

How Did Chinese News Media Frame the US China Trade Talks? A Case Study of People's Daily and China Daily

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Abstract

China has a very special media system with unique Chinese characteristics. Chinese media exhibits "Marxist Journalism," features which emphasize party principle as the primary feature.

This study investigates and compares online news reports on the websites of two Chinese news media outlets People's Daily and China Daily regarding the US-China trade talks. The goal is to examine how do they frame the US-China trade talk and discuss what factors influenced their framing. The findings are connected to the theoretical discussion on Chinese media system, Marxist journalism and advocacy journalism.

This study finds that both People's Daily and China Daily advocate for the Chinese government and the Party regarding the US-China trade talks, which is deeply influenced by Marxist journalism in the context of Chinese media system. While People's Daily focused on positive publicity, China Daily more emphasized working as a public diplomacy tool.

Keywords: the US-China trade talks; Chinese media system; Marxist journalism; advocacy journalism

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this paper to my supervisor Professor Ahmed Al-Rawi. Without his continued support and guidance, I could not have completed my study.

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Glossary

Advocacy Journalism

A form of reporting that is designed to speak up for a particular cause, policy, campaign, organization, nation, section of the population, neighbourhood, or even an individual. Advocacy journalism eschews a commitment to formal objectivity, impartiality, or giving both sides of a story an equal hearing, although it tends to be less aggressive in tone than adversarial journalism. However, as with adversarial and campaigning journalism, critics object to the blurring of comment and facts that is implicit (and sometimes explicit) within such reporting (Harcup, 2014).

Marxist Journalism

An ideology adopted by China's media system, features with the Party principle. It is based on Marx and Engel's view on the press and communication, and also localized by many Chinese leading politicians.

Chapter 1.

Introduction

This study investigates and compares online news reports between 8th March to 31st October 2018 by two Chinese news media outlets that publish news in Chinese and English languages— People's Daily and China Daily - regarding the US-China trade talks . The goal is to examine how the two media outlets frame the US-China trade talks and what factors influenced this kind of framing. The findings are connected to the theoretical discussion on Chinese media system, Marxist journalism and advocacy journalism.

Since China joined the World Trade Organization on December 11, 2001, trade between China and the United States has continued to climb, from \$80.485 billion in 2001 to \$583.697 billion in 2017. Shortly after the US President's Donald Trump administration came to power on January 20, 2017, the trade relation between the US and China seems to have stepped into a tough period. The sign of this tension has already shown in 2011: before running for president, Trump tweeted, "China is neither an ally nor a friend — they want to beat us and own our country" (Trump, 2013). The tweet is among several statements he made criticizing China's trade practices before running for president.

On January 22, 2018, the Trump administration announced tariffs on imported solar cells and certain washing machines, which is seen as the beginning of the trade talks between the US and China. On March 8, Trump authorized tariffs of 25% and 10% on steel and aluminum imports, respectively. In approving the duties, he said: "a strong steel and aluminum industry is vital to our national security" ("Remarks: Donald Trump Signs Proclamation on Steel and Aluminum Tariffs", 2019). A few days later, China took its first shot by retaliating against the steel and aluminum duties with tariffs on about \$3 billion worth of US goods. In May, China sent a delegation to consult with the U.S on May 19 and issued a joint statement saying that "China and the US have reached a consensus not to fight a trade war" ("China and the United States issue Joint statement on Economic and Trade consultations-Xinhua", 2018). However, negotiations in the subsequent months did not lead to a deal. New tariffs even escalated tensions. The Trump administration said it would slap a 25% tariff on \$50 billion in Chinese goods on

June 15, blaming China's so-called “theft” of intellectual property and technology and its other unfair trade practices (Pramuk, 2019). Accordingly, Beijing swiftly retaliated, announcing tariffs on \$50 billion in US products. On September 17, Trump upped the stakes again, announcing 10% tariffs on \$200 billion in Chinese goods, with a plan to hike the rate to 25% at the start of 2019 ("THE BIG ONE: Trump slams China with tariffs on \$200 billion worth of goods, taking the trade war to the next level", 2019). However, China “fired back” without any hesitation the very next day, saying it will slap tariffs on \$60 billion in US products in response to the latest US duties ("China hits back at US with fresh tariffs," 2019).

Then, Trump announced on September 17 that a 10% tariff on Chinese goods of 200 billion US dollars would be imposed on September 24, and the tax rate would increase to 25% from January 1, 2019. While China issued a piece of news on September 18th, deciding to impose 10% or 5% tariff on about 60 billion dollars of goods originating in the United States ("Two Hundred Billion Goods Increase Taxes soon: China and the United States Are Going to A Protracted War", 2019). According to the current situation, the inevitable tendency of trade relations between China and the United States seems to be hardly optimistic (Schoen & Pramuk, 2018).

In addition to the tit-for-tat between the two governments, the news media has also played an essential role in the trade talks between the two countries.

Historically, the news media have played an important role in international relations during some special periods such as the Cold War. As Norris (1995) said, the network coverage of international news often quickly adapt to “reflect the realities of the new geopolitical world” (p.1). In the period of trade friction between China and the US, the communication activities of the news media can reflect the subtle changes in international relations to a certain extent. Therefore, media coverage and the ideas conveyed in the news reports are worth exploring.

China has a very special media system with unique Chinese characteristics. On the one hand, different from western journalism, Chinese media exhibits "Marxist Journalism" features which emphasize the Party principle as the primary principle. On the other hand, since the opening-up and reform, Chinese media seems to become more market-controlled, so it is interesting to find out to what extent Chinese media are

still firmly controlled by the government when facing the trade issue that may influence the future of the whole country and how they advocate for their nation and party.

In this study, the two news outlets chosen are People's Daily and China Daily whose news reports are in Chinese and English language respectively because they serve the different readership. In specific, People's Daily is for Chinese readers in Mainland China, while China Daily is aimed at overseas Chinese or readers from other countries. News reports from these two websites could provide an interesting comparison. As Esser and Hanitzsch (2012) argue, the comparative research approach in communication offers "a valuable tool for advancing our understanding of communication processes and that it opens up new avenues of systematic research" (p.3–4). Also, Hallin and Mancini (2004) emphasize that comparative analysis can render the invisible visible and draw our attention to aspects of any media system. In the following section, a brief account is provided on the two selected newspapers.

1.1. People's Daily & China Daily

People's Daily or Renmin Ribao in Chinese language is an official, serious, and quality newspaper in China with a large readership. This newspaper is subscribed to at all levels of the party and government agencies throughout the country, and some important comments and editorials in this newspaper are often cited and forwarded by local media. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that the paper has "the world's largest audience" (Chang, 1989, p. 92). According to its official website, up to January 1, 2017, the circulation of People's Daily has reached 3.18 million ("About People's Daily," 2018).

The actual controller of the news website is The Newspaper Office of People's Daily. As of the date of signing the prospectus, People's Daily directly holds 66.01% of the company's shares, and its Global Times, Beijing Times and Auto Newspapers indirectly hold 11.89%, 0.82% and 0.83% of the company's shares, respectively. Therefore, People's Daily, directly and indirectly, owns 79.54% of the company's shares ("People's Daily IPO plans to Raise about 530 Million Yuan to Focus on Mobile Internet Business - Finance News -IFENG", 2019).

Regarding finance, People's Daily has shown a good upward trend. From 2008 to June 2011, the company's operating income had risen from 142 million to 211 million yuan. The net profit attributable to the parent company had also been increased from 14.4722 million to 32,249,400 yuan. According to the prospectus, the cash flow of People's Daily Online is relatively abundant. In 2010, the net cash flow from operating activities reached 110 million yuan ("People's Daily IPO plans to Raise about 530 Million Yuan to Focus on Mobile Internet Business - Finance News -IFENG ", 2019).

People's Daily was founded during China's Second Revolutionary War period. When the Communist forces grew, the Party decided to set up a North China Bureau, which later started its organ newspaper, called People's Daily. It was founded in Lizhuang, Pingshan county, Hebei Province on June 15, 1948, and formed by the merger of two former newspapers: Jinchaji Daily and Jinjiluyu People's Daily. Mao Zedong wrote the title for the People's Daily in his handwriting. Afterwards, the paper moved to Beijing when the city was liberated in January 1949 and became the organ of the CCP Central Committee the same year ("About People's Daily," 2018).

The status of the Party determines the importance of People's Daily. It has acted as the "mouthpiece" of the CCP since it was first launched and was closely intertwined with the development process of CCP (Yang, 2015). In the newspaper, the editor-in-chief is the "Headman," responsible for determining the direction and outline of the newspaper from a macro perspective, which is often consistent with the thinking of the national leaders. More specific editorial work is the responsibility of the editors of each layout.

The people's Daily places great emphasis on coverage of policy matters. Editorials of the People's Daily have always been interpreted as voicing the official viewpoint of the Communist Party and the Chinese government. Over the years, they have become more authoritative and influential.

At first glance, it seems strange that a Party paper is named the "People's Daily." However, the names should be understood in the specific context in China. As an editor of the paper wrote in the early 1950s, "the paper is of the people, by the people, and for the people" (Chang, 1989, p. 93). Hence, the paper is promoted to act as a bridge between the Party and the people.

With the rise of the Internet in the 1990s, People's Daily launched an online version in 1997 ("About People.cn," 2018). At first, it just copied the contents of the paper newspaper on the website, and the layout was the same as that of the paper newspaper. Therefore, it was also called the "electronic version" of People's Daily. Since People's Daily Online was officially launched in 1997, it has become a large-scale online information exchange platform and is a listed company controlled by the People's Daily. It is now one of the largest comprehensive networks on the Internet and is ranked number 45 among all websites in China, according to Alexa (<https://www.alexa.com/>). The monthly website visits amount to 20 million from June to December 2018 (<https://www.similarweb.com/>).

As for China Daily, it is the first and only English daily newspaper published in China since the founding of the People's Republic of China (Chang, 1989, p. 112). The China Daily was founded on June 1, 1981. Since China's reform and opening up in 1978, many foreign tourists have flooded into China. To meet their needs for the latest news from other countries, the Chinese government approved the first English newspaper, the China Daily.

Today, China Daily has more than ten media platforms, including newspapers, websites, mobile clients, Facebook, Twitter, Weibo, WeChat, and electronic newspapers. The total number of users has exceeded 90 million. It has issued 900,000 copies worldwide, of which 600,000 are overseas. China Daily also publishes in Hong Kong, the United States, Canada, European countries, Asia, Africa, and Latin America ("About China Daily," 2019). China Daily is an essential window for China to the outside world, as its guideline says, "let the world know China, let China go to the world." It is written in plain English and animated by the kind of layout to which Western eyes are accustomed. Hence, it is used a public diplomacy tool for the Chinese government.

Although also under the supervision of the Information Department, China Daily has its own editorial policies, which "define the paper's principal goals as objectively presenting China and China's news to its unique group of readers" (Chang, 1989, p. 112). Chang argued, "one noticeable characteristic that distinguishes China Daily from other Chinese newspapers is that it does not preach" (p. 116). However, the comment, which was made 30 years ago, has also changed as the CCP tightens its grip on domestic media. Nowadays, according to the brief introduction on the official website of

China Daily, China Daily has become one of the leading cultural publicity units of the central government ("About China Daily," 2019).

In reality, China Daily is not as free as it seems, for it is in a dilemma as an English-language newspaper catering to Western readers and published in a socialist country. Its editors struggle to keep the balance between the "party principle" and the taste of Western audiences.

Today, China Daily has formed a multimedia platform and a parallel media matrix. It not only owns news websites, but it also created a mobile app and accounts on social media platforms such as Weibo and WeChat. China Daily website (chinadaily.com.cn) was launched in 1995 ("About China Daily," 2019); it is a large multimedia outlet and China's most influential English-language Web portal and is ranked 65 among all sites in China, according to Alexa (<https://www.alexa.com/>). It encompasses news reporting, information services, online communities and language learning with more than 30 subsidiary websites and 300 channels under seven website clusters. Its daily page views now exceed 31 million, with about 60 percent of visitors from overseas ("China Daily Website," 2019).

Chapter 2.

Literature Review

Journalism studies mostly rely on normative theories. In 1956, Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm published *Four Theories of the Press*, a work that remains remarkably influential around the world as an attempt to “lay out a broad framework for comparative analysis of the news media” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 8). In this book, Siebert, Peterson and Schramm tried to relate media institutions to the social and political structures in which they operate and have seen these as the foundations of their understanding of journalism. In this book, they divided the world’s media into four general categories: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist. Since then, scholars have been attempting to classify normative theories.

Although the book opens the way for the understanding of news in the context of social institutions, the theories in this book are only limited to the context of the Cold War period. Written in this special period, *Four Theories of the Press* mainly focuses on Western countries and communist countries such as the Soviet Union. However, a large number of developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America founded after World War II are basically excluded from its analysis. As Hallin and Mancini (2004) pointed out, “it is so preoccupied with the dichotomy between the contending US and Soviet models, *Four Theories of the Press* has little room for the actual diversity of world media systems today”(p.10).

Therefore, the four theories of news systems should give way to the media theory which is more in line with the background of the current era. Hachten (1981) proposed a Development Theory based on *Four Theories of the Press* to summarize the characteristics of the media system in developing countries. He suggested that the Development Theory combines the concepts of communist ideals, anti-Americanism and social responsibility, and has deep roots with the modernization theory coming up after World War II. According to the Development Theory, individual rights must give way to the overall goal of national development; while the media needs to actively support authority, promote national or government policies, and promote national progress in the

economic and social fields. Therefore, the Development Theory seems to be one of the opposites of the Western model and similar to the Marxist journalism.

Robert Picard (1985) continued the discussion of the relationship between the state and the media, proposing the Democratic Socialist Theory, which emphasizes that the primary goal of the media is to provide a platform for the expression of public opinion and to stimulate political and social debates that are conducive to the development of democratic politics. In this model, the role of the state is to ensure that citizens have the ability to use the media, to maintain and to promote the diversity of the media. Though acknowledging the autonomy of the media compared to economic and political power, the model emphasizes appropriate public intervention, which is deeply rooted in the “social welfare” tradition of Western European countries.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) studied the news media from a distinctive perspective by challenging the normative character in media system study. They are interested not in measuring media systems against a normative ideal but in “analyzing their historical development as institutions within particular social settings” (p. 14). They wanted to understand why these media systems developed in the specific ways they did, the roles they played in political, social, and economic life, and the patterns of relationship they had with other social institutions. Their models of journalism are intended as empirical, not normative models (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

Accordingly, they empirically introduced three new media system models: the Liberal Model; the Democratic Corporatist Model; and the Polarized Pluralist Model. (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). These three models directly negate the understanding of the simplification of the western world in Four Theories of the Press, but also take into account the complexity and diversity of the media system within each model and within a single country. Noteworthy, Hallin and Mancini only focused on a very limited number of similar cases: eighteen nations of Western Europe and North America that “by global standards had relatively similar histories as advanced capitalist democracies”, because, as they said, they wanted to “avoid the kind of universalizing approach to comparative analysis in media studies” (Hallin & Mancini, 2012, p. 1).

2.1. Media System in China

China is the most populous country in the world, with a population of nearly 1.4 billion ("The Sixth Population Census of China," 2019), playing an important role on the world stage. Therefore, most media system theories, including the famous Four Theories (Siebert et al., 1956), are no longer suitable for explaining the media system of China. As Zhao (2012) said, if Hallin and Mancini's comparison of media systems in Western Europe and North America is "based on a 'most similar systems' design (2004, p. 6), to bring in the Chinese media system into a worldwide comparative project is to bring one of the "most dissimilar systems" into the messy picture of non-Western empirical reality" (p. 143).

As Sibert et al. (1956) put it, "The press always takes the form and colour of the social and political structure in which it operates" (p. 2). The media system in China has formed many characteristics based on the frequent social changes that the country went through in the past 100 years. The intertwinement between the Party and news media has a long historical origin. The party press can be traced back to radical journals of the late 1910s and early 1920s in which students and intellectuals voiced their opposition to imperialism and Chinese warlords. Many future Party leaders, such as Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, and Mao Zedong, were involved in publishing radical journals before the founding of the Communist party in 1921 (Zhao, 1998).

After the People's Republic of China was founded, and the Communist government came to power in 1949, the media system also continued, mainly by the Party's journalism cadres and the material and technological infrastructures left over from the old regime. The Party's journalism during the revolutionary war years became the norm of the party state's journalism without much change either in conceptualization or structure. The media system continued and developed until this day.

Although Western democratic thoughts had a chance to enter the Chinese media system under the influence of Deng Xiaoping's pragmatism, the CCP gradually tightened its control over the media after the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989 (Zhao, 2012). After Xi Jinping came to power, the party control of media has stepped into a new stage (Brady, 2016).

After nearly a hundred years of development, China's media system has formed a more stable model, with party control as the main feature. Many Western scholars have doubts about communist media systems. For example, Hachten (1999) argues, "The Communist press concept appears to have disappeared as a viable press theory. They regimes persist, but the ideological fervour and justification seem to have waned" (p. 34). However, after the study of the Chinese media and publicity system in 1989, Brady has come to the conclusion that "the political system led by the Communist Party of China, that is, one party and one country, is now as deeply ingrained as the political system of Western countries" (Brady, 2008, p. 202).

There's no denying that the Marxist journalism has played an irreplaceable role in the Party control of Chinese media system. In this study, we focus on how Chinese media are influenced by Marxist journalism, and advocate for the state and Party.

2.2. Party Control & Marxist Journalism

With the economic reforms after China's reform and opening up, the market gradually broke the media monopoly of the party and government in the early days of China. In other words, China's media system was previously owned and controlled by the CCP while now represents a lasting competition between capitalism and communism. Is China's current media system controlled by the market or the Party? This argument has been discussed for a long time.

Some scholars believe that with the continuous reform of the Chinese media system, the media has gradually become commercialized, which also means the weakening of party control and many studies note this (e.g. Chan, 1993; Yu, 1994; Zhao, 1998). As Tang and Lyengar (2011) argue, dramatic increases in the size and diversity of the Chinese media market have "created openings for private owners and a gradual loosening of party control" (p. 263). The Internet also plays a role in this process. The participatory and interactive properties of the Internet as well as its less easily controlled nature have significantly enabled the online public to broaden the range of political discourse in China. According to Shi, Lu, and Aldrich's (2014) survey data, media control in China had loosened to a limited extent, and about 14% of their survey respondents reported access to non-controlled foreign media, mostly through satellite TV and the Internet, as of 2005.

Nonetheless, in this process, some critics argue, media commercialization alone has little power to challenge the government's control of the media. "Some of the defining characteristics of the Chinese news media system remain unchanged." Zhao says (1998), "indeed, rapid commercialization has occurred during a period when the Party's political control has been the tightest" (p.151). Commercialization does not undermine political instrumentalization in any substantive way but is integrated into the existing political structure. As scholars of Chinese media have noted since the early 1990s, Chinese media development is one of "commercialization without independence" (Chan, 1993), and the Chinese journalistic field remains one of "professionalization without guarantees" (Yu, 1994). Anything that could undermine established authority or violate its political values cannot be widely disseminated in China, and even if it is released, it will be deleted in a very short time. Media institutions still face lingering ideological and cultural dependence upon the state and the Party, although it seems that the media are redesigned to be more capitalistic and are motivated to be more profitable (Winfield & Peng, 2005). Plus, there is a limit to the freedom given to the Chinese media by the rise of the Internet. Although there are some commercial news websites such as Tencent and Sina, as Zhang and Su suggest, journalists working for these websites are "not granted press cards, which means they cannot conduct interviews and release news" (cited in Weaver & Willnat, 2012, p. 10). They can only reproduce news from official news outlets like newspapers, television and news agencies. Via this filter, the news showed on the commercial websites can generally be in line with the mainstream news media, which is firmly controlled by the Party.

The Party control media by different types of control- ideology, regulation, organization and financial support. Through these Party control approaches, the CCP has an overall control of Chinese news media.

Since the founding of the party, the Chinese Communist Party has always attached great importance to the construction of the ideological field. From the Mao period, the party attached great importance to the education and mass mobilization of the people through media. As Lin (2006) says, the CCP came to power "by relying not only on the gun but also the pen "(p. 151). Whether it is to use the media to promote state-sanctioned socialist core values and ethical norms (Hallin & Mancini, 2012) or to mobilize the media for earthquake relief (Sun and Zhao, 2009), the CCP is actively using the media to "shape the contours of Chinese modernity through its control of the media"

(p. 152). As Tang and Lyengar (2011) say, "effective use of the media as a political tool is always a top CCP priority" (p. 263). In fact, this kind of control is rooted in the Marxist Journalism advocated by the Chinese government. It emphasizes that the news media is the publicity tool of the Party, serves the work of the Party, and obeys the leadership of the Party. Marxist journalism originated from Marx and Engel' Thought of Journalism and Communication (Chen, 2018). In China, since the first generation of the Chinese leader, Mao Zedong, Marxist Journalism has been continuously localized, and gradually formed the Marxist Journalism with Chinese characteristics (Liu, 2017).

Referring to the enrichment and improvement of the Marxist Journalism by his predecessors -Mao, Deng, Jiang and Hu, Xi Jinping put forward a set of guidelines on the mission of the Chinese news media in his speech after inspecting the People's Daily on February 19, 2018 (Liu, 2017), known as "Xi Jinping's View On News and Public Opinion".

Meanwhile, regulations are published to control the media. As Zhao (2012) suggests, "to avoid invoking debates at the National People's Congress (NPC) over the meaning of the constitutional guarantee of press freedom" (p. 154), the state has opted to authorize relevant government departments to legitimate its preferred media structure by administrative "regulations" instead of passing laws about the media.

Therefore, a series of formal government regulations specify the content released by the media in some areas and set out the requirements for entry into the media industry. A strict government licensing system allows only approved publications to publish news. Government regulations also determine who can participate in news gathering and threaten anyone who violates regulations or party discipline to revoke their licenses. Laws and regulations also impose restrictions on content that endangers national security and divulges state secrets in order to restrict the overly free Internet media. For example, content that prohibits the leadership of opposition parties, undermines social stability, or subverts the socialist system appears on Weibo (Liebman, 2005).

The Chinese government has dramatically emphasized the state role in media regulation in the past decades. For example, the state continues to maintain its control

over the media market through “licensing, regulating and allocating resources to specific state media” (Peng, 2005, p. 267).

State control can also be maintained through personnel scheduling. As Zhao (2008) says, the state retains its power to appoint media officials by being organizationally affiliated with the mainstream media outlets. An example given by Zhao (2008) is that a deputy director of CCTV may serve as a deputy party secretary for a year in a county before returning to work or upgrading to a senior media management position. Besides, Chinese economic growth certainly provides the media with more financial independence. However, such financial support does not automatically lead to media freedom. Media organizations are affecting the creation of state policy by representing their economic interests regarding general public benefits, which at the same time are performing the public functions imposed by the state.

In general, despite that China's news media experienced a period of commercialization at the beginning of China's reform and opening up, the Chinese government and the Party are still firmly controlling the news media under the Marxist Journalism routines, especially after Xi came to power in 2012. Under this economic and political context, Chinese news media show a strong characteristic of advocacy journalism.

2.3. Advocacy Journalism

There is no fixed definition of ‘advocacy journalism.’ In his book *A Dictionary of Journalism*, Harcup (2014) defines advocacy journalism as “a form of reporting that is designed to speak up for a particular cause, policy, campaign, organization, nation, the section of the population, neighborhood, or even an individual.” He points out that “advocacy journalism eschews a commitment to formal objectivity, impartiality, or giving both sides of a story an impartial hearing, although it tends to be less aggressive in tone than adversarial journalism. However, as with adversarial and campaigning journalism, critics object to the blurring of comment and facts that is implicit (and sometimes explicit) within such reporting.” While Briz-Ponce et al. define advocacy journalism as a type of journalism that lobbies for specific issues or interests (Briz-Ponce, Juanes-Mendez & García Peñalvo, 2016). Fisher (2016) concludes, “At its core, advocacy is about pleading another's cause or arguing in support of an idea, event or a person ” (p. 712).

Advocacy seems not to be a welcomed feature in journalism in Western media system considering the objective norm in Western Journalism. According to Schudson (2008), after the First World War in the United States the 'objectivity' norm was eagerly adopted by journalists to 'disaffiliate themselves from the public relations specialists and propagandists who suddenly surrounded them' (p. 83) and soon became the 'chief occupational value of American journalism' (2001, p. 149). Therefore, objectivity seems to have become a symbol of journalism. As Lynette Sheridan Burns (2013) said, the argument often put forward to separate PR practitioners from journalists is that 'their text is a form of advocacy, intended to persuade rather than inform' (p. 19).

However, actually, as Fisher (2016) argues, advocacy exists in all kinds of journalism, whether intentional or not. "The question cannot be about whether advocacy is present in journalism, but to the degree of its presence" (Fisher, 2016, p. 723).

In many countries such as China, advocacy and informing coexist in journalism practices. Journalism does not have to go to extremes. Fisher (2016) acknowledged the advocacy in journalism, listing some factors that identify the advocacy. At a macro-level, in his view, the political and economic environment help determine whether media organizations operate with autonomy or become the vehicle for partisan political interests. At the micro-level, the personal biases and beliefs of the reporter have an impact on the story selection and framing processes. At the organizational level, the commercial interests, partisan biases, editorial principles and resources of the media organization can also have an impact whether a story can be covered and which voices will be included.

Also, partisanship is another factor that cannot be neglected. Owned by the CCP government, People's Daily and China Daily have no reason to refuse the advocacy in their news production process. As a party media, they definitely advocate for the Party. So it's important to explore their news story frames to understand the advocacy they show.

It is noteworthy that advocacy and media's informing function are not contradictory at all. In 1975, Morris Janowitz used the concept of a continuum to illustrate where the majority of reporters fell between the perceived-to-be oppositional models of 'gatekeeper' and 'advocate' journalism. In his view, the "gatekeeper

orientation emphasized the search for objectivity and the sharp separation of reporting fact from disseminating opinion,” whereas the advocate reporter “must participate in the advocacy process” (Janowitz, 1975, p. 618–619).

This research study attempts to answer the following research questions:

RQ1- How did the People’s Daily and China Daily newspapers frame the US-China trade talks?

RQ2- What are the factors that influenced this kind of media framing?

Chapter 3.

Methodology

Although there is no universally acknowledged definition of news frame or framing, many conceptualizations have been employed pointing out some shared features. Scholars made great efforts to conceptualize framing and tried to develop framing theoretically and practically. Among the early scholars who examined it in communication studies were Erving Goffman (1974) who stressed that framing constructs social meaning, describing it as “schemata of interpretation” that allows individuals to “locate, perceive, identify, and label issues, events and topics” (cited in Nisbet, 2010, p. 46).

On the one hand, some scholars conceptualize framing as a tool to make selections and focus on how it is used. For example, the most famous definition of framing may be Entman’s: “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 53). Similarly, news frames are “conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information” (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 60). Further, Tankard, Hendrickson and Silberman et al. (1991) stress that framing aims to “suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (p. 11).

On the other hand, framing as a methodological approach is also widely used in case studies. Here, for example, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) referred to two approaches of news frame analysis: inductive and deductive. The inductive approach is often used in issue-specific case studies as the analysis attempts to find frames with “loosely defined preconceptions of [what constitutes] these frames” (p. 94). The strength of this approach is that it can detect the many possible ways in which an issue can be framed. However, because it takes much time in a single case, the inductive approach is more often used on small samples, and “can be difficult to replicate” (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, p. 94).

By contrast, a deductive approach involves "predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news" (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, p. 94). The researchers have to have a clear idea of what kinds of frames are likely to be in the news. This approach can make up all the limitations of the inductive approach: being "replicated easily," "cope with large samples" (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95). However, using generic frames can be challenging because many dominant frames might not be detected, but combining these two approaches can be useful. For instance, Van Gorp (2010) introduces a new approach of framing analysis including two phases: inductive phase and deductive phase. In his study, frames are present by framing devices and reasoning devices, demonstrating how the frame represents a certain issue (Van Gorp, 2010). Many other studies combined both inductive and deductive approaches to find media frames. For example, Tong's (2014) study tested the five "generic frames" borrowed from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) as well as found some specific media frames of environmental problems that have been used in investigative reports. Then, Kozman (2016) proposed a hybrid measurement tool that combines both approaches using issue-specific and generic frames in the media's coverage of the steroids issue in baseball.

Similarly, this study combines both inductive and deductive approaches. There are four frames in this study. For one thing, this study borrows predefined frames such as "conflict," "peace," "victim" and "attribute blame"; for another, this study also finds one issue-specific frame such as "worldwide economic influence" based on the preliminary analysis of the sample stories. In this study, I pre-analyzed 40 samples to determine what framework was used in these stories, which is explained in detail below. It is noteworthy that in this study, most generic frames are specified and explained since there is a specific topic in this study: the US and China trade talks.

3.1. Frames

1. War and Peace Frames. Galtung (1986) suggested peace versus war frames are viewed as two competing frames in covering conflicts and wars and articulated contours of the peace journalism concept. Similarly, Neumann and Fahmy (2012) discussed the war and peace journalism as "competing frames in covering conflicts" from macrolevel and microlevel (p. 178). Further, they also proposed the different characteristics of these two frames. For example, the peace journalists aim at

exploring "the formation of the conflict...giving voice to the conflict parties, and outlining goals to promote a possible win-win situation" (Neumann and Fahmy, 2012, p. 178). While according to Lynch & Galtung (2010), the war journalism "is generally reduced to a zero-sum game with only one winner in the end" (cited in Neumann and Fahmy, 2012, p. 178). Besides, war journalism often focuses on elites while peace journalists are "oriented toward people as sources of information and elite-people interactions" (Neumann and Fahmy, 2012, p. 178).

There are many scholars in the past decades who used war and peace frames to study conflicts in the world. For example, Fahmy and Eakin (2013) examined peace versus war journalism framing of an Israeli/Palestinian related incident by a content analysis of 156 online stories from three different news media and found that the war/peace narratives are differently used. In this study, the peace frame refers to the news stories showing a positive attitude to seek ways to improve the trade relationship between the two countries or to improve the economic situations in both countries. For example, positive signs and opportunities are mentioned in stories to emphasize this frame. The war frame emphasizes the conflict between the US and China by depicting their trade relationship as "trade war," "trade distributes," "trade confliction," or "trade tension." Before the formal analysis, this study did a pre-analysis of 40 samples to figure out what frames are used in these stories, and it is found that the peace and frames are the most used frames among the sample stories analyzed.

2. Victim Frame. In Mylonas' (2012) study of the EU's economic crisis in 2012, he uses a "narcissist" frame which "stresses national unity between German people and German businesses, while both are framed as 'victims'" (p. 657). Inspired by Mylonas' frame, in this study, the "victim frame" aims to find stories framing either the whole nation or their people of both countries as victims in this trade talks issue by stressing the negative consequences and troubles caused by this potential conflict between the US and China.

3. Attribute Blame Frame. When studying the framing practices and global economic justice, Pyles (2009) cited Staggenborg's (2005) words to refer to a concept of frame from a social movement perspective: "Frames are 'ways of presenting issues that identify injustices, attribute blame, suggest solutions, and inspire collective action'" (p.74). Similarly, in this study, the "attribute blame frame" addresses all direct blame to

the US government from China's position and the opposite. For example, some stories blame the US government of breaking the rule and ignoring the current world's economic order.

4. Worldwide Economic Influences Frame. In order to identify all possible frames, this study also uses the inductive approach based on Van Gorp's (2010) procedures of analysis. He used the concept of "frame package" to help find out the inductive frames. As he said, "Frame packages gradually take place during the process of simultaneously collecting, coding and analyzing texts" (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 93). He also proposed a detailed theory to inductive coding containing three coding procedures: open coding, axial code and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990 as cited in Van Gorp, 2010), which are "not necessarily sequential but instead are interactive" (p. 93).

Following his steps, first, this study collects all news stories on both news websites. Second, I randomly selected 20 sample news stories respectively (40 in total) and open coded the texts by relying on grounded theory. To do an open coding means that "texts are analyzed without the use of a predefined coding instrument." It is noteworthy that the different elements of the strategical indicators that may influence the readers' interpretation of the text (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 94). For example, "The US-China trade war and its tariff-counter-tariff style of negotiation are impacting not just the Chinese or US businesses but also companies from many other countries as well" is a choice made by the journalist to stress the impact on "many other countries" instead of the US and China.

Next step is to arrange the codes around "axes" of meaning, which means to "look patterns of devices by linking them to overarching ideas" (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 95). Different from the second step whose analysis is made for each separate text, in the third step "similarities, differences, and contrasts between the devices are indicated and reduced to dimensions" (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 95). From the example cited in the last paragraph, the coded elements could result in one dimension, namely, the worldwide impact of the US and China trade talks issue.

Finally, I sorted out the codes using a frame matrix. Each row represents a frame package, and the column entries refer to the central reasoning and framing devices (Van

Gorp, 2010). According to what I find above, I named the inductive frame as Worldwide Economic Influences Frame.

In general, in the inductive process of this study, I found that there are many stories mentioning that the US trade relationship has both positive and negative economic influences on many other countries such as the EU, Japan, South Korea and Thailand. For example, a story mentions that the EU worry about becoming the "sacrifice" of the US-China trade relationship. Another story suggests the US-China trade conflict put South Korea into a dilemma. Therefore, the "worldwide economic influence frame" is added to the frame matrix.

3.2. Frame Matrix

According to the statement above, I listed the frame items of each frame and made a frame matrix (Table 1, see in Appendix).

The samples are collected through the People's Daily online archive (<http://data.people.com.cn/>) and the official website of China Daily (<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/>). All news stories that include the exact phrase "the US-China trade" in their titles and published during 8th March to 31st October 2018 are selected in this study (n =25 on People's Daily and n =41 on China Daily).

3.3. Coding and Intercoder Reliability

Two independent coders, both graduate students in Journalism and fluent in English and Chinese, were involved in the coding including the author of this paper. Training sessions were conducted, and coding rules were discussed and agreed upon. As Riffe et al. (1998) argue, although scholars differ on the proportion of text for testing intercoder reliability, "10% or more seems to be a generally acceptable baseline" (cited by Peng, 2008, p. 370). For this study, it was decided to randomly select nine news stories among the total 66 news reports on the two news websites. Cohen's kappa and Scott's pi were used to calculate intercoder reliability in SPSS. Scott's Pi of this coding process is 0.63, which shows "substantial" agreement between the two coders according to Allen (2017). The Cohen's Kappa is 0.63, which shows "good" degree of agreement according to Salkind (2010).

Chapter 4.

Results

4.1. General Use of the Four Frames

After coding of all the samples, the use of the four frames is shown in Table 1. Both People's Daily and China Daily used all four frames. However, they had a different emphasis in terms of their frequencies. The differences can be seen in Chart 1.

Table 1. Frame Frequencies in the Two Media Outlets

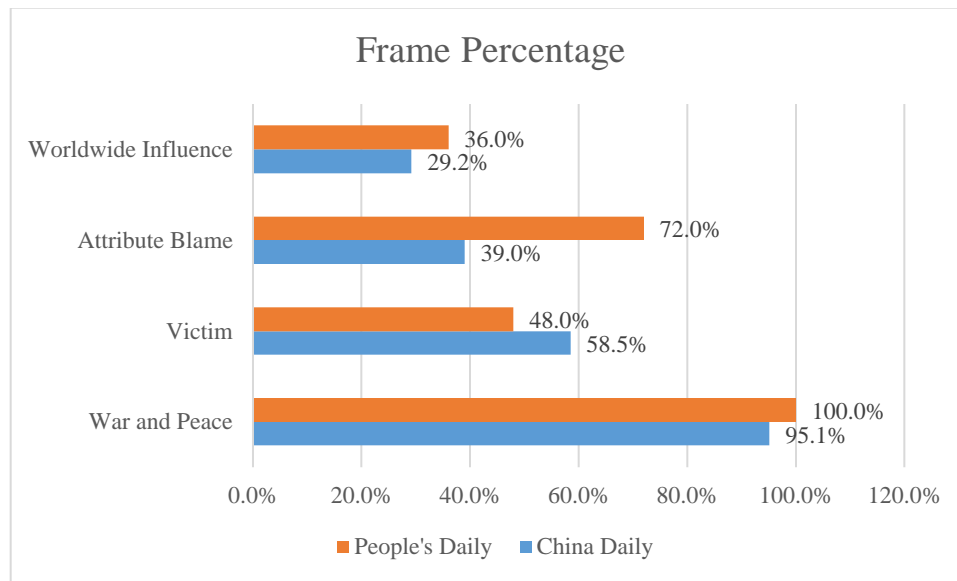
	People's Daily(N=25) Frequency(Percentage)	China Daily(N=41) Frequency(Percentage)
War and Peace	25 (100%)	39 (95.1%)
Victim	12 (48%)	24 (58.5%)
Attribute Blame	18 (72%)	16 (39%)
Worldwide Economic Influence	9 (36%)	12 (29.2%)

The war and peace frame is the most used frame among the four frames in this study, whether in People's Daily or China Daily with the percentage of 100% and 95.1% respectively. This is followed by the victim frame, which is used by 48% of the news stories on People's Daily and 58.5% of those on China Daily. At the same time, attribute blame frame is also widely adopted by the two media outlets, especially People's Daily. Specifically, 18 of the 25 news stories on People's Daily used this frame, which accounts for 72% of the total.

While China Daily used the victim frame (58.5%) more than People's Daily (48%) (see Table 2), People's Daily published 18 news stories that included the attribute blame frame, the percentage of which is almost twice as much as these of China Daily though the numbers of news stories from these two news media outlets are similar.

As for the worldwide influence frame, it is the least used frame. Only 36% of People's Daily's news stories and 29.2% of China Daily's news stories mentioned worldwide influences.

Chart 1. Frame Percentages in the Two Media Outlets



4.2. Specific Frequencies of Each Frame

4.2.1. War and Peace Frame

A large number of the news stories on People’s Daily and China Daily used the war and peace frames, which is the most frequently used frame among the four frames in this study. Generally, the frequency of using war frame is much higher than that of peace frame, especially on People's Daily, which shows that the two Chinese media still hold a relatively negative attitude towards the trade talks between the US and China. At the same time, however, there are also several news stories talking about the positive side of the trade relationship between the two countries, suggesting that China doesn’t give up to solve this trade “dispute” peacefully.

Table 2. Specific Frame Frequency of Each Frame

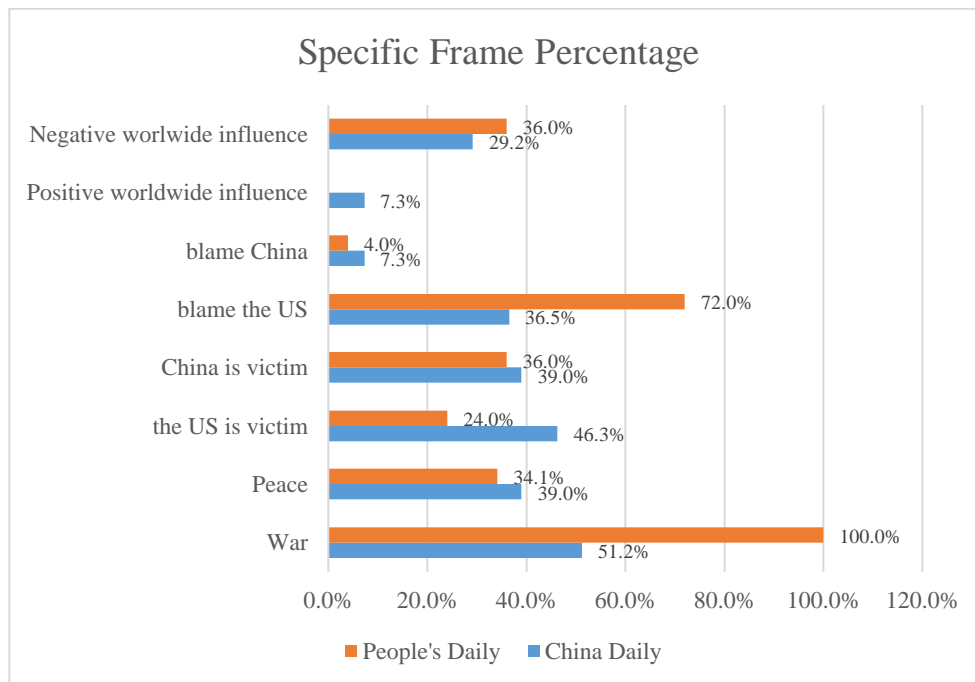
		People’s Daily Frequency (Percentage)	China Daily Frequency (Percentage)
War and Peace	War	25 (100%)	21 (51.2%)
	Peace	14 (34.1%)	16 (39%)
Victim	The US	6 (24%)	19 (46.3%)
	China	9 (36%)	16 (39%)
Attribute Blame	The US	18 (72%)	15 (36.5%)
	China	1 (4%)	3 (7.3%)
Worldwide Economic Influence	Positive	0 (0%)	3 (7.3%)
	Negative	9 (36%)	12 (29.2%)

Specifically, in war and peace frame, the war frame was universally used in both news media, while only a comparatively small number of news stories adopted the peace frame with the percentages of 34.1% and 39% respectively (See Table3). In other words, almost all the news stories describe the US trade talks as two opposite sides by using phrases such as "the US-China trade war," "the US-China trade dispute." Even though some news stories mainly focused on the positive signs or the resolutions to the trade issue, they also admit that the US-China trade talks are "disputes." It is noteworthy that 100% of People's Daily's news stories used the war frame, which shows a strongly negative attitude to the relationship between the US and China.

4.2.2. Victim Frame

The victim frame is another relatively much-used frame by the two news media outlets (about 50% on both media outlets). Compared with People's Daily, China Daily has slight differences in using the victim frame due to its different target audiences.

Chart 2. Specific Frame Frequency of Each Frame



Specifically, both People's Daily and China Daily published some news stories to illustrate the losses of China and the US. However, as Table 3 shows, People's Daily further emphasized China as the victim (36%) rather than the US (24%); while on the

contrary, China Daily talked more about the loss for the US (46.3%), especially in its coverage. More news stories from China Daily (26.8%) balanced the reports between the loss for both sides compared with People's Daily (12%).

4.2.3. Blame Frame

The first big difference in the percentage of frames between the two media outlets is the attribute blame frame.

As Table 3 shows, both People's Daily and China Daily attributed blame to the US firmly (72% on People's Daily and 36.5% on China Daily), while few of their news reports blamed China (4% and 7.3% respectively). Though a few news stories mentioned blaming China from the perspective of the US, they will directly refute this claim in the same article. It is noteworthy that although there are much more news reports blaming the US than blaming China on both media outlets, the percentage of China Daily (72%) is much smaller than that of the People's Daily (36.5%).

4.2.4. Worldwide Economic Influence Frame

In addition to the above three frames, there are a small number of reports using the worldwide influence frame. This frame is the least used one by both People's Daily and China Daily, with the percentages of 36% and 29.2% respectively. However, this is also a vital frame which cannot be ignored.

All the nine news stories from People's Daily stressed the negative worldwide influences of the US and China trade talks. For example, some stories mentioned the EU, South Korea and French might be involved in the potential trade conflict between the US and China. Though China Daily also mentioned positive influences such as the positive signs of the trade relationship between two countries, the percentage of news reports focused on negative influences is (29.2%) which is much higher than that of positive ones (7.3%) (see Table 3).

Chapter 5.

Discussion

This study analyzes 66 news stories selected from People's Daily and China Daily. Through both inductive and deductive approaches, four frames are adopted in this study -war and peace frames, victim frame, blame frame and worldwide economic influence frame. To answer the first research question on how People's Daily and China Daily frame the US-China trade talks and the differences between them, the study finds that both of the two news media outlets tend to frame the US-China trade talks mostly using war and peace frames (100% and 95.1% respectively). There are also a small number of news reports on both news media outlets using worldwide economic influence frame. Regarding the attribute blame frame, on both news websites, more news reports blame the US (72% and 36.0% respectively) while few of them focus on China (4.0% and 7.3% respectively). Apart of these similarities, People's Daily and China Daily also show differences regarding the attribute blame frame as well as the victim frame. To be more specific, though People's Daily and China Daily both have more news reports attributing blame to the US compared with those attribute blame to China, China Daily has a smaller percentage of news reports (36.5%) than People's Daily (72%). Besides, China Daily has more news reports framing the US as victim than People's Daily. In brief, the precise differences between the two outlets that are further mentioned above in the results section show that though China Daily and People's Daily are both Chinese outlets, they remain slightly different in the way news is framed towards the trade talks. This is an interesting finding that is linked to the nature of global audience of English language news in contrast to Chinese news, and more details are provided below on the differences between the two outlets as part of answering RQ2.

To answer the second research question on what factors influence the two media's framing, this study finds that, in general, the two news media are both influenced by Marxist journalism in the context of Chinese media system. The Party principle in Marxist journalism made them show a strong advocacy feature.

Specifically, People's Daily stressed the function of positive publicity, boosting morale and motivating people; China Daily more worked as a public diplomacy tool. All

these functions can be found in Xi Jinping's guidance that is inspired by the principles of Marxist journalism.

As mentioned above, Xi Jinping emphasized a number of rules that Chinese journalists should abide by, which include: "raise high the banner [of Marxism-Leninism], direct [proper] guidance [of public opinion], focus on the central tasks [of the Party], serve the big-picture, unite the people, encourage high morale, spread public morals, create cohesion, clear up fallacies, distinguish between truth and falsehood, join China and the outside, connect with the world" (Bandurski, 2019). It is an extension of Marxist Journalism which highly generalizes the role of Chinese news media (as cited in Bandurski, 2016). In this context, it is undeniable that news stories on People's Daily and China Daily are deeply influenced by of the principles of Marxist journalism. This study reveals that how the news reports of the two media outlets was highly in line with Xi's thoughts and guidance regarding the role of Chinese media from three perspectives: adhering to Party principle, keeping positive publicity, boosting morale and motivating the people, and working as public diplomacy tool.

All the three functions are rooted in Marxist journalism. Here I will specifically explain how People's Daily and China Daily are influenced by these guidelines.

The Party principle is the fundamental principle and the quintessence of Marxist Journalism with Chinese characteristics (Ji & Ye, 2018). Strengthening the party's leadership with journalism is a point repeatedly emphasized by Xi Jinping in his recent speeches on journalism. In his public address in 2016, he put forward the three principles for Chinese news media, and the first is to "adhere to the party's leadership"(Zheng, 2018, p. 6). Xi also pointed out, "the media sponsored by the party and the government are the publicity positions of the party and the government, and must be surnamed the party." Similarly, he also called on party committees at all levels to consciously assume "political responsibility and leadership responsibility" (Zheng, 2018, p. 6).

As the "mouthpiece" of the Chinese government and the CCP, regarding the trade talks between China and the United States, both of the two Chinese media are highly in line with the attitude of the Chinese government and the Party. For example, People's Daily's news stories tend to frame China as the victim (36%) by describing the

US hegemonic "bullying," which may be more conducive to putting China in a higher moral ground. Accordingly, a series of tariff increases in the US has been portrayed as "injustice."

The Party principle can also be seen from the use of war and peace frames. Most news reports frame the trade talks between the US and China using the war frame, while a few news stories also used peace frame. In short, the position they highlighted was exactly similar to the stance of the spokesman of the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs regarding the trade relationship between the two countries, stating that China "does not want, but is not afraid to fight a trade war" ("Review of China-US Economic and Trade friction-Xinhua", 2018).

In China, all work of the Party's news media must "increase their consciousness of keep in line with the Party, maintaining a high level of uniformity with the Party in ideology, politics and action" ("Always maintain a high degree of consistency with the CPC Central Committee", 2014). In other words, when the government's attitude changes, the news media are supposed to change their coverage tone and lead the public to change their attitude and opinion.

Therefore, after China sent a delegation to consult with the US on May 19 and issued a joint statement saying that "China and the US have reached a consensus not to fight a trade war," China Daily published five articles using peace frame, seeking positive solutions to improve the trade talks between the US and China.

Similarly, while most stories on the worldwide influence frame are negative, there are also a few news stories on China Daily (7.3%) referring to the worldwide positive influence of the improvement US-China trade conflicts. It is noteworthy that this is in line with the use of peace frame. After the easing of trade relations between China and the US, the overall tone of the reports on China Daily was quickly adjusted to being positive and friendly.

It is obvious that the two Chinese media are both deeply influenced by the Party principle and are highly in line with the Chinese government, reflecting the Chinese government and the Party's will and attitude.

Though both the People's Daily and China Daily adhere to the Party principle, they show a lot of differences in framing the US-China trade talks. In general, People's Daily aims to keep positive publicity in mainland China and boost morale and motivate the people, while China Daily works as a public diplomacy tool targeting English speaking audiences.

In this regard, Marxist journalism pays much attention to news media's function of publicity (Lin & Zhi, 2017). Keeping positive publicity is well executed by People's Daily. Compared with China Daily, People's Daily mainly aims at mainland Chinese audiences, so it is understandable that it focuses more positive publicity alone. This can be seen from its overarching use of victim frame as well as the attribute blame frame. As can be seen in Table 3, 72% of the news stories on People's Daily attributed blame to the US, while only one report (4%) mentioned the blame on China by the US.

In its news reports, People's Daily suggested that the measures taken by China are just "a forced counterattack" and it was the US that broke the international deal first. Therefore, after framing China as the victim of "bullying," it seems to be more reasonable for the People's Daily to attribute blame to the US. By showing a clear position, People's Daily tried to blame the US and justify the actions taken by the Chinese government. In addition to the overt blame, implicit blame can also be found in the worldwide economy influence frame.

Most worldwide influence mentioned in the samples in this study is negative, which mainly suggested that the "trade war" between the US and China would damage the economy of other countries like Thailand, South Korea and the EU. Combined with the attribute blame frame, the worldwide influence frame could be seen as a kind of indirect blame, condemning the failure of trade talks between the US and China (especially the US) brought disaster to other countries and regions in the world.

Besides, Xi also demand news media to try their best to keep positive publicity, boosting morale and motivating the people. As Xi said in his speech in 2016, media should "sing the main melody, transmit positive energy", so people could "derive spiritual strength" from news media like People's Daily (as cited in Bandurski, 2016).

Therefore, People's Daily also has some news reports framing the US as a victim. Facing to the potential "trade war" between China and the US, People's Daily,

representing the voice of the Party and the government, cannot blindly emphasize the negative impact on China which may worry the people and influence the national confidence. By reporting the losses of the US caused by the “trade war,” People’s Daily conveyed the message that “both China and the US have been injured by the ‘trade war,’” which could boost morale at home and send a signal of reconciliation to the US abroad.

However, for China Daily, the situation is not the same. As an English language news media, China Daily is influenced by Xi’s thoughts and Marxist Journalism in a different way.

Since Xi Jinping came to power in 2012, China has paid more attention to the external communication power of the Chinese media. In order to strengthen the discourse power, Xi put forward an international communication strategy of “telling a good Chinese story” and use media as a public diplomacy tool. (“Tell the story of China So that the World Can Better Understand China-Xinhua”, 2018).

Also, Xi told media groups to make use of new media's edge in publicity with innovative concepts, content and methods, amplify their voices on the international stage, and build flagship media groups with strong global influence (“China's Xi underscores CPC's leadership in news reporting”, 2019). As Xi says in Remarks to Commemorate the 30th Anniversary of the People’s Daily Overseas Edition:

“We can gather our experiences, utilize our advantages and work in a spirit of innovation, using methods that overseas readers enjoy and accept, and language that they can understand, to explain the China story, to transmit China’s voice, to work hard to become a bridge and belt to create mutual trust and unite strengths. By doing so, China could strengthen the international transmission capacity, enhance international discourse power” (as cited in Bandurski, 2016).

As the biggest English news media of China, there is no doubt that China Daily is one of the critical media outlets to “tell a good Chinese story” and one of the most important public diplomacy tools.

Compared with People’s Daily, China Daily is a more international media outlet that needs to be more objective and neutral so that it can be accepted by more

audiences and build up its global reputation. For example, though the percentage of news stories condemning China is also very small (7.2%), China Daily had less (36.5%) news stories blaming the US than People's Daily (72%).

In terms of victim frame, while People's Daily put more emphasis on framing China as a victim, China Daily has more articles depicting the US industry as a victim. In particular, five news reports highlighted the harm and negative impact of the US-China "trade war" on California's soybean industry. For example, in the report titled "Californian Farmers Worry about Future Loss Amid US-China Trade Dispute," China Daily reported an individual American bean farmer who worried about the "trade war" and hoped the trade relationship between the US and China return to normal. This is because, China Daily, as an English newspaper, is aimed at Western readers and overseas Chinese. Xi noted, "Where the readers are, that is where publicity reports must extend their tentacles" (as cited in Bandurski, 2016). Therefore, targeting foreign readers, China Daily has to close the distance to the American readers.

Besides, the worldwide influence frame can also be seen as an implicit warning and possibly a way to present the wish for a peaceful settlement of the "trade war." This approach is frequently used by news reports: showing the author's opinion by citing other sources so that the report could look more "objective" and "neutral."

To sum up, we can see that People's Daily, as the largest party newspaper in China, is firmly carrying out the instructions of the party and the government and keeping positive publicity which explains the kind of framing we found in this study. In terms of the number of reports, People's Daily did not strike a good balance between the views of the two sides involved but instead supported China's position. A small number of reports mentioned the views of the US. Further, regarding the content of the report, different from the principle of objectivity and neutrality advocated by Western news media, People's Daily clearly expressed China's condemnation of the US. Under the guidance of Marxist Journalism, People's Daily well completed its duty as the "mouthpiece" of the party and the government.

On the other hand, China Daily's coverage is different. As a news media under the leadership of the Party, China Daily has been in line with the Chinese government in terms of its overall position and general direction. As Xi noted, "Domestic news reports

must abide by correct guidance, and international news reports must also abide by correct guidance” (cited in Bandurski, 2016). For example, there are more news reports blaming the US than those blaming China. However, in specific reports, China Daily tried to keep a balance between China and the US. For example, regarding war and peace frames, the percentages of war and peace frames are similar. In terms of the victim frame, the percentage of reports framing China as the victim and that of framing the US industry as the victim are also similar. Therefore, it can be seen that China Daily seems to be more balanced than People's Daily, mainly because it uses this publication as a public diplomacy tool rather than positive publicity inside the current Chinese media system.

Chapter 6.

Conclusion

This study collected all the news reports whose titles contain “the US-China trade” published on People’s Daily (N=25) and China Daily (N=41) for the period between 8th March to 31st October 2018 and analyzed them using framing analysis. To find proper frames, this study adopted both inductive and deductive approaches and listed four frames: war and peace frames, victim frame, attribute blame frame and worldwide influence frame. Each of the frames contains a few specific questions in order to precisely identify the frames. After the coding process, this study displayed the frequency and percentage of each frame and visualized some of the percentages in charts and tables.

Through framing analysis, this study finds that both People’s Daily and China Daily advocate for the Chinese government and party, maintaining China’s image.

This kind of advocacy is closely related to the Chinese media system. As the party-controlled media, People’s Daily and China Daily are still firmly safeguarding the will of the Party and the state, conveying the ideas of the CCP and carrying out the instructions of the government. In countries where the news media are dependent on the government and finances of individuals, Waisbord (2008) said it was ‘unthinkable that journalism is anything but advocacy journalism’ (p. 374).

In the US-China trade consultations, the media were highly consistent with the attitude of the Chinese government and played a role both at home and abroad. On the one hand, they publicized the legitimacy of China in the trade war and condemned the US in order to boost the morale and motivate the public. On the other hand, they actively sought the possibility of peaceful settlement of trade disputes and tried to stand in the position of the American people, striving to shape China's image of "new major country" and safeguard China's national reputation and national interests, which all correspond with what Xi once mentioned... “showing China's good image as a builder of world peace, a contributor to global development and a defender of the international order” (“Tell the story of China So that the World Can Better Understand China-Xinhua”, 2018).

There are still some limitations to this study. For example, it is important to note that the observations presented in this study are not intended for generalization beyond the People's Daily and China Daily websites. In a future study, more Chinese news media outlets could be incorporated. It is also meaningful to analyze a few American news media to know how they frame the US-China trade talks and do a comparative study between Chinese media and American media to see how different their news reports are towards the same topic. With the increasing globalization and conglomeration of the news industry, further investigation of how news outlets are influenced by their media system and specific media thoughts appears to be a fruitful area of academic inquiry.

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Appendix

Frame Matrix

Frames	Frame Items
War and Peace	<p>Does the story reflect a disagreement between parties/ individuals/ groups of the US and China?</p> <p>Does the story refer to winners and losers?</p> <p>Does the story negatively describe the US-China trade talks as "conflict," "dispute," "war," "tension," etc. ?</p> <p>Does the story mention the desire to talk with the other country?</p> <p>Does the story refer to the appeal to mitigate the relationship between the two countries?</p> <p>Does the story refer to positive signs in the trade relationship between the US and China?</p>
Victim	<p>Does the story describe the governments/ groups/ individuals in either the US or China as victims?</p> <p>Does the story refer to the repercussions caused by the trade issue in the US and China?</p>
Attribute Blame	<p>Does the story blame the US government, organizations, groups or individuals for this trade issue?</p> <p>Does the story suggest that the US government, organizations, groups or individuals break the laws, rules or deals?</p> <p>Does the story refer to trade injustice?</p>
Worldwide Economic Influence	<p>Does the story refer to the influences caused by the US- China trade relationship in other specific countries?</p> <p>Does the story generally refer to the influences caused by the US- China trade relationship in the world?</p>