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China's portrayal on U.S. written media

Issue Framing and Sentiment Analysis

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ABSTRACT

In November 2023, the United States and China convened for a summit near San Francisco,

marking a significant milestone in their complex relationship amidst escalating tensions. In this

paper, we employ theoretical frameworks from communication studies, particularly agenda-

setting theory and framing theory, to investigate the portrayal of China in U.S. written news

media, specifically in The New York Times and The Wall Street Journal, between 2021 and

2023. Therefore, after establishing as the main hypothesis that both the 'framing' and 'sentiment'

in news portrayals of China are contingent upon the political and economic dynamics between

the two nations, as well as the ideological orientation of the media outlets; we conduct a

comprehensive issue framing and sentiment analysis, utilizing computer-based tools, which

lead us to a partial verification of this hypothesis.

Keywords: NYT, WSJ, China, U.S., framing, sentiment analysis

RESUMEN

En noviembre de 2023, Estados Unidos y China se reunieron en una cumbre cerca de San

Francisco, marcando un hito importante en su compleja relación en medio de una escalada de

tensiones. En este trabajo, empleamos marcos teóricos de los estudios de comunicación, en

particular la teoría de la "agenda setting" y la teoría del "framing", para investigar la imagen

de China en los medios de comunicación escritos estadounidenses, concretamente en The New

York Times y The Wall Street Journal, entre 2021 y 2023. Así pues, tras establecer como

hipótesis principal que tanto el "framing" como el «sentimiento» en las representaciones

informativas de China dependen de la dinámica política y económica entre ambas naciones,

así como de la orientación ideológica de los medios de comunicación, llevamos a cabo un

exhaustivo análisis del "issue framing" y del sentimiento, utilizando herramientas

informáticas, que nos lleva a una verificación parcial de la hipótesis planteada.

Palabras clave: NYT, WSJ, China, U.S., "framing", "sentiment analysis"

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1. INTRODUCTION

The "great Chinese dream" aims to achieve the great "revitalization of Chinese civilization" and the central position in the international order that belonged to the country during the five thousand years of history prior to the Century of Humiliation. To fulfill it, China must become a "moderately prosperous society" and a "moderately prosperous economy". fully advanced economy by 2049. However, all indications are that China is not wrong in thinking that the United States will stand in the way of its path to centrality. Not only has the United States – in the Biden-Harris administration's National Security Strategy prepared in October 2022 – recognized that the first years of this decade are the ones that will determine the conditions of geopolitical competition, and that China is the only competitor that may have the intention and the capacity to redefine the international order. In this sense, China already constitutes its main geopolitical challenge. In addition, the new NATO Strategic Concept approved at the Madrid Summit in June 2022 included China for the first time in the Alliance's history.

According to Walter Lippmann (1922) citizens acquire most of their political knowledge from the information of the media and the elites that media portray. Furthermore, studies have proven public opinion on foreign countries to be largely dependent on its portrayal on the news (Karlsson, 2011; Norris, 2009). Since the 1700s, China has experienced a long history of portrayals which include diverse images of the country being mostly negatively represented as exotic and immoral, diabolical "Yellow Peril", as well as ideological, economic, and military "Red Peril" (Kim, 2010; Leong, 2005). However, even if it was for a short period of time, the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Beijing and Washington (on January 1, 1979) led to the images of China becoming more widely positive, with discourses of Opportunity and Idealized China gaining notoriety (Turner, 2014). As previous studies have shown, such tropes have the ability to culturally influence in a way that shapes and justifies U.S. policies (Buzan & Wæver, 2003; de Buitrago, 2012; Steuter & Wills, 2010; Turner, 2014). This enables us to deduce, on the one hand, a connection between periods of political and diplomatic closeness or stability and a positive imagery of China; and, on the other hand, a connection between periods of political and diplomatic distance or tension and a negative imagery of China.

Since 2018, the U.S. and the PRC have experienced a linear deterioration in their relations. The COVID-19 pandemic, the rising tensions in the South China Sea and the Taiwan Strait, as well as the trade war and the growing technology competition, have exacerbated the differences between both superpowers. In this regard, negative images of China (which has been mostly

portrayed as a potential enemy since the late 1990s), have enabled the justification of an increasingly hardline approach from the U.S. (Ooi & D'Arcangelis, 2017). Nevertheless, even if the U.S. and the PRC are still engaged in a comprehensive contest for power, in 2023 both sides have strived to ease tensions. This year-long process of rapprochement has culminated with the summit meeting between Presidents Joe Biden and Xi Jinping held in November near San Francisco.

How something is presented to the audience (this is called "the frame") influences the choices people make about how to process that information. This "framing theory" was first introduced by Erving Goffman (1974), under the title of Frame Analysis. "Frames" are thought to influence the perception of the news by the audience, being a form of second level agenda-setting – they not only tell the audience what to think about (agenda-setting theory), but also how to think about that issue (second level agenda setting, framing theory).

With this context in mind, the main objective of this paper is to analyze the correlation between the portrayal of China on U.S. news and the political relationship between both countries, as presented by two main newspapers: *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*. The way in which China is portrayed would also depend, in principle, on the political position of the newspaper. This aspect will be also analyzed in this work, making use of computer-based tools to determine the 'sentiment' (emotions, opinions, and attitudes that news articles or media content convey, which can be positive, negative or neutral) of a series of news articles from two newspapers with different political orientation.

The 'framing' of the portrayal of China on U.S. news will also be reflected in how and what news are presented: which issues are mainly covered, and in what sections of the newspaper.

Therefore, we can define two specific objectives in this work:

- 1. To analyze how China is 'framed' in the news, according to the issues covered and the sections of the newspaper where they are presented.
 - 2. To analyze the 'sentiment' present in the news articles, for the different issues.

These two specific objectives lead us to the following question: whether and how the portrayal of China on U.S. newspapers, across a three-year period, can differ between periods of escalation and de-escalation of political tension?

Thus, the main hypothesis of this work that derives from the already stated specific objectives is the following: both the 'framing' and 'sentiment' present in the portrayal of China on U.S. news depend not only on the actual political and economic relationship between the two countries, but also on the political ideology and interests of the media.

There is also a secondary hypothesis, which we will try to confirm with our empirical analysis: The portrayal of China on U.S. news should become less negative as de-escalation of political tension takes place.

To this end, we will begin by developing the theoretical framework by reviewing the context of China-US relations, highlighting Xi Jinping's China and the trade war with the US. The second part of the theoretical framework will focus on reviewing two of the most relevant communication theories: agenda-setting theory and framing theory. Subsequently, the state of the art will review the results obtained by relevant studies carried out on issues related to our object of study. In addition, in order to provide an answer to our research question, to our specific objectives and to try to verify our hypotheses, we will analyze the coverage of news about China in two American newspapers: *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*. This analysis will count with two parts, an issue framing analysis, and a sentiment analysis. Finally, we will present the main conclusions of our research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. U.S. - China relations

With the dawn of the American Century, the US supplanted Britain as China's main interlocutor with the West. Nevertheless, in 1905, in reaction to the Chinese Exclusion act (1902), and anti-Chinese violence in the US, a large-scale movement to boycott American goods erupted across China. A wave of disillusionment, anger, and protest in China towards the US was triggered by America's betrayal in the context of the Treaty of Versailles (1919), where the "Big Three" rejected China's key demands, and Wilson decided to cede the Shangdong territories to the Japanese fearing that if the US alienated Japan, Tokyo may not have joined the League of Nations. Moreover, it was during the Chinese Civil War (1927-1949) that the US proved to be an unreliable ally. The Kuomintang-led government of the Republic of China looked to the US as the only possible strategic counterweight the combined challenges of a Japanese invasion, and the Soviet-backed Chinese Communist Party (CCP), founded in 1921 (Rudd, 2022).

From its early years to the present, the CCP has always seen the US as hostile to its ideological interests and a continuing challenge to its efforts to secure and sustain political power. In the 1960s, the US-China relationship reached its historical low point. On the one hand, at the time that Chinese troops where fighting American forces in Korea, mutual demonization materialized with CCP's "hate America" campaign, and McCarthysm's amplification of the threat of the "yellow peril," the "red peril," and the domino theory of prospective Chinese domination of all East Asia. On the other hand, multiple crises across the Taiwan Strait led President Eisenhower to threat China with nuclear annihilation. Almost two decades had to pass for the diplomatic normalization between China and the United States to be finally achieved in 1979. It is relevant to point out that this was possible thanks to Richard Nixon, and Henry Kissinger's "opening" to China in 1971, as well as Zhou Enlai's "ping-pong diplomacy", and Mao Zedong's positive response to it. At that time, which marked the beginning of China's decades-long march towards economic modernization, China saw the relationship as a transactional one (enhancing national security and prosperity), while the US saw it as transformational (deeper objective of changing the fundamental nature of Communist China itself) (Rudd, 2022).

A new low point in the relations was reached after the Collapse of the Soviet Union, where little beyond mutual economic self-interest was left to sustain them, and China started a gradual

strategic realignment. In this sense, the CCP concluded (under Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao, and then under Xi Jinping) that, even if US investment and trade, as well as the education of China's future elite in American universities, remained essential to China's economic prospects, China now had more in common with Russia. Going forward to 2008, the Global Financial Crisis proved that the center of global gravity was changing, and China was now at the top table of global affairs becoming a more active stakeholder in the existing order. The Obama administration's strategy toward China was based on three pillars: a) China should be defined as a potential partner rather than as an inevitable adversary, b) China's rise should be respected as long as it conformed with the rules of the existing international order, and c) China's rise should not be a threat for the sovereignty of US allies or the stability of the Asia-Pacific region. However, Obama's "pivot to Asia" in 2011 together with increased China's hostility led to a transformation in the US-China relations. Since the latter years of Hu Jintao's leadership, American political and commercial elite's idea of systematic deception on China's part extended. Furthermore, in 2016, deception and betrayal where sentiments that helped give rise to the Trump campaign's successful political position against China as well as Trump's subsequent prosecution of the US-China trade war beginning in 2018 (Rudd, 2022).

2.1.1. The China of Xi Jinping and the US-China trade war

During the last decade, the Chinese people have been feeling a collective pride about the return of China to a central place in the global order. The role of the CCP in the "great Chinese dream" that aims to achieve the great "revitalization of Chinese civilization" and the central position in the international order is key, and its domestic political legitimacy is based on the interplay among ideology (Marxism-Leninism), nationalism, and economic prosperity (Rudd, 2022). The United States is making no effort to hide its intention to contain China and slow its rise as a world power (Krikke, 2023). Despite the importance of the U.S. military presence in the vicinity of China, it is economic measures and sanctions that have played a fundamental role in this containment dynamic. The trade war, which encompasses the set of sanctions and blocking measures imposed by both countries, could lead to a selective disengagement from China, reducing opportunities for technology transfer, limiting investment options for Chinese companies, and slowing the flow of capital into China. Trying to block Chinese access to its latest chip technology, the U.S. imposed strict export controls by the end of 2022 (Rodrigo, 2023).

For the time being, what we can deduct from the current situation is that the prospects for cooperation between the two countries look increasingly distant. U.S. officials are trying to exercise caution in competition with China, and Chinese officials insist that they do not want economic decoupling. However, fragmentation and decoupling are normalizing. All indications are that the two countries are on a collision course (Roubini, 2023). Furthermore, Henry Kissinger has stressed the importance of reaching an understanding —ideally based on shared values— between the two powers before, in five to ten years, the rapid progress of artificial intelligence makes this competition even more difficult and dangerous ("Henry Kissinger explains", 2023).

2.2. Media and politics

Since the 1820s, after having become a "mass" medium, the content of American newspapers became "democratic" (promotion of democracy and interest of common people), popular (less focused on politics and more sensationalist content), fast (timely), and "objective" (less partisan).

In the political realm, the principal influence of media on the public life is through the ways media present information and the contexts within which they present it. According to Atking (1981), media is the most important source of information when we are teenagers. In addition, it also performs an important function as a source of persuasion and decision making, both directly and indirectly. Finally, this may lead to behavior or political activity.

We are now going to focus on several models of communication influence which suggest that major impacts from the media may flow not from intentional efforts to persuade (what we think), but by changing our cognitions (what we think about).

2.2.1. Agenda-setting Theory

It was in 1922 that Walter Lippmann argued in his book, *Public Opinion*, that the view we have of the world is constructed through the news media, and discussed how media messages influence the "pictures in our heads" (pp. 3-20). Nevertheless, it was in 1972 that this phenomena was given a name by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. In his book *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*, McCombs explained how agenda setting was not a result of an eagerness on the part of journalists to influence the public's mind, but rather "an inadvertent by-product of the necessity to focus" the news (McCombs, 2004, p. 19).

Therefore, the first suggestion is that media set the public agenda and, depending on the coverage and prominence of different issues, give us a sense of what is important (issue's salience.

During three consecutive US presidential elections (1968, 1972, and 1976), Mc Combs and Shaw carried out the initial studies of agenda setting. The first study (1968), considered to be one of the fifteen milestones in mass communication research, found a nearly perfect correlation between the media's agenda of issues and the public's agenda of issues. The second study (1972), conducted in Charlotte, North Carolina, proved that mostly it was the media that was setting the public agenda, and not the public setting the media agenda. Finally, the third study (1976) found that different media outlets gave similar coverage to the same issues. It led to inter-media agenda setting research, which demonstrated the importance of elite news organizations, particularly *The New York Times*, in setting the media agenda. Over the years, data has indicated that 50% of the times there is no discernible disparity in influence between television and newspapers; in the remaining 50%, newspapers tend to wield a greater level of impact. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that individuals take an active part in the communicative process when deciding how and why they use certain means, depending on their personal context and background, attitudes, and actions (Wanta, 1997).

The original concept of agenda setting, now referred to as the "first level" of agenda setting, refers to the amount of media coverage an issue or other topic receives. Thus, it is concerned with the influence of the media on which objects are at the center of public attention (Coleman et al., 2009). Overall, according to McCombs (1996, p. 17), the metaphoric name of agenda-setting comes from the notion that mass media is able to transfer the relevance of an issue in its agenda to that of the society. In addition, there is a "second level" of agenda setting or "attribute agenda setting" which focuses on the attributes or characteristics that describe issues, people or other topics in the news and the tone of those attributes (substantive characteristics), that can be positive, negative, or neutral. In this case, the focus is on how people understand the things that have captured their attention (Coleman et al., 2009). This "second level" of agenda setting, is analyzed by McCombs in his article "Influencing the pictures in our heads: two dimensions of agenda-setting", published in 1994. McCombs and Evatt (1995, p. 8) establish that, apart from the topics, the agenda-setting also includes the images and perspectives. In this way, when a journalist reports on a fact it is inevitable to use words that are not neutral, and these words full of opinion (attributes) will influence the perception that

individuals have of the events of the moment. These two levels of agenda-setting mean that both the topics chosen by the media and the qualifiers they use create a communicative framework that shapes public opinion. The media decides which news to highlight and the specific nuances and terms that the audience will adopt in their discussions. Consequently, the media play a crucial role in guiding and shaping public opinion (Rodríguez, 2004, pp. 63-64).

This expanded influence at the second level allows the media to shape and change public agendas and standards of acceptance or rejection toward certain individuals and issues. The choices made by media gatekeepers regarding what is publishable, how it is presented, and its style create a framework of action known as the priming effect, which prepares the news context that the audience will perceive (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). According to Robinson and Sheehan (1983), the media not only set the news agenda but also emphasize certain topics while omitting others, thus creating the entire emotional environment in which the news is presented to the audience. As Canel (1998, p. 66) suggests, the second level is viewed as a reformulation of research approaches. It aligns with the idea of priming, where an attribute is seen as a judgment on something, and priming involves making certain information a priority in perception. It also relates to Framing Theory, which posits that journalists shape reality by providing the public with a way to interpret events. These "approaches" pertain to the "attributes" of the second level of agenda-setting, affecting not only cognition but also judgments and attitudes (Rodríguez, 2004, pp. 63-66).

2.2.2. Framing Theory

The differences between framing and attribute agenda setting (second level) are a notable matter of debate among scholars. Thus, framing may be considered as a complementary element to the "second level" of agenda-setting or as an independent theory and is focused on knowing the informative approaches that provide the public with a way to interpret situations or facts. According to Entman (1993, p. 52), "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." Therefore, the role of framing in mass media is closely tied to the perspective journalists choose to emphasize in a news story, often aiming to make it appear more significant or sensational than other stories. At this point, it is relevant to highlight the difference between three types of ideology that may exert a great impact on the news frame-building process: dominant ideology, elite ideology, and journalistic ideology

(Akhavan-Majid & Ramaprasad, 1998, p. 134; Becker, 1984, p. 73; Murdock & Golding, 1977, p. 35; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p. 243). While the dominant ideology, "represents the mainstream beliefs or views of a given country or the majority of citizens in the country", elite ideology stands for "the major beliefs and ways of thinking held by the main government and the elites in power" (Cai, 2022, p. 12). The study of the journalistic ideology is key in the study of news framing as sometimes significant journalistic divide may be found in portraying the same issue between two newspapers, in spite of both dominant and elite ideology being the same (Cai, 2022).

Framing has been metaphorically compared to a picture frame, highlighting that it not only defines what is contained within but also influences perception through its material, size, and color, which can enhance or diminish the content. Additionally, the placement of the painting —whether in a prominent or obscure location— affects its visibility and impact. This is how Ghanem (1997, p. 155) categorizes frames into a) subthemes of news, b) mechanisms that frame it (such as size and placement), and c) affective and d) cognitive attributes. In the realm of journalistic analysis, two framing techniques —valence framing and issue framing— are pivotal for evaluating the stated assumptions. Valence framing addresses the emotional impact of news framing, specifically how it influences readers' perceptions and attitudes towards particular news topics and entities (Golan & Lukito, 2017). This theory posits that news media underscore either positive or negative attributes of news subjects, which in turn generate sentiments affecting audience attitudes and interpretations (Schuck & De Vreese, 2006). Research indicates a significant correlation between valence framing in news coverage and audience perceptions of foreign countries (Han & Wang, 2012). Conversely, issue framing is frequently analyzed in the context of contemporary and significant news topics (Golan & Lukito, 2017). Issue framing shapes readers' understanding by highlighting specific aspects of topics (Druckman, 2001) and offering evaluations of the discussed issues (Golan & Lukito, 2017) (Cai, 2022).

3. STATE OF THE ART

James Mann (2001, p. 102) highlights that the American media has frequently reduced China to simplistic and convenient representations. For example, in the 1950s and 1960s, China was depicted as a nation of communist 'automatons,' and in the 1980s, it was broadly labeled as 'going capitalist.' Such reductive categorizations fail to capture the complexity of nations and inevitably lead to contradictory images. Despite this, China has historically been viewed through stable and stereotypical lenses. This issue has received limited attention within the field of International Relations (IR). Neglecting to examine how China's identity is constructed overlooks the significant role of representation in shaping a China molded by American perspectives. Furthermore, it fails to recognize how American portrayals of China influence the formulation and implementation of Washington's foreign policies towards China. This is why Oliver Turner in his book *American Images of China: identity, power, policy* (2014), aims at examining the ideas that reveal how US China policies (together with particular events and actions) were able to happen in the first place, not focusing only on the material motivations behind them (pp. 3-4).

Over more than twenty-five years of the existence of the agenda-setting theory, more than two hundred studies have been carried out with different fieldwork (Dearing & Rogers, 1996). Elections or politics stand out as the most prolific, although today studies can be found on more than thirty different issues. Md Abu Naser, Assistant Professor of Journalism at California State University, discusses in his article "Relevance and Challenges of the Agenda-Setting Theory in the Changed Media Landscape" (2020) the necessity of re-examining agenda-setting theory due to the evolving media environment. Thus, he argues that the rise of digital media, including the internet, social media, and blogs, has disrupted traditional media's dominance in shaping public agendas, necessitating an update to the agenda-setting theory to accommodate the decentralized and participatory nature of contemporary media. The complex interplay between traditional media and digital platforms, where blogs and social media can influence mainstream media and vice versa, requires a broader understanding of agenda formation. Despite the diversification of media sources, the agenda-setting function remains pertinent, as media still plays a crucial role in determining the prioritization of issues in public discourse and policy-making through increasingly complex channels.

The discourse on Sino-US relations, exemplified by Warren Cohen (2010, pp. 278-280), reflects a nuanced understanding of the historical portrayal of China within American society.

Cohen characterizes this portrayal as 'schizophrenic', marked by fluctuating sentiments over time. While American perceptions of China have oscillated between positive and negative extremes, certain enduring stereotypes persist, such as the dichotomy between Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan¹. These perceptions have roots in historical interactions, from the idealized views of a romantic and exotic land to the perception of China as uncivilized, particularly with the influx of non-White Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century, seen as a threat to White America. This discourse identifies four enduring identity constructs of China – Idealized, Opportunistic, Uncivilized, and Threatening - which have persisted throughout Sino-US relations, shaped by underlying elements of American identity. Despite shifts in public opinion, these constructs remain resilient, reflecting deeper notions of American self-perception. Moreover, American depictions of China are subjective constructs, not objective observations, reflecting broader societal understandings of China's perceived inferiority or inequality, often articulated through racial discourse and imagery. This understanding persists today, with expectations for China to adhere to American ideals of democracy and capitalism. These constructs have been influential in shaping US China policy across various historical junctures, underscoring the enduring complexity of Sino-American relations (Cohen, 2010).

Naser points out in his article that during the US-China trade war, American newspapers have framed the news emphasizing conflict and competition, which has played a critical role in shaping public perception of the trade disputes and influenced the political agenda, pushing for tougher stances against China (Naser, 2020). With regards to the trade war, Simon Matingwina (2020), further studies the role that media plays in shaping public opinion by studying how the USA Today and China Daily newspapers frame the issue, analyzing 128 articles over six months. The author finds that both newspapers primarily focus on the political and economic consequences of the trade war, simplifying the narrative to winners and losers. While China Daily reflects the official Chinese government stance, the USA Today takes a more critical approach, departing from the typical patriotic tone found in US media coverage of conflicts. Unlike military conflicts, where casualties often evoke a patriotic response from the media, the nuanced nature of the trade war allows the USA Today to adopt a more scrutinizing perspective on governmental actions.

¹ Fu Manchu was a depiction of the 'Yellow Peril', the imagined possibility of invading Asian hordes from a distant and mysterious continent. Charlie Chan was the personification of a hardworking and law-abiding model minority.

With regards to the relevance of studying the journalistic ideology in news framing, Shitao Cai (2022) carried out a study in which he analyzed the ideological framing in U.S. news coverage of China between the liberal and conservative U.S. media. Contrary to what was established in his hypothesis, the author found that the NYT (liberal news media) is more negative in the coverage of China than the WSJ (conservative news media). In addition, he established that while the NYT focuses more on political topics, the WSJ centers more the attention of economic or finance-related issues.

4. METHODOLOGY

As it has been already stated, the U.S.-China relations have experienced a linear deterioration since 2018. Nevertheless, in 2023 we have been able to witness a process of rapprochement which culminated with a summit meeting between Presidents Joe Biden and Xi Jinping held in November near San Francisco. This context has led us to analyze the portrayal of China in the U.S. written media. To this aim and inspired by Shitao Cai's work (2022), the *New York Times* (liberal news media), and the *Wall Street Journal* (conservative news media), have been selected to carry out a news coverage analysis at two different levels: a) issue framing analysis, and b) sentiment analysis. Therefore, in the following lines we will try to answer the following question: whether and how the portrayal of China on U.S. newspapers can differ between periods of escalation and de-escalation of political tension?

To carry out this analysis, the first step was to retrieve different articles from both newspapers for the period between January 20th 2021 (first day of Joe Biden's Presidency of the United States) and December 31st 2023.

On the one hand, the article search in NYT was done using the "New York Times API" (Application Programming Interfaces). By using this API it is possible to access the search engine of the NYT database from a computer program. The NYI API allows 10 accesses per minute, and in each access 10 results can be obtained (one access = one "page", with 10 results per "page"). An "API key" to access this service can be obtained by any user for free from NYT. The query asked for the word "China" in the headlines and abstract of the articles. The output results of the query came ordered by "relevance", as a default output from the API engine. Due to his order "by relevance", the data collection was generally limited to 15 pages (150 results) per month in the studied period (2021-2023). In the following lines a part of the computer python code used to access the articles for a given month is provided:

response = requests.get(url, params=querystring)

The output information was saved as a .csv file, with information about date, title, section, a short snippet and web-url address of each article. Finally, as 150 articles per month is a huge number of news to carry out the issue framing and sentiment analyses, a "human" processing of these files was done, where 20 articles were selected per month, mostly concerning subjects related to the most relevant situations that took place in each month concerning China or China and the US. These 20 articles covered the main sections of the newspaper ("Business Day", "Technology", "U.S", "World", and "Opinion").

On the other hand, in the case of WSJ a similar API service was not available, and a "manual search" was done using the WSJ search engine in its webpage. Thus, a search was done for each month, with "China" as the keyword, and the results were asked to be sorted by relevance. Hundreds of or results were obtained for each query. A quick review of them indicated that the first 100 or 150 articles were indeed relevant to the desired China or US-China topics. Then, as it was done in the case of the NYT, groups of 20 articles were hand-picked for each month, covering the main sections of the newspaper and the most relevant topics of the moment concerning China or China and the US. In order to have the same number of newspaper sections as in the NYT it was decided to combine the "Economy" and "Business" sections, and the "U.S." section was substituted by the "Finance" section due to the fact that in the WSJ many more relevant articles were found in this last section in comparison to the "U.S." section. Therefore, the final five sections of the WSJ from which the 20 articles were selected are: "Economy/Business", "Finance", "Technology", "World", and "Opinion".

As stated above, the 'sentiment' analysis will be an important part of this work. The aim is to analyze how the political positions or tendencies supported by a newspaper affect the opinions and attitudes (i.e., the 'sentiment') that news articles or media content convey towards a given situation.

To carry out both the issue framing analysis and the sentiment analysis 2 articles per month have been selected. Apart from the consideration of the prominence and relevance of the issues covered by the articles, the criteria that has been followed for the selection of this two articles is the following: a) one article always from the "Opinion" section (more probable of representing the ideology of the newspaper), and b) the second article from the section repeated the most among the 20 articles previously selected for each month (for the NYT mostly the

"World" or the "Business Day" sections except for the "U.S." section in March 2021 and November 2023; and for the WSJ always the "World" section except for the "Finance" section in September 2021). On February 2021 and June 2023 there were not any articles among the 20 selected that appeared in the "Opinion section" of the NYT. Thus, these are the only two cases in which the "Opinion" article has been replaced by a "Business Day" article.

For the issue framing analysis, each article has been categorized under one Main Issue: a) *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)*, b) *Government intervention (censorship and crackdown)*, c) *Economic and demographic challenges*, d) *Covid*, d) *Taiwan issue*, and e) *Human Rights*. Furthermore, the salience of these issues has been analyzed in each newspaper per year and per section. Finally, in the final section of the analysis were the results of the NYT and the WSJ are compared, five sub-themes have been identified per Main Issue by analyzing the headlines of the 144 articles used for the study.

The sentiment analysis has been carried out by using a computer program (in python) which uses the package "nltk" (Natural Language Toolkit) and particularly the VADER Sentiment Analysis tool. VADER (Valence Aware Dictionary and sEntiment Reasoner) is a lexicon and rule-based sentiment analysis tool that is specifically attuned to sentiments expressed in social media. These sentiment analysis tools are increasingly used in a variety of areas like business, stock market, journal news or report articles. Media outlets are well known to have certain political inclinations and occurrences of "fake news" have become common. Studying mainstream international news sources is important for numerous reasons, such as national security, cultural stability, and the development of social/economic policy. A sentiment polarity can therefore be found in the media. As it has already been stated, in this work, two U.S. journals have been selected, NYT and WSJ, with different political inclinations. Therefore, an analysis of the sentiment present in their news and opinion articles concerning different topics involving China and the US-China relations has been performed.

According to Castellanos et al. (2021, pp. 121-140), sentiment analysis, which initially was used to measure and classify bias in social media posts and customer reviews, can be applied to analyze global news sources which can affect national security, social and economic policy, and cultural stability. These authors used the VADER Sentiment Analysis tool available in the Natural Language Tool Kit 3.4.1 (NLTK) library in Python (Hutto & Gilbert, 2014). VADER's algorithm can deal with long bodies of text and can manage "tricky" sentences, and was evaluated by the data from Twitter, movie reviews, technical product reviews, and 500 New

York Times opinion editorials (Hutto & Gilbert, 2014). In addition, VADER has been recognized as one of the best tools available for sentiment analysis. The authors also found in their work that VADER is quite sensitive toward the sentiment underlying the news articles, giving a compound score (from -1, total negative bias, to +1, positive —being considered neutral between -0,5 and +0,5—) higher than the rest of the three and they found that VADER can clearly detect the polarity of the news, being extremely sensitive to the emotion in the news articles processed by an article-based approach.

These observations motivated the election of VADER as the tool used perform the sentiment analysis presented in the present study. The "overall sentiment" of the selected articles is discussed with regards to the main events taking place in each moment and/or its relevance to the US and the "political trend" of each written media (NYT and WSJ).

The python code used to perform this analysis is the following:

print("Overall sentiment: Positive")

```
import nltk
from nltk.sentiment.vader import SentimentIntensityAnalyzer
# Load the VADER sentiment analyzer
analyzer = SentimentIntensityAnalyzer()
# Analyze the sentiment of an article
#article text = "China's economy is booming, with GDP growth expected to reach 8%
this year. However, there are concerns about the country's high levels of debt and
inequality."
# Open the text file
with open('w-dic21-wo.txt', 'r') as f:
  article text = f.read()
# Calculate the sentiment scores
sentiment scores = analyzer.polarity scores(article text)
# Print the sentiment scores
print("Sentiment score:", sentiment scores['compound'])
print("Positive:", sentiment scores['pos'])
print("Neutral:", sentiment scores['neu'])
print("Negative:", sentiment scores['neg'])
# Determine the overall sentiment
if sentiment scores['compound'] \ge 0.5:
```

```
elif sentiment_scores['compound'] <= -0.5:
    print("Overall sentiment: Negative")
else:
    print("Overall sentiment: Neutral")</pre>
```

Finally, an example of the type of output that this code provided is also provided:

Sentiment score: -0.9541

Positive: 0.016 Neutral: 0.943 Negative: 0.041

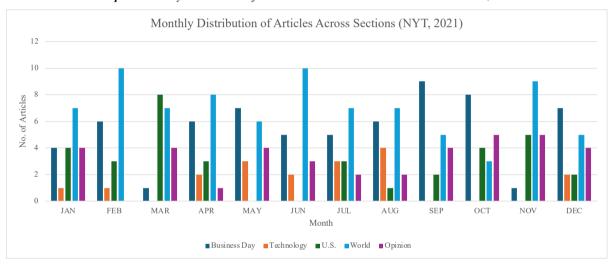
Overall sentiment: Negative

5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. The New York Times

5.1.1. Issue framing analysis

The analysis of issue framing is especially relevant in examining news portrayals of China, as it reveals variations in topic emphasis across U.S. news media and the different arguments and judgments applied to these issues. To carry out this analysis, in the first place we have identified the number of articles per section ("Business Day", "Technology", "U.S.", "World", and "Opinion") that can be found per month among the 20 articles hand-picked from the 150 that appeared in the automated initial search.



Graph 1. Monthly Distribution of Articles Across Sections in the New York Times, 2021

Source: own elaboration

As we can see in *Graph 1*, out of the 240 articles hand-picked for the analysis of news coverage in the year 2021, 84 were included in the "World" section, 65 in the "Business Day" section, 38 in the "Opinion" section, 35 in the "U.S." section, and 18 in the "Technology" section. In addition, out of these 240 articles, 24 (two articles per month) were selected, attending to the criteria of relevance and representation, in order to identify the main issues that were covered in the news about China. In this sense we have been able to group them in 5 main topics: *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)*, *Government intervention (censorship and crackdown)*, *Economic and demographic challenges*, *Covid*, and *Taiwan issue*.

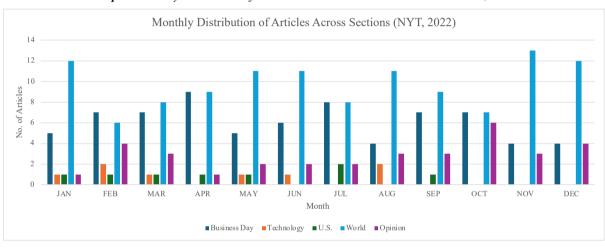
In the category *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)* we find ten articles (5 included in the "Opinion" section, 4 in the "World" section, and 1 in the "U.S." section). The five articles included in the "Opinion" section have the following headlines: i) *Biden's Nightmare May Be China*; ii) *Mr. Biden, Enough With the Tough Talk on China*; iii) *In Afghanistan, China Is Ready to Step Into the Void*; iv) *China's Bullying Is Becoming a Danger to the World and Itself*, and v) *Why Is China Building Up Its Nuclear Arsenal*? In addition, the headlines of the four articles included in the "World" section are the following: i) *Power, Patriotism and 1.4 Billion People: How China Beat the Virus and Roared Back*; ii) *Shifting Focus, NATO Views China as a Global Security Challenge*; iii) *Marking Party's Centennial, Xi Warns That China Will Not Be Bullied*; and iv) *Taiwan, Trade, Tech and More: A Tense Era in U.S.-China Ties.* Finally, *In First Talks, Dueling Accusations Set Testy Tone for U.S.-China Diplomacy* is the headline of the article included in the "U.S." section.

Furthermore, in the category *Government intervention (censorship and crackdown)*, five articles may be included (3 under the "Opinion" section, and 2 under the "Business Day" section). On the one hand, the three articles included in the "Opinion" section have the following headlines: i) *Jack Ma Taunted China. Then Came His Fall*; ii) *The Crackdown in China Is a Hot Mess, and It's Coming for Us*; and iii) *China Really Wants People to Vote in Hong Kong's Election*. On the other hand, the headlines of the two articles included in the "Business Day" section are the following: i) *China Persecutes Those Who Question 'Heroes.'* A Sleuth Keeps Track; and ii) Twitter and Facebook hit back at Chinese propaganda campaigns.

In addition, five articles may also be included under the category *Economic and demographic challenges* (3 appeared in the section "Business Day", 1 in the "World" section, and 1 in the "Opinion" section). The three articles included in the "Business Day" section have the following headlines: i) *China's 'Long-Term Time Bomb': Falling Births Stunt Population Growth*; ii) *Beyond Evergrande's Troubles, a Slowing Chinese Economy*; and iii) *China's Economy Continues to Slow, Rattled by Real Estate and Energy*. The headline of the article that appeared in the "World" section is *A Graying China May Have to Put Off Retirement*. *Workers Aren't Happy*, and *The Real Reason Behind China's Three-Child Policy*, the one in the "Opinion" section.

Moreover, **two articles may be included in the** *Covid* **category**. One of them included under the "World" category (*China grapples with its worst outbreak in a year*), and the other under the "Opinion" category (*China Doesn't Want to 'Live With' Covid. But It May Have To*).

Finally, another **two articles may be included in the** *Taiwan issue* category. One of them included under the "World" category (*China Sends Warplanes to Taiwan Strait in a Show of Force to Biden*), and the other under the "Opinion" category (*Biden's Taiwan Policy Is Truly, Deeply Reckless*).



Graph 2. Monthly Distribution of Articles Across Sections in the New York Times, 2022

Source: own elaboration

According to *Graph 2*, out of the 240 articles hand-picked for the analysis of news coverage in the year 2022, 117 were included in the "World" section, 73 in the "Business Day" section, 34 in the "Opinion" section, 8 in the "U.S." section, and 8 in the "Technology" section. In this case, the 24 articles selected for further analysis have been grouped in 5 main topics: *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war), Covid, Government intervention (censorship and crackdown), Taiwan issue,* and *Human Rights*. As we can see, the first difference with the previous year is that *Human Rights* has substituted *Economic and demographic challenges* as a more prominent issue.

In the category *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)* we find eleven articles (6 included in the "Opinion" section, 4 in the "World" section, and 1 in the "Business Day" section). The six articles included in the "Opinion" section have the following headlines: i)

China and Russia Are Giving Authoritarianism a Bad Name; ii) Russia or China? The U.S. Has a Choice to Make; iii) Can You Blame Poor Countries Like Mine for Turning to China?; iv) The U.S. Relationship With China Does Not Need to Be So Tense; v) How China Is Fighting the Chip War With America; and vi) China's Future Isn't What It Used to Be. In addition, the headlines of the four articles included in the "World" section are the following: i) China Sees at Least One Winner Emerging From Ukraine War: China; ii) Why China Is Miles Ahead in a Pacific Race for Influence; iii) China's Leader Emerges From Covid Bubble for First Foreign Trip Since 2020; and iv) China's Leader Now Wields Formidable Power. Who Will Say No to Him? Finally, Before Ukraine Invasion, Russia and China Cemented Economic Ties is the headline of the article included in the "Business Day" section.

Furthermore, seven articles may be included in the Covid category. Four of them appeared in the "World" section: i) China Holds the Line on 'Zero Covid,' but Some Wonder for How Long; ii) Under Lockdown in China; iii) China Protests Break Out as Covid Cases Surge and Lockdowns Persist; and iv) From Zero Covid to No Plan: Behind China's Pandemic U-Turn. And, three of them appeared in the "Opinion" section: i) China's Zero-Covid Policy Is a Pandemic Waiting to Happen; ii) Another Dictator Is Having a Bad Year; and iii) How China Lost the Covid War.

Moreover, under the category *Government intervention (censorship and crackdown)* we find **two articles.** One appeared in the "Opinion" section (*I Was Wrong About Chinese Censorship*), and the other in the "World" section (*Xi Tells a Muted Hong Kong That Political Power Is for Patriots*).

Two articles may also be classified in the *Taiwan Issue* category, both appearing in the "World" section of the newspaper: i) *China Won't Hesitate to Fight for Taiwan, Defense Minister Warns*, and ii) *As China Vows More Military Exercises, Taiwan Is Undeterred.*

Finally, another **two articles may be classified in the** *Human Rights* **category**, both appearing in the "Opinion" section: i) *Why the Beijing Olympics Are So Hard to Watch*; and ii) *Why China's Crimes in Xinjiang Cannot Go Unpunished*.

Monthly Distribution of Articles Across Sections (NYT, 2023)

14

12

10

10

14

2

10

JAN FEB MAR APR MAY JUN JUL AUG SEP OCT NOV DEC

Month

Business Day Technology U.S. World Opinion

Graph 3. Monthly Distribution of Articles Across Sections in the New York Times, 2023.

Source: own elaboration

Graph 3 shows that out of the 240 articles hand-picked for the analysis of news coverage in the year 2022, 90 were included in the "Business Day" section, 85 in the "World" section, 41 in the "Opinion" section, 20 in the "U.S." section, and 4 in the "Technology" section. In this regard, the main difference with the two previous years is that in 2023 the number of articles selected from the "Business Day" section is higher than the number or articles selected from the "World" section. The 24 articles selected for further analysis in the year 2023 have grouped in 4 main topics: U.S.-China relations (power and trade war), Economic and demographic challenges, Government intervention (censorship and crackdown), and Taiwan issue. Neither Covid nor Human Rights appear in 2023 as main issues.

In the category *U.S.-China relations* (power and trade war) we find thirteen articles (6 included in the "Opinion" section, 4 in the "World" section, 2 in the "Business Day" section, and 1 in the "U.S." section). The six articles included in the "Opinion" section have the following headlines: i) *Does China Have a Spy Balloon Strategy?*; ii) *How to Avoid a War With China*; iii) *A Look Back at Our Future War With China*; iv) *China's Military Is Going Global*; v) *Farewell to the U.S.-China Golden Age*; and vi) *Kissinger Was Right About China, and He Still Is.* In addition, the headlines of the four articles included in the "World" section are the following: i) *In a Brother Act With Putin, Xi Reveals China's Fear of Containment*; ii) *As the U.S. Attends the G7, China Hosts a Summit of Its Own*; iii) *Hosting Palestinian Leader, Xi Pushes China as a Peacemaker for Israel*; and iv) *Frustrated by Biden, China Courts 'Old Friends' Like Kissinger.* The headlines of the two articles in the "Business Day" section are: i)

China Is Full of Risks. So Why Can't Corporate America Leave?; and ii) The Multimillion-Dollar Machines at the Center of the U.S.-China Rivalry. Finally, For Biden, a Subtle Shift in the Power Balance With China's Xi Jinping is the headline of the article included in the "U.S." section.

In addition, eight articles may also be included under the category Economic and demographic challenges (3 appeared in the section "World", 3 in the "Opinion" section, and 2 in the "Business Day" section). The three articles included in the "Word" section have the following headlines: i) A Shrinking, Aging China May Have Backed Itself Into a Corner; ii) Desperate for Babies, China Races to Undo an Era of Birth Limits. Is It Too Late?; and iii) Why China's Shrinking Population Is a Problem for Everyone. The headlines of the three articles that appeared in the "Opinion" section are: i) China's Decline Became Undeniable This Week. Now What?; ii) How China Keeps Putting Off Its Lehman Moment; and iii) The Problems With China's Economy Start at the Top. Finally the headlines of the two articles in the "Business Day" section are: i) Can China Export Its Way Out of Its Economic Slump?; and ii) 'Peak China' (Post-Dynasty Version).

Moreover, under the category *Government intervention (censorship and crackdown)* we find two articles. One appeared in the "Opinion" section (*The Decade That Cannot Be Deleted*), and the other in the "Business Day" section (*Xi Jinping Is Asserting Tighter Control of Finance in China*).

One article may also be classified under the *Taiwan Issue* category. It appears in the "Opinion" section and has the following headline: *Why We Should Fear China More Than Middle Eastern War*.

Finally, to sum up the results of issue framing analysis in the years 2021, 2022, and 2022, the following tables have been created (*Table 1 and Table 2*).

According to the data on *Table 1*, we can state that the issue that got the most coverage on the NYT in the period studied (2021-2022) are the *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)*, followed by *Economic and demographic challenges*, *Government intervention* and *Covid* related news, *Taiwan Issue*, and, in the last place, *Human Rights*.

Table 1. Total No. of Articles, No. of Articles per year, and No. of Articles per section of the newspaper for each Main Topic, NYT (2021-2023).

Main Topic	Total No. of Articles (2021-2023)	No. of Articles per year	No. of Articles per section of the newspaper	
U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	34	2021: 10; 2022: 11; 2023: 13	Business Day: 3; Opinion: 17 ; U.S.: 2; World: 12	
Economic and demographic challenges	13	2021: 5; 2022: 0; 2023: 8	Business Day: 5; Opinion: 4; U.S.: 0; World: 4	
Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)	9	2021: 5 ; 2022: 2; 2023: 2	Business Day: 3; Opinion: 5; U.S.: 0; World: 1	
Covid	9	2021: 2; 2022: 7 ; 2023: 0	Business Day: 0; Opinion: 4; U.S.: 0; World: 5	
Taiwan Issue	5	2021: 2; 2022: 2 ; 2023: 1	Business Day: 0; Opinion: 2; U.S.: 0; World: 3	
Human Rights	2	2021: 0; 2022: 2 ; 2023: 0	Business Day: 0; Opinion: 2; U.S.: 0; World: 0	

Source: own elaboration

Table 2. Order of salience of the Main Topics per year, and per section of the newspaper, NYT (2021-2023). *The position of the Main Issues that have the background in the same color are interchangeable (same No. of Articles).

					*	
	Order of salience Main Topics					
Year	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
2021	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	Economic and demographic challenges*	Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)*	Covid*	Taiwan Issue*	/
2022	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	Covid	Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)*	Taiwan Issue*	Human Rights*	/
2023	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	Economic and demographic challenges	Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)	Taiwan Issue	/	/
Section of the newspaper	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Business Day	Economic and demographic challenges	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)*	Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)*	/	/	/
Opinion	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)	Economic and demographic challenges*	Covid*	Taiwan Issue*	Human Rights*
U.S.	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	/	/	/	/	/
World	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	Covid	Economic and demographic challenges	Taiwan Issue	Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)	/

Source: own elaboration

As we can see, in the three years studied, the most salient issue on China's news coverage by the NYT are the *U.S.-China relations*, followed by *Economic and demographic challenges* or *Government intervention* (2021), *Covid* (2022), and *Economic and demographic challenges* (2023). The same issue is the most salient in the different sections of the newspaper ("Opinion", "U.S.", and "World"), except for the "Business Day" section where the most prominent issue are the *Economic and demographic challenges*.

5.1.2. Sentiment Analysis, NYT (2021-2023)

The following graph (*Graph 4*) presents the results of the sentiment analysis carried out using the VADER tool for the two articles selected per month:



Graph 4. Sentiment score of the two articles selected per month, NYT (2021-2023)

Source: own elaboration

As we can appreciate, these articles have been divided in two series. *Series 1* include 36 articles, all of them appeared in the "Opinion" section of the NTY except for the ones of February 2021 and June 2023, that, as has already been explained previously in the methodology of this paper, appeared in the "Business Day" section. *Series 2* include another 36 articles, most of which appeared in the "World" or "Business Day" section, except for two (March 2021 and November 2023) that appeared in the "U.S." section of the NYT.

It may be highlighted that a negative tendency in the sentiment score can be seen in six specific periods of time:

a) <u>September 2021</u>: This may be explained by the negative consequences of China's Zero-Covid policies, as well as by its Real Estate and property crisis.

- b) <u>Between December 2021 and January 2022</u>: this may be explained by China's influence in the Hong Kong Legislative Council election that was held on 19 December 2021, and by the harsh consequences of the Zero-Covid policy (January 2022).
- b) March-April 2022: this may be explained also by China's disastrous effects of its Covid policy and the critics towards China's authoritarian rule comparing it to Russia's authoritarian rule as a consequence of the invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.
- c) <u>June 2022</u>: this may be explained by China's push to raise its profile in the Pacific Ocean through negotiations with the government of the Solomon Islands that could lead to a Chinese military presence in the country.
- d) <u>November 2022</u>: this is also motivated by China's Zero-Covid policy and the civil protests that took place that month due to the anger caused by it disastrous effects in the economy and the Chinese population.
- e) <u>April 2023</u>: this may be explained by Chinese demographic problems related with the decline in its population, and the fear for its implications not only in China, but also in the rest of the world.

So, as we can see there is a direct relation between the negative sentiment score in the news coverage of China in the NYT and China's actions that are seen by the U.S. as a challenge or threat. Also, there is no doubt on the fact that it is easier for the coverage of China's economic and demographic challenges, as well as the negative consequences of its Zero-Covid policy to present a negative sentiment score.

5.2. The Wall Street Journal

5.2.1. Issue Framing Analysis

In the same way as in the NYT, the first step to carry out this analysis in the WSJ consisted of identifying the number of articles per section ("Business/Economy", "Finance", "Technology", "World", and "Opinion") out of the 20 articles hand-picked from the 150 that appeared in the automated initial search for each month of the three years included in the study.

Monthly Distribution of Articles Across Sections (WSJ, 2021)

14

12

10

14

2

10

JAN FEB MAR APR MAY JUN JUL AUG SEP OCT NOV DEC

Month

Business/Economy Finance Technology World Opinion

Graph 5. Monthly Distribution of Articles Across Sections in the Wall Street Journal, 2021

Source: own elaboration

As we can see in *Graph 5*, out of the 240 articles hand-picked for the analysis of news coverage in the year 2021, 107 were included in the "World" section, 61 in the "Opinion" section, 49 in the "Finance" section, 12 in the "Business/Economy" section, and 11 in the "Technology" section. In addition, out of these 240 articles, 24 (two articles per month) were selected, attending to the criteria of relevance and representation, in order to identify the main issues that were covered in the news about China. In 2021, these 24 articles have been classified under 5 main topics: *U.S.-China relations* (power and trade war), Government intervention (censorship and crackdown), Economic and demographic challenges, Covid, and Taiwan issue.

In the category *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)* we find twelve articles (8 included in the "Opinion" section, and 4 in the "World" section) The eight articles included in the "Opinion" section have the following headlines: i) *Opinion: Beijing Fills the Mideast Vacuum*; ii) *Opinion: U.S. Diplomacy, China and Climate Change*; iii) *Opinion: Rare Truths About China's Rare Earths*; iv) *Opinion: John Kerry's Climate Kowtow*; v) *Opinion: Was Milton Friedman Wrong About China*?; vi) *Opinion: China's Afghanistan Taunt*; vii) *Opinion: 'Xi Jinping Thought' Makes China a Tougher Adversary*; and viii) *Opinion: China Will Soon Lead the U.S. in Tech.* In addition, the headlines of the four articles included in the "World" section are the following: i) *How Xi Jinping Is Reshaping China and What It Means for the West*; ii) *China's Message to America: We're an Equal Now*; iii) *Xi Warns China Won't Be Bullied as Communist Party Marks 100 Years*; and iv) *U.S.-China Climate Change Cooperation Driven by Biden and Xi's Need for Deal.*

Furthermore, in the category *Government intervention (censorship and crackdown)*, six articles may be included (3 under the "World" section, and 2 under the "Opinion" section, and 1 under the "Finance section"—this is the only article from the finance section selected in the whole analysis of the WS—). On the one hand, the three articles included in the "World" section have the following headlines: i) *China Rewrites Hong Kong Election Rules to Keep Opponents Out*; ii) *China Repackages Its History in Support of Xi's National Vision*; and iii) *China Passes One of the World's Strictest Data-Privacy Laws*. On the other hand, the headlines of the two articles included in the "Opinion" section are the following: i) *Opinion: China Takes Didi Investors for a Ride*; and ii) *Opinion: What Explains Xi's Pivot to the State?* Finally, the article under the "Finance" section has the following headline: *What if China's Property Crackdown Goes Overboard Too?*

In addition, four articles may also be included under the category *Economic and demographic challenges* (2 appeared in the section "World", and 2 in the "Opinion" section). The two articles included in the "World" section have the following headlines: i) *Chinese Consumers Are Opening Their Wallets Again*; and ii) *China's Energy Crisis Complicates Its Plans for Announcements Ahead of COP26*. The headline of the two articles that appeared in the "Opinion" section are: i) *Opinion: Xi Jinping's Achilles Heel*; and ii) *Opinion: China's Unstable Political Economy*.

Moreover, **one article may be included in the** *Covid* **category**. It appears under the "World" category and has the following title: *China Locks Down Xi'an, Issuing Stay-at-Home Order to 13 million*.

Finally, another **article may be included in the** *Taiwan issue* category. It also appears under the "World" category, and its headline is: *China Flies Warplanes Near Taiwan in Show of Force, Prompting U.S. Warning.*

Graph 6. Monthly Distribution of Articles Across Sections in the Wall Street Journal, 2022

Source: own elaboration

According to *Graph 6*, out of the 240 articles hand-picked for the analysis of news coverage in the year 2022, 123 were included in the "World" section, 52 in the "Opinion" section, 40 in the "Finance" section, 15 in the "Business/Economy" section, and 10 in the "Technology" section. In this case, apart from the five main topics mentioned in the analysis of the previous year, one additional main issue has been identified: *Human Rights*.

In the category *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)* we find ten articles (6 included in the "World" section, and 4 in the "Opinion" section) The six articles included in the "World" section have the following headlines: i) *China's Unspoken Winter Olympics Theme: 'We're Here, Get Used to It'*; ii) *China Pursues Afghanistan's Mineral Wealth After U.S. Exit*; iii) *Is China Helping Russia? Beijing-Moscow Relations Explained;* iv) *China's Economy Won't Overtake the U.S., Some Now Predict*; v) *China's Xi Claims Third Term as Communist Party Leader*; and vi) *China Turns to Back-Channel Diplomacy to Shore Up U.S. Ties.* In addition, the headlines of the four articles included in the "Opinion" section are the following: i) *Opinion: The Chinese Navy's Great Leap Forward*; ii) *Opinion: Chips and the China Challenge*; iii) *Opinion: China Hit Some Bumps on Its Road to Semiconductor Dominance*; and iv) *Opinion: How China Abuses U.S. Diplomats.*

In addition, five articles may also be included under the category *Economic and demographic challenges* (3 appeared in the section "Opinion", and 2 in the "World" section). The three articles included in the "Opinion" section have the following headlines: i) *Opinion: China's Economic Downturn Gives Rise to a Winter of Discontent*; ii) *Opinion: Xi Jinping Scrambles as China's Economy Stumbles*; and iii) *Opinion: China's Xi Jinping Economic*

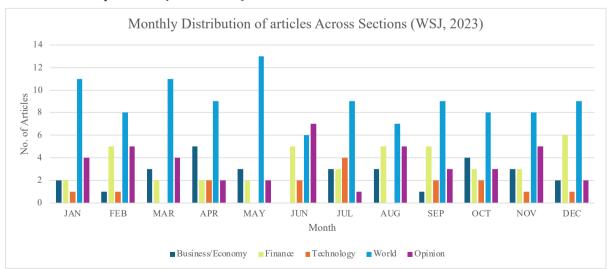
Slump. The headline of the two articles that appeared in the "World" section are: i) China's Trade Slows as Demand Drops and Lockdowns Hit Supply Chains; and ii) China's Economy Returns to Growth Mode as Covid-19 Lockdowns Lift.

Furthermore, in the category *Covid*, another five articles may be included (3 under the "Opinion" section, and 2 under the "World" section). On the one hand, the three articles included in the "Opinion" section have the following headlines: i) *Opinion: China's Next Contagion?*; ii) *Opinion: China Pays a Zero-Covid Price*; and iii) *Opinion: China's Revolt Against Zero-Covid*. On the other hand, the headlines of the two articles included in the "World" section are the following: i) *China Covid-19 Cases Hit Two-Month High;* and ii) *China's Workers Are Calling In Sick With Covid After Beijing's U-Turn*.

Moreover, under the category *Taiwan Issue* we find two articles. One appeared in the "Opinion" section (*Opinion: To Deter China, Taiwan Must Prepare for War*), and the other in the "World" section (*China Extends Military Exercises as Taiwan Battles Cyberattacks*)

One article may be included in the Government intervention (censorship and crackdown) category. It appears under the "World" category and has the following headline: China's Communist Party Quietly Inserts Itself Into Everyday Life.

Finally, another **article may be included in the** *Human Rights* category. It also appears under the "Opinion" category, and its headline is: *Opinion: Olympics Heighten Oppression in China*.



Graph 7. Monthly Distribution of Articles Across Sections in the Wall Street Journal, 2023.

Source: own elaboration

As *Graph 7* shows, out of the 240 articles hand-picked for the analysis of news coverage in the year 2023, 108 were included in the "World" section, 43 in the "Opinion" section, 43 in the "Finance" section, 30 in the "Business/Economy" section, and 16 in the "Technology" section. In this case, the 24 analyzed have been classified under 4 categories: *U.S.-China relations* (power and trade war), Government intervention (censorship and crackdown), Economic and demographic challenges, and Taiwan issue. Not Covid, nor Human Rights appeared this year among the most prominent issues.

In the category *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)* we find eleven articles (6 included in the "Opinion" section, and 5 in the "World" section) The six articles included in the "Opinion" section have the following headlines: i) *Opinion: Why China Will Never Lead on Tech*; ii) *Opinion: Like It or Not, the U.S. Is in a Nuclear Arms Race With China*; iii) *Opinion: How to Compete With China on Technology*; iv) *Opinion: Competing With China in the Pacific*; v) *Opinion: China's Military Provocations*; and vi) *Opinion: Placating Xi Won't Change China's Behavior*. In addition, the headlines of the five articles included in the "World" section are the following: i) *China Sticks Close to Russia as It Makes Diplomatic Push*; ii) *China Is Starting to Act Like a Global Power*; iii) *Biden Calls Xi a Dictator, Jeopardizing U.S.-China Thaw*; iv) *How China Came to Dominate the World's Largest Nickel Source for Electric Cars*, and v) *U.S., China Militaries Start Talking Again After a Dangerous Rupture*.

In addition, seven articles may also be included under the category Economic and demographic challenges (4 appeared in the section "World", and 3 in the "Opinion" section). The four articles included in the "World" section have the following headlines: i) In China, Xi Jinping Faces a Difficult Year on Several Fronts; ii) China's Fading Recovery Reveals Deeper Economic Struggles; iii) China's Economy Faces Deepening Troubles in Years Ahead; and iv) China's Problem With Unfinished Homes Keeps Getting Bigger. The headline of the three articles that appeared in the "Opinion" section are: i) Opinion: China's Population Challenge—and America's; ii) Opinion: China's Economy Hits the Skids, and iii) China's Largest Surviving Developer Hits Debt Crisis.

Furthermore, in the category *Government intervention (censorship and crackdown)*, three articles may be included (2 under the "World" section, and 1 under the "Opinion" section). On the one hand, the two articles included in the "World" section have the following headlines: i) *China Turns to Well-Honed Playbook: Cut Rates, Hide Data*; and ii) *China Is Investing Billions in Global Disinformation Campaign, U.S. Says.* On the other hand, the headline of the

article included in the "Opinion" section is: *Opinion: China Prepares to Crack Down on 'Hurt Feelings'*.

Three articles may be included in the *Taiwan issue* category. Two appeared in the "Opinion" section: i) *Opinion: How China Could Turn Crisis to Catastrophe*, and ii) *Opinion: Sen. Dan Sullivan on How to Deter a Chinese Invasion of Taiwan*. One appeared in the "World" section: *China Concludes Military Exercises Encircling Taiwan*.

Finally, as it was done in the analysis of the *New York Times*, to sum up the results of issue framing analysis in the years 2021, 2022, and 2022, the following tables have been created (*Table 3 and Table 4*):

Table 3. Total No. of Articles, No. of Articles per year, and No. of Articles per section of the newspaper for each Main Topic, WSJ (2021-2023).

Main Topic	Total No. of Articles (2021-2023)	No. of Articles per year	No. of Articles per section of the newspape	
U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	33	2021: 12 ; 2022: 10; 2023: 11	Opinion: 10; World: 11	
Economic and demographic challenges	16	2021: 4; 2022: 5; 2023: 7	Opinion: 8; World: 8	
Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)	10	2021: 6 ; 2022: 1; 2023: 3	Opinion: 3; World: 6; Finance: 1*	
Covid	6	2021: 1; 2022: 5 ; 2023: 0	Opinion: 3; World: 3	
Taiwan Issue	6	2021: 1; 2022: 2; 2023: 3	Opinion: 3; World: 3	
Human Rights	1	2021: 0; 2022: 1 ; 2023: 0	Opinion: 1; World: 0	

Source: own elaboration

According to the data on *Table 3*, we can state that the issue that got the most coverage on the WSJ in the period studied (2021-2022) are the *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)*, followed by *Economic and demographic challenges*, *Government intervention*, *Covid* and the *Taiwan Issue*, and, in the last place, *Human Rights*.

Table 4. Order of salience of the Main Topics per year, and per section of the newspaper, WSJ (2021-2023). *The position of the Main Issues that have the background in the same color are interchangeable (same No. of Articles).

	Order of salience Main Topics					
Year	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
2021	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)	Economic and demographic challenges	Covid*	Taiwan Issue*	/
2022	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	Economic and demographic challenges*	Covid*	Taiwan Issue	Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)*	Human Rights*
2023	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	Economic and demographic challenges	Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)*	Taiwan Issue*	/	/
Section of the newspaper	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Opinion	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	Economic and demographic challenges	Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)*	Covid*	Taiwan Issue*	Human Rights
World	U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	Economic and demographic challenges	Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)	Covid*	Taiwan Issue*	/

Source: own elaboration

As we can see, in the three years studied, the most salient issue on China's news coverage by the WSJ are the *U.S.-China relations*, followed by *Government intervention* (2021) *Economic and demographic challenges* or *Covid* (2022), and *Economic and demographic challenges* (2023). The same issue is the most salient in the different sections of the newspaper ("Opinion", and "World").

5.2.2. Sentiment analysis, WSJ (2021-2023)

The following graph (*Graph 8*) presents the results of the sentiment analysis carried out using the VADER tool for the two articles selected per month:

Graph 8. Sentiment score of the two articles selected per month, WSJ (2021-2023)...



Source: own elaboration

In this case, the 36 articles included in *Series 1*, appeared in the "Opinion" section of the Wall Street Journal. As it has already been explained in the methodology of this paper, almost all the articles included in *Series 2* appeared in the "World" section of the newspaper, except for the one of September 2021, which appeared in the "Finance" section.

A negative sentiment score can be identified in the following months:

- a) <u>February 2021</u>: this may be explained by the tense relations between the U.S. and China on climate change.
- b) October 2021: this may also be explained in part by the international climate expectations on China complicated by its energy crisis, as well as by the economic problems such as the real estate crisis that challenge China's aim of confronting U.S. pre-eminence.
- c) November 2022 (neutral with a negative tendency): in the same way as in the NYT, this is explained by the protests that surged in China due to the anger and frustration derived from long term lockdowns as a consequence of the Zero-Covid policy.
- d) <u>September-October 2023</u>: this may be explained by Chinese government intervention and control of information, specifically referred to a global disinformation campaign, as well as by the devastating consequences that a war in Taiwan could have for the economies not only in Asia, but around world. Furthermore, the salience of the Taiwan issue in October 2023 may be explained by the fact that a Chinese coast guard vessel and another Chinese ship had run into a Philippine supply boat and coast guard ship in international waters claimed by China around the Spratly Islands (this action was condemned as a violation of international law by the State Department).

5.3. Comparison between both newspapers

To conclude the discussion of the results of the analysis carried out to study the news coverage of China both in the New York Times and in the Wall Street Journal, between 2021 and 2023, *Tables 5* and 6 have been created:

Table 5. Summary results issue salience and sentiment analysis, NYT (2021-2023).

Main Issue	No. Art.	Sentiment average	Std. Dev.	Average 2021	N 2021	Average 2022	N 2022	Average 2023	N 2023
Covid	9	-0,752	0,441	-0,353	2	-0,866	7		0
Taiwan	5	-0,199	1,082	0,004	2	-0,003	2	-0,999	1
Human Rights	2	0,002	1,410		0	0,002	2		0
Government Intervention	9	0,256	0,932	0,063	5	0,997	2	-0,00045	2
Economy & Demography	13	0,309	0,881	0,139	5		0	0,415	8
U.SChina Relations	34	0,625	0,718	0,583	10	0,587	11	0,689	13
Total	72	0,275	0,892	0,256	24	0,100	24	0,470	24

Source: own elaboration

Table 6. Summary results issue salience and sentiment analysis, WSJ (2021-2023).

Main Issue	No. Art	Sentiment Average	Std. Dev.	Average 2021	N 2021	Average 2022	N 2022	Average 2023	N 2023
Human Rights	1	-0,997	0,000		0	-0,997	1		0
Covid	6	-0,126	0,745	-0,9541	1	0,040	5		0
Taiwan	6	-0,016	1,029	0,936	1	-0,067	2	-0,300	3
Economy & Demography	16	0,030	0,890	-0,198	4	0,158	5	0,068	7
Government Internvention	10	0,278	0,912	0,646	6	0,999	1	-0,700	3
U.SChina Relations	33	0,461	0,819	0,464	12	0,393	10	0,519	11
Total	72	0,231	0,872	0,360	24	0,199	24	0,133	24

Source: own elaboration

On the one hand, regarding the issue framing analysis, we can establish that in both newspapers the *U.S.-China relations* (power and trade war) is the most prominent issue. In both cases we also find *Economic and demographic challenges* in the second position, and *Government Intervention* (censorship and crackdown) in the third position. *Human Rights* is in both newspapers the less prominent issue. The main difference between both newspapers is that in the NYT Covid related news have more coverage that those related to the Taiwan issue, while in the WSJ both have the same coverage.

On the other hand, regarding the sentiment analysis, we can conclude that even though the sentiment average is very similar in both cases, the overall portrayal of China in the NTY is slightly more positive (0.275) than in the WSJ (0.231). Both the *Taiwan Issue* and *Covid* present a negative average sentiment in both newspapers, being more negative in the NYT. Furthermore, while the *Human Rights* issue present the most negative sentiment average in the WSJ (only one article included under this category), in the NYT its sentiment average is positive, but very close to neutral (0.002). This may be clarified by looking at the standard deviation (1.410), which explains that both articles are very polarized being in one case the sentiment very positive, and in the other very negative (it is also relevant to consider that in the WSJ there is only one article classified under the *Human Rights* category). A great polarization

may also be identified among the articles included under the *Taiwan Issue* category in the NYT (standard deviation of 1.084>1) and in the WSJ (standard deviation of 1.029>1). It is also precise to underline the fact that apart from being the most positively portrayed in both newspapers, the average sentiment score of all the articles included under the *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)*, reach its most positive point in 2023, the year in which the U.S. and China finally concluded their rapprochement, culminating with a Xi-Biden summit in the month of November, as well as the restoration of dialogue between both militaries after a 16-month rupture (Lubold, 2023).

Finally, one last table has been created where the main sub-themes per Main Topic have been identified after analyzing the headlines of the 72 articles used for the study retrieved from each newspaper. As we can see, no difference may be highlighted between the coverage of the different Main Topics in the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal, as the sub-themes are very similar in both cases:

Table 7. Main sub-themes identified for each Main Topic, NYT and WSJ (2021-2023)

	Main Su	b-themes	
Main Topic	The New York Times	The Wall Street Journal	
U.SChina Relations (power and trade war)	Political and Military Tensions; Economic and Trade Conflicts; Diplomatic and Global Influence; Leadership and Domestic Policies; and U.S. Policy and Strategic Responses	Geopolitical Influence and Diplomacy; Leadership and Domestic Policies; Economic and Technological Competition; Military and Strategic Tensions; and Climate Change and Environmental Policy	
Economic and demographic challenges	Population Decline and Aging Demographics; Economic Slowdown and Structural Issues; Real Estate Crisis; Policy Responses and Government Actions; and Global Implications of China's Economic Changes	Economic Slowdown and Structural Challenges; Leadership and Policy Responses; Real Estate and Debt Crisis; Consumer Behavior and Domestic Demand; and Energy Crisis and Environmental Challenges	
Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)	Crackdown on Dissent and Public Figures; Censhorship and Control of Information; Political Control and Electoral Manipulation; Impact on Business and Economic Activities; and International Responses and Propaganda	Political Control and Electoral Manipulation; Historical Revisionism and Nationalism; Data Privacy and Information Control; Economic Crackdown and State Intervention; and Suppression of Dissent and Control over Public Sentiment	
Covid	Zero-Covid Policy and Its Sustainability; Impact and Public Response to Lockdown; Policy Shifts and Government Adaptations; Comparative Analysis and Criticism of Leadership; and Future Outlook and Long-Term Effects	Zero-Covid Policy and its Consequences; Lockdowns and Government Measures; Public Health and Outbreaks; Policy Shifts and Adaptations, and Economic and Social Impact	
Taiwan Issue	Military Tensions and Show of Force; U.S. Involvement and Policy Stance; China's Military Exercices and Taiwan's Response; Strategic Importance and Global Implications; Statements and Warnings from Chinese Officials	Military Exercises and Show of Force; U.S. Involvement and Warning; Preparedness and Deterrence; Cybersecurity and Hybrid Warfare; and Risk of Escalation and Global Impact	
Human Rights	Crimes and abuses against Uyghurs in XinJiang; International Condemnation and Call for Action; Freedom of Expression and Political Dissent; Ethnic and Religious Persecution; and Olympic Boycott	Freedom of expression; Opression; Call for Boycott of the Olympics; Crimes and abuses angainst Uyghurs and other communities	

Source: own elaboration

5.4. Limitations of the study

One significant limitation of this study is the relatively small number of selected articles, which may undermine the robustness and reliability of the results. This constrained sample size restricts the generalizability of the findings and may not fully capture the diversity of perspectives present in the broader discourse. Additionally, the selection process was conducted personally, and despite adhering to established criteria of prominence and relevance, the possibility of personal bias cannot be entirely excluded. This subjective element could have influenced the inclusion or exclusion of certain articles, thereby affecting the study's outcomes. Consequently, for future research, it is recommended to not only encompass a broader range of newspapers but also to consider a substantially larger number of articles. This approach would enhance the comprehensiveness and validity of the findings, ensuring a more representative and unbiased analysis of the topic under investigation.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Walter Lippmann (1922) highlighted the influence of media and elite discourse on public political knowledge. Studies have confirmed that media representations significantly shape public opinion on foreign nations (Karlsson, 2011; Norris, 2009). Historically, China has been portrayed negatively, but the normalization of U.S.-China diplomatic relations in 1979 led to a brief period of more favorable portrayals (Turner, 2014). These media representations are crucial in shaping and justifying U.S. policies, with positive imagery corresponding to stable diplomatic relations and negative imagery to periods of tension (Buzan & Wæver, 2003; de Buitrago, 2012; Steuter & Wills, 2010). Since 2018, U.S.-China relations have deteriorated due to factors such as the COVID-19 pandemic, territorial disputes, trade conflicts, and technological competition, reinforcing negative portrayals of China (Ooi & D'Arcangelis, 2017). Nonetheless, 2023 has seen efforts to mitigate tensions, highlighted by the summit between Presidents Joe Biden and Xi Jinping in November.

After contextualizing and analyzing the relations between China and the United States over the last decades, highlighting the current China of Xi Jinping and the trade war with the U.S., as well as reviewing the literature behind the agenda setting theory and the framing theory in relation to our object of study; this paper has sought to answer the following question: whether and how the portrayal of China on U.S. newspapers, across a three-year period, can differ between periods of escalation and de-escalation of political tension?

Thus, in the first place, we have intended to analyze how China is 'framed' in the news, according to the issues covered and the sections of the newspaper where they are presented (first specific objective). To this aim, we have been able to categorize the 72 articles selected (24 per year) under six main issues: *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)*, *Government intervention (censorship and crackdown)*, *Economic and demographic challenges*, *Covid*, *Taiwan issue*, *and Human Rights*. Therefore, with regard to the issue framing analysis, we have been able to establish that both in the NYT and the WSJ, the *U.S.-China relations (power and trade war)* is the most prominent issue. In both cases we also find *Economic and demographic challenges* in the second position, and *Government Intervention (censorship and crackdown)* in the third position. *Human Rights* is in both newspapers the less prominent issue. The main difference between both newspapers is that in the NYT Covid related news have more coverage that those related to the *Taiwan issue*, while in the WSJ both have the same coverage.

Furthermore, we have been able to see how the salience of the *Covid* category reached its highest point in 2022 in both the NYT (7 articles) and the WSJ (5 articles). Another similarity may be found with regards to the salience of the *Human Rights* category, which only appears in 2022 in both newspapers. In addition, the salience of articles classified under the *Government intervention* category in both newspapers, also reached its highest point in the same year (2021). Therefore, we cannot establish a correlation between issue salience and the political tendency of each newspaper.

Moreover, the second part of the news coverage analysis has aimed at analyzing the 'sentiment' present in the news articles, for the different main issues identified (second specific objective). Thus, a comparative sentiment analysis between the NYT and the WSJ has revealed nuanced portrayals of China, reflecting their respective editorial tendencies and response to global events. The overall portrayal of China in the NYT is slightly more positive (0.275) than in the WSJ (0.231), although both of them may be considered neutral (below 0.5). Both newspapers depict the *Taiwan issue* and *Covid* negatively, with the NYT showing a more negative stance. The WSJ's most negative sentiment is associated with the *Human Rights* issue, though only one article falls into this category, while the NYT's coverage is neutral (0.002), explained by the high polarization between its articles (Standard deviation = 1.410).

The NYT's negative sentiment scores can be attributed to several key periods, reflecting China's actions perceived as challenges or threats by the U.S. These include negative reactions to China's Zero-Covid policies and real estate crisis in September 2021, the Hong Kong Legislative Council election and continued Zero-Covid repercussions in December 2021 and January 2022, comparisons of China's authoritarianism to Russia's post-Ukraine invasion in March-April 2022, strategic movements in the Pacific Ocean in June 2022, civil protests against Zero-Covid policies in November 2022, and demographic concerns in April 2023.

Similarly, the WSJ shows a negative sentiment during distinct periods: tense U.S.-China relations over climate change in February 2021, economic and energy crises in October 2021, protests against Zero-Covid policies in November 2022 (mirroring the NYT), and concerns over Chinese disinformation campaigns and potential conflict in Taiwan in September-October 2023. The Taiwan issue is notably highlighted by an incident involving Chinese and Philippine vessels in October 2023, condemned by the U.S. as a violation of international law.

Despite ongoing tensions, 2023 saw efforts to reduce hostilities, culminating in a summit between Presidents Joe Biden and Xi Jinping in November, where the portrayal of U.S.-China relations reached its most positive point in both newspapers. This alignment of sentiment indicates that diplomatic rapprochement can positively influence media coverage, specifically in the case of the NYT (its average sentiment score raised from 0.100 in 2022 to 0.470 in 2023). However, both newspapers continue to reflect critical views on specific contentious issues.

Thus, in order to conclude, we may establish that the main hypothesis of this work has only been partially verified. While it has not been possible to relate the 'framing' present in the portrayal of China on U.S. news with the political ideology and interests of the media, this may have been possible in the case of the 'sentiment' present in the portrayal of China of U.S. news. Relating this to our second hypothesis (the portrayal of China on U.S. news should become less negative as de-escalation of political tension takes place), we have been able to establish that in 2023, when de-escalation of political tensions between the U.S. and China took place, the average sentiment score of the news coverage in the NYT significantly increased. Thus, although it remained neutral (0.470) it had a much more positive tendency than in the previous year. Therefore, as it has happened with the first hypothesis, the second one has also been partially verified.

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APPENDIX

In the first place, a complete list of the 72 articles of *The New York Times* (2021-2023) used to carry out both the issue framing analysis and the sentiment analysis is provided. It includes details about the date, section in the newspaper, assigned topic (*Main Issue*), and sentiment score:

Date	Section	Subject / Main Topic	Headline /Title	Sentiment score
		U.SChina		
30/01/2021	Opinion	Relations	Biden's Nightmare May Be China	-0.9984
			China Sends Warplanes to Taiwan Strait in a	
24/01/2021		Taiwan	Show of Force to Biden	0.9813
	Business	Government	China Persecutes Those Who Question 'Heroes.'	
26/02/2021	Day	Intervention	A Sleuth Keeps Track.	-0.9994
0.5/0.0/0.001	*** 11	U.SChina	Power, Patriotism and 1.4 Billion People: How	0.000
05/02/2021	World	Relations	China Beat the Virus and Roared Back	0.999
10/02/2021	0	U.SChina	M D'I E INVII E I E I	0.0062
19/03/2021	Opinion	Relations	Mr. Biden, Enough With the Tough Talk on China	0.9962
10/02/2021	II C	U.SChina	In First Talks, Dueling Accusations Set Testy	0.1073
19/03/2021	U.S.	Relations	Tone for U.SChina Diplomacy	0.1973
20/04/2021	0	Government	L. d. M. T 1 Cl The Community Full	0.0001
28/04/2021	Opinion	Intervention	Jack Ma Taunted China. Then Came His Fall.	0.9981
27/04/2021	W1.d	Economy &	A Graying China May Have to Put Off	0.0220
27/04/2021		Demography	Retirement. Workers Aren't Happy.	-0.9329
05/05/2021	1	Taiwan	Biden's Taiwan Policy Is Truly, Deeply Reckless	-0.9735
	Business	Economy &	China's 'Long-Term Time Bomb': Falling Births	
11/05/2021	Day	Demography	Stunt Population Growth	0.9928
		Economy &	The Real Reason Behind China's Three-Child	
07/06/2021	Opinion	Demography	Policy	0.9738
		U.SChina	Shifting Focus, NATO Views China as a Global	
14/06/2021	World	Relations	Security Challenge	0.8747
		Government	The Crackdown in China Is a Hot Mess, and It's	
20/07/2021	Opinion	Intervention	Coming for Us	0.9753
01/05/0001	*** 11	U.SChina	Marking Party's Centennial, Xi Warns That China	0.000
01/07/2021	World	Relations	Will Not Be Bullied	0.9998
20/00/2021	0	U.SChina	In Afghanistan, China Is Ready to Step Into the	0.0004
20/08/2021	-	Relations	Void	0.9994
04/08/2021	World	COVID	China grapples with its worst outbreak in a year.	-0.9387
			China Doesn't Want to 'Live With' Covid. But It	
07/09/2021		COVID	May Have To.	0.2328
	Business	Economy &	Beyond Evergrande's Troubles, a Slowing	
22/09/2021	Day	Demography	Chinese Economy	-0.9625
		U.SChina	China's Bullying Is Becoming a Danger to the	
20/10/2021		Relations	World and Itself	0.9986
	Business	Economy &	China's Economy Continues to Slow, Rattled by	
18/10/2021	Day	Demography	Real Estate and Energy	0.6236
		U.SChina		
15/11/2021	Opinion	Relations	Why Is China Building Up Its Nuclear Arsenal?	0.9908
		U.SChina	Taiwan, Trade, Tech and More: A Tense Era in	
15/11/2021	World	Relations	U.SChina Ties	-0.23
		Government	China Really Wants People to Vote in Hong	
18/12/2021	Opinion	Intervention	Kong's Election	0.1163
	Business	Government	Twitter and Facebook hit back at Chinese	
02/12/2021	Day	Intervention	propaganda campaigns.	-0.7778

25/01/2022	Oninion	COVID	China's Zero-Covid Policy Is a Pandemic Waiting to Happen	-0.2465
			China Holds the Line on 'Zero Covid,' but Some	
21/01/2022		COVID	Wonder for How Long	-0.9323
13/02/2022		Human Rights	Why the Beijing Olympics Are So Hard to Watch	0.9992
/ /	Business	U.SChina	Before Ukraine Invasion, Russia and China	
26/02/2022		Relations	Cemented Economic Ties	0.9972
17/03/2022	Opinion	COVID	Another Dictator Is Having a Bad Year	-0.9902
		U.SChina	China Sees at Least One Winner Emerging From	
14/03/2022	World	Relations	Ukraine War: China	-0.8456
10/01/2000		U.SChina	China and Russia Are Giving Authoritarianism a	
19/04/2022	Opinion	Relations	Bad Name	-0.9987
29/04/2022	World	COVID	Under Lockdown in China	-0.9993
		U.SChina		
30/05/2022	Opinion	Relations	Russia or China? The U.S. Has a Choice to Make.	0.923
		U.SChina	Why China Is Miles Ahead in a Pacific Race for	
31/05/2022	World	Relations	Influence	0.9991
27/2/2022		U.SChina	Can You Blame Poor Countries Like Mine for	0.4004
27/06/2022	Opinion	Relations	Turning to China?	0.4304
10/06/0000	*** 11	m :	China Won't Hesitate to Fight for Taiwan,	0.0066
12/06/2022	World	Taiwan	Defense Minister Warns	-0.9966
21/07/2022		Government		0.0072
21/07/2022	Opinion	Intervention	I Was Wrong About Chinese Censorship	0.9973
01/07/2022	3371.1	Government	Xi Tells a Muted Hong Kong That Political Power	0.0074
01/07/2022	World	Intervention	Is for Patriots	0.9974
06/09/2022	0-:-:	U.SChina	The U.S. Relationship With China Does Not Need	0.0000
06/08/2022	Opinion	Relations	to Be So Tense As China Vows More Military Exercises, Taiwan	0.9988
11/08/2022	World	Taiwan	Is Undeterred	0.001
11/08/2022	world	Taiwan	Why China's Crimes in Xinjiang Cannot Go	0.991
30/09/2022	Opinion	Human Rights	Unpunished	-0.9951
30/09/2022	Opinion	U.SChina	China's Leader Emerges From Covid Bubble for	-0.9931
14/09/2022	World	Relations	First Foreign Trip Since 2020	0.9824
1 1/05/2022	World	U.SChina	How China Is Fighting the Chip War With	0.9021
28/10/2022	Opinion	Relations	America	0.9993
	1	U.SChina	China's Leader Now Wields Formidable Power.	
23/10/2022	World	Relations	Who Will Say No to Him?	0.9965
29/11/2022		COVID	How China Lost the Covid War	-0.8978
29/11/2022	Opinion	COVID	China Protests Break Out as Covid Cases Surge	-0.0976
28/11/2022	World	COVID	and Lockdowns Persist	-0.9963
20/11/2022	World	U.SChina	and Bookdowns Fersist	0.5505
23/12/2022	Opinion	Relations	China's Future Isn't What It Used to Be	0.9759
20/12/2022	оринен	11010010	From Zero Covid to No Plan: Behind China's	0.5,05
19/12/2022	World	COVID	Pandemic U-Turn	-0.9991
		Economy &	China's Decline Became Undeniable This Week.	
18/01/2023	Opinion	Demography	Now What?	0.9248
	•	Economy &	A Shrinking, Aging China May Have Backed	
18/01/2023	World	Demography	Itself Into a Corner	0.9933
		U.SChina		
11/02/2023	Opinion	Relations	Does China Have a Spy Balloon Strategy?	0.9936
		Economy &	Desperate for Babies, China Races to Undo an Era	
26/02/2023	World	Demography	of Birth Limits. Is It Too Late?	0.9838
		Economy &	How China Keeps Putting Off Its Lehman	
26/03/2023	Opinion	Demography	Moment	-0.998
		U.SChina	In a Brother Act With Putin, Xi Reveals China's	
22/03/2023	World	Relations	Fear of Containment	0.9927
10/04/5===		U.SChina		0 00=1
12/04/2023	Opinion	Relations	How to Avoid a War With China	-0.9973

		Economy &	Why China's Shrinking Population Is a Problem	
19/04/2023	World	Demography	for Everyone	0.2481
		Government		
18/05/2023	Opinion	Intervention	The Decade That Cannot Be Deleted	-0.9985
		U.SChina	As the U.S. Attends the G7, China Hosts a	
18/05/2023	World	Relations	Summit of Its Own	0.9902
	Business	Economy &	Can China Export Its Way Out of Its Economic	
28/06/2023	Day	Demography	Slump?	0.9702
	Ž	U.SChina	Hosting Palestinian Leader, Xi Pushes China as a	
14/06/2023	World	Relations	Peacemaker for Israel	0.998
		U.SChina		
18/07/2023	Opinion	Relations	A Look Back at Our Future War With China	-0.9761
		U.SChina	Frustrated by Biden, China Courts 'Old Friends'	
20/07/2023	World	Relations	Like Kissinger	0.9983
		Economy &	The Problems With China's Economy Start at the	
26/08/2023	Opinion	Demography	Тор	0.9979
	Business	Economy &		
18/08/2023	Day	Demography	'Peak China' (Post-Dynasty Version)	-0.797
		U.SChina		
07/09/2023	Opinion	Relations	China's Military Is Going Global	0.9971
	Business	U.SChina	China Is Full of Risks. So Why Can't Corporate	
08/09/2023	Day	Relations	America Leave?	0.9746
			Why We Should Fear China More Than Middle	
21/10/2023	Opinion	Taiwan	Eastern War	-0.9991
	Business	U.SChina	The Multimillion-Dollar Machines at the Center of	
20/10/2023	Day	Relations	the U.SChina Rivalry	0.9982
		U.SChina		
14/11/2023	Opinion	Relations	Farewell to the U.SChina Golden Age	0.9962
		U.SChina	For Biden, a Subtle Shift in the Power Balance	
16/11/2023	U.S.	Relations	With China's Xi Jinping	0.9949
		U.SChina		
06/12/2023	Opinion	Relations	Kissinger Was Right About China, and He Still Is	0.9988
	Business	Government	Xi Jinping Is Asserting Tighter Control of Finance	_
05/12/2023	Day	Intervention	in China	0.9976

In addition, a table with URL web links to the articles of the NYT listed above is also provided. Articles may be directly accessed through the hyperlinks (in the PDF/Word versions of the document):

Date	URL
30/01/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/30/opinion/sunday/foreign-policy-china.html
24/01/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/24/world/asia/china-taiwan-strait-exercise-biden.html
26/02/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/26/business/china-online-censorship.html
05/02/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/05/world/asia/china-covid-economy.html
19/03/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/19/opinion/us-china-biden.html
19/03/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/18/us/politics/china-blinken-sullivan.html
28/04/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/opinion/jack-ma-china-ant.html
27/04/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/27/world/asia/china-retirement-aging.html
05/05/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/05/opinion/biden-taiwan-china.html
11/05/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/10/china-census-births-fall.html
07/06/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/07/opinion/china-three-child-policy.html

14/06/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/14/world/europe/biden-nato-china-russia.html
20/07/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/20/opinion/china-xi-didi-biden-facebook.html
01/07/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/01/world/asia/xi-china-communist-party-anniversary.html
20/08/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/20/opinion/china-afghanistan-taliban.html
0.4/0.0/0.001	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/04/world/china-grapples-with-its-worst-outbreak-in-a-
04/08/2021	
07/09/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/07/opinion/China-covid-pandemic-delta.html
22/09/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/22/business/economy/china-economy-evergrande.html
20/10/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/opinion/china-microchips.html
18/10/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/17/business/economy/china-economy-gdp.html https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/15/opinion/we-need-to-pay-attention-to-chinas-
15/11/2021	nuclear-build-up.html
15/11/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/article/us-china-tensions-explained.html
18/12/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/18/opinion/hong-kong-election.html
02/12/2021	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/02/business/facebook-twitter-china-propaganda.html
25/01/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/25/opinion/china-covid-19.html
21/01/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/21/world/asia/china-zero-covid-policy.html
13/02/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/13/opinion/culture/beijing-olympics-inspiring-moments.html
26/02/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/26/business/china-russia-ukraine.html
17/03/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/17/opinion/china-russia-xi-jin-ping.html
14/03/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/14/world/asia/china-russia-ukraine.html
19/04/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/18/opinion/china-russia-putin.html
29/04/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/04/29/world/asia/shanghai-lockdown.html
30/05/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/30/opinion/china-us-russia-strategy.html
31/05/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/31/world/australia/china-united-states-pacific.html
27/06/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/27/opinion/international-world/china-us-solomon.html
12/06/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/12/world/asia/china-taiwan-us.html
21/07/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/21/opinion/thomas-friedman-china.html
01/07/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/01/world/asia/xi-jinping-hong-kong-china.html
06/08/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/06/opinion/pelosi-taiwan-biden-china-policy.html
11/00/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/11/world/asia/china-taiwan-drills-economy-
11/08/2022	military.html https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/30/opinion/international-world/china-human-rights-
30/09/2022	xinjiang-un.html
14/09/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/world/asia/xi-jinping-putin-china.html
28/10/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/opinion/china-america-chip-tech-war.html
23/10/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/23/world/asia/xi-jinping-china-loyalists.html
29/11/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/28/opinion/china-covid-autocracy-democracy.html
28/11/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/article/china-covid-protests.html
23/12/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/22/opinion/china-future-growth.html
19/12/2022	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/19/world/asia/china-zero-covid-xi-jinping.html
18/01/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/17/opinion/china-population-decline.html
18/01/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/18/world/asia/china-population-politics.html
11/02/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/10/opinion/china-spy-balloon.html

26/02/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/26/world/asia/china-birth-rate.html
0.5/0.0/0.000	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/26/opinion/china-finance-banking-evergrande-
26/03/2023	crisis.html
22/03/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/22/world/asia/china-xi-putin-ukraine.html
12/04/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/opinion/china-usa-war-avoid.html
19/04/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/19/world/asia/china-population-india.html
18/05/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/18/opinion/columnists/cultural-revolution-chinacensor.html
18/05/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/18/world/asia/china-central-asia-g7.html
28/06/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/28/business/china-exports-economy.html
14/06/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/14/world/asia/china-mahmoud-abbas-xi-jinping.html
18/07/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/18/opinion/china-usa-relations-books-war.html
20/07/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/20/world/asia/china-kissinger-visit-us.html
26/08/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/26/opinion/china-economy-xi-jinping.html
18/08/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/08/18/business/shoptalk-peak-china.html
07/09/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/07/opinion/china-military-strategy-global.html
08/09/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/08/business/china-us-business.html
21/10/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/21/opinion/china-taiwan-war.html
20/10/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/20/business/economy/us-china-chip-manufacturing-asml.html
14/11/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/14/opinion/china-biden-xi.html
16/11/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/16/us/politics/biden-xi-china-power-balance.html
06/12/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/06/opinion/kissinger-china-legacy.html
05/12/2023	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/05/business/china-finance-xi-jinping.html

Finally, a complete list of the 72 articles of *The Wall Street Journal* (2021-2023) used to carry out both the issue framing analysis and the sentiment analysis is provided as well. It includes details about the date, section in the newspaper, assigned topic (*Main Issue*), and sentiment score. In this case, URL web links to the WSJ articles can be directly accessed through the hyperlinks in the headlines (in the PDF/Word versions of the document):

Date	Section	Subject / Topic	Headline /Title + URL	Sentiment score
20/01/2021	Opinion/ Commentary	U.SChina Relations	Opinion: Beijing Fills the Mideast Vacuum	-0.1443
24/01/2021	World/China	Taiwan Issue	China Flies Warplanes Near Taiwan in Show of Force, Prompting U.S. Warning	0.936
15/02/2021	Opinion/Letters	U.SChina Relations	Opinion: U.S. Diplomacy, China and Climate Change	-0.9321
23/02/2021	World/China	U.SChina Relations	How Xi Jinping Is Reshaping China and What It Means for the West	-0.2625
03/03/2021	Opinion/Review & Outlook	U.SChina Relations	Opinion: Rare Truths About China's Rare Earths	0.9424
30/03/2021	World/China	Government Internvention	China Rewrites Hong Kong Election Rules to Keep Opponents Out	0.9805
19/04/2021	Opinion/Review & Outlook	U.SChina Relations	Opinion: John Kerry's Climate Kowtow	0.9955

12/04/2021	World	U.SChina Relations	China's Message to America: We're an Equal Now	-0.9731
11/05/2021	Opinion/Review & Outlook	Economy & Demography	Opinion: Xi Jinping's Achilles Heel	0.1629
07/05/2021	World/China	Economy & Demography	Chinese Consumers Are Opening Their Wallets Again	0.9973
28/06/2021	Opinion	U.SChina Relations	Opinion: Was Milton Friedman Wrong About China?	0.9955
		Government	China Repackages Its History in Support of	
15/06/2021	World/China Opinion/Review	Internvention Government	Xi's National Vision Opinion: China Takes Didi Investors for a	0.9951
06/07/2021	& Outlook	Internvention U.SChina	Ride Xi Warns China Won't Be Bullied as	0.8973
01/07/2021	World/Asia	Relations	Communist Party Marks 100 Years	0.9948
17/08/2021	Opinion/Review & Outlook	U.SChina Relations	Opinion: China's Afghanistan Taunt	0.9611
20/08/2021	World/China	Government Internvention	China Passes One of the World's Strictest Data-Privacy Laws	0.9901
	Opinion	Government	Opinion: What Explains Xi's Pivot to the State?	
19/09/2021 07/09/2021	Finance/HoS	Internvention Government Internvention	What if China's Property Crackdown Goes Overboard Too?	-0.9765
06/10/2021		Economy & Demography	Opinion: China's Unstable Political Economy	-0.9672
26/10/2021	World/China	Economy & Demography	China's Energy Crisis Complicates Its Plans for Announcements Ahead of COP26	-0.9836
12/11/2021		U.SChina Relations	Opinion: 'Xi Jinping Thought' Makes China a Tougher Adversary	0.998
12/11/2021	World	U.SChina Relations	U.SChina Climate Change Cooperation Driven by Biden and Xi's Need for Deal	0.9971
07/12/2021	Opinion	U.SChina Relations	Opinion: China Will Soon Lead the U.S. in Tech	0.9979
22/12/2021	World/China	Covid	China Locks Down Xi'an, Issuing Stay-at- Home Order to 13 million	-0.9541
21/01/2022	Opinion	Economy & Demography	Opinion: China's Economic Downturn Gives Rise to a Winter of Discontent	0.9934
31/01/2022	World/China	Government Internvention	China's Communist Party Quietly Inserts Itself Into Everyday Life	0.9985
03/02/2022	Opinion	Human Rights	Opinion: Olympics Heighten Oppression in China	-0.9965
04/02/2022	World/China	U.SChina Relations	China's Unspoken Winter Olympics Theme: 'We're Here, Get Used to It'	0.9826
18/03/2022	Opinion	Covid	Opinion: China's Next Contagion?	-0.0518
13/03/2022	World	U.SChina Relations	China Pursues Afghanistan's Mineral Wealth After U.S. Exit	0.9947
18/04/2022	Opinion	Covid	Opinion: China Pays a Zero-Covid Price	0.9817
05/04/2022	World	U.SChina Relations	Is China Helping Russia? Beijing-Moscow Relations Explained	-0.9746
10/05/2022	Opinion	Economy & Demography	Opinion: Xi Jinping Scrambles as China's Economy Stumbles	0.9928
09/05/2022	World/China	Economy & Demography	China's Trade Slows as Demand Drops and Lockdowns Hit Supply Chains	-0.9354
07/06/2022	Opinion	U.SChina Relations	Opinion: The Chinese Navy's Great Leap Forward	0.9923
30/06/2022	World/China	Economy & Demography	China's Economy Returns to Growth Mode as Covid-19 Lockdowns Lift	-0.9403
24/07/2022	Opinion	U.SChina Relations	Opinion: Chips and the China Challenge	0.9889

20/07/2022	World/China	Covid	China Covid-19 Cases Hit Two-Month High	0.3692
15/08/2022	Opinion	Economy & Demography	Opinion: China's Xi Jinping Economic Slump	0.679
07/08/2022	World/China	Taiwan Issue	China Extends Military Exercises as Taiwan Battles Cyberattacks	-0.9909
		U.SChina	Opinion: China Hit Some Bumps on Its Road	
20/09/2022	Opinion	Relations U.SChina	to Semiconductor Dominance	-0.9966
02/09/2022	World/China	Relations	China's Economy Won't Overtake the U.S., Some Now Predict	0.9466
25/10/2022	Opinion	U.SChina Relations	Opinion: How China Abuses U.S. Diplomats	-0.9976
23/10/2022	World/China	U.SChina Relations	China's Xi Claims Third Term as Communist Party Leader	0.9984
27/11/2022	Opinion	Covid	Opinion: China's Revolt Against Zero-Covid	-0.1986
		U.SChina	China Turns to Back-Channel Diplomacy to	0.12,00
21/11/2022	World/China	Relations	Shore Up U.S. Ties	0.9973
28/12/2022	Opinion	Taiwan Issue	Opinion: To Deter China, Taiwan Must Prepare for War	0.856
20/12/2022	Wastld/China	Carrid	China's Workers Are Calling In Sick With	0.0020
20/12/2022	World/China	Covid U.SChina	Covid After Beijing's U-Turn Opinion: Why China Will Never Lead on	-0.9029
30/01/2023	Opinion	Relations	Tech	0.999
	1	Economy &	In China, Xi Jinping Faces a Difficult Year	
14/01/2023	World	Demography	on Several Fronts	0.97
4.7.10.0.10.00.0		U.SChina	Opinion: Like It or Not, the U.S. Is in a	
15/02/2023	Opinion	Relations	Nuclear Arms Race With China	0.222
25/02/2023	Wrold/China	U.SChina Relations	China Sticks Close to Russia as It Makes Diplomatic Push	-0.9948
		Economy &	Opinion: China's Population Challenge—and	
14/03/2023	Opinion	Demography	America's	0.3182
22/03/2023	Wrold/China	U.SChina Relations	China Is Starting to Act Like a Global Power	0.9984
25/04/2022	0-:-:	U.SChina	Opinion: How to Compete With China on	0.0605
25/04/2023	Opinion	Relations	Technology China Concludes Military Exercises	0.8685
10/04/2023	Wrold/China	Taiwan Issue	Encircling Taiwan	-0.8735
10/0 //2023	vviola cima	U.SChina	Opinion: Competing With China in the	0.0733
18/05/2023	Opinion	Relations	Pacific	0.9914
00/0=/		Economy &	China's Fading Recovery Reveals Deeper	
30/05/2023	Wrold/China	Demography	Economic Struggles	-0.9291
04/06/2023	Opinion	U.SChina Relations	Opinion: China's Military Provocations	-0.9944
01/0//000	W 11/01	U.SChina	Biden Calls Xi a Dictator, Jeopardizing U.S	0.0016
21/06/2023	Wrold/China	Relations	China Thaw	0.9818
17/07/2023	Opininon	Economy & Demography	Opinion: China's Economy Hits the Skids	0.9891
05/07/2023	Wrold/China	U.SChina Relations	How China Came to Dominate the World's Largest Nickel Source for Electric Cars	0.753
-		Economy &	China's Largest Surviving Developer Hits	
08/08/2023	Opinion	Demography	Debt Crisis	0.7354
15/00/0000	W _{m=1,1/C1} :	Government	China Turns to Well-Honed Playbook: Cut	0.0005
15/08/2023	Wrold/China	Internvention	Rates, Hide Data Opinion: China Prepares to Crack Down on	-0.9825
25/09/2023	Opinion	Government Internvention	'Hurt Feelings'	-0.6059
20/00/2022	W. 11/61	Government	China Is Investing Billions in Global	0.5101
28/09/2023	Wrold/China	Internvention	Disinformation Campaign, U.S. Says	-0.5106
23/10/2023	Opinion	Taiwan Issue	Opinion: How China Could Turn Crisis to Catastrophe	-0.9983
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		Economy &	China's Economy Faces Deepening Troubles	
18/10/2023	Wrold/China	Demography	in Years Ahead	-0.6105
		U.SChina	Opinion: Placating Xi Won't Change China's	
12/11/2023	Opinion	Relations	Behavior	0.9946
		Economy &	China's Problem With Unfinished Homes	
19/11/2023	Wrold/China	Demography	Keeps Getting Bigger	-0.9939
			Opinion: Sen. Dan Sullivan on How to Deter	
03/12/2023	Opinion	Taiwan Issue	a Chinese Invasion of Taiwan	0.973
		U.SChina	U.S., China Militaries Start Talking Again	
21/12/2023	World	Relations	After a Dangerous Rupture	0.8922