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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to examine whether articles covering countries with different levels of proximity and relations to the U.S. would be framed differently in American news media. In particular, this study employs the Linguistic Category Model, a tool for measuring language abstractness.

This study incorporates scholarship from mass communication, international relations and linguistics. The literature review discusses international news coverage by American reporters and journalists; past scholarship examining linguistics in news text, including linguistic relativity theory and critical discourse analysis; and framing literature, focusing specifically on the framing building process and international news frames. After, the Linguistic Category Model is introduced, which is used to code for language abstractness.

Two constructed weeks of news, encompassing a sample size of 960, were coded for their LCM frame and most important country discussed. Seven proximity and interaction country characteristics were applied to each article based on most important country discussed: distance, trade flow, language, military aid, regime type, development and conflict. The LCM frame was the dependent variable, while the country characteristics were the independent variable.

Results show that the variables regime type, development and conflict were most related to changes in the LCM frame. While increased polity and development decreased language abstractness, increased conflict increased language abstractness. One interaction (conflict + development) included in the model was also influenced LCM frame. Implications of this are discussed, and the LCM frame is identified as a discursive microframe.

Language Abstractness as Discursive Microframes: LCM Framing in American Coverage of
International News

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State University of New York at Geneseo, 2013

Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of
Master's of Arts in Media Studies

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Chapter 1: Introduction

With 195 sovereign nations (United States Department of State, 2014) and almost 7 billion people (United States Census Bureau, 2015) to cover, international news reporting play a unique role in the United States of America as a window to the world. After all, international news is a lens through which average citizens learn about their world and the important stories occurring outside of the U.S. (Anand, Tella & Galetovic, 2007). Political actors—and their decisions—are also often influenced by international news coverage (Baum & Potter, 2008; Van Belle, 2003) view nations. Needless to say, international news coverage continues to shape our perception of the international system as American and global citizens.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine linguistically-constructed frames in international news coverage. Specifically, the study analyzes whether countries with different levels of relatedness to the United States will be framed more abstractly by American news media. The Linguistic Category Model (LCM), a technique for coding adjectives and verbs, is employed. A content analysis of 960 articles is collected and analyzed through several regression models.

Although research on international news media framing is plentiful, few studies expand beyond analyses of issue frames. Indeed, recent scholarship in this area has tended to focus on frames specific to individual events such as the Egyptian revolution (Golan, 2013; Hamdy & Gomma, 2012), national elections (Schuck et al., 2013), and cross-national migration and immigration (Figenschou & Thorbjørnsrud, 2015; Kim, Carvalho, David & Mullins, 2011). This study built upon framing literature by studying frames based on linguistic choices, rather than frames based on events or individual nations, and by examining whether relatedness to the United States influences how a country's event is framed in American news media. A study of

linguistically-driven frames is inherently interdisciplinary; therefore, this thesis incorporated scholarship from linguistics, mass communication, journalism and international relations.

Significance of International News in the United States

International news in the United States serves a variety of purposes. Not only are news media the public's primary source of information about international events and foreign countries (Anand, Tella & Galetovic, 2007; Baum & Potter, 2008), but news coverage influences elite actors who make foreign policy decisions (Lim, Barnett & Kim, 2008; Van Belle, 2000). Such an effect suggests that international news provides saliency cues to both public and elites (Baum & Potter, 2008; Van Belle, 2003). This study contributes to previous scholarship in this area by focusing on how relatedness (i.e., proximity and interaction) to the U.S. influences a country's framing in American news media (Sheafer, Bloom, Shenhav & Segev, 2013).

Framing Theory

This study applies news framing theory to U.S. news coverage of international stories. Framing refers to the process by which certain aspects of a media message are made more salient than others (de Vreese, 2012; Entman, 2003). This so-called framing process ultimately creates news frames that are employed by journalist and embedded in news stories (Baum & Groeling, 2009). Through frames, media creators highlight attributes of a story believed to be important (Yarchi, Wolfsfeld, Sheafer & Shenhav, 2013). News frames also reveal what journalists find highly relevant (Boykoff, 2012), connect existing relevant schemas (Entman, 2010), and shape how media consumers understand information (Druckman, 2001; Rivenburgh, 2011). News frames also help to contextualize and better explain complex events to consumers (Otto & Meyers, 2012; Wilhoit & Weaver, 1981). Recognizing the significance of international news

media in shaping our worldview, this study focused on how varying lexical patterns can be employed to frame countries differently.

Previous research has examined issue and event significance in international news coverage by measuring how event-specific frames affect how international events are covered (Kirat & Weaver, 1985; Wilson, 2013). This study deviates slightly from such literature by employing The Linguistic Category Model (LCM), a tool for measuring concrete and abstract language (Coenen, Hedeboom & Semin, 2006a), to analyze international news frames instead of focusing on frames within one international news story. The Linguistic Category Model is a coding tool which measures language abstractness in terms of verb, adjective and adverb use. LCM has also been applied to other areas of communication, most notably in interpersonal communication and stereotyping research (Gorham, 2006; Maass, Salvi, Arcuri & Semin, 1989; Menegatti & Rubini, 2013). By using the Linguistic Category Model to understand frames, this study will also examine frames in a unique, linguistically-driven way.

Thesis Overview

This thesis has six chapters. Chapter one introduces the materials, describes the study and explains the significance. Chapter two is an overview of literature significant to this thesis, which incorporates scholarship from many fields; most notably, in mass communication, political science and linguistics scholarship. First, U.S. news media coverage of international events and the role of American journalists in shaping international news are discussed, including literature on country visibility and its relationship to international news flow. Then, the relationship between linguistics and news media production is discussed, incorporating theoretical linkages from linguistic relativity and critical discourse analysis. Finally, the researcher reviews

scholarship on news framing theory, focusing on the frame building process and frames specific to international news coverage.

Chapter three discusses the linguistic framing device this thesis analyzes: the linguistic category model (LCM). LCM was employed as a tool to language abstractness when covering different countries. Previous literature in sociology, semantics and mass communication has found that LCM can provide cues about the way people perceive out-groups. In particular, this chapter focuses on the use of LCM to study news texts.

Chapter four explains the methodology for this thesis. Using a content analysis, 960 articles in two constructed weeks were analyzed for their degree of language abstractness through LCM. This chapter also discusses which news media outlets are analyzed, and the coding protocol for the study.

Chapter 5 presents and analyzes the data, concentrating on the relationship between how related a country is to the United States and the framing of that country's events in U.S. news media. Eight research questions proposed in Chapter 2 will be tested and discussed, and three multiple regression models are developed to better understand which country characteristics most significantly influences LCM frames.

Chapter 6 broadly discusses implications of these results. One significant finding is that developing countries, countries with high levels of conflict and autocracies are framed more abstractly compared to developed countries, conflicts with low levels of conflict and democracies. Another finding is the description of language abstractness as a *discursive microframe* (DMF).

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis. This includes limitations of the current study and areas for future research related to discursive microframes and framing of countries.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework behind this study. Scholarship in news media and mass communication largely drives this research, although a significant amount of literature is drawn from political science, linguistics and international relations. First, this thesis will discuss the state of international news coverage by U.S. news outlets, including the significance of the United States in the international flow of news information. The construction of American international news is discussed, including the use of parachute journalism to save money and the visibility (or lack thereof) of developing or small countries. Second, the author discusses recent literature analyzing linguistics in news texts. In particular, linguistic relativity and critical discourse theory are discussed in relation to this thesis. Third, this chapter provides an overview of news framing theory and frames employed in international news coverage. More specifically, this section will discuss the news framing building process, the relevance of linguistics in frame analysis, and how framing can reinforce international norms.

Finally, the relationship between country characteristics and framing are discussed, focusing on the effect close or far country proximity and interactions may have on U.S. news framing. Eight research questions are proposed; these questions ask whether different types of country proximity influence the linguistic framing of countries in U.S. international news media coverage.

International News in U.S. Media

The significance of international reporting in the United States has been well noted in social science fields (Balmas & Sheaffer, 2013; Himelboim, Chang & McCreery, 2010; Robinson, 2001; Sabir, 2013; Wu, 2000). Previous studies have shown that international news coverage can impact both public opinion (Otto & Meyers, 2012) and elite action (Chang,

Southwell, Lee & Hong, 2012; Choi, 2009). Baum and Potter (2008) even go so far as to argue, “media influence nearly every aspect of the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy” (p. 80); this is unsurprising as most people depend solely on news media for information about other countries (Anand et al, 2007).

International news coverage is unique from other U.S. news reporting in several ways. First, international news coverage depends on only a few elite sources (Horvit, Gade & Lance, 2013) such as wire services (Saleem, 2007) and government officials (Choi, 2009). Secondly, coverage of international events is expensive compared to other news (Curran, Coen, Aalberg & Iyengar, 2012). Recent literature focused largely on the issue of cost, as many traditional news media companies have had to cut back on foreign correspondents and close international bureaus. While citizen journalism now plays a role in the dissemination of news through social media—one well-studied case of this is the Arab Spring (Bruns, Highfield, & Burgess, 2013; Gillespie, 2013)—in most cases, traditional news media coverage are still perceived as more credible and trustworthy (Chung, Nam, & Stefanone, 2012; Moturu & Liu, 2011).

Despite the importance of presenting international news to American audiences, many scholars and professionals have lamented the decline of international news coverage, both in terms of quality and quantity (Horvit et al., 2013; Saleem, 2007). In particular, newspapers that have traditionally been on the forefront of international news reporting (e.g., *New York Times* and *Washington Post*) have recently closed several foreign bureaus, and some newspapers have completely eliminating the use of foreign correspondents (Edna, 2011). Scholars have attributed the decline of international coverage to a lack of interest (Hahn & Lönnendonker, 2009), as American publics may no longer be interested in international stories unless it is directly related to national security (Kohut & Dimock, 2013). Another factor may be the previously noted cost,

especially expenses related to foreign correspondents or bureaus in other countries. Given diminishing funds for traditional news sources such as newspapers, it is unsurprising that among the first types of news coverage affected would be among the most expensive to produce (Curran et al., 2012; Utley, 1997). These developments could have chilling consequences on the presentation of international news in the future. As former foreign correspondent Roy Gutman said, “We’ve lost all these extra voices... So we’re losing the fabric of coverage” (Edna, 2011).

Scholars studying international news coverage have noted that American news coverage focuses on a limited number of countries (Sabir, 2013; Shoemaker & Reese, 2013), raising concerns about the balance of country representation in international reporting by U.S. news outlets. With this in mind, it is also important to examine the flow of news internationally and the role that the United States plays in the flow.

International news flow. International news flow theory hypothesizes that the flow of information travels from Western nations to the rest of the world (Swain, 2003; Watanabe, 2013). Scholars studying this flow have noted that not only are perspectives from developed countries are covered more frequently (Ojo, 2002), but countries such as the United States and United Kingdom are major providers of news to developing countries (Chang, Lau & Xiaoming, 2000; Wilke, 1987). One indication of this is the degree to which Western news wire services have provided stories to outlets around the world, resulting in an overrepresentation of certain perspectives in the flow (Segev, 2014; Vicente, 2013; Watanabe, 2013). As a result, non-Western voices are subdued, while Western news sources maintain their control and dominance over the dissemination of information. Although international news flow was initially studied offline, recent studies have found that this unbalanced flow is also prevalent online (Watanabe, 2013). For example, Himelboim and his colleagues (2010) identified only few, core countries that

dominated international news production. In their study, developing countries hyperlinked *to* many sources, but other nations did not link to developing or periphery countries. Therefore, periphery countries consumed much news from core and semi-periphery countries, but did not have the agency to produce information consumed by core nations.

This imbalance in international news flow is generally perceived to be negative or dangerous, as it implies some countries are creators of news content and others are simply consumers of news content. Keeping in mind that the flow of news also disseminates Western frames, this imbalance simultaneously reinforces hegemonic ideals and American dominance in the international system and silences voices from the Global South (van Dijk, 2013). Recent scholarship has applauded alternative international news sources, such as Al Jazeera (Powers & El-Nawawy, 2009; Seib, 2008) and Al-Arabiya (Wessler & Adolphsen, 2008), which deviated from traditional, Western perspectives and has provided some counter-flow of information (Muhtaseb & Frey, 2008). Despite such alternative sources, the United States has maintained dominance in the international flow of news, particularly among other developed nations (Ekeanyanwu, Kalyango Jr., & Peters, 2012).

The United States—a superpower in the international system—holds a key role in disseminating information and mediating the flow of news (Segev, 2008). Chang and his colleagues (2012) argued, “foreign news reporting in the United States is not simply a matter of presentation of events as they are; it represents a journalistic point of view, the American perspective on how foreign news should be covered” (p. 370). This unique function of American international news media suggests that international journalism is not simply a presentation of facts; journalists are expected to construct frames through which both American citizens and other news outlets interpret news stories. Furthermore, frames utilized by U.S. journalists have

been re-employed in other news media through cross-media frame building strategies (Farnsworth, Soroka & Young, 2010). As a result, the American perspective is reinforced throughout multiple media outlets, including those in other countries. This can have negative consequences, both in terms of limiting non-Western perspectives (Ojo, 2002), keeping rival voices down (Stone & Xiao, 2007) and reinforcing the structural flow of information from the Global North to the Global South.

Country visibility. The significance of country visibility in U.S. news media is well noted, as country visibility has been heavily associated with presumed newsworthiness (Jones, Aelst & Vliegenthart, 2013; Swain, 2003). Contrastingly, countries that are not visible in news media are not considered newsworthy (Sabir, 2013; Shoemaker & Reese, 2013), suggesting that news media cue the public about which countries are worthy of attention (Lim, Barnett & Kim, 2011; Wanta, Golan & Lee, 2004). This has both political and social implications. In terms of foreign policy, decreased country visibility could mean less international support and aid (Lim et al., 2008), while increased country visibility increases trade exports (Bayar & Schaur, 2014). Decreased visibility may also imply a lack of importance to international publics, reinforcing misconceptions about countries not covered in news media (Swain, 2003).

One area of scholarship with regards to country visibility has been the limited coverage of developing or non-Western nations, such as Africa (Golan, 2008). This coverage has tended not to take into account “social, political or economic contexts” (Swain, 2003, p. 146). As a result, countries poorly covered are often perceived negatively by audiences (Wanta, Golan & Lee, 2004), or are stereotyped through news texts (Fahmy, 2004; Korzenny, del Toro & Gaudino, 1987). One explanation for why certain countries are framed negatively or not covered

at all may be cultural proximity, as developing and non-Western countries are less proximate to countries like the England and the United States (Yarchi et al., 2013).

While there are many factors which influence the production of international news, this paper focused specifically on journalists and editors. Journalists and editors, as those most intimately involved with a news story, serve not only as gatekeepers of information, but presenters of news as well.

Journalists and editors of international news. A journalist covering foreign or international news must often make difficult choices about how best to cover a story for his or her news outlet. When discussing their own work, journalists perceive themselves to be both creators of news content and providers of information (Gravengaard, 2011). Often this involves decisions about contextualizing information in a way that makes sense to a large and diverse audience (Jerit, 2009). Decisions can include following journalistic and organizational routines, obtaining information from external sources, and making individual judgment calls. These routines may differ slightly from journalists who report on local or national issues, as foreign correspondents must often consider other factors (e.g., sources of information, “going native”) (Hahn & Lönnendonker, 2009).

One especially relevant journalistic routine in international news coverage is the domestication of international news media, whereby journalists and editors only select and write stories that are relevant to his/her home country’s audience (Clausen, 2004; Dai & Hyun, 2010). One can argue for the necessity of this practice, as “American correspondents are first and foremost *American* reporters, covering events and issues from a journalistic orientation to serve the American audience” (Chang et al., 2012, p. 371). Not only are journalists expected to write their stories with the intended audience (i.e., American consumers) in mind, but gatekeepers like

news editors often view international stories through an American-centric lens as Americans themselves. As a result, stories that may be important internationally are not covered in U.S. news media or are only framed from an American perspective (Alasuutari, Qadir, & Creutz, 2013; Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams & Trammell, 2005). For example, reporting on economic circumstances of foreign countries has traditionally been given a very low priority, despite significantly influencing one's understanding of growing economic powers such as China, Brazil or India (Chang et al, 2012). Even in coverage of conflict, news media focused only on stories the U.S. military were involved in (Hahn & Lönnendonker, 2009; Pauly, 2009).

Scholars that have interviewed gatekeepers or performed ethnographies of news spaces find that creators of international news content often balance many values on organizational, journalistic and social levels. For example, Cottle (2009) found journalists and editors often internalize standard of journalist integrity, the “bureaucratic necessity of ‘routine,’” (p. 3) and objectivity, but argued that these standards ultimately maintained elite perspectives and reinforced the use of elite sources in international news reporting. Interviewing foreign correspondents about their role in the changing media landscape, Archetti (2012) noted that journalists understood their role as “sense makers” of foreign information for the public, rather than as objective presenters of information. These studies suggest that gatekeepers often see their role as a mediator, balancing many considerations to provide the American public with the best possible news.

Another influence on international news is parachute journalism, a phenomenon quite different from newsgathering in other news beats.

Parachute journalism. The term “parachute journalism” is used in international news media research to describe when “international reporters are ‘dropped’ into areas of complicated

conflict; they work there a few days, and then pack up and leave” (Paterson, Andresen & Hoxha, 2012, p. 113). In interviews about their news role, parachute journalists viewed themselves as significant contributors to international news production, skilled in a particular type of news (e.g., international conflict and crisis news) rather than a country or area (Palmer & Fontan, 2007). Some scholars acknowledged the benefits of parachute journalism, noting that this practice has encouraged local news organizations to engage in global news reporting without having to maintain a correspondent (Erickson & Hamilton, 2006).

However, on a whole, research has criticized parachute journalism strategies for missing culturally relevant aspects of a news story (Tesfaye, 2014) or for inaccurate portrayals of geographic areas (Musa & Yusha’u, 2013). In particular, many have argued that parachute journalists lack knowledge of how to navigate the foreign areas they visit and would be unable to engage in meaningful journalism because they would not have contacts and on-the-ground sources (Cottle, 2009), resulting in an increased dependence on official sources (Macdonald, 2008) and decreased quality in international news coverage. Studying how such journalists navigate countries they visit, Paterson and his colleagues (2012) emphasized the difference between what kind of information parachute journalists wanted to cover and what information local fixers—individuals who help journalists navigate an area—wanted to provide. Specifically, local fixers emphasized stories about minority issues and economic problems, but journalists only wanted stories related to conflict: “I am interested to see blood and flash, shooting and war, revenge and turbulence. I am not here for celebrations” (a Russian reporter, as quoted in Paterson et al., 2012, p. 114-115).

It is important to understand the role that parachute journalism plays in creating and disseminating international news in the United States. Because news outlets have been closing

their foreign news agencies overseas (Archetti, 2012), fewer and fewer reporters are responsible for larger areas of space. However, it would be impossible to analyze international news coverage in American media without acknowledging that a vast majority of the information about the international system we consume is now derived from parachute journalists (Erickson & Hamilton, 2006). Not only is parachute journalism cheaper (Somaskanda, n.d.), but parachute journalism is an alternative to using correspondents from foreign nations who may “go native” or deviate from traditional American journalistic norms and organizational expectations (Hamilton & Jenner, 2004). Through parachute journalism, news organizations can maintain editorial control over the framing and coverage of international news stories, as on-the-ground reporters becomes more experienced with the norms of portraying a specific type of news story (e.g., conflicts) than on the culture of a nation.

Linguistics and News

Important to the study of news coverage is the role of linguistics and semantics, a branch of linguistics interested in meaning-making. The relationship between news media and linguistics is not new, as previous definitions of news frames have noted the significance of grammatical and linguistic decisions (Sambre, 2010) and word choice (Villar & Krosnick, 2011). Despite this, there is limited scholarship on news media in mass communication research that incorporates linguistic analysis (Borah, 2011).

One reason for the relatively small body of literature may be its methodological rigor; most studies incorporating linguistics employ a qualitative approach because of the difficulty of analyzing large amounts of text for many linguistic constructs (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). As a result, studies analyzing linguistic patterns in news content have employed more inductive and qualitative strategies, and study a variety of linguistic choices in a few articles. For example,

Viscido (2014) analyzed eight news articles from American and British sources; she found that linguistic choices provided cues about agency and power between actors and journalists. Those in control were portrayed as engaged and powerful through active verbs, while journalist employed more descriptive and less direct language when discussing participants.

While there is such a gap in literature, research in media sociology and media discourse analysis more frequently analyze linguistic patterns in news items (Baker et al, 2008; Barnard-Wills, 2011). Comparing the semantic distance between terms and the use of keywords in news tweets, Cho and Shin (2014) found that traditional news media differed linguistically from general Twitter discourse about strikes. While traditional Korean news media used keywords that framed media strikes as negative social issues, Twitter discourse provided greater framed variety and portrayed media strikes more positively. Bello (2014) employed a lexical data analysis strategy to analyze how newspapers built frames through word choice to portray one event differently. These studies provide a strong framework for understanding how issue frames and event-specific frames can be studied linguistically.

This study deviates slightly from previous literature by focusing on one linguistic aspect of a news story (language abstractness), as opposed to several. While this may not capture discourse holistically within a story, such an approach allows the author to better understand how one particular linguistic strategy may be employed broadly across multiple platforms.

Linguistic relativity. Important to the understanding of meaning and language is the theory of linguistic relativity. Originally proposed as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Hojjer, 1954), soft linguistic relativity argues that how language is structured influences its speakers' worldviews (Valchev, 2012; Weist, 2009). In one of his seminal pieces on linguistic relativity, Whorf (1956) argued that grammatical or linguistic differences reflected different types of

observations and evaluations made by individuals about the world they live in: “users of markedly different grammars and pointed by the grammars towards different types of observation and different evaluations of extremely similar acts” (p. 221). Subsequent studies have largely applied this to languages and the construction of meanings by cultures that use do not share the same languages but observe the same phenomenon, such as time and color (Miles, Tan, Nobel, Lumsden & Macrae, 2011). Linguistic relativity can also be understood within the broader theory of linguistic determinism, which posits that language structures human thought (Rashid, 2013).

Because language is used to communicate with one another, research incorporating linguistic relativity argues that media aid in the social construction of reality and help maintain that construction across a large, geographic area (Slobin, 2003; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). The consumption of media may not only reinforce the use of certain lexical patterns, but also the thought process behind the construction of language. While linguistic relativity literature originally focused on speakers of different languages, scholars have applied the logic of linguistic relativity to analyze linguistics in various corpora, including mass communication. For example, some scholars have studied the persuasiveness of speeches (de Landsheer, 1998, Fetzer & Bull, 2012) and advertisements (Kosolow, Shamdasani & Touchstone, 1994) through a linguistic relativity perspective. Studying a news corpus, Slobin (2000) argued that news media verbalize, or filter, news stories through the use of different lexicalization patterns. These lexicalization patterns placed news stories within a frame, causing media consumers to interpret the news story only through that perspective.

Critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides additional theoretical logic for the examination of news and linguistics. Unlike linguistic relativity, which is

interested in the significance of language in the meaning-making process, critical discourse analysis (CDA) focuses on the relationship between language and power (Vaara, Sorsa, & Palli, 2010; Weiss & Wodak, 2003). Originating from sociology, CDA analyzes text—or discourse—to find how hegemonic structures are maintained through discursive or linguistic choices. Both the creation of knowledge and the formation of social cognition are significant to CDA, as they would influence the creation of “socially constructed language practices” (Boje, Oswick, & Ford, 2004, p. 572) which reinforce hegemonic norms (Mason, 2012).

As a text, news discourse is unique compared to other texts analyzed through CDA. Because news media are expected to reach a wide audience, news discourse both employs and reinforces social knowledge and mental constructs (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). In other words, news media not only shape our understanding of different events, but they also reinforce perceptions of certain countries through the selection of words and descriptions. When applied repeatedly, these social representations create culturally shared knowledge, or schema, through which we understand the world. Schemas allow us to engage in shared knowledge, but also reinforce hegemonic structures within a society or culture (Feng, 2013).

Studies examining news media have often employed critical discourse analysis to understand how news constructs meaning through narratives, quotes, grammar and linguistics. Specifically, CDA studies have analyzed text through three levels of news discourse analysis: the linguistic microstructure, which includes grammatical features and word choice; the macrostructure, examining topics and themes of the news text; and superstructure, looking at the article as a whole in its presentation, summary text and body text (Feng, 2013; Fu-li & Lu, 2014; Heberle, 2000; Mosley, Hui & Joseph, 2005; Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes).¹ Joye (2003)

¹ Scholarship disagrees with who initially proposed this three-level system. Some literature notes it originated from van Dijk (1988), while others attribute it to Fairclough (1995).

employed this method when studying the 2003 SARS outbreak, and showed that Western media reproduced Euro-American-centric frames that portrayed developed nations as competent and Asian nations as overpowered by the disease (p. 20-22). Such framing maintained a sociocultural divide between those in power (e.g., the Global North) and those without power (e.g., the Global South). Combining corpus linguistics, a quantitative approach, and critical discourse analysis, Kim (2014) demonstrated that U.S. news media “divide the world into specific sets of countries, based on those countries’ political position towards the USA” (p. 240) Countries who shared similar opinions about the United States (e.g., North Korea and Pakistan) were collated in news text, and framed as separate from countries with political positions were closer to the United States. Shenhav, Rahat and Sheaffer (2012) tested the validity of CDA through their analysis of Israeli Government discourse; they found that more powerful countries and countries similar to Israel were mentioned more frequently by parliamentary members.

Journalist often make linguistic and word choices when engaging in the practice of news framing. Framing theory, a popular concept in mass communication scholarship is well equipped to explain how linguistic choices are embedded and consumed through American news media coverage of international events.

News Framing

One way frames are built is through linguistics choices that bridge schemas. Driven by the constructivist approach, in which “we give meaning by how we represent them—the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, [and] the images we produce” (Hall, 1997, p. 3), words become powerful tools used to construct news frames. Therefore, the words used to construct frames about international events may provide cues about how to understand a country or issue.

This paper employed news framing as its main theoretical background. News framing refers to the “process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation” (Entman, 2007, p. 164). Pan and Kosicki (1993) describe frames as comprised “of organized symbolic devices that will interact with individual agents’ memory for meaning construction” (p. 58). Because of its roots in both sociology and psychology (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009), news frames are wildly popular to study in many fields. As a result, framing theory also suffers from many operational and theoretical inconsistencies (D’Angelo, 2011; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). In recent years, almost anything in news media has been perceived as part of a frame (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2009). However, there are some consistencies in recent conceptual definitions about framing. In general, most definitions of framing have focused on the concept that frames use framing devices such as word choice (D’Angelo, 2002; Gitlin, 1980; Pan & Kosicki, 1993) and the selection of certain pieces of information (de Vreese, 2005; Entman, 1991) to reinforce cognitive schema applicable to the news story (David, Atun, Fille, & Monterola, 2011). Notably, a frame would only be effective if media consumers recognized the frame was applicable to the news story (Entman, Matthes & Pellicano, 2009).

Frames written by journalists in news media are called news frames. They differ from individual frames, which are cognitive schema people use to understand and bridge information (Scheufele, 1999). News frames allow journalists to make certain attributes about an issue more salient (Lecheler & deVreese, 2012) and help audiences interpret important issues discussed in news media (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). In fact, news frames can exert a “relatively substantial influence on citizens’ beliefs, attitudes and behaviors” (p. 19). For example, Schuck & de Vreese (2006), employing a content analysis and experiment to find and test frames,

showed that individuals with less political knowledge were more susceptible to news frames about EU enlargement. Fowler (2013) further contributed to the understanding of news frames by interpreting news routines and values, which aid in the construct frames, as stereotypes and “socially constructed pigeon-hole[s] into which events and individuals can be sorted” (p. 17).

Framing literature identifies three significant components of the news framing process: (1) frame building, (2) frame processing, and (3) the locus of cognitive effect (Castello & Montagut, 2010; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Research on frame building—sometimes referred to as frame production—has focused on the power of elites and citizens to promote certain frames during significant political news stories. For example, Entman’s (2003) cascading activation model argues that frames in foreign news reporting are proposed top-down, from the White House to government elites, to news media, and finally to the American public. Most research analyzing frame building has also focused on issue-specific frames (e.g., Brüggerman, 2014; Plotnick, 2012), which makes it difficult to “make any connections to the broader theoretical or conceptual issues of framing” (Borah, 2011, p. 256).

In frame processing literature, researchers examine how audiences interpret individual or multiple frames. This has involved examining how audiences internalize competing frames (Druckman, 2001; Hansen, 2007) and the repetitive use of one frame (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Studies of frame processing have often focused on whether audiences would perceive a specific issue or event favorably based on the frame embedded in a news text (e.g., Brantner, Lobinger, & Wetzstein, 2011; Igartua, Moral-Toranzo & Fernandez, 2011; Lecheler & de Vreese, 2012).

This brings us to the third area, focusing on the locus of effect. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), distinguishing frames from other concepts such as agenda-setting, argued that frames

depend on “underlying interpretive schemas that have been made applicable to the issue” (p. 14). The locus of effect would lie in the ability to activate that schema, rather than the creation of new information (Amadeo, 2007). In contrast, other models made issues salient without a pre-existing schema for that issue (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2009). Importantly, the strength of the framing effect depended not only on the saliency of the topic, but on how applicable the frame’s schema was to the describing the event. Because of its applicability, such an effect could have longer lasting effects than that of other models (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

Scholarship has also noted that frames and schemas are closely related in the framing process, which distinguishes framing from other concepts (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2009). In particular, repeated use of frames reinforces the connection between two existing schemas on a cognitive level (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010). Studying the salience of frames regarding political issues, Shen (2004) showed that the strength of framing effects was affected by individual differences. When individuals’ personal schemas were consistent with frames in news media, individuals were more likely to have frame-consistent thoughts after reading. Therefore, the strength of the framing effect increased when consistent with the individual’s schema. Furthermore, the applicability of frames to connect two schemas may require constant upkeep through repeated exposure (Baden & Lecheler, 2012).

Of particular significant to this thesis is literature on the frame building process. Given that the use of different frames to describe countries may not be coincidental or random, it is important to examine how the frame building process may influence the construction of these frames. In particular, this study focuses on the role of journalists and elites in influencing international news story frames.

Frame building. Frame building refers to the process by which frames are created, often through language, tone and other linguistic factors (Cho & Shin, 2013; Entman, 2007; Villar & Krosnick, 2011). Most frame building research stem from Scheufele's (1999) seminal piece, which identified three significant factors to frame building: personal beliefs, organizational pressures and elite interest. Brüggerman (2014) expanded on these factors, adding that both societal and transnational factors influenced the news frame building process.

Although there are many actors who influence the frame building process, journalists and editors are among the most significant. Because it is ultimately these gatekeepers who create, select and write news content, journalists and editors have the unique ability to either reinforce or reject framed promoted by elites (Reese & Lewis, 2009). Shoemaker and Reese (2013) identified framing not only as a process, but as a journalistic routine employed to contextualize news stories. By examining framing as a routine, rather than an arbitrary process, frame building is understood as a relatively predictable procedure, with a structure that journalists employ consciously and subconsciously (Kitzinger, 2007; Norris, Kern & Just, 2003). Important to this procedure is the selection of framing devices, which “carry” a frame through the use of certain words, phrases, grammatical decisions, imagery or audio (Holsti, 2007). The selection of framing devices would require the journalist to evaluate, select and exclude different frames proposed (Wojcieszak, 2007).

While there has been some research about organizational (Hänggli, 2012) and individual (Lewis & Reese, 2009) influences on frame building, less has been done on societal influences, such as perceptions about other countries based on that countries' relationship with or similarities to the United States. Although Brüggerman (2014) suggested that societal factors influence the frame building process, his study focused only on issue frames, suggesting a gap in

literature about how societal factors may influence non-issue frames. By focusing on international news, which has been shown to significantly impact both perceptions and policy regarding foreign events (Lim, Barnett & Kim, 2011; Sabir, 2013), a better understanding of societal influences on frames can be achieved.

Framing international news. Given international news is uniquely constructed compared to local and national news, frames in international coverage may be different as well. Therefore, many scholars have studied framed employed in international news coverage. A common question in this scholarship asks where frames in international news media originate. In particular, four influences have been identified: elite sources (Entman, 2003; Kleinnijenhuis, Schultz, Utz & Oegema, 2013), journalistic and organizational routines (Van Dalen, 2012; Brüggemann, 2014), individuals (Dylko, Beam, Landreville & Geidner, 2012), and public opinion (Baum & Potter, 2008). Government sources have significantly influenced what information is shared, especially regarding military, international relations and foreign policy stories (Entman, 2010). In particular, *powerful* government sources are more likely to have their frames disseminated, resulting in a media debate that has reflected what political elite (e.g., The White House) perceive to be important. This phenomenon has been described as the indexing hypothesis (Bennett, 1990; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2013). A similar argument, cascading activation model, also suggests that frames promoted by key political actors often “cascade” down through the dissemination of information from the most elite to other political actors, news media and finally, the public (Entman, 2003).

Another influence on international news content is journalistic routines and organizational norms. Earlier, this thesis discussed the domestication of news (see “Journalists and Editors of International News”), a journalistic practice which could affect the framing of

international news coverage. Scholars have described journalists as wearing “a pair of domestic glasses” (Nossek, 2004, p. 349) when covering international news stories, indicating that international stories are interpreted through a national (i.e., American) lens. A second relevant organizational practice is the personification of countries and the use of national leaders to represent a country. This has included a focus on world leaders, or a description of governments as individuals (e.g., “Beijing must be happy right now”) (Balmas & Sheaffer, 2013; Perez-Sobrin, 2013). Notably, scholars studying the news gathering process have found that organizational routines most significantly influence the news gathering process: “news, in fact, was an organisational accomplishment that guaranteed sufficient news stories were produced on time and to a predetermined form” (Cottle, 2007, p. 3).

Naturally, individual opinions of journalists themselves also influence news frames. Given that news gathering is both a collective and an individual process, managing what frames or agenda should go through the gate can be rather subjective (Bakker, 2014; White, 1950). A journalist’s reporting decisions may be influenced by many factors, including their individual background (Soroka, 2012), cognitive schemas (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010) and home country (Aalberg et. al, 2013; Chang, Southwell & Lee, 2012). Furthermore, journalists are as influenced by social norms (Nossek, 2004) and framing effects of other news content (Scheufele, 1999) and any other individuals.

Last, but certainly not least, public opinion about different news stories can influence which frames are employed (Zhou & Moy, 2007). While most studies have examined a one-way directional flow of information, some scholars note that public opinion can quickly sway frames embedded in a news story (Baum & Potter, 2008). After all, individuals are not completely passive consumers of media, and issues that are salient to the public can become salient to the

media (McCombs, 2013). Furthermore, individuals also interpret news stories through their own individual frames (Scheufele, 1999), mediating the effects of news frames. The relationship between public opinion and news frames has also become more complex in the digital age, where it has become much easier to use digital media as an audience thermometer and a way to interact with news consumers (Hamdy & Gomaa, 2012).

Important to all of these has been the understanding that individuals and organizations operate within a larger social system, with its own set of norms, values and influences (Nossek, 2004). Previous scholarship acknowledged the significance of cultural and social norms on the way international news content is framed across all levels (Clausen, 2004; Van Dalen, 2012; Yang, 2003). Furthermore, journalists often learn norms about news production through the journalistic training process, suggesting that much of these social influences may be embedded in other aspects of news production (Van Gorp, 2010). One example of a social norm that may manifest is stereotypes about a country, which perpetuate a negative image or perception (Alacón, 2012; Beaudoin & Thorson, 2001). Studies examining international news coverage have found that conflict remains the most frequently discussed subject (Hannerz, 2012). Specifically, countries with more violent events and closer conflict are more likely to be deemed newsworthy (Horvit et al., 2013; Yarchi et al., 2013). Recent scholarship has analyzed frames of natural disasters (Joye, 2009; Moeller, 2006), wars (Lee & Maslog, 2005), and airplane crashes (Entman, 1991; Hong, 2013; Yan & Kim, 2015). However, even when covering similar events, frames use has varied when reporting on different nations. Yan and Kim (2015) found that China, Korea and the United States used the responsibility frame most when discussing the 2013 Asiana Airlines, but blamed different groups or actors based on their national interests. News frames have also been employed to advance national interests. To promote President Bush's

military stance on the 2002 Iraqi crisis, news media downplayed the U.N.'s peacekeeping role (Baker-Plummer, 2005).

Ultimately, these influences shape the way international news content looks. One way in which these influences may become manifest is through framing devices such as linguistic, grammatical and word choices used to increase the saliency of certain schema (Entman et al., 2009; Matthes & Kohring, 2008). If salient, this would affect the way the audience perceived different international event (Scheufele, 1999).

Reinforcing structures in the international system. Previous scholarship has noted the United States' dominance in framing international news (Horvit et al., 2013). Importantly, American news media frames are often replicated in the news media of other countries (Chang, Lau & Xiaoming, 2000). As a result, dependence on American news sources, such as Associated Press and *The New York Times*, has reinforced the United States' status as a global hegemon (Clark, 2009; Mearsheimer, 2014). In a study of cross-cultural frame transfers, Galander (2012) found that stereotyped portrayals of Muslims in Western media were disseminated to Muslim publics because the level of Muslim proximity between Darfur and the West was very large, but there were few other alternatives to Western news. Studies have also discovered that American news frame international news stories in the interest of the U.S. government (Saleem, 2007; Yang, 2003). Unsurprisingly, frames from non-western sources are rare in the flow of international news (Horvit, 2006).

Nossek (2004) argued that journalist framed international news in terms of its national significance, or whether it was an "our" event or a "their" event. "Our" news stories were stories that relevant to the home nation of the journalist; these stories often employed nationalist frames that emphasized national loyalty and reinforced the state's perspective on a news story. In

contrast, a “their,” story was written based on journalistic or organizational norms. Use of the nationalistic frame, therefore, acted as a cue to readers about the significance of certain international news stories. “Our” stories were emphasized and promoted, placing them at a higher level of prominence than “their” stories (Nossek, 2004). Furthermore, countries political or culturally similar to one another have had an advantage in embedding frames in each other’s news media (Sheafer & Gabay, 2009), suggesting that certain nations were able to make their frames more salient than others. Such framing strategies can reinforce international perceptions about the importance of certain countries (i.e., those political and socially congruent to the U.S.) and establish that there are “others” in the international world system (Fürsich, 2002).

Scholars have noted that the power to make certain frames salient reflects a Western hegemonic control over the way news is presented internationally. In a study that examined the framing of social movements, Carragee and Roefs (2004) argued that social movements seeking to challenge hegemonic norms struggled to control the framing of their own coverage. Elites also tended to silence counter-cultural movements through control over the framing of relevant news stories (Haydu, 1999; Vliegthart & van Zoonen, 2011). By doing so, news media sustained an uneven flow of international news from the Global North to the Global South (de Beers 2010; Poor, 2007) and reinforced Western perceptions of the international system among both national and international audiences.

This study advances literature about frames in American international news coverage by examining how country relatedness to the United States could influence whether countries are framed more abstractly in U.S. news media. This contributes to scholarship that has previously focused on individual countries (e.g. Mellese & Müller, 2012; Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013) or

specific international issues (e.g., Figenschou & Thorbjørnsrud, 2015; Leshuo & Chitty, 2012; Olausson, 2009; Reese & Lewis, 2009).

Country Characteristics and Framing. Many studies have found that country characteristics are systemic determinants of country visibility and framing in international news coverage (Jones et al., 2013; Kim & Barnett, 1996; Snow et al., 2007; Weber, 2010; Wu, 2007). Country characteristics are considered context-oriented factors about a nation which may influence the newsworthiness of a story (Chang et al, 2012; Jones et al., 2013). The finding that such attributes could influence a story's newsworthiness is relatively robust, suggesting that journalists consider both the significance of the event and the relevance of the country when reporting on international stories (Golan & Wanta, 2003; Sheaffer, Bloom, Shenhav & Segev, 2013; Swain, 2003). Interviews with foreign correspondents corroborated these findings; with countries more proximate or relevant to the United States considered more newsworthy and significant by journalists (Hahn & Lönnendonker, 2009). In recent years, areas of significance have included the Middle East, because of American military presence, East Asian nations with whom the U.S. trades.

Scholars have been especially interested in how country characteristics may influence the coverage of specific issues or countries (e.g., Kothari, 2010; Lim & Seo, 2009; Yarchi, et al., 2013). For example, Snow and his colleagues (2007) found limited evidence for the relationship between social and political proximity to France and framing of French riots. Although this relationship was weak, it was ultimately stronger than other framing influences, such as ideological beliefs of a news organization. In a study of news frame saliency from different areas, Fahmy (2004) noted that Western news wires were more influential in promoting their frame to other countries than Arabic news sources.

Recent literature has also identified three different types of categories: relatedness, national traits and event-oriented traits (Wu, 2007). This study focuses on relatedness variables, which was subcategorized into proximity and interactions. Unlike national or “power” traits (Hopmann, de Vreese, & Albaek, 2011; Swain, 2003; Weber, 2010) and event-oriented traits (Otto & Meyers, 2012; Choi, 2009), variables of interaction and proximity have been comparatively understudied (Sheafer et al., 2013).

Proximity and Interaction Characteristics

Proximity and interaction variables refer to country characteristics about the similarities and relationships between two countries. Unlike power country characteristics, which compare multiple countries on one scale (e.g, GDP), proximity and relationship variables measure the relationship specifically between two countries or compare how similar two countries are (Sheafer et al., 2013). Therefore, the proximity and relationship variables between the United States and China would be different from those between the United States and South Africa; whereas a power variable would provide one variable for the United States, regardless of what country it was compared to. Previous studies have not distinguished between relationship variables and proximity variables, instead using terms such as proximity, relatedness, relationship and interactions synonymously (see Golan & Wanta, 2003; Sheafer et al, 2013; Wu, 2007; Wu, 2000).

Studies examining proximity and interaction have emphasized the role of relatedness in influencing the framing and portrayal of countries in U.S. news media (Guo, 2011; Muller, 2013). Notably, countries not proximate to the U.S. are often covered less and framed more negatively in American news media (Sheafer et al., 2013). For example, Yarchi and his colleagues (2013) found that news media employed different frames to cover countries with

varying levels of political or policy proximity. Even if countries experienced similar events, context values changed which frames were used. Countries that were more proximate to the victimized country tended to employ more frames promoted by the victimized country, while countries tended to use frames from elsewhere to discuss news stories of not-proximate victimized countries (Yarchi et al., 2013).

Proximity and relationship characteristics have also been studied to understand how a country's news media may influence its citizens' perceptions of foreign nations. In particular, relatedness variables could explain why countries employ social constructs that portray foreign nations as the "other" (Kim, 2014). Scholarship has found that a nation's citizens may have different stereotypes about others from nations of varying geographic proximity (Lee & Fiske, 2006) and development (Marin & Salazar, 1985). Studying perceptions held about people who live in different countries, LeVine and Campbell (1972) found that wealthier and more economically developed nations are perceived as better and more admirable. These studies suggest that different levels of proximity and interaction to the country covering international news (i.e., United States) may be tied to previously constructed stereotypes.

This study separated relatedness variables into two categories: proximity variables and interaction variables. *Proximity* variables refer to how similar two countries are to one another; for example, the similarities between the countries' political structures. In contrast, *interaction* variables describe the affiliation between two countries and points to how significant a country may be to U.S. interests; for example, the number of U.S. troops deployed in that country. While seemingly trivial, the difference between these two groups is significant. Simply because two countries have a strong trade relationship does not mean those countries are similar politically, economically or culturally (e.g., China and the United States). Additionally, countries that are

geographically close do not have to have a strong relationship (e.g., Israel and Saudi Arabia). Therefore, proximity variables measure the political, economic or social distance between two nations, while interaction variables measure two countries' dyadic relationship.

This study will examine seven variables: distance, trade flow, military aid, language, regime type, development and conflict. Trade flow and troops will be identified as interaction variables. Distance, language, regime type, development and conflict will be identified as proximity variables. While there are many variables that could have been included in this study, the author selected proximity and interaction variables because they have provided cues relate to perceptions about countries (Sheafer et al., 2013; Snow et al., 2007). Furthermore, varying levels of proximity could influence a journalists' choice of words when describing a country (Kim, 2014), suggesting that different linguistic choices are made when framing countries of varying relatedness.

Distance. The first country characteristic this study explored was the distance between two countries. Distance has played a significant role in determining how newsworthy an event is (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013). Notably, countries are more likely to cover news of nearby countries than they are of countries that are further away (Golan & Wanta, 2003; Jones et al., 2013, Lim et al., 2008; Segev & Hills, 2014; Wu, 2007) because countries that are closer may have more relevant news stories (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013). Although many studies have identified distance as a significant predictor of country visibility, few have determined to what degree distance plays a role in country framing (Snow et al., 2007).

Distance was considered a proximity variable, because it measured the physical proximity between two countries. Therefore, this study proposed the following question:

RQ1: To what degree does distance between the United States and a country influence whether that country is framed abstractly or concretely in U.S. news media?

Trade Flow. Trade flow refers to the degree to which two countries trade goods within a given year. Trade flow has typically been seen as the strongest indicator of two countries' economic relationship (Jones et al, 2013; Sheaffer et al, 2013), and also represents the degree to which two economies are dependent on one another (Segev & Hills, 2014; Wu, 2000). Literature examining the relationship between trade flow and country visibility find that countries which trade frequently are more likely to be covered in each other's news media (Lee, 2007; Lim et al., 2011; Wu, 2000). Trading countries are also perceived to be more significant economically and politically to one another (Hartpence, 2011). Aside from media coverage, trade flow has also been correlated to political relationships (Damro & Guay, 2012) and foreign policy consequences (Flores-Macias & Kreps, 2013).

Some literature has examined the relationship between trade flow and perceptions of countries, focusing on stereotypes held about countries with varying trade levels (Leao, 2012). For example, Ikenson and Lincicome (2011) found that countries with anti-trade sentiments were likely to play up stereotypes, treating other nations as rivals rather than partners. However, studies examining trade and stereotypes have focused more on corporations and products than on news stories (Agarwal, Malhotra & Wu, 2002; Davis, Lee & Ruhe, 2008).

This study considered trade flow an interaction variable, as countries do not have to be similar in other ways (e.g., geographically, culturally) to trade frequently with one another. A second research question was proposed:

RQ2: To what degree does the trade flow between a country and the United States influence whether that country is framed abstractly or concretely in U.S. news media?

Military Aid. Another factor which may influence how countries are framed is U.S. military aid. Military involvement can reflect the political significance of a country to the United States (Jones et al., 2013). Previous studies have analyzed this in terms of troop involvement (Baum & Groeling, 2009) and military expenditures (Golan, 2010). This study will use military aid, measured in U.S. dollars, as there are cases in which the United States is willing to provide funding and equipment, but not on-the-ground troops (Dube & Naidu, 2014). Scholarship examining military involvement and news coverage has found that countries the U.S. is heavily invested in are more likely to be covered by American news media (Edy & Meirick, 2007; Wu, 2000). Furthermore, news media and the military-industry complex have a symbiotic relationship; news media depend on the military for information about wars, and the military use media to present information in a specific way to the public (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013). To this effect, news also tends to employ issue frames about U.S. troop bravery and conflict when covering military stories (Boydston & Glazier, 2013; Plotnick, 2012).

This study will further this line of inquiry to better understand if military aid can influence the framing of a country more than a decade after 9/11. Military aid was analyzed as an interaction variable representing a country's political significance and relevance to the United States (Jones et al., 2013). A third question asked:

RQ3: To what degree does American military aid in a country influence whether that country is framed abstractly or concretely in U.S. news media?

Language. Language referred to whether two countries share a common language. When countries share main or dominant language, the countries are perceived to be more culturally similar (Wu, 2003). Most studies perceive as one aspect of cultural proximity (Sheafer et al., 2013; Trepte, 2008). Despite the relationship between language and culture, there is mixed

evidence for a correlation between language similarity and country framing. While some scholars noted that countries sharing a language were more likely to appear in each other's news media (Lim et al., 2008; Wu, 2000), other studies found no significant difference (Sheafer et al., 2013).

This study focused on the use of English. Although the United States does not have an official language, English is the de facto language (Subtirelu, 2013). Most media disseminated from the United States originate from English-speaking outlets. English is also the global lingua franca, placing it in a position of power compared to other languages (Jenkins, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2004; Tsuda, 2013). As a result, English fluency has become a necessity for entering the international financial and political system (Ku & Zussman, 2010). Language was measured as whether those countries speak English as an official or dominant language (Lim et al, 2011).

This study asked a fourth question below:

RQ4: To what degree does having English as a main or official language influence whether that country is framed abstractly or concretely in U.S. news media?

Regime Type. Regime type is a relatively new country characteristic that has been included in recent international news coverage research (Sheafer et al., 2013). Regime type has referred to the similarities in the political structure between the United States and another country. Many studies have interpreted regime type through the autocratic-democratic spectrum (Geddes, Wright & Frantz, 2014; Gehlbach & Sonin, 2014; Hyde & Marinov, 2012). This study identified regime type as a proximity variable.

Although regime type has not been heavily studied in relation to news coverage, previous studies have found that regime type is related to exchange rate policies (Steinberg & Malhotra, 2014), trade relations (Mansfield, Milner & Rosendorff, 2002), and U.S. public opinion towards a country (Lacina & Lee, 2013). Regime type is also understood as a combination of political

and cultural proximity, as regime types reflect both the political structure and the civic culture of a nation (Camacho, 2014). Countries that share regime types also often share similar political ideologies (Sheafer et al., 2013). Therefore, it is possible that news framing is influenced by perceptions about countries that do not share similar regime types to the United States.

Furthermore, regime type has been found to influence Americans' perceptions of countries. Studies examining China argue that the rising power is often framed negatively in U.S. news media because, despite being intimate trading partners, differences in governance may influence news coverage more than strong economic ties (Hook & Pu, 2006; Jargalsaikhan, 2011). Another study found mixed evidence for the relationship between regime type, government transitions, and perceptions about countries (Hafner-Burton & Ron, 2013). Given these mixed results, this study asked the following question about regime type:

RQ5: To what degree country regime type influence whether that country is framed abstractly or concretely in U.S. news media?

Development. This study also includes a variable which measures how “developed” a country in terms of both human and economic stability and success. Previous literature has lamented the coverage of developing countries as comparatively rare or poorly framed to that of developed countries (Sabir, 2013), with Western media negatively stereotyping other nations (Loo & Davies, 2006; Lyons, Hanley, Wearing & Neil, 2012). These negative stereotypes have the potential to influence perceptions about goods from that country (Hamzaoui & Merunka, 2006), tourism (Raymond & Hall, 2008) and that nation's overall image (Loo & Davies, 2006).

Previous studies in international news coverage have employed the World Systems Theory, which argued that information traditionally flows from core nations to semi-periphery and periphery nations (see Lim et. al, 2008; Williams, 2003). Studies using this categorization

have found that periphery countries do not receive as much coverage as core countries do, sometimes regardless of other variables such as distance (Golan & Wanta, 2003; Himelboim et al., 2010). However, traditional world systems theory is heavily based on colonial ties (Kohl, 1989), which may not be as relevant as in the modern-day international system (Coe, Dickens, Hess & Yeung, 2010; Robinson, 2011).

Recent studies have adapted world systems theory to examine factors beyond the production of labor (Karatzogianni & Robinson, 2009; Tausch, 2010). One such adaptation is the Human Development Index, which is used to measure the development gap between the Global North and the Global South (Sabir, 2013). The Human Development Index (HDI) combines three measurements—life expectancy, educational attainment and income—to create a development score that takes into account both social and economic development (United Nation, n.d.). HDI has been used as a measurement of the development gap because it measures a country's development beyond simple monetary gains (Mamtani, Lowenfels, Cheema & Sheikh, 2014; Rende & Donduran, 2013). This thesis asked the following question:

RQ6: To what degree does a country's development influence whether that country is framed abstractly or concretely in U.S. news media?

Conflict. Conflict is among the most significant, if not *the* most significant, topic covered in international news within the United States (Hannerz, 2012; Horvit et al., 2013). Significantly, countries with high levels of violence and conflict are covered more frequently (Figenschou, 2010; Gilboa, 2005). Such patterns have increased, not decreased, over time. Recent scholarship found that conflict has superseded other indicators of similarity or proximity with the United States (Hahn & Lönnendonker 2009). As a result, recent U.S. media have ignored areas such as Europe to cover conflict in the Middle East or North Africa. These studies show that, more and

more, conflict has become a more significant indicator of newsworthiness. However, this does not necessarily mean that all conflicts are framed similarly.

Although previous literature has examined frames in different types of conflict, such as civil wars (Fortna, 2008; Hsiang, Meng & Cane, 2011), involvement of powerful nations in political conflict (Brown, 2014), and terrorism (Wanta & Valayango, 2007), this study is more interested in whether overall degree of conflict within a nation influences its framing. Therefore, this study will provide some new insight as to how international conflicts, in general, are framed in U.S. news media. Conflict is understood in this study as a proximity variable, because the study does not specifically examine conflicts between the U.S. and another country, but rather the existing amount of conflict within a country. As a relatively peaceful country, other nations with low levels of conflict would be more proximate, or similar, to the United States.

RQ7: To what degree does conflict in a country influence whether that country is framed abstractly or concretely in U.S. news media?

Finally, the author is interested in which of the seven variables would most influence language abstractness. A broader question was posed:

RQ8: Which country characteristics will most significantly influence the use of abstract or concrete language?

The next chapter examines the use of the linguistic category model (LCM) in this thesis. Literature that has employed LCM will also be discussed, particularly research related to language abstractness in news media and mass communication texts (e.g., press releases).

Chapter 3: Linguistic Category Model

This study employed the *linguistic category model* (LCM) (Coenen, Hedeboew & Semin, 2006a; Coenen, Hedeboew & Semin, 2006b) to measure the abstractness of frames linguistically (H2A-H2G). Defined by the LCM codebook, the LCM is “an instrument that furnishes the possibility of examining ‘messages’” (Coenen et al., 2006a), categorizing them in terms of language abstractness or concreteness. The LCM codebook identifies five different classifications of words: descriptive action verb (DAV), the most concrete; interpretive action verbs (IAV) and state actions verbs (SAV), both of which are slightly more abstract than DAV; state verbs (SV); and adjectives (ADJ), the most abstract category (Coenen et al., 2006a). Broadly speaking, articles that used more of the latter categories (ADJ, etc.) were considered more abstract, whereas articles that had more descriptive action verbs and interpretive action verbs were considered more concrete. The LCM coding method was first employed by Semin and Fiedler (1988) as a tool for measuring language abstractness. Frames coded using the LCM were “LCM frames.” Language abstractness—sometimes labeled linguistic abstractness—referred to the degree to which an article or text uses abstract language (e.g., frequent use of adjectives, adverbs, and state verbs).

The linguistic category model provided a unique and interesting method for studying frames. Although definitions of framing have emphasized the impact of word choice and language (Capella & Jamieson, 1997; Lawson, 2001; Sambre, 2010), few studies employed a linguistic approach to frame analysis. Those that have are not clear in explaining how linguistic components contribute to a frame as a whole (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). By applying the LCM to international reporting in U.S. news media, this content analysis deviates from previous scholarship by focusing on one linguistic difference, language abstractness, rather than one

international news story. As a construct, language abstractness, measured through LCM, is interpreted as a frame or “organized symbolic device” (Pam & Kosicki, 1993, p. 58).

The LCM places a heavy emphasis on the verbs and adjectives used in news media. Slobin (2003), in his discussion of linguistic relativity, argued for the significance of verb usage in newspapers: “Newspapers in English-speaking countries make use of such verbs for vivid reporting [...] Not only are manner verbs used to provide graphic descriptions of motion, but they also serve to provide evaluation of the person who is moving” (p. 171). By focusing on verbs and adjectives, which provide an understanding of the logic and manner of a news event, this thesis also contributes to a line of research that has examined verb use in news media.

Categories in the Linguistic Category Model

The most concrete category in the linguistic category model is the *descriptive action verb (DAV)*. DAVs are verbs that must have a “clearly defined beginning and end” (Coenen et al., 2006a, p. 6) and include some sort of physical component. Traditional, individual-level examples have included “to kiss” or “to punch” because both involve physical characteristics. However, countries can also be expressed in terms of descriptive action verbs; for example, “Russia deployed troops” or “Egypt voted yesterday.” DAVs also differ from other categories because DAVs can be clearly visualized (e.g., to punch, to salute). Verbs that are not easy to visualize (e.g., to help, to win) are not DAVs. Furthermore, out of context, DAVs are always treated as neutral terms.

The second category, the *interpretive action verb (IAV)*, does not necessarily have a physical component, but still have a definitive end and beginning. Often, IAVs are used in place of more explicit verbs. For example, instead of saying “Argentina walks out of peace agreements” (a DAV), an example using an IAV would be, “Argentina refuses UN help.” IAVs

typically cannot be visualized, but do have a “pronounced evaluative component (e.g., positive IAVs such as to help, to encourage vs. negative IAVs such as to cheat, to bully)” (Coenen et al., 2006a, p. 6-7).

The third category is the *state action verb (SAV)*, which some consider similar to the IAV. Because they do not differ in abstraction level (Coenen et al., 2006a; Semin & Fiedler, 1991), articles have previously merged these two categories or have dropped the SAV category (Menegatti & Rubini, 2013). This study combined the two into one group (IAVs). SAVs refer to emotional responses to an action and, like IAVs, also have an evaluative component. For example, “angry” in “Brazil is angry at FIFA” would be considered an SAV, because Brazil is angry in response to an action performed by FIFA.

The *fourth category is the state verb (SV)*. State verbs have no definitive beginning or end because they refer to mental states and not physical actions. Often, this will be a person or country’s attitude towards something. Unlike the state action verb, which are reactive to an action, state verbs refer to an “enduring cognitive or emotional state with no clear definition of beginning or end” (Coenen et al., 2006a, p. 7). For example, in “France loves cheese,” love is a state verb describing France’s consistent attitude towards cheese.

The final and most abstract category is the *Adjective (ADJ)*, the only non-verb category. An adjective is considered highly abstract because it “doesn’t express what a person does, feels or thinks, but *what a person is like*” (Coenen et al., 2006a, p. 10). Adverbs, a different part of speech, are also included because adverbs describe actions, making them also highly abstract (Coenen et al., 2006a). For example, in the sentence “aggressive North Korea rapidly pushes nuclear testing,” both “aggressive” and “rapidly” would be identified as part of the ADJ

category. In addition to adjectives and adverbs, metaphors were also coded as ADJ phrases (Coenen et al., 2006b).

Applications of the Linguistic Category Model

The linguistic category model has been applied to study both mass and interpersonal communication. One prominent example of its use is the linguistic intergroup bias (LIB), which argues that people are more likely to use abstract language when discussing other people who are not in the same social group as the speaker (Gorham, 2006; Graf, Bilewicz, Finell, & Geschke, 2012). Whereas people employ concrete language to refer to a specific, bounded event, abstract language use suggests broader implications about the subject beyond one event: “Abstract language, in contrast, implies much more about the disposition of the person involved that is independent of what has been observed. It assumes that the observed behavior is a manifestation of a larger tendency” (Gorham, 2006, p. 294). Geschke, Sassenberg, Ruhrmann and Sommer (2010) noted that “the more abstractly a message is worded, the more likely it is for the recipients to believe that the described individual will show the respective behavior in the future” (p. 100), suggesting that abstract language is used when discussing an unwavering opinion or perception.

The use of language abstractness can also be applied to perceptions of nations. Studying designations of nationality, Graf and his colleagues (2012) found that the use of adjective and certain nouns suggested an intergroup bias between people of different nationalities. This intergroup bias was not only noticeable by the recipient of that information, but had the potential to increase the recipient’s expressions of prejudice to complement the original speaker, reflecting a reinforcement of abstract language use towards out-groups. As American journalists are certainly members of American society as a whole, they are not immune to such linguistic norms

in a society. In terms of their news reporting, these perceptions many unintentionally manifest in their news coverage of other countries.

The linguistic category model and mass communication. Studies examining language abstractness and mass communication have focused on two areas: (1) whether abstract news stories influence the way individuals perceive different groups in a society (e.g., Geschke et al., 2010) and (2) whether press reports and news stories employed different levels of language abstractness (e.g., Anolli, Zurloni & Riva, 2006). Research on the latter has found that politicians use more abstract language when evoking a stereotype (Chisango & Gwandure, 2011). As a result, linguistic abstractness in news media serves as a cue for media consumers to engage in stereotype-congruent behavior (Gorham, 2006; Menegatti & Rubini, 2003), making the stereotype more cognitively salient. Importantly, news frames about crime and negative stories have been shown to increase the use of abstract language by media consumers, suggesting a direct relationship between the consumption of specifically framed news articles and perceptions about a news story or country (Fernández et al., 2013). This recursive use by both mass communication texts and media consumers reinforces the perception of in-groups as positive and out-groups as negative.

No scholarship to date has analyzed country framing in U.S. news media through the linguistic category model. However, the connection between LCM and language abstractness to framing can be easily made. Framing scholarship, in general, has struggled to find a connection “between the explicit elements of the news text and the central framing idea, which is part of a larger cultural level” (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 90). Analyzing framing through the LCM ties current literature on international news coverage and the use of abstract language to make stereotypes

and out-group differentiation salient (Gorham, 2006; Guinote, 2001; Wenneker, Wigbouldus & Spears, 2005).

In the past, the linguistic category model has been employed to analyze news text only when discussing individuals such as migrants (Fernández et al., 2013; Geschke et al, 2010). However, it is possible for both news media to describe countries similarly, as countries are often personified in news media (Pérez-Sobrino, 2013) and advertising (d' Astous & Boujbel, 2007). Additionally, countries have been discussed in terms of movements and actions as a metaphorical tool to understand topics like troop movement and economic growth (Slobin, 2003). This has been described as the “nation is a person” metaphor (Bergen, 2003). This thesis contributes to current scholarship regarding the linguistic category models by applying LCM framing to news text about countries rather than individuals.

Chapter 4: Methods

The goal of this study is to understand whether relatedness characteristics between a country and the United States would influence the LCM framing of that country's events in U.S. news media. A sample of two constructed weeks—meant to represent one year of international news from American newspapers, broadcast television and wire services—was collected. Content analyses provide a high level of external validity, as it is real-life content (de Vreese, 2012). One limitation of this methodology, however, is that it cannot imply causality (Krippendorff, 2012). Relationships, therefore, are more assumed than proven (Holsti, 1969).

This study applied a limited corpus-based critical discourse frame analysis (Kim, 2014; Orpin, 2005) to the sample. A corpus-based linguistic analysis had been applied to quantitatively code for lexical items in a news text (i.e., a corpus); while a critical discourse analysis is usually qualitative. This study incorporates both by quantitatively measuring a linguistic pattern (language abstractness) in U.S. news media, and connecting the use of abstract language to news coverage of countries. The unit of analysis was U.S. news item. While previous studies have utilized a corpus-based critical discourse analysis (Baker, 2010; Baker et al, 2008; Kim, 2014), the focus of this thesis is more narrow, as it examines only one linguistic difference, the linguistic category model. Content data was then compared to seven country characteristics variables, obtained through secondary datasets. The independent variables were the country characteristics. The dependent variable was the LCM frame.

Data Collection Strategies

In order to provide a holistic sample of U.S. news coverage over one year, the researcher pulled a sample covering two constructed weeks of U.S. international news coverage. Constructed week sampling is a stratified random sampling method in which articles are

collected over the course of several months to create a representative week. To create a constructed week, all Mondays were identified in the sampling timeframe, of which one was selected to be part of the constructed week. Then, the process would be repeated for all Tuesdays, Wednesdays and so on and so forth (Hester & Dougall, 2007). Luke, Caburnay and Cohen (2011) identified that this technique allowed researchers to control for biases in the news cycle if one wanted to capture a more holistic picture of news media coverage. Two constructed week has adequately measured one year's worth of news coverage (Hester & Dougall, 2007; Riffe, Aust & Lacy, 1993). The time span for the sample of this thesis began on October 1, 2013 and ended September 30, 2014.

In order to ensure a random sample, this study randomly assigned each week a number (1-52). Then, using a random number generator, the researcher selected a number, representing the corresponding week. Up to 80 random articles published or broadcasted on the Monday of the selected week were included in the sample. This process was repeated until two full weeks were constructed with randomly generated numbers fourteen times.

Three types of U.S. news media were examined: newspapers, broadcast television and wire services. Newspapers were selected because they serve an important inter-media agenda-setting function (Golan, 2006) and remain a trusted news source (Otto & Meyers, 2012; Choi, 2009). Television news was selected because more people depend on broadcast television for information about international affairs than any other news media (Gallup, 2013). Finally, a news wire was selected because news media organizations heavily depend on wires for international news stories (Horvit et al., 2013). Rather than compare the differences between each news medium, the researcher was more interested in understanding how U.S. news media have been similar in their coverage and framing of other countries. Previous studies have similarly

combined several U.S. news media platforms to create a more holistic picture of international news coverage (e.g., Jones et al., 2013; Van Belle, 2003).

Newspaper items were collected through the Factivia newspaper database using the subjects “GDIP” (international relations) and “GGLOBE” (global/world issues), which represented all news articles discussing international events identified as part of an “International” or “Global” section. *Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times* and *USA Today* were selected for analysis because of their strong circulation record over the past few years (Beaujon, 2014; Associated Press, 2013). To collect the broadcast television content, the researcher used the LexisNexis Broadcast TV database to pull transcripts from the “International” and “World” section of the “Big Five” news networks: ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN and Fox (Meehan, 2005). LexisNexis was also used to pull all stories from the news wire Associated Press, the oldest and largest wire service in the United States (Associated Press, n.d.), and a source of information for many American and non-U.S. news organizations (Horvit et al., 2013). Repeats were eliminated. In total, 1,665 articles were collected in this initial pull.

After, 1,060 articles were randomly collected to code. Although the author originally intended to code 80 items for each day in the constructed week, weekends had fewer than anticipated articles (e.g., Sunday, April 13, 2014 had a population of 64 news items), and so a population of articles were taken for weekend dates. Articles unrelated to international news were also removed. These were largely articles that employed the word “world” but actually discussed domestic issues (e.g., U.S. elections). Finally, 960 news items, the sample size, were coded and analyzed. This is a typical size for current research on international news coverage (Hickerson, Moy & Dunsmore, 2013) and for framing analyses (Delshad & Raymond, 2013; Matthes & Kohring, 2008)

Content Variables

This study coded for two content variables: the linguistic category model (LCM) frame and the most important country discussed. The most important country discussed was a nominal level variable. This coding method has been preferred to the initial method of employing the dateline because the dateline may not be the same as country being discussed in the news item (Wu, 2000). In situations where there were multiple countries discussed, coders were instructed to select the country mentioned most often.

Then, each article was coded for its LCM frame. To measure the LCM frame of each article, this study followed the scoring methods initially proposed by Coenen, Hedebouw and Semin (2006a, b) in the Linguistic Category Model manual. First, each coded category was given a numeric value based on its abstractness as follows: 1 = Descriptive Action Verbs (DAV), 2 = Interpretive Action Verbs and State Action Verbs (IAV), 3 = state verbs (SV), 4 = Adjectives (ADJ). Coders then counted the number of times each category was used in the news article. An abstraction score was calculated by adding the scores from each category and dividing by the number of items coded in the news items:

$$1(n_{dav}) + 2(n_{sav}) + 3(n_{sv}) + 4(n_{adj}) / (n_{dav} + n_{iav} + n_{sv} + n_{adj})$$

This average abstraction score was used as a continuous interval level variable for the linguistic frame employed in a news item. The higher the value, the more abstractly that country was framed in American media.

Pilot Data. To achieve a high level of internal validity in terms of coding the materials, the researcher performed a pre-test with 200 articles, 20% of the expected sample size. All of these articles were coded for the same two variables (most important country discussed and LCM

frame) by three coders (the researcher and two volunteers). Coders were trained for approximately eight hours over the course of three weeks before reaching intercoder reliability.

Krippendorff's Alpha (Krippendorff, 1970; Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007) was used to measure intercoder reliability of the pilot data. The KA for most important country discussed was 1.0. The KA for LCM frame was .86. To ensure reliability, the author also measured KA for each individual category within the LCM frame. The KA for DAVs was .88, the KA for IAVs was .72, the KA for SVs was .78 and the KAV for ADJs was .90.

Country Characteristics Variables

This study included a total of seven country characteristics, all of which were interval or ratio level variables. These characteristics were selected because they were frequently studied in country visibility and framing literature or had been identified as influencing perceptions about a country. Previous studies have lagged country characteristics data to create an "implied causality" between the country characteristics and the text being studied (Jones et al., 2013); this study also lagged the country characteristics by using datasets from the year 2013.

The first country characteristic was *distance*. This was measured by the distance, in miles, between Washington D. C. and the capital of that country. The distance between the U.S. and each country was obtained from the Centre D'Études Prospectives et D'Informations Internationale (2011), which has been employed in previous studies (Jones et al., 2013; Mayer & Zignago, 2011).

The second country characteristic was *trade flow* between the United States and the other country. This variable has typically been measured in millions of dollars through the International Monetary Fund's Direction of Trade Statistics (2013). Previous studies have calculated trade flow by taking the absolute value of the addition between imports and exports

(Van Belle, 2003; Wu, 2007). Wu (2000) notes that the trade distribution between countries is extremely skewed (even in large datasets) and, in his study of international news coverage, transformed his variables to better fit a standard deviation curve.

The third country characteristic was *military aid*, measured by U.S. dollars from the United States military to a country. Data was retrieved from the U.S. Overseas Loans & Grants Greenbook, which was prepared by the USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services (2012). This database is used frequently in peace, political economy and foreign policy research (Bapat, 2011; Delucchi & Murphy, 2008).

The fourth country characteristic was *language*. This was identified as a binomial categorical variable; countries that spoke English as a dominant or official language was coded as 1 (English-speaking), whereas countries that did not were coded as 0 (not English-speaking). Data for language was retrieved from the CIA World Factbook (2013), which identified dominant and official languages within a country (Lim et al., 2008).

The fifth country characteristic was *regime type*, which examined how similar a country's political system was to the United States. This study used the Polity IV database (Center for Systemic Peace, 2013), a composite of variables that identified countries as autocratic, anocratic and democratic. In Polity, regimes were measured on a -10 to 10 scale, with -10 referring to a full autocratic regime and +10 referring to a full democratic regime (Marshall, n.d.). The similarity of regime type was measured by subtracting the absolute value of a country's polity score from the United States' polity score.

The sixth country characteristic was *development*, a proximity variable. This measured how developed a country is. This study employed the Human Development Index (HDI), created by the United Nations Development Programme (2013). Literature that has used this dataset has

employed the Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI), developed in 2010, because it contains better forms of measuring educational attainment (Alkire & Foster, 2010). Countries that are less developed were closer to zero, whereas countries that are considered more developed were closer to one. The absolute value of the difference between a country and the United States was measured as the difference of development between the U.S. and that country.

The seventh country characteristic was *conflict*. Although there are many indexes for conflict, this study used the Global Peace Index (GPI) from the Institute for Economics and Peace (2014). GPI has been widely used across many fields to measure conflict or peace (see Fischer & Hanke, 2009; Newman, 2009; Rorissa, Demissie & Pardo, 2011) because it measures conflict across 22 different factors, including access to weapons, violent crime within a year, terrorist activists, conflict-related deaths, military aid, and nuclear/heavy weapons power. Countries that are considered more peaceful had closer to one (the lowest score possible), with a country's score increasing as conflict within a country increased. To measure how similar conflict within the U.S. is to another country, the absolute value of the difference between that nation and the United States was measured.

These seven country characteristics served as the independent variables of this study. Datasets measuring these variables were taken from the year 2013. Each article was coded for its most important country discussed. Each country was assigned a number. Characteristics related to that country were then applied to each article. These characteristics were the independent variables. The LCM frame of each individual article was the dependent variable.

Chapter 5: Results

This chapter begins with a descriptive overview of the dataset, including average LCM of the article. Then, seven linear regression tests analyzed the relationship between the LCM frame and each proximity country characteristic. The characteristics were combined into three multiple regression analyses. The first multiple regression model included only proximity variables. The second included only interaction variables. The third model combined both proximity and relations variables into one. After, the model was tested for multicollinearity and heteroscedasticity issues. Two interactions were added to increase the explanatory power of the model and to eliminate issues of multicollinearity between the variable conflict and two other country characteristics. STATA, a general-purpose statistical program, was used for all analyses.

Descriptive Analysis

In total, there were 960 articles, 459 in WeekA and 501 in WeekB. 133 articles were from newspapers, 416 were from television news reports and 411 were Associated Press articles. The average LCM of these articles was 2.60 (SD = .269), with the most concrete article coded as 1.66 and the most abstract article coded as 3.33. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the number of articles per day.

Of the 960 articles, 108 were about African events, 492 were Asian events, 223 were European events, 62 were North American events, 10 were Australian events and 32 were South American events. The largest group, Asian stories, was more than double the next largest group, European stories. An additional 33 articles were coded as other; these were predominantly articles that focused on NGO's (e.g., United Nations or World Bank), but also included two articles mentioning Antarctica. A total of 117 countries were represented in this dataset.

Table 1

Number of news articles in constructed week by day.

Day	Date	# of articles
SunA	Sunday, January 05, 2014	45
MonA	Monday, November 18, 2013	72
TuesA	Tuesday, December 03, 2013	65
WedA	Wednesday, January 29, 2014	60
ThursA	Thursday, March 27, 2014	79
FriA	Friday, February 21, 2014	78
SatA	Saturday, June 14, 2014	60
SunB	Sunday, April 13, 2014	63
MonB	Monday, September 15, 2014	68
TuesB	Tuesday, June 10, 2014	75
WedB	Wednesday, July 09, 2014	68
ThursB	Thursday, August 28, 2014	78
FriB	Friday, October 17, 2014	74
SatB	Saturday, December 28, 2013	75

The average score of the LCM frame was 2.60 (SD = .269), with scores ranging from 1.67 to 1.33. The average distance between a country to the United States was 9093.67 miles (SD = 3935.01). The average level of trade flow between the U.S. and another country was 92,470.56 (SD = 175,237). The average amount of military aid was 5.57×10^8 (SD = 1.76×10^9). Of the 960 articles, 348 were about countries that spoke English. The average polity score difference between the U.S. and a country was 3.75 (SD = 6.62). The average IHDI score difference between the U.S. and a country was .74 (SD = .13). The average GPI score difference between the U.S. and a country was 2.32 (SD = .64).

Research Questions

The first research question asked about the relationship between distance (geographic proximity) and the LCM frame. A linear regression analysis between these two variables was statistically significant but weak, $\beta = .00$, $t(953) = 9.59$, $p < 0.001$. These results suggested that distance may not significantly influence linguistic framing of a country but, if it did, increased distance would increase the language abstractness in the LCM frame (RQ1).

The second research question asked about the relationship between trade flow and the LCM frame. One issue regarding the use of trade flow has been the skew of the trade flow variable (Martínez-Zarzoso, 2013). Therefore, to test RQ2, the researcher logarithmically transformed this variable. A linear regression analysis between trade flow and LCM frame was also statistically significant but even weaker than distance, $\beta = -.00$, $t(916) = -6.63$, $p < 0.001$. This relationship was also negative. Therefore, as trade flow increased, language abstractness decreased.

The third research question examined the relationship between military aid and the LCM frame. As with the first two questions, the regression analysis indicated that the relationship was statistically significant and positive, but weak, $\beta = .00$, $t(831) = 7.32$, $p < 0.001$. This suggests that military involvement may only weakly increase LCM frames (RQ3).

The fourth question examined whether countries that used English as an official or dominant language would be framed more or less abstractly than countries that did not. Countries with 5% or more of the population that spoke English or used English as an official language were coded as 1. All other countries were coded as 0. Two dummy variables, one for English-speaking and one for non-English-speaking, were created. This regression model suggested that

English-speaking countries were framed more specifically than non-English speaking countries, $\beta = -.01$, $t(918) = .87$, $p < 0.05$.

The fifth question focused on the relationship between a country's regime type similarity to the U.S.'s regime type and the LCM frame. Regime type significantly predicted LCM framing, $\beta = -.02$, $t(856) = -12.62$, $p < 0.001$. This also explained a significant proportion of variance, $R^2 = .15$, $F(1, 856) = 159.29$. These results suggest that the higher the level of democracy within a country (i.e., the more similar a country's regime type is to the United States), the less abstractly that country is framed (RQ5).

The sixth question asked whether similarities in development between the U.S. and another country could predict how abstractly a country's event was framed in U.S. news media. The regression analysis was statistically significant and negative, $\beta = -1.18$, $t(863) = -17.54$, $p < 0.001$. This suggests that the higher the level of development, the more concretely that country's events was framed in U.S. news media (RQ6). Unlike previous variables, these results also has some significant explaining power, $R^2 = .30$, $F(1, 863) = 318.38$.

The seventh question asked whether similar levels of conflict within a nation and the U.S. could predict how abstractly a country's event is framed in U.S. news media. This study employed the global peace index (GPI), which scored countries based on how much conflict exists intrastate. Therefore, countries with higher GPI scores were not only less similar to the United States, but had more conflict. Results showed that that GPI significantly influenced LCM frame, $\beta = .24$, $t(867) = 20.39$, $p < 0.001$. Therefore, countries with higher levels of conflict were framed more abstractly than countries with lower levels of conflict (RQ7). These results also explained a significant proportion of variance, $R^2 = .30$, $F(1, 867) = 415.79$. Table 2 displays this information.

Table 2*Research Question Testing between Country Characteristics (IV) and LCM Frame (DV)*

Variable	B	df	t-test	R ²
Distance	.000	953	9.59	0.096***
Trade	-.000	916	-6.63	0.041***
Military	.000	831	7.32	0.034***
Language	-.018	918	-.87	0.001*
Regime	-.015	856	-12.62	0.151***
Develop.	-1.182	863	-17.84	0.308***
Conflict	.236	867	20.39	0.303***

* = P < 0.05, ** = P < 0.01; *** = P < 0.001

Regression Models

To answer RQ8, this study analyzed the seven independent variables' effect on LCM frame through a multiple regression analysis. The first two models separated proximity variables from interaction variables to examine which has more explanatory power. Model 1 included distance, language, regime, development and conflict, all of which are proximity variables. Model 2 included military aid and trade flow, which are interaction variables. Table 3 presents the results of these two regression models.

Within Model 1, all variables were statistically significant. Distance and language and conflict were positively correlated to language abstractness. Regime type and development were shown to decrease the LCM frame score. In Model 2, trade flow and military aid both somewhat influenced language abstractness, although increased trade flow was negatively related the LCM frame score, and military aid was positively related to the LCM frame score. Unsurprisingly, Model 1 had a higher R². However, there were more than double the proximity variables in Model 1 than relationship variables in Model 2.

Table 3*Proximity and Interaction Multiple Regression Analyses*

	Model 1			Model 2		
	β	SE β	R ²	β	SE β	R ²
Conflict	.301***	.013				
Develop.	-.302***	.076				
Polity	-.235***	.001				
Language	.195***	.016				
Distance	.112***	.000	.462			
Trade				-.188***	.000	
Military				.178***	.000	0.076

Note: Model 1 uses proximity variables. Model 2 uses relationship variables. SE β refers to robust SE β .

* = P < 0.05, ** = P < 0.01; *** = P < 0.001

Model 3 combined both the first and second model to see if the complete model would have strong explanatory power. Table 4 displays these results.

Table 4*Combined Proximity and Interaction Model*

	Model 3		
	β	SE β	R ²
Conflict	.342***	.018	
Develop.	-.283***	.088	
Language	.273***	.018	
Regime	-.230***	.001	
Distance	.074*	.000	
Trade	-.018	.003	
Military	-.007	.000	.461

Note: SE β refers to robust SE β .

* = P < 0.05, ** = P < 0.01; *** = P < 0.001, all other is n.s.

As it turns out, the third model had a weaker explaining power than the first model, which only included the proximity variables. Both trade flow and military aid, which were statistically significant ($p < 0.01$), were no longer statistically significant once incorporated into the combined model. Distance, conflict and language were positively correlated to increased language abstractness. Higher regime type and development scores decreased language abstractness. Of the variables listed, conflict was the most influential.

A linktest, which measures the multicollinearity of a model, was statistically significant ($p < 0.01$), suggesting that some of the country characteristics were highly correlated with one another. Additionally, White's test for heteroscedasticity suggested that the data was not homoscedastic; for this reason, robust standard errors were employed. To examine whether interactions should be included in the model, the author performed a correlation test between all the country characteristics. The results can be found in Table 5.

Table 5

Correlations between Country Characteristics Variables

	Distance	Trade	Military	Language	Polity	IHDI	GPI
Distance	-						
Trade	-.290***	-					
Military	.021***	-.147***	-				
Language	.293***	-.053***	.232***	-			
Regime	-.163***	-.106***	.122***	.239***	-		
Develop.	-.294***	.255***	.142***	.174***	.318***	-	
Conflict	-.095***	-.326***	.487***	-.291***	-.329***	-.549***	-

Note: Within this correlations matrix, the relationship between military and GPI and HDI and GPI were comparatively strong. These numbers have been bolded for your convenience.

* = $P < 0.05$, ** = $P < 0.01$; *** = $P < 0.001$

The two numbers bolded were variables with moderate to strong correlations between one another (i.e., above .45). The first interaction was between military aid and conflict, which

were positively correlated. The second interaction was between development and conflict, which were negatively correlated. Both of these interactions were incorporated into the model (Royston & Sauerbrei, 2012). Table 6 tests the regression model with both interactions. Unstandardized coefficients were used instead of standardized coefficients because beta scores would be artificially high due to the inclusion of interactions, which are strongly correlated with the other variables in the model (Baguley, 2009).

Table 6

Final Multiple Regression Analysis between Country Characteristics and LCM Frame

	Model 4		
	B	Robust SE	R ²
Develop.	-2.09***	.312	
Conflict	.280***	.036	
Language	.158***	.019	
Regime	-.010***	.001	
Distance	.000	.000	
Trade	-.002	.003	
Military	-.000***	-.000	
Int1	-.655***	.127	
Int2	.000***	.000	.477

Note: SE β refers to robust SE β . Int1 measures the interaction between GPI (conflict) and IHDI (development). Int2 measures the interaction between GPI (conflict) and military aid.

* = $P < 0.05$, ** = $P < 0.01$; *** = $P < 0.001$

This final regression table suggested that there were some variables that did not influence LCM framing, some variables that influenced LCM framing weakly and some variables that significantly influenced LCM frames. In particular, regime type, military aid and Int2 (conflict

and military aid) were statistically significant but had weak coefficients. These weak relations were corroborated by initial linear regression analyses of each individual country characteristic, which showed that these country characteristics explained very little of the variance within linguistic framing differences. Two variables, distance and trade, was not statistically significant.

There were four variables that significantly influence LCM frames: language, development, conflict and Int2 (conflict and development). Increased development decreased the LCM frame score. English-speaking countries had lower-scored LCM frames. Increased conflict increased the LCM frame score. The interaction of both decreased the LCM frame score. As noted by their individual linear regression analyses, development and conflict each significantly influenced LCM frames individually, so the interaction of both was also statistically significant. Interestingly, this interaction was negatively related to the LCM frame score, which suggested that highly developed countries with a significant amount of conflict were framed more specifically than developing countries with a significant amount of conflict.

A subsequent linktest showed that there were no longer multicollinearity issues with the model ($p > 0.05$). These results are more broadly discussed in the subsequent section.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Through an analysis of language abstractness in U.S. news media, using LCM as a coding method, this study found that different country characteristics could influence the way in which a country's event was framed in U.S. news media. Although all of the characteristics were statistically significant when tested individually; distance, trade, military and language were found to be weakly related to LCM frames. Combined, variables such as trade and distance no longer became statistically significant, while others (e.g., military) were shown to have only weak relations. In the OLS regressions and multiple regressions, regime type, development and conflict remained statistically significant and influential. Of these three, development was the most influential, followed by conflict, then regime type.

Such results contribute significantly to the understanding of LCM frames in U.S. news coverage of international events. As previously applied, language abstractness has been found to reinforce existing stereotypes about different racial groups (Gorham, 2006) and in-groups/out-groups (Banga, Szabó & László, 2012). However, this literature has focused largely on the use of language abstractness when describing individuals, rather than countries or international events. This study provides evidence that the linguistic category model can be used as a tool to analyze language abstractness when covering international events in news media.

Of the seven variables tested, regime type (polity), development (HDI) and conflict (GPI) significantly influenced the LCM frame. Articles discussing countries with high levels of polity and IHDI were framed with less abstract language, suggesting that events in democratic and developed countries were portrayed more concretely and less stereotypically. This corroborated literature arguing that developing countries are framed more negatively, stereotypically and with increased bias (Giffard, 1984; Sabir, 2013; Saleem, 2007). In contrast, conflict was positively

related to the LCM frame. Therefore, high-conflict countries would be framed more abstractly by U.S. news media. One interaction also examined the combined power of development and conflict; this interaction was negatively related to the LCM frame. This suggests that highly developed countries were framed less abstractly, even in times of conflict. Incorporating such an interaction into the model negated any power for high conflict, on its own, to increase language abstractness.

These results supported the theory that countries not proximate to the U.S. were framed more broadly and abstractly in American news media (Yarchi et al., 2013). In particular, the use of different levels of language abstractness was most heavily tied to development and conflict, two variables which has influenced the stereotyping of countries in U.S. media (Galander, 2012; Lee & Fiske, 2006; Lyons, et al., 2012). By employing more abstract language, news media framed countries as the “other,” using more descriptive and abstract language (e.g., adjectives and adverbs) regardless of the news event being covered. This also corroborated scholarship on news media and political elites’ framing of certain countries—notably, developing and non-Western nations—as different from other (Balmas & Sheaffer, 2013; Sheaffer & Gabay, 2009). In particular, less similar or related countries covered each other less (Sheaffer et al., 2013), tended to frame each other negatively (Lyons, et al., 2012; Saleem, 2007), and were more likely to focus on the other nations’ leader rather than that nation’s political complexities (Balmas & Sheaffer, 2013). This study found that stories about nations not proximate to the U.S. were framed more abstractly in American news media.

Since the United States is ranked as a developed, democratic country with relatively little conflict, countries that were developed and democratic became the U.S.’s “in-group,” a set of countries similar to or close friends with the United States. Developing countries and high-

conflict countries became the “out-group,” countries considered to be part of the Global South or were periphery nations in World Systems Theory (Sabir, 2013). Countries in the latter category may not have been similar to the U.S. in terms of development and regime type, and may have had weak military or economic relations with the United States. Because they were not relevant or proximate to the United States, American news media framed those countries’ events more abstractly.

Scholarship examining countries not proximate or significant to the United States has noted these nations lack the power to control the flow of information and are often portrayed negatively (Chang et al., 2000; Horvit, 2006). Powerful and proximate countries, on the other hand, tended to be remembered more by the general public (Segev & Hill, 2014) and were more likely to have their frames employed in news (Yarchi et al., 2013). This study contributed to literature in this area by showing that, aside from negative framing, countries with little relatedness to the United States were framed abstractly, which could reinforce or evoke broad stereotypes about these countries (Ndlela, 2005). Literature in both framing theory and agenda-setting theory similarly found an “other”-ing of less developed countries (Hammett, 2011; Huang & Leung, 2005).

The interactions included in the model were another significant result of this thesis. Both interactions shared a conflict variable, suggesting that conflict could influence LCM frame through other variables. Previous scholarship has focused on event levels of conflict as an indicator of newsworthiness (Golan & Wanta, 2003; Hawkins, 2014). However, this study showed that conflict may also mediate the relationship between country characteristics like military aid and the LCM frame. Notably, the negative relationship between LCM frame and the

development/conflict interaction suggested that countries with high levels of conflict may not have been framed abstractly if they were also developed nations.

The third contribution of this study is the overall analysis of language abstractness as a linguistic framing device through a limited corpus linguistic critical discourse frame analysis. By focusing the study on one linguistic framing device, through the linguistic category model, this thesis was able to show that countries less similar or relevant to the United States were framed more abstractly in American news media.

As scholars studying the linguistic category model have noted, the process by which abstract language is used may not be completely conscious (Fernández et al., 2013; Gorham, 2006). Given that framing devices manifest from organizational norms or journalistic routines (Hänggli, 2012; Jerit, 2009), the use of different LCM frames to describe not-proximate/relevant countries may reflect norms and expectations of journalists and gatekeepers to describe certain countries in succinct, stereotypical ways. Another explanation may be that the use of varying levels of language abstractness is based on a societal norm that certain groups should be stereotypically and abstractly framed, while others should be concretely framed. This would corroborate literature focusing on nationally constructed stereotypes about other nations, as countries regularly establish both “good” and “bad” stereotypes about other nations (Aslama & Pantti, 2007). Journalists and individuals would unintentionally reinforce stereotypical perceptions about developing and high-conflict countries, further “other”-ing these countries in U.S. media (Lyons et al. 2012).

Discursive Microframes

The LCM frame is relatively unique in comparison to other frames studied in current mass communication literature. While this frame is generic in the sense that it could be applied

across multiple topics and issues (Matthes, 2009), the use of this frame may look different in non-English news stories. Even within English-speaking news outlets, LCM framing may reflect different stereotypes and out-groups when used by English-speaking outlets outside of the United States (e.g., Al Jazeera English, China Daily). This makes the LCM frame difficult to categorize in terms of the issue-generic frame binary. However, as identified in this study, the LCM frame embodied qualities of a news frame (David et al., 2011, Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Notably, the LCM frame was a textual manifestation of a frame, language abstractness, which could then be used to evoke a particular schema or stereotypes (Gorham, 2006). Accordingly, the LCM frame may not activate if a consumer did not recognize the semantic mechanism that tied language abstractness to stereotypes about a nation (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

With this in mind, the author posits that LCM frames represent a unique type of frame, a *discursive microframe*. The discursive microframe (DMF) takes its name from both framing theory and one level of critical discourse analysis, the micro-level analysis. The micro-level analysis encourages researchers to engage in a textual or linguistic analysis (Van Dijk, 2009), focusing specifically on small-scale decisions such as word choice, use of metaphors and grammatical structure. The use of a corpus linguistic critical discourse frame analysis was useful for examining the micro-level discourse of these news stories.

Discursive microframes (DMFs) are understood as having the following criteria:

- (1) Discursive microframes are text-based.
- (2) Discursive microframes are bounded by a single linguistic framing device.
- (3) Discursive microframes reinforce a social perception, norm or stereotype.

Important to the understanding of DMFs is that they are not necessarily generic or issue frames. DMFs do not necessarily have to be bound by a specific issue or topic as issue frames do

(Lecheler, de Vreese, & Slothuus, 2009); this study, for example, found that more abstract LCM frames were used to describe developing countries regardless of event or topic. However, this does not mean that DMFs can be applied everywhere the way valence frames, a generic frame, are. Because DMFs are culturally bound and act as linguistic cues to evoke stereotypical perceptions, DMFs may differ between nations or societies. In particular, language abstractness may be identified through different linguistic cues in other languages.

While this study only examined international news, it would be possible to study language abstractness in other news texts. This makes DMFs a unique contribution to a field that is saturated with frames specific to one issue or event (Borah, 2011; Hertog & McLeod, 2011). It is also possible that LCM frames can be used elsewhere for different purposes. For example, scholarship in marketing and advertising has focused on how persuasive different levels of language abstraction can be. This, too, can be understood as a DMF; however, one would have to note that the social perception, norm or stereotype being reinforces is different from what LCM frames in news stories evoke.

The linguistic category model frames analyzed in this study fit well into the three criteria set. First, LCM frames coded here were textually-bound, appearing in news texts found across three mediums (news wire reports, newspapers articles, television transcripts). Second, the LCM frame focuses on one linguistic framing device, language abstractness, which was coded using the linguistic category model (Coenen et al., 2006a). Studies examining language abstractness and LCM found that abstract language has been used in news media to describe in-groups and out-groups (Mastro, Tukachinsk, Behm-Morawitz & Blecha, 2014), and that the use of abstract language in media have primed individuals to think about stereotypes (Gorham, 2006). Finally,

this study showed that news about certain countries was framed more abstractly, suggesting that countries were framed differently based on their level of relatedness to the United States.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

One significant contribution of this thesis was that countries with less cultural, political or economic relatedness to the U.S. were framed more abstractly in American news media. This aligned with preexisting literature, which have employed qualitative methods to show that linguistic choices are significant to journalism and news culture (Bello, 2014; Viscido, 2014), and surveys, which provide explicit answers about how journalists interpreted the frame building process, but may not have sufficiently explained norms and values journalists employed subconsciously (Hauser & Luginibuhl, 2012). In this study, LCM frames tended to be more abstract when discussing countries not proximate or relevant to the U.S., which could make negative stereotypes about those nations more salient to news consumer. This also confirmed scholarship studying international news coverage and framing, which has found that developing and autocratic nations tend to be framed more negatively in American news media (Aslama & Pantti, 2007; Lyons et al., 2012). While this study did not look at valence, the higher LCM frame scores indicated that countries not relevant to the U.S. were framed more abstractly, priming consumer to think of stereotypes related to those countries (Gorham, 2006).

The study also contributed to framing scholarship by proposing the discursive microframe (DMF), frames that were textually-bound, based on one linguistic framing device, and reinforced a stereotype or norm. Such analysis of frames would deviate from the more common analysis of frames as simply a selection of words salient within a particular issue (e.g., Edy & Meirick, 2007; Wise & Brewer, 2010). The discursive microframe also implies a more complex relationship between linguistics and news frame that needs to be further analyzed in the context of international news coverage.

Of significant importance to this study was the use of the linguistic category model to identify different levels of language abstractness in news articles. Scholarship in linguistics and other fields have shown that abstract language prime individuals to think about negative, generic schema and stereotypes associated with out-groups (Chisango & Gwandure, 2011; Gorham, 2006; Mastro et al., 2014). Such an effort on the portrayal of developing countries can negatively impact their power in the international system and the way they are perceived by other countries. Given that scholars have already lamented over limited coverage of these nations (Sabir, 2013; van Dijk, 2013), the employment of these frames by news media should further highlight the significant of research in international news framing.

While this study was able to shed light on the use of linguistics when framing countries in U.S. news media, the thesis is rather limited in that it does not explain why such a difference in LCM frames occurred between developed, democratic countries and developing, autocratic countries, or what effect such frames may have on consumers of international news. In many ways, this study served as evidence that research endeavors in linguistics and frames in news media would not only be important contributions to information about DMFs, but would help future scholars understand how linguistic devices play a role in the construction of news frames.

Limitations

As noted, there were several limitations to this study. This study employed a sample using the key terms “GDIP” (international relations) and “GGLOBE” (global/world issues), which includes all articles identified as part of the international, foreign or global section. However, there may have been articles in other sections (e.g., sports or arts) which covered other countries. While sorting through all possible section or types of news for international stories

was not feasible for this thesis, future studies should consider the possibility that the international section does not provide a full portrayal of countries in U.S. news media.

Another limitation of this study was the focus on proximity and relationship variables. As previous studies have found, there are many event variables (Otto & Meyers, 2012; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Yang, 2003) and country variables (Hopmann et al., 2011; Swain, 2003) that could influence how a country is framed in American news media. Future studies should consider the use of different variables; for example, co-participation in an IGO (e.g., United Nations, NATO) or nuclear stockpiles.

Areas for Future Research

As with most good questions, answers often elicit more questions about the phenomenon being studied. What other discursive microframes exist? What are the effects of these DMFs? Can a similar form of language abstractness be found in non-English international news coverage? What about English-speaking news coverage from other nations (e.g., Al Jazeera or RT)? Is this something media consumers recognize when consuming news?

Literature on the framing process can provide strong direction for the study of DMFs. In particular, this study was able to show such frames existed, but more work needs to be done on both the construction of these DMFs and the effects of these DMFs. This study was largely exploratory, showing that varying levels of language abstractness were used to describe different types of countries. However, data from this thesis could not explain why this occurs, nor does it predict the effect LCM frames may have on media consumers. Future studies should employ interview and survey methodologies to ask journalists about linguistic considerations when writing international news articles. Additionally, experiments can further identify what cognitive and psychological effects LCM frames may have on American audiences.

Significant to the study of language abstractness is its relation to stereotyping. Although this study found that countries with weak relations with (or were not proximate to) the United States were framed abstractly, it is unclear whether these LCM frames would directly evoke stereotypes the way LCM has in other news coverage. Future studies can examine whether the use of the LCM frame primes people to associate the stereotype with the country being covered in U.S. news media, contributing to literature about language abstractness and news media. Additionally, scholars can examine whether the LCM frame could evoke different stereotypes when applied in other scenarios.

Finally, studies can work to discover different types of discursive microframes. This requires an interdisciplinary commitment to several fields, including mass communication and linguistics. However, identification of discursive microframes can provide information about why and how countries are framed based on semantics and other linguistic indicators. For example, while this study does not use nouns, future studies can examine the role of this word category as a framing device.

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Appendix A: Codebook

Coding Instructions: Please follow all instructions. You will be coding 5 different variables for each news item. You have the option of providing your coding online or offline. If you are coding offline, a print-out sheet is available in this codebook (page 5); you will need one coding sheet for each news item you code. All items must be written on the coding sheet or inserted in the survey.

Item Information

Source: Write the name of the publisher or producer (e.g. *The New York Times*, ABC or CNN) in the appropriate space on the coding sheet. This will typically appear at either the top or the bottom of the article/transcript, although this is not always the case.

Date: MM/DD/YYYY

Day: Code as Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday

Week: Code as Week A or Week B

Type: Code the item type as the following:

- 1 = Newspaper
- 2 = Television
- 3 = Wire service

Manifest Content

Most Important Country Discussed: Identify the main country being discussed in the article and write that name in the appropriate space on the coding sheet. If multiple countries are mentioned in the news item (e.g., as in the case of a conflict between nations), use the country that is mentioned the most in the article. The best way to do this would be to tally the number of mentions for each news article and code the *most important country discussed* as the country with the most tallies. *If doing so, do not count references to the United States.*

Linguistic Frame

Article Abstraction Level: This variable will be measured by tally counting. You will be tallying for four different word categories: description action verbs (DAV), interpretive action and state action verbs (IAV/SAV), state verbs (SV) and adjectives (ADJ). These are three different categories of verbs and one category which include adjectives and adverbs. You will be counting the number of times these word categories appear in the article. You will add a tally for every time a word that fits into one of these categories. Code the entire article. Include the headline in your count.

Below are the four categories you will be coding for:

- Descriptive Action Verb (DAV): Verbs that imply some physical action taking place, with a definitive beginning and end. These are usually neutral verbs.
- Interpretive Action Verb (IAV): Verbs that imply some action took place, but does not include a physical characteristic. There is a definitive beginning and end to that action.
- State Action Verb (SAV): Verbs that are emotional responses to an action. There is an implied beginning and end. IAVs and SAVs are included in the same category in the grid and will be counted together.
- State Verbs (SV): Verbs that express emotional states of mind. There is no definitive beginning or end.
- Adjectives and Adverbs (ADJ): This includes any adjectives used to describe the most important country and any adverbs used to describe actions done by the most important country.

A sheet with examples and a sample coded article has been included with your coding sheets.

Please refer to this sheet for examples when coding for the Abstraction Level. You have also

been given the parts of the Linguistic Category Model Manuals. Manual 1 includes basic information about the Linguistic Category Model should you have any generic questions. Manual 2 includes more specific coding instructions, particularly in unique situations (e.g., metaphor use and situations in which one word may be different categories based on context).

Please contact the primary author, Josephine Lukito (jlukito@syr.edu // 646.467.2114) for more information or if there are any questions.

Abstraction Level Example Sheet

Descriptive Action Verb (DAV): Verbs that imply some physical action taking place, with a definitive beginning and end. Verbs here are considered neutral verbs, which can be used both positively and negatively.

- *Examples:* Russian troops **marched** into Ukraine. Canada **deployed** its first space shuttle. Norway **said** they will increase their oil production. Pakistan **flew** several test missions.

Interpretive Action Verb (IAV): Verbs that imply some action took place, but does not include a physical characteristic. There is a definitive beginning and end to that action. Typically, there valence of the verb depends on the context in which its used.

- *Examples:* North Korea **threatens** more nuclear testing. The Prime Minister **bullied** the neighboring country. Italy **cheated** in World Cup match. Greece **avoided** telling the EU.

State Action Verb (IAV): Verbs that are emotional responses to an action. There is an implied beginning and end. IAVs and SAVs are included in the same category in the grid and will be counted together.

- *Examples:* Beijing was **frustrated** by the diplomats. Citizens were **amazed** by the international support. Mexico **lamented**.

State Verbs (SV): Verbs that express emotional states of mind. There is no definitive beginning or end.

- *Examples:* The Japanese government **understands** its citizens. India **loves** cows. Australia **wants** to succeed.

Adjectives and Adverbs (ADJ): This includes any adjectives used to describe the most important country and any adverbs used to describe actions done by the most important country.

- England is a **reliable** friend. North Korea's aggressive **tendencies** hurt the region. Germany's **powerful** economy supports the EU.

Offline Code Sheet

Article #: _____

Coder: _____

Source: _____

Type: _____

Date (MM/DD/YYYY): _____

Day: _____

Week: _____

Most Important Country Discussed: _____

Abstraction Score: _____

DAV	IAV/SAV
Number of DAVs: _____	Number of IAVs/SAVs: _____
SV	ADJ
Number of SVs: _____	Number of ADJs: _____

Main Coding Rules (R2 & 3 ICR)

- 1) Titles do not count as descriptions.
- 2) The terms “said” and “told” are DAVs.
- 3) The word “killed” is an IAV, but “shot” is a DAV.
- 4) The word “know” is a SV.
- 5) If a news anchor says the word “quote” and “end quote,” neither are counted.
- 6) Articles about American athletes (in Sochi Olympics) should be disqualified
- 7) Conjugations should all be coded as one verb
 - a. “will shoot” should be coded as one DAV

Abstraction Examples 2 (R3 ICR)

Example 1

“He shot her with a gun” (DAV)

“He murdered her” (IAV)

“He hates her” (SV)

“His violent tendencies...” (ADJ)

Example 2

“Twenty troops were deployed” (DAV)

“Twenty troops invaded...” (IAV)

“The military considered the best route” (IAV)

“The military believes they will win” (SV)

“Troops angrily...” (ADJ)

Example 3

“The president applauded” (DAV)

“The president smiled” (DAV)

“The president held a meeting” (IAV)

“The president loves” (SV)

“The president happily [ADJ] announced [IAV]” (ADJ/IAV)

Appendix B

Country Codes

1	Afghanistan	31	Cambodia	61	Fiji
2	Albania	32	Cameroon	62	Finland
3	Algeria	33	Canada	63	France
4	Andorra	34	Cape Verde	64	Gabon
5	Angola	35	Central African Republic	65	Gambia, The
6	Antigua and Barbuda	36	Chad	66	Georgia
7	Argentina	37	Chile	67	Germany
8	Armenia	38	China	68	Ghana
9	Aruba	39	Colombia	69	Greece
10	Australia	40	Comoros	70	Grenada
11	Austria	41	Congo, Democratic Republic of	71	Guatemala
12	Azerbaijan	42	Congo, Republic of	72	Guinea
13	Bahamas	43	Costa Rica	73	Guinea-Bissau
14	Bahrain	44	Cote d'Ivoire	74	Guyana
15	Bangladesh	45	Croatia	75	Haiti
16	Barbados	46	Cuba	76	Holy See
17	Belarus	47	Curacao	77	Honduras
18	Belgium	48	Cyprus	78	Hong Kong
19	Belize	49	Czech Republic	79	Hungary
20	Benin	50	Denmark	80	Iceland
21	Bhutan	51	Djibouti	81	India
22	Bolivia	52	Dominica	82	Indonesia
23	Bosnia and Herzegovina	53	Dominican Republic	83	Iran
24	Botswana	54	Ecuador	84	Iraq
25	Brazil	55	Egypt	85	Ireland
26	Brunei	56	El Salvador	86	Israel
27	Bulgaria	57	Equatorial Guinea	87	Italy
28	Burkina Faso	58	Eritrea	88	Jamaica
29	Myanmar (Burma)	59	Estonia	89	Japan
30	Burundi	60	Ethiopia	90	Jordan
91	Kazakhstan	125	Morocco	159	Senegal

92	Kenya	126	Mozambique	160	Serbia
93	Kiribati	127	Namibia	161	Seychelles
94	Korea, North	128	Nauru	162	Sierra Leone
95	Korea, South	129	Nepal	163	Singapore
96	Kosovo	130	Netherlands	164	Sint Maarten
97	Kuwait	131	Netherlands Antilles	165	Slovakia
98	Kyrgyzstan	132	New Zealand	166	Slovenia
99	Laos	133	Nicaragua	167	Solomon Islands
100	Latvia	134	Niger	168	Somalia
101	Lebanon	135	Nigeria	169	South Africa
102	Lesotho	136	Norway	170	South Sudan
103	Liberia	137	Oman	171	Spain
104	Libya	138	Pakistan	172	Sri Lanka
105	Liechtenstein	139	Palau	173	Sudan
106	Lithuania	140	Palestinian Territories	174	Suriname
107	Luxembourg	141	Panama	175	Swaziland
108	Macau	142	Papua New Guinea	176	Sweden
109	Macedonia	143	Paraguay	177	Switzerland
110	Madagascar	144	Peru	178	Syria
111	Malawi	145	Philippines	179	Taiwan
112	Malaysia	146	Poland	180	Tajikistan
113	Maldives	147	Portugal	181	Tanzania
114	Mali	148	Qatar	182	Thailand
115	Malta	149	Romania	183	Timor-Leste
116	Marshall Islands	150	Russia	184	Togo
117	Mauritania	151	Rwanda	185	Tonga
118	Mauritius	152	Saint Kitts and Nevis	186	Trinidad and Tobago
119	Mexico	153	Saint Lucia	187	Tunisia
120	Micronesia	154	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	188	Turkey
121	Moldova	155	Samoa	189	Turkmenistan
122	Monaco	156	San Marino	190	Tuvalu
123	Mongolia	157	Sao Tome and Principe	191	Uganda
124	Montenegro	158	Saudi Arabia	192	Ukraine
193	United Arab Emirates	197	Vanuatu	201	Zambia
194	United Kingdom	198	Venezuela	202	Zimbabwe

195	Uruguay	199	Vietnam	.	European Union
196	Uzbekistan	200	Yemen		Continents/Antartica NGOs

Continent

- 1 Africa
- 2 Asia
- 3 Europe
- 4 North America
- 5 Australia
- 6 South America

Distance

- Distance between the capital of a country and Washington D.C., measured in feet.

Trade Flow

- Trade Flow = |exports| + |imports|, measured in U.S. dollars.
- Countries not included in dataset were coded as missing

Military Aid

- Amount of aid given to other countries, measured in U.S. dollars.

Language

- 0 Not English-speaking
- 1 English-speaking
- .
- Countries not included in dataset were coded as missing

Regime

- Regime type is measured on the -10 to 10 Polity IV scale, with autocratic regimes coded as -10 and democratic regimes coded as 10.
- Countries not included in dataset were coded as missing

Development

- IHDI is measured from 0 to 1, with more developed countries given higher numbers (closer to 1)
- Countries not included in dataset were coded as missing

Conflict

- The Global Peace Index's lowest score is 1, which represents no conflict. Countries with more conflict are given higher numbers, up to 3.5.
- Countries not included in dataset were coded as missing


5 April 2015


Josephine Lukito

Professional Philomath

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Education

M. A., Syracuse University, *In Progress (Graduation Date: May 2015)*

Program: Media Studies

B. A., State University of New York at Geneseo, 2013

Majors: Communication, Political Science

Publication

Lukito, J., & Tajima, A. (2014). Two national newspapers cover recession distinctively. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 35(3), 66-80.

Golan, G.J. & Lukito, J. (Forthcoming). The rise of the dragon? Framing China's global leadership in elite American newspapers. *International Communication Gazette*.

Golan, G.J. & Lukito, J. (2014, August). The framing of China in the opinion pages of *The New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal*. Paper presented in the International Communication Division of Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Montreal, Canada. *Revise and Resubmit Offer*.

Conference Participation

Lukito, J. (2011, April). Critical youth and slanted truth: Media framing and audience perception in the 2010 midterm elections. Paper presented at the Annual Undergraduate Scholars' Conference of the Eastern Communication Association, Arlington, VA.

Lukito, J. (2012, April). The American nightmare: Hegemony and the transformation of the American dream. Paper presented at the Annual Undergraduate Scholars' Conference of the Eastern Communication Association, Cambridge, MA.

Lukito, J. & Tajima, A. (2012, August). Setting frames, contextualizing frames: Elite vs. non-elite press coverage of the 2008 US recession. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Chicago, IL.

- Lukito, J. (2013, April). Selectively social media: Selective exposure theory and social media during the 2012 US presidential elections. Paper presented at the Annual Undergraduate Scholars' Conference of the Eastern Communication Association, Pittsburg, PA.
- Lukito, J. and Tajima, A. (2013, April). Economics news explored: role of elite newspapers and non-elite newspapers presenting a holistic picture of the 2008-09 U.S. recession. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Eastern Communication Association, Pittsburg, PA.
- Lukito, J. (2014, May). Americanizing anime: Is Disney's representation of Miyazaki movies removing the "Japan" from Japanese anime? Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, Seattle, WA.
- Lim, J. S., Jeong Y. J., & Lukito, J. (2015). The relationship between cosmetic surgery advertisements and third person behavior in the United States. Paper accepted to the Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- Schweickart, T. L., Neil, J. M., Kim, J. Y., Zhang, T., Lukito, J., Golan, G. J., & Kiouisis, S. K. (2015). Time-lagged analysis of third-level agenda-building: Florida's debate on medical marijuana. Paper submitted to the Annual Conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), San Francisco, CA.

Research In-Progress

- Neil, J. M., Schweickart, T. L., Kim, J. Y., Zhang, T., Lukito, J., Golan, G. J., & Kiouisis, S. K. (2015). The dash for gas: Examining third-level agenda-building and fracking in the United Kingdom.
- Lukito, J. & Wu, Y. (n.d.). Tweeting the news: Studying the agenda-setting function of Twitter's network through the NSA-Snowden case.
- Lukito, J. (2015). Language abstractness as discursive microframes: LCM framing in American coverage of international news [Thesis].

Research Assistantships

- Golan, Guy J.**, Fall 2013 – Spring 2015 (4 semesters)
Lim, Joon Soo, Summer 2014

Classroom Experience

Instructional Associate, Spring 2015

Course: (COM 505) Media Law for Journalists

Instructional Associate, Fall 2013 – Fall 2014 (3 semesters)

Course: (COM 107) Mass Media and Society

Course Assistant, Spring 2013

Course: (PLSC 341) Democracy and International Relations

Teaching Assistant, Spring 2013

Course: (COMN 160) Introduction to Mass Communication

Teaching Assistant, Fall 2012

Course: (COMN 368) Research in Media and Culture Studies

Teaching Assistant, Spring 2012

Course: (PLSC 140) Introduction to International Politics

Grants

2013 Geneseo Undergraduate Research Grant (\$500)

Awards

2013 President's Cup, State University of New York (SUNY) at Geneseo

2013 Senior Merit Award, SUNY Geneseo Department of Communication

2013 Elimidallion Award, Circle K International

2012 Distinguished District Governor, Circle K International

Extracurricular University Activities & Membership

International Communication Club, 2011-2013

Charter Secretary, 2011-2013

Editor-in-Chief, 2012-2013

Circle K International, 2008-Present

District Convention Chair, 2013-2014

International President, 2012-2013

New York District Governor, 2011-2012

Central Lakes Lieutenant Governor 2008-2011

District Webmaster, 2009-2011

Inter-Residence Council and Hall Council, 2008-2011

Inter-Residence Council Representative, 2010-2011

Hall Secretary, 2009-2010

Hall Treasurer, 2008-2009

Related Skills

Proficiency in SPSS and STATA statistical software packages
 Proficiency in Microsoft Office, Adobe Photoshop, and Adobe Elements
 Programming & Scripting Experience with Java, HTML 5 and CSS 3
 Fluency in English, Conversational Proficiency in French
 Typing Speed: 92-94 Words per Minute
 Seven years of conference workshop presentations in leadership, public speaking,
 recruitment strategies, fundraising and event planning

Non-Academic Work

New York City Parks and Recreations Academy Intern	Summer 2012
SUNY Geneseo Limelight & Accents Publicity Coordinator	Fall 2011 & Spring 2012
Westin Jersey City Human Resources and Training Intern	Summer 2010
DoubleTree Jamaica Human Resources Intern	Summer 2009
Freelance Webmaster	2009-2011
SAT/PSAT Teaching Assistant	Summer 2008