

INTERACTION BETWEEN TRADITIONAL MEDIA AND
SOCIAL MEDIA COVERAGE ON SOCIAL ISSUES IN CHINA
A CONTENT ANALYSIS

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INTERACTION BETWEEN TRADITIONAL MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA COVERAGE ON SOCIAL ISSUES IN CHINA

Anqi Du

Dr. Stacey Woelfel, Committee Chair

ABSTRACT

To what extent does online public opinion and traditional media coverage interact with each other on social issues in China? This research employs a content analysis of 524 Weibo posts and 327 news articles regarding a social incident in China. The researcher uses Chi-square tests to compare the use of alternative media and the frame selection of social media and traditional media in different phases. Social media and traditional media react differently when covering social issues. Social media have a better interaction with traditional media while traditional media make less reference to social media.

Additionally, social media and traditional media play different social roles when covering public affairs by selecting different frames. Even if the traditional media are partially free and under the government control, social media can hardly substitute the role of social responsibility of traditional media in defining the problem and issue treatment.

Noticeably, the choices of frame in both social media and traditional media are not influenced by their interactions, but instead by different time frames. Discussion focuses on the changes in the roles played by media, government, and Chinese citizens.

Introduction

I came to the U.S. from China in 2009 to study journalism at the Missouri School of Journalism. I have completed my undergraduate studies in broadcast journalism and am now in the graduate program with an emphasis in broadcast management. As any other broadcast student, I took Broadcast courses in my undergrad and honed my journalistic skills in shooting, writing, editing and voicing throughout the whole process. Meanwhile, I have gained invaluable experiences at KBIA and KOMU-8, where I worked as a student reporter under real deadlines and actual news environment.

Because of my international background, I have a keen interest on global issues. I minored in East Asia studies when I was an undergrad and started to work for the Center for Studies in Oral Traditions as a Chinese translator to help the department put together a Chinese version of its website. Now in the master's program, I'm holding another research assistantship with Global Journalist to produce weekly radio shows on world news. All these experiences have strengthened my capabilities as well as interests in furthering my career with an international initiative. Additionally, I have a great passion in the business side of media industry. By gaining knowledge in economics, statistics, finance and marketing, I have developed the skills in developing business models and making marketing plans.

All these past coursework as well as journalistic experiences have led me to pursue my professional project at FleishmanHillard's Washington D.C. office, as a public relations intern. My career goal is to work for a company with an international presence and to help them with the communication efforts in an innovative way. I was fortunate enough to be placed in their Global China Practice team with the goal to help Chinese

companies doing business in the U.S. I realized how politics plays an essential role here in the U.S. capitol and how the government, business, organizations are interrelated to each other. The nature of the work makes me fully aware of importance for any foreign companies to effectively communicate to the local markets, especially for those Chinese companies that are so used to keep a low-profile on international presence. By conducting researches on the communication vehicles that are adopted by the Chinese companies, I also realized the rising trend for companies to use social media as a tool to communicate with their target audiences and initiate marketing campaigns. This also aligns with my research component about the interactions between traditional media coverage and social media coverage in China. Overall, the professional project at FleishmanHillard has broadened the way that I see the world and has built a solid cornerstone to my career goal.

Field Notes

Week One

This is my first week interning at FleishmanHillard. I am specially working for the China Practice team. My supervisor, Bill Black, is leading this team. Currently, there are three other colleagues from the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China in this team and another assistant account executive. Throughout this week, I've got an initial impression of the China Practice. It is a brand new program at FleishmanHillard, and they have dealt with Chinese companies including Huawei, Wanda, and Lenovo. Their targeted clients are the Chinese companies that want to enter the U.S. or other countries. They are currently still in the phase of developing more potential clients in China. Mr. Black is planning on a trip to China this July to promote FleishmanHillard's brand. My job this month would be assisting him on identifying and researching potential Chinese companies as clients or partners, and preparing for his presentations in China. The final goal of this summer for our team is to develop a business plan for FleishmanHillard China Practice. In the first week, my assignments mainly include making graphics and tables in Excel and conducting company researches. I also had meetings with the China Practice team and a guest from China Telecom. The thing I feel good about myself is that I always ask my supervisor if there's anything else that I could help (probably because he is super busy), and I can always finish the assignments in time. My only concern is that I really want to get some client experiences with the PR firm. But right now, because the China team doesn't really have any clients in hand, I feel it's a little bit hard for me to get the experiences that I expect. I am considering talking to my supervisor a little bit later to see if I could also work on other team's project.

This week's seminar for Washington Program has provided an overview of the political issues in Washington D.C. I've got a basic idea of how politics could affect everything here in this town and how to balance the relationship between press and the government. This could actually help with my project because I realize that many Chinese companies can't make a high-profile presence in the U.S. is due to political reasons, and I would like to dig out more on this area.

Research Component: With all data coded, I have run all the statistic tests in SPSS this week. Right now I am working on the result part of the paper. I've got some significant results as well as some insignificant ones.

Week Two

This week my major assignment at FleishmanHillard was to work on the company research with my three colleagues from the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China. I was provided with a list of 125 companies. These Chinese companies had attended the conferences held by FH back in 2009 and 2010. They believed these are the ones that have intention to invest abroad thus we were asked to narrow them down in about 25 companies. I was hoping we could have some clear criteria to filter the list, such as the annual sale, industry, foreign investment intention, media presence and etc. But unfortunately, there was no criterion that has been provided except for only vague clues such as mid-sized company with foreign investment intentions. This made our research a little bit hard to proceed from my own perspective. Because all three of my colleagues are from a banking and financial background, they mainly looked at the annual sale and profit for each company to determine whether they have the ability financially to pay for the services provided by FH. I mainly researched on the companies' media presence -

whether they had media presence both domestically and internationally, whether these media coverage were positive or negative, whether they have attended international conferences and etc. I think these are important because only the companies that are open enough and have been aware of the importance of communication in their business would have the initiative to find a communication firm to help them with their foreign market entry and media presence. Additionally, the companies that have experienced media crisis such as food security would have a larger potential to hire a professional communication firm to help with their crisis management and media coaching.

One thing that I've noticed from my research is that Chinese companies differed from American companies because they are not as transparent as the American ones. Chinese companies started to pay attention on their website building only a few years ago, not to mention the English version of their website. Since most of the companies we have researched are either state-owned conglomerate or private companies that have an international presence, they all have an English version of their website. However, they only provided very generic information without providing the direct contact for their media inquires. Some of the seemed to have a PR or communication department, but most lacked this functionality. Another finding is that the state-own Chinese companies usually have two sets of management team – one for the actual operation and the other is more of a party organ within the company. These two work together to balance each other but sometimes the latter one has a larger impact when making decisions. Thus it is extremely important for FH to find the right person to talk to and they need some sort of liaison person back in China to introduce.

I really like what I am working on right now, but I am also expecting more challenging work in the coming weeks. Prof. Pippert has visited me on site this week and talked to my supervisor. Prof. Pippert asked my supervisor to stretch me professionally and keep me busy. So hopefully I could have more work to do next week.

Research Component: I have written the result part this week based on the SPSS output, and I will be drafting the discussion section in next week or so. Then I should have a first draft ready for your review and suggestions.

Week Three

This week the majority of my work was to create the company information binder for my supervisor's trip to China in July. I piled up a 55-page document with company information including location, contact person, personal information of the contact person, company profile, recent issues, and media presence. I looked for all the information online in both Chinese and English websites and dig out all the information that I thought to be useful. I also updated all the outdated information in its previous Excel sheets. I organized all the information in order and created a navigation bar for the company list. My supervisor said he was really impressed about what I've done and he circulated the work I did around the office to other group leaders. I was really happy to hear that. But to be honest, I didn't feel that was a challenging work for me (I look forward projects more challenging than that☺). I also helped with the PowerPoint that my supervisor is going to be presenting in China. I made all the graphs and translated them into Chinese versions. I've also got the chance to meet a Mizzou J-school alumnus, Michael Carney, who also works for my supervisor. It was really nice to meet someone who has made a successful transition from a journalist role to a PR role. He talked to me

about the concept of “defense offset”, which applies to those companies import or export military-related products from/to other countries. Thus I did some research on one of the Chinese company on my list that produces helicopters.

I’ve learned that to a great extent, public relations and corporate communication work in an international setting actually relate closely to the politics, especially the different policies that each country adopts. I’ve also talked to my supervisor about creating some research projects for me to work on that might also be helpful to the team in the future. One topic that I can think of right now is about the use of social media by Chinese companies, which is also somewhat relates to my research topic.

Also since one of my colleagues on the China team is leaving next week, I will be taking over her responsibility to manage the microsite of Huawei. Hopefully I could start to have some client work and I will definitely take the initiatives.

For the Washington Program seminar this week, we’ve discussed about the U.S. presidency and how reporters should cover the news about the president. Also we’ve talked to Terry Bracy, founder of Bracy Tucker Brown & Valanzo. I was really impressed about how lobby could have an influence on governmental decision-making. It’s all new concepts for me since we don’t really have lobbyist back in China. I feel that in the U.S., the people have a closer interaction with the government compared to my home country.

Research Component: I am still working on the discussion and conclusion part. I am trying to provide more contexts to my study results.

Week Four

This week I prepared the research on media outlets that my supervisor is going to be interviewed with in China. I dig out the information such as which section in the print or online have the most likelihood to publish the story, who are the people that have been interviewed previously, would that be a feature story or a quote for a topic-oriented story, etc. It turned out that there's a great opportunity to talk about China's foreign direct investment and investment environment here in the U.S. Additionally, I created another spread sheet on target companies by sector to make sure that our targeted companies are across industries.

I also started to work with our client Huawei's American microsite. I helped with their site to collaborate different media such as video and pictures into their posts.

Starting from next week, I will be managing the Weibo account for Fleishman Hillard Global China Practice. Our goal is to post information about my supervisor's activities in China, news in the industry, news that show positive sign for Chinese company investing in the U.S. Our team will also develop an editorial calendar for the social media activities.

Also from next week, I will support on Federal Trade Commission team to help with the FTC direct mail campaign.

In this week's Washington program seminar, we've talked with Wallace Snyder, former president of the American Advertising Federation, about advertising ethics. I think it was quite an interesting discussion to talk about the potential dilemmas in working environment. Trust is always the first priority between clients and ads/PR professionals.

Research Component: I've finished the discussion and conclusion sections this week. And I had my first revision of the whole research paper.

Week Five

As planned this week I have started to manage the social media account for the Global China Practice. I was planning to set up a corporate account but failed. Beijing office wanted us to use their current FHChina account instead of creating a new one. But from our perspective, it is better to have an account that only targeting at Chinese companies investing in the U.S. or other countries. I think it makes sense to have a separate account that we could manage ourselves. I will be working on communicating with Beijing office on this issue in the next weeks. I feel our communication with Beijing office was really retarded at this point. But I did set up an account for my supervisor and helped him to post contents on daily basis. I translated his blog post and posted on Weibo as a picture (a long form of tweet, no 140 words limits). I also posted information that delivers positive signs for Chinese companies to invest in the U.S., such as the steady increase of the China's FDI despite the decrease FDI outflow worldwide. I will also try to find ways to promote this account in the rest of the time.

I also continued to help my supervisor conduct company research based on request and enter the information that I already have into the company's target management system. Besides, I worked with the colleagues from the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China on a competitor analysis about how the big PR firms promote (if they have) their China practice in China and the U.S. We are going to produce a thorough analysis on that in the coming weeks too.

Also from this week, I started to support on Federal Trade Commission team on the Older Americans Project. I am responsible doing research on the intermediaries who might make programming or activities decisions for active older adults. It is a massive preliminary research for the direct mail campaign itself. I will be finding contacts in associations of activities as well as older adults social groups in national, regional, state and local levels. This work does not seem challenging, but it requires attention to details as well as research skills. I think it is helpful to some extent on conducting preliminary research before the execution of PR campaign itself.

The Washington Program this week talked about the difference between covering the president and covering the congress. It is interesting to think about how the personal and social interactions have been greatly reduced due to advancement of technology and new ways information delivery.

Research Component: There's no progress on my research component this week.

Week Six

This was a comparatively short week for only three days at work. I continued to work on the previous projects for both China team and FTC team. I helped to manage the Chinese Weibo account on daily basis. Sometimes my supervisor in China sent me pictures with captions about his trip and observations in China so that I could post those contents online. For other times, I found news information only that are related to China's FDI in the US and then post on the account. At this point, the account needed to get more visibility, but I found it really hard to get any support from their Beijing office. I thought this was one of the problems about internal communication between offices and I was trying to figure that out soon. I also made suggestions to my supervisor that he could ask

people who he met with or the reporters who have interviewed him about their Weibo account name so that I could follow them and mention them in the Weibo post in order to get more repost as well as more visibility. I also suggested him to have staffs with him to take pictures whenever possible and these did not to be high quality, even the pictures taken by phone would also work. I was also finishing up the competitive analysis on big PR firms' operations in China. The result showed that Ogilvy & Mather was overall doing a best job on in China especially in the field of helping Chinese companies and government entities to build their brand overseas. This company was very active in social media and received positive mainstream media coverage. Also from the analysis, it could be seen that there are many areas in which Fleishman Hillard could improve, especially on its social media presence. Right now they only have about 800 followers compared with Ogilvy with more than 120 thousands followers. Additionally, I supported FTC team to find contacts as activity professionals in all the states. I now faced some difficulties in finding the accurate information only. Thus I am waiting for the talking point from the client so that I could make phone calls directly and make the research more efficient.

Research Component: There's no progress on my research component this week. But I already had my first draft ready.

Week Seven

This week I continued to manage the Weibo account for my supervisor. The Beijing office eventually agreed to take care of the verification process for the account. But still there's no progress in having interactions with their corporate account. An editorial piece about Shuanghui International acquiring Smithfield Foods written by my supervisor has been published on Forbes Asia. Then I translated the whole article and

posted on Weibo. I used hash tags in order to generate more attentions from the online users. Also I've updated the competitor analysis from last week to add a page of my observations and another page with the current rankings of public relations firm in China, which also included the domestic Chinese PR firms. I thought it was essential because sometimes Chinese companies might feel more comfortable communicating with the local firms. Although these firms might not be well-known internationally or have global offices, they are still our competitors due to the close relationship with the local business and government.

Also what I have been continued working on was the Older American project. I've searched all the national and state level organizations that I could online and am still waiting for the talking point form the client so that I can make phone calls to fill out the incomplete information.

I also started on two other projects. One of them was the Japan Airlines. The company has some issue with the Abe's government when competing with their rival All Nippon Airways to get more spots in Haneda airport. I worked in the team to help them develop a key opinion leader list here in the U.S. that could possibly to have influence on their policy makers. We found people in government, think tanks, business and academics.

Also starting from this week, I've been asked to create email newsletters on the latest news on a list of countries that we aim to have those embassies as our client. It's just like finding story ideas, thus I'd very comfortable doing that. I do think it's a great learning experience here in FH so far.

Research Component: I revised the grammar and added more analysis in discussion part to relate my study to the current media situation in China. I also updated the conclusion part. I will send you the draft for your suggestions.

Week Eight

There are several highlights this week. I have been meeting with Marc A. Ross, the communication director of US-China Business Council together with the folks from ICBC. US-China Business Council is a private, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization of about 230 American companies that do business with China. It has been on major media quite often commenting on China-US issue. It has also been criticized as too “pro-China” sometimes. It is really interesting to know how media work together with this kind of organization to cover China-US business related issues. We have also discussed about the changes on publicity of both government sectors and business sectors under the transition of the ways that how people consume the news and get the information. Ross believed that the Chinese embassy and Chinese media should better express their opinions to the public, especially when critical issues are coming up. Western media have more coverage on China issue because of the rise of China, but still, many of them took a negative or suspicious perspective. Ross said that’s because “the fear of unknown”. I agree with these opinions, but at the same time, I think this is also a Chinese-specific problem. Although Chinese media outlets such as CCTV, Xinhua News and China Daily are expanding rapidly worldwide, the reporters still get a list of do’s and don’ts from the government to follow while covering the news. Many of them are asked not to cover US side but only cover China side when covering event here, which leads to one-sided story that make the

public hard to believe. Such situation could be proved only when more press freedom is provided.

Additionally, I have attended a keynote speech featuring the vice president Joe Biden. Biden gave a talk on US foreign policy of Asia Pacific region before leaving for his Asia trip to India and Singapore. He said the economic growth of India would benefit the U.S. He has brought up several interesting points about China. He framed India as an ally to the U.S. while China is a competitor. But he then followed with the ideas that America loves competition in nature as long as other countries comply with the same rule and follow a transparent financial system. Different people may have different interpretations on his speech, but I personally feel I really have to read between the lines to understand his implications.

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offices, they are still our competitors due to the close relationship with the local business and government.

Also what I have been continued working on was the Older American project. I've searched all the national and state level organizations that I could online and am still waiting for the talking point form the client so that I can make phone calls to fill out the incomplete information.

I also started on two other projects. One of them was the Japan Airlines. The company has some issue with the Abe's government when competing with their rival All Nippon Airways to get more spots in Haneda airport. I worked in the team to help them develop a key opinion leader list here in the U.S. that could possibly to have influence on their policy makers. We found people in government, think tanks, business and academics.

Also starting from this week, I've been asked to create email newsletters on the latest news on a list of countries that we aim to have those embassies as our client. It's just like finding story ideas, thus I'd very comfortable doing that. I do think it's a great learning experience here in FH so far.

Research Component: I revised the grammar and added more analysis in discussion part to relate my study to the current media situation in China. I also updated the conclusion part. I will send you the draft for your suggestions.

Week Nine

In addition to the routine work including Weibo account management, the FTC's older adults database research, and email newsletter compiling, I have attended three interesting events this week.

First, I have attended the 19th Annual VITA Achievement Awards Dinner. Our client Huawei is one the sponsor of the event, and I attended with another colleague on behalf of our company. The event featured the innovations in the wireless world and has attracted many big telecommunication and technology companies such as Ericsson, AT&T, Sprint, Verizon and etc. I've learned how to position myself as a communication firm attending an event that was sponsored by the client. I've found that we were the only communication firm that has attended such event that evening. The representative from Huawei told me although they are a Chinese company, the only Chinese in their office is the director and everyone else was American. It could be seen that how Huawei as a Chinese company kept a low profile in the U.S. since it's in a sensitive industry.

The second event was a discussion seminar held by the Inter-American Dialogue featuring the research results on Latin-American Perception on China from Pew Research Center. I found the research results very interesting because the way it structured the research was to compare perception on China with the U.S., which is the long-term ally of Latin American countries. The result shows that although U.S. is perceived as having larger influence in Latin American countries than China, however, in many of the countries that have been studies, China's influence is perceived as more positive than the U.S., especially among younger generations. The technology products are extremely welcome in Latin America for its quality and function with the cheap price. I think to some extent, Latin America shares common opinions with Africa when viewing China as a trade partner.

The last thing for this week is the debrief of the U.S.-China Strategic and Economics Dialogue at the Chamber of Commerce. The representatives from Department

of Treasury, Department of Commerce, US-China Business Council, Coalition of Service Industries were the key speakers of the debrief. I was surprised to see that the talk only focused on American companies investing and doing business in China, with no information on Chinese investments entering the U.S. The talk was mainly about in many areas such as China's interest rate reform, China's governance on state-owned enterprises, bilateral investment treaty, trade protection, Shanghai Free Trade Zone that the U.S. wants to push China to provide a better business investment for American companies. It provided example such as how difficult it is for American telecommunication companies to enter Shanghai and the U.S. wanted China to be fair to foreign companies. But I think it's the same case with Huawei and many other Chinese telecommunications company entering the U.S. CIFIUS always claimed such cases as hurting national security. I personally feel the debrief was more of a one-sided story of the Dialogue. On the same day, China Daily has published an article *US must play by FDI rules*. It shows that China has taken a pretty clear stance on China's FDI in the U.S. It says "over the past few years, the U.S. has been trying to stop Chinese companies from tapping the American market, because it wrongly sees China as a security threat and Chinese businesses as unfair competitors of American companies." It also lists examples of investment being failed in the U.S. from 2003 to now. It is rare to see China Daily publish such "hard claim" on U.S-China issue, especially right after the dialogue. This article to some extent has shown the Chinese government's stance after the S&ED.

From the past two months, one strong feeling that I got is that doing public relations and working for a communication firm here in Washington D.C., I have to understand politics. Everything was inter-related from a political perspective. Media,

business, and even the people—their behaviors reflect the change in politics. I am eager to learn more.

Research Component: There's no progress on my research part this week.

Week 10

My supervisor has been back from his marketing trip in China. He shared some of his experience and business development with the team. I was asked to pile up all the research and information related to the trip into a comprehensive China Trip document. That would be my assignment for next week. I was also assigned to the healthcare group to assist with a client work to do the media monitoring. Basically, I pulled all the news articles from NexisLexis that contain the key search terms and meet certain criteria, and then entered all the useful information into a spreadsheet to code each item. It's quite similar to the methodology of my research component. I contributed most of my time onto this project this week since the deadline is quite tight. The goal is to summarize the trend of media coverage on a particular issue that related to a pharmaceutical company. The result of the study would be used by the lobbyists who will help the company to influence the government decision that would in favor of the company. I've realized that the important of data in nowadays communication industry. It reminds me another article that I read from a Chinese news website about how Chinese media organizations, especially the print industries, wants to make full advantages of the massive user data that they already have to make real profits. China is comparatively slow in the digitalization process compared to Western countries. Now it turned to be another aspect of the transition of Chinese media.

Research Component: I am in the process of making revisions based on the suggestions from the committee. I added more data visualizations for better illustration, and I also added explanations to some limitations of this study. I will include other parts of the final report and send a complete version to the committee soon.

Week 11

This week I mainly support on the healthcare team on the Healthpoint account. I have pulled out all articles in the past year from LexisNexis by using the key search terms such as “Medicare rebate”, “Medicaid rebate”, “Santyl” and “Healthpoint”. Then I coded all articles based on publication type, international/domestic, tone and applied categories. Through the analysis, the result shows that the majority of coverage appears in trade media and in domestic outlets. In terms of the trend of the media coverage, the top two drivers were the acquisition of Healthpoint by Smith & Nephew in December 2012 and the Democratic leaders introduced the Medicare Drug Savings Act in April 2013. I think this kind of media monitoring is very similar to the content analysis that I’ve done for my research component. I also realized that this kind of research could apply to different industries and is very critical in public relations work. Data could tell the story in a more objective way so that it’s easier to convince with your argument. Next week I will work with the team to produce further analysis and create PPT slides for the client.

I also compiled all research documents that are related to my supervisor’s marketing trip into a final report.

Research Component: I have done another revision and formatting. The final draft of the report is ready.

Week 12

This week's field report is going to be short since everything went well as usual without any new stuff popped up. This week I kept doing all the routine works that I've been doing such as compiling the weekly embassy news roundup, managing the Weibo account for my supervisor, and supporting on others team's projects. I also updates the final report to my supervisor's China trip and included the news coverage as well as his articles at have been published on Chinese publications. I also helped my supervisor to understand the articles that have been published in Chinese language to make sure that the contents are still in their original meaning without any misunderstanding. I also spent time on researching point of contacts for FTC's older American database project again, because other interns have left and I was asked to help with the unfinished items.

Research Component: I am building the PowerPoint presentation for my oral defense.

Week 13

I wrapped up my internship with FH this week. I created a few slides for my supervisor's China trip presentation and updated the business card list. Also I supported FTC team on another list of contacts to help them finalize the project before the deadline. The Weibo account for my supervisor now has 51 followers – which is a steady growth considering his account has not been verified yet. I agreed to volunteer working on this account after I leave and try to better promote the visibility of this account.

Before I leave, I also talked to two of FH's affiliates – TogoRun, which has a healthcare focus, and StrataComm, which focus on transportation and technology. My supervisor

scheduled these meeting for me to help me have a better understanding of the conflicting brands in PR industry.

The past three-month internship at FH has been a tremendous learning experience for me and better prepared me to enter the communication industry.

Research Component: The final report draft is ready.

Evaluation

My professional project at FleishmanHillard's Washington D.C. was a great learning and transitional experience for me. It was the first public relations internship that I have ever experienced after I figured out what I really want to do for my career is to work on the business side of media industry. I have been placed in their Global China Practice team because of my cultural backgrounds as well as my language capabilities. The goal of this practice is to help Chinese companies doing business in the U.S. and in the globe. Additionally, I have helped other teams with their projects as well.

My work here mainly includes conducting market research, developing contact lists, managing cliental microsite, media monitoring, data visualization, social media management and other administrative work. I do think that I have a satisfying performance during the internship by finishing all assigned work on time with high quality. I always thought creatively and asked questions whenever I had one. I did ask for more work from supervisor and proposed some research topics when I felt I was not challenged enough.

The biggest impression I have throughout this internship is that everything here in Washington D.C. is interconnected with the government. Politics has been playing an influential role among business entities, organizations, and citizens. During my internship, I've got chance to talk to the Communication Director from US-China Business Council, and attended various conferences and talks held by think tanks or governmental sectors. Due to the nature of my work was highly related to U.S. - China relations, I have kept a close eye on the news coverage from both sides on one same issue. It was really interesting to see how both sides interpreted the information

differently for their own benefits. It also reminded me of the importance of getting people from both sides to talk as a reporter. And I strongly believe it is equally critical for public relations practitioners.

The professional project is to some extent well related to my research component on the interaction between social media and traditional media coverage on social issue in China. By conducting researched on Chinese companies, especially their communication vehicles, I had a better understanding on the characteristics of Chinese companies communicating with their audiences. The use of social media by business sectors in China is definitely on a rise. However, there are still many companies in China have not yet realized the importance of effective communication. Many giant state-owned companies tend to stay low-profile when they invest abroad. Thus there are undoubtedly both challenges as well as opportunities for our team to expand its reach in China.

Also during this internship, I have created a Chinese Weibo account for my supervisor and manage the account in Chinese on behalf of him. I translated and posted all the blog articles written by my supervisor, and also made daily news judgment on what is important to post or simply re-tweet from his account. I proposed this idea because I feel it makes more sense for the leader of Global China Practice to have some Chinese social media presence and interactions with other Chinese key opinion leaders, comparing posting all relevant information on foreign media that nobody in China would ever read. The account itself is now still in its infant phase and needs more visibility to get more influence.

Last but not the least, I think I've had experience in working in such a big organization, and in an office setting. This is really helpful to prepare myself to proceed

to my future work in similar working environment, to build up good relationships with the leaders and co-workers, to efficiently communication inter-offices and also externally. All in all, I believe this internship would be an invaluable experience for me to pursue my future career.

Physical Evidence

Email Newsletters with Latest News on Targeted Countries

As of August 20

CANADA

UPI – Canada, currently the biggest source of U.S. energy imports, is planning to build rail network for increased U.S. oil sales.

The Globe and Mail – U.S. senator Ted Cruz whose birth certificate reveals he was born in Canada says he will renounce his Canadian citizenship.

CHILE

Businessweek – Chile GDP grew 4.1% in second quarter led by retail and mining.

Bernama – The Chilean Congress gave the green light to a draft bill to increase minimum wages to US\$420.

COLOMBIA

ABE News – A territorial dispute prompts Colombia and Nicaragua to beef up its armies.

VOA – John Kerry pledged U.S. support for Colombia’s efforts to end five decades of conflict with FARC rebels.

CZECH REPUBLIC

The Atlantic – The Czech Republic is already mired in its longest-ever recession, and is now being further rattled by a political crisis.

EL SALVADOR

Washington Post – Salvadoran indicted in priest slaying to face separate US immigration sentencing.

JORDAN

Global Post – US is helping Jordan deal with possible Syria chemical threat.

NYTimes – With eyes on Syria, US turns warehouse into support hub for Jordan.

MEXICO

CNN – Mexico arrested alleged leader of Gulf Cartel near U.S. border Saturday.

REUTERS – Mexican state oil monopoly Pemex plans to form a new company to explore for and exploit shale gas and deep-water crude in the US as it seeks to branch out beyond its borders.

MONGOLIA

REUTERS –Investor concerns about Mongolia oil project after latest setbacks to Rio Tinto mining project.

MOROCCO

World Tribune – Morocco dismantles Al Qaida cell linked to militias in Syria. The cell was directed to target government facilities in the North African Kingdom.

FOX News – Africans immigrants warned of a rise in racist attacks in Morocco, as hundreds gathered outside a morgue holding the body of a Senegalese man who was murdered last week.

PANAMA

Fox News – The Panama Canal authority said it will impose as much as a \$1 million fine on the N. Korean freighter caught with an undeclared shipment of Cuban weapons.

Tico Times – The Panama Canal on Thursday turned 99 amid expansion works and without any competition, although Nicaragua has plans for its own interoceanic canal.

POLAND

REUTERS – Poland will reduce the number of its soldiers stationed in Afghanistan in October as it moves to wind down its presence there before the NATO combat mission ends next year.

RTT News – Poland’s gross wages raised more than expected in July.

S. KOREA

AP – S.Korea, US begin annual joint military drills Monday amid signs of easing tension on the divided peninsula.

The Guardian – N. Korea has accepted S. Korea’s offer of talks about reuniting families separated by war, but proposed separate negotiations on resuming jointly run tours in the North.

UAE

WSJ – UAE attempts to censor news website in the U.S.

Gulf News – Indian diplomatic missions in the UAE have recently soft launched an Indian Government-sponsored ambitious pension and resettlement scheme for Indian workers.

CANADA

Global News – Canada without U.S. Ambassador as Keystone pipeline proposal drags on.

CBC News – Independent auditors reveal Senator Wallin’s questionable expenses total \$140K and retroactive changes to expense claims.

CHILE

The Santiago Times – Chile criticized for inaction as many nations around Latin America consider offering Snowden asylum and Brazil protests US spying.

Al Jazeera – Chile mining giant Barrick Gold Corp has been accused of poisoning Chile’s water supplies.

COLOMBIA

AP – U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry is visiting Colombia and Brazil this week in an attempt to build warmer relations with two U.S. allies in Latin America. But the visits may be hindered by resentment after reports about an American spy program.

American Society – Nicaragua wants to beef up security along its maritime borders, looking to purchase four new patrol ships and weapons for the ships.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Euronews – Czech Republic government resigns after losing confidence vote, paving the way for early elections possibly in October.

EL SALVADOR

AP – El Salvador war veterans demanded that authorities release 98 of their fellow veterans detained during a protest this week to demand a monthly pension.

JORDAN

The Jerusalem Post – US military chief arrives in Israel to discuss regional security issues and will travel to Jordan, where the U.S. has kept military forces on standby for developments in neighboring war-torn Syria.

AP – Jordan’s Cabinet says electricity prices will be raised 15 percent for businesses from August 15 to ease a budget deficit that compromises economic growth and swells inflation.

MEXICO

Reuters – Mexico’s plans to break the state monopoly on energy could boost flagging growth and double foreign investment.

BBC – The U.S. has reacted angrily to the early release by a Mexico court of a drugs lord who served 28 years in prison for the kidnap and murder of a US agent.

MONGOLIA

Bloomberg – Mongolia wants the planned \$5.1 billion expansion at Oyu Tolgoi mine to be financed from cash flow until a dispute over the cost of the biggest foreign investment in the nation is resolved.

MOROCCO

Al Jazeera – A serious reform of its justice system is demanded in Morocco after the pardoning of a paedophile by Morocco’s King.

PANAMA

Global Post – Engineers begin assembling Panama’s alternative energy facility, the Penonome wind farm, which is the largest in Central America with more than 100 towers.

Miami Herald – Panama’s government is granting asylum on humanitarian grounds for 19 Cubans who are being detained in the Bahamas.

POLAND

WSJ – Poland’s Treasury Minister asked U.S. Ambassador for help to refund damages from Boeing.

S. KOREA

International Business Times – Labor costs and Union trouble could force General Motors to axe S. Korea business to avoid bankruptcy.

Bloomberg – S. Korea’s government urged efforts to conserve electricity as the nation faces shortages following shutdowns in a nuclear power industry that supplies 30 percent of the nation’s generating capacity.

UAE

Gulf Business – US reopens UAS, Saudi Embassies on Sunday. The embassies in Sanna, Yemen remain closed due to security concerns.

Gulf News – UAE Central Bank lifts ban on loan transfers for Emiratis aided by three conditions.

CANADA

WSJ – U.S. and Canada vie for big gas projects to export vast new finds of North America natural gas.

CBC News – Canada shuts Bangladesh mission on Sunday amid U.S. warnings of terrorist threats against western countries in the region.

CHILE

AFP – Chilean probe into late dictator Augusto Pinochet’s secret bank accounts abroad files no charge.

WSJ – The Chilean peso closed stronger against the dollar after a weaker-than-expected U.S. job report.

COLOMBIA

Reuters – Colombia’s President Santos urges rebels to get on the ‘peace train’.

Travel Daily News – American Airlines launches codeshare agreement with LAN Colombia to expand Latin American Network by adding new services to destinations in Colombia.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Reuters – The new Czech cabinet has embarked on a bureaucratic purge, provoking cabinet legitimacy row before confidence vote.

The Prague Post – Upbeat economic forecasts despite ministry downgrade in Czech Republic.

EL SALVADOR

Huffington Post – Recent Pew research shows Latin America views the U.S. favorably, and El Salvador ranks the highest on favorability rate. However, the result also shows Latin Americans prefer China’s influence to that of the U.S.

JORDAN

Daily Star – Norway closes embassies in Saudi Arabia, Jordan to public due to threats of attacks by Al-Qaeda.

CNN - The U.S. has closed down 19 diplomatic missions in the Middle East and Africa until August 10. Jordan is one on the list.

MEXICO

Los Angeles Times – Mexican President is on dangerous ground as he pushes Pemex reform that opens the oil monopoly to private and foreign investment.

Washington Post – Security conditions have grown so dire in Mexican border town that U.S. immigration authorities have begun flying some deportees to Mexico City.

MONGOLIA

South China Morning Post – Mongolia expects to simplify FDI for state-backed firms.

Minerals & Materials News – Mining major Rio needs no parliament approval for Oyu Tolgoi financing, according to Mongolia’s Prime Minister.

MOROCCO

Reuters – Spanish judge orders paedophile pardoned in Morocco to stay in jail.

All Africa – President Obama hails Morocco’s role as a valuable strategic ally of the U.S.

PANAMA

Reuters – Frist Panama wind farm aims to supply 10 percent of grid by 2015.

Business News Americas – US status quo in Central America threatened by US\$40bn Panama Canal rival, particularly if the Chinese government steps in at a later stage to finance and operate the canal.

POLAND

Warsaw Business Journal – Poland will contribute 40 million euros to NATO drone program.

Reuters – Poland charges four government employees and three businessmen over a bribery scheme to help companies win licenses to explore for shale gas.

S. KOREA

Guardian – S. Korea expressed concerns about Obama administration’s reversal of a trade ban– amid the threat that a similar ban on Samsung products will be implemented on Friday.

UAE

The National – US missions in Dubai and Abu Dhabi to remain closed until Saturday due to an Al Qaeda terror threat.

The National – US joins UAE, Qatar and EU in renewed efforts to mediate between Egypt’s dangerously divided political camps.

CANADA

Forbes – Canadian retail conglomerate Hudson’s Bay Company is to purchase Saks Fifth Avenue for \$2.9 billion.

Canada.com – Foreign service workers are poised to withdraw services at 15 embassies worldwide starting Monday in the most substantial action the union has taken since the dispute first began.

CHILE

Washington Post – Chile’s all-woman presidential race pits childhood friends divided by dictatorship.

The Santiago Times – New young rape victim further deepens Chile’s abortion debate.

COLOMBIA

BBC- Colombia says Farc ‘accountable’ for violence as talks resume

WSJ – Colombian Ambassador to U.S. resigns amid pressure over land deals facilitated by his former law firm.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Reuters – U.S. export bank offers to co-finance Czech nuclear plant.

EL SALVADOR

Reuters – Organization of America States backs fragile EL Salvador gang truce.

JORDAN

The State – Angry Syrian refugees confronted U.S Secretary of State John Kerry with demands for more help to the opponents of President Bahsar Assad’s regime.

Kuwait News Agency – Japan would provide USD 120 million in aid for Jordan to provide services for the growing number of Syrian refugees.

MEXICO

The Telegraph – Mexico’s “Queen of the Pacific” drug boss to be released after US plea deal.

Reuters – Mexico detained 94 illegal immigrants packed into a truck bound for the U.S. border.

MONGOLIA

Reuters – Rio Tinto puts Oyu Tolgoi copper mine expansion on hold after the government said parliament will need to approve financing for the project at more than \$5 billion.

MOROCCO

Reuters – Morocco’s ruling Islamists look set to form a new coalition government with a liberal party.

All Africa – Sahrawi flags displayed in occupied city of Laïun.

PANAMA

Seatrade Global – Obama backs US ports for expanded Panama Canal with capabilities to handle larger vessels.

Global Post – Panama leader wanted to ‘repatriate’ crew of seized North Korea ship. The crew now faced arms trafficking charges after missile and other weapons were seized.

POLAND

Polskie Radio – The U.S. is counting on a continued presence of Polish soldiers in Afghanistan after NATO troops withdraw in 2014.

Reuters – The European Court of Human Rights has agreed to hear a second case against Poland over allegations it allowed the CIA to run a secret jail on its soil.

S. KOREA

BBC – South Korea offers ‘final talks’ on restarting operations at the joint Kaesong industrial zone amid deadlock with North Korea.

Yonhap News – S. Korea, U.S. agree to continue sanctions efforts against North Korea and Iran.

UAE

Middle East Online – UAE foreign minister warns US officials about dangers of political Islam.

Khaleej Times – UAE’s humanitarian aid for Syrians reaches Dh130.2 million.

CANADA

The Star – Canada’s foreign service strike hurts tourism and education sectors.

Bloomberg – The largest property and casualty insurer in Canada will record losses of C\$257 million from flooding in Alberta and Toronto, and a train explosion in Quebec.

CHILE

BBC – Chile Labor Minister Evelyn Matthei to run for president after Pablo Lougueira resigned for depression.

The Santiago Times – Group seeks re-evaluation of Chile’s Pascua-Lama gold mine project.

COLOMBIA

Washington Post – Colombia’s president promises firm military retaliation after FARC rebels kill 19 soldiers.

CBS – Colombia rebels captured ex-US Marine; Washington’s ambassador seeks release.

CZECH REPUBLIC

BBC – Czech President Milos Zeman has sworn in a new cabinet despite the opposition of the main parties in parliament. New Prime Minister Jiri Rusnok faces instant opposition.

Prague Daily Monitor – Czech President is highly unlikely to travel to Canada until visas are lifted.

EL SALVADOR

Fox News – U.S. cruises past El Salvador to reach Gold Cup semis.

JORDAN

AFP – U.S. lawmakers consider \$1 billion in aid to Jordan.

CNN & alBawaba News – Syrian refugees plead with U.S. secretary of state in Jordan.

July marks lowest inflow of Syrian refugees into Jordan in a year.

MEXICO

The Gazette – The discoveries of illegal taps drilled into Mexican oil and gas pipelines to steal fuel have doubled in number during 2013.

AP – Three immigrant activists who grew up in the U.S. illegally staged a protest by going to Mexico and attempting to re-enter the U.S., now they were taken to a holding facility.

MONGOLIA

CNS News – American taxpayers pay \$240K to help improve air quality in Mongolia.

MOROCCO

AP – Morocco King accepts ministers' resignation and to form new government.

African Manager – Libya and Morocco signed trade agreement to strengthen export and import.

PANAMA

Reuters – Panama finds MiG fighter jets on intercepted North Korean ship.

The Tampa Tribune – Landing flights to Panama City adds momentum to Tampa

International Airport's growing reputation for foreign travel and should boost economy.

POLAND

The Christian Science Monitor – Poland's entrepreneurs reinvent the 'private operator' stigma while Europe is under economic crisis.

S. KOREA

UPI – S. Korea seeks to line up a U.S. foreign military sales deal for advanced medium-range, air-to-air missiles.

UAE

UPI – U.A.E. has bought surveillance satellites from France that will give the region's Arab monarchies the capability of spying on Iran.

The National – New economic sanctions imposed on Iran by the U.S. will have a major impact on UAE businesses such as restrictions on banking transactions and sales of gold to Iran.

CANADA

The Globe and Mail – Bank of Canada warns Alberta flood, Quebec strike to hit economy.

Edmonton Journal – Bank of Canada Governor Stephen Poloz signals the BoC’s key borrowing rate at 1%.

CBC News – U.S. eyes high-tech security boost at Canadian border.

CHILE

Bloomberg – U.S. solar-panel manufacturer First Solar seeks licenses for \$370 million Chile Energy Project.

UPI – An \$8.5 billion Canadian project to develop gold mining in Chile was stopped by a court amid disputed over its impact on local environment.

COLOMBIA

Reuters – Colombia’s Drummond coal miners likely to vote for strike-union.

BBC – Colombia president Santos meets surrendered ELN rebels.

UPI – Colombia rebel leader predicts quick end to conflict with government.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Bloomberg – Czech early elections bid fails as amid clash with Zeman.

The WSJ – Czech ex-prime minister admits to intimate relationship with top aide.

Reuters – Czech prosecutors dropped demand to charge ex-PM as their case falters.

EL SALVADOR

Tico Times – El Salvador seeks for a second agreement with a US-based program Millennium Challenge to develop its costal region.

ENS – Natural disasters, displacement perpetuate poverty in El Salvador.

JORDAN

UPI – U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry will meet with Palestinian officials in Jordan to try to renew Israeli-Palestinian peace talks.

U.S. News – Syrian refugee crisis destabilizes Jordan.

MEXICO

USA Today – Leader of Mexico's Zetas drug cartel captured.

Reuters – Obama says capture of cartel boss shows Mexico serious about drug fight.

Reuters – Mexico's opposition conservatives prepare energy reform bill to open up the state-run oil sector to private investment.

MONGOLIA

Reuters – Rio Tinto faces more disputes with the Mongolian government over its Oyu Tolgoi copper mine.

Marines – Mongolian and the U.S armed forces announced participation in multinational military exercise.

MOROCCO

North Africa Post – King Juan Carlos of Spain visited Morocco to boost confidence-based relations.

Al Arabiya – Morocco's state investment vehicle CDG may buy stake in Maroc Telecom deal.

PR Newswire – Leaders from Moroccan Sahara in Washington urged UNHCR, US to end humanitarian tragedy of Sahrawi human rights activist.

PANAMA

Reuters – Panama found weapons on N. Korean ship coming from Cuba. U.S. says

‘strongly supports’ Panama inspection of North Korea ship.

Reuters – Panama called in U.S. to inspect North Korean arms ship.

POLAND

EJP – European Jewish groups met for crisis talks over Polish Shechita rights failure.

WSJ – Poland will increase its budget gap by half this year to deal with the current slowdown in the economy.

EurActiv – Polish minister denies shale gas exodus by US firms.

S. KOREA

The Washington Post – S. Korea wants to delay military deal with U.S.

USA Today – South Korea blames North Korea for cyberattack.

KSBW – A San Francisco Bay Area TV station’s newscast triggers embarrassment and outrage in U.S. and S. Korea after it reported erroneous and offensive names of Asiana Airlines pilots who crash landed.

UAE

The National – UAE gives \$4.5 million to US schools in New Jersey hit by hurricane.

AIN – U.S. customs official defends its plan to establish a customs pre-clearance facility at Abu Dhabi International Airport mostly funded by the host UAE government.

POLAND

Reuters – Poland to demand explanation over allegations from Snowden of U.S. spying on EU communications

Turkish Weekly – Poland denies Snowden’s asylum request

BBC-Poland unveils a new monument on the 70th anniversary of the Volyn WWII massacre

CANADA

Al Jazeera – Death toll from Saturday’s derailment and blasts in Quebec may reach 50.

Bloomberg – Canada dollar rises to 3-week high on bets of more U.S. stimulus

CBC – 17 U.S. and Canadian retailers signed a five-year pact to increase safety and working conditions in Bangladesh factories.

COLUMBIA

Reuters – Colombia demands answers on U.S. spying as Latin America seethes

New York Post & AP - Colombia’s last drug kingpin faces life in US prison for producing up to 400 tons of cocaine per year. He pleaded not guilty in a Manhattan court Wednesday.

MEXICO

Bloomberg – Mexico’s Peso rose as Federal Reserve tapering concern eases

AP – US begins flying deportees to Mexico City

JORDAN

CNN – U.S. increased military forces in Jordan due to security concerns.

AFP – Energy-poor Jordan says Egypt to resume gas supplied within 10 days.

The Jerusalem Post – Syrian refugees in Jordan beg for food during Ramadan

CNN – UK deports radical cleric Abu Qatada to Jordan.

MOROCCO

BBC – Istiqlal party quits Morocco’s Islamist-led government.

AFP – Out of work Spaniards seek jobs in Morocco as recession bites

AP – US students in Arabic program evacuated from Egypt to Morocco as security deteriorates.

All Africa – Farming, Marketing tips from U.S. Agency bear fruit in Morocco.

PANAMA

Business News Americas – Panama government invested US\$878mn in airports.

International Business Times – Panama Canal may be overshadowed by Nicaragua’s plan to build a canal; Panama says it is not feasible.

Al Jazeera – Panama through to Gold Cup quarter finals.

S. KOREA

Global Post – S. Korea, U.S. to hold cyber security talks in Washington, D.C.

NY Times – South and North Korea fail again to agree on reopening shuttered complex in Kaesong industrial Zone.

NBC – Third girl dies from injuries in Asiana Airlines crash in San Francisco on July 6

MONGOLIA

Al Jazeera – Giant Mongolia mine started copper exports.

Business Standard – India to cooperate Mongolia in renewable energy sector and human resources development.

Energy Tribune – Mongolia to close key coal artery to China for environmental concerns.

CHILE

CNN – Raped 11-year-old stirs an abortion debate in Chile.

Xinhua – Chile condemns Washington for reported spying in Latin America

Business News Americas - Mining projects worth US\$7bn cleared environmental hurdles in Chile in the first half of year 2013.

EL SALVADOR

Reuters – El Salvador gang truce crumbling, 103 murders in last week alone.

FOX – US gives El Salvador \$91.2 million for security measure.

UAE

The National – Abu Dhabi and U.S. Customs signed cooperation agreement last week.

The National – UAE financial sector geared up to handle reforms in US taxes.

AP – Iran called on UAE not to deport its nationals amid tensions between the two countries linked to Syria’s civil war.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Prague Daily Monitor – EU-US free trade zone will boost Czech GAP growth.

AP – Czechs to request extradition of US murder suspect of killing four extended family members.

Seminar/Conference Report

Latin American Perceptions of China

Bruce Stokes – Director, Global Economic Attitudes, Pew Research Center

July 23, 2013

Chinese investment in the trade with Latin American countries has increased greatly over the past few years. Since 2005, China has provided upwards of \$87 billion in loan commitments to Latin American countries. China's loan commitments of \$37 billion in 2010 were more than those of the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, and U.S. Export-Import Bank combined. China is now one of the largest trading partners for the region, in addition to the U.S. and the European Union.

Mr. Stokes has shared the survey results that illustrate the U.S. and Chinese influence in Latin America. The survey has been conducted in local languages with people from seven countries including Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Mexico and Venezuela that reflect the demography of each country. The form of the survey was either face to face interview or phone surveys.

In terms of the economy in general, an average of 44% of participants say the current economic situation is good and 44% of participants believe the economy would continue to grow in the next 12 months, with Brazil has an exceptionally high rate of 79%. Older generations are less optimistic than younger generations to believe that the next generation will be better off. Most people believe that the government priority should be creating more jobs.

According to the survey results, despite the rapid growth of Chinese economy and global presence, most publics in Latin America continue to believe that the U.S. exerts

greater influence than China over their country and their economy. However, greater influence does not mean positive influence.

People in Latin America mostly have positive view of China, with an average of 58% favorable impression and 22% unfavorable impression. Young people have stronger favor towards China than older ones.

In Latin America, China is viewed as a partner, but the survey shows that the U.S. ties are more important to the region. Although the U.S. is generally seen as having a greater impact than China, China's influence is viewed more positively in most countries. In addition to that, no correlation has been found between China's trades in Latin America with people's positive views on China, which means that people's favorable perception of China is not driven by trade.

The U.S. has been seen as top economic power among the participants. But when asked whether China will replace US as the top economic power in the future, more than half of the participants from Venezuela, Chile, Mexico and Argentina gave a "Yes" for the answer.

There is an interesting finding regarding Chinese soft power. Although the way how Chinese doing business in Latin America is not highly welcome by people, technology and science advances are highly appreciated in Latin America. This might because people can easily associate their daily lives with affordable Chinese-made electronic devices.

It could be seen from the study that Latin America is now seeking more diverse partnerships with different regions in the world, and China is an undoubtedly important partner. The variance results on different countries' perceptions of China fit into the

actual international relations between China and these countries. Venezuelans lean more toward having a good relationship with China than do other Latin American publics, potentially because they receive aid from China. Salvadorans are the only ones who see America's impact on their country in a much more positive light than China's. But this might also be because El Salvador is the only country in the region that recognizes Taiwan, which naturally deteriorates the relationship with China.

China is now expanding its soft power in Latin America by utilizing the media tools and cultural activities to educate local people about China. But China still lacks geo-strategies in Latin America compared with its ambitions in Asia. In order to take full advantage of the range of opportunities, Chinese and Latin American government have to better understand one another's interests and to fully determine the implications of increasingly complex Sino-Latin American relationships.

Debrief on U.S.-China Strategic & Economic Dialogue

July 24, 2013

During the U.S.-China S&ED, both sides have emphasized the importance of promoting a comprehensive bilateral relationship based on mutual respect and mutually beneficial cooperation. The debrief itself has mainly focused on the challenges for American companies investing in China and has touched three major areas.

I. Strengthening Economic Policy

- a. China's **interest rate reform** – the U.S. hopes China to develop a market-based benchmark interest rate system, to improve monetary policy transmission, expand pricing flexibility and strengthening pricing capacity of market participants.
- b. The U.S. wants to push China to speed up the reform of its **state-owned enterprises** (SOEs) and to treat US companies equally as the domestic companies.

II. Promote Open Trade and Investment

- a. Further negotiations on **Bilateral Investment Treaty** will be implemented. China is to enter into substantive BIT negotiations with the U.S. The BIT will provide national treatment at all phases of investment, including market access (“pre-establishment”), and be negotiated under a “**negative list**” approach. It is suggested that US companies should now develop a list of non-conforming measure before negotiating with China.
- b. The **trade protection** is important to maintain fair competition and an innovative economy. The U.S. and China commit to strengthen

cooperation and exchange of information, including relevant enforcement data through JCCT.

- c. China is now actively studying measures on further proactively opening up of **services sectors**. One example is to establish the **Shanghai Free Trade Zone pilot**.
- d. The U.S. and China are committed to supporting and facilitating sub-national cooperation at the **local and provincial level**.

III. Enhancing Global Cooperation and International Rules

- a. Both sides will make best efforts to reach an intergovernmental agreement on the implementation of the **Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act** before January 2014.
- b. Energy issues - China will continue improving the reliability and completeness of **energy data** based on its G-20 commitments. China intends to accelerate the development of the legal and regulatory framework covering unconventional oil and natural gas.

Additionally, several fierce debates have been brought up on the following issues.

1. **Cyber Security**—the senior level of Chinese government officials needs to know the risk of violating cyber regulations.
2. **Innovation Dialogue**—US wants China to open up for the high-tech companies entering China.
3. **Intellectual Property**—China needs to promote the use of legal software by SOEs, including by strengthening supervision of central SOEs and large state-

owned financial institutions by establishing software asset management systems (SAM).

4. **Transparency**—China needs to publish reports on a regular basis to disclose relevant information on the state capital operational budget according to the Budget Law and relevant regulation on government information disclosure. The U.S. hopes China to make the process more transparent to Chinese people.
5. **Shanghai Free Trade Zone**—it is to implement a new foreign capital administrative model on a trial basis, and create a market environment that provides equal access for all types of enterprises, domestic and foreign. In addition, China is also considering to further opening up more areas including e-commerce. The speakers believe that there's already strong signal that this opening-up is on its way. Issues such as the difficulty of investment and acquisition of telecommunication sectors in China for U.S. companies have also been brought up during the meeting.

Observations – The debriefing meeting includes little information on Chinese companies doing business in the U.S. But in the fact sheets, it says “the U.S. commits that all investment reviews by the CFIUS focus exclusively on national security, not economic or other national policies”, and “the U.S. welcome investment from all countries, including China, and to treat investors in a fair and equitable manner under the law.”

On July 24th, China Daily has published an article *US must play by FDI rules*. It shows that China has taken a pretty clear stance on China's FDI in the U.S. It says “over the past few years, the U.S. has been trying to stop Chinese companies from tapping the American market, because it wrongly sees China as a security threat and Chinese

businesses as unfair competitors of American companies.” It also lists examples of investment being failed in the U.S. from 2003 to now. This article to some extent has shown the Chinese government’s stance after the S&ED.

Healthpoint Preliminary Media Audit Findings

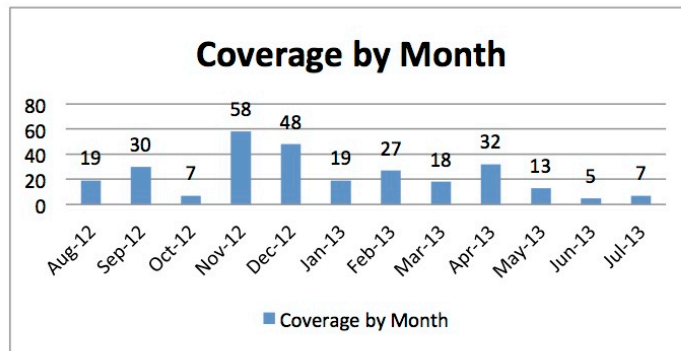
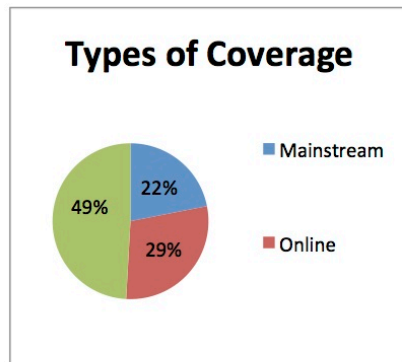
(Note: this is teamwork)

August 7, 2013

Healthpoint Preliminary Media Audit Findings

We are still conducting the media audit and pulling articles but these are the preliminary findings based on the information we have so far. We anticipate that these numbers will change in the final report.

- We pulled media coverage from August 1, 2012 through July 30, 2013, there were a total of **283** articles with **132** articles mentioning Healthpoint Biotherapeutics or Santyl, and **151** articles mentioning Medicare or Medicaid Rebate in print and online publications.
- Among the news, the top two drivers were the **acquisition of Healthpoint by Smith & Nephew** in December 2012 and the Democratic leaders introduced the **Medicare Drug Savings Act** in April 2013
- The majority of coverage appears in **trade** media and in **domestic** outlets.
- Coverage regarding the price of Santyl was only in regard to the Copay Assistance Program for patients.



- ### Search Terms
- "Healthpoint Biotherapeutics"
 - Santyl
 - "Medicare Rebate"
 - "Medicaid Rebate"
- ### Coding
- Product
 - Company
 - Financial
 - Merger/Acquisition
 - Medicare
 - Medicaid

Figure 1 Healthpoint Media Audit Findings

Translations

Bill Black's Blog Post

Original Article: Is Chinese Investment Welcomed in the United States?

Recent business news about foreign direct investment from China into the United States must be confusing to Chinese companies seeking to invest here. On the one hand, there is the controversial acquisition by the Japanese bank, Softbank of the U.S. telecommunications operator Sprint. The deal is controversial because the Sprint network includes hardware provided by Huawei, a Chinese telecommunications manufacturer. (Disclosure: Huawei is a client of FleishmanHillard). There are reports that U.S. national security officials have demanded that Huawei equipment be removed as a condition of approving the deal. This condition could be read as further evidence that the U.S. does not welcome Chinese investment.

On the other hand, there is the just announced acquisition of Smithfields Foods by Shuanghui International Holdings, Ltd. While this deal has only been in the news for a few days, early coverage is mostly, though not entirely, favorable. In a sign that Chinese companies have become more sophisticated in how they communicate around their business activities outside of China, the messages around the Shuanghui/Smithfields deal were delivered mostly by Americans. Here's Smithfield CEO C. Larry Pope, seeking to anticipate and rebut criticism:

I know how people react — that we are selling out to the Chinese. This is not selling out to the Chinese. This is Smithfield being part of a global organization. There will be no impact on how we do business in America and around the world. . . . This is about America exporting.

While his quote is a bit more defensive than I would like to see, he does seek to turn the potential criticism around and make the business case that shows how this acquisition provides benefits to Americans.

Clearly, the communications team prepared well for this announcement by getting outside voices to emphasize how this deal will help Americans. Conservatives in America are very suspicious of China from a geopolitical perspective. Yet, the Secretary of Agriculture and Forestry from Virginia's very conservative state government said the following:

We're looking at this as a really good thing. China represents the grand prize, as far as pork exports are concerned.

The other lesson from this rollout is that, while Chinese investment often faces challenges in Washington, it is welcomed at the state and local levels. Chinese investment in the U.S. becomes controversial when it draws the attention of the federal government, mostly on issues of national security, but also when American economic supremacy is threatened. In some ways, Huawei runs into both challenges. With the global focus on cybersecurity, telecommunications is clearly a sensitive industry. Moreover, Huawei's enormous success throughout most of the world, threatens the U.S. self-image as a leader in technological innovation. The fact is there is no longer any significant manufacturing in telecommunications in the U.S. Most is done in China by both Chinese and non-Chinese companies alike.

Frankly, Huawei bears the burden of being a pioneer in foreign direct investment from China. While the company is quintessentially global in both its ambitions and its business practices, in the U.S., it has become symbolic of all that Americans fear about

China. And Washington has become the locus of that fear. Demonstrating how different it is in the states, even Huawei, with all its challenges in Washington, received a warm endorsement from very conservative Texas Governor Rick Perry that is preserved in video on YouTube in which he compared Huawei's founder, Ren Zhengfei, to his own father.

So, Chinese companies seeking to invest in the U.S., are advised to do so in ways that do not raise concerns in Washington. Either coincidentally or by design, the Smithfield acquisition was announced while Congress was in recess. If by design, it is further evidence of the sophistication of this rollout and the extent to which Chinese companies are learning from the experiences of deals that went before.

A former U.S. Treasury official who once had oversight of foreign direct investment in the U.S., once said to me, "If Huawei wants to be accepted in the United States, it should seek to acquire a hot dog stand." His point was that getting a non-controversial deal approved is the best way to gain the U.S. "seal of approval" that could open the door to future opportunities. Shuangui appears to have taken that advice to heart and executed on a grand scale with its acquisition of the world's largest pork producer. Other Chinese companies "going out" should take note.

This is the translation that I did for the previous article.

美国参议院在 Smithfield 食品公司收购案听证会上对 CFIUS 提出挑战

在周三的中国双汇国际对美国 Smithfield 食品公司收购计划的听证会上，参议院对美国政府一向秘密评估类似交易的过程提出了直接的挑战。一个强大而有争议的机构——在美外国投资委员会，即 CFIUS——负责对外国公司收购美国企业的评估工作。CFIUS 明确旨在保护国家安全，而不是纯粹被授权评估外资并购的经济效益。清晰可见，美国参议院农业委员会的听证会是为了给 CFIUS 施压。

随着时间的推移，为了在保护国家安全和贸易保护主义之间划清界限，国会修改了美国法律，CFIUS 也随之演变。不幸的是，因为少数高调案例被拒绝或撤回，CFIUS 被安上了在美对外直接投资主要障碍的虚名。然而事实上，它通过了大多数的交易评估：最新数据显示，从 2009 到 2011 年，CFIUS 对 92% 其审查的交易亮了绿灯。

根据法律规定，CFIUS 的审查过程是保密的，这让它笼罩着神秘和可疑的光环。讽刺的是，这个为了让 CFIUS 不受政治干扰而特别设计的保密性反而带来了双方的不利，既没有让审查过程不受政治影响，同时又破坏了不理解 CFIUS 用来做出决定标准的外国投资者的信任。

双汇这一交易对 CFIUS 提出了一些有趣的挑战。表面上看，这个交易似乎并不涉及传统意义上的国家安全问题。正如一位中国外交官在华盛顿我所参加的一次会议上所说：“猪肉怎么能成为国家安全问题？”但是美国的一些参议员很快提供了答案。在宣布七月十日举行审查该交易的听证会时，参议院农业委员会主席，议

员 Debbie Stabenow 表示，委员会将“检查政府在外国对美国公司收购的审查过程中如何强调美国食品安全，保护美国技术和知识产权，以及外资持股增加对美国食品供应的影响。”这些足够让 CFIUS 从政治中屏蔽出来。

事实上，把保护食品供应称作是一个国家安全问题，这将很大程度上扩大 CFIUS 的审查范围，而与此同时，美国贸易官员正视图说服外国投资者这个范围其实有限。大多数 CFIUS 案例都强调地理位置，以及所收购的目标公司是否位于敏感设施附近。这是 2012 年 CFIUS 否决中国三一集团购买美国测试无人驾驶飞机海军基地附近的风电场交易的基础。在那个特定案例中，三一重工迈出了起诉奥巴马总统这不同寻常的一步。（这个案件的一部分已经结束，另一部分仍处于诉讼阶段。）

虽然极少数交易基于敏感技术转让而受到质疑，食品问题却从来不在考虑范围内。有趣的是，Smithfield 公司的总部位于世界最大的海军基地之一，诺福克海军造船厂的附近。如果 CFIUS 正在寻找除了食品安全以外质疑这项交易的理由，这将提供一个选项。

有意在美国进行外国直接投资者都会密切关注这笔交易。监控这个审查过程非常直接，因为它必须坚持严格的时间表。这里有三个可能的阶段。初步审查将持续三十天，大多数交易都会在这个阶段得到批准：2011 年，111 项交易中有 70 项在三十天之内获得批准。更具争议性的交易会进入为期四十五天的调查阶段。在此阶段，几乎所有案件都会被通过，或者在 CFIUS 表示可能拒绝的情况下而撤回（

2011 年仅有五项交易被撤回)。CFIUS 否决的所有交易都会提交给总统，总统有两周时间确认或推翻否决。在过去五年唯一由总统决定的就是三一重工的案件。

对于双汇/Smithfield 这个案例，如果 8 月没有宣布任何决定，就意味着这项交易进入了调查阶段，那么最终决定很可能在 9 月的某个时候宣布。在参议院农业委员会的听证会上，Smithfield 的总裁 Larry Pope 到场提供证明，明确提升了这场游戏中的利害关系。委员会成员在听证会前表示了他们的情感，并且 Pope 很可能面对怀疑态度的质疑。

底线：“非政治性”的 CFIUS 程序将会变得政治化。这可能将美国吸引外国直接投资的努力复杂化，并且可能使其更具有挑战性。

One guest piece written by Bill Black has been published on Forbes Asia. Here's the translation we use for social media purpose.

Original Article: U.S. Senate Hearing On Smithfield Foods Poses Challenge To CFIUS

Wednesday's Congressional hearing on the planned acquisition of Smithfield Foods by China's Shuanghui International poses a direct challenge to the normally secretive process used by the U.S. government to evaluate such deals. A powerful and controversial inter-agency body called the Committee on Foreign Investment in the U.S., or CFIUS (pronounced SIFF-ee-us), is tasked with the evaluation of foreign takeovers of American enterprises. Explicitly designed to protect national security, CFIUS is not authorized to evaluate the purely economic effects of foreign acquisitions. The hearing by the U.S. Senate Committee on Agriculture is a clear effort to pressure CFIUS.

CFIUS has evolved over time as Congress has revised U.S. law in an effort to walk a fine line between protection and protectionism. Unfortunately, because a small

number of high-profile cases were either rejected or withdrawn, CFIUS has acquired an undeserved reputation as a major obstacle to foreign direct investment (FDI) in the United States. Yet it actually approves most of the transactions it evaluates: from 2009 to 2011, the most recent period for which data are available, CFIUS green-lighted 92% of the deals it reviewed.

By law, the CFIUS review process is confidential, contributing to the aura of mystery and suspicion surrounding the committee. Ironically, the very confidentiality designed to shield CFIUS from political interference has created the worst of both worlds, simultaneously failing to keep politics out of the review process while undermining the trust of foreign investors who do not understand the criteria CFIUS uses to make its decisions.

The Shuanghui deal presents CFIUS with some interesting challenges. On its face, the transaction does not seem to involve national security issues in the traditional sense. As one Chinese diplomat said in a recent meeting I attended in Washington, “How can pork be a national security issue?” But some U.S. Senators were quick to provide an answer. In announcing the July 10 hearing to review the deal, the Chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, Sen. Debbie Stabenow, wrote that the committee would “examine how the government review process of foreign acquisitions of U.S. companies addresses American food safety, protection of American technologies and intellectual property, and the effects of increased foreign ownership of the U.S. food supply.” So much for shielding CFIUS from politics.

Indeed, calling protection of the food supply a national security issue would significantly expand the scope of CFIUS at a time when U.S. trade officials are trying to

convince foreign investors that its scope is, in fact, quite limited. Most CFIUS cases center on geography, and whether the target company in the acquisition is located near sensitive facilities. That was the basis on which CFIUS rejected in 2012 a bid by China's Sany Group to buy a wind farm located near a U.S naval base that tested drone aircraft. In that particular case, Sany took the extraordinary step of suing President Barack Obama. (Part of the case was thrown out, while part remains in litigation.)

While a handful of deals have been challenged on the basis of sensitive technology transfer, the issue of food has simply never come up. Interestingly, Smithfield's headquarters is located not far from one of the world's largest naval bases, the Norfolk Naval Shipyard. If CFIUS is looking for a reason to question the deal on grounds other than food security, this would provide an option for doing so.

Anyone interested in FDI into the United States will be watching this deal closely. Monitoring the review process is straightforward since it adheres to a rigorous timeline. There are three possible phases. The initial review period lasts 30 days, and most deals are approved during this phase: in 2011, 70 of the 111 deals evaluated were cleared during the 30-day review. More controversial transactions go on to an investigation phase lasting 45 days. During this period, nearly all cases are either approved or withdrawn if CFIUS signals a possible rejection (in 2011, only five were withdrawn). Any transaction that CFIUS rejects is sent to the President, who has two weeks either to confirm or overturn the rejection. The only Presidential decision made in the last five years was in the Sany case.

In the case of Shuanghui/Smithfield, if no decision is announced by August, it will mean that the transaction has gone on to the investigative phase, and that a final decision will likely be announced sometime in September. The Senate Agriculture Committee hearing, at which Smithfield President Larry Pope will testify, clearly raises the stakes in this game. Committee members have made their feelings known well in advance of the hearing, and Mr. Pope is likely to face skeptical questioning.

Bottom line: the “non-political” CFIUS process is about to get political. This could complicate U.S. efforts to attract FDI and possibly make them more challenging.

This is the translation that I did for the previous article.

美国是否欢迎中国投资

近期有许多关于中国在美国对外直接投资的经济新闻，这一定让那些想在美国进行投资的中国公司感到困惑。一方面是日本软银（Softbank）对美国电信公司 Sprint 颇受争议的收购。该交易之所以受到争议是因为 Sprint 网络涵盖中国电信制造商华为所提供的硬件（注：华为是福莱的客户）。有报道称，美国国家安全官员已经要求撤销华为提供的设备，作为批准该交易的条件。这种情况可能会被解读为美国不欢迎中国投资的进一步证据。

另一方面，双汇国际控股有限公司刚刚宣布对美国 Smithfield Foods 食品公司的收购。虽然这笔交易在新闻中才出现了几天，虽然不是全部，但是大部分的报道都是有利的。一个迹象表明中国公司在中国以外围绕他们的业务进行沟通的能力已经变的更加成熟，关于双汇和 Smithfield 的交易几乎都是由美国人发表的。这里是 Smithfield 首席执行官 C.Larry Pope 对外界批评的预测和反驳：

“我知道人们的反应—我们把产品出售到中国。这并不是出售给中国人，而是 Smithfield 将会成为全球组织的一部分。我们在美国和全世界的业务将不会受到任何影响……这是关于美国出口的业务。”

虽然他的言论比我希望看到的有更多的防御性，但是他的确是寻求避免潜在的批评，并且让这次收购成为有利于美国人的商业案例。

显然，其公关团队很好地准备了这次发言，让外界声音去强调这个交易将如何帮助美国人。美国的保守派从地缘政治的角度认为中国非常可疑。但是，来自弗吉尼亚这个非常保守的州政府的农林局局长做出以下发言：

“我们把这次收购看做一件非常好的事情。中国代表一个头奖，尽管猪肉出口是令人担忧的。”

从这次事件汲取的另一条经验就是，虽然中国投资经常面临华盛顿的挑战，但是在州和地方层面还是受到欢迎的。中国在美国的投资受到争议是因为引起了联邦政府的关注，大多是关于国家安全的问题，但是当美国经济霸主地位受到威胁时也是一样。从某种层面说，华为卷入了这两种挑战。在全球对于网络安全的关注下，电信显然是一个敏感行业。此外，华为在全世界的巨大成功威胁了美国在技术创新中作为领军者的自我形象。事实上，美国已经没有任何显著的电信制造业。大部分都是在中国由中国公司或类似的非中国公司制造。

坦率地说，华为承担了作为中国对外直接投资先驱者的重担。虽然该公司的野心和商业行为都是典型的全球性，但是在美国，它已经成为所有美国人害怕中国的象征。而华盛顿就是这种恐惧的中心。为了显示在州政府的不同，即使华为在华

盛顿受到了各种挑战，它仍然受到了来自保守州德克萨斯州州长 Rick Perry 的热情支持，Rick Perry 把华为的创始人任正非相比于自己的父亲，这段视频现保存于 YouTube。

因此，中国公司在美国寻求的投资最好是以不引起华盛顿担忧的方式进行。不论是巧合还是精心设计，对 Smithfield 的收购就是在国会休会期间宣布的。如果是设计的，那么它进一步证明这次收购的复杂程度，以及中国公司正在从之前的交易中汲取经验。

一位曾监管在美对外直接投资的前美国财政部官员对我说：“如果华为希望在美国被接纳，它们应该考虑收购一个热狗摊。”他的重点是，让一个无争议的交易先得到批准是赢得美国“批准印章”的最好方式，这样或许可以对未来的机遇敞开大门。双汇似乎已经把这个建议放在心上，通过对世界最大的猪肉生产商的收购，以一个宏大的规模在执行。其它“走出去”的中国公司也应该注意到这一点。

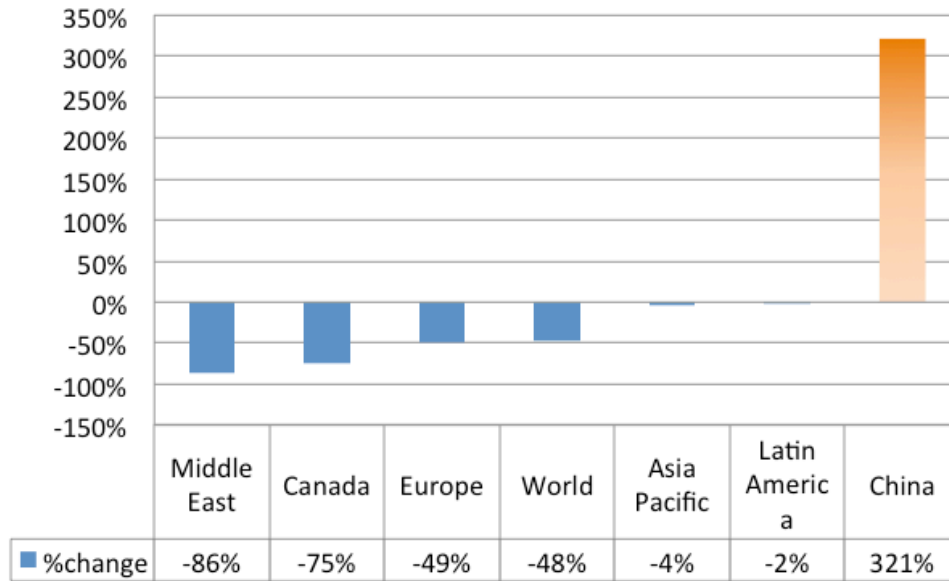
Key Opinion Leader List for Japan Airlines

Last name	Title	Affiliation(s)	Category	Influence	Rationale	Possible Activities
Baker	Former U.S. ambassador to Japan	Bipartisan Policy Center; Mansfield Foundation	Government	Direct	He is an elder statesman who has held a number of high-level positions in Republican administrations, including recent service at the U.S. Embassy in Japan. Now, as Senior Counsel to his law firm (Baker, Donelson, Bearman, Caldwell & Berkowitz), Baker focuses his practice on public policy and international matters. This suggests he can be retained as an advisor to JAL.	Briefing; Formal engagement
Solis	Philip Knight Chair in Japan Studies and senior fellow	Brookings Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies	Think Tank	Indirect	She has independent academic expertise that could create opportunities for events that focus on the impact of Abenomics on companies like JAL.	Briefing
Hamre	CEO	Center for Strategic & International Studies	Think Tank	Indirect	Strong interest in Japan. Runs influential think tank.	Briefing
Szechenyi	Deputy director and Senior Fellow, Office of the Japan Chair	Center for Strategic & International Studies	Think Tank	Indirect	His research focuses on US-Japan relations; used to be a news producer for Fuji TV in Washington D.C.. There could be opportunities to seed storylines through him.	Briefing
Hastert	Former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives	Congressional Study Group on Japan; Lobbyist, Dickstein Shapiro	Government	Direct	Hastert has an interest in Japan by virtue of his participation in the study group. FH has worked with him on another international project.	Formal Engagement
Harney	International affairs fellow	Council on Foreign Relations	Think Tank	Indirect	She is a regular commentator on NPR, BBC, Japan's Yomiuri TV, and a frequent contributor to the Economics Intelligence Unit, the NYTimes, the WSJ, etc. She used to be an aide to Japanese politician Nakatani Gen.	Briefing
Smith	Senior Fellow for Japan Studies	Council on Foreign Relations; Japan-US Friendship Commission	Think Tank	Indirect	Smith has expertise in Japanese domestic politics and foreign policy. In addition to directing CFR's project on Japan's Political Transition and the U.S.-Japan Alliance, she serves as vice chairman of the Commission. As a CFR expert, she is invited by major news organizations to comment on issues associated with Japan.	Briefing
Shapiro	Former USTR official	Greenberg Traurig	Lawyer	Indirect	He is an international trade lawyer who served as chief trade negotiator with Japan.	Formal Engagement
McDermott	U.S. House of Representatives (D-WA)	House of Representatives; Japan-US Friendship Commission; Congressional Study Group on Japan	Government	Direct	He is a serving member of Congress who co-chairs the Japan study group. He is also active in the APEC and aerospace caucuses.	Briefing
Calder	Director of the Japan Studies Program	Johns Hopkins University	Academic	Indirect	He is an independent academic. This could create opportunities for events that focus on the impact of Japanese government policy on companies like JAL.	Briefing
Mondale	Former U.S. vice president; former U.S. ambassador to Japan; former U.S. senator	Mansfield Foundation Board	Government	Direct	Mondale is a global statesman with deep experience in Japan that gives him unique credibility across a range of issues. He is chairman of the Mansfield Foundation and chairman emeritus of the National Democratic Institute. He was a director of Northwest Airlines.	Briefing
Schieffer	Former U.S. ambassador to Japan	Mansfield Foundation Board	Government	Direct	Ambassador Schieffer founded and remains active in Envoy International LLC which largely does consulting work on international affairs for clients on both sides of the Pacific. This suggests he can be retained to provide counsel to JAL, should that be necessary.	Formal Engagement
Atkinson	Deputy National Security Advisor for International Economic Affairs	National Security Council at the White House	Government	Direct	Former journalist and IMF official with strong connections to other policymakers.	Briefing
Cutler	Assistant US Trade Representative for Japan, Korea and APEC	Office of the United States Trade Representative	Government	Direct	She has led the U.S.-Japan TPP consultations and paved the way for Japan's participation in the TPP negotiations. She is unlikely to take direct action on behalf of JAL, but it would be worthwhile for the company to brief her on its concerns about the proposed actions at HND.	Briefing
Steinberg	Former Deputy Secretary of State under Obama	Syracuse University	Academic	Indirect	Expert on U.S. foreign policy with strong ties inside the Obama administration.	
Capito	U.S. House of Representatives (R-WV)	The Congressional Study Group on Japan	Government	Direct	She is a member of the House Transportation Committee and co-chairs the Japan study group.	Briefing
Murkowski	United States Senate (R-AK)	The Congressional Study Group on Japan	Government	Direct	She is a serving member of Congress who co-chairs the Japan study group. She also serves as Vice Chairman of the U.S.-Japan Interparliamentary Group and is a member of the Japan-US Friendship Commission. When the Republicans controlled the Senate, she served as chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs.	Briefing
Russell	Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia	U.S. State Department	Government	Direct	His portfolio includes relations with Japan.	Briefing
Zumwalt	Deputy Assistant Secretary for Japan	U.S. State Department	Government	Direct	In addition to his current position, Zumwalt has experience as deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Japan. He is very respected in Japan.	Briefing
Barshefsky	Former US Trade Representative	WilmerHale	Lawyer	Direct	Trade expert with deep ties in Washington and Tokyo.	Formal Engagement
Bader	Former Senior Director for Asia at National Security Council (White House)	Brookings Institution	Think Tank	Indirect	Focuses on Japan and has strong ties inside the Obama administration.	Briefing

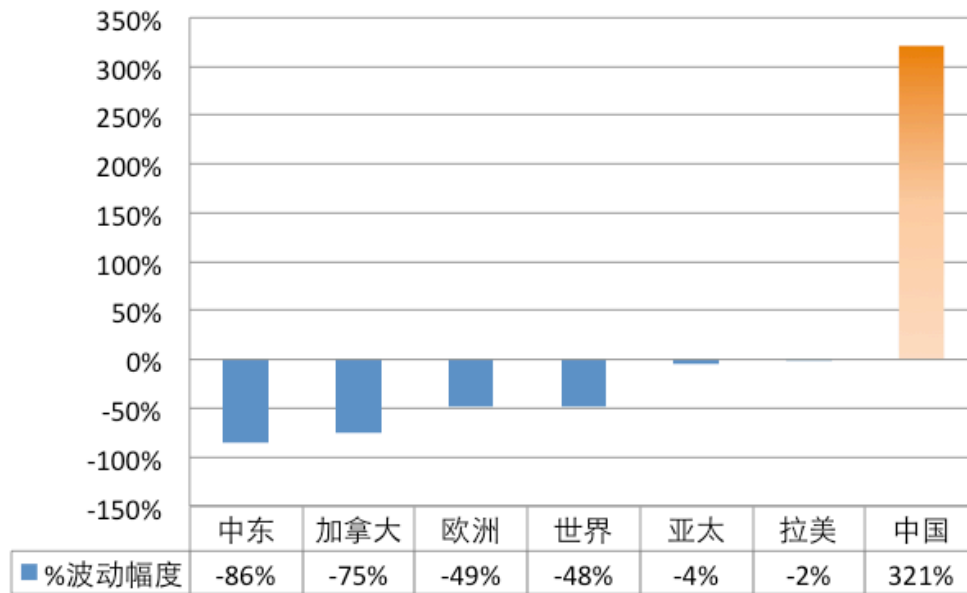
Figure 2 Key Opinion Leader List for Japan Airlines

Graphics for PowerPoint Presentation

Table 1 FDI flows to the United States, Q1-Q3 2007 vs. 2012

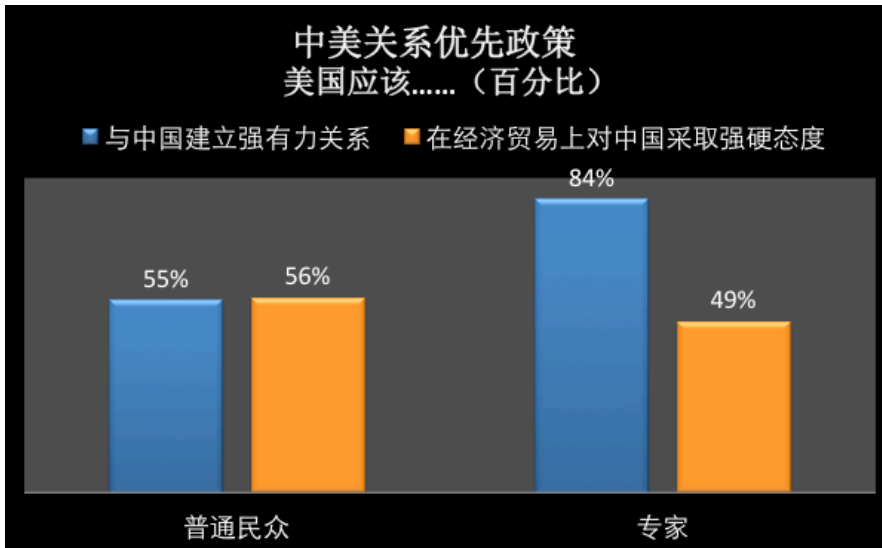
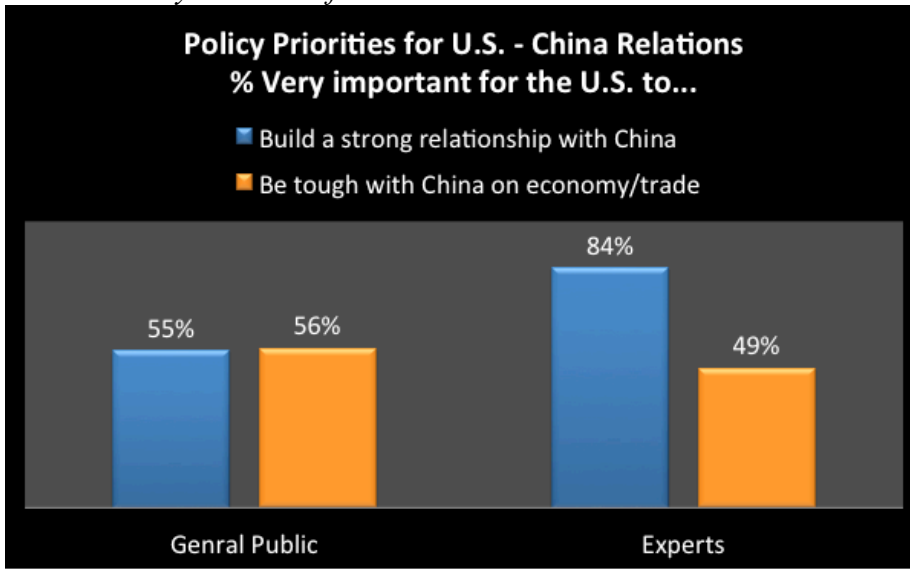


流入美国的对外直接投资, Q1-Q3 2007 vs. Q1-Q3 2012



Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis

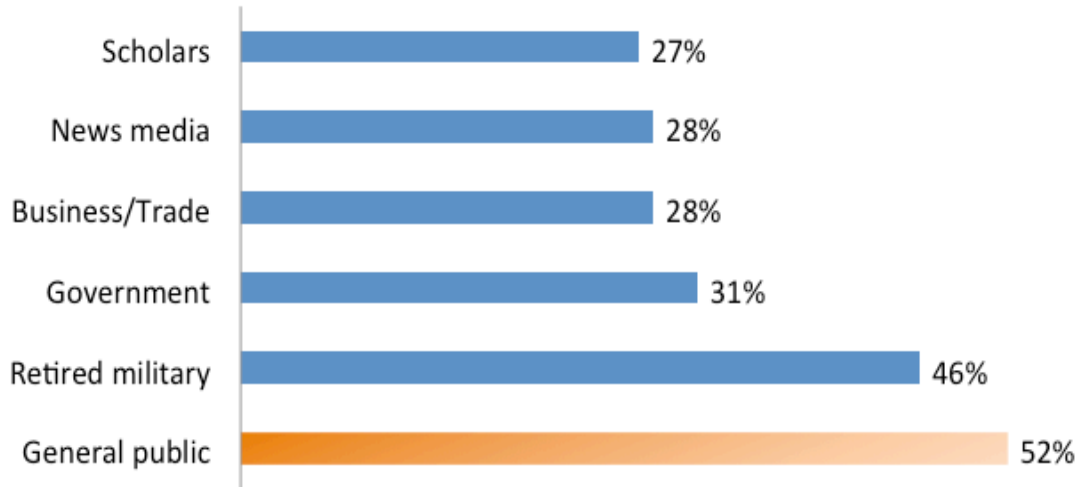
Table 2 Policy Priorities for U.S. - China Relations



Source: Pew Research Center Q25a-b.

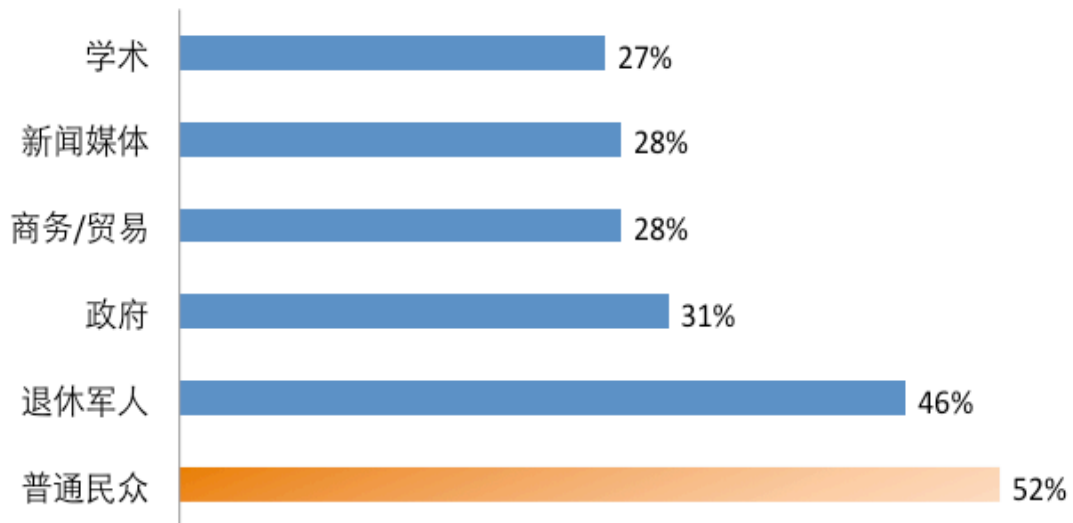
Table 3 Concerns about China's Emergence as a World Power

Concerns about China's Emergence as a World Power
% Who view China's emergence as a world power as a major threat to the U.S.



对中国成为世界强国的忧虑

把中国成为世界强国看做对美国重大威胁的人群比例



Source: Pew Research Center Q13a.

Table 4 Public and Experts Differ on China's Economic Impact on the U.S.

Debt to China is a Worry

Public and Experts Differ on China's Economic Impact on the U.S.
(% Very serious problem)

	Large amount of U.S. debt held by China	Loss of U.S. jobs to China	U.S. trade deficit with China	N
General Public	78%	71%	61%	1004
Experts				
Government	20%	22%	33%	54
Retired military	48%	23%	37%	52
Business/Trade	42%	15%	36%	74
Scholars	19%	12%	20%	93
News media	53%	22%	31%	32

Source: Pew Research Center Q30a-b & f.

中国持有美国国债担忧

公众和专家在中国对美国经济影响上的不同见解
(问题严重程度百分比)

	中国大量持有美国国债	美国人工作机会流失	美国对中国贸易逆差	人数
公众	78%	71%	61%	1004
专家				
政府	20%	22%	33%	54
退休军人	48%	23%	37%	52
商业贸易	42%	15%	36%	74
学术	19%	12%	20%	93
新闻媒体	53%	22%	31%	32

Source: Pew Research Center Q30a-b & f.

Table 5 Republicans more concerned than Democrats about China's economic impact

Republicans More Concerned than Democrats about China's Economic Impact

	Republican	Democratic	Independent	Rep-Dem Diff
<i>Very serious problem for the U.S.</i>	%	%	%	
U.S. trade deficit with China	71%	54%	66%	+17
Large amount of American debt held by China	87%	75%	80%	+12
Loss of U.S. jobs to China	76%	67%	76%	+9

Source: Pew Research Center Q30a-b & f.
(*based on general public)

共和党人比民主党人对中国经济的影响更加忧虑

	共和党	民主党	无党派	共和党与民主党区别
<i>美国面临的严重问题</i>	%	%	%	
美国对中国贸易逆差	71%	54%	66%	+17
中国大量持有美国国债	87%	75%	80%	+12
美国人工作机会流失	76%	67%	76%	+9

Source: Pew Research Center Q30a-b & f.
(*based on general public)

Table 6 China going global investment index - structure and weighting assignment

Investment Climate in U.S.

- Economist Intelligence Unit

China Going Global Investment Index - Structure and weighting assignment

Index Component	Weights	Index Component	Weights
Opportunity		Risk	
Market size		Domestic political and regulatory risk	14%
Natural resources		International political and regulatory risk	5%
Intellectual property (brands and tech)		Cultural proximity	12%
Export manufacturing		Operational risk	2%

美国投资环境

- 经济学人情报社

中国走向世界投资指数 - 结构和权重分配

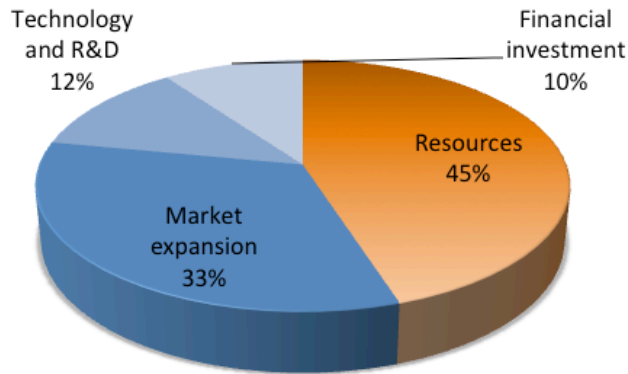
指数成分	权重	指数成分	权重
机会		风险	
市场规模		国内政治及监管风险	14%
自然资源		国际政治及监管风险	5%
知识产权（品牌和技术）		文化接近程度	12%
出口制造业		营运风险	2%

Figure 3 Main characteristics of Chinese M&A deals by motivation

Investment Climate in U.S.

A Brave New World – Chinese M&A Abroad

Main Characteristics of Chinese M&A deals
% of deals by motivation

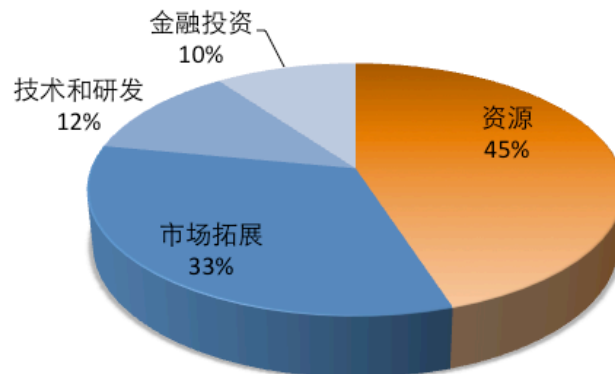


Source: CICC, Thomson Reuters, EIU

美国投资环境

勇敢的新世界 – 中国企业在外国的并购

中国并购交易的主要特点
以动机分类（百分比）

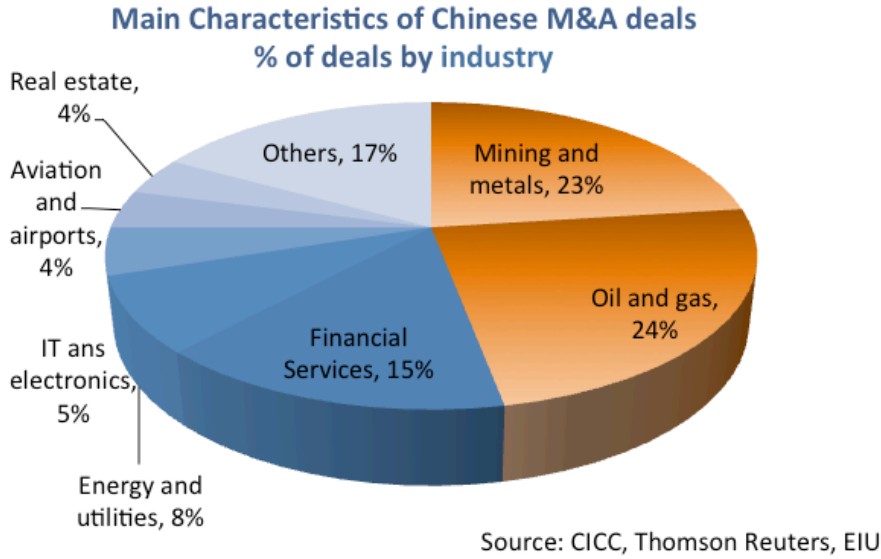


Source: CICC, Thomson Reuters, EIU

Figure 4 Main characteristics of Chinese M&A deals by industry

Investment Climate in U.S.

A Brave New World – Chinese M&A Abroad



美国投资环境

勇敢的新世界 – 中国企业在国外的并购

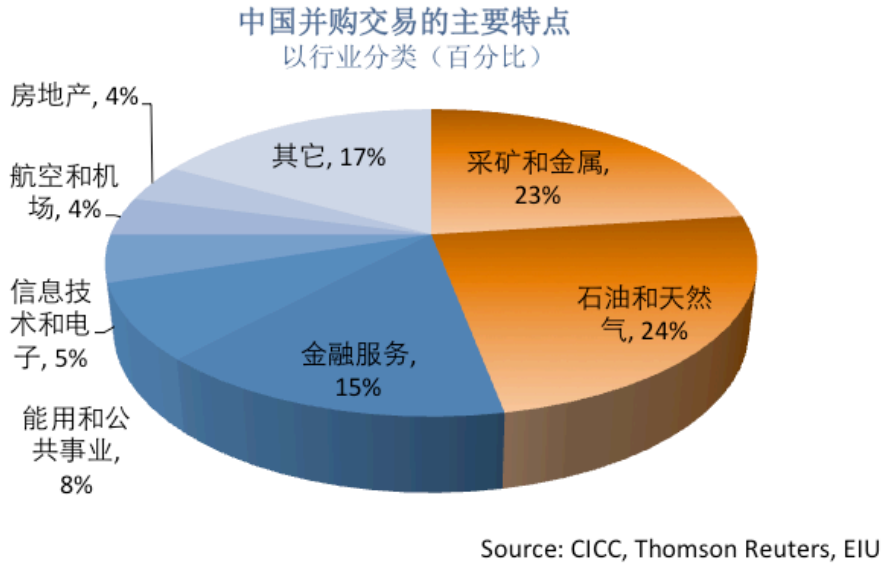
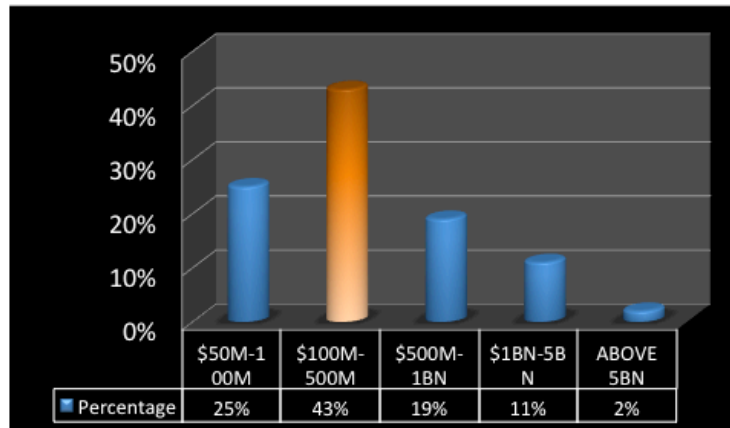


Table 7 Main Characteristics of Chinese M&A deals by size

Investment Climate in U.S.

A Brave New World – Chinese M&A Abroad

Main Characteristics of Chinese M&A deals
% of deals by size

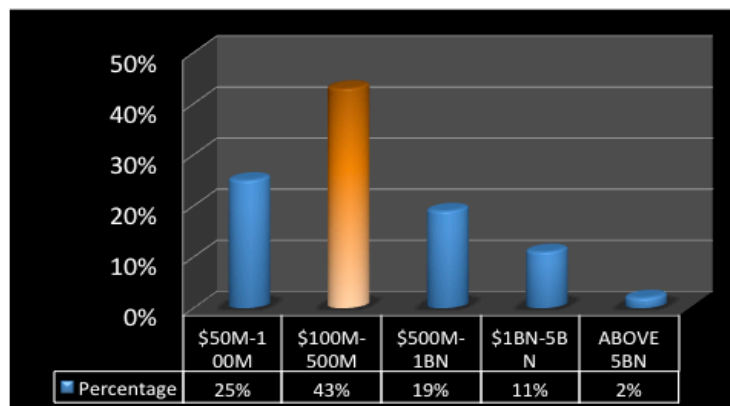


Source: CICC, Thomson Reuters, EIU

美国投资环境

勇敢的新世界 – 中国企业在国外的并购

中国并购交易的主要特点
以规模分类（百分比）



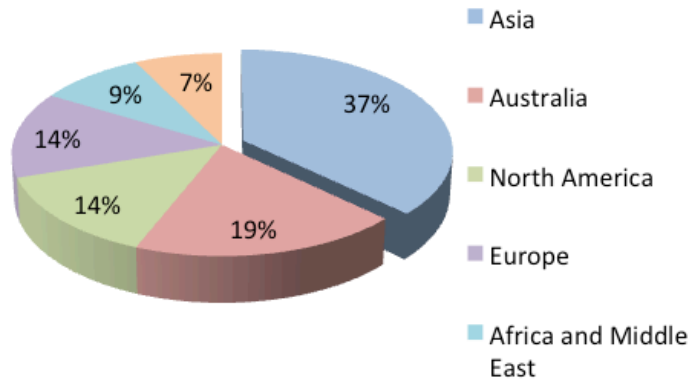
Source: CICC, Thomson Reuters, EIU

Figure 5 Main Characteristics of Chinese M&A deals by targeted region

Investment Climate in U.S.

A Brave New World – Chinese M&A Abroad

Main Characteristics of Chinese M&A deals
% of deals by targeted region

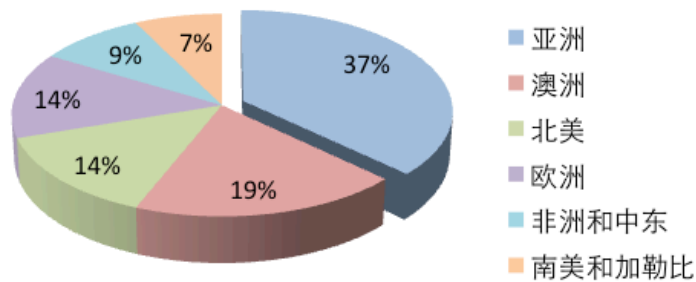


Source: CICC, Thomson Reuters, EIU

美国投资环境

勇敢的新世界 – 中国企业在国外的并购

中国并购交易的主要特点
以所针对区域分类（百分比）

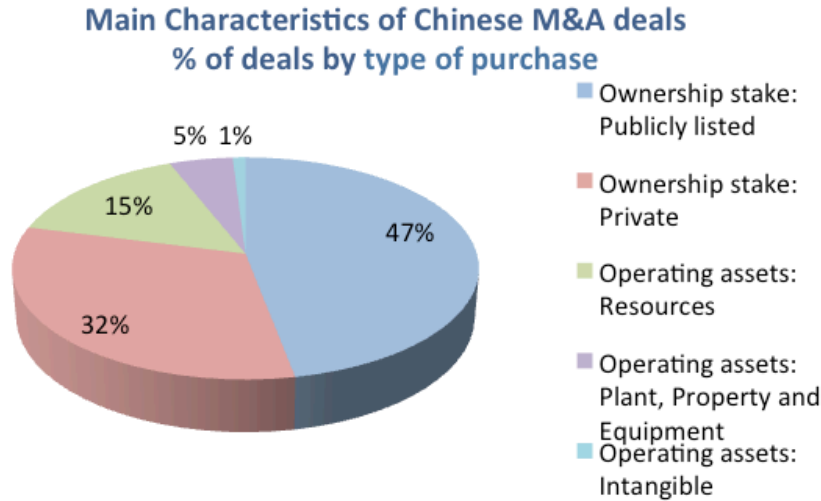


Source: CICC, Thomson Reuters, EIU

Figure 6 Main characteristics of Chinese M&A deals by type of purchase

Investment Climate in U.S.

A Brave New World – Chinese M&A Abroad

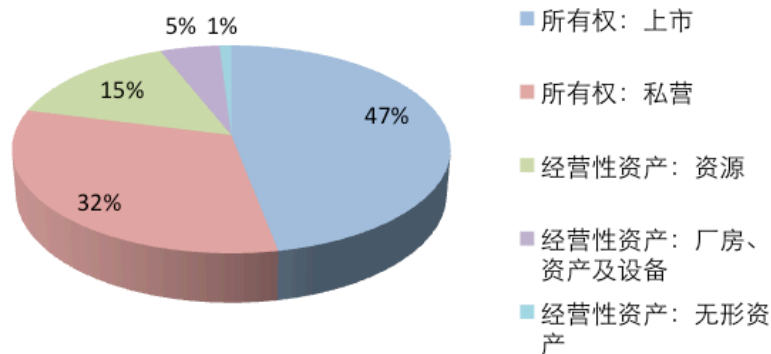


Source: CICC, Thomson Reuters, EIU

美国投资环境

勇敢的新世界 – 中国企业在国外的并购

中国并购交易的主要特点
 以购买类型分类（百分比）



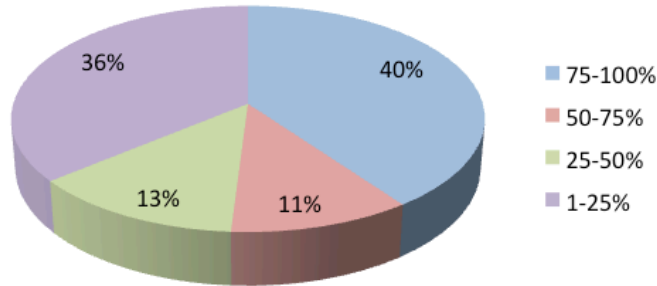
Source: CICC, Thomson Reuters, EIU

Figure 7 Main Characteristics of Chinese M&A deals by size of stake acquired

Investment Climate in U.S.

A Brave New World – Chinese M&A Abroad

Main Characteristics of Chinese M&A deals
% of deals by size of stake acquired

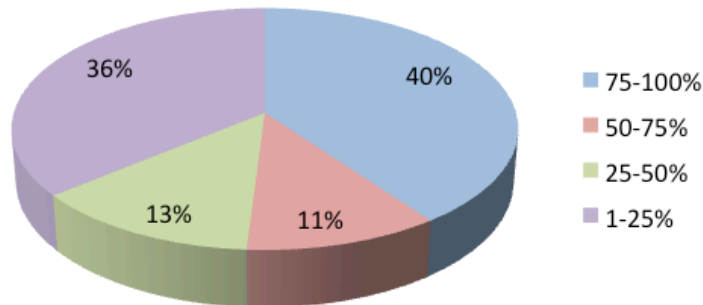


Source: CICC, Thomson Reuters, EIU

美国投资环境

勇敢的新世界 – 中国企业在国外的并购

中国并购交易的主要特点
以收购股份大小分类（百分比）



Source: CICC, Thomson Reuters, EIU

Table 8 Covered transactions, withdrawals, and presidential decisions 2009-2011

Year	Number of Notices	Notices Withdrawn During Review	Number of Investigations	Notices Withdrawn During Investigation	Presidential Decisions
2009	65	5	25	2	0
2010	93	6	35	6	0
2011	111	1	40	5	0
Total	269	12	100	13	0

被监管交易、撤销、以及总统决定 2009-2011

年份	总申请数量	审查中要求撤销的申请数量	接受调查数量	调查中要求撤回的申请数量	总统决定
2009	65	5	25	2	0
2010	93	6	35	6	0
2011	111	1	40	5	0
Total	269	12	100	13	0

Figure 8 Where management of external affairs falls on CEO's agendas

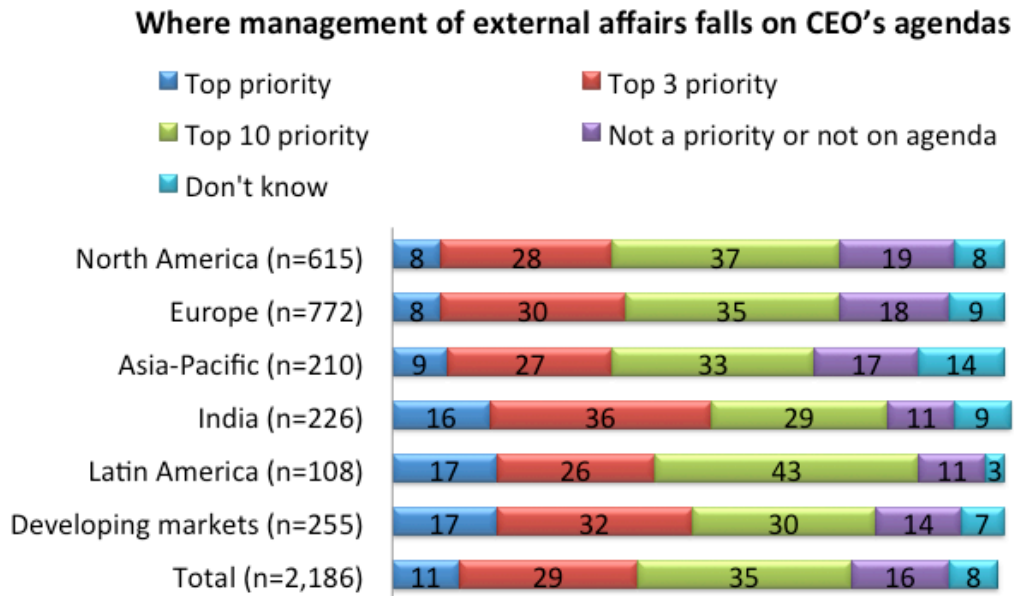


Figure 9 External-affairs activities at which respondents' companies are most effective

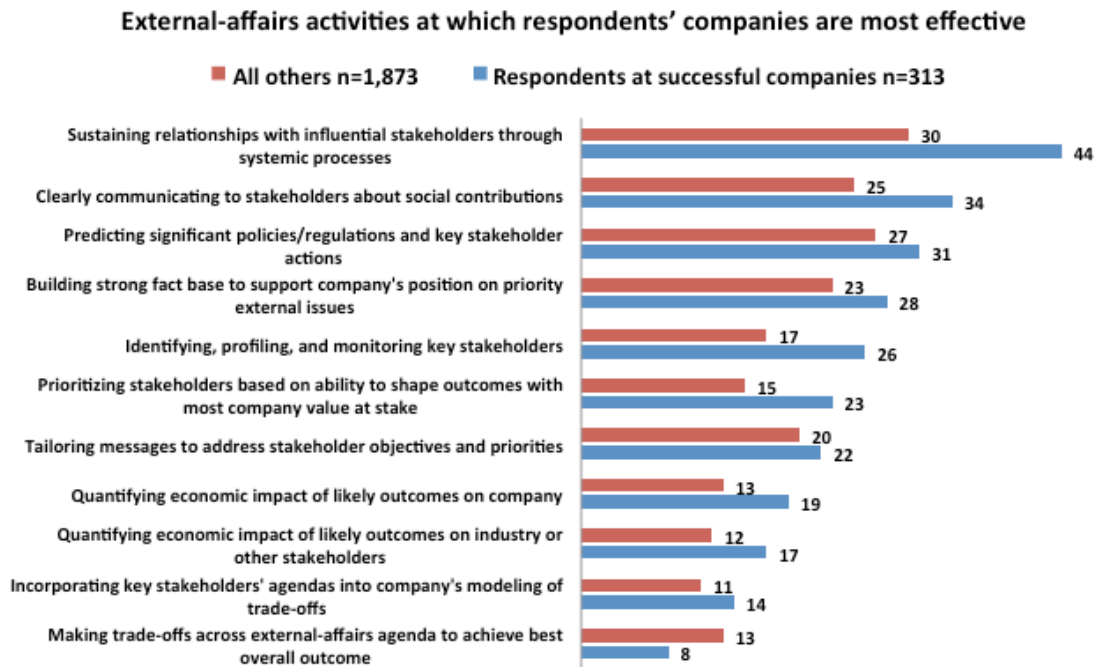


Table 9 Companies' strategies for engaging with governments and regulators

% of respondents by office location	Companies' strategies for engaging with governments and regulators in home countries, past 12 months				
	Asia-Pacific n=210	Developing markets N=255	Europe N=772	India N=226	Latin America N=108
Defensive Aim primarily to amend existing regulation	9	10	11	9	22
Improvement-based Identify new business opportunities and/or redefine business models	30	25	19	17	29
Breakthrough Take leadership position to shape outcomes for company's sustained economic benefit	9	6	8	8	17
Proactive Engage consistently and in a collaborative way that yields both wins and losses for company's business	25	29	20	23	13
Offensive Proactively propose and shape new regulations with notable impact on company's business	7	8	14	12	3
No engagement in past 12 months	13	13	18	15	9

Figure 10 Varied industry effects

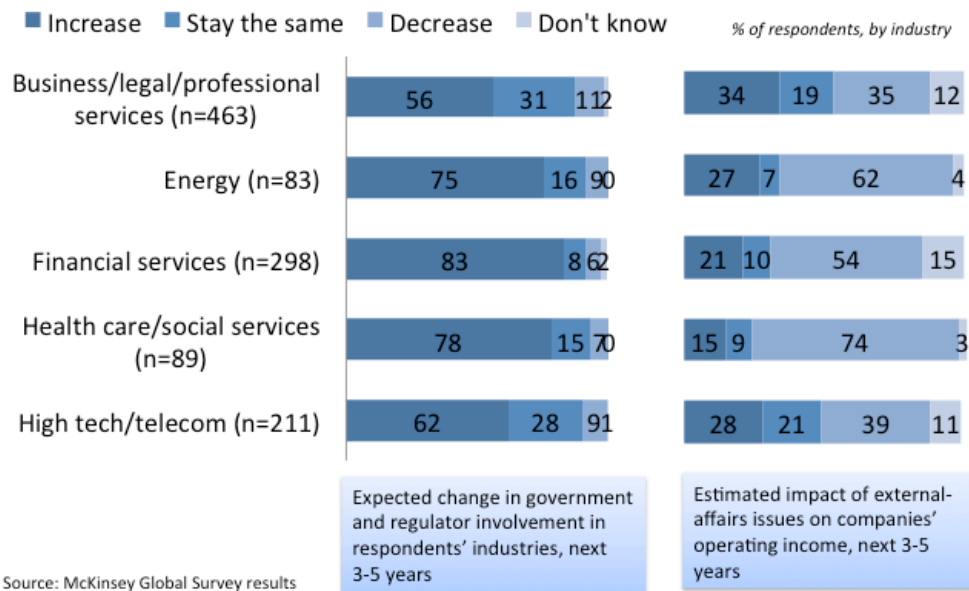
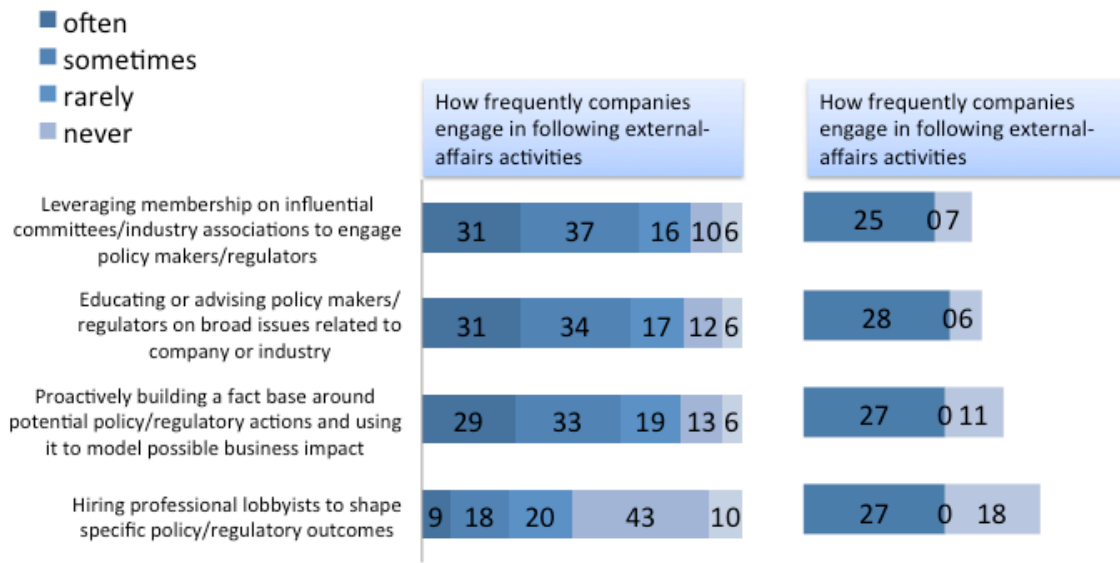


Figure 11 Company engagements in external affairs activities



Source: McKinsey Global Survey results
% of respondents, n=2,186

2013 China Marketing Trip Report
(Attached in media file)

Research Component

As the home to the world's largest Internet user population, the Chinese media landscape has been greatly changed due the stimulus of the Internet. Social media has played an influential role in this transition. People are not only proactively receiving information from the traditional media as they used to be, but are actively seeking information from the Internet and exchanging information through online forums, especially through social media. Public discussion on the Internet has successfully challenged governmental behaviors and served the watchdog role for the public.

But how powerful are the social media in China? And what are the interactions between social media and traditional media? How could these interactions influence each other? In order to explore the relationship and interaction between social media and traditional media, this study has employed framing theory to analyze social media discussion and traditional media coverage on social issues in China. Additionally, this study has also provided an opportunity to explore the changes of the role that the government is playing under the media transition.

Literature Review

Overview of Modern Chinese Media

The Modern Chinese media originated from propaganda department as the mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party. From the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and until the 1980s, almost all media in China were state-run. Despite the rare emergence of independent media at the onset of economic reforms, the Chinese government still played a significant role in controlling and influencing the media outlets by issuing license of their operations (Zhao, 2008). The largest and most influential media organizations in China, including CCTV, Xinhua News Agency, the People's Daily, are still the agencies of the Party-State today, which continue to hold significant market share. Media taboos include topics such as the Taiwan ownership issues, the legitimacy of the Communist Party of China, investigation of government officials' corruptions, the governance of Tibet, and Falun Gong. The government controls the media by pre-editorial censorship and post-publication punishment.

The level of media control has also varied under different party leaders over different periods of time (Zhang & Fleming, 2005). Zhang and Fleming claim the media controls in China were most relaxed under Deng Xiaoping in 1980s, the leader of the Open Reform in China. But after the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, media control tightened. Under the leadership of Jiang Zemin in the late 1990s, the control over media relaxed again, but then tightened again under the recent leadership of Hu Jintao because of the growing influence of the Internet and its potential threats towards the party's reign (Zhang & Fleming, 2005, p.336). It is hard to predict the potential changes and the future of media policies under the new leadership of Xi Jinping. Before Xi took over the

position of president, a news article from CNN pointed that one of the first challenges to come to him was the media asking for more respect on press freedom and free speech. It was brought up with staffers of Southern Weekly, a liberal-leaning newspaper in the southern city of Guangzhou that staged a protest after a local propaganda official rewrote an editorial calling for stronger rule of law (CNN, March. 16, 2013). Before Xi officially took over the power, a mysterious Sina weibo account meaning “Study Xi Fan Group” regularly updated the daily life of Xi even ahead of state-run media. It stimulated a fierce online discussion whether Xi would be the first social media president in China (Offbeat China, 2013, Feb. 6). There is now a Facebook page for President Xi to post his pictures of visiting other countries on a regular basis. It is unknown who is monitoring this account. But since Facebook has been blocked in China, this is indeed a sign to show the openness under the new leadership--at least to the rest of the world. There are both positive signs as well as negative signs in terms of the media openness and democracy under the new leadership Xi, and it is too early to make assumption at this point.

Chinese Media Under Transition

As noted earlier, Chinese media are under transition as a result of the 20-year economic reform and are turning into a more commercialized and diversified media market. Many scholars in the field of mass communication argued that the current Chinese media could not fit into any of the Four Press Theories (Siebert et al, 1956) that confines all media to an ideological orientation through four models: authoritarian, communist, libertarian, and social responsibility, but proposes a new theoretical perspective of market authoritarianism (Winfield & Peng, 2004). The authors also claim there appeared to be “a convolution of the Party line and the bottom line” in the Chinese

media system (Winfield & Peng, 2004, p. 4). China is now under media transition pitting together a vigorous capitalist economic system and an authoritarian political system. Hu (2007) later on pointed out the imbalance between the rapid commercialization process and slow political democracy transition that influences Chinese media. Chinese media outlets are embracing more advertisements, private investments, and expanded communication technologies. In addition, development of local media, such as Hunan Television and Oriental Satellite Television, has challenged the long-term monopoly of China Central Television on viewers' ratings and commercial power with sizeable coverage and influence (Zhang, 2011, p. 650). They provide more possibilities for varied expression of the public. However, growing conflicts and tensions with the state political control have also appeared, which lead to various controls over information flow in China (Zhang, 2011, p.665).

Information Control in China

Despite the trends of open economy and media commercialization in China, information dissemination and journalistic behaviors are still not free. Chinese media are under multi-level controls from the government, self-censorship and the Internet censorship.

Government Control

The Communist Party of China used to have economic, ideological, cultural and labor controls over journalists by providing them with housing, social welfare and health insurance (Hong & Cuthbert, 1991). Between 1979 and 1989, the commercialization of the media was led by the government's promotion of a deepening market reform and the financial pressures that faced the media at the time. Increasing financial independence

enabled the media to have more autonomy in operational and editorial decisions. However, such government relaxation was conditioned by the political bottom line of the Party (Winfield & Peng, 2004). A study examining the characteristics of the Chinese print media under censorship on their coverage of the disease of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) was conducted in order to explain how Chinese government controlled the information flow (Fleming & Zhang, 2005). The study found three factors matched the three ways in which the Soviet Communist Party and its government control the media content there. As summarized by Sibert, Peterson, and Schramm (1963) the points are: (1) appointing the newspaper's editors-in chief; (2) issuing directives or circulars at various levels; and (3) disseminating direct instructions of top government officials. These methods are still active in today's Chinese media system (Fleming & Zhang, 2005, p.334).

Self-censorship Among Journalism Professionals in China

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) claimed there were four factors influencing the news content—individual journalists, media routines, organizational influences and content from outside of media organization, such as government controls and marketplace. From an individual perspective, one major influencer is the communicator's professional roles and ethical frameworks that are primarily shaped on the job (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p.199). This concept derived from the study of socialization conducted by Breed (1995), who described the socialization process as journalists learning what their organizations want by observation and experience. In China, some journalists consider themselves civil servants that are directly or indirectly controlled by

the government. The way in which journalists define their jobs would certainly affect the content they produce (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p.202).

A Chinese research paper also uses an example of how coverage on poisoned milk powder was censored by journalists themselves because of multiple external controls from the government, news organization and business entities (Zhang, 2011). This study reveals the perception of self-censorship among Chinese journalists varies, depending upon their experiences. Experienced investigative reporters were more likely to sense the pressure of self-censorship compared with fresh reporters since this “invisible control” can only be perceived and engraved with more experiences in the media market. However, the process of what the researchers call “naturalization” occurs very quickly (Zhang, 2011, p. 53).

Different from previous studies, Tong (2009) deems Chinese media system as authoritarian. Chinese media have to find ways to report in order to meet the needs of the market while not annoying to the Party-State (Tong, 2009). Through discourse analysis of Wenzhou Riot of conflicts between government officials and powerless Chinese citizens, the study shows how the newspapers have concealed social conflicts and constructed a positive political stance by revising the original report, which focused more on the cause of the riot, into more descriptions of the action itself. During the editorial process in the newsroom, social conflicts have been concealed and hence lessened the rationality that the original report gave to the rioters. For instance, the word ‘official’ has been changed into ‘government staff’ to avoid connoting hierarchy of the conflict. The researcher claims the practice of self-censorship helps newsrooms bypass political taboos and increases the possibilities of the publication of reports on highly politically sensitive

topics (Tong, 2009). The discourse changes to better comply with the political guidelines. However, Tong (2009) claims self-censorship in both individual level and organizational level plays not as a threat to media freedom, but as a force that increases media freedom. In this research article, Tong does not refer to any previous scholarly research findings that support this conclusion. It is also worth noticing that this research has been conducted by discourse analysis. McQuail (1994) has indicated that the term ‘discourse’ had a broader connotation and covers all ‘text’, in whatever form or language they are encoded and implied that a text was constructed by people who read and decipher it as much as those who formulate it (p.349).

Internet Censorship

The government control of information and journalists’ self-censorship also has influenced the Internet community in China. Economic liberalization and the information revolution have driven China’s fast telecommunication in the past decade. Now China has the world’s largest online population of more than half a billion, and there still exists a huge potential market. The Internet remained unregulated until 1996, when the first set of regulations on the Internet was formally announced (Zhao, 2008). In the ensuing years, several laws passed to tighten the government’s control over the Internet, including December 2000 legislation defining “cybercrime (Zhang, 2006, p. 4). Nevertheless, the vast possibilities of information exchange online and the ever-developing digital technology have made regulation of Internet content a formidable task for the Chinese government (Zhao, 2008). Zhao explains how government and state media were compelled to make instant responses towards online contents that threatened the reign of the Party-State. Chinese policy makers were forced to be reactive rather than proactive

because it was difficult for the government to manipulate censorship the Internet because of its unlimited space and instantly updated contents.

Social Media in China

China's social media world has thrived in the past several years, as China became the world's largest online population. Although Western social media tools such as Facebook and Twitter are blocked in China, Chinese companies has developed their home-grown tools such as Weibo, Renren, Kaixin, which have similar functions with those Western social media platforms and are widely used by Chinese citizens. Social media has become an effective way for Chinese people to get information, disclose corruptions, share knowledge, and react to traditional media coverage.

Shi (2013) concludes the microblog (Weibo) is helpful to the formation of civil society in China, and theoretically will become a new territory of public news. He analyzes three latest cases of citizens using Weibo to report news to show its pros and cons. Shi concludes that Weibo helps to build independent personalities in the society and makes it easier to bring grassroots into public forum for discussion with characteristics of short, open and mutual. However, Shi also explains the limitation of Weibo—which is owned by private corporations such as SINA and Tencent—the 140-character limit that prevents in-depth reporting. The service still operates under the control of government and influence of commercialized entertainment (Shi).

Context of Study

The “Yuan Lihai” Case - On the morning of January 4, 2013, six children and one adult died in a fire that engulfed an unregistered orphan shelter in Lankao County in central China's Henan Province. Eight people, including a 20-year-old and seven children,

were inside the two-room private house when the fire broke out around 8:30 a.m. All of them were orphans or abandoned children.

The homeowner is a local woman, Yuan Lihai, 48, who has been bringing home abandoned infants and children in the past decade, and had adopted more than 100 children as of 2011. Yuan was called as “loving mother” by people around and also the media who have reported on her benevolence. Yuan once told the media that she wanted to build an orphanage but failed because of financial difficulty. She earned a living by being a street vendor in Lankao County, but could barely support the lives of so many children. Thus she relied on the government subsidy for their lives.

When the fire was taking place, Yuan was on her way sending some children to school so that she escaped from the disaster. Yuan was later sent to the hospital after such a huge shock. Later investigation showed that the cause of this fire is due to the children playing with fire. This incident has brought up national attention with controversy (Southern Weekly, 2013, January 10).

The local government announced that Yuan was not qualified to adopt children and Yuan’s “adoptions” were unlawful. The civil affair authorities of Lankao County had a welfare center in Kaifeng City take five children from Yuan in Sept. 2011. The local government does not have an official orphanage to take care of these abandoned children. The public has started questioning if Yuan adopted the children in order to cheat the government out of subsistence allowance and has profited from trading homeless children. Faced with all this criticism and doubts after the fire disaster, Yuan’s response was “If I ever sold those kids to earn profit, shoot me to death.” Yuan has previously admitted that she had “given” healthy children to other families because she could not afford raising

that many of children, especially the children who had disabilities or were ill. Upon hearing these claims, both Yuan's relatives and friends refuted the allegations by saying they are "impossible", according to China.org.cn. Four days after the incident, Yuan said she would never adopt homeless children with problems again. Yuan said she was going to return her subsistence allowance to the government, "I don't have a nickel in the bank. The children are all gone, so that allowance is now useless" (China.com.org, 2013, January 8).

One month after the fire incident on Feb. 3, a party-run magazine *People* published an investigative piece about Yuan Lihai, claiming that Yuan and her family purchased about 20 real estate properties in Lankao and other places. The report was titled in "Lihai woman" (Lihai, in Chinese, means fearfulness) and claimed that Yuan has classified the adopted children based on their appearances, and has discriminated disabled children against healthier ones, leaving them with inadequate care and even neglecting them. The whole article was filled with details and descriptions, but lack solid evidence (Weibo). This report has shocked and irritated some in the public who believed Yuan has actually saved the children's lives. Yuan's son-in-law, Guo Haiyang, denied all allegations two days after the report was published. "I am willing to disclose our assets, I am willing to disclose the color of my underpants if that's what it takes." Because of these controversies, Guo has a "V" (verified) account on Sina Weibo and has published a 2,000-word statement firing back at the magazine allegations and said all the Yuan's family wanted was to return to peaceful life. On Feb. 7, Yuan's son-in-law disclosed the family's assets on Weibo to the public (South China Moring Post, 2013).

This issue has been fiercely discussed and covered by both traditional and social media, and has been considered a typical case to reveal how social media and traditional media interacting on China's social problems.

Theoretical Framework

Framing Theory

This research is founded on framing theory. Framing theory is an effective way to illustrate how journalistic frames have been formed and selected under information control in China as well as how the public reacts to these frames, especially through online media, which is considered as a public forum with comparative freedom in China.

The study of framing theory started in early 1900s, but not until the 1980s was it applied to social constructivism. On the one hand, mass media have a strong impact by framing images of reality (McQuail, 1994); on the other hand, media effects were limited by the interaction between the meaning developed by journalists and the meaning constructed by the public (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Media frames “organized the world both for journalists who report it and for people who rely on their reports.” (Gitlin, 1980) There were two levels of framing: (1) media frames of what the media do; and (2) individual frames of what audiences do (Gitlin, 1980). Framing involved selection and salience. To frame was to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

In media frames, the controversy and essence of the issue were suggested (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). The journalist decides what needed to be emphasized and what needs to be excluded. Gamson & Modigliani (1987) also claimed media framing could influence how audiences end up interpreting an issue. Iyengar (1991) has claimed two types of frames: (1) an episodic news frame that depicts public issues in terms of concrete instances; and (2) a thematic news frame that is directed at general outcomes or conditions. On the issue of whom to blame for social problems, Iyengar (1991) also

found that subjects shown episodic reports were less likely to consider society responsible for the event while subjects shown thematic reports were less likely to consider individuals responsible.

From the perspective of individual frames, audiences' and readers' interpretation of information is influenced by their pre-existing knowledge backgrounds. The online public discussion reflects individual frames. Entman (2009) claims individual frames mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing information. An experiment was conducted to investigate the effects of news frames and schemas on audiences' issue interpretation and attitudes, which indicated that news frames could activate frame-related issue interpretations as well as affect the public's attitude. Individuals were more likely to change attitudes when news frames resonate with their issue schemas. Thus, individuals' existing issue schemas and predispositions were important factors to be considered in framing research (Shen, 2004).

Entman (1993) specified four functions of frames: define problems—determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits; diagnose causes—identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments—evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies—offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects (p. 52). These criteria have been adopted in this study to compare the frames of media frames and online public opinions.

Framing Process

Broadly speaking, a process of framing could be categorized into two parts: frame-building and frame-setting (de Vreese, 2005; Scheufele, 1999). Frame-building addresses the processes that influence the creation or changes of frame applied by

journalists while frame-setting is concerned with the salience of issues (Scheufele, 1999, p. 115 -116). These were the key concepts to understand the interaction between traditional media and online public discussion. Due to the popularity of social media, citizens are able to post any facts or comments online for potential discussion. This leads not only to audience interpretation, but creating the news on their own. Frame-setting referred to how news frames shape the public's interpretation of given issues (Moy & Zhou, 2007). Pan and Kosicki (1993) conceptualize media frames to have impacts on individuals' attitudes and opinion. These two processes interact with each other in different phases and are the key concepts that have been studied in this research.

Framing Theory as Applied to Mass Communication Studies in China

Yang (2012) uses framing theory to compare the Chinese media coverage of two crises: SARS in 2003 and Sichuan Earthquake in 2008. It was worthwhile to focus on crisis coverage in China since it closely related to social influence that the government would have more cautious regulation on such issues. The Chinese government is well-known for masking information to protect the government's image (Swain, 2007). Yang found that the rescue and treatment frame was the most frequently used frame in news articles for both crises. Also, when there was a negative response to the government's policy among the public, the use of leadership frames would decrease, but when the government's handling of the crises was considered successful, the leadership frame was used more often. Moreover, the result showed a difference between party media and market-oriented media with governmental sources dominating coverage from party media while non-governmental sources providing most information for the market-oriented media (Yang, 2012).

A content analysis of 206 online posts and 114 news reports regarding a sociopolitical incident in China has been employed to determine how frame-building and frame-setting process manifest themselves in the interplay between online public discourse and traditional media discourse (Moy & Zhou, 2007). The study shows that online public opinion plays an important role in transforming the original local event into a nationally prominent issue (Moy & Zhou, 2007). Additionally, media coverage is the primary source of information for people who contribute to the website content, however, the traditional media coverage did not set frames for online discourse (Zhou & Moy, 2007). This indicates that the public takes advantage of unlimited online space for information exchange and has the ability to disseminate the information that is censored by the government in mainstream media outlets. Six years after that study, this study aims to examine the developments and changes of interaction between online public opinion and media coverage.

Research Questions

What differences appeared in how social media and traditional media framed the Lankao orphanage fire? How do traditional and social media interact over time when focused on such social incident? How do those interactions change at different stages in story coverage?

Methodology

To examine the interaction between social media and traditional news coverage in China, especially on “Lankao orphanage fire disaster” case, a quantitative content analysis has been conducted to examine the related posts and news articles on Sina Weibo and Sina News respectively. Sina News has a news channel that contains all aggregated news articles from both national and local media outlets.

Content Analysis

Traditional Content Analysis

Content analysis has been classically defined as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson, 1952, p.18). Content analysis generally follows a five-step procedure: first, to formulate research questions and/or hypotheses; second, to select sample; third, to categorize for coding; fourth, to train the coders, to code the content and to assess the reliability; and fifth, to analyze and interpret the coded data (McMillan, 2000; Riffe et al., 2005). This study followed such a five-step procedure.

Wimmer and Dominick (2006) have concluded five purposes of conducting content analysis: describing communication content, testing hypotheses of message characteristics, comparing media content to the real world, assessing the image of societal groups, and establishing a starting point for studies of media effect (p.157-159). This study fell into the third and fifth purposes. By coding the functions of frames in both traditional media coverage and social media--which is considered more of the actual reflection of public opinion--the study could compare traditional media content to the real world public opinion. Additionally, the study of social media in China is still in its initial

phase with limited numbers in the mass communication research field. This study also aimed to establish a stepping-stone to the future studies of media effect in the digital era.

Content Analysis in Digital Era

With the prevalence of the Internet, there are more and more challenges, as well as opportunities, for systematic, quantitative content analysis in media and communication research. McMillan (2000) and Weare & Lin (2000), for example, have identified a number of challenges of applying content analysis to the Web, such as to obtain a representative sample because of the vastness of the Web to define the unit of analysis; and to ensure that coders are presented with the same content for purposes of reliability. However, both have concluded minor adaptations to traditional approaches of content analysis, such as using lists to help generate sampling frames and capturing snapshots of Website to be sufficient.

Quantitative content analysis could provide a systematic and scientific way to interpret the comparison and interaction between social media and traditional media news coverage in terms of their different frames throughout various phases. The data set can tell the trend visually. However, the limitation still exists because the sampling from online retrieval cannot be exhaustive. While the data collection has been done with the goal of minimizing the government regulatory influence, researcher of this study cannot tell what information have been possibly filtered or deleted by the government. Through the period of data collection, the researcher has kept a close eye on the numbers of searching results from both Sina Weibo and Sina News and has found no evidence of results being removed based on the total number of the results.

Content Analysis in Framing Studies

Quantitative content analysis has been widely used in both framing theory and comparative researches in the field of mass communication.

Wei (2012) conducted a content analysis to examine the representation of the image of China by three Hong Kong newspapers in different years, and concluded that coverage of China has increased over time and the tone of reports varied according to the different content categories, as a result of the interplay between political pressure and economic forces coupled with professionalism and commercialism of Hong Kong media.

Another study used a quantitative content analysis by examining 130 news articles from world major newspapers to explore the media representation of the political impact of social media in Tunisia and Egypt during December 17, 2010 to February 11, 2011 (International Communication Association, 2012). The findings suggest the use of frames and tones varied by those media outlets in different regions around the world.

In order to measure the frames and tones used by a wide range of world major publications, this study designed its own frames due to the lack of previous studies on the political impact of social media. For each frame, a detailed explanation and description have been given. Due to the uniqueness of the case on which the research focuses, explanatory and descriptive frames would also be given. This study mirrors the method of sampling and producers of a previous study conducted by Moy and Zhou (2007) on the interplay between online public opinion and media coverage by examining the opinion frames and media frames through content analysis. But minor adaptations in methods have been implemented in order to tailor to the context of the “Yuan Lihai” case.

Data Collection

This study took each original post (not including responses) from Weibo and each news article from traditional media as the unit of analysis. Responses of Weibo posts were not included because the search engine did not support to pull out the raw data of all comments and the comments poll is too voluminous to study. But it has placed limitation to this research because sometimes comments provide more details than original posts and may have as much impact on traditional media following the responses. It is also once area that future researchers could explore.

Two sets of data were collected in three time periods listed below to test the interaction between social media and traditional media.

Phase I: January 4, 2013 – January 8, 2013: Fire disaster

Phase II: February 3, 2013 – February 8, 2013: Media criticize Yuan Lihai

Phase III: March 3, 2013 – March 8, 2013: Two Session (National People's Congress and People's Political Consultative Conference) when political figures gathered together for leadership transition and political proposals.

Sina Weibo is a Chinese microblogging website, which is an equivalent to Twitter in the U.S. with nearly 8 times more users than Twitter (Rapoza, 2011). Launched by Sina Corporation in August 2009 (China Daily, 2011), it had 368 million registered users as of mid-2012, which was more than 30 percent of Internet users in China (Millward, 2012). Another microblogging service provider, Tencent, with a slightly larger number of users than Sina Weibo, has not been chosen for this study for several reasons. Tencent is more dominant in 3rd- and 4th-tier cities and rural areas while Sina Weibo is more

dominant among white-collar users who are more of a representative of social change in China. This group of people is literate enough to make judgment on social justice. They are sensitive to the social change and dare to express themselves against the injustice. Moreover, many media outlets have official account on Sina Weibo, which makes it easier to generate discussion with the public.

Sina news aggregator has been used to retrieve all listed stories due to its well-functioning search engine, and as private company not owned by the government, it has less likelihood of being censored or information being deleted from the portal than other state-run news websites. Compared with retrieving news directly from search engine, such as Baidu (equivalent to Google in the U.S.), one advantage that Sina news aggregator offers is that it doesn't show duplicate news articles with the same content from different sources.

Before collecting the data, the researcher of this study had used the search functions in both Sina Weibo and Sina News to retrieve the posts/articles on January 5, 2013 for five consecutive days to make sure that the total number of posts and articles remained the same and did not fluctuate due to government censorship and interruptions.

Coding

Instead of coding the topic, theme, position, and tone of articles in a traditional way, this study has taken various framing devices into consideration and analyzed each article as a whole. Entman's four functions of frames (problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation) were chosen as the

primary classification, together with specific frames to fulfill that function (Moy & Zhou, 2007).

Social media frames/traditional media frames

Two frames defining problems

The traditional media and social media employed two approaches since facts are essential to define the nature of the problem related to Yuan Lihai's case. One was to echo reports or news releases from the authorities and to conduct interviews with government officials. The other approach was to reveal behind-the-scene stories and to conduct interviews with family and neighbors around Yuan.

Two frames diagnosing causes

Both Weibo posts and news articles tended to attribute the outcome of the case to a number of factors. Frames across both types of texts suggested two causal factors: government lack of credibility and healthy system of orphanage and Yuan Lihai's illegal adoption. Others do not diagnose causes to this issue.

Two frames making moral judgments

Two kinds of moral evaluation were made towards Yuan Lihai's case: Yuan is innocent and Yuan is guilty. Frames in Weibo posts tended to evoke emotional literary works in a variety formats. Many of them expressed sympathy and support to Yuan Lihai. Additionally, news articles tended to avoid making moral judgments in the initial phase of the judgments and some portrayed Yuan from a negative point of view. Thus many texts didn't make moral evaluation or stayed neutral.

Three frames suggesting remedies

Frames across both Weibo posts and news articles suggested three remedies: some called for a reinvestigation of the case overall; some claimed Yuan Lihai should stop raising and adopting the children; some suggested the government to take the responsibility and refine the law. Others didn't include treatment as a part of the contents.

Statistical Tests

The intercoder reliability has been tested with 10 percent of the units before the actual coding process. For coding news articles, two coders agreed 100 percent on the validation of the articles for the purpose of this study. Among 39 articles that have been tested, 31 (70.49%) of them are valid. There is an average of 87.1% agreement probability between two coders. For coding Weibo posts, two coders again agreed 100% on the validation of the posts. Among 61 Weibo posts, only 38 (62.3%) are valid. This is due to some Weibo posts are just repost from other places without personal comments or texts without sufficient contents for analysis. The intercoder reliability is 89.47% and the details are listed below.

Frame salience in this study has been operationalized by the frequency percentage of Weibo posts/news articles employing each social media or traditional media frame. Salience is defined as making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audience (Entman, 1993, p. 53). With the variables of this study, the following statistical analysis has been conducted: Chi-square tests comparing the interaction with alternative media (Weibo or traditional media) of Weibo posts and news

articles in three different phases; chi-square tests comparing four frames between the coverage and reflection of Yuan Lihai's case on Weibo posts and traditional news articles; chi-square tests exploring the relationship between the use of social media and the news frames, and between the mentioning of traditional media and the social media frames; and chi-square test comparing the percentage of social media use in traditional news articles, and the percentage of traditional media use in social media posts over three time frames.

Results

Data Interpretation

A total of 327 traditional news articles and 524 Weibo posts have been chosen for this study. Among those, 306 Weibo posts and 210 news articles have been coded as valid into further statistical analysis. In Phase one, 32.1 percent of Weibo posts link to traditional news coverage while only 4.8 percent of traditional news articles refer to Weibo posts. In Phase two, the trend remains the same with 52.5 percent of Weibo posts link to traditional news coverage and 27 percent of interactions on the opposite side. In Phase three, only seven traditional news articles have been found and none of them has mentioned contents from Weibo posts while 33.3 percent of Weibo posts mention or provide links to traditional news coverage.

In traditional news, 16.2 percent of articles have used authorities account and 25.2 percent have used behind-the-scenes stories to define the problem. These numbers in Weibo posts are 4.2 percent and 10.5 percent respectively. 84.6 percent of Weibo posts have chosen not to define the problem. In cause diagnosis, 37.6 percent of news articles and 40.8 percent of Weibo posts have indicated that the government lacks responsibility and a healthy orphanage system, and 8.1 percent of news articles and 3.9 percent of Weibo posts have attributed the outcome to Yuan's illegal adoption. In moral evaluations, 13.8 percent of news articles and 60.1 percent of Weibo posts have indicated that Yuan is innocent, while the percentages for Yuan is guilty are 11.4 percent and 5.2 percent respectively in news and Weibo. Regarding to the suggested treatment, 7.6 percent of news articles have suggested reinvestigation while the number in Weibo posts is two percent; 2.4 percent of news articles and 1.3 percent of Weibo posts have said that Yuan

should stop adopting and raising those children; 37.1 percent of news articles and 10.1 percent of Weibo posts have suggested the government to refine the law. In further statistical analysis, similar and distinctive patterns have been found between the groups and throughout different time periods.

Timing differences between social media and traditional media

The figure below shows the numbers of Weibo posts and traditional news articles coming out within five days after the fire took place. There was a burst of Weibo posts among the public while only a few news articles coming out to state the facts of the incident. Both Weibo posts and news articles undergo an increase with fluctuation in the next few days. Two days after the fire, Weibo posts reach their peak in quantity while news articles reach their peak three days after the fire. When the incident happens, traditional media reacts comparatively more slowly than the social media. But overall, both shared the same trend of increase.

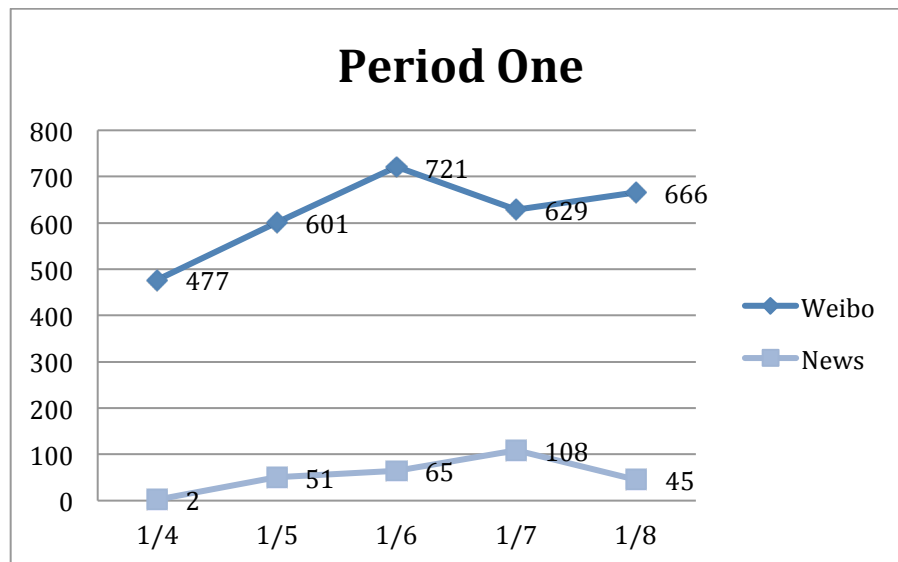


Figure 12 Numbers of Weibo posts and traditional news articles from Jan. 4 to Jan. 8

In period two, from February 3 to February 8, an investigative piece from *People Magazine* triggered fierce public discussion on social media. As news of the fire accident itself faded out gradually, a decreasing number of people posted related information on social media. Even on the day the investigative piece was published on February 3, only 19 Weibo posts were posted, according to the figure below. The public needed time for reaction. One day after that, the number of Weibo posts increased rapidly, and the increase on the third day was even steeper. Faced with rigid public discussion on social platforms, the traditional media were trying to react to the comments on the issue. When traditional media stories were on a decreasing trend four days after that investigative piece against Yuan Lihai was published, there was no sign showing social media would calm down. Thus social media maintained a longer active discussion period for the public than traditional media.

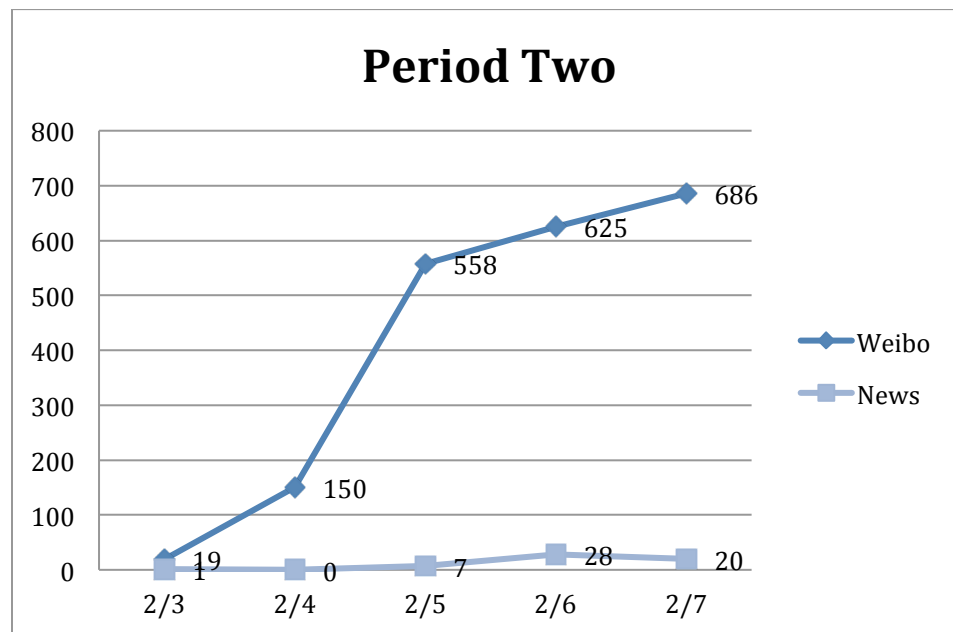


Figure 13 Numbers of Weibo posts and traditional news articles Feb. 3 to Feb. 8.

Period three was two month after the fire incident itself, but it was during the period of Two Sessions in China. It was expected by the researcher of this study that Yuan’s adoption case would be brought up again for proposing a healthier orphanage system in China. And it was expected as well that the public would join such a discussion during this period. The result came out not as it was expected. There were very limited Weibo posts online during period three, and most of them were irrelevant to Two Sessions. There was some traditional media coverage on the delegations that brought up Yuan’s case to reflect the problematic orphanage system in China, but the influence is limited. It was a sign that the fire incident, together with Yuan Lihai’s adoption case, had faded out gradually both in social media and traditional media.

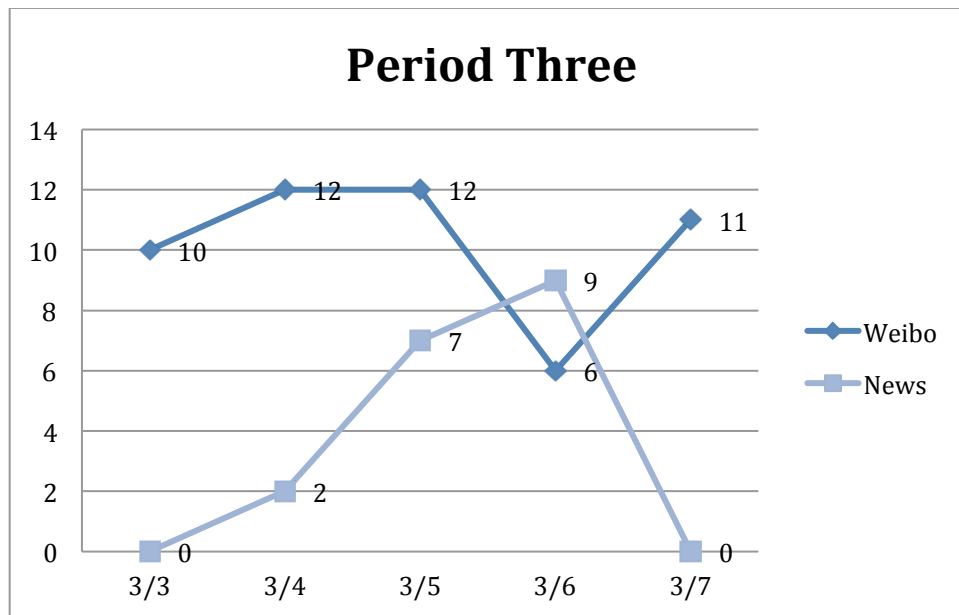


Figure 14 Numbers of Weibo posts and traditional news articles from March 3 to March 8.

Interactions between social media and traditional news

Only the valid data have been processed for further statistic tests. The significance level of 0.05 has been chosen as the default significance level. It has been widely used in social science research area.

	Weibo links to traditional news coverage			Traditional news links to Weibo posts		
	Percent	Frequency	Total	Percent	Frequency	Total
Phase 1	32.1%	51	159	4.8%	8	166

Table 10 Interaction between Weibo posts and traditional news articles in Phase one.
Note: In phase 1, $\chi^2(1) = 40.606, p < .001$.

	Weibo links to traditional news coverage			Traditional news links to Weibo posts		
	Percent	Frequency	Total	Percent	Frequency	Total
Phase 2	52.5%	63	120	27%	10	37

Table 11 Interaction between Weibo posts and traditional news articles in Phase two.
Note: in phase 2, $\chi^2(1) = 7.376, p < .05$.

	Weibo links to traditional news coverage			Traditional news links to Weibo posts		
	Percent	Frequency	Total	Percent	Frequency	Total
Phase 3	33.3%	9	27	0%	0	7

Table 12 Interaction between Weibo posts and traditional news articles in Phase three.
Note: in phase 3, $\chi^2(1) = 3.173, p > .05$.

A set of three chi-square test of independence were calculated comparing the interaction with alternative media (Weibo or traditional media) of Weibo posts and news articles in three different phases. According to the statistical result, significant interactions were found in Phase One ($\chi^2=40.606, p < .001$) and Phase Two ($\chi^2=7.376, p < .05$). In these two phases, Weibo posts had a significantly higher interaction rate with

traditional news than vice versa. It means Weibo posts are more likely to provide the links or mentioning news stories, while traditional media makes less reference to Weibo posts. However, in Phase Three, no significant relationship was found ($\chi^2=3.173$, $p> .05$) since Phase Three has only seven valid articles, which is not sufficient data for analysis. All seven news articles did not use any reference from social media in Phase Three. Thus only Phase One and Phase Two will be taken into further discussion on traditional media.

Overtime changes in social media and traditional media coverage

Traditional news articles.

A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the percentage of social media use in traditional news articles over three time frames. Among all news articles, a significant interaction has been found ($\chi^2(2) =19.720$, $p< .001$) between time periods and use of social media. The use of social media increased from 4.8 percent in Phase One to 27 percent in Phase Two, and then decreased to 0 percent in Phase Three. A set of chi-square tests of independence has been calculated comparing the news frames over three time frames. Significant interaction have shown in problem definition ($\chi^2(6) =45.822$, $p< .001$), cause diagnosis ($\chi^2(4) =15.149$, $p< .05$), moral evaluation ($\chi^2(4) =9.540$, $p< .05$), and suggested treatment ($\chi^2(6)=18.687$, $p< .05$) over three periods of time.

Traditional News	Problem Definition			
	Authorities account	Behind-the-scenes stories	Both	Neither
Phase 1	20.5%	20.5%	32.5%	26.5%
Phase 2	0.0%	51.4%	0.0%	48.6%
Phase 3	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	85.7%

Table 13 Percentages of assigned frames in problem definition in traditional news articles over three time frames.

Traditional News	Cause Diagnosis		
	Government lacks credibility and lack of healthy system of orphanage	Yuan's illegal adoption	Don't make stance
Phase 1	44.0%	7.2%	48.8%
Phase 2	13.5%	13.5%	73.0%
Phase 3	14.3%	0.0%	85.7%

Table 14 Percentages of assigned frames in cause diagnosis in traditional news articles over three time frames.

Traditional News	Moral Evaluation		
	Yuan's innocent	Yuan's guilty	Don't know/neutral
Phase 1	15.7%	9.0%	75.3%
Phase 2	5.4%	24.3%	70.3%
Phase 3	14.3%	0.0%	85.7%

Table 15 Percentages of assigned frames in moral evaluation in traditional news articles over three time frames.

Traditional News	Suggested Treatment			
	Reinvestigation	Yuan stop raising/adopting the children	Government needs to take the responsibility and refine the law	No treatment
Phase 1	6.0%	3.0%	39.8%	51.2%
Phase 2	16.2%	0.0%	16.2%	67.6%
Phase 3	0.0%	0.0%	85.7%	14.3%

Table 16 Percentages of assigned frames in suggested treatment in traditional news articles over three time frames.

An increasing percentage of the news articles used behind-the-scenes stories to define the problem from Phase One (20.5 percent) to Phase Two (51.4 percent). With a limited number of stories in Phase Three, it was hard to tell the significance trend. For the cause of the case, the percentage of news articles that attributed the outcome of the case to the government lacking credibility and a healthy system of orphanage decreased over time, from 44 percent in Phase One to 13.5 percent and 14.3 percent in Phase Two and three respectively. In terms of the moral evaluation, the percentage of news articles that claimed Yuan's innocent has decreased from 15.7 percent in Phase One to 5.4 percent in Phase Two, and then increased again to 14.3 percent in Phase Three. These numbers fit the trend of the development of the case itself since an investigative news article had been published against Yuan in Phase Two. In treatment frames, the percentage of articles that called for the government to take the responsibility to refine the law decreased from 39.8 percent in Phase One to 16.2 percent in Phase Two. And this number rose to 85.7 percent again in Phase Three during the Two Sessions.

Weibo posts.

A chi-square test of independence has been calculated comparing the mentioning of news articles Weibo posts over three time frames. Among all Weibo posts, a significant interaction has been found ($\chi^2(2) = 12.448$, $p < .05$) between time period and reference of traditional media. The use of traditional media has been increased from 32.1% in Phase One to 52.5% in Phase Two, and then decreased to 33.3% in Phase Three. A set of chi-square tests of independence was calculated comparing the news frames over three time frames. Significant interaction occurred in problem definition ($\chi^2(6) = 23.401$, $p = .001$), cause diagnosis ($\chi^2(6) = 18.436$, $p < .05$), and suggested treatment ($\chi^2(6) = 31.113$, $p < .001$) over three periods of time. No significant relationship was found ($\chi^2(4) = 4.774$, $p = .311$) when comparing the moral evaluation in three time frames.

Weibo	Problem Definition			
	Authorities account	Behind-the-scenes stories	Both	Neither
Phase 1	7.5%	16.4%	0.6%	75.5%
Phase 2	0.8%	3.3%	0.8%	95.0%
Phase 3	0.0%	7.4%	0.0%	92.6%

Table 17 Percentages of assigned frames in problem definition in Weibo posts over three time frames

Weibo	Cause Diagnosis		
	Government lacks credibility and lack of healthy system of orphanage	Yuan's illegal adoption	Don't make stance
Phase 1	50.9%	2.5%	46.5%
Phase 2	30.0%	6.7%	62.5%
Phase 3	29.6%	0.0%	70.4%

Table 18 Percentages of assigned frames in cause diagnosis in Weibo posts over three time frames.

Weibo	Suggested Treatment			
	Reinvestigation	Yuan stop raising/adopting the children	Government needs to take the responsibility and refine the law	No treatment
Phase 1	0.0%	0.0%	13.2%	86.8%
Phase 2	5.0%	3.3%	2.5%	89.2%
Phase 3	0.0%	0.0%	25.9%	74.1%

Table 19 Percentages of assigned frames in suggested treatment in Weibo posts over three time frames

A decreasing percentage of the news articles used behind-the-scenes stories to define the problem from Phase One (16.4 percent) to Phase Two (3.3 percent), and the number increased slightly again in Phase Three to 7.4 percent. Similar to traditional news coverage, the Weibo posts also mentioned less about the definition of the case itself over time. For the cause of the case, the percentage of news articles that attributed the outcome of the case to the fact that the government lacks credibility as well as a healthy system of orphanage decreased over time, from 44 percent in Phase One to 13.5 percent and 14.3 percent in Phase Two and Phase Three respectively. In treatment frames, the percentage of Weibo posts that called government to take the responsibility to refine the law has

decreased from 13.2 percent in Phase One to 2.5 percent in Phase Two, and then rose to 23.9 percent again in Phase Three. These numbers mirrored the trend of traditional news coverage.

Comparison of social media and traditional media framings

Three sets of chi-square tests of independence have been calculated comparing four frames between the coverage and reflection of Yuan Lihai’s case on Weibo posts and traditional news articles. In Phase One, three significant interactions were found between the type of media (social media or traditional media) and their assigned frames in problem definition ($x^2=97.775$, $p< .001$), moral evaluation ($x^2=71.027$, $p< .001$) and suggested treatment ($x^2=50.745$, $p< .001$).

PHASE ONE	Problem Definition			
	Authorities account	Behind-the-scenes	Both	Neither
News	20.5%	20.5%	32.5%	26.5%
Weibo	7.5%	16.4%	0.6%	75.5%

Table 20 Percentages of assigned frames in problem definition in both traditional media and Weibo in Phase One

PHASE ONE	Moral Evaluation		
	Yuan’s Innocent	Yuan’s guilty	Don’t know/neutral
News	15.7%	9.0%	75.3%
Weibo	61.0%	3.8%	35.2%

Table 21 Percentages of assigned frames in moral evaluation in both traditional media and Weibo in Phase One

PHASE ONE	Suggested Treatment			
	Reinvesti gation	Yuan stops raising/adopting children	Government needs to take the responsibility and refine the law	No treatment
News	6.0%	3.0%	39.8%	51.2%
Weibo	0.0%	0.0%	13.2%	86.8%

Table 22 Percentages of assigned frames in suggested treatment in both traditional media and Weibo in Phase One.

In Phase One, about one third of the news articles have used both authorities account and behind-the-scenes when composing the stories, while 75.5% of the Weibo posts have used neither of these two frames. Weibo posts also used more behind-the-scenes stories (16.4%) than authorities account (7.5%) while these two proportions for news articles were about the same (20.5%). Regarding to the moral evaluation, 75.3% of the news articles didn't provide a clear answer about Yuan was innocent or not, they either stayed neutral or claimed that they didn't know, while 61% of the Weibo posts claimed that Yuan was innocent. In terms of the treatment, 86.8% of the Weibo posts didn't provide any treatment of the case and none of the them have called for reinvestigation or claimed that Yuan should stop raising or adopting children in Phase One. But in news articles, 39.8% has claimed that the government needs to take the responsibility and refine the law, compared with the percentage of 13.2% among Weibo posts. About half of the news articles also had no treatment for the case in Phase One.

Phase Two was similar to Phase One that three significant interactions have been found between the type of media (social media or traditional media) and their assigned frames in problem definition ($x^2=52.354$, $p < .001$), moral evaluation ($x^2=33.300$, $p < .001$) and suggested treatment ($x^2=16.739$, $p = .001$). In Phase Two, there was a big

shift in the frames defining the problem in traditional news coverage. About half of the news articles used behind-the-scenes stories while the other half used neither authorities account nor behind-the-scenes stories. Most of the Weibo posts (95%) still used neither of these two frames. In moral evaluations, both Weibo posts and news articles followed similar pattern with Phase One. Most (70.3%) traditional news coverage stayed neutral while a large portion (59.2%) of Weibo posts supported Yuan Lihai and believed in her innocence. In terms of the suggested treatment, the percentage in both news articles and Weibo posts that have called the government to take the responsibility decreased (16.2% of news articles and 2.5% for Weibo posts) and those called for reinvestigation has increased (16.2% of news articles and 5% of Weibo posts) in Phase Two.

In Phase Three, only one significant interaction was found between the type of media (social media or traditional media) and their assigned frames in suggested treatment ($\chi^2=8.414, p< .05$). 85.7% of the news articles asked the government to take the responsibility and to refine the law while 74.1% of the Weibo posts claimed no treatment. Neither news article nor Weibo posts asked for reinvestigation or asked Yuan stop raising or adopting the children in Phase Three.

The influence of social media and traditional media interaction in framing

In all three phases of news articles, no significant relationship was found between the use of social media and the news frames, according to the calculations of chi-square tests of independence. Some chi-square tests of independence were calculated in three phases for Weibo posts. The only significant interaction was found in Phase One ($\chi^2 (2) =10.463, p<.05$) between the uses of traditional media with the moral evaluation. The results showed that those Weibo posts that did not refer to traditional media coverage had

a higher percentage (68.5%) that believed Yuan's innocent than those that referred to news articles (45.1%).

Discussion

The findings from the study of the Lankao orphanage fire suggest that social media and traditional media react differently when covering social issues. When an issue has just occurred, traditional media are more cautious about the accuracy and political correctness of their coverage, thus reacting not as quickly as social media, where the public has a freer platform for the information going out. However, when the social issue further develops to the point beyond one incident, what has been covered in traditional media tends to trigger more social media posts and online discussion.

One major finding of this study is that social media have a better interaction with traditional media by either providing the links or mentioning those news stories, while traditional media make less reference to social media. From a journalistic standpoint, traditional media have to provide information from a trusted source. However, as a public discussion forum with limited regulations, the credibility of the information on social media is low. Moreover, traditional media outlets are mostly under the control of the state government, especially when covering sensitive public affairs. They have to be really careful when critiquing governmental behaviors, such as the local government's reactions and responsibilities in Yuan Lihai's case. On the other hand, as a public discussion forum, social media such as Weibo provide the public a place to have virtual conversation and self-expression. People react to what they read or watch from traditional media and thus refer to them more often. In China, the traditional media organizations are under such strict regulation of the government that people lack trust of these sources, and the public tends to express its distinctive and sometimes negative feelings on social media to oppose the information delivered by traditional media. These analyses could be

supported by the research result of a significantly higher interaction rate in Weibo with traditional news than vice versa in Phase One and Phase Two, when the case happened, developed and reached its apex. Phase Three did not show significant result due to the limited data for analysis.

Another main finding of this research shows the usages of frames are significantly different in social media and traditional media in China. Social media and traditional media play different social roles when covering public affairs. To take Yuan Lihai's case as an example, in Phase One, the public used very few authorities' accounts or behind-the-scenes stories when defining the problem on Weibo posts. Instead, the public showed its sympathy and concern for the children who either died or survived in that tragedy. Some also pointed out the corruptions of the government officials that indirectly led to this tragedy. Compared with Weibo, the traditional media used more of authorities account as well as behind-the-scenes stories when defining the problem. The traditional news coverage mainly included two concepts—one was that the government-run orphanage shelters were not providing enough support; the other was that the private charity organizations should be legalized. The media coverage avoided making any assertion or conclusion of the case. However, in Phase Two when the party-run magazine *People* published an investigative article pointing out Yuan's guilt, there was a large shift in problem definition in traditional news coverage. In order to frame Yuan Lihai as a "fearful" woman, the magazine had to find more behind-the-scenes stories such as interviews with Yuan's neighbors and relatives to support its argument and thus to increase its credibility. In social media, since it has been a month since the fire took place, the public did not define the case itself any further, but reacted more on the

traditional media coverage. In terms of moral evaluation, Phase One and Phase Two shared similar pattern. About three-fourths of traditional media stayed neutral or gave a “don’t know” answer to Yuan’s case. This might because either the media outlets were cautious about any conclusion they drew might become false with further investigation, or they were unable to express freely because their editors and the government were keeping an eye on them. In contrast, a large portion of the Weibo posts claimed Yuan’s innocence. The public expressed its doubt about People’s coverage on Yuan Lihai by pointing out the weakness of the news articles – the reporters showed too much of their personal view that makes the story one-sided; the story itself lacked facts; and the investigation methods were too simple and contradicting. What is more, significant differences are found in treatment frames, both in Weibo and traditional media. Weibo posts tended not to give treatment for the issue in general. In traditional media, the percentage of asking government to take the responsibility and refine the law has decreased from Phase One to Phase Two, and increased again in Phase Three. This might be because the social media as a public forum do not play the social role of providing solution and treatment to the problem while traditional media takes this functionality more seriously.

A final, but important finding is that the choices of frames in both social media and traditional media are not influenced by their interactions, but instead by different time frames. The use of alternative media sources has a limited effect on the frame choices in problem definition, cause attribution, moral evaluation and suggested treatment. In Weibo posts, the only significant interaction was in Phase One on moral evaluation. People who referred to traditional media coverage were more likely to believe

Yuan's innocence when the case just happened. But as noted earlier, most of the news articles in Phase One actually provided no clear answer about Yuan's moral evaluation, but rather stayed neutral on such judgment.

Although the interaction with alternative media forms has no significant influence on choosing frames, the development of the case itself, or the time frames does. In terms of the traditional news articles, since Phase Three had only seven articles to analyze, only articles from Phase One and Phase Two will be used to further this discussion. Among traditional news articles, there were increasing moral judgments and critiques rather than attributing the cause of the fire incident itself. From the fire just took place to the incident itself gradually faded out but with more concerns on the things buried beneath, traditional media has utilized more behind-the-scenes stories as their sources when defining the problem. The social media were just on the opposite direction – a smaller percentage of Weibo posts used behind-the-scenes stories in Phase Two comparing to Phase One. Its focus shifted from the tragedy itself to the investigative news article has been published on *People* against Yuan with doubt and anger. Additionally, with this news reporting, more news articles claimed that Yuan's guilty in Phase Two than Phase One. Also because of it, lower percentages of news articles called government to take the responsibility in Phase Two than Phase One in terms of suggested treatments. The same trend can also be found in Weibo posts. Almost half of Weibo posts attributed the cause of the case to the government and unhealthy orphanage system in Phase One, but later this number had dropped significantly. This indicated the negative news article did have its influence on both traditional and social media platforms. But what was tricky about the investigative article is that it has been published on *People* magazine. As a

state-run magazine, all contents it could publish were under scrutiny of the government. In other words, the contents were supposed to be permitted for publish. However, after the article itself has triggered the first public reaction, the state media Xinhua News Agency published another article that holds a different view than *People* magazine, claiming that Yuan Lihai should not be judged morally by the standard of selfless. Without claiming that Yuan was innocent, Xinhua News Agency covered this issue from another angle as a reaction to both *People* magazine and the furious public.

It could be seen from this study that the role of Chinese media has been changed due to the technology development, popularity of social media, and the increasing well-educated population. The Chinese media industry is currently under a dramatic transitional period. On the one hand, the trend of commercialization has led to diverse voices since the media outlets are less dependent on the government; but on the other hand, the government does not want to weaken their control over the communication vehicles as their propaganda tools.

Under such transition, media cannot just play its old role as a propaganda vehicle for the government, but in a more sophisticated position, to balance the commercialization trend of media industry and the regulations from the government. From the media side, more economic independence means the traditional media outlets would have more democracy in producing news and other media forms. They have to prove with their subscriptions or audience viewing rates to convince the advertisers to put their money in to support their continuing operation. However, when encountering the highly sensitive political issues that related to the government affairs, these media outlets sometimes lose their press freedom again. But overall, Chinese media today are playing a

much more courageous role when dealing with the unfairness of the society and the wrongdoings of the government.

Back in July 2011, two high-speed trains collided on a viaduct in Wenzhou, Zhejiang province, China. 40 people were killed and at least 192 were injured. Officials responded to this accident by hastily concluding rescue operations and ordering the burial of the derailed trains. It elicited strong criticism from Chinese media and online forums. Local media responded really fast and collected evidence and footages on site. In response, the government issued directives to restrict media and asked them not to publish such reporting articles. However, the order from the Propaganda Department seemed to be powerless at that time. Both independent and state-owned media outlets directly criticized the Ministry of Railways and expressed their skepticism over the government, including China's major state-owned television CCTV. Qiu Qiming, a news anchor of CCTV program *24-Hours*, commented on air about Chinese society, "if nobody can be safe, do we still want this speed? Can we drink a glass of milk that's safe? Can we stay in an apartment that will not fall apart? Can the roads we travel on in our cities not collapse? Can we travel in safe trains? And if and when a major accident does happen, can we not be in a hurry to bury the trains?" Chinese media was especially skeptical of the rescue efforts that have been concluded less than a day following the accident and the burial of the damaged train cars. The spokesman of the Railway Ministry, Wang Yongping, said that the burial was for facilitating the rescue work. The answer prompted disbelief from the journalists who believed that the burial was to prevent further investigations. Being questioned by the journalists why a little girl was found alive after the rescue work had been announced finished, Wang said, "This was a miracle." Wang

Yongping soon gained particular notoriety online. Online users were skeptical that the crash was caused by a natural disaster, but the management failure. One frequently reposted comment on Sina Weibo stated that, “When a country is so corrupt that one lightning strike can cause a train crash, none of us are exempt. China today is a train rushing through a lightning storm, we are all passengers.” With all efforts from traditional media and social media, Wang was dismissed from the Ministry of Railways within a month after the accident. This case well illustrated the fact that with the joint efforts of traditional media and social media platforms, government transitioned its role from proactive to reactive, and the social justice was more likely to be realized.

At the same time from the government side, it was also changing its old ways of governance. Journalists in China today are not comparable with the journalists in the past. As media originated from the governmental propaganda tool, people who work for the media outlets were selected for their political compliance and good writing skills. Most of them did not go through professional journalism training. But today, more and more journalists are well-educated and professionally trained. They have a better understanding of the role of journalism and embrace press freedom. Some of them received their journalism education from western countries where journalists are supposed to be the watchdog instead of government followers. Under such change, it is inevitable that there will be more conflicts as well as challenges for both the media and the government.

In January 2013, a conflict was initiated between the Propaganda Department of Guangdong Province and *Southern Weekly* in press freedom. The Southern Weekly is a part of the Nanfang Media Group, which is a provincial government-owned media corporation. Its top leader is the party secretary. However, despite it is a state-owned

media, *Southern Weekly* is known for investigative journalism, testing the limits of free speech in the country. In the New Year of 2013, its original New Year's special editorial was changed significantly under the pressure from the propaganda officers in order to glorify the Chinese communist party, which bypassed the normal publication flow. The original editorial was intended to call for proper implementation of the country's constitution. The newsroom staff went on a strike to protest against censorship. The demonstrations outside the gates of the *Southern Weekly* newspaper drew attentions from overseas. Some of the Southern Weekly reporter posted on Sina Weibo to protest Tuo Zhen, an official from the propaganda department, for censoring the editorial behaviors of *Southern Weekly*. As a consequence, 15 reporters' Weibo accounts got muted or deleted. Later on, more journalists on the editorial board were asked to hand in their password of Sina Weibo account. Because of the incident, keywords such as "Southern Weekend", "Tuo Zhen" have become sensitive words and filtered by the Chinese firewall. And this incident wasn't a coincidence, according to Southern Weekly editors, because 1,034 of their stories were censored in 2012 alone. In this incident, social media has been used as a tool for the journalists to fight against the government censorship. But unfortunately, even the independent social media forums cannot be free from the government control. It has also been taken advantages from the government to strengthen their control over the media and the information dissemination.

But with a better-educated population and an unlimited Internet world, the government can no longer utilize media as a brainwashing tool on the public. Chinese citizens can also utilize social media as a platform to reveal the unfairness of society and seek support against the wrongdoing. Last year, when the islands dispute evoked tension

between China and Japan, many Chinese citizens were upset about the soft approach taken by the Chinese government and thus turned to the social media. Many young Chinese activists spread anti-Japan statements through online public forums and agitated for public protests against any Japan-related businesses and people. Moreover, anti-Japan activists arranged violent events through social media like Weibo (a Chinese version of Twitter). However, during the same period of the time, the Chinese state news media portrayed the demonstrations as fairly small, each involving fewer than 200 people, and not extending to inland provinces. But photographs posted on Sina Weibo suggested that the crowds had been far larger. In this case, the Internet became another source for Chinese citizens to seek information that was excluded from the state media. Nowadays, there were more people than ever criticizing the daily newscasts produced by China Central Television including biased news coverage – airing only positive coverage of domestic news while only negative coverage of international news. When people talked about this, they always spoke with irony. Deep in the public's heart, they have lost the established trust on the state media, especially members of the younger generation, who have gained their knowledge from more than just textbooks, including more from the vibrant Internet--especially the foreign media. With destroyed trust of state media coverage, these young Chinese tend to trust more foreign media coverage, although considering them not always fair and objective. Because of this, the state media is also trying to balance the news for the good of the governance. In Yuan Lihai's case, one state-run media (Xinhua Agency) publishing articles criticizing another state-run media (*People Magazine*) was a supportive example of news diversity for the political good. With the involvement of social media, traditional media and the government are no

longer the two major players of information formation and dissemination. Chinese citizens are a rising force with their increasing participation via social media. The rise of social media will inevitably weaken the role of government monitoring and censoring the information delivery. Journalists, government and the people are the three big players that need to find a balancing point under the new media era.

Conclusion

By comparing the frames used by social media and traditional media overall, it could be concluded that the social media can hardly substitute the role of social responsibility of traditional media in defining the problem and issue treatment, even if the traditional media are partially free and under the government control. Social media are playing more of a balancing role for the social discussion and providing the public a more democratic and more convenient place for discussion. From another perspective, reporters working for traditional media outlets should take social media platforms as a resource for their reporting and provide another side of the story itself.

Moreover, social media and traditional media are independent from each other in choosing frames when the case just happened. However, when the traditional media contributed the cause of the case to Yuan, a non-privileged Chinese citizen, the social media discussion went towards an opposite discussion to protect Yuan as a grassroots citizen just like everyone else. At the same time, there are a few people got influenced by the negative criticism and trusted the source from traditional media. Thus traditional media still have influence on what people believe, but the influence is limited and sometimes generates opposite reactions.

Lastly—but importantly--the government is experimenting with new strategies to utilize media as tools to work together with its people. In many cases, like Yuan Lihai's case, either coincidentally or by design, not all media outlets delivered the same message with same tone. If by design, it might be a sign that the central government was depicting the image of allowing diverse messages in the society. But no matter what, the criticism still remained on the local level, not the state level. Only local government officials have

been investigated or punished as an answer to the public. If not by design, this might be a risk management case for the government to calm down those online citizens who were furious about the investigative piece on Yuan run by *People* magazine. No matter what, the China's media industry no longer falls into the authoritarian category, but under a new and positive transition. Social media platforms are one of the best motivations on this journey of media transition.

This research has only studied the coverage on one social issue that occurred in local level of China. It is not sufficient enough to generalize the interaction between social media and traditional media coverage on all social issues in China. Further studies could be done by looking at other cases that happened in national level where Chinese government high officials are more likely to get involved. It is worthwhile knowing how state-run media will react differently when the issue has a negative influence on the state government, how the information dissemination on social media will potentially be controlled and censored by the government, and also how the change in the roles of social media and traditional media will influence the interaction in between. Similar studies could also be conducted in other countries where the Internet and social media forums are thriving as a new way of distributing and getting information in additional to traditional media.

Appendix

Project Proposal

Introduction

Since coming to the Missouri School of Journalism in 2009, I have completed my undergraduate studies in broadcast journalism and am now in the graduate program with an emphasis in broadcast management. As any other broadcast student, I took Broadcast I, II, III in my undergrad and honed my journalistic skills in shooting, writing, editing and voicing throughout the whole process. Meanwhile, I gained invaluable experiences in KBIA and KOMU-8, where I worked as a student reporter under real deadlines and actual news environment. I truly want to thank all the professors here who have helped to make a great transition and improvement here in the journalism school.

Because of my international background, I have a keen interest in global issues. I minored in East Asia studies when I was an undergrad and started to work for the Center for Studies in Oral Traditions as a Chinese translator to help the department put together a Chinese version of its website. Now in the master's program, I'm holding another research assistantship with Global Journalist to produce weekly radio shows about world news. All these experiences have strengthened my capabilities as well as interests in furthering my career with an international initiative.

Because I minored in business when I was an undergraduate, and I did really well on all related courses including economics, statistics, finance, marketing, etc., I started to realize I also have a passion in the business side of media industry. Especially in my graduate studies, I've taken two business-oriented journalism courses taught by Prof. Randall Smith, and really developed my skills in business development and initiating

business models/marketing plans in the real business world. This helps me to broaden the possibilities of job searching in the near future.

All this past coursework as well as journalistic experiences have led me to pursue my professional project in Washington D.C., where many global media companies and agencies are headquartered. My career goal is to work for a company with an international presence and to help them with their communication efforts in an innovative way. Washington would be a great place for me to start build the networks as well as better prepare me for a formal job after graduation. This also aligns with my research component about the interactions between traditional media coverage and social media coverage in China. In the mass media seminar, I've learned comparative studies and framing theory, which I will use as a fundamental step in my research. I've also learned content analysis in quantitative research methods class and how to use SPSS software to interpret the data. These learning experiences will give me great help in my research.

Professional Skills

I have been accepted by the school's Washington program this summer and will be completing my professional project there. I will be working as a public relations intern for Fleishman-Hillard and specifically work with the China Practice team from May 28 to August 30, 2013. I will be working for 30 hours a week, Monday through Thursday, and will attend the Washington Program seminars on Fridays. My duty will include supporting the Fleishman-Hillard Global China Practice, providing client support by monitoring, researching, compiling and analyzing client media coverage, writing, editing and proofreading materials in AP style, aiding teams in pitching story ideas and brainstorming, participating in the news business process, and collaborating on additional

projects based on office needs. My educational as well as my cultural backgrounds are helpful when pursuing this internship. The company is looking for someone who knows the culture and business in China and has been educated in related areas in the U.S.

My journalism background has provided me the skill sets that would work very well for this internship. Firstly, my previous experience in television, radio, magazine and website gave me an overall impression of the media industry and made me familiar with different media formats. Secondly, because of my emphasis in broadcast journalism, I can write fast and concisely and always use the active voice. Thirdly, I know the basics of website building and design, which could help me when dealing web-oriented projects. Besides my journalism education and experiences, I have intentionally minored in business when I was an undergrad, and in my graduate studies, I've taken many business-oriented journalism courses as well as some MBA courses offered through business school. This semester, I am taking the course Entrepreneurship and Media of the Future with MBA students to work with real-world entrepreneurs with their start-up business. I work in the team to help the company to choose their business model and find solutions to their problems. I believe all these experiences will be useful when I work as a PR intern for Fleishman-Hillard. Last but also importantly, my bilingual capabilities in both Mandarin Chinese and English will be a plus when dealing with those Chinese companies that are planning to expand in American markets.

Interning at Fleishman-Hillard China Practice will also help to relate to my research component since it also focuses on China area. Through researching the communication vehicles adopted by Chinese companies, I will have a clearer understanding about how traditional media and social media, such as Weibo, integrate

and interact with each other in practice. My research results will on the other hand help me to better identify the best ways of cooperate communication both internally and externally.

Throughout this internship, I will include the following materials into my final project report—press releases, pitch letters, fact sheets, and client correspondence. My supervisor will be Mr. Bill Black, senior partner of Fleishman-Hillard Public Affairs, who is in charge of the China Practice. Profesoor Wesley G. Pippert will also supervise my work in Washington D.C.

The Analysis Component

Research Questions

Is there is a timing difference between information coming out of social media and traditional media? If so, does online public opinion affect traditional media coverage and/or does traditional media coverage has an impact on social media?

This research will be written as an academic article.

Theoretical Framework

Framing Theory

The theoretical foundation for my research is framing theory. Framing theory is the best way to illustrate how journalistic frames have been formed and selected under information control in China as well as how the public reacts to these frames, especially through online media, which is considered as a public forum with comparatively more freedom. Thus framing theory fits my study subjects—traditional media coverage and social media coverage.

The study of framing theory started in early 1900s, but not until the 1980s was it applied to social constructivism. On the one hand, mass media have a strong impact by framing images of reality (McQuail, 1994); on the other hand, media effects are limited by the interaction between the meaning developed by journalists and the meaning constructed by the public (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Media frames “organize the world both for journalists who report it and for people who rely on their reports.” (Gitlin, 1980) There are two levels of framing: (1) media frames of what the media do; and (2) individual frames of what audiences do (Gitlin, 1980). Framing involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

In media frames, the controversy and essence of the issue are suggested (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). The journalist decides what needs to be emphasized and what needs to be excluded. Gamson & Modigliani (1987) also claimed the media framing can influence how audiences end up interpreting an issue. A study investigating how Korean online news media rely on news source selection to set up frames has been conducted to see the differences between a progressive and a conservative news website. The study finds that both websites have included more sources that fit with their basic storylines (Kim, 2006). Another study exploring how American news media frames the poverty issue finds that media attributions of responsibility are largely societal, focusing on the causes and solutions at the social rather than personal level (Kim, Carvalho & Davis, 2010). Iyengar (1991) argues that there are two types of frames: (1) an episodic news frame that depicts public issues in terms of concrete instances; and (2) a thematic news frame that is directed at general outcomes or conditions. On the issue of whom to blame

for social problems, Iyengar (1991) has also found that subjects shown episodic reports were less likely to consider society responsible for the event while subjects shown thematic reports were less likely to consider individuals responsible.

From the perspective of individual frames, audiences' and readers' interpretation of information is influenced by their pre-existing knowledge backgrounds. The online public discussion reflects individual frames. Entman (2009) claims that individual frames mentally store clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing information. An experiment has been conducted to investigate the effects of news frames and schemas on audiences' issue interpretation and attitudes, which indicates that news frames could activate frame-related issue interpretations as well as affect the public's attitude. Individuals are more likely to change attitudes when news frames resonate with their issue schemas. Thus, individuals' existing issue schemas and predispositions are important factors to be considered in framing research (Shen, 2004).

Huang (2010) compared media and audience frames and examined factors that condition audience framing. The study found that when the news media provide more diverse perspectives on an issue, the audience has a larger degree of latitude to decide which perspective is applicable. These studies further explain the interaction between news frames and individual level frames. The understanding of these two frames can help researchers analyze framing theory that applied to a specific issue from a more comprehensive perspective.

Entman (1993) specifies four functions of frames: define problems—determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits; diagnose causes—identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments—evaluate causal agents and their

effects; and suggest remedies—offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects (p. 52). My study will follow these criteria in comparing the frames of media frames and online public opinions.

Framing Process

Broadly speaking, a process of framing can be classified into two parts: frame-building and frame-setting (de Vreese, 2005; Scheufele, 1999). Frame-building addresses the processes that influence the creation or changes of frame applied by journalists while frame-setting is concerned with the salience of issues (Scheufele, 1999, p. 115 -116). These are the key concepts to understand the interaction between traditional media and online public discussion. Especially due to the popularity of social media, citizens are able to post any facts or comments online for potential discussion. This leads not only to audience interpretation, but they are creating the news on their own. Frame-setting refers to how news frames shape the public's interpretation of given issues (Moy & Zhou, 2007). Pan and Kosicki (1993) conceptualize media frames to have impacts on individuals' attitudes and opinion. These two processes interact with each other in different phases and are the key concepts to be studied in this research.

Framing Theory as Applied to Mass Communication Studies in China

Most of scholarship on the topic of Chinese media framing is co-authored by one Western scholar and one Chinese scholar who is based outside of China or has some affiliation with institutions abroad.

Yang (2012) uses framing theory to compare the Chinese media coverage of two crises: SARS in 2003 and Sichuan Earthquake in 2008. It is worthwhile to focus on crisis coverage in China since it closely relates to social influence that the government would

have more cautious regulation on such issues. The Chinese government is well-known for masking information to protect the government's image (Swain, 2007). Yang found that the rescue and treatment frame was the most frequently used frame in news articles for both crises. Also, when there is a negative response to the government's policy among the public, the use of leadership frames will decrease, but when the government's handling of the crises is considered successful, the leadership frame is used more often. Moreover, the result shows a difference between party media and market-oriented media with governmental sources dominating coverage from party media while non-governmental sources providing most information for the market-oriented media (Yang, 2012).

A content analysis of 206 online posts and 114 news reports regarding a sociopolitical incident in China has been employed to determine how frame-building and frame-setting process manifest themselves in the interplay between online public discourse and traditional media discourse (Moy & Zhou, 2007). The study shows that online public opinion plays an important role in transforming the original local event into a nationally prominent issue (Moy & Zhou, 2007). Additionally, media coverage plays as the primary source of information for people who contribute to the website content, however, the traditional media coverage does not set frames for online discourse (Zhou & Moy, 2007). You need page citations if they are available This indicates the fact that the public takes advantage of unlimited online space for information exchange and has the ability to disseminate the information that are censored by the government in mainstream media outlets. This study sets up a good example for me to execute my research in terms

of methodology. My study will examine the development or change of interaction between online public opinion and media coverage after six years of this previous study.

Literature Review

Overview of Chinese Media in the Past

Chinese media originated from propaganda department as the mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and until the 1980s, almost all media in China were state-run. Despite the rare emergence of independent media at the onset of economic reforms, the Chinese government still plays a significant role in controlling and influencing the media outlets by issuing license of their operations (Zhao, 2008). The largest and most influential media organizations in China, including CCTV, Xinhua News Agency, the People's Daily, are still the agencies of the Party-State, which continue to hold significant market share. Media taboos include topics such as the Taiwan ownership issues, the legitimacy of the Communist Party of China, investigation of government officials' corruptions, the governance of Tibet, and Falun Gong. The government controls the media by pre-editorial censorship and afterwards punishment.

The level of media control has also varied under different party leaders over different periods of time (Zhang & Fleming, 2005). Zhang and Fleming also claim that media controls in China were most relaxed under Deng Xiaoping in 1980s, the leader of the Open Reform in China. But after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Protests, the media control tightened. Under the leadership of Jiang Zemin in the late 1990s, the control over media relaxed again, but then tightened again under current Chinese leader Hu Jintao because of the growing influence of the Internet and its potential threats towards the

party's reign (Zhang & Fleming, 2005, p.336). It is hard to predict the potential changes of media policies under the new leadership of Xi Jinping. In a recent news article from CCN, it has pointed that one of the first challenges came to him was the media is asking for more respect on press freedom and free speech. It was brought up with staffers of Southern Weekly, a liberal-leaning newspaper in the southern city of Guangzhou that staged a protest after a local propaganda official rewrote an editorial calling for stronger rule of law (CNN, March. 16, 2013). Before Xi officially took over the power, a mysterious Sina weibo account literally meaning "Study Xi Fan Group" that regularly updates the whereabouts and daily life even before Chinese government's official media stimulated a fierce online discussion whether Xi would be the first social media president in China (Offbeat China, 2013, Feb. 6). There are both positive signs as well as negative signs in terms of the media openness and democracy under the new leadership Xi and it is too early to make assumption at this point.

Chinese Media Under Transition

As noted earlier, Chinese media are under transition as a result of the 20-year economic reform and turns into a more commercialized and diversified media market. Many scholars in the field of mass communication argue that the current Chinese media could not fit into any of the Four Press Theories (Siebert et al, 1956) that confined to an ideological orientation through four models, authoritarian, communist, libertarian, and social responsibility, but proposed a new theoretical perspective of market authoritarianism (Winfield & Peng, 2004). The authors also claim that there appears to be "a convolution of the Party line and the bottom line" in the Chinese media system (Winfield & Peng, 2004, p. 4). China is now under media transition amid a vigorous

capitalist economic system and a still authoritarian political system. Hu (2007) later on points out the imbalance between the rapid commercialization process and slow political democracy transition that influences Chinese media. Chinese media outlets are embracing more advertisements, private investments, and expanded communication technologies. In addition, development of local media, such as Hunan Television and Oriental Satellite Television, starts to challenge the long-term monopoly of China Central Television on viewers' ratings and commercial power with sizeable coverage and influence (Zhang, 2011, p. 650). It provides more possibilities for varied expression of the public. However, growing conflicts and tensions with the state political control also appear, which leads to various controls over information flow in China (Zhang, 2011, p.665).

Information Control in China

Despite the trends of open economy and media commercialization in China, the information dissemination and journalistic behaviors are still not free. Chinese media are under multi-level controls from the government, self-censorship and the Internet censorship.

Government Control

The Communist Party of China used to have economic, ideological, cultural and labor controls over the journalists by providing them with housing, social welfare and health insurance (Hong & Cuthbert, 1991). Later on between 1979 and 1989, the commercialization of the media was led by the government's promotion of a deepening market reform and the financial pressures that faced the media at the time. An increasing financial independence enables the media to have more autonomy in operational and editorial decisions. However, such government relaxation is conditioned by the political

bottom line of the Party (Winfield & Peng, 2004). A study examining the characteristics of the Chinese print media under censorship on their coverage of the disease of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) has been conducted in order to explain how Chinese government control the information flow (Fleming & Zhang, 2005). The study finds three factors that match the three ways in which the Soviet Communist Party and government controlling the media content that summarized by Sibert, Peterson, and Schramm (1963): (1) appointing the newspaper's editors-in chief; (2) issuing directives or circulars at various levels; and (3) disseminating direct instructions of top government officials. These methods are still active in today's Chinese media system (Fleming & Zhang, 2005, p.334).

Self-censorship Among Journalism Professionals in China

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) have claimed there are four factors that influence the news content—individual journalists, media routines, organizational influences and content from outside of media organization, such as government controls and marketplace. From individual perspective, one major influencer is the communicator's professional roles and ethical frameworks that are primarily shaped on the job (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p.199). This concept derived from the study of socialization conducted by Breed (1995), who described the socialization process as journalists learning what their organizations want by observation and experience. In China, some journalists consider themselves as civil servants that are directly or indirectly controlled by the government. The way in which journalists define their jobs will certainly affect the content they produce (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p.202).

In addition, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) find that communicators' professional roles and ethics have more of an influence on content than do their personal attitudes, values, and beliefs. This concept explains the high-degree of self-censorship among Chinese journalism practitioners.

A research paper in Chinese language also uses an example of how coverage on poisoned milk powder was censored by journalists themselves because of multiple external controls from the government, news organization and business entities (Zhang, 2011). This study also finds that the perception of self-censorship among Chinese journalists varies depends on their experiences. Experienced investigative reporters are more likely to sense the pressure of self-censorship compared with fresh reporters since this "invisible control" can only be perceived and engraved with more experiences in the media market. However, such process of "naturalization" is really fast (Zhang, 2011, p. 53).

Different from previous studies, Tong (2009) still deems Chinese media system as authoritarian. Chinese media have to find ways to report in order to meet the needs of the market while not annoying to the Party-State (Tong, 2009). Through discourse analysis of Wenzhou Riot of conflicts between government officials and powerless Chinese citizens, the study shows how the newspapers conceals social conflicts and constructs a positive political stance by revising the original report, which focuses more on the cause of the riot, into more descriptions of the action itself. During the editorial process in the newsroom, social conflicts have been concealed and hence lessen the rationality that the original report gave to the rioters. For instance, the word 'official' has been changed into 'government staff' to avoid connoting hierarchy of the conflict. The research claims that

the practice of self-censorship helps newsrooms bypass political taboos and increases the possibilities of the publication of reports on highly politically sensitive topics (Tong, 2009). The discourse does get changed to better comply with the political guidelines. However, Tong (2009) claimed that self-censorship in both individual level and organizational level play not as a threat to media freedom, but as a force that increases media freedom. In this research article, Tong has not referred to any previous scholarly research findings that support this conclusion. It is also worth noticing that this research has been conducted by discourse analysis. McQuail (1994) has indicated that the term ‘discourse’ has a broader connotation and covers all ‘text’, in whatever form or language they are encoded and implied that a text is constructed by people who read and decipher it as much as those who formulate it (p.349).

Internet Censorship

The government control on information and journalists’ self-censorship also has influenced the Internet community in China. Economic liberalization and the information revolution have driven China’s fast telecommunication in the past decade. Now China has the world’s largest online population of more than half a billion, and there still exists a huge potential market. The Internet remained unregulated until in 1996 when the first set of regulations on the Internet has been formally announced (Zhao, 2008). In the ensuing years, several laws were passed to tighten the government’s control over the Internet, including a December 2000 legislation defining “cyber crime (Zhang, 2006, p. 4). Nevertheless, the vast possibilities of information exchange online and the ever-developing digital technology have made regulation of Internet content a formidable task for the Chinese government (Zhao, 2008). Zhao explains how government and state

media are compelled to make instant responses towards online contents that threaten the reign of the Party-State. Chinese policy makers are forced to be reactive rather than proactive because it is difficult for the government to manipulate censorship the Internet because of its unlimited space and instantly updated contents.

Social Media in China

China's social media world have thrived in the past several years as China became the world's largest online population. Although Western social media tools such as Facebook and Twitter are blocked in China, Chinese companies has developed their home-grown tools such as Weibo, Renren, Kaixin, which have similar functions with those Western social media platforms and are widely used by Chinese citizens. Social media has become an effective way for Chinese people to get information, disclose corruptions, share knowledge, and react to traditional media coverage. Thus it is an essential medium in the field of mass communication that needs to be studied on the same weight of traditional media in China.

Shi (2013) concluded that microblog (Weibo) is helpful to the formation of civil society in China, and theoretically will become a new territory of public news. He analyzed three latest cases of citizens using Weibo to report news to show its pros and cons. He concluded that Weibo helps to build independent personalities in the society and makes it easier to bring grassroots into public forum for discussion with characteristics of short, open and mutual. However, Shi also explained the limitation of Weibo—which are owned by private corporations such as SINA and Tencent—the 140-character limit prevents in-depth reporting and it still operates under the control of government and influence of commercialized entertainment (Shi).

Context of Study

The “Yuan Lihai” Case

On the morning of January 4, 2013, six children and one adult died in a fire that engulfed an unregistered orphan shelter in Lankao County in central China’s Henan Province. Eight people, including a 20 year old and seven children, were inside the two-room private house when the fire broke out around 8:30 a.m. All of them were orphans or abandoned children.

The homeowner is a local woman, Yuan Lihai, 48, who has been bringing home abandoned infants and children in the past decade, and has been adopting more than 100 children as of 2011. Yuan was called “loving mother” by people around and also the media who has reported on her benevolence. Yuan once told the media that she wanted to build an orphanage but failed because of financial difficulty. She earned a living by being a street vendor in Lankao county but could barely support the lives of so many children. Thus she relied on the government subsidy for their lives.

When the fire was taking place, Yuan was on her way sending some children to school so that she escaped from the disaster. Yuan has later been sent to the hospital after this huge shock. Later investigation showed that the cause of this fire is due to the children playing with fire. This incident has brought up national attention with controversy (Southern Weekly, 2013, January 10).

The local government announced that Yuan was not qualified to adopt children and Yuan’s “adoptions” were unlawful. The civil affair authorities of Lankao county helped a welfare center in Kaifeng City to take five children from Yuan in Sept. 2011, but which is far from enough. The local government does not have an official orphanage to

take care of these abandoned children. The public has started questioning if Yuan adopted the children in order to cheat the government out of subsistence allowance and has profited from trading homeless children. Faced with all these criticism and doubts after the fire disaster, Yuan's response is "if I ever sold those kids to earn profit, shoot me to death". Yuan has previously admitted that she has "given" healthy children to other families because she cannot afford raising that many of children, especially many kids who have disabilities or are ill. Upon hearing these claims, both Yuan's relatives and friends refuted the allegations by saying they are "impossible", according to China.org.cn. Four days after the incident, Yuan said she would never adopt homeless children again with desperations. Yuan said she is going to return her subsistence allowance to the government, "I don't have a nickel in the bank. The children are all gone, so that allowance is now useless" (China.com.org, 2013, January 8).

One month after the fire incident on Feb. 3, a party-run magazine *People* published an investigative piece about Yuan Lihai, claiming that Yuan and her family purchased about 20 real estate properties in Lankao and other places. The report was titled in "Lihai woman" (Lihai, in Chinese, means fearfulness) and claimed that Yuan has classified the adopted children based on their appearances, and has discriminated disabled children against healthier ones, leaving them with inadequate care and even neglecting them. The whole article was filled with details and descriptions, but lack hard evidence (Weibo). This report has shaken and irritated some in the public who believe Yuan has actually saved the children's lives. Yuan's son-in-law, Guo Haiyang, denied all allegations two days after the report has been published. "I am willing to disclose our assets, I am willing to disclose the color of my underpants if that's what it takes."

Because of these controversies, Guo has a “V” (verified) account on Sina Weibo and has published a 2,000-word statement firing back at the magazine allegations and said all the Yuan’s family wanted was to return to peaceful life. On Feb. 7, Yuan’s son-in-law disclosed their assets on Weibo to the public (South China Moring Post, 2013).

This issue has been fiercely discussed and covered by both traditional and social media, which considered a typical case to reveal how social media and traditional media interacting on China’s social problems. My study would be build on this issue and to divide the process into three phases to examine the interactions in between.

Method

To examine the interaction between social media and traditional news coverage in China, especially on “Lankao orphanage fire disaster” case, I will conduct a quantitative content analysis to examine the related posts and news articles on Sina Weibo and Sina News respectively. Sina News has a news channel that contains all aggregated news articles from both national and local media outlets.

Traditional Content Analysis

Content analysis has been classically defined as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson, 1952, p.18). Content analysis generally follow a five-step procedure: first, to formulate research questions and/or hypotheses; second, to select sample; third, to categorize for coding; fourth, to train the coders, to code the content and to assess the reliability; and fifth, to analyze and interpret the coded data (McMillan, 2000; Riffe et al., 2005). This study would follow such five-step procedure.

Wimmer and Dominick (2006) have concluded five purposes of conducting content analysis: describing communication content, testing hypotheses of message characteristics, comparing media content to the real world, assessing the image of societal groups, and establishing a starting point for studies of media effect (p.157-159). This study falls into the third and fifth purposes. By coding the functions of frames in both traditional media coverage and social media, which is considered more of the actual reflection of public opinion, the study could compare traditional media content to the real world public opinion. Additionally, the studies of social media in China is still in its initial phase with limited number in the mass communication research field, this study also aims at establishing a stepping-stone to the future studies of media effect in the digital era.

Content Analysis in Digital Era

With the prevalence of Internet, there are more and more challenges, as well as opportunities, for systematic, quantitative content analysis in media and communication research. McMillan (2000) and Weare and Lin (2000), for example, have identified a number of challenges of applying content analysis to the Web, such as to obtain a representative sample because of the vastness of the Web to define the unit of analysis; and to ensure that coders are presented with the same content for purposes of reliability. However, both have concluded minor adaptations to traditional approaches of content analysis, such as using lists to help generate sampling frames and capturing snapshots of Website to be sufficient. Lewis, Zamith, & and Hermida (2013) have recently suggested computational methods as a solution to offer the potential for overcoming some of the sampling and coding limitations of traditional content analysis—creating a Python script

to categorize a large dataset; using spreadsheet and statistical software to organize the data; converting dynamic Web pages into static objects with open-source software; and developing a Web-based electronic coding interface. My study would not necessarily utilize these computational methods. However, I do think these tools are helpful in the future studies, especially when there is a need to get huge dataset from the Internet.

Quantitative content analysis could provide a systematic and scientific way to interpret the comparison and interaction between social media and traditional media news coverage in terms of their different frames throughout various phases. The data set can tell the trend visually. However, the limitation still exists because the sampling from online retrieval cannot be exhaustive. While the data collection has been done with the goal of minimizing the government regulatory influence, researcher of this study cannot tell what information have been possibly filtered or deleted by the government. Through the period of data collection, researcher has kept a close eye on the numbers of searching results from both Sina Weibo and Sina News and has found no evidence of results being removed based on the total number of the results.

Content Analysis in Framing Studies

Although my research focuses on the interaction between social media and traditional media news coverage, it still falls into the category of comparative studies since I have to compare these two information mediums before studying the interaction in between. Quantitative content analysis has been widely used in both framing theory and comparative researches in the field of mass communication.

Wei (2012) has conducted a content analysis to examine the representation of the image of China by three Hong Kong newspapers in different years, and has concluded

that coverage of China has increased over time and the tone of reports varied according to the different content categories, as a result of the interplay between political pressure and economic forces coupled with professionalism and commercialism of Hong Kong media.

Another study used a quantitative content analysis by examining 130 news article from world major newspapers to explore the media representation of the political impact of social media in Tunisia and Egypt during December 17, 2010 to February 11, 2011 (International Communication Association, 2012). The findings suggest the use of frames and tones varies by those media outlets in different regions around the world. In this particular study, in order to measure the frames and tones used by a wide range of world major publications, this study designed its own frames due to the lack of previous studies on the political impact of social media. For each frame, a detailed explanation and description have been given. Due to the uniqueness of the case that my research would focus on, explanatory and descriptive frames would also been given.

This study is going to duplicate the method of sampling and producers of a previous study conducted by Moy and Zhou (2007) on the interplay between online public opinion and media coverage by examining the opinion frames and media frames through content analysis. But minor adaptations in methods would be implemented in order to tailor to the context of the “Yuan Lihai” case.

Sampling and Procedure

This study takes each original post (not including responses) from Weibo and each news article from traditional media as the unit of analysis. Responses of Weibo posts are not included because the search engine doesn't support to pull out the raw data of all comments and the comments poll is too voluminous to study.

Data Collection

Two sets of data were collected in three time periods to test the interaction between social media and traditional media.

Sina Weibo is a Chinese microblogging website, which is an equivalent to Twitter in the U.S. with nearly 8 times more users than Twitter (Rapoza, 2011). Launched by Sina Corporation in August 2009 (China Daily, 2011), it has 368 million registered users as of mid 2012, which is over 30% of Internet users in China (Millward, 2012). Another microblogging service provider, Tencent, has a slightly bigger number of users than Sina Weibo, has not been chosen for this study for several reasons. Firstly, Tencent is more dominant in 3rd and 4th tier cities and rural areas while Sina Weibo is more dominant among white-collar users who are more of a representative of social change in China. Secondly, Tencent does not offer a “V” system that allow people to verify their identities by providing evidence that Sina does, which is a minor part of the study that I would like to conduct (Lukoff, 2011).

The reason I have chosen the Sina news aggregator to retrieve all listed stories is because its well-functioning search engine, and as private company not owned by the government, it has less likelihood of being censored or information being deleted from the portal than other state-run news websites. Compared with retrieving news directly from search engine, such as Baidu (equivalent to Google in the U.S.), one advantage that Sina news aggregator offers is that they don't show duplicate news articles with the same content from different sources.

Before collecting the data, I have used the search functions in both Sina Weibo and Sina News to retrieve the posts/articles on January 5, 2013 for five consecutive days to

determine whether more articles or posts would be deleted or censored by the system.

The results showed a same number for each search for five days.

Phase I: January 4 – January 8 Fire disaster

Phase II: February 3 – February 8 Media criticize Yuan Lihai

Phase III: March 3 – March 8 Two Sessions

Coding

Instead of coding the topic, theme, position, and tone of articles as a traditional way, this study would take various framing devices into consideration and analyze the article as a whole. Entman's four functions of frames (problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation) are chosen as the primary function in together with specific frames to fulfill that function (Moy & Zhou, 2007). Weibo posts and traditional news articles would be categorized into three different phases as mentioned above.

Variables

The variables that will be coded in this study would be:

1. Problem definition
 - a. Authorities' account
 - b. "Behind-the-scenes" stories
 - c. Both
 - d. Neither
2. Causal interpretation
 - a. Government lack of credibility & Lack of healthy system of orphanage
 - b. Yuan Lihai's illegal adoption

- c. Don't make a stance
- 3. Moral evaluation
 - a. Yuan is innocent
 - b. Yuan is guilty
 - c. Don't know/neutral
- 4. Treatment recommendation
 - a. Reinvestigation
 - b. Yuan stop raising/adopting the children
 - c. Government needs to take the responsibility
 - d. No treatment

Other information to be collected includes:

1. For Weibo posts:

- a. Date
- b. Quote/comment from traditional media
- c. Valid or invalid

Invalid Weibo posts include: 1). Share news article without comments; 2).

Texts without an attitude about the subject; 3).use keyword “Yuan Lihai

(袁厉害)” to comment on irrelevant information.

2. For traditional news articles:

- a. Date
- b. Source
- c. Quote/comment from social media
- d. Valid or invalid

Invalid news articles include: 1). Photo story without sufficient texts; 2). Video story without sufficient texts; 3). Doesn't talk about the subject; 4). Repeat articles.

Statistical Tests

Ten percent of the units will be used to determine the intercoder reliability before the actual coding process.

Frame salience in this study will be operationalized by the frequency (percentage) of Weibo posts/news articles employing each social media/traditional media frame. Salience is defined as making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audience (Entman, 1993, p. 53). With the variables of this study, the following statistical analysis will be conducted: Chi-square tests comparing the priority of social media/traditional media frames in three different phases.

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Supervisor Agreement Form

Summer Internship Fleishman Hillard Anqi Du

Supervisor	Bill Black, Senior Partner, Chair, Fleishman Hillard Global China Practice
Duration	May 28 th to August 30, 2013
Work week	30 hours, Monday thru Thursday
Compensation	\$10 per hour
Duties	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Support the Fleishman Hillard Global China Practice▪ Provide client support by monitoring, researching, compiling and analyzing client media coverage, including print, TV, radio and various publications▪ Write, edit and proofread materials in AP style, including press releases, pitch letters, fact sheets and client correspondence with supervisor guidance▪ Aid teams in pitching story ideas and participate in brainstorming sessions▪ Participate in the new business process, including research and proposal preparation▪ Collaborate on additional projects based on office needs

Code Sheets

Code sheet for Weibo posts

Note: When more than one frame is employed within a given post, code as the one that is has been better emphasized.

- 1) Validation
 - a. Invalid - 0
 - b. Valid - 1
- 2) Date (Date and time of post)
- 3) Quote/comment from traditional media
 - a. No – 0
 - b. Yes – 1
- 4) Problem definition
 - a. Authorities' account – 0
 - b. "Behind-the-scenes" stories – 1
- 5) Causal interpretation
 - a. Government lack of credibility – 0
 - b. Lack of healthy system of orphanage – 1
 - c. Yuan Lihai's illegal adoption – 2
- 6) Moral evaluation
 - a. Yuan is innocent – 0
 - b. Yuan is guilty – 1
 - c. Don't know/neutral – 2
- 7) Treatment recommendation

- a. Reinvestigation – 0
- b. Yuan stop raising/adopting the children – 1
- c. Government needs to take the responsibility – 2

Code sheet for news articles

(Note: When more than one frame is employed within a given post, code as the one that is has been better emphasized.)

1) Validation

- a. Invalid - 0
- b. Valid - 1

2) Date (Date and time of post)

3) Source (Where the news articles originally comes from)

4) Quote/comment from social media

- a. No – 0
- b. Yes – 1

5) Problem definition

- a. Authorities' account – 0
- b. "Behind-the-scenes" stories – 1

6) Causal interpretation

- a. Government lack of credibility – 0
- b. Lack of healthy system of orphanage – 1
- c. Yuan Lihai's illegal adoption – 2

7) Moral evaluation

- a. Yuan is innocent – 0

- b. Yuan is guilty – 1
- c. Don't know/neutral – 2

8) Treatment recommendation

- a. Reinvestigation – 0
- b. Yuan stop raising/adopting the children – 1
- c. Government needs to take the responsibility – 2

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