

2015

Framing identity in social movements: the identity and the Chinese government interpretation of the Tibet Separatists

Jie Chen
Iowa State University

Follow this and additional works at: <http://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd>

 Part of the [Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Chen, Jie, "Framing identity in social movements: the identity and the Chinese government interpretation of the Tibet Separatists" (2015). *Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. 14792.
<http://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd/14792>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate College at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact digirep@iastate.edu.

Framing identity in social movements: The identity and the Chinese government interpretation of the Tibet separatists

by

Jie Chen

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Sociology

Program of Study Committee:
Betty Dobratz, Major Professor
Raluca Cozma
Stephen Sapp
Yehua Li

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

2015

Copyright © Jie Chen, 2015. All rights reserved.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES	iv
LIST OF TABLES	vi
NOMENCLATURE	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
ABSTRACT	x
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION: WHERE THE PAPER STARTS	1
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEWS ON FRAMING THEORY	3
Framing Analysis	3
Framing of Social Movements	4
Identity is Changing	5
The Importance of Framing	6
Unifying the Methodology of Framing Analysis	6
CHAPTER 3 LITERATURE REVIEWS ON MOVEMENT- COUNTERMOVEMENT	10
Dialogic Approach	10
Movement-Counter movement Dynamics	11
Media Strategies	14
CHAPTER 4 TIBET INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT	19
Historical Background	19
The Importance of Tibet	21
Media Framing about the Tibet Separatists	22
CHAPTER 5 RESEARCH METHOD	25
Data Sources	25
Conceptualization and Operationalization of Identity	29
Variables and Measures	29
Content Analysis	32
Intercoder Reliability	33
Data Analysis	34

CHAPTER 6	RESULTS OF OFFICIAL WEBSITES.....	36
	Different Frameworks between the Tibet Separatists and the Chinese Government	40
	Frameworks from the Chinese Government.....	41
	Frameworks from the Tibet Separatists	45
	Changes in Frameworks over Time from the Chinese Government and the Tibet Separatists	51
CHAPTER 7	RESULTS OF MEDIA REPORTS	59
	Different Identity Frames Presented by Different Media Systems.....	62
	The Coefficient between Sources and Frames.....	70
CHAPTER 8	CONCLUSION.....	78
REFERENCES	82
APPENDIX A	CODING BOOK FOR OFFICIAL WEBSITES	86
APPENDIX B	CODING BOOK FOR MEDIA REPORTS	89
APPENDIX C	INTERCODER RELIABILITIES	93
APPENDIX D	ONE-WAY ANOVA FOR THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.....	98
APPENDIX E	ONE-WAY ANOVA FOR THE TIBET SEPARATISTS	100

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1 Generic Semantic Triplet with Hypothetical Primary Frameworks	7
Figure 2 Keyings by Nationalists (UNLU) before and after King Hussein's Speech	8
Figure 3 Keyings by Islamists (Hamas) before and after King Hussein's Speech	9
Figure 4 Social Problems Marketplace Model	13
Figure 5 Modified Social Problems Marketplace Model	14
Figure 6 Map of Tibet	19
Figure 7 Frequency of Independence Conspirator Frame's Indicators from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs	43
Figure 8 Frequency of Riot Creator Frame's Indicators from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs	44
Figure 9 Frequency of Terrorist Frame's Indicators from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs	45
Figure 10 Frequency of Human Rights Fighter Frame's Indicators from the Dalai Lama	46
Figure 11 Frequency of Religious Freedom Fighter Frame's Indicators from the Dalai Lama	47
Figure 12 Frequency of Anti-colonialism Fighter Frame's Indicators from the Dalai Lama	49
Figure 13 Frequency of Riot-unrelated Person Frame's Indicators from the Dalai Lama	50
Figure 14 The Means Plot for Three Frames from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs	54
Figure 15 The Means Plot for Four Frames from the Dalai Lama	55
Figure 16 The Means Plot for the Motivation Frames from Both Sides	58

Figure 17 The Means Plot for Riot-unrelated Person, Riot Creator, and Terrorist
Frames.....58

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1 Comparison of NOW and CWA Media Strategies and Coverage Outcomes	17
Table 2 Differences between the Western and Chinese Media Coverage of the Tibet Issue	24
Table 3 Articles Gathered from Two Official Websites, and Divided by Years ...	26
Table 4 Articles Gathered from Three Media Systems, and Divided by Years.....	28
Table 5 Cronbach's Alpha for Each Frame for Official Websites.....	36
Table 6 Varimax-rotated Factor Solution for Human Rights Fighter Indicators ...	37
Table 7 Varimax-rotated Factor Solution for Anti-colonialism Fighter Indicators.....	37
Table 8 Frameworks and Indicators of Official Websites	39
Table 9 Descriptive Statistics for Frames Used by Both Sides.....	41
Table 10 Results of One-way ANOVA Tests for the Use of Identities over Time from the Chinese government	52
Table 11 Results of One-way ANOVA Tests for the Use of Identities over Time from the Tibet Separatists.....	55
Table 12 Cronbach's Alpha for Each Frame for News Reports	59
Table 13 Frameworks and Indicators of News Reports.....	60
Table 14 Results of One-way ANOVA Tests for the Frames Used by the Three Media.....	62
Table 15 Descriptive Statistics for the Source of <i>People's Daily</i>	64
Table 16 Descriptive Statistics for the Frames Mentioned by <i>People's Daily</i>	65
Table 17 Descriptive Statistics for the Source of <i>the Times of India</i>	66
Table 18 Descriptive Statistics for the Frames Mentioned by <i>the Times of India</i> ...	67

Table 19	Descriptive Statistics for the Source of <i>New York Times</i>	68
Table 20	Descriptive Statistics for the Frames Mentioned by <i>New York Times</i>	69
Table 21	Summary of linear regression analyses with the Tibet Separatists frames as dependent variable and sources as independent variable (People's Daily, The Times of India, and New York Times)	72
Table 22	Summary of linear regression analyses with the Chinese government frames as dependent variable and sources as independent variable (People's Daily, The Times of India, and New York Times)	73
Table 23	Summary of linear regression analyses with the Tibet Separatists frames as dependent variable and sources as independent variable (New York Times is not included)	75
Table 24	Summary of linear regression analyses with the Chinese government frames as dependent variable and sources as independent variable (New York Times is not included)	76

NOMENCLATURE

AF	Anti-colonialism fighter
CWA	Concerned Women for America
HF	Human rights fighter
IC	Independence conspirator
NOW	National Organization for Women
RC	Riot creator
RF	Religious freedom fighter
RUP	Riot-unrelated person
SMO	Social Movement Organization
S-V-O	Subject-verb-object
T	Terrorist
UNLU	Unified National Leadership of the Uprising

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

With all my heart, I thank my major professor, Dr. Betty Dobratz, for her guidance and support both on my study and future plan. I would also like to thank my minor representatives, Dr. Raluca Cozma, and Dr. Yehua Li, and my committee member, Dr. Stephen Sapp, for their advice and suggestions throughout the course of this research. As well, I wish to thank Dr. Gang Han, and Dr. Anastasia H. Prokos for their help on this paper.

In addition, I want to also offer my appreciation to my friends, colleagues, the Sociology department faculty and staff for making my time at Iowa State University a wonderful experience.

Finally, thanks to my family for their encouragement and to my roommate, Ruiqi Lin, for her hours of patience, respect, and love.

ABSTRACT

The central idea of this research is to point out how the dominant group identifies the protestors in a social movement compared to how the protestors identify themselves by using the Tibet Separatists as a case study. Based on framing theory, this paper conducts a content analysis on the official websites of the Tibet Separatists and the Chinese government, and news coverage of the Tibet Separatists by news outlets including *Times of India*, *New York Times*, and *People's Daily*. Utilizing coding and SPSS, identity frameworks presented by both the Tibet Separatists and the Chinese government are compared to see their differences in terms of official materials and news materials separately. Through the case study, this paper draws two key conclusions: a) in both media discourse and official materials, the frameworks of identity interpretation differ from the challenging group, the Tibet Separatists, to the dominant group, the Chinese government; and b) both dynamic framing processes are interdependent, and actually reflect each other.

Keywords: framing, identity, the Tibet separatists

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: WHERE THE PAPER STARTS

In recent years, the Chinese government started labeling the Tibet Separatists as terrorists, even though the Tibet Separatists identify themselves as the representatives of Tibetan Buddhists. The Chinese mainstream media *People's Daily* focuses more on their violent protests regardless of their nationality and religious belief. Such totally distinct interpretations from both sides created the central idea of this study. Social movements can also be seen as a contest between how protestors interpret themselves and how their opponents differently interpret them. This paper begins to consider how the dominant group interprets their challengers' viewpoints by denying protestors' accusation. The protestors' identity can be viewed in a bifurcated manner: the label they put on themselves and the label their opponent gives. What's more, these two sets of labels are usually largely distinct and even conflicting, which is interpreted as combat over the identity of the Tibet separatists in this paper.

Looking back at the historical development of social movements study, research emphasizing collective identity has already gained popularity. According to Taylor and Whittier (1995), collective identity means the shared definition created by a group, and it is based on members' common interests, experiences, and values. A substantial body of literature described collective identity as rational explanation of social actions. Relevant values are gathered under a specific theme, and encourage people to fight for them (McAdam 1994; Taylor and Whittier 1995; Johnson, Larana, and Gusfield 1997; Polleta and Jasper 2001; Saunders 2008). For example, members of the environmental advocacy group Earth First!¹ are motivated by their

¹ Earth First! was established in 1979, originating from the Southwestern part of the United States, and developed into a worldwide non-government organization of environmental advocacy.

concerns of environmental pollution. And under such a broad theme, there are various values involving industrial manufacturers being irresponsible, local government lacking regulation, media reporting the truth, and so forth. Their collective identity can be pictured as a pyramid with a theme on the top and contents below.

However, focusing on collective identity as merely motivation directs academic focus away from the dominant group to purely studying how the challenging groups define themselves. This thesis aims to provide an alternative perspective of collective identity under social movements, that is, how the dominant groups identify the challenging groups. Do they agree with protestors' self-label? Is there any conflict between the interpretations from the challenging and dominant group?

In terms of clarifying interpretation, closely associated with revealing collective identity is the underlying mechanism of frame construction. Framing analysis is the most appropriate tool to specify the pyramid, visualizing and mapping the abstract values, and beliefs that underpin the collective identity.

This paper begins by considering the literature on framing analysis with its philosophical beginning, and then turns to some critiques that previous scholars made about framing analysis, and their alternative solution, especially the social problems marketplace model. After that, the study moves to its examination of social movement by concentrating on a study of identity by using framing analysis. The case of the Tibet Separatists in China is studied to show what their struggle over identity looks like by analyzing the materials provided by the official website of the Dalai Lama, leader of the Tibet separatists, and the official website for Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which mentions the Tibet issue most, and news report content from media including *Times of India*, *New York Times*, and *People's Daily*.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEWS ON FRAMING THEORY

Framing Analysis

American sociologist Goffman (1974) first proposed the idea of “framing analysis” (1974). It holds that there is something in our mind standing between reality and perception that provides us with knowledge and is our reference to understanding the world. Goffman called this mental construct a mediator, and discovered that individuals have unique mediators. He supposed that personal perception is situational, meaning that different interests will generate different motivational relevancies (1974:8). There is no general explanation that can fit everyone and every circumstance. He raised the concept of primary framework as the mediator between reality and individual perception, and utilized framing to analyze individual meaning construction process.

The idea of primary framework indicates the preexisting perspective within the schemata of interpretation, which individuals are inclined to apply to render “a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful” (1974:21). Goffman divided primary frameworks into two categories: natural and social. Natural frameworks help people identify situations as “undirected, unoriented, unanimated, unguided, purely physical”, creating completely physical and biological interpretation without any human interference. On the other hand, social frameworks are much more complicated and important in forming individual perception: varied social rules, values, and beliefs influence individual interpretation of meaningful events. Death is a clear example: the end of life is a totally natural physical and biological event. However, when people talk about their feelings towards death, it is clearly also social as well as natural. To make

sense of events such as grief in losing a family member, draw on the background experience and knowledge from their social frameworks. People project their thoughts onto the event, and these kinds of thoughts are accumulated during individual socialization.

In describing the primary framework, Goffman concentrates further on the determination of first choice, that is, “the first concept that is needed”(1974:25). Goffman also realized that some frameworks are more central than others for individuals in making choices and taking action, and the content of centrality is highly related to cultural elements prevailing in the society. Some central concepts may overlap, while others may conflict. An individual’s primary framework is only one option among hundreds of thousands of possible frameworks, which means it is likely that different people have different primary frameworks when facing the same situation, leading to different interpretation.

In pointing out that different primary frameworks allow its users to perceive the same situation differently, Goffman laid a solid foundation for understanding the process of how internal forces diversify individual reflections and behaviors in our daily lives. However, up to this point, framing analysis had remained on the theoretical and philosophical level.

Framing of Social Movements

It was not until the year of 1986 that Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford introduced framing analysis into social movement study, which examines why people engage social movements. What they learned from Goffman is the idea that schemata of interpretation enable people to locate, perceive, identify, and label things that occur (1986: 464), leading scholars such as Della Porta (1992) to emphasize how people’s perceptions are shaped by the frames they use to understand events. In other words, they used framing analysis as a content-focused approach

to study the motivation of social movements by finding out what kind of value or belief the protestors use to frame the issue.

This approach leaves open critical questions regarding what ideology and beliefs are contained, and how they are formed during social movements. In other words, holistic elaboration is needed to present the basic elements of a frame, which is defined as “keys” by Goffman (1974). The word “key” here refers to detailed categorical topics or meanings covered by one theme.

Identity is Changing

After analyzing what people perceive to understand why people first become involved in social movements, scholars asked the next question of whether people’s perception remains constant during the movement. This is where the concept of “keying” from Goffman’s framing analysis can contribute.

The concept of “keying” is more than identifying and organizing keys, but also includes key transforming and resonating, aiming to modify keys according to the situational change, Snow et al. (1986) used framing analysis to explain the dynamic change of collective identity, and outlined four types of processes. The first is frame amplification, which means explaining building, or stimulating an interpretive frame. This is the basic step for protestors to construct their identity pyramid, explaining why they protest, what beliefs they hold, and what aims they want to achieve. The second process is frame extension, which refers to the protestors expanding the boundaries of their pyramids and adding more values that might attract potential supporters. Frame transformation, while somewhat similar to frame extension, aims to gather support by instead introducing new values and replacing old ones that no longer meet with conventional

society. And the last one, frame bridging, is linking two or more contexts that were originally unconnected but in fact are ideologically congruent under a particular issue.

In conclusion, collective identity needs to be changed during social movements, in order to ensure that it fits the current situation.

The Importance of Framing

Snow et al. (1986) advanced the application of framing analysis in social movements into impact studies by scrutinizing the consequences of identity changing. In Snow, Tan and Owens's recent research (2013), they pose that the process of keying will cause two kinds of cultural change: cultural revitalization and fabrication. Both are the products of frame articulation and elaboration. Frame articulation refers to "the process through which the elements constitutive of a frame are assembled and integrated in a meaningful fashion", identifying all parts of a framework. Frame elaboration represents "the differential accenting or weighting of the incorporated elements"(2013: 229), which is locating the parts to their separate positions based on their level of importance. Suppose we find a part that is a forgotten cultural item, but this part helps to understand current events and issues, so we try to take it back into the framework. This process is recognized as cultural revitalization, essentially rescuing an old cultural item that has been rejected. On the other hand, cultural fabrication is more possibly produced by frame elaboration, requiring relocating cultural parts "aimed at solving some problem and is based on the creative admixture of existing cultural elements" (2013: 235).

Unifying the Methodology of Framing Analysis

Benford (1997) first pointed out the weakness of framing analysis as lacking support from empirical research, worrying about the difficulty in operationalizing framing analysis. Recently, Johnston and Alimi added “a lack of systematic studies across the SMOs with movements”(2013: 453). What’s more, observing the existing studies that use framing analysis, Benford (1997) labeled them as “the frame name game”, for they seem more descriptive than analytical, and a generic model that would serve as an intermediate step of linking theory to practice was missing. Due to such gap, these studies are more like discursive dust surrounding framing analysis, which means the findings are dispersive and micro to individual level, and sharing no unified methodology for all social movements.

Johnston and Alimi (2013) attempted to fill this gap by referring to the tripartite relation among subject-verb-object (S-V-O triplet), which was first introduced by Franzosi (1999) to respond to what is going on during movements. It borrows the idea of narrative structure that begins with “the setting (characters, location, and time period), then the central theme (one or several events are described, and the goals of the characters are specified), then plot (with substructures consisting of several episodes, and episodes being ordered according to subgoals, attempts, and outcomes)”(Johnston and Alimi 2013: 456).

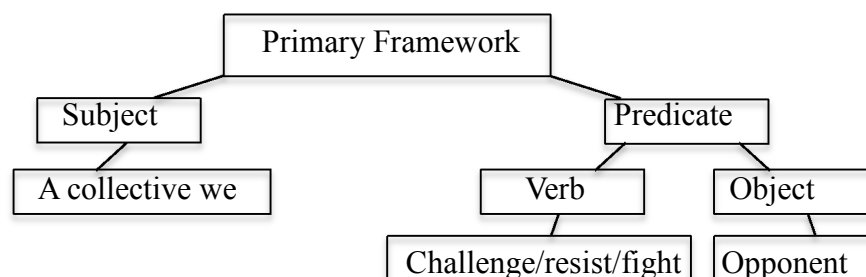


Figure 1. Generic semantic triplet with hypothetical primary frameworks

Johnston and Alimi described how the S-V-O triplet follows a “schematic and hierarchically organized story grammar”(2013: 456). They specified that in movements, the subject is who we are, the verb is what we do, and the object is why we do it under the conditions of the social movement. They proposed that framing analysis, especially focusing on primary framework, is able to describe the social movement in a narrative way with the assistance of the S-V-O triplet. They elaborated upon this by describing the movement in terms of “the aggrieved (subject), changing (verb), and the offending (object)”(2013:456) as figure 1 presents.

Moreover, by using Palestinian Intifada as an example, a protest of Muslim Brotherhood Hamas (MB/Hamas) against Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU), Johnston and Alimi figured out collective identity changes during a movement. They figured out “the first hinge in the movement’s trajectory was King Hussein’s declaration of Jordan’s disengagement from the West Bank” in 1988 (2013: 463). The speech brought a stronger Islamic identity to MB/Hamas. In this sense, the story shown by the S-V-O triplet should be changing accordingly. Johnston and Alimi then combined the S-V-O triplet with Goffman’s idea of keys and keyings to restructure “before-and-after grammars” of frameworks, indicating the mobilization and shift in subject, verb, and object just like figures 2 and 3 show.

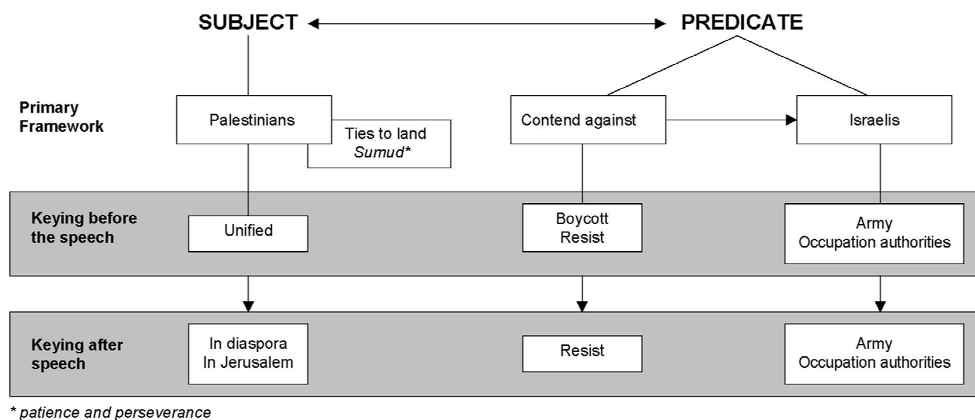


Figure 2. Keyings by Nationalists (UNLU) before and after King Hussein’s Speech

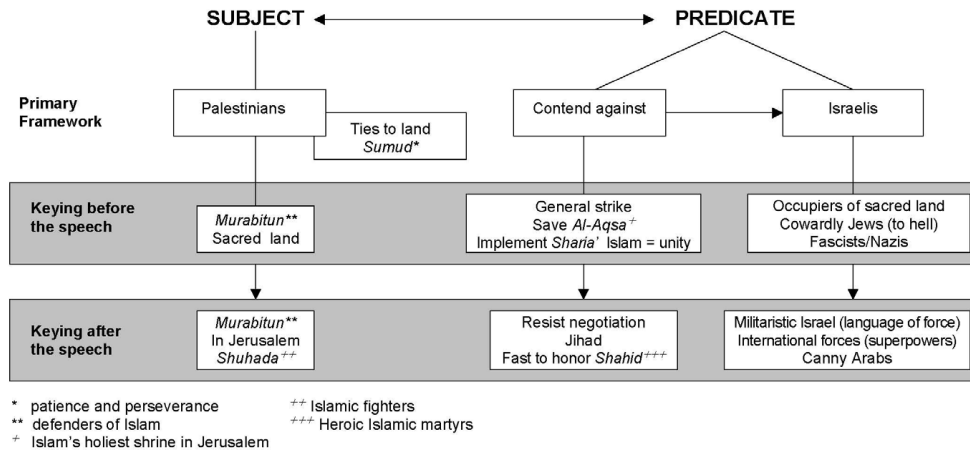


Figure 3. Keyings by Islamists (Hamas) before and after King Hussein's Speech

Johnston and Alimi did an excellent job in synthesizing the fragments of previous framing studies into a methodological model, but they inevitably lose the in-depth characteristics of framing analysis. The S-V-O triplet stands on the macro-level to see the dynamic process of framing, but the framing is only related to the outlier of who participated, how protested, and who is being targeted. Questions involving details, especially cultural content behind the challenging and dominant group still need to be answered by further framing analysis.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEWS ON MOVEMENT-COUNTERMOVEMENT

Dialogic Approach

Scholars have produced an extensive and sophisticated literature on framing collective identity from the perspective of the challenging group, while Steinberg (1999) provided his critiques about the frame theory. As mentioned before, the framing process is depicted as a type of representation, and reified on textual level. Under the frame theory, “success depends on whether the arguments or expressed beliefs within the text have a logical coherency and congruity with the cultural understandings used by potential recruits and sympathizers to provide them with a real and compelling interpretation of the issue” (Steinberg, 1999:739), but framing analysis doesn’t take social semiotics into consideration, which means those words, phrases, metaphors, and other symbols that compose frames and produce meanings are ignored. From a semiotic perspective, signifiers can often be interpreted in “multiple, incongruent, and potentially divisive ways” (Gottdiener, 1995: 19), thus without semiotics basis, Steinberg pointed out the key problem of framing analysis is that “activists can never complacently assume that they can unproblematically convey a representation of an issue, since the words they use may be interpreted differently by their targets” (1999:740).

Steinberg then provided an alternative dialogic approach, which is based on semiotics assumption that “many words, phrases, and utterances do not have one unambiguous meaning but often have multiple meanings given their particular contextual use with other words, phrases, and utterances and the knowledge and intentions of the actors involved” (1999:744-745). Dialogic approach depicts a social movement as an ongoing social communication and

interaction between actors, and goes into the languages people use, emphasizing on what actors understand when they communicate with one another in specific historical situations. During the social movement, actors try to “invest discourses with their preferred meanings, given their life experiences, situations, and their power to exert control over the meanings provided by words” (Steinberg, 1999:745). This process can be seen as semiotic struggle where both powerholders and challengers produce distinct repertoires of contentious discourses in cycles of collective action (Steinberg, 1999).

Movement-Countermovement Dynamics

Framing analysis has devoted too much systematic attention to what the protestors said about themselves, and ignored the role of governmental authorities in these processes (Capek, 1993). Taking the dominant groups into social movement study, scholars realized the importance of countermovement, a movement that “makes contrary claims simultaneously to those of the original movement” (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996: 1631). Zald and Useem (1987) pointed out the countermovement depends on and reacts to an initiating movement. “Movements of any visibility and impact create the conditions for the mobilization of countermovements. By advocating change, by attacking the established interests, by mobilizing symbols and raising costs to others, they create grievances and political opportunities for organizational entrepreneurs to define countermovement goals and issues. Movements also have a ‘demonstration effect’ for political countermovements-showing that collective action can effect (or resist) change in particular aspects of society” (Zald and Useem, 1987:247-248). Zald and Useem (1987) imaged movement-countermovement as a linear image, where movement and countermovement react to one another.

The movement-counter movement dynamics supports what dialogic approach suggests, that is, a more complete understanding of social movements requires attention to the interaction between opponents. Meaning construction is more like a contested conversation among claims-makers for public attention rather than discourses made by a single side. Best (1990) used “social problems marketplace” to metaphorize such competition, and created social problems marketplace model to explain the competition, bringing new concepts of insider and outsider. Best (1990) identified insiders as pressure groups, which have relatively strong connection to the policymakers, including lobbying organizations as the National Rifle Association, professionals, and official agencies, and outsiders as social movement organization. The model also takes mass media into consideration, because for Best, both inside and outside claims-makers heavily rely on the mass media to enhance their position in the social problem marketplace (1990).

However, media does not merely transmit knowledge and facts to the public, but it also uses its power to define particular events and issues (Gitlin 1980). News stories are not “neutral” as Gitlin defines, and it does not necessarily reflect objective reality. Journalists always select what to write about and not to write about, which makes media as mediate interpreter between public perception and event itself. Based on this idea, Best (1990) supposed media does not merely repeat the claims of insider and outsider claims-maker unfiltered and unmodified, and he referred the claims of insider, outsider, and policymaker as “primary claims”, and the claims from mass media as “secondary claims”. Benford and Hunt then summarized “social problems marketplace model” as “claims-makers (both insiders and outsiders) offer claims to the media, public, and policymakers, and the media, public, and policymakers present claims to claims-makers”, which is presented in figure 4 (2003:157-158).

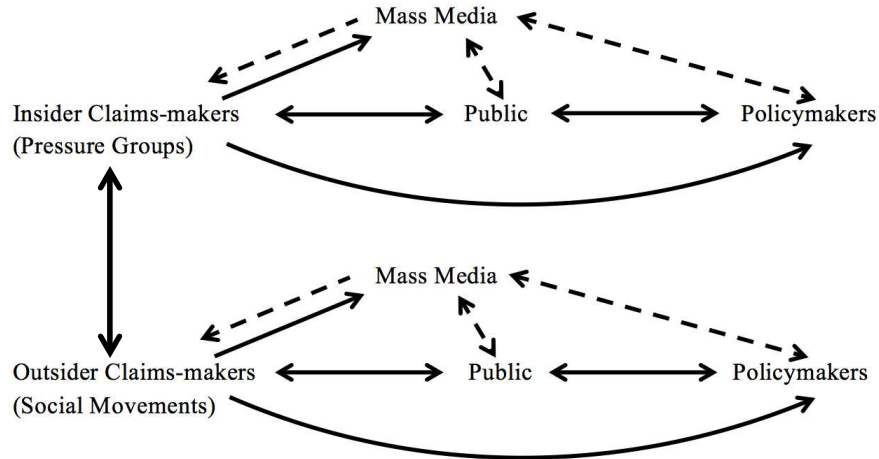


Figure 4. Social problems marketplace model

Even though “social problems marketplace model” involves the challenging group, as well as the dominant group into analysis, the contested interaction between both groups is still not obvious. Benford and Hunt modified the model, as figure 5 shows, by adding “the interplay between opponents’ counterframings of movement ideologies and identities and movement participants’ reframing of those counterframings” to present movement-countermove dynamics (2003:160). Benford and Hunt (2003) identified four general types of counterframes made by the pressure group, including: a) problem denial, which refers to denying the existence of a problem, and repudiating the need for a movement; b) counter attributions, providing alternative interpretations of who’s or what’s to blame, and redirecting public attention to other targets; c) counterprognoses, insisting that the movement actors call for wrong prognoses, and offering alternative solutions; and d) attacks on collective character, such as announcing the social movement leaders are actually on the enemy’s side, or insincere. On the other side, social movement actors usually apply four different strategies to reframe those counterframes from their opponents: a) ignoring, no response to the counterframes; b) keying, restating claims, and

giving them new meanings; c) embracing, accepting outsiders' collective identity attributions; and d) countermaligning, reframing claims made against the movement.

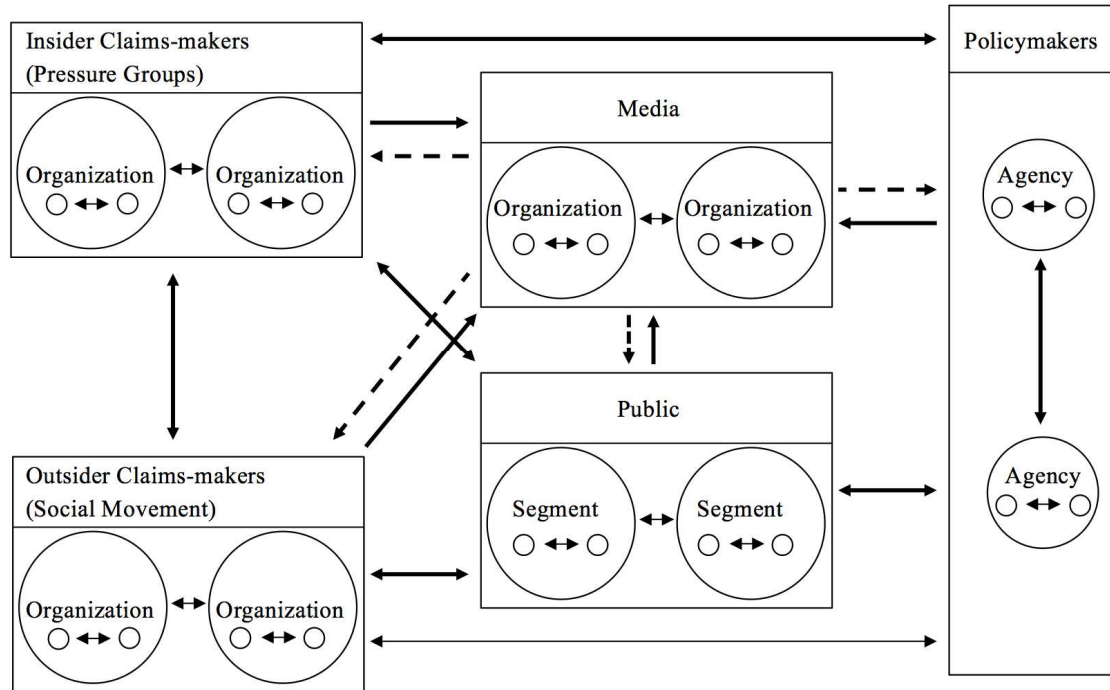


Figure 5. Modified social problems marketplace model

Media Strategies

“Social problems marketplace model” mentioned an important element in social movement, mass media, as a critical tool used by movement actors to state claims and attract audience. Following this idea, scholars started examining media strategies in social movements. Rohlinger, using the abortion movement as an example, analyzed “how organizational structure and identity facilitate or constrain a social movement organization’s ability to get mainstream media coverage” (2002:479) under abortion movement. Rohlinger (2002) compared two ideologically opposed social movement organizations, the National Organization for Women (NOW) and Concerned Women for America (CWA) to see how they got media coverage during the abortion

debate, and concluded that organizational structure and organizational identity may color the media strategies the organization chooses.

According to Rohlinger's study, NOW, a public policy group supports abortion legalization, treated media "as a tool to influence political outcomes", and believed it could "influence media coverage" (2002:500). NOW established "a communications department to create networks with mainstream journalists", "adapted its messages to the prevailing political environment", and "produced information to support its position" (Rohlinger, 2002:501). The organizational structure "prioritized media coverage as a goal", and its identity was much broader and adapted to "the larger political environment" (Rohlinger, 2002:502), while on the other side, CWA, another public policy group supporting the abolition of abortion, "regarded mainstream media as having a liberal bias that made journalists hostile to CWA issues and events" (Rohlinger, 2002:491). Its identity focused more on "grassroots organizing and education", and the organization used "grassroots techniques and personal networking to establish meaningful links to media outlets" (Rohlinger, 2002:502). The two public policy groups with distinct organizational structures and identities gained different coverage outcomes: NOW's frames were present more often than NOW as an organization, while CWA's frames were rarely present in coverage. The detailed comparison of NOW and CWA media strategies and coverage outcomes is summarized in Table 1 (Rohlinger, 2002:503).

After the study on media strategy difference between NOW and CWA, Rohlinger (2006) started her research on the interaction between social movement allies. Still working on the abortion debate, Rohlinger (2006) chose the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) and the National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) to show what media tactics social movement organizations employ to respond to their allies under political opportunities and threats.

Rohlinger found that “in times of political opportunity, groups remain silent on their allies’ activities because silence distances their organizations from rancorous public debates and buttresses their political legitimacy. During political threats, groups cooperate with their allies in the media arena but they use public coalition work to advance their own political and media goals” (2006:554).

Up to this point, previous researches indicated three main elements in studying social movements: the challenging group (outsider claims-maker/social movement organization), the dominant group (insider claims-maker/pressure group), and media. This paper sticks to the three elements to show the movement-counter-movement dynamics by using framing analysis.

Why does this paper use framing analysis? Even though scholars like Capek criticized framing theory for focusing too much on the challenging group, and to some extent ignoring the dominant group in social movement, this research believes the problem is not about framing analysis itself. Just because no scholar has used framing analysis to study the pressure group doesn’t mean it won’t work on analyzing it. The origin of framing analysis is to answer the question of what people perceive under a specific situation. Previous scholars used it to show what protestors perceive about themselves, that is, protestors’ collective identity, while framing analysis can also be used to test what their opponents perceive, by examining whether the dominant groups agree or disagree with the protestors’ identity. By doing so, a different pyramid of identity framework could be found on the dominant groups’ side. Moreover, employing framing analysis at different time points on both groups during the social movement can also show what has been changed in identity frameworks, and further demonstrate the movement-counter-movement dynamics.

Table 1.

Comparison of NOW and CWA media strategies and coverage outcomes

	National Organization for Women (NOW)	Concerned Women for America (CWA)
Perception of the media	Gaining media coverage is an organizational goal Occasional difficulty getting coverage	Mainstream coverage is biased Difficulty getting coverage in secular media outlets
Organizational structure and media access	Centralized and bureaucratic Located in Washington, D.C. since 1966	Decentralized and less bureaucratic Located in San Diego, CA until 1985, when it moved to Washington, D.C.
Media strategies	Instrumental with an emphasis on formalization: <i>Message formation and adaptation:</i> monitoring opposition, testing messages, and producing information <i>Frame and package coordination:</i> systematic response to “breaking news,” coordination of information and messages nationally, and education and strategic placement of spokeswomen <i>Assessment of coverage</i> (2 processes): Was the message presented clearly in the coverage? Are structural factors maximizing or inhibiting organization’s ability to get coverage?	Instrumental with less of an emphasis on formalization: <i>Message formation and adaptation:</i> abortion is a moral issue and therefore the message does not change over time <i>Frame and package coordination:</i> systematic response to “breaking news,” and division of media into secular, Christian, and conservative categories; do not coordinate messages nationally and communications department not consistently active. <i>Assessment of coverage:</i> fairly systematic evaluation and limited response
Coverage outcome	Frame and packages are present in coverage more often than NOW as an organization NOW is not as prominent as <i>single-issue organizations</i> but is the most visible multi-issue organization in the sample Pro-choice packages and organizations get more coverage than pro-life packages and organizations	Frame and packages are rarely present in coverage, except for the discussion on the pre-born. Pro-life organizations are not as prominent as pro-choice organizations, and CWA is not nearly as prominent as <i>single-issue organizations</i> Pro-life packages and organizations get less coverage than pro-choice

Why is it important to study the Tibet Separatists movement? First, the Tibet problem has an important political meaning for China, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Second, from the recent claims made by the Chinese government, it is clear that the interpretations of the attackers by the Tibet Separatists and the government are distinct, and this is appropriate for movement-counter-movement research.

Drawing on framing analysis and the movement-counter-movement dynamics, this paper hypothesizes that the challenging group changes identity in a way that reflects how the dominant group sees it, and vice versa. Both groups continually transform their identity frameworks in response to each other. Thus the following two hypotheses are formulated: H1) in both media discourse and official materials, the frameworks of identity interpretation differ between the challenging group (the Tibet Separatists) and the dominant group (the Chinese government); and H2) both dynamic framing processes are interdependent and actually reflect each other.

CHAPTER IV

TIBET INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

Historical Background

Tibet, northeast of the Himalayas (figure 6), is a plateau region in China, populated by the original Tibetan people and some other ethnic groups as Monpas, Qiang, Lhobas, Han, and Hui people. Modern Tibet covers 1.22 million square kilometers with a population of 2.62 million and is governed as an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China (PRC, 2001), suffering one of the world's longest running ethno-territorial conflicts since the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949 (Sautman & Dreyer, 2006). The conflict between the Tibetan exiles led by the 14th Dalai Lama and the Chinese central government focuses on whether Tibet is an inalienable region of China or an independent country. Tibetan exiles insist that Tibet has been independent for the past 2,000 years, while the Chinese government contends that this region has belonged to China since the Yuan dynasty (the 13th century) (PRC, 2001).



Figure 6. Map of Tibet

The history of Tibet traces back to the 7th century B.C, Songtsän Gampo (604–650 CE) united parts of the Yarlung River Valley and founded the Tibetan Empire (Forbes & Henley, 2011). The marriage of Songtsän Gampo and Princess Wencheng, imperial daughter of Chinese Emperor at that time (Tang Dynasty), enhanced the economic and cultural exchange between Tibetan Empire and China. Later in Song Dynasty (960-1279 CE), the connection between two nations had been improved, and several east Tibetan regions became Chinese territory after a civil war in the Tibetan Empire in the mid-9th century (Zhao, 2007). It was not until 1240 CE (Yuan Dynasty) when the Chinese army entered and conquered Tibet that Tibet officially belonged to China, and Yuan Dynasty government established a specific department to deal with Tibet governance (PRC, 2001). When it came to Qing Dynasty (1636-1912), the Chinese Emperor announced the Dalai Lama as religious leader in Tibet area. Tibetan Buddhism addresses its highest leader as “Dalai Lama”, and treats it as reincarnation of living Buddhas, which means when the former Dalai Lama died, his soul will enter to a new human body, and start a new life (Zhao, 2007). When the Republic of China (1912-1949) was founded, Chinese central government still had sovereignty over Tibet, and it continues until today. In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party won the civil war, changed the Republic of China into the People’s Republic of China, and set up a central government in Beijing. It declared the government must approve and endorse any potential new candidate for Dalai Lama (PRC, 2001).

However, the Tibet Separatists believe “China invaded Tibet in 1950. Its occupation has resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Tibetans and the imprisonment and torture of thousands more. After a failed uprising against Chinese rule in 1959, Tibet’s political and spiritual leader, the 14th Dalai Lama, fled into exile in India followed by tens of thousands of Tibetans” (Free Tibet, 2015).

The main debate about Tibet focuses on supporting either the Tibet Separatists or the Chinese government, and there is no compromising between both (Sautman & Dreyer, 2006). In late 1986 and early 1987, the Dalai Lama, the titular head of Tibet, visited Latin America, the United States, Europe and the Soviet Union to gain support for the independence. In 2008, the Dalai Lama proposed the Middle-Way Approach to solve the conflict. He indicated, “The Tibetan people do not accept the present status of Tibet under the People’s Republic of China” (His Holiness’s Middle Way Approach For Resolving the Issue of Tibet, 2008). At the same time, they do not seek independence for Tibet, and they agree that Tibet belongs to China. “Treading a middle path between these two lies the policy and means to achieve a genuine autonomy for all Tibetans living in the three traditional provinces of Tibet within the framework of the People’s Republic of China” (His Holiness’s Middle Way Approach For Resolving the Issue of Tibet, 2008). On the contrary, the Chinese government criticized this approach as actually a conspiracy and a pre-stage for separating Tibet.

The Importance of Tibet

As mentioned before, Tibet is important to China, because: a) Tibet covers one-eighth area of China, and up to 2012, its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has arrived 70 billion RMB (over 11 billion U.S. dollars) with an annual increase rate of 12 percent, and tax revenue accumulated to 153 billion RMB (over 24 billion U.S. dollars) (Wang, 2013); b) Tibet is located in the most southwest of China, and has an average altitude of 4000 meters, which makes it a natural barrier, and has a strong military function (PRC, 2001); c) Apart from Tibet, many in Xinjiang, another region of China in the northwest of the country, want separation from China. In recent year, East Turkistan Islamic group tried to split Xinjiang from China, and had frequent communication with

the Tibet Separatists (Global Times, 2015). If the Tibet Separatists succeed in freeing Tibet, East Turkistan Islamic group could follow the same road to free Xinjiang. This could cause China to lose more areas.

Based on the above three reasons, the Chinese government strongly opposes Tibet Separatist movement, which makes the process of countermovement clearer in this case.

Media Framing About The Tibet Separatists

A study of identity specifically on the Tibet separatists has seldom been done recently. However, substantial research has been conducted to state the difference in media frames about Tibet, answering the question of how Western and Chinese media distinctly cover the Tibet movement.

In media, scholars (e.g., Scheufele, 1999) regard framing as a process with two steps of frames: media frames and audience frames. The former has been defined as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events...The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987:143). The latter is more inclined to individual perception, similar to the concept of framing that this paper reviewed before. According to Scheufele (1999), media frames can be studied as a dependent variable. The way that journalists frame news can be influenced by social and professional routines (Van Dijk, 1985), which means news reports are based on “ideology and prejudice” (Edelman, 1993). In this way, media serves as a mediator between event and the audience, and has an inevitable impact on people’s perception by its framing function.

Weimin’s study (2009) did a systematic summary of media frames on the Tibet separatists by comparing Western media to Chinese. In this study, Weimin defined Western media as large

news networks primarily based in the United States and Europe such as the Cable News Network (CNN), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Reuters, and the Associated Press (AP). Chinese media refers to the news networks headquartered within mainland China, such as Xinhua (the primary news agency), China Central Television (CCTV) (the primary television station of China), and China Daily (the national English-language newspaper). For Chinese language media, the two largest newspaper sources are the Guang Ming Ri Bao and the Ren Min Ri Bao. The findings show Chinese media coverage presents less diversity than the Western, because the Chinese government controls the media system in China, and table 2 (Weimin, 2009) shows its details. Analyzing media frames on the Tibet movement can be seen as an application of framing theory on social movement identity, since mass media is highly dependent on the raw materials from Tibet separatist and the Chinese government as resources. Chinese media is more inclined to support the Chinese government side by citing the direct words from the official paper, while Western media mentions more about what the Tibet separatists said about themselves.

Table 2.

Differences between the Western and Chinese media coverage of the Tibet issue (Weiman, 2009)

	<u>Western media</u>	<u>Chinese media</u>
Frames used	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Independence, freedom, and protection of Tibetan human rights. • A free, smaller nation is being swallowed by a large powerful one. • A weak, isolated group of people is being dominated by an oppressive government. • A holy man's struggle against a powerful neighboring government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National sovereignty, unity, and stability. • Poverty alleviation and emancipation of "slaves." • Raising the standard of living of ordinary Tibetans who suffered terribly under the former regime. • Uniting the diverse Chinese peoples as one nation while preserving their unique characteristics.
History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China invaded and forced the exile of a peaceful leader from Tibet. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China liberated a whole population from the cruel rule of slavery.
Cultural preservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tibetan territory is flooded by Han immigrants who are eradicating traditional Tibetan way of life. • "Cultural genocide" of Tibet and the Tibetan way of life by the Han government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tibetan culture is one of the most highly treasured in all of China. • Preserving traditional Tibetan language, religion, food, dance, and lifestyle is high priority.
Political power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tibet is controlled by the Han dominated Communist Party of China. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tibetans hold key political and decision-making positions in Tibet.
Religious freedom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monks live in fear of persecution. They need to hide photos of the Dalai Lama from Chinese authorities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Buddhism thrives in Tibet as it does in all of China. • Tibetan monks are highly regarded as holy people throughout China.
Journalistic freedom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreign journalists are regularly expelled from Tibet because China is hiding something. • Journalists who write negative stories about Tibet are censored in the Chinese media. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objective, fair-minded journalists have never been denied entry and report constantly from Tibet. • Journalists who write positive stories about Tibet under China are censored in the Western press.
What do ordinary Tibetans think?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tibetans are united against the Chinese government's oppression though many are afraid to say so publicly. • The Dalai Lama is Tibet's spiritual leader-in-exile and speaks for all Tibetans. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tibetans are improving their standard of living. There are more civil liberties under Chinese rule than in the past. Tibetans do not want to return to the bad "old ways." • The Dalai Lama speaks only for an elite minority that is trying to hurt China.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH METHOD

The main focus of this paper is to understand how the dominant group interprets the collective identity of the challenging group, how the challenging group interprets the dominant group, and how the identity frameworks from both groups change over time. The interdependent relation of the challenging and dominant groups requires looking at identity frameworks from both groups at the same time. Based on the literature, these hypotheses were formulated:

H1) the frameworks of identity interpretation differ between the challenging group and the dominant group as A. reflected by the groups' official websites and B. as reflected by news media coverage

H2) both dynamic framing processes are interdependent and actually reflect each other.

The research method is therefore guided by the main idea of analyzing identity frameworks from both groups. I conduct content analysis on the official websites of the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government, and news coverage by searching the keywords of the Tibet separatists, Tibet movement, and free Tibet on LexisNexis from 2010 to 2014.

Data Sources

Attacks on public places organized by the Tibet Separatists have become more frequent in recent years, and they have gained increased attention from both the mass media and from scholars. However, it is hard to interview separatists who are defined as criminals in China. Thus, the official websites of the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government, as well as media materials, involving *New York Times*, *Times of India*, and *People's Daily*, are examined for this research.

The official website of the Office of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama is a main source to collect what the Tibet separatists say about themselves. The website includes all the speeches the Dalai Lama has made, general ideas he advocates or supports in his original words, and upcoming schedule.

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentions the Tibet separatists most among all the national organizations, since the Dalai Lama frequently traveled abroad in recent years to get Western support. The official website provides all the information of government attitudes, mostly criticism of other country leaders such as President Obama for meeting with the Dalai Lama, and reiterating that Tibet separatism is a domestic problem of China, and there should be no foreign interference.

From 2010 to 2014, both official websites have a total amount of 141 articles on the issue (69 from The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and 72 from the Dalai Lama), and the sample details are in table 3.

Table 3.

Articles gathered from two official websites, and divided by years

<u>Origins</u>			<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Cumulative Percent</u>
The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Valid	2010	15	21.7	21.7	21.7
		2011	5	7.2	7.2	29.0
		2012	13	18.8	18.8	47.8
		2013	22	31.9	31.9	79.7
		2014	14	20.3	20.3	100.0
		Total	69	100.0	100.0	
The Dalai Lama	Valid	2010	9	12.5	12.5	12.5
		2011	19	26.4	26.4	38.9
		2012	13	18.1	18.1	56.9
		2013	13	18.1	18.1	75.0
		2014	18	25.0	25.0	100.0
		Total	72	100.0	100.0	

If the research wants to present a complete picture of how the Tibet separatists are framed by themselves and are framed by the Chinese government, the original words shown on official websites must be included, but also media coverage should be studied, because the public is highly dependent on mass media for getting information, rather than witnessing the event by themselves. And at the same time, media serve as the major tool for both groups to propagandize their stands, just as the social problems marketplace model indicates. However, the literature review on movement-counter movement has shown that media coverage is to some extent different from official website resource. The biggest distinction is that media do not always exactly follow the source as what the Chinese officials or the Tibet separatists said originally. In this way, the identity frameworks used by both groups might be filtered, modified, or changed by the media.

Based on the first hypothesis the challenging group's identity framework should be different from the challenging group to the dominant group as shown by the groups' official websites. The identity shown by different media systems should also be different, since they rely on different sources to cover the Free Tibet story, and will have a different tone in their news coverage. This research uses media coverage both in Chinese media and Western media from 2010 to 2014 to support that. Chinese media reports government position on the Tibet separatists, including publishing speeches made by government officials. *People's Daily* is the most appropriate Chinese news source for this research, since it is the most central news outlet in China, and is controlled by the government. And for the Tibet separatists, the study uses LexisNexis by searching the key words of "the Tibet separatists" and "free Tibet", and chooses all the relevant reports from *the Times of India* because LexisNexis shows it mentioned Tibet issue most

frequently than the other news media. Dalai Lama escaped to India in 1959, which makes *the Times of India* serve as his major channel to disseminate the idea of free Tibet.

New York Times, as LexisNexis shows, is the second media who mentions the Tibet separatists most worldwide. Its articles are selected because it is supposed to be more neutral than *the Times of India* and *People's Daily* as the first hypothesis predict.

Articles from three media systems amount to 3,208 (*People's Daily*: 1137 articles; *the Times of India*: 938 articles; *New York Times*: 1133 articles). A systematic sampling is conducted in order to get a representative random sample. The sampling interval is 10, which means after a random starting point, every tenth article is selected in each media system, so the sample consists of 113 articles from *People's Daily*, 93 articles from *the Times of India*, and 113 articles from *New York Times*. The sample details are presented in table 4.

Table 4.

Articles gathered from three media systems, and divided by years

<u>Source</u>			Article			Cumulative
			<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Valid Percent</u>	<u>Percent</u>
People's Daily	Valid	2010	25	22.1	22.1	22.1
		2011	18	15.9	15.9	38.1
		2012	14	12.4	12.4	50.4
		2013	34	30.1	30.1	80.5
		2014	22	19.5	19.5	100.0
		Total	113	100.0	100.0	
New York Times	Valid	2010	14	12.5	12.5	12.5
		2011	12	10.7	10.7	23.2
		2012	52	46.4	46.4	69.6
		2013	18	16.1	16.1	85.7
		2014	16	14.3	14.3	100.0
		Total	112	100.0	100.0	
The Times of India	Valid	2010	16	17.0	17.0	17.0
		2011	24	25.5	25.5	42.6
		2012	20	21.3	21.3	63.8
		2013	16	17.0	17.0	80.9
		2014	18	19.1	19.1	100.0
		Total	94	100.0	100.0	

Conceptualization and Operationalization of Identity

First, identity framework is conceptualized as cultural pyramid consisting of shared values and beliefs within groups. Those values should be the content that closely relates to the goal, and highly represent the groups. For example, when talking about the collective identity of labor movement, the identity pyramid from the labor protestors is more likely to have the central theme of protecting workers on the top, and with sub-groups of enhancing labor rights, respecting labor, strengthening labor unions, against exploitation and other similar values.

The concept of identity in social movement scholarly literature was initially used to indicate protestors' motivations and goals. Following this idea, identity framework for the challenging group here is operationalized as the answers leaders give when asked why they are engaged in a social movement, and what they want to achieve in their original words. For the dominant group, identity framework should be their perception of protestors. In their opinion, why do the protestors participate in the movement?

Variables and Measures

A pilot study has been conducted to gain the highly used identity frames for each side. The pilot study selected a simple random sample in all news materials from *People's Daily* and *New York Times* during 2010 to 2014. For each year, 20 articles were randomly selected from either newspapers, and eventually the sample involves 200 stories: 100 stories from *People's Daily*, and 100 stories from *New York Times*.

Based on the content analysis of the pilot study, three major identity frames appear for each side: human rights fighter, anti-colonialism fighter, and non-rioter for the Identity of the Tibet Separatists; independence conspirator, riot creator, and terrorist for the Chinese government

interpretation of the Tibet separatists. Their definitions are presented below, and the contents support my first hypothesis that the dominant group (the Chinese government) interprets differently on the identity of the challenging group (the Tibet Separatists) from what the separatists think about themselves.

The identity of the Tibet Separatists

In this paper, the Tibet separatists refer to the followers of the Dalai Lama, who insist on separating Tibet from China. Most of them are Tibetan, and organize or participate in the free Tibet protest.

Human rights fighter

The Tibet Separatists demonstrate this identity by mentioning China's record on human rights. They believe that the Dalai Lama is a champion of religious freedom and is being suppressed by the Chinese central government. Direct citations from news coverage talk about how the Chinese government uses law, weapons, army and other means to force the Tibetans to follow the Chinese Communist Party, especially illegalizing public assembly and protest.

Anti-colonialism fighter

The Tibet Separatists point out that Chinese culture invades Tibet's own culture, religion and tradition, forcing the young generation to learn about Chinese culture education instead of their own one. Besides, the Chinese government has highly controlled Tibet's political and economic life, making it widely divergent from the way Tibetans used to live.

Non-rioter

Under this identity, the Tibet separatists shift the responsibility of causing regional riot to the Chinese government by criticizing its military assault on Tibet in 1959. They argue that the assault brought social instability to Tibet and adjacent areas.

The Chinese government interpretation of the Tibet Separatists

In this study, the Chinese government refers to both the central government located in Beijing, and the local governments.

Independence conspirator

The Chinese government treats the Tibet separatists as the enemy of national unity for they are trying to split Tibet from China. Contents show that the Dalai Lama is destroying Chinese unity by fomenting protests, and destroying the Chinese claim of sovereignty over Tibet.

Riot creator

The Tibet Separatists are blamed for all the riots they created that injured or killed innocent people. Relevant contents made by the Chinese government include separatists being arrested and sentenced because of threatening the national security.

Terrorist

The Chinese government labels the Tibet separatists as terrorists in recent years, indicating them threatening the whole society as extreme criminals. The word “terrorist” is directly used in

Chinese news, and the verbs used by media become more intense as “strongly condemn”, “vigorously denounce” and so forth.

Content Analysis

After gathering information, content analysis is utilized as the main data analysis method. The data that were analyzed were the words people used to describe the opinions and actions of the separatists, and the words can be single adjectives, nouns or also whole sentences. The study uses different coding methods for official websites and media resources, since they are a little different. And this research uses SPSS to do the statistical measurements.

For the official websites, all the materials are coded by article. The six major identity frames (three for both sides) will be entered as categories, and as shown in the codebook (Appendix A and B), each identity frame has its own indicators. In one article, the frame’s visibility value equals to the average of all its indicators’ coding values. Each indicator is coded by whether mentioned it (coded as 1), or absent (coded as 0). For example in an article, when the Chinese government mentioned Tibet belongs to China (coded as 1), criticizing foreign country leaders that meet the Tibet Separatists (coded as 1), and the other four indicators didn’t show up in an article (coded as 0), the visibility of independence conspirator frame, which equals the average of all its six indicators, gets the value of 0.333 $((1+1)/6)$ in this article.

For the media reports, all the materials are coded by paragraph. The six major identity frames (three for both sides) will be entered as categories just as official websites, but the coding process is distinct. In order to support the second part of my first hypothesis, that is, whether different media systems will have different tones on the Tibet issue, the coding book for media reports includes one more part to show where the source comes from and its tone. The visibility of the frame for media reports comes from its indicators’ visibility value. In each article, the

indicator is at first coded by how many paragraphs mentioned it, and then divided by the sum of paragraphs in the article to get the percentage, which consists of the indicator's visibility value. The average of all the subset indicators' visibility value is calculated as the visibility of that frame. For example, in an article with 10 paragraphs, 5 paragraphs mentioned China's human rights records negatively, and 6 paragraphs mentioned China's contemporary human rights situation negatively (1 paragraph mentioned both indicators, which means the sum is not equal to 10), so the visibility score for human right fighter frame in this article equals 0.55 $((0.5+0.6)/2)$, which means 55% of paragraphs mentioned one indicator, and made its frame visible. By doing so, the frequency of media using each frame will be more obvious and exact, such as 1 out of 10 paragraphs mentioned either indicator of terrorists in *New York Times* reports, while 3 out of 10 paragraphs mentioned either indicator of terrorists in *People's Daily* reports, meaning that the visibility of terrorist frame is much higher in *People's Daily* than in *New York Times*.

Intercoder Reliability

One second-year sociology graduate student and one second-year journalism and mass communication graduate student helped in coding. Both of them are Chinese students, so the coding for Chinese materials will be more accurate, and they also have enough English skills to deal with the English articles. They were asked to code a randomly selected sub-sample of 20% of both the official websites articles and the new reports.

The test for intercoder reliability followed Scott's pi. Scott's pi is a statistic for measuring agreement among coders in the context of a content analysis in order to demonstrate the trustworthiness of data (Scott, 1955). In this research, the average Scott's pi value for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs website was 0.93, the value for the Dalai Lama website was

0.95, the value for *People's Daily* was 0.96, the value for *New York Times* was 0.92, and the value for *the Times of India* was 0.97. The breakdown of intercoder reliability is detailed in Appendix C.

Data Analysis

According to the first part of my first hypothesis that the frameworks of identity interpretation differ from the challenging group to the dominant group as reflected by the groups' official websites, the Chinese government website is supposed to describe the Tibet separatists more as independence conspirators, riot creators, and terrorists, while the Dalai Lama will justify the Tibet separatists as human rights fighters, anti-colonialism fighters, and riot-unrelated persons. Then when looking at media coverage, *Times of India* should show more about the three identities that the Tibet separatists use, while *People's Daily* should be more inclined to support the interpretation of the Chinese government, and *New York Times* is predicted to be neutral, showing both sides.

Based on the second hypotheses I have made, two series analysis of variance test (ANOVA) will be conducted to determine whether the identities from both groups change interdependently. Materials from official websites and media sources will be calculated separately, but the result is estimated to be similar, if *Times of India* does rely more on the Tibet separatists for information, and *People's Daily* is dependent on what the Chinese government said. The interdependent change can be shown by increase or decrease in the conflicting frames. From the identity frames, several correspondent conflicting frames have been shown. Riot-unrelated person frame for the Tibet separatists and riot creator frame for the Chinese government is obviously conflicting each other, therefore the means should both go up or down simultaneously if the identity frames for

both groups are interdependent, and actually reflect each other, which means when the Chinese government starts using riot creator frame more frequently, the Tibet separatists will show higher visibility value on riot-unrelated person.

CHAPTER VI

RESULTS OF OFFICIAL WEBSITES

This research aims to support two main hypotheses: H1) the frameworks of identity interpretation differ from the challenging group to the dominant group as A. reflected by the groups' official websites and B. as reflected by news media coverage; H2) both dynamic framing processes are interdependent, and actually reflect each other. This chapter focuses on the official website part, proving that the identity frameworks are different from the Tibet Separatists to the Chinese government, and the frames both sides used interdependently change over time. To reach this aim, a total of 141 articles were selected and analyzed from official websites (69 from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and 72 from the Dalai Lama) between 2010 and 2014.

Cronbach's alpha is calculated to show the internal reliability of each frame, which means how closely related a set of indicators is as a frame. Usually a reliability coefficient of 0.70 or higher is considered as "acceptable" in most social science research situations (UCLA, 2015). Based on Table 5, Cronbach's alpha for each frame, the reliability coefficients of human rights frame, riot-unrelated person frame, independence conspirator frame, riot creator frame, terrorist frame are acceptable, but the reliability coefficient of anti-colonialism fighter frame is a little under the requirement.

Table 5.
Cronbach's alpha for each frame for official websites

	Cronbach's	
	<u>Alpha</u>	<u>N of Items</u>
Human rights Fighter Frame	.836	5
Anti-colonialism Fighter Frame	.618	5
Riot-unrelated Person Frame	.901	5
Independence Conspirator Frame	.864	6
Riot Creator Frame	.758	5
Terrorist Frame	.919	5

Table 6.

Varimax-rotated factor solution for human rights fighter indicators

	Component Matrix^a	
	Component <u>1</u>	Component <u>2</u>
Does the article mention China's human rights records negatively?	.742	.634
Does the article mention China's contemporary human rights situation negatively?	.730	.648
Does the article mention Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet?	.850	-.455
Does the article mention Chinese government interferes with religious activity in Tibet?	.839	-.351
Does the article mention Chinese government uses the law, weapons, army and other means to define religious public assembly and protest of Tibet separatists as illegal?	.771	-.340

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 2 components extracted.

Table 7.

Varimax-rotated factor solution for anti-colonialism fighter indicators

	Component Matrix^a	
	Component <u>1</u>	Component <u>2</u>
Does the article mention Tibetan culture is different from Chinese culture?	.625	.564
Does the article mention Chinese government forces Tibetan young generation to learn Chinese culture instead of their own culture?	.656	-.547
Does the article mention Chinese government controls the political system in Tibet?	.210	.691
Does the article mention Chinese government controls economic system in Tibet?	.772	-.381

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 2 components extracted.

Then a principal component analysis with varimax-rotated factor solution is employed under each frame to see whether the indicators are highly correlated to each other. The result from table 6 shows the human rights fighter frame should be separated into two parts: human rights fighter against Chinese contemporary situation (the first two indicators), and religious

rights (the last three indicators), and the Cronbach's alphas also support the separated frames (0.949 for the former two, and 0.889 for the later three). When the same principal component analysis is applied to the anti-colonialism frame, the factor analysis cannot go through by SPSS, because no article mentioned the fourth indicator, "Does the article mention there is not enough Tibetan representative or official in the Chinese government?", and it has zero variance. After the fourth indicator was eliminated, the result (table 7) shows the third indicator, "Does the article mention the Chinese government controls the political system in Tibet?", has loading value lower than 0.5 (a threshold commonly applied by social researchers), so this indicator is not included in the further analysis (Pedhazur & Pedhazur-Schmelkin, 1991). After the third and fourth indicator eliminated, Cronbach's alpha for the rest three indicators under the anti-colonialism fighter frame goes up to 0.735.

Repeating the principal component to all other frames, indicators of "Does the article mention Dalai Lama is trying to change Tibetan culture in order to free Tibet?" under the independence conspirator frame (loading value: -0.088), "Does the article mention people being injured, hurt or died because of the Tibet separatists?" (loading value: -0.224), and "Does the article mention the Tibet separatists are arrested or sentenced in the name of national security?" under the riot creator frame (loading value: 0.078) are excluded. The final frames and indicators that are further analyzed are summarized in table 8.

Table 8.

Frameworks and indicators of official websites

<u>Frame name</u>	<u>Indicator</u>
Human rights fighter (HF)	Does the article mention China's human rights records negatively?
	Does the article mention China's contemporary human rights situation negatively?
Religious freedom fighter (RF)	Does the article mention the Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet?
	Does the article mention the Chinese government interferes with religious activity in Tibet?
	Does the article mention the Chinese government uses the law, weapons, army and other means to define religious public assembly and protest of the Tibet separatists as illegal?
Anti-colonialism fighter (AF)	Does the article mention Tibetan culture is different from Chinese culture?
	Does the article mention the Chinese government forces Tibetan young generation to learn Chinese culture instead of their own culture?
	Does the article mention the Chinese government controls economic system in Tibet?
Riot-unrelated person (RUP)	Does the article deny the riot during protest?
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists protest peacefully?
	Does the article avoid mentioning people injured, hurt or died when discussing the protest?
	Does the article accuse the Chinese government for being the one responsible for people injured, hurt or died during suppressing the protest?
	Does the article mention Chinese policemen use violent means to suppress the protest?
Independence conspirator (IC)	Does the article mention Tibet belongs to China?
	Does the article mention Tibet separatist is a domestic problem?
	Does the article criticize foreign country leaders meet or support the Tibet separatists?
	Does the article mention the Chinese government criticize foreign country interfere Tibet problem?
	Does the article mention history background of Tibet being conquered by China?
Riot creator (RC)	Does the article mention the Tibet separatists created a riot during protest?
	Does the article mention people being injured, hurt or died because of Tibet separatists?
	Does the article mention the Tibet separatists have destroyed public or private property?
	Does the article mention the Chinese government blame Tibet separatists for creating a riot?

Table 8 continued

Terrorist (T)	Does the article describe the Tibet separatists as terrorists?
	Does the article use more intense language as “strongly condemn”, “vigorously denounce” to describe the Tibet separatists?
	Does the article mention the Tibet separatists are not human?
	Does the article mention all the world should be against the Tibet separatists?
	Does the article emphasize innocent people being injured, hurt or died by the Tibet separatists?

Different Frameworks between the Tibet Separatists and the Chinese Government

The first hypothesis of this study is that the frameworks of identity interpretation differ from the challenging group to the dominant group as reflected by the groups’ official websites. Table 9 provides the descriptive statistics to compare the sums, means, and standard deviations of the frames used by both groups to support the first hypothesis. It indicates the Chinese government interprets the Tibet Separatists as independence conspirators (IC), riot creators (RC), and terrorists (T), while the Tibet Separatists consider themselves more as human rights fighters (HF), religious freedom fighters (RF), anti-colonialism fighters (AF), and riot-unrelated persons (RUP). In the table, “N” stands for the number of articles, and “Means” is the average coding value for each frame in all the articles, which is defined as the frame’s visibility in this study.

In Table 9, human rights fighter frame, religious freedom fighter frame, anti-colonialism fighter frame, and riot-unrelated person frame for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs have 0.00 in minimums, maximums, means and Std. deviations, which means the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs never mentioned any of the four frames’ indicators in all their articles. In the same way, the Dalai Lama never mentioned the frames of independence conspirator, riot creator, and terrorist. And the following content will show how the frameworks differentiate in detail.

Table 9.
Descriptive statistics for frames used by both sides

<u>Origins</u>		<u>N of articles</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Deviation</u>
The Chinese	Human right fighter	69	.00	.00	.00
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Religious freedom fighter	69	.00	.00	.00
	Anti-colonialism fighter	69	.00	.00	.00
	Riot-unrelated person	69	.00	.00	.00
	Independence conspirator	69	.40	.46	.39
	Riot creator	69	.00	.09	.26
	Terrorist	69	.20	.28	.38
	Valid N (listwise)	69			
	The Dalai Lama	Human right fighter	72	.00	.15
Lama	Religious freedom fighter	72	.67	.71	.35
	Anti-colonialism fighter	72	.20	.14	.27
	Riot-unrelated person	72	.40	.36	.38
	Independence conspirator	72	.00	.00	.00
	Riot creator	72	.00	.00	.00
	Terrorist	72	.00	.00	.00
	Valid N (listwise)	72			

Frameworks from the Chinese Government

The frameworks from the Chinese government are concentrated on three frames: independence conspirator, riot creator, and terrorist. In this section, the three frames will be discussed separately in order to show which indicators contribute most to the frame. In order to do so, the frequencies of every indicator's presence (how many articles mention the indicator) are calculated, and transferred into bar charts. Moreover, direct contents from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be selected as the examples to show what the Chinese government exactly said about the Tibet Separatists. Each frame will have an example, and the example is chosen by the following criteria. It must cover all the indicators or the important indicators under the specific frame.

Independence conspirator

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentions the frame of independence conspirator most during the five years between 2010 and 2014 (table 9). In figure 7, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentioned “Tibet belongs to China” in 39 articles, 56.5 percent of the total 69 articles. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs insisted “the Tibet Separatist is a domestic problem” in 31 articles (44.9%), criticized “foreign country leaders meet or support Tibet Separatist” in 34 articles (49.2%), and criticized “foreign country interfere Tibet problem” in 37 articles (53.6%). The background of Tibet being conquered by China was mentioned in only 18 articles (26%), whose visibility is obviously less than the other four indicators. Here is a quote from the speech made by Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Lei Hong, on May 15th, 2012. This quote is selected as an example since it mentioned the most indicators under this frame (four out of five indicators):

British Prime Minister, Cameron, meeting the 14th Dalai Lama, the leader of the Tibet Separatists, hurts the feeling of Chinese people, and damaged the relation between China and the United Kingdom (UK). Tibet belongs to China, Tibet issue is a Chinese domestic problem, and we strongly condemn UK interfering in the Tibet problem².

² Author’s translation

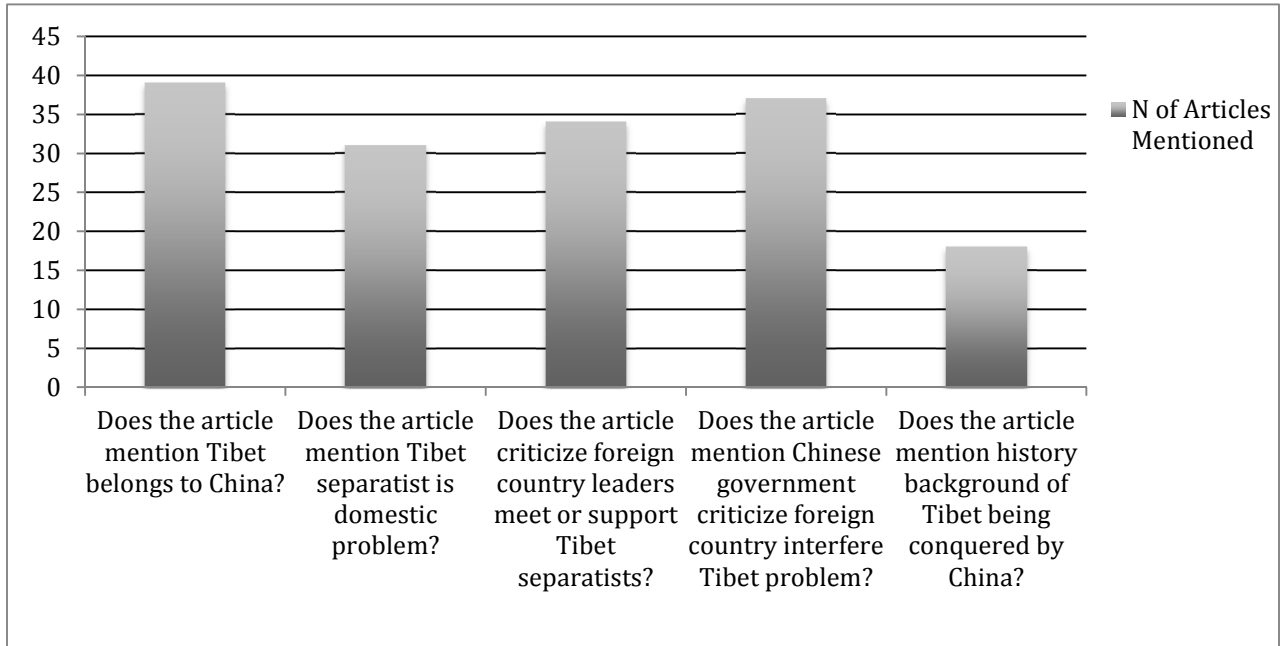


Figure 7. Frequency of independence conspirator frame's indicators from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Riot creator

Four indicators are eventually included for analyzing riot creator frame after Cronbach's alpha test and factor analysis (table 8). The Chinese government mentioned the Tibet Separatists created riots during protest in 10 articles (14.49%), blamed the Tibet Separatists for causing people injured, hurt or died in 27 articles (39.13%), and destroying public or private property in 4 articles (5.8%). The Chinese government also blamed the Tibet Separatists for creating a riot in 6 articles (8.7%). The example here is the regular press conference held by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 11, 2010.

The so-called non-violent protest by the Tibet Separatists is actually a lie. The Tibet Separatists never give up violent means. The best example is the 2008 March 14 unrest in

*Lhasa. The Tibet Separatists killed 18 innocent residents, and caused another 382 residents injured*³.

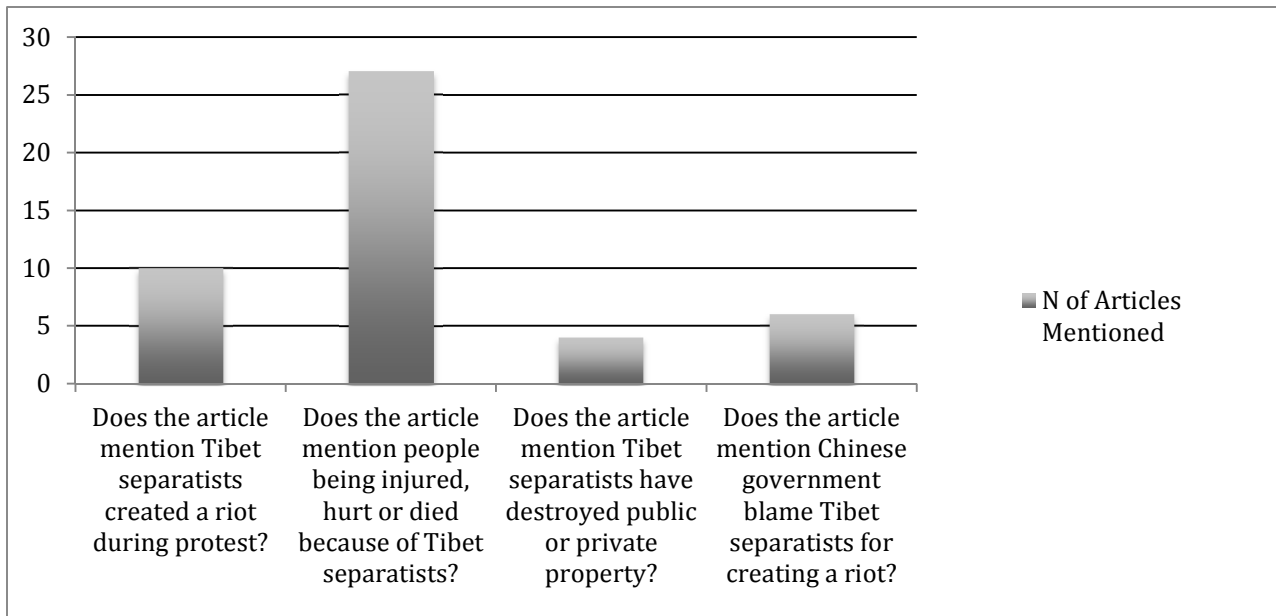


Figure 8. Frequency of riot creator frame’s indicators from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Terrorist

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs described the Tibet Separatists as terrorists in 11 articles (15.94%) (figure 9). The Chinese government mentioned they “strongly condemn”, and “vigorously denounce” the Tibet Separatists in 28 articles (40.58%), which makes the second indicator most seen in the terrorist frame. Totally 21 articles (30.43%) criticized the Tibet Separatists as not human directly or indirectly. 22 articles (31.87%) said directly the whole world should be against the Tibet Separatists, or defined the Tibet Separatists just as other terrorism organizations that are the enemy of the world. 18 articles (26.08%) talked about innocent people injured, hurt, or died because of the Tibet Separatists with the exact same word. The example comes from the speech made by Sichuan Province local government on March 8, 2014:

³ Author’s translation

Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, and Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture both are located in Sichuan Province. The recent riots created by the Tibet Separatists destroy the local peace. They are extremely dangerous people, organizing violent activities, and hurting innocent people⁴.

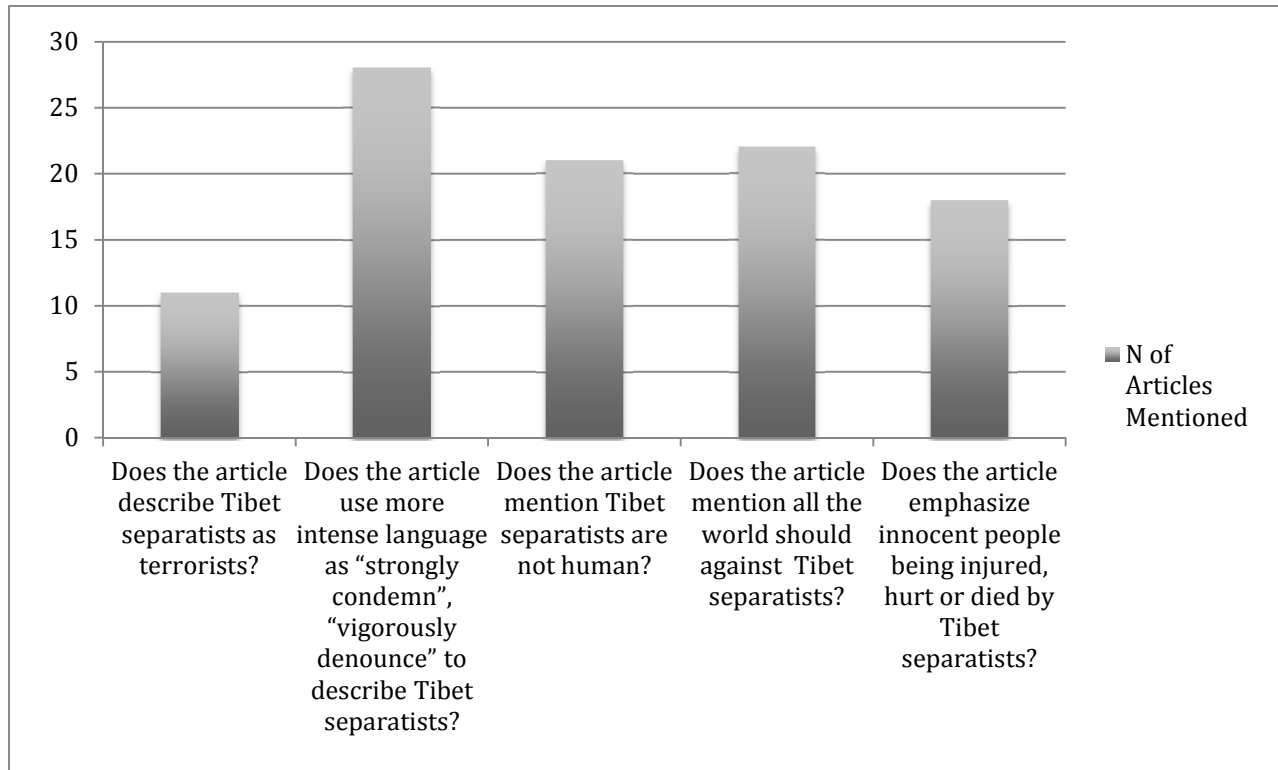


Figure 9. Frequency of terrorist frame's indicators from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Frameworks from the Tibet Separatists

The Tibet Separatists identify themselves as human rights fighters, religious freedom fighters, anti-colonialism fighters and riot-unrelated persons (table 9).

⁴ Author's translation

Human rights fighter

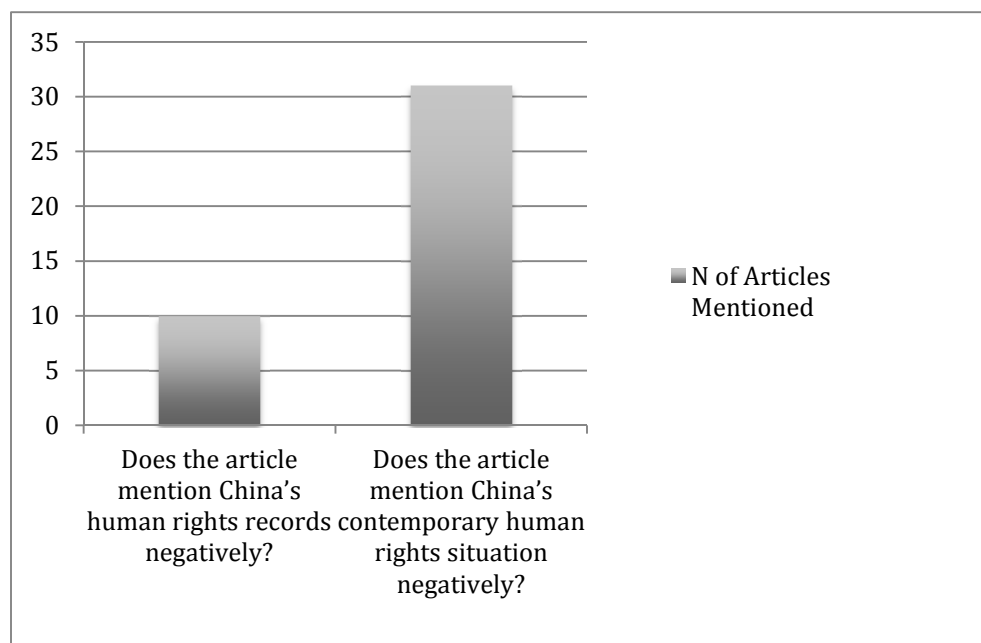


Figure 10. Frequency of human rights fighter frame's indicators from the Dalai Lama

Human Rights Watch (2015) pointed out that the Chinese government remains an authoritarian one-party state, placing restrictions on basic rights such as expression, association, assembly, and religion, prohibiting independent labor unions and human rights organizations, and maintaining Party control over all judicial institutions. The Tibet Separatists claimed this is one of the main reasons that they protest against the Chinese government. 10 articles (13.89%) from the Dalai Lama official website directly speak of China keeping negative human rights record for years (figure 10). 31 articles (43.06%) criticized China's contemporary human rights situation as what Yangchen Dolkar, the parliamentarian of the Tibetan government-in-exile in Dharamshala, said on the occasion of World Human Rights Day on December 12, 2012:

Tibetans across the world are observing World Human Rights Day to send out the message that there are gross human rights violations in Tibet. We also want to tell the people that China's claim that Tibet is developing economically and culturally⁵ is not true.

Religious freedom fighter

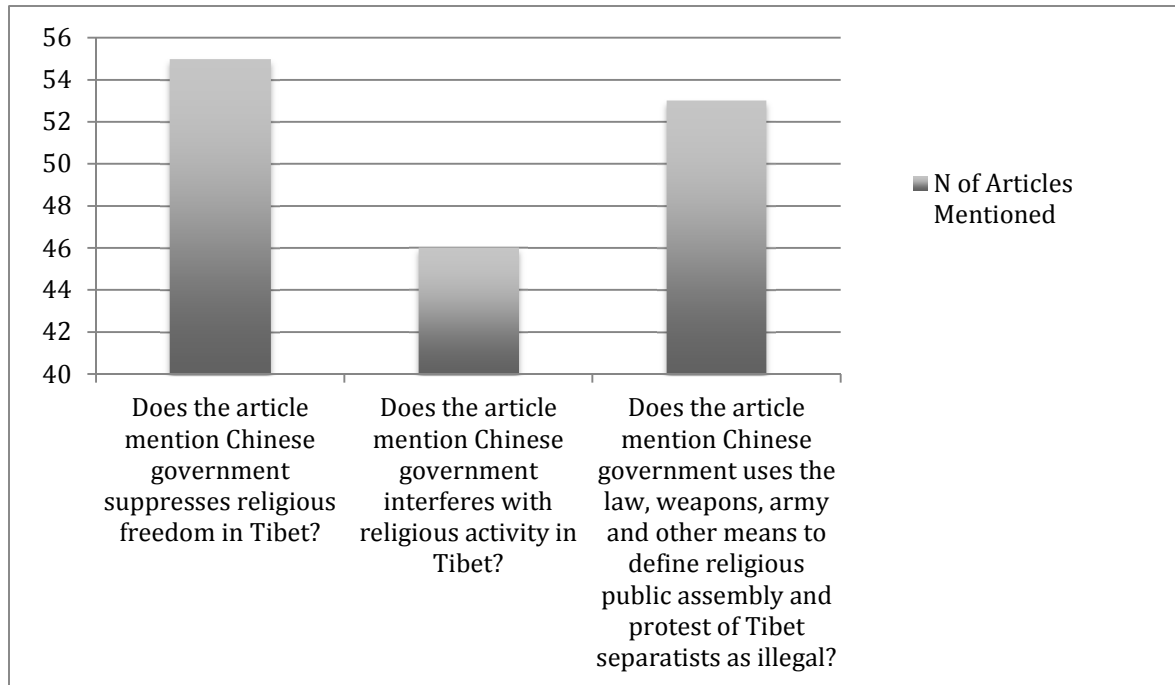


Figure 11. Frequency of religious freedom fighter frame's indicators from the Dalai Lama

The Tibet Separatists believe the Chinese government has suppressed their religion. They mentioned the Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet in 55 articles (79.71%), the Chinese government interferes with religious activity in Tibet in 46 articles (66.66%), and the Chinese government uses the law, weapons, army and other means to define

⁵ On April 7th, 2015, Dan Zeng Qu Zha, the Tibetan representative of the National People's Congress in China, told the American media that the infrastructure, economy, culture, and religion in Tibet are becoming stronger than before. For example, before 1959, Tibet was feudal society, all the resources were controlled by only 5% of the population, and most Tibetans were extremely poor. Real GDP per capita was only 114 RMB (around 18 U.S. dollars) in 1959. However now, under the leadership of the Chinese government, real GDP per capita increased to 29252 RMB (4718 U.S. dollars) in 2014.

religious public assembly and protest as illegal in 53 articles (76.81%) (figure 11). A student for Free Tibet⁶ made the following statement during a protest on November 9, 2012 in Tibet:

In Tibet, many people's lives are dedicated to Tibetan Buddhism. Religious customs are part of everyday life. However, China wishes to control and limit Tibetan Buddhism in order to weaken Tibetan identity and strengthen its control over Tibet. Monasteries are instructed to fly the Chinese flag. Monks and nuns are forced to participate in "patriotic re-education program" and take the test. As part of the test they must proclaim that Tibet is part of China and denounce the Dalai Lama.

The Chinese government has tried a variety of heavy-handed tactics to suppress Tibetan voices: pay-offs and cash bribes, disappearances, detainments and imprisonments, constant surveillance, restriction of movement, and military crackdowns.

Anti-colonialism fighter

Tibet culture originates from its unique geographic and climatic conditions, and is largely influenced by Buddhism, which was introduced in the 7th century (Zhao, 2007). Until today, Tibetans still keep their own language, arts, clothing, and festivals, so the Tibet Separatists believed Tibetan culture is totally distinct from Chinese culture, and 10 articles (14.50%) mentioned this point (figure 12). The Tibet Separatists strongly objected to their young generation being forced to learn Chinese culture in 4 articles (5.79%), and the Chinese government controlling economic system in Tibet in 16 articles (23.19%). On October 23, 2010, thousands of Tibetan students in western China protested against proposals to curb or eliminate the use of the Tibetan language in local schools (Free Tibet, 2010), claiming that:

⁶ Free Tibet is a non-profit, non-governmental organization, founded in 1987 and based in London, England.

Tibet has its own culture, and obviously it is not the same as Chinese culture.

Officials at all levels must overcome all your worries, overcome the wrong idea that to adopt common language education for minority students will hurt minority people's feelings or affect the development of minority culture or affect social stability⁷.

The Chinese government has already controlled economic system in Tibet. Please let Tibetan culture free.

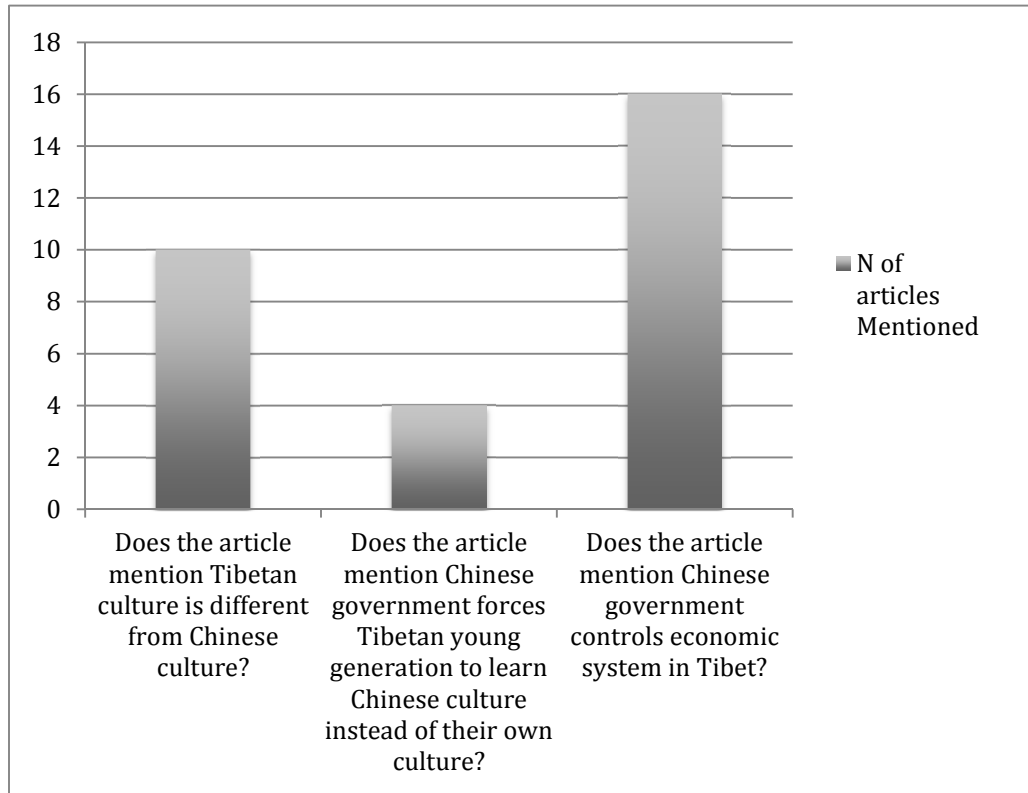


Figure 12. Frequency of anti-colonialism fighter frame's indicators from the Dalai Lama

⁷ The whole article is about Tibet Separatists are against the Chinese government forcing the local school using Mandarin to teach students, instead of the Tibetan language. Mandarin is the most used and also the official language in China, and the Chinese government hopes not only the national majority (ethnic Han), but also the minorities (ethnic Tibetan, Qiang, Hui, etc.) can use Mandarin as official language. On the contrary, Tibet Separatists are against the idea of common language, and they believed using Mandarin to teach the young Tibetans will cause them to forfeit their own language. As time passes, the Tibetan language will become a dead language that no people will speak or write with. Thus the traditional Tibetan culture carried by the Tibetan language will be lost.

Riot-unrelated person

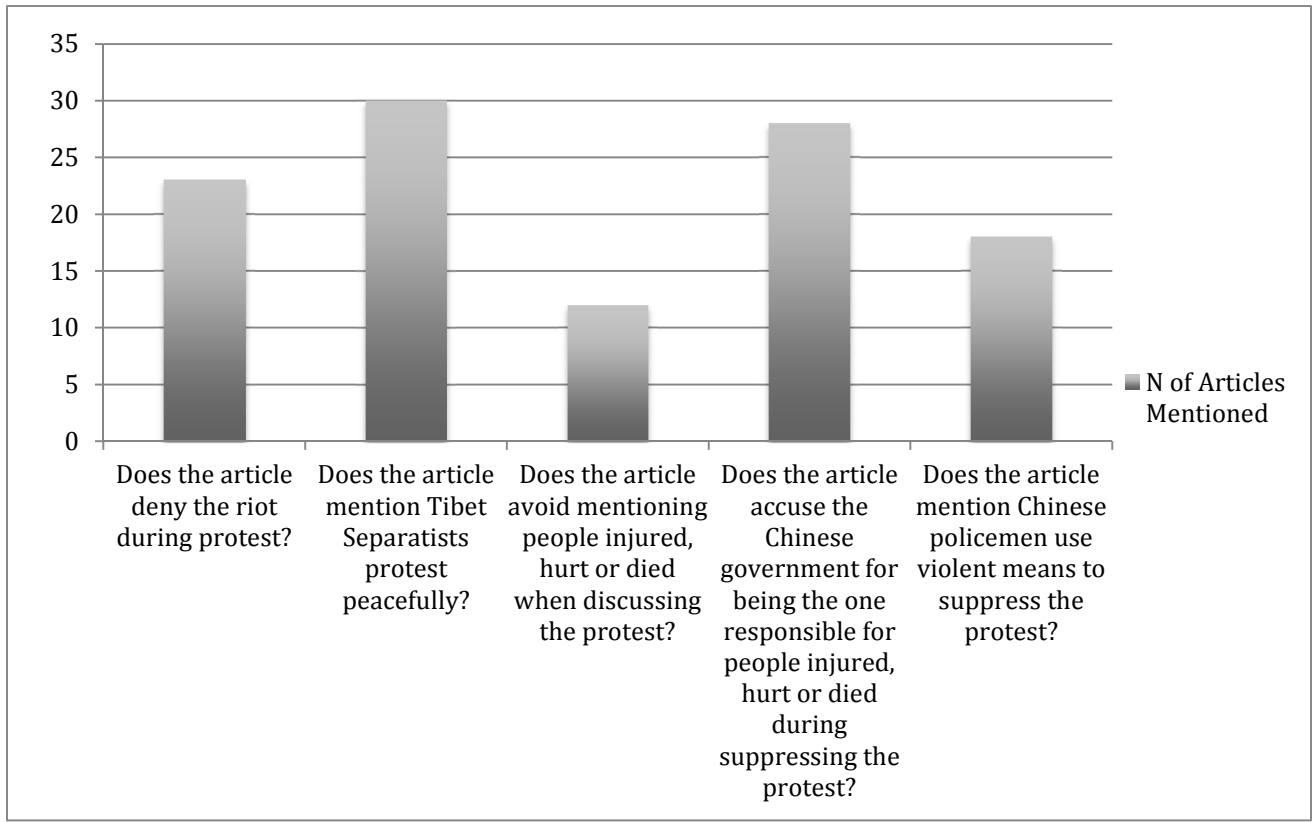


Figure 13. Frequency of riot-unrelated person frame's indicators from the Dalai Lama

The Chinese government blamed the Tibet Separatists for creating riot during protest, but the Tibet Separatists denied they created any riot in 23 articles (33.33%), and they insisted that their protest is peaceful in 30 articles (43.48%) (figure 13). When discussing the riots, which the number of casualties has been confirmed, 12 articles (17.39%) avoided mentioning people injured or killed. And the Tibet Separatists counter-blamed the Chinese government for harming people in 28 articles (40.48%), and using violent means to suppress their peaceful protest in 18 articles (26.08%). Dorjee Tseten, Asia director of Free Tibet, claimed on October 11, 2013:

On October 6, Chinese forces had opened fire on a group of Tibetans and around 60 persons were injured and two of them suffered critical injuries. This group was peacefully protesting arrest of a Tibetan man who had refused to unfurl Chinese flag to mark China's

National Day on October 1. The so-called riot by the Chinese government was not created by the Tibetan protestors.

In brief, the Chinese government interpreted the identity of the Tibet Separatists differ from that of the Tibet Separatists themselves. This supports the first part of hypothesis one. For the Chinese government, the Tibet Separatists are: a) independence conspirators, because Tibet belongs to China, and the Tibet Separatists are actually turning to foreign countries to help them split Tibet from China; b) riot creators, because the Tibet Separatists created the riots, harmed people, and should be held responsible for all the loss; and c) terrorists, because their behaviors are not human, involved innocent people, and should be seriously condemned.

However, for the Tibet Separatists, they identify themselves as: a) human rights fighters, who are protesting against the terrible contemporary human rights situation in China; b) religious freedom fighters, because the Chinese government suppresses, interferes, and made Tibetan religion illegal; c) anti-colonialism fighters, because the Chinese government controls economic systems in Tibet, and forces the young Tibetan generation to learn Chinese culture, which is different from their own culture; d) riot-unrelated persons, because they never created a riot, and protested peacefully, while the Chinese government used violent means to suppress their peaceful protest, which harmed people.

Changes in Frameworks over Time from the Chinese Government and the Tibet Separatists

The second hypothesis of this study suggests frameworks used by both the Chinese government and the Tibet Separatists will change over the years, and the changes are interdependent, and actually reflect each other as the movement-counter-movement theory shows.

This section will concentrate on the hypothesis that the two sets of frameworks will act like a conversation between two groups

Table 10.

Results of one-way ANOVA tests for the use of identities over time from the Chinese government

Frame	ANOVA ^a										F (4,64)	Sig.
	2010		2011		2012		2013		2014			
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Independence Conspirator	.77	.17	.76	.33	.54	.32	.06	.18	.57	.40	18.81	.001*
Riot Creator	.00	.00	.40	.55	.08	.28	.09	.18	.11	.28	2.55	.048*
Terrorist	.00	.00	.00	.00	.09	.23	.49	.40	.53	.38	10.61	.001*

a. Origins = The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

*p<.05.

A series of ANOVA tests are conducted to examine whether the identity frameworks from both groups have changed over time. The research method defines the mean of the indicators' coding value (0 or 1) as the visibility of the frame, which is the main focus of this study, I will test whether there are significant differences between the frame means for different years using ANOVA tests. The brief results of ANOVA test are in tables 10 and 11. The detailed results are in Appendix D and E, which contain the multiple comparisons between years.

Looking at table 10, one sees for the Chinese government, the identities of independence conspirator, riot creator and terrorist have significantly changed over the years. To make it clearer, the visibilities (mean) for the three frames in every year is shown in the means plot of figure 14.

In figure 14, during the first three years (2010-2012), the Chinese government focused more on independence conspirator frame than riot creator and terrorist frames, especially in 2010,

when the visibilities of riot creator and terrorist frame were both 0.00, while the visibility of independence conspirator was over 0.77. The Chinese government in early period argued about the motivation of the Tibet Separatists, believing they protested for making Tibet an independent country. Even though the mean of riot creator went up to 0.4 in 2011, the dominant claim made by the Chinese government was still about the Tibet Separatists splitting China. From 2011 to 2012, the Chinese government obviously reduced the use of independence conspirator frame, but its mean was still higher than riot creator and terrorist frames. Meanwhile, the visibility of riot creator frame largely decreased between 2011 and 2012, and the Chinese government brought up a new frame of terrorist. Such change demonstrates the Chinese government tried to distinguish the Tibet Separatists from general criminals who threaten the public security, and labeled them as extreme criminals who will destroy the human society. The period between 2012 and 2013 witnessed the biggest and most critical change in the frames used by the Chinese government. They kept reducing the use of independent conspirator frame, and its visibility was eventually lower than the visibility of terrorist frames, which indicates the Chinese government shifted their attention from the motivation of the Tibet Separatists to their violent means of protesting. They talked less about why the Tibet Separatists protest, and focused more on how the Tibet Separatists protest. At the same time, the visibility of terrorist frame was largely higher than that of the riot creator frame, and such situation remained unchanged after 2013, which means the Chinese government believed the terrorist frame would be better than the riot creator frame to show their strong repugnance of violent protest. Between 2013 and 2014, the Chinese government reiterated independence conspirator frame, and kept labeling the Tibet Separatists as terrorists.

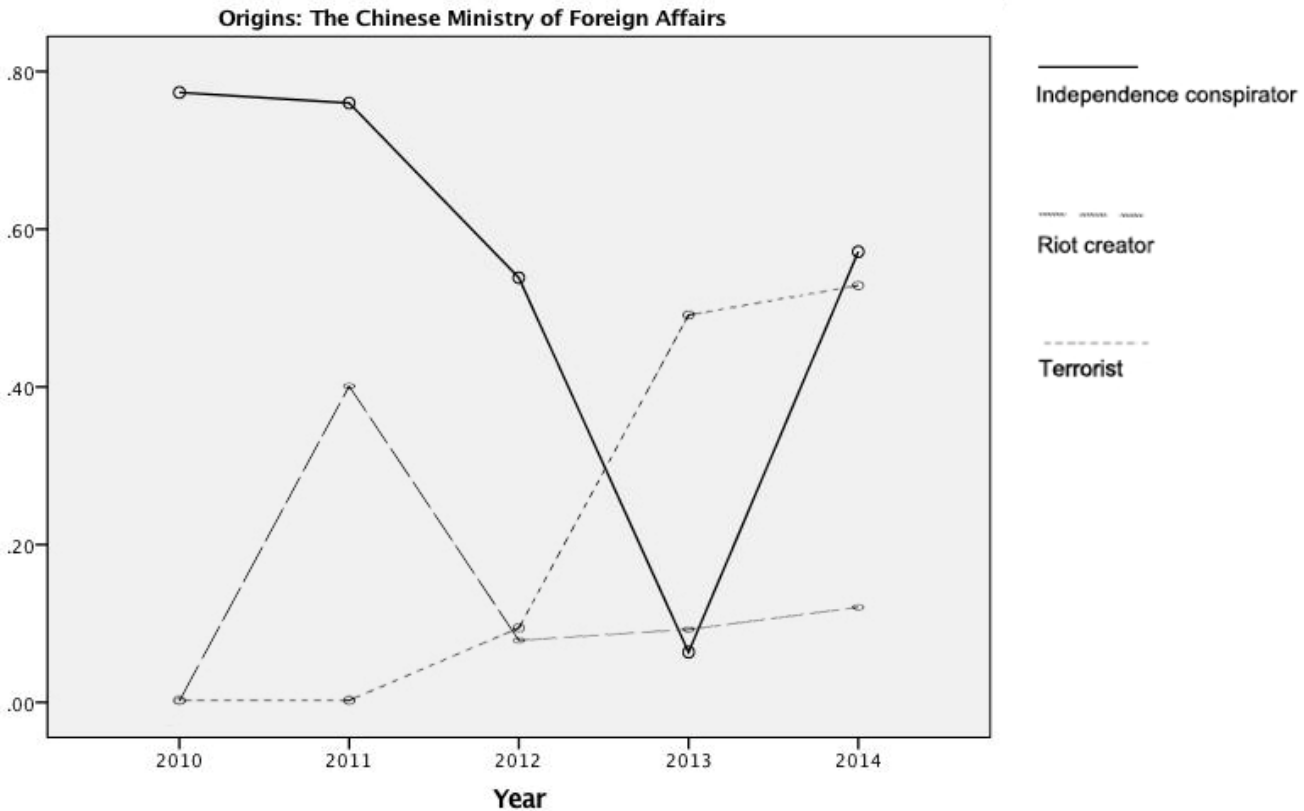


Figure 14. The means plot for three frames from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

From the perspective of the Tibet separatists, the frames of religious freedom fighter, anti-colonialism fighter, and riot-unrelated person were significantly changed over the past five years (table 11). The comparison of the means for human rights fighter frame indicates that it was largely used in the years of 2011 and 2014 (figure 15); the religious freedom fighter frame was relatively used most by the Tibet Separatist (its visibility was much higher than the others, except a little lower than the visibility of riot-unrelated person frame between 2013 to 2014); the anti-colonialism fighter frame was mostly mentioned in 2010, and decreased over the later four years; and the increase of the riot-unrelated person frame is the most significant, starting from 2010, and keep growing until 2014.

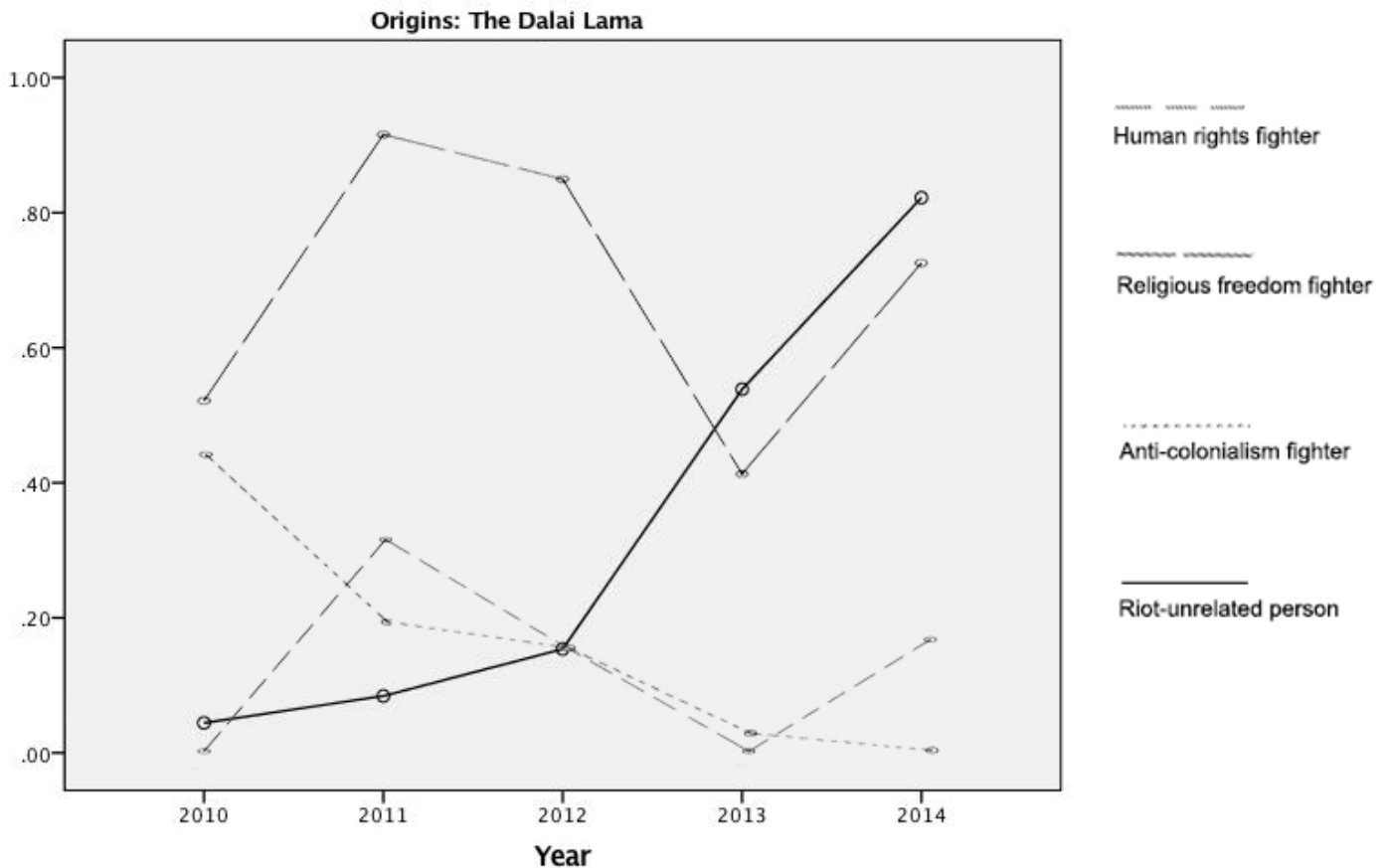
Table 11.

Results of one-way ANOVA tests for the use of identities over time from the Tibet Separatists

Frame	ANOVA ^a											
	2010		2011		2012		2013		2014		F (4,64)	Sig.
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Human right fighter	.00	.00	.32	.48	.15	.32	.00	.00	.17	.38	2.20	.079
Religious freedom fighter	.52	.44	.91	.15	.84	.29	.41	.43	.72	.24	6.79	.001*
Anti-colonialism fighter	.44	.44	.19	.30	.15	.22	.03	.09	.00	.00	6.12	.001*
Riot-unrelated person	.04	.09	.08	.17	.15	.19	.54	.32	.82	.23	38.88	.001*

a. Origins = The Dalai Lama

*p<.05.

**Figure 15.** The means plot for four frames from the Dalai Lama

During 2010 to 2012, the Tibet Separatists made more claims that they are religious freedom fighters, enabling its visibility significantly higher than the other three frames. Meanwhile, human rights fighter frame was not mentioned at first in 2010, but its visibility increased to 0.32 in 2011, and followed by a decrease in 2012 and 2013. On the contrary, anti-colonialism fighter frame had a mean of 0.44 for its visibility in 2010, but decreased in 2011, and declined to 0.00 in 2012. These three frames, human rights fighter, religious freedom fighter, and anti-colonialism fighter, concentrate on the motivation of Tibet Separatist in their position, and were all mentioned more frequently than riot-unrelated person frame around 2011. Then, things changed between 2012 and 2013. Visibilities of the three motivation frames declined, and visibility of riot-unrelated person frame increased largely, and overwhelmed the other three in 2013. Even though the visibilities of religious freedom fighter and human rights fighter frames rose, riot-unrelated person frame was still the one used most by the Tibet Separatists in 2014.

Based on the above analysis, the frames used by the Tibet Separatists and the Chinese government changed over time during 2010 to 2014. Furthermore, when looking at the frames from both groups at the same time, one can find that the changing processes from both sides share some common places. In order to support the second hypothesis that frame changing is actually interdependent and reflecting to each other between the Tibet Separatists and the Chinese government, the seven frames are separated into two types: the human rights frame, religious freedom frame, anti-colonialism frame, and independence conspirator frame concentrate on the motivation of the Tibet Separatists, answering the question of why they protest; while, the riot-unrelated person frame, riot creator frame, and terrorist frame focus on the ways of protest, arguing about how the Tibet Separatists protest. Figure 16 and 17 show how the two corresponding types of frames changed over time.

From 2010 to 2012, both sides focused on the motivation of the Tibet Separatists. Chinese government pointed out the protest is because the Tibet Separatists want an independent Tibet, while the Tibet Separatists explained their protest is for better human rights, more freedom in religion, and protecting their original culture. However, after 2012, both groups started to argue about the ways of protest. The Chinese government saw the riot caused by the Tibet Separatists, while the Tibet Separatists blamed the riots were due to the violent suppression from the Chinese government. In 2013, the Chinese government mentioned more about the Tibet Separatists being terrorists rather than riot creators, implying the conflict has been and continues to be instigated by the Dalai Lama. On the other side, the Dalai Lama denied himself as riot creator but peace lover, who works on the Middle-Way Approach to free Tibet peacefully. Such conflict on identities to some extent demonstrates the second hypothesis, that is, both dynamic framing processes are interdependent, and actually reflect each other. In 2014, both groups increased their motivation frames (independence conspirator frame for the Chinese government; human rights fighter and religious freedom fighter for the Tibet Separatists).

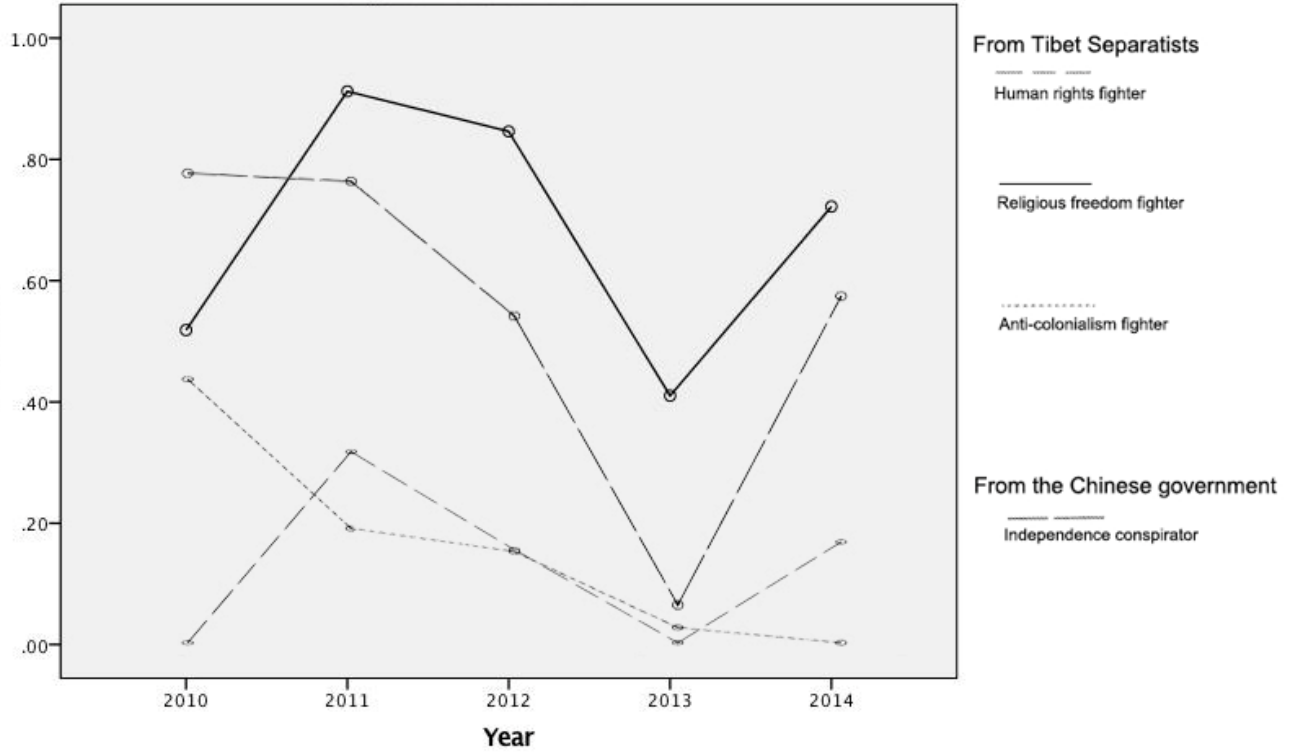


Figure 16. The means plot for the motivation frames from both sides

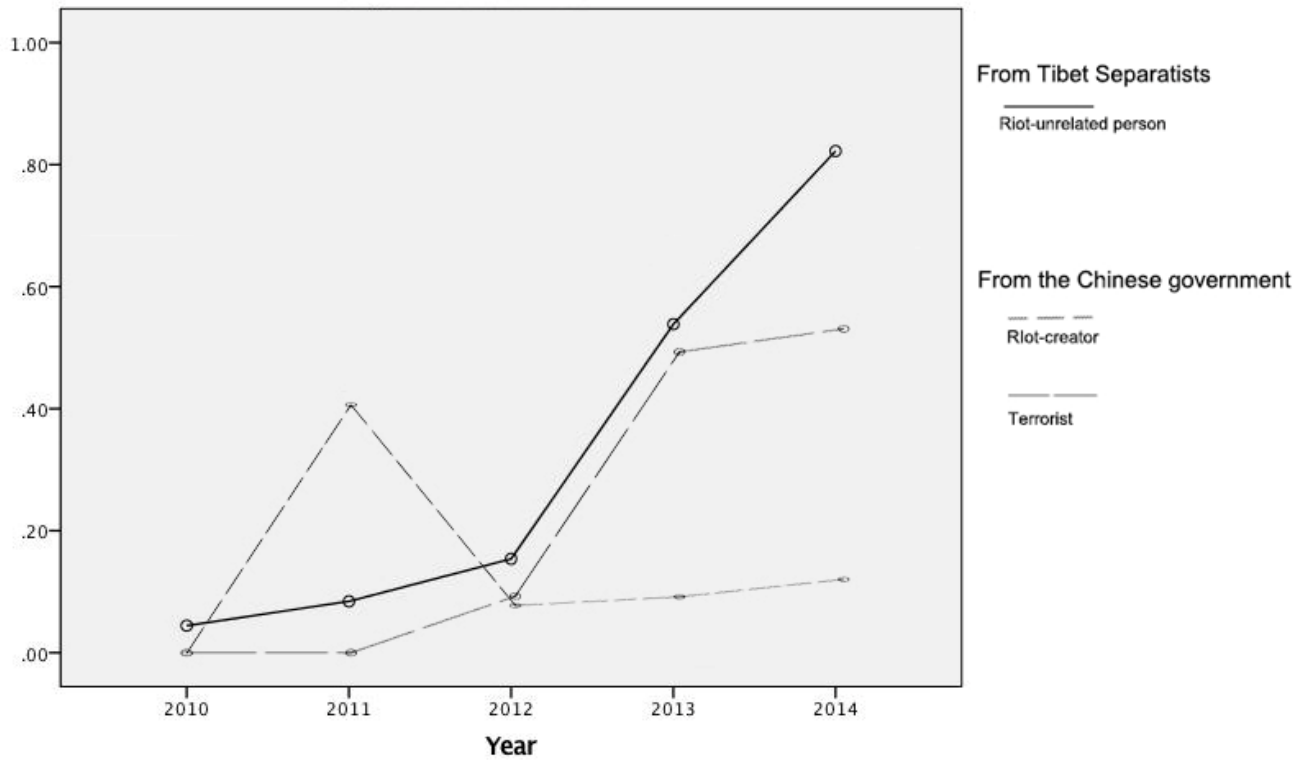


Figure 17. The means plot for the protest methods frames

CHAPTER VII

RESULTS OF MEDIA REPORTS

The second part of the first hypothesis states the frameworks of identity interpretation differ from the challenging group to the dominant group as reflected by news media coverage. In this chapter I analyzed 319 news reports from three newspapers including 113 from *People's Daily*, 112 from *New York Times*, and 94 from *the Times of India*.

First, Cronbach's alpha and the factor analysis are conducted in the same way of analyzing official website materials. Indicators only with loading values higher than 0.5 are accepted, and each frame must have Cronbach's alpha value over 0.7. After adjusting for the factor loadings, the Cronbach's alpha for each frame is presented in table 12, and the frames and their indicators are shown in table 13, and. Among all the frames set in the coding book, anti-colonialism fighter frame gets an extremely low Cronbach's alpha value of 0.378, which is completely eliminated from further analysis.

Table 12.
Final Cronbach's alpha for each frame of news reports

	Cronbach's	
	<u>Alpha</u>	<u>N of Items</u>
Human rights Fighter Frame	.955	2
Religious Freedom Frame	.950	2
Riot-unrelated Person Frame	.737	3
Independence Conspirator Frame	.877	4
Riot Creator Frame	.725	5
Terrorist Frame	.878	5

Table 13.

Frameworks and indicators of news reports

<u>Frame name</u>	<u>Indicator</u>
Human rights fighter (HF)	Does the article mention China's human rights records negatively?
	Does the article mention China's contemporary human rights situation negatively?
Religious freedom fighter (RF)	Does the article mention the Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet?
	Does the article mention the Chinese government interferes with religious activity in Tibet?
Riot-unrelated person (RUP)	Does the article deny the riot during protest?
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists protest peacefully?
	Does the article avoid mentioning people injured, hurt or died when discussing the protest?
Independence conspirator (IC)	Does the article mention Tibet belongs to China?
	Does the article mention the Tibet separatist is a domestic problem?
	Does the article criticize foreign country leaders meet or support the Tibet separatists?
	Does the article mention the Chinese government criticize foreign country interfere Tibet problem?
Riot creator (RC)	Does the article mention the Tibet separatists created a riot during protest?
	Does the article mention people being injured, hurt or died because of the Tibet separatists?
	Does the article mention the Tibet separatists have destroyed public or private property?
	Does the article mention the Chinese government blame the Tibet separatists for creating a riot?
	Does the article mention the Tibet separatists are arrested or sentenced in the name of national security?
Terrorist (T)	Does the article describe the Tibet separatists as terrorists?
	Does the article use more intense language as "strongly condemn", "vigorously denounce" to describe the Tibet separatists?
	Does the article mention the Tibet separatists are not human?
	Does the article mention all the world should be against the Tibet separatists?
	Does the article emphasize innocent people being injured, hurt or died by the Tibet separatists?

The social problems marketplace model, mentioned in the literature review, states clearly that both insider claims-makers (pressure groups), and outsider claim-makers (social movement groups) rely on the mass media to disseminate messages. Thus, studying media reports must take its source into consideration. The tone of media report is highly dependent on where the message comes from. In the case of Tibet Separatists, three distinct tones are used to measure all the media reports from the three newspapers: pro-government, pro-Tibet Separatists, and neutral. Pro-government is defined as the news report gets the information only from the Chinese government, or has obvious inclination to the Chinese government when both sides' messages are quoted; pro-Tibet Separatists is defined as the report only has quotes from Tibet Separatist, or is more inclined to Tibet Separatist when the message from the Chinese government is also included; and neutral means the report covers both sides' information and has no inclination. Furthermore, because Chinese officials have barred foreigners from traveling to central Tibet, known as the Tibet Autonomous Region since 2008, lots of reports from New York Times mentioned they have no access to the information released by the Chinese government, and no English official version can be found online. In this case, those reports are also coded as neutral, because the journalists tried to be neutral.

In this chapter, sources, tones, and frames for the three newspapers are studied separately.

Different Identity Frames Presented by Different Media Systems

The second part of the first hypothesis supposes the identity frameworks differ from the challenging group to the dominant group can also be reflected by the media they use. The Chinese government uses Chinese media, and the Tibet Separatists use India media, so *People's Daily* and *the Times of India* are analyzed to see whether the identity frameworks are different. At the same time, *New York Times* is included, which is supposed to be neutral since it covers

both sides. ANOVA tests are conducted to examine the hypothesis. If it is right, the visibilities of each frame (the mean of all related indicators) mentioned by the three media should be significantly different.

Table 14.
Results of one-way ANOVA tests for the frames used by the three media

Frame	ANOVA										F (2,316)	Sig.
	2010		2011		2012		2013		2014			
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Human right fighter	.00	.00	.21	.05	.01	.03	.00	.00	.01	.05	21.31	.001*
Religious freedom fighter	.04	.07	.07	.08	.09	.22	.01	.03	.04	.07	21.37	.001*
Riot-unrelated person	.00	.01	.01	.02	.01	.02	.02	.05	.07	.12	50.72	.001*
Independence conspirator	.07	.09	.05	.08	.05	.14	.02	.04	.10	.17	51.36	.001*
Riot creator	.00	.01	.04	.06	.21	.23	.11	.17	.08	.11	70.22	.001*
Terrorist	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.03	.07	.13	.06	.09	37.94	.001*

*p<.05.

Table 14 presents the significance levels for all the six frames are 0.001, meaning that the three media mentioned the six frames differently within each other. The following content will focus on how they differ, and whether the source will have an influence on the media's tone and its frameworks.

People's Daily

China is controlled by the Communist Party. The party has a monopoly power on controlling the domestic media system, so the media environment is not free (Freedom House,

2011). People's Daily, the most central mainstream media in China, always stands on the side of the Chinese government, and the findings support it well. Among the 113 articles (1000 paragraphs), 699 quotes are located, and Chinese officials dominate the source (401 quotes) (table 15). Even though 168 quotes come from the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists, all these quotes are mentioned with repugnance or sarcasm. The example is taken from Speaking of the Dalai Lama's religious harmony published by People's Daily on June 12, 2014:

The Dalai Lama always declares he visits other religious leaders "in order to encourage harmony in different religion". Today, Dorje Shugden believers expose the lie. The truth is the Dalai Lama is using all his power to destroy all other religions.

All the articles from *People's Daily* are coded as pro-government, and the results are similar to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The articles mentioned the independence conspirator frame most (table 16). The visibility score for the independence conspirator frame is 0.13, which means about 13 paragraphs in every 100 mentioned one indicator under this frame to describe the Tibet Separatists trying to split Tibet from China, and the Dalai Lama attempting to create his own kingdom. The visibility scores for riot creator frame and terrorist frame are 0.06 and 0.07. No paragraph mentioned any indicator of human rights fighter frame, religious freedom fighter frame, or riot-unrelated person frame.

Table 15.
Descriptive statistics for the source of *People's Daily*

Descriptive Statistics ^a						
	<u>N of paragraphs</u>	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Maximum</u>	<u>Sum</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Deviation</u>
How many quotes from Chinese officials	1000	.00	20.00	401.00	3.5487	4.34041
How many quotes from Chinese citizens	1000	.00	8.00	34.00	.3009	1.17932
How many quotes from Dalai Lama	1000	.00	9.00	84.00	.7434	1.87930
How many quotes from Separatists	1000	.00	19.00	84.00	.7434	2.79917
How many quotes from U.S. government	1000	.00	5.00	28.00	.2478	.72618
How many quotes from Indian officials	1000	.00	1.00	2.00	.0177	.13244
How many quotes from other international officials/transnational organization	1000	.00	2.00	8.00	.0708	.31951
How many quotes from other transnational organization	1000	.00	4.00	58.00	.5133	1.05318
Valid N (listwise)	1000					

a. Source = People's Daily

Table 16.

<u>Source</u>		<u>N of paragraph</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Deviation</u>
<i>People's Daily</i>	Human right fighter	1000	.00	.00	.00
	Religious freedom fighter	1000	.00	.00	.00
	Riot-unrelated person	1000	.00	.00	.00
	Independence conspirator	1000	.15	.13	.17
	Riot creator	1000	.05	.06	.09
	Terrorist	1000	.06	.07	.12
	Valid N (listwise)	1000			

The Times of India

Compared to *People's Daily*, the *Times of India* is more pro-Tibet Separatists. Eighty-four out of 94 articles are pro-Tibet Separatists, and the other ten are neutral. After the Dalai Lama escaped into India, the Times of India became the major media tunnel for the Tibet Separatists. Among the 410 quotes, 363 of them come from the Tibet Separatists, only 30 come from Chinese officials, 8 from the United States government, and 4 from the Indian officials (table 17). The contents from Chinese officials are more about the fact of events rather than the Chinese government's position on the Tibet issue, such as the report about self-immolation on October 9, 2011:

The official Xinhua news agency from China confirmed the incident saying the two former monks, 18-year-old Thongan and 20-year-old Tenzin, set themselves on fire. It quoted Aba county spokesman as the monks were rescued and were being treated at a local hospital for non-life-threatening injuries.

Table 17.
Descriptive statistics for the source of *the Times of India*

	Descriptive Statistics ^a					
	<u>N of paragraph</u>	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Maximum</u>	<u>Sum</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Deviation</u>
How many quotes from Chinese officials	632	.00	5.00	30.00	.32	.91
How many quotes from Chinese citizens	632	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
How many quotes from Dalai Lama	632	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
How many quotes from Separatists	632	.00	14.00	363.00	3.86	2.79
How many quotes from U.S. government	632	.00	4.00	8.00	.09	.58
How many quotes from Indian officials	632	.00	2.00	4.00	.04	.29
How many quotes from other international officials/transnational organization	632	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
How many quotes from other transnational organization	632	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Valid N (listwise)	632					

a. Source = The Times of India

The religious freedom fighter frame appears most in the Times of India (table 18). Its visibility gets 0.1089, referring that 10.89% paragraphs mentioned the Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet, or the Chinese government interferes with the religious activity in Tibet. Six and 68 hundredths percent of the paragraphs denied the riot during the Tibet Separatist protests, or claimed the movements were in peace. Also 2.58% paragraphs mentioned China's human rights records or China's contemporary human rights situation negatively. The

visibilities for independence conspirator frame and riot creator frame are 0.0034 and 0.0075, indicating that only a few paragraphs mentioned them. No paragraph mentioned terrorist frame, so the visibility score is 0.0000.

Table 18.

<u>Source</u>		<u>N of paragraph</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Deviation</u>
<i>The Times of India</i>	Human right fighter	632	.02	.03	.06
	Religious freedom fighter	632	.09	.11	.08
	Riot-unrelated person	632	.08	.07	.10
	Independence conspirator	632	.00	.00	.01
	Riot creator	632	.00	.01	.02
	Terrorist	632	.00	.00	.00
	Valid N (listwise)	632			

The New York Times

The New York Times is more neutral than the other two newspapers. Ninety-eight articles are neutral, 4 are pro-Chinese government, and 10 are pro-Tibet Separatist. Even though 464 out of 530 paragraphs come from the Tibet Separatists (table 19), most of them are fact illustrating, and focus on Tibetan monks' self-immolation, such as the report on May 31, 2012:

A Tibetan mother of three died after setting fire to herself on Wednesday in the county of Ngaba, known in Chinese as Aba. The woman, in her mid-30s, was identified by Free Tibet, an advocacy group, as Rechok. She set fire to herself outside the Jonang Dzamthang monastery in the town of Barma, Free Tibet reported. The group added that Rechok had tended to the family's animals in the last few days and then traveled to town to kill herself.

Table 19.
Descriptive statistics for the source of *New York Times*

Descriptive Statistics ^a						
	<u>N of paragraph</u>	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Maximum</u>	<u>Sum</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Deviation</u>
How many quotes from Chinese officials	744	.00	6.00	32.00	.29	.98
How many quotes from Chinese citizens	744	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
How many quotes from Dalai Lama	744	.00	3.00	12.00	.11	.45
How many quotes from Separatists	744	1.00	13.00	464.00	4.14	2.91
How many quotes from U.S. government	744	.00	2.00	16.00	.14	.52
How many quotes from Indian officials	744	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
How many quotes from other international officials/transnational organization	744	.00	1.00	6.00	.05	.23
How many quotes from other transnational organization	744	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
Valid N (listwise)	744					

a. Source = New York Times

New York Times focuses on monks' self-immolation, and people injured, hurt or died in the protest, which makes the riot creator frame most seen (table 20). At the same time, the Chinese government interfering or suppressing Tibetan religion was mentioned by 5.30% paragraphs. 1.83% of the paragraphs referred to the Chinese government criticizing foreign country leaders for meeting with the Dalai Lama, or supporting the Tibet Separatists. Only 0.4% of the

paragraphs mentioned the terrorist frame, and no paragraph mentioned human rights fighter frame.

Table 20.

<u>Source</u>		<u>N of paragraph</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Deviation</u>
<i>New York Times</i>	Human right fighter	744	.00	.00	.00
	Religious freedom fighter	744	.04	.05	.19
	Riot-unrelated person	744	.00	.00	.00
	Independence conspirator	744	.00	.02	.05
	Riot creator	744	.20	.23	.22
	Terrorist	744	.00	.00	.00
	Valid N (listwise)	744			

The Coefficient between Sources and Frames

To some extent, the above contents support that media using different sources will have an influence on the frames it mentions, and in order to present the coefficient between sources and frames more exactly, linear regressions were run with the types of sources as independent variable and the frame visibility as dependent variable. If the frames mentioned by the media do match the frames its sources used, the linear regression results should be: a) for the frames of human rights fighter, religious freedom fighter, and riot-unrelated person (the Tibet Separatists' frames), the number of quotes from the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists should be positively correlated with the visibilities of those frames, or the number of quotes from the Chinese government and citizens should be negatively correlated with the visibilities of those frames; b) for the frames of independence conspirator, riot creator, and terrorist (the Chinese government's frames), citing the Chinese government and citizens should be positively correlated with the frames' visibilities, or citing the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists should be negatively correlated with the frames' visibilities.

Table 21 summarizes the linear regression analyses with the three frames from the Tibet Separatists (human rights fighter, religious freedom fighter, and riot-unrelated person). It tells the number of quotes from the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists is positively related to the visibility of human rights fighter frame ($t=3.663$, $p=.001$), referring that the more quotes from the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists have been used, the more human rights fighter frame one can see in media articles. Citing the Chinese government and citizens correlate with a decrease in the religious freedom fighter frame ($t=-3.942$, $p=.001$), that is, the more words about what the Chinese government and citizens said have been mentioned, the higher the visibility of religious freedom fighter frame will be. And the quotes from the Chinese government and citizens share a negative coefficient with the riot-unrelated person ($t=-2.931$, $p=.004$). Besides, when looking at table 21, one can find the number of quotes from Indian officials have a positive coefficient with the human rights fighter frame ($t=4.46$, $p=.001$).

The coefficients between sources and the Chinese government's frames (independence conspirator, riot creator, and terrorist) are summarized in table 22. From the table, the number of quotes from the Chinese government and citizens is positively correlated with the independence conspirator frame ($t=2.333$, $p=.020$), and the number of quotes from the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists is negatively correlated with that frame ($t=-3.811$, $p=.001$). In other words, the more contents from the Chinese government and citizens being quoted, or the less words from the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists being cited, the more independence conspirator frame can be seen. Similarly, citing the Chinese government and citizens will increase the visibility of the terrorist frame ($t=2.018$, $p=.044$), while citing the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists will decrease the visibility of terrorist frame ($t=-2.887$, $p=.004$). For the riot creator frame, the results suggest that quoting the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists is negatively related to that frame

($t=-2.042$, $p=.042$). The table also pointed out citing the United States government is negatively correlated with the riot creator frame ($t=-2.473$, $p=.014$). However, the number of quotes from the Chinese government and citizens, which is supposed to be positively correlated with the riot creator frame, is actually negatively correlated ($t=-2.518$, $p=.012$). This study assumes including *New York Times* into the linear regression analyses is what contradicts the hypothesis.

From table 19, the *New York Times* used 484 quotes from the Tibet Separatists, while only 32 quotes from the Chinese government. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter when discussing the definition of neutral, lots of the articles from *New York Times* mentioned they have no access to the information released by the Chinese government, and such statements were not calculated as the number of quotes, which makes the quotes from the Chinese government far less than that from the Tibet Separatists. At the same time, table 20 does present *New York Times* not only covered the frames from the Tibet Separatists (the religious freedom fighter frame, and the riot-unrelated person frame), but also mentioned the frames from the Chinese government (the independence conspirator frame, the riot creator frame, and the terrorist frame). In this sense, the coefficient between sources and frames might be at variance with the hypothesis because the source is the *New York Times*. And to support it, another linear regression test was conducted with only *People's Daily* and *the Times of India* included (table 23 and 24).

Table 21.

Summary of linear regression analyses with the Tibet Separatists frames as dependent variable and sources as independent variable (*People's Daily, The Times of India, and New York Times*)

Source	Human Rights Fighter				Religious Freedom Fighter				Riot-unrelated Person			
	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.
(Constant)	.001	.003	.258	.796	.075	.012	6.144	.001*	.028	.006	4.706	.001*
How many quotes from the Chinese government and citizens	.000	.001	-.600	.549	-.008	.002	-3.429	.001*	-.003	.001	-2.931	.004*
How many quotes from the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists	.002	.001	3.663	.001*	-.002	.002	-.805	.422	.000	.001	.168	.867
How many quotes from U.S. government	-.002	.003	-.603	.547	-.004	.011	-.377	.706	-.008	.006	-1.484	.139
How many quotes from Indian officials	.046	.010	4.46	.001*	-.008	.040	.197	.844	-.017	.019	-.873	.383
How many quotes from other international officials/transnational organization	-.002	.008	-.260	.795	-.039	.031	-1.231	.219	-.016	.015	-1.052	.294
How many quotes from other transnational organization	5.97E-05	.003	.020	.984	-.020	.011	-1.815	.070	-.006	.005	-1.163	.246
R												
R square												

*p<.05

Table 22.

Summary of linear regression analyses with the Chinese government frames as dependent variable and sources as independent variable (*People's Daily, The Times of India, and New York Times*)

Source	Independence Conspirator				Riot Creator				Terrorist			
	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.
(Constant)	.068	.011	6.148	.001*	.143	.016	8.844	.001*	.031	.007	4.306	.001*
How many quotes from the Chinese government and citizens	.005	.002	2.333	.020*	-.008	.003	-2.518	.012*	.003	.001	2.018	.044*
How many quotes from the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists	-.008	.002	-3.811	.001*	-.006	.003	-2.042	.042*	-.004	.001	-2.887	.004*
How many quotes from U.S. government	.019	.010	1.821	.070	-.038	.015	-2.473	.014*	-.010	.007	-1.555	.121
How many quotes from Indian officials	-.011	.036	-.302	.763	-.077	.053	-1.453	.147	-.013	.023	-.557	.578
How many quotes from other international officials/transnational organization	-.019	.029	-.653	.514	-.001	.042	-.014	.989	.002	.018	.103	.918
How many quotes from other transnational organization	.011	.010	1.117	.265	-.014	.015	-.976	.330	.024	.007	3.653	.001*
R		.317				.220				.328		
R square		.101				.048				.108		

*p<.05

Table 23 shows the results between sources and the Tibet Separatists' frames, which supports citing the Chinese government and citizens is negatively correlated with the religious freedom fighter frame ($t=-5.626$, $p=.001$), and also with the riot-unrelated person frame ($t=-3.690$, $p=.001$), and citing the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists is positively correlated with the human rights fighter frame ($t=4.357$, $p=.001$). For the frames from the Chinese government in table 24, citing the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists correlated with a decrease in both the independence conspirator frame ($t=-3.294$, $p=.001$), and the terrorist frame ($t=-2.377$, $p=.018$). More importantly, after the *New York Times* was excluded, citing the Chinese government and citizens correlated with an increase in the riot creator frame, overturning the previous negative coefficient when the *New York Times* is included.

In conclusion, the first hypothesis suggests there are differences in the identity frameworks of the challenging group and the dominant group that can be reflected by both groups' official websites, as well as news media coverage. Chapter Six presents the differences reflected by official websites, and this chapter discussed the differences reflected by news media coverage. The above analysis supports hypothesis one. *People's Daily*, which is highly controlled by the Chinese government, and gets the most information from the Chinese officials, only presents the frames of independence conspirator, riot creator, and terrorist. The other frames of human rights fighter, religious freedom fighter, and riot-unrelated person cannot be seen from its media reports. This result is consistent with the frames that the Chinese government demonstrates on the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs official website.

Table 23.

Summary of linear regression analyses with the Tibet Separatists frames as dependent variable and sources as independent variable (*New York Times* is not included)

Source	Human Rights Fighter				Religious Freedom Fighter				Riot-unrelated Person			
	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.
(Constant)	.003	.005	.641	.522	.070	.008	8.688	.001*	.044	.008	5.253	.001*
How many quotes from the Chinese government and citizens	-.001	.001	-.918	.360	-.008	.001	-5.626	.001*	-.005	.001	-3.690	.001*
How many quotes from the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists	.004	.001	4.357	.001*	.002	.002	0.987	.325	.002	.002	.983	.327
How many quotes from U.S. government	-.003	.004	-.743	.458	-.008	.007	-1.127	.261	-.011	.008	-1.421	.157
How many quotes from Indian officials	.043	.013	3.425	.001*	.006	.022	0.261	.794	-.029	.023	-1.263	.208
How many quotes from other international officials/transnational organization	-.001	.012	-.079	.937	-.019	.021	-0.907	.366	-.014	.022	-0.613	.540
How many quotes from other transnational organization	-.001	.004	-.204	.838	-.021	.006	-3.191	.002	-.012	.007	-1.768	.079
R		.403				.459				.335		
R square		.162				.211				.112		

*p<.05

Table 24.

Summary of linear regression analyses with the Chinese government frames as dependent variable and sources as independent variable (*New York Times* is not included)

Source	Independence Conspirator				Riot Creator				Terrorist			
	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.	B	Std. Error	t	Sig.
(Constant)	.090	.016	5.656	.001*	.018	.009	2.073	.039*	.045	.011	4.245	.001*
How many quotes from the Chinese government and citizens	.003	.003	1.000	.319	.004	.001	3.044	.003*	.001	.002	.732	.465
How many quotes from the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Separatists	-.010	.003	-3.294	.001*	.000	.002	.250	.803	-.005	.002	-2.377	.018*
How many quotes from U.S. government	.024	.014	1.720	.087	-.004	.008	-.527	.599	-0.012	.010	-1.307	.193
How many quotes from Indian officials	-.021	.043	-.494	.622	-.011	.023	-.485	.628	-0.02	.029	-.707	.481
How many quotes from other international officials/transnational organization	-.004	.042	-.094	.926	.045	.023	2.001	.047*	0.012	.028	.428	.669
How many quotes from other transnational organization	.002	.013	.123	.902	.017	.007	2.553	.011*	0.018	.009	2.148	.033*
R		.298				.324				.292		
R square		.089				.105				.085		

*p<.05

On the opposite side, *the Times of India* shares similarities with the Tibet Separatists as its major source. *The Times of India* mentioned more about the frames of human rights fighter, religious freedom fighter, and riot-unrelated person, while independence conspirator frame, riot creator frame, and terrorist frame have been seldom mentioned. *New York Times* is relatively the most neutral media among the three, even though it also highly depends on the source coming from the Tibet Separatists, because there is no access to the Chinese government. Its reports mentioned the Tibet Separatists as religious freedom fighters on one hand, and on the other, the reports also quoted the Chinese government describing the Tibet Separatists as independence conspirators, and the Tibet Separatists creating the riots during their protest. The linear regression analyses when excluding the *New York Times* offer the statistical evidence that the sources will impact the frames in media reports.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This case study of the Tibet Separatists supports the two hypotheses formulated at the beginning of this study: H1) the frameworks of identity interpretation differ between the challenging group and the dominant group as a) reflected by the groups' official websites and b) as reflected by news media coverage; H2) both dynamic framing processes are interdependent and actually reflect each other. This study uses both official websites materials from the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama, and media reports from *People's Daily*, *New York Times*, and *the Times of India*, and applies framing analysis to reveal the Chinese government does not agree with the Tibet Separatists characterizing themselves as human rights fighters, religious freedom fighters, anti-colonialism fighters and riot-unrelated persons, who are struggling for a free and better Tibet. The Chinese government labels the Tibet Separatists as independence conspirators, riot creators and terrorists, who are ambitious in establishing a new country, spreading rumors to slander the Chinese government, and destroying the peace not only in the Tibet area, but also in the whole of China.

Using framing analysis demonstrates that the frames raised by the Chinese government and the Tibet Separatists are changing interdependently. The conversation happened between both groups with the Tibet Separatists started by saying they fight for human rights and religious freedom, while the Chinese government claims they protest for separating China. With the movement progressing, the Chinese government blamed the Tibet Separatists for using riots to achieve their goal, while the Tibet Separatists accused the Chinese government of using violent means and creating riots. After the movement escalated with more people involved, injured and

killed, the Chinese government used the term “terrorist” instead of riot creator to describe the Tibet Separatists, while the Tibet Separatists strongly insisted they are peace lovers.

As a case study of Tibet, this study has its limitations. The two sets of frameworks are not exhausted. There are more frames that have been used by both sides, but not studied in this paper. Besides, the identity framework conflict between the two sides is not obvious enough, limited to the three frames: riot-unrelated person, riot creator, and terrorist. Thus, further and deeper analysis is needed to make the results significant.

From the perspective of sociology, analyzing the Free Tibet movement helps to better understand why the Tibet Separatists protest. Unlike studies merely using the information from the Tibet Separatists, this study also covers the information from the Chinese media and the Chinese government, which foreign scholars may not have access to. Thus, the perspective of this paper is more neutral, and tells more about Chinese politics. More importantly, taking framing analysis into practice, this study has its theoretical meaning. It uses framing analysis not only to show the ideas of the Tibet Separatists, but also to see how the Chinese government reflects the movement. The application on the side of the Chinese government overcomes the critique that framing analysis focuses too much on the challenging group, and ignores the dominant group. When both sides of a social movement are covered, framing analysis is able to present the protest as a conversation taken by the challenging group and the dominant group, showing the process of movement-counter-movement.

For the dominant group, usually the government, framing theory can be served as a strategy to suppress social movements if used appropriately. Taking the environmental movement as an example, framing theory explains how government tries to use media to recover social order. In the protest against PX factory in Ningbo, China, the demand of the movement is clear, moving

the factory out of the city. Thus, the identity of protestors is mainly about pollution victims. However, they were labeled by Chinese media as irrational citizens who use extreme means to protect their rights instead of going through the legal process, which to some extent challenges the protestors' rationality, and further decreases the protestors' support. Unfortunately, this study, focusing on the Tibet issue, cannot support whether using framing as a tool to suppress the movement is effective or not, since there is no record on how many people supported the Tibet Separatists at first, and how many of them changed their mind after they were persuaded by the Chinese government. However, future studies could pay attention to this interesting point, testing whether framing identity can be used as a tool to weaken the opponents.

For the protestors, this study shows the necessity of understanding their opponents, and revising their claims based on what the opponents said. Chapter two mentioned four types for the protestors to change their collective identity (Snow et al. 1986), including frame amplification, frame extension, frame transformation, and frame bridging. Changing identity is done in order to gain more support, and those changes are not groundless. Snow et al. (1986) pointed out the changes must fit the values of conventional society, and be acceptable for the public, but they didn't take the dominant group into consideration. This study supports the protestors' changing identity and making new claims should also be corresponding to the opponents' claims, just as the dialogic approach does (Steinberg 1999). The dialogic approach supposes the social movement as a process of challengers seeking to appropriate and subvert the dominant discourses that legitimate power, and creating discursive repertoires, and this research also seems to be about creating an ongoing dialogue between the Chinese government and the Tibet Separatists. Closely looking at the coding book, one can see some underlying relations between the indicators. For example, under the riot creator frame, the Chinese government arrested and

sentenced several Tibet Separatists in the name of national security, while the Tibet Separatists explained they were participating in a religious assembly rather than protesting, and the Chinese government interfered and suppressed Tibetan religious activity by using the legal issue of national security as a rationale. The Separatists utilized the discourse made by the Chinese government, and shifted the focus from breaking the law to the government suppressing religion in order to support their identity as religious freedom fighters. However, to show this dialogic process in detail, direct quotes from both the Chinese government and the Tibet Separatists need to be studied by taking semiotics into consideration, while this research concentrates more on the frame level, rather than the indicator level. When further study looks deeply into the indicator level, and specifically on the words both sides use, other dominant discourses that have been appropriated and subverted by the Tibet Separatists against the Chinese government could show up.

Besides, this research studied the mass media, pointing out the Tibet Separatists rely on *the Times of India* to attract more support, and the Chinese government makes use of *People's Daily* to criticize Free Tibet movement, which makes both newspapers share the similar frameworks with the group from which the information comes. The general linear connection between claims-makers (the Chinese government and the Tibet Separatists) and mass media is presented, but not with detail. Only one direction has been revealed that claims-makers send messages to mass media, but whether mass media will impact claims-makers is also an interesting point to study. Further study of the Tibet Separatists can look more at the difference in frameworks between the Chinese government and the Tibet Separatists with mass media, instead of the similarity.

REFERENCES

- Bateson, Gregory. (1955). A theory of play and phantasy. *Psychiatric Research Reports*, 2, 39-51.
- Benford, Robert. (1997). An insider's critique of the social movement framing perspective. *Sociological Inquiry*, 67(4), 409-30.
- Benford, Robert D. and Scott A. Hunt. (2003). Interactional dynamics in public problems marketplaces: movements and counterframing and reframing public problems. *Challenges and Choices: Constructivist Perspectives on Social Problems*, 153-186.
- Best, Joel. (1987). Rhetoric in claims-making: construction the missing children problem. *Social Problems*, 34, 101-21.
- Capek, Stella M. (1993). The "environmental justice" frame: a conceptual discussion and an application." *Social Problems*, 40, 5-24.
- CNN. (2012). *Timeline of Tibetan Protests in China*. Retrieved from <http://www.cnn.com/2012/01/31/world/asia/tibet-protests-timeline/>
- Dobratz, Betty A., Lisa K. Waldner, and Timothy Buzzell. (2012). *Power, politics, and society : an introduction to political sociology*. Boston: Pearson Allyn & Bacon.
- Forbes, Andrew, and David Henley. (2011). *The first Tibetan empire" in: China's ancient tea horse road*. Chiang Mai: Cognoscenti Books.
- Franzosi, Roberto. (1999). The return of the actor: interaction networks among social actors during periods of high mobilization in Italy." *Mobilization*, 4(2), 131-149.
- Global Times. (2015). *Yongkang Zhou went to U.S. to meet Xinjiang Separatists*. Retrieved from <http://military.china.com/important/11132797/20150507/19645304.html>

- Giltin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An essay on the Organization of Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gottdiener, Mark. (1995). *Postmodern Semiotics: Material Culture and the Forms of Postmodern Life*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- His Holiness's Middle Way Approach For Resolving the Issue of Tibet. (2008). Retrieved from <http://www.dalailama.com/messages/middle-way-approach>
- Human Rights Watch. (2015). *World Report 2015: China*. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/china-and-tibet>
- James, William. (1890). *Principles of Psychology*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Johnston, Hank and Eitan Y. Alimi. (2013). A methodology analyzing for frame dynamics: the grammar of keying battles in Palestinian nationalism." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 18(4), 453-474.
- Johnston, Hank, Enrique Larana, and Joseph R. Gusfield. (1997). Identities, grievances, and new social movements. *Social Movements: Perspectives and Issues*, 274-295. California: Mountain View.
- Meyer, David S. and Suzanne Staggenborg. 1996. Movements, countermovements, and the structure of political opportunity. *American Journal of Sociology*, 101 (6), 1628-1660.
- McAdam, Dong. (1994). Culture and social movements. *New Social Movements*, 36-57. Philadelphia: Temple.
- Pedhazur, E. and Pedhazur-Schmelkin. (1991). *Measurement, design, and analysis: an integral approach*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

- People's Republic of China. (2001). *Tibet statistical yearbook*. Beijing: China Statistics Press.
- Polleta, Francesca and James M. Jasper. (2001). Collective identity and social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 283-305.
- Rohlinger, Deana. 2002. Framing the abortion debate: organizational resources, media strategies and movement-counter-movement dynamics. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 43 (4), 479.
- Rohlinger, Deana. 2006. Friends and foes: media, politics, and tactics in the abortion war. *Social Problems*, 53 (4), 537-561.
- Saunders, Clare. (2008). Double-edged swords? collective identity and solidarity in the environmental movement. *British Journal of Sociology*, 59(2), 227-53.
- Sautman, B., & Teufel Dreyer, J. (2006). *Contemporary Tibet: politics, development, and society in a disputed region*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.
- Schutz, Alfred. (1945). Philosophy and phenomenological research, V. *Collected Papers*, 3, 533-576.
- Scott, William. (1955). Reliability of content analysis: the case of nominal scale coding. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 19(3), 321-325.
- Snow, David A., Anna E. Tan and Peter B. Owens. (2013). Social movements, framing processes, and cultural revitalization and fabrication. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 18(3), 225-242.
- Snow, David A., E. Burke Rochford Jr., Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford. (1986). Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation." *American Sociological Review*, 51(4), 464-481.

- Steinberg, Marc W. (1999). The talk and back talk of collective action: a dialogic analysis of repertoires of discourse among the Nineteenth Century English cotton spinners. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(3), 736-780.
- Taylor, Verta and Nancy E. Whittier. (1995). Collective identity in social movement communities. *American Society and Politics*, 344-357. Edited by Theda Skocpol and J. L. Campell. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- UCLA. (2015). *What does Cronbach's alpha mean?* Retrieved from <http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/spss/faq/alpha.html>
- Wang, Chunhuan. (2013). A discussion on Tibet and “Chinese dream”. *Journal of Tibet University*, 28(3), 12-16.
- Zald, Mayer N., and Bert Useem. (1987). Movement and countermovement interaction: mobilization, tactics, and state involvement. *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*, 247-271. edited by Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction.
- Zhao, Chun. (2007). A discussion on Tibet’s history and future. *Yunnan Normal University*. Retrieved from [http://www.cnki.net/kcms/detail/detail.aspx?dbcode=CMFD&dbName=CMFD2011&FileName=2010072769.nh&v=&uid=WEEvREcwSIJHSlDRa1FhdHdSYThsN1IvSzBkTIQ4eUNFY1dmc0I4SlFWdmt2NHMrVDc0UIhJZG1DSWdtOENSMIBRPT0=\\$9A4hF_YAuvQ5obgVAqNKPCYcEjKensW4IQMovwHtwkF4VYPoHbKxJw](http://www.cnki.net/kcms/detail/detail.aspx?dbcode=CMFD&dbName=CMFD2011&FileName=2010072769.nh&v=&uid=WEEvREcwSIJHSlDRa1FhdHdSYThsN1IvSzBkTIQ4eUNFY1dmc0I4SlFWdmt2NHMrVDc0UIhJZG1DSWdtOENSMIBRPT0=$9A4hF_YAuvQ5obgVAqNKPCYcEjKensW4IQMovwHtwkF4VYPoHbKxJw)

APPENDIX A

CODING BOOK FOR OFFICIAL WEBSITES

1. Coder's name

2. Article's ID number

3. Date / /

4. Origins

5. How many paragraphs in the article?

6. Tone - would you say the reporter frames the story in favor of the Chinese government or the Tibet Separatists?

- a) Pro-Government
- b) Pro-Tibet Separatists
- c) Neutral

7. The identity of The Tibet Separatists

Frame name	Indicator	Value
		0=Absent 1= Mentioned, but not the exact same word 2= Mentioned with the exact same word
Human rights fighter	Does the article mention China's human rights records negatively?	
	Does the article mention China's contemporary human rights situation negatively?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government interferes with religious activity in Tibet?	

	Does the article mention the Chinese government uses the law, weapons, army and other means to define religious public assembly and protest of the Tibet separatists as illegal?	
Anti-colonialism fighter	Does the article mention Tibetan culture is different from Chinese culture?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government forces Tibetan young generation to learn Chinese culture instead of their own culture?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government controls the political system in Tibet?	
	Does the article mention there is not enough Tibetan representative or official in the Chinese government?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government controls economic system in Tibet?	
Riot-unrelated person	Does the article deny the riot during protest?	
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists protest peacefully?	
	Does the article avoid mentioning people injured, hurt or died when discussing the protest?	
	Does the article accuse the Chinese government for being the one responsible for people injured, hurt or died during suppressing the protest?	
	Does the article mention Chinese policemen use violent means to suppress the protest?	
Other frames	Other frames detected	

8. The Chinese Government Interpretation of The Tibet Separatists

Frame name	Indicator	Value
		0=Absent 1= Mentioned, but not the exact same word 2= Mentioned with the exact same word

Independence conspirator	Does the article mention Tibet belongs to China?	
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists is a domestic problem?	
	Does the article criticize foreign country leaders meet or support the Tibet Separatists?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government criticize foreign country interfere Tibet problem?	
	Does the article mention Dalai Lama is trying to change Tibetan culture in order to free Tibet?	
	Does the article mention history background of Tibet being conquered by China?	
Riot creator	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists created a riot during protest?	
	Does the article mention people being injured, hurt or died because of the Tibet Separatists?	
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists have destroyed public or private property?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government blame the Tibet Separatists for creating a riot?	
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists are arrested or sentenced in the name of national security?	
Terrorist	Does the article describe the Tibet Separatists as terrorists?	
	Does the article use more intense language as “strongly condemn”, “vigorously denounce” to describe the Tibet Separatists?	
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists are not human?	
	Does the article mention all the world should be against the Tibet Separatists?	
	Does the article emphasize innocent people being injured, hurt or died by the Tibet Separatists?	
Other frames	Other frames detected	

Notes:

APPENDIX B

CODING BOOK FOR MEDIA REPORTS

1. Coder's name _____

2. Article's ID number _____

3. Date _____

4. SOURCE / OUTLET _____

5. How many paragraphs in the article? _____

6. How many attributions total? (quotes) _____

7. How many quotes from each of these sources:

Chinese officials _____

Chinese citizens _____

Dalai Lama _____

Separatists _____

U.S. officials _____

Indian officials _____

Other international officials/transnational organization _____

Others _____

6. Tone - would you say the report frames the story in favor of the Chinese government or the Tibet Separatists?

a) Pro-Government

- b) Pro-Tibet Separatists
- c) Neutral

7. The identity of The Tibet Separatists

Frame name	Indicator	Value 0=Absent The number of paragraphs the indicators are mentioned
Human rights fighter	Does the article mention China's human rights records negatively?	
	Does the article mention China's contemporary human rights situation negatively?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government interferes with religious activity in Tibet?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government uses the law, weapons, army and other means to define religious public assembly and protest of the Tibet Separatists as illegal?	
Anti-colonialism fighter	Does the article mention Tibetan culture is different from Chinese culture?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government forces Tibetan young generation to learn Chinese culture instead of their own culture?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government controls the political system in Tibet?	
	Does the article mention there is not enough Tibetan representative or official in Chinese government?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government controls economic system in Tibet?	
Riot-unrelated person	Does the article deny the riot during protest?	
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists protest peacefully?	
	Does the article avoid mentioning people injured,	

	hurt or died when discussing the protest?	
	Does the article accuse the Chinese government for being the one responsible for people injured, hurt or died during suppressing the protest?	
	Does the article mention Chinese policemen use violent means to suppress the protest?	
Other frames	Other frames detected	

8. The Chinese Government Interpretation of The Tibet Separatists

Frame name	Indicator	Value 0=Absent The number of paragraphs the indicators are mentioned
Independence conspirator	Does the article mention Tibet belongs to China?	
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatist is a domestic problem?	
	Does the article criticize foreign country leaders meet or support the Tibet Separatists?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government criticize foreign country interfere Tibet problem?	
	Does the article mention Dalai Lama is trying to change Tibetan culture in order to free Tibet?	
	Does the article mention history background of Tibet being conquered by China?	
Riot creator	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists created a riot during protest?	
	Does the article mention people being injured, hurt or died because of the Tibet Separatists?	
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists have destroyed public or private property?	
	Does the article mention the Chinese government blames the Tibet Separatists for creating a riot?	
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists are arrested or sentenced in the name of national	

	security?	
Terrorist	Does the article describe the Tibet Separatists as terrorists?	
	Does the article use more intense language as “strongly condemn”, “vigorously denounce” to describe the Tibet Separatists?	
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists are not human?	
	Does the article mention all the world should against be the Tibet Separatists?	
	Does the article emphasize innocent people being injured, hurt or died by the Tibet Separatists?	
Other frames	Other frames detected	

Notes:

APPENDIX C

INTERCODER RELIABILITIES

For the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Frame name	Indicator	Scott's pi
Human rights fighter (HF)	Does the article mention China's human rights records negatively?	1
	Does the article mention China's contemporary human rights situation negatively?	1
Religious freedom fighter (RF)	Does the article mention the Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government interferes with religious activity in Tibet?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government uses the law, weapons, army and other means to define religious public assembly and protest of the Tibet Separatists as illegal?	1
Anti-colonialism fighter (AF)	Does the article mention Tibetan culture is different from Chinese culture?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government forces Tibetan young generation to learn Chinese culture instead of their own culture?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government controls economic system in Tibet?	1
Riot-unrelated person (RUP)	Does the article deny the riot during protest?	1
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists protest peacefully?	1
	Does the article avoid mentioning people injured, hurt or died when discussing the protest?	1
	Does the article accuse the Chinese government for being the one responsible for people injured, hurt or died during suppressing the protest?	1
	Does the article mention Chinese policemen use violent means to suppress the protest?	1
Independence conspirator (IC)	Does the article mention Tibet belongs to China?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatist is a domestic problem?	1
	Does the article criticize foreign country leaders meet or support the Tibet Separatists?	0.768
	Does the article mention the Chinese government criticize foreign country interfere Tibet problem?	0.9
	Does the article mention history background of Tibet being conquered by China?	0.888
Riot creator (RC)	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists created a riot during protest?	0.852
	Does the article mention people being injured, hurt or died because of the Tibet Separatists?	0.823
	Does the article mention the Tibet Separatists have destroyed public or private property?	0.768
	Does the article mention the Chinese government blame the Tibet Separatists for creating a riot?	0.886
Terrorist (T)	Does the article describe Tibet Separatists as terrorists?	0.762
	Does the article use more intense language as "strongly condemn", "vigorously	0.869

	denounce” to describe Tibet Separatists?	
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists are not human?	0.869
	Does the article mention all the world should be against Tibet Separatists?	0.823
	Does the article emphasize innocent people being injured, hurt or died by Tibet Separatists?	1

For the Dalai Lama

Frame name	Indicator	Scott's pi
Human rights fighter (HF)	Does the article mention China's human rights records negatively?	1
	Does the article mention China's contemporary human rights situation negatively?	1
Religious freedom fighter (RF)	Does the article mention the Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government interferes with religious activity in Tibet?	0.823
	Does the article mention the Chinese government uses the law, weapons, army and other means to define religious public assembly and protest of Tibet Separatists as illegal?	0.792
Anti-colonialism fighter (AF)	Does the article mention Tibetan culture is different from Chinese culture?	0.886
	Does the article mention the Chinese government forces Tibetan young generation to learn Chinese culture instead of their own culture?	0.898
	Does the article mention the Chinese government controls economic system in Tibet?	0.768
Riot-unrelated person (RUP)	Does the article deny the riot during protest?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists protest peacefully?	1
	Does the article avoid mentioning people injured, hurt or died when discussing the protest?	0.768
	Does the article accuse the Chinese government for being the one responsible for people injured, hurt or died during suppressing the protest?	0.9
	Does the article mention Chinese policemen use violent means to suppress the protest?	0.888
Independence conspirator (IC)	Does the article mention Tibet belongs to China?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatist is a domestic problem?	1
	Does the article criticize foreign country leaders meet or support Tibet Separatists?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government criticize foreign country interfere Tibet problem?	1
	Does the article mention history background of Tibet being conquered by China?	1
Riot creator (RC)	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists created a riot during protest?	1
	Does the article mention people being injured, hurt or died because of Tibet Separatists?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists have destroyed public or private property?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government blame Tibet Separatists for creating a	1

	riot?	
Terrorist (T)	Does the article describe Tibet Separatists as terrorists?	1
	Does the article use more intense language as “strongly condemn”, “vigorously denounce” to describe Tibet Separatists?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists are not human?	1
	Does the article mention all the world should be against Tibet Separatists?	1
	Does the article emphasize innocent people being injured, hurt or died by Tibet Separatists?	1

For People’s Daily

Frame name	Indicator	Scott’s pi
Human rights fighter (HF)	Does the article mention China’s human rights records negatively?	1
	Does the article mention China’s contemporary human rights situation negatively?	1
Religious freedom fighter (RF)	Does the article mention the Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government interferes with religious activity in Tibet?	1
Riot-unrelated person (RUP)	Does the article deny the riot during protest?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists protest peacefully?	1
	Does the article avoid mentioning people injured, hurt or died when discussing the protest?	1
Independence conspirator (IC)	Does the article mention Tibet belongs to China?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatist is a domestic problem?	1
	Does the article criticize foreign country leaders meet or support Tibet Separatists?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government criticize foreign country interfere Tibet problem?	1
Riot creator (RC)	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists created a riot during protest?	1
	Does the article mention people being injured, hurt or died because of Tibet Separatists?	0.893
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists have destroyed public or private property?	0.792
	Does the article mention the Chinese government blame Tibet Separatists for creating a riot?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists are arrested or sentenced in the name of national security?	1
Terrorist (T)	Does the article describe Tibet Separatists as terrorists?	0.898
	Does the article use more intense language as “strongly condemn”, “vigorously denounce” to describe Tibet Separatists?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists are not human?	0.875
	Does the article mention all the world should be against Tibet Separatists?	0.768

	Does the article emphasize innocent people being injured, hurt or died by Tibet Separatists?	1
--	--	---

For New York Times

Frame name	Indicator	Scott's pi
Human rights fighter (HF)	Does the article mention China's human rights records negatively?	1
	Does the article mention China's contemporary human rights situation negatively?	1
Religious freedom fighter (RF)	Does the article mention the Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government interferes with religious activity in Tibet?	1
Riot-unrelated person (RUP)	Does the article deny the riot during protest?	0.798
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists protest peacefully?	0.762
	Does the article avoid mentioning people injured, hurt or died when discussing the protest?	1
Independence conspirator (IC)	Does the article mention Tibet belongs to China?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatist is a domestic problem?	1
	Does the article criticize foreign country leaders meet or support Tibet Separatists?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government criticize foreign country interfere Tibet problem?	1
Riot creator (RC)	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists created a riot during protest?	1
	Does the article mention people being injured, hurt or died because of Tibet Separatists?	0.893
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists have destroyed public or private property?	0.792
	Does the article mention the Chinese government blame Tibet Separatists for creating a riot?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists are arrested or sentenced in the name of national security?	0.888
Terrorist (T)	Does the article describe Tibet Separatists as terrorists?	0.898
	Does the article use more intense language as "strongly condemn", "vigorously denounce" to describe Tibet Separatists?	0.823
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists are not human?	0.875
	Does the article mention all the world should be against Tibet Separatists?	0.768
	Does the article emphasize innocent people being injured, hurt or died by Tibet Separatists?	0.798

For the Times of India

Frame name	Indicator	Scott's pi
Human rights fighter	Does the article mention China's human rights records negatively?	1

(HF)	Does the article mention China's contemporary human rights situation negatively?	1
Religious freedom fighter (RF)	Does the article mention the Chinese government suppresses religious freedom in Tibet?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government interferes with religious activity in Tibet?	1
Riot-unrelated person (RUP)	Does the article deny the riot during protest?	0.768
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists protest peacefully?	0.762
	Does the article avoid mentioning people injured, hurt or died when discussing the protest?	0.886
Independence conspirator (IC)	Does the article mention Tibet belongs to China?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatist is a domestic problem?	1
	Does the article criticize foreign country leaders meet or support Tibet Separatists?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government criticize foreign country interfere Tibet problem?	1
Riot creator (RC)	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists created a riot during protest?	1
	Does the article mention people being injured, hurt or died because of Tibet Separatists?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists have destroyed public or private property?	1
	Does the article mention the Chinese government blame Tibet Separatists for creating a riot?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists are arrested or sentenced in the name of national security?	1
Terrorist (T)	Does the article describe Tibet Separatists as terrorists?	1
	Does the article use more intense language as "strongly condemn", "vigorously denounce" to describe Tibet Separatists?	1
	Does the article mention Tibet Separatists are not human?	1
	Does the article mention all the world should be against Tibet Separatists?	1
	Does the article emphasize innocent people being injured, hurt or died by Tibet Separatists?	1

APPENDIX D

ONE-WAY ANOVA FOR THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

Multiple Comparisons^a

Bonferroni

Dependent Variable	(I) Year	(J) Year	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
IC	2010	2011	.01333	.14130	1.000	-.3975	.4242
		2012	.23487	.10368	.269	-.0666	.5363
		2013	.70970*	.09162	.000	.4433	.9761
		2014	.20190	.10168	.514	-.0937	.4976
	2011	2010	-.01333	.14130	1.000	-.4242	.3975
		2012	.22154	.14399	1.000	-.1971	.6402
		2013	.69636*	.13556	.000	.3022	1.0905
		2014	.18857	.14255	1.000	-.2259	.6031
	2012	2010	-.23487	.10368	.269	-.5363	.0666
		2011	-.22154	.14399	1.000	-.6402	.1971
		2013	.47483*	.09572	.000	.1965	.7531
		2014	-.03297	.10539	1.000	-.3394	.2735
	2013	2010	-.70970*	.09162	.000	-.9761	-.4433
		2011	-.69636*	.13556	.000	-1.0905	-.3022
		2012	-.47483*	.09572	.000	-.7531	-.1965
		2014	-.50779*	.09355	.000	-.7798	-.2358
	2014	2010	-.20190	.10168	.514	-.4976	.0937
		2011	-.18857	.14255	1.000	-.6031	.2259
		2012	.03297	.10539	1.000	-.2735	.3394
		2013	.50779*	.09355	.000	.2358	.7798
RC	2010	2011	-.40000*	.12672	.024	-.7685	-.0315
		2012	-.07692	.09299	1.000	-.3473	.1934
		2013	-.09091	.08217	1.000	-.3298	.1480
		2014	-.11905	.09119	1.000	-.3842	.1461
	2011	2010	.40000*	.12672	.024	.0315	.7685
		2012	.32308	.12913	.149	-.0524	.6986
		2013	.30909	.12158	.134	-.0444	.6626
		2014	.28095	.12785	.316	-.0908	.6527
	2012	2010	.07692	.09299	1.000	-.1934	.3473
		2011	-.32308	.12913	.149	-.6986	.0524
		2013	-.01399	.08584	1.000	-.2636	.2356
		2014	-.04212	.09452	1.000	-.3169	.2327
	2013	2010	.09091	.08217	1.000	-.1480	.3298
		2011	-.30909	.12158	.134	-.6626	.0444
		2012	.01399	.08584	1.000	-.2356	.2636
		2014	-.02814	.08390	1.000	-.2721	.2158
	2014	2010	.11905	.09119	1.000	-.1461	.3842
		2011	-.28095	.12785	.316	-.6527	.0908
		2012	.04212	.09452	1.000	-.2327	.3169
		2013	.02814	.08390	1.000	-.2158	.2721

T	2010	2011	.00000	.15594	1.000	-.4534	.4534
		2012	-.09231	.11443	1.000	-.4250	.2404
		2013	-.49091*	.10111	.000	-.7849	-.1969
		2014	-.52857*	.11222	.000	-.8549	-.2023
	2011	2010	.00000	.15594	1.000	-.4534	.4534
		2012	-.09231	.15891	1.000	-.5544	.3697
		2013	-.49091*	.14961	.017	-.9259	-.0559
		2014	-.52857*	.15732	.013	-.9860	-.0711
	2012	2010	.09231	.11443	1.000	-.2404	.4250
		2011	.09231	.15891	1.000	-.3697	.5544
		2013	-.39860*	.10564	.004	-.7058	-.0914
		2014	-.43626*	.11631	.004	-.7744	-.0981
	2013	2010	.49091*	.10111	.000	.1969	.7849
		2011	.49091*	.14961	.017	.0559	.9259
		2012	.39860*	.10564	.004	.0914	.7058
		2014	-.03766	.10324	1.000	-.3378	.2625
2014	2010	.52857*	.11222	.000	.2023	.8549	
	2011	.52857*	.15732	.013	.0711	.9860	
	2012	.43626*	.11631	.004	.0981	.7744	
	2013	.03766	.10324	1.000	-.2625	.3378	

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

a. Origins = The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

APPENDIX E

ONE-WAY ANOVA FOR THE TIBET SEPARATISTS

Multiple Comparisons^a

Bonferroni

Dependent Variable	(I) Year	(J) Year	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
HF	2010	2011	-.31579	.13805	.253	-.7165	.0850
		2012	-.15385	.14793	1.000	-.5833	.2756
		2013	.00000	.14793	1.000	-.4294	.4294
		2014	-.16667	.13927	1.000	-.5710	.2376
	2011	2010	.31579	.13805	.253	-.0850	.7165
		2012	.16194	.12279	1.000	-.1945	.5184
		2013	.31579	.12279	.123	-.0407	.6722
		2014	.14912	.11221	1.000	-.1766	.4749
	2012	2010	.15385	.14793	1.000	-.2756	.5833
		2011	-.16194	.12279	1.000	-.5184	.1945
		2013	.15385	.13381	1.000	-.2346	.5423
		2014	-.01282	.12417	1.000	-.3733	.3476
	2013	2010	.00000	.14793	1.000	-.4294	.4294
		2011	-.31579	.12279	.123	-.6722	.0407
		2012	-.15385	.13381	1.000	-.5423	.2346
		2014	-.16667	.12417	1.000	-.5271	.1938
2014	2010	.16667	.13927	1.000	-.2376	.5710	
	2011	-.14912	.11221	1.000	-.4749	.1766	
	2012	.01282	.12417	1.000	-.3476	.3733	
	2013	.16667	.12417	1.000	-.1938	.5271	
RF	2010	2011	-.39376*	.12325	.021	-.7516	-.0360
		2012	-.32764	.13208	.156	-.7111	.0558
		2013	.10826	.13208	1.000	-.2752	.4917
		2014	-.20370	.12435	1.000	-.5647	.1573
	2011	2010	.39376*	.12325	.021	.0360	.7516
		2012	.06613	.10963	1.000	-.2521	.3844
		2013	.50202*	.10963	.000	.1838	.8203
		2014	.19006	.10019	.621	-.1008	.4809
	2012	2010	.32764	.13208	.156	-.0558	.7111
		2011	-.06613	.10963	1.000	-.3844	.2521
		2013	.43590*	.11947	.005	.0891	.7827
		2014	.12393	.11087	1.000	-.1979	.4458
	2013	2010	-.10826	.13208	1.000	-.4917	.2752
		2011	-.50202*	.10963	.000	-.8203	-.1838
		2012	-.43590*	.11947	.005	-.7827	-.0891
		2014	-.31197	.11087	.064	-.6338	.0099
2014	2010	.20370	.12435	1.000	-.1573	.5647	
	2011	-.19006	.10019	.621	-.4809	.1008	

		2012	-.12393	.11087	1.000	-.4458	.1979
		2013	.31197	.11087	.064	-.0099	.6338
AF	2010	2011	.25146	.09719	.118	-.0307	.5336
		2012	.29060	.10415	.069	-.0117	.5929
		2013	.41880*	.10415	.001	.1165	.7211
		2014	.44444*	.09805	.000	.1598	.7291
	2011	2010	-.25146	.09719	.118	-.5336	.0307
		2012	.03914	.08645	1.000	-.2118	.2901
		2013	.16734	.08645	.571	-.0836	.4183
		2014	.19298	.07900	.172	-.0364	.4223
	2012	2010	-.29060	.10415	.069	-.5929	.0117
		2011	-.03914	.08645	1.000	-.2901	.2118
		2013	.12821	.09421	1.000	-.1453	.4017
		2014	.15385	.08742	.830	-.0999	.4076
	2013	2010	-.41880*	.10415	.001	-.7211	-.1165
		2011	-.16734	.08645	.571	-.4183	.0836
		2012	-.12821	.09421	1.000	-.4017	.1453
		2014	.02564	.08742	1.000	-.2281	.2794
2014	2010	-.44444*	.09805	.000	-.7291	-.1598	
	2011	-.19298	.07900	.172	-.4223	.0364	
	2012	-.15385	.08742	.830	-.4076	.0999	
	2013	-.02564	.08742	1.000	-.2794	.2281	
RUP	2010	2011	-.03977	.08678	1.000	-.2917	.2122
		2012	-.10940	.09300	1.000	-.3794	.1606
		2013	-.49402*	.09300	.000	-.7640	-.2240
		2014	-.77778*	.08755	.000	-1.0319	-.5236
	2011	2010	.03977	.08678	1.000	-.2122	.2917
		2012	-.06964	.07719	1.000	-.2937	.1545
		2013	-.45425*	.07719	.000	-.6783	-.2302
		2014	-.73801*	.07054	.000	-.9428	-.5332
	2012	2010	.10940	.09300	1.000	-.1606	.3794
		2011	.06964	.07719	1.000	-.1545	.2937
		2013	-.38462*	.08412	.000	-.6288	-.1404
		2014	-.66838*	.07806	.000	-.8950	-.4418
	2013	2010	.49402*	.09300	.000	.2240	.7640
		2011	.45425*	.07719	.000	.2302	.6783
		2012	.38462*	.08412	.000	.1404	.6288
		2014	-.28376*	.07806	.005	-.5104	-.0572
2014	2010	.77778*	.08755	.000	.5236	1.0319	
	2011	.73801*	.07054	.000	.5332	.9428	
	2012	.66838*	.07806	.000	.4418	.8950	
	2013	.28376*	.07806	.005	.0572	.5104	

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

a. Origins = The Dalai Lama