

**British Newspaper Coverage of the Tibet Issue over
Time, 1949-2009: Representations of Repression and
Resistance**

by

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A Doctoral Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

June 2018

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor James Stanyer, who has given me the most precious intellectual inspirations, valuable advice and help on this long road. Without his generous supports, encouragements, discussions and comments, this dissertation may never appear.

I appreciate the help and support from the whole faculty of Social Sciences Department at Loughborough University, especially the administrator Deirdre Lombard who is always willing to help under all conditions.

I am also very grateful for the support from all my personal friends at Loughborough, including Lingqi Kong, Mingxi Yin, Hui-Ju Tsai, Xue Li, Zhijia Yang, Edward Winward, Miaoshan Pan, Jiacheng Zhen, Fabia Lin and Harry Gui. In the process of this research, they not only kept with me very insightful academic communications but also shared with me their warmest friendship which helped me move on in the darkest moments. My PhD life at Loughborough would be very dull and colorless without them around.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank my parents for their selfless love, understanding, and endless support for me for my entire life, without which I could not possibly achieve what I have accomplished today.

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ABSTRACT

News media play a significant role in shaping the national image of other countries, especially in the context of China (PRC). They have been and remain the main source of information for the British public about developments in China but representations evolve over time. This thesis examines how a particular aspect of China's state actions has been reported. The study examines how the national imagery of China and Tibet has been represented in the British national press over the Cold War period and beyond. This study investigates media representations of the Tibetan conflict and how the events related to this were represented and portrayed in the British national daily newspapers from 1949 to 2009. It examines the frames chosen by the press and the influence of the sources (especially external journalistic influence) on the frame-building process. Through a comparison of coverage by the British newspapers over time, it determines the changing similarities and differences in representations of Tibet according to their partisanship and newspaper formats. The research involved a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative frame analysis.

The research showed that generally there were greater similarities than differences in the way the British press represented the Tibet issue from 1949 to 2009. Only the pro-Communist *Daily Working/Morning Star* with a purely Communist canon of news values adopted a completely different framing strategy to report the events. Other British press aligned closely with the UK government by reproducing and reinforcing the dominant capitalist ideology. This political motivation resulted in their approval of stable and familiar frames. In addition, there were differences in the frame types used by the British press between the early Cold War, near the end of the Cold War and the post-Cold War periods. The year 1989 could be seen as a turning point. The research enriches the concept of Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model and contributes to existing media framing studies on Western media's representations of China.

Key words: British national daily newspapers, frames, framing, representations, China, Tibet.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

News is a window on the world. Through its frame, Americans learn of themselves and others, of their own institutions, leaders, and life styles, and those of other nations and their people. [...] But, like any frame that delineates a world, the news frame may be considered problematic. The view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard.

– Tuchman (1978, p.1)

As Tuchman indicates, international news is an important window on the world for audiences who have little direct contact or experience with other cultures. They usually rely on secondary sources, especially the mass media channels, to open up their communication with and experience of foreign countries (Hall, 2000). Increasingly integrated economic and communication systems have turned the world into a huge global village. In this context, international news is no longer simply exotic stories from distant lands of little importance. Scholars find that mass media can be studied as an important subject to comprehend foreign countries' images, as media coverage is closely related to national portrayal (McNelly & Izcaray, 1986; Zelizer & Allen, 2002).

It is rather complicated to systematically analyse what kind of image of one country has been presented in another society. This study tries to utilise the propaganda model, frames and framing theory to investigate media representations and the major factors that profoundly shape and influence the perceptions of the media when they represent other countries. Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model has shown how the US government constructed national images for different countries through the mainstream media to legitimise their foreign policy goals and to secure consent for their actions (1988). However, they only provided empirical

evidence for this point of view without using frames and framing analysis, and did not consider other countries' outside the US (e.g. the UK) and their media systems. Here, important contextual factors such as press party parallelism might mean differences of coverage between the left-wing and right-wing press. They did not consider whether media representations changed over time with changes in the global, political and ideological environment. Frames and framing analysis could make up for these deficiencies. Research has consistently shown that the media not only selectively deliver information, but also deliver a particular narrative framework (Tuchman, 1978; Gitlin, 1980; Tankard et al., 1991; Entman, 1993). Accordingly, news coverage plays an important role in the construction of social reality, mainly by presenting news frames that explain the issues. Summarising previous studies, de Vreese (2005) suggests at least three potential sources of influence on frame-building: external influence, journalist-centred influence and organisational routines. Therefore, one of the purposes of the present study is to examine the British newspapers' representations of issues occurring in other countries by focusing on the sources' influence (especially external influence) on the frame-building process.

China¹ is a geographically distant country that is different from Britain in almost every aspect – history, culture, ideological position, political system and lifestyle. Great changes have taken place since the People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded, especially since the implementation of the opening and reform policy in 1978, and China has received increasing international media exposure (Neuhaus, 2012). In addition, the long-term conflict between the PRC and Tibet captured the attention of the Western² media, such as the 1959 Tibetan Uprising and the 2008 Tibetan Unrest. Under these circumstances, it is worth studying the British newspapers' representations of China in the context of Tibet - they usually report that the PRC represses religious freedom in Tibet. The study hopes to provide valuable

¹ In this study, China refers to the People's Republic of China (PRC), which was founded in 1949.

² Western countries in this thesis refer to countries embracing a liberal democracy, in contrast with countries with one-party systems of government. In China, the term 'Western' is used extensively, and sometimes loosely, to indicate developed capitalist economies, most notably the United States.

information and benchmarks for how the Tibet issue was represented in the British press from 1949 to 2009, in order to gain some insight into the trends in the UK society's perception of the PRC. It examines which frames the British newspapers chose and the reasons behind the selection. It attempts to help news professionals to systematically understand the nature and operation of the frame-building process, and work with it more effectively, especially in the realm of international communication. It also hopes to help people consume media coverage in ways that get beyond the frames and ideology usually used in the UK media.

There are some limitations in existing framing research on China's representations in the Western media. News frames have been studied within the US media as a whole in broad political and cultural issues, or in separate, episodic events. There is little framing research that has been done on the UK media representations of China. Given the characteristics of the UK media system, on the one hand, nearly every British newspaper has its own political sentiment and distinctive political orientation that can be seen in the news content (Fridriksson, 2004). According to Butler et al. (1952, 1970, 1988, 1992, 1997, 2000, 2005, 2010), the British national daily press supported four parties (Conservative, Liberal/Liberal Democrat, Labour and Communist). And there are ideological differences between these four parties. For example, Bale (2013) specifies that the Conservative Party mainly advocates that state intervention should be limited, and any concessions to social democracy (such as public ownership and the welfare state) are kept within limits. In contrast, the Communist Party recognises that the interests of the people will best be served by socialism, rather than the world of war, want and exploitation offered by capitalism (South West Communists, 2017). Therefore, this study tries to investigate similarities and differences between newspapers by partisanship in terms of frame choices. On the other hand, the British newspapers can be traditionally divided into 'broadsheets' and 'tabloids' according to newspaper formats. The national broadsheets mainly provide predominantly serious news, and tend to employ a traditional approach to news that

emphasises in-depth coverage and a sober tone in articles and editorials (Franklin & Eldridge II, 2016). Comparatively, the tabloids reject the constraints of objective reporting because of their strong political orientations (Hallin & Mancini, 2004), and tend to focus more on ‘light’ news and sensational human interest stories (Tunstall, 1996). Thus, the research also aims to compare the differences in coverage of Tibet between the broadsheets and the tabloids.

In addition, the abolition of newsprint rationing in 1956 contributed to the British newspapers revolutionising their format and content freely (Niblock, 2008). Meanwhile, because of commercial requirements and reader preferences, the size and shape of the newspapers have changed throughout their history. They have more pages than ever. For instance, they increased the number of pages, added and expanded supplements and sections in the newspapers to cover a broader range of topics (Williams, 2010). Furthermore, they gradually shrank the size of the newspaper page (Esser, 1999), incorporating changes in the size, values and production methods associated with ‘tabloidisation’ (Williams, 2010). The papers such as *Daily Express*, *Daily Mail* and *Daily Herald* were still large size in the 1950s, which went tabloid in the 1970s. Since the 1990s, the traditional broadsheet newspapers (e.g. *The Independent*, *The Times* and *The Guardian*) changed to ‘tabloid’ format to boost circulation (ibid.). That said, the style, tone and layout of the broadsheets were beginning to resemble the tabloids (ibid.). However, they still can be regarded as tabloid size papers that contain the broadsheet quality. According to the changes of the British press, their representations and frames of the Tibet issue would probably have changed accordingly.

Moreover, the existing studies do not have fully defined types of frames, and thus yield inconsistent results (Dai, 2006; Liu, 2009; Xu, 2006 and Wang, 2009), which calls for further examination. Besides, they have not properly defined the tones of coverage and attribute the negative tone to the Western media’s distortions or subjectivity without sufficient evidence to support this contention. That is to say, they

only indicate that the frames of international news tend to roughly conform to the home country's foreign policy, dominant ideology and national interest (Eko, 1999; Wu, 2000). However, they ignore other potential factors that might influence the frame-building process. They have also not fully examined the changes of frames over time and whether different frames are evolving. The purpose of this dissertation is to bridge the gap found in existing studies, and provide new perspectives on the framing analysis of China's images in the UK media in the context of Tibet. It aims to compare the differences between newspapers by partisanship and format in terms of frame choices, and examines whether the frames changed over the period of fifty years. It tries to illuminate the role of dominant, elite and journalistic ideology in shaping news frames as well as the effects of other socio-cultural factors on media representations.

Research aim and methods

The purpose of this study is to examine representations of the Tibet issue in the British national daily newspapers between 1949 and 2009. More precisely, this study tries to explore the frame-building process when the British press covered Tibet in different historical eras: the early Cold War, near the end of the Cold War and the post-Cold War periods. The answers to the following major questions are sought:

- Q1. How did the British press represent the Tibet issue through each research period from 1949 to 2009? What were the dominant frames?
- Q2. Are there any differences in the coverage of different research periods? How did frames change over time?

In order to investigate whether the British newspapers from different political allegiances or newspaper formats represented the Tibet issue differently during each research period, the research questions are formed:

Q3. In reporting the Tibet issue, are there any differences between the British newspapers along their partisan lines? If yes, what are the differences?

Q4. In reporting the Tibet issue, are there any differences between the British newspapers by newspaper format? If yes, what are the differences?

To answer these questions, the study applies both quantitative content analysis and qualitative frame analysis as research methods. Each method has its own strengths and weaknesses, so they are used in combination. In the first step of analysis, I categorise the new stories; examine their prominence level, basic topics, sources and source stance. In the second step, I use a qualitative frame analysis as a supplementary method to further analyse the news articles according to the content analysis results. The following section is going to explain how this thesis is constructed to answer the research questions.

Outline of the thesis

After this introduction to the thesis, Chapter 2 includes a brief discussion of the importance of news media in creating national image, followed by an overview of the literature on the propaganda model, frames and framing theory of the media. It reviews the role of government, and other external and internal journalistic factors in the construction process of media frames. The chapter then reviews the research on framing analysis of Western media's representations of China. The review illustrates some of the inadequacies and the apparently consistent problems of earlier research. It also examines how the Western media report China and represent the mainstream ideology of Western society. Then the characteristics of the British newspapers and Tibet's historical image in Western countries' imaginations are discussed. The chapter concludes with a review of Sino-British relations (1949-2009) and a historical analysis of Britain's political stance on the Tibet issue, placing the current thesis within this context.

Based on Chapter 2, Chapter 3 explains the methodological design of the thesis. This chapter presents the rationale for the sampling, data collection and the methods used in the thesis as well as giving detailed information about how the data collection and analysis were completed. In particular, it discusses the reasons why the two methods, content analysis and qualitative frame analysis, were used to examine frames and what each method brings to the study. Specifically, it details a suitable content analysis methodology which provides quantitative data to answer the questions introduced in Chapter 1 – the similarities and differences in media coverage of Tibet in the past fifty years. It also explains the qualitative frame analysis methodology used, offering qualitative data to further explore how the British newspapers represented the Tibet issue.

Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 report the results of the content analysis and the qualitative frame analysis of the British press coverage of Tibet on the four specific events: the Battle of Chamdo, the 1959 Tibetan Uprising, Lhasa Protest in 1989 and the 2008 Tibetan Unrest respectively. For each chapter, the content analysis examines four main issues: the prominence level (front-page presence and average word count) of the Tibet issue in the news; the types of news stories; the topics that emerged in the press coverage; and who spoke and what their political stance was on China and Tibet. The intention is to see the extent to which the selected newspapers provide a similar account of events or whether political allegiances and newspaper formats make a difference in how events are understood. The results of the content analysis will be supplemented by a qualitative frame analysis to provide a deeper context and background for the representations of Tibet in the British press in each research period.

Chapter 8 revisits the research questions and draws together the research findings presented in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. The chapter shows a number of points of similarities and differences between coverage of Tibet in the newspapers along partisan lines and between the tabloids and the broadsheets. It also presents the

changes and continuities in the coverage throughout the four research periods. It explores the reasons and explanations for these key findings.

The conclusions of the study are drawn in Chapter 9, where overall reflections are offered on the main contributions of the study. It examines the findings in terms of their implications for the interface between the ideological consensus and disagreement of the British press coverage of Tibet, and the relationship between the changes in the mainstream ideology of the UK and its media system, and in relation to Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model and existing research on Western media's representations of China. After discussing the strengths and limitations of the research, the directions for future research are explored.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

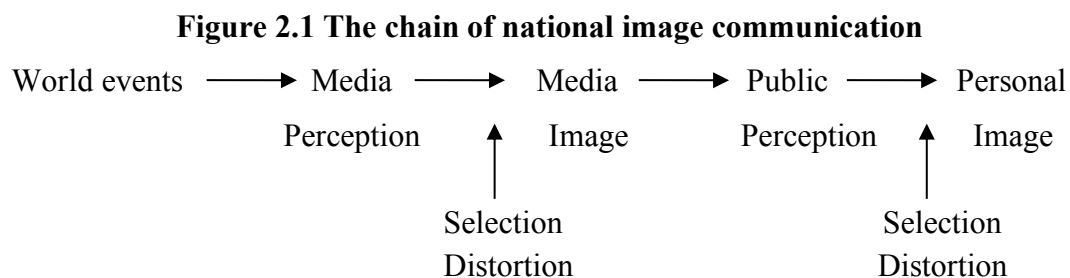
Introduction

The chapter begins by discussing the importance of news media in creating national image. The media's role in this process is briefly introduced, and then it will be further examined through discussing the propaganda model, frames and framing theory of the media. I will review the role of external and internal journalistic factors in the construction process of media frames. The chapter discusses the role of news sources in the frame-building process. Sources are often utilised to provide 'balance' to news stories and, therefore, the chapter briefly discusses the ideal of journalistic balance and 'objectivity'. The chapter then discusses the role of Western media in the construction of China's image, and how the media cover China and represent the Western ideology. The literature on framing analysis of representations of China in the Western media are reviewed. Lastly, the chapter concludes with a review of Tibet's historical image in Western countries' imaginations.

The relationship between news coverage and national image

Often, when people talk about another country, their cognitive perceptions toward the country and its people are heavily informed and shaped by the mass media, especially newspaper stories and television programmes (Kunczik, 1997; Lippmann, 1922; Smith, 1973). More precisely, people have little opportunity for personal contact with other cultures, and when issues occur in other countries, they usually have to depend on secondary sources, especially the mass media channels, to receive information and explanations (Hall, 2000). As Galtung and Ruge (1965) suggest, 'the regularity, ubiquity and perseverance of news media will in any case make them first-rate

competitors for the number-one position as international image-former' (p. 64). Hence, the media are important constructors of national image. According to Galtung and Ruge (ibid., p. 65), the process of creating national image is as follows:



Adapted from Galtung and Ruge (1965, p. 65)

As we can see from Figure 2.1 above, the model reflects how media play crucial roles in creating national image in the public's perceptions. This study focuses on the first half of this chain, which describes how national image of a foreign country is represented by the media. Galtung and Ruge (1965) indicate that the news media are a crucial image projector of other nations. In other words, national image is directly influenced by the mass media. Selection distortion inevitably appears during the process from the point a nation is first displayed by the media until the formation of media image. However, the media image of a nation is not identical with the nation itself; rather, it is due to the fact that news issues are chosen by media professionals and then displayed to the public. To be accurate, journalists make their news judgments based on news values, and power relations and organisational interests play significant roles in the news-making process (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Price & Tewksbury, 1997). Understanding the concepts of the propaganda model, frames and framing is helpful to further investigate the major factors that profoundly shape and influence the perceptions of the media when they represent other countries. The next section will discuss the propaganda model, frames and framing theory, and their theoretical implications.

The propaganda model, frames and framing

Since the media play a key role in creating national images of foreign countries (see Galtung and Ruge's model above), it is necessary to further explore how the media represent world events and other nations in detail. A number of scholars suggest that when the journalistic profession represents a specific event to its audience, it is influenced by either organisational interest or national interest (Gans, 2004; Hallin, 1984; Sigal, 1973; Tuchman, 1978). In *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Herman and Chomsky (1988) initially put forward the media propaganda model and described how the US government constructs national images for different countries through the propaganda model of the mass media. Specifically, they demonstrate the ways in which the US media apply this model to construct the national images of three specific countries, Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua. They find that the first two countries are portrayed positively because they are allies of the US, while the latter is portrayed negatively. It is due to the fact that the propaganda model is premised on the idea that 'the dominant media are firmly embedded in the market system' (Herman, 2000, p. 102). According to Herman and Chomsky (1988), 'the "societal purpose" of the media is to inculcate and defend the economic, social, and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state' (p. 298). That is to say, the mainstream media are utilised by the most powerful social actors to legitimise their ideas and to secure consent for their actions (Freedman, 2014). The news coverage aligns with state and corporate interests, thus fostering the promotion of perspectives in line with elite interests (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). In this process, the propaganda model always links to the ideology (Ellul, 1973; Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992), which serves as a ground for articulating elite interests and the exercise of their power in society. It shows that the media inevitably depend heavily and uncritically on elite information sources, and participate in propaganda campaigns helpful to elite interests. In trying to explain why the media do this, Herman and Chomsky (1988) have looked to structural

factors as being the only possible root of the systematic patterns of behaviour and performance. The propaganda model emerges as a result of five particular elements that influence the presentation of stories and that act as filters through which the dominant media self-censor their stories (Herman, 1996, 2000; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Klaehn, 2003). These filters determine what ultimately becomes news and how the news is framed (Mullen & Klaehn, 2010). The five filter elements are:

(1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms; (2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; (3) the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and 'experts' funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power; (4) 'flak' as a means of disciplining the media; and (5) 'anticommunism' as a national religion and control mechanism. (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p.2)

These five elements interact with and reinforce each other. On the one hand, they 'fix the premises of discourse and interpretation, and the definition of what is newsworthy'; and on the other hand, they 'explain the basis and operations of what amount to propaganda campaigns' (ibid.).

As seen above, the propaganda model deals with matters of media behaviour and performance, but not effects. It plays an important role in helping us to understand the framing strategies of different forms of representing an event and national images in the Western media. While there may be debates within the mainstream media about certain social, political or environmental issues, the model suggests that these disputes are bounded by certain parameters in the framing of stories (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). However, it is worth noting that the propaganda model is US-focused and can be considered as a framework for analysing and understanding how the mainstream US media work and why they perform as they do (ibid.). While Herman and Chomsky's research only focused on the US political and media system, and did not consider the historical background of other countries, some aspects can apply to the UK media although only in a limited way. That said, the propaganda model has been

criticised by many researchers for its ambiguities and breadth (Corner, 2007; Klaehn, 2003). Although Herman and Chomsky (1988) proposed that the media's purpose is to service the needs and interests of the elite, they have not specified clearly the framing process of how the media are able to fulfil this purpose. As Lang and Lang (2004, p.95) point out, Herman and Chomsky merely defined the propaganda model through presenting empirical data rather than providing information 'on sampling and coding procedures'. They also indicate that 'the viability of a model about "the media" in general is based on anecdotal evidence' (ibid.). In other words, Herman and Chomsky have not explicated how the media represented and explained a specific issue, the possibility of resistance to dominant sources and differences between the left-wing and right-wing press, and whether media representations changed over time with changes in mainstream ideology. Hence, in order to get better understanding of the media production process and the propaganda model, media framing plays a key role in this process. Frames or framing research mainly examines how news media select, organise and emphasise the issues; how frames and framing can affect the ideological content of the message; and how news audiences receive and comprehend the message (Scheufele, 1999; 2000). A deep understanding of frames and framing theory could bolster the propaganda model and has the potential to provide the micro-analysis of the news-making process that could supplement the macro-analysis of the propaganda model (Mullen & Klaehn, 2010).

Frames in media content

In previous studies, most scholars fail to specify the differences between 'frames' and 'framing', which results in conceptual vagueness and imprecision. Vliementhart and van Zoonen (2011) review current framing and frames research in media and communication studies, and point out that, 'frames' are 'content features of news' while 'framing' is 'a process or contextual features of news making and receiving' (p. 102).

The idea of frames in news content is usually regarded as first appearing in Goffman's (1974) book *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience*. He defines frames as a way of organising experiences: we use frames to identify what is taking place. He goes further, 'I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principals of organization which govern events [...] and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify' (pp. 10-11). The media frame is on the one hand from past experience; on the other hand, it is impacted by the consciousness of social culture, organising everyday events and making them meaningful. 'The news frame organizes everyday reality and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality [...] it is an essential feature of news' (Tuchman, 1978, p. 193). 'Frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters' (Gitlin, 1980, p. 6). Hackett (1984) describes frames as a system of ideas, values and propositions that is characteristic of a particular social class. A frame can be viewed as a central organising idea of news coverage that provides a context and suggests the issue through selecting, emphasising, excluding and elaborating (Tankard et al., 1991). It is based on assuming that subtle changes in the description of an issue cause interpretive schemas that influence the interpretation of incoming information rather than only making certain aspects of the issue more salient (Scheufele, 2000). According to Vraneski and Richter (2002), media frames are patterns of representation, and interpretation of symbols and themes that organise the discourse. Likewise, Reese (2001) indicates that frames are organising principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world. Then, the media possibly decide not only which events are to be covered but also how the events are to be covered. Journalists create news as a story within the frame. Entman's (1993, p. 52) definition of frames is widely cited: 'To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to

promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation'. He also proposes four functions of frames: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments and suggesting remedies. Compared with earlier studies (e.g. Goffman, 1974), Entman's description suggests that frames are not unconsciously created but are consciously and deliberately selected and manufactured during the course of the communicative process. As Rhee (1997) notes, frames are intentionally pitched, powerful and discursive cues. Tankard (2003) moves even beyond the mere deliberate choosing of frames, indicating that journalists sometimes distribute frames to deceive their audience. Reese (2001) expands on this, claiming that media frames often imply an active process and a result.

Based on the definitions above, it can be concluded that: (1) media frames utilise journalistic tools (e.g. news angles, attractive words, pictures) to determine the salience of the social issues; (2) media frames often stand for a particular ideological position of journalists, media organisations and the host country; (3) media frames can reflect the communication efforts of the host country; (4) media frames can offer moral judgments, interpretation of the events and give solutions for the specific issues; they are not only descriptive but also explained; (5) media frames have the potential ability to influence people to support or oppose the events or issues – defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments and suggesting remedies.

Most scholars focus on studying either frame-building (how does a frame come into being) or frame-setting (frame effects). When a specific event is discussed, framing is a process of selecting a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion in the media agenda (McCombs, 1997). It also refers to the way in which the media, by highlighting some aspects of an issue and ignoring others, can result in a mixed audience perception of that issue (Iyengar & McGrady, 2007). Entman's (1993) study demonstrates that frames have at least four locations: the communicator, the text, the audience and the society. Both Scheufele (1999; 2000) and de Vreese

(2005) manage to build on Entman's work to investigate framing as a process. Scheufele (1999; 2000) defines framing as a typology which two dimensions: media versus individual frames, and independent versus dependent frames. In his article *News Framing: Theory and Typology*, de Vreese (2005) outlines an integrated model that includes two distinct framing processes: frame-building and frame-setting. In the framing process, media frames can be regarded as both dependent and independent variables. When media frames are studied as dependent variables, factors may potentially influence how journalists framing a given issue need to consider such things as organisational pressures and constraints, journalistic routines, and so forth. In contrast, when media frames are studied as independent variables, frame effects need to be considered (Scheufele, 1999). This study focuses on the first dimension of framing – frame-building as central organising ideas to construct social reality. This process not only reflects news frames as tools used by journalists to construct reality, but also explains which factors influence this process. Then, the key question facing frame-building analysis is: by what rule is everyday reality organised and constructed?

Frame-building that spins the news coverage

Frame-building is 'the process by which a communication source, such as a news organization [or political leader, public relations officer, political advertising consultant, etc.] defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy' (Nelson, Clawson and Oxley, 1997, p. 567). De Vreese (2005) describes how frame-building occurs in a two-step process: framing in the news room and framing in the news content. Framing theory thus offers an appropriate lens to look at how news is socially constructed. Frame-building reflects how an issue or event is portrayed in the news, and it explains the process by which media construct social realities.

Media frames are impacted by various factors. As Tuchman explained, 'frames themselves are negotiated phenomena' (1978, p. 194). The existing studies on

frame-building have shed light on the following issue: what are the rules and factors that organise and construct daily reality? Previous studies have pointed out which factors external to journalism (e.g. interest group, political actors, authorities, and other elites) and which factors internal to journalism (e.g. editorial policies, news values, ideological or political orientations of journalists) potentially affect news production and selection (e.g. Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 2004; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; de Vreese, 2005). Scheufele (2000) indicates that media frames reflect ‘extrinsic and intrinsic factors influencing the production and selection of news’ such as ‘social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists’ (p. 307).

There are three major sources of influence on frame-building of news content (Gans, 2004; Donsbach, 1981; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996): (1) external influence, (2) journalist-centred influence, and (3) organisational routines. External sources of influence include factors such as interest groups, political actors, authorities and other elites. Journalist-centred influences suggest that reporters actively construct frames to structure incoming information from sources. Variables such as ideology, attitudes, and professional norms will influence the formation of frames and the coverage of news. Organisational routines are factors like the type or political orientation of the medium (Gans, 2004).

External influence

Since Herman and Chomsky (1988) suggest that elite interests play a significant role in the news-making process, these extrinsic journalistic factors will be discussed first. Scholars attribute the selection of media frames to a variety of external sources (e.g. interest groups, political actors, authorities) of journalism (de Vreese, 2005; Scheufele, 2000). This is because journalists cannot witness many of the events they cover and therefore rely on news sources for information (Sigal, 1973). As Hall and his

colleagues in 1978 suggest, 'the media themselves do not autonomously create news items; rather they are 'cued in' to specific topics by regular and reliable institutional sources' (p. 235). Accordingly, news sources are often studied as part of the frame-building process, particularly for their influences on the selection of news topics and the construction of news content (Berkowitz & Beach, 1993). They are found to be the most important factors for journalists' decision on media frames (Li, 2006b). The factors that shape the selective sources include (a) past suitability; (b) productivity; (c) perceived expertise and articulateness; and (d) the reliability and trustworthiness (Gans, 2004; Schudson, 1995). That is to say, news sources play a crucial role in the frame-building process of the news media, particularly when the sources (e.g. elites, advocates and movements) are powerful and control the information flow (McQuail, 1992). Media organisations and journalists usually rely on official sources (e.g. government, government officials and scientific authorities) to report news events (Hall et al., 1978; Sigal, 1973). They depend heavily on official sources not only for information but also for definitions of particular situations (Fishman, 1980; Paletz and Entman, 1993). McLeod and Hertog (1992, 1998) explain that journalists rely on official sources to add prestige in order to increase the efficiency of news production and to maintain the illusion of objectivity. Those with economic or political power are more likely to influence news reports than those who lack power (Brown, Bybee, Wearden & Straughan, 1987; Gans, 2004; Soloski, 1989). Entman (2004) also points out that, government officials and public relations practitioners exert influence on journalists and editors' framing of certain issues.

Journalist-centred influence

Second, since journalists are professional symbol handlers with a high degree of self-reflexivity, it is possible that frame-building will be treated by them as a more conscious process (König, 2004). The process generates media frames of inclusion and exclusion of news message (Eko, 1999). News will not exist without the

production process of journalists; as Vasterman (1995) states, reporters reconstruct the reality. In the study of the Cold War in the US media, Norris (1995) finds that the media identify the conflict's origin, offer judgments about the parties involved, and recommend possible solutions. However, the study demonstrates that the media present only restricted aspects of events or issues surrounding the topic. Other studies also suggest that journalists frame news stories in a variety of ways (Devitt, 2002; Wolfsfeld, 1997; Reese, 2001). They take information from resources, and fit them into already existing news frames. Reporters utilise professional experience and social theory when constructing news accounts. Taking into consideration the journalistic routines, Price and Tewksbury (1997) categorise frames in terms of 'news values'. Journalists employ these values to decide the 'angle' of the story in determining which parts of the story are to be 'emphasised'. Galtung and Ruge (1965) deal with how overseas events do or do not become foreign news in the Norwegian press. They identify twelve news factors that 'seem to be particularly important' in influencing international news framing: frequency; threshold; unambiguity; meaningfulness (cultural proximity and relevance); consonance (predictability and demand); unexpectedness (unpredictability and scarcity); continuity; composition; reference to elite nations; reference to elite people; reference to persons; and reference to something negative (p. 64). Hester (1973) suggests that the hierarchy of nations, cultural affinities, economic association between nations, and information conflict are four determinants of news flow. Furthermore, Rosengren (1977) finds that variables such as trade, population size and geographic distance influence the amount of news a nation receives in another nation's media. These news values are used for framing a story. Thus, news frames have been defined and studied in different ways.

Journalistic tools in framing the news including choosing the news angle, selecting the sources, formulating the headline of the story, summing up the main point of the story and choosing the right picture. When journalists construct news stories, they choose from the words, phrases and images for the specific reporting

angle, which can result in substantially different presentations of the same event. They use media frames to influence opinions by ‘stressing specific values, facts, and other considerations, endowing them with greater apparent relevance to the issue than they might appear to have under an alternative frame’ (Nelson et al., 1997, p. 569).

Although frame-building is always operated by journalists’ active and conscious selection and presentation of certain news events, its epistemological ‘basis is composed of all social consequences (Liu, 2009). The media frames not only represent individual journalist’s values, but also reflects the group perceptions of media institutes, and even the perspectives of the privileged elites.

Organisational routines

Organisational routines (e.g. deadlines, notions of newsworthiness, corporate policies, and editorial positions) also have an influence on the process of frame-building. Gans (2004) describes journalists as both employees of bureaucratic commercial organisations and members of a profession. As Gitlin (1980) says, choices of subject and slant will depend most directly on the larger interests (in both the economic and the ideological sense) of the media system. In that case, the information disseminated by the media is inevitably affected by the organisation and therefore reflects a redefined reality under journalists’ indirect interpretation. Organisational routines, in turn, will take into account larger ideological currents in society and reflect extrinsic influences of frame-building.

There are several drawbacks to the existing frame-building analysis. First of all, frames are usually reduced to story topics, attributes, or issue positions (Powers & Andsager, 1999; Rhee, 1997), or isolated as content features in the frame-building analysis (Iorio & Huxman, 1996; McCombs et al., 1997). Second, most frame-building analysis ‘assumes the determining agency of the individual journalists or editors’ (Vliegenthart and van Zoonen, 2011, p. 108). It overemphasises the degree of journalistic autonomy in the framing process. Similar assumptions also occur in the

analysis of relationship among the news, media and political systems. Accordingly, there is little evidence showing how various external sources of journalism impact on frame-building. Existing framing studies generally lack in-depth analysis of the role of external sources and the possible effects on various aspects in the frame-building process. For instance, the production of frames by ideological hegemony, social and political power is often neglected (McCombs et al., 1997; Sotirovic, 2000; Turner & Allen, 1997). Although some current frames studies have examined news sources, they mainly focus on the analysis of the agenda-building power of news sources and rarely explore whether and how that transfers to frames that are beneficial to their interest. Therefore, this study will examine why particular frames dominate news narratives and others are ignored. I will also explore how certain frames are connected to an underlying structure – a historically rooted but dynamic cultural context.

In summary, news stories are created in the newsroom by journalists, and are thus inevitably influenced by external and internal journalistic factors. Clarifying the concepts of frames and framing can contribute to a better understanding of the frame-building process (how the media represent an event). Media frames are distinct from the topic of the news. They can be treated as particular and explicit catalysts of ideological processes; they are more general and encompassing than news themes, topics and issues (Reese, 2001). In addition, media frames are different from ‘bias’. They go beyond the concepts of pro or con, favourable or unfavourable, negative or positive, but more or less reflect ideology in the news (Hackett, 1984). In the news content, media frames will probably offer more information such as emotional responses and a cognitive dimension (Tankard, 2003). They offer news perceptions and influential viewpoints for media professionals and the influence on them from their environment. Hence, examining the media frames helps us to understand the frame-building process from objective reality through media to news frames. This leads naturally to explore how frames are connected to other systematic features that give them support and reinforcement. As Hackett (1984) points out, the concept of

framing is a useful approach to get to the heart of the news coverage and to disclose hidden assumptions. Therefore, this study utilises frame and framing theory to research how the British media coverage of China represents journalistic decisions, values and practices.

Issue-specific frames and generic frames

Journalists might utilise many different frames in their coverage of an event. Various labels of frames can be viewed as certain distinctive characteristics of news stories, or narrative and thematic features of frames. Iyengar (1991) categorises frames as thematic frames and episodic frames. Thematic frames offer a deeper insight into the context, emphasise general trends and mainly describe the process. Episodic frames focus on concrete events and situations. In addition, according to de Vreese (2005), the nature of news frames can be divided into: issue-specific frames and generic frames.

Generic frames refer to the generic ways of portraying certain events and a frame is an interpretative tool that journalists use to make sense of certain issues (Zhou, 2008). They can transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts (de Vreese, 2005). They link news frames to more general features of news coverage such as journalistic conventions, norms and news values. Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) established a set of five generic frames that is used consistently in political news coverage. They are: conflict frame, human interest frame, economic consequences frame, morality frame, and responsibility frame (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). *Conflict frame* presents the media's focus on conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of attract audience's attention. Such frame contains polarised forces – 'both sides of the story' or 'horse-race politics' (Neuman, Just & Crigler, 1992, p. 64). For instance, an article describes about how certain groups of voters are angry at a candidate's economic policy. *Human interest frame* brings human life

stories or uses emotional angles to present an event, issue, or problem. Specifically, it indicates how journalists utilise the human interest frame to personalise, dramatise or ‘emotionalise’ the news, in order to capture and retain the audience’s interest (ibid., 1992). For example, when journalists report about a disaster, they will rely on the victims themselves to tell their stories or experiences instead of conveying a sense of compassion. *Economic consequences frame* covers an event, problem, or issue in terms of the economic influence it will have on individuals, groups, institutions, regions or countries. According to Neuman and his colleagues (1992, p. 64), the economic consequences frame ‘tends to reinforce dominant capitalist social values and to emphasize the abstract and technical aspects of the economy’. For instance, the media report news relating to the value of government programmes and the economic consequences of following or not following diverse policy objectives. *Morality frame* emphasises an event, problem or issue in the context of religious doctrines or moral principles. Journalists often offer moral information or values on how to behave indirectly through quotation or inference, such as finding someone else to ‘raise the issue’ (ibid., 1992). *Responsibility frame* reports the cause or solution of an event, problem or issue to attribute responsibility to governments, individuals or groups (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). For example, when the US media cover China on issues such as the North Korean nuclear crisis or the military conflict in Darfur, China is perceived not to play an effective role that matches its national influence in dealing with such problems (Liu, 2009).

Existing studies indicate that generic frames are found in relation to journalistic conventions and they are found to underlie the coverage of different topics. Nonetheless, as de Vreese (2005) points out, various generic types of these frames have not yet been tested in a cross-national comparative setting to establish the generality of the frames beyond national boundaries. In previous studies, scholars have usually employed existing generic frames to analyse coverage of China in Western media (e.g. Zhou, 2008). They have not specified and verified whether and

how these generic frames are fit for coverage of China. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) call for further examination based on the prevalence of generic frames in their findings. Meanwhile, generic frames might not be determinative in attaining a detailed and thorough understanding of Western media interpretations of China's specific issues.

In contrast, an issue-specific frame is appropriate to specific topics and events. It offers a great amount of description and detail of information on the specific themes related to the news event (de Vreese, 2005). Issue-specific frames focus on specific themes or aspects of a story exclusively related to that topic. The issue-specific frame allows us to study features and details of an event or issue more deeply (McCollough, 2006). It also reflects the ideology of journalists, the media system and the society toward a specific event. For instance, when researching about elections, Shah et al. (2002) identify three frames – 'Clinton behaviour scandal', 'Conservative attack scandal', and 'Liberal response scandal' recurrent in the news during the final stage of the Clinton presidency. The *Clinton behaviour frame* focuses squarely on the president – that is, it organises news stories around the sexual nature of the indiscretion, Clinton's efforts to avoid discussing his relationship with Lewinsky, and the ongoing developments in the scandal as it moves toward impeachment. The *Conservative attack frame* emphasises the actions of Republican elites, in particular highlighting the role of Starr and the leadership of the House and Senate as critics of Clinton and architects of the partisan effort to remove him from office. The *Liberal response frame* emphasises the implicit defence of Clinton, primarily, though not exclusively, by Democrats, in particular highlighting their claim that attacks on the president serve an underlying conservative agenda; the Clinton's enemies are out to embarrass and discredit him in order to gain political advantage. The three frames reflect the three potentially important ways in which journalists framed the coverage of the Lewinsky scandal and subsequent political fallout, and they are issue-sensitive. Accordingly, researching issue-specific frames allows for a profound level of

specificity and details relevant to China's events or issues under investigation.

In conclusion, Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model has emphasised the significance of extrinsic journalistic factors (e.g. interest groups, political actors, authorities and other elites) in the process of constructing dominant frames. However, they only provided their empirical evidence for this point of view and did not point out other possibilities such as differences of coverage between the left-wing and right-wing press, and whether media representations changed over time with changes in mainstream ideology. Frames and framing analysis could make up for these deficiencies. The next section will examine how existing studies used frames and framing theory to study Western media coverage of China, and tries to determine implications of their research results.

Research on the framing of China

Most communication studies about the representation of China in Western media have utilised frames or framing theory and focus on the US media sphere in the last five decades, only a handful looking at other Western media such as those of the UK (Sparks, 2010; Zhou, 2008). Based on existing literature, when Western media report about China, the covering patterns and content are consistent with dominant capitalist ideology and foreign policies toward China, and mainly give a negative representation of China (Stone & Xiao, 2007; Wang, 2009; Xie, 2008; Yan, 1998).

On the one hand, several frames-based studies have demonstrated that Western coverage is tied closely to the dominant position regarding coverage of China (Peng, 2004; Leung & Huang, 2007). Wang (1992) suggests that ideology is a very strong indicator and factor in determining the overall direction of foreign news coverage. When domestic happenings in China conflict with the Western cultural ideology of individual liberty, democracy and human rights, the Western coverage is selective and critical. Therefore, news coverage of China in the Western press is mostly related to unreliability, untrustworthiness, weakness, instability, insecurity, danger, retreat and

deficiency (Wang, 1992). The coverage is critical in tone, and images of China in the Western media generally tend to be negative or exotic (Peng, 2004; Leung & Huang, 2007). For instance, it is common to find China categorised as the 'Communist other' (Tai, 2000). American newspapers' coverage of China has reflected the dominant capitalist ideology within the US; its 'anti-Communism' news frame has 'almost entirely focused on the problems and failures of Marxist governments' (Kobland, Du & Kwan, 1992, p. 66). Peng's (2004) comparison of China-related coverage in the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* shows that despite the visible growth in the number of stories on China from 1992 to 2001, political and ideological frames are dominant in the coverage and the overall tone remains negative. He defines the negative story as the 'overall tone or prevailing elements in the story that suggest political, social and economic instability/weakness, conflicts, and human rights, religious and other problems, which tend to contribute to an unfavourable media image of China' (p. 60). Similarly, Leung & Huang (2007) argue that some Western mainstream media contribute to the marginalisation and denigration of *others* (e.g., people of different race, ethnicity, age, gender, nationality, etc.), and frame negative media images of China to support the notion of Western superiority. They survey the ways used to communicate China's image by the mainstream Western-led English media in five countries (i.e., US, UK, Canada, Singapore and Australia) during the SARS crisis in 2003, and point out four frames that were applied to China: institutional problems, power struggle, local officialdom problems, and health and environment issues. They find that the institutional problems frame is the most dominant. These Western media have reported large numbers of negative news and widely attacked Chinese political institution and authorities. Thus, China's media image has been significantly damaged.

However, coverage of China in Western media is not totally negative. Su (2004) studies coverage of China in the *New York Times* between 2002 and 2003, and suggests that the news stories have close connection to the dominant capitalist and

liberal democratic ideology. The reports are mostly positive (stories of progress, improvement and hope) in relation to the development of the market economy, while the reports about one-party rule are mostly negative (unfavourable and pessimistic reports and evaluations).

Furthermore, another study examines how news coverage of China in different Western countries frames the same event and compares the frames to their own foreign ideology and culture. Zhou (2008) analyses news coverage of the Internet in China from 2000 to 2004 in Hong Kong, Singapore, the US and the UK. He points out that differences are found in terms of both the salience of Internet-related issues and the use of news frames across societies, which represents the different cultures of these four countries. And the conflict frame (conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing audience interests) is thus a salient feature in the Western newspapers' treatment of the Internet in China.

On the other hand, among the numerous frames and framing studies exploring coverage of China in Western media, a considerable amount of research has examined relationships between Western news coverage of China and the foreign policy of the host country (Chang, 1988, 1989; Stone & Xiao, 2007; Xie, 2008). The coverage of China tends to be more closely aligned with the national interest and foreign policy of the host country. This is attributed to the fact that reporters tend to index the variety of voices expressed in mainstream government about certain issues. Since governmental officials are the main sources for news, their coverage reflects the source's perspective (Bennett, 1990). The national media usually rely on the government's foreign policy as the measure for choosing which foreign news is consistent with the nation's interests and political relations. For example, China's image in the US media is closely related to the US foreign policy towards China (Chang, 1988; 1989). Stone and Xiao (2007) explored American magazines' coverage of China from 1984 to 1988 and from 1995 to 1999. They found that after the Soviet Union collapsed, China was represented as the enemy of the US, and there was a sharp increase in news coverage

of China, and the post-breakup themes and frames about China were notably different and more negative (critical words or sentences in the articles). Indeed, Stone and Xiao's (ibid.) research results show that, during the pre-break period, China was described as a thriving, developing country with good relationships with other countries, but an oppressive Communist nation. Comparatively, during the post-breakup period, China was portrayed as a threat to the US and a more oppressive and internationally aggressive country (ibid.). The shift appears to closely follow the change of the US official policy toward China. Additionally, Xie (2008) investigated the framing in US newspapers of President Nixon's visit to China in 1972 and the Chinese President Hu Jintao's visit to the US in 2006. His results provide evidences that China was created as the 'enemy' of the US in the 1970s. However, during Nixon's visit in 1972, the US newspapers used a positive way to frame China and foresee that the visit had significant historical meaning and influence. And during Hu Jintao's visit in 2006, China was constructed as a 'friend' of the US. Xie's research reflects the fact that the US coverage of China represents the changes in Sino-US relations, and news discourse is not entirely negative. In this sense, images of China projected by these major opinion makers are positive or negative, as seen largely through the lens of government policy objectives.

As discussed above, framing studies of Western coverage of China has found that different reporting contents and patterns represented the home country's ideology and its foreign policies toward China to some certain degree. News stories about China in Western media are mainly negative, but there are still many limitations in earlier research. First of all, during recent decades, most of the framing studies' sole focus is on researching China's images in the US press. There is little research that examines the coverage of China in other Western countries. It is worth noting that, although both the US and the UK media are classified within the *liberal model*, there are some differences between these two media systems (Humphreys, 2009; Fridriksson, 2004; Hallin & Mancini, 2004). However, examining the differences between the US and

the UK media systems is not the focus of this research. The study will concentrate chiefly on investigating the British newspapers' representations of China and try to fill the gaps in existing studies. The significance of studying the British press will be discussed in the next section.

Second, most studies on media framing of China do not have fully defined types of frames. They either directly employ existing generic frames or randomly create new issue-specific frames without adequate explanations and in-depth exploration, and they utilise these frames to give a simple analysis of the Western coverage of China. Neither have they fully researched about the changes of frames over time and whether different frames are evolving.

Third, the tones (i.e. positive, neutral and negative) of coverage of China in the Western media have not been properly defined, which contributes to the definitions of frames and covering tones' ratings not being homogeneous. In this case, most of studies reflect that the Western media mainly frame China with negative tones and it is due to deliberate distortions or subjectivity. However, some scholars (e.g. Lawson, 1998; Leung and Huang, 2007; Liang, 2002) argue that coverage of China by Western media is mostly neutral, objective and fair. Louw (2004) suggests that if distorted information exists in the foreign news, it may due to the restriction on news reporting, from both the international media and the local environment. As Fursich (2002) says, the critical model has not taken into consideration the difficulties and hostile environments journalists face when covering foreign topics. For example, Western journalists have argued that bureaucratic obstacles and poor cooperation in China have prevented them from reporting fully or effectively. They believe their news stories reflect honest reporting of Chinese actions, and negative press often results from the Chinese government's own policies and actions, not from media bias (Lawson, 1998). As mentioned above, exploring the framing of China in Western media cannot simply define the tones of coverage and attribute the negative tone to the Western media's distortions or subjectivity without sufficient evidence to support

this contention. Besides, most framing analysis of media representations of China only conducts research on Western countries' policies and actions, yet ignore other potential factors that might influence the frame-building process.

This study aims to examine the intricate relationship between the coverage of the British newspapers and images of China. It focuses on the process of frame-building, from objective reality through media to news frames, to determine to what extent the variants of media frames could be explained by the combinations of effects of external and internal journalism factors. In addition, in the past few decades, the relations between Tibet and China have been the subject of a considerable debate. In this study, the objective reality is the Tibet issue, which consists of many other topics identified by scholars, such as human rights issues, conflict and other issues. The term frame-building refers to the selection of various aspects related to the Tibet issue, and the process of explanation and representation. A longitudinal look at a protracted issue – the long-debated political status of Tibet, will reveal the changes in the basic storylines reporters have applied to explain the developments over the years. Therefore, the present study also aims to find out how the British media frame about this issue changes over time.

Before examining the framing of Tibet in the UK media, it is important to explore the British newspapers in general and Tibet's image in the Western imagination. Understanding the traits of the British press and the Western perception of Tibet could enable further investigation of how Tibet has been portrayed in the British news coverage since the PRC advanced into Tibet.

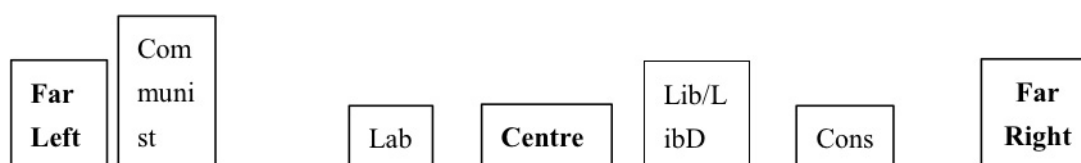
British newspapers in general

According to the characteristics of the UK media system, the competitive national media market could be divided either by political affinity or by class (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Specifically, on the one hand, the UK media concentrate on covering news from a distinctive political standpoint. The media system allows for diverse

viewpoints covered by a number of media outlets with different voices. Accordingly, nearly every British newspaper has its own political sentiment and distinctive political orientation that can be seen in the news content (Fridriksson, 2004), such as the *Daily Telegraph* (right wing and traditionally supportive of the Conservative Party) and the *Daily Mirror* (left of centre politically and traditionally supportive of the Labour Party) (Butler, 1995). According to Butler et al. (1952, 1970, 1988, 1992, 1997, 2000, 2005, 2010), the British national daily press supported four parties (Conservative, Liberal/Liberal Democrat, Labour and Communist). The classification probably reflected a particular ideological position. For example, Bale (2013) specifies that the Conservative Party mainly advocates that state intervention should be limited, and any concessions to social democracy (such as public ownership and the welfare state) are kept within limits. Adams (1998) indicates that the Liberal and Liberal Democrat Parties strongly opposes state interference in matters of morality and believe that people could actually benefit from the freedoms they enjoy. Additionally, the Communist Party has always had a strong and consistent ideology, which supports the replacement of capitalism with a collectivised, classless society by rapid, revolutionary means (Bale, 2013). It recognises that the interests of the people will best be served by socialism, rather than the world of war, want and exploitation offered by capitalism (South West Communists, 2017).

Furthermore, the four parties could be classified into the left-wing and the right-wing parties (Bale, 2013) (see Figure 2.2 below). It therefore follows that the press could also be divided into the left-wing (Communist and Labour) and the right-wing (Conservative and Liberal/Liberal Democrat) newspapers.

Figure 2.2 The Classification of the Left-wing and the Right-wing Parties



Adapted from Bale (2013, p. 156)

On the other hand, when discussing the British national press, it is customary to distinguish between ‘broadsheets’ (with large size) and ‘tabloids’ (with small size). Beyond their size, they are different in terms of journalistic style. More accurately, compare to tabloid newspapers, the broadsheets are marked by: smaller circulations; a different kind of readership and advertising support; more political and international news; and their claim to present news in an objective and informative manner that is not biased by their editorial opinions (Butler & King, 1965). In contrast, the tabloids reject the constraints of objective reporting because of their strong political orientations (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). They prefer to cover ‘light’ news, and entertaining, attractive and sensational human interest stories (Tunstall, 1996).

Moreover, the size and shape of the British newspapers have changed throughout their history. During WWII and for several years afterwards, newsprint rationing contributed to limited page extents of the press (Griffiths, 2006). After the abolition of rationing in 1956, they were free to revolutionise their format and content in order to attract new readers (Niblock, 2008). Newspapers today have more pages than ever. For example, as Tunstall (1996) indicates, by the 1990s, the national newspapers had expanded from about six pages to about forty pages (or eighty tabloid pages) each weekday. Owing to commercial requirements and reader preferences, the British national daily newspapers gradually shrank the size of the newspaper page (Esser, 1999). In the 1950s, the papers such as *Daily Express*, *Daily Mail* and *Daily Herald* were still large size. They went tabloid in the 1970s, incorporating changes in the size, values and production methods associated with ‘tabloidisation’ which many associate with the ‘dumbing down’ of the British press (Williams, 2010). In the 1990s, newspapers were facing more competition than ever before – from the twenty-four-hour TV news networks and new forms of mass communication such as the Internet. Under these circumstances, Murdoch’s price war forced the traditional broadsheet newspapers (e.g. *The Times* and *The Guardian*) to find alternative ways to boost circulation (ibid.). For example, supplements and sections had been added and

expanded in the newspapers to cover a broader range of topics (ibid.). The style, tone and layout of the broadsheets were beginning to resemble the tabloids (ibid.). In 2003, the broadsheet newspaper *The Independent* launched a totally new concept to the UK market – the quality tabloid, these days known as ‘compact’ format¹. By 2004, *The Independent* ceased to publish the broadsheet format. *The Times* followed, which made two-thirds of its daily copies in a compact format. Another paper size which has come to use in Britain is the so-called ‘Berliner’ format², used by *The Guardian* since 2005. According to *The Guardian* editor Alan Rusbridger (2005), ‘We believe the format combines the convenience of a tabloid with the sensibility of a broadsheet’. In short, no matter what size, traditional broadsheet newspapers can be regarded as tabloid size papers that contain the broadsheet quality.

In line with the diversity of the British press, there are probably differences in the news coverage of Tibet along partisan lines, or between the broadsheets and the tabloids. Furthermore, the general covering patterns may have probably changed over time. The present study tries to explore: (1) whether the British press (based on different partisanship and different format) represented the Tibet issue differently; and (2) how did frames change over the past fifty years.

Tibet in the Western imagination

Tibet, however wonderful, is a dream; whether of a long-lost golden age or millenarian fantasy, it is still merely a dream.

– Jamyang Norbu (1998, p. 27)

The West’s perception of Tibet has been shaped by legends and illusions because accurate information about this remote country, isolated from the outside world, has been difficult to obtain (Deccache & Valeriano, 2012).

¹ A compact format is a broadsheet-quality newspaper printed in a tabloid format (slightly taller).

² The Berliner size is between a ‘broadsheet’ and ‘tabloid’ sizes.

Early beginnings (before the 17th century)

The mythical perceptions of Tibet first appear in Herodotus's *The Histories*, written around 440 B.C. The Greek historian describes in his third book a story about huge ants that live near tribes of people, who live to the north of the Indians. The giant ants would dig up sands mixed with gold while building their underground homes. In the mornings gold seekers would quickly go to fetch as much sand as possible before the giant ants noticed and chased them (Herodotus & de Sélincourt, 1954). This indicates the beginning of Western images of Tibet rooted in myths and mysteries. However, the name of 'Tibet' cannot be clearly identified in Herodotus's book.

Although European knowledge of Tibet was still very limited, Marco Polo briefly mentioned 'Thebeth' in the late thirteenth century (Polo & Masefield, 2003, p. 239). His accounts were popular in the West. He reported what he heard from the Chinese since he never actually reached Tibet. He stated that Tibetans 'are necromancers, and by their infernal art perform the most extraordinary and delusive enchantments that were ever seen or heard of. They cause tempests to arise, accompanied with flashes of lightning and thunderbolts, and produce many other miraculous effects' (ibid.). Hence, the West began to regard Tibet as a fantastic land of magic and mystery, of talking statues, of levitating yogins and flying monks (Stoddard, 2001), where the lamas, and other magicians and astrologers possess supernatural powers that enable them to control the weather and to perform all types of mystical activities.

The 17th century to the 18th century

From the ancient sources to a more recent past, the image of Tibet became more positive and more concrete with the arrival of European missionary expeditions to Lhasa throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The earliest contact between Tibet and the West was through missionaries, and diplomatic and economic relations. The Portuguese Jesuit António de Andrade was the first European to enter Tibet in 1626. He emphasised the considerable piety of the lamas in his report, *The*

New Discoveries of the Great Cathay or of the Kingdom of Tibet (Aschoff, 1989, cited in Kaschewsky, 2001, p. 5):

They discharge the largest part of the day with prayer, which they do at least two hours in the morning and just as long in the evening. They sing like us in a quiet tone, just as we sing the *cantus firmus*. [...] The lamas seem to me a very gentle people. One scarcely hears a rude word even from a layman. [...] They even have houses of prayer similar to our own: everything is very clean, and paintings adorn the ceilings and walls. [...] In Tsabrangm, we saw the depiction of a female deity sitting with folded hands, and it was said that she was the mother of God.

Accordingly, de Andrade tried to point out the similarities between Tibetan Buddhism and Christianity. Moreover, in the late eighteenth century, Tibet was treated as an important imagined landscape for Western cultures (Bishop, 1989). Britain became interested in establishing trade relations with Tibet and sent several officers to the region, among them George Bogle and Samuel Turner, who drew dreamlike images of Tibet and its people in their own journals (Daccache & Valeriano, 2012). For example, as Bogle wrote (1876, p. 177):

When I look on the time I have spent among these hills it appears like a fairy dream. The novelty of the scenes and the people I have met with, and the novelty of the life I have led, seems a perfect illusion. Although my days have been spent without business or amusement, they have passed on without care or uneasiness, and I may set this down as the most peaceful period of my Life.

We can see that these colourful accounts demonstrate that Western missionaries and British officers have progressively developed the West's fantasies about Tibet. Tibet has increasingly grown to be a spiritual and illusionary shelter for the Westerners seeking to escape the greed and routine of the industrialised world.

The 19th century to the 20th century

The image of Tibet became gradually negative in the nineteenth century, in that

missionaries, traders, and other emissaries found that the Tibetans were continuing to resist assimilation (Daccache & Valeriano, 2012). Specifically, between the mid-nineteenth and the mid-twentieth centuries had been the heyday of Western missions to Inner Asia. It began in the 1850s, as Martin Brauen (2000, p.30) says, 'Tibet for the first time distinctly entered the consciousness of a wider public', and lasted until the 1950s, when the Chinese advanced into Tibet and closed its doors to most foreign visitors. More specifically, between the mid-nineteenth century and the Francis Younghusband's mission to Tibet in 1903-1904, Tibet was depicted as irrational, superstitious and deeply undemocratic (Neuhaus, 2012). The Anglo-Tibetan encounter began in 1903, when a British mission, under the command of the Indian Political Officer Younghusband, fought its way to the Tibetan capital Lhasa. According to Younghusband's *India and Tibet* (1910), Tibet was primitive and its 'natives' were quaint, and deserving the guidance of a civilised British imperialism. As Anand (2007) shows, Younghusband's accounts were mainly about self-affirmation, a defence of the British imperial project, ennobling for the British and civilising for others. In that case, the image of Tibet was founded on a belief in the superiority of Western rationality. Comments on Tibet during this period reveal an assured confidence in Western science, democracy, masculinity and religion (ibid.).

Nevertheless, after Younghusband advanced into Tibet, Western comments on Tibet included much self-doubt. Tibetans were still criticised for their ignorance, and even portrayed as the source of great supernatural evil, however, there was much less confidence in the ascendancy of Western 'civilization' (Neuhaus, 2012). According to Neuhaus's (ibid.) description, travel accounts usually reveal the negative aspects of modern warfare, urbanisation and environmental deterioration. Tibet seems to be a place where tourists could find much of what the West had presumably lost. James Hilton wrote *Lost Horizon* in 1933, which was the first Western novel to be located mainly in Tibet. In addition, Frank Capra made it into a Hollywood film in 1937. Hilton created a utopia somewhere – a remote, secret Himalayan valley called

Shangri-La in Tibet, where people lived happily and peacefully to a tremendously old age. Shangri-La was also described as a safe haven in contrast to the stressful modern way of life in the disillusioned West, especially in the aftermath of the First World War (Hilton, 1933). Thus, the Western image of Tibet became that of a spiritual community – a refuge from the materialism and violence of modern times, a refuge for those who were unsatisfied with modernity and seeking peace and wisdom. However, it did not completely deny beneficial elements of European culture. Tibet was treated as a space for regeneration, where a benign Western cultural ascendancy could be fostered within such an environment in which people could live in peace and harmony (Neuhaus, 2012).

From the time China entered Tibet in 1950, up to the 1959 Tibetan Uprising and the Dalai Lama's flight to India, Tibet was still considered as a holy place by the West, and this was especially reflected in Tibet's natural environment and culture. There were continuing fears that Western 'civilization' had lost important values and that Tibet's relative innocence, peacefulness and un-spoilt nature had much to offer to a supposedly war-torn and over-populated Europe (Neuhaus, 2012). Nevertheless, some scholars have shown how the image of Tibet has been distorted by the media, including tourist information. They point out that the persistence of these myths can be dangerous and harmful. As Dawa Norbu says:

Writers, both Tibetan and western, have in the past projected an image of Tibet that is not only deceptive but also harmful to the Tibetan cause – the romantic, idyllic and mystical image of Shangri-La, where lamas fly like birds, where everyone is religious and everyone is happy. While there is some truth in such a view, it does exaggerate one aspect of Tibet at the exclusion of other, disturbing elements. (1974, p. 9)

Additionally, Donald Lopez examined some of the most widespread Western preconceptions and (mis)comprehensions of Tibet in his 1998 book *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West*. He suggests that even though both Tibetans and Western observers' writings about Tibet serve as windows to

enlightenment, they have become ‘prisoners of Shangri-La’. Indeed, the fanciful image rather than a historical and political-administrative reality of Tibet will impede our understanding of Tibetan history, past and present. As seen above, in Western literature, Tibet is portrayed as a mythical land where poverty, savagery, hostility, disease, feudalism and serfdom do not exist. Instead, Tibet is displayed as a paradise where love, peace, modesty, joy and spirituality prevail (Daccache & Valeriano, 2012).

Contemporary journalists’ reports about Tibet usually start off with the history of the ‘drastic opening’ of Tibet in 1950 with the Chinese occupation (Anand, 2007). In the past few decades, Sino-Tibetan relations have been the subjects of a considerable debate. Tibetan dissidents have long argued that it is an independent, sovereign nation, and especially so since 1950. China, however, has maintained that Tibet has always been a part of its nation and does not recognise these claims of independence. Historically, during the Yuan and Qing (Manchu) Dynasties, both Chinese and Tibetans were under the Mongolian culture and Manchu government’s rule (Wang, 2008; Bajoria, 2008). During the Republic of China under Guomindang’s rule, China was referred to as ‘the Republic of Five Nationalities’, with one of the nationalities being Tibetan (Kaup, 2000). In fact, the current Chinese government claims Tibet as a part of China since its military intervention took over Tibet in 1950. As regards to Tibet’s history under China’s rule, Tibet has the desire for higher autonomy. The Tibet issue became to be a complicated and controversial issue that has persisted over the past few decades. Therefore, the long-term conflict between the PRC and Tibet captured the attention of Western media, such as the recent violent protests, riots and unrest in Lhasa. Meanwhile, Tibet’s religious situation is the focus of the Western media’s main agenda when reporting China. The news content usually represents that the PRC as suppressing religious freedom in Tibet. The Tibet issue affects China’s national image mainly through human rights problems. Sympathetic reporting about Tibet in Western media has probably been influenced by the romantic portrayal of

Tibet in Western popular culture. Accordingly, it is reasonable to speculate that the UK media mainly portrayed Tibetans as the victims since the PRC took over Tibet in 1950. And this study tries to explore the frame-building process when the British press covered Tibet in different historical eras: the Cold War and the post-Cold War periods. The next section will examine Sino-British relations from 1949 to 2009, thus we can better understand the British government's views on the Sino-Tibetan conflict.

British foreign policy towards China during the Cold War and the post-Cold War periods: 1949-2009

The onset of the Cold War, in the early 1950s, Britain's initial policy towards China was to negotiate and compromise with the Communists so as to protect and enhance Britain's interests in the region (Clayton, 1997). The British government believed diplomatic and economic relations with the West and membership of the UN would integrate the PRC into the world system, preventing it from allying with the Soviet Union (*ibid.*).

However, the Labour government, and from October 1951 a Conservative one, gradually adjusted British policy towards China. It realised that it was the junior partner in the Anglo-American relationship, so found it impossible to fully adopt the policy of conciliation and negotiation it favoured (*ibid.*). In other words, under intense pressure from the US, especially after the Chinese involvement in the Korean War in October 1950, and the resulting anti-Communist China policy of the US and the whole Western Camp, the UK proceeded cautiously (Kaufman, 2001). It acquiesced in US's initiatives to prevent China's admission to the UN, to tighten controls on commerce with China and to increase military pressure on China (Clayton, 1997). During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Sino-British political relations were at low ebb (Eisel, 2007).

From the mid 1970s, the British government was eager to deepen the still sensitive political relations with the PRC in order to achieve improvement in the

economic sphere (ibid.). The Sino-Soviet split (1956-1966) and the 1972 Nixon visit to China released Britain from the anti-China pressure in the Western Camp as well as making an official re-approach in the political field possible (ibid.). After that, Sino-British relations were raised from chargé d'affaires to ambassadorial level (Liu, 2012), and the friendship flourished.

Nevertheless, the Chinese government cracked down on the Tiananmen Square protests near the end of the Cold War in 1989, which destroyed the trust and support that the new modernising China had attracted in the West (Eisel, 2007). Although Sino-British relations had improved until then, the Tiananmen incident changed the focus of Britain's China policy (Norbu, 2001). The UK increasingly focused on human rights in China, which became dominant on any political agenda with China (Eisel, 2007).

The smooth handover of Hong Kong in July 1997 led Sino-British relations to become smoother and were characterised by a friendlier atmosphere (Molthof, 2011). Britain under Blair (1997-2007) accepted the Chinese demands of non-interference in its 'domestic' and human rights issues (e.g. Taiwan, Tibet and Hong Kong). In October 2008, the British government recognised Tibet as an integral part of the PRC, which previously only recognised Chinese 'suzerainty' (supremacy over the local ruler) over the region (Pandey & Singh, 2017). The collaboration between Britain and the PRC is constantly widening and deepening.

Britain's early interaction with Tibet and its position on the Tibet issue in history

In order to better understand how the British media represented the Tibet issue in the past fifty years, this section briefly explores Britain's foreign policy towards Tibet and its political stance on the Tibet issue in terms of the sovereignty and independence in history.

As shown above, Britain's earliest interest in Tibet can be traced back to the late

eighteenth century (1780-1792), when two British officials George Bogle and Samuel Turner tried to establish a trade relationship with Tibet (Anand, 2009). Then, 1792-1899 was marked by a lack of any formal interaction between Britain and Tibet, which was closed to the foreigners, especially Europeans (ibid.). At the beginning of the twentieth century, British India attempted to build relations with Tibet. In Lord Curzon's famous dispatch of 8 January 1903, he proclaimed that 'We regard the so-called suzerainty of China over Tibet as a constitutional fiction – a political affectation which has only been maintained because of its convenience to both parties' (Ghosh, 1977, p. 43). His dispatch was followed by the Younghusband expedition (1903-1904) to Tibet. As a result, the *Treaty of Lhasa* was signed in 1904 between Tibet and Britain. However, the Qing Imperial Authority refused to sign this convention because it was treated as being deliberately ambiguous regarding the Chinese role in Tibet (Rubin, 1968). Subsequently, Britain modified the *Treaty of Lhasa* and signed the *Convention Between Great Britain and China Respecting Tibet* in 1906. The key articles in the convention indicated that:

The Government of Great Britain engages not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet. The Government of China also undertakes not to permit any other foreign state to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Tibet. The Concessions which are mentioned in [the 1904 *Treaty of Lhasa*] are denied to any state or to the subject of any state other than China. (Goldstein, 1989, p. 827)

Accordingly, as Anand (2007) says, although the Chinese control has not yet been explicitly defined, the British government clearly accepted Chinese rule as suzerainty without insisting too much on Tibetan autonomy. The first mention of Chinese suzerainty in writing appeared in the *Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907*, 'The Governments of Great Britain and Russia recognising the suzerain rights of China in Thibet' (Goldstein, 1989, p. 829). After the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911, the Simla Conference in 1914 led to the signing of a firm convention between Britain and Tibet, which affirmed Chinese suzerainty and Tibetan autonomy (Foreign Office,

1920). In other words, Tibet was symbolic subordination to China, with extensive autonomy, under the watchful eye of Britain (Goldstein, 1989).

Afterwards, the British government clarified its position on the status of Tibet in a note from Anthony Eden to Dr. T. V. Soong in August 1943 (ibid., p. 401):

Since the Chinese Revolution of 1911, when Chinese forces were withdrawn from Tibet, Tibet has enjoyed de facto independence. She has ever since regarded herself as in practice completely autonomous and has opposed Chinese attempts to reassert control. [...] recognize Chinese suzerainty over Tibet but only on the understanding that Tibet is regarded as autonomous.

Before the *Seventeen-Point Agreement* (which concretised Chinese sovereignty over Tibet in writing) was signed by the Tibetan government and the PRC in 1951, the Labour Foreign Secretary Bevin stated in 1950 that:

We have over a long period recognised Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, but only on the understanding that Tibet is regarded as autonomous. For many years this Chinese suzerainty has been no more than nominal, an indeed, since 1911, Tibet had enjoyed de facto independence. (Rubin, 1968, p.137)

This point of view was repeated by the Conservative government on 25 March 1959, however, the emphasis has been changed in 1990. The Foreign Office dropped the term ‘suzerainty’ and spoke on behalf of the Thatcher Government that ‘Successive governments have recognised Tibet as autonomous, while recognising the special position of the Chinese authorities there’ (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2000, para. 3). On 1 April 1998, the Labour Foreign Office Minister of State, Derek Fatchett reinforced this position and clarified that:

Tibet has never been internationally recognised as independent, and the Government do not recognise the Dalai Lama’s Government in Exile. However, we strongly believe that Tibetans should have a greater say in running their own affairs in Tibet, and we have urged the Chinese authorities to respect the distinct cultural, religious and ethnic identity of the Tibetan people.

Nevertheless, in October 2008, the Labour Foreign Minister, David Miliband, changed British position and recognised China's full sovereignty over Tibet. He asserted that, 'Like every other EU member state, and the United States, we regard Tibet as part of the People's Republic of China. Our interest is in long-term stability, which can only be achieved through respect for human rights and greater autonomy for the Tibetans' (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2008, c30-32WS). In a word, the British government's attitudes regarding the status of Tibet remained more or less the same (Chinese suzerainty/Tibetan autonomy) for most of the twentieth century.

Summary

The aim of this thesis is to explore media framing of Tibet and how the British press represented the Tibet issue over the past fifty years. If Herman and Chomsky are right, I would expect little difference between media outlets, with them all taking a similar position, but possible differences between the *Daily Mirror* on the left and the *Daily Telegraph* on the right, or between the broadsheets and the tabloids. The study focuses on the process of press frame-building, to determine how the Tibet issue has been reported over time. Do the press frame in similar or different ways? This study tries to find out the covering similarities and differences between the British newspapers according to their partisanship and newspaper format, and also tries to find out reasons, to gain a better understanding of how the British newspapers portrayed China. The research needs to be comprehensive and systematic, and the next chapter discusses the methodologies chosen to achieve the study aims.

CHAPTER 3

Research Design and Methodology

Introduction

This research employed two main research methods: content analysis and qualitative frame analysis. The content analysis provided quantitative data to answer the questions introduced in Chapter 1 – the similarities and differences in media coverage of Tibet over the period of fifty years. The qualitative frame analysis provided qualitative data to further explore how the British press represented the Tibet issue.

The following sections revisit the specific research questions driving this thesis and explain the sampling strategy of this study. There will be a later discussion in the chapter of the introductions of content analysis and qualitative frame analysis as research methods and how they were employed to examine frames and answer the research questions.

Research questions

The specific research questions underpinning this investigation, also noted in Chapter 1, are repeated here. They were: (1) How did the British press represent the Tibet issue through each research period from 1949 to 2009? What were the dominant frames? (2) Are there any differences in the coverage of different research periods? How did frames change over time? (3) In reporting the Tibet issue, are there any differences between the British newspapers along their partisan lines? If yes, what are the differences? (4) In reporting the Tibet issue, are there any differences between the British newspapers by newspaper format? If yes, what are the differences?

Selecting a sample

The sampling process consisted of three stages (Berelson, 1952). The first was the selection of the type of media to be analysed (e.g. television, newspapers) and which titles or programmes of a particular media were to be analysed. The second stage required the selection of dates or issues to be examined, and the final step involved the selection of the relevant sample content.

Sampling media

According to Hansen and Machin (2013), the selection of the media is based on considerations including one or more of the following: accessibility and availability of the material, geographical reach, audience size, audience type, format/content characteristics of media (e.g. the broadsheets versus the tabloids), and political stance (e.g. Conservative versus Liberal). To answer my research questions, I selected newspapers as media texts over other forms of media, because, first, the current research examined media content over a specific period of time, and political news coverage was available and accessible through newspapers, which were a main source of information during the research period (from 1949 to 2009). Regarding other forms of media, most television news broadcasts ignored political issues in the 1950s and did not deal with the realities of real-world events in vivid detail until the 1960s (*Understanding media and culture*, 2010). Second, the aim of this study was primarily to explore whether there was one key view or many views existing among the media outlets. In comparison with other forms of media, newspapers could be divided by political leanings or newspaper formats, and this was a better way of exploring the divergence of political views. Thus, the focus of the current research was to examine how the Tibet issue was framed in the eleven British national daily newspapers: *The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian*¹ (later *The Guardian*), *The Daily*

¹ *The Manchester Guardian* was founded in 1821; it was renamed *The Guardian* on 24 August 1959.

Telegraph, *The Independent*², *Daily Mail*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Herald*³ (later *The Sun*), *Daily Graphic*⁴ (later *Daily Sketch*), *Daily Worker*⁵ (later *Morning Star*) and *News Chronicle*⁶. These newspapers were selected because they were not only daily newspapers in the UK, but they were also collectively known as the ‘national press’, and they dominated the UK market. They have always been regarded as the source of public information about, and knowledge of, national and international issues (Sparks, 2010). Sparks also notes that, compared to the national press, local and regional newspapers have much smaller circulations, and ‘the papers’ editorial concerns are more parochial’ (ibid., p.350). In this study, the investigation was concerned solely with the representation of the Tibet issue in the British national daily press, since this was where it was likely to be the most frequent, most covered, and most extensive.

A total of 881 news articles of Tibet-related events/issues in all the selected newspapers were included in the analysis. The unit of analysis was the individual article, which, in the current research, was identified as a news story, an editorial, a letter to the editor, etc. These materials were all considered because the study was interested in looking into not merely what the coverage talked about but also how the Tibet issue was presented.

Sampling time periods

The time frame of analysis covered fifty years, from 1949 to 2009, in order to see any major changes directly related to the Tibet issue and observe whether media frames were affected by changes in the political and cultural environments. Four different historical periods were selected from the fifty-year period for further analysis and interpretation. The selection of the research periods was based on particular events,

² *The Independent* was established in 1986.

³ Relaunched as *The Sun* in 1964.

⁴ Named *Daily Graphic* 1946-1952. In 1953, it was renamed *Daily Sketch*. In 1971, it was closed and merged with the *Daily Mail*.

⁵ *Daily Worker* was founded in 1930. It was renamed *Morning Star* in 1966.

⁶ *News Chronicle* ceased publication on 17 October 1960, being absorbed into the *Daily Mail*.

which attracted substantial British media attention and reflected Tibet's relations with Britain and the PRC. To be more precise, Tibet appeared briefly on the international political stage in 1950-51. Nevertheless, since the 1959 Tibetan Uprising, following the flight of the Dalai Lama into exile in India, Tibet seemed comparatively low on the Western media's agenda (Smith Jr., 2009). As Peter Bishop (1989) suggests, it was due to the fact that Tibet lost its spiritual significance for the West when the Dalai Lama left in 1959, taking the exoticism and mysticism of Tibet with him. After 1959, Tibet was closed to Western travellers which was attributed to the 'Bamboo Curtain' (Bishop, 1989). Then, the wider international situation (e.g. the Cuban Missile Crisis) had probably also diverted Western attention away from Tibet (Neuhaus, 2012). After Deng Xiaoping took office in 1978 and initiated the Open Door Policy, China began to open up to Western business interests and Western travellers (ibid.). In this context, Tibet was inevitably opened to the outside world again and interest in Tibet resurfaced from the mid-1980s onwards. Additionally, the selected research periods covered two major significant phases: the Cold War and the post-Cold War period. Hence, the focus of this study is to examine how the British national daily newspapers represented the Tibet issue according to specific events during a range of periods from 1949 to 2009. All news articles about Tibet were examined every following specific event (see Table 3.1 below).

Table 3.1 The sampling periods of the Tibet issue from 1949 to 2009

Length of selected period		The selected events
The early Cold War	07/10/1950 - 07/11/1950	The Battle of Chamdo
	10/03/1959 - 10/04/1959	The 1959 Tibetan Uprising
Near the end of the Cold War	05/03/1989 - 05/04/1989	Lhasa Protest in 1989
The post-Cold War period	14/03/2008 - 14/04/2008	The 2008 Tibetan Unrest

The articles retrieved were published within one month of each event. Each research

period mainly covered the whole process in which the particular Sino-Tibetan conflict turned violent and subsequent protests against China's military actions occurred. These research periods coincided with the start, climax and end of the Cold War, as well as the post-Cold War period.

Selecting the relevant sample

The last step in selecting the sample content for analysis was to ensure that the content was relevant. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the British press could be classified according to their political leanings or newspaper formats. It is helpful to give a more comprehensive understanding of the British media representations of Tibet with the consideration of diverse readerships in terms of social class and political alignment. In order to investigate whether the British press (based on different partisanship and different format) showed different levels of interest concerning the Tibet issue throughout the research periods, firstly, they were categorised into pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal/Liberal Democrat⁷, pro-Labour and pro-Communist newspapers. Then, the selected press with evident political leanings in each research period were categorised into broadsheets and tabloids.

Newspaper partisanship

As noted in Chapter 2, there were ideological differences between the four parties (Conservative, Liberal/Liberal Democrat, Labour and Communist) which were supported by the British national daily press from 1949 to 2009 (Butler et al., 1952, 1970, 1988, 1992, 1997, 2000, 2005, 2010). Political leanings of sampled newspapers in different research periods are shown in Table 3.2 below. Each newspaper showed its own political sentiment in each research period based on Butler et al.'s (1952, 1970, 1988, 1992, 1997, 2000, 2005, 2010) research, which was about newspaper support in

⁷ The Liberal Democrat Party was formed in 1988 as a merger of the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party.

the UK general elections since 1949. Newspapers that only showed ephemeral partisanship were not considered in this study. For instance, the *Daily Star* only showed its ephemeral partisanship in one specific research year; the *Financial Times* and *Today* did not show clear political orientation in most research periods; consequently, these newspapers were not used in this research.

Table 3.2 The selected newspapers by partisanship in each research period, 1949-2009

	1950	1959	1989	2008
The pro-Conservative newspapers	<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Graphic</i>	<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Sketch</i>	<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, The Sun</i>	<i>The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail</i>
The pro-Liberal/Liberal Democrat newspapers	<i>The Manchester Guardian, News Chronicle</i>	<i>News Chronicle</i>	n/a	<i>The Guardian, The Independent</i>
The pro-Labour newspapers	<i>Daily Mirror, Daily Herald</i>	<i>The Manchester Guardian, Daily Mirror, Daily Herald</i>	<i>The Guardian, Daily Mirror</i>	<i>Daily Mirror</i>
The pro-Communist newspapers	<i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Morning Star</i>	<i>Morning Star</i>

According to Table 3.2 above, although the partisan orientation of the British national press was judged according to Butler et al.'s (1952, 1970, 1988, 1992, 2005, 2010) research, some of my research years were not included in the UK general election years⁸. The judgments were thus made according to the following guidelines:

The Times. In 1950 and 1959, it supported the Conservative Party. In 1987 and 1992, it also supported the Conservative Party. Accordingly, it can be postulated that *The Times* supported the Conservative Party in 1989. According to 2005 (pro-Labour)

⁸ 1950, 1959, 1987, 1992, 2005 and 2010 are the UK general elections years.

and 2010 (pro-Conservative), its political stance of 2008 was not clear.

The Manchester Guardian/The Guardian. As a Liberal journal, *The Manchester Guardian* had not felt obliged to advise its readers which of the two parties were preferable in 1950 (Butler, 1952). Traditionally it had been a Liberal paper. In 1959 *The Manchester Guardian* recommended to their readers to vote against the Conservatives and for the return of the Labour Party together with an increase in Liberal representation (Butler & Rose, 1960; 1970). However, it had shown itself to be more interested in the fate of the Labour Party than of the Liberals, and its editorial policy subsequently had given little indication of a return to the old allegiance (Butler, 1965). Hence, it mainly supported the Labour Party from 1959.

According to 1987 (pro-Labour) and 1992 (pro-Labour), it can be specified that *The Guardian* supported Labour in 1989. In 2005, it urged readers to use their heads and hearts and re-elect Labour, with an increased presence for the Liberal Democrats (Kavanagh & Butler, 2005). However, in 2010, it was the first election since 1983 that *The Guardian* had not supported the Labour Party as its first choice, supporting Liberal Democrats at this time (Kavanagh & Cowley, 2010). Thus, it can be surmised that *The Guardian* supported the Liberal Democrat Party in 2008.

The Independent. It was established in 1986. In 1987 and 1992, *The Independent* did not declare any preference as to which party it supported. Hence, it can be specified that there was also no preference declared in 1989. According to 2005 (pro-Liberal Democrat) and 2010 (pro-Liberal Democrat), it can be assumed that *The Independent* supported the Liberal Democrat Party in 2008.

The Daily Telegraph. It has supported the Conservative Party since 1945.

Daily Express. It has mostly supported the Conservative Party since 1945.

Daily Mail. It has mostly supported the Conservative Party since 1945.

Daily Mirror. Since the 1940s, it has been a Labour-supporting journal.

Daily Herald/The Sun. In 1950 and 1959, the *Daily Herald* supported the Labour Party. In 1987 and 1992, *The Sun* supported the Conservative Party. Therefore, it can

be speculated that in 1989, it supported the Conservative Party. According to 2005 (pro-Labour) and 2010 (pro-Conservative), its political stance of 2008 was not clear.

Daily Sketch/Daily Graphic. It supported the Conservative Party since 1945 and merged with the *Daily Mail* in 1971.

Daily Worker/Morning Star. It has supported the Communist Party since 1945.

News Chronicle. It supported the Liberal Party since 1945 and ceased publication in 1960.

Newspaper format

In the present study, for each research period, the newspapers mentioned above were reclassified in terms of newspaper format, into the broadsheets and the tabloids. They predominantly contained the press that obviously supported the three mainstream political parties of the UK (Conservative, Labour and Liberal/Liberal Democrat). For example, *The Independent's* political stance was not clear thus it was not analysed for the year of 1989. In addition, *The Times* and *The Sun's* political stance was not clear therefore they were not analysed in 2008. In order to obtain precise results, the only pro-Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker/Morning Star* (a tabloid) was excluded from the reclassification process. It was due to its far-left political orientation which would influence the research results. The selected broadsheets and tabloids in each research period are shown in Table 3.3 below.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, most of British national daily newspapers went tabloid from the 1970s (Williams, 2010). The *Daily Mail* switched from broadsheet to tabloid in 1971, followed by the *Daily Express* in 1977. The *Daily Herald* was originally a broadsheet, which relaunched as *The Sun* in 1964, and it became a tabloid in 1969. After 2004, the traditional broadsheet newspapers *The Independent* and *The Times* switched to a 'compact' format. In addition, *The Guardian* started to use the so-called 'Berliner' format since 2005. However, no matter what size, these traditional broadsheet newspapers can be regarded as tabloid size papers that contain the broadsheet quality.

Table 3.3 The selected broadsheets and tabloids in each research period, 1949-2009

	1950	1959	1989	2008
Broadsheet	<i>The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Herald, News Chronicle</i>	<i>The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Herald, News Chronicle</i>	<i>The Times, The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph,</i>	<i>The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, The Independent</i>
Tabloid	<i>Daily Mirror, Daily Graphic</i>	<i>Daily Mirror, Daily Sketch</i>	<i>Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, The Sun</i>	<i>Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Mirror</i>

To get a complete list of news stories on the Tibet issue during 1949 to 2009, multiple resources were consulted: the microfilms at the British Library Newspapers section, and the online resources – LexisNexis database, *The Times Digital Archive* (Gale), and *Guardian and Observer Archive* (ProQuest). News articles on *The Times* (1949-2009), *The Manchester Guardian/The Guardian* (1949-2009), *The Independent* (2008-2009), *The Daily Telegraph* (2008-2009), *Daily Express* (2009), *Daily Mail* (2008-2009), *Daily Mirror* (2008-2009), *The Sun* (2008-2009) and *Morning Star* (2008-2009) were accessed by key words search from online resources. Because the rest of the news stories were not available in the online databases, they were retrieved from the microfilms.

In terms of the Tibet issue, the online databases were used to retrieve relevant news articles by using ‘Tibet’, ‘Tibetan’, ‘Dalai Lama’, and ‘Lhasa’ as search terms. The use of online databases (especially the LexisNexis database) is fairly common for retrieving newspaper items. However, according to Deacon’s (2007) research, there is often the risk of sampling errors caused by: (1) the problems of duplicated items in article lists; (2) low-level omissions; (3) low-level errors of newspaper pages; (4) various editions of a newspaper being included in the database; and (5) the problem of semantic validity. These problems may lead to two common errors: the exclusion of

relevant content items, and the inclusion of irrelevant content items. To address these concerns, all news stories retrieved from the online databases were initially double-checked through reviewing the microfilms to make sure that all related articles had been collected. Then, the checked results were carefully screened to make sure that only stories with strong and direct connections with Tibet were included in the analysis. So, combining the data from the online databases and the microfilm resources after excluding duplicates and irrelevant results, 881 stories were compiled for the Tibet issue (see Table 3.4 below).

Table 3.4 Samples of research on the Tibet issue, 1949-2009

Length of selected research period	Valid selected range of the British national daily newspaper	Filtered results: number of selected articles
07/10/1950-07/11/1950	<i>The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, Daily Herald, Daily Graphic, Daily Worker, News Chronicle</i>	129
10/03/1959-10/04/1959	<i>The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, Daily Herald, Daily Sketch, Daily Worker, News Chronicle</i>	276
05/03/1989-05/04/1989	<i>The Times, The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, The Sun, Morning Star</i>	66
14/03/2008-14/04/2008	<i>The Guardian, The Independent, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, Morning Star</i>	410
		Total: 881

Methods: procedures of framing analysis

Framing analysis decides which frames are behind the news framing in selected cases and explains how the organised data are interpreted in order to demonstrate and support the frames. As analysed in Chapter 2, most of framing studies merely use content analysis and rarely utilise qualitative frame analysis to examine frames. In the first step of analysis, I categorised the content of 881 new stories; examined their

prominence level, basic topics, sources and source stance. In the second step, I used a qualitative frame analysis to analyse the selected news articles according to the content analysis results.

Content analysis

Content analysis is a major technique for the systematic survey of press coverage of China as a whole in contemporary studies (Wang, 2009; Huang, 2008; Liu, 2009). In the current research, content analysis was used to explore what the British newspapers (by partisanship or format) reported on the Tibet issue, with particular interest in the period 1949 to 2009. The analysis was designed to provide information about story variables, which both inform the analysis and interpretation in Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. Specifically, the content analysis was used to answer the four sub-questions:

1. What was the prominence level of the Tibet issue in the coverage?
2. What topics were most frequently reported on?
3. Who were the most frequently cited sources in the coverage?
4. What stance did the different news sources take?

The manner in which the content analysis was employed to answer the four sub-questions above will be discussed later in the chapter. The definitions and explanations of content analysis as a research method, and its applicability to this research will be discussed in the following section.

Content analysis as a research method

The best-known definition of content analysis is from Berelson (1952) who defines it as ‘a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication’ (p. 18). It demonstrates the early focus on quantitative analysis. In addition, Krippendorff (1980) suggests that content analysis is ‘a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their

context' (p.21). He emphasises that rather than being objective, content analysis should be replicable and valid. The most recent definition of content analysis, which is widely used, is provided by Neuendorf (2002, p.10):

Content analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, a period design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented.

According to the definitions of content analysis, in the first phase of this research, content analysis can help to limit the subjective involvement of the person who is doing the framing analysis and improve the reliability and validity of the results. Quantitative content analysis of each article was conducted in the study to collect data in order to interpret the formatting devices of framing, give emotional context of the story, and answer research questions such as what were the differences between newspapers reporting on Tibet. As van Gorp (2010) indicates, the results of content analysis such as the number of words, the layout of a text, and the placement of a news article on a page are important because they provide clues about how readers and viewers of news perceive the salience and importance of the topic being framed. Thus, the results of quantitative content analysis were expected to shed light on the patterns of coverage of Tibet within defined periods. The research method is also adapted for 'studying processes occurring over long time periods' (Babbie, 2007, p. 330). That is to say, it is a useful tool to compare categories at different time periods (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Accordingly, it is an ideal method to analyse how Tibet reportage and news sources used in the British newspapers had changed over time. Furthermore, content analysis could be used in conjunction with other methods of analysis (Brewer & Hunter, 1989). In the case of this research content analysis and qualitative frame analysis were used together. The method of content analysis will be discussed in more detail below.

Content analysis of newspaper stories on China

According to existing studies, when coding for news coverage of China, prominence level, news story type, topics, valence and frames are usually included in the variables (Manheim, 1994; Ghanem, 1997; Wang, 2009 and Liu, 2009). However, as discussed in Chapter 2, first, the valence (i.e. positive, neutral and negative) of coverage of China in the Western media has not been defined properly (e.g. Peng, 2004; Leung & Huang, 2007). It is difficult for researchers to specify the overall tone of the specific article without adequate evidences. Therefore, in this study, the overall tone of the article was not utilised directly to analyse representations of the Tibet issue in the British press. Valence was used to analyse each article's source stance.

Second, in existing framing research, a deductive strategy tends to be regularly used. Specifically, the deductive approach starts with stronger presuppositions, predefines certain frames and then examines the occurrence of these frames in news stories through content analysis (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). For example, in a deductive study, there are five generic frames (conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and responsibility) that are usually used by scholars (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Meanwhile, each frame is measured through questions to which the coder has to answer 'yes' or 'no'. Nevertheless, it cannot answer the questions such as where did these frames come from, and on what level and by which techniques were they to be observed? These questions could be answered through an inductive framing analysis in which 'the spectrum of conceivable frames that are relevant for the topic under scrutiny is identified' (van Gorp, 2010, p. 91). The inductive approach offers an in-depth insight into how different cultural perspectives played a role in the construction of the Tibet issue. Hence, beyond observing whether the media represented an issue using morality frame compared to responsibility frame, it is helpful in this study to open up this analysis to examine precisely what the elements of the frame were and how they were organised. To increase the objectivity, frames cannot be examined only through content analysis. The current research chose

the inductive approach, as it starts with loosely defined presuppositions of the frames and aims to identify all of the possible frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Frames were mainly examined through qualitative frame analysis according to the results of content analysis.

Coding scheme

For the Tibet issue, articles of British national daily newspapers that reported on selected events within defined periods of time, were first analysed by content analysis in terms of quantity, prominence level (front-page presence and average word count), types of news stories, topics, sources and source stance. By coding the fundamental elements of the sample of news articles, tables and figures were used to display the descriptive statistics of selected items.

Quantity. Quantity of news articles was measured by counting the number of news stories about Tibet in the British newspapers within each research period between 1949 and 2009. The variable was at the ratio level.

Prominence level. The prominence level is a measure of how important the issue is in the media. It is generally measured by some particular indicators such as the front-page presence, exposure degree, and the visual tools presence. On the one hand, the importance the media place on an issue can be indicated by placement of a story (Zoch & Turk, 1998). On the other hand, the average length of a news article can also be an indicator (McQuail, 1987). In this research, the prominence level for each news article was measured by multiplying the average length of the article (average number of words an article contains) with its placement (the front-page presence, whether a given news article is placed on the front page or not).

Type of the news story. News story type (news, feature, editorial/commentary, etc.) can influence how the issue is defined, the scope and depth of coverage, and calls to action. This variable separates news from opinion in newspapers. It also distinguishes among several techniques of presenting information. The ‘type of the news story’

results will tell us what sections of the newspapers or in what format coverage of Tibet tends to appear, such as news, features, editorial/commentary etc. It can therefore give an indication of where newspapers are likely to give attention to the Tibet issue, and how the Tibet issue is presented to readers (e.g. in editorial/commentary that give more ‘colour’ to coverage, or in the briefs and news reports which conform more to the straighter ‘factual’ styles of journalism). Therefore, news story type was coded as (1) news, including main page and sections with no specific heading, domestic/home news, international/world/foreign news, and leader pages; or (2) editorial/commentary, i.e. opinion or personal interpretation of the writer; or (3) letters to the editor; or (4) sport; or (5) features; or (6) other.

Topics. Topics refer to what contents are included in news coverage. They indicate elements in the story such as slogans and utterances cited, or actions depicted in the news story that suggest topics of the specific event. Coding for topics give us details on what kinds of stories are getting attention and what issues may receive more coverage than others. A close reading was undertaken of all the topics that emerged within the total sample of newspaper coverage analysed. Following on from this, different categories of topics were constructed and each article was coded for the presence of up to three of these topics. The categories of topics included those of ‘China’s control/suppression’, ‘Tibetans’ resistances/protests’, ‘human rights’ etc. (see Appendix 1 for full list).

Sources. Sources are applied to items quoted, paraphrased or attributed in a news article. Certain frames that circulate in public debate may be picked up by the news media, whereas other frames are typically applied by a specific frame advocate. It is advisable to strategically collect sources of ‘frame sponsors’ who use frames for strategic purposes (Kruse, 2001), including, for example, the Dalai Lama, pressure groups, NGOs, and political parties. This study sub-divided the major source types (e.g. government, media/journalist, the general public) into smaller sub-categories. For example, the sub-categories for government were China’s government, Tibet’s

government etc., and the sub-categories for non-governmental organisations were Human Rights NGO, Tibet Support Groups etc. The sources were first recorded by their full name and affiliation where possible, and also according to their source type. They were then combined into the sub-categories for easier analysis. Each article was coded for the presence of up to four of these sources. The information recorded in Appendix 1 of the coding schedule describes the most frequently cited news source types in the reportage of the Tibet issue in the selected British press.

Source Stance. Source stance refers to the stand a source takes on an issue when being quoted. It is measured by identifying the tone of an individual, an organisation or documentation toward a specific issue with regard to Sino-Tibetan relations. The final part of the coding schedule was used to record the value stance of cited sources with regard, to China's presence in Tibet and, secondly, to Tibet's independence. For instance, the source stance towards China's presence in Tibet was categorised into pro-China, anti-China, and neutral.

In summary, the samples were chosen from different genres and areas of the British newspapers. Across the sampled news articles of the Tibet issue, the complete variables in the following were included (the final version of coding schedule is shown in Appendix 1):

- Case number
- Name of the newspaper
- Publishing date of the article
- Page of the article
- Word count of the article
- Type of the news story
- Name of correspondent
- Topic of the article
- Source

- How the source appears
- Source stance towards China's presence in Tibet
- Source stance towards Tibet's independence

Testing the coding schedule and reliability

The data were analysed through the computer software program, SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). In order to test the reliability of the coding, it was necessary to check the reliability of the coding being conducted. Three coders coded the sample. They were trained by reviewing the coding scheme and instructions together to ensure that they understood the requirements. To validate the coding, the three coders independently coded ten randomly selected articles. Using an online utility, ReCal, which is developed by Deen Freelon (2010) to calculate inter-coder reliability, results were as follows (see Table 3.5 below): 83.3% for topic 1, topic 2 and topic 3; 80% for source 1, source 2 and source 3; 86.7% for source 4; 80% for political stance on China of source 1; 83.3% for political stance on China of source 2 and 3; 86.7% for political stance on China of source 4; 80% for political stance on Tibet of source 1; 83.3% for political stance on Tibet of source 2, source 3 and source 4 – which were acceptable reliability levels according to Neuendorf (2002).

Even though content analysis sketches out a general picture of the main characteristics of selected news texts, using only this method is too general to answer my research questions. As previously noted, content analysis does have limitations. First, the method confines itself to count what is in the coverage rather than to analyse and explore the internal meanings and relationships between texts (Rose, Spinks & Canhoto, 2015). For instance, merely showing the number of times some specific key words appear could not tell you about the context in which it takes place, or the broader meaning the words convey. In addition, the method probably ignores what is not said in a particular text. In some situations what is omitted may be as significant as what is included. Another limitation is that content analysis is a purely descriptive

method, and it describes what is there, but may not reveal the underlying motives for the observed pattern ('what' but not 'why') (Bryman, 2012). Namely, it is difficult to access the motivations and perceptions of those involved in the construction of the manifest content examined through content analysis (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989). So, it could not answer the questions such as why the representations of Tibet in the British press did/did not change over time.

Table 3.5 Average pairwise percent agreement

	Average pairwise percent agr.
Topic 1	83.333%
Topic 2	83.333%
Topic 3	83.333%
Source 1	80%
Source 2	80%
Source 3	80%
Source 4	86.667%
Sour1Stan1	80%
Sour2Stan1	83.333%
Sour3Stan1	83.333%
Sour4Stan1	86.667%
Sour1Stan2	80%
Sour2Stan2	83.333%
Sour3Stan2	83.333%
Sour4Stan2	83.333%

Qualitative frame analysis

The most important guideline of framing is to focus not only on what a text is about, but also on how the story is told (van Gorp, 2010). As mentioned in Chapter 2, frames are constructed by the 'evidence', which comes from wider but more complicated social conditions that have impact on the media in relation to their selection of words and expressions. Meanwhile, as discussed above, content analysis could not necessarily provide insights into the underlying reasons for relationships and trends in data, but only justifies the samples and gives an idea of which articles can be used for

further in-depth analysis. Hence, the representations of Tibet in the British newspaper coverage also need to be investigated using a qualitative approach for data collection and analysis. In order to overcome the major limitations of content analysis in the current research, qualitative frame analysis was used to examine media representations further, and its results offered evidence and insights into the frames used by the British press to represent the Tibet issue. In other words, based on the results from content analysis, qualitative frame analysis was used to investigate what frames were identified and how they were presented or built in media discourses within a broader socio-cultural context. Texts of news items were analysed on a word level from journalistic context to social context for the sake of exploring ideologies behind news reporting. The identification of news frames through qualitative frame analysis includes two parts: (1) ‘what’ to look for when identifying frames; and (2) ‘how’ to identify frames. The following section begins by briefly introducing ‘what to look for when identifying frames’ and this is followed by a description of ‘how to identify frames’.

What to look for when identifying frames?

The qualitative frame analysis was based on carefully reading of all selected stories according to the results of content analysis. It was followed by an identification of the manifest elements in a text that function as demonstrable indicators of the frame, which is called ‘framing devices’ (van Gorp, 2010). There are various framing devices that have been utilised by researchers to identify the decisive features of a frame, including keywords, catchphrases, metaphors, source selection and photographs etc. (Entman, 1993; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Tankard, 2003). They can be divided into two categories: rhetorical devices and technical devices (Lindström & Marais, 2012). Rhetorical devices that can be examined are ‘the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or

judgement' (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Although these indicators will not directly reveal frames, they will offer the analyst important concepts in a text which may help 'diagnose' and 'nominate' central ideas around which the frame is constructed (Tourist & Koteyko, 2014). These analytic points merged into dominant themes that fulfilled the four functions of framing at different stages of the report: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments and suggesting remedies (Entman, 1993). The qualitative assessment of frames in this study focused on the examination of all selected stories with these framing focal points.

In terms of technical framing devices, Tankard (2003) suggests the following indicators: headlines and kickers (small headlines over the main headlines); subheads; photographs; photo captions; leads; source selection; quote selection; and concluding statements and paragraphs. Visual images that were inaccessible over fifty years ago, and thus they were not used to examine frames in this study. In the current research, frames were predominantly investigated in the headlines (including subheads), leads, source selection and concluding statements of news articles by using 'rhetorical devices'. The headlines of all sampled articles were analysed first. It was because they are the most prominent feature of news coverage. As Pan and Kosicki (1993) indicate, 'a headline is the most salient cue to activate certain semantically related concepts in readers' minds: it is thus the most powerful framing device of syntactical structure' (p. 59). Bell (1991, p. 189) considers the headline as 'a part of news rhetoric whose function is to attract the reader'. In addition, the headline is treated as an initial summary, which defines the overall situation covered in the news coverage and provides preferred reading and interpretation of news content for readers (Bell, 1991; van Dijk, 1988b; van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). Unless readers have different knowledge and beliefs, they generally 'adopt these subjective media definitions of what is important information about an event' (van Dijk, 1988b, p. 248). Therefore, in order to explore the most prominent and specific ideological frameworks in news discourse on the Tibet issue, the headlines were examined first. The other technical devices of

the news stories were analysed accordingly. They comprise of a range of details, examples, etc., which play an important role in sustaining and justifying given ideologies.

How to identify frames?

According to Alozie's (2005, p. 66) technique for qualitative research analysis, the 'how' of identifying news frames in this study consists of three steps. The first phase involved a general multiple reading of news articles while taking descriptive notes about the content. In the second phase, the stories were read a second time to identify certain recurring themes, frames and values. In that case, a range of possible frames were made explicitly. All framing devices were used to detect each frame, and the information needed to be clustered and categorised. However, these devices were not mutually exclusive, which were put into even broader categories. Lastly, the third reading was necessary for an in-depth interpretation of the articles. By this means, I identified different discourses with their respective frames. A news article might contain one or more frames. Qualitative frame analysis of all selected articles on the Tibet issue for the four research periods from 1949 to 2009 will be shown in Chapters 4, 5, 6 & 7 respectively.

Summary

This chapter has described how to select media, time periods and the relevant sample; and how content analysis was used in this study, outlining the different coding variables and how they were formulated. Furthermore, qualitative frame analysis used in the study was also described. Finally, to investigate frames, the methods of analysis used for both methodologies were discussed along with a discussion of the limitations of each method.

CHAPTER 4

British Newspaper Coverage of Tibet During the Early Cold War – I: The Battle of Chamdo

Introduction

As noted in Chapter 3, the early Cold War period can be divided into two phases: (1) the Battle of Chamdo (known officially in China as the Liberation of Chamdo); and (2) the 1959 Tibetan Uprising. This chapter presents an overview of the results of the content analysis and qualitative frame analysis of the British press coverage of the first phase: The Battle of Chamdo. The results and their implications will be discussed in subsequent sections. The content analysis examines four main issues: the prominence level (front-page presence and average word count) of the Tibet issue in the news; the types of news stories; the topics that emerged in the press coverage; and who spoke and what their political stance was on China and Tibet. The intention is to see the extent to which the selected newspapers provided a similar account of events or whether political allegiances and newspaper formats made a difference in how events were understood. The results of the content analysis will be supplemented by a qualitative frame analysis to provide a deeper context and background for the representations of Tibet in the British press during the early Cold War.

The Battle of Chamdo (1950): quantitative results and discussion

When the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) on 1 October 1949, Radio Peking announced that Tibet was a part of China and that the People's Liberation Army (PLA) would march into Tibet to liberate the Tibetan people from foreign imperialists (Shakabpa, 1984). On 7 October 1950, almost a year after the first announcement of 'liberation', the PLA

started to enter Tibet across the Yangtze River from eastern Kham, south of Jyekundo in Chinghai and north of Yunnan (Smith Jr., 2009). The PLA gained control of central and western Tibet after a decisive military victory at Chamdo. By 19 October 1950, Tibetan resistance to the PLA had been quickly overwhelmed. And in the face of imminent occupation of Tibet, the Tibet National Assembly offered full ruling power to the fifteen-year-old Dalai Lama (Dolkar, 2008).

The data collection yielded a total of 129 news articles about the Tibet issue between 7 October 1950 and 7 November 1950. The stories were sampled from ten newspapers, as described in Chapter 3. The distribution of these news articles across the ten newspapers over this month in 1950 is shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 Amount of coverage of Tibet by newspaper during the Battle of Chamdo (7.10.1950-7.11.1950)

Newspapers	Total news articles
The Manchester Guardian	19.4% (n=25)
The Times	17.1% (n=22)
Daily Herald	10.9% (n=14)
News Chronicle	10.9% (n=14)
The Daily Telegraph	8.5% (n=11)
Daily Express	7.8% (n=10)
Daily Mirror	7.0% (n=9)
Daily Worker	7.0% (n=9)
Daily Mail	6.2% (n=8)
Daily Graphic	5.4% (n=7)
Total	100% (n=129)

When the newspapers were categorised by their political leanings in 1950, according to Table 4.2 below, the newspapers that supported the Liberal Party (*The Manchester Guardian* and *News Chronicle*) showed the most interest in the Tibet issue with an average of over 19 news articles of Tibet, followed by the Conservative-supporting newspapers (*The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Mail* and *Daily Graphic*). In contrast, the pro-Labour newspapers (*Daily Mirror* and *Daily Herald*) and the only pro-Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, paid

less attention to the Tibet issue. Therefore, in the research period of 1950, the average number of news stories shows the pro-Liberal/pro-Conservative newspapers had more articles than those of the pro-Labour/pro-Communist newspapers.

Table 4.2 The number of news articles on Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the Battle of Chamdo (7.10.1950-7.11.1950)

Newspapers	Total number of articles	Total newspapers in groups	Average number of articles per newspaper
Pro-Liberal	39	2	19.5
Pro-Conservative	58	5	11.6
Pro-Labour	23	2	11.5
Pro-Communist	9	1	9.0
Average/Total	129	10	12.9

When the press was categorised by newspaper format, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the only pro-Communist newspaper was not included in tabloid newspapers. In fact, there is a sharp difference between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers in terms of the distribution of coverage of Tibet (see Table 4.3 below). Over the period of the study in 1950, an average of over 14 news articles were published in the broadsheets (*The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Herald* and *News Chronicle*). Over the same period, only 8 news articles on average were published in the daily tabloids (*Daily Mirror* and *Daily Graphic*). Thus, in reporting the Tibet issue, the broadsheets had more coverage than the tabloids.

Table 4.3 The number of news articles on Tibet by newspaper format during the Battle of Chamdo (7.10.1950-7.11.1950)

Newspapers	Total number of articles	Total newspapers in groups	Average number of articles per newspaper
Broadsheet	104	7	14.9
Tabloid	16	2	8.0
Average/Total	120	9	11.5

Front-page presence

As noted in Chapter 3, where a story appears in a newspaper indicates how important the issue is. On the whole, it can clearly be seen from Table 4.4 below that there were 36.4% or forty-seven front-page articles across all newspapers referencing Tibet during this period. In addition, there was no substantial difference of the front-page presence of news articles between the newspapers according to partisanship in 1950.

Table 4.4 Amount of front-page coverage of Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the Battle of Chamdo (7.10.1950-7.11.1950)

Newspapers		Front page	Others	Total
Pro-Communist	Count	6	3	9
	% within political stance of newspapers	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Pro-Labour	Count	10	13	23
	% within political stance of newspapers	43.5%	56.5%	100.0%
Pro-Conservative	Count	19	39	58
	% within political stance of newspapers	32.8%	67.2%	100.0%
Pro-Liberal	Count	12	27	39
	% within political stance of newspapers	30.8%	69.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	47	82	129
	% within political stance of newspapers	36.4%	63.6%	100.0%

$$x^2 = 4.923; \text{ d.f.} = 3; p > 0.05$$

When the presence of front-page coverage was examined between the broadsheets and the tabloids, as shown in Table 4.5 below, differences were again statistically not significant.

Table 4.5 Amount of front-page coverage of Tibet by newspaper format during the Battle of Chamdo (7.10.1950-7.11.1950)

Newspapers		Front page	Others	Total
Broadsheet	Count	38	66	104
	% within broadsheet	36.5%	63.5%	100%
Tabloid	Count	3	13	16
	% within tabloid	18.8%	81.3%	100%
Total	Count	41	79	120
	% within broadsheet and tabloid	34.2%	65.8%	100.0%

$$x^2 = 1.951; \text{ d.f.} = 1; p > 0.05$$

In short, there was no marked difference between newspapers regarding the front-page presence in 1950. Neither newspaper partisanship nor newspaper format influenced the front-page presence of news stories significantly.

Average word count

As shown in Chapter 3, the space given to the issue is another indication as to its importance in the news media agenda. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 below illustrate the average length (not including headlines, captions or pull-quotes – just the main body of text) of the news articles covering Tibet by newspaper partisanship and by newspaper format in 1950.

When the average length of news articles was analysed by newspaper partisanship (see Table 4.6), the pro-Conservative newspapers had the highest average word count, reaching over 216 words. Similarly, the pro-Liberal newspapers' stories had around 200 words in average length. There was a lower average number of words per news article in the pro-Labour (around 189 words) and the pro-Communist (over 169 words) newspapers. However, differences of the average length of stories on Tibet between the newspapers along partisan lines were statistically not significant.

Table 4.6 Average word count of articles by newspaper partisanship during the Battle of Chamdo (7.10.1950-7.11.1950)

Newspapers	Average number of words per article
Pro-Conservative	216.64 words
Pro-Liberal	200.23 words
Pro-Labour	189.22 words
Pro-Communist	169.89 words
Average	203.53 words

$F(3, 125) = 0.248; p > 0.05$

Table 4.7 shows that, regarding the average word count of news articles, differences between the broadsheets and the tabloids were statistically significant ($t=4.108, p < 0.05$). Broadsheet newspapers had around 219 words per article

compared to tabloid newspapers with 121 words per article. That is to say, broadsheet readers received approximately 45% more words per article referencing the topic of Tibet than tabloid readers.

Table 4.7 Average word count of articles by newspaper format during the Battle of Chamdo (7.10.1950-7.11.1950)

Newspapers	Average number of words per article
Broadsheet	219.13 words
Tabloid	121.00 words
Average	206.05 words

$t = 4.108$; $d.f. = 82.225$; $p < 0.05$

In summary, the indicator of prominence level, i.e. front-page presence, does not show substantial differences between newspapers. The other indicator of prominence level, the average news article length, only shows statistically significant differences between broadsheet newspapers and tabloid newspapers, but this was due to the broadsheets having longer articles than the tabloids. Therefore, in 1950, there was no marked difference regarding prominence of the Tibet issue in the newspapers along partisan lines. The broadsheets were perhaps more likely to analyse the Tibet issue and explore thorough background material. More details will be shown in the following sections.

Types of news stories

As noted in Chapter 3, the types of news stories were analysed to indicate the scope and depth of reports of Tibet. According to Table 4.8 below, on the whole, most news articles about Tibet in the ten newspapers were carried as general news (96.1% of total news articles, $n=124$), while only 2.3% of Tibet-related news articles ($n=3$) were editorials or commentaries.

Table 4.8 also shows that in terms of the types of news stories, there were not many differences between the newspapers along partisan lines.

Table 4.8 Types of news stories on Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the Battle of Chamdo (7.10.1950-7.11.1950)

Newspapers		Editorial/comm			Total
		News	mentary	Other	
Pro-Conservative	Count	55	2	1	58
	% within political stance of newspapers	94.8%	3.4%	1.7%	100.0%
Pro-Liberal	Count	37	1	1	39
	% within political stance of newspapers	94.9%	2.6%	2.6%	100.0%
Pro-Labour	Count	23	0	0	23
	% within political stance of newspapers	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Pro-Communist	Count	9	0	0	9
	% within political stance of newspapers	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	124	3	2	129
	% within political stance of newspapers	96.1%	2.3%	1.6%	100.0%

$x^2 = 1.901$; d.f. = 6; $p > 0.05$

We can see from Table 4.9 below that the types of news stories of broadsheet newspapers were similar to those of tabloid newspapers in 1950.

Table 4.9 Types of news stories on Tibet by newspaper format during the Battle of Chamdo (7.10.1950-7.11.1950)

Newspapers		Editorial/com			Total
		News	mentary	Other	
Broadsheet	Count	99	3	2	104
	% within broadsheet	95.2%	2.9%	1.9%	100%
Tabloid	Count	16	0	0	16
	% within tabloid	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100%
Total	Count	115	3	2	120
	% within broadsheet and tabloid	95.8%	2.5%	1.7%	100.0%

$x^2 = 1.25$; d.f. = 2; $p > 0.05$

At this stage, these newspapers had not really formulated their opinions or

highlighted the significant role being played by opinion writers in contributing to community understanding and debates about the Tibet issue. The next section explores how the different topics described in Chapter 3 were distributed across the ten newspapers according to their political leanings and formats.

Topics

This section first shows how the topics¹ described in Chapter 3 were distributed between 7 Oct 1950 and 7 Nov 1950 (see Table 4.10 below). According to Table 4.10, there were several prevalent topics across the ten newspapers: ‘China’s advance/control’; ‘Tibetans’ actions rather than resistances/protests’; ‘India’s views’; ‘China’s views’; and ‘India’s actions’.

Table 4.10 Distribution of topics in coverage of Tibet during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Topics	Total
China’s advance/control	29.1% (n=93)
Tibetans’ actions rather than resistances/protests	10.9% (n=35)
India’s views	10.6% (n=34)
China’s views	7.8% (n=25)
India’s actions	5.9% (n=19)
Tibetans’ views	4.4% (n=14)
India’s policies	4.1% (n=13)
Tibetans’ resistances/protests	4.1% (n=13)
The Dalai Lama’s actions/The Dalai Lama’s situation	4.1% (n=13)
Tibetans’ policies	3.4% (n=11)
Other views	3.4% (n=11)
Other topics	3.4% (n=11)
The Dalai Lama’s policies	2.8% (n=9)
China’s actions rather than advance/control	2.5% (n=8)
Other actions	1.9% (n=6)
Other policies	1.6% (n=5)
Total	100% (n=320)

¹ The category of topics is based on multiple-response variables (Topic1, Topic 2 and Topic 3 have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

Specifically, the dominant topic of the newspapers was ‘China’s advance/control’ at 29.1% (of total topics, n=93), far more than any other topic. Subsequently, the newspapers highlighted ‘Tibetans’ actions rather than resistances/protests’ at 10.9% (of total topics, n=35), and ‘India’s views’ at 10.6% (of total topics, n=34). The other topics to gain more than 5% of the total were ‘China’s views’ at 7.8% (n=25) and ‘India’s actions’ at 5.9% (n=19). However, the topics related to the Dalai Lama and Western countries (e.g. the UK) were presented in small proportions in this period.

Topics by newspaper partisanship

Tables 4.11 and 4.12 below show the topics of news stories along partisan lines, and there was no substantial difference between newspapers.

Table 4.11 The number of topics in coverage of Tibet in the pro-Conservative and pro-Liberal newspapers during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Topics	Pro-Conservative	Pro-Liberal
China’s advance/control	31.6% (n=42)	26.9% (n=28)
Tibetans’ actions rather than resistances/protests	10.5% (n=14)	10.6% (n=11)
India’s views	8.3% (n=11)	15.4% (n=16)
China’s views	6.8% (n=9)	11.5% (n=12)
Tibetans’ resistances/protests	6.8% (n=9)	1.9% (n=2)
The Dalai Lama’s actions/The Dalai Lama’s situation	5.3% (n=7)	2.9% (n=3)
India’s actions	4.5% (n=6)	7.7% (n=8)
Tibetans’ policies	4.5% (n=6)	4.8% (n=5)
The Dalai Lama’s policies	3.8% (n=5)	1.0% (n=1)
Tibetans’ views	3.0% (n=4)	2.9% (n=3)
Other topics	3.0% (n=4)	2.9% (n=3)
China’s actions rather than advance/control	3.0% (n=4)	1.0% (n=1)
Other views	2.3% (n=3)	4.8% (n=5)
India’s policies	2.3% (n=3)	4.8% (n=5)
Other actions	2.3% (n=3)	1.0% (n=1)
Other policies	2.3% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	100% (n=133)	100% (n=104)

Table 4.12 The number of topics in coverage of Tibet in the pro-Labour and pro-Communist newspapers during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Topics	Pro-Labour	Pro-Communist
China's advance/control	27.4% (n=17)	28.6% (n=6)
Tibetans' actions rather than resistances/protests	9.7% (n=6)	19.0% (n=4)
India's views	9.7% (n=6)	4.8% (n=1)
China's views	3.2% (n=2)	9.5% (n=2)
Tibetans' resistances/protests	1.6% (n=1)	4.8% (n=1)
The Dalai Lama's actions/The Dalai Lama's situation	3.2% (n=2)	4.8% (n=1)
India's actions	6.5% (n=4)	4.8% (n=1)
Tibetans' policies	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
The Dalai Lama's policies	4.8% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Tibetans' views	8.1% (n=5)	9.5% (n=2)
Other topics	4.8% (n=3)	4.8% (n=1)
China's actions rather than advance/control	4.8% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Other views	4.8% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
India's policies	6.5% (n=4)	4.8% (n=1)
Other actions	3.2% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
Other policies	1.6% (n=1)	4.8% (n=1)
Total	100% (n=62)	100% (n=21)

Topics by newspaper format

In terms of topics by newspaper format (see Table 4.13 below), around 28.7% of broadsheet newspapers' total topics portrayed 'China's advance/control' (n=74) followed by 'India's views' (11.2% within broadsheets, n=29), 'Tibetans' actions rather than resistances/protests' (10.1% within broadsheets, n=26) and 'China's views' (8.5% within broadsheets, n=22). By comparison, in tabloid newspapers, there were slightly more topics of 'China's advance/control' (31.7% within tabloids, n=13) and 'Tibetans' actions rather than resistances/protests' (12.2% within tabloids, n=5), but fewer topics of 'India's views' (9.8% within tabloids, n=4) and 'China's views' (2.4% within tabloids, n=1). In brief, when comparing the topics by newspaper format, there was no marked difference between the broadsheets and the tabloids.

Table 4.13 The number of topics in coverage of Tibet by newspaper format during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Topics	Broadsheet	Tabloid
China's advance/control	28.7% (n=74)	31.7% (n=13)
India's views	11.2% (n=29)	9.8% (n=4)
Tibetans' actions rather than resistances/protests	10.1% (n=26)	12.2% (n=5)
China's views	8.5% (n=22)	2.4% (n=1)
India's actions	5.8% (n=15)	7.3% (n=3)
Tibetans' views	4.7% (n=12)	0.0% (n=0)
Tibetans' policies	4.3% (n=11)	0.0% (n=0)
The Dalai Lama's actions/The Dalai Lama's situation	3.9% (n=10)	4.9% (n=2)
India's policies	3.9% (n=10)	4.9% (n=2)
Tibetans' resistances/protests	3.5% (n=9)	7.3% (n=3)
Other views	3.5% (n=9)	4.9% (n=2)
Other topics	3.5% (n=9)	2.4% (n=1)
The Dalai Lama's policies	2.7% (n=7)	4.9% (n=2)
China's actions rather than advance/control	2.7% (n=7)	2.4% (n=1)
Other actions	1.9% (n=5)	2.4% (n=1)
Other policies	1.2% (n=3)	2.4% (n=1)
Total	100% (n=258)	100% (n=41)

As discussed above, neither newspaper partisanship nor newspaper format influenced distribution of topics to any extent. Part of the research examined which sources were prominent in the news articles on Tibet. The results of this analysis are described in the next section.

Who spoke on Tibet and what their political stance was?

This section includes three parts. The overall distribution of sources, and their political stance towards China and Tibet were analysed originally. Then, sources and source stance were examined along partisan lines and by newspaper formats.

Overall sources and their stance on China and Tibet

First of all, it is an aim of the current research to explore what types of sources²

² The category of sources is based on multiple-response variables (Source 1, Source 2, Source3 and Source 4 have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

dominated the British daily newspapers stories on the Tibet issue. These source categories were described in Chapter 3. Before moving on to the analysis of how the different sources were distributed between 7 October 1950 and 7 November 1950, it is useful to show the percentage of sourced to unsourced material contained in the newspaper stories examined. The research shows that material either directly or indirectly quoted by sources was around 82% of all the newspaper stories (n=106) with unsourced material comprising the other 18%. This equals a ratio of 4.6:1 of sourced to unsourced material. With this ratio in mind, an analysis was conducted of how these news sources were distributed from 7 October 1950 to 7 November 1950, the results of which appear in Table 4.14 below.

Table 4.14 Distribution of sources during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Sources	Total
Government	
India's government	23.9% (n=49)
China's government	10.2% (n=21)
Tibet's government	8.3% (n=17)
Other government	5.9% (n=12)
Total	48.3% (n=99)
Media/journalist	
China's media/journalist	10.7% (n=22)
India's media/journalist	6.3% (n=13)
Other media/journalist	5.9% (n=12)
Total	22.9% (n=47)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	22.0% (n=45)
The general public	3.9% (n=8)
Businessmen/traders	1.0% (n=2)
Informed/reliable sources	1.0% (n=2)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.5% (n=1)
Other	0.5% (n=1)
Total	100% (n=205)

In regard to the most prominent sources featured in coverage during the research period of 1950, Table 4.14 shows that the government sources (23.9% of total sources,

n=49) dominated the coverage. Media/journalist (22.9% of total sources, n=47) and unofficial/unconfirmed sources (22% of total sources, n=45) were the other main sources highlighted. A more detailed analysis will be shown in the following section.

As we can see from Table 4.14 above, the category of government comprised four groups. India's government (23.9% of total sources, n=49), China's government (10.2% of total sources, n=21) and Tibet's government (8.3% of total sources, n=17), featured as the top three sources in this category. The other government was the combination of the US government, the UK government and the Soviet government. Individually, these three sources reached less than 5% of all sources.

Furthermore, for the category of media/journalist, China had the largest percentage of all media/journalist sources, which accounted for 10.7% of total sources (n=22). This was followed by India's (6.3% of total sources, n=13). The category of other media/journalist reached less than 5% of all sources. A few examples of sources included in this category were the UK's media/journalist and Hong Kong's media/journalist.

The results also indicate that the general public (e.g. residents, observers, witnesses and travellers), businessmen/traders, informed/reliable sources, and intergovernmental organisations (e.g. the UN), were, for the most part, excluded from coverage as featured actors.

While these results on source distribution describe the most commonly cited news sources, they do not demonstrate the overall tone of the sources towards China and Tibet. So, the following sections examine the overall news source citations with regard to the stance they took towards China and Tibet. As already outlined in Chapter 3, source citations were read and coded according to whether or not the source citation was pro, anti or neutral with respect to its position on China's presence in Tibet and Tibet's independence.

Source stance towards China. Table 4.15 below illustrates the analysis of news

source citations regarding the stance they took towards China's presence in Tibet³. Over 50% (n=110) of all cited sources had a neutral position on China. The next largest group of source citations opposed China, at over 31% (n=65). Source citations in favour of China's presence on Tibet reached over 14% (n=30).

Table 4.15 Source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by source type during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Sources	Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral	Total
China's government	6.8% (n=14)	0.5% (n=1)	2.9% (n=6)	10.2% (n=21)
China's media/journalist	4.9% (n=10)	0.0% (n=0)	5.9% (n=12)	10.7% (n=22)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	1.0% (n=2)	6.8% (n=14)	14.1% (n=29)	22.0% (n=45)
Other media/journalist	1.0% (n=2)	1.0% (n=1)	4.0% (n=8)	5.9% (n=12)
Tibet's government	0.5% (n=1)	1.0% (n=2)	6.8% (n=14)	8.3% (n=17)
Informed/reliable sources	0.5% (n=1)	0.5% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	1.0% (n=2)
India's government	0.0% (n=0)	12.7% (n=26)	11.2% (n=23)	23.9% (n=49)
Other government	0.0% (n=0)	4.4% (n=9)	1.5% (n=3)	5.9% (n=12)
India's media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	2.9% (n=6)	3.4% (n=7)	6.3% (n=13)
The general public	0.0% (n=0)	1.5% (n=3)	2.4% (n=5)	3.9% (n=8)
Businessmen/traders	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	1.0% (n=2)	1.0% (n=2)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=1)
Other	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=1)	0.5% (n=1)
Total	14.6% (n=30)	31.7% (n=65)	53.7% (n=110)	100.0% (n=205)

Specifically, as shown in Table 4.15, when analysed in terms of news sources, the citations from China's government (6.8% of all citations, n=14) and China's media/journalist (4.9% of all citations, n=10) were most in favour of China's presence in Tibet. In addition, India's government (12.7% of all citations, n=26) was the most likely to have citations opposing China. The results also show that the majority of citations displayed a neutral position with regard to China's presence in Tibet, with unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news (14.1% of all citations, n=29) having

³ The category of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet is based on multiple-response variables (Source Stance 1, Source Stance 2, Source Stance 3 and Source Stance 4 towards China's presence in Tibet have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

the largest percentage of such citations.

In brief, China's government and China's media/journalist were undoubtedly in favour of China's presence while India's government sources were strongly opposed to China's presence. However, unofficial groups were reluctant to take a particular position on China's presence in Tibet in 1950.

Source stance towards Tibet. When we take a look at source stance towards Tibet's independence⁴, Table 4.16 below shows that over 87% of all cited sources (n=180) had a neutral position. The second largest group of source citations opposed Tibet's independence, at over 9% of all citations (n=20).

Table 4.16 Source stance towards Tibet's independence by source type during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Sources	Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Other government	1.5% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)	4.4% (n=9)	5.9% (n=12)
India's government	0.5% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	23.4% (n=48)	23.9% (n=49)
Tibet's government	0.5% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	7.8% (n=16)	8.3% (n=17)
China's government	0.0% (n=0)	4.9% (n=10)	5.4% (n=11)	10.2% (n=21)
China's media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	3.9% (n=8)	6.8% (n=14)	10.7% (n=22)
Informed/reliable sources	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=1)	0.5% (n=1)	1.0% (n=2)
India's media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	6.3% (n=13)	6.3% (n=13)
Other media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=1)	5.4% (n=11)	5.9% (n=12)
The general public	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	3.9% (n=8)	3.9% (n=8)
Businessmen/traders	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	1.0% (n=2)	1.0% (n=2)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=1)	0.5% (n=1)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	22.0% (n=45)	22.0% (n=45)
Other	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=1)	0.5% (n=1)
Total	2.4% (n=5)	9.8% (n=20)	87.8% (n=180)	100.0% (n=205)

In contrast, source citations in favour of Tibet's independence comprised only 2.4% of all citations (n=5). To be precise, the news sources with the majority of negative citations towards Tibet's independence were those of China's government and

⁴ The category of source stance towards Tibet's independence is based on multiple-response variables (Source Stance 1, Source Stance 2, Source Stance 3 and Source Stance 4 towards Tibet's independence have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

China's media/journalist. The majority of citations had a neutral position on Tibet's independence, with India's government (23.4% of all citations, n=48) having the largest number of such citations.

In terms of sources and their political stance on China and Tibet, the following sections try to find out the similarities and differences between newspapers along partisan lines and by newspaper formats.

Sources and their stance by newspaper partisanship

Initially, the relationship between the dominant sources and newspaper political leanings was analysed in this section.

Table 4.17 The number of sources by newspaper partisanship during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Sources	Pro-Conservative			
	Pro-Conservative	Pro-Liberal	Pro-Labour	Pro-Communist
Government				
India's government	34.1% (n=28)	19.4% (n=13)	15.9% (n=7)	8.3% (n=1)
China's government	8.5% (n=7)	10.4% (n=7)	9.1% (n=4)	25.0% (n=3)
Tibet's government	3.7% (n=3)	11.9% (n=8)	11.4% (n=5)	8.3% (n=1)
Other government	6.1% (n=5)	6.0% (n=4)	6.8% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	52.4% (n=43)	47.8% (n=32)	43.2% (n=19)	41.7% (n=5)
Media/journalist				
China's media/journalist	8.5% (n=7)	13.4% (n=9)	11.4% (n=5)	8.3% (n=1)
India's media/journalist	8.5% (n=7)	7.5% (n=5)	2.3% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Other media/journalist	2.4% (n=2)	4.5% (n=3)	13.7% (n=6)	8.3% (n=1)
Total	19.5% (n=16)	25.4% (n=17)	27.3% (n=12)	16.7% (n=2)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	22.0% (n=18)	22.4% (n=15)	15.9% (n=7)	41.7% (n=5)
The general public	3.7% (n=3)	3.0% (n=2)	6.8% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Businessmen/traders	1.2% (n=1)	1.5% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Other	1.2% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Informed/reliable sources	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	4.5% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	2.3% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	100% (n=82)	100% (n=67)	100% (n=44)	100% (n=12)

As for the frequency of the category of government by newspaper partisanship, the results show that the pro-Communist newspaper had the lowest percentage of sources of India's government, which was opposed to China's presence in Tibet (see Table 4.17 above). Furthermore, compared to the other newspapers, the pro-Communist newspaper focused more on China's government, which was definitely supporting China's presence and opposing Tibet's independence. It also presented a strong and on-going concern of unofficial/unconfirmed sources, which illustrated a neutral position on China. Accordingly, the results reflect that, compared to the other newspapers, the pro-Communist newspaper probably used a different method, which was in favour of China, to represent the Tibet issue. This view will be further examined in the following sections.

The relationship between source stance towards China's presence in Tibet and newspaper partisanship is shown in Table 4.18 below.

Table 4.18 Amount of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Newspapers		Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral	Total
Pro-Communist	Count	6	0	6	12
	% within political stance of newspapers	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	100%
Pro-Liberal	Count	11	20	36	67
	% within political stance of newspapers	16.4%	29.9%	53.7%	100%
Pro-Conservative	Count	10	27	45	82
	% within political stance of newspapers	12.2%	32.9%	54.9%	100%
Pro-Labour	Count	3	18	23	44
	% within political stance of newspapers	6.8%	40.9%	52.3%	100%
Total	Count	30	65	110	205
	% within political stance of newspapers	14.6%	31.7%	53.7%	100%

The above table shows that a half of all cited sources (n=6) in the pro-Communist newspaper had a positive position on China. Meanwhile, the pro-Communist newspaper had no source citations opposing China's presence in Tibet.

The relationship between source stance towards Tibet's independence and newspaper partisanship is shown in Table 4.19 below. Only the pro-Communist newspaper had no source citations supporting Tibet's independence. The results of this section indicate that the pro-Communist newspaper used a different angle to represent the Tibet issue. More evidence will be shown in a later discussion in this chapter.

Table 4.19 Amount of source stance towards Tibet's independence by newspaper partisanship during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Newspapers		Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Pro-Liberal	Count	2	8	57	67
	% within political stance of newspapers	3.0%	11.9%	85.1%	100.0%
Pro-Conservative	Count	2	9	71	82
	% within political stance of newspapers	2.4%	11.0%	86.6%	100.0%
Pro-Labour	Count	1	2	41	44
	% within political stance of newspapers	2.3%	4.5%	93.2%	100.0%
Pro-Communist	Count	0	1	11	12
	% within political stance of newspapers	0.0%	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	5	20	180	205
	% within political stance of newspapers	2.4%	9.8%	87.8%	100.0%

Sources and their stance by newspaper format

This section analyses the relationship between the dominant sources and newspaper formats. According to Table 4.20 below, broadsheet newspapers quoted government sources more frequently than tabloid newspapers, which were more inclined towards quotes from unofficial/unconfirmed sources and the general public (e.g. residents,

observers, witnesses and travellers). In this context, news production factors most likely played a role – government officials can perhaps be relied upon to secure efficient, reliable and routine sources of news and viewpoints for the broadsheets, and were regarded as authoritative and relatively objective. On the other hand, the general public and unofficial/unconfirmed sources might be quoted to fulfil other more ‘feature’ criteria, for tabloid newspapers, in fleshing out the story by including human interest source citations.

Table 4.20 The number of sources by newspaper format during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Sources	Broadsheet	Tabloid
Government		
India's government	26.0% (n=44)	16.7% (n=4)
China's government	9.5% (n=16)	8.3% (n=2)
Tibet's government	9.5% (n=16)	0.0% (n=0)
Other government	5.3% (n=9)	12.5% (n=3)
Total	50.3% (n=85)	37.5% (n=9)
Media/journalist		
China's media/journalist	11.2% (n=19)	8.3% (n=2)
India's media/journalist	7.7% (n=13)	0.0% (n=0)
Other media/journalist	4.1% (n=7)	16.7% (n=4)
Total	23.1% (n=39)	25.0% (n=6)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news		
The general public	3.6% (n=6)	8.3% (n=2)
Businessmen/traders	1.2% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
Informed/reliable sources	1.2% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
Other	0.6% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.0% (n=0)	4.2% (n=1)
Total	100% (n=169)	100% (n=24)

For source stance towards China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper format, differences were also found in the analysis (see Table 4.21 below). Broadsheet newspapers (13% within the broadsheets, n=22) had more news source citations supporting China than tabloid newspapers (8.3% within the tabloids, n=2). However,

when dealing with negative source citations towards China, the tabloids (62.5% within the tabloids, n=15) had more than the broadsheets (29.6% within the broadsheets, n=50). Therefore, the positive source citations towards China featured more prominently in broadsheet stories, while the negative source citations were more evident in tabloid stories.

Table 4.21 Amount of source stance towards China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper format during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Newspapers		Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral	Total
Broadsheet	Count	22	50	97	169
	% within broadsheet	13.0%	29.6%	57.4%	100%
Tabloid	Count	2	15	7	24
	% within tabloid	8.3%	62.5%	29.2%	100%
Total	Count	24	65	104	193
	% within broadsheet	12.4%	33.7%	53.9%	100%
	and tabloid				

As for source stance towards Tibet’s independence by newspaper format, Table 4.22 below indicates that broadsheet newspapers had 3% (n=5) of total broadsheet source citations in favour of Tibet’s independence while tabloid newspapers had no source citations supporting Tibet. Furthermore, the broadsheets (10.1% within the broadsheets, n=17) had more source citations opposing Tibet’s independence than in the tabloids (8.3% within the tabloids, n=2).

Table 4.22 Amount of source stance towards Tibet’s independence by newspaper format during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Newspapers		Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Broadsheet	Count	5	17	147	169
	% within broadsheet	3.0%	10.1%	87.0%	100%
Tabloid	Count	0	2	33	24
	% within tabloid	0.0%	8.3%	91.7%	100%
Total	Count	5	19	169	193
	% within broadsheet and	2.6%	9.8%	87.6%	100%
	tabloid				

As discussed above, the tabloids preferred to use more negative news source citations towards China while they utilised fewer negative source citations towards Tibet to draw people's attention to the issue they reported. The broadsheets were more likely to report the Tibet issue neutrally. They quoted more sources with diverse voices towards the Tibet issue, including more source citations supporting China's presence in Tibet, as well as more source citations supporting Tibet and opposing Tibet's independence.

In conclusion, the results of the content analysis (e.g. prominence level, types of news stories and topics) mainly show that there was no substantial difference in terms of covering patterns between newspapers along partisan lines in the coverage of Tibet in 1950. Nevertheless, the variables of sources and source stance imply that the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers represented the Tibet issue mainly through the anti-Communist China consensus. Comparatively, as an outlier⁵, the pro-Communist newspaper represented the event from the angle of pro-Communism. When the study examined differences of coverage of Tibet between the broadsheets and the tabloids, the results of the content analysis show some differences. The following sections will further discuss whether the pro-Communist newspaper represented the Tibet issue differently from the other newspapers; and whether there was marked difference between the broadsheets and the tabloids in terms of the coverage of Tibet.

The Battle of Chamdo in 1950: dominant frames and discussion

The frequency of reporting about Tibet is far from the whole story about coverage. In order to better understand what aspects of China or Tibet were being covered in the British press, this research needs to look more closely at the content of the stories. In this section, the relatively sparse amount of substantial coverage of Tibet in the newspapers according to different partisanship and different format was analysed. In

⁵ Outlier in this thesis refers to the newspaper that was not part of the anti-Communist China consensus when it represented the Tibet issue.

all cases, an attempt was made to determine whether newspapers were framing the Tibet issue in consensus or differently.

Frame 1: The Red Menace, China is the invader of Tibet

China's military entry into Tibet in 1950 was shown in the British press in a variety of ways. It is important to explore how it was framed in the British newspapers in relation to their political intentions or newspaper formats.

When newspapers were divided along partisan lines or by newspaper formats, the selected samples of headlines regarding China's presence in Tibet are shown as follows (see Table 4.23 below):

Table 4.23 Newspaper headlines regarding China's views on the Tibet issue by newspaper partisanship and newspaper format during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Graphic</i>), the pro-Liberal (<i>The Manchester Guardian and News Chronicle</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>Daily Mirror and Daily Herald</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Herald and News Chronicle</i>)	Chinese units ordered to enter Tibet: Plans for 'liberation' (<i>The Times</i> , 25 October, 1950) China replies to India on Tibet: 'Domestic Matter' (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , 1 November, 1950) China Accuses India: 'Affected by foreign hostile influences' over Tibet (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , 3 November, 1950) Chinese march on Tibet: Army gets orders to 'safeguard frontier' (<i>Daily Herald</i> , 25 October, 1950)
The pro-Communist newspaper (<i>Daily Worker</i>)		China warns 'keep out' (<i>Daily Worker</i> , 3 November, 1950)

Primarily, Table 4.23 shows that some headlines were related to China's explanations of its presence in Tibet, treating it as 'a domestic matter', and proclaiming it as 'liberation' and 'protection'. In its news content, *The Times* quoted the Chinese government's statement on entering Tibet was 'to free 3,000,000 Tibetans from imperialist oppression and to consolidate the national defences of China's western

corner’ (‘Chinese units ordered to enter Tibet’, 1950). The Chinese government was also quoted in *The Manchester Guardian* as asserting that the Indian government’s concern over Tibet had been affected by ‘hostile foreign influences’ (‘China accuses India’, 1950). The *Daily Worker* noted, ‘China will not be deterred by India’s threat not to support its admission to the United Nations’ (‘China warns “keep out”’, 1950). Accordingly, the coverage showed that in the Chinese government’s opinion, Tibet is an inalienable part of Chinese territory; and they prevented Western forces from interfering in the region. The intention of the Chinese to ‘liberate Tibet from foreign imperialism’ has to be understood within the context of the CCP’s anti-imperialist ideology and the ‘Century of Humiliation (1839-1949)’ of Chinese history, which was regarded by the Chinese as the period under the rule of foreign imperialism (Kaufman, 2010). Tibet, which the Chinese still imagined to be under foreign imperialist domination, or potentially so, was thought to be particularly vulnerable to imperialist attacks via India (Smith Jr., 2009). Hence, for China, Tibet is a part of Chinese territory in need of liberation from both foreign imperialism and its own exploiting classes.

Nevertheless, as we can see from Table 4.24 below, the British press predominantly represented China as the Red Menace, and the Chinese presence in Tibet was treated as ‘invasion’. On the one hand, the list of headlines below illustrate that China had been attached ideological labels, such as ‘Communist China’, ‘Communist’, ‘Reds’ and ‘Red China’ in the news coverage. One example is that the British press mainly addressed ‘China’ as ‘Communist China’ rather than ‘the People’s Republic of China’. They depicted China as an ally of the Soviets and as a threat to Western countries. Meanwhile, they highlighted the struggle between Communism and Capitalism, and reminded the readers that the UK and China viewed each other as ‘the enemy’. *The Daily Telegraph* quoted Mr Nehru’s statement that, the reason for Communist China’s entry into Tibet was, ‘perhaps partly attributed to the fact that although Peking’s policy might not be dictated by Moscow, much of the

information on which it was based came from Soviet sources’ (‘Peking’s fear’, 1950).

Table 4.24 Newspaper headlines regarding descriptions of China by newspaper partisanship and format during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , <i>Daily Graphic</i>), the pro-Liberal (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> and <i>News Chronicle</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>Daily Mirror</i> and <i>Daily Herald</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , <i>Daily Herald</i> and <i>Chronicle</i>)	Chinese Communists and Tibet (<i>The Times</i> , 16 October, 1950) Communists 50 miles into Tibet: China drive report (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , 12 October, 1950) 4 Communist Columns head for Lhasa (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , 30 October, 1950) Tibet orders radio silence: Lama’s army fights Reds : Battle in mountain snow 15000 feet up (<i>Daily Express</i> , 12 October, 1950) Red light in Tibet (<i>Daily Mail</i> , 31 October, 1950) Red China orders: ‘March into Tibet’: Big troop moves on Korea border (<i>News Chronicle</i> , 25 October, 1950)
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Mirror</i> and <i>Daily Graphic</i>)	The advance on Lhasa: Invaders ’ progress (<i>The Times</i> , 31 October, 1950) Tibet invasion reports denied (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , 14 October, 1950) Boy Lama plans flight: 40000 Reds invade rich leaving with jewels (<i>Daily Express</i> , 30 October, 1950) Tibet invasion begun: Peking broadcast: ‘Strengthening our frontiers’ (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , 25 October, 1950) Tibet ‘invasion ’ not confirmed (<i>News Chronicle</i> , 16 October, 1950) Tibetans ask India against invaders : No answer yet to New Delhi protest (<i>News Chronicle</i> , 30 October, 1950)
	The pro-Communist newspaper (<i>Daily Worker</i>)	Chinese armies go into Tibet: Move to make frontier safe (<i>Daily Worker</i> , 26 October, 1950) Move in Tibet is not an invasion (<i>Daily Worker</i> , 27 October, 1950)

In the *Daily Mail*'s commentary, 'For generations Britain kept Tibet as a buffer State between India and Russia. [...] Tibet, instead of being an obstacle to Muscovite Imperialism, will become a pathway for it' ('Red light in Tibet', 1950). *The Times* carried the UK government's statement that 'the Government fully supported the stand which had been taken by the Government of India over the Chinese advance into Tibet. [...] the British Government deplored this resort to force by the Chinese Government against people who had no other wish than to pursue their traditional way of life free from outside interference' ('Indian stand over Tibet', 1950). The British newspapers' representations of China reflected that since the PRC was established in 1949, its membership in the Communist Camp caused fresh fear of the spread of Communism during the early Cold War period. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

On the other hand, China was considered as the 'invader'. 'Invader', 'invasion' and 'invade' were the words chosen to define the Chinese presence in Tibet (see Table 4.24 above). For instance, *The Times* described 'The advance on Lhasa: Invaders' progress'. The *Daily Graphic* also printed 'More Reds invade Tibet'. In terms of news content, the *Daily Mail* commented, 'That remote, mysterious land has been invaded by the Chinese Communists. [...] For at least a year the Chinese have been preparing to attack Tibet. The deed was done with typical Red brutality' ('Red light in Tibet', 1950). Thus, the news coverage displayed that Tibet was not recognised as a part of China's territory, but as a separate country. China had made its entry into Tibet using violence and force, which caused the tragedy. In which case, China had 'invaded' Tibet.

Nevertheless, according to Table 4.24, not all of the newspapers covered China using the phrases, 'Communist China', 'Communist', 'Reds' and 'Red China'. The *Daily Worker*, as a Communist newspaper, utilised 'go into' rather than 'invade' to picture China's military entry into Tibet ('Chinese armies go into Tibet', 1950). In its news content, Tibet was recognised as a part of China, and the Chinese were

represented as liberators, rather than as invaders. It specified clearly that ‘Tibet is part of China, and has been so since the 13th century. This fact was recognised by the British Government in a Note to the Chinese Government as recently at 1945’, hence, ‘move in Tibet is not an invasion’ (‘Move in Tibet’, 1950). In the news coverage of *Daily Worker*, the purpose for China to enter Tibet was ‘to make frontier safe’ (‘Chinese armies go into Tibet’, 1950), and the Chinese armies would come to bring Tibetans ‘security from foreign intrigues’ (‘Move in Tibet’, 1950).

In summary, on the one side, there was marked difference in terms of representations of China between the pro-Communist newspaper and the other newspapers. Throughout this period during the early Cold War, it is not difficult to recognise the strategies used by the British newspapers in terms of frame choices. In order to criticise China’s presence in Tibet, the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers labelled China chiefly as ‘Communist’, ‘aggressor’ and an ‘invader’ of Tibet, in spite of the Chinese government claiming that the military action was for liberation and consolidation. Communism was treated as a rival and threat to Western democracy and capitalism; China had always been labelled as ‘Communist’ and was believed to have invaded Tibet. According to the British news coverage, the PRC had displayed its hegemonic doctrine by the military occupation of Tibet after the Communists took over China. However, the only exception from this position, the pro-Communist newspaper, used a totally different approach in representing China. It specified that Tibet was a part of China. The Chinese were treated as liberators, protectors and heroes who could save Tibetans from Western imperialism and feudal forces. On the other side, there was no marked difference between the broadsheets and the tabloids regarding representations of China. Further discussion will be shown in Chapter 8.

Frame 2: Tibetans are the victims of Communist China’s invasion

As discussed above, China’s military entry into Tibet was mainly described as an

‘invasion’, which met with opposition from Tibet and India. According to Table 4.25 below, the newspapers used specific words such as ‘against’ and ‘flee’ to display Tibetans’ and the Dalai Lama’s reactions to the Chinese military action in Tibet respectively. Consequently, it was seen that Tibetans and the Dalai Lama did not permit and accept China’s presence, and treated them as the ‘invaders’. As the *Daily Herald* said, ‘It was a land of smiles’ (Hopkinson, 1950). In the news content, the *Daily Mail* observed that ‘Now it is the turn of peaceful, inoffensive Tibet. [...] The Tibetans were happy in their isolation. They wanted nothing of the outside world. They wished to be alone.’ (‘Red light in Tibet’, 1950). *The Times* also reported that the leaders of the peaceful land – Tibet, ‘have avoided any shadow of provocation, and who desire only to manage their own affairs’ (‘Tibet’, 1950). In this research period, there were not many descriptions of the Dalai Lama. Even though he was already a political leader, he was merely depicted in the *News Chronicle* as a spiritual leader, ‘The Holy One, Mighty in Speech, Excellent of Knowledge, Absolute in Wisdom, Powerful Ruler, the One Without Equal’ (Cliff, 1950a). As mentioned above, the news coverage showed that Tibetans and the Dalai Lama had a peaceful life, which was shattered by the Chinese military entry into Tibet. They were portrayed as the victims of China’s occupation in the British press.

Nevertheless, the only pro-Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, wrote in the headlines that ‘Tibetans help freedom army’ and ‘Tibet regiment joins Chinese’ (see Table 4.25). In addition, it utilised ‘left’ rather than ‘fled’ to depict the Dalai Lama’s reaction to China’s military action (‘Tibetan ruler gets out’, 1950). Specifically, it noted, ‘There has been growing unrest for several years in Tibet against the absolute rule of the Dalai Lama and the feudal nobles, and against the penetration of the country by American and British agents masquerading as ‘radio technicians’ and ‘electrical engineers’ (‘Move in Tibet’, 1950). Thus, in the coverage of the pro-Communist *Daily Worker*, ‘The Chinese Liberation Army which is advancing across the roof of the world to free Tibet is being helped in its march by Tibetans both

in and out of the army. Tibetans have been helping to transport food, build boats, roads and bridges. Tibetan women also joined in the work and formed transport teams to carry arms' (Winnington, 1950). Accordingly, Tibetans not only did not oppose the Chinese presence, they welcomed China's military entry into Tibet. Meanwhile, it was the Dalai Lama and the feudal nobles who replaced China, were framed as dictators – they commanded autocratic power – and caused Tibetans' protests. Tibetans were presented as the victims of Western imperialism and the feudal forces.

Table 4.25 Newspaper headlines regarding Tibetans' and the Dalai Lama's reactions to China's presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship and format during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , <i>Daily Graphic</i>), the pro-Liberal (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> and <i>News Chronicle</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>Daily Mirror</i> and <i>Daily Herald</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , <i>Daily Herald</i> and <i>News Chronicle</i>)	Tibetan request for help : Fortress falls: India awaiting reply from Peking (<i>The Times</i> , 30 October, 1950) Dalai Lama flees (<i>Daily Express</i> , 4 November, 1950) Tibet's terms: To accept China as suzerain ? (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , 27 October, 1950) Tibetans ask India against invaders: No answer yet to New Delhi protest (<i>News Chronicle</i> , 30 October, 1950b) Dalai Lama prepares to flee by mule (<i>News Chronicle</i> , 30 October, 1950) Tibetans say: No Chinese (<i>Daily Herald</i> , 27 October, 1950)
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Mirror</i> and <i>Daily Graphic</i>)	Dalai Lama has fled – report (<i>Daily Graphic</i> , 4 November, 1950) 'Boy ruler flees ' report (<i>Daily Mirror</i> , 4 November, 1950)
The pro-Communist newspaper (<i>Daily Worker</i>)	Tibetans help Freedom Army (<i>Daily Worker</i> , 2 November, 1950) Tibet regiment joins Chinese (<i>Daily Worker</i> , 3 November, 1950)	

Second, India's point of view (see Table 4.26 below) was that they were 'concerned' about Tibet, and 'warned' China not to enter Tibet in 1950. The press

used ‘stand over’, ‘regrets’, ‘shocks’, ‘warns’ and ‘warning’ for the headlines to show India’s response to the Chinese presence in Tibet. As the *Daily Graphic* reported, the Indian government viewed the Red China invasion of Tibet with ‘considerable regret’ (Tebbitt, 1950). The *Daily Mirror* also showed that:

India has sent a strongly worded note to Red China expressing concern over the reported Chinese moves against Tibet. [...] India has warned Red China that any military invasion of Tibet would make it difficult for her to continue her support of the Chinese Communists’ claim for entry to the United Nations in place of Chiang Kai-Shek’s regime. (‘Tibet: India warns China’, 1950)

In the British news coverage, India was the foremost country to express concern and opposition to the Chinese presence in Tibet.

Table 4.26 Newspaper headlines regarding India’s reactions to China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship and format during the Battle of Chamdo (07.10.1950-07.11.1950)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , <i>Daily Graphic</i>), the pro-Liberal (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> and <i>News Chronicle</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>Daily Mirror</i> and <i>Daily Herald</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , <i>Daily Herald</i> and <i>News Chronicle</i>)	India concern for Tibet: Another note to China (<i>The Times</i> , 2 November, 1950) Indian stand over Tibet: Full support of Britain (<i>The Times</i> , 7 November, 1950) Tibetan invasion order shocks India: Note being sent to Peking Korean reports of Chinese troops in action (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , 28 October, 1950) India gives China warning on Tibet (<i>News Chronicle</i> , 28 October, 1950) Hands off Tibet , India warns (<i>Daily Herald</i> , 28 October, 1950)
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Mirror</i> and <i>Daily Graphic</i>)	India ‘ regrets ’ Tibet invasion (<i>Daily Graphic</i> , 29 October, 1950) Tibet: India warns China ‘you may lose UN aid’ (<i>Daily Mirror</i> , 28 October, 1950)

Nonetheless, the pro-Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, rarely mentioned the Indian government in its news content, only quoting their statement that ‘it is not

raising the issue of the Chinese entry into Tibet in the Security Council’ (‘Dalai Lama stops talks’, 1950). Thus, it showed the Indian government as not being involved in this event, and having no strong opinions regarding the Chinese presence in Tibet.

To summarise, when we look at representations of Tibet, the Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama, there was no marked difference between the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers, or between the broadsheets and the tabloids. They portrayed Tibet mainly as a peaceful, mysterious and independent country in order to emphasise that Tibet had been invaded and was now occupied by Communist China. Therefore, China was accused of being aggressive militarists and imperialists by their invasion of Tibet and breaking its peace during this research period. In contrast, the pro-Communist *Daily Worker* was the outlier, which used a quite different means to represent the Tibet issue. The reasons for this and more detailed discussion will be presented in Chapter 8.

Summary

Although the content analysis results largely reveal that there was no marked difference between the pro-Communist newspaper and the other newspapers, variables of sources and source stance reflect some differences. When news coverage was examined in depth, the research shows that the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers represented the Tibet issue similarly, and their political stance on China coincided with the UK government’s position. In contrast, the pro-Communist newspaper used a completely different means to interpret the event. When the news coverage was compared based on newspaper format, differences between the broadsheets and the tabloids could be found from the content analysis results. However, when the outlier, the pro-Communist newspaper, was excluded from the tabloids, the news frames used by the broadsheets were similar to those used by the tabloids. Further discussion will be offered in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 5

British Newspaper Coverage of Tibet During the Early Cold War – II: The 1959 Tibetan Uprising

Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the results of the content analysis and qualitative frame analysis of the press coverage of the 1959 Tibetan Uprising. The content analysis examines four main issues: the prominence level of the issue in the news (front-page presence and average word count); the types of news stories; the topics that emerged in the press coverage; and who spoke and what their political stance was on China and Tibet. The intention is to examine the extent to which the selected newspapers provided a similar account of events or whether political leanings and newspaper formats made a difference in how events were projected. The results of the content analysis will be supplemented by a qualitative frame analysis to contextualise the representations of Tibet in the British newspapers during the early Cold War.

The 1959 Tibetan Uprising: quantitative results and discussion

Although Tibet tried to negotiate with the PRC government after occupation (He, 2010), there was also increasing resistance to the Chinese authority. A series of major uprising took place in Kham (Eastern Tibet) between 1956 and 1957, and in Amdo in 1959, as a result of local dissatisfaction with Communist policies – the Chinese faced strong ideological opposition from the traditional Tibetan ideology (Norbu, 2001). What ignited the already tense situation was the Chinese government's invitation for the Dalai Lama to attend a theatrical performance at the Chinese military camp on 10 March 1959, a date, which the Chinese repeatedly claimed, was chosen by the Dalai Lama himself a month earlier (Guo, 2008). The timing of the invitation coincided

with the Monlam Festival (the most important religious festival in Tibet). Meanwhile, the Dalai Lama was instructed to come without his entourage or bodyguards (Smith Jr., 2009). Under these circumstances, as the situation inside Tibet grew increasingly tense, a mixture of facts and rumours began to circulate that the Chinese were planning to kidnap the Dalai Lama (Dolkar, 2008). On 10 March 1959, tens of thousands of Tibetans from Lhasa gathered around what they regarded as ‘the symbol and essence of Tibetan civilization and Tibet’, namely, the Dalai Lama (at Norbulingka, his summer palace), seeking to ‘protect’ and prevent him from visiting the Chinese camp (Norbu, 2001, p.224). This huge gathering resulted in days of intense fighting between Tibetans and the Chinese troops (Dolkar, 2008). The Tibetan people protested angrily and demonstrated against the Chinese. At the same time, reports reached India of the critical situation, and the world’s newspapers soon broke the news of the Tibetan uprising (Shakabpa, 1984). While the Tibetan people continued to protest, the Dalai Lama and his cabinet became isolated from the events outside, unable to control the protestors or to gain the trust of the Chinese (Topgyal, 2011). The 14th Dalai Lama and his immediate entourage’s flight to India occurred on 17 March 1959, and they were followed by tens of thousands of Tibetans. The Dalai Lama set up a new temporary government in exile on 29 March 1959. Since then, the anniversary of the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (also called the 1959 Tibetan Rebellion) is observed by Tibetan exiles as the ‘Tibetan Uprising Day’ (Guo, 2016).

From 10 March 1959 to 10 April 1959, a total of 276 news stories across the ten newspapers were identified and analysed. The distribution of these stories is shown in Table 5.1 below. It shows that *The Manchester Guardian* had the most stories, constituting 18.1% of total news articles (n=50). Two newspapers, *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* followed, both with 17.8% of total news articles (n=49). The *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express* also paid attention to the Tibet issue, accounting for 10.5% (n=29) and 9.8% of total news articles (n=27) respectively. Only 3.3% of total news stories (n=9) were published in the *Daily Sketch*. It is worth noting that there were

more articles on Tibet in 1959 than in 1950. Further discussion will be presented in Chapter 8.

Table 5.1 Amount of coverage of Tibet by newspaper during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers	Total news articles
The Manchester Guardian	18.1% (n=50)
The Times	17.8% (n=49)
The Daily Telegraph	17.8% (n=49)
Daily Mail	10.5% (n=29)
Daily Express	9.8% (n=27)
News Chronicle	6.5% (n=18)
Daily Mirror	6.2% (n=17)
Daily Worker	5.8% (n=16)
Daily Herald	4.3% (n=12)
Daily Sketch	3.3% (n=9)
Total	100% (n=276)

When newspapers were divided along partisan lines, as we can see from Table 5.2 below, the Tibet issue received most attention from the pro-Conservative newspapers (*The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Mail* and *Daily Sketch*), with approximately 32 news articles on average. The pro-Labour newspapers (*The Manchester Guardian*, *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Herald*) followed. Comparatively, the pro-Liberal *News Chronicle* and the pro-Communist *Daily Worker* showed less interest.

Table 5.2 The number of news articles on Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers	Total number of articles	Total newspapers in groups	Average number of articles per newspaper
Pro-Conservative	163	5	32.6
Pro-Labour	79	3	26.3
Pro-Liberal	18	1	18.0
Pro-Communist	16	1	16.0
Average/Total	276	10	23.2

Table 5.3 below shows that between 10 March 1959 and 14 April 1959, each newspaper in the broadsheets (*The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Herald* and *News Chronicle*) had an average of around 33 news articles. In contrast, the tabloids (*Daily Mirror* and *Daily Sketch*), not including the pro-Communist *Daily Worker* – only printed an average of 13 news stories per publication. Thus, broadsheet newspapers were dealing with Tibet-related news more frequently than tabloid newspapers. This was due to the fact that the tabloids were not as interested in international news or there were more interesting national matters to report. It will be further examined in subsequent sections.

Table 5.3 The number of news articles on Tibet by newspaper format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers	Total number of articles	Total newspapers in groups	Average number of articles per newspaper
Broadsheet	234	7	33.4
Tabloid	26	2	13.0
Average/Total	260	9	23.2

Front-page presence

The frequency of the prominence indicator, the front-page presence of the news stories, will be shown in the following tables. According to Table 5.4 below, in total, there were over 35% or ninety-nine front-page articles across all newspapers referencing Tibet during this period.

In addition, the chi-square test suggests statistically significant differences in the front-page presence between newspapers based on their political leanings ($\chi^2=16.568$, $p<0.05$). Specifically, the front-page stories of the pro-Communist newspaper (75% within the pro-Communist newspaper, $n=12$) were more than those in the other newspapers. The pro-Conservative newspapers had the lowest percentage of front-page stories, at 28.2%, or forty-six articles.

Table 5.4 Amount of front-page coverage of Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers		Front page	Others	Total
Pro-Communist	Count	12	4	16
	% within political stance of newspapers	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Pro-Liberal	Count	8	10	18
	% within political stance of newspapers	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
Pro-Labour	Count	33	46	79
	% within political stance of newspapers	41.8%	58.2%	100.0%
Pro-Conservative	Count	46	117	163
	% within political stance of newspapers	28.2%	71.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	99	177	276
	% within political stance of newspapers	35.9%	64.1%	100.0%

$$x^2 = 16.568; \text{d.f.} = 3; p < 0.05$$

According to Table 5.5 below, the front-page presence difference between the broadsheets and the tabloids was also statistically significant ($x^2 = 11.38$, $p < 0.05$). Broadsheet newspapers were more likely to place articles on their front pages, with 36.8% of total broadsheet news articles ($n=86$). In comparison, tabloid newspapers carried only 3.8% of their stories ($n=1$) on the front pages.

Table 5.5 Amount of front-page coverage of Tibet by newspaper format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers		Front page	Others	Total
Broadsheet	Count	86	148	234
	% within broadsheet	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%
Tabloid	Count	1	25	26
	% within tabloid	3.8%	96.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	87	173	260
	% within broadsheet and tabloid	33.5%	66.5%	100.0%

$$x^2 = 11.380; \text{d.f.} = 1; p < 0.05$$

As discussed above, in regard to the front-page presence, there was a statistically significant difference between newspapers along partisan lines in 1959. The pro-Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, was more likely to place news stories

on its front page than were the other newspapers. Meanwhile, there was also a statistically significant difference between broadsheet newspapers and tabloid newspapers with respect to the front-page presence. The reasons for this and further discussion are to be found in Chapter 8.

Average word count

The average length of the news articles (not including headlines, captions or pull-quotes – just the main body of text) was quite similar between the pro-Liberal, pro-Communist and pro-Conservative newspapers (see Table 5.6 below). Specifically, the pro-Liberal newspapers had the highest average word count, around 428 words. Similarly, the pro-Communist newspaper's stories had over 416 words in average length. The pro-Conservative newspapers followed with around 404 words per article. In contrast, the pro-Labour newspapers (over 350 words) had a slightly less than average word with fewer than 400 words per news article. However, differences of average word count of articles between newspapers along partisan lines were not statistically significant.

Table 5.6 Average word count of articles by newspaper partisanship during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers	Average number of words per article
Pro-Liberal	428.33
Pro-Communist	416.69
Pro-Conservative	404.20
Pro-Labour	350.65
Average	391.17

$F(3, 272) = 0.655; p > 0.05$

According to Table 5.7 below, the t-test suggests statistically significant differences of average word count of articles between broadsheet newspapers and tabloid newspapers ($t = 6.182, p < 0.05$). Specifically, the broadsheets had around 411 words per article while the tabloids had around 194 words per article. Therefore,

broadsheet readers received approximately 53% more words per article referencing the topic of Tibet than tabloid readers.

Table 5.7 Average word count of articles by newspaper format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers	Average number of words per article
Broadsheet	411.31
Tabloid	194.23
Average	389.60

$t = 6.182$; d.f. = 56.427; $p < 0.05$

In conclusion, the indicator of prominence level, the front-page presence, indicates that there was a statistically significant difference between newspapers based on either newspaper partisanship or format. More precisely, most of the front-page articles referring Tibet were more evident in the pro-Communist newspaper or in the broadsheets than in the other newspapers.

Furthermore, the other indicator of prominence level, the average news article length, merely shows statistically significant differences between broadsheet newspapers and tabloid newspapers. Thus, the broadsheets were probably more focused on Tibet-related news and representing Tibet in more detail than the tabloids. Further discussion will be shown in following sections.

Types of news stories

As can be seen from Table 5.8 below, overall, there was slightly more variety of types of news articles (e.g. letters to the editor and features) in 1959 than in 1950. News was still the top reportage category, which accounted for nearly 86% of total articles (n=237). 9.1% of Tibet stories were in the comments sections, which were more than letters to the editor and features.

Table 5.8 also shows that there was no obvious difference in regard to the types of news stories between newspapers along partisan lines.

Table 5.8 Types of news stories on Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers		Editorial/co Letters to Featu				Total
		News	mmentary	the editor	res	
Pro-Liberal	Count	16	2	0	0	18
	% within political stance of newspapers	88.9%	11.1%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Pro-Conservative	Count	138	15	8	2	163
	% within political stance of newspapers	84.7%	9.2%	4.9%	1.2%	100.0%
Pro-Labour	Count	69	7	3	0	79
	% within political stance of newspapers	87.3%	8.9%	3.8%	0.0%	100.0%
Pro-Communist	Count	14	1	0	1	16
	% within political stance of newspapers	87.5%	6.3%	0.0%	6.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	237	25	11	3	276
	% within political stance of newspapers	85.9%	9.1%	4.0%	1.1%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 7.02$; d.f. = 9; $p > 0.05$

According to Table 5.9 below, the results reflect that there was not much difference between the broadsheets and the tabloids in terms of the types of news stories.

Table 5.9 Types of news stories on Tibet by newspaper format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers		Editorial/co Letters to				Total
		News	mmentary	the editor	Features	
Broadsheet	Count	197	24	11	2	234
	% within Broadsheet or tabloid	84.2%	10.3%	4.7%	0.9%	100.0%
Tabloid	Count	26	0	0	0	26
	% within Broadsheet or tabloid	100%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	223	24	11	2	260
	% within broadsheet and tabloid	85.8%	9.2%	4.2%	0.8%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 5.682$; d.f. = 3; $p > 0.05$

In summary, in 1959, these newspapers had not given significantly more ‘colour’ to coverage or formulated their opinions any more than they had in 1950. The next section explores how the different topics were distributed across the ten newspapers according to their political leanings and newspaper formats.

Topics

This section first examines how Tibet was framed in terms of the topics¹ used in the news stories from 10 March 1959 to 10 April 1959 (see Table 5.10 below).

Table 5.10 Distribution of topics in coverage of Tibet during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Topics	Total
The Dalai Lama’s actions/situation	13.9% (n=93)
Tibetans’ resistances/protests	13.6% (n=91)
India’s views	12.0% (n=80)
China’s control/suppression	10.6% (n=71)
Other views	7.5% (n=50)
Other topics	8.1% (n=54)
India’s policies	7.9% (n=53)
China’s views	4.6% (n=31)
India’s actions	4.5% (n=30)
Other actions	3.9% (n=26)
China’s actions rather than control/suppression	3.7% (n=25)
Exiled Tibetans’ actions rather than resistances/protests	2.5% (n=17)
China’s policies	2.1% (n=14)
Other policies	2.1% (n=14)
The Panchen Lama’s views	1.2% (n=8)
The Panchen Lama’s actions	1.8% (n=12)
Total	100.0% (n=669)

As for the frequency of topics, the results show that the stories about ‘the Dalai Lama’s actions/situation’ (e.g. that the Dalai Lama had fled the country) accounted for the largest share of total topics (13.9% of total topics, n=93). The second largest share

¹ The category of topics is based on multiple-response variables (Topic1, Topic 2 and Topic 3 have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

of total topics was the reporting of Tibetans' resistances/protests, constituting 13.6% (of total topics, n=91). The stories dealing with India's views accounted for the third largest share (12% of total topics, n=80). The topics of China's control/suppression (10.6% of total topics, n=71) followed. Comparatively, the topics related to the Panchen Lama² were presented in small proportions.

Topics by newspaper partisanship

This section analyses topics of news stories on Tibet by newspaper partisanship (see Tables 5.11 and 5.12 below).

Table 5.11 The number of topics in coverage of Tibet in the pro-Conservative and pro-Liberal newspapers during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Topics	Pro-Conservative	Pro-Liberal
Tibetans' resistances/protests	15.4% (n=60)	16.3% (n=8)
The Dalai Lama's actions/situation	12.3% (n=48)	18.4% (n=9)
India's views	11.3% (n=44)	14.3% (n=7)
China's control/suppression	11.0% (n=43)	10.2% (n=5)
Other views	9.5% (n=37)	4.0% (n=2)
India's policies	7.7% (n=30)	6.1% (n=3)
Other topics	6.4% (n=25)	12.2% (n=6)
India's actions	4.6% (n=18)	8.2% (n=4)
China's actions rather than control/suppression	4.6% (n=18)	2.0% (n=1)
China's views	4.1% (n=16)	2.0% (n=1)
Other actions	3.8% (n=15)	0.0% (n=0)
Exiled Tibetans' actions rather than resistances/protests	3.1% (n=12)	2.0% (n=1)
Other policies	2.1% (n=8)	2.0% (n=1)
China's policies	1.5% (n=6)	0.0% (n=0)
The Panchen Lama's actions	1.5% (n=6)	2.0% (n=1)
The Panchen Lama's views	1.0% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	100% (n=390)	100% (n=49)

² The 10th Panchen Lama, Choekyi Gyaltzen, was promoted by the PRC as the most important political and religious figure in Tibet following the 14th Dalai Lama's flight to India in 1959. He supported for the PRC's suppression of the 1959 Tibetan Uprising.

Table 5.12 The number of topics in coverage of Tibet in the pro-Labour and pro-Communist newspapers during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Topics	Pro-Labour	Pro-Communist
Tibetans' resistances/protests	9.9% (n=19)	10.3% (n=4)
The Dalai Lama's actions/situation	16.2% (n=31)	12.8% (n=5)
India's views	12.6% (n=24)	12.8% (n=5)
China's control/suppression	11.0% (n=21)	5.1% (n=2)
Other views	4.7% (n=9)	5.1% (n=2)
India's policies	8.9% (n=17)	7.7% (n=3)
Other topics	9.9% (n=19)	10.3% (n=4)
India's actions	4.2% (n=8)	0.0% (n=0)
China's actions rather than control/suppression	3.1% (n=6)	0.0% (n=0)
China's views	6.8% (n=13)	2.6% (n=1)
Other actions	3.7% (n=7)	10.3% (n=4)
Exiled Tibetans' actions rather than resistances/protests	2.1% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)
Other policies	2.6% (n=5)	0.0% (n=0)
China's policies	3.7% (n=7)	2.6% (n=1)
The Panchen Lama's actions	0.5% (n=1)	10.3% (n=4)
The Panchen Lama's views	0.0% (n=0)	10.3% (n=4)
Total	100% (n=191)	100% (n=39)

The data depict that there was no marked difference between newspapers. However, although the overall topics related to the Panchen Lama in small proportions, the pro-Communist newspaper paid attention to 'the Panchen Lama's actions' and 'the Panchen Lama's views' more often than the other newspapers. This will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Topics by newspaper format

As detailed in Table 5.13 below, in regard to topics of coverage of Tibet, the main difference between the broadsheets and the tabloids was that tabloid newspapers had more topics of 'China's control/suppression' (15.2% within tabloids, n=15). For the other topics, there was no marked difference between the two newspaper formats. The results reflect that, compared to the broadsheets, the tabloids were more likely to

represent the Tibet issue with sensational stories. More details will be revealed in Chapter 8.

Table 5.13 The number of topics in coverage of Tibet by newspaper format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Topics	Broadsheet	Tabloid
The Dalai Lama's actions/situation	13.7% (n=78)	16.7% (n=10)
Tibetans' resistances/protests	13.7% (n=78)	15.0% (n=9)
India's views	12.1% (n=69)	10.0% (n=6)
China's control/suppression	9.8% (n=56)	21.7% (n=13)
Other views	8.8% (n=50)	3.3% (n=2)
India's policies	8.2% (n=47)	5.0% (n=3)
Other topics	7.9% (n=45)	8.3% (n=5)
China's views	5.1% (n=29)	1.7% (n=1)
India's actions	4.7% (n=27)	5.0% (n=3)
China's actions rather than control/suppression	4.2% (n=24)	1.7% (n=1)
Other actions	4.4% (n=25)	8.3% (n=5)
Exiled Tibetans' actions rather than resistances/protests	2.8% (n=16)	1.7% (n=1)
Other policies	2.5% (n=14)	0.0% (n=0)
China's policies	2.1% (n=12)	1.7% (n=1)
Total	100% (n=570)	100% (n=60)

On the whole, there was no marked difference between newspapers in terms of distribution of topics in coverage of Tibet. This will be further examined in the following sections, which explore differences between the prominent sources quoted in the news coverage between newspapers. The next section will show which sources were prominent in the news articles on Tibet.

Who spoke on Tibet and what their political stance was?

This section includes three parts: the analysis of the overall distribution of sources and the sources' political stance on China and Tibet; analysis of sources and source stance along partisan lines; and examination of sources and source stance by newspaper format.

Overall sources and their stance on China and Tibet

Before analysing how the different sources³ were distributed between 10 March 1959 and 10 April 1959, it is useful to show the percentage of sourced to unsourced material contained in the newspaper stories examined. The comparison found that material either directly or indirectly quoted by sources was approximately 86% of all the newspaper stories (n=237) with unsourced material comprising the other 14% (n=39). This equals a ratio of 6:1 of sourced to unsourced material.

Table 5.14 Distribution of sources during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Sources	Total
Government	
India's government	24.6% (n=137)
China's government	7.9% (n=44)
Other government	7.2% (n=40)
Total	39.6% (n=221)
Media/journalist	
China's media/journalist	8.1% (n=45)
India's media/journalist	6.5% (n=36)
Other media/journalist	4.5% (n=25)
Total	19.0% (n=106)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	15.9% (n=89)
Politicians/political groups	8.2% (n=46)
The general public	4.5% (n=25)
Informed/reliable sources	3.8% (n=21)
Experts	3.4% (n=19)
Religious figures/organisations	2.2% (n=12)
Other	1.3% (n=7)
Businessmen/traders	0.7% (n=4)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.5% (n=3)
Non-governmental organisations	0.5% (n=3)
Authors/poets	0.4% (n=2)
Total	100% (n=558)

³ The category of sources is based on multiple-response variables (Source 1, Source 2, Source3 and Source 4 have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

An analysis was conducted of these news sources, the results of which appear in Table 5.14 above. Compared to 1950, government (39.1% of total sources, n=218); media/journalist (19% of total sources, n=106); and unofficial/unconfirmed sources (15.9% of total sources, n=89) still featured as the top three sources in the British press coverage of Tibet.

More precisely, India's government (24.6% of total sources, n=137) and China's government (7.9% of total sources, n=44), featured as the top two sources in the category of government sources. Other government followed, constituting 7% of total sources (n=39). The governments of Tibet, Nationalist China, the US and the UK were the sources contained in the category of other government.

Additionally, regarding the category of media/journalist, China's media/journalist had the largest percentage in this category, which accounted for 8.1% of total sources (n=45). India's media/journalist (6.5% of total sources, n=36) followed. The category of other media/journalist only reached less than 5% of total sources. The examples of sources included in this category were from the UK and the Soviet Union.

The results also indicate that politicians/political groups (e.g. the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama) began to be used as news sources in the newspapers in this period. Furthermore, the research shows that, the following groups were, for the most part, excluded from coverage as featured actors: the general public (e.g. residents, observers/witnesses/travellers); informed/reliable sources; experts (e.g. former holders of positions in the role of expert, e.g. ex-president etc.); religious figures/organisations (e.g. monks and lamas); intergovernmental organisations (e.g. UN and EU); non-governmental organisations (e.g. Tibet Support Groups); businessmen/traders and authors/poets.

The following sections examine news source citations regarding the stance they took towards China and Tibet. As mentioned in Chapter 3, source citations were read and coded according to whether or not the source citation was pro, anti or neutral regarding its position on China's presence in Tibet and Tibet's independence.

Source stance towards China. When we look at source stance towards China's presence in Tibet⁴, overall, Table 5.15 below illustrates that around 63% (n=351) of all cited sources had a neutral position. The next largest group of source citations opposed China, at 21% (n=65) of all citations. Source citations in favour of China's presence in Tibet reached around 16% (n=90) of all citations.

Table 5.15 Source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by source type during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Sources	Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral	Total
China's government	7.0% (n=39)	0.2% (n=1)	0.7% (n=4)	7.9% (n=44)
China's media/journalist	5.7% (n=32)	0.0% (n=0)	2.3% (n=13)	8.1% (n=45)
Politicians/political groups	1.8% (n=10)	2.7% (n=15)	3.8% (n=21)	8.2% (n=46)
Other government	0.4% (n=2)	3.2% (n=18)	3.6% (n=20)	7.2% (n=40)
Other media/journalist	0.4% (n=2)	2.0% (n=11)	2.2% (n=12)	4.5% (n=25)
Religious figures/organisations	0.4% (n=2)	0.7% (n=4)	1.1% (n=6)	2.2% (n=12)
Other	0.4% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)	0.9% (n=5)	1.3% (n=7)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	0.2% (n=1)	2.7% (n=15)	13.1% (n=73)	15.9% (n=89)
India's media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	2.7% (n=15)	3.8% (n=21)	6.5% (n=36)
The general public	0.0% (n=0)	2.7% (n=15)	1.8% (n=10)	4.5% (n=25)
Experts	0.0% (n=0)	1.6% (n=9)	1.8% (n=10)	3.4% (n=19)
India's government	0.0% (n=0)	1.3% (n=7)	23.3% (n=130)	24.6% (n=137)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=3)
Authors/poets	0.0% (n=0)	0.4% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)	0.4% (n=2)
Informed/reliable sources	0.0% (n=0)	0.2% (n=1)	3.6% (n=20)	3.8% (n=21)
Non-governmental organisations	0.0% (n=0)	0.2% (n=1)	0.4% (n=2)	0.5% (n=3)
Businessmen/traders	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.7% (n=4)	0.7% (n=4)
Total	16.1% (n=90)	21.0% (n=117)	62.9% (n=351)	100.0% (n=558)

⁴ The category of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet is based on multiple-response variables (Source Stance 1, Source Stance 2, Source Stance 3 and Source Stance 4 towards China's presence in Tibet have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

More precisely, when analysed in terms of news sources, the citations from China's government (7% of all citations, n=39) and China's media/journalist (5.7% of all citations, n=32) were the most in favour of China's presence in Tibet, which was the same as in 1950. Other government (3.2% of all citations, n=18) was the most likely to have citations opposing China. Meanwhile, India's government was the most likely to have neutral citations towards China's presence in Tibet.

Source stance towards Tibet. According to Table 5.16 below, over 74% of all cited sources (n=415) had a neutral position on Tibet's independence⁵.

Table 5.16 Source stance towards Tibet's independence by source type during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Sources	Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Other government	1.6% (n=9)	0.5% (n=3)	5.0% (n=28)	7.2% (n=40)
The general public	1.6% (n=9)	0.2% (n=1)	2.7% (n=15)	4.5% (n=25)
Experts	1.4% (n=8)	0.0% (n=0)	2.0% (n=11)	3.4% (n=19)
Politicians/political groups	1.1% (n=6)	2.0% (n=11)	5.2% (n=29)	8.2% (n=46)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	0.7% (n=4)	0.2% (n=1)	15.1% (n=84)	15.9% (n=89)
Authors/poets	0.4% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.4% (n=2)
Religious figures/organisations	0.2% (n=1)	0.9% (n=5)	1.1% (n=6)	2.2% (n=12)
Informed/reliable sources	0.2% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	3.6% (n=20)	3.8% (n=21)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.2% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.4% (n=2)	0.5% (n=3)
Non-governmental organisations	0.2% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.4% (n=2)	0.5% (n=3)
China's government	0.0% (n=0)	7.3% (n=41)	0.5% (n=3)	7.9% (n=44)
China's media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	5.6% (n=31)	2.5% (n=14)	8.1% (n=45)
Other media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	0.7% (n=4)	3.8% (n=21)	4.4% (n=25)
India's government	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=3)	24.0% (n=134)	24.6% (n=137)
Other	0.0% (n=0)	0.2% (n=1)	1.1% (n=6)	1.3% (n=7)
India's media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	6.5% (n=36)	6.5% (n=36)
Businessmen/traders	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.7% (n=4)	0.7% (n=4)
Total	7.5% (n=42)	18.1% (n=101)	74.4% (n=415)	100.0% (n=558)

⁵ The category of source stance towards Tibet's independence is based on multiple-response variables (Source Stance 1, Source Stance 2, Source Stance 3 and Source Stance 4 towards Tibet's independence have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

The second largest group of source citations opposed Tibet's independence, at around 18% of all citations (n=101). In comparison, source citations in favour of Tibet's independence comprised only 7.5% of all citations (n=42). More accurately, the news sources with the majority of negative citations towards Tibet's independence were China's government and China's media/journalist. The majority of citations had a neutral position on Tibet's independence, with India's government (24% of all citations, n=134) having the largest number of such citations.

The following sections explore the similarities and differences between newspapers along partisan lines and by newspaper formats regarding sources and their political stance on China and Tibet.

Sources and their stance by newspaper partisanship

First, this section shows the relationship between dominant sources and newspaper partisanship (see Table 5.17 below), and the results indicate that there was no marked difference between newspapers. It is worth noting that, regarding the category of politicians/political groups, the pro-Communist newspaper used the Panchen Lama as a source more often than the other newspapers. This was because the Panchen Lama publicly supported China's claim of sovereignty over Tibet and China's reform policies for Tibet in 1959 (Goldstein & Beall, 1990). In this context, he supported for China's suppression of the Tibetan uprising which coincided with the pro-Communist newspaper's political stance of pro-Communism.

Table 5.17 The number of sources by newspaper partisanship during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Sources	Pro-Conservative	Pro-Liberal	Pro-Labour	Pro-Communist
Government				
India's government	21.9% (n=73)	28.6% (n=14)	30.7% (n=43)	19.4% (n=7)
China's government	9.0% (n=30)	2.0% (n=1)	7.1% (n=10)	8.3% (n=3)
Other government	8.7% (n=29)	10.2% (n=5)	2.9% (n=4)	5.6% (n=2)
Total	39.6% (n=132)	40.8% (n=20)	40.7% (n=57)	33.3% (n=12)
Media/journalist				
China's media/journalist	7.5% (n=25)	8.2% (n=4)	10.7% (n=15)	2.8% (n=1)
India's media/journalist	5.1% (n=17)	6.1% (n=3)	10.7% (n=15)	2.8% (n=1)
Other media/journalist	5.7% (n=19)	0.0% (n=0)	1.4% (n=2)	11.1% (n=4)
Total	18.3% (n=61)	14.3% (n=7)	22.9% (n=32)	16.7% (n=6)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news				
Politicians/political groups	8.4% (n=28)	6.1% (n=3)	4.3% (n=6)	25.0% (n=9)
The general public	6.0% (n=20)	8.2% (n=4)	0.7% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Informed/reliable sources	4.2% (n=14)	2.0% (n=1)	4.3% (n=6)	0.0% (n=0)
Experts	3.9% (n=13)	4.1% (n=2)	2.1% (n=3)	2.8% (n=1)
Religious figures/organisations	1.8% (n=6)	0.0% (n=0)	0.7% (n=1)	13.9% (n=5)
Other	0.9% (n=3)	2.0% (n=1)	0.7% (n=1)	5.6% (n=2)
Businessmen/traders	0.9% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)	0.7% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.6% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)	0.7% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Non-governmental organisations	0.6% (n=2)	2.0% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Authors/poets	0.6% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	100% (n=333)	100% (n=49)	100% (n=140)	100% (n=36)

Additionally, as can be seen from Table 5.18 below, the largest group of source citations in favour of China's presence in Tibet was in the pro-Communist newspaper, at around 44% (within the pro-Communist newspaper, n=16). When analysed in terms of source citations against China, only the pro-Communist newspaper had no negative source citations towards China.

Table 5.18 Amount of source stance towards China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers		Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral	Total
Pro-Communist	Count	16	0	20	36
	% within political stance of newspapers	44.4%	0.0%	55.6%	100%
Pro-Labour	Count	24	26	90	140
	% within political stance of newspapers	17.1%	18.6%	64.3%	100%
Pro-Conservative	Count	44	80	209	333
	% within political stance of newspapers	13.2%	24.0%	62.8%	100%
Pro-Liberal	Count	6	11	32	49
	% within political stance of newspapers	12.2%	22.4%	65.3%	100%
Total	Count	90	117	351	558
	% within political stance of newspapers	16.1%	21.0%	62.9%	100%

Lastly, the relationship between source stance towards Tibet’s independence and newspaper partisanship is shown in Table 5.19 below.

Table 5.19 Amount of source stance towards Tibet’s independence by newspaper partisanship during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers		Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Pro-Liberal	Count	7	4	38	49
	% within political stance of newspapers	14.3%	8.2%	77.6%	100%
Pro-Conservative	Count	25	51	257	333
	% within political stance of newspapers	7.5%	15.3%	77.2%	100%
Pro-Labour	Count	10	25	105	140
	% within political stance of newspapers	7.1%	17.9%	75.0%	100%
Pro-Communist	Count	0	21	15	36
	% within political stance of newspapers	0.0%	58.3%	41.7%	100%
Total	Count	42	101	415	558
	% within political stance of newspapers	7.5%	18.1%	74.4%	100%

Only the pro-Communist newspaper had no positive source citations towards Tibet’s independence. Meanwhile, the pro-Communist newspaper (58.3% within the

pro-Communist newspaper, n=21) had the largest number of sources opposing Tibet's independence.

To recap, the results above imply that in 1959, the pro-Communist newspaper played the role of outlier, which was the same as in 1950. Compared to the other newspapers' anti-Communist China consensus, the pro-Communist newspaper was definitely in favour of China's presence in Tibet and opposed Tibet's independence. This view will be further examined later in this chapter.

Sources and their stance by newspaper format

The relationship between the dominant sources and newspaper formats is analysed in this section.

Table 5.20 The number of sources by newspaper format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Sources	Broadsheet	Tabloid
Government		
India's government	25.1% (n=120)	23.3% (n=10)
China's government	7.5% (n=36)	11.6% (n=5)
Other government	7.7% (n=37)	2.3% (n=1)
Total	40.3% (n=193)	37.2% (n=16)
Media/journalist		
China's media/journalist	8.6% (n=41)	7.0% (n=3)
India's media/journalist	6.9% (n=33)	4.7% (n=2)
Other media/journalist	4.0% (n=19)	4.7% (n=2)
Total	19.4% (n=93)	16.3% (n=7)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	16.3% (n=78)	23.3% (n=10)
Politicians/political groups	7.1% (n=34)	7.0% (n=3)
The general public	4.6% (n=22)	7.0% (n=3)
Informed/reliable sources	4.4% (n=21)	0.0% (n=0)
Experts	3.5% (n=17)	2.3% (n=1)
Religious figures/organisations	1.0% (n=5)	4.7% (n=2)
Other	1.0% (n=5)	0.0% (n=0)
Businessmen/traders	0.6% (n=3)	2.3% (n=1)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.6% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Non-governmental organisations	0.6% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Authors/poets	0.4% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	100% (n=479)	100% (n=43)

As can be seen from Table 5.20 above, broadsheet newspapers quoted government sources and media/journalist slightly more frequently than tabloid newspapers, which were more likely to be inclined towards quotes from unofficial/unconfirmed sources. The results reflect that, in comparison with the tabloids, the broadsheets were more likely to quote authoritative and objective sources.

For source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by newspaper format (see Table 5.21 below), tabloid newspapers (16.3% within the tabloids, n=7) had moderately more sources supporting China than broadsheet newspapers (14% within the broadsheets, n=67). Comparatively, when dealing with negative source citations towards China's presence in Tibet, broadsheets (23.4% within the broadsheets, n=112) had more than those in the tabloids (11.6% within the tabloids, n=5).

Table 5.21 Amount of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by newspaper format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers		Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral	Total
Tabloid	Count	7	5	31	43
	% within tabloid	16.3%	11.6%	72.1%	100%
Broadsheet	Count	67	112	300	479
	% within broadsheet	14.0%	23.4%	62.6%	100%
Total	Count	74	117	331	522
	% within broadsheet and tabloid	14.2%	22.4%	63.4%	100%

As Table 5.22 below shows, broadsheet newspapers had 8.6% (n=41) of total broadsheet source citations supporting Tibet's independence while tabloid newspapers had only 2.3% of total tabloid source citations (n=1) supporting Tibet. Moreover, the tabloids (16.3% within the tabloids, n=7) had slightly more source citations opposing Tibet's independence than those in the broadsheets (15.2% within the broadsheets, n=73).

This section largely shows that, although the broadsheets were more likely to use government sources, there was no marked difference between the broadsheets and the tabloids in terms of source stance towards China's presence or Tibet's independence.

Table 5.22 Amount of source stance towards Tibet’s independence by newspaper format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspapers		Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Broadsheet	Count	41	73	365	479
	% within broadsheets	8.6%	15.2%	76.2%	100%
Tabloid	Count	1	7	35	43
	% within tabloids	2.3%	16.3%	81.4%	100%
Total	Count	42	80	400	522
	% within broadsheet and tabloid	8.0%	15.3%	76.6%	100%

Therefore, according to the results of the content analysis (e.g. prominence level, topics and sources), the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers represented the Tibet issue through the anti-Communist China lens in 1959. By contrast, the pro-Communist newspaper focused more on the Tibet issue and represented the event from the angle of pro-Communism. When differences of coverage of Tibet between the broadsheets and the tabloids were examined, the results of the content analysis also show some differences in terms of covering patterns (e.g. front-page presence, average word count of news articles). The following sections will further examine whether there is little difference between newspapers along partisan lines (except for the pro-Communist *Daily Worker*); and whether major differences exist between the broadsheets and the tabloids in the coverage of Tibet.

The 1959 Tibetan Uprising: dominant frames and discussion

Frame 1: The Red Menace, China’s oppression

The selected newspaper headlines regarding China’s explanations of its military action in Tibet during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising are shown in Table 5.23 below. As indicated, in this research period, only few newspaper headlines were related to China’s opinion of its presence in Tibet. China was quoted as asserting that the Tibet issue was an ‘internal affair’, and that ‘discussion of Tibet or giving political asylum

to the Dalai Lama by other countries (especially India) would be considered to be ‘impolite and improper’ (Zinkin, 1959c).

Table 5.23 Newspaper headlines regarding China’s views on the Tibet issue by newspaper partisanship and format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail and Daily Sketch</i>), the pro-Liberal (<i>News Chronicle</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>The Manchester Guardian, Daily Mirror and Daily Herald</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Herald and News Chronicle</i>)	Peking version of Lhasa revolt: ‘ Monstrous crime in collusion with imperialism ’ (<i>The Times</i> , 3 April, 1959) China tells India ‘ keep out ’: Warning of things to come (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , 30 March, 1959c) Dalai Lama ‘hurt in fall’: Khambas in action to cover his escape: ‘ Abducted ’, says China (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , 30 March, 1959)

Moreover, the newspapers observed that the Chinese thought that the ‘reactionary forces’ in Tibet were the causes of the revolt. For instance, *The Times* quoted the Chinese government’s letter to the Dalai Lama, saying that ‘you have been put into very great difficulties due to intrigues and provocations by reactionaries’ (‘Peking version of Lhasa revolt’, 1959). *The Manchester Guardian* (‘Dalai Lama “hurt in fall”’, 1959) and the *Daily Mail* (Saxon, 1959a) also carried the Chinese government’s clarification that the revolt had been launched with the help of ‘foreign imperialists’ and ‘reactionaries’ against the wishes of the Dalai Lama and the Dalai Lama was ‘abducted’ by rebel forces. Accordingly, the British press reported that the Chinese government undoubtedly treated Tibet as being politically part of China, and regarded their presence in Tibet as protection from reactionaries and foreign imperialists.

However, the British press represented Tibet as a separate country rather than a part of China’s territory. As *The Daily Telegraph* said, ‘By modern standards of self-determination to which the Communists in theory subscribe – culture, language,

history, geography – Tibet is an independent nation. [...] It is no longer possible to argue that this is China's private business' ('China's colony in revolt', 1959). So, the British newspapers generally accused the Chinese of being oppressors and militarists rather than liberating and rescuing Tibetans.

First, compared to the previous period, the British press continuously portrayed China with ideological labels such as 'Communist', 'Red' and 'Reds' in the headlines in 1959 (see Table 5.24 below). On the one hand, they tended to focus on the Communist character of China. On the other hand, these ideological labels were also used to describe Tibet in order to reveal China's Communist domination of Tibet.

Table 5.24 Newspaper headlines regarding descriptions of China by newspaper partisanship and format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> and <i>Daily Sketch</i>), the pro-Liberal (<i>News Chronicle</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , <i>Daily Mirror</i> and <i>Daily Herald</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> , <i>Daily Herald</i> and <i>News Chronicle</i>)	<p>Communist pattern in Tibet: Direction of religion (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 2 April, 1959)</p> <p>Chiang joins the battle: His planes start air-drop to help fight against Red Chinese Garrison (<i>Daily Express</i>, 19 March, 1959)</p> <p>Lhasa died in fit of Red fury: Monks took up arms to fight Chinese troops (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 2 April, 1959b)</p> <p>Noel Barber, back on the Tibet news front, tells of 30 heroes in the escape epic: How Lama did it: Warrior suicide band lured Reds off trail (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 4 April, 1959a)</p> <p>Tibetans fight Reds in Lhasa (<i>News Chronicle</i>, 21 March, 1959)</p> <p>Reds turn big guns on rebels (<i>Daily Herald</i>, 23 March, 1959)</p>
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Mirror</i> and <i>Daily Sketch</i>)	<p>400 march on Red Embassy (<i>Daily Sketch</i>, 31 March, 1959)</p> <p>He's there – Dalai Lama is safe: Reds give the news (<i>Daily Sketch</i>, 3 April, 1959)</p> <p>'Red' Tibet in revolt (<i>Daily Mirror</i>, 21 March, 1959)</p>

Second, as analysed in Chapter 4, during the earlier reporting of 1950, the press

had already criticised the Chinese ‘invasion’ of Tibet. In contrast, in 1959, most of the newspapers not only portrayed China’s presence in Tibet as ‘invasion’ but also made specific reference to China’s ‘oppression’ (see Table 5.25 below). The press described China’s action in Tibet with a greater variety of words, such as ‘hunt’, ‘arrest’, ‘seize’, ‘kill’, ‘threaten’ and ‘massacre’. More precisely, the *Daily Sketch*’s news content reported that ‘a revolt against Communist dictatorship is put down with murderous ferocity. This time the victim is Tibet’ (‘Tibet is another Hungary’, 1959). It continued that, ‘Ruthlessness is to be the keynote – those who continue to resist will be massacred’ (‘Tibet threat of massacre’, 1959). Accordingly, in the British news coverage, the Chinese were not just ‘Communists’, they were also ‘colonisers’. The *Daily Express* suggested that China ‘have brutally asserted their authority’, and it was ‘China’s oppression of Tibet’ (‘Now Tibet ends the Nehru myth’, 1959). In other words, the press represented the Tibetans as oppressed by the Chinese government. As a result, the *Daily Mail* noted, ‘the 5000 killed and 13000 monks taken prisoner – victims of a week’s ruthless savagery by Chinese troops’ (Saxon, 1959a); and the *Daily Express* said that it was the ‘complete extinction by the Chinese Reds’ (Thursby, 1959). These news contents tried to estimate the death toll and the number of prisoners, though paying little attention to the Chinese victims, and they highlighted the curfews and the arrests of the People’s Liberation Army in Tibet. Hence, the British news reports criticised the results of China’s presence in Tibet and its widespread disruption of the Tibetan way of life.

Furthermore, the British press also depicted ‘the occupation forces of Red China’ on the hunt for the Dalai Lama. As the *Daily Mail* demonstrated, ‘now we have seen the Dalai Lama of Tibet on the run from the Red Chinese terror’ (‘Mao’s great blunder’, 1959). In the news coverage of the *Daily Sketch*, ‘His exact whereabouts were secret in case Red agents tried to kidnap him’ (‘He’s there’, 1959). On the whole, China’s presence in Tibet was defined as the ‘Red Chinese terror’, which summarised how China was perceived by the British news media in this period. China was still

treated as one of the large Communist powers in the world in 1959. Meanwhile, its repression was thought to be the cause of rebellions in Tibet. In *The Daily Telegraph*'s commentary:

The Chinese will find it exceedingly difficult to restore order with a few swift, decisive massacres, as did the Russians in Hungary. [...] One of the unhappy analogies between Hungary and Tibet is that indignation and impotence are equally great. [...] The rape of Tibet has clearly sown a formidable crop of doubts in Asia about Chinese aims. ('Blood on the world's roof', 1959)

In short, Tibet was painted in the papers as a powerless victim, while China was treated as an aggressive militarist and oppressor. China was accused of repeating Soviet's imperialist subjugation of Hungary.

Third, the British newspapers revealed the way China promoted its political ideologies to Tibetans. For example, the *Daily Mail* wrote that the Panchen Lama, who had been put in charge of the Tibetan Government by the Chinese, was 'a Communist stooge' (Saxon, 1959a). *The Manchester Guardian* also made the comment, 'Ever since the Chinese Communists sought to impose their authority on the Tibetans and to uproot Tibetans from their age-old traditions and faith, they have been faced with stiff opposition. Attempts to brainwash young Tibetans and discipline the older generation have failed miserably' ('Tibetans rise up in arms', 1959). Much of the news content reflected that, since China entered Tibet, they had attempted to politically dominate Tibet by setting up their own authorities and tried to ideologically dominate the Tibetan people. Nevertheless, China was represented as having failed to subordinate Tibetans completely. Tibetans' hatred of Chinese or Communist 'overlordship' had led to numerous clashes.

Table 5.25 Newspaper headlines regarding China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship and format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail and Daily Sketch</i>), the pro-Liberal (<i>News Chronicle</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>The Manchester Guardian, Daily Mirror and Daily Herald</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Herald and News Chronicle</i>)	<p>Chinese hunting Dalai Lama: ‘Capture him alive order to troops’: India denies part in revolt (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 30 March, 1959)</p> <p>China’s colony in revolt (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 30 March, 1959)</p> <p>Blood on the World’s roof (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 4 April, 1959)</p> <p>Nehru faces growing criticism over Tibet: Red Jets hunt Lama: He is near India’s border now (<i>Daily Express</i>, 31 March, 1959)</p> <p>Tibet Ruler’s staff seized: Then Chinese send picked force to seek him out on mountain escape route from Lhasa: Flight of the Lama: ‘Escaped on stretcher after accident’ (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 30 March, 1959a)</p> <p>Lotus thunder bolt: The God King they cannot kill (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 30 March, 1959)</p> <p>Mao’s great blunder (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 3 April, 1959)</p> <p>Forbidden city rises after Chinese blunder: Tibet fears for Dalai Lama: Hostage rumour starts battle (<i>News Chronicle</i>, 23 March, 1959a)</p> <p>The invasion of Kalimpong (<i>News Chronicle</i>, 24 March, 1959)</p> <p>Tibetans rise up in arms: Attempt to stop Chinese arrest of Dalai Lama: Appeal to India (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i>, 21 March, 1959)</p> <p>Chinese angry with India: Threat to close Lhasa consulate (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i>, 26 March, 1959b)</p> <p>Escape of Dalai Lama: Chinese threaten revenge on ‘misguided advisers’: Tibetans massacred (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i>, 28 March, 1959)</p>
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Mirror and Daily Sketch</i>)	<p>Reds seize 13000 monks (<i>Daily Sketch</i>, 30 March, 1959)</p> <p>Tibet threat of massacre (<i>Daily Sketch</i>, 1 April, 1959)</p> <p>Kidnappers! Dalai Lama in danger (<i>Daily Sketch</i>, 4 April, 1959)</p> <p>13000 Monks seized (<i>Daily Mirror</i>, 30 March, 1959)</p> <p>New China terror in Tibet (<i>Daily Mirror</i>, 2 April, 1959)</p>
The pro-Communist newspaper (<i>Daily Worker</i>)	<p>Peking patient with Tibet: Rebels repeatedly warned and action withheld (<i>Daily Worker</i>, 1 April, 1959b)</p> <p>Why progress meant trouble in Tibet (<i>Daily Worker</i>, 1 April, 1959c)</p>	

In comparison, the pro-Communist *Daily Worker*, used a completely different angle to represent China's military action in Tibet. It pointed out that, according to China's 1954 constitution, Tibet is 'an inalienable part of China' (Winnington, 1959d). It went further, calling Tibet 'an extremely backward feudal society', which was 'based on serfdom, with remnants of slavery', and 'the clergy and lay nobility exercise a joint dictatorial rule, with the clergy overwhelmingly dominant' (ibid., 1959c). In that case, the revolt was manipulated by the 'traitors' who tried to preserve serfdom, slavery, and had 'collaborated with imperialists, betrayed China and abducted the Dalai Lama' (ibid., 1959d). It accused the 'traitors' of instigating the rebellions and focused on presenting the rebels as obstructions to the liberation of Tibet. At the same time, China was portrayed as a liberator and reformer who had the duty to protect Tibet, and who was 'patient' with the Tibetan rebels.

Briefly, when the newspapers were divided along partisan lines in 1959, the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers represented the Tibet issue in the same manner. Although the Chinese government always declared the rationality of suppressing the Tibetan Uprising, the press mainly depicted China as the Red Menace and criticised China's oppression of Tibet. However, the only pro-Communist newspaper represented China differently, in a way that agreed with China's opinion and supported China's military action in Tibet. Moreover, when the broadsheets were compared with the tabloids in terms of representations of China, there was no marked difference. There will be further discussion of these points in Chapter 8.

Frame 2: Tibetans are the victims of Communist China's oppression

As seen above, Tibetans had been framed as the victims of Communist China's oppression. Comparisons were made between the powerless Tibetan people and the powerful Chinese, in order to emphasise that China's military action in Tibet should not be accepted. There were also other ways in the news articles used to strengthen

the image of Tibetans as the ‘victims’.

First was displaying the powerless Tibetans as brave ‘patriots’ who were fighting against the military giant called China for their independence (see Table 5.26 below).

Table 5.26 Newspaper headlines regarding Tibetans’ reactions by newspaper partisanship and format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail and Daily Sketch</i>), the pro-Liberal (<i>News Chronicle</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>The Manchester Guardian, Daily Mirror and Daily Herald</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Herald and News Chronicle</i>)	<p>Tibet declares itself independent: Manifesto calls on Chinese to withdraw: National gesture of defiance (<i>The Times</i>, 26 March, 1959)</p> <p>Tibet in quest of unity and liberty (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 30 March, 1959)</p> <p>Buddhist fears for Tibet (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 4 April, 1959)</p> <p>Rebels march on palace: Threat to Dalai Lama brings New Tibet Revolt (<i>Daily Express</i>, 21 March, 1959)</p> <p>A war of liberation rages inside sealed-off Tibet: Palace under Siege: Chinese Reds attacked by patriots (<i>Daily Express</i>, 23 March, 1959)</p> <p>The drama moves to the lawn of a palace in Delhi: Nehru says: No help: Tibet’s envoys plead and weep (<i>Daily Express</i>, 1 April, 1959)</p> <p>Remote Buddhist monastery may hold heroes of epic mountain march: ‘Lama in India’ riddle: Nehru calls secret talks after ruler is reported safe (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 3 April, 1959)</p> <p>Thousands of Tibetans chose death to save their ruler: Dalai Lama hunted: He leads mountain freedom fighters (<i>News Chronicle</i>, 30 March, 1959b)</p> <p>Tibetans rise up in arms: Attempt to stop Chinese arrest of Dalai Lama: Appeal to India (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i>, 21 March, 1959)</p> <p>600 monks stop praying to guard the Dalai Lama (<i>Daily Herald</i>, 6 April, 1959)</p>
The pro-Communist newspaper (<i>Daily Worker</i>)		Tibetans hit back at Lhasa rebels (<i>Daily Worker</i> , 2 April, 1959d)

It was evident from the news coverage that the Tibetan people had protected the Dalai Lama, their spiritual ruler, from being arrested by ‘Chinese Communist terror’. In the news coverage of the *Daily Mail*, Tibetans were ‘making such a brave effort to stand

on their own feet' (Barber, 1959b). The news coverage gave prominence to the protestors' courage to fight against the Chinese enemies. As the *Daily Mail* indicated, 'the incredible heroism of 30 tough Khamba guerrillas who formed themselves into a suicide squad saved the life of the Dalai Lama as Chinese troops chased him towards the border when he fled from the Red Terror in Lhasa' (ibid., 1959a). Moreover, the news content illustrated that Tibetans were full of criticism of the Chinese repression of religious freedom in Tibet. For example, *The Manchester Guardian* said, 'The Tibetans say that the eight years of Chinese rule has been one of unrelieved fraud and deception calculated to supplant their traditional Buddhist existence in favour of a Communist society' ('Tibet's international status', 1959). The *Daily Mail* also quoted the rebels' statement that the Chinese are 'yellow brigands and Red thieves, guilty of colonialism' (Churchill, 1959a). By contrast, the pro-Communist *Daily Worker* indicated that Tibetans called the rebels 'traitors' and they were the 'victims' of the reactionaries. In its news coverage, 'China's Tibetan population – three-quarters of whom do not live in Tibet – are speaking out in very harsh terms against the handful of aristocratic diehards who engineered the Lhasa rebellion' (Winnington, 1959d).

Second, in comparison with the news content in 1950, the Dalai Lama received more attention in 1959. As can be seen from Table 5.27 below, the Dalai Lama was treated in the newspapers both as a spiritual and political leader. On the one hand, the British coverage mainly represented 'the highly intelligent' Dalai Lama as a 'God-King', and emphasised his holiness. The *Daily Mail* stated that the Dalai Lama's 'full title is Lotus Thunderbolt Patron Deity and Founder of the Yellow-Hat Lamas. Great Precious Prince of the Soft Voice, Mighty in Speech, Excellent of Knowledge, Absolute in Wisdom, Holder of the Doctrine, the One Without Equal, Powerful Ruler of Three Worlds, the Ocean-Wise' (Mulchrone, 1959). On the other hand, in contrast to 1950, the Dalai Lama was displayed as 'the leader of a nation' rather than a solely religious figure. The *Daily Mail* quoted Austrian author Heinrich Harrer's description that:

[...] even in youth the Dalai Lama was a strong character. He was far more intelligent than anybody around him at the court. [...] In youth he gave signs of strong leadership. He was always very considerate and very clever. [...] In Southern Tibet not one person will betray him in the whole country except the small group around the Panchen Lama. [...] but among the ordinary people he is worshipped by every single soul. (“No fears”, says the God-King’s friend’, 1959)

In comparison, the ‘pro-Communist Panchen Lama’ of 1959 was portrayed as the ‘puppet’ of the Chinese government while ‘the Dalai Lama has remained supreme’ (Patterson, 1959). Thus, it could be determined from the news coverage that the Tibetans respected and accepted the Dalai Lama, who is holy, as their only spiritual and political leader.

In terms of the Dalai Lama’s reactions to China’s presence in Tibet, the *Daily Mail* reported that he ‘gave the Indian Premier many details of atrocities and oppressions committed in Tibet by China. [...] He felt he was utterly powerless to aid his people while he himself was virtually a Chinese prisoner’ (Churchill, 1959b). Such indirect quotes of the Tibetan leader were treated as strong evidence to support the newspapers’ view that China was an oppressor and Tibet was the victim. Finally, as the *Daily Mail* noted, ‘The Dalai Lama is believed to have reached safety in India, 16 days after he fled from the Chinese Communist terror in Lhasa. His flight to freedom, one of the greatest escape stories of the country’ (Atkinson, 1959). During this process, the Dalai Lama, who begged Nehru to give him asylum, was described in the *Daily Mirror* as a ‘hunted fugitive’.

However, when we look at the pro-Communist *Daily Worker*, it established that ‘Panchen Lama is not inferior’ compared to the Dalai Lama; ‘both are spiritually equal, being reincarnations of the same god in different aspects’; ‘the Tibetans make no distinctions between them, and call them by a collective title’ (Winnington, 1959c). Meanwhile, it pointed out that both the Dalai and Panchen Lamas admitted that Tibet and the rest of China were inseparable (ibid.). For the uprising of 1959, the pro-Communist newspaper described that the Dalai Lama ‘appealed for help to get to

the headquarters of the People’s Liberation Army’ (ibid., 1959e), and was ‘under duress’ (ibid., 1959f). In addition, most of the Panchen Lama’s statements rather than the Dalai Lama’s were quoted in the press to support its opinion that China was a liberator rather than an oppressor of Tibet. For instance, it reported the Panchen Lama’s thought that ‘great changes were already visible as a result of the crushing of the extreme feudalists rebels – changes that would enable Tibet’s people soon to achieve prosperity along a Socialist road’ (ibid.).

Table 5.27 Newspaper headlines regarding the descriptions of the Dalai Lama and his reactions to China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship and format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (10.03.1959-10.04.1959)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail and Daily Sketch</i>), the pro-Liberal (<i>News Chronicle</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>The Manchester Guardian, Daily Mirror and Daily Herald</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Herald and News Chronicle</i>)	Lotus thunder bolt: The God king they cannot kill (<i>Daily Mail</i> , 30 March, 1959) Honoured guest (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> , 4 April, 1959) The king who lives for ever (<i>Daily Mirror</i> , 30 March, 1959) The baby born to be a God (<i>Daily Herald</i> , 3 April, 1959) Tibet’s God-King gambled with death amid the mountains (<i>News Chronicle</i> , 4 April, 1959c)
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Mirror and Daily Sketch</i>)	Dalai Lama ‘ Asked for safe conduct ’ (<i>Daily Mail</i> , 30 March, 1959) Riddle of the Lama – did he find way out? (<i>News Chronicle</i> , 25 March, 1959) Revolt ‘crushed’ – Dalai Lama escapes (<i>News Chronicle</i> , 28 March, 1959) Safe in India with family and Cabinet: Amazing escape of the Lama: He fools 50000 fighting Chinese (<i>Daily Herald</i> , 3 April, 1959) Lama escapes to India (<i>Daily Sketch</i> , 2 April, 1959) He’s there – Dalai Lama is safe (<i>Daily Sketch</i> , 3 April, 1959) Dalai Lama near to safety (<i>Daily Mirror</i> , 31 March, 1959)
The pro-Communist newspaper (<i>Daily Worker</i>)	Dalai Lama arrives in India: ‘ Under duress ’ – China (<i>Daily Worker</i> , 3 April, 1959) Dalai Lama’s call for China aid : Dramatic letters: The real truth about Tibet (<i>Daily Worker</i> , 30 March, 1959a)	

Third, in this research period, the British press started to use more opinions from other countries to judge China's presence in Tibet thereby strengthening the 'victim' image of Tibet (see Table 5.28 below). India's and other countries' reactions were displayed as primarily treating China's military action as an 'oppression', which was not internationally accepted. The press also showed how India and other countries sympathised with Tibet, while they felt angry and blamed China's oppression. As the *Daily Mail* noted, 'The world looks at these events with pity and horror, To Asia, with its mysticism and sense of reverence, the rape of holy Tibet has been a profound shock' ('Mao's great blunder', 1959). It also reported that Mr Nehru felt 'shocked, surprised, and disillusioned' (Churchill, 1959b). However, the *Daily Express* reported the world's criticism of Mr Nehru's 'non-interference' policy as 'inhumanity' ('Inhuman!', 1959). It indicated that he 'passively accepts the destruction of Tibet' and 'puts friendship with the murders of a nation before sympathy towards the victims', therefore, 'It is Tibet's tragedy. It is also India's' ('India's tragedy', 1959).

Nevertheless, the pro-Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, did not show international opinions but presented India's opinion that it already recognised China's control of Tibet in 1950 (Winnington, 1959c). Mr Nehru was quoted as saying that 'the Indian town of Kalimpong, on the Tibetan border, there was a nest of spies and counter-spies people who opposed Chinese policy' ('Nehru: I admit spies are there', 1959). The pro-Communist newspaper also quoted the Indian Communist Party's statement that Indians 'should be happy that our neighbour China has successfully scotched an imperialist plot across our border' ('Nehru: we keep out', 1959). Hence, China's presence in Tibet was displayed as having India's tacit approval.

In conclusion, for the representations of Tibet, the Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama, there was also no marked difference between the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers, or between the broadsheets and the tabloids. They emphasised their roles as the victim of China's oppression. In contrast, the *Daily Worker* continued to use a quite different way to represent the Tibet issue. It displayed

the Tibetan people, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama as supporting China's military action and reform policies in Tibet. The reasons for and details about this issue will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Table 5.28 Newspaper headlines regarding India and other countries' reactions towards China's presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship and format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail and Daily Sketch</i>), the pro-Liberal (<i>News Chronicle</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>The Manchester Guardian, Daily Mirror and Daily Herald</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Herald</i> and <i>News Chronicle</i>)	<p>Sympathy in U.S.: Ruthless repression of brave people (<i>The Times</i>, 28 March, 1959)</p> <p>Malaya condemnation of oppression (<i>The Times</i>, 31 March, 1959)</p> <p>Delhi rebukes Peking: Two forthright statements: Mr. Nehru's words ignored (<i>The Times</i>, 2 April, 1959)</p> <p>Yugoslav criticism on Tibet: Chinese mistakes (<i>The Times</i>, 9 April, 1959)</p> <p>Nepalese asked to stand aside (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 28 March, 1959)</p> <p>'Barbarous', says U.S.: Broken promise (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 30 March, 1959)</p> <p>Indian press criticises neutrality on Tibet: Mr. Nehru urged to make firm protest to China (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 31 March, 1959)</p> <p>'Bloodstained colonialism': Singapore view (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 31 March, 1959)</p> <p>Threat to Asia. Say Burmese: Rangoon anger (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 31 March, 1959)</p> <p>Nehru: Our sympathies are with Tibet (<i>News Chronicle</i>, 31 March, 1959)</p> <p>Indian anger makes Peking wary (<i>The Manchester Guardian</i>, 4 April, 1959)</p>
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Mirror</i> and <i>Daily Sketch</i>)	Crisis on the roof of the world: ...and 10000 anxious Britons aim to save a man inside it (<i>Daily Sketch</i> , 2 April, 1959)
The pro-Communist newspaper (<i>Daily Worker</i>)		Nehru: I admit spies are there (<i>Daily Worker</i> , 3 April, 1959)

The absence of the human rights frame

Even though in 1959 the press did not mention the idea of ‘human rights’ formally in news articles, they started to use words like ‘inhuman’, and ‘freedom’ to express the idea of ‘human freedom’ mainly through headlines (see Table 5.29 below). These phrases imply not only the existence of ‘human freedom’ in Tibet before China’s presence, but also the non-existence of ‘human freedom’ in Communist China.

Table 5.29 Newspaper headlines regarding the concept of freedom towards China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship and format during the 1959 Tibetan Uprising

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail and Daily Sketch</i>), the pro-Liberal (<i>News Chronicle</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>The Manchester Guardian, Daily Mirror and Daily Herald</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Herald and News Chronicle</i>)	<p>Inhuman! (<i>Daily Express</i>, 26 March, 1959)</p> <p>Dramatic freedom flight from Tibet...and here is the full story by Expressmen on the spot: A fight to the death: Now the Lama has escaped (<i>Daily Express</i>, 4 April, 1959)</p> <p>The Express four-man reporting team in India covers the news from key centres as Nehru warns Tibet’s leader: ‘No politics while you are here’: India alerts jets: Lama waits in monastery for next freedom hop (<i>Daily Express</i>, 6 April, 1959)</p> <p>‘No fears’, says the God-King’s friend in the West: I back the Dalai Lama to win his freedom (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 2 April, 1959)</p> <p>She leads nuns in Tibet’s fight for freedom (<i>News Chronicle</i>, 3 April, 1959)</p> <p>Battle for freedom in Tibet (<i>Daily Herald</i>, 21 March, 1959)</p>

In terms of the news content, the *News Chronicle* indicated that the citizens of Lhasa ‘declared their independence and rose against the Communists’ (Partridge, 1959b); the *Daily Mail* observed that ‘The flame of freedom still flickers on the Roof of the World, kept alight by unparalleled sacrifice’ (Saxon, 1959b); *The Manchester Guardian* quoted Mr Nehru’s statement that ‘the situation there at present is more a clash of wills than a clash of arms or physical bodies’ (Zinkin, 1959a); and the *Daily Express* reported a close relative of the Dalai Lama’s asserting that, ‘the free world

should know that our struggle will continue more fiercely than ever' (Woon, 1959). Accordingly, in the British news coverage, Tibet was treated as a country deprived of independence through China's presence, and the Tibetans and the Dalai Lama were represented as fighting for 'human freedom'. The press thus focused on covering the Chinese government's oppression of the uprising and violations of human freedom in prisons, in effect proclaiming China as a state that does not tolerate dissidents. More details will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Summary

To summarise, the results of 1959 show that there were no marked differences between the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers, or between the broadsheets and the tabloids. On the one hand, when the press was divided by newspaper partisanship, they mostly represented the Tibet issue with an anti-Communist frame. However, the outlier, the pro-Communist *Daily Worker* used a pro-Communist angle to interpret the Tibet issue. On the other hand, when the news coverage of broadsheet newspapers and tabloid newspaper was compared, the research shows that the broadsheets always paid more attention to the Tibet issue than the tabloids (excluding the pro-Communist newspaper). They used longer articles, more detailed and in-depth coverage, while the tabloids were interested in less serious matters. Nevertheless, there was actually no marked difference regarding news frames used by the broadsheets and the tabloids. Further discussion will be offered in Chapter 8.

When we look at the whole picture of the early Cold War (Chapters 4 and 5), the strong influence of the anti-Communist ideology on the news about Tibet, reinforced by the journalistic propensity to cover conflict, was still clearly reflected in both the quantitative prominence and qualitative analysis, and given to criticise Communist China in the news coverage. Due to the different event in each of the selected historical periods, the issue attached to each frame differed slightly from one to the

other. Nevertheless, the judgments based on the frames consistently remained the same, particularly those on China. Throughout the early Cold War, it was not difficult to discover the strategies used mostly by the British newspapers in terms of frame choices. First, in order to criticise China's military action in Tibet, the press depicted China as the Red Menace. Second, the image of Tibet, as well as its spiritual leader the Dalai Lama, as exotic and religious, was the core concept of frames in relation to its mysterious and peaceful characteristics. During the early Cold War, the relationship between Tibet and China could be compared to a classic case of David versus Goliath (Norbu, 2001). The Tibetan people were predominantly perceived as the victims of Communist China's oppression in order to emphasise powerful Communist China invading the powerless and peaceful Tibet. How did the British newspapers interpret the Tibetan uprising as part of the broader Tibetan resistance against the Chinese government control? The British reports portrayed the uprising as a revolt against the repression of human freedom, and the struggle of Tibetans for human freedom and justice deserved international sympathy. It was seen that Tibet's purity and exoticism should not be destroyed by Chinese military force. Since Tibet had its own religion and religious leader, it should not be forced to exist under any other state control. It is worth noting that although the concept of 'human rights' had not been formally mentioned in the newspaper headlines and the news content in the early Cold War, in 1959, the press attempted to use such words as 'inhuman' and 'non-freedom' to convey the idea that the term Communism was equated to a lack of freedom. In other words, China was believed to have destroyed the Tibetans' basic human freedom.

CHAPTER 6

British Newspaper Coverage of Tibet Near the End of The Cold War: Lhasa Protest in 1989

Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the results of the content analysis and qualitative frame analysis of the British press coverage of the Lhasa Protest in 1989. The content analysis examines four main issues which are the same as in the previous chapters: the prominence level of the issue in the news (front-page presence and average word count); the types of news stories; the topics that emerged in the press coverage; and who spoke and what their political stance was on China and Tibet. The intention is to explore the similarities and differences between coverage in the newspapers along partisan lines, and between the tabloid and the broadsheet press. The chapter will also examine how these newspapers framed protests in Tibet using qualitative frame analysis, and the results provide a deeper context and background for the British newspaper coverage of Tibet near the end of the Cold War.

Lhasa Protest in 1989: quantitative results and discussion

Since 1980, Tibet has been opened to the outside world (Mackerras, 2003). In addition, Sino-Tibetan relations relaxed somewhat after the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976. However, tensions between Tibet and the PRC increased from the early 1980s, and on 5 March 1989, Lhasa was the site of the largest anti-Chinese demonstration since 1959 (Shakya, 1999). For three days, the Chinese police fought with Tibetans and tried to regain control of the centre of Tibet. Nonetheless, when the anniversary of the 1959 Tibetan Uprising (on 10 March 1989) approached, the

Chinese clearly wanted to avoid a repetition of the unrest of 1959. In an effort to end the rioting, martial law was declared by Tibet's Chinese rulers on 7 March 1989, effective from 8 March. Tourists and journalists were expelled from Tibet, and Tibetans from rural areas were prohibited from travelling to Lhasa without permission (Dolkar, 2008). On 10 March 1989, the Dalai Lama wrote to China's paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, and asked him to immediately lift the martial law and stop the repression of the Tibetan people (DIIR, 2017). He also made a request for the early start of talks in Geneva to resolve the issue peacefully. Meanwhile, he wrote to the leaders of the US, Russia and Japan, requesting their support to persuade the Chinese government to lift martial law (ibid.).

The data collection yielded a total of sixty-six news articles from the seven British newspapers about the Tibet issue between 5 March 1989 and 5 April 1989. The distribution of these news articles is shown in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 The number of news stories on Tibet by newspaper during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers	Total news articles
The Times	31.3% (n=21)
The Guardian	29.9% (n=20)
The Daily Telegraph	22.7% (n=15)
Daily Express	6.0% (n=4)
Daily Mail	4.5% (n=3)
Morning Star	3.0% (n=2)
The Sun	1.5% (n=1)
Total	100.0 (n=66)

Table 6.1 demonstrates that the British press showed different levels of interest in Tibet during this sample period. Overall, *The Times* published the most articles (31.3% of total news articles, n=21). *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* followed, accounting for 29.9% (n=20) and 22.7% of total news articles (n=15) respectively. Comparatively, *The Sun* and the *Morning Star* did not show much interest in Tibet. It

is worth noting that there were fewer articles on Tibet in 1989 than in early stages of the Cold War. Further discussion will be presented in Chapter 8.

According to Table 6.2 below, in 1989, the Conservative-supporting newspapers (*The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Mail*) showed the most interest in the Tibet issue, had an average of over 10 news articles each, followed by the newspapers that supported the Labour Party (*The Guardian*, *The Sun*). However, the only pro-Communist newspaper, the *Morning Star*, paid the least attention to the Tibet issue. Thus, most reports of Tibet were carried in the pro-Conservative newspapers, which was the same as the situation of the early Cold War period.

Table 6.2 The number of news articles on Tibet by newspaper partisanship during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers	Total number of articles	Total newspapers in groups	Average number of articles per newspaper
Pro-Conservative	43	4	10.8
Pro-Labour	21	2	10.5
Pro-Communist	2	1	2.0
Average/Total	66	7	7.8

There is a sharp difference between the distribution of news articles on Tibet of broadsheet and tabloid newspapers (see Table 6.3 below). Over the period of the study in 1989, an average of about 18 news articles were published in the broadsheets (*The Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*), while over 2 articles were published in the daily tabloids (*Daily Express*, *Daily Mail* and *The Sun*) per publication. Thus, in reporting the Tibet issue, broadsheet newspapers had more coverage than the tabloids.

Table 6.3 The number of news articles on Tibet by newspaper format partisanship during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers	Total number of articles	Total newspapers in groups	Average number of articles per newspaper
Broadsheet	56	3	18.7
Tabloid	8	3	2.7
Average/Total	64	6	10.7

Front-page presence

For the front-page presence, Table 6.4 below shows that, on the whole, there were around 9% or six front-page articles across all newspapers referencing Tibet during this period. Furthermore, there was no substantial difference regarding the front-page presence between newspapers according to their political leanings in 1989.

Table 6.4 Amount of front-page coverage of Tibet by newspaper partisanship during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers		Front page	Others	Total
Pro-Labour	Count	4	17	21
	% within political stance of newspapers	19.0%	81.0%	100.0%
Pro-Conservative	Count	2	41	43
	% within political stance of newspapers	4.7%	95.3%	100.0%
Pro-Communist	Count	0	2	2
	% within political stance of newspapers	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	6	60	66
	% within political stance of newspapers	9.1%	90.9%	100.0%

$$x^2 = 3.745; \text{d.f.} = 2; p > 0.05$$

When the front-page presence of coverage was examined between the broadsheets and the tabloids, as shown in Table 6.5 below, differences were again statistically not significant.

Table 6.5 Amount of front-page coverage of Tibet by newspaper format during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers		Front page	Others	Total
Broadsheet	Count	6	50	56
	% within broadsheet	10.7%	89.3%	100.0%
Tabloid	Count	0	8	8
	% within tabloid	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	6	8	64
	% within broadsheet and tabloid	9.4%	90.6%	100.0%

$$x^2 = 0.946; \text{d.f.} = 1; p > 0.05$$

In brief, the front-page presence reflects that there was a low prominence of coverage of Tibet by the British press in 1989. Neither newspaper partisanship nor newspaper format influenced the front-page presence of news stories to any extent.

Average word count

Tables 6.6 and 6.7 below illustrate the average length of the news articles covering Tibet according to newspaper partisanship and newspaper format in 1989. When the average length of news articles was analysed along partisan lines, as can be seen from Table 6.6, the pro-Conservative newspapers had the highest average word count, at over 411 words. Similarly, the pro-Labour newspapers had around 400 words in average length. Comparatively, the only pro-Communist newspaper, the *Morning Star*, had a lower average number of words per news article, at over 129 words. Nevertheless, differences of average length of news articles between newspapers along partisan lines were statistically not significant.

Table 6.6 Average word count of articles by newspaper partisanship during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers	Average number of words per article
Pro-Conservative	411.70 words
Pro-Labour	400.38 words
Pro-Communist	129.50 words
Average	399.55 words

$F(2, 63) = 1.085; p > 0.05$

Table 6.7 below indicates statistically significant differences of average word count of news stories between the broadsheets and the tabloids ($t = 5.457, p < 0.05$). More precisely, broadsheet newspapers had around 441 words per article whereas tabloid newspapers had just over 174 words per article. So, broadsheet readers received more words per article referencing the topic of Tibet than tabloid readers.

Table 6.7 Average word count of articles by newspaper format during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers	Average number of words per article
Broadsheet	441.32 words
Tabloid	174.63 words
Average	407.98 words

$t = 5.457$; d.f. = 26.714; $p < 0.05$

In conclusion, the indicator of prominence level, the front-page presence, reflects slight differences between newspapers. The other indicator of prominence level, i.e. the average news article length, only shows statistically significant differences between the broadsheets and the tabloids. This was because broadsheet newspapers tended to have longer and more detailed stories than tabloid newspapers. In general, the findings above coincide with the results of 1950 in the early Cold War (see Chapter 4). Further discussion will be shown in Chapter 8.

Types of news stories

In terms of types of news stories, Table 6.8 below shows that, overall, most news articles about Tibet in the seven newspapers were carried as general news (87.9% of total news articles, $n=58$).

Table 6.8 Types of news stories on Tibet by newspaper partisanship during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers		News	Editorial/co mmentary	Letters to the editor	Total
Pro-Conservative	Count	38	2	3	43
	% within political stance of newspapers	88.4%	4.7%	7.0%	100.0%
Pro-Labour	Count	18	1	2	21
	% within political stance of newspapers	85.7%	4.8%	9.5%	100.0%
Pro-Communist	Count	2	0	0	2
	% within political stance of newspapers	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	58	3	5	66
	% within political stance of newspapers	87.9%	4.5%	7.6%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.417$; d.f. = 4; $p > 0.05$

In contrast, only few Tibet-related news articles were editorials/commentaries or letters to the editor. Furthermore, as indicated by Table 6.8, there were no major differences in the coverage of Tibet between newspapers according to their political leanings.

We can see from Table 6.9 below that, regarding types of news stories, there was also not much difference between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers in 1989.

Table 6.9 Types of news stories on Tibet by newspaper format during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers		Editorial/com			Total
		News	mentary	Other	
Broadsheet	Count	48	3	5	56
	% within broadsheet	85.7%	5.4%	8.9%	100%
Tabloid	Count	8	0	0	8
	% within tabloid	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100%
Total	Count	56	3	5	64
	% within broadsheet and tabloid	87.5%	4.7%	7.8%	100.0%

$$x^2 = 1.626; \text{d.f.} = 2; p > 0.05$$

In summary, with regard to types of news stories, there was mainly factual coverage and not many editorialising news articles in the British press. In other words, the Tibet issue was not regarded as a major event at this stage, and there was no substantial difference between newspapers. This was quite similar to the situation of the early Cold War. The next section examines how the different topics were distributed in the British press according to newspaper partisanship and newspaper format.

Topics

Primarily, this section shows the topics¹ that were used in the seven newspapers between 5 March 1989 and 5 April 1989 (see Table 6.10 below). The dominant topic

¹ The category of topics is based on multiple-response variables (Topic1, Topic 2 and Topic 3 have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

of the press was ‘Tibetans’ resistances/protests’, at 22.9% (of total topics, n=43). The newspapers emphasised ‘China’s policies’ at 20.2% (of total topics, n=38), and ‘China’s suppression’ also at 20.2% (of total topics, n=38). Nevertheless, the topics related to the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama², the exiled Tibetans and the Western countries (e.g. UK and US) were presented with small proportions in this period.

Table 6.10 Distribution of topics in coverage of Tibet during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Topics	Total
Tibetans’ resistances/protests/demonstrations	22.9% (n=43)
China’s policies	20.2% (n=38)
China’s suppression	20.2% (n=38)
China’s views	10.6% (n=20)
Other topics	6.9% (n=13)
Other views	5.9% (n=11)
The Dalai Lama’s actions/The Dalai Lama’s situation	2.7% (n=5)
Tibetans’ views	2.7% (n=5)
China’s actions rather than suppression	2.1% (n=4)
The Dalai Lama’s views	2.1% (n=4)
Other actions	2.1% (n=4)
The Dalai Lama’s policies	1.6% (n=3)
Total	100.0% (n=188)

Topics by newspaper partisanship

When the topics of news stories were analysed, the results show that there was no substantial difference between newspapers (see Table 6.11 below). It is worth noting that, at this research period, the topic of ‘human rights’ started to appear, and the only article on this topic was published in the pro-Conservative newspaper. It will be further examined in a later discussion in this chapter.

² The 10th Panchen Lama, Choekyi Gyaltzen, was promoted by the PRC as the most important political and religious figure in Tibet following the 14th Dalai Lama’s flight to India in 1959. He supported the PRC’s suppression of the 1959 Tibetan Uprising. He died in 1989.

Table 6.11 The number of topics in coverage of Tibet by newspaper partisanship during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Topics	Pro-Conservative	Pro-Labour	Pro-Communist
Tibetans' resistances/protests/demonstrations	20.5% (n=25)	26.7% (n=16)	33.3% (n=2)
China's suppression	20.5% (n=25)	18.3% (n=11)	33.3% (n=2)
China's policies	19.7% (n=24)	20.0% (n=12)	33.3% (n=2)
China's views	10.7% (n=13)	11.7% (n=7)	0.0% (n=0)
Other views	5.7% (n=7)	6.7% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)
The Dalai Lama's actions/The Dalai Lama's situation	3.3% (n=4)	1.7% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Other actions	3.3% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Tibetans' views	2.5% (n=3)	3.3% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
China's actions rather than suppression	2.5% (n=3)	1.7% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
The Dalai Lama's policies	1.6% (n=2)	1.7% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
The Dalai Lama's views	0.8% (n=1)	5.0% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Other topics	9.0% (n=11)	3.3% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	100% (n=122)	100% (n=60)	100% (n=6)

Topics by newspaper format

As detailed in Table 6.12 below, for topics of news stories, the newspapers portrayed the Tibet issue differently according to newspaper format. Compared to the broadsheets, there were more topics of 'China's suppression' (29.2% within tabloids, n=7) and 'China's policies' (25% within tabloids, n=6), but fewer topics of 'China's views' (12% within tabloids, n=19) in the tabloids. The results reflect that sensational stories on Tibet were more likely to appear in tabloid newspapers, while the broadsheets were more likely to represent the Tibet issue with more complete and more comprehensive details. The results are quite similar to those of 1959 in the early Cold War. These views will be further examined in the following sections.

The next section will explore the prominent sources that were quoted in the news coverage of the Tibet issue.

Table 6.12 The number of topics in coverage of Tibet by newspaper format during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Topics	Broadsheet	Tabloid
Tibetans' resistances/protests	22.8% (n=36)	20.8% (n=5)
China's policies	19.0% (n=30)	25.0% (n=6)
China's suppression	18.4% (n=29)	29.2% (n=7)
China's views	12.0% (n=19)	4.2% (n=1)
Other topics	7.0% (n=11)	8.3% (n=2)
Other views	6.3% (n=10)	4.2% (n=1)
Tibetans' views	3.2% (n=5)	0.0% (n=0)
The Dalai Lama's actions/The Dalai Lama's situation	2.5% (n=4)	4.2% (n=1)
Other actions	2.5% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)
The Dalai Lama's views	2.5% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)
China's actions rather than suppression	1.9% (n=3)	4.2% (n=1)
The Dalai Lama's policies	1.9% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	100% (n=158)	100% (n=24)

Who spoke on Tibet and what their political stance was?

This section starts with the overall distribution of sources, and their political stance towards China and Tibet. Then sources and their stance were analysed along partisan lines and by newspaper formats.

Overall sources and their stance on China and Tibet

First of all, the comparison of sourced to unsourced material finds that material either directly or indirectly quoted by sources was 91% of all the newspaper stories (n=60) with unsourced material constituting the other 9% (n=6). This equals a ratio of 10:1 of sourced to unsourced material. With this ratio in mind, the results in Table 6.13 below indicate what types of sources³ dominated the British newspapers stories on Tibet between 5 March 1989 and 5 April 1989. In comparison with the early Cold War, Table 6.13 shows that government sources (30.3% of total sources, n=54) and media/journalist (25.3% of total sources, n=45) were still the major sources that

³ The category of sources is based on multiple-response variables (Source 1, Source 2, Source3 and Source 4 have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

dominated the coverage of Tibet. However, instead of using unofficial/unconfirmed sources as the other main sources, the British newspapers were more likely to cite sources from the general public (23.6% of total sources, n=42) in 1989. Politicians/political groups (12.9% of total sources, n=23) followed. The more detailed analysis will be shown in the following sections.

**Table 6.13 Distribution of sources during Lhasa Protest in 1989
(05.03.1989-05.04.1989)**

Sources	Total
Government	
China's government	20.8% (n=37)
The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	4.5% (n=8)
Tibetan Government in Exile	2.2% (n=4)
Other government	2.8% (n=5)
Total	30.3% (n=54)
Media/journalist	
China's media/journalist	21.3% (n=38)
Other media/journalist	3.9% (n=7)
Total	25.3% (n=45)
The general public	
Observers/witnesses/travellers	11.2% (n=20)
Residents	9.6% (n=17)
Demonstrators/campaigners/protestors/activists	2.2% (n=4)
The general public other	0.6% (n=1)
Total	23.6% (n=42)
Politicians/political groups	
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	11.2% (n=20)
The Panchen Lama/those close to him	1.7% (n=3)
Total	12.9% (n=23)
Religious figures/organisations	2.2% (n=4)
Other	1.7% (n=3)
Experts	1.1% (n=2)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	1.1% (n=2)
Lawyers	0.6% (n=1)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.6% (n=1)
Tibet Support Groups	0.6% (n=1)
Total	100% (n=178)

As we can see from Table 6.13, the category of government included four groups. China's government had the largest percentage of all government sources, which accounted for 20.8% of total sources (n=37). The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region⁴ (4.5% of total sources, n=8) and the Tibetan Government in Exile (2.2% of total sources, n=4) followed. The other government group was the combination of the US and the UK governments. Individually, these two sources reached less than 2% of all sources.

For the category of media/journalist, China's media/journalist had the largest percentage of all media/journalist sources, which made up 21.3% of total sources (n=38). The category of other media/journalist only reached less than 5% of all sources. A few examples of sources included in this category were Tibet's media/journalist, the UK's media/journalist, and Hong Kong's media/journalist.

With regard to the category of the general public, observers/witnesses/travellers (11.2% of total sources, n=20) had the largest percentage of all sources in this category. Residents, and demonstrators/campaigners/protesters followed. It is worth noting that compared to the early Cold War, observers/witnesses/travellers were represented more often in this research period.

In addition, the source of the Dalai Lama or those close to him included the Dalai Lama, or his spokespersons or relatives. It accounted for 11.2% of total sources (n=20). In contrast, the Panchen Lama was presented with a small proportion, constituting 1.1% of total sources (n=3).

Accordingly, the above results indicate that the sources of India's government and unofficial/unconfirmed sources, which dominated the coverage of Tibet in the early Cold War, were rarely used in 1989. In contrast, the Chinese government sources, China's media/journalist, observers/witnesses/travellers and the Dalai Lama/those close to him were quoted more frequently than before. Reasons for and details about these changes will be presented in Chapter 8.

⁴ On 1 September 1965, Tibet was declared an autonomous region of the PRC.

The following sections examine news source citations with respect to the stance they took towards China and Tibet.

Source stance towards China. Table 6.14 below illustrates the analysis of news source citations regarding the stance they took towards China's presence in Tibet⁵.

Table 6.14 Source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by source type during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Sources	Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral	Total
China's media/journalist	18.0% (n=32)	0.0% (n=0)	3.4% (n=6)	21.3% (n=38)
China's government	14.6% (n=26)	0.0% (n=0)	6.2% (n=11)	20.8% (n=37)
Other media/journalist	2.8% (n=5)	0.6% (n=1)	0.6% (n=1)	4.0% (n=7)
The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	2.2% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)	2.2% (n=4)	4.5% (n=8)
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	1.1% (n=2)	7.9% (n=14)	2.2% (n=4)	11.2% (n=20)
The Panchen Lama/those close to him	0.6% (n=1)	0.6% (n=1)	0.6% (n=1)	1.7% (n=3)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.6% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)
Residents	0.0% (n=0)	4.5% (n=8)	5.1% (n=9)	9.6% (n=17)
Observers/witnesses/travellers	0.0% (n=0)	3.4% (n=6)	7.9% (n=14)	11.2% (n=20)
Religious figures/organisations	0.0% (n=0)	2.2% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)	2.2% (n=4)
Other government	0.0% (n=0)	2.2% (n=4)	0.6% (n=1)	2.8% (n=5)
Demonstrators/campaigners/protestors/activists	0.0% (n=0)	1.7% (n=3)	0.6% (n=1)	2.2% (n=4)
Other	0.0% (n=0)	1.7% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)	1.7% (n=3)
Tibetan Government in Exile	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)	1.7% (n=3)	2.2% (n=4)
The general public other	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)
Tibet Support Groups	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)
Lawyers	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)	0.6% (n=1)
Experts	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	1.1% (n=2)	1.1% (n=2)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	1.1% (n=2)	1.1% (n=2)
Total	39.9% (n=71)	26.4% (n=47)	33.7% (n=60)	100.0% (n=178)

⁵ The category of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet is based on multiple-response variables (Source Stance 1, Source Stance 2, Source Stance 3 and Source Stance 4 towards China's presence in Tibet have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

In general, nearly 40% of all cited sources (n=71) were in favour of China's presence in Tibet. The next largest group of source citations had a neutral position, at over 33% of all citations (n=60). Source citations opposing China's presence reached around 26% of all citations (n=47).

Specifically, when analysed regarding news sources, the citations from China's media/journalist (18% of all citations, n=32) and China's government (14.6% of all citations, n=26) were the most in favour of China's presence in Tibet. Moreover, the Dalai Lama or those close to him was the most likely to have citations opposing China's presence. Observers/witnesses/travellers (7.9% of all citations, n=14) had the largest percentage of citations displaying a neutral position.

Source stance towards Tibet. When we look at news sources' political stance towards Tibet's independence⁶, Table 6.15 below shows that 45.5% of all cited sources (n=81) had a neutral position. The second largest group of source citations opposed Tibet's independence, at over 42% of all citations (n=76). Comparatively, source citations in favour of Tibet's independence constituted only 11.8% of all citations (n=21).

In addition, the news sources with the majority of negative citations towards Tibet's independence were China's media/journalist (18% of all citations, n=32) and China's government (15.2% of all citations, n=27). The majority of citations had a neutral position on Tibet's independence, with observers/witnesses/travellers (10.1% of all citations, n=18) having the largest number of such citations. The Dalai Lama or those close to him was the next largest group holding a neutral value stance on Tibet's independence.

In summary, as anticipated, China's media/journalist and China's government strongly supported China's presence in Tibet and opposed Tibet's independence. Even though the Dalai Lama or those close to him opposed China's presence, they were

⁶ The category of source stance towards Tibet's independence is based on multiple-response variables (Source Stance 1, Source Stance 2, Source Stance 3 and Source Stance 4 towards Tibet's independence have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

reluctant to take a particular position on Tibet's independence at that time. Observers or witnesses or travellers held a neutral value stance not only on China's presence in Tibet, but also on Tibet's independence. However, sources that were in favour of Tibet's independence were not evident in 1989.

Table 6.15 Source stance towards Tibet's independence by source type during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Sources	Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Residents	3.9% (n=7)	0.0% (n=0)	5.6% (n=10)	9.6% (n=17)
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	2.2% (n=4)	2.8% (n=5)	6.2% (n=11)	11.2% (n=20)
Religious figures/organisations	2.2% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	2.2% (n=4)
Demonstrators/campaigners/protestors/activists	1.7% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)	2.2% (n=4)
Observers/witnesses/travellers	0.6% (n=1)	0.6% (n=1)	10.1% (n=18)	11.2% (n=20)
Other	0.6% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	1.1% (n=2)	1.7% (n=3)
Tibet Support Groups	0.6% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)
China's media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	18.0% (n=32)	3.4% (n=6)	21.3% (n=38)
China's government	0.0% (n=0)	15.2% (n=27)	5.6% (n=10)	20.8% (n=37)
Other media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	2.8% (n=5)	1.1% (n=2)	3.9% (n=7)
The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	0.0% (n=0)	2.2% (n=4)	2.2% (n=4)	4.5% (n=8)
The Panchen Lama/those close to him	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)	1.1% (n=2)	1.7% (n=3)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)
Tibetan Government in Exile	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	2.2% (n=4)	2.2% (n=4)
Other government	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	2.8% (n=5)	2.8% (n=5)
Experts	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	1.1% (n=2)	1.1% (n=2)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	1.1% (n=2)	1.1% (n=2)
The general public other	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)	0.6% (n=1)
Lawyers	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)	0.6% (n=1)
Total	11.8% (n=21)	42.7% (n=76)	45.5% (n=81)	100% (n=178)

The following sections explore, in terms of sources and their political stance on China and Tibet, whether there were differences between newspapers in the case of newspaper partisanship and newspaper format.

Sources and their stance by newspaper partisanship

This section examines the relationship between the dominant sources and newspaper partisanship.

Table 6.16 The number of sources by newspaper partisanship during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Sources	Pro-Conservative	Pro-Labour	Pro-Communist
Government			
China's government	20.5% (n=25)	22.6% (n=12)	0.0% (n=0)
The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	2.5% (n=3)	9.4% (n=5)	0.0% (n=0)
Tibetan Government in Exile	3.3% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Other government	1.6% (n=2)	5.7% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	27.9% (n=34)	37.7% (n=20)	0.0% (n=0)
Media/journalist			
China's media/journalist	22.1% (n=27)	15.1% (n=8)	100.0% (n=3)
Other media/journalist	4.1% (n=5)	3.8% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	26.2% (n=32)	18.9% (n=10)	100% (n=3)
The general public			
Observers/witnesses/travellers	13.9% (n=17)	5.7% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Residents	9.0% (n=11)	11.3% (n=6)	0.0% (n=0)
Demonstrators/campaigners/protestors/activists	1.6% (n=2)	3.8% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
The general public other	0.0% (n=0)	1.9% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	24.6% (n=30)	22.6% (n=12)	0.0% (n=0)
Politicians/political groups			
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	11.5% (n=14)	11.3% (n=6)	0.0% (n=0)
The Panchen Lama/those close to him	2.5% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	13.9% (n=17)	11.3% (n=6)	0.0% (n=0)
Religious figures/organisations	2.5% (n=3)	1.9% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Other	1.6% (n=2)	1.9% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Experts	0.8% (n=1)	1.9% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	0.0% (n=0)	3.8% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
Lawyers	0.8% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.8% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Tibet Support Groups	0.8% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	100% (n=122)	100% (n=53)	100% (n=3)

The results show predominantly that, in 1989, the only pro-Communist newspaper had the highest percentage of sources of China's media/journalist, which always supported China's presence in Tibet (see Table 6.16 above). Additionally, in terms of presenting other sources, there was no substantial difference between the pro-Conservative and pro-Labour newspapers.

Regarding the relationship between source stance towards China's presence in Tibet and newspaper partisanship in Table 6.17 below, all cited sources in the pro-Communist newspapers had a positive position on China. Meanwhile, the pro-Communist newspaper had no negative source citations towards China's presence in Tibet.

Table 6.17 Amount of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers		Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral	Total
Pro-Communist	Count	3	0	0	3
	% within political stance of newspapers	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100%
Pro-Conservative	Count	48	31	43	122
	% within political stance of newspapers	39.3%	25.4%	35.2%	100%
Pro-Labour	Count	20	16	17	53
	% within political stance of newspapers	37.7%	30.2%	32.1%	100%
Total	Count	71	47	60	178
	% within political stance of newspapers	39.9%	26.4%	33.7%	100%

The relationship between source stance towards Tibet's independence and newspaper partisanship is shown in Table 6.18 below. Only the pro-Communist newspaper had no positive source citations at all towards Tibet's independence. Furthermore, the negative tone towards Tibet was more prominent amongst the news sources used in the pro-Communist newspaper than in the other newspapers.

Table 6.18 Amount of source stance towards Tibet's independence by newspaper partisanship during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers		Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Pro-Labour	Count	10	21	22	53
	% within political stance of newspapers	18.9%	39.6%	41.5%	100.0%
Pro-Conservative	Count	11	52	59	122
	% within political stance of newspapers	9.0%	42.6%	48.4%	100.0%
Pro-Communist	Count	0	3	0	3
	% within political stance of newspapers	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	21	76	81	178
	% within political stance of newspapers	11.8%	42.7%	45.5%	100.0%

In summary, the results above reveal that the pro-Communist newspaper consistently supported the Chinese presence in Tibet and opposed Tibet's independence. In contrast, the pro-Conservative and pro-Labour newspapers represented the Tibet issue with an anti-China consensus. More evidence will be shown in later discussion in this chapter.

Sources and their stance by newspaper format

This section examines the relationship between the dominant sources and newspaper formats. According to Table 6.19 below, compared to the tabloids, the broadsheets were more likely to quote government sources, especially China's government, in the coverage of Tibet. Moreover, news sources of observers/witnesses/travellers and the Dalai Lama/those close to him were more prominent in tabloid newspapers than in broadsheet newspapers. It is worth noting that unlike the broadsheets, the tabloids did not represent the Tibet issue from different angles with various sources (e.g. experts, intergovernmental organisations and religious figures/organisations). These results will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Table 6.19 The number of sources by newspaper format during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Sources	Broadsheet	Tabloid
Government		
China's government	21.6% (n=33)	18.2% (n=4)
The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	5.2% (n=8)	0.0% (n=0)
Tibetan Government in Exile	2.6% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)
Other government	3.3% (n=5)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	32.0% (n=50)	18.2% (n=4)
Media/journalist		
China's media/journalist	19.6% (n=30)	22.7% (n=5)
Other media/journalist	4.6% (n=7)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	24.2% (n=37)	22.7% (n=5)
The general public		
Observers/witnesses/travellers	10.5% (n=16)	18.2% (n=4)
Residents	10.5% (n=16)	4.5% (n=1)
Demonstrators/campaigners/protestors/activists	2.0% (n=3)	4.5% (n=1)
The general public other	0.7% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	23.5% (n=36)	27.3% (n=6)
Politicians/political groups		
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	9.2% (n=14)	27.3% (n=6)
The Panchen Lama/those close to him	2.0% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	11.1% (n=17)	27.3% (n=6)
Religious figures/organisations	2.6% (n=4)	0.0% (n=0)
Experts	1.3% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	0.7% (n=1)	4.5% (n=1)
Lawyers	0.7% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.7% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Tibet Support Groups	0.7% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Other	2.0% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	100% (n=153)	100% (n=22)

Differences are also found in the analysis of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by newspaper format (see Table 6.20 below). The broadsheets (40.5% within the broadsheets, n=62) had more source citations supporting China's presence in Tibet than in the tabloids (27.3% within the tabloids, n=6). However, when dealing with negative source citations towards China, tabloid newspapers (36.4% within the tabloids, n=8) had more than broadsheet newspapers (25.5% within the broadsheets,

n=39). Thus, the pro-China source citations were more evident in broadsheet stories, while the anti-China source citations featured more prominently in tabloid stories.

Table 6.20 Amount of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by newspaper format during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers		Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral	Total
Broadsheet	Count	62	39	52	153
	% within broadsheet	40.5%	25.5%	34.0%	100%
Tabloid	Count	6	8	8	22
	% within tabloid	27.3%	36.4%	36.4%	100%
Total	Count	68	47	60	175
	% within broadsheet	38.9%	26.9%	34.3%	100%
	and tabloid				

For source stance towards Tibet's independence by newspaper format, Table 6.21 below indicates that broadsheet newspapers had 13.7% (n=21) of total broadsheet source citations supporting Tibet's independence while tabloid newspapers had no positive source citations towards Tibet. Furthermore, the broadsheets (43.8% within the broadsheets, n=67) had more source citations opposing Tibet's independence than in the tabloids (27.3% within the tabloids, n=6). So, the positive and negative source citations towards Tibet featured more prominently in broadsheet stories.

Table 6.21 Amount of source stance towards Tibet's independence by newspaper format during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspapers		Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Broadsheet	Count	21	67	65	153
	% within broadsheet	13.7%	43.8%	42.5%	100%
Tabloid	Count	0	6	16	22
	% within tabloid	0.0%	27.3%	72.7%	100%
Total	Count	21	73	81	175
	% within broadsheet	12.0%	41.7%	46.3%	100.0%
	and tabloid				

As mentioned above, broadsheet newspapers represented the Tibet issue with more source citations supporting China's presence in Tibet, as well as more source citations supporting Tibet and opposing Tibet's independence. It was probably

because the broadsheets were more likely to quote more sources with diverse voices towards the Tibet issue and report the issue neutrally. In contrast, the tabloids preferred to use more negative news source citations towards China while they used fewer negative source citations towards Tibet to attract readers, which was the same as the situation of the early Cold War period.

To conclude, the results of the content analysis (e.g. prominence level, types of news stories and topics) show that there was no substantial difference in terms of covering patterns between newspapers according to their political leanings in the coverage of Tibet in 1989. However, the variables of sources and source stance imply that the pro-Conservative and pro-Labour newspapers represented the Tibet issue through the anti-China consensus. In contrast, the pro-Communist newspaper represented the event as it always does, supporting China's presence in Tibet. In addition, the results of the content analysis show some differences of news articles on Tibet between the broadsheets and the tabloids. The following sections will further examine whether the pro-Communist newspaper represented the event differently from the other newspapers; and whether there was substantial difference regarding the coverage of Tibet between broadsheet newspapers and tabloid newspapers.

The Lhasa Protest in 1989: dominant frames and discussion

Frame 1: China is the oppressor of Tibet: The Red Menace or not?

China's presence in Lhasa Protest in 1989 was represented in the British press in several ways. Its intervention was framed in relation to both its political intentions and the consequences of its actions. Table 6.22 below shows selected samples of headlines about China's presence in Tibet by newspaper political leanings and by newspaper formats.

Table 6.22 Newspaper headlines regarding China's presence in Tibet during Lhasa Protest in 1989 by newspaper partisanship and format (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>The Guardian</i> , <i>The Sun</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Guardian</i> and <i>The Daily Telegraph</i>)	<p>Envoy blamed separatist agitators (<i>The Times</i>, 9 March, 1989b)</p> <p>Peking rebuffs Western critics (<i>The Times</i>, 20 March, 1989)</p> <p>Tibet rioters were armed from abroad, says Peking (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 10 March, 1989b)</p> <p>Escalating Tibetan rioting 'organised by separatists' (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 25 March, 1989g)</p> <p>Troops quell Lhasa violence (<i>The Times</i>, 9 March, 1989)</p> <p>Martial law in Lhasa as Chinese crack down on separatist rioters (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 8 March, 1989)</p> <p>Thousands of troops stamp out Tibetan freedom calls (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 11 March, 1989c)</p> <p>Tibet separatists threatened with 'annihilation' (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 13 March, 1989d)</p> <p>China to expel thousands in Lhasa crackdown (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 22 March, 1989e)</p> <p>Chinese police kill Tibetan demonstrators (<i>The Guardian</i>, 6 March, 1989)</p> <p>Fear closes in on Tibetans as foreigners are expelled (<i>The Guardian</i>, 10 March, 1989a)</p> <p>China tightens martial law as Dalai Lama appeals to world (<i>The Guardian</i>, 11 March, 1989b)</p>
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> and <i>The Sun</i>)	<p>China curbs Tibet riots (<i>Daily Express</i>, 8 March, 1989)</p> <p>Children in demo clamp (<i>Daily Express</i>, 9 March, 1989)</p> <p>Brutal injustice that demands our action (<i>Daily Express</i>, 10 March, 1989)</p> <p>Chinese blast rioters (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 7 March, 1989)</p> <p>China orders gun rule in riot city (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 8 March, 1989)</p> <p>Riots purge (<i>The Sun</i>, 8 March, 1989)</p>

First, the Chinese government's position and views were more visible than in the past. Table 6.22 above shows the willingness of newspapers to headline China's explanation of the Lhasa intervention in 1989 (e.g. 'blamed separatist agitators', 'armed from abroad'). Specifically, the coverage showed that China treated the unrest

in Lhasa as an ‘internal affair’, and rejected ‘foreign interference’. The Chinese ambassador in London was quoted in *The Daily Telegraph* as claiming that China was ‘indivisible’ (Luard, 1989a). *The Guardian* also presented China’s government’s view that ‘The independence or semi-independence of Tibet is impermissible and so is independence in any disguised form’ (‘Beijing outraged by US calls on Tibet’, 1989). Under these circumstances, it carried the Chinese government’s condemnation of the European Parliament and the US Senate for their resolution criticising China’s handling of the riots in Tibet, and its description of it as ‘gross interference in China’s internal affairs’ (ibid.). In addition, the papers reported the Chinese government’s view of the protestors as ‘separatists’. For example, *The Times* quoted the Chinese government’s assertion that the Lhasa Protest was incited by ‘outside separatists’ (Watts, 1989b), who ‘do not wish to see progress and better living standards in Tibet’ and ‘even sent in desperate elements for terrorist activities’ (McGregor & Watts, 1989), and that the Lhasa Protest was ‘an act of violence deliberately staged by a handful of separatists to split China’ (‘Peking rebuffs Western critics’, 1989). It also reported Chinese government’s criticism of the Dalai Lama as ‘inciting protests against Peking’ (McGregor & Watts, 1989), 1989). *The Daily Telegraph* observed that the Chinese thought that the struggle with ‘separatists’ was ‘an arduous, complex and long-term affair’ (‘Strife returns to Dalai Lama’s lost kingdom’, 1989), and that the Chinese government’s resorting to martial law was ‘aimed at maintaining social order, protecting people’s lives and property, and preventing encroachment upon public property’ (Dinmore & Kazer, 1989). As noted above, the British newspapers reported that China believed firmly that: Tibet had always been part of Chinese territory; they undoubtedly prevented Western forces from interfering in the region; and their presence in Tibet was for safeguarding national unity and the legitimate rights of Tibetans.

Second, in contrast to the fear of the spread of Communism in the early Cold War, the press did not use labels such as ‘Communist’, ‘Red’ and ‘Reds’ in the headlines

and news content to represent China in 1989. This was due to the fact that near the end of the Cold War, Sino-British relations had improved, especially since US President Richard Nixon's 1972 visit to China. More details and discussion will be presented in Chapter 8.

Although the Chinese government's views were more visible than before, and Sino-British relations had improved, the British press continued to treat China as the oppressor during the Lhasa Protest in 1989. Indeed, during the early Cold War, China's presence in Tibet was represented as an 'invasion' (see Chapter 4). *The Times* noted that, 'China's invasion of 1950 was the beginning of a catalogue of abuses compounded when it broke an agreement not to interfere with the system of government and society' (Watts, 1989a). It also pointed out that the subsequent 1959 Tibetan Uprising against Chinese rule was 'put down ruthlessly by Peking's forces, killing thousands of Tibetans' (Sampson, 1989a). Thus, China was displayed as an aggressive militarist and oppressor in British news reports. In 1989, most of the British newspapers once again criticised China for ruthlessly and brutally oppressing the Lhasa Protest. As we can see from Table 6.22 above, the press used the words such as 'quell', 'crack down', 'stamp out', 'expel', 'threaten' and 'annihilation' to describe China's presence in Tibet. More precisely, in the news content, *The Times* depicted that 'The shooting this week of unarmed demonstrators, including women and children, was both premeditated and cold-blooded' (Pomery, 1989a). In the news coverage of *The Daily Telegraph*, China's military action in Tibet was regarded as 'ill-treatment of the people of Tibet' ('China found wanting', 1989). *The Guardian* reported that 'the Chinese authorities must still bear the largest responsibility for the riots, by refusing to allow demonstrations of a kind that might have passed off harmlessly, and that the resort to brute force has been compounded by the ineptitude of the ill-trained security forces who shot and killed at random' ('China's hold on the halls', 1989). As *The Daily Telegraph* noted, the Tibetans 'have been ruthlessly put down' ('China found wanting', 1989). In the words of the *Daily Express*, the Chinese

were cruel ‘oppressors’ and the Tibetans were violently oppressed by the Chinese authorities. It indicated that ‘although the Chinese are now slightly less brutal than they were under Chairman Mao, they remain ruthlessly determined to stamp out Tibetan identity. A billion strong, they want to crush the culture of a mere six million Tibetans’ (‘Brutal injustice that demands our action’, 1989). Therefore, the *Daily Express* suggested that ‘It is time for public protest against Western weakness and Chinese cruelty. Since the Russians left Afghanistan, the occupation of Tibet has become the greatest injustice in the entire world’ (ibid.). Essentially, the British news reports criticised China’s presence in Tibet and its widespread destruction of the Tibetan way of life.

In contrast, the pro-Communist *Morning Star* continued to use a different way of representing China’s presence in Tibet. In its news content, it only quoted the Chinese government or the Chinese media’s statements, which accused protestors of endangering the social order (‘Martial law declared in Tibet’, 1989). Moreover, it described how, ‘crowds of Tibetans staged a third day of anti-Chinese protests in Lhasa watched by truckloads of police who did not intervene’ (ibid.). Chinese troops were portrayed in the paper as protectors who did not put down the uprising at the beginning, but were forced to fire shots as no other means would stop the rioters.

In summary, there was no marked difference in representations of China between the pro-Conservative and pro-Labour newspapers, or between the broadsheets and the tabloids. Compared to the early Cold War, the news coverage neither displayed Tibet as a separate country nor denied Tibet as a part of China’s territory in 1989. They also did not use labels such as ‘Communist’ and ‘Red China’. I would argue that this reflects in part that Sino-British relations had improved. Nevertheless, it doesn’t mean that the UK fully supported China’s presence in Tibet. The press still portrayed China mainly as the oppressor, in spite of the Chinese government claiming that the military action was to safeguard and unify the country. According to the news coverage, China was represented as using violence and force to crack down on the riots. Consequently,

China's oppression was seen to have caused the tragedy. In contrast, the pro-Communist newspaper, the *Morning Star*, portrayed China favourably and served to legitimise China's presence in Tibet.

Frame 2: Tibetans are the victims of China's oppression vs. Tibetans protested actively

As mentioned above, Tibetans had been framed as the victims of China's oppression. Comparisons were made between the powerless Tibet and the powerful China. Near the end of the Cold War, the British press also displayed the Tibetans as fighting bravely against China for their independence (see Table 6.23 below). As *The Guardian* described, 'the often foolhardy bravery of the Tibetans in challenging the armed might of the world's most populous nation evokes awe and respect' ('China's hold on the halls', 1989). Witnesses' statements were quoted in *The Guardian* to show that 'none of the Tibetans were armed' ('Bloody rioting sweeps Lhasa', 1989). The news coverage gave prominence to the unarmed protestors' courage in fighting against the Chinese armed force although they were too weak to resist. As *The Times* reported, 'Tibetans are fearful that the clear-out signals sharper army and police reprisals' (Pomery, 1989a). In addition, the news coverage showed that Tibetans were highly critical of China's violent repression of religious freedom in Tibet. *The Daily Telegraph* described that 'Some Tibetans have accused Chinese police of killing people indiscriminately and taking others away to be executed (Dinmore & Kazer, 8 March). *The Guardian* quoted one young monk's statement that 'We hope the world will see how the Han Chinese treat us. [...] We hope that the Chinese will listen to our demands for the Dalai Lama to return' ('China's hold on the halls', 1989). *The Times* also said that 'Whatever the propaganda about Tibetans welcoming the armed police with open arms, people who witnessed the riots have reported hatred directed against the Han Chinese who Tibetans accuse of destroying their culture and of forbidding religious freedom' (Sampson, 1989b).

Table 6.23 Newspaper headlines regarding Tibetans' reactions to China's presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship and format during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>The Guardian, The Sun</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times, The Guardian</i> and <i>The Daily Telegraph</i>)	Tibetans take revenge for shootings (<i>The Times</i> , 7 March, 1989) The struggle against China (<i>The Times</i> , 8 March, 1989) Lhasa fears reprisals as tourists go (<i>The Times</i> , 10 March, 1989a) Peaceful chants by monks and nuns became death cries (<i>The Times</i> , 10 March, 1989b) Lhasa falls silent as Tibetans fear Chinese revenge (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , 9 March, 1989a) Tibet's battle for truth : Danny Gittings on how the Chinese are trying to gag a desperately needed voice (<i>The Guardian</i> , 13 March, 1989)

Furthermore, as can be seen from Table 6.24 below, compared to the early Cold War, in 1989, the British press coverage still portrayed the Dalai Lama as the 'God-King' and the supreme spiritual leader of Tibetans. It also further strengthened his image as the political leader of the Tibetan people and head of the Tibetan Government in Exile.

Table 6.24 Newspaper headlines regarding descriptions of the Dalai Lama and his reactions to China's presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship and format during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>The Guardian, The Sun</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times, The Guardian</i> and <i>The Daily Telegraph</i>)	Strife returns to Dalai Lama's lost kingdoms (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , 7 March, 1989) China's hold on the halls of the god king (<i>The Guardian</i> , 8 March, 1989) China tightens martial law as Dalai Lama appeals to world (<i>The Guardian</i> , 11 March, 1989) Dalai Lama rejects China talks claim (<i>The Guardian</i> , 23 March, 1989)

The Dalai Lama's declarations had been quoted more frequently in British news coverage as being the voice of Tibetans. His claims about the situation in Tibet were

convincing due to his special status and influence. *The Daily Telegraph* observed that the Dalai Lama ‘made a speech in Strasbourg abandoning independence in favour of autonomy under Chinese rule in 1988’ (‘Strife returns to Dalai Lama’s lost kingdom’, 7 March, 1989), and he proposed that ‘[Tibet] should remain part of China, but should enjoy self-rule in all fields except foreign affairs and defence’ (Luard, 1989f). Regarding the Dalai Lama’s reactions to China’s presence in Tibet, his concerns about the ‘suffering’ Tibetans were reported. He supported demonstrations in Tibet as long as they were non-violent. In the news coverage of *The Guardian*, he indicated that, ‘it was important they demonstrated their unhappiness to counter Chinese charges that the protests were orchestrated by only a few disgruntled Tibetans’ (Becker, 1989b). His criticisms of the Chinese government’s violent oppression were widely quoted in *The Daily Telegraph*, ‘The Chinese have lost control over the situation in Tibet, and should realise that force and repression cannot solve the issue’ (Luard, 1989a). He asserted in *The Guardian*:

It is my hope that the leadership of China will have the wisdom to realise the true feelings of the Tibetan people and to have the strength and courage to rectify past mistakes. I urge for your personal intervention for bringing an immediate end to the repressive measures against innocent Tibetans and lifting of martial law in Lhasa. (Becker, 1989b)

The *Daily Express* also reported that he ‘urged world leaders to end Chinese “repression” in Tibet’ (‘Peace call to the Dalai Lama’, 1989). Accordingly, the newspapers presented the Dalai Lama’s opinion that the Chinese rule in Tibet had been oppressive and destructive of Tibetan civilisation, and he always advocated for China to find a peaceful solution to the Lhasa protests. Such indirect and direct quotes of the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader were treated as strong evidence to support the press’s view that China was the oppressor and Tibetans were the victims. More details will be revealed in Chapter 8.

Compared to the ‘supreme’ Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama was portrayed as the

‘puppet’ of the Chinese government during the early Cold War (see Chapter 5). The news coverage showed that the Tibetan people only respected and accepted the only Dalai Lama who is holy as their spiritual leader at that time. Because the 10th Panchen Lama died in January 1989, the British news articles were not able to quote his statements at this stage.

Lastly, compared to the early Cold War, the press used fewer sources from other countries to comment on China’s military action in 1989. As *The Guardian* indicated, ‘No country, in recent years, has been prepared to recognize Tibet as an independent state, and none would now be willing to endanger its ties with Peking to support the Tibetan cause’ (‘China’s hold on the halls’, 1989). Even though the international community admitted Tibet was a part of Chinese territory, the press reported that the US and the European Parliament were still opposed to China’s presence in Tibet. They primarily treated it as an ‘oppression’, which was not internationally accepted. They were concerned about Tibet’s situation and blamed China’s violent oppression (see Table 6.25 below). As *The Guardian* suggested, ‘the Senate condemned the use of violence against unarmed demonstrators and called for the lifting of restrictions on foreign reporters’ access to Tibet and the monitoring of human rights violations there’ (‘Beijing outraged by US calls on Tibet’, 1989). The US government was quoted in *The Times* as claiming that ‘While we recognise the right of a government to maintain order, we object to unwarranted use of lethal force’ (Anderson, 1989). *The Guardian* also reported that the British Government ‘finally broke free from the double standards which have been adopted by all Western governments since Mr. Nixon led the way in becoming a friend of China. [...] The Foreign Office was right to say clearly that there must be a dialogue between the “Chinese government and the Tibetan people, including the Dalai Lama”’ (‘Thunder in Tibet’, 1989).

Table 6.25 Newspaper headlines regarding international reactions to China's presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship and format during Lhasa Protest in 1989 (05.03.1989-05.04.1989)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers ((<i>The Guardian</i> , <i>The Sun</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Times</i> , <i>The Guardian</i> and <i>The Daily Telegraph</i>)	British ' concern ' on Tibet angers Peking (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , 16 March, 1989) Foreign eye needed in Tibet (<i>The Guardian</i> , 18 March, 1989) Beijing outraged by US calls on Tibet (<i>The Guardian</i> , 20 March, 1989)
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> and <i>The Sun</i>)	Brutal injustice that demands our action (<i>Daily Express</i> , 10 March, 1989)

In summary, when we look at representations of the Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama, there was no marked difference between the pro-Conservative and the pro-Labour newspapers, or between the broadsheets and the tabloids. On the one hand, they all presented a contrast between the two sides: the weak Tibetans and the peaceful Dalai Lama were oppressed by the violent and cruel Chinese. On the other hand, the Tibetan people were portrayed as actively resisting the Chinese.

Frame 3: The human rights frame

It was not until this period that human rights received any sustained coverage, with China's military action in Tibet being regarded as violations of 'human rights'. Even though the idea of 'human rights' did not appear as the main topic in the press, it was already being mentioned formally in a few news article headlines and news contents. For instance, *The Daily Telegraph* quoted Tibetans' statements that the political rights they have 'exist only on paper [...] Eating is not enough. We Tibetans have no rights, human rights. Chinese are people we are also people. We should be equal but we are not' (Dinmore & Kazer, 1989). The Dalai Lama was also quoted in the *Daily Mail* as claiming that world leaders could help to end the violence by persuading China to 'stop the continued violations of human rights' ('Chinese blast rioters', 1989).

Moreover, *The Guardian* covered the US government's condemnation of China and call for the lifting of restrictions on 'the monitoring of human rights violations' in Tibet ('Beijing outraged by US calls on Tibet', 1989). *The Daily Telegraph* pointed out that 'Western allegations of Chinese human rights violations in Tibet have also contrasted sharply with articles in the Soviet media strongly supporting Peking's policies in the troubled Himalayan region' (Luard, 1989h). However, *The Times* indicated the Chinese government's view of the riots as a law and order issue, 'not a question of human rights, religion or nationality' (Pomery, 1989a). As discussed above, newspapers sometimes raised the issue of 'human rights' and projected the human rights aspects of the Tibet issue, which did not happen during the early Cold War. Further examination will be presented in Chapter 7.

Summary

To review, there was little difference in the representations of the Tibet issue between the pro-Conservative and pro-Labour newspapers. They were unanimous in opposing China's presence in Tibet. Nevertheless, it was clear that the pro-Communist newspaper used a completely different way of interpreting the Tibet issue and carried less 'bad' news about China. This is what had happened in the past and it continued near the end of the Cold War. When the news stories of broadsheet newspapers and tabloid newspapers were compared, the broadsheets paid more attention to the Lhasa Protest in 1989, while the tabloids had less coverage of the protests in Tibet. Indeed, the results show that tabloid newspapers focused on domestic issues. However, there was no marked difference regarding news frames between the broadsheets and the tabloids.

Compared to the early Cold War, the research shows that the use of anti-Communist rhetoric (e.g. 'Red China' and 'Reds') in the news about Tibet had decreased. Even though the British press still criticised Communist China's military action in the news coverage, they no longer displayed China as the 'Red Menace', and

presented the views and political stances of the Chinese government more visibly than before. Moreover, the press not only depicted the Tibetan people as the victims of China's oppression, but also portrayed the Tibetans as actively fighting against the Chinese. Meanwhile, the Dalai Lama was more visible than before in the coverage. It is worth noting that near the end of the Cold War, human rights discourse of the Tibet issue was expected to have been on the increase. In fact, the concept of 'human rights' did not appear frequently in the news coverage although it had been formally mentioned in the newspaper headlines and in the news content. A more detailed discussion will be presented in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 7

The British Newspaper Coverage of Tibet During the Post-Cold War: The 2008 Tibetan Unrest

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the content analysis and qualitative frame analysis of the press coverage of the 2008 Lhasa Unrest. As with the previous research periods, the content analysis examines the prominence level of the issue in the news (front-page presence and average word count); types of news stories; the topics that emerged in the press coverage; and who spoke and what their political stance was on China and Tibet. As a supplementary method to the content analysis, a qualitative frame analysis was used to examine how the press framed the 2008 Lhasa Unrest with more in-depth context and background.

The 2008 Tibetan Unrest: quantitative results and discussion

On 10 March 2008, the date of the 49th anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising (see the 1959 Tibetan Uprising in Chapter 5), a group of monks demonstrated for the release of their fellow monks who had been detained as political prisoners by the Chinese authorities since the previous year (Roberts II & Roberts, 2009). When the police dispersed the monks, lay Tibetans gathered in support, and by 14 March 2008, the protests had turned into riots and spread throughout Lhasa (Hillman, 2016). Thousands of monks, nuns and ordinary Tibetans denounced the rule of the Chinese government (Guo, 2008), and some even called for independence. The Chinese government reacted swiftly, imposing curfews and strictly limiting access to the Tibetan area (Watts, 2008). The protests then spread to neighbouring ethnic Tibetan areas in Qinghai, Gansu and Sichuan provinces, and became the most widespread

unrest in Tibet since the founding of the PRC (Barnett, 2009). The riots drew a great deal of attention from international media (e.g. CNN and BBC) (Guo, 2008). In addition, China's crackdown contributed to the Beijing Olympics torch relay attracting protests by pro-Tibetan Independence and pro-Human Rights supporters around the world (Topgyal, 2016). This provoked counter-protests by Overseas Chinese, who accused the Western media of anti-Chinese bias.

A total of 410 news articles across the seven British newspapers were identified and analysed from 14 March 2008 to 14 April 2008. The number of these stories is shown in Table 7.1 below. On the whole, there were dramatically more news articles on Tibet in 2008 than during the Cold War. The reasons for this and further discussion are to be found in Chapter 8.

Table 7.1 Amount of coverage of Tibet by newspaper during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers	Total number of news articles
The Guardian	26.1% (n=107)
The Daily Telegraph	17.6% (n=72)
The Independent	15.4% (n=63)
Daily Mail	13.7% (n=56)
Daily Mirror	11.7% (n=48)
Morning Star	8.5% (n=35)
Daily Express	7.1% (n=29)
Total	100% (n=410)

When the British newspapers were divided along partisan lines, as we can see from Table 7.2 below, the Tibet issue received the most attention from the pro-Liberal Democrat newspapers (*The Guardian* and *The Independent*), with an average of 85 news articles per publication. The newspapers (*The Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express* and *Daily Mail*) that supported the Conservative Party followed. Comparatively, the pro-Labour *Daily Mirror* and the pro-Communist *Morning Star* showed less interest in the Tibet issue. The research shows that the pro-Conservative newspapers paid consistent attention to the Tibet issue from 1949 to 2009, and the pro-Liberal

Democrat newspapers paid more attention to Tibet than ever before.

Table 7.2 Amount of coverage of Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers	Total number of articles	Total newspapers in groups	Average number of articles per newspaper
Pro-Lib Dem	170	2	85.0
Pro-Conservative	157	3	52.3
Pro-Labour	48	1	48.0
Pro-Communist	35	1	35.0
Average/Total	410	7	55.1

When the press was classified by newspaper format, Table 7.3 below shows that between 14 March 2008 and 14 April 2008, an average of 121 news articles were published in the broadsheets (*The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent*). In contrast, each newspaper in the tabloids (*Daily Express*, *Daily Mail* and *Daily Mirror*) had an average of around 33 articles. Thus, in reporting the Tibet issue, the broadsheet newspapers had more coverage than tabloid newspapers.

Table 7.3 Amount of coverage of Tibet by newspaper format partisanship during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers	Total number of articles	Total newspapers in groups	Average number of articles per newspaper
Broadsheet	242	2	121.0
Tabloid	133	4	33.3
Average/Total	375	6	77.2

Front-page presence

In terms of the frequency of the prominence indicator, the front-page presence of the news stories, in total, there were just 4.4% or eighteen front-page articles across all newspapers referencing Tibet during this period (see Table 7.4 below). Moreover, there was no statistically significant difference regarding the front-page presence of articles on Tibet between newspapers along partisan lines in 2008.

Table 7.4 Amount of front-page coverage of Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers		Front page	Others	Total
Pro-Lib Dem	Count	11	159	170
	% within political stance of newspapers	6.5%	93.5%	100.0%
Pro-Conservative	Count	6	151	157
	% within political stance of newspapers	3.8%	96.2%	100.0%
Pro-Labour	Count	1	47	48
	% within political stance of newspapers	2.1%	97.9%	100.0%
Pro-Communist	Count	0	35	35
	% within political stance of newspapers	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	18	392	410
	% within political stance of newspapers	4.4%	95.6%	100.0%

$x^2 = 4.089$; d.f. = 3; $p > 0.05$

Table 7.5 below shows that the front-page presence differences between the broadsheets and the tabloids were statistically significant ($x^2 = 4.9$, $p < 0.05$). Broadsheet newspapers were more likely to place articles on front pages, with 6.6% of total broadsheet news articles, or sixteen articles. In comparison, the tabloids carried only 1.5% of their stories ($n=2$) on front pages.

Table 7.5 Amount of front-page coverage of Tibet by newspaper format during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers		Front page	Others	Total
Broadsheet	Count	16	226	242
	% within broadsheet	6.6%	93.4%	100.0%
Tabloid	Count	2	131	133
	% within tabloid	1.5%	98.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	18	357	375
	% within broadsheet and tabloid	4.8%	95.2%	100.0%

$x^2 = 4.9$; d.f. = 1; $p < 0.05$

As noted above, the front-page presence mainly shows statistically significant differences between the broadsheets and the tabloids. The reasons for this and further discussion will be presented in Chapter 8.

Average word count

The other indicator of how salient the stories were in the newspapers was the amount of space devoted to the Tibet issue. On the whole, the average length of stories on Tibet is shown in Table 7.6 below as around 400 words, which were slightly longer than the stories during the Cold War. Additionally, the one-way ANOVA suggests statistically significant differences of the average length of news articles between newspapers along partisan lines ($F_{3, 406} = 21.992$, $p < 0.05$). Specifically, the pro-Liberal Democrat newspapers produced the longest stories on Tibet on average, reaching around 521 words. In contrast, the pro-Communist and pro-Conservative newspapers had a slightly less than average word count with fewer than 400 words per news article. The pro-Labour newspapers had the lowest average word count with just over 154 words per article.

Table 7.6 Average word count of articles by newspaper partisanship during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers	Average number of words per article
Pro-Lib Dem	521.37
Pro-Communist	374.14
Pro-Conservative	350.11
Pro-Labour	154.50
Average	400.27

$$F(3, 406) = 21.992; p < 0.05$$

As can be seen from Table 7.7 below, with regard to the average length of news articles, there were also statistically significant differences between broadsheet newspapers and tabloid newspapers ($t = 8.17$, $p < 0.05$). The broadsheets had over 491 words per article while the tabloids had over 240 words per article. Therefore, broadsheet newspapers had more words per article referencing the topic of Tibet than tabloid newspapers.

Table 7.7 Average word count of articles by newspaper format during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers	Average number of words per article
Broadsheet	491.67
Tabloid	240.85
Average	402.71

$t = 8.17$; d.f. = 312.832; $p < 0.05$

In summary, there was a mixed picture from the two indicators of the prominence level: the front-page presence and the average news article length. On the one hand, the front-page presence only shows a statistically significant difference between the broadsheets and the tabloids. On the other hand, the average news article length reflects that there were substantial differences based on both newspaper partisanship and format. More precisely, the pro-Liberal Democrat newspapers, and the broadsheets tended to have longer articles than the other newspapers, indicating that they were perhaps more likely to analyse the Tibet issue and explore detailed background material. Therefore, the broadsheets paid more attention to Tibet and reported the event in more detail than the tabloids. Further discussion will be presented in following sections.

Types of news stories

As indicated by Table 7.8 below, on the whole, a greater variety of types of news stories on Tibet (e.g. features, sport and letters to the editor) appeared in the post-Cold War period than in the Cold War. More specifically, news was still the top reportage category, which accounted for over 53% of total articles ($n=237$). Around 23% of Tibet stories were letters to the editor ($n=95$) and 12% of items were editorials or commentaries, highlighting the significant role being played by opinion writers in contributing to community understanding and debates about Tibet. The reportage categories of sport and features followed.

In addition, the chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 59.253$, $p < 0.05$) suggests statistically

significant differences of types of news stories between newspapers according to their political leanings. Specifically, the pro-Communist newspaper had more letters to the editor than the other newspapers. Feature stories were also more evident in the pro-Communist newspaper, indicating that it probably provided potential for more in-depth coverage of Tibet, being independent of the international news agenda.

Besides, the pro-Liberal Democrat newspapers had more editorials or commentaries than the other publications, with 18.2% of total articles of the pro-Liberal Democrat newspapers (n=31).

As discussed above, the pro-Liberal Democrat newspapers gave more ‘colour’ to coverage by verbalizing their opinions, while the pro-Communist newspaper paid greater attention to more in-depth coverage of Tibet and a certain amount of public engagement.

Table 7.8 Types of news stories on Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers	Letters to Editor/Commentary						Total
	News	the editor	mentary	Sport	Features	Other	
Pro-Lib Dem	103	21	31	11	3	1	170
	60.6%	12.4%	18.2%	6.5%	1.8%	0.6%	100.0%
Pro-Conservative	84	44	13	11	4	1	157
	53.5%	28.0%	8.3%	7.0%	2.5%	0.6%	100.0%
Pro-Labour	21	17	4	1	5	0	48
	43.8%	35.4%	8.3%	2.1%	10.4%	0.0%	100.0%
Pro-Communist	12	13	1	2	7	0	35
	34.3%	37.1%	2.9%	5.7%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	220	95	49	25	19	2	410
	53.7%	23.2%	12.0%	6.1%	4.6%	0.5%	100.0%

$$x^2 = 59.253; \text{ d.f.} = 15; p < 0.05$$

When types of news stories were examined between the broadsheets and the tabloids, differences were again statistically significant ($x^2 = 52.674$, $p < 0.05$) (see Table 7.9 below). Most editorial or commentary articles about Tibet were carried in broadsheet newspapers (16.9% of total broadsheet news articles, n=41).

Comparatively, even though the tabloids had few editorials or commentaries, they had a higher proportion of letters to the editor. Thus, the results show that the broadsheets tended to show more views on the Tibet issue while the tabloids focused more on human interest stories rather than political reporting.

Table 7.9 Types of news stories on Tibet by newspaper format during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers	Letters to		Editorial/co		Sport	Features	Other	Total
	News	the editor	mmentary					
Broadsheet	144	29	41	21	5	2	242	
	59.5%	12.0%	16.9%	8.7%	2.1%	0.8%	100.0%	
Tabloid	64	53	7	2	7	0	133	
	48.1%	39.8%	5.3%	1.5%	5.3%	0.0%	100.0%	
Total	208	82	48	23	12	2	375	
	55.5%	21.9%	12.8%	6.1%	3.2%	0.5%	100.0%	

$$x^2 = 52.674; \text{ d.f.} = 5; p < 0.05$$

The next section explores how the different topics appeared across the British newspapers according to newspaper partisanship and newspaper format.

Topics

This section examines how Tibet was framed in terms of the topics¹ that were used in newspaper stories from 14 March 2008 to 14 April 2008. As we can see from Table 7.10 below, the most common topic of the newspapers was ‘the Olympics (Torch Relay)/Sports’, at 23.3% (of total topics, n=251). Over 13% of total topics (n=146) was on ‘China’s control/suppression’. The topics of ‘Tibetans’ resistances/protests’ (12.4% of total topics, n=133) and ‘human rights’ (8.9% of total topics, n=96) followed. The remaining topics with more than 5% were ‘other views’, ‘UK’s views’ and ‘other topics’. A few examples of topics included in the category of ‘other views’ were ‘US’s views’, ‘Australia’s views’, ‘France’s views’ and ‘Kenya’s views’. The

¹ The category of topics is based on multiple-response variables (Topic1, Topic 2 and Topic 3 have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

examples of the topics contained in the ‘other topics’ category were ‘the relationship between China and Tibet in history’, ‘China’s development in Tibet’ and ‘introduction of the Dalai Lama’. Individually, these topics reached less than 2% of total topics. For full results of these topics refer to Appendix 1.

In brief, compared to the time of the Cold War, the British newspapers reported the Tibet issue from various angles in 2008. The press was not only concerned about the topics related to China and Tibetans as always, but also paid attention to the topics of ‘the Olympics (Torch Relay)/sports’ and to ‘human rights’ more than ever before. At first glance, the Tibet issue might appear to be less than relevant in the Olympic Torch Relay or sport articles, but there was significant coverage within sport covering human rights issues in Tibet. The British newspaper coverage of Tibet also showed more concern about the topics related to the other countries (especially the UK). These issues will be expanded upon in the sections of qualitative frame analysis later in this chapter.

Table 7.10 Distribution of topics in coverage of Tibet during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Topics	Total
The Olympics (Torch Relay)/Sports	23.3% (n=251)
China's control/suppression	13.6% (n=146)
Tibetans' resistances/protests	12.4% (n=133)
Human rights	8.9% (n=96)
Other views	6.2% (n=67)
UK's views	5.7% (n=61)
Other topics	5.2% (n=56)
China's views	4.2% (n=45)
Other actions	4.0% (n=43)
Other policies	3.9% (n=42)
UK's policies	3.8% (n=41)
China's policies	3.6% (n=39)
UK's actions	3.0% (n=32)
The Dalai Lama's views	2.2% (n=24)
Total	100.0% (n=1076)

Topics by newspaper partisanship

For topics of news articles, as detailed in Table 7.11 below, there were differences between newspapers based on their political allegiances. In 2008, the most common topic found in the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal Democrat and pro-Labour newspapers was ‘the Olympics (Torch Relay)/Sports’, which was usually reported in combination with the subject of ‘human rights’. This topic was not at all common in the pro-Communist newspaper, which tended to focus more on ‘other topics’, especially ‘the relationship between China and Tibet in history’ and ‘China’s development in Tibet’. These results reveal that the pro-Communist newspaper covered Tibet through an angle that was supportive of China’s presence in Tibet, different from the other newspapers’ opposition to China. These views will be further examined in the following sections.

Table 7.11 The number of topics in coverage of Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Topics	Pro-Conservative			Pro-Communist
	Pro-Conservative	Pro-Lib Dem	Pro-Labour	Pro-Communist
The Olympics (Torch Relay)/Sports	25.4% (n=106)	22.3% (n=100)	27.6% (n=34)	12.6% (n=11)
China’s control/suppression	15.1% (n=63)	12.5% (n=56)	13.0% (n=16)	12.6% (n=11)
Tibetans’ resistances/protests	10.8% (n=45)	14.5% (n=65)	8.9% (n=13)	13.8% (n=12)
Human rights	7.9% (n=33)	14.6% (n=38)	8.5% (n=18)	8.0% (n=7)
UK’s views	6.5% (n=27)	4.9% (n=22)	5.7% (n=7)	5.7% (n=5)
Other views	5.3% (n=22)	8.0% (n=36)	1.6% (n=2)	8.0% (n=7)
UK’s policies	5.3% (n=22)	2.9% (n=13)	4.9% (n=6)	0.0% (n=0)
China’s views	4.8% (n=20)	3.6% (n=16)	4.1% (n=5)	4.6% (n=4)
UK’s actions	4.1% (n=17)	1.6% (n=7)	5.7% (n=7)	1.1% (n=1)
Other actions	4.3% (n=18)	3.1% (n=14)	5.7% (n=7)	4.6% (n=4)
Other policies	3.3% (n=14)	5.4% (n=24)	2.4% (n=3)	1.1% (n=1)
China’s policies	3.1% (n=13)	5.1% (n=23)	1.6% (n=2)	1.1% (n=1)
Other topics	2.6% (n=11)	4.7% (n=21)	2.4% (n=3)	24.1% (n=21)
The Dalai Lama’s views	1.7% (n=7)	2.9% (n=13)	1.6% (n=2)	2.3% (n=2)
Total	100% (n=418)	100% (n=448)	100% (n=123)	100% (n=87)

Topics by newspaper format

This section analyses topics of news stories by newspaper format in 2008 (see Table 7.12 below). Regarding dominant topics in broadsheet newspapers, 22.6% of their total topics portray ‘the Olympics (Torch Relay)/Sports’ (n=145), followed by ‘Tibetans resistances/protests’ (13.7% within broadsheets, n=88), ‘China’s control/suppression’ (12.9% within broadsheets, n=83), ‘human rights’ (7.6% within broadsheets, n=49) and ‘other views’ (7.6% within broadsheets, n=49). By comparison, there were moderately more topics of ‘the Olympics (Torch Relay)/Sports’ (24.4% within tabloids, n=106), ‘China’s control/suppression’ (14.5% within tabloids, n=63) and ‘human rights’ (10.8% within tabloids, n=47), but slightly fewer ‘Tibetans’ resistances/protests’ and ‘other views’ in tabloid newspapers. Indeed, the study shows there was no substantial difference regarding topics between the broadsheets and the tabloids. The next section will show which sources were prominent in the news stories on Tibet and what their political stance was.

Table 7.12 The number of topics in coverage of Tibet by newspaper format during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Topics	Broadsheet	Tabloid
The Olympics (Torch Relay)/Sports	22.6% (n=145)	27.4% (n=95)
Tibetans’ resistances/protests	13.7% (n=88)	9.5% (n=33)
China’s control/suppression	12.9% (n=83)	15.0% (n=52)
Human rights	7.6% (n=49)	11.5% (n=40)
Other views	7.6% (n=49)	3.2% (n=11)
UK’s views	5.6% (n=36)	5.8% (n=20)
China’s policies	5.0% (n=32)	1.7% (n=6)
Other policies	4.8% (n=31)	2.9% (n=10)
China’s views	4.5% (n=29)	3.5% (n=12)
Other topics	4.0% (n=26)	2.6% (n=9)
UK’s policies	3.6% (n=23)	5.2% (n=18)
Other actions	3.0% (n=19)	5.8% (n=20)
The Dalai Lama’s views	3.0% (n=19)	0.9% (n=3)
UK’s actions	2.0% (n=13)	5.2% (n=18)
Total	100% (n=642)	100% (n=347)

Who spoke on Tibet and what their political stance was?

This section is divided into three parts: the analysis of the overall distribution of sources and the sources' political stance towards China and Tibet; analysis of source and source stance along partisan lines; and examination of source and source stance by newspaper format.

Overall sources and their stance on China and Tibet

Before exploring how the different sources² were distributed in the news between 14 March 2008 and 14 April 2008, it is helpful to learn the percentage of sourced to unsourced material contained in the newspaper stories examined. The comparison found that material either directly or indirectly quoted by sources was around 73% of all the newspaper stories (n=300) with unsourced material comprising the other 27% (n=110). This equals a ratio of 2.7:1 of sourced to unsourced material. The results of the distribution of sources are shown in Table 7.13 below. The five major sources cited across the seven British newspapers were government (34.6% of total sources, n=282), non-governmental organisations (17.5% of total sources, n=143), the general public (11% of total sources, n=90), politicians/political groups (10.8% of total sources, n=88) and media/journalist (9.8% of total sources, n=80). The more detailed analysis of dominant sources will be presented in the following sections.

First, as shown in Table 7.13, China's government (13.5% of total sources, n=110) had the largest percentage of all government sources. It is worth noting that UK's government and US's government were quoted as sources more frequently than in earlier periods.

Second, the category of non-governmental organisations was more widely utilised in the stories than previously, and Olympic Committee had the largest percentage, accounting for 7.9% of total sources (n=64). Tibet Support Groups and Human Rights NGOs followed.

² The category of sources is based on multiple-response variables (Source 1, Source 2, Source3 and Source 4 have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

**Table 7.13 Distribution of sources during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest
(14.03.2008-14.04.2008)**

Sources	Total
Government	
China's government	13.5% (n=110)
UK's government	9.1% (n=74)
Other government	6.0% (n=49)
US's government	3.6% (n=29)
The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	2.5% (n=20)
Total	34.6% (n=282)
Non-governmental organisations	
Olympic Committee	7.9% (n=64)
Tibet Support Groups	5.6% (n=46)
Human Rights NGO	3.8% (n=31)
Other NGO	0.2% (n=2)
Total	17.5% (n=143)
The general public	
Demonstrators/campaigners/protestors/activists	4.2% (n=34)
Residents	3.6% (n=29)
Observers/witnesses/travellers	2.6% (n=21)
The general public other	0.7% (n=6)
Total	11.0% (n=90)
Politicians/political groups	
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	6.6% (n=54)
UK's politicians/political groups	2.3% (n=19)
Other politicians/political groups	1.8% (n=15)
Total	10.8% (n=88)
Media/journalist	
China's media/journalist	4.4% (n=36)
UK's media/journalist	2.7% (n=22)
Other media/journalist	2.7% (n=22)
Total	9.8% (n=80)
Experts	5.6% (n=46)
Other	3.4% (n=28)
Sports person/organisations	2.3% (n=19)
Religious figures/organisations	1.7% (n=14)
Intergovernmental organisations	1.6% (n=13)
Artists/arts organisations	1.5% (n=12)
Total	100.0% (n=815)

Third, the general public and the Dalai Lama/those close to him (i.e. his spokespersons or relatives) were quoted more often than in the early Cold War period. However, unofficial/unconfirmed sources were no longer used as sources in this period, which will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

Finally, although media/journalist was still quoted as one of the main sources in 2008, it was not as prominent in the news articles as before. Except for the main sources, the British press used other sources (e.g. experts, artists/arts organisations, intergovernmental organisations etc.) more frequently than during the Cold War. These results will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Source stance towards China. In general, Table 7.14 below illustrates that 47.5% (n=387) of all cited sources had a neutral position on China's presence in Tibet³. The next largest group of source citations opposed China, at 33.7% (n=275) of all citations. Source citations in favour of China's presence reached just 18.8% (n=153) of all citations.

More precisely, the citations from China's government (10.1% of all citations, n=82) were obviously the most in favour of China's presence in Tibet. No news source type had anti-China source citations above 5%. Tibet Support Groups (4% of all citations, n=33), and the Dalai Lama or those close to him (3.8% of all citations, n=31) were the most likely to have citations opposing China. In addition, Olympic Committee (6.6% of all citations, n=54) had the largest percentage of citations displaying a neutral position. The UK's government (6.5% of all citations, n=53) was the next group most likely to have citations with a neutral position towards China.

³ The category of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet is based on multiple-response variables (Source Stance 1, Source Stance 2, Source Stance 3 and Source Stance 4 towards China's presence in Tibet have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

Table 7.14 Source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by source type during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Sources	Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral	Total
China's government	10.1% (n=82)	0.0% (n=0)	3.4% (n=28)	13.5% (n=110)
China's media/journalist	2.7% (n=22)	0.0% (n=0)	1.7% (n=14)	4.4% (n=36)
The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	2.5% (n=20)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	2.5% (n=20)
Other	0.6% (n=5)	0.9% (n=7)	1.9% (n=16)	3.4% (n=28)
UK's media/journalist	0.4% (n=3)	1.1% (n=9)	1.2% (n=10)	2.7% (n=22)
Olympic Committee	0.4% (n=3)	0.9% (n=7)	6.6% (n=54)	7.9% (n=64)
Other media/journalist	0.4% (n=3)	0.4% (n=3)	2.0% (n=16)	2.7% (n=22)
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	0.2% (n=2)	3.8% (n=31)	2.6% (n=21)	6.6% (n=54)
Residents	0.2% (n=2)	1.0% (n=8)	2.3% (n=19)	3.6% (n=29)
Sports person/organisations	0.2% (n=2)	0.4% (n=3)	1.7% (n=14)	2.3% (n=19)
The general public other	0.2% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=4)	0.7% (n=6)
Other government	0.1% (n=1)	3.1% (n=25)	2.8% (n=23)	6.0% (n=49)
Demonstrators/campaigners/pr otestors/activists	0.1% (n=1)	2.9% (n=24)	1.1% (n=9)	4.2% (n=34)
Human Rights NGO	0.1% (n=1)	2.8% (n=23)	0.9% (n=7)	3.8% (n=31)
Experts	0.1% (n=1)	2.5% (n=20)	3.1% (n=25)	5.6% (n=46)
Other politicians/political groups	0.1% (n=1)	1.5% (n=12)	0.2% (n=2)	1.8% (n=15)
Observers/witnesses/travellers	0.1% (n=1)	0.1% (n=1)	2.3% (n=19)	2.6% (n=21)
Other NGO	0.1% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.1% (n=1)	0.2% (n=2)
Tibet Support Groups	0.0% (n=0)	4.0% (n=33)	1.6% (n=13)	5.6% (n=46)
UK's government	0.0% (n=0)	2.6% (n=21)	6.5% (n=53)	9.1% (n=74)
US's government	0.0% (n=0)	1.6% (n=13)	2.0% (n=16)	3.6% (n=29)
UK's politicians/political groups	0.0% (n=0)	1.2% (n=10)	1.1% (n=9)	2.3% (n=19)
Religious figures/organisations	0.0% (n=0)	1.2% (n=10)	0.5% (n=4)	1.7% (n=14)
Artists/arts organisations	0.0% (n=0)	1.2% (n=10)	0.2% (n=2)	1.5% (n=12)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=5)	1.0% (n=8)	1.6% (n=13)
Total	18.8% (n=153)	33.7% (n=275)	47.5% (n=387)	100.0% (n=815)

Source stance towards Tibet. Table 7.15 below shows that 58.2% of all cited

sources (n=474) had a neutral position on Tibet's independence⁴.

Table 7.15 Source stance towards Tibet's independence by source type during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Sources	Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Tibet Support Groups	4.0% (n=33)	0.0% (n=0)	1.6% (n=13)	5.6% (n=46)
Demonstrators/campaigners/pr otestors/activists	2.8% (n=23)	0.1% (n=1)	1.2% (n=10)	4.2% (n=34)
Human Rights NGO	1.3% (n=11)	0.1% (n=1)	2.3% (n=19)	3.8% (n=31)
Experts	1.2% (n=10)	0.0% (n=0)	4.4% (n=36)	5.6% (n=46)
Artists/arts organisations	1.1% (n=9)	0.0% (n=0)	0.4% (n=3)	1.5% (n=12)
Residents	0.9% (n=7)	0.6% (n=5)	2.1% (n=17)	3.6% (n=29)
Religious figures/organisations	0.9% (n=7)	0.1% (n=1)	0.7% (n=6)	1.7% (n=14)
UK's politicians/political groups	0.7% (n=6)	0.1% (n=1)	1.5% (n=12)	2.3% (n=19)
Other politicians/political groups	0.7% (n=6)	0.1% (n=1)	1.0% (n=8)	1.8% (n=15)
US's government	0.7% (n=6)	0.0% (n=0)	2.8% (n=23)	3.6% (n=29)
UK's government	0.6% (n=5)	1.6% (n=13)	6.9% (n=56)	9.1% (n=74)
Other government	1.5% (n=12)	0.4% (n=3)	4.2% (n=34)	6.0% (n=49)
Intergovernmental organisations	0.5% (n=4)	0.1% (n=1)	1.0% (n=8)	1.6% (n=13)
UK's media/journalist	0.4% (n=3)	0.5% (n=4)	1.8% (n=15)	2.7% (n=22)
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	0.1% (n=1)	2.1% (n=17)	4.4% (n=36)	6.6% (n=54)
Other	0.1% (n=1)	0.6% (n=5)	2.7% (n=22)	3.4% (n=28)
Sports person/organisations	0.1% (n=1)	0.4% (n=3)	1.8% (n=15)	2.3% (n=19)
China's government	0.0% (n=0)	9.9% (n=81)	3.6% (n=29)	13.5% (n=110)
China's media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	2.7% (n=22)	1.7% (n=14)	4.4% (n=36)
The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	0.0% (n=0)	2.5% (n=20)	0.0% (n=0)	2.5% (n=20)
Olympic Committee	0.0% (n=0)	1.2% (n=10)	6.6% (n=54)	7.9% (n=64)
The general public other	0.0% (n=0)	0.2% (n=2)	0.5% (n=4)	0.7% (n=6)
Other media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=4)	2.2% (n=18)	2.7% (n=22)
Other NGO	0.0% (n=0)	0.1% (n=1)	0.1% (n=1)	0.2% (n=2)
Observers/witnesses/travellers	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	2.6% (n=21)	2.6% (n=21)
Total	17.8% (n=145)	24.0% (n=196)	58.2% (n=474)	100% (n=815)

⁴ The category of source stance towards Tibet's independence is based on multiple-response variables (Source Stance 1, Source Stance 2, Source Stance 3 and Source Stance 4 towards Tibet's independence have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

The second largest group of source citations opposed Tibet's independence, at 24% of all citations (n=196). In contrast, source citations in favour of Tibet's independence had just 17.8% of all citations (n=145).

Specifically, the news source with the majority of negative citations towards Tibet's independence was China's government. Tibet Support Groups (4% of all citations, n=33) was the most likely to have citations supporting Tibet. Moreover, the majority of citations had a neutral position on Tibet's independence, with the UK's government (6.9% of all citations, n=56) and Olympic Committee (6.6% of all citations, n=54) having the largest number of such citations.

The following sections attempt to establish the similarities and differences between newspapers along partisan lines and by newspaper formats in terms of sources and their political stance on China and Tibet.

Sources and their stance by newspaper partisanship

This section analyses the relationship between the dominant sources and newspaper partisanship (see Table 7.16 below). For the frequency of the category of government by newspaper partisanship, on the whole, the results show that the pro-Labour newspapers had the highest percentage (46.3% within the pro-Labour newspapers, n=19). Meanwhile, the source of the UK's government was more evident in the pro-Labour newspapers (22% within the pro-Labour newspapers, n=9) than in the other publications. This was probably because the Labour Party was in power in the UK in 2008. Furthermore, the research shows that China's government, combined with the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region (ruled by the Communist Party of China), were quoted as sources more frequently in the pro-Communist newspaper than in the other publications. This might be because the pro-Communist newspaper supported China's presence in Tibet.

Table 7.16 The number of sources by newspaper partisanship during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Sources	Pro-Conservative	Pro-Lib Dem	Pro-Labour	Pro-Communist
Government				
China's government	13.7% (n=40)	11.7% (n=49)	19.5% (n=8)	20.6% (n=13)
UK's government	11.0% (n=32)	7.4% (n=31)	22.0% (n=9)	3.2% (n=2)
Other government	8.2% (n=24)	5.3% (n=22)	2.4% (n=1)	3.2% (n=2)
US's government	2.7% (n=8)	4.3% (n=18)	2.4% (n=1)	3.2% (n=2)
The government of the Tibet	1.4% (n=4)	2.9% (n=12)	0.0% (n=0)	6.3% (n=4)
Autonomous Region				
Total	37.0% (n=108)	31.5% (n=132)	46.3% (n=19)	36.5% (n=23)
Non-governmental organisations				
Olympic Committee	10.6% (n=31)	6.9% (n=29)	2.4% (n=1)	4.8% (n=3)
Tibet Support Groups	4.1% (n=12)	7.2% (n=30)	7.3% (n=3)	1.6% (n=1)
Human Rights NGO	1.4% (n=4)	5.5% (n=23)	4.9% (n=2)	3.2% (n=2)
Other NGO	0.0% (n=0)	0.2% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	1.6% (n=1)
Total	16.1% (n=47)	19.8% (n=83)	14.6% (n=6)	11.1% (n=7)
The general public				
Demonstrators/campaigners/protestors	3.4% (n=10)	4.3% (n=18)	2.4% (n=1)	7.9% (n=5)
Residents	3.1% (n=9)	3.8% (n=16)	4.9% (n=2)	3.2% (n=2)
Observers/witnesses/travellers	3.1% (n=9)	2.4% (n=10)	4.9% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
The general public other	0.3% (n=1)	1.2% (n=5)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	9.9% (n=29)	11.7% (n=49)	12.2% (n=5)	11.1% (n=7)
Politicians/political groups				
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	6.5% (n=19)	6.7% (n=28)	4.9% (n=2)	7.9% (n=5)
UK's politicians/political groups	3.4% (n=10)	1.9% (n=8)	2.4% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Other politicians/political groups	1.7% (n=5)	1.9% (n=8)	0.0% (n=0)	3.2% (n=2)
Total	11.6% (n=34)	10.5% (n=44)	7.3% (n=3)	11.1% (n=7)
Media/journalist				
China's media/journalist	4.1% (n=12)	5.3% (n=22)	0.0% (n=0)	3.2% (n=2)
UK's media/journalist	2.1% (n=6)	2.1% (n=9)	4.9% (n=2)	7.9% (n=5)
Other media/journalist	2.1% (n=6)	2.4% (n=13)	2.4% (n=1)	3.2% (n=2)
Total	8.2% (n=24)	10.5% (n=44)	7.3% (n=3)	14.3% (n=9)
Experts	7.5% (n=22)	3.6% (n=15)	4.9% (n=2)	11.1% (n=7)
Other	3.4% (n=10)	4.1% (n=17)	0.0% (n=0)	1.6% (n=1)
Sports person/organisations	3.4% (n=10)	1.9% (n=8)	2.4% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Religious figures/organisations	0.7% (n=2)	2.6% (n=11)	2.4% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Intergovernmental organisations	1.0% (n=3)	1.9% (n=8)	0.0% (n=0)	3.2% (n=2)
Artists/arts organisations	1.0% (n=3)	1.9% (n=8)	2.4% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	100% (n=292)	100% (n=419)	100% (n=41)	100% (n=63)

The category of non-governmental organisations (e.g. Tibet Support Groups) was quoted more frequently in the pro-Liberal Democrat and pro-Conservative newspapers than in the other press. This might be because the non-governmental organisations could advocate the ideology of the Liberal Democrat and the Conservative Parties – strongly supporting human freedom. However, the pro-Communist newspaper gave no attention to these sources, which were usually opposed to China’s presence in Tibet.

As can be seen from Table 7.17 below, the largest group of source citations in favour of China was in the pro-Communist newspaper, at over 36% (within the pro-Communist newspaper, n=23). In addition, although the pro-Communist newspaper had some anti-China source citations, which had not occurred before, it had the smallest amount of these citations.

Table 7.17 Amount of source stance towards China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers		Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral	Total
Pro-Communist	Count	23	15	25	63
	% within political stance of newspapers	36.5%	23.8%	39.7%	100.0%
Pro-Lib Dem	Count	76	142	201	419
	% within political stance of newspapers	18.1%	33.9%	48.0%	100.0%
Pro-Conservative	Count	48	100	144	292
	% within political stance of newspapers	16.4%	34.2%	49.3%	100.0%
Pro-Labour	Count	6	18	17	41
	% within political stance of newspapers	14.6%	43.9%	41.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	153	275	387	815
	% within political stance of newspapers	18.8%	33.7%	47.5%	100.0%

The relationship between source stance towards Tibet’s independence and newspaper partisanship is shown in Table 7.18 below. The positive tone towards

Tibet was the least evident amongst the news sources used in the pro-Communist newspaper. Correspondingly, the pro-Communist newspaper had the largest number of sources against Tibet's independence.

Table 7.18 Amount of source stance towards Tibet's independence by newspaper partisanship during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers		Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Pro-Labour	Count	11	10	20	41
	% within political stance of newspapers	26.8%	24.4%	48.8%	100.0%
	<hr/>				
Pro-Conservative	Count	53	60	179	292
	% within political stance of newspapers	18.2%	20.5%	61.3%	100.0%
	<hr/>				
Pro-Lib Dem	Count	75	101	243	419
	% within political stance of newspapers	17.9%	24.1%	58.0%	100.0%
	<hr/>				
Pro-Communist	Count	6	25	32	63
	% within political stance of newspapers	9.5%	39.7%	50.8%	100.0%
	<hr/>				
Total	Count	145	196	474	815
	% within political stance of newspapers	17.8%	24.0%	58.2%	100%
	<hr/>				

As mentioned above, all the results principally show the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal Democrat and pro-Labour newspapers to be ideologically opposed to China's presence in Tibet. In contrast, as an outlier, the pro-Communist newspaper supported China and opposed Tibet's independence, which was the same as in previous periods. This view will be further examined later in this chapter.

Sources and their stance by newspaper format

In terms of the dominant sources used in the news stories on Tibet, there were differences between the broadsheets and the tabloids (see Table 7.19 below).

Table 7.19 The number of sources by newspaper format during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Sources	Broadsheet	Tabloid
Government		
China's government	12.1% (n=71)	15.7% (n=26)
UK's government	8.0% (n=47)	15.1% (n=25)
Other government	5.3% (n=31)	9.6% (n=16)
US's government	3.6% (n=21)	3.6% (n=6)
The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	2.6% (n=15)	0.6% (n=1)
Total	31.6% (n=185)	44.6% (n=74)
Non-governmental organisations		
Olympic Committee	8.7% (n=51)	6.0% (n=10)
Tibet Support Groups	6.7% (n=39)	3.6% (n=6)
Human Rights NGO	4.4% (n=26)	1.8% (n=3)
Other NGO	0.2% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	20.0% (n=117)	11.4% (n=19)
The general public		
Demonstrators /protestors/activists	3.9% (n=23)	3.6% (n=6)
Residents	3.6% (n=21)	3.6% (n=6)
Observers/witnesses/travellers	2.4% (n=14)	4.2% (n=7)
The general public other	1.0% (n=6)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	10.9% (n=64)	11.4% (n=19)
Politicians/political groups		
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	6.8% (n=40)	5.4% (n=9)
UK's politicians/political groups	1.9% (n=11)	4.8% (n=8)
Other politicians/political groups	1.5% (n=9)	2.4% (n=4)
Total	10.2% (n=60)	12.7% (n=21)
Media/journalist		
China's media/journalist	5.1% (n=30)	2.4% (n=4)
UK's media/journalist	1.9% (n=11)	3.6% (n=6)
Other media/journalist	3.1% (n=18)	1.2% (n=2)
Total	10.1% (n=59)	7.2% (n=12)
Experts	4.4% (n=26)	7.8% (n=13)
Sports person/organisations	2.7% (n=16)	1.8% (n=3)
Religious figures/organisations	2.2% (n=13)	0.6% (n=1)
Intergovernmental organisations	1.7% (n=10)	0.6% (n=1)
Artists/arts organisations	1.5% (n=9)	1.8% (n=3)
Other	4.6% (n=27)	0.0% (n=0)
Total	100% (n=586)	100% (n=166)

First, the dominant source of tabloid newspapers was government officials, accounting for 42.4% of the tabloid total sources (n=97), this compared to 31.6% of the broadsheet total sources (n=185). The tabloids also had slightly more sources from the general public and politicians/political groups than the broadsheets.

Moreover, when comparing broadsheet newspapers to tabloid newspapers in regard to the use of NGO representatives, it is clear that the broadsheets paid more attention to these sources than the tabloids. This result would give the Tibet issue an even more detailed picture of where NGOs achieve success or otherwise in getting Tibet on to the news agenda. This view will be further examined later in this chapter.

To summarise, news production factors such as government officials, politicians/political groups and NGO representatives can perhaps be relied upon to secure efficient, reliable and routine sources of news and viewpoints for both the broadsheets and the tabloids, and are regarded as authoritative and relatively objective. The broadsheets probably used the reports of NGOs, such as Human Rights NGOs, more frequently, to create awareness about some particular aspects of the Tibet issue. Compared to the broadsheets, tabloid newspapers used a narrower range of sources and still mainly quoted the authoritative and objective sources, even more than the broadsheets. Meanwhile, the general public was also quoted more frequently by tabloid newspapers in order to flesh out the story by including voices 'on the ground'. There will be further discussion of these points in Chapter 8.

For source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by newspaper format (see Table 7.20 below), broadsheet newspapers (18.6% within the broadsheets, n=109) had more positive source citations towards China than tabloid newspapers (12.7% within the tabloids, n=21). When dealing with negative source citations towards China, the tabloids (42.2% within the tabloids, n=70) had more than the broadsheets (32.4% within the broadsheets, n=190).

Table 7.20 Amount of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet by newspaper format during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers		Pro-Chin			Total
		a	Anti-China	Neutral	
Broadsheet	Count	109	190	287	586
	% within broadsheet	18.6%	32.4%	49.0%	100%
Tabloid	Count	21	70	75	166
	% within tabloid	12.7%	42.2%	45.2%	100%
Total	Count	130	260	362	752
	% within broadsheet	17.3%	34.6%	48.1%	100%
	and tabloid				

As for source stance towards Tibet's independence by newspaper format, Table 7.21 below indicates that the pro-Tibet source citations featured more prominently in tabloid stories, while the anti-Tibet source citations featured more prominently in broadsheet stories.

The research reveals that tabloid newspapers utilised more negative source citations towards China's presence in Tibet but fewer negative source citations towards Tibet's independence to draw readers' attention to the Tibet issue. Compared to the tabloids, the broadsheets consistently preferred to represent the Tibet issue neutrally, and used more pro-China source citations, as well as fewer pro-Tibet source citations.

Table 7.21 Amount of source stance towards Tibet's independence by newspaper format during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspapers		Pro-Tibet	Anti-Tibet	Neutral	Total
Tabloid	Count	41	29	96	166
	% within tabloid	24.7%	17.5%	57.8%	100.0%
Broadsheet	Count	98	142	346	586
	% within broadsheet	16.7%	24.2%	59.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	139	171	442	752
	% within broadsheet	18.5%	22.7%	58.8%	100.0%
	and tabloid				

In summary, the results of the content analysis reveal that there were some

differences in terms of covering patterns between newspapers by partisanship in the news stories on Tibet in 2008. In addition, the variables of topics, sources and source stance reflect that the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal Democrat and pro-Labour newspapers represented the Tibet issue mainly through an anti-China consensus. In contrast, the pro-Communist newspaper continued to report the event from the pro-China angle. When the British newspapers were divided by newspaper format, the results of the content analysis show some differences of coverage of Tibet between the broadsheets and the tabloids. The following sections will further discuss in what way the pro-Communist newspaper represented the Tibet issue differently from the other newspapers; and whether there were marked differences between the broadsheets and the tabloids regarding coverage of Tibet.

The 2008 Tibetan Unrest: dominant frames and discussion

Frame 1: China is the victim vs. China is the oppressor of Tibet

The table below shows the willingness of newspapers to headline China's explanation of the 2008 Tibetan Unrest according to political leanings and newspaper formats (see Table 7.22 below). Compared to the Cold War period (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6), the British newspapers in 2008 did not merely report that China firmly believed Tibet had always been part of Chinese territory and the Tibet issue was a matter of 'internal affairs'. They also represented how the Chinese government hit back at the Western media's anti-Chinese bias (e.g. 'hits back at US criticism', 'West is demonising China') rather than criticising other countries' interference. More precisely, *The Guardian* reported that the Chinese ambassador to London claimed that the Chinese were disappointed at the media's attempt to demonise China (Topping, 2008). The *Morning Star* carried the Chinese government's condemnation of how the US twisted Tibet's history and modern reality, seriously hurting the feelings of the Chinese people ('China hits back at US Tibet criticism', 2008). It continued, the US 'makes

willful accusations against the lawful handling of the serious violent criminal incident in Lhasa and crudely interferes in China's internal affairs' (ibid.).

Table 7.22 Newspaper headlines regarding China's views on the Tibet issue during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express and Daily Mail</i>), the pro-Liberal Democrat (<i>The Guardian and The Independent</i>) and the pro-Labour newspaper (<i>Daily Mirror</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph and The Independent</i>)	Tibet rebels plan suicide attacks , says China (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , 2 April, 2008f) Chinese ambassador warns of backlash : Envoy says torch protests harm image of the west: Tibet demonstrations will continue, pledge activists (<i>The Guardian</i> , 14 April, 2008) Tibet: State admits police shot protesters 'in self-defence' (<i>The Guardian</i> , 21 March, 2008b) China claims Dalai Lama ready to foment violence and mount suicide attacks: Guns and explosive unearthed , says Beijing: US backs spiritual leader as 'man of peace' (<i>The Guardian</i> , 2 April, 2008d)
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Express, Daily Mail and Daily Mirror</i>)	China: Yes we did open fire on protestors (<i>Daily Express</i> , 21 March, 2008) Dalai Lama gets blame for riots (<i>Daily Mirror</i> , 19 March, 2008)
The pro-Communist newspaper (<i>Morning Star</i>)		China hits back at US Tibet criticism (<i>Morning Star</i> , 12 April, 2008) Ambassador: West is demonising China (<i>Morning Star</i> , 14 April, 2008)

Furthermore, Table 7.22 shows that the British newspapers quoted the Chinese government's interpretation of the 2008 unrest as 'foment violence and mount suicide attacks' and 'plan suicide attacks'. The coverage also reflected the government's view that 'the Dalai clique' were those who had plotted the unrest. For example, *The Daily Telegraph* observed that the Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao thought the rioting by Tibetans was 'organised, premeditated, masterminded and incited by the Dalai clique', and that the Dalai Lama's claims to be pursuing not independence but peaceful dialogue 'are nothing but lies' ('How to lose friends', 2008). Zhang Qingli, the

Communist Party's chief in Tibet, was also quoted in *The Daily Telegraph* as asserting that 'The Dalai is a wolf in monk's robes, a devil with a human face but the heart of a beast. [...] We are now engaged in a fierce blood-and-fire battle with the Dalai clique, a life-and-death battle between us and the enemy' (Spencer, 2008b). That is to say, as the *Daily Mirror* reported, the Dalai Lama was 'accused of being behind violent pro-independence protests in Tibet' (Morris, 2008). *The Independent* indicated that the Communist Party's *Tibet Daily* described the protesting monks as 'loyal running dogs of the Dalai Clique' (Steel, 2008). *The Guardian* quoted the Chinese government's statement that 'The plots by the very few people against the stability and harmony of Tibet run counter to the will of the people and are doomed to fail', and that the government was 'fully capable of maintaining social stability' in the region (Branigan & Ramesh, 2008). So, the Chinese government's harsh criticism of protestors and the 'Dalai clique' was reported, as planning the protests in a bid to separate Tibet from China and thus sabotage the Tibetan people's normal life of stability and harmony.

However, the British newspapers predominantly labelled China as a 'brutal regime' during 2008. As we can see from Table 7.23 below, the newspapers depicted China's presence in Tibet, with words such as 'repression', 'oppression', 'threat', 'massacres', 'barbaric treatment', 'retaliate', 'ruthless campaign', 'cultural destruction', etc. These headlines were clearly critical of China's military crackdown on the protestors.

Table 7.23 Newspaper headlines regarding China's presence in Tibet during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> and <i>Daily Mail</i>), the pro-Liberal Democrat (<i>The Guardian</i> and <i>The Independent</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>Daily Mirror</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Guardian</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> and <i>The Independent</i>)	<p>Repression in Tibet compels us to reconsider our participation in Beijing Olympics (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 17 March, 2008)</p> <p>'Oh my God, someone has a gun...' (<i>The Guardian</i>, 15 March, 2008)</p> <p>Spotlight on grievance: Events in Tibet expose China's achilles heel: Its inability to recognise and respect ethnic difference (<i>The Guardian</i>, 17 March, 2008)</p> <p>Tibet: Tension rises as armed police mass in capital: Arrests after governor's threat to deal harshly with resistance (<i>The Guardian</i>, 18 March, 2008)</p> <p>Tibet: Dalai Lama fears village massacres as Chinese troops retaliate for protests: Buddhist leader prepared to hold talks with Beijing Army trucks 'deployed to remote communities' (<i>The Guardian</i>, 21 March, 2008b)</p> <p>Quiet death in Xinjiang: Tibet is not the only Chinese province to suffer barbaric treatment from its Beijing masters (<i>The Guardian</i>, 5 April, 2008)</p> <p>Ruthless campaign of cultural destruction (<i>The Independent</i>, 15 March, 2008)</p> <p>Chinese misdeeds around the world (<i>The Independent</i>, 19 March, 2008)</p> <p>The Dalai Lama and a circle of oppression that needs to be broken (<i>The Independent</i>, 22 March, 2008)</p>
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> and <i>Daily Mirror</i>)	<p>Where are mass protests against Tibet repression? (<i>Daily Express</i>, 18 March, 2008)</p> <p>Olympics has spotlighted brutal regime (<i>Daily Express</i>, 8 April, 2008)</p> <p>Real Tibetan nightmare (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 24 March, 2008)</p> <p>Call for Ireland to boycott Olympic opening over repression of Tibet (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 28 March, 2008)</p> <p>China sends in tanks to crush Tibet riots (<i>Daily Mirror</i>, 15 March, 2008)</p> <p>Exclusive two horrific stories of Chinese repression: I walked over the frozen bodies of refugees to escape Tibet (<i>Daily Mirror</i>, 12 April, 2008)</p>
The pro-Communist newspaper (<i>Morning Star</i>)	<p>Troops turn out after Lhasa riot (<i>Morning Star</i>, 17 March, 2008)</p> <p>We should be bashing Tibet and not China (<i>Morning Star</i>, 22 March, 2008)</p> <p>China can be criticised too (<i>Morning Star</i>, 28 March, 2008)</p>	

There were also comments about the force of the suppression. For example, the *Daily Mirror* stated that ‘China launched a bloody crackdown against protesting Tibetans’ (Dowdney, 2008), and ‘China had given protesters until midnight [...] to surrender or face tougher repression’ (Ellis, 2008). *The Independent* commented:

The question is whether anything more productive can come out of this than more of the violence and brutal acts of suppression we have glimpsed so far. [...] Since the protests erupted, most of its words and actions have perpetuated the bad old ways. The beatings, the deadlines, the curfews and the enforced confessions are the tried and tested methods used by generations of Chinese to keep the ‘inferior’ Tibetans in line. (‘The Dalai Lama and a circle of oppression’, 2008)

This news content was so descriptive, it was as if the writer was personally on the scene. It suggests that the oppressor, China, adopted the most ‘cruel’ methods to resolve protests.

In addition, the news stories pinpoint the dictatorial and totalitarian nature of the Chinese Communist regime. In the words of the *Daily Mail*, ‘The Peoples Republic of China has systematically repressed the cultural and political rights of the people of Tibet’ (Kelly, 2008). *The Independent* indicated that ‘Everything that China has done – the settlement of nomads, the building of road and rail links, the control of trade, the investment in raw materials and the insidious inducements to intermarriage is directed towards making Tibet another homogenous part of the Chinese nation’ (Hamilton, 2008). *The Guardian* commented that ‘The question is not whether Tibet should be independent but the extent of the autonomy that it is allowed. [...] the traditional Chinese policies of absorption have singularly failed to suppress the Tibetan sense of identity and desire for autonomy’ (Jacques, 2008). It continued, ‘Even though Tibetans have experienced major improvements in their living standards, this has not diminished their desire for religious and cultural freedom’ (ibid.). It also indicated, ‘Events in Tibet have served to expose the Achilles heel of modern China: Its inability to recognise and respect ethnic difference within its own borders’ (ibid.).

The newspapers analysed the root cause of the Tibetan unrest in detail. *The Independent* noted, 'In the early years the Chinese maintained control by force. Troops were brutal in their treatment of the local people. Tibet's culture was suppressed, its monasteries closed and its language outlawed from its university' (Vallely, 2008). Nicholas Orosz said in *The Guardian's* letters to the editor that, 'Tibet is an independent sovereign nation under illegal foreign occupation. China committed an act of aggression in invading Tibet in 1950 and has remained there ever since against the wishes of Tibetans, governing like an oppressive colonial administration' (2008). *The Daily Telegraph* reported that 'the protests that sparked the riots were a response to the brutal hunting down of Tibetan monks, which was in itself typical of Beijing's scandalous suppression of an ancient culture' ('Tiananmen revisited', 2008). *The Daily Mail* pointed out that, 'We can hardly blame the Tibetans. Since 1951, when their country was invaded by the Peoples Republic of China (PRC), their homeland has been partitioned, their religion has been suppressed and any attempt to assert their nationality has been ruthlessly put down' (Mullen, 2008).

Compared to the other newspapers, the pro-Communist *Morning Star* represented China's presence in Tibet very differently. First, it reported 'Troops turn out after Lhasa riot. Police and soldiers patrolled the streets of the Tibetan capital Lhasa on Sunday after violent protests by separatist followers of the Dalai Lama on Friday and Saturday' ('Troops turn out after Lhasa riot', 2008). The newspaper used the phrase 'turn out' rather than 'repress' or 'oppress' to depict China's military action in Tibet. The protestors were also described as 'separatist followers of the Dalai Lama' which was consistent with China's views. Second, it chiefly quoted the Chinese government's statement in order to represent the protests as 'a planned and organised destructive activity by the Dalai clique' (ibid.). Third, the news coverage of the pro-Communist newspaper emphasised the reform and development of Tibet since China's entry and liberation. It indicated that 'Tibet, which became part of China seven centuries ago in the wake of Kublai Khan's establishment of the Yuan dynasty

in 1271, benefited hugely from the 1949 revolution. Not only did it welcome the introduction of state education, health care and other basics of modern society but the old feudal order was overturned' ('Illusions of Shangri-la', 2008). In that case, it suggested that:

Despite efforts by Hollywood actors such as Richard Gere and other apologists for Tibetan separatism, who peddle Shangri-la images of a society at peace with itself, the reality was gruesomely different. [...] he should condemn the murderous attacks of those who claim to be his supporters and stop misleading the world with claims that Han Chinese are swamping Tibet and destroying its culture. (ibid.)

In these passages, Tibet was recognised as a part of China, and the Chinese were represented as liberators rather than oppressors of Tibet. In other words, Tibet's development was portrayed as having benefited from China's liberation. It is worth noting that the pro-Communist newspaper did not only print news content supporting China's presence in Tibet, but also sometimes presented different voices and views. For example, in a news article, the headline was 'China can be criticised too' (see Table 7.23 above). Sean Gray (2008) also demonstrated in letters to the editor that 'Economic and political power within the Tibet Autonomous Region is in the hands of the non-Tibetan Han Chinese. This is the root cause of the present disturbances. The undeniable facts that Tibet used to be ruled by feudal landlords and that China once experienced a socialist revolution are rather poor reasons for failing to recognise the legitimacy of the current struggles for greater autonomy for the Tibetan people'.

In conclusion, there was no marked difference in coverage of the 2008 Tibetan Unrest between the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal Democrat and pro-Labour newspapers, or between the broadsheets and the tabloids. Compared to the Cold War, the press not only represented China's government's views on the Tibet issue, but also their response to the Western media's anti-Chinese bias. Moreover, while the stereotypical labels attached to China during the Cold War (especially the early Cold War), like 'Red China' or 'Reds', were absent from the news articles in 2008, the

press still commented on China's Communist Party or Communist government, highlighting the ideological differences between China and the Western countries. The news coverage treated China as the oppressor and criticised China's violent oppression in Tibet, although the Chinese government claimed the military action was to protect and safeguard Tibet. This was probably because after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, China had remained the only large, officially Communist power in the world. On the other hand, as an outlier, the pro-Communist *Morning Star* still predominantly displayed China favourably and served to legitimise China's presence in Tibet in spite of sometimes quoting sources' statements that were opposed to China's military action. More details and further discussion will be presented in Chapter 8.

Frame 2: Tibetans are the victims of China's oppression vs. Tibetans protested actively

First, as discussed above, the Tibetan people had been framed as the victims of China's oppression in the British press coverage. Additionally, we can see from Table 7.24 below that, the newspapers used words such as 'defiant monks', 'threatens' and 'disrupt', to represent the peaceful Tibetan people as feeling resentful and helpless, and actively resisting China's military action. As *The Independent* commented, 'The riots can also be seen in the light of a quiet and apparently weak child, who has endured incessant beatings and humiliation and faces an uncertain future, finally fighting back against the playground bully' (Topgyal, 2008). Moreover, Tibetans were unquestionably full of criticism of China's violent oppression of religious freedom in Tibet. Monks were quoted in *The Daily Telegraph* as saying 'Why do we protest? Because we want freedom, and we want the Dalai Lama to come back to his own land. We want the right to practise our own culture. We do not want to use violence, but we want to pass our culture on' (Spencer, 2008a). *The Daily Telegraph* reported that monks 'broke down in tears in front of reporters and government minders', and

quoted the monks asserting that ‘Tibet is not free! Tibet is not free! We want the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet, we want to be free’ (ibid., 2008e). *The Guardian* also quoted the protesters’ statements that ‘They want us to crush the Dalai Lama and that is not right’, and the monks’ denials that Tibet’s exiled spiritual leader was responsible for the unrest (Watts, 2008c). Accordingly, the news content indicated Tibetans’ powerlessness as well as their active resistance when confronting China’s oppression.

Table 7.24 Newspaper headlines regarding Tibet’s descriptions and reactions to China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship and format during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> and <i>Daily Mail</i>), the pro-Liberal Democrat (<i>The Guardian</i> and <i>The Independent</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>Daily Mirror</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Guardian</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> and <i>The Independent</i>)	<p>Defiant monks make a stand with incense ritual (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 17 March, 2008a)</p> <p>Exiles say that the ‘middle way’ policy pursued by Dalai Lama has little support (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 18 March, 2008a)</p> <p>Tibet anger threatens Olympic torch relay (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 28 March, 2008)</p> <p>Tibetan monks disrupt Chinese show of stability (<i>The Guardian</i>, 28 March, 2008c)</p> <p>Our struggle will go on, despite the crackdown (<i>The Independent</i>, 17 March, 2008)</p>
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Express</i> , <i>Daily Mail</i> and <i>Daily Mirror</i>)	<p>Protests ruin China’s opening day on the Olympic grandstand (<i>Daily Mail</i>, 25 March, 2008)</p> <p>Protesters holding a torch for democracy (<i>Daily Mirror</i>, 11 April, 2008)</p>

Second, as analysed in Chapter 6, the Dalai Lama had already attracted much attention from the British press. During the post-War period, he was increasingly associated with several powerful images in the Western imagination: the Buddhist pope; the undisputed spiritual and political leader of the Tibetan people; the champion of international peace; the most charming personality from Shangri-la, etc. (Norbu, 2001). In *The Guardian*’s depiction:

Since he fled in 1959, he has tried, with some success, to democratise Tibetan exile politics; but it is still true that Tibetans follow him because he is the recognised reincarnation of a Bodhisattva. Outside Tibet, his authority

derives from the perception that he is a wise and holy man. And so he is. But he is also very shrewd. (Brown, 2008)

The Daily Telegraph included Thomson's (2008) comment that, 'Of all the political and spiritual leaders I have interviewed, the Dalai Lama is the most exceptional. His clarity of vision, wisdom, tolerance and patience are astonishing and his uncontrollable laughter is infectious'. The *Daily Mail* described 'the sweet old Dalai Lama is stateless, an amiable, moon-faced monk who has been floating around in exile for half a century' (Crabbe, 2008). *The Independent* also reported the US government saying that 'The Dalai Lama is a man of peace. There is absolutely no indication that he wants to do anything other than have a dialogue with China to discuss how to deal with some of the serious issue there' (Penketh, 2008). Hence, the holy Dalai Lama was represented as 'a man of peace', who was intelligent, eloquent and gentle.

Nevertheless, the pro-Communist *Morning Star* described the Dalai Lama as the 'exiled Tibetan Buddhist Leader' ('Tibet protests descend into violence', 2008) rather than as 'spiritual leader' or 'political leader'. Its news coverage stated that 'The Dalai Lama has had his chance at ruling Tibet. In his theocratic fiefdom in the 1940s and 1950s, the Tibetan people festered in medieval serfdom' (White, 2008); 'In 1959, the Dalai Lama's own stage-managed escape was orchestrated by the US' (Coyle, 2008). As Paul Levy (2008) said in letters to the editor that:

Description of the Dalai Lama as 'a man of peace' doesn't tally with reality. [...] On his escape from China, the Dalai Lama benefitted from an annual salary of \$186,000 (£93,000) from the CIA. [...] his self-contradictory statements have pulled the wool over the eyes of many people in the West.

Paul Levy also gave the example, 'is it strange that the Dalai Lama conspicuously failed to oppose the US-led invasion of Afghanistan? But, of course, it would be rather difficult for him to criticise the people paying his salary' (2008). George Anthony (2008) also wrote in the *Morning Star*'s letters to the editor that:

The neutralist protestations of US-supported millionaire the Dalai Lama should be taken with a pinch of salt. His participation is all part of a general strategy to destabilise China. This relic of a monkish past will come unstuck, as will all the other attempts to prevent China from raising the living standards of millions of its own people, and their folk in Africa, Latin America and elsewhere.

According to the above news content, the pro-Communist newspaper displayed the Dalai Lama as the real oppressor who had close connections to the US. The Dalai Lama and his 'cliques' were presented as the plotters of the Tibetan unrest, which was consistent with China's views.

In regard to the Dalai Lama's views on the Tibetan unrest and China's presence in Tibet, his declarations had been quoted in British news coverage frequently as being the voice of Tibetans. As we can see from Table 7.25 below, on the one hand, he was presented as caring for the suffering Tibetans and criticising China's violent oppression (e.g. 'cultural genocide', 'calls for end to violence' and 'accuses'). More precisely, *The Guardian* reported that the Dalai Lama indicated that:

There are many remote places cut off from the world where the only sign is Chinese troop movement. I am really worried that a lot of casualties may happen. [...] I am appealing to the international community, please think about these helpless, unarmed, innocent people who [...] are now facing death. ('Dalai Lama: remote Tibetans face death', 2008)

He was quoted in the *Daily Express* as saying that 'There is an ancient cultural heritage facing serious danger. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, some kind of cultural genocide is taking place' (Flanagan, 2008). On the other hand, also in Table 7.25, the press showed the Dalai Lama only wanted autonomy for Tibet within China, but not outright independence (e.g. 'threatens to resign', 'negotiate'). As *The Independent* covered the Dalai Lama's claims that 'The Chinese constitution already mentions autonomy [for Tibet]. So that should not be just a word on paper but implemented on the spot' (Buncombe, 2008a).

Table 7.25 Newspaper headlines regarding the description of the Dalai Lama and his reactions to China's presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship and format during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express and Daily Mail</i>), the pro-Liberal Democrat (<i>The Guardian and The Independent</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>Daily Mirror</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph and The Independent</i>)	<p>Tibet: Dalai Lama: Spiritual leader threatens to resign over conflict (<i>The Guardian</i>, 19 March, 2008a)</p> <p>China claims Dalai Lama ready to foment violence and mount suicide attacks: Guns and explosives unearthed, says Beijing: US backs spiritual leader as 'man of peace' (<i>The Guardian</i>, 2 April, 2008d)</p> <p>Tibet violence spreads as Dalai Lama attacks 'cultural genocide' (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 17 March, 2008)</p> <p>Dalai Lama threatens to resign and calls for end to violence (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 19 March, 2008b)</p> <p>Tibet: Rule of terror: Dalai Lama accuses China as dozens are reported dead: Riot police crackdown on spreading protests: Exiled leader voices fear of 'cultural genocide' (<i>The Guardian</i>, 17 March, 2008)</p> <p>Dalai Lama: remote Tibetans face death (<i>The Guardian</i>, 21 March, 2008)</p> <p>Dalai Lama attacks 'cultural genocide' (<i>The Independent</i>, 17 March, 2008)</p> <p>As crisis over Tibet deepens, Dalai Lama makes extraordinary offer to negotiate directly with President Hu Jintao: 'I am prepared to face China. I will go to Beijing' (<i>The Independent</i>, 19 March, 2008a)</p>
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Express, Daily Mail and Daily Mirror</i>)	<p>It's genocide in Tibet says Dalai Lama (<i>Daily Express</i>, 17 March, 2008)</p> <p>80 dead as Tibet burns: Fearful Dalai Lama warns of 'genocide' (<i>Daily Mirror</i>, 17 March, 2008)</p>
The pro-Communist newspaper (<i>Morning Star</i>)	<p>Dalai Lama's CIA friends (<i>Morning Star</i>, 27 March, 2008)</p> <p>Dalai Lama no man of peace (<i>Morning Star</i>, 3 April, 2008)</p> <p>Dalai Lama calls on Tibetans to stop violence (<i>Morning Star</i>, 19 March, 2008)</p>	

The Dalai Lama was also quoted as saying that 'The whole world knows the Dalai Lama is not seeking independence, one hundred times, a thousand times I have

repeated this. It is my mantra – we are not seeking independence’ (ibid.). *The Guardian* quoted his statement that ‘If things become out of control then my only option is to completely resign. [...] Please help stop violence from Chinese side and also from Tibetan side’ (Ramesh, 2008a). It is worth noting that the press rarely covered reports about the 11th Panchen Lama, Gyancain Norbu, who was anointed by the Chinese government in 1995. His statements were not quoted in the British news articles at all during the research period of 2008.

Nonetheless, the pro-Communist newspaper quoted Jack Shapiro’s views in letters to the editor that, ‘Tibetans, even the Dalai Lama, claim that they wish to remain part of China (‘Sean Gray’s views are nor for the Star’, 2008). Moreover, even though on the one hand it quoted the Dalai Lama’s assertion that Tibet faces ‘cultural genocide’, on the other hand it also quoted the Panchen Lama’s statement in order to refute the Dalai Lama’s views, and to support its opinion that the protests were detrimental to national and ethnic unity (‘Troops turn out after Lhasa riot’, 2008). The Panchen Lama Gyaincain Norbu was reported as having condemned the riot, saying ‘the rioters’ acts not only harmed the interests of the nation and the people but also violated the aim of Buddhism. We resolutely oppose all activities to split the country and undermine ethnic unity. We strongly condemn the crime of a tiny number of people to hurt the lives and properties of the people’ (ibid.).

Lastly, in this research period, the newspapers not only used sources from other countries’ governments but also sources from the non-governmental organisations, which played an important role in supporting the Tibetans’ resistance (see Table 7.26 below). For instance, Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the House of Representatives, was quoted in *The Daily Telegraph* as saying that ‘If freedom-loving people throughout the world do not speak out against China's oppression in China and Tibet, we have lost all moral authority to speak on behalf of human rights anywhere in the world’ (Spencer, 2008c). *The Independent* reported Steve Ballinger, a UK spokesman for Amnesty International, saying:

Some protests may have turned violent and the Chinese authorities have a responsibility to protect the lives and property of people in the region. But locking up peaceful protesters and locking out journalists is totally unacceptable. These monks must be released immediately and all those detained in recent weeks must be accounted for. If basic human rights are not respected, China's promises to clean up its act ahead of the Olympics will seem very hollow indeed. (Morris, 2008)

The press also quoted the Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy's (TCHRD) statement of their 'deepest fear that monks face extreme inhuman treatment in Chinese detention centres. Torture is a regular exercise in Chinese-administered prisons and detention centres in Tibet' (ibid.). Further discussion will be offered in Chapter 8.

In contrast, the pro-Communist newspaper reported the China Society for Human Rights Studies expressing its firm opposition to 'attempts by any organisation to slander and attack China under the pretence of human rights', and charged that Amnesty 'has, all along, held political prejudice against and a hostile attitude toward China, which was again proven by its serious distortion and malicious slander of China's human rights situation and the government's handling of the Tibetan violence according to the law' ('China NGO slams Amnesty', 2008).

To conclude, when we look at representations of the Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama, there was no marked difference between the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal Democrat and pro-Labour newspapers, or between the broadsheets and the tabloids. All of them presented, on the one side, the powerless Tibetans and the peaceful Dalai Lama as victims of Chinese violent and cruel oppression. On the other side, they portrayed how the Tibetan people actively resisted the Chinese. In contrast, the pro-Communist newspaper used a completely different angle to represent the Dalai Lama and Tibetans' views on China's oppression, and international reactions to the Tibet issue.

Table 7.26 Newspaper headlines regarding international reactions to China's presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Daily Telegraph, Daily Express and Daily Mail</i>), the pro-Liberal Democrat (<i>The Guardian and The Independent</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>Daily Mirror</i>)	The broadsheets (<i>The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph</i> and <i>The Independent</i>)	<p>Stand up to China over Tibet, says top US politician (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, 22 March, 2008c)</p> <p>Tibet violence Pelosi urges world to condemn China over crackdown: US speaker stops short of Olympic boycott call but pressure grows for leaders to stay away from opening ceremony (<i>The Guardian</i>, 22 March, 2008)</p> <p>Miliband attacks China's rights record and calls for Tibet talks: Annual report lists 21 countries of major concern Critics call for hard-edged policy not FCO hypocrisy (<i>The Guardian</i>, 26 March, 2008)</p> <p>Beijing has used Games for political ends, says Amnesty: Calls for world leaders to apply pressure on China IOC tells hosts to free up internet during Olympic (<i>The Guardian</i>, 2 April, 2008)</p> <p>Congressional leader calls for international condemnation of China (<i>The Independent</i>, 22 March, 2008b)</p> <p>Foreign Office minister calls on Olympians to speak out (<i>The Independent</i>, 20 March, 2008)</p> <p>Missing: Monks who defied Beijing: Tibetans detained by China at risk of torture, Amnesty warns (<i>The Independent</i>, 25 March, 2008)</p>
	The tabloids (<i>Daily Express, Daily Mail</i> and <i>Daily Mirror</i>)	<p>Bush urges Chinese to seek Tibet talks (<i>Daily Express</i>, 27 March, 2008)</p> <p>PM snubs China Olympic opener (<i>Daily Mirror</i>, 11 April, 2008)</p>
The pro-Communist newspaper (<i>Morning Star</i>)		<p>European sports ministers dismiss talk of Beijing Olympic boycott (<i>Morning Star</i>, 18 March, 2008)</p> <p>China NGO slams Amnesty (<i>Morning Star</i>, 4 April, 2008)</p>

Frame 3: The human rights frame

As seen in Chapter 6, near the end of the Cold War in 1989, the British newspapers had already started to use a human rights frame when representing the Tibet issue.

And during the post-Cold War period in 2008, an increasing number of states and international organisations were expressing concern about the violation of human rights in Tibet. It was the reflection of a global momentum of the new political climate that has seen the end of the Cold War and the restoration of independence and freedom in many parts of the world. The Cold War frame which dominated British news coverage for nearly 50 years, had become completely irrelevant. Instead, the human rights frame was now quite commonly found in the news headlines (see Table 7.27 below).

Table 7.27 Newspaper headlines regarding human rights of the Tibet issue by newspaper partisanship during the 2008 Tibetan Unrest (14.03.2008-14.04.2008)

Newspaper		Selected samples of newspaper headlines
The pro-Conservative (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Express</i> and <i>Daily Mail</i>), the pro-Liberal Democrat (<i>The Guardian</i> and <i>The Independent</i>) and the pro-Labour newspapers (<i>Daily Mirror</i>)	Broadsheet (<i>The Guardian</i> , <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> and <i>The Independent</i>)	Give Beijing a sporting chance David Miller believes an Olympic boycott over China's human rights record would be futile. History has shown past Games enabled beneficial and lasting change (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , 28 March, 2008) Olympics chiefs in clash with Beijing over human rights (<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , 11 April, 2008g) The lesson: The run-up to the Olympics brings human rights in Tibet into focus. What should students know? (<i>The Guardian</i> , 1 April, 2008)

In the news content, the British press covered China's human rights abuses in Tibet in order to broaden the scope of awareness of the Tibet issue. According to the news coverage, the Tibet issue became an issue of human rights. As the *Daily Mail* quoted Minister John Gormley's statement that 'the truth is that there has been suppression in Tibet. In my view the truth is that there is an abuse of human rights, not just in Tibet but in China as a whole' (Millar, 2008). The *Daily Mirror* indicated, 'China's appalling human rights record, beating and jailing dissenters or – as we have seen in Tibet – killing opponents, deserved the condemnation of yesterday's demonstrators' ('A flaming injustice', 2008). Paul Slattery (2008) said in *The Guardian*'s letters to the editor that:

China is a police state where there is no personal or press freedom, corruption is rampant, and any criticism is crushed by long prison sentences and torture. Since the killings in Tiananmen Square almost 20 years ago, human rights and press freedoms have worsened immeasurably.

Sometimes the press showed the views of human rights organisations to create awareness on the human rights aspects of the Tibet issue. For instance, *The Guardian* covered Reporters Without Borders' condemnation of China, saying that the tumult in Tibet had provided 'ample evidence' that China had no intention of improving its human rights record (Smith & Branigan, 2008).

Therefore, protecting the Tibetan people's democratic rights and freedom was of paramount importance. In the *Daily Mirror's* letters to the editor, Norman Hanson (2008) asked 'When will the Prime Minister come off the fence and denounce China's awful human rights record of torture and executions, and its paranoid attitude towards Tibet?'. *The Daily Telegraph* reported how the British government criticised and highlighted Beijing's 'violation' of human rights in Tibet, and pointed out that 'worldwide concern about the situation in Tibet was justified and proper. There needs to be mutual respect between all communities and sustained dialogue between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese authorities (Spencer, 2008d). In the *Daily Mail's* commentary:

The Chinese ignored Western sanctions after the Tiananmen massacre. We need to tell China the truth about their dreadful human rights, firmly but politely. And people should be totally free to protest in a peaceful manner. The long-term solution for Tibet is a more democratic China, and the best chance of that is to encourage exposure to liberal beliefs through a free market in trade. ('Engaging with China', 2008)

Regarding boycotts of the 2008 Olympics and Torch Relay, *The Guardian* demonstrated that 'For the Communist party, the games are an opportunity to show its success in lifting hundreds of millions out of poverty. For critics, it is a chance to bring human rights abuses, authoritarian rule and unfair treatment of minorities into

the international spotlight' (Watts, 2008a). Oliver (2008) said in the *Daily Express's* letters to the editor that:

I'm glad the Olympics is going to Beijing as it has given free people in the world a chance a spotlight the human rights violations of a regime that harvests the organs of executed prisoners, has forced sterilisation, and has all but destroyed culture and Buddhism in Tibet.

In other words, as the *Daily Mirror* indicated, 'The torch has become a symbol of all that people hate about Communist China: repression in Tibet, abuse of human rights, maltreatment of minorities and no freedom of speech' (Routledge, 2008).

As mentioned above, human rights discourse of the Tibet issue had been on the increase, especially since the year of 1989. The British newspapers primarily projected the human rights aspects of the Tibet issue, and successfully transformed it from a cultural interest into a political issue. The reasons for this will be discussed in Chapter 8.

In comparison, the pro-Communist newspaper reported the human rights aspects of the Tibet issue very differently. It commented that 'those who lecture China on human rights, especially from the US and Britain, should perhaps, in light of the illegal invasion of Iraq, which has brought about more than a million dead, ponder the relationship between stones and glass houses' ('Tibet isn't a colony', 2008). Moreover, Gerrard Sables (2008) stated in letters to the editor that:

The percentage of a nation's population which is in prison must be an indicator of human rights. [...] China has about 1.6 million people in prison. That is 0.12 per cent of its population. England and Wales incarcerate about 80,000 or 0.15 per cent. The US, whose CIA seems to be helping to orchestrate the Free Tibet demos, jails 2.2 million of its citizens or 0.7 per cent of its population. [...] the US one of the worst violators of human rights. Either that or it is one of the most lawless. For the biblically minded, isn't it a question of motes and beams?

Accordingly, the pro-Communist newspaper supported the notion that people should not criticise or judge China when considering the bad human rights records they had

themselves. It reported the China Society for Human Rights Studies expressing its firm opposition to ‘attempts by any organisation to slander and attack China under the pretence of human rights’, and it charged that Amnesty ‘has, all along, held political prejudice against and a hostile attitude toward China, which was again proven by its serious distortion and malicious slander of China’s human rights situation and the government’s handling of the Tibetan violence according to the law’ (‘China NGO slams Amnesty’, 2008).

Summary

This chapter shows that the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal Democrat and pro-Labour newspapers represented the Tibet issue with an anti-China consensus in the post-Cold War period. However, although the pro-Communist newspaper sometimes presented diverse opinions towards the Tibet issue, it still consistently used a completely different method to interpret the event, and essentially supported China’s presence in Tibet. When comparing the news coverage by newspaper format, the covering patterns of the broadsheets were different from those of the tabloids (excluding the pro-Communist *Morning Star*). However, in terms of news frames used in the coverage of Tibet, there was no marked difference between the broadsheets and the tabloids.

The results of this chapter show that the Cold War frame (e.g. ‘Red Menace’) had disappeared completely in 2008, although the British press still criticised China’s military action in Tibet. Furthermore, the British press presented views of the Chinese government towards the Western media’s anti-China bias in this period. It was probably because, during the post-Cold War period, China had more opportunity to access the Western media. In addition, the newspapers not only depicted the Tibetan people as the victims of China’s oppression, but also portrayed them as active protestors resisting the Chinese. Meanwhile, non-governmental organisations were more visible in the coverage than before. As seen in Chapter 6, human rights aspects

of the Tibet issue had only been formally mentioned near the end of the Cold War in 1989. Therefore, human rights discourse of the Tibet issue had increased visibly since 1989 to 2008. More detailed discussion will be presented in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 8

Long-Term Changes in the British Newspaper Coverage of Tibet: 1949-2009

Introduction

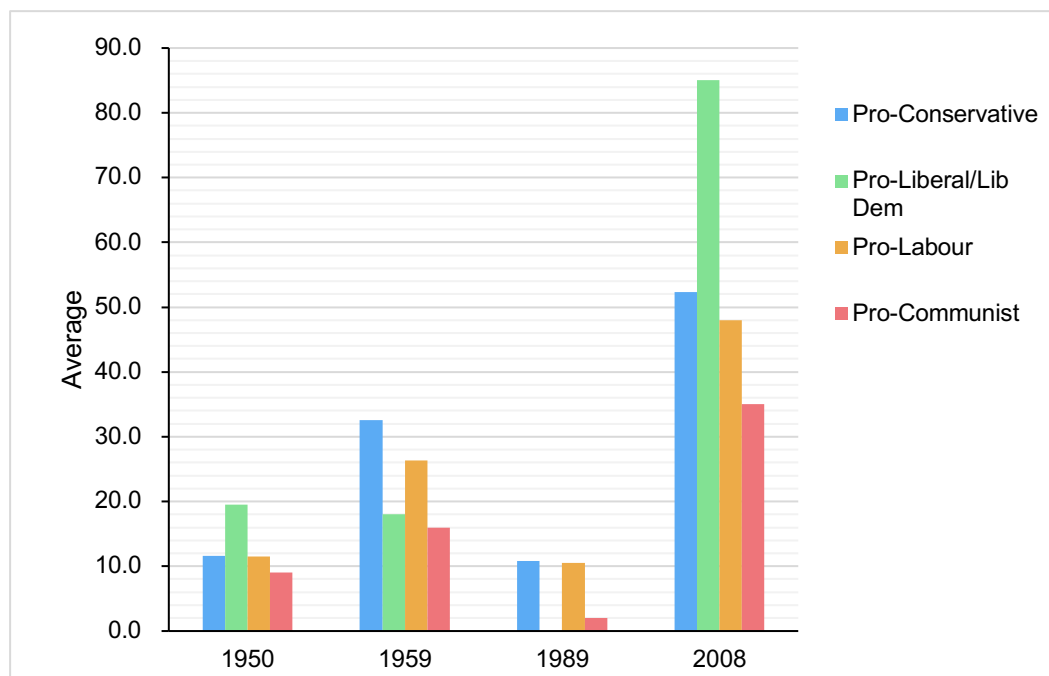
This chapter presents an overview of representations of Tibet in the British press coverage from 1949 to 2009. As noted, this time frame included the start, climax and end of the Cold War, as well as the post-Cold War period. The chapter is based on the research questions established in Chapter 1 and aims to discuss the findings in relation to these questions. It discusses the results of the content analysis and the qualitative frame analysis, which show a number of points of similarities and differences between coverage of Tibet in the newspapers along partisan lines and between the tabloid and the broadsheet press. It also shows the changes and continuities in the coverage throughout the four research periods. The results and their implications will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

An overview of the differences between the press coverage by newspaper partisanship from 1949 to 2009

When British newspapers were classified according to their political leanings, as we can see from Figure 8.1 below, there were marked differences in the average number of news articles on Tibet between newspapers from 1949 to 2009. Overall, the Tibet issue received the most attention from the pro-Conservative and pro-Liberal/Liberal Democrat newspapers. Comparatively, the pro-Labour and pro-Communist newspapers showed the least interest. The results show that in each research period, the pro-Communist newspapers generally published the least articles on Tibet. The average amount of Tibet coverage of the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal/Liberal

Democrat and pro-Labour newspapers fluctuated during the four research periods.

Figure 8.1 Average number of news articles on Tibet by newspaper partisanship from 1949 to 2009



Front-page presence and average word count

Regarding the front-page presence of news coverage of Tibet, as seen in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, as a rule, there was no substantial difference between newspapers along partisan lines from 1949 to 2009. The only statistically significant difference between newspapers was in 1959 ($p < 0.05$).

In addition, in terms of the average word count of news articles, Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 demonstrated that it was only in the research period of 2008 that there were statistically significant differences between newspapers according to their political leanings ($p < 0.05$).

Thus, for two indicators of the prominence level of Tibet coverage, i.e. the front-page presence and the average news article length, most of the research periods did not show substantial differences between newspapers based on newspaper partisanship from 1949 to 2009.

The next section will examine the difference of the types of news stories between newspapers according to partisanship from 1949 to 2009.

Types of news stories

As discussed in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, the results reveal that there was a statistically significant difference regarding types of news stories on Tibet between newspapers along partisan lines in 2008 only ($p < 0.05$). The next section explores how the different topics appeared across British newspapers by partisanship over the period 1949 to 2009.

Topics

As we can see from Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, except for the year 2008, there were no regularly marked differences in topics between coverage along partisan lines. The exception was 2008, when thematic differences between newspapers by their political leanings were more obvious than before. For example, the topic of ‘the Olympics (Torch Relay)/Sports’, which brought China’s human rights abuses in Tibet into focus, was the most common topic found in the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal Democrat and pro-Labour newspapers. However, it was not at all common in the pro-Communist newspaper, which concentrated on reporting ‘other topics’, such as ‘the relationship between China and Tibet in history’ and ‘China’s development in Tibet’. This result reflects that, compared to the other newspapers’ anti-China consensus, the pro-Communist newspaper used a different angle to report the Tibet issue, which was undeniably in favour of China’s presence in Tibet. These views will be further illustrated in the following sections, which examine differences between newspapers along partisan lines in terms of sources and their political stance on China and Tibet from 1949 to 2009.

Who spoke on Tibet and what their political stance was?

Across the four research periods, the analysis of the dominant sources along partisan lines showed that the pro-Communist newspaper was the outlier that represented the Tibet issue in a different way. Its position on the Tibet issue was always consistent, unequivocal and resolute. For instance, it usually quoted the Chinese government sources in the news stories, especially in the research periods of 1950 and 2008. Moreover, when India played an important role in the Tibet issue in 1950, it rarely quoted India's government, which was opposed to China's military action. In addition, in 2008, it rarely quoted the source of Tibet Support Groups which was the most likely to have citations opposing China's presence in Tibet and supporting Tibet's independence.

The following sections explore the political stance¹ of news sources towards China and Tibet by newspaper partisanship from 1949 to 2009. The results once again show differences between the pro-Communist newspaper and the other newspapers.

Source stance towards China. As can be seen from Figures 8.2 and 8.3 below, when discussing source stance by newspaper partisanship across the four research periods, the pro-Communist newspaper always had the largest percentage of source citations displaying a positive position on China's presence in Tibet. With some exceptions – it had some source citations opposing China's presence in Tibet in 2008 – the negative tone towards China was still the least evident amongst the news sources used in its articles from 1949 to 2009.

¹ In this section, the neutral source citations towards China's presence in Tibet and Tibet's independence by newspaper partisanship are not important, thus, they are not shown in the graphs.

Figure 8.2 The number of sources supporting China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship from 1949 to 2009

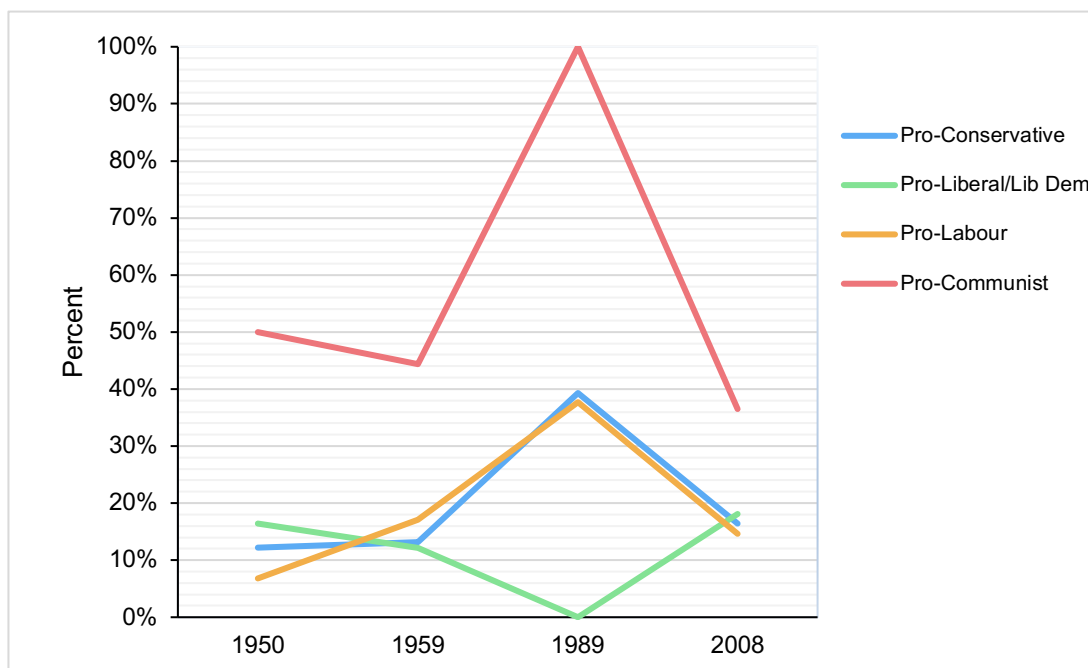
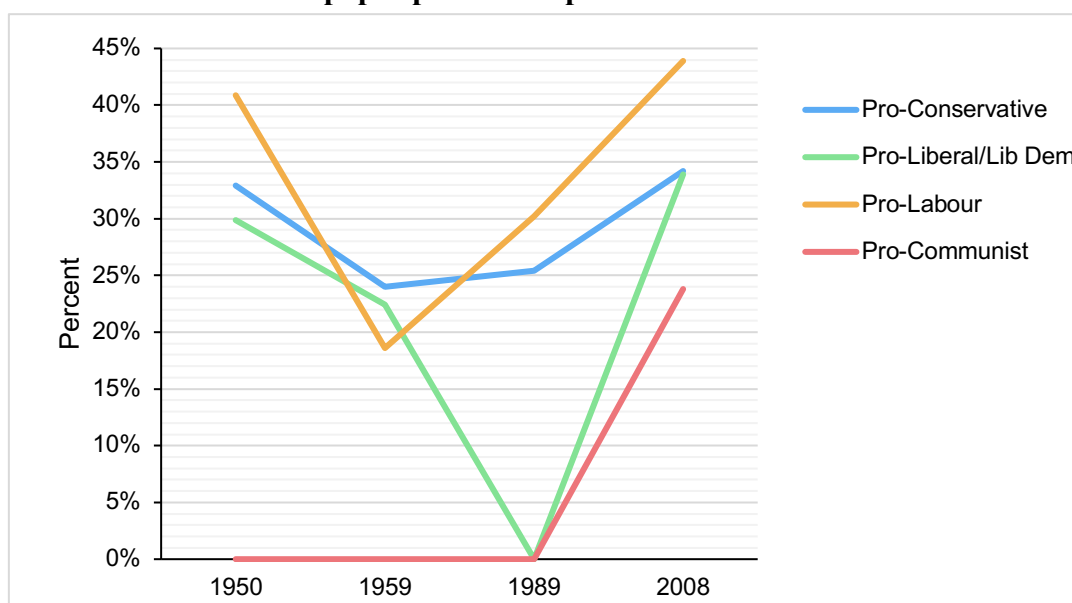


Figure 8.3 The number of sources opposing China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper partisanship from 1949 to 2009



Source stance towards Tibet. The relationship between source stance towards Tibet’s independence and newspaper partisanship from 1949 to 2009 is shown in Figures 8.4 and 8.5 below. The positive tone towards Tibet’s independence was generally the least evident amongst the news sources used in the pro-Communist

newspaper across the four research periods while the negative tone was the most evident.

Figure 8.4 The number of sources supporting Tibet’s independence by newspaper partisanship from 1949 to 2009

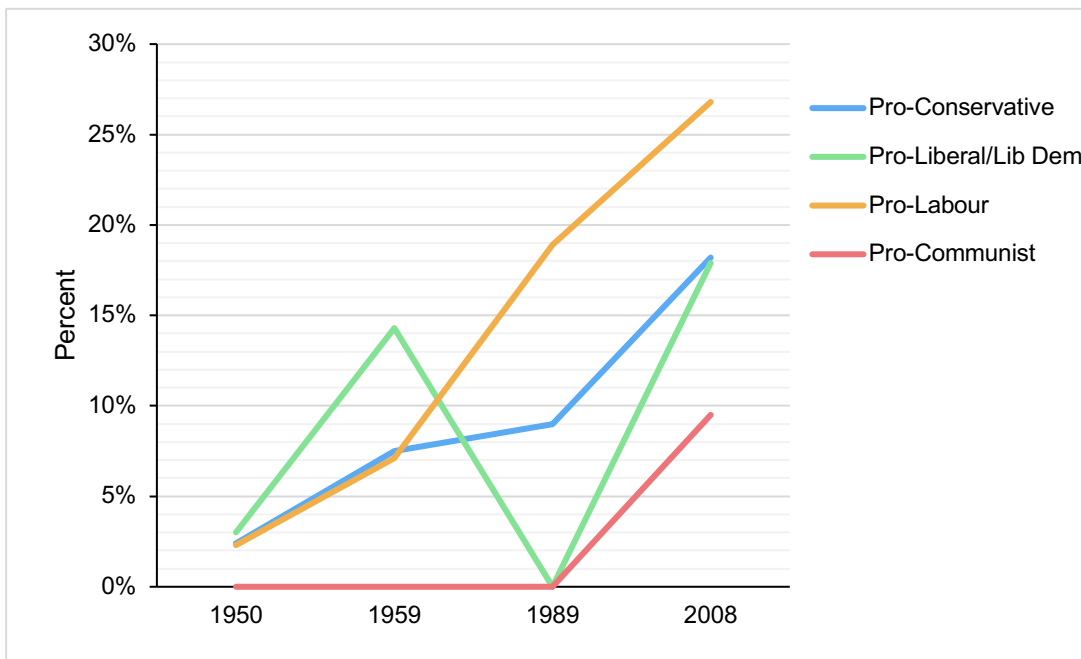
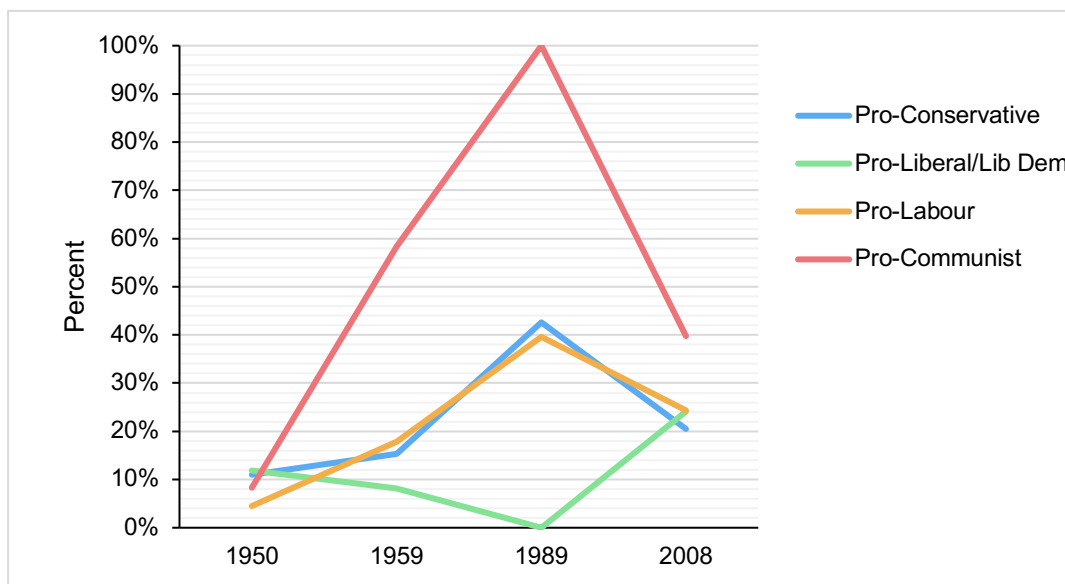


Figure 8.5 The number of sources opposing Tibet’s independence by newspaper partisanship from 1949 to 2009



In summary, the results of the content analysis (e.g. prominence level, types of news stories and topics) principally show that there were no substantial differences

between newspapers by their political leanings in covering patterns across the four research periods. However, the variables of sources and source stance reveal that there was very little difference between the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal/Liberal Democrat and pro-Labour newspapers over the period of fifty years. What is unquestionable is how similar these publications were. In contrast, the pro-Communist newspaper remained an outlier, which reported the Tibet issue differently from the other newspapers. Further exploration will be presented in the following sections.

Dominant frames and discussion of the pro-Communist Daily Worker/Morning Star

Frame 1: Representations of China: the invader/oppressor or the liberator/protector of Tibet?

As shown in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, there were always differences in dominant frames between the pro-Communist newspaper and the other newspapers from 1949 to 2009. In 1950, the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers mainly portrayed China as ‘Communist’, ‘Reds’, ‘aggressor’ and an ‘invader’ of Tibet, and criticised the Chinese ‘invasion’. Subsequently, China was displayed as an aggressive militarist and oppressor in the other three research periods, and its further military action in Tibet was considered as oppression in the news coverage. Therefore, these branches of the British press were opposed to China’s ruthless and brutal oppression of the Tibetan people.

The pro-Communist newspaper represented China’s presence in Tibet very differently. It always treated Tibet as a part of China, portrayed China favourably and served to legitimise China’s presence in Tibet. It utilised ‘go into’ rather than ‘invade’ to display China’s military entry into Tibet in 1950. Hence, the Chinese were treated as liberators, protectors and heroes who could save the Tibetan people from Western

imperialism and the feudal forces. Moreover, it regarded the subsequent military action in the other three research periods as China's 'internal affairs'. Instead of portraying China as an oppressor, it represented China as a liberator and reformer who had the duty to protect Tibet. In other words, in its news coverage, China's presence in Tibet was for protection from reactionaries and foreign imperialists, and Tibet's development benefited from China's liberation.

Frame 2: Representations of the Tibetan people: the victims of China's oppression or the victims of the reactionaries?

The representations of the Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama were described in the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers as neither giving permission nor accepting the Chinese military entry into Tibet in 1950, but rather as the victims of China's occupation. For the subsequent protests, the news content showed that Tibetans and the Dalai Lama were full of criticisms of Chinese repression of religious freedom in Tibet. In 1989 and 2008, the newspapers presented the Tibetan people as brave 'patriots' who were actively fighting against the military giant for their independence.

By contrast, in the words of the pro-Communist newspaper, the Tibetan people did not oppose the Chinese presence, but welcomed and supported China's military entry into Tibet in 1950. The Dalai Lama and the feudal nobles were framed as the dictators – they commanded autocratic power and caused the Tibetans' protests. Thus, Tibetans were portrayed as the victims of Western imperialism and the feudal forces. In the following research periods, the pro-Communist newspaper indicated that Tibetans called the rebels 'traitors' and 'victims' of the reactionaries, and they wished to remain part of China.

The pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal/Liberal Democrat and pro-Labour newspapers also showed that the holy Dalai Lama was respected and acknowledged by the Tibetan people as their only spiritual and political leader. He was depicted as 'a man

of peace', who was intelligent, eloquent and gentle. His views on the Tibetan protests and China's presence in Tibet had been quoted frequently in the news coverage as being the voice of Tibetans since the 1980s. Compared to the 'supreme' Dalai Lama, the 'pro-Communist Panchen Lama' of 1959 was usually portrayed in the paper as the 'puppet' of the Chinese government.

However, in the early Cold War, on the one hand, the pro-Communist newspaper emphasised that the Panchen Lama was not inferior to the Dalai Lama – both were spiritually equal, being reincarnations of the same god. The Tibetan people were presented as making no distinctions between them, and calling them by a collective title. The paper pointed out that both the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama admitted that Tibet and the rest of China were inseparable. On the other hand, it described the Dalai Lama as a 'dictator', thus, most of the Panchen Lama's statements were quoted in the press to support China's presence in Tibet. In addition, during the post-Cold War period, when the Dalai Lama opposed China's oppression, the paper portrayed him as an actual oppressor who had close connections to the US. In its news coverage, the Dalai Lama and his 'cliques' had plotted the 2008 Tibetan Unrest, which was consistent with China's views. It also usually showed the Panchen Lama's views in order to refute the Dalai Lama's criticism of China, and to support China's opinion that the protests would split the country and undermine ethnic unity.

Additionally, in 1959, the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers started to report various countries' opinions on China's presence in Tibet thereby strengthening the 'victim' image of Tibet. In the research period of 2008, they not only used sources from other countries but also sources from NGOs (e.g. Tibet Support Groups and Human Rights NGOs) to criticise China's presence. In comparison, the pro-Communist newspaper did not show international opinions and rarely quoted the NGOs' comments.

Frame 3: Opposite views on Tibet's human rights situation

Since 1989, the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal/Liberal Democrat and pro-Labour newspapers predominantly projected the human rights aspects of the Tibet issue. They covered China's human rights abuses in Tibet in order to broaden the scope of awareness towards the Tibet issue. Comparatively, the pro-Communist newspaper used a completely different way to report the human rights discourse. It suggested people should not criticise or judge China for a bad human rights record, which they themselves also had. It also expressed its opposition to attempts by any organisations to attack China's handling of the Tibetan violence according to the law under the pretence of human rights.

As discussed above, when comparing the differences of dominant frames between the pro-Communist newspaper and the other newspapers across the four research periods, the results of the qualitative frame analysis indicate that they consistently represented Tibet differently. As mentioned in Chapter 2, it was due to their ideological differences. Thus, it was unsurprising that the pro-Communist newspaper supported China's presence in Tibet, especially since China became a member of the Communist Camp and an ally of Soviet in 1949.

Summary

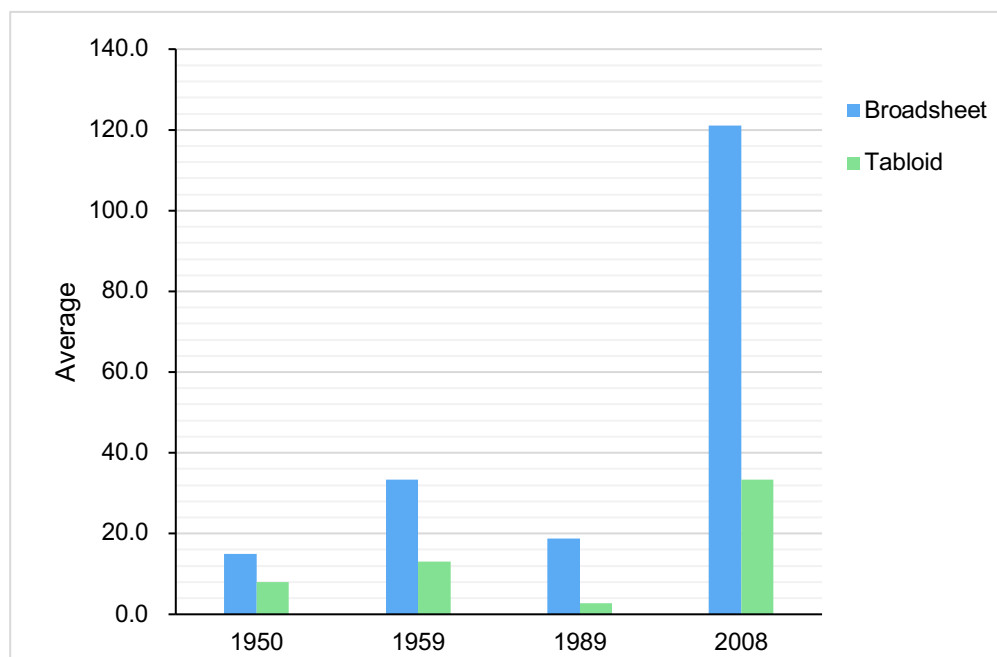
In conclusion, all the results above have answered the question, 'What were the similarities and differences in the British press coverage of Tibet according to newspaper partisanship from 1949 to 2009?' Specifically, even though the content analysis results largely show that there was no marked difference between the pro-Communist newspaper and the other newspapers from 1949 to 2009, variables of topics, sources and source stance do reflect some differences. This point of view had been further proved through the qualitative frame analysis when dominant frames of newspapers were analysed along their partisan lines across the four research periods. On the one hand, the research results echo to Herman and Chomsky's point of view

that there was a little difference between most media outlets, with them all taking a similar position (1988). On the other hand, the study reflects that the pro-Communist newspaper was the outlier, essentially representing the Tibet issue differently from the other newspapers' anti-China consensus. It discloses the fact that, during the Cold War and the post-Cold War periods, the pro-Communist newspaper showed consistent support for China's presence in Tibet and opposition to Tibet's independence.

An overview of the differences between the press coverage by newspaper format from 1949 to 2009

When the press was categorised by newspaper format, as noted in Chapter 3, the only pro-Communist newspaper was not included in the tabloids. On average, Figure 8.6 below shows that there were marked differences of news stories on Tibet between the broadsheets and the tabloids from 1949 to 2009.

Figure 8.6 Average number of news articles on Tibet by newspaper format from 1949 to 2009



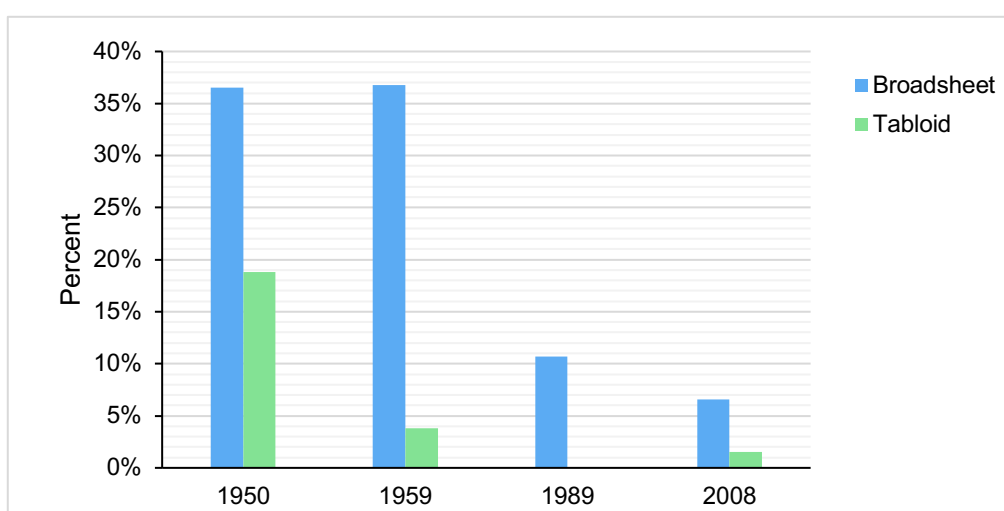
For each research period, broadsheet newspapers always published more news stories

on Tibet than tabloid newspapers. The broadsheets were dealing with Tibet-related news more frequently than the tabloids. It might be because tabloid newspapers were interested in ‘light’ news, such as entertainment and human interest stories (Tunstall, 1996). That is to say, they preferred to report more appealing national matters rather than serious international news. It is worth noting that until 2008, the gap of distribution of coverage of Tibet between the broadsheets and the tabloids reduced noticeably. This result reflects that during the post-Cold War period, the tabloids paid more attention to the Tibet issue than before.

Front-page presence

Regarding the front-page presence² of news coverage, as shown in Figure 8.7 below, broadsheet newspapers usually had more front-page stories than tabloid newspapers across the four research periods. Meanwhile, differences between the broadsheets and the tabloids were statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) in 1959 and 2008 (see Chapters 5 and 7).

Figure 8.7 Amount of front-page coverage of Tibet by newspaper format from 1949 to 2009



² In this section of ‘front-page presence’, the graph only shows a comparison of front-page coverage of Tibet by newspaper format, which excludes the coverage in the other pages.

Average word count

Table 8.1 below shows that, overall, broadsheet readers received more words per article referencing the topic of Tibet than tabloid readers. For each research period, broadsheet newspapers always had a greater average word count of news articles than tabloid newspapers, and the differences were statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) (see Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7).

Table 8.1 Average word count of articles on Tibet by newspaper format from 1949 to 2009

Newspapers	The publishing year	Average number of words
		per article
Broadsheet	1950	219.13
	1959	411.31
	1989	441.32
	2008	491.67
	Average	413.10
Tabloid	1950	121.00
	1959	194.23
	1989	174.63
	2008	240.85
	Average	220.85

To summarise, the two indicators of the prominence level (i.e. front-page presence and average article length) show that, the Tibet issue was more prominent in the broadsheets than in the tabloids from 1949 to 2009.

Types of news stories

Regarding the types of news stories on Tibet, the results of Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 indicate that it was only in the research period of 2008 that there were statistically significant differences between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. Therefore, usually, the types of news stories did not differ between the broadsheets and the tabloids across the four research periods.

Topics

We could see from Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 that, when comparing the topics by newspaper format from 1949 to 2009, there were some subtle differences between the broadsheets and the tabloids. For example, tabloid newspapers reported the topic of ‘China’s control/suppression’ more frequently than the broadsheets. In contrast, the topic of ‘China’s views’ was more likely to appear in the broadsheets. The results show that tabloid newspapers focused on sensational stories while broadsheet newspapers used a relatively neutral angle to represent the Tibet issue. These views will be further examined in the following sections, which take into consideration differences of the prominent sources quoted in the news coverage between the broadsheets and the tabloids from 1949 to 2009.

Who spoke on Tibet and what their political stance was?

This section first analyses the relationship between the dominant sources and newspaper formats from 1949 to 2009. As we can see from Tables 8.2 and 8.3 below that, compared to broadsheet newspapers, although tabloid newspapers were more likely to quote the government sources during the post-Cold War period in 2008, the research shows that they were, on the whole, less likely to quote authoritative and objective sources. In addition, when unofficial or unconfirmed sources were prominent in the news coverage during the Cold War period, the tabloids had more of these sources than the broadsheets. Second, the general public (e.g. observers/witnesses/travellers) and political groups/politicians (e.g. the Dalai Lama/those close to him) were quoted more frequently as sources in the tabloids than in the broadsheets in 1989 and 2008. This might be because the tabloids liked to quote more human interest citations to flesh out the story. Third, compared to the broadsheets, the tabloids generally used a narrower range of other sources, such as artists/arts organisations, intergovernmental organisations. Lastly, it was clear that the broadsheets showed far more concern about the use of NGO representative sources

than the tabloids in 2008. This result reflects that non-governmental organisations (e.g. Tibet Support Groups) wanted to get Tibet on the news agenda through the coverage of serious broadsheets, which would give a more detailed picture of the Tibet issue.

Table 8.2 The number of sources of the broadsheets from 1949 to 2009

Sources of the Broadsheets	1950	1959	1989	2008
Government				
India's government	26.0% (n=44)	25.1% (n=120)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
China's government	9.5% (n=16)	7.5% (n=36)	21.6% (n=33)	12.1% (n=71)
Tibet's government/The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	9.5% (n=16)	1.7% (n=8)	5.2% (n=8)	2.6% (n=15)
US's government	1.8% (n=3)	1.5% (n=7)	1.3% (n=2)	3.6% (n=21)
UK's government	2.4% (n=4)	1.0% (n=5)	1.3% (n=2)	8.0% (n=47)
Other government	1.2% (n=2)	3.5% (n=17)	3.3% (n=5)	5.3% (n=31)
Total	50.3% (n=85)	40.3% (n=193)	32.0% (n=50)	31.6% (n=185)
Media/journalist				
China's media/journalist	11.2% (n=19)	8.6% (n=41)	19.6% (n=30)	5.1% (n=30)
India's media/journalist	7.7% (n=13)	6.9% (n=33)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Other media/journalist	4.1% (n=7)	4.0% (n=19)	4.6% (n=7)	4.9% (n=29)
Total	23.1% (n=39)	19.4% (n=93)	24.2% (n=37)	10.1% (n=59)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news				
The general public	3.6% (n=6)	4.6% (n=22)	23.5% (n=36)	10.9% (n=64)
Politicians/political groups				
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	0.0% (n=0)	1.9% (n=9)	9.2% (n=14)	6.8% (n=40)
Other politicians/political groups	0.0% (n=0)	5.2% (n=25)	2.0% (n=3)	3.4% (n=20)
Total	0.0% (n=0)	7.1% (n=34)	11.1% (n=17)	10.2% (n=60)
Non-governmental organisations				
Experts	0.0% (n=0)	3.5% (n=17)	1.3% (n=2)	4.4% (n=26)
Other	3.0% (n=5)	8.1% (n=39)	5.9% (n=9)	12.8% (n=75)
Total	100% (n=169)	100% (n=479)	100% (n=153)	100% (n=586)

Table 8.3 The number of sources of the tabloids from 1949 to 2009

Sources of the Tabloids	1950	1959	1989	2008
Government				
India's government	16.7% (n=4)	23.3% (n=10)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
China's government	8.3% (n=2)	11.6% (n=5)	18.2% (n=4)	15.7% (n=26)
Tibet's government/the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)
US's government	8.3% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	3.6% (n=6)
UK's government	4.2% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	15.1% (n=25)
Other government	0.0% (n=0)	2.3% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	9.6% (n=16)
Total	37.5% (n=9)	37.2% (n=16)	18.2% (n=4)	44.6% (n=74)
Media/journalist				
China's media/journalist	8.3% (n=2)	7.0% (n=3)	22.7% (n=5)	2.4% (n=4)
India's media/journalist	0.0% (n=0)	4.7% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Other media/journalist	16.7% (n=4)	4.7% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)	4.8% (n=8)
Total	25.0% (n=6)	16.3% (n=7)	22.7% (n=5)	7.2% (n=12)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	25.0% (n=6)	23.3% (n=10)	4.5% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)
The general public	8.3% (n=2)	7.0% (n=3)	27.3% (n=6)	11.4% (n=19)
Politicians/political groups				
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	0.0% (n=0)	2.3% (n=1)	27.3% (n=6)	5.4% (n=9)
Other politicians/political groups	0.0% (n=0)	4.7% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)	7.2% (n=12)
Total	0.0% (n=0)	7.0% (n=3)	27.3% (n=6)	12.7% (n=21)
Non-governmental organisations	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	11.4% (n=19)
Experts	0.0% (n=0)	2.3% (n=1)	0.0% (n=0)	7.8% (n=13)
Other	4.2% (n=1)	7.0% (n=3)	0.0% (n=0)	4.8% (n=8)
Total	100% (n=24)	100% (n=43)	100% (n=22)	100% (n=166)

The following sections examining news source citations³ regarding the political stance taken towards China and Tibet by newspaper format from 1949 to 2009, will also show the differences between the broadsheets and the tabloids.

Source stance towards China. For source stance towards China's presence in

³ In this section, the neutral source citations towards China's presence in Tibet and Tibet's independence by newspaper format are not important, so, they are not shown in the graphs.

Tibet by newspaper format from 1949 to 2009, broadsheet newspapers usually had more positive source citations than tabloid newspapers (see Figure 8.8 below). Comparatively, when dealing with negative source citations towards China, the tabloids mostly had more than the broadsheets (see Figure 8.9 below).

Figure 8.8 The number of sources supporting China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper format from 1949 to 2009

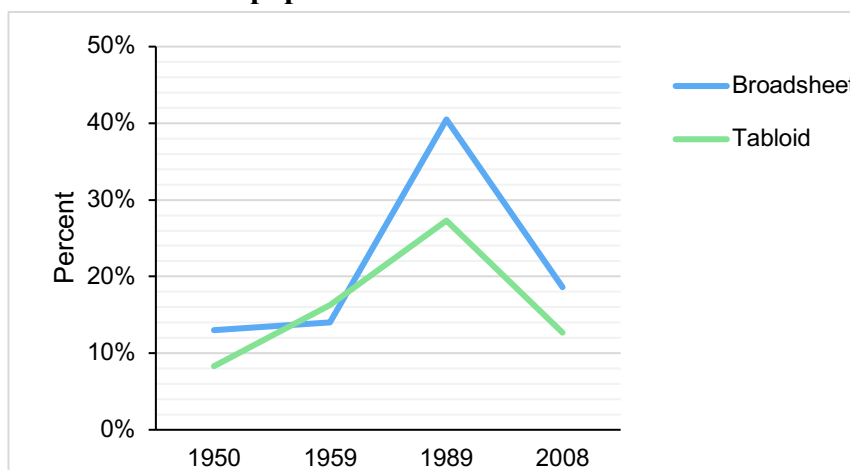
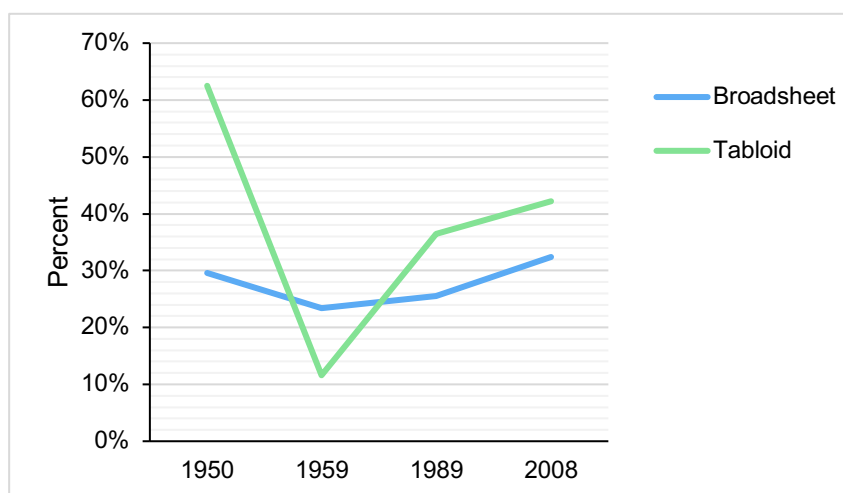


Figure 8.9 The number of sources opposing China’s presence in Tibet by newspaper format from 1949 to 2009



Source stance towards Tibet. Figures 8.10 and 8.11 below indicate that, mainly, tabloid newspapers had fewer source citations opposing Tibet’s independence than broadsheet newspapers from 1949 to 2009. They also had moderately fewer positive source citations towards Tibet than the broadsheets across the four research periods.

As discussed above, on the one hand, the tabloids preferred to use more negative source citations towards China while they used fewer negative source citations towards Tibet to draw people’s attention to the issue they were reporting. On the other hand, the broadsheets were more likely to report the Tibet issue neutrally. They quoted more sources with a variety of voices towards the Tibet issue, including more source citations supporting China’s presence in Tibet, as well as more positive and negative source citations towards Tibet’s independence.

Figure 8.10 The number of sources supporting Tibet’s independence by newspaper format from 1949 to 2009

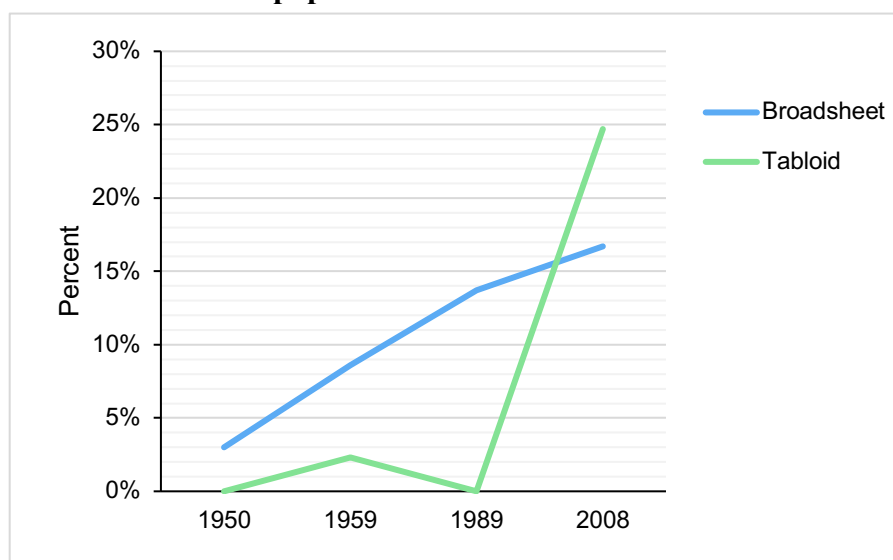
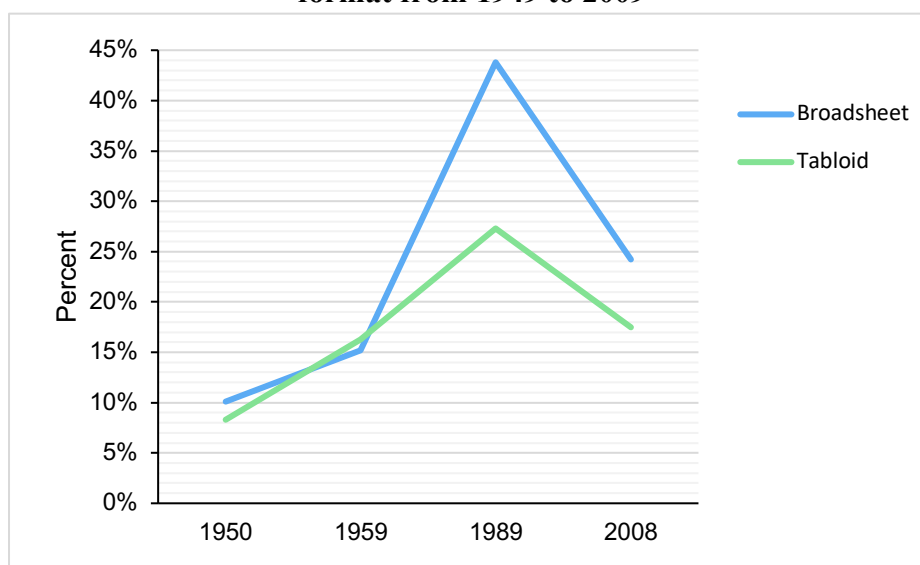


Figure 8.11 The number of source opposing Tibet’s independence by newspaper format from 1949 to 2009



Summary

The results of this section provide data to answer the question, ‘What were the similarities and differences in the British press coverage of Tibet according to newspaper format from 1949 to 2009?’ When comparing the news articles on Tibet between the broadsheets and the tabloids over the period of fifty years, the results of the content analysis consistently show some differences. When compared with the tabloids, the broadsheets focused more on international news and politics. They concentrated on news stories that were factual, and therefore used a more diverse, objective and formal way to represent the Tibet issue. In particular, they used more front-page stories, longer articles, and more detailed and in-depth coverage in their reports on Tibet.

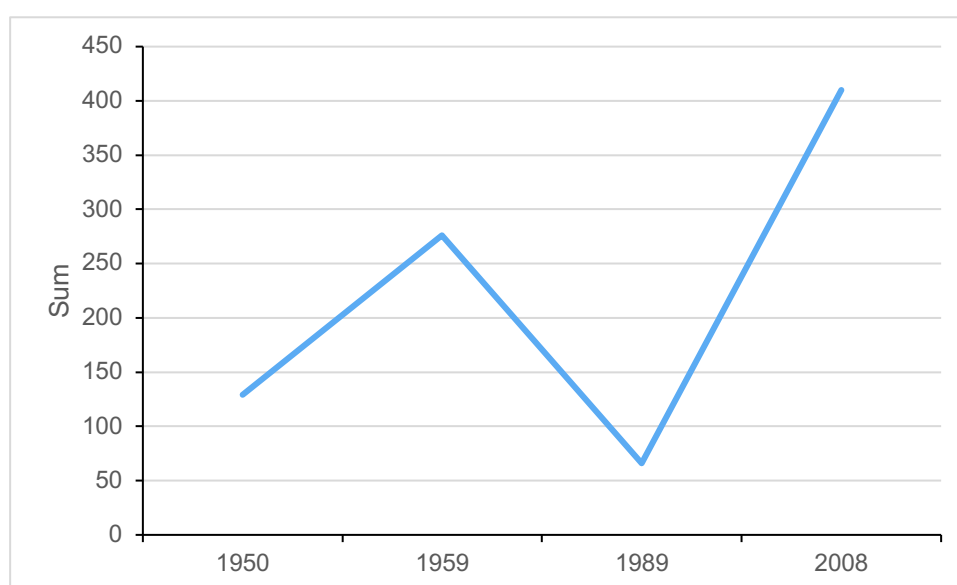
In contrast, the tabloids were interested in less serious matters, and thus did not report the Tibet issue quite as often as the broadsheets. They covered Tibet with shorter and fewer in-depth stories, which were mostly sensational. They also showed clearer political opinions, mainly through the sources they selected when they represented Tibet. More precisely, they utilised more negative source citations towards China but fewer negatives source citations towards Tibet in the news coverage. However, as showed in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, although the broadsheets and the tabloids represented the Tibet issue differently in terms of the covering patterns, there were no fundamental differences regarding news frames they used in the news articles. The research again reveals that when the outlier, the pro-Communist newspaper, was excluded from the tabloids, the British press represented the Tibet issue in a similar way.

Changes in the British newspaper coverage of Tibet from 1949 to 2009

When we look back over the four research periods, across a total of 881 news articles, newspaper coverage of Tibet had increased enormously over fifty years (see Figure

8.12 below). This might be because the content of newspapers had increased over time (Niblock, 2008), but it might also reflect the greater openness of China to the West and the West's growing interest in China, especially in the early 21st century (Goldstein, 2017), which contributed to increasing concern in the UK about Tibet. However, to gain a fuller and clearer picture of the truth, it is better to study the front-page presence of news articles by newspaper publishing year.

Figure 8.12 Amount of coverage of Tibet by newspaper publishing year from 1949 to 2009



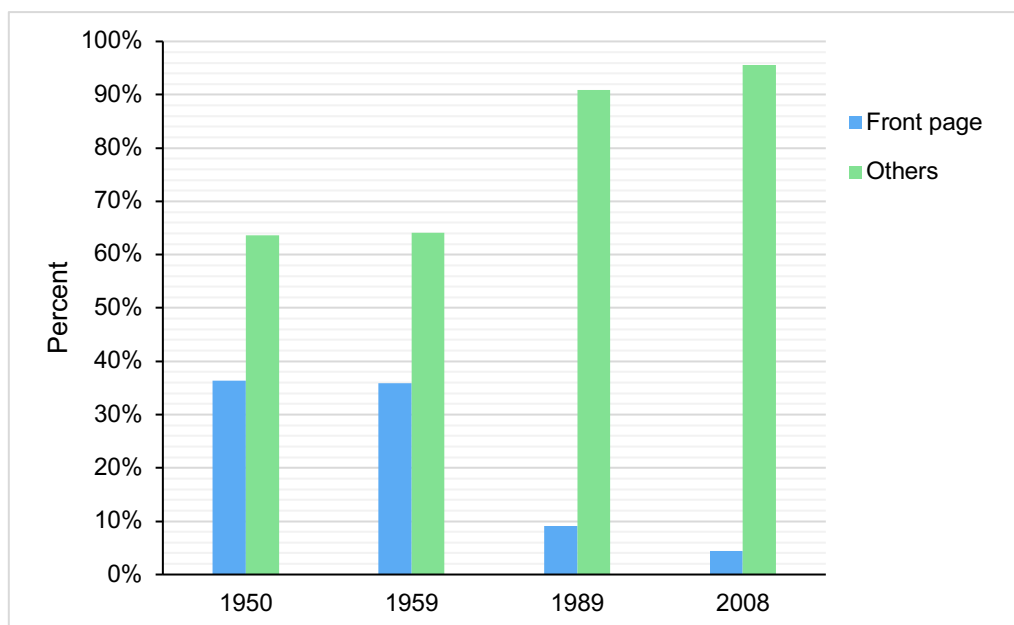
Front-page presence

As shown in Chapter 3, where a story appears in a newspaper indicates how important the issue is on the news media agenda. As can be seen from Figure 8.13 below, most of the news articles were published on other pages (80.7% of total news articles, $n=711$). Just 19.3% of total stories ($n=170$) were published on the front pages.

In addition, the chi-square test suggests significant differences of the front-page presence between the four research periods ($\chi^2 = 135.923$, $p < 0.05$). More precisely, the number of front-page stories in 1950 constituted 36.4% of total articles (within 1950, $n=47$), more than those of 1959 and 1989. 2008 had the lowest percentage of front-page stories, at only 4.4%, or eighteen articles. Therefore, based on this measure,

while there was more coverage of Tibet in the national press, its prominence had declined from 1949 to 2009.

Figure 8.13 Amount of front-page coverage of Tibet by newspaper publishing year from 1949 to 2009



$\chi^2 = 135.923$; d.f. = 3; $p < 0.05$

Average word count

As noted in Chapter 3, the space given to an issue is another indication of its importance in the news media agenda. Table 8.4 below illustrates the newspaper space given to the Tibet issue over the time period examined.

Table 8.4 Average word count of news articles on Tibet by newspaper publishing year from 1949 to 2009

The publishing year	Average words per news article
1950	203.53
1959	391.17
1989	399.55
2008	400.27
Average	368.56

$F(3, 877) = 15.619$; $p < 0.05$

According to Table 8.4, the one-way ANOVA principally suggests that the average

word count of news articles of 1950 was statistically significantly different from that of the other three periods ($F_{3, 877} = 15.619$, $p < 0.05$), but the average word count of articles was quite similar between the years of 1959, 1989 and 2008. Specifically, news articles in 2008 had the highest average word count, reaching around 400 words. Likewise, news coverage of 1989 and 1959 had over 399 words and around 391 words per article respectively. The articles of 1950 had the lowest average word count with less than 300 words per news article. The research shows that the Tibet issue was not really part of the news media agenda in 1950, having very little newspaper space allocated to it. It had increased by 1959. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this was due to the fact that the size and shape of the British newspapers have changed throughout their history. During WWII and for several years afterwards, newsprint rationing contributed to limited page extents of the British press (Griffiths, 2006). After the lifting of the restrictions on newsprint in the mid-1950s, the British newspapers were free to revolutionise their format and content in order to attract new readers (Niblock, 2008). They have more pages than ever.

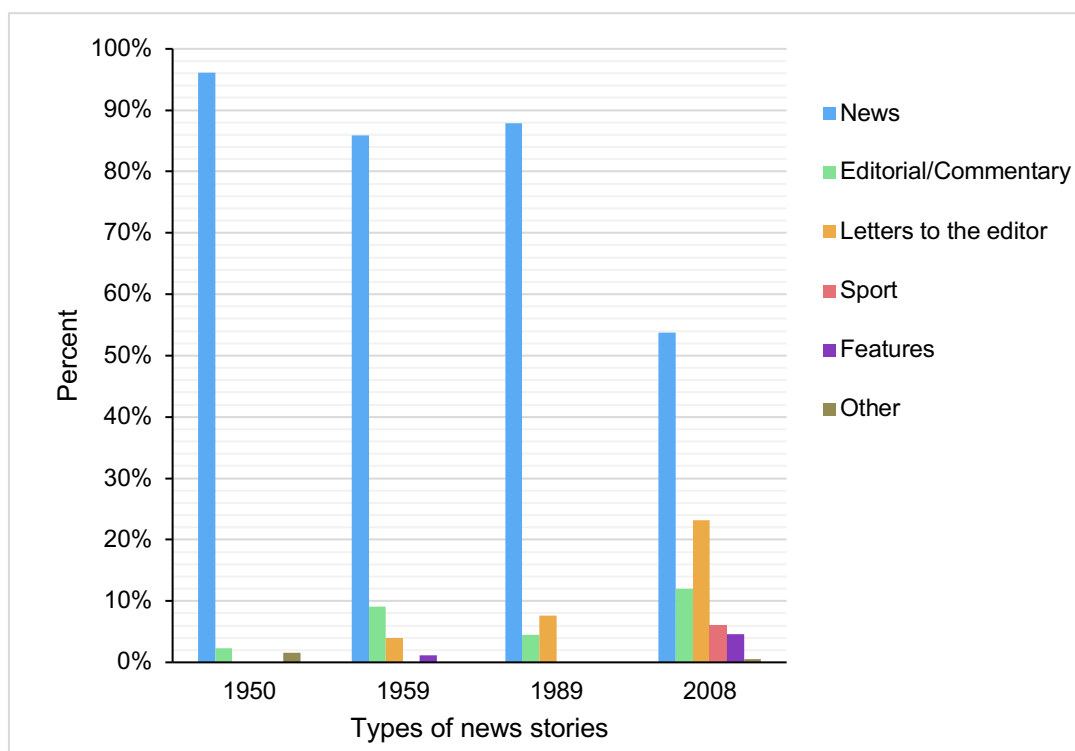
Consequently, there was a mixed picture from the two indicators of the prominence level. On the one hand, there was a decline in terms of front-page presence of the Tibet issue by newspaper publishing year. On the other hand, the average article length was much shorter in 1950 than in the other three research periods, which was because newsprint rationing was still ongoing at the time. Meanwhile, there was no substantial difference regarding the average word count of news articles between these three periods. Thus, the results reveal that the Tibet issue was less prominent in the articles of 2008 than those of the other research periods. Further discussion will be shown in the following sections.

Types of news stories

As regard to the types of news stories on Tibet, according to Figure 8.14 below, overall, news was always the top reportage category, which accounted for over 72.5%

of total articles. Around 12.6% of Tibet stories were letters to the editor and 9.1% of items were editorials/commentaries. The reportage categories of sport and features followed.

Figure 8.14 The number of types of news stories on Tibet by newspaper publishing year from 1949 to 2009



$$\chi^2 = 169.103; \text{d.f.} = 15; p < 0.05$$

Figure 8.14 also shows that there were statistically significant differences in the types of news stories between the four research periods ($\chi^2 = 169.103$, $p < 0.05$). More exactly, news articles of 1950 stood out with the highest proportion of news, constituting 96.1% (within 1950). In 2008, the reportage category of news reached just 53.7% (within 2008). However, the reportage categories of editorial/commentary, letters to the editor, sport and features were more evident in 2008 than in the other research periods.

As discussed above, compared to the years of 1950, 1959 and 1989, news stories of 2008 provided a wider variety of types of news stories on Tibet than in previous news. They gave more ‘colour’ to coverage by formulating their opinions via editorials/commentaries, and they also provided more in-depth coverage of Tibet as

well as a certain amount of public engagement through features and letters to the editor. This result echoes the finding that, the Tibet issue was less prominent in the news articles of 2008 than those of the other research periods. As shown in Chapter 2, this may be due to the changing nature of the press (e.g. structures, ideology) (Rottwilm, 2014). For instance, they increased the number of pages, added and expanded supplements and sections in the newspapers to cover a broader range of topics (Williams, 2010). Furthermore, they gradually shrank the size of the newspaper page (Esser, 1999), incorporating changes in the size, values and production methods associated with ‘tabloidisation’ (Williams, 2010). On the other hand, the result reflects that newspapers in 2008 could access more information about Tibet, and thus a wider range of ways to report the Tibet issue. This will be further examined in the next section through discussion of the changes of topics about Tibet between the four research periods from 1949 to 2009.

Topics

This section examines how topics⁴ of the Tibet issue changed over the four research periods from 1949 to 2009 (see Table 8.5 below). The most common topics found across the four research periods were ‘Tibetans’ resistances/protests’, ‘the Olympics (Torch Relay)/Sports’, ‘China’s suppression’, ‘China’s advance/control’, ‘China’s views’, ‘the Dalai Lama’s actions/situation’, ‘India’s views’ and ‘human rights’. There were differences in terms of dominant topics of news articles on Tibet between the four research periods. More accurately, the topics related to India appeared more often in 1950 and 1959 than in the other research periods. This was due to the fact that India played quite an important role in Sino-Tibetan relations during the early Cold War period, especially when the Dalai Lama fled to India in 1959.

In addition, the topics of ‘Tibetans’ resistances/protests’, ‘China’s suppression’,

⁴ The category of topics is based on multiple-response variables (Topic1, Topic 2 and Topic 3 have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

‘China’s views’ and ‘China’s policies’ were presented in news articles of 1989 more often than those of the other research periods. During the early Cold War, China closed its doors to the West and capitalism in general (Daccache and Valeriano, 2012), which led to limited access to information from both Tibet and China. However, from the 1970s, China was opened to the outside world again (Neuhaus, 2012) and Sino-British relations improved (Liu, 2012), which contributed to more opportunities to get information about Tibet as well as more attention to be paid to China. Therefore, when the British press reported the Tibet issue near the end of the Cold War in 1989, they could present more topics related to China and ‘Tibetan’s resistances/protests’ than previous periods.

Table 8.5 The number of topics in coverage of Tibet from 1949 to 2009

Topics	1950	1959	1989	2008
China’s advance/control	29.1% (n=93)	0.3% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)	1.1% (n=12)
Tibetans’ actions rather than resistances/protests	10.9% (n=35)	1.6% (n=11)	0.0% (n=0)	0.2% (n=2)
India’s views	10.6% (n=34)	12.0% (n=80)	0.0% (n=0)	0.3% (n=3)
China’s views	7.8% (n=25)	4.6% (n=31)	10.6% (n=20)	4.2% (n=45)
Other policies	6.9% (n=22)	2.1% (n=14)	1.6% (n=3)	7.5% (n=81)
India’s actions	5.9% (n=19)	4.5% (n=30)	0.0% (n=0)	0.1% (n=1)
Other actions	4.4% (n=14)	10.3% (n=69)	4.3% (n=8)	6.3% (n=68)
Tibetans’ views	4.4% (n=14)	0.9% (n=6)	2.7% (n=5)	0.7% (n=8)
India's policies	4.1% (n=13)	7.9% (n=53)	0.0% (n=0)	0.2% (n=2)
Tibetans’ resistances/protests	4.1% (n=13)	13.6% (n=91)	22.9% (n=43)	12.4% (n=133)
The Dalai Lama's actions/situation	4.1% (n=13)	13.9% (n=93)	2.7% (n=5)	0.4% (n=4)
Other	3.4% (n=11)	8.1% (n=54)	6.4% (n=12)	5.2% (n=56)
UK’s views	2.2% (n=7)	1.0% (n=7)	0.5% (n=1)	5.7% (n=61)
Other views	1.3% (n=4)	6.7% (n=45)	7.4% (n=14)	7.4% (n=80)
China’s policies	0.9% (n=3)	2.1% (n=14)	20.2% (n=38)	3.6% (n=39)
China’s suppression	0.0% (n=0)	10.3% (n=69)	20.2% (n=38)	12.5% (n=134)
Olympic (Torch Relay)/Sports	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	23.3% (n=251)
Human rights	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.5% (n=1)	8.9% (n=96)
Total	100% (n=320)	100% (n=669)	100% (n=188)	100% (n=1076)

Until the post-Cold War period in 2008, they used a greater variety of ways to represent the Tibet issue rather than merely reporting Tibet with the customary topics such as ‘China’s suppression’ and ‘Tibetans’ resistances/protests’. As we can see from Table 8.5, the topics of ‘the Olympics (Torch Relay)/Sports’ and ‘human rights’, which appeared frequently in the news articles of 2008, were not at all common across the other three periods. As analysed in Chapter 7, the run-up to the 2008 Beijing Olympics brought human rights discourse of Tibet into focus. That is to say, it generated significant coverage, not just of the Olympics or sports, but of human rights aspects of the Tibet issue amid the attitudes of the rest of the world. Furthermore, the topics related to other countries (especially the UK) were also more evident in the press coverage of 2008. To a certain extent these results reflect that since 1989, the international world was more concerned about the Tibet issue, particularly its human rights aspects, than ever before. The reasons will be expanded upon later in the sections of the qualitative frame analysis.

Who spoke on Tibet and what their political stance was?

This section examines the changes in the overall distribution of sources, and the sources’ political stance towards China and Tibet from 1949 to 2009.

Sources

As shown in Table 8.6 below, the major sources⁵ cited across the four research periods were: government, media/journalist, unofficial/unconfirmed sources, the general public, politicians/political groups and non-governmental organisations. A full breakdown of the actual source citations is given in Appendix 1. The following sections will analyse the relationship between the dominant sources and the four research periods.

⁵ The category of sources is based on multiple-response variables (Source 1, Source 2, Source3 and Source 4 have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

Table 8.6 The number of sources in coverage of Tibet from 1949 to 2009

Source	1950	1959	1989	2008
Government				
India's government	23.9% (n=49)	24.6% (n=137)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
China's government	10.2% (n=21)	7.9% (n=44)	20.8% (n=37)	13.5% (n=110)
Tibet's government/the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region	8.3% (n=17)	1.8% (n=10)	4.5% (n=8)	2.5% (n=20)
US's government	2.4% (n=5)	1.3% (n=7)	1.1% (n=2)	3.6% (n=29)
UK's government	2.4% (n=5)	0.9% (n=5)	1.1% (n=2)	9.1% (n=74)
Other government	1.0% (n=2)	9.1% (n=18)	2.8% (n=5)	6.0% (n=49)
Total	48.3% (n=99)	39.6% (n=221)	30.3% (n=54)	34.6% (n=282)
Media/journalist				
China's media/journalist	10.7% (n=22)	8.1% (n=45)	21.3% (n=38)	4.4% (n=36)
India's media/journalist	6.3% (n=13)	6.5% (n=36)	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)
Other media/journalist	5.9% (n=12)	4.5% (n=25)	3.9% (n=7)	5.4% (n=44)
Total	22.9% (n=47)	19.0% (n=106)	25.3% (n=45)	9.8% (n=80)
Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news	22.0% (n=45)	15.9% (n=89)	1.1% (n=2)	0.0% (n=0)
The general public				
Residents	2.4% (n=5)	2.7% (n=15)	9.6% (n=17)	3.6% (n=29)
Demonstrators/campaigners/protestors/activists	0.0% (n=0)	0.9% (n=5)	2.2% (n=4)	4.2% (n=34)
Observers/witnesses/travellers	1.5% (n=3)	0.9% (n=5)	11.2% (n=20)	2.6% (n=21)
The general public other	0.0% (n=0)	0.0% (n=0)	0.6% (n=1)	0.7% (n=6)
Total	3.9% (n=8)	4.5% (n=25)	23.6% (n=42)	11.0% (n=90)
Politicians/political groups				
The Dalai Lama/those close to him	0.0% (n=0)	2.3% (n=13)	11.2% (n=20)	6.6% (n=54)
Other politicians/political groups	0.0% (n=0)	6.0% (n=33)	1.7% (n=3)	4.2% (n=34)
Total	0.0% (n=0)	8.2% (n=46)	12.9% (n=23)	10.8% (n=88)
Non-governmental organisations				
Experts	0.0% (n=0)	3.4% (n=19)	1.1% (n=2)	5.6% (n=46)
Other	2.9% (n=6)	8.8% (n=49)	5.1% (n=9)	10.6% (n=86)
Total	100% (n=205)	100% (n=558)	100% (n=178)	100% (n=815)

First, the results show that news stories of 1950 and 1959 had the highest percentage for the frequency of the category of government by newspaper publishing year, at 48.3% of total sources of 1950 (n=99) and 39.6% of total sources of 1959 (n=221) respectively.

More precisely, the source of India's government only appeared in the news coverage of 1950 and 1959, which again indicates that during the early Cold War, India played an important role in Sino-Tibetan relations. In addition, news articles of 1989 and 2008 paid more attention to the Chinese government sources than during the other two research periods. In contrast, the source of Tibet's government (which became the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1965) was quoted more frequently in 1950 than in the following research periods. Accordingly, the research shows that the British press paid progressively more attention to the Chinese government's views. Furthermore, the sources of the UK and the US governments were more evident in 2008 than in the other research periods. In other words, the US and the UK increasingly had their eye on the Tibet issue, hence, in 2008 they offered more opinions than before.

Second, compared to the years of 1989 and 2008, the news articles of 1950 (22% within 1950, n=45) and 1959 (15.9% within 1959, n=89) presented a strong and on-going concern on unofficial/unconfirmed sources. However, the British newspapers rarely quoted unofficial sources in 1989, and by 2008, they no longer used these sources in the articles. Compared to 1950 and 1959, the general public (e.g. observers/witnesses/travellers and residents) were quoted as sources more frequently in the news articles of 1989 and 2008.

As discussed above, the results indicate that compared to the other research periods, news stories of the early Cold War were more likely to quote government sources (especially the Chinese government) which were convincing. Besides, they also quoted more unofficial sources which were hearsay, but displayed fewer sources of the general public (e.g. observers/witnesses/travellers and residents). This was due

to Tibet's distant location and language barriers, and China's constrained political system (China closing its doors to the West and capitalism in general) (Daccache and Valeriano, 2012). Under these circumstances, the British newspapers acquired information about Tibet through limited and sometimes inappropriate sources. They not only quoted the convincing government sources but also many unofficial hearsay sources during the early Cold War. However, the opening and internationalisation of Tibet in the 1980s (Mackerras, 2003) and the improved Sino-British relations contributed to more opportunities to obtain information about Tibet. Therefore, the newspapers could quote more sources of observers/witnesses/travellers near the end of the Cold War and during the post-Cold War period.

Third, China's media/journalist was the main media/journalist source highlighted throughout the news articles across the four research periods. This result shows that China's media/journalist, which was the Chinese Communist Party's mouthpiece, was treated as a secondary source of information of the Chinese government. That is to say, government sources were always treated as the most reliable and preferred sources of information.

Furthermore, the Dalai Lama/those close to him quite often appeared in the articles of 1989 and 2008, which reflected that the Dalai Lama was considered to be the true representative of Tibet and the Tibetan government-in-exile, and was depicted as playing an increasingly important role in the Tibet issue. This was because the opening of Tibet was accompanied by international tours by the Dalai Lama, which led to his considerable international prestige. In addition, the award of the Noble Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama in 1989 got widespread coverage in the press, which played a major contribution to the popularity of the Dalai Lama all over the world.

Finally, non-governmental organisations were quoted more frequently in the news articles of 2008 than in the other research periods. This was because the internationalisation of Tibet initiated massive pro-Tibet campaigns, which provoked

sympathy for the Tibetan people and solidarity with their battle against China's oppression. In other words, Tibet Support Groups, Tibetan communities in exile and other non-governmental organisations increased both the quality and quantity of media coverage of Tibet, and committed to the hastening of freedom for the oppressed Tibetans.

It is worth noting that during the post-Cold War period, newspapers quoted various information sources (e.g. experts, intergovernmental organisations and artists/arts organisations etc.), which had rarely been quoted in previous news articles. This result implies that the British press was increasingly able to use a diversity of sources and was thus not as likely to rely on information from the government sources (especially the Chinese government) alone.

The research results of this section will be further discussed in the section of the qualitative frame analysis. The next section examines news source citations regarding political stances they took towards China and Tibet, and finds out whether there were differences between the four research periods.

Source stance towards China's presence in Tibet

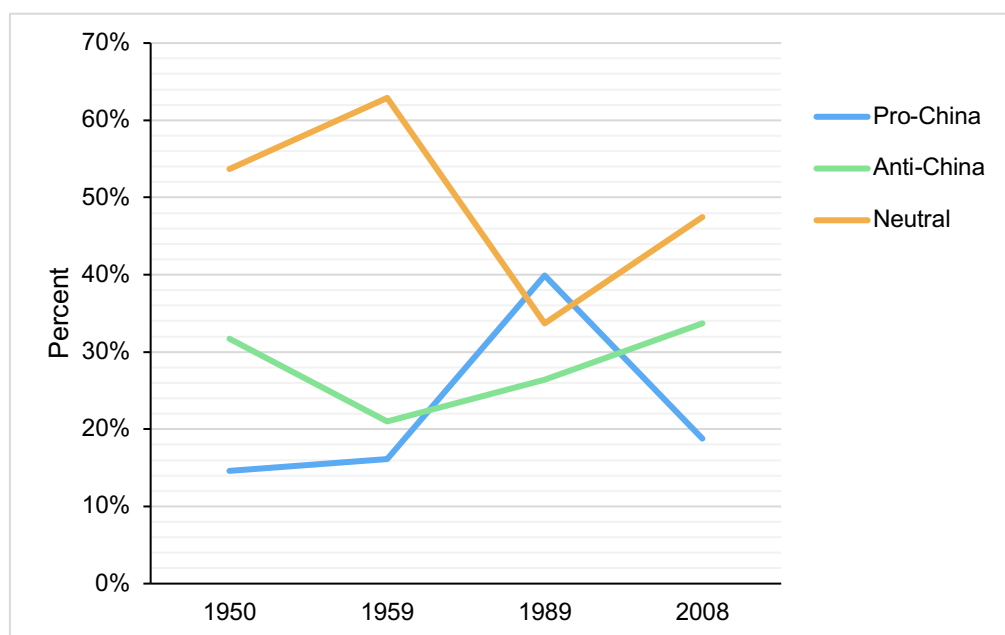
The relationship between source stance towards China's presence in Tibet⁶ and the newspaper publishing year is shown in Figure 8.15 below. The largest group of source citations, which was in favour of China's presence in Tibet, was in the year of 1989, at around 40% (within 1989). 1950, 1959 and 2008 followed, each with a similar proportion. So, compared to the early Cold War and the post-Cold War periods, more pro-China news sources were being heard near the end of the Cold War.

When analysed in terms of source citations against China's presence in Tibet, the largest numbers of sources were in 2008 (33.7% within 2008) and 1950 (31.7% within 1950). 1989 (26.4% within 1989) and 1959 (21% within 1959) followed

⁶ The category of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet is based on multiple-response variables (Source Stance 1, Source Stance 2, Source Stance 3 and Source Stance 4 towards China's presence in Tibet have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

accordingly.

Figure 8.15 Amount of source stance towards China's presence in Tibet from 1949 to 2009



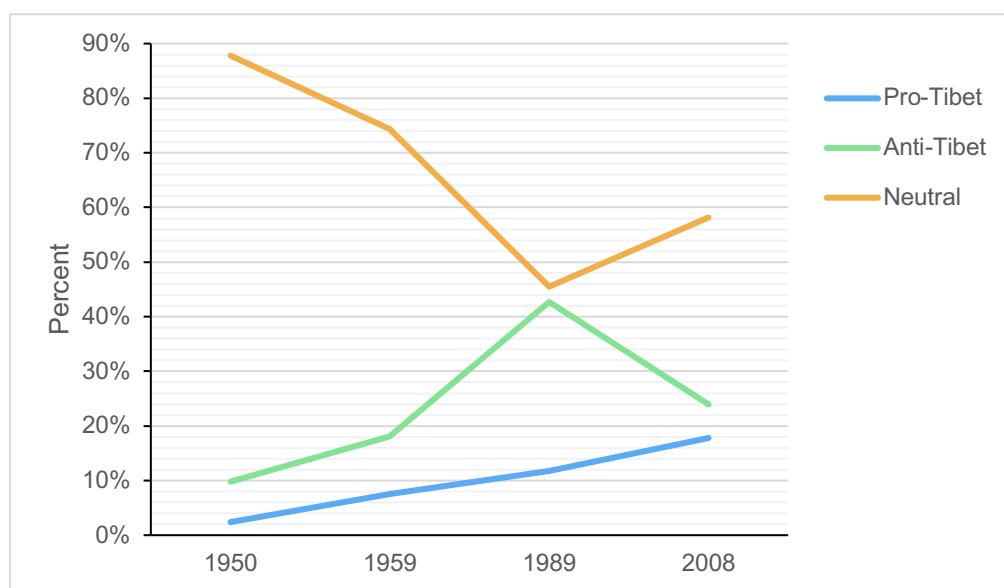
In conclusion, when discussing positive source citations towards China's presence in Tibet, the year 1989 had more than the other research periods, which might be because Sino-British relations had improved during the 1980s (Eisel, 2007). In contrast, the years of 1950 and 2008 had more source citations opposing China's presence in Tibet than the other research periods. On the one hand, this was due to the deterioration of Sino-British relations during the early Cold War in 1950. On the other hand, although Sino-British relations had improved in 2008, the British newspapers were increasingly concerned about human rights aspects of the Tibet issue after 1989. That is to say, they regularly criticised China for its human rights abuses in Tibet. This view will be further examined in the sections of the qualitative frame analysis.

Source stance towards Tibet's independence

Figure 8.16 below illustrates the analysis of changes in the amount of source stance

towards Tibet's independence⁷ from 1949 to 2009. The year 1989 (42.7% within the year of 1989) had more negative source citations towards Tibet than the other research periods. Comparatively, the positive tone towards Tibet's independence was the most evident amongst the news sources used in 2008 (17.8% within the year of 2008). The results reflect that, before the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989, Sino-British relations had improved, so more negative source citations towards Tibet appeared. However, after the Tiananmen Square protests, China's human rights abuses in Tibet received more attention from the outside world, and the British press quoted more positive source citations towards Tibet than before. This will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Figure 8.16 Amount of source stance towards Tibet's independence from 1949 to 2009



In conclusion, the content analysis results show that there were marked differences regarding the covering patterns of the British press coverage of Tibet between the four research periods. These results will be supplemented by a qualitative

⁷ The category of source stance towards Tibet's independence is based on multiple-response variables (Source Stance 1, Source Stance 2, Source Stance 3 and Source Stance 4 towards Tibet's independence have been combined into a set). So, the chi-square test is not suitable for tables that include a multiple-response variable.

frame analysis in the next section to provide a deeper context and background for changes in the representations of Tibet in the British press from 1949 to 2009.

Changes in frames: 1949 to 2009

The analysis shows that there were obvious differences in the dominant frames in news articles on Tibet across the four time periods.

Frame 1: China is the invader/oppressor of Tibet: The Red Menace or not?

Although Chinese politicians and publicists were always represented as asserting that Tibet had been a part of China, there were some differences in the ways the British press presented China's views from 1949 to 2009. When the Chinese People's Liberation Army were marching into Tibet in 1950, they were shown as proclaiming their military action to be the 'liberation' of Tibetan serfs from feudalism and the region from imperialist aggression. In the news coverage, the Chinese government gave the strong impression that one of the primary objectives of the 'liberation' was to create 'national unity' by the forceful integration of Tibet with China, and Western imperialism was viewed as the enemy of this supposed unity. The British press displayed the PRC as maintaining that its 1950 'peaceful liberation' of Tibet was nothing more than a reassertion of China's authority over its own territory. Therefore, during the early Cold War period, China was principally portrayed as perceiving the Western criticism as one of the instruments by which the Western nations would interfere in China's own 'internal affairs'.

Compared to the early Cold War, the Chinese government's position and views were more visible near the end of the Cold War and during the post-Cold War period. In addition, the British press used a different way to represent China's views, especially in 2008. The Chinese government was presented not only as accusing the 'Dalai clique' of planning and inciting 'splittist' actions to divide Tibet from China, but also as criticising the Western media's anti-Chinese bias. This change of frames

was because in the internationalised world, China had increasingly more opportunities to learn how the Western media reported the Tibet issue.

Contrary to the Chinese government's statements, China's presence in Tibet was treated as an invasion and oppression, and, in this, there were some differences in the representations of China in the British press from 1949 to 2009. When the Cold War was raging in the 1950s, the news coverage principally displayed China using the ideological labels such as 'Communist China', 'Communist', 'Reds' and 'Red China'. That is to say, most of the British press portrayed China as the Red Menace, which represented China as both a domestic and an international threat. This was because in 1949, China's Communist Party prevailed against the Nationalists and assumed power, and on 1 October in the same year, the People's Republic of China was established. China's membership in the Communist Camp in 1949 caused renewed fear of the spread of Communism. China was now regarded as one of the large Communist powers in the world. In other words, 'Red' China was treated as an ally of the Soviet Union and as a threat to Western countries. Rooted in an opposing ideology and social system, the British press were accustomed to portraying China as a nation that refuted the values and principles that constitute the British way of life. This echoes Herman and Chomsky's (1988, p. 29) argument that, 'opposition to Communism' is the 'first principle of Western ideology and politics', thus, anti-Communism became a control mechanism in British newsroom. Accordingly, the fear of a possible Communist expansion out of China resulted in an abundance of metaphors presenting Communism as a disease by the British press (*ibid.*), so China was clearly interpreted within the Cold War frame (Knüsel, 2012). The Red Menace was used by the press as a frame to portray Communist China. Furthermore, the Tibet issue was exploited by the British press to criticise China's governmental policies. It was generally perceived by the West as a classic case in which the 'evil of Communism' was most dramatically demonstrated: Asia's most powerful military force invading a peaceful and powerless place; the godless Communists conquering the God-fearing people;

and a classic case of David versus Goliath (Norbu, 2001). Thus, it was deployed as part of the global policy of containment of Communist expansion and consequent counter-Communist crusade (ibid.). On the other hand, certain romantic and pathetic images of Tibet, especially those of 1950 (takeover) and 1959 (the revolt and the Dalai Lama's escape) caught the public imagination, feeding on and reinforcing the prevailing counter-Communism ideal in British society (ibid.).

In contrast, near the end of the Cold War in 1989, the British newspapers no longer portrayed China as the Red Menace, although they continued to treat China as the oppressor. This was due to the fact that the UK had showed its intentions for a more US-independent foreign policy in the 1970s (Eisel, 2007). As Clayton (1997) indicates, initially in the early Cold War, British policy towards China was to negotiate and compromise with the Communists so as to protect and enhance Britain's interests in the region. However, the UK realised that it was the junior partner in the Anglo-American relationship, so found it impossible to fully adopt the policy of conciliation and negotiation it favoured (ibid.). That is to say, under intense pressure from the US, especially after the Chinese involvement in the Korean War in 1950, and the resulting anti-Communist China policy of the US and the whole Western Camp, the UK proceeded cautiously (Kaufman, 2001). However, the deterioration of Sino-Soviet relations in the 1960s and the 1972 Nixon visit to China released Britain from the anti-China pressure in the Western Camp as well as making an official re-approach in the political field possible (Eisel, 2007). After that, Sino-British relations were raised from *chargé d'affaires* to ambassadorial level (Liu, 2012), and the friendship flourished. Against this background, near the end of the Cold War, the UK probably saw some favourable global and regional developments that might have encouraged a reduction in 'the tensions and suspicions that had originally compelled the Communist armed intervention and direct political action in Tibet' (Norbu, 2001, p. 9).

Frame 2: Representations of the Tibetan people: from 'victims' to active resisters?

In terms of the representations of the Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama in the British press over the period of fifty years, they were initially portrayed in 1950 as treating the Chinese as the 'invaders' rather than as permitting and accepting China's presence. The press showed that the peaceful life of Tibetans and the Dalai Lama had been shattered by the Chinese military entry into Tibet, and they were the victims of China's occupation. Moreover, the Tibetan people were also framed as the victims of Communist China's oppression in 1959. Comparisons were made between the powerless Tibetans and the powerful Chinese in order to emphasise that the Chinese presence should not be accepted. Near the end of the Cold War and in the post-Cold War period, the papers indicated, on the one hand, that Tibetans were the subjects of the Han Chinese conquerors. On the other hand, news coverage showed that the Tibetan people engaged in active resistance when confronting China's oppression. They were depicted as actively fighting against the military giant for their independence.

Second, there were far fewer accounts of the Dalai Lama in 1950. Even though he was already a political leader, he was only presented as a spiritual leader in the news articles. However, the Dalai Lama received more attention in 1959, and was treated by the newspapers both as a spiritual and political leader. As analysed in Chapters 6 and 7, in 1989 and 2008, the Dalai Lama was comparatively more visible in the news coverage. The British press continued portraying the Dalai Lama as the 'God-King' and the supreme spiritual leader of Tibetans. It also further strengthened his image as the political leader of the Tibetan people and head of the Tibetan government-in-exile. His declarations had been frequently quoted in the press as being the voice of Tibetans. His claims about the situation in Tibet were convincing due to his special status and influence. Since the 1980s, the Dalai Lama's influential international role and activity increasingly drew the Western media's attention (especially the US and

the UK). His excellent rapport with the media, his timely messages to the post-industrial society, his West-friendly role, and above all, his personal charm had endeared himself to people in the West (Norbu, 2001).

In terms of the Dalai Lama's reactions to China's presence in Tibet, during the early Cold War period, his seeming lack of reaction and his situation as a hunted fugitive were treated as strong evidence to support the British newspapers' view that the Chinese were invaders/oppressors and Tibetans were the victims. In addition, near the end of the Cold War in 1989, the press reported the Dalai Lama's opinion that Chinese rule in Tibet had been oppressive and destructive of Tibetan civilisation, and he had always advocated that China should find a peaceful solution to the Lhasa protests. In contrast, during the post-Cold War period in 2008, on the one hand, he was presented as caring for the suffering Tibetans and criticising the Chinese violent oppression. On the other hand, the press showed that instead of outright independence, the Dalai Lama only wanted autonomy for Tibet within China.

Lastly, regarding the representation of the international world's views on the Tibet issue, India was presented as the main country to express her concern and opposition to China's military occupation of Tibet in 1950. In 1959, the newspapers started to use opinions from more countries to judge China's presence thereby strengthening the 'victim' image of the Tibetan people. Near the end of the Cold War and in the post-Cold War period, the British press used sources not only from various countries, but also from non-governmental organisations (e.g. Tibet Support Groups, human rights NGOs and other organisations addressing the Tibet issue) to comment on China's presence in Tibet. In the news coverage, diverse international organisations expressed concern about China's violation of human rights in Tibet. This was a result of an increasing number of NGOs having been established in the 1980s in order to raise awareness of the Tibet issue around the world (Neuhaus, 2012). The British press used the reports of these NGOs to create awareness on specific aspects of the Tibet issue.

Frame 3: The human rights frame: from absence to presence

In the early Cold War, although the British press started to use words such as ‘inhuman’ and ‘freedom’ in the newspaper headlines, they actually did not mention ‘human rights’ formally in the news articles. As seen in Chapters 6 and 7, since 1989 (near the end of the Cold War), human rights discourse of the Tibet issue was on the increase. The British newspapers largely projected the human rights aspects of the Tibet issue, and successfully transformed the issue from one of cultural interest into a political issue. The reasons for this change were: first, the opening of Tibet to the outside world in the 1980s (Mackerras, 2003). On the one hand, after Deng Xiaoping had taken over as the most prominent leadership figure in 1978, China began to open up to Western business interests, and also to Western travellers (Neuhaus, 2012). In this context, Tibet was also opened to the outside world again. On the other hand, the Dalai Lama played an important role in internationalising the Tibet issue. In 1987, the first major initiative to internationalise the Tibet issue was launched when the Dalai Lama announced the famous *Five-Point Peace Plan* in an address to the US Congressional Human Rights Caucus (Dolkar, 2008). He made it known to the world that the Chinese refusal to negotiate forced him to appeal to the international community for their support. It was accompanied by more international tours by the Dalai Lama and activities by the Tibetan community, which contributed to additional international attention (especially of the Western nations), sympathy and support for the Tibet cause. In addition, the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama in December 1989 internationalised the Tibet issue almost overnight (Roberts II and Roberts, 2009). The end of the Cold War also gave the Dalai Lama a wonderful opportunity to expound on panhuman concerns such as international peace, human rights, the environment, democracy and freedom (Norbu, 2001). His reception in Washington in 1991 was followed by meetings for the first time with many government officials, including heads of government and heads of state in several countries, including a reception held by the British Prime Minister on 2 December

1991 (Smith Jr., 2009). Consequently, in August 1991 the Tibet issue was brought before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Second, in the 1980s, Tibetans in exile altered their action and sought support from international grassroots associations, such as Tibet Support Groups and human rights NGOs, in an attempt to relay their rights-oriented demands in the international sphere (Bob, 2005). Accordingly, the efforts of these international organisations could be seen as one of the significant factors that contributed to the increase of the international awareness of Tibet's demands for human rights, and cultural and religious freedom.

Third, the Dalai Lama and his Tibetan supporters promoted internationalisation of the Tibet issue at an opportune time. In the late 1980s, popular political culture in the West was rapidly changing. Moral issues such as human rights, environment, ecology and the rights of indigenous people replaced the ideological confrontation politics (Shakya, 1999). Thus, the human rights aspects of the Tibet issue suited the Western audience as the policy position shifted with the end of the Cold War from big strategic questions to panhuman concerns (Norbu, 2001).

Lastly, from the Chinese perspective, the Chinese government enforced martial law in Tibet in March 1989. Meanwhile, in the middle of the same year, the crackdown on the Tiananmen Square pro-democracy demonstrations destroyed the trust and support that the new modernising China had attracted in the West (Eisel, 2007). Although Sino-British relations had improved in 1989, the Tiananmen incident changed the focus of the Britain's China policy, and triggered international outrage and brought home the truth of the Tibetan tragedy to the West (Norbu, 2001). In addition, China rose to prominence along with its rapid economic development in the early 21st century (Li, 2006a). Accordingly, the UK was able to increasingly focus on human rights in Tibet.

The events mentioned above led to increasing pressure on Beijing to respect

internationally recognised human rights and improve human rights conditions in Tibet. The Chinese leaders could no longer entirely ignore the human rights question as they were regularly confronted with it in international talks in which they were increasingly participating. This prompted China to publish the White Paper ‘Human Rights in China’ in November 1991 (Robin, 2016). Furthermore, in September 1992 the PRC State Council published a White Paper entitled ‘Tibet – Its Ownership and Human Rights Situation’, in which human rights and political issues were linked (Smith Jr., 2009). However, China’s understanding of human rights differed from that of Western societies (Daccache and Valeriano, 2012). Thereafter, international governments focused on the human rights aspects of the Tibet issue and presented support for the Tibetan position on the political status of Tibet. The British newspapers used the human rights frame rather than the Cold War frame when they reported the Tibet issue during the post-Cold War period. The news content represented China’s violations of fundamental rights, and the suppression of cultural and religious freedoms and rights to self-determination of the Tibetan people.

Summary

To summarise, this section is based on the finding that most of the British newspapers reported the Tibet issue in a similar manner. The research further shows that representations of Tibet changed in the British press coverage from 1949 to 2009. As discussed above, there were significant differences in terms of covering patterns and the focus in British newspaper coverage of Tibet between the four sample periods. For the news frames, compared to the time of the Cold War, the British press of the post-Cold War period used a completely different way to frame the Tibet issue. The year of 1989, which was near the end of the Cold War period, could be treated as the watershed. This study finds that the British press coverage reflected the ideology of anti-Communism during the Cold War period and China as a human rights violator in Tibet during the post-Cold War period. The changes of frames the British press used

when they covered Tibet also represented the changes in the international relations (e.g. Sino-British, Sino-Tibetan and Sino-Indian).

The next chapter explores these finding in terms of their implications for the interface between the ideological consensus and disagreement of the British press coverage of Tibet, and the relationship between the changes in the mainstream ideology of the UK and its media system in relation to Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

Introduction

It has often been assumed that media representations of the Chinese government (PRC) in the context of Tibet in the liberal democratic West are universally negative, and have always been so. This thesis set out to see if this perception was the case not only in contemporary coverage but also in the past. It did so by comparing the way that a variety of British newspapers covered and explained the Tibet issue over time. The research explored similarities and differences in the British newspapers' framing of events in Tibet, looking at variation by partisanship and newspaper format over the period of fifty years. It is only through such a spatial and temporal comparison that we can gain a better understanding of media representations of China and how they match to common perceptions. The present study also showed how media frames about China changed over time, and how the mainstream ideology emerged in frames used across four research periods from 1949 to 2009. It explored these findings in relation to existing studies, and with reference to the literature about Herman and Chomsky's (1988) propaganda model and the writings about the framing of China in Western media.

Frames of similarity

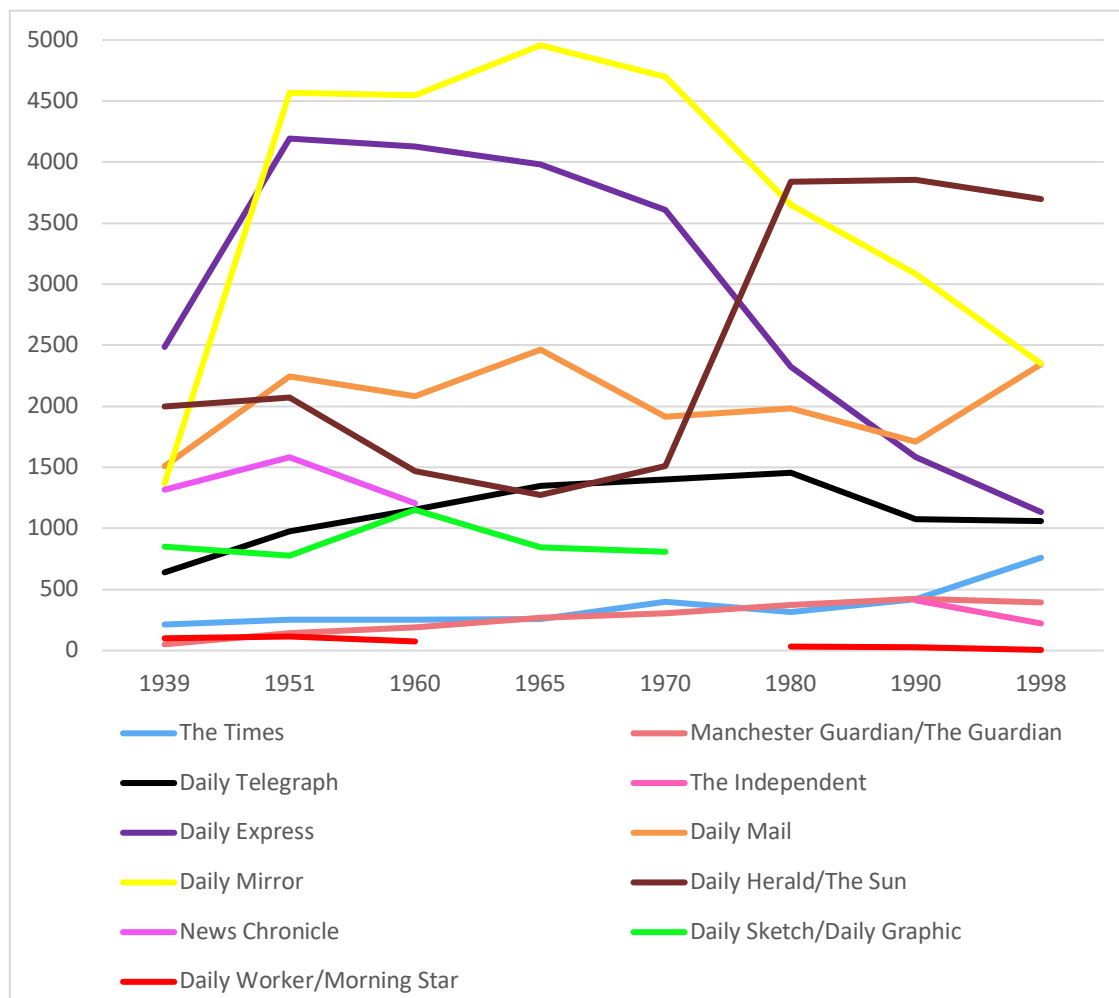
First of all, as analysed in Chapter 8, there were some differences between the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal, pro-Labour and pro-Communist newspapers, but on the Tibet issue across all time periods there was much greater similarity than difference especially among the pro-Conservative, pro-Liberal and pro-Labour newspapers. That said, the pro-Communist *Daily Worker/Morning Star*, applied a

purely Communist canon of news values in selecting its material and utilised different frames to represent the Tibet issue. For instance, the positive tone towards China's presence in Tibet and the negative tone towards Tibet's independence were generally the most evident amongst the news sources used in the pro-Communist newspaper. In addition, it portrayed Tibet as a part of China which coincided with China's official view. In this context, China was displayed as a liberator, protector and hero that could save and protect Tibetans from foreign imperialism, the feudal forces and reactionaries. The Tibetan people were also represented as benefiting from China's 'liberation' and always supporting China's military action in Tibet. In contrast, Tibetans were depicted by the other newspapers as victims or active resisters under Chinese occupation and oppression, and the Chinese authority was portrayed as an invader and oppressor who ruthlessly suppressed any dissident voices and movements. In other words, the Chinese government was constantly associated with notions of invasion, oppression and killing.

As seen in Chapter 8, it might be tempting to see the pro-Communist *Daily Worker/Morning Star* as providing a widely circulated counter-hegemonic narrative on the Tibet issue, but it should be noted it was never a mass-circulation daily and its distribution declined drastically over time (see Figure 9.1 below). The *Daily Worker/Morning Star* was the acknowledged voice of the Communist Party and financially subsidised by the Soviet Union for most of the period, and so was not concerned with chasing a wider readership with a different ideological outlook from its own (Beckett, 1995). In this sense, it rejected the tenets of capitalist society and challenged its prevailing mores, and appealed only to readers who had a very distinct 'leftist' political line and took a staunch interest in politics from a Communist, Labour, Trade Unionist and Co-operative point of view (Morgan, 1995). Therefore, its circulation and influence on mainstream society were inevitably restricted. It was insufficiently popular to challenge the dominant position and mainstream ideology of journalists from the other newspapers, the media system and society as a whole.

Accordingly, the study showed that the British press mostly framed the Tibet issue similarly across the four research periods from 1949 to 2009.

Figure 9.1 Circulations of National Daily Newspapers, 1939-1998 (to nearest 000)



Adapted from Butler and Butler (1994, p. 500)

In addition, as noted in Chapter 8, a comparison by newspaper format also showed some differences in style, with tabloid newspapers (excluding the pro-Communist *Daily Worker/Morning Star*) and broadsheet newspapers using quite different ways to represent the Tibet issue. The difference was embodied in the breadth and depth of the news coverage. The results reflected that the broadsheets covered Tibet more frequently and more fully than the tabloids. More precisely, news coverage of Tibet obtained a higher prominence level (front-page presence and average word count) in broadsheet newspapers in comparison with tabloid

newspapers. Moreover, the broadsheets reported Tibet in a more varied, objective and formal way, while the tabloids covered the Tibet issue with shorter and less in-depth stories that were more sensational. Furthermore, tabloid newspapers had more source citations opposing China's presence in Tibet but fewer source citations opposing Tibet's independence than the broadsheet newspapers; in other words, the tabloids showed clearer political opinions through sources they selected when they represented Tibet. In comparison, the broadsheets were more likely to report the Tibet issue neutrally. As discussed in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, although differences existed within broadsheet newspapers and tabloid newspapers, they framed the Tibet issue and China on the basis of the mainstream ideology of consensus, although they did it in different styles. There were no simple explanations for this difference. It was due in part to the fact that compared to the tabloids, the broadsheets were recognised by smaller circulations, by a different kind of readership and advertising support, and by their claim to present news in an objective and informative manner not slanted by their editorial opinions (Butler and King, 1965).

To summarise, there was greater similarity than difference in the way the British press framed the Tibet issue from 1949 to 2009. The British media's interests were in accord with those of the UK government, and the press had political motives for conveying approval of a stable and familiar ideology, the exception being the pro-Communist *Daily Working/Morning Star*. On the one side, the media played the role of maintainers of the hegemony of a dominant political ideology, especially during the Cold War period. They not only reflected but also strengthened the prevailing political position, serving as consensus-maintaining institutions (Hallin, 1984). Nevertheless, similar does not mean identical. On the other side, journalists of the British media chose specific angles which were of interest to the public to represent the Tibet issue. This is because the press is a business, it has commercial interests in fostering agreement on a range of consumer-oriented values (Fowler, 1991). In other words, frame-building was also a process of reciprocity between

media professionals and readers, the negotiation of a covering style with which targeted readers felt comfortable. Hence, as Hallin (1984) suggests, journalists usually feel it their responsibility to act as advocates or ceremonial protectors of consensus values. The British press needed to consider its relations with government and capital as well as its relations with individual readers, in an attempt to reach the ideology of consensus (ibid.).

Changes in frames

The above discussion provides an aggregate overview of output but has not shown how things evolved. Although there was greater similarity at certain points in time, there has also been variation over the past fifty years. From 1949 to 2009, the research periods could be divided into the early Cold War, near the end of the Cold War and the post-Cold War periods. There were differences in the frame types used by the British press between these research periods. The year 1989 could be seen as a turning point (see Table 9.1 below).

According to Table 9.1, the results show that China was interpreted within the Cold War frame in the news articles on Tibet during the early Cold War period. Although China was portrayed as perceiving the Western criticism as one of the instruments by which the Western nations would interfere in its own 'internal affairs', it was often described as the Red Menace (e.g. 'Red China', 'Reds'), who was the invader, and oppressor of Tibetans. Correspondingly, the Tibetan people were displayed as the victims of China's oppression. This technique which was identified by Herman and Chomsky (1988) as very effective in fostering anti-Communism emotions amongst readers. It was because 'Red' China was regarded as an ally of the Soviet Union as well as a threat to Western countries. Rooted in an opponent ideology and social system, and the fear of possible Communist expansion out of the PRC, the British press mainly represented China as a nation opposed to the core values of the capitalist system. Hence, the Tibet issue was exploited by the British press to

highlight China's threat, and to criticise China's government policies and military actions in Tibet. However, towards the end of the Cold War, the Chinese government's position and views were more visible than before, and it was no longer depicted as the Red Menace although it was still presented as the oppressor of the Tibetan people. In the post-Cold War period, China was portrayed not only as accusing the 'Dalai clique' of planning and inciting 'splittist' actions to divide Tibet from China, but also as criticising the Western media's anti-Chinese bias. During these two periods, the Tibetan people were displayed both as victims and as active resisters. As discussed in Chapter 8, the changing styles of coverage reflected to a certain extent the constantly changing Anglo-American relationship, Sino-British relations, Sino-Soviet relations and Sino-American relations.

Table 9.1 Differences in the dominant frames in news coverage of Tibet across the four time periods from 1949 to 2009

	The early Cold War (1950 and 1959)	Near the end of the Cold War (1989) and the post-Cold War periods (2008)
Frame 1	China was portrayed as perceiving the Western criticism as one of the instruments by which the Western nations would interfere in its own 'internal affairs'.	The Chinese government's position and views were more visible than in the early Cold War. They were presented not only as accusing the 'Dalai clique' of planning and inciting 'splittist' actions to divide Tibet from China, but also as criticising the Western media's anti-Chinese bias.
	China was displayed as the Red Menace ('Communist China', 'Reds' and 'Red China'), and its presence in Tibet was regarded as an invasion and oppression.	China was no longer portrayed as the Red Menace, although it was still treated as the oppressor.
Frame 2	Tibetans were represented as the victims of China's oppression.	Tibetans were presented both as the subjects of the Han Chinese conquerors and as active resisters.
Frame 3	The absence of the human rights frame, although the British press started to use words such as 'inhuman' and 'freedom' to express the idea of 'human freedom' mainly through the newspaper headlines.	The presence of the human rights frame, the idea of 'human rights' was mentioned formally in the news articles on Tibet.

In addition, the study found that the human rights frame had started to appear near the end of the Cold War. Until the post-Cold War period, it was prominent in the British coverage of Tibet – representations of China’s human rights abuses in Tibet accounted for a considerable proportion. Specifically, the Chinese government was accused in the news stories of violating human rights of Tibetans in a way that was very different from reports during the early Cold War. In the research period of 2008, China was chosen to be the host country of the Olympic Games, but this did not draw the British media spotlight away from human rights situation in Tibet. On the contrary, when the press reported on the Olympic Games in China, the coverage usually emphasised human rights aspects of the Tibet issue. It was because the nature of the ideology in the UK was different from that in China. As noted in Chapter 8, the popular political culture in the West was rapidly changing near the end of the Cold War. Concerns about human rights, the environment, ecology and the rights of indigenous people had become much more politically prominent in the West than the ideological confrontation politics (Shakya, 1999). Additionally, the efforts of the Dalai Lama and Tibetan supporters contributed to the internationalisation of the Tibet issue, thus increasing international awareness of Tibet’s demands for human rights and cultural and religious freedom. Also, the worldwide event of the Olympic Games had attracted Western countries’ focus to what was happening in China, especially when the breaking news was contrary to the Western ideological position. So, the methods (e.g. enforced martial law in Tibet) that were used by the Chinese government to solve the problems in Tibet had violated these international norms. As shown in Chapter 2, Britain’s political stance on the Tibet issue in 2008 included pressing the Chinese government on human rights abuses. Therefore, the human rights frame used by the press was consistent with the mainstream government policy of the UK. This explains why the human rights situation in Tibet was prominent in the coverage of 2008.

To understand the phenomenon that the British media framed the Tibet issue and

China differently over the period of fifty years, some facts may provide insights: one is that media frames of the Tibet issue changed over time because they were mainly influenced by the external reality of the Cold War and the government's position vis-à-vis China. During the Cold War period the coverage reflected the ideology of anti-Communism and during the post-Cold War period, it presented China as a human rights violator in Tibet. The second fact is that the changing frames used by the British press were an outcome of various external or internal journalistic factors.

Contributions to the propaganda model, frames and framing studies

Based on the research results presented in the above sections, the following sections will evaluate the contributions of this study to the propaganda model, frames and framing studies.

Enriching the concept of the propaganda model

As analysed in Chapter 2, to examine how the media represent world events and other nations, Herman and Chomsky's (1988) propaganda model demonstrates the ways in which the US media apply to construct the national images of other countries are always in line with elite interests. However, this model is US-focused and does not consider the historical background of other countries (e.g. the UK). Moreover, Herman and Chomsky merely defined the model through presenting empirical data rather than providing information 'on sampling and coding procedures' (Lang and Lang, 2004, p. 95). In this context, they did not explain the propaganda model according to frames and framing theory. They also did not examine changes in media representations of other nations over time, such as changes in frames and styles of coverage. In addition, their research has not mentioned the outlier, which probably represented the issue completely differently from other media outlets. Therefore, conducting a research on representations of the Tibet issue with a focus on the UK media over the period of fifty years, is a new angle for studying the framing process

of how the media are able to service the needs and interests of the elite, thus enriching the concept of the propaganda model. The research focuses on: (1) how the media represented and explained the Tibet issue; (2) whether the propaganda model applies to research on representations of Tibet in the British newspapers (according to different partisanship and format); (3) the possibility of resistance to dominant ideology; and (4) whether the British press coverage of Tibet changed over time with changes in mainstream ideology.

In this thesis, the findings show that the propaganda model can exist within the UK media system. Although the British newspapers can be divided by newspaper partisanship and newspaper format, they mostly represented the Tibet issue similarly, which always aligned with elite interests. Nevertheless, analysis of the propaganda model needs to consider the possibility of the outlier, which is contrary to the mainstream ideology (e.g. pro-Communism in the Cold War) despite its minor influence on mainstream society. In addition, in this research, a period of fifty years was divided into the early Cold War, near the end of the Cold War and the post-Cold War periods, which were adopted for interpreting changes in representations of the Tibet issue and China. The research showed that styles of coverage had become increasingly diverse as time passed, and followed the changes in ideology. In this process, the media outlets achieved simultaneous change to adapt to the ongoing development of the world.

Contributing to research on framing of China

As seen in Chapter 2, frames and framing theory play a key role in understanding the media production process and the propaganda model. However, the existing studies on the framing of China in Western media are problematic, mainly due to the careless application of the theory. First, most framing studies merely focus on researching representations of China in the US media. Only a small amount of research sheds light on the coverage of China in other Western countries. Second, most studies either

directly employ existing generic frames or randomly create new issue-specific frames without adequate explanations and in-depth exploration, and they merely utilise these frames through quantitative content analysis to simply examine the Western media coverage of China. Thus, frames are usually reduced to story topics or news content features. Third, most studies conclude that the Western media frame China with negative tones that have not been properly defined. They also show that this result is attributed to the media or journalists' deliberate distortions or subjectivity without sufficient explanation and evidence. They only pay attention to Western countries' policies and actions, but ignore other external and internal journalistic factors, which might influence the frame-building process.

This thesis presented a solid study on framing of the Tibet issue and China in the UK media. Quantitative content analysis and qualitative frame analysis were combined to explore dominant frames used in the British coverage of Tibet from 1949 to 2009. The results show that media frames are not equal to news topics or news features, and that they change over time. It needs to be pointed out that the changes in representations can be attributed to the external reality of the Cold War, the UK government's position on China, and various external or internal journalism factors (e.g. the internationalisation of the Tibet issue). Therefore, the study shows that how journalists choose stories is not a simple and one-way selection. They are connected to an underlying structure – a historically rooted but dynamic cultural context.

Critical review and future research

In order to further the research and have a deeper understanding of related issues, the following could be addressed in a future study: my study is focused on the daily newspapers' coverage on Tibet, and it may be interesting to evaluate other kind of media such as TV and the Internet. In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the issue, it would be worth comparatively analysing how China's newspapers report the Tibet issue. Moreover, the frame-setting process needs to be

analysed, and how the audiences perceive and understand the news coverage of Tibet in the UK media would also be a future topic of this research. Through investigating audiences' perceptions toward media frames of China, further research can investigate whether the national images framed by the British media impact and create specific images of China in people's perceptions.

While this study has limitations, it can still provide insights into how the current Western media have explained the Tibet issue, and represented Tibetans and the Chinese in the past fifty years. This study is one of the few studies that use both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine Western media coverage of the Tibet issue. It aims to pave the road for future studies on the similar issue.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Content Analysis Coding Schedule

V01 Case number

V02 Name of the newspaper

1. *The Times*
2. *The Manchester Guardian/The Guardian*
3. *The Daily Telegraph*
4. *The Independent*
5. *Daily Express*
6. *Daily Mail*
7. *Daily Mirror*
8. *Daily Herald/The Sun*
9. *Daily Graphic/Daily Sketch*
10. *Daily Worker/Morning Star*
11. *News Chronicle*

V03 Publishing date of the article

V04 Page of the article

V05 Word count of the article

V06 Type of the news story

1. News
2. Editorial/commentary
3. Letters to the editor

4. Sport
5. Features
6. Other _____

V07 Name of correspondent

V08-V10 The main topic of the article (TOPIC 1, TOPIC 2, TOPIC 3)

1-9 National/organisational/individual views

1. China's views
2. UK's views
3. India's views
4. US's views
5. The Dalai Lama's views
6. The Panchen Lama's views
7. Tibetans' views
8. Exiled Tibetans' views
9. Other views

10-18 National/organisational/individual policies

10. China's policies
11. UK's policies
12. India's policies
13. US's policies
14. The Dalai Lama's policies
15. The Panchen Lama's policies
16. Tibetans' policies
17. Exiled Tibetans' policies
18. Other policies

19-31 National/organisational/individual actions

19. China's advance/control
20. China's suppression
21. China's actions rather than advance/control/suppression
22. India's actions
23. UK's actions
24. US's actions
25. The Dalai Lama's actions/his situation
26. The Panchen Lama's actions
27. Tibetans' resistances/protests/demonstrations
28. Exiled Tibetans' resistances/protests/demonstrations
29. Tibetans' actions rather than resistances/protests/demonstrations
30. Exiled Tibetans' actions rather than resistances/protests/demonstrations
31. Other actions

32. The relationship between China and Tibet in history
33. China's influence on Tibet
34. Human rights
35. Introduction of the Dalai Lama
36. Introduction/history of Tibet/Tibetans
37. Olympic (Torch Relay)/Sports
38. The relationship between Britain and Tibet in history
39. Other topics

V11A-V14A Source (SOURCE 1, SOURCE 2, SOURCE 3, SOURCE 4)

1. Not applicable

2-13 Government

2. UK's government

3. China's (the People's Republic of China) government
4. India's government
5. US's government
6. Tibet's government/the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region
7. Tibet's government in exile
8. Nationalist China's (the Republic of China) government
9. France's government
10. Germany's government
11. Nepal's government
12. Ireland's government
13. Other government

14-20 Politicians/Political groups

14. UK's politicians/political groups
15. China's politicians/political groups
16. India's politicians/political groups
17. US's politicians/political groups
18. The Dalai Lama/those close to him
19. The Panchen Lama/those close to him
20. Other politicians/political groups

21-24 The general public

21. Residents
22. Demonstrators/campaigners/protestors/activists
23. Observers/witnesses/travellers
24. The general public other

25-30 Media/journalists

25. UK's media/journalist

- 26. China's media/journalist
- 27. India's media/journalist
- 28. US's media/journalist
- 29. Tibet's media/journalist
- 30. Other media/journalist

31-34 Inter-governmental bodies

- 31. United Nations (UN)
- 32. European Union (EU)
- 33. European Parliament (EP)
- 34. Inter-government other

35-38 Non-governmental organisations

- 35. Human Rights NGO
- 36. Tibet Support Groups
- 37. Olympic Committee
- 38. Other NGO

- 39. Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news
- 40. Informed/reliable sources
- 41. Sports person/organisations
- 42. Authors/poets
- 43. Artists/arts organisations
- 44. Religious figures/organisations
- 45. Businessmen/traders
- 46. Lawyers
- 47. Experts
- 48. Other

V11B-V14B How the source appears

1. Not applicable
2. Directly quoted
3. Indirectly quoted/paraphrased

V11C-V14C Source stance towards China's presence in Tibet

1. Pro-China
2. Anti-China
3. Neutral

V11D-V14D Source stance towards Tibet's independence

1. Pro-Tibet
2. Anti-Tibet
3. Neutral

Appendix 2: Codebook for Content Analysis

V01. Case number

V02. Name of the newspaper

12. *The Times*
13. *The Manchester Guardian/The Guardian*
14. *The Daily Telegraph*
15. *The Independent*
16. *Daily Express*
17. *Daily Mail*
18. *Daily Mirror*
19. *Daily Herald/The Sun*
20. *Daily Sketch/Daily Graphic*
21. *Daily Worker/Morning Star*
22. *News Chronicle*

V03. The publishing date of the article (DD/ MM/ YYYY)

V04. Page of the article

It indicates the page number that the article appears on. The page is determined by where the article begins. For example, if an article begins on page 1 and continues on page 5, it is coded as page 1.

V05. Word count of the article

Number of words will be counted in each news article. It excludes headline, subhead, bio and other information irrelevant to the article.

V06. Type of news story

This variable separates news from opinion in newspapers. It also distinguishes

among several techniques of presenting information. News includes main page and sections with no specific heading, domestic/home news, international/world/foreign news and leader pages. In general, any story that clearly presents opinions or personal interpretations of the writer will be classified as editorial/commentary. This includes critical reviews of books, movies, etc. In many papers, an editorial or a commentary is found on a separate editorial page and often on an ‘Op-Ed’ page, a second page opposite the editorial page devoted to interpretive columns, letters to the editor, etc.

1. News
2. Editorial/commentary
3. Letters to the editor
4. Sport
5. Features
6. Other _____

V07. Name of correspondent (if there is no name, just mark down N/A)

V08-V10. The main TOPIC of the article (TOPIC 1, TOPIC 2, TOPIC 3)

The topic can be obtained from the headline, subhead, leading paragraph and the main body of the article. The main topic is the topic that is given greatest coverage in the article. If a news article is solely concerned with one topic, then use only one topic code. However, it is possible that an item would suitably be coded as being relevant to more than one topic. For this reason the coding of as many as three topics is allowed. If you believe that there are more than three topics evident in a piece, then you need to decide which topics are the most prominent. The questions to ask are: What is this story about? What is the main point in the story? What is the central concept described in the story? To answer these questions, use the following guidelines:

- (1) Look at the actions or developments in the story, rather than the context in which they occur;
- (2) The amount of space given to each topic in the article;

- (3) The ordering of the presentation;
- (4) The visibility of topics in the headline.

1-9 National/organisational/individual views

1. China's views
2. UK's views
3. India's views
4. US's views
5. The Dalai Lama's views
6. The Panchen Lama's views
7. Tibetans' views
8. Exiled Tibetans' views
9. Other views

10-18 National/organisational/individual policies

10. China's policies
11. UK's policies
12. India's policies
13. US's policies
14. The Dalai Lama's policies
15. The Panchen Lama's policies
16. Tibetans' policies
17. Exiled Tibetans' policies
18. Other policies

19-31 National/organisational/individual actions

19. China's advance/control
20. China's suppression
21. China's actions rather than advance/control/suppression

22. India's actions
23. UK's actions
24. US's actions
25. The Dalai Lama's actions/his situation
26. The Panchen Lama's actions
27. Tibetans' resistances/protests/demonstrations
28. Exiled Tibetans' resistances/protests/demonstrations
29. Tibetans' actions rather than resistances/protests/demonstrations
30. Exiled Tibetans' actions rather than resistances/protests/demonstrations
31. Other actions

32. The relationship between China and Tibet in history
33. China's influence on Tibet
34. Human rights
35. Introduction of the Dalai Lama
36. Introduction/history of Tibet/Tibetans
37. Olympic (Torch Relay)/Sports
38. The relationship between Britain and Tibet in history
39. Other topics

V11A-V14A. Source (SOURCE 1, SOURCE 2, SOURCE 3, SOURCE 4)

Source of an article is defined as individuals, organisations and documents from which journalists get information to write the story. They are identified through names of people or organisations, which are applied to items quoted, paraphrased or attributed in a story. The individual/institution mentioned must have some independent status within the news story – they have an active presence and are not simply mentioned or discussed by another actor.

Up to four sources can be coded in each article. It is probably that more than four

sources are mentioned. In that case, you will need to judge which are the most salient and prominent sources in the news story. This judgement will depend on cues:

- (1) The amount of space given to each source in the article;
- (2) The ordering of the presentation;
- (3) The visibility of sources in the headline.

1. Not applicable (use this only when the source of the story is not stated)

2-13 Government

2. UK's government _____
3. China's (the People's Republic of China) government _____
4. India's government _____
5. US's government _____
6. Tibet's government _____
7. Tibet's government in exile _____
8. Nationalist China's (the Republic of China) government _____
9. France's government _____
10. Germany's government _____
11. Nepal's government _____
12. Ireland's government _____
13. Other government _____

14-20 Politicians/Political groups

14. UK's politicians/political groups _____
15. China's politicians/political groups _____
16. India's politicians/political groups _____
17. US's politicians/political groups _____
18. The Dalai Lama/those close to him _____

19. The Panchen Lama/those close to him _____

20. Other politicians/political groups

21-24 The general public

21. Residents _____

22. Demonstrators/campaigners/protestors/activists _____

23. Observers/witnesses/travellers _____

24. The general public other _____

25-30 Media/journalists

25. UK's media/journalist _____

26. China's media/journalist _____

27. India's media/journalist _____

28. US's media/journalist _____

29. Tibet's media/journalist _____

30. Other media/journalist _____

32-34 Inter-governmental bodies

31. United Nations (UN) _____

32. European Union (EU) _____

33. European Parliament (EP) _____

34. Inter-government other _____

35-38 Non-governmental organisations

35. Human Rights NGO _____

36. Tibet Support Groups _____

37. Olympic Committee _____

38. Other NGOs _____

- 39. Unofficial (unconfirmed) reports/sources/news _____
- 40. Informed/reliable sources _____
- 41. Sports person/organisations _____
- 42. Authors/poets _____
- 43. Artists/arts organisations _____
- 44. Religious figures/organisations _____
- 45. Businessmen/traders _____
- 46. Lawyers _____
- 47. Experts _____
- 48. Other _____

V11B-V14B. How the source appears

- 1. Not applicable
- 2. Directly quoted
- 3. Indirectly quoted/paraphrased

V11C-V14C. Source stance towards China's presence in Tibet

The variable, source stance, aims at identifying the stand a source takes on the Tibet issue when being quoted. It is measured by identifying the tone of an individual, an organisation or documentations towards China's presence in Tibet and Tibet's independence.

In terms of sources stance towards China, pro-China is operationally defined as individuals or groups' statements which are shown as supporting China's military action in Tibet and/or China's rule over Tibet. Anti-China is operationally defined as individuals or groups' statements which are opposed to China's military action and/or China's rule over Tibet.

- 1. Pro-China

2. Anti-China
3. Neutral (choose this only when the valence of the source cannot be decided, or the pro-China and anti-China perspective of the source weight the same)

V11D-V14D. Source stance towards Tibet's independence

This variable aims at identifying whether individual sources are pro-Tibet or anti-Tibet or neutral.

Pro-Tibet is operationally defined as individuals or groups' statements which are displayed as supporting Tibet's independence and/or protests.

Anti-Tibet is operationally defined as individuals or groups' statements which are opposed to Tibet's independence and/or protests.

1. Pro-Tibet
2. Anti-Tibet
3. Neutral (choose this only when the valence of the source cannot be decided, or the pro-Tibet and anti-Tibet perspective of the source weight the same)