting the global to the global audiences. However, it is observed that global newsrooms still remain tied to local and national cultures, although “global dissemination of formats may suggest not only the global integration of the economy of the industry but also the standardization of content” (Waisbord, 2004). In a study of the Eurovision news exchange, findings suggest that global newsrooms still cater to the requirements of local audiences (Cohen, 1996). In another way, it indicated that “different newsrooms, different windows on the world” as Robertson pointed out (2010:32). It can thus be agreed that difference does exist between global newsrooms, in particular for the ones with different cultural and political backgrounds as discussed earlier. However, empirical evidence is not sufficient to further illustrate the difference between different global newsrooms, due to the uneven development of global media and the still evolving globalization. As a result, this research aims to compare global newsrooms, since “they all broadcast with the same few hours to the same global audience in English” (Robertson, 2012), and also “shared same values of professionalism and objectivity” (Robertson, 2015a), despite they may share different power and media structures.

The representatives of old and new global powers in this research are selected as the United Kingdom and China, and comparative media are then chosen from leading global media from the two countries above. These selections are made based on the topic of Hong Kong Protests, considering the unique historical and political connection between HK with these two

countries. Additionally, China is also a good study objective as the world's most important rising global power, while UK is a classic old global power to be compared at the same time.

#### **2.4.2 Previous Research on the Global News Channels**

In this sub-section, the previous relevant research on the two selected global channels is firstly reviewed, with a brief discussion on accessing the global channels in the end.

##### **2.4.2.1 Research on BBC World News**

As one of the world's oldest and most watched global broadcasters, *BBC World News* represents the liberal or Anglo-American model of media and politics which "entails a professional ethos centered on the principle of objectivity" (Hallin and Mancini 2004:227). In Robertson's comparative research of the Arab Spring on BBC World and Al Jazeera English, the BBC World gaze was found as male (middle-aged-English male) and its reporting perspective was identified from "elite" rather than "the vantage point of civil society" (Robertson, 2012). In another comparative research on BBC News, the results suggested that "although the BBC does not engage actively in advocacy journalism it certainly does promote a wide variety of political views, and often dissident views" (Bicket and Wall, 2009). This is an interesting finding which needs to be further examined since the research was based on the BBC news channel instead of *BBC World News*. Similar findings also suggest that previous research on BBC were mostly focused on a particular district rather than the evolving bigger picture (Shrikhande, 2001, Miladi, 2006). However, it is also noticed that most research were conducted as comparative study, which was useful and worth to follow in this as well as future research.

##### **2.4.2.2 Research on CCTV News**

*CCTV News* was framed as China's window on the world in previous research (Chang et al., 2002). As a state-owned media, more research concerns were put on the notion of 'soft power' (Nye, 2005, Wang, 2011). Seungeun (2013) claimed that Chinese state put efforts on China's global media *CCTV News* to develop its national image and increase its soft power through the medium of English news as recognized and interpreted by global viewers. Further, more arguments claimed that the foremost responsibility of *CCTV News* is to 'be a good mouthpiece' of the news and publicity system operated by the Communist Party of China and PRC government (Jirik, 2008). Sometimes, "fake news and false reports" can even be seen on *CCTV News*. However, a recent study also suggested that change has been observed on *CCTV News*, in particular thanks to the globalization. For example, the topic of 'citizen's right to

know' became popularized in China after breaking news coverage of the Iraq War and SARS in 2003 (Zhang, 2007). In the new era of globalization, Chinese peoples' awareness of press freedom and democracy significantly increased. Sun (2009) questioned that the mission of Chinese media 'go global' is impossible to accomplish, because "despite the increased quantity of Chinese media content overseas, the sphere of disagreement between Chinese media and its international counterparts — over what kind of stories should be told and how to tell these stories — seems insurmountably vast". Yet, this statement might not be entirely right. Further investigation on China's global media, *CCTV News* in particular, is needed to provide more empirical evidence to test from different perspectives, such as if *CCTV News* is just a mouthpiece of the state or the Communist Party of China, if *CCTV News* tells the story differently compared to other global media, if globalization brings any changes to the *CCTV News* and so on. There are many questions yet to be answered.

#### **2.4.3 Assessing the Global News Channels**

The reviewed previous research provides a good reason to argue that global mediated culture is not homogenous in contemporary globalizing media landscape, and protests are often portrayed different on different public screens. Furthermore, global media from different backgrounds such as different media systems or global powers may report the same protest significantly different. In this sense, the results for this research can be predicted as the 2014 Hong Kong Protests were reported differently on *BBC World News* and *CCTV News*. To be more specific, three hypotheses are developed accordingly. To answer the research question and test the hypotheses, framing analysis would be a sensible way of establishing the differences. Therefore, the ideas behind the framing approach are presented next.

#### **2.5 Scholarship on Framing Analysis**

Frame/framing analysis is not new in media studies, since frame/framing analysis has been identified has a powerful mechanism to compare different media representations, in particular for the issue with regard to politics, such as crisis, protests, etc. (An and Gower, 2009, Schnell, 2001). It can help define the problem framed in the media, and also indicate how the frame shapes public opinion (Knight, 1999). As researchers pointed out, "how people think about an issue, especially a political issue that is inherently ambiguous, is dependent on how the issue is framed by the media" (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000:94).

The increasing popularity of the framing concept in media analysis leads to an impressive literature for expanding our understanding of framing analysis. According to Gamson and

Modigliana's definition, a media frame is "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events", and the frame suggests "what the controversy is about, and the essence of the issue" (Garrison and Modigliani, 1987). Later, four key aspects were defined in Entman's theory, which are define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies (Entman, 1993). Furthermore, De Vreese (2005) claimed that generic news frames may be identified and used to understand cross-national differences in news coverage.

Much of the previous research on framing has focused on media frames in relation to public policy issues and public relations (Hallahan, 1999, Iyengar, 1994, Knight, 1999). Meantime, examples are found to use framing to analyze mediated crisis and protests, such as the case of the Ukrainian political crisis 2000-2001 (Baysha and Hallahan, 2004), the case of American Indian protest (Baylor, 1996), the case of Occupy Wall Street (Cissel, 2012), and so on (Johnston and Noakes, 2005). They have all proved that framing analysis is useful and helpful for news coverage analysis, in particular for the crisis/protest reporting, since "it is important to look at how the media frames a crisis event, the cause of the event, and actor responsible for it because those frames influence the public's perception and impressions" (Coombs, 2006).

In practice, different approaches to framing analysis have been widely found in the academia. For example Iyengar (1994) differentiated the media frames between episodic and thematic from concrete and abstract level. The research results suggest that the type of media framing influences how audiences attribute responsibility. On the other hand, a handful of common frames in the news have been identified in the literature to date (Patterson, 2011, Cappella and Jamieson, 1997). Amongst these, a systematic research was carried out by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) using five generic frames (e.g. attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality, and economic) with measurement questions in their crisis news coverage research *Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news* (details attached in Appendix C). Their research could be seen as a successful extension of previous research. The methodology used in their research, in particular the series of framing measure questions, is very useful for the future research on framing analysis. Therefore, a developing version of Semetko and Valkenburg's framing analysis approach will be used in this research. More details are presented in the following section.

### **3. Methodology**

To answer the research question and test the hypotheses, a mixed methodology of framing analysis and content analysis is employed to selected study materials. The choice of methodology is not only based on research aim, but also takes researcher's background into account. To eliminate potential national and ethnical bias on study objective, a quantitative content analysis, as a useful tool to analyze television materials, is firstly chosen for its objectivity claim. Then, a qualitative framing analysis is conducted to particularly approach the first hypothesis regarding comparison of framings of Hong Kong Protests on two global media. By combining the two methods, this study will get a deeper understanding for the research question how Hong Kong Protests have been represented on two channels.

In this section, a discussion on the mixed methodology of the two methods used in this research is firstly presented, followed by introducing the sampling and coding procedures in detail.

#### **3.1 The Mixed Methodology**

A mixed methodology of quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis is employed in this research. This sub-section includes a presentation of content analysis, and a brief discussion on framing analysis, with a discussion on method combination in the end.

##### **3.1.1 Content Analysis**

In this study, the content analysis is used from a quantitative perspective for testing the hypotheses 2 and 3 regarding the sources and valence analysis, since quantitative methods are valuable and useful to mapping and categorizing data. As Lacey and Luff (2001) argued, "the quantitative data can be beneficial because it is categorized quantitatively, and subjected to statistical analysis". In this way, it enables the researcher to easily summarize empirical data by using statistics or graphs for further comparative analyses.

Riffe (1998) defined content analysis as "the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication", which is able to acknowledge "centrality of the content". On one hand, 'systematic' feature allows exploration of media content "in a more comprehensive way and less prone to subjective selectiveness" (Hansen et al., 1998); On the other hand, 'replicability' aspect can be seen as one guarantee of reliability of the method (Krippendorff, 2004). For the sake of objectivity, a systematic and replicable coding scheme is developed for this method (Appendix B). In this research, the analysis relies on a fourth layer of coding.

More detailed coding procedures and variables explanations will be presented in the following paragraphs.

However, as Neuendorf (2002) identified in her book, “although quantitative content analysis uses a broader brush to provide a general outline for the research, it is typically less in-depth and less detailed”. In media landscape, Robertson and Levin (2010) also argued that “purely quantitative approaches fail to gain analytical purchase on the meaning-making properties of media texts”. To combat this challenge, a qualitative framing analysis is intended to be used, as “quantitative and qualitative research are common to be used at the same and be viewed as different ways of examining the same research problem” (Gray and Densten, 1998).

### **3.1.2 Framing Analysis**

To test the hypothesis 1 regarding the frame, framing analysis is chosen for this research. Framing analysis, as one of qualitative analysis methods of media content, aims to detect the message frame and specify the deeper relationship in the coverage by interpreting the message as a whole. In addition to a discourse analysis method, framing analysis is “more culture bound than content analysis” (Reese et al., 2001), which is “principally concerned with dissecting how an issue is defined and problematized, and its effect” (Hope, 2010). It helps to discover how media represent a specific topic and focus on the essence of the issue.

In this study, the framing analysis is conducted from an academic perspective but interpreted from the angle of ordinary audiences. Inspired by the framing techniques per Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), attentions have been made on keywords, images, metaphor, narrative, etc. The framing analysis will include the analysis of the adjectives used in descriptions (positive and negative) which give indications of attitude; the metaphors used; viewpoint of the narrator; the context factors such as the position and credibility of spokespersons or sources quoted; and so on (Macnamara, 2005). To be more specific, the framing analysis in this research will be carried out based on Semetko and Valkenburg’s (2000) research with new developing, as mentioned earlier.

### **3.1.3 The Combination of the Methods**

Although the two methods examine the research problem from different perspectives, either of them is problematic due to its limitation: the content analysis is typically less in-depth and less detailed (Neuendorf, 2002), and the framing analysis is subjective and lacking of supporting evidence. Therefore, the best solution is to combine them to overcome disadvantages and share benefits at the same time. In addition, results from quantitative

method can also support qualitative analysis, not to mention that they are also valuable to contribute to the issue of validity. In this research, the framing analysis will contribute to generate variables and content analysis is carried out based on these variables. It is a mixed methodology, and will be used together for the whole process of the research.

### **3.2 Sampling**

The sampling selection is followed by the three steps proposed by Newbold et al. (2002). Firstly the media form and genre is chosen as the flagship news; then the study period is decided to focus on the first two weeks of 2014 Hong Kong Protests, from the 26th September 2014 to the 9th October 2014; at last, the relevant content is the news items devoted to the Hong Kong Protests on these two news programs. In practice, two daily flagship news broadcasts on global media *BBC World News* and *CCTV News* are selected as empirical study materials to compare media representations of Hong Kong Protests.

#### **3.2.1 Rationale of the Sampling**

The materials are comparable because they share the same type (news), the same frequency (daily), the same length (30 minutes), focus on the same content (global hot topics), at the same broadcasting level (global), with the same target audience (global), and in the same language (English). In addition, due to the research scope of this project only the first two weeks are selected as study period. Still, the materials are representative enough to show how the two global media reacted at the beginning of the protests, as well as how they reported the protests.

Furthermore, these selections are made departing from the topic of the Hong Kong Protests. Considering the unique historical and political connection between Hong Kong with China and the United Kingdom, leading global television media are selected for this study. Hong Kong, officially known as Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, was handed over from the United Kingdom to China in year 1997 (Tsang, 2007). Before that, Hong Kong was a British colony for ninety-nine years. Until the 1st July 1997, it became China's first Special Administrative Region under the principle of "one country, two systems" (Russell and O'Brien, 2001). Against the backdrop, it would be interesting to explore how a protest in Hong Kong is reported in the global newsrooms from UK and China. Therefore, the leading global media *BBC World News* from UK and *CCTV News* from China are chosen as empirical study materials in this study. Regarding the two global media channels, more detailed information is presented next.

### 3.2.2 The Empirical Materials

This section introduces the background information of the two studied channels *BBC World News* and *CCTV News*, following by a brief discussion of the empirical materials access issue.

*BBC World News* is the BBC's commercially funded, international 24-hour news and information channel, broadcast in English in more than 200 countries and territories across the globe. It has the largest audience of any BBC channel, with an estimated 76 million viewers per week in 2014 (BBCWorldNews, 2015). Launched on 11 March 1991 as BBC World Service Television outside Europe, its name was changed to BBC World in 1995 and to BBC World News in 2008. It broadcasts television programming and employs more correspondents and reporters and has more international bureau than any other news channel. Unlike BBC's domestic channels, BBC World News is owned and operated by BBC Global News Ltd, part of the BBC's commercial group of companies and is funded by subscription and advertising revenues, and not by the United Kingdom television license (BBC, 2015).

*CCTV News*, formerly known as CCTV-9 or CCTV International, is a 24-hour English news channel of China Central Television (CCTV), the nation's largest national broadcasting network (CCTVNews, 2015). The channel based in Beijing, grew out of CCTV International which was launched on 15 September 2000. *CCTV News* coverage can be received by more than 85 million viewers, in over 100 countries and regions (CCTV, 2010). It caters to a global English-speaking audience, including overseas Chinese and English speakers in China. It is also claimed that the channel edits stories the same way other news organizations do. Ma Jing, Director of CCTV America said: "We uphold the traditional journalistic values. We consider accuracy, objectivity, truthfulness, and public accountability very important, more important than anything else." (Suarez, 2012)

The empirical materials from the two global media outlets are, fortunately, available to access, benefiting from the research project called *Screening Protest*<sup>2</sup> which is led by Professor Alexa Robertson in the department of media and communication, Stockholm University.

Although the global media are now broadcasted 24/7, there is no need to compare the materials for all day in the shoes of audiences on real life. Therefore, this study will select one daily example from each channel during the study period. To be more specific in the accessible materials, news broadcast on BBCW is recorded at 1900 CET for the flagship news program *World News Today*, while CCTV at 1600 CET for the flagship news program *News*

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<sup>2</sup> Official Website of the Project: <http://screeningprotest.com/>

*Update.* Both of them are random selected from the daily news broadcast, and they are representative and comparable due to the reasons discussed earlier. What's more, another limitation of empirical materials needs to clarify as well. Since the recorded broadcasts change to different programs during weekends, final empirical materials are actually composed of two 30 minutes flagship news programs on BBCW and CCTV for ten weekdays.

### **3.3 Coding**

The unit of analysis in this research is one single news story. In the media studies, this kind of comparative research is usually conducted from several perspectives, such as theme, frame, source, tone/valence, etc. In this study, fourteen variables have been developed based on the main research questions and hypotheses. In detail, the coding categories include four main sections: the first section focuses on the general information of the news to compare the attention paid on the 2014 Hong Kong Protests from each newsroom (e.g. date, media outlet, air time, prominence); the second section consists of four news frames to test the first hypothesis concerning the framing analysis; and the last two sections are used for source and valence analysis related to the other hypotheses. More detailed explanation on each variable can be found in the code book (Appendix), while the conceptual and operational definitions of several important variables will be presented next..

#### **3.3.1 Conceptual and Operational Definitions of Variables**

The conceptual and operational definitions of all the variables used in this research are presented and explained in this section. Variables are introduced in four parts by subject, i.e. attention, frame, source, and valence.

##### **3.1.1.1 Attention**

Besides the basic variables for general information in the first section (such as coder name , air date and media outlet information), another two variables (air time and prominence) are used to compare how much attention was paid on the 2014 Hong Kong Protests in each news story and on each global media.

In detail, the air time refers to the total time recording of the story. The prominence is defined with regards to its location within the whole news programs. Three categories are developed to examine the prominence: firstly if the news is included in the daily headline stories, it can be categorized as the 'top story'; secondly, main story refers to the news which is not included

in the headline but reported over one minute as a main story; at last, if the news is reported in a brief way (less than one minute) and not included in the headline, then it is the brief news.

### **3.3.1.2 Frame Categories**

Frames refer to the overarching frameworks journalists use to structure a story. The news frame can be ascertained by analyzing news through three to five specific questions for each frame according to the previous research results. The frame categories used in this study (Appendix D) are adopted and developed from Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) research (Appendix C), as argued aforementioned.

Out of their five generic frames and measurements, conflict frame has been changed to violence frame because the research topic protest is a conflict issue. In other words, conflict frame might be possibly observed in all the news clips, which may not contribute much to the comparative research. Meanwhile, morality frame is also decided to be excluded in this study after pilot study due to suitability concern. In addition, some measure questions are also rewritten based on the research objective. To sum up, four frame categories are determined to use in this study, i.e. economic frame, human interest frame, responsibility frame, and violence. Each frame is coded based on its presence/absence in the news item. The value of each framing scale is coded as 1 (frame present) or 0 (frame absent). As it is hard to predict all the possible frames for the news items, an empty frame called 'other frame(s)' is provided in the end as well. If any particular frames other than the four frame categories mentioned above are observed from the news, then it can be coded as 'other' frame with depictions. More detailed explanation of each frame is presented below. Please note that only the measure questions for violence which developed by the researcher are presented in this section, while other measure problems borrowed from previous research are available in the Appendix C. Additionally, the Appendix D includes all the measure questions for this research.

#### **➤ Economic Frame**

This frame reports the protest in terms of the economic consequences. The frame can be identified as 'present' if there is a discussion on economics, or a person with economic identity has been interviewed, such as businessman, etc.

#### **➤ Human Interest Frame**

This frame 'brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem', in this case, the HK Protests. If any individual faces or emotional angles are clearly shown in the clips, this frame is present.

➤ **Responsibility Frame**

This frame is defined as ‘a way of attributing responsibility for a cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group’. In this study, if there are discussions around responsibility of protesters or government, then this frame can be stated as present.

➤ **Violence Frame**

This frame discusses the protests around the topic of violence or anti-violence. If a dramatic body conflict can be seen, or any words related to the violence topic can be identified, then this frame is able to be chosen as present. In practice, it can be measured by the questions:

- Is there a mention of violence now or in the past?
- Is there a mention of the weapon (e.g. tear gas, rubber bullet, etc.) involved?
- Is there a reference to violent actions of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?
- Does the story contain visual information about fighting or body conflict?

➤ **Other Frame(s)**

If there is (are) new frame(s) other than the four frames identified above, specify what it is (they are) during the coding.

As mentioned above, the framing analysis is used for frame categories coding, while other analysis on sources and valence will be employed the methodology of content analysis.

### **3.3.1.3 Sources**

In this research, sources refer to persons who directly shown and given a statement in the news. It is noted that journalists and reports are not included in this sources analysis. All the sources will be classified by their roles into the following categories:

1) Political actor

Political actors include all (ex) leaders, officers with a relation to any level of government.

2) Individual

This category includes citizens, tourists, students, employees, business owners (who speak for themselves or their business only), and so on.

3) Representative

Representatives refer to the people who are affiliated with an organization and spoken as representatives of that organization. If their words or opinions have no relation to their organization but only stand out for personal opinions, then they are labeled as individuals instead of representatives

4) Expert

People who have a particular expertise or knowledge on the HK Protests are considered as experts, such as scholars or writers.

#### 5) Other

This category includes any other person without identity or his/her role is not mentioned above.

The analysis of sources is based on the chronological order. The first source in the news story is identified as primary source and the second source is secondary source, while all the others are categories as other sources. After all the sources are collected, the sources will be analyzed in terms of their times, frequency and percentage. Also, the primary and secondary source in two news programs from BBCW and CCTV will be compared and analyzed.

#### **3.3.1.4 Valence**

Valence towards protest refers to the stance of the news from BBCW and CCTV hold towards Hong Kong Protests. The valence can be positive, negative, or neutral. A news story demonstrates a positive valence if it indicates support for protesters or presents the protest in a positive way, such as indication of the intention of the protest is pro-democracy or in a polite way. On the other hand, a news story shows a negative valence if it criticizes the protest illegal or blames the protest for its side effects. A news story exhibits a neutral valence when there is no clear attitude towards protest can be ascertained or the stances for both positive and negative can be found at the same time. The number of the three valences will be calculated in total to determine which one is the dominant valence in the news programs from BBCW and CCTV, respectively.

#### **3.3.2 Coding Procedure**

Two well-trained coders analyzed all news items, including the author. Both coders are well-educated and can understand English well as a typical global audience. Each coder coded the programs independently, following the guide from the codebook (Appendix B).

#### **3.4 Inter-coder Reliability**

Inter-coder reliability refers to the levels of agreement among independent coders who code the same content using the same coding instrument. In this study, two coders were trained to code for the variables. Using Holsti's method (1969), the inter-coder reliability for all materials was 0.88 in this study.

## **4. Results and Analysis**

This section presents the results in relation to the research question and hypotheses of the study mentioned above. In order to answer the research question, the comparison results regarding the general information of the sample are firstly presented with relation to the attention paid on the 2014 Hong Kong Protests (HKP<sup>3</sup>) on two channels. The attention is discussed from the perspective of air time and prominence of the news items. After that, the descriptive results for frame category are provided with the collected data. Next, the use of sources and the valence towards the protest are presented in the form of means for each variable, frequency and percentage. As this is a comparative study, the following results all put BBCW beside CCTV.

### **4.1 Attention**

Attention analysis is the first step to compare the reporting of the 2014 Hong Kong Protests on BBCW and CCTV. The results based on the air time and prominence analysis indicate that the 2014 Hong Kong Protests were given similar attentions on BBCW and CCTV, with slight differences.

#### **4.1.1 Air Time**

As illustrated in Table 1, the final number of the news items regarding the Hong Kong Protests on two programs is identified as 7 items on BBCW compared to 8 items on CCTV. Yet things are changed when it comes to the relative number of items devoted to the Hong Kong Protests in each program (% of own items devoted to HKP). Since there are much more news items on CCTV (112 in total) than BBCW (77 in total) during the selected period, the relative number of items devoted to HKP on BBCW (9%) is in fact a little higher than CCTV (7%). However, CCTV devotes more program time to HKP, which is actually 10 minutes more in total, compared to BBCW. Further, the relative number of the time in CCTV case is consistently higher (17%) in this case as well. Since the length of CCTV program (246 minutes) is even shorter than the BBCW one (270 minutes), the relative number of the time is actually more significant than the length. This is an interesting new finding, which is not expected from previous studies. Further, Detailed daily prominence comparison is compared too, as presented next.

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<sup>3</sup> To make the discussion easier, the 2014 Hong Kong Protests is written short as HKP in this section.

**Table 1** Number of items devoted to the ‘Hong Kong Protest’ (HKP) in relation to the total number of items in two global television news programs, during 26 September – 06 October 2014.

	<b>Length (mins)</b>	<b>Share of total sample (length)</b>	<b># items</b>	<b>Share of total sample (items)</b>	<b>Time HKP items (mins)</b>	<b>% of own time devoted to HKP</b>	<b># HKP items</b>	<b>% of own items devoted to HKP</b>
<b>BBCW (R=10)</b>	270	52	77	41	31	11	7	9
<b>CCTV (R=10)</b>	246	48	112	59	41	17	8	7
<b>Total</b>	516	100	189	100	72	14	15	1

#### 4.1.2 Prominence

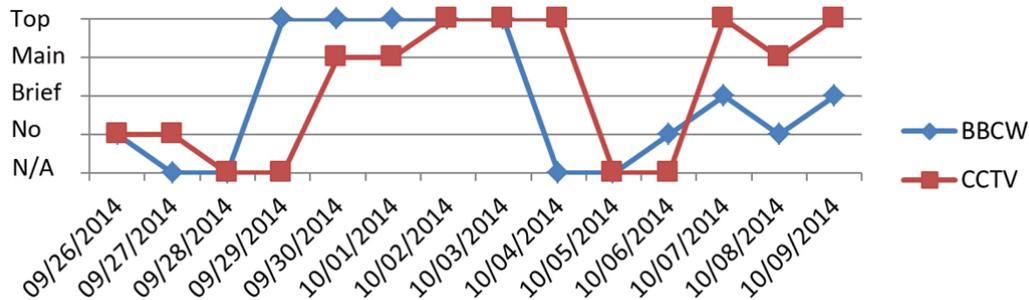
In addition, the comparison has also been carried out regarding the prominence of the news items devoted to the Hong Kong Protests. As the data shown in Table 2, it is clear that BBCW and CCTV put similar emphasis on the HKP topic during the selected period, in particular for the top news presentation. Both channels presented the topic news as top news for five times, which is 50% of the total top news items during the study period. In other words, the Hong Kong Protests are one of the main focuses on both BBCW and CCTV during half of the research period. However, things are different in the other half period: two brief news items about HKP are identified on BBCW, while three main news items devoted to HKP are reported on CCTV. That said, CCTV put more emphasis on the topic HKP compared to BBCW during the study period, though the difference is not that significant. This is a same finding as the first one discussed above, and things become more interesting when we take a deep look at how the prominence changed over time (Figure 1).

**Table 2** Number of items devoted to the ‘Hong Kong Protest’ (HKP) in relation to the prominence of items in two global television news programs, during 26 September – 06 October 2014.

<b>Newsroom</b>	<b>Top News</b>	<b>Main News</b>	<b>Brief News</b>	<b>Total own items</b>
<b>BBCW</b>	5 (71%)	0 (0%)	2 (29%)	7 (100%)
<b>CCTV</b>	5 (63%)	3 (37%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)

As shown in Figure 1, it can be seen that the HKP news were dominant on BBCW in the first studied week, but the visibility dramatically went down during the following week. On the contrary, CCTV did not pay that much attention in the first week as BBCW did, and the

visibility of the HKP news was not changed much in the following week as well. That said, BBCW reacted quicker than CCTV at the beginning of the issue, but the reporting interests of BBCW did not last as long as CCTV did.



**Figure 1** Change of the prominence of the news items devoted to the ‘Hong Kong Protest’ (HKP) in two global television news programs on BBCW and CCTV, during 26 September – 06 October 2014.

#### 4.2 Frame

The first hypothesis predicted that BBCW and CCTV would frame the Hong Kong Protests differently in their television news programs. Based on the measure questions, different frames have been identified in the news programs on BBCW and CCTV during the study period. It can be concluded from the results that the television news programs from BBCW and CCTV frame the Hong Kong Protest significantly different.

As presented in Table 3, human interest frame, responsibility frame and violence frame dominate the coverage on BBCW, while economic frame and responsibility frame are the main frames observed in CCTV’s reports. Although the frequency of responsibility frame is highest on both channels, what has not been shown in Table 3 is the diffusion of the responsibility frame between BBCW and CCTV. In fact, BBCW uses this frame to highlight the responsibility of the government, while CCTV presents this frame to emphasize the responsibility of the protesters. For example BBCW repeatedly pointed out the election issue was the reason for the 2014 Hong Kong Protest, thus indicating that government was responsible for this ‘democracy’ protest. In the reporting on the 29th September, the host introduced the news by saying: “Beijing has to look at this! Now tens of thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators are blocking the major area of Hong Kong because of the election issue.” Similar examples can also be found in the coverage on the next following day. The election issue was clearly explained as the reason for the protest, and the Beijing and Hong Kong government were both highlighted in the news. Although the news also included the speech from the government officers, the dominant picture of Hong Kong’s government

leader was a defamed photo ‘with fangs’. Additionally, the Hong Kong Protests were framed as a challenge to China’s authority in BBCW. On the contrary, there was no clue of the protest reason regarding government found in CCTV’s reporting, despite that government building and national flags were repeatedly appeared in the news. In fact, CCTV news did not mention the election issue at all. Instead, CCTV put much more emphasis on presenting the consequences of the protest, thus the protesters were responsible for ending the illegal protest. The actual words quoted from the news indicate that ‘government and residents urge protesters immediate to end Occupy Central, due to serious effects on people’s life.’ The role of the government was emphasized again and again as ‘not the enemy’ and ‘China is the future of Hong Kong’, while protesters were framed as ‘illegal’, ‘irresponsible’, ‘young (without well consideration)’, etc. The mainstream responsibility frame was quoted from publics, such as “some of them (protesters) are very young, older people like me hope the students can go home as soon as possible.” To summarize, BBCW and CCTV both paid attention on the responsibility frame, despite they told different stories at the same time. These findings, on one hand, echo the results from previous research on protest paradigm as well as the framing analysis; on the other hand, provide evidence for the first hypothesis and help to answer the research question.

**Table 3** Distribution of Frames identified in the selected news items devoted to the ‘Hong Kong Protest’ (HKP) from two global television news programs, during 26 September – 06 October 2014.

	<b>BBCW (n=7)</b>	<b>% of total Frames on BBCW</b>	<b>CCTV (n=8)</b>	<b>% of total frames on CCTV</b>
<b>Economic Frame</b>	2	12	7	33
<b>Human Interest Frame</b>	5	29	3	14
<b>Responsibility Frame</b>	5	29	8	38
<b>Violence Frame</b>	4	24	1	5
<b>Other Frame(s)</b>	1	6	2	10
<b>Total</b>	17	100	21	100

Another difference between the dominant frames is on human interest frame and economic frame. More human interest frames were employed on BBCW (29%) compared to on CCTV (14%). Human face is commonly seen in the news from both channels. However, BBCW presented the news more with personal feelings than CCTV. For example, when protesters portrayed in BBCW, feelings of outrage can be observed from visual information, such as the

angry faces, excited voices, and even the body conflicts between the protesters and police. In other words, emotional feelings with an emphasis on human are an important way to evoke people's feelings (e.g. empathy-caring) in BBCW. On the other hand, similar examples can also be found in CCTV, despite the channel holds a more official reporting perspective as state media during the most times. One significant example is the 'Worried Hong Kong Uncle' from the news on the 3rd October. In the news, 'Worried Uncle' said emotionally that "Your parents and children are waiting for you to go home! Are they worried?" Then he began to sing "I am waiting for you back! I am waiting for you back!" As a representative voice of worried family, his saying was used for a typical human interest frame. In short, it can be concluded from the results that despite BBCW uses more human interest frame than CCTV, both channels aim to generate human's feelings for the stories but in different ways.

Furthermore, economic frame is another significant difference in the framing analysis. While CCTV presents almost every Hong Kong Protests news item in terms of economic consequences, only two economic frames are identified in BBCW's news story. It is interesting to find out that while CCTV tried to claim the 'economic consequences' from various perspectives in almost every piece of their news, BBCW stated that "the financial system did not collapse, and there was no chaos" in their first reporting. This is an extreme example to illustrate that the two global media were reporting the protests significantly different.

In addition, violence frame is another top frame adopted by BBCW, while less emphasis on violence can be seen on CCTV. As a detail, violence was more visible in BBCW than CCTV. This finding further supports the previous research on the 'protest' paradigm as discussed in the literature review. In this study, it can also be understood with the theory 'infotainment'. The scene of fighting only appeared once during the study period, but the scene containing the violence had been used twice and thus coded twice on different days in BBCW's news. This is possibly because the element of violence could be useful to attract attentions from audiences. On the contrary, CCTV seems trying to avoid the violence on purpose, since it is a state media and conflicts are extremely sensitive in Chinese media. The only violence frame identified in CCTV's news is actually using 'violence' to argue for 'peace'. Additionally, another significant difference is also found on 'who is doing the violence'. In BBCW, police officers are using the weapons to the protesters; while in CCTV it is the 'protesters and opponents clash on the streets.'" This analysis provides evidence to argue the difference between the two

reports has relation to their financial background, i.e. BBCW is funded by subscription and advertising revenues, while CCTV is nation owned.

Lastly, there are also 'other frames' have been observed in both channels. Media relevant frames are both identified in the two channels. In which, the news is quoting other reports to provide opinions or evidence. The difference between the frames is in their contents. BBCW uses this frame to show that most Chinese media, in particular for the ones within mainland, are silent on the Hong Kong Protests. The press freedom in China was then discussed in the news. Similarly, CCTV also uses the media frame to present other media's reaction on the protests. The quoted media were selected as *The Guardian* and *Russia Today*. Both of their opinions were consistent with CCTV as "Hong Kong's 'semi-autonomous democracy' is still a leap forward" and "China is Hong Kong's future." This is possibly understood more from a perspective of propaganda. In addition, another frame related to diplomacy is also found in CCTV's reporting. Although it happened between China and the United States, the news was reported for emphasizing that Hong Kong Protests were a domestic issue and other countries should therefore stay away and not support any illegal groups in Hong Kong. This is another example of CCTV plays a role of state media instead of global media.

The results above show that BBCW frame the Hong Kong Protest more from human interest and responsibility perspectives, while CCTV prefers responsibility and economic frames. Therefore, the first hypothesis is supported by the results. The main reason for the result is possible to lie in the difference between the various backgrounds (containing political and cultural aspects) of the two channels. More discussions on this will be elaborated in Section 5.

### **4.3 Sources**

The second hypothesis foresaw that the use of sources would be different on BBCW and CCTV. As shown in Table 4, the following four sources were coded by times in every piece of news coverage devoted to Hong Kong Protests. Each source was only qualified to be coded to one category. There are four main sources identified in this research, i.e. political actors, individuals, representatives, and experts. Other sources that appeared in the coverage were documented as others. The descriptive statistics show that sources were used twenty times on BBCW and thirty-eight times on CCTV. It is worth noting that the use of sources highly depended on the length or prominence of the coverage. If the news was presented as top news with a considerable length, then it could be expected that different kinds of sources would be used in the news story. Take the coverages on the 2th and 3th October from CCTV for example, a total number of nine sources were found in each report, while both reports were

top news for over eight minutes. Otherwise, there would possibly be no sources at all in brief news. For example, the coverages on the 7th and 9th October from BBCW did not cite any people at all, and they were all brief news with fifteen to twenty seconds long.

**Table 4** Distribution of Sources identified in the selected news items devoted to the ‘Hong Kong Protest’ (HKP) from two global television news programs, during 26 September – 06 October 2014.

	<b>BBCW</b>	<b>% of total Sources on BBCW</b>	<b>CCTV</b>	<b>% of total Sources on CCTV</b>
<b>Political Actors</b>	8	40	13	34
<b>Individuals</b>	10	50	12	32
<b>Representatives</b>	0	0	8	21
<b>Experts</b>	2	10	2	5
<b>Other(s)</b>	0	0	3	8
<b>Total</b>	20	100	38	100

Another significant finding in the source analysis is that political actors and individuals are the top sources cited in both BBCW and CCTV, though a slight difference between these two sources are identified at the same time. It is not surprising to find that political actors are still the main sources for the political topic news, to be more specific protest in this case, on BBCW (40%) and CCTV (34%). It is typical to find out that activists are quoted much more in BBCW. Their sayings are quoted as “we need to keep up the momentum of the movement, because now the world is watching us!” It is also as expected that CCTV as a state media quoted more government voices in their reports. Yet, it is interesting to find out that individuals are the primary source in BBCW news and also the secondary source in *CCTV News*, but a significant difference was noticed inside this category. Thus a new analysis considering a more detailed level was applied for the individual sources.

The sub-category was developed into protesters, business owner, public citizen and others. The public citizen here refers to the ordinary people who do not involve with the protests in any way. The results (Table 5) indicate that although both BBCW and CCTV quote individuals much as main sources for the news, the roles of individuals being interviewed were significantly different. Protesters are the popular people in BBCW, while CCTV only interviewed one protester on contrary. In fact, the only protester appeared on CCTV was in fact an ex-protester and her voice was only used as anti-protest. Mandy Lau, a local female student, was quoted on the 7th October in CCTV news as a former protester against Occupy

Central Movement. She said “parents did not agree with me to get out, now they still do not know I am part of them. I joined for a couple of days, and then I left. I thought it (the protest) was not about the democracy for Hong Kong, because many clashes happened at the site. That was against the will of democracy, and I found that the protest really destructed people’s lives. The stores there were all closed. They really hurt Hong Kong’s economy, so I decided to leave.” This quoting was used for inviting the audience to hear the voice from the protesters, indicating that the protest is ‘harmful’ and ‘hurtful’ to Hong Kong. Similar situation was found on BBCW as well. There was a man quoted as business on BBCW, but the reason to use this source was mainly argued as a millionaire joined the protest too. A successful man’s words seem able to provide more credibility to the audiences, in particular with applause after the businessman Jimmy Lai’s words “These kids are wonderful. They have done a great job!”

On the other hand, many voices of protesters are commonly seen in BBCW, such as the quotes on 2rd October: “He (Hong Kong Chief Executive CY Leung) is Beijing’s man!” “We (protesters) are doing a very peaceful demonstration here” “We (protesters) are pushed by the police, we (protesters) are pushed by the communist party, that is why we (protesters) flight, we (protesters) have to fight!”

**Table 5** Comparison of the distribution in Individuals sources category identified in the selected news items devoted to the ‘Hong Kong Protest’ (HKP) from two global television news programs, during 26 September – 06 October 2014.

	<b>BBCW</b>	<b>% of total Individual Sources on BBCW</b>	<b>CCTV</b>	<b>% of total Individual Sources on CCTV</b>
<b>Protester</b>	6	60	1	8
<b>Business Owner</b>	2	20	4	33
<b>Public Citizen</b>	1	10	6	50
<b>Other(s)</b>	1	10	1	8
<b>Total</b>	10	100	12	99

Furthermore, CCTV quoted more public sources (50%) than BBCW (10%). It is noticeable that the sources were used for different purposes. Take some detailed examples to see the contrast:

In BBCW news, the only quote of public citizen is interestingly taken in Beijing instead of Hong Kong. It was on the 1st October, the national day of China. The quote was very short that “It is a day to celebrate China’s unity”, but followed by some negative gestures with the author’s words “but outside, the Hong Kong...”

The voices in CCTV include complains like “Streets used to be crowded by visitors, but now you can see there are very few tourists.” “The Occupy Central definitely affects the trip. The places we (tourists) want to go are occupied. We (tourists) originally planned for several days, but have to go back today.” “Many places are blocked and we cannot go. We (tourists) feel unhappy, because we (tourists) spend so much money joining the tourist group.” “They (protesters) do not follow the law; even not know the color of the cover (of the law). Students follow others. They (student protesters) are not qualified. They (student protesters) have been used.” “I think they (protesters) were rational at first, but later turned on rude. We (Hong Kong people) want peace!”

It can be concluded from these examples that public sources on CCTV were used to present how Hong Kong Protest affect people’s normal life, while BBCW used public sources to argue how China’s government ignored Hong Kong Protests.

#### 4.4 Valence

Hypothesis 3 predicted that different valences toward protest would be observed in the news programs on BBCW and CCTV. Data from Table 6 supports this hypothesis with evidence. The majority of the coverage on BBCW was neutral in valence towards protest (71%), although some of them did not show clear attitude in the news while some discussed the protest from both side for a balance valence. In addition, a minority of the coverage on BBCW holds a positive valence towards protest (29%) while no positive stories were reported on CCTV (0%). The positive valence observed on BBCW when they described the protest as a ‘polite’ or ‘pro-democracy’ one. In contrast, the main valence towards protest on CCTV was negative (87.5%), while only one news story was identified as neutral (12.5%). The negative valence towards protest on CCTV was often detected with the discussions on ‘illegal protest’, ‘harm normal life’, ‘hurt economics’ and so on. In summary, BBCW provided a more neutral and positive valence towards protest when they reported the Hong Kong Protests news, whereas CCTV carried a more negative valence towards the Hong Kong Protest in their coverage. The hypothesis 3 is thus supported by results.

**Table 6** Distribution of Valence towards Protest identified in the news items devoted to the ‘Hong Kong Protest’ (HKP) from two global news programs, during 26 September – 06 October 2014.

	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>BBCW</b>	2 (29%)	0 (0%)	5 (71%)	7 (100%)
<b>CCTV</b>	0 (0%)	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)	8 (100%)

In detail, valence is also analyzed with visual elements in the news. For example, negative gestures and satire comics towards government, and positive representations such as the umbrella or the activist slogan were highlighted at the same in BBCW. On the other hand, CCTV presents more protesters scenes to illustrate the caused problems for emergency vehicles and medical treatments. Further discussions on the results are presented in the following section with a research summary.

## 5. Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this research was to contribute to scholarship on media globalization by comparing the media representations of the 2014 Hong Kong Protests on global media *BBC World News* and *CCTV News* during the first two weeks of the protests, in an attempt to explore how aspects of reporting may differ between global media outlets based on different cultural and political background, and whether global newsrooms give a ‘global’ account of the protests or see them through national frames. One main research question was thus formulated accordingly, with three hypotheses proposed at the same time.

Considering the purpose of the study and upon analyzing the news items reporting the Hong Kong Protests in BBCW and CCTV during the selected period, several conclusions can be made as follows:

Firstly, it seems safe to conclude in general that although BBCW and CCTV consume almost the same amount of reporting time, their reporting focus and perspective are significantly different. To be specific, the distinctions can be summarized in four aspects, i.e. the attention, frame, source, valence, as shown above in the results section.

It is found that the Hong Kong Protests was given somewhat more attention in CCTV, compared to BBCW. This was unexpected before the research, since many voices argued that ‘China’s media blackout on Hong Kong Protests with no reports or images’ (Tang, 2014) or ‘Chinese media only offer limited coverage on Hong Kong Protests’ while Hong Kong’s pro-democracy protests dominant news globally (Wong, 2014). Interestingly, however, it is worth noting in the analysis that instead of “offering relatively muted coverage of the most serious display of public dissent in years” (Wong, 2014), the Chinese state media *CCTV News* in fact devoted more program time and put more prominent emphasis on the reporting of the Hong Kong Protests compared with the world’s oldest and most popular global broadcaster *BBC World News*. One possible reason for this lies in the connection between Hong Kong and China, as Hong Kong is part of China now. It could be understood that more attention was put on news at national level than international level, despite the channels both claim themselves as global media.

More importantly, the results from the framing analysis show a significant difference between the two media representations. In BBCW’s version: the problem is defined as a democracy protest in Hong Kong; causes are diagnosed as the basic election law issue; moral judgments are made on Chinese government failing to the promise of ‘one country, two systems’; and

suggested remedies are that governments should deal with the protests in a more polite way and try to find a better solution with protesters. Meanwhile, another different story is told within CCTV's frame: the protest is illegal and makes a huge negative effect to HK's business, tourism and publics; thus the protest should be ended immediately. These findings suggest that media representation is not an emerging hegemony due to media globalization. Instead, protests are framed differently across global newsrooms from different background.

Not surprisingly, results from source and valence analysis further provided support on this argument. A different reporting style could be identified from the analysis on source. Compared to BBCW's traditional reporting style, the new rising global media CCTV used more sources when reporting the Hong Kong Protests. While BBCW trying to provide a balanced view for the reporting issue, it is a typical way to present both views from government officials and activists at the same time. In this way, the conflict could be illustrated clearly and more completely in the reports. However, the two sides did not weigh equally in the news. The results indicate that activists and protesters are the main voices in BBCW news. On the contrary, CCTV quoted government officials as authoritative voices and used public opinions to testify the validity of the reporting results. This can be seen as a new trend in Chinese media that instead of avoiding reporting protests to the world, a new reporting strategy is now under developing on CCTV. However, it is still the state media, so the bureaucratic view point is still dominant in CCTV's reporting with little spurring. As observed in the valence analysis, while BBCW embraces the Hong Kong Protests as 'pro-democracy' and 'polite' with supporting, CCTV typically condemns the Hong Kong Protests as an 'illegal' and 'harmful' protest. All in all, the three hypotheses stated earlier were all supported with the findings. Further, with the evidence for the hypotheses, the research question was answered at the same time.

Moreover, conclusions can also be drawn regarding reasons behind the comparison on higher level. Since CCTV is a global media based on China while BBCW is based on the United Kingdom, the arguments advanced above also provide an example of when the term 'global news channel/newsroom' is not that applicable as 'global' as the ways in which the 2014 Hong Kong Protests were framed and reported in a very country specific way. In addition, this study provides a new analysis perspective by comparing the old and new media powers. In other words, the results indicate that the mediated protest was differently reported between old and new global media powers as well as different media systems. However, China was directly involved in this issue but the UK was not. A limitation is thus identified in this study,

which would be further discussed later. On the other hand, the results also contribute to the studies on protests as this research provides a novel comparative perspective between newsrooms with different background at global level.

These indicators are reasonably consistent with previous theoretical and empirical work on mediated protest (Cottle, 2008) and the 'protest' paradigm (Harlow and Johnson, 2011). Furthermore, the empirical indicators proposed here are also consistent at a general level with studies on Chinese media (Seungeun, 2013). Also, this research supports the notion of 'hybridity' (Chadwick, 2013) and Hopper's (2006) claim on 'heterogeneity rather than homogeneity' in global media studies. Additionally, this research can also be further discussed with the concept of 'soft power' (Nye, 2004) and 'strategic narratives' (Roselle, 2010) in the future. Taken together, the consistency with previous research attests to the validity of the proposed research question and empirical indicators of that mediated protest was reported different across global newsrooms.

However, this study used two media only as examples, which may have resulted in the limitations. In other words, the sample is not representative of all types of global media from different countries. Studying different media outlets and different protests may well produce different results. Yet, considering the more and more important role of China in the changing global landscape, this study provides a logical start to explore Chinese media, global media in particular with comparative analysis perspective. As the field of global media studies moves toward maturity, further research within this area is needed in future studies.

Further research can be carried out from different perspectives on different topics, such as:

- a) Study more protests: it could be interesting to find out how BBCW and CCTV report on another protest which happening in the United Kingdom, then compare the results with this research to further compare how different global media report on protest movements in their own countries;
- b) Focus on mediated protest in China: conducting comparative research between different protests in China to examine how media representation of protests change across time, or comparison on media coverage on different levels, e.g. local, national, global; and
- c) Expand research on a large scale: comparing more global media and more protests. With more research results, the research topic of mediated protest under globalization can be better understood.

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## Appendix A. CODING SHEET

Sheet No. \_\_\_\_\_

Coding Date: \_\_\_\_\_

No.	Variable Name	Variable Explanation	Coding Values	Code
<b>Section A General Information</b>				
1	Coder ID	Coder Initials	Enter as string variable	
2	Date	Date of Airing	Enter as mm/dd/yy	
3	Media Outlets	Name of Television Channel	1= BBCW 2= CCTV	
4	Air time	Calculate the news air time through start time and end time	Enter as mm:ss	
5	Prominence	Define the prominence of sample with regards to its location within the news programs	1= Top news 2= Main news 3= Brief news	
<b>Section B Frame</b>				
6	Economics Frame	Presence or Absence of	1= Presence 0= Absence	
7	Human interest Frame	Presence or Absence of	1= Presence 0= Absence	
8	Responsibility Frame	Presence or Absence of	1= Presence 0= Absence	
9	Violence Frame	Presence or Absence of	1= Presence 0= Absence	
10	Other Frame(s)	Specify frame observed as 'other'	Enter as string variable	
<b>Section C Sources</b>				
9	Primary Source	First source cited	1= Political Actors 2= Individuals 3= Representative 4= Experts 0= Others	
10	Secondary Source	Second source cited	1= Political Actors 2= Individuals 3= Representative 4= Experts 0= Others	
11	Other Sources	List other sources cited after first two Such as source 3,4,5,6	1= Political Actors 2= Individuals 3= Representative 4= Experts 0= Others	
<b>Section D Valence</b>				
12	Valence	Orientation of the protest	1= Positive 2= Negative 3= Neutral	

## **Appendix B. CODEBOOK**

This is a guide to the coding scheme for the master thesis project ‘A comparative study of media representations of the Hong Kong Protests on global media BBCW and CCTV’. The codebook is composed of fourteen variables in four sections, and used for a framing analysis and a content analysis. While doing the coding, please follow the guidelines strictly and always bear in mind that your main goal is to focus on the coding instead of the analysis. The coding is just a process to collect data for the later analysis.

### **The Unit of Analysis**

The analysis will focus on the news items devoted to the topic ‘Hong Kong Protests’ from selected news programs in television video clips.

### **Section A General Information**

#### **V1 Coder ID**

Write the initial of the coder’s name

#### **V2 Air Date**

Write the air date of the news item

#### **V3 TV Channel**

Choose which TV channel the news items come from

1. BBCW
2. CCTV

#### **V4 Air Time**

The air time refers to the total time recording of the story. Write the time as mm:ss

#### **V5 Prominence**

The prominence is defined with regards to its location within the whole news programs.

1. Top story  
The news is included in the daily headline stories
2. Main story  
The news is not included in the headline, but reported over one minute as a main story.
3. Brief news

The news is not included in the headline, and reported in a brief way. (less than one minute)

## **Section B Frames**

After viewing each television video clip of the main news, choose if the following frames are present or absent in the news items according to the answers to the measure questions assigned to each frame category, which are mentioned in the part of the operational definitions of variables.

### **V6. Economic Frame**

This frame reports the protest in terms of the economic consequences. The main emphasis on this frame is the keyword 'economic'. The frame can be identified as 'presence' if there is a discussion on economics, or a person with economic identity has been interviewed, such as businessman, etc.

### **V7. Human Interest Frame**

This frame 'brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem', in this case, the HK Protests. If any individual faces or emotional angles are clearly shown in the clips, this frame is present.

### **V8. Responsibility Frame**

This frame is defined as 'a way of attributing responsibility for a cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group'. If there are discussions around responsibility, then state this frame is present.

### **V9. Violence Frame**

This frame discusses the protests around the topic of violence or anti-violence. If a dramatic body conflict can be seen, or any words related to the violence topic can be identified, then this frame is able to be chosen as present.

### **V10. Other Frame(s)**

If there is (are) new frame(s) other than the four frames identified above, specify what it is (they are).

## **Section C Sources**

In this analysis, sources refer to the persons who directly shown and given a statement in the news. Please code all sources and choose their roles according to their name and affiliation (if possible). Please note that the same person is recorded once only in each news item.

### **V11 Primary source**

The primary source is defined as the first person appeared in the news item.

#### 1. Political actor

Political actors include all (ex) leaders, officers with a relation to any level of government.

#### 2. Individual

This category includes citizens, tourists, students, employees, business owners who speak for themselves or their business only.

#### 3. Representative

Representatives refer to the people who are affiliated with an organization and spoken as representatives of that organization. If their words or opinions have no relation to their organization but only stand out for personal opinions, then they are labeled as individuals instead of representatives

#### 4. Expert

People who have a particular expertise or knowledge on the HK Protests are considered as experts, such as scholars or writers.

#### 5. Other

Included any other person without identity or his/her role is not mentioned above.

### **V12 Secondary source**

The secondary source is the second person in the news item.

The explanation of the categories below is same as the ones in *V11*

#### 1. Political actor

#### 2. Individual

#### 3. Representative

#### 4. Expert

#### 5. Other

### **V13 Other source(s)**

All the sources from the third one are included in this section.

List number and which role belongs to, following the same format above.

### **Section D Valence**

To identify the tone of the news item (positive, negative or neutral) towards the Hong Kong Protests on *BBC World News* and *CCTV News*.

#### **V14 Valence towards Protest**

##### 1. Positive

A news story demonstrates a positive valence if it indicates support for protesters or presents the protest in a good way, such as indication of pro-democracy or polite.

##### 2. Negative

A news story shows a negative valence if it criticizes the protest illegal or blames the protest for its side effects.

##### 3. Neutral

A news story exhibits a neutral valence when there is no clear attitude towards protest can be ascertained or the stances for both positive and negative can be found at the same time.

## **Appendix C. FIVE NEWS FRAMES from Previous Research**

### **1. Attribution of responsibility**

- Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?
- Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?
- Does the story suggest solution(s) to the issue/problem?
- Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?
- Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?

### **2. Human interest frame**

- Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?
- Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?
- Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
- Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
- Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?

### **3. Conflict frame**

- Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?
- Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?
- Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the issue/problem?
- Does the story refer to winners and losers?

### **4. Morality frame**

- Does the story contain any moral message?
- Does the story make reference to morality, God and other religious tenets?
- Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

### **5. Economic frame**

- Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
- Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
- Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?
- Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?

Sources from (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000) Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of communication*, 50, 93-109.

## **Appendix D. FIVE NEWS FRAMES Used in This Research**

### **1. Economic Frame**

- Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
- Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
- Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?
- Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?

### **2. Human interest Frame**

- Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?
- Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?
- Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
- Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
- Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?

### **3. Responsibility Frame**

- Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?
- Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?
- Does the story suggest solution(s) to the issue/problem?
- Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?
- Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?

### **4. Violence Frame**

- Is there a mention of violence now or in the past?
- Is there a mention of the weapon (e.g. tear gas, rubber bullet, etc.) involved?
- Is there a reference to violent actions of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?
- Does the story contain visual information about fighting or body conflict?

### **5. Other Frame(s)**

- If there is (are) new frame(s) other than the four frames identified above, specify what it is (they are).