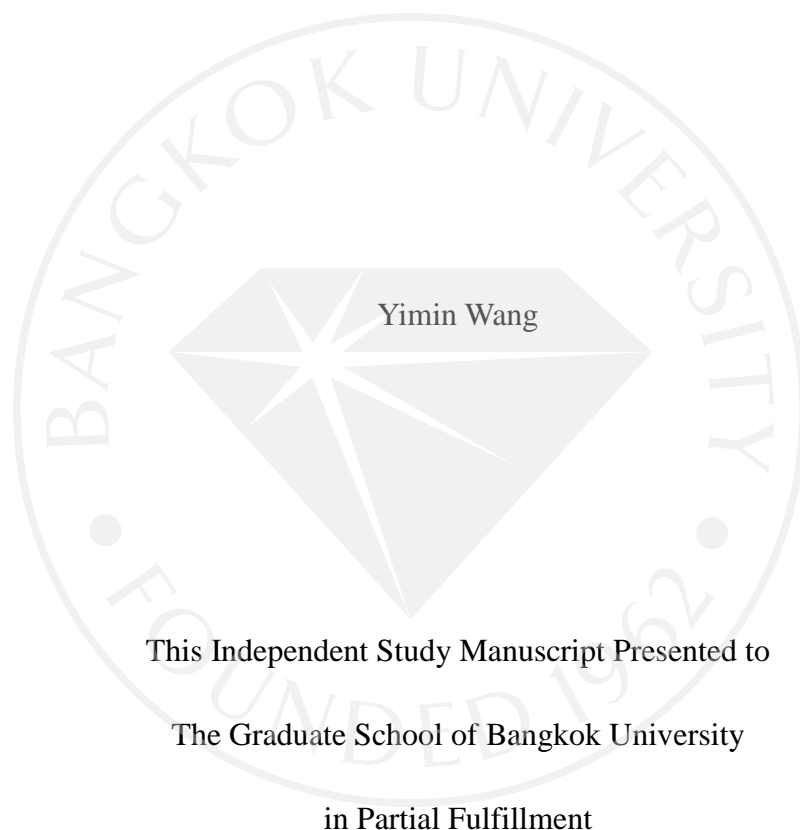


**MEDIA BIAS IN NEWS COVERAGE OF HONG KONG PROTEST: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ONLINE NEWSPAPERS WITH DIFFERENT
POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS**



MEDIA BIAS IN NEWS COVERAGE OF HONG KONG PROTEST: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ONLINE NEWSPAPERS WITH DIFFERENT
POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS



This Independent Study Manuscript Presented to

The Graduate School of Bangkok University

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts in Communication Arts

2021



© 2021

Yimin Wang

All Rights Reserved

**This Independent Study has been approved by
the Graduate School
Bangkok University**

Title: Media Bias in News Coverage of Hong Kong Protest: A Comparative Study of Online Newspapers with Different Political Orientations

Author: Mr. Yimin Wang

Independent Study Committee:

Advisor

(Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ratanasuda Punnahitanond)

Field Specialist

(Dr. Vimviriya Limkangvanmongkol)

(Asst. Prof. Dr. Siriwan Rujibhong)

Dean of the Graduate School

March 1, 2021

Wang, Y. Master of Arts in Communication Arts, January 2021, Graduate School, Bangkok University.

Media Bias in News Coverage of Hong Kong Protest: A Comparative Study of Online Newspapers with Different Political Orientations (104 pp.)

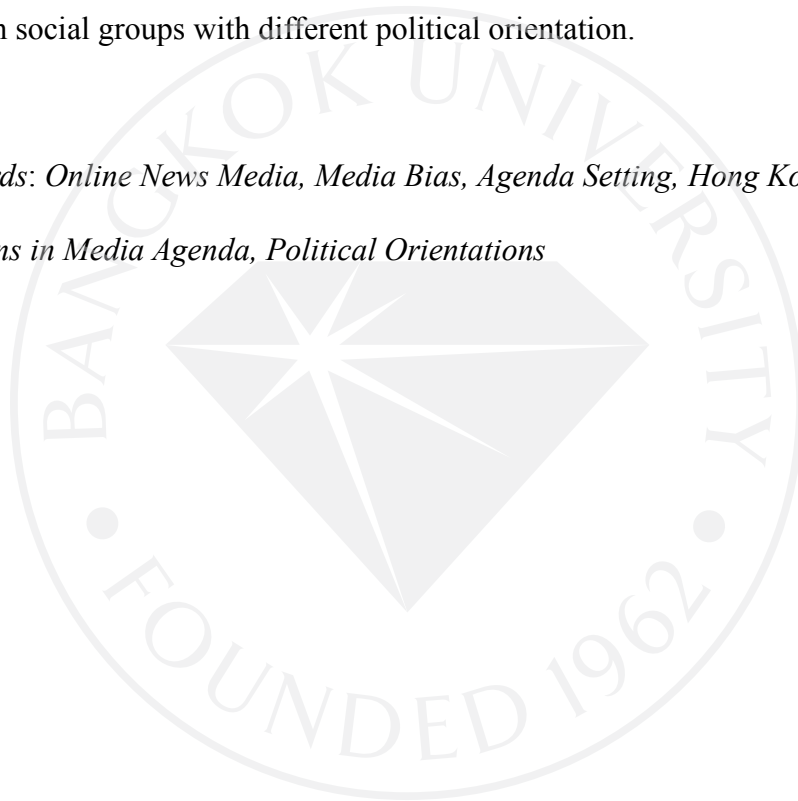
Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Ratanasuda Punnahitanond, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

This research aims to find out whether and how media agenda, political orientation and media bias were associated during the 2019 Hong Kong protest. The research adopted content analysis of the news coverage collected from three Hong Kong mainstream on-line news media -- Wenweipo, Apple Daily and Mingpao. The total of 450 online news articles were quantitatively coded based on media agenda, media bias, emotion in media agenda, and political orientation. Descriptive analyses indicate that Apple Daily and Wenweipo mostly contained low diversity agenda whereas Mingpao contained moderate diversity agenda. Apple Daily news reports were slightly emotional, Wenweipo's reports ranged from slightly and highly emotional whereas Mingpao's reports were emotionless. In terms of political orientation, Apple Daily was libertarian, Mingpao was centrist while Wenweipo was authoritarian. Apple Daily and Wenweipo mostly contained content with bias by commission and bias by story selection whereas Mingpao mostly contained unbiased content. Due to the Chi-Square Analysis results, relationship between media agenda and media bias (HP#1) and relationship between emotion in media agenda and political orientation (HP#2) were partially supported while relationship between

political orientation and media bias (HP#3) was significantly supported. In sum, the agenda setting patterns of news media not only revealed their political orientation, but also triggered different types of media bias. News media with polarized political orientation tended to be more emotional in their news reports. Its findings confirm the universal existence of media bias, remind the general public of tendency to be misled by media agenda setting; and most importantly, increase mutual understanding between social groups with different political orientation.

Keywords: Online News Media, Media Bias, Agenda Setting, Hong Kong Protest, Emotions in Media Agenda, Political Orientations



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Before this research was conducted, many classmates and friends of mine concerned with the political involvement of this research. A research about the most intense political event happening in my own country can be extremely controversial and delicate to handle with. Therefore, I need to clarify the academic purpose and ethics of this research.

Science is not untouched by politics (Babbie, 2016), science has marched on in the midst of political controversy and hostility since the time of Galileo. Science does not choose sides, Science just exists. Also, Sociology needs to be unencumbered by personal values if it is to make a special contribution to society (Weber, 1925). This research exclusively focused on how the communication theories applied in the real event and what can be done to describe this interesting communication phenomenon, using proper communication research methods.

My dear advisor, Associate Professor Dr. Ratanasuda Punnahitanond, provided me extremely crucial help and guidance during this research. The academic spirit of Bangkok University and the responsible attitude of the lecturers inspired me and led me to have a better understanding of communication research. And, my co-coder, Huang Zixuan, also provided valuable help. Thanks a lot for their dedication. Before my dear audiences read this research, please be aware, this research is for academia purpose only. The researchers have no intention to insult any individual or social group. Any attempt to link this research to anti-government or anarchism is completely irrational and unreasonable.

I love China and Bangkok University profoundly, hereby I express my sincere gratitude to my homeland, my parents, my university, my teachers, my friends and my classmates. Thanks a lot for giving me this opportunity to get further educated. I wish I could do my best to benefit my homeland and Bangkok University.

Yimin Wang



TABLE OF CONTENTS

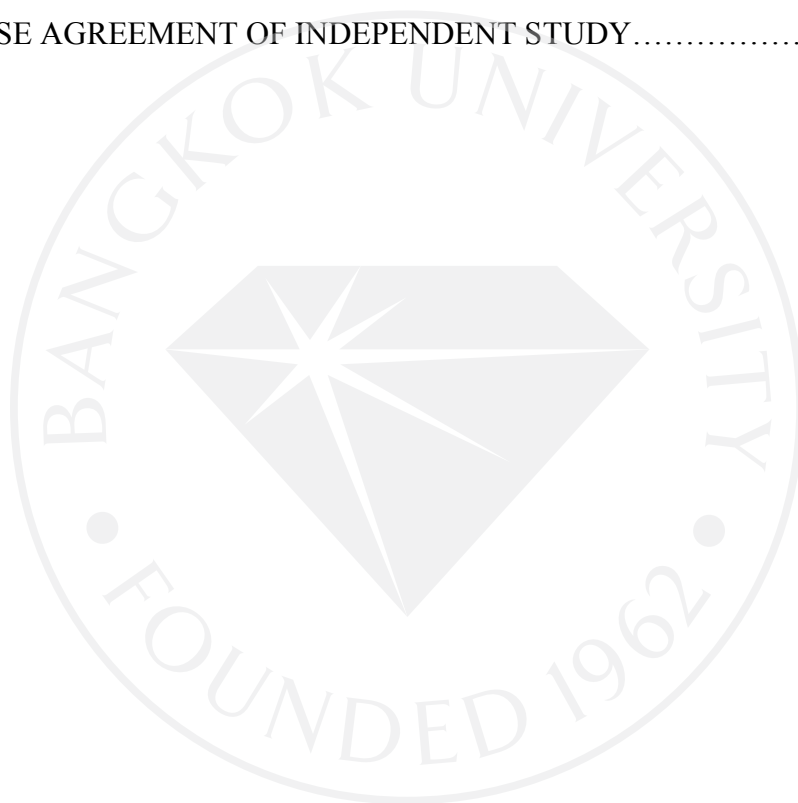
	Page
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Rationale and Problem Statement.....	1
1.2 Scope of the Study.....	4
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	5
1.4 Research Questions.....	6
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	6
1.6 Definition of Terms.....	7
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
2.1 Related Literature Review and Previous Studies.....	10
2.2 Knowledge Gap Found from Past Studies.....	14
2.3 Related Theories.....	16
2.4 Theoretical Framework.....	26
2.5 Research Hypotheses.....	27
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....	29
3.1 Research Design.....	29
3.2 Research Material and Sampling.....	29

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	Page
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY (Continued)	
3.3 Measurement and Coding Process.....	35
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS.....	48
4.1 Descriptive Statistics of Data Sets.....	48
4.2 Inter-Rater Reliability of Measurement.....	55
4.3 Results of Hypothesis Testing.....	56
4.4 Conclusion.....	67
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION.....	69
5.1 Summary of Key Findings.....	69
5.2 Discussions Based on Relevant Theories.....	73
5.3 Discussions Based on Previous Research.....	76
5.4 Discussions Based on Researcher's Expectations.....	78
5.5 Limitations.....	80
5.6 Recommendations.....	82
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	85
APPENDICES.....	92
Appendix A Translation List.....	93
Appendix B In-website Search Engine and Website News Review.....	95
Appendix C Coding Sheet 1.....	97
Appendix D Coding Sheet 2.....	99

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

	Page
APPENDICES (Continued)	
Appendix E Coding Sheet 3.....	101
BIODATA.....	103
LICENSE AGREEMENT OF INDEPENDENT STUDY.....	104

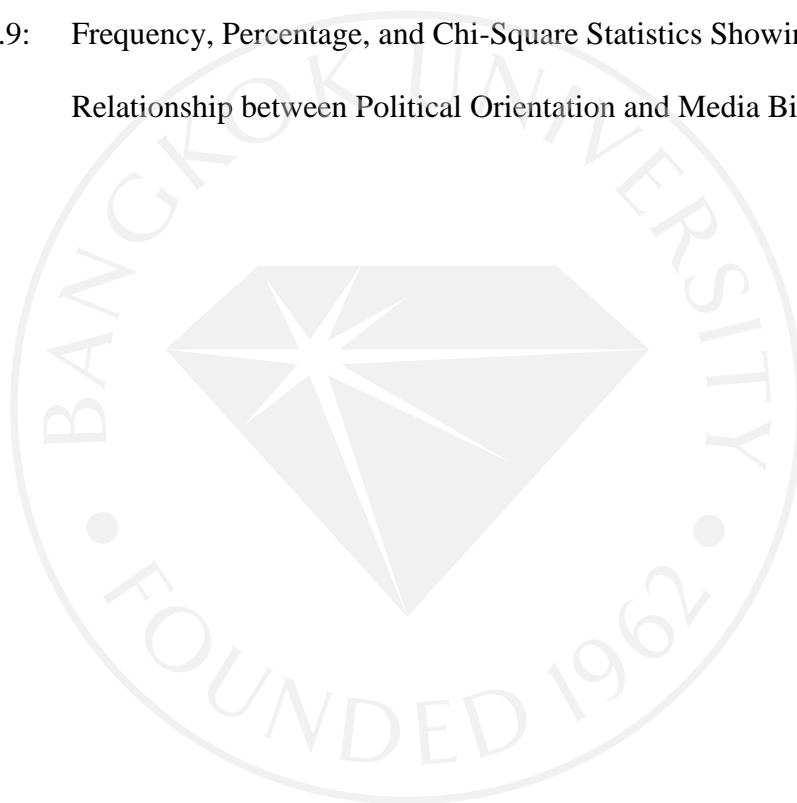


LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 3.1: List of the Hong Kong Landmark Protest Events.....	30
Table 3.2: Local Chinese Language Newspapers in Hong Kong.....	33
Table 3.3: Total Articles Selected from Target News Media.....	35
Table 3.4: Coding Scheme of Media Agenda.....	36
Table 3.5: Coding Scheme of Media Bias.....	37
Table 3.6: Coding Scheme of Political Orientation.....	39
Table 3.7: Coding Scheme of Emotions in Media Agenda.....	41
Table 4.1: Data Samples Distribution of Selected News Articles.....	48
Table 4.2: Frequency and Percentage of Media Agenda among Selected News Articles.....	50
Table 4.3: Frequency and Percentage of Emotions in Media Agenda among Selected News Articles.....	51
Table 4.4: Frequency and Percentage of Political Orientation among Selected News Articles.....	52
Table 4.5: Frequency and Percentage of Media Bias among Selected News Articles.....	53
Table 4.6: Results of Two-Way Random Reliability Calculation in SPSS...	55
Table 4.7: Frequency, Percentage, and Chi-Square Statistics Showing Relationship between Media Agenda and Media Bias.....	58

LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

	Page
Table 4.8: Frequency, Percentage, and Chi-Square Statistics Showing Relationship between Emotion in Agenda and Political Orientation.....	61
Table 4.9: Frequency, Percentage, and Chi-Square Statistics Showing Relationship between Political Orientation and Media Bias.....	64



LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 2.1: The Nolan Chart in Its Traditional Form	24
Figure 2.2: Theoretical Framework of This Research	27



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the rationale and problem of the research, the scope of the study, research objectives, and research questions. It also expounds the significance of this study, and provides the audiences with definition of important terms.

1.1 Rationale and Problem Statement

Hong Kong returned to the Chinese sovereign in the year 1997, but Hong Kong's jurisdiction has been in the hands of Hong Kong residents from the return day in 1997. Hong Kong has kept the media freedom since then. After 20 years' complete independent development, Clashes emerged eventually, and kept on expending in areas such as politics, economics, cultures, technologies. And the media have become the main battle fields of conflict. Everything began with media's war, but will everything settle down if the war of media never ends.

Since March 31, 2019, a large-scale outbreak of social movements began in Hong Kong. The movement did not have unified leadership and organization. Demonstrators protested and put pressure on the government by procession, occupation of roads, containment of buildings, graffiti, strikes and suicidal behavior. The main reason for the movement is that the government of the special

administrative region has proposed a revised draft of Extradition Law Amendment Bill on February 13, which allows the extradition of suspected suspects to be tried in the mainland of China. Opponents are concerned that it will weaken the status of independent jurisdiction under the one country, two systems.

Under the pressure of the constant street protest, the Special Administrative Region Government decided to reconsider the ongoing push through of the Extradition Law Amendment proposal. On September 4th afternoon, the Chief Executive of the SAR Government, Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-Ngor, announced that Legislative Council would withdraw this motion. But the situation did not turn out better. The demonstrations around the upcoming issues such as Anti-mask Law, District Council Election, etc. became more and more intense. And the demonstration drew attentions from many other countries, their participation made the situation even more complicated. On November 27, 2019, the U.S. President Donald Trump signed the *Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act*. The enactment of this law immediately ignited the already intense situation and pushed the demonstrations to the highest level during the last days of year 2019.

In Hong Kong, mainstream news media reports had different ways of presenting this protest. Sina news online questioned some Hong Kong news media only covered the actions of the police and incited the public sentiment (Qu, 2019). On the contrary, the journalist of Stand News Fucha (2019) said that “Between eggs and wall, we choose eggs”. At the same time, Apple Daily declared that they would donate

part of the subscription fees to provide legal aid to the detained demonstrators (“You spend \$3”, 2019). As the escalation of this event, the words that appeared in Hong Kong’s newspaper were becoming more and more aggressive and emotional, every Hong Kong news media got involved into this political crisis voluntarily or unwillingly. And eventually, all the news media showed their political view and chose a political side.

Suddenly, traditional media, news media, social media, they all join the covering of this protest. News were reported along with rumors spread in the Internet. Different media with biased reporting and extremely emotional terms, took the attention of the society and stimulate bigger dispute among the street of Hong Kong. Situation took a sudden turn and became worse rapidly.

Due to the involvement of the news media and the most important roles they are playing, many news media in Hong Kong had been insulted physically during the demonstrations. On the night of August 13th, Fu Guohao, a reporter from the Global Times, was tied up by protesters at Hong Kong airport and was once beaten and kicked (Iris, 2019). Few days later, a journalist was splashed with petrol by Hong Kong protesters (Ruan, 2019). At the same time, the journalists and photographers of TVB were surrounded and beaten by some protesters several times (Chen, 2019). Why the public are becoming more and more emotional and violent? Why the news media are under constant attack during the protest? Does their report accurately portray the facts, does the facts need to be spoke out, or are the facts concealed by

journalistic bias? These questions are what this study intends to answer.

News media cover the same event with different agenda setting patterns, that does not mean they must be biased. As long as the agendas are accurate to the fact, they are not biased. We should know that media bias can be either more severe than we assume or need not to be worried at all. Underestimating or exaggerating the media bias can both cause serious consequences. By media bias analysis, we could find out which online news media covered the protest with significant bias agenda setting and which online news media covered the protest accurately.

Media cannot escape from politics, and politics exists in media. We analyze and state the political orientations, preferences and tendentiousness of the research targets' agenda setting patterns. From their agenda setting patterns, the hint of media bias was discovered.

Also, emotion as a dimension of affective agenda setting, has been playing an important role during this crisis. Cantonese, as a Chinese language, has this feature of using emotion of words as a rhetorical power to display emotional influence. The emotion display in Hong Kong news media's agenda is clearly a powerful tool of which Chinese media are taking advantages.

1.2 Scope of the Study

This research focuses on the online news media in Hong Kong. News media such as TV, newspaper, radio, social network, etc. can at the same time provide

information to the local residents, but during this protest in Hong Kong, online news media played the most important role. Online news media are much more direct and efficient than other channel; their reporters are professional and can bring the most recent information to the news receivers. The local residents receive the breaking news via their cellphones, which can be done anywhere at any time. Therefore, rapid reaction of the crowds was stimulated by the online news media. Among all the online news media, Apple Daily, Mingpao, Wenweipo, are the most popular, influential and typical ones. Accordingly, these three online media were chosen as the samples of my research. By analyzing the critical time nodes from the beginning of the protest, this researcher designates the time period of the research as from March 31, 2019 (the day when Hong Kong protest broke out) to the last day of 2019. This period is the most influential period of the whole movement. The news reports related to Hong Kong protest are mainly concentrated in this time period.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study proposes to achieve the following research objectives:

1.3.1 To compare the agenda setting in news coverage of Hong Kong protest in 2019 by major online news media, and to identify if there is significant media bias in those news coverage of Hong Kong protest in 2019.

1.3.2 To find out if emotions in news coverage of online news media change when they affiliate different political orientations.

1.3.3 To figure out how online news media's political orientations are correlated with the media bias in their news agendas.

1.4 Research Questions

This research aims to investigate the varying effect of media agenda on media bias and their political orientations, and find out the relationship between political orientations and media bias. Thus, this research raises the following three research questions:

1.4.1 Is media agenda of the target newspapers associated with their media bias?

1.4.2 Are emotions in media agenda of the target newspapers associated with their political orientation?

1.4.3 Is political orientation of the target newspapers associated with their media bias?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research provides the Hong Kong government and the conservative Parties a methodology to distinguish the various messages that online media have sent, and also provides the liberal Parties a chance to revise the messages that appeared in some online news media, at the same time invokes the vast Hong Kong news readers to realize the true facts that hide behind the media bias.

The governments of Hong Kong may not be affected by the bias and false news of the online news media, but meanwhile government should not ignore the true news that represent the true voice of the people. The misinterpretation of any information that online News media have provided may cause severe social reactions and social opinion misdirection.

The efforts of Hong Kong's liberal Parties to defend the social right of lower class of the society and speak out the needs of minority are admired by the whole international society and Chinese all over the world. However, more careful uses of false information and controversial words may reduce the social breaking apart.

Audiences of the online news media may try to grow a conscience of what you have received from social media, to see through the media bias, to reach own awareness of reality, to avoid being manipulated by information overload.

1.6 Definition of Terms

1.6.1 Agenda Setting

This term, agenda setting, is the process whereby the mass media determine what we think and worry about. This impact of the mass media, the ability to effect cognitive change among individuals, to structure their thinking, has been labeled the agenda-setting function of mass communication (McCombs & Shaw, 1972)

1.6.2 Media Bias

Media bias, refers to the media exhibiting an unjustifiable favoritism as they

cover the news. When the media transmit biased news reports, those reports present viewers with an inaccurate, unbalanced, and/or unfair view of the world around them (Bernhardt, Krasa & Polborn, 2008)

1.6.3 Online News Media

Online news media refers to news media which publish or distribute news reports and other journalism products via Internet. Online news media (online newspapers, news blogs), along with print news media (newspapers, magazines) and broadcast news media (radio and television), are the three main broadcasting channels of news media.

1.6.4 Political Orientation

This term refers to the thinking of a group or nation regarding specific political ideologies and participants. This study applies five political orientations from the Nolan Chart created by David Nolan, an American social activist. It expands political view analysis beyond the traditional one-dimensional left-right divide, positioning libertarian and authoritarian outside the traditional spectrum. The five political orientations include Libertarian, Liberal, Centrist, Conservative, and Authoritarian.

1.6.5 Chinese Trisected Symmetrical Structure

This term refers to a phenomenon in Chinese lexical semantics grammar. It is a structure to use words with different emotion colors to reflect the positive, negative and neutral aspect of the same concept.

1.6.6 Wenweipo

This term, Wenweipo, is a newspaper, founded in Shanghai in 1938, but moved to Hong Kong during the period of civil war.

1.6.7 Apple Daily

This term, Apple Daily, is a tabloid type newspaper, founded by Jimmy Lai Chee Ying, the major shareholder of Next Digital Ltd company. This newspaper is published both in Hong Kong SAR and Taiwan Province.

1.6.8 Mingpao

This term, Mingpao, is a Hong Kong local newspaper founded by the famous Chinese Wuxia novelist Louis Cha in 1959.

1.6.9 Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor

This term, Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-ngor, refers to the current Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China and the first female Chief Executive since Hong Kong's return.

1.6.10 One country, Two systems

This term means that in People's Republic of China, the mainland of the State implements socialism, and at the same time, Hong Kong SAR, Macao SAR and Taiwan Province implement capitalism.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter aims to give the review of literature and related studies on agenda setting theory and media bias theory, also introduce Nolan Chart and Chinese trisected symmetrical structure, then provides the theoretical framework of this study, and develops the research hypotheses based on research questions.

2.1 Related Literature Review and Previous Studies

Over the last three decades, scholars have made remarkable progress in understanding how mass communications shape the public's opinions. The field has moved from being "one of the most notable embarrassments of modern social science" to introducing "compelling" concepts that have "had a major impact in political science and communications scholarship" (Iyengar, 2010). Indeed, researchers no longer ask whether communications shape opinions, but rather when and how (Druckman & Leeper, 2012).

Communication is no longer just a way of getting across messages. It is action in its own right. Like other forms of participation, communication mobilizes and structures political thought and engagement, and it affects the internal and external workings of social movements, corporations, and other societal actors. Political communication is as old as political activity; it was a feature of ancient

Greece and Roman Empire as well as across diverse political systems in the modern age. In mediaeval times of Europe, Pope of the Roman Catholic Church interfered King's power by using the punishment of excommunication. In the age of Chinese feudal society, the folk novelist wrote mystery novels, such as *The Legend of Deification*, *Water Margin*, to send the messages to ordinary Chinese people and the Emperors that only the benevolence governance can guarantee the last of their dynasty.

Communication between the ruling organizations of a society and the people is central to any political system. However, in a democracy, political communication is seen as crucial for the building of a society where the state and its people feel they are connected. Political communication must, therefore, perform the role of an activator, it cannot simply be a series of edicts to society from the elite, ruling group but must allow feedback from society and encourage participation (Lilleker, 2014). Politics and the Mass Media share a very important and symbiotic relationship in modern society. A modern campaign would be quite difficult to run and win without the mass media. On the other hand, the mass media is compelled to cover campaigns and politics in the name of social responsibility (Thomas, 2013)

In our world in which geographical and political boundaries are weakened by the processes of globalization. It is no longer possible for the citizens of one nation to ignore the processes and content of political communication in other nations, as to do so is to imperil the fragile global political order as it now exists (Levasseur, 2008).

Based on many previous researches, a significant relationship between media attention, the transfer of institutional attributes from media content to audiences (attribute agenda setting), and citizens' evaluations of institutional performance based on issue attributes emphasized by media (attribute priming) (Camaj, 2014). This relationship explicates the first two links in the model that explains the relations between media, cognitive effects and attitude formation. In the first link, via attribute agenda-setting effects, media attract people's attention and awareness about issues and political objects of importance while helping their comprehension. In the second link, attribute priming effects explicate how people form political attitudes based on media content they consume (Coleman & Wu, 2009).

Agenda setting is the main method that news media implement its influences. However, do media provide public with accurate, timely information about politics? Survey evidences suggest many people are skeptical. Trust in media is low and falling (Ladd, 2012). People on each side of the political spectrum believe news reporting is biased in favor of the other. Pew Research Center (2011) reported that 77 percent of the survey respondents in the US say news stories "tend to favor one side" and 63 percent of the respondents agree news organizations are "politically biased in their reporting."

Different media outlets indeed select, discuss, and present facts differently, and they do so in ways that tend to systematically favor one side of the political spectrum or the other side. These differences can have large effects on public behavior,

and thus political outcomes (Gentzkow, Shapiro & Stone, 2013). News media bias can affect both public and private politics. Public politics involves individual and collective action directed at public institutions such as legislatures and bureaucracies. Private politics involves individual and collective action directed at private parties often in the arena of public sentiment (Baron, 2006).

Media bias is a concept that widespread use of which belies, at the same time, equally widespread disagreements about its measurement, meaning and impact. Although this concept has been debated by scholars and the general public alike, academic and public opinions often diverge in the meanings ascribed to the terms and the conclusions drawn about its prevalence and nature. However, in academic circles, media bias is more often referenced as a hypothesis to explain patterns of news coverage than as a component of any fully elaborated theories of political communication (Lichter, 2017).

Also, academics have come to realize the importance of emotional affect as a micro foundation of political action and macro political institutionalization, and the necessity of studying the politics-emotion nexus in a rigorous way (Gregg & Seigworth, 2010).

The development of the sociology of emotions, the growing body of political neuroscience research and the attention given by political psychologists to the affective dimension of political thinking, opinion and action, steer us away from the dominance of behaviorism and cognitivism. The demarcation between emotion and

reason in analyzing politics is a thing of the past. The subfield of the sociology of emotions seems to be on its way to becoming a normal paradigm (Demertzis, 2013).

2.2 Knowledge Gap Found from Past Studies

Social movements and Mass media are believed to have a very close relationship with each other. Especially since 2011, the year of revolutions, there had been a series of “digitally enabled” movements, protests, demonstrations, riots, and revolutions such as “Arab Spring”, “Jasmine Revolution” (Earl & Kimport, 2011). “Hong Kong Occupy Central Movement” was one of them. This political crisis took place in Hong Kong in 2014, lasted for 79 days (Lim & Ping, 2015). The movement was organized to be a peaceful gathering at first, but eventually developed into a violent protest. Some scholars interpreted these movements as “social media revolutions.” However, overemphasizing the centrality of the Internet and social media may lead to an Internet centrism or cyber utopianism that ignores the multi-dimensionality of media ecology and society (Fuchs, 2012). Media ecology of hybridized traditional media, social media, and alternative media in relation to the Hong Kong Occupy Central Movement, based on ethnographic participant observation and interviews. Media of different kinds such as: “traditional media” mainly refers to television, radio and newspapers, including their online formats; social media here specifically refers to personal social network sites like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube; while alternative media mean media by other means, like

post-it notes and face-to-face chatting are all involved in this event (Lin, 2016).

And the fact is, the 2019 Hong Kong protest was originated from the 2014 Occupy Central Movement. The movement was quite successful in calling for the Hong Kong people's consciousness, but it could not attain any constitutional political reforms in Hong Kong. Every social group of the Hong Kong society including the Hong Kong government suffered from this disaster, there was no winner came out of this event. A lesson should be learned from this valuable experience, but the fact was not.

The 2014 movement, motivated by Facebook, diffused by the Internet, incited by the television, radio and newspapers, was indeed a feast of media. Some scholars paid their attention to the political impacts and social changes after this event (Lam, 2014). Some scholars studied how the secondary crisis communication of "Occupy Central Movement" on Weibo shifted to a tourism boycott (Luo & Zhai, 2017). More scholars focused on the roles that social media had played during the event, they argued that the velocity and scale of social media have strengthened protesters' ability to mobilize and organize (Agur & Frisch, 2019). However, the important roles that news media were playing during protest have been underestimated. The framing of the local TV shows and newspapers, the promotional strategy of the political groups was rarely mentioned. The reasons why the 2014 movement was not quite studied by Chinese scholars are quite many, including news censorship, lack of transparent information, etc. Under this circumstance, when the

second wave of demonstration happened, the coping mechanism just did not exist.

2.3 Related Theories

2.3.1 Agenda setting theory

Agenda setting theory has focused mostly on the transfer of the salience of topics covered in the media to the priorities people place on those topics (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The news reports make it in a way that when some particular news report is given importance and attention than other news the audience will automatically perceive it as the most important news and information which are given to them. The priorities of which news comes first and then the next are set by the media according to how people think and how much influence will it have among the audiences.

Furthermore, McCombs and Ghanem demonstrated that the second level agenda-setting considers how the agenda of attributes affects public opinion. Certain attributes agendas in the news with low psychological distance, drove compelling arguments for the salience of public agenda (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). The second-level agenda-setting differs from traditional agenda-setting in that it focuses on attribute salience, and public's attribute agenda is regarded as one of the important variables. The second level agenda setting examines what attributes people are thinking about when they are facing an issue (Ghanem, 1997).

In effect, agenda formation is characterized by intense competition among

agenda objects and issues, which affects agenda setting (McCombs & Zhu, 1995).

Relating to normative ideas about the function of journalism in society, there is a wide consensus that journalists should aim to build and maintain a diverse media agenda.

Media agenda diversity can be conceptualized as the distribution of attention among a given set of discrete object categories in a news discourse (Tan & Weaver, 2013).

Diversity can theoretically vary between 100 percent concentration on one category to equal dispersion of attention across all categories (Jonkman, Trilling, Verhoeven & Vliegenthart, 2018).

According to the theory of affective intelligence, "emotions enhance citizen rationality". It argues that emotions, are crucial in having people pay attention to politics and help shape their political views (Marcus, Neuman & MacKuen, 2000).

Based on that, Coleman and Wu (2010) noted that the media's emotional affective agenda corresponds with the public emotional expressions; agenda setting effects are greater on the audiences' emotions as feelings rather than their cognitive assessments of the objects at hand.

2.3.2 Media Bias Theory

Media bias is the journalists and news producers within the mass media cover news events or stories with biased agenda. Agenda setting of news media does not necessarily cause media bias. Media bias is a possible outcome of agenda setting process. Prior work has shown that news outlets differ ideologically (Sutter, 2001) and can be reliably ordered on a liberal-to-conservative spectrum (Gentzkow & Shapiro,

2010).

Therefore, media bias includes two main topics: conservative media bias and liberal media bias. Assertions of a conservative or establishment bias in the news often draw on critical theory, which argues that news preserves the hegemony of society's ruling interests. Assertions of liberal bias draw on surveys of journalists' attitudes and content analyses of news coverage (Lichter, 2017).

In 1994, Brent Baker, the Vice President of Research and Publications at the American Media Research Center (America's Media Watchdog), published his book *How to Identify, Expose & Correct Liberal Media Bias*, which offers detailed explanations and suggestions for what the average citizen can do about media bias (Baker, Graham & Kaminsky, 1994). After ten years journalist practice and theoretical development, Allen (2015), a journalist with 45 years' experience, summarize the theory and divide media bias into 8 main categories:

- 1) Bias by commission: A pattern of unfounded assumptions and uncorrected errors that tend to support a left-wing or liberal view. This is the most common form of bias. Within the space or time limit constraining them, reporters are supposed to provide roughly equal time to presenting the best arguments of both sides of an issue. If liberals say "A" and conservatives "B," then the story should summarize both perspectives. If the reporter presents only one perspective or passes along only the "facts" espoused by liberals without any acknowledgment that conservatives disagree, then he has committed bias by commission.

2) Bias by omission: A pattern of ignoring facts that tend to disprove liberal or left-wing claims, or that support conservative beliefs. To catch this kind of bias you'll have to be knowledgeable about the particular subject. If you know the various points of view on an issue, then you'll recognize when one side is left out. Bias by omission can occur either within a story, or over the long term as a particular news outlet reports one set of events, but not another. To find instances of bias by omission, keep abreast of the conservative perspective on current issues. See if that perspective is included in stories on a particular event or policy. If it's not, you may have uncovered bias by omission.

3) Bias by story selection: A pattern of highlighting news stories that coincide with the agenda of the Left while ignoring stories that coincide with the agenda of the Right. Bias by story selection often occurs when a media outlet decides to do a story on a study released by a liberal group, but ignores studies on the same or similar topics released by conservative groups. Like bias by omission, to identify bias by story selection you'll need to know the conservative and liberal issue agenda the events of concern to the two sides of the political scene. See how much coverage conservative issues get compared to issues on the liberal agenda. If a liberal group puts out a study proving a liberal point, look at how much coverage it got compared to a conservative study issued a few days or weeks earlier. If charges of impropriety are leveled at two politicians of approximately equal power, one liberal and one conservative, compare the amount of coverage given to each.

4) Bias by placement: a pattern of placing news stories so as to downplay information supportive of conservative views. Does a story appear across the top half of the front page, or is it buried back with the obituaries and the horoscopes? News editors exercise great discretion in their placement of stories. The news they consider most important and/or most likely to sell papers goes "above the fold" on the front page, where it can be read as the newspaper sits on the rack. Less important stories go on the bottom half of the first page, on the first page of other sections of the paper, on page two or three, and so on. It's very easy to identify this kind of bias in a newspaper placing a story on page one versus on the bottom of an inside page makes for a dramatic contrast. Most people read only the headline. Some read just the first paragraph, some just the first two paragraphs, and some read just to the bottom of the column and don't bother to read the continuation. Very few people read the average story all the way through to the end, especially if it is continued to another section of the paper.

Another form of bias by placement is the placement of facts within a story. Again, this is a kind of bias that occurs much more in print than broadcast media. A television or radio story lasts anywhere from a few seconds to two minutes, and so only has time for one or two brief soundbites from each side. It really does not matter where in the story the two sides are presented, just as long as they are given equal time and weight.

5) Bias by the selection of “experts”: the use of such phrases as “most experts believe” and “observers say,” or a reporter’s deliberate selection of experts who share his point of view. Quoting an expert by name does not necessarily add to the credibility of a story, because the reporter may choose any expert he wants. Often a reporter picks an expert who will provide him with a quote supporting his (the reporter’s) personal opinion. To find bias by use of experts or sources, stay alert to the affiliations and political perspective of those quoted as experts or authorities in news stories. Not all stories will include experts, but in those that do, make sure about an equal number of conservatives and liberals are quoted. If a story using quotes by non-experts, such as those portrayed as average citizens, check to be sure that about an equal number come from both sides of the issue in question. Also check to see if a reporter's generalization about how "economists across the political spectrum" or "most health care specialists" is supported by subsequently cited experts. If they are all or overwhelmingly from one side of the political spectrum, then you've come across bias by use of sources.

6) Spin: emphasizing certain aspects of a news story in the hope that other aspects will be ignored. spin involves tone, the part of the reporting that extends beyond hard news. If liberal politicians are offering one interpretation of an event or policy, and conservatives another, see which one a news story matches. Many news stories do not reflect a particular spin. Others summarize the spin put on an event by both sides. However, if a story reflects one to the exclusion of the other, then you've

found bias by spin.

7) Bias by the labeling of activists, organizations, and ideas. The media's power to label people is one of its most subtle and potent. Attaching a label to one side but not to the other side; using more extreme labeling for one side than the other side; identifying a liberal person or group as an "expert" or as independent. When looking for bias by labeling, remember that not all labeling is biased or wrong. Labels can somehow reflect the true nature of an event, but if the News media only tag labels to conservative groups or liberal groups, that would be biased.

8) Bias by policy recommendation. When a reporter goes beyond reporting and endorses the liberal view of which policies should be enacted, or affirms the liberal criticism of current or past policies. When reporters list possible solutions to society's problems, the solutions are always favor the agendas of the Left.

Most news stories simply relate a sequence of events, but when a story mixes reporting with specific recommendations for government policy, that's bias by policy recommendation. When a reporter conclusively declares that a past or current policy has failed, that's bias by policy condemnation. Taken together, this bias occurs whenever a reporter, without any attribution, offers a definitive policy evaluation.

2.3.3 Nolan Chart

Nolan Chart, an expository device that neatly explains how they transcend the typical left-right political spectrum. The Nolan Chart graphs out two kinds of rights: social rights, freedom of expression, religion, and personal autonomy, on one

axis, and economic rights, freedom to own and exchange property, on the other. The traditional, one-dimensional, left-right spectrum straddles the middle of the two-dimensional Nolan Chart. Authoritarian, who disregard all rights but their own, anchor the chart's bottom. Libertarians, because they respect both social and economic rights, indeed, because they generally regard social and economic rights, as fundamentally indistinguishable, hold the high ground at the top of the Nolan Chart (Bell, 2013).

In the Nolan Chart, the chart's middle band approximates the traditional, left-right spectrum. The left-hand side of the spectrum corresponds to liberalism. The right-hand side of the spectrum corresponds to conservatism. At the chart's bottom lies tyranny. At the top, on the far side of the left-right divide, rises a distinctly libertarian position.

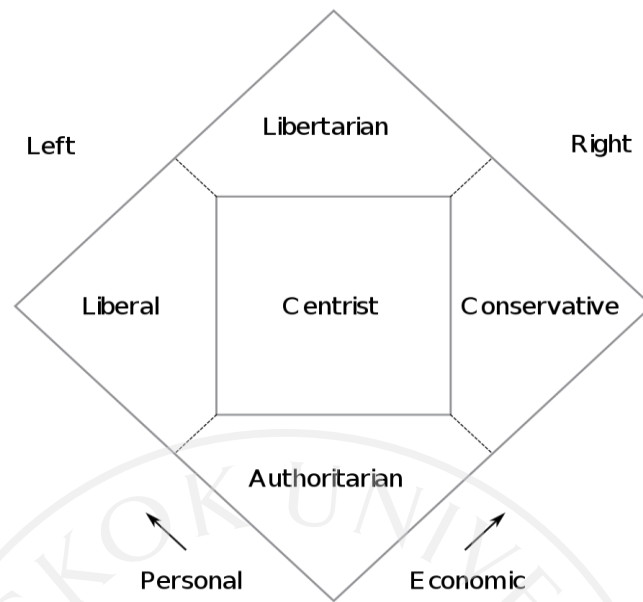


Figure 2.1: The Nolan Chart in Its Traditional Form

Source: *The Nolan chart*. (1996). Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libertarianism_in_the_United_States#/media/File:Nolan_chart_normal.svg.

The Chart demonstrated above is the traditional form of the political view assessment diagram created by the co-founder of the Libertarian Party of the United States, David Nolan. He reasoned that virtually all human political action can be divided into two general categories: economic freedom and personal freedom. He developed the chart to illustrate how economic freedom and personal freedom represent different political orientations (“The Nolan chart”, 1996) 1) Authoritarian disregards all rights but their own, 2) Libertarian respects both social and economic

rights, 3) Conservative relatively tends to disregard social and economic rights, 4) Liberal relatively tends to respect social and economic rights, and 5) Centrist holds no opinions or neutral opinion regarding social and economic rights. The Nolan Chart nowadays has been transformed into many different forms and added more dimensions and attributes. However, the two general categories: economic freedom and personal freedom, keep on to be the core values of the concept.

2.2.4 Chinese Trisected Symmetrical Structure

In Chinese lexical semantics, when expressing different feelings, we select different terms. Generally, words in a standard synonym set of trisected symmetrical structure from a triple, which respectively describes the positive, neutral and negative aspects of a same concept. The positive and negative ones are built into a symmetrical geometric structure with the neutral one as the axis. A synonym set in which synonyms differ from each other in emotion color with a distribution of a specific “commendatory-neutral-derogatory” mode is the typical representative of such a structure (Hu & Hu, 2013).

The emotional color is the semantic reflection of some certain human’s emotion in language, which indicates our aesthetic, ethical or moral judgment of the world. Generally speaking, this judgment reflects the common sentiment of all mankind established according to some common human feelings for thousands of years, so emotional color is one part of lexical semantics which is social and stable. The emotional color of synonyms is manifested as the difference between

commendatory and derogatory orientation. The basic conceptual meaning of synonyms in this structure is the same, but the meaning of emotional color attached to them is different. It may be negative or positive or just neutral. The synonym with positive color is a commendatory word; the one with negative color is a derogatory word, while the one without any positive nor negative color is just a neutral word. We advocate gathering them into synonymous set when building a computing-orientated network of words, because it agrees with the logical structure of the network of words, and can also reflect the semantic system of the emotional color of synonyms. The formation of this phenomenon is closely related to the concept itself expressed by the synonyms. People have various emotions and feelings: happiness, anger, sadness and joy; and human speech has various meaning and implication: respect, disdain, praise or depreciation. As a mirror image in language, words thus obtain emotional colors for the reflection of people's rich and complex emotions (Hu & Hu, 2013).

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Agenda Setting Theory is the foundation of this research. Media bias is the highly possible outcome of newspapers agenda setting patterns. News media cover the same event with different agendas in order to support different political orientations. The commendatory, derogatory and neutral emotion colors system in Chinese lexical semantics corresponds with the emotional affective agenda, has been playing a very important role in news media.

Agenda setting, media bias, political orientation, do not exist in isolation.

They affect each other, influence each other, correspond with each other, finally made into a complex circulation. The following theoretical framework demonstrates the relationships between the three main concepts and their dimensions.

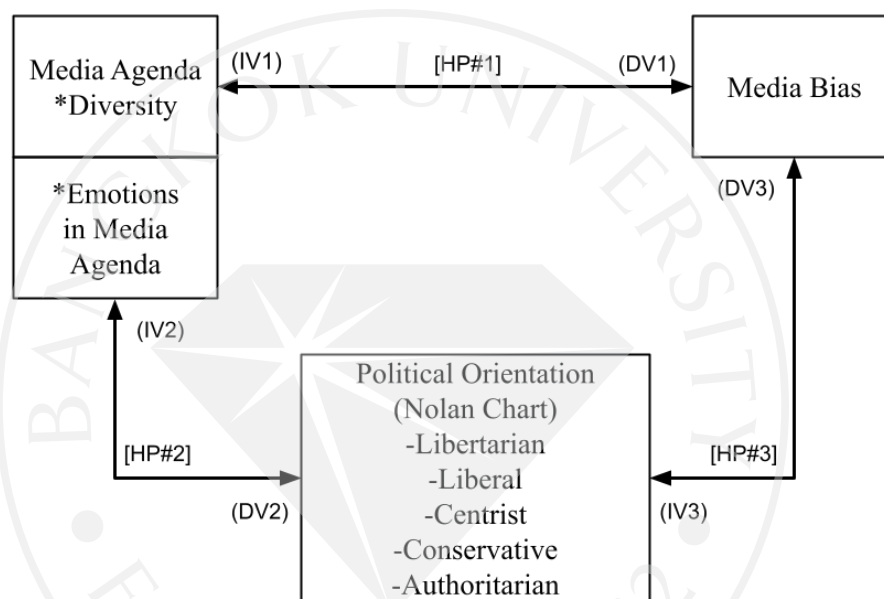


Figure 2.2: Theoretical Framework of This Research

2.5 Research Hypotheses

In the introduction chapter, this researcher stated the research questions, based on the research questions and related theories, this research proposed three research hypotheses as following:

HP#1: Media agenda of news articles in the target newspapers is associated

with their media bias.

HP#2: Emotions in media agenda of news articles in the target newspapers are associated with the political orientations of target newspapers.

HP#3: Political orientation of news articles in the target newspapers is associated with their media bias.



CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology of this research. It includes research design, research material and sampling technique, measurement tools and coding process. In addition, it also states the reliability and validity of this research.

3.1 Research Design

A purpose of this social science studies is to observe the war of news and propaganda between different online news media of Hong Kong, and to describe accurately and precisely what was observed. As this study focuses on words and content, this research adopts quantitative content analysis methodology to analyze this social phenomenon. This methodology analyzes all types of media materials including words, videos, speeches, images, media releases, scripts and votes systematically and objectively (Krippendorff, 2019). The research instruments are coding sheets, which are developed from the theoretical framework of this study.

3.2 Research Material and Sampling

The target population of this research are the entire online news media of Hong Kong. The time dimension of this research is from March 31, 2019 (the day Hong Kong protest broke out) to the last day of 2019. The target research materials of

this research are the words, sentences, topics, votes, images and videos that appeared in the reporting of the online news media of Hong Kong

3.2.1 Timeline

According to the news report from the Hong Kong local journal, The Reporter, the landmark protest events are recorded as following (Chen, 2019).

Table 3.1: List of the Hong Kong Landmark Protest Events

No.	Month and Date	Description of events
1	March 31	First street demonstration
2	April 28	130,000 people street demonstration
3	June 9	Hong Kong's Civil Human Rights Front (CHRF) coordinates the anti-extradition protest, before the second reading of the amendment
4	June 16	The second anti-extradition rally
5	June 17	Three Strikes: Labor Strike, School Strike, Market Strike
6	June 21	Protesters encircled the police headquarter.
7	June 26	G20 Free Hong Kong demonstration
8	June 29	University student committed suicide.

(Continued)

Table 3.1(Continued): List of the Hong Kong Landmark Protest Events

No.	Month and Date	Description of events
9	July 1	Protesters occupied the legislature.
10	July 13	The “Reclaim Sheung Shui” rally ended in violent clashes again
11	July 21	Protesters gathered outside of the Hong Kong Liaison Office
12	July 26	Flight attendants and airport staff rally at the airport
13	August 5	A citywide strike: labor strike, classroom strike, market strike
14	August 6	Stargazing night at the space museum
15	August 21	Chairwoman of labor union Cathay Dragon was fired.
16	August 31	Demonstration and subway event
17	September 1	Hong Kong airport block demonstration
18	September 2	200 out of 500 middle school students strike
19	September 13	Middle Autumn Festival Human Chain demonstration
20	September 20	Amnesty International report.
21	October 1	National Day demonstration
22	October 4	Anti-mask Law demonstration
23	October 20	Kowloon demonstration

(Continued)

Table 3.1(Continued): List of the Hong Kong Landmark Protest Events

No.	Month and Date	Description of events
24	October 31	Halloween mask demonstration
25	November 12	Chinese University of Hong Kong conflict
26	November 16	Hong Kong Polytechnic University conflict
27	November 20	Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act passed and signed by U.S. government.
28	November 24	District Council Election
29	December 8	International Human Right Day demonstration
30	December 26	Christmas demonstration

3.2.2 Sampling Frame

The list of the Hong Kong newspaper media is demonstrated below.

According to the information from Hong Kong Public Relations Professionals'

Association, there are 18 local Chinese language newspapers in Hong Kong SAR as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Local Chinese Language Newspapers in Hong Kong

No	Name	No	Name
1	AM730	10	Apple Daily
2	China Daily Asia Pacific	11	Headline Daily
3	Hong Kong Commercial Daily	12	Hong Kong Economic Journal
4	Hong Kong Economic Times	13	Lion Rock Daily
5	Metro Daily	14	Ming Pao Daily News
6	Oriental Daily News	15	Sing Pao Newspaper Company Ltd
7	Sing Tao Daily	16	Sky Post
8	South China Morning Post	17	Ta Kung Pao
9	The Standard	18	Wenweipo

According to the survey of Chinese University of Hong Kong, Apple Daily ranked first in circulation in 2019, followed by Oriental Daily and Mingpao (Liang, 2020). And the former chief editor of Mingpao, Louis Cha, was the most famous novelist in China (Wang, 2016). The circulation of Wenweipo was not as high as Apple Daily and Mingpao, but Wenweipo and Ta Kung Pao are the only two newspapers which can also publish in mainland China (“Takung Pao and Weiweipo”, 2016). After analyzing the circulation statistics, reputation and social influences, Apple Daily, Mingpao, Wenweipo, were chosen as the research representatives. These

three newspapers were among top-selling and most influential newspapers in Hong Kong.

3.2.3 Sampling Selection

First of all, the most important news all appeared in the Headline of the news website. The headline articles are edited in bigger and bolder font, normally with appealing pictures, and indeed attract more sight of the reader. Therefore, people focus on the headline edition much more than the rest pages of the newspaper. The headline articles influence the readers' opinion the most.

Secondly, during this whole year, demonstration did not occur every day. After the beginning day on March 31, the street demonstrations mainly took place when there were specific social issues. The landmark events listed in the timeline section are the most memorable and influential events.

Thirdly, due to the reporters' information gathering and edition time lag, the fresh news normally published in the next day's news edition.

Under the guidance of this non-probability purposive and judgmental sampling technique, I choose every five front-page articles that appeared in the headline edition of the three target online news media, on the next day of the 30 landmark events, as the samples of this research.

Table 3.3: Total Articles Selected from Target News Media

	Target News Media		
	Apple Daily	Mingpao	Wenweipo
Front-page articles	5 articles	5 articles	5 articles
Landmark days (next day)	30 days	30 days	30 days
Total selected	150 articles	150 articles	150 articles
Percentage (100%)	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%

3.3 Measurement and Coding Process

3.3.1 Data Collection

The media materials including words, topics, pictures, audios, videos, quotes, and votes were collected from the selected 450 articles from the target online media.

By using the in-website research engine and the website news review that the three online news media websites provided, the major investigator and his peer coder collected media materials and then filled the coding sheets accordingly. The in-website search engine and the website news review of the target news media are demonstrated in the relevant appendix.

3.3.2 Coding Scheme

- 1) Existing coding schemes. Including: newspaper, date, article sequence
- 2) Design coding schemes according to the theories that this research has

adopted. Including: media agenda, media bias, political orientation, emotions in media agenda.

The coding schemes of the four main variables were demonstrated and explained in details, from Table 3.4 to Table 3.7.

Table 3.4: Coding Scheme of Media Agenda

Media Agenda	
Main Topics	Related Issues during Hong Kong protest
Protesters	The demonstration and demands of protesters and other related issues
Polices	The polices crack down on protest, maintain social order and other related issues
Laws	The laws that are under deliberation or promulgated by the government, include Extradition Amendment Law, Anti-Mask Law
Governments	The policy, action, press conference of different governments, includes: Hong Kong government, Central government, USA government, UK government, and others
Journalists	Field journalists who cover the issues

(Continued)

Table 3.4 (Continued): Coding Scheme of Media Agenda

Media Agenda	
Main Topics	Related Issues during Hong Kong protest
Political Party	The political Parties represented in the Legislative and District Councils of Hong Kong
Social group	The declarations, advises, discusses, and actions of social groups
Scholars	Opinions and comments from scholars and think tanks all over the world
Tourists	Tourists, travelers, flight transfer passengers
Other	Other related social groups or participants

Table 3.5: Coding Scheme of Media Bias

	Media Bias Types	Embodiment in Coverage of Hong Kong Protest
Type 1	Bias by commission	Only present the good behaviors or bad behaviors of polices or protesters
Type 2	Bias by omission	Omit the fact of protesters' violence Omit the fact of polices' violence

(Continued)

Table 3.5 (Continued): Coding Scheme of Media Bias

	Media Bias Types	Embodiment in Coverage of Hong Kong Protest
Type 3	Bias by story selection	Highlight pro-protesters' story Highlight pro-government's story
Type 4	Bias by placement	Only irrelevant topics appeared on the landmark days
Type 5	Bias by the selection of "experts"	Quotes and Interviews of "Experts," "Councillor," "Social opinion leaders," "USA /UK government," and "Central government"
Type 6	Bias by spin	"Extradition Law harms HK" VS "Extradition Law is good for HK"
Type 7	Bias by labeling	Label polices as "dirty cops;" Label protesters as "thugs;" Label Extradition Law and Anti-Mask Law as "evil law"
Type 8	Bias by policy recommendation	Pro-protesters groups call for "Five demands" VS Pro-government groups demand "Stop riot, stop chaos."

Table 3.6: Coding Scheme of Political Orientation

	Political Orientation Spectrum by the Nolan Chart				
	Libertarian	Liberal	Centrist	Conservative	Authoritarian
	Highly respect personal and economic freedom	Somewhat respect personal and economic freedom	No or neutral opinions regarding freedom	Somewhat disregard personal and economic freedom	Highly disregard personal and economic freedom
Personal Freedom	Morality is an important personal and religious matter that should not be defined by government.				
	Only behavior which endangers or causes physical or financial harm to other people should be illegal.				
	Adult drug and alcohol use are private matters unless they endanger or harm non-participants.				
	First trimester abortion is a matter of personal choice.				
	The government should not be authorized to incarcerate almost all non-violent offenders now in prison.				

(Continued)

Table 3.6 (Continued): Coding Scheme of Political Orientation

Economic	Political Orientation Spectrum by the Nolan Chart
Freedom	Generally, society prospers more if money is spent by people rather than by government.
	The only business activities that should be illegal including theft, fraud and physical or financial harm.
	You should not be forced to pay taxes that only benefit special social groups such as foreign aid and corporate welfare.
	Reduced consumer prices and increased prosperity offset almost all negative economic impacts of the globalization.
	Wealthy groups do not have a obligation to assist the people in need.

Table 3.7: Coding Scheme of Emotions in Media Agenda.

Chinese Trisected Symmetrical Structure	Emotion Colors of Agenda		
	Negative aspects of same concept	Neutral aspects of same concept	Positive aspects of same concept
	Derogatory	Neutral	Commendatory
Describe the Hong Kong policeman	1. Dirty Cops 2. Crazy police 3. Violent police	1. Policeman 2. Riot police	1. Support HK police 2. Good HK police
Describe the law that allow criminals been extradited	1. Evil Law 2. Deliver to Central Evil Law	1. Extradition Law 2. Fugitive Amendment Law	1. Support Extradition Law
Describe the law prohibit protesters wear masks	1. Prohibition of Mask Evil Law	1. Prohibition of Mask Law	
Describe the Hong Kong government	1. Tyranny 2. Authoritative rule	1. Government 2. Chief Executive	1. Good governance

(Continued)

Table 3.7 (Continued): Coding Scheme of Emotions in Media Agenda.

Chinese Trisected Symmetrical Structure	Emotion Colors of Agenda		
	Negative aspects of same concept	Neutral aspects of same concept	Positive aspects of same concept
	Derogatory	Neutral	Commendatory
Describe the Hong Kong government			2. Strongly support Chief Executive
Describe right-wing supporters	1. White terror	1. White suit people	
Describe the 2019 Hong Kong protest	1. Color revolution		1. HK recovery
Describe the protesters of the demonstration activities	1. Terrorists 2. Thugs 3. Riot 4. Radicals 5. Black suit devils	1. Protesters 2. People 3. Citizen 4. Black suit people	1. Peaceful protesters

(Continued)

Table 3.7 (Continued): Coding Scheme of Emotions in Media Agenda.

Chinese Trisected Symmetrical Structure	Emotion Colors of Agenda		
	Negative aspects of same concept	Neutral aspects of same concept	Positive aspects of same concept
	Derogatory	Neutral	Commendatory
Describe the news reports and interventions outside Hong Kong	1. External interference powers	1. Foreign media 2. Foreign expert	1. Foreign aids

3.3.3 Code Book Construction and Coding Sheets Design

According to the coding scheme, this research developed a series of categories to code the main variables that appeared in this research. The code book includes seven variables

1) VAR: Newspaper (Nominal level)

The newspaper selected as our research target.

1 = Apply Daily

2 = Mingpao

3 = Wenweipo

2) VAR: Date (Ordinal level)

The published date of selected articles.

3) VAR: Article (Ordinal level)

The sequence number of the selected articles, according to the publish date and edited position.

4) VAR: Media Agenda (Nominal level)

The topics that target online news media have presented related to HK protest crisis include: protesters, polices, governments, laws, journalists, social groups, political Parties, scholars, tourists, others.

Media agenda describes the diversity level of the topics that are presented in the news reports. It was coded into four categories:

1 = Zero diversity: no related topic

2 = Low diversity: 1-3 related topics

3 = Moderate diversity: 4-6 related topics

4 = High diversity: more than 7 related topics

5) VAR: Emotions in Agenda (Ordinal level)

Emotions in agenda describe the emotional components that reflect derogatory or commendatory or neutral attitudes towards certain social issue.

According to the frequency and total amount of emotional terms, this research categorized the level of agenda's emotions into four categories:

1 = Emotionless: only emotional neutral terms

2 = Slightly emotional: 1-2 derogatory or commendatory terms

3 = Moderately emotional: 3-5 derogatory or commendatory terms

4 = Highly emotional: more than 6 derogatory or commendatory terms

6) VAR: Media Bias (Nominal level)

According to media bias theory, there are eight types of media bias that might exist in the agenda of newspapers. Along with unbiased media agenda, this research coded this variable media bias into nine categories:

1 = Type 1: Bias by commission

2 = Type 2: Bias by omission

3 = Type 3: Bias by story selection

4 = Type 4: Bias by placement

5 = Type 5: Bias by selection of “experts”

6 = Type 6: Bias by spin

7 = Type 7: Bias by labeling

8 = Type 8: Bias by policy recommendation

9 = Unbiased

7) VAR: Political Orientation (Nominal level)

Political orientation characterizes the thinking of a group or nation regarding specific political ideology and participants.

Political orientation, originally proposed by Nolan Chart, was adjusted into five categories:

1 = Libertarian: overall agree with 5-8 kinds of freedom

2 = Liberal: overall agree with 2-4 kinds of freedom

3 = Centrist: overall agree or disagree with less than 1 kind of freedom

4 = Conservative: overall disagree with 2-4 kinds of freedom

5 = Authoritarian: overall disagree with 5-8 kinds of freedom

From the code book, this research has designed three coding sheets to indicate the relationship between media agenda and media bias; the relationship between emotions in agenda and political orientation; and the relationship between political orientation and media bias. The coding sheets are demonstrated in the appendices.

3.3.4 Data Entry and Data Description

After filling the coding sheets, this researcher and peer coder input the collected data into computer. This research adopted the software SPSS as the data analysis tool. The data descriptive process of the three hypotheses is demonstrated as following:

HP # 1: Cross-Tabulation & Chi-Square

IV1: Media Agenda (Nominal level)

DV1: Media Bias (Nominal level)

HP # 2: Cross-Tabulation & Chi-Square

IV2: Emotions in Agenda (Ordinal level)

DV2: Political Orientation (Nominal level)

HP # 3: Cross-Tabulation & Chi-Square

IV3: Political Orientation (Nominal level)

DV3: Media Bias (Nominal level)

3.4 Reliability and Validity

In order to ensure the reliability among the observational outputs, this researcher adopts the two-way random inter-rater reliability test as the reliability test methodology. The inter-rater reliability test provides a way to quantify the level of agreement between two or more coders who make independent assessments of a set of subjects. A graduate student majored in communication served as the second co-coder of the research. Then the two coders filled coding sheets separately and inputted the data sets into SPSS software. The SPSS statistical analysis output provides the evidence of reliability of this coding process.

To ensure the construct validity of this research. The researcher develops the observation patterns based on the fully approved theories, which are agenda setting theory, media bias theory, the Nolan Chart, and Chinese trisected symmetrical structure. How newspaper editors operate in reality, correspond with these theoretical patterns. The operationalization in this study constructs on concrete and feasible measurements. The strong link between the theories and the operationalization provides this study the evidence of construct validity.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

In this chapter, all the results from the content analysis are presented and examined. The outcomes of SPSS analysis specify the details of target news media and test the proposed research hypotheses which were developed in Chapter 2.

4.1 Descriptive Statistics of Data Sets

4.1.1 Selected Articles Samples Distribution

The Cross-tabulation analysis output from SPSS showed the samples distribution of selected articles from target newspapers. The statistics output is demonstrated in Table 4.1 revealing the equal proportion of news articles from three newspapers (33.3%).

Table 4.1: Data Samples Distribution of Selected News Articles

Newspaper	No. of News Articles	Percentage
Apple Daily	150	33.3%
Mingpao	150	33.3%

(Continued)

Table 4.1 (Continued): Data Samples Distribution of Selected News Articles

Newspaper	No. of News Articles	Percentage
Wenweipo	150	33.3%
Total	450	100%

4.1.2 Variables Composition Description

The Cross-tabulation analysis output from SPSS also described the composition percentage of four main variables among selected samples, the four main variables include: media agenda, emotions in agenda, political orientation and media bias. Based on Table 4.2, the majority of sampled news articles use low diversity agenda (50.9%), followed by moderate diversity agenda (36.7%), zero diversity agenda (6.9%), and high diversity agenda (5.6%). When comparing between three newspapers, majority of the news articles in Apple Daily (60.7%) and Wenweipo (80.7%) contained low diversity agenda whereas those in Mingpao contained moderate diversity agenda (67.3%)

Table 4.2: Frequency and Percentage of Media Agenda among Selected News Articles

Media Agenda	Apple Daily	Mingpao	Wenweipo	Total Articles (Percentage)
Zero diversity agenda	5 (3.3%)	13 (8.7%)	13 (8.7%)	31 (6.9%)
Low diversity agenda	91 (60.7%)	17 (11.3%)	121 (80.7%)	229 (50.9%)
Moderate diversity agenda	52 (34.7%)	101 (67.3%)	12 (8.0%)	165 (36.7%)
High diversity agenda	2 (1.3%)	19 (12.7%)	4 (2.7%)	25 (5.6%)
Total	150 (100%)	150 (100%)	150 (100%)	450 (100%)

Based on Table 4.3, the majority of sampled news articles are slightly emotional (38.7%), and emotionless (37.1%). Moderately emotional (15.6%), and highly emotional (8.7%) sampled news articles made up the minority. When comparing between three newspapers, majority of the news articles in Apple Daily are slightly emotional (82.7%), and those in Wenweipo range between slightly and highly

emotional whereas those in Mingpao are emotionless (90.0%).

Table 4.3: Frequency and Percentage of Emotions in Media Agenda among Selected News Articles

Emotions in Media Agenda	Apple Daily	Mingpao	Wenweipo	Total Articles (Percentage)
Emotionless	12 (8.0%)	135 (90.0%)	20 (13.3%)	167 (37.1%)
Slightly emotional	124 (82.7%)	15 (10%)	35 (23.3%)	174 (38.7%)
Moderately emotional	12 (8.0%)	0 (0.0%)	58 (38.7%)	70 (15.6%)
Highly emotional	2 (1.3%)	0 (0.0%)	37 (24.7%)	39 (8.7%)
Total	150 (100%)	150 (100%)	150 (100%)	450 (100%)

Based on Table 4.4, the majority of sampled news articles are centrist (34.4%), followed by authoritarian (30.0%), libertarian (23.3%), liberal (10.4%), and conservative (1.8%). When comparing between three newspapers, majority of the

news articles in Apple Daily are libertarian (70.0%), those in Mingpao are centrist (95.3%), while those in Wenweipo are authoritarian (90.0%).

Table 4.4: Frequency and Percentage of Political Orientation among Selected News

Articles

Political Orientation	Apple Daily	Mingpao	Wenweipo	Total Articles (Percentage)
Libertarian	105 (70.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	105 (23.3%)
Liberal	40 (26.7%)	7 (4.7%)	0 (0.0%)	47 (10.4%)
Centrist	5 (3.3%)	143 (95.3%)	7 (4.7%)	155 (34.4%)
Conservative	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (5.3%)	8 (1.8%)
Authoritarian	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	135 (90.0%)	135 (30.0%)
Total	150 (100%)	150 (100%)	150 (100%)	450 (100%)

Based on Table 4.5, the majority of sampled data have bias by commission (22.8%), followed by unbiased (21.3%), bias by story selection (20.6%), bias by labeling (11.5%), bias by omission (9.6%), bias by selection of “experts” (5.9%), bias by policy recommendation (3.4%), bias by spin (2.4%), and bias by placement (1.6%).

When comparing between three newspapers, majority of the news articles in Apple Daily mostly contained content with bias by commission (28.1%), and bias by story selection (25.8%). Similarly, majority of the news articles in Wenweipo also contained content with bias by commission (27.8%), bias by story selection (24.1%), and bias by labeling (21.8%). Mingpao mostly contained unbiased content (95.3%).

Table 4.5: Frequency and Percentage of Media Bias among Selected News Articles

Media Bias	Apple Daily	Mingpao	Wenweipo	Total Articles (Percentage)
Type 1: Bias by commission	85 (28.1%)	1 (0.7%)	97 (27.8%)	183 (22.8%)
Type 2: Bias by omission	47 (15.6%)	2 (1.3%)	28 (8.0%)	77 (9.6%)

(Continued)

Table 4.5 (Continued): Frequency and Percentage of Media Bias among Selected
News Articles

Media Bias	Apple Daily	Mingpao	Wenweipo	Total Articles (Percentage)
Type 3: Bias by story selection	78 (25.8%)	3 (2.0%)	84 (24.1%)	165 (20.6%)
Type 4: Bias by placement	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	13 (3.7%)	13 (1.6%)
Type 5: Bias by selection of “experts”	23 (7.6%)	1 (0.7%)	23 (6.6%)	47 (5.9%)
Type 6: Bias by spin	11 (3.6%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (2.3%)	19 (2.4%)
Type 7: Bias by labeling	16 (5.3%)	0 (0.0%)	76 (21.8%)	92 (11.5%)
Type 8: Bias by policy recommendation	19 (6.3%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (2.3%)	27 (3.4%)

(Continued)

Table 4.5 (Continued): Frequency and Percentage of Media Bias among Selected
News Articles

Media Bias	Apple Daily	Mingpao	Wenweipo	Total Articles (Percentage)
Unbiased	23 (7.6%)	143 (95.3%)	12 (3.4%)	171 (21.3%)
Total	302 (100%)	150 (100%)	349 (100%)	801 (100%)

4.2 Inter-Rater Reliability of Measurement

Intra-class Correlation (ICC) is a useful and accurate method to test inter-rater reliability on quantitative data. This SPSS process adopted the two-way random ICC reliability test to compare the data sets filled by the two coders.

Table 4.6: Results of Two-Way Random Reliability Calculation in SPSS

Coder1 * Coder 2	Cronbach's Alpha	ICC 2
Two-Way Random Intra-class Correlation Coefficient Test	0.867	0.858

The output in Table 4.6 showed that, the value of ICC (2,2) = 0.858. This value which is between 0.75 and 0.9 indicates high similarity and good reliability between the two coders.

4.3 Results of Hypothesis Testing

This study proposed three research hypotheses. Chi-Square analyses of the data were used to test those hypotheses.

4.3.1 Hypothesis # 1: Media agenda of news articles in the target newspapers is associated with their media bias.

The researcher adopted Cross-tabulation and Chi-Square function from SPSS to test the relationship between media agenda and media bias, the results are demonstrated in Table 4.7, indicating that HP #1 is partially supported. Media agenda of the target newspapers is partially associated with their media bias.

35.5% of zero diversity agendas were detected bias by placement (Type 4), the other 64.5% were unbiased; large percentage of low diversity agendas were detected bias by commission (Type 1), bias by story selection (Type 3) and bias by labeling (Type 7), which were 62.4%, 55.5% and 35.4% respectively, only 14.4% of its agendas were unbiased; 63.0% of moderate diversity agendas were unbiased, bias by commission (Type 1) and bias by story selection (Type 3) were two bias types most detected in their agendas, which were 22.4% and 21.8%; majority of high diversity agendas (84.0%) were unbiased.

Based on the Chi-Square Analysis results, the relation between media agenda and bias by commission was significant (Type 1), $X^2(3, N = 450) = 97.53, p < .001$; the relation between media agenda and bias by omission (Type 2) was significant, $X^2(3, N = 450) = 34.11, p < .001$; the relation between media agenda and bias by story selection (Type 3) was significant, $X^2(3, N = 450) = 77.28, p < .001$; the relation between media agenda and bias by placement (Type 4) was significant, $X^2(3, N = 450) = 126.37, p < .001$; the relation between media agenda and bias by spin (Type 6) was significant, $X^2(3, N = 450) = 12.24, p < .001$; the relation between media agenda and bias by labeling (Type 7) was significant, $X^2(3, N = 450) = 64.48, p < .001$; the relation between media agenda and unbiased was significant, $X^2(3, N = 450) = 127.32, p < .001$. However, the relation between media agenda and bias by selection of “expert” (Type 5), $X^2(3, N = 450) = 5.54, p > .05$, and the relation between media agenda and bias by policy recommendation (Type 8), $X^2(3, N = 450) = 4.54, p > .05$, were not significant.

Table 4.7: Frequency, Percentage, and Chi-Square Statistics Showing Relationship
between Media Agenda and Media Bias

Media Bias	Media Agenda				
	Zero	Low	Moderate	High	Chi-Square
Type 1: Bias by commission	0 (0.0%)	143 (62.4%)	37 (22.4%)	3 (12.0%)	97.534***
Type 2: Bias by omission	0 (0.0%)	62 (27.1%)	14 (8.5%)	1 (4.0%)	34.113***
Type 3: Bias by story selection	0 (0.0%)	127 (55.5%)	36 (21.8%)	2 (8.0%)	77.283***
Type 4: Bias by placement	11 (35.5%)	2 (0.9%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	126.367***
Type 5: bias by selection of “expert”	0 (0.0%)	28 (12.2%)	18 (10.9%)	1 (4.0%)	5.541
Type 6: Bias by spin	0 (0.0%)	5 (2.2%)	14 (8.5%)	0 (0.0%)	12.236***

(Continued)

Table 4.7 (Continued): Frequency, Percentage, and Chi-Square Statistics Showing
Relationship between Media Agenda and Media Bias

Media Bias	Media Agenda				
	Zero	Low	Moderate	High	Chi-Square
Type 7: Bias by labeling	0 (0.0%)	81 (35.4%)	10 (6.1%)	1 (4.0%)	64.482***
Type 8: Bias by policy recommendation	0 (0.0%)	11 (4.8%)	14 (8.5%)	2 (8.0%)	4.544
Unbiased	20 (64.5%)	33 (14.4%)	104 (63.0%)	21 (84.0%)	127.321***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

4.3.2 Hypothesis # 2: Emotions in media agenda of news articles in the target newspapers are associated with the political orientations of target newspapers.

The researcher adopted Crosstabulation and Chi-Square function from SPSS to test the relationship between emotions in media agenda and political orientation of the target newspapers, the results are demonstrated in Table 4.8, indicating that HP #2 is partially supported, emotions in media agenda are partially associated with the political orientations of the target newspapers.

79.6% of emotionless agendas were affiliated with Centrist; 49.4% of slightly emotional agendas were affiliated with Libertarian, and 19.5% of its agendas were affiliated with Liberal; meanwhile, 82.9% of moderately emotional agendas and 94.9% of highly emotional agendas were affiliated with Authoritarian.

Based on the Chi-Square Analysis results, the relation between emotions in agenda and Libertarian orientation was significant, $X^2 (3, N = 450) = 112.09, p < .001$; the relation between emotions in agenda and Liberal orientation was significant, $X^2 (3, N = 450) = 27.92, p < .001$; the relation between emotions in agenda and Centrist orientation was significant, $X^2 (3, N = 450) = 244.97, p < .001$; the relation between emotions in agenda and Authoritarian orientation was significant, $X^2 (3, N = 450) = 227.91, p < .001$. However, the relation between emotions in agenda and Conservative orientation was not significant, $X^2 (3, N = 450) = 3.17, p > .05$.

Table 4.8: Frequency, Percentage, and Chi-Square Statistics Showing Relationship
between Emotion in Agenda and Political Orientation

Political Orientation	Emotion in Agenda				Chi-Square
	Emotionless	Slightly emotional	Moderately emotional	Highly emotional	
Libertarian	6 (3.6%)	86 (49.4%)	11 (15.7%)	2 (5.1%)	112.094** *
Liberal	12 (7.2%)	34 (19.5%)	1 (1.4%)	0 (0.0%)	27.918***
Centrist	133 (79.6%)	22 (12.6%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	244.970** *
Conservative	3 (1.8%)	5 (2.9%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3.170
Authoritarian	13 (7.8%)	27 (15.5%)	58 (82.9%)	37 (94.9%)	227.911** *

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

4.3.3 Hypothesis # 3: Political orientation of news articles in the target

newspapers is associated with their media bias.

The researcher adopted Cross-tabulation and Chi-Square function from SPSS

to test the relationship between political orientation of news articles and media bias, the results are demonstrated in Table 4.9, showing that HP # 3 is supported. Political orientation of the target newspapers is significantly associated with their media bias.

News articles with Libertarian political orientation were detected 7 types of bias, only 11.4% of them were unbiased, 62.9% of their articles were detected bias by commission (Type 1), followed by bias by story selection (Type 3) (57.1%) and bias by omission (Type 2) (35.2%); Liberal affiliation news articles are similar to Libertarian, 23.4% of them are unbiased, 42.6% of their articles exist bias by commission (Type 1), followed by bias by story selection (Type 3) (38.3%) and bias by omission (Type 2) (23.4%); meanwhile, all 8 types of bias were detected in Conservative and Authoritarian news articles, unbiased news articles only made up 0.0% and 3.7% of their news articles respectively; up to 70.4% of Authoritarian news articles existed bias by commission (Type 1), meanwhile bias by story selection (Type 3) and bias by labeling (Type 7) made up 60.0% and 55.6% of its news articles. 35.5% of Conservative news articles were detected bias by story selection (Type 3), meanwhile bias by commission (Type 1) and bias by spin (Type 6) both made up 25% of its news articles; on the contrary, 96.8% of Centrist affiliation news articles are unbiased.

Based on the Chi-Square Analysis results, the relation between political orientation and bias by commission (Type 1) was significant, $X^2(4, N = 450) = 177.91$, $p < .001$; the relation between political orientation and bias by omission (Type 2) was

significant, $X^2(4, N = 450) = 56.18, p < .001$; the relation between political orientation and bias by story selection (Type 3) was significant, $X^2(4, N = 450) = 131.18, p < .001$; the relation between political orientation and bias by placement (Type 4) was significant, $X^2(4, N = 450) = 29.09, p < .001$; the relation between political orientation and bias by selection of “expert” (Type 5) was significant, $X^2(4, N = 450) = 28.91, p < .001$; the relation between political orientation and bias by spin (Type 6) was significant, $X^2(4, N = 450) = 18.93, p < .001$; the relation between political orientation and bias by labeling (Type 7) was significant, $X^2(4, N = 450) = 152.46, p < .001$; the relation between political orientation and bias by policy recommendation (Type 8) was significant, $X^2(4, N = 450) = 22.46, p < .001$; and the relation between political orientation and unbiased was significant, $X^2(4, N = 450) = 329.93, p < .001$.

Table 4.9: Frequency, Percentage, and Chi-Square Statistics Showing Relationship between Political Orientation and Media Bias

Media Bias	Political Orientation					
	Libertarian	Liberal	Centrist	Conservative	Authoritarian	Chi-Square
Type 1: Bias by commission	66 (62.9%)	20 (42.6%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (25.0%)	95 (70.4%)	177.912***
Type 2: Bias by omission	37 (35.2%)	11 (23.4%)	1 (0.6%)	1 (12.5%)	27 (20.0%)	56.182***
Type 3: Bias by story selection	60 (57.1%)	18 (38.3%)	3 (1.9%)	3 (37.5%)	81 (60.0%)	131.178***
Type 4: Bias by placement	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (12.5%)	12 (8.9%)	29.090***

(Continued)

Table 4.9 (Continued): Frequency, Percentage, and Chi-Square Statistics Showing Relationship Between Political Orientation and Media Bias

Media Bias	Political Orientation					Chi-Square
	Libertarian	Liberal	Centrist	Conservative	Authoritarian	
Type 5: Bias by selection of “experts”	17 (16.2%)	6 (12.8%)	1 (0.6%)	3 (37.5%)	20 (14.8%)	28.907***
Type 6: Bias by spin	8 (7.6%)	3 (6.4%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (25.0%)	6 (4.4%)	18.928***
Type 7: Bias by labeling	9 (8.6%)	7 (14.9%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (12.5%)	75 (55.6%)	152.458***

(Continued)

Table 4.9 (Continued): Frequency, Percentage, and Chi-Square Statistics Showing Relationship Between Political Orientation and Media Bias

Media Bias	Political Orientation					
	Libertarian	Liberal	Centrist	Conservative	Authoritarian	Chi-Square
Type 8: Bias by policy recommendation	14 (13.3%)	5 (10.6%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (12.5%)	7 (5.2%)	22.456***
Unbiased	12 (11.4%)	11 (23.4%)	150 (96.8%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (3.7%)	329.930***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

4.4 Conclusion

By all the frequency, percentage, and chi-square statistics demonstrated above, several important conclusions can be found from the findings of this research:

4.4.1 Media agenda is partially associated with media bias such that low diversity media agenda is associated with four media bias types: bias by commission (type 1 bias), bias by omission (type 2 bias), bias by story selection (type 3 bias), and bias by labeling (type 7 bias). The moderate diversity media agenda is associated with only one media bias type: bias by spin (type 6 bias). Besides, zero diversity media agenda, moderate diversity media agenda, and high diversity media agenda are more expected to be unbiased. Meanwhile, bias by selection of “experts” (type 5 bias) and bias by policy recommendation (type 8 bias) are not associated with media agenda.

4.4.2 Emotions in media agenda are partially associated with the political orientation of news media, such that slightly emotional media agenda is associated with two political orientations: Libertarian and Liberal. The moderately emotional media agenda and highly emotional media agenda are associated with Authoritarian political orientation. Meanwhile, emotionless media agenda is associated with only one political orientation: Centrist. In addition, Conservative political orientation is not associated with emotions in media agenda.

4.4.3 Political orientation of the news articles is significantly associated with media bias, such that Libertarian news articles are associated with six media bias types: bias by commission (type 1 bias), bias by omission (type 2 bias), bias by story

selection (type 3 bias), bias by selection of “experts” (type 5 bias), bias by spin (type 6 bias) and bias by policy recommendation (type 8 bias). Liberal news articles are associated with three media bias types: bias by commission (type 1 bias), bias by omission (type 2 bias), and bias by story selection (type 3 bias). Conservative news articles are associated with five media bias types: bias by story selection (type 3 bias), bias by placement (type 4 bias), bias by selection of “experts” (type 5 bias), bias by spin (type 6 bias) and bias by labeling (type 7 bias). Authoritarian news articles are associated with seven media bias types: bias by commission (type 1 bias), bias by omission (type 2 bias), bias by story selection (type 3 bias), bias by placement (type 4 bias), bias by selection of “experts” (type 5 bias), bias by spin (type 6 bias), and bias by labeling (type 7 bias). Meanwhile, Centrist news articles are associated with unbiased media agenda.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSIONS

This chapter summarizes the findings of this research, then interprets and discusses the results of this research. In addition to limitations due to internal and external invalidity, it also provides recommendations for scholars, news media organization, communication practitioners, and/or government and policy makers.

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

First of all, the data analyses clearly indicate that local Hong Kong online news media set different agendas when they covered Hong Kong protest. Among three sampled online news media in Hong Kong – Apple Daily, Mingpao and Wenweipo, the diversity level of media agenda and emotion in their protest coverage are significantly different: Most of the news articles of Apply Daily contained lowly diverse agenda and were slightly emotional. In comparison, news articles of Wenweipo also mainly contained lowly diverse agenda, but were moderately or highly emotional. In contrast, the news articles of Mingpao mostly contained moderately diverse agenda and were basically emotionless.

Secondly, among five types of political orientation, Centrist were found the most, followed by Authoritarian and Libertarian. Meanwhile, Liberal and Conservative were found the least. When comparing between three sampled online

newspapers, it was found that most of the news articles of Apple Daily were affiliated with Libertarian and Liberal, its articles highly praise and esteem both personal and economic freedom, several news articles were affiliated with Centrist, and there was no article affiliated with Conservative or Authoritarian. On the contrary, the news articles of Mingpao were mostly affiliated with Centrist, its articles tended to avoid opinions towards freedom, and few of them were affiliated with Liberal or Conservative. Most of the news articles of Wenweipo were considered Authoritarian and Conservative, its articles were more willing to accept government management and crack down on ordinary criminals, only few of their articles were affiliated with Centrist, and there was no article affiliated with Libertarian or Liberal.

Thirdly, media bias is a universal phenomenon that exists in news media. Among eight types of media bias, “Bias by commission,” “bias by omission,” “bias by story selection” and “bias by labeling” were very common in media agenda; “bias by selection of experts”, “spin”, “bias by policy recommendation” were frequently seen in media agenda; meanwhile “bias by placement” was relatively rare. Among all the selected news articles, seven bias types were detected in Apple Daily, unbiased news articles only made up of small part of its news reports. All eight types of media bias were detected from Wenweipo, only a very small number of its news reports was unbiased. On the contrary, Mingpao was only committed to four types of media bias -- “Bias by commission,” “bias by omission,” “bias by story selection” and “bias by selection of experts”, and majority of its news articles were unbiased.

Fourthly, agenda setting is the fundamental function of news media. The diversity level and emotion are two common agenda setting patterns such that these agenda patterns of news media revealed their political orientation. And political orientations are the guidance of news media and determine their news coverage direction. The existential value of news media can all be summarized as political value or marketing value. These values inevitably lead to defending the interests of certain social groups, subsequently involving media bias.

All in all, politics, as one of the most serious social topics, requires professional journalists and trustworthy news teams. As these characteristics are what other social media do not possess, newspapers are actually playing a more and more important role in politics. Hong Kong protest reflected the conflict and correlation between politics and communication. Politics is directional and partisan, which is similar to communication. The confrontation or cooperation between them is bound to affect the perception of public audiences on both emotional and cognitive level. The information distortions in the political communication process causes media bias, eventually brought Hong Kong into an extremely critical situation.

The output of hypothesis testing indicated how media agenda, media bias, and political orientation were associated. Firstly, media agenda was associated with six types of media bias, except for “bias by selection of expert” and “bias by policy recommendation”. The overwhelming majority of “bias by commission”, “bias by omission”, “bias by story selection” and “bias by labeling” were news articles with

low diversity agenda. Due to the limited topics in their news agenda, it was quite easy to commit those types of bias. News articles with moderate diversity agenda were relatively less biased, but severest “spin” media bias type still existed in their agenda. News articles with high diverse agenda were relatively unbiased. However, “bias by selection of expert” and “bias by policy recommendation” were not associated with media agenda, therefore, news articles with high diverse agenda may also commit to these two types of bias easily. News articles with zero diverse agenda basically covered irrelevant topics, “bias by placement” was the most frequent bias type in its agenda.

Secondly, emotions of news articles were partially associated with political orientation. Most Centrist news articles were emotionless whereas most Authoritarian news articles were moderately or highly emotional. The emotional level of Liberal news articles was low such that their news articles were either slightly emotional or emotionless. Libertarian news articles were usually slightly emotional, the emotions in their news agenda were not as strong as Authoritarian news articles. The emotion in news articles of Authoritarian news media was strongest among all selected news articles. However, conservative political orientation did not show a significant association with the emotions in media agenda.

Finally, political orientation was associated with all types of media bias. Centrist news articles were basically unbiased. Although several bias types were detected in their news agendas, their bias was not severe. News articles with more

polarized political orientation contained more types and more severe media bias.

Libertarian and Authoritarian news articles made up the most part of the biased news reports. Liberal and Conservative news articles were relatively unbiased, but they still committed to almost every type of media bias. However, the difference between them was, Libertarian and Liberal news articles were not committed to “bias by placement,” meanwhile, Conservative and Authoritarian news articles were committed to all types of bias.

5.2 Discussions Based on Relevant Theories

5.2.1 Discussions Based on Agenda Setting Theory

The core value of agenda setting is to set agenda with different information and finally achieve the purpose of influencing the mass receivers. The cognition and emotion of receivers are two most important aspects that news media are aiming at. About the Hong Kong protest, we can clearly see that, some newspapers report with abundant information, but some newspapers only present few words, even no words. Among the information, real news, fake news, slander news, and rumors are mixed together. This information control clearly favored or diminished some parts or groups of society. This primary function of newspaper has been fully exploited during the coverage competition of Hong Kong protest.

As terms with different emotions, they were carefully chosen by Hong Kong news media, for the emotions attached with the words were extremely strong.

Offensive tone or praise tone of the news media were quite obvious. When their audiences received the news reports, they also perceived the emotions hidden behind the words. The furious words eventually caused furious consequences.

5.2.2 Discussions Based on Media Bias Theory

Baker, Graham & Kaminsky (1994) and Allen (2015) provided solid methods to detect media bias, under their guidance, this research has successfully and thoroughly uncovered the media bias hidden in the news coverage of local Hong Kong newspaper during the Hong Kong protest.

“Bias by commission,” “bias by omission,” and “bias by story selection” were the most common bias types, when news media covered the same issue, pro-left news media, such as Apple Daily, gave more time and texts to protesters, highlighted trustworthy and sympathetic stories from the left side, criticized and vilified government and polices. Meanwhile, pro-right news media, such as Wenweipo, spent more time and texts to introduce and glorify government and polices, and strongly condemned the violence of protesters. Centrist news media, such as Mingpao, normally covered all aspects of the event, and gave all participants of these social issue equal opportunities to state their political views.

“Bias by placement” was not a very common bias type among the local Hong Kong news media. During the initial stage of the protest, pro-left news media spent large amount of text to report the event. However, pro-right news media refused to admit the legality and importance of the protest, so they reported irrelevant topics

rather than the protest. But as the escalation of issue, all news media had to admit the seriousness of this protest and gave the protest enough attention.

“Bias by selection of experts,” “bias by spin,” and “bias by policy recommendation” were three media bias types that sometimes appeared together. Pro-left news media normally invited or interviewed pro-left social groups, scholars, political parties and foreign governments to emphasize that “Extradition Law is harmful” and recommended demands from protesters. Meanwhile, pro-right news media always quoted statements from pro-right social groups, scholars, political parties and Hong Kong government to emphasize “Extradition Law is not harmful” and called for discipline of protesters.

“Bias by labeling” was the most obvious bias among Hong Kong news media agenda. Pro-left news media described government and polices with utterly derogatory terms and praised protesters with tons of commendatory terms. On the contrary, pro-right news media described protesters with extremely derogatory terms and firmly supported Hong Kong government and polices with complimentary words. Meanwhile, Centrist news media always reported the protest by neutral rather than emotional terms. This bias type did not exist in their agenda.

5.2.3 Discussions Based on Political Orientation

Why different news media covered some issues with such different agendas. Political orientation explained the fundamental motivation of this social phenomenon. Different news media were founded and financed by different groups. The state-run

news media clearly supported government and polices, their news agenda advocated discipline, patriotic and loyalty, and they were more affiliating Conservative and Authoritarian. Meanwhile, the news media founded by private capitalist strongly supported protesters and condemned government policy that may harm the benefits of lower-class people, the purpose was to attract subscriptions of mass public and boost their incomes. Their political orientation therefore was closer to Liberal and Libertarian. Also, there were still some news media, which were founded by private capitalist, but they were financed or benefited by state or governmentally controlled groups, so their news reports were extremely restrained, they clearly did not want to lose neither subscriptions, nor government support. Accordingly, they showed relatively neutral and swing political orientation.

5.3 Discussions Based on Previous Research

Hong Kong protest raised several social issues, such as social movement, political communication and public relations management. The previous studies elaborated the relationship between them. Social movements in recent year, were mostly motivated by social media, enlarged by news media, then caused public crisis and called for the responses of government. Hong Kong protest in 2019 happened under the same circumstance. However, unlike social media, Hong Kong local news media had more professional media practitioners and better interview equipment. Local Hong Kong news media have played more powerful roles than others during

this event.

Hong Kong government actually were doing their best to handle the issue, reduce intensity of the situation, and avoid severe international impact. However, lack of powerful international media support can be extremely limited in terms of public crisis management. During the whole event, the pro-left and pro-right news media both covered the event with high bias and prejudice, the direct political communication between government and protesters were confused and impeded. This chaos can be defined as a public crisis management disaster and political communication failure. Hong Kong government should be more careful and professional when handling various media; they had committed many errors that previous studies had already pointed out.

Based on the experience of “2014 Occupy Central Protest,” Hong Kong government assumed that the protesters would back off eventually when they were tired. Therefore, Hong Kong government did not take the protest seriously and failed to launch a professional public relation management team to integrate the internal government departments and set connection to local Hong Kong news media and international press. As the escalation of the issue, Hong Kong government began to blame news media and tried to use administrative measures to restrict the freedom of news media. These measures aroused public resentment, and put themselves to the opposite position of the public.

Also, the communication between Hong Kong government and Central

government were indistinct and obscure. Central government did not receive information directly from Hong Kong government, but from the Liaison Office in the Hong Kong SAR. Key information would definitely be missed during the transfer process. This communication system led to severe information gap between Hong Kong government and Central government, and finally resulted in inappropriate and inefficient government policies.

5.4 Discussions Based on Researcher's Expectations

During the stage of online newspaper sampling, this researcher reviewed many online comments and forum posts. The opinions of netizens towards Hong Kong newspaper and Hong Kong protest seemed to be stable and consistent. However, this research still demonstrated some unanticipated results.

When news media covered the protest with lower diversity agenda, the related topics which appeared in their agenda are limited. Accordingly, low diversity agenda pattern may easily cause some media bias, such as “commission”, “omission”, “story selection”, and “placement”. Meanwhile, the news reporting with higher diversity agenda is more comprehensive and all-sided. Media bias, such as “commission”, “omission”, “story selection”, and “placement” were relatively rare in high diversity agenda.

However, high diversity agenda did not ensure unbiased news coverage. This research indicated that both high diversity agenda and low diversity agenda might

commit media bias such as, “selection of expert” and “policy recommendation”.

Some news reports covered the protest with many related topics, but the fact was that, they might not try to be impartial, they were just quoting many sources that could favor the political orientation with which they were affiliated.

Also, “bias by placement” was actually not a very common media bias type.

When new issue occurred, not matter what political orientation that news media were affiliating with, they all reported the issue immediately and put the news at headline.

We can see that fresh news can be critical for the survival of news media, ignoring appealing breaking news can be definitely unwise.

Media agendas with Centrist political orientation usually avoid using provoking words, Emotional terms are rarely found in their news reports. They set their media agenda with emotionless terms, in case of offending any part of the society. On the contrary, media agendas with polarized political orientations are usually more emotional. More emotional provoking words appeared in their news reports. News media set different emotions in their media agenda in order to influence the emotion of the audiences, then indirectly support their companions and diminish the credits of their opponents.

News media with Centrist political orientation are basically unbiased. They covered the protest with almost every topics and opinions of the society, their agendas are very comprehensive and impartial, whereas news media with other political orientations all have severe media bias. Media bias types such as “commission”,

“omission”, “story selection” are very common among both pro-left and pro-right news media; media bias such as “selection of expert” and “spin” are not very common media bias but still significantly existed in their agenda; media bias such as “labeling” is more common in Authoritarian news media; media bias such as “political recommendation” is more common in Libertarian and Liberal news media.

A very interesting fact is that, Centrist news media were not as welcomed as I thought. Because most people hold specific political orientation, and they seek news that could meet their needs. A Centrist news media can neither satisfy lower class of the society, nor their wealthy financial investor. Centrist news media were not the winner during this news coverage competition.

5.5 Limitations

5.5.1 Limitations due to Internal Invalidity

The methodology of this research is quantitative content analysis, this method uses methodologically controlled and rule-based approach in order to measure the abstract concept and gradually reduce the complexity. However, this research methods could not directly reflect the individual's thoughts. Unlike interview or focus group, the content analysis method does not face the individuals in person, the researcher could not sense the emotion of the participants and could not connect to them personally. It is a very obvious limitation when the researchers are studying an abstract psychological concept. Due to the geographical limitation, this study could

not be conducted in Hong Kong. The lack of direct contact with the news media practitioners and local Hong Kong residents may not yield insightful findings.

The unequal distribution of news materials was another limitation of the research. The sampling process of this research includes only the coverage's of landmark events of the Hong Kong protest. These landmark events eventually covered some protest issues in higher amount than other issues, leading to low variance in the examined variable.

Furthermore, due to the politics embedded in the field of news reporting, this researcher and his peer coder have faced academic and disciplinary resistances, acceptance problems and censorship, which partly interfered the investigation of the target news media.

During the period of time the sampled news coverages were analyzed, protest was over due to the COVID-19 pandemic. If happened during the normal period of time, protest coverage may be somewhat different due to the concurrent political situation in Hong Kong.

5.5.2 Limitations due to External Invalidity

At the beginning of the year 2020, an unexpected pandemic, covid-19, broke out in China, and rapidly spread to the whole world. Hong Kong, as the most important international airline hub, also suffered an immediate virus infection. Under this high-risk circumstance, the demonstrations had to stop and the newspaper headlines were no longer concerned about the demonstrations. It was therefore a

limitation for the researcher to further observe this social phenomenon.

5.6 Recommendations

5.6.1 Recommendations for Further Application

This study aims to further investigate whether online news media with different media agenda, media bias, and political orientation cover the protest crisis in Hong Kong differently. Findings would be beneficial for the general public to be aware of potential effects of media agenda setting on their emotion and cognition.

For news media organization, we can see that independent watchdogs are urgently needed in Hong Kong. The watchdogs not only gather information about wrongdoings of people in power, but also monitor the news agendas of local Hong Kong news media, provide the public reports of journalistic bias lurking in news media, try to communicate and connect every political groups of the society, and hopefully avoid more misunderstanding between social groups with different political orientation.

For the government and policy makers, how to communicate to the audiences during a political event or public crisis or political crisis is now becoming a challenge. The power distance is very high in most Asian countries, this feature makes the communication between upper class and lower class of the society become more difficult. Also, the voice of pro-left groups is louder than the voice of pro-right groups. The policy makers may hear more unpleasant voices from newspaper. However, they

should realize that, protests are normal in modern democracy society, and media bias is a universal existence in news reports. When public policies were made, they could be more careful with their governance, and reduce misjudge of the situation.

For communication scholars, this research provides a new prospective of the relationship between media and politics. In western societies, media bias has been a classic and important topic, there are many studies about how to identify and measure media bias during a political event. However, this area of researches is still rare in Asia. This research yields additional empirical evidence to identify and measure media bias. Other scholars can duplicate this study and apply to their own country, then find out if they share the same findings.

For the media practitioners, they can revise their own news reports, and become more objective. Biased news reports might bring their producers short-term benefits. Nevertheless, the fact that unbiased news coverage is the fundamental professional codes of ethics for every journalist should be reinforced, and findings of this study will eventually stimulate this multibillion industry to be more conscious of their role in reporting facts and promoting good understanding among social groups with different political orientation.

Finally, the findings of this can be beneficial to the general public. A Chinese novelist Lu (1923) used to say: “Medicine cannot cure Chinese people”, that why he dropped medical scalpel, and picked up a pen. In this information era, all kinds of media have their own power to influence and manipulate the general public’s

cognition, mental and emotion, even decide what is right and what is wrong. Media, especially the state-run news media, will definitely not give up such great power. For ordinary news audiences, to distinguish the misleading information can be very difficult. My research indicated that the general public should not be passive or ignorant, use ears, eyes and brains, read more, listen more and think more. Their correct discernment may not only protect themselves, but also enhance the social development.

5.6.2 Recommendations for Future Research

Political communication and public relation management are crucial nowadays, but some regional and national governments have not clearly realized the importance of these subjects, especially in Asia. How to fit unique political systems of different countries or regions to a modernizing communication structure should be a very urgent issue for consideration among many policy makers.

For the communication scholars, it is hopeful that more researchers will use the mixed-method research such as survey of news audiences and focus group or depth interview with the editors of Hong Kong's news media, and further investigate their responses, opinions and perspectives. A closer personal interaction can definitely yield more insightful findings.

A single study is limited and insufficient, may this humble research invoke a larger scale of attention to media bias and the severe political situation in Hong Kong, and finally provides the public a solution to make our society more peaceful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agur, C., & Frisch, N. (2019). Digital disobedience and the limits of persuasion: Social media activism in Hong Kong's 2014 umbrella movement. *Social Media + Society*, 5(1), 1-12.

Allen, S. J. (2015). *Media bias: 8 types*. Retrieved from <https://capitalresearch.org/article/media-bias-8-types-a-classic-kind/>.

Baker, B. H., Graham, T., & Kaminsky, S. (1994). *How to identify, expose & correct liberal media bias*. Alexandria: Media Research Center.

Baron, D. P. (2006). Persistent media bias. *Journal of Public Economics*, 90(1-2), 1-36.

Bell, T. W. (2013). The constitution as if consent mattered. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 16, 270-271.

Bernhardt, D., Krasa, S., & Polborn, M. (2008). Political polarization and the electoral effects of media bias. *Journal of Public Economics*, 92(5-6), 1092-1104.

Camaj, L. (2014). The consequences of attribute agenda-setting effects for political trust, participation, and protest behavior. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 58(4), 634-654.

Chen, L. (2019). *Anti-extradition law movement main events recording*.

Retrieved from

<https://www.twreporter.org/a/hong-kong-extradition-law-events>.

Chen, S. (2019). *TVB reporters were beaten up by people in black again*.

Retrieved from https://www.singtao.ca/3910303/2019-11-11/post-%e7%84%a1%E7%B7%9A%E8%A8%98%E8%80%85%E5%8F%88%E9%81%AD%E9%BB%91%E8%A1%A3%E4%BA%BA%E5%9C%8D%E6%AF%86/?variant=zh-cn_

Coleman, R., & Wu, D. (2009). Advancing agenda-setting theory: The comparative strength and new contingent conditions of the two levels of agenda-setting effects. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86(4), 775-789.

Coleman, R., & Wu, D. (2010). Proposing emotions as a dimension of affective agenda setting: Separating affect into two components and comparing their second-level effects. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 87(2), 315-327.

Demertzis, N. (2013). *Emotions in politics: The affect dimension in political tension*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Druckman, J. N., & Leeper, T. J. (2012). Learning more from political communication experiments: Pretreatment and its effects. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(4), 875-896.

Earl, J., & Kimport, K. (2011). *Digitally-enabled social change*. Cambridge, MA: MIT.

Fucha, L. (2019). *An egg is an egg, not a high wall*. Retrieved from:

<https://www.thestandnews.com/politics/%E9%9B%9E%E8%9B%8B%E5%B0%B1%E6%98%AF%E9%9B%9E%E8%9B%8B-%E4%B8%8D%E6%98%AF%E9%AB%98%E7%89%86/>.

Fuchs, C. (2012). Some reflections on Manuel Castells' book networks of outrage and hope social movements in the internet age. *Triple C*, 10(2), 775-797.

Gentzkow, M., Shapiro, J. M., & Stone, D. F. (2013). *Media bias in the marketplace: Theory*. Chicago, IL: NBER.

Gentzkow, M., & Shapiro, J. M. (2010). What drives media slant? Evidence from US daily newspapers. *Econometrica*, 78, 35–71.

Ghanem, S. (1997). *Filling in the tapestry: The second level of agenda setting*. London: Oxford University.

Gregg, M., & Seigworth, G. J. (2010). *The affect theory reader*. Durham, NC: Duke University.

Hu, D., & Hu, H. (2013). The systematic characters of synonymous paradigm in Chinese. In D. Ji, & G. Xiao (Eds.), *Chinese lexical semantics: 13th workshop, CLSW 2012* (pp. 653-662). Wuhan, China: Springer-Verlag.

- Iris, Z. (2019). *Global times reporter was beaten at Hong Kong airport, causing a storm of public opinion*. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/chinese/2019-08-15/global-times-reporter-beaten-at-hong-kong-airport/11417668>.
- Iyengar, S. (2010). Framing research: The next steps. In B. F. Schaffner, P. J. Sellers (Eds.), *Winning with words: The origins and impact of political framing*. New York: Routledge.
- Jonkman, J. G., Trilling, D., Verhoeven, P., & Vliegthart, R. (2018). More or less diverse: An assessment of the effect of attention to media salient company types on media agenda diversity in Dutch newspaper coverage between 2007 and 2013. *Journalism*, 19(11), 1608–1627.
- Krippendorff, K. (2019). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (4th ed.). Alexandria: American Statistical Association.
- Ladd, J. M. (2012). *Why Americans hate the media and how it matters*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University.
- Lam, T. M. (2014). The occupy central movement and political reform in Hong Kong. In Y. S. JoSeph, & J. Cheng (Eds.), *New trends of political participation in Hong Kong* (449-482). Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong.
- Levasseur, D. G. (2008). Media bias. In L. L. Kaid & C. Holtz-Bacha (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of political communication*. London: Sage.

- Liang, H. (2020). *CUHK survey: Hong Kong 01 ranks first among pure online media in reader share*. Retrieved from <https://www.hk01.com/%E7%A4%BE%E6%9C%83%E6%96%B0%E8%81%9E/465011>.
- Lichter, S. R. (2017). *Theories of media bias*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Lilleker, D. G. (2014). *Political communication and cognition*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lim, T., & Ping, X. (2015). *Contextualizing occupy central in contemporary Hong Kong*. London: Imperial College.
- Lin, Z. (2016). Traditional media, social media, and alternative media in Hong Kong's umbrella movement. *Asian Politics & Policy*, 8, 365-372.
- Lu, X. (1923). *Preface to call to arms*. Beijing: Xinchao she.
- Luo, Q., & Zhai, X. (2017). "I will never go to Hong Kong again" How the secondary crisis communication of "occupy central" on Weibo shifted to a tourism boycott. *Tourism Management*, 62, 159-172.
- Marcus, G. E., Neuman, W. R., & MacKuen, M. (2000). *Affective intelligence and political judgment*. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187.
- McCombs, M. E., & Ghanem, S. I. (2001). *The convergence of agenda setting and framing*. London: Routledge.

- McCombs, M. E., & Zhu, J. H. (1995). Capacity, diversity, and volatility of the public agenda trends from 1954 to 1994. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 59(4), 495–525.
- Pew Research Center. (2011). *Press widely criticized, but trusted more than other information sources*. Retrieved from <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2011/09/22/press-widely-criticized-but-trusted-more-than-other-institutions/>.
- Qu, Y. (2019). *Why do these "reporters" in Hong Kong only point their cameras at the police?*. Retrieved from <https://news.sina.com.cn/c/2019-08-26/doc-ihytcitn2075746.shtml>.
- Ruan, J. (2019). *Journalist was splashed with petrol by Hong Kong protesters just because he is speaking Mandarin*. Retrieved from https://www.guancha.cn/politics/2019_09_03_516359.shtml.
- Sutter, D. (2001). Can the media be so liberal? The economics of media bias. *Cato Journal*, 20, 431–447.
- Takung Pao and Weiweipo integrated to form Hong Kong Takung Wenwei media group*. (2016). Retrieved from http://www.locpg.hk/jsdt/2016-02/04/c_128702683.htm.
- Tan, Y., & Weaver, D. H. (2013). Agenda diversity and agenda setting from 1956 to 2004: What are the trends over time?. *Journalism Studies*, 14(6), 773–789.

The Nolan chart. (1996). Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libertarianism_in_the_United_States#/media/File:Nolan_chart_normal.svg)

[Libertarianism_in_the_United_States#/media/File:Nolan_chart_normal.svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libertarianism_in_the_United_States#/media/File:Nolan_chart_normal.svg).

Thomas, C. W. (2013). Politics and the mass media. *Journal of Mass Communication & Journalism*, 3(7), 1.

Wang, L. (2016). The mentality of conversion-literary master louis cha's psychobiographical analysis. *Advances in Psychology*, 06(5), 621-628.

You spend \$3 to support Apple daily, I donate \$1 to support the protesters. (2019).

Retrieved from https://hk.news.appledaily.com/local/realtime/article/20190619/59732328?itm_campaign=hkad_internal_link&itm_medium=internal&itm_source=hkad_web&itm_content=internal_link_1.



Appendix A

Translation List

Chinese Terms	English Translation	Chinese Terms	English Translation
黑警	Dirty cops	警員/警察	Policeman
瘋警	Crazy police	警暴	Violent police
防暴警察	Riot police		
惡法	Evil Law	送中惡法	Deliver to Central Evil Law
引渡法	Extradition Law	逃犯條例	Fugitive Amendment Law
蒙面惡法	Prohibition of mask evil Law	蒙面法	Prohibition of mask Law
暴政	Tyranny	威權	Authoritative rule
林鄭	Lam Cheng	港府	HK Government
林鄭下臺	Lam Cheng steps down	強烈支持特首	Strongly support Chief Executive
白色恐怖	White terror	白衣人	White suit people
光復香港	Recovery HK	香港獨立	HK independent
解放香港	HK liberation	顏色革命	Color revolution

Chinese Terms	English Translation	Chinese Terms	English Translation
“港獨”	“HK separatism”	黑衣人	Black suit people
和平示威者	Peaceful Protester	示威者/抗爭者	Protesters
群眾	People	市民	Citizen
恐怖分子	Terrorists	暴民	Thugs
暴動	Riot	激進分子	Radicals
黑衣魔	Black suit devils	外援	Foreign aids
外媒	Foreign media	外國專家	Foreign expert
外部干涉勢力	External interference powers		

The screenshot shows the Apple Daily website interface. At the top, there's a navigation bar with the Apple Daily logo and a search bar. Below the navigation bar, there are several news categories: News about Hong Kong, entertainment, Cross-strait international, Finance, Fruit seed, physical education, and Overview. The main content area is divided into sections: News about Hong Kong, Cross-strait international, and Cross-strait news. A calendar widget is visible on the right side. A large watermark '明報新聞網' is overlaid on the center. Annotations include red circles around the 'In-website search' button and a calendar widget, and a blue arrow pointing to the 'News review' section.

Annotations:

- Red circle around the "In-website search" button.
- Red circle around the calendar widget.
- Blue arrow pointing to the "News review" section.

Website Content:

Apple Daily | Fruit seed

News about Hong Kong

Headline

- Former Senior Official of the Department of Justice: "Send to China" to jeopardize the three sons of human rights, Chen Taiyu's anti-corruption law
- The extradition document required Li Jiachao to admit
- Delete the nine commercial crimes and doubts about the MAC: Taiwanese businessmen are afraid to withdraw from the port
- Before the proposed amendment, I left Lin Rongli and finally went to the streets.
- No regrets, arrested, and all vows
- Chin Rijn: The Mainland should not accept the scope of transfer

News

- President Canossa's Interventional Church Election and

Cross-strait international

International news

- Ukraine's election today threatens that "the opponent is Putin"
- Poroshenko fights the anti-Russian battle force
- Ukrainian extremist forces become Western double-edged swords
- Pro-European anti-corruption Slovakia's first female president was born

Cross-strait news

- The four-fourth wine case, the four gentlemen, appeared in court, Dad was detained for three years. Is it dead?
- Twin brothers are due to the June 4th prison "Never give up looking for the truth"
- Tragedy continues for 30 years and has no problem
- Lu Xia Taipei Photography Exhibition unveiled

Calendar: Last month | 2019 | March | Next month

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

today: chosen:

Reader News | join us

Search: search

Navigation: Home page | Daily Express | Instant news | Ming Pao Movie

Footer: News | Hong Kong News | economic | entertainment | Editorial | View | China | International | education | physical education | supplement | English

News Overview

Monday, June 10, 2019

News

- People's Front in White in the People's Republic of China
- People in white crowded to burst the MTR station at 5 stations, and the citizens of Fortress Hill "started"
- Frequent hand washing requires professional skin care and hands care.
- Use medical grade hand cream

entertainment

- Self-explosive and passionate drama without "brother and sister" feelings
- Lin Zhiling wrote an article thanking the blessing "deliver happiness to everyone"
- Looking forward to the birth of the

Calendar: 2019 | June

day	One	two	three	four	Fives	six
25	27	28	29	30	31	1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	twenty one	twenty two
twenty three	twenty four	25	26	27	28	29
30	1	2	3	4	5	6

文匯報

In-website search

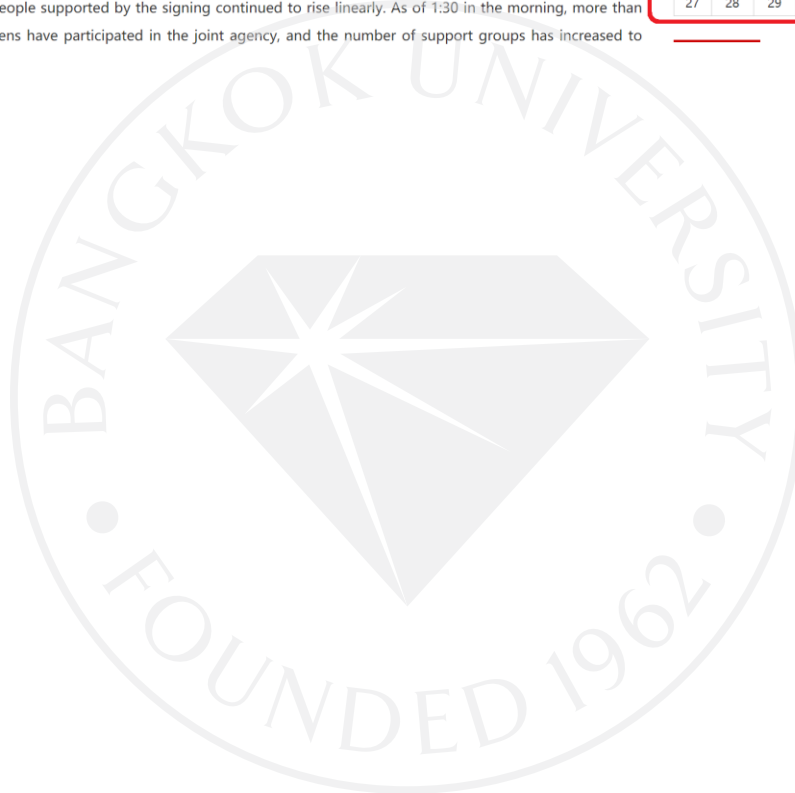
Home	Wenhui Today	News	video	Gallery	survey	forum	Topic	Investment Zone
News	Hong	Inland	Taiwan	International comment	Finance	estate	Investment	education supplemententertainm physical

820,000 joint agencies to support the maintenance of the rule of law and protect justice

The rapid increase of more than 100,000 major leagues in half a day hopes that the government will eliminate interference with the previous Hong Kong Wenhui News (Reporter Vinson). The Hong Kong SAR government proposes to amend the "Fugitive Offenders Ordinance" to highlight the rule of law. A group of Hong Kong people from the business, professional, youth, grassroots and other sectors have spontaneously established the "Protection of Justice to Promote the Maintenance of Coalition", and also launched the "Hong Kong Safeguarding of the Maintenance of the General Law". In response, the number of people supported by the signing continued to rise linearly. As of 1:30 in the morning, more than 820,000 citizens have participated in the joint agency, and the number of support groups has increased to

News review

2020 4						
One	two	three	four	Fives	six	day
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	twenty one	twenty two	twenty three	twenty four	25	26
27	28	29	30			



Appendix C

Coding Sheet 1

Testing HP # 1

1) VAR: NEWSPAPER (Nominal level)

The newspaper selected as our research target.

1 = Apply Daily

2 = Mingpao

3 = Wenweipo

2) VAR: DATE (Ordinal level)

The published date of selected articles.

3) VAR: ARTICLE (Ordinal level)

The sequence number of the selected articles, according to the publish date and edited position.

4) VAR (IV1): MEDIA AGENDA (Nominal level)

The topics that target online news media have presented related to HK protest crisis include: protesters, polices, governments, laws, journalists, social groups, political Parties, scholars, tourists, others.

Media agenda describes the diversity level of the topics that are presented in the news reports. It was coded into four categories:

1 = Zero diversity: no related topic

2 = Low diversity: 1-3 related topics

3 = Moderate diversity: 4-6 related topics

4 = High diversity: more than 7 related topics

5) VAR(DV1): MEDIA BIAS (Nominal level)

According to media bias theory, there are eight types of media bias that might exist in the agenda of newspapers. Along with unbiased media agenda, this research coded this variable media bias into nine categories:

1 = Type 1: Bias by commission

2 = Type 2: Bias by omission

3 = Type 3: Bias by story selection

4 = Type 4: Bias by placement

5 = Type 5: Bias by selection of “experts”

6 = Type 6: Bias by spin

7 = Type 7: Bias by labeling

8 = Type 8: Bias by policy recommendation

9 = Unbiased

Appendix D

Coding Sheet 2

Testing HP # 2

1) VAR (IV2): EMOTIONS IN AGENDA (Ordinal level)

Emotions in agenda describe the emotional components that reflect derogatory or commendatory or neutral attitudes towards certain social issue.

According to the frequency and total amount of emotional terms, this research categorized the level of agenda's emotions into four categories:

- 1 = Emotionless: only emotional neutral terms
- 2 = Slightly emotional: 1-2 derogatory or commendatory terms
- 3 = Moderately emotional: 3-5 derogatory or commendatory terms
- 4 = Highly emotional: more than 6 derogatory or commendatory terms

2) VAR (DV2): POLITICAL ORIENTATION (Nominal level)

Political orientation characterizes the thinking of a group or nation regarding specific political ideology and participants.

Political orientation, originally proposed by Nolan Chart, was adjusted into five categories:

- 1 = Libertarian: overall agree with 5-8 kinds of freedom
- 2 = Liberal: overall agree with 2-4 kinds of freedom
- 3 = Centrist: overall agree or disagree with less than 1 kind of freedom

4 = Conservative: overall disagree with 2-4 kinds of freedom

5 = Authoritarian: overall disagree with 5-8 kinds of freedom



Appendix E

Coding Sheet 3

Testing HP # 3

1) VAR (IV3): POLITICAL ORIENTATION (Nominal level)

Political orientation characterizes the thinking of a group or nation regarding specific political ideology and participants.

Political orientation, originally proposed by Nolan Chart, was adjusted into five categories:

- 1 = Libertarian: overall agree with 5-8 kinds of freedom
- 2 = Liberal: overall agree with 2-4 kinds of freedom
- 3 = Centrist: overall agree or disagree with less than 1 kind of freedom
- 4 = Conservative: overall disagree with 2-4 kinds of freedom
- 5 = Authoritarian: overall disagree with 5-8 kinds of freedom

2) VAR (DV3): MEDIA BIAS (Nominal level)

According to media bias theory, there are eight types of media bias that might exist in the agenda of newspapers. Along with unbiased media agenda, this research coded this variable media bias into nine categories:

- 1 = Type 1: Bias by commission
- 2 = Type 2: Bias by omission
- 3 = Type 3: Bias by story selection

4 = Type 4: Bias by placement

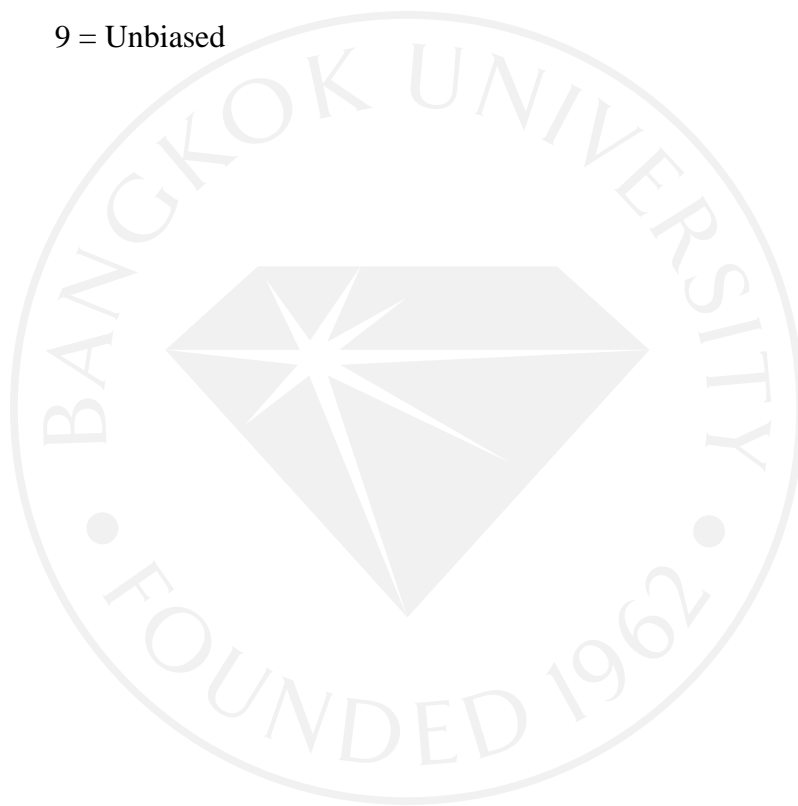
5 = Type 5: Bias by selection of “experts”

6 = Type 6: Bias by spin

7 = Type 7: Bias by labeling

8 = Type 8: Bias by policy recommendation

9 = Unbiased



BIODATA

Name-Surname: Yimin Wang

Data of Birth: March 26, 1984

Address: Shandong Province, China

E-mail: wang.yimi@bumail.net

Education: Bachelor Degree of Management in
Accounting, Ocean University of China
Master Degree of Communication Arts,
Bangkok University

Working Experience: Shandong Rural Commercial Bank
Cashier Accountant,
Anti-Counterfeit Currency and Anti-Money
Laundering Manager, PR Manager.

Bangkok University

License Agreement of Dissertation/Thesis/ Report of Senior Project

Day 28 Month 03 Year 2021

Mr./ Mrs./ Ms. Yimin Wang now living at 178/320
Soi Lumpini Park Street Rattana Thibet
Sub-district Bang Krasor District Mueang
Province Nonthaburi Postal Code 11000 being a Bangkok
University student, student ID 7620301452
Degree level ... Bachelor ☒ Master ... Doctorate
Program MCA-GC Department Communication Arts School Graduate School
hereafter referred to as “the licensor”

Bangkok University 119 Rama 4 Road, Klong-Toey, Bangkok 10110 hereafter referred to as
“the licensee”


Both parties have agreed on the following terms and conditions:

1. The licensor certifies that he/she is the author and possesses the exclusive rights of
dissertation/thesis/report of senior project entitled Media Bias in News Coverage of Hong Kong Protest:
A Comparative Study of Online Newspapers with Different Political Orientations.
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Master Degree of Communication Arts
of Bangkok University (hereafter referred to as “dissertation/thesis/report of senior project”).
2. The licensor grants to the licensee an indefinite and royalty free license of his/her
dissertation/thesis/report of senior project to reproduce, adapt, distribute, lend the original or
copy of the manuscript.


The licensee shall collect, use or disclose the personal data of the licensor, in accordance
with the terms and conditions of the permission granted. I, the licensor, hereby consent to the
collection, usage and storage of my personal data by the licensee.

3. In case of any dispute in the copyright of the dissertation/thesis/report of senior project
between the licensor and others, or between the licensee and others, or any other
inconveniences in regard to the copyright that prevent the licensee from reproducing, adapting
or distributing the manuscript, the licensor agrees to indemnify the licensee against any
damage incurred.

This agreement is prepared in duplicate identical wording for two copies. Both parties have read and fully understand its contents and agree to comply with the above terms and conditions. Each party shall retain one signed copy of the agreement.




(Yimin Wang) Licensor



(Director, Library and Learning Center) Licensee



(Program Director) Witness



(Dean, Graduate School) Witness

