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The bad guy is one of us: framing comparison between the US and Korean newspapers and blogs about the Virginia Tech shooting

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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

The bad guy is one of us: framing comparison between the US and Korean newspapers and blogs about the Virginia Tech shooting

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This study examines cross-national and cross-media differences in framing, particularly regarding the salience of collectivistic storytelling, based on the US and Korean newspapers and blogs about the Virginia Tech campus shooting incident. Although collectivistic storytelling is a common practice of news domestication, the degree of its salience is affected by a nation's orientation toward collectivism. Cross-media level of difference also exists because journalistic perspectives and the public's interpretation of those perspectives, as reflected in newspapers and blogs, are different. Findings indicate that while there are some consistent framing patterns, the degree of collectivism was different between the two nations and between the two media.

Keywords: comparative framing analysis; collectivism; blog; Virginia Tech; Korea

Introduction

In April 2007, a tragic campus shooting happened at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute (Virginia Tech; VT) in the United States. The incident, which resulted in the most casualties in US school violence history, not only dominated US domestic news at the time but also drew attention internationally because of its scale and severity. Among the international attention, South Korea particularly highlighted it due to the gunman's nationality. South Koreans were frustrated by the fact that the gunman was one of them: as reported by the *Washington Post*, 'Every Korean person is so very sorry' (Aizenman & Constable, 2007) and 'The [Korean] government expresses indescribable surprise and shock over this shooting incident' (Moore, 2007). Their collectivistic response toward the incident casts an interesting question about the influence of cross-cultural difference on news content and national audiences' interpretation of the news.

News framing research bridges 'the critical, qualitative and ideological perspective and the behavioral content, audience, and effects tradition' (Reese, 2001, pp. 9–10) and has shed light on the dynamic process of news construction involving embedded values, media representations and audience perceptions. Although two decades of research shows rigorous development, framing research may progress still further by supplementing the two loci of inquiry: (1) along with the emergence of globalization of news production, cultural or national differences in framing are worthy of exploration; (2) the widespread new media environment offers framing

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studies to compare between journalistic perspectives and laymen's interpretation. Given that the majority of laymen's perspectives are displayed through the web-based public spaces, the second comparative framing study may be understood as cross-media analysis between traditional mass media and average publics' online outlets. Based on the VT incident, this study focuses to compare cross-cultural and cross-media framings, between Korea and the USA, and between traditional newspapers and blogs. Particularly, the study highlights (1) whether the extent of cultural collectivism as one of the key cultural dimensions produces framing differences between the two national newspapers, and (2) if the cultural predisposition to collectivism is differently salient between professional newspapers and ordinary publics' opinions.

Literature review

Cross-national difference of collectivism in framing: news domestication or cultural orientation?

As seen in diverse definitions of framing (e.g. Entman & Herbst, 2001; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987; McCombs, 2004; Reese, 2001), news framing is the process of constructing news meaning based on a set of organizing principles. Definitions of framing commonly note that the organizing principles are not independent of socially dominant values and ideologies (Yang, 2003). These organizing ideas or values are not only issue-specific but also consistent with the values embedded in a community, society or a nation on a macro level. Cross-national comparison is a useful approach to discover how macro-leveled values are reflected in news framing. Although de Vreese, Peter, and Semetko (2001) contend that the majority of framing research has been conducted within national boundaries and fails to elucidate the impact of macro-level principles across nations, attention to cross-national comparison of news content has been growing during recent years (e.g. Huan & Leung, 2005; Luther & Zhou, 2005; Tian & Stewart, 2005; Werder, 2002).

Cross-national comparison of framing begins with conceptualization of a nation as the highest level of 'interpretive community' (Berkowitz & TerKeust, 1999; Lindlof, 1988; Zelizer, 1993) or 'discursive community' (Pan & Kosicki, 2001; Pan, Lee, Chan, & So, 1999). As a foundational interpretive community, a nation has dominant values or ideas that are unconsciously instilled in news discourse. Gans (1979) called these 'enduring values' (p. 42). Enduring values shape news meanings (Berkowitz & TerKeust, 1999) and are grounded in public values. As Fuller (1996) notes, 'every newspaper from the national daily to the smallest rural weekly is provincial,' being aware of a 'specific audience' with whom it must share 'a sensibility and a set of interests, tastes, and values' (p. 69). Embedded values are critical in framing analysis in that they are the elements used to build the common frames bridging journalists' news storytelling and the public's interpretation. These embedded values are based in current national interests, political ideology, and cultural norms and values.

While the importance of cross-national analysis has been accentuated by many scholars (de Vreese, 2004; de Vreese et al., 2001; Werder, 2002), the attention tends to exclusively consider differences of political ideology and interests rather than differences derived from cultural relativity. A nation's cultural orientation is one of the important issues discussed among intercultural scholars (e.g. Hofstede, 2001). In

framing research, however, this has generally not been examined as an enduring value influencing framing.

As a notable dimension of cultural orientations, collectivism is of particular interest in this study. Some scholars have argued that collectivistic representation in news coverage is contingent on common journalism culture rather than on specific national cultural values. Chaudhary's (2001) comparative study examined the different salience of individual versus group attribute between the US and Nigeria news coverage. While he assumed that there would be difference due to the different cultural predisposition to collectivism, especially showing the US as more individualistic and Nigeria as more collectivistic, the analysis revealed more group-based news storytelling in both nations, indicating the heightened tendency of collectivistic storytelling in daily news across nations.

Among various collectivistic representations, the salience of national collectivism has been widely discussed by many scholars. In his study of the British daily press, Billing (1995) argued that everyday news coverage conveys a sense of nationalism. The presence of 'banal nationalism' has also been empirically examined for the press in Turkey (Yumul & Ozkirimli, 2000) and Scotland (Law, 2001). These studies found that the deictic utterances concretize a sense of we-ness by reifying the concept of 'our' nation and the foreign.

Scholars of news domestication also support the idea that nationality-based collectivistic news storytelling is a part of journalistic practice. According to Lee, Chan, Pan, and So (2002) and Clausen (2004), news domestication refers to the process of making international news suitable to national audiences, by providing the perspective fit into the culture of the home nation. Domestication of international news is particularly concerned with a nation's interest and the public's preferred way of interpretation. Nossek (2004) discusses the coverage of international political violence, arguing that the salience of national collectivity in journalism is inversely related with professional objectivity. He suggests that the subordination to collectivistic storytelling occurs especially when foreign news is defined as 'our' news. If an issue is just 'theirs,' journalism retains the objective viewpoint.

Coverage of international sports competitions is another good example revealing the outspoken national pride and reassurance of national identity. Tomlinson (2005) observes that news coverage of global sports allows spectators to draw the boundary between 'us' and 'others' so that spectators can reinforce collective identity as a member of the nation. Alabarces, Tomlinson, and Young (2001), Bishop and Jaworski (2003), Rowe, McKay, and Miller (1998), and Tomlinson and Young (2003) similarly discuss how media discourses on Olympics or World Cups reconfirm with each nation's value and tradition and boost the sentiment of 'us.'

Collectivistic storytelling is not only demonstrated in international news coverage but it is also represented in coverage of national threats. As an exemplary case, Brookes (1999) analyzed British press about mad cow disease, showing how national press constructed the issue as a threat to national health and national industry and reinforced national collective identity. In their study of the US and Israel news coverage, Nossek and Berkowitz (2006) also observe the discourse is switched from professional narrative to a 'cultural narrative' (p. 691) that reaffirms intra-identity as

Americans or Jewish. These studies suggest that news content exposes collectivism to some extent regardless of the national origins of news agencies.

Media's nationalistic storytelling is commonly observed across various nations. However, the extent to which an issue is considered as deserving to be framed through a collective lens may differ depending on a nation's cultural disposition. Many intercultural studies have revealed a different national tendency toward collectivism or individualism across cultures (e.g. Gudykunst et al., 1996; Hofstede, 2001; Singelis & Brown, 1995; Triandis, 2001; Yum, 2004). According to these scholars, collectivism or individualism is defined as a way of looking at others or issues in relation to self. In a collectivistic culture, 'interdependent self-construal,' which conceptualizes a self as an extension of 'us,' is more prominent than 'independent self-construal' (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Singelis & Brown, 1995; Yum, 2004). Likewise, group cohesiveness and harmony are often primary values in collectivistic culture. If a nation is conceived as an 'imagined community' whose entity is reinforced through everyday rituals such as media consumption (Anderson, 1991), national cohesiveness based on the collective identity will be more readily imagined in a collective culture.

The influence of national culture is well argued by Hanitzsch (2007). He discusses that journalism culture is shaped not only through universalized occupational cultures but also through national cultures. Each nation's journalistic practice reveals its uniqueness as well as global commonality. For example, journalistic ethical ideology in many non-Western cultures gives priority to social harmony and unity, which 'may render ineffective some of the [Western] ethical values,' for example, 'aboveboard,' 'avoiding harm,' 'completeness,' 'freedom, independence, and self-esteem,' 'fairness,' 'honesty,' and 'respect of privacy' (Hanitzsch, 2007, p. 378). As other ideological frameworks are embedded in the larger culture 'outside the range of critical reflection' (Lee et al., 2002, p. 24), collective storytelling in collectivistic culture is also a taken-for-granted framework. In news discourse, culturally embedded perspectives achieve consensus between journalists and the public because a journalist's personal frame of reference is based on 'their upbringing and understanding of comparable events, historical antecedents, and equivalent concepts in their home culture' (Lee et al., 2002, p. 47).

Taken together, collectivism is an embedded news value that can be understood as one of the organizing principles of news construction. Collectivism is particularly salient when international news is domesticated for national audiences. Given that national collectivistic storytelling is possibly understood as a part of common journalism practices, collectivism is expected to be revealed in media representation to some extent regardless of cultural differences. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the degree of exposure of collectivism in framing may vary in relation to a nation's cultural predisposition to collectivism, because it is also tightly related to a nation's collectivistic cultural orientation.

Based on the discussions above, the first research question explores whether there are differences between the US and Korean news coverage of the Virginia Tech incident in terms of collectivistic news storytelling:

RQ1: Do the US and Korea newspapers show differences in framing that are reflective of collectivistic storytelling?

Journalistic perspective and online public response: newspapers versus blogs

Questioning the influence of cultural predisposition on the process of framing accompanies inquiry about the differences between journalistic perspective and the interpretation of ordinary people. According to D'Angelo (2002), framing researches are summarized into four 'consistent empirical goals': '(a) to identify thematic units called frames; (b) to investigate the antecedent conditions that produce frames; (c) to examine how news frames activate, and interact with, an individual's prior knowledge to affect interpretations, recall of information, decision making, and evaluation; and (d) to examine how news framing shapes socio-level processes such as public opinion and policy issue debates' (p. 873). The first and second goals are usually sought by textual analysis of news content whereas the third and fourth are examined through audience response to surveys, interviews, or experiments.

Although an abundance of studies are available on both media framing and audience framing, limited research has examined the framing process of public discourse despite the fact that public discourse bridges these two fragmented framing processes (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999). According to Gamson (1992) and Price (1988), framing research should go beyond the impact of individual cognition and highlight the macro aspect of the interplay between media frames and the frames of a group of people, defined as a public. Stated differently, frames created within a public domain are the intermediates between media representation and an individual audience's perception (Price, 1988).

The comparison between media and public frames is a timely research theme under the interactive media environment. With various interactive online channels, ordinary citizens' publicized feedback greatly extends the influence of non-professional opinions on individuals' evaluation of news events. Unlike the cascade process of influence from media to opinion leaders and then to the rest of the public, as explained by the classical two-step flow theory (Katz, 1957), the recent phenomenon shows a blurred distinction between media coverage and online public opinion, as well as the synchronous presence of professional journalism and laymen's opinions, which together comprise news discourse. It is not uncommon, for example, to find journalists' blogs that include speculative personal thoughts as well as journalistic reports about an issue; many news websites also now allow the public to post comments on stories. Given the increasing volume of spaces for public discussion on the Internet, analysis of frames generated in the online public domain can now be readily incorporated with media framing analysis.

Unlike framing studies based on textual analyses of journalistic materials only, an integrative analysis of journalistic and public frames has two advantages. First, the integrative analysis provides a holistic explanation about how a national community extracts and shares meanings from news events by finding whether cultural values recur and are reinforced by news coverage or whether they are prepositioned in the public's mind as an interpretive reference. If journalism refrains from revealing a culturally predisposed value while public discourse actively exposes it, the cultural value may be understood as pre-existing in the public's mind, although it is restricted in news coverage due to the conflict with other occupational values. When this is so, the cultural predisposition may produce differences between the journalism and public frames. On the other hand, if both the journalistic and public frames present the cultural value consistently, it may be inferred that the value

serves as an overarching framing element. As individual differences such as the degree of political involvement (Valentino, Beckmann, & Buhr, 2001), political awareness or knowledge (Zaller, 1992), or individuals' internalized values (Brewer, 2002; Shen & Edwards, 2005) mediate between a news frame and an individual's interpretation, cultural values shared at the group-level may interact with media frames in constructing individual's interpretation.

In addition, analysis of online public frame can take advantage of real-life data. Unlike audience framing studies in which responses are generated under manipulated conditions, data of public discussions are real responses toward real news coverage. Specifically, online sources provide abundant data on public thoughts. As one of those online sources, the blogosphere is rapidly growing as a way to publicize personal thoughts. According to Lenhart and Fox (2006), about 12 million American adults keep a blog and 57 million read blogs. The Meta-blog site *Technorati* reports that approximately 70 million blogs are currently tracked with over 1.6 million new posts daily (<http://technorati.com>). The vast majority of blogs are written by ordinary people (Schiano, Nardi, Gumbrecht, & Swartz, 2004), focusing on textualized expressions of personal thoughts, opinions, and emotion, comparable to traditional personal diaries (Herring, Scheidt, Bonus, & Wright, 2005; Lenhart & Fox, 2006).

However, blogging is differentiated from intra-personal diaries by its interactional characteristic. Blogging is a social activity because bloggers are aware of the existence of audiences and have interactional goals (Nardi, Schiano, & Gumbrecht, 2004; Schiano, Nardi, Gumbrecht, & Swartz, 2004; Stefanone & Jang, 2007). Writing in blogs is more public-oriented than other online tools such as email or listserv postings (Nowson, Oberlander, & Gill, 2005). Blog authors also frequently integrate news issues into their personal experiences and thoughts (Bruno, 2006). Although the blogosphere may not be a perfect reflection of public opinion, it is justifiable to refer to blog content as representative of online public discussions given its popularity and interactional characteristics. By analyzing blog postings in comparison with newspapers, cultural predispositions in the public's mind as well as in journalistic news content may be explored:

RQ2: Do the newspapers and blog postings show different framing patterns within each nation?

Analytic frameworks: space, time, and collectivism frame

This study is to compare US and Korean news articles and blogs. Two purposes of the comparisons are: first, to examine if there are framing patterns that are either consistent or distinguishable cross-nationally and across media; and second, to observe if the salience of collectivism is differently displayed between the nations and the media. The topic examined is the VT campus shooting that occurred in April 2007.

To examine framing patterns, the study analyzed news articles and blogs based on space frame (SF) and time frame (TF) (Table 1). SF and TF are introduced by Chyi and McCombs' (2004) model of framing changing. According to the authors, news media reframe a news event by emphasizing attributes of the event during the event's lifespan. TF and SF are generalizable because time 'corresponds to the "when" in the five Ws of journalism and space refers to "where" and may also

Table 1. Frameworks.

Space frame (SF)		
Individual level		Focus on the involved actors, interaction among them, description of their acts, reactions, or background information
Community/regional level		Focus on Virginia Tech, and the campus town, or any other single community or region
Societal level		Focus on the concerns, discussions, and events with nationwide interests
International level		Focus on related phenomena or similar social problem in other countries (except the US), or the interaction /reaction among multiple countries related with the issue
*In Korean articles, coverage exclusively dealing with the US is not regarded as international level		
Time frame (TF)		
Past		Previous event (e.g. previous shooting issues, gunman's past school life), analysis with historical perspective, editorial pieces with past experience
Present		Focus on the events/developments surrounding the key event in time, immediate consequences of the issue, current social phenomena
Future		Long term effect of the issue, solution, or action to be taken
Collectivism frame (CF)		
Description of gunman	Collective	Description of gunman focusing on his national/ethnic backgrounds
	Non-collective	Description of gunman without CF
		No description of gunman or in-passing mention
Description of victim	Collective	Description of victims focusing on their national/ethnic backgrounds
	Non-collective	Description of victim without CF
		No description of victim or in-passing mention
Description of public response	Collective	Ordinary people's emotion/thoughts/reaction toward the issue based on their national/ethnic identity (including both other people's responses and article/posting authors' own responses)
	Non-collective	Description of public response without CF
		No description of public response or in-passing mention

include the “who,” the “what,” and even the “why” (Chyi & McCombs, 2004, p. 25). Every object is basically framed by ‘core frame,’ a combination of a certain space attribute that made this a news event and present time attribute, and ‘extended frames’ that are more flexibility applied (Chyi & McCombs, 2004, p. 31).

Although SF and TF were devised mainly to show how framing pattern changes over time, they are appropriate frameworks for this study because of their generalizability in application. Particularly, these frames are suitable for instantaneous news objects. Moreover, the topic of Columbine shooting that Chyi and McCombs chose to test the model is similar to the topic of this study. SF was originally categorized into five levels: individual, community, regional, societal, and international. Considering that community and regional levels are not always clearly distinguishable from each other, as well as the fact that Chyi and McCombs found only 2% of regional-level news out of the total, the researchers here decided to combine the regional and community levels. Accordingly, the revised SF consists of four levels: individual, community, societal, and international. TF consists of three levels: past, present, and future.

In addition to SF and TF, researchers devised the ‘collectivism frame’ (CF) to further examine the degree of collectivistic storytelling. This frame is used primarily to find attributes reflective of collectivistic storytelling. Operationalization of this frame is initially based on the distinction of collective identity from personal identity (Melucci, 1995). While personal identity focuses on individual attributes such as gender, personality, occupation, and interpersonal roles, collective identity orients to the self-image attributed by a shared sense of ‘one-ness’ or ‘we-ness’ (Melucci, 1995; Snow, 2001). Brewer and Gardner (2004) define collective identity in a more concrete way: in their terms, while personal identity is the self-concept that individuates a self from all others, social identity highlights the aspects of self-concept that ‘reflects assimilation to others or significant social group’ (p. 67). Among the social selves, there are two levels of identity construction: interpersonal identity and collective identity. Even though both identities are the social extension of the self, they are differentiated in that interpersonal identity derives from interpersonal relationships or attachment to specific others, while collective identity is based on ‘impersonal bonds derived from common identification with some symbolic group or social category’ (Brewer & Gardner, 2004, p. 67).

Based on these conceptualizations of collective identity, our study operationalizes CF as the way a self is depicted as having a bond with nationality. The particular emphasis on nationality is because our study conducts cross-national comparison. Considering that nationality and ethnic identity are often intricate to each other, we define the presence of nationality as identifying either national identity or ethnic background. The development of CF was based on text-driven content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004). After being familiarized with news and blog articles, researchers found that most storytelling is about one of the three entities: gunman, victim, or the public’s response or reaction toward the issue. These three entities define three different dimensions of CF. Each dimension was coded based on the mutually exclusive binary categories of either having a relevant statement or not.

After initial discussion about the frameworks, pilot coding was conducted with 20 news articles and 20 blog postings to clarify coding criteria. During the pilot coding, there was not much difficulty revealed in terms of TF. In coding SF, there

was minor ambiguity between societal and international level in terms of several topics. How to code these topics was clarified in coding guidelines.

For CF, the final coding criteria were designed as follows: regarding the gunman dimension, an article has CF if it includes at least one statement that identifies a gunman's national/ethnic background or infers a criminal cause from or a possible consequence to a gunman's national/ethnic background (e.g. 'the gunman was a Korean immigrant,' 'a concern about the possible retaliation to Korean immigrant communities'). CF is present in the victim dimension if an article includes a statement indicating a victim's national/ethnic identity or personal history reflecting it (e.g. 'a Korean international student who was shot,' 'Professor Librescu grew up and lived in Romania'). Finally, CF is present in the dimension of public responses if an article highlights an ordinary individual's response or reaction as a national/ethnic community member or a national/ethnic community as part of the consequences (e.g. 'I am deeply ashamed to learn that it was a Korean that committed the mindless act of violence,' 'Our nation grieves with those who have lost loved ones'). Articles were coded by two bilingual graduate students trained on the coding guidelines. Ten per cent of news and blog articles were randomly selected for inter-coder reliability. All reliabilities were between .71 and 1.00 (i.e., each reliability coefficient is reported in Table 2).

Research hypotheses

Our first research question asks if there will be cross-national differences regarding collectivistic news storytelling. According to Hofstede (2001), Korea has a highly collectivistic national culture while the US is based on a highly individualistic culture. Moreover, the incident is domesticated international news for Korea, while, for the US, it is domestic-level news. Therefore, it is assumed that Korean news articles will present attributes of collectivism more frequently than the US news articles.

First, we assume that the core frame regarding SF will be different between the two nations. Specifically, for Korean newspapers, the news is regarded as international news thus the international level will be more highly salient in Korean newspapers. On the other hand, the occurrence of community level in SF is assumed

Table 2. Inter-coder reliabilities.

Category	Cohen's Kappa		
	Newspapers	Blogs	Total
Space	.707	.806	.759
Time	.806	.814	.811
Collectivism			
Gunman	.875	.811	.840
Victim	1.00	1.00	1.00
Public response	.750	.815	.791

to be higher in the US news than the Korean because it is a core frame for the US as seen in Columbine shooting incident (Chyi & McCombs, 2004):

H1: Korean news articles will show more frequent coverage on international level of SF than the US.

H2: The US news articles will show more frequent occurrence of community level of SF than Korean news articles.

In addition, we hypothesize that the individual level of description will appear more frequently in the US newspapers than in the Korean ones because the US is a more individualistic nation:

H3: The US news articles will show more frequent occurrence of individual level of SF than Korean news articles.

Another hypothesis underlies that news frames that reflect collectivistic perspectives should be differently revealed between the US and Korean newspapers. Specifically, Korean newspapers will reveal CF more frequently than the US, because of Korea's collectivistic cultural tendency:

H4: Korean news articles will include more stories of gunman, victim, and public response framed by CF than the US news articles.

Second research question asks about the cross-media differences. Public interpretations represented in blogs may or may not be consistent with journalistic perspectives. While news coverage is directly affected by journalists' professional principles, the journalistic perspective is not directly incorporated into public news framing. Accordingly, differences between the newspapers and blogs are likely to exist. We assume that journalistic newspapers and blogs will show different framing patterns in terms of not only collectivism but also other framing patterns. Therefore, we first hypothesize that there will be difference regarding SF and TF between newspapers and blogs within each nation:

H5: (a) US newspapers and blogs and (b) Korean newspapers and blogs will use SF differently.

H6: (a) US newspapers and blogs and (b) Korean newspapers and blogs will use TF differently.

CF is assumed to differ between Korean newspapers and blogs because, while collective storytelling in Korean newspapers will be offset by journalists' occupational values to some degree, collectivistic cultural tendency will be less filtered in the public's news talking. Therefore, Korean blogs may present collectivistic storytelling more frequently than newspapers. However, for the US case, there will not be much difference between the two because collectivism is not a prominent cultural property:

H7: Korean blogs will present CF-based storytelling involving gunman, victim, and public response more frequently than Korean news articles, while it is not the case for the US.

Data collection

For newspapers, the *New York Times* (NYT) and the *Washington Post* (WP) for the US and *Chosun Ilbo* (CHS) and *Hangyurae* (HNG) for Korea were selected. These

newspapers were selected because of their nationwide reputation in each country. The retrieved period was from 16 April 2007, the day of the shooting, to 15 May 2007 (in Korean time, from 17 April 2007 to 16 May 2006). Articles for NYT and WP were from LexisNexis and CHS and HG from their online archives. The searching keyword was 'Virginia Tech.' By reading each article, researchers removed the irrelevant. The numbers of analyzed articles are 82, 137, 75, and 82, for NYT, WP, CHS, and HG, respectively.

For blogs, *Google blog* and *Naver blog* were chosen for the analysis. The selection was based on three reasons: first, both blogs are used mainly by ordinary people who are not dedicated exclusively to journalistic writings. Since this study intends to assess ordinary bloggers' opinions, rather than the opinions of professionals or opinion leaders, the researchers decided not to consider professional or semi-professional blogs. Second, in utility the two portal sites are similar to each other. Third, both sites enjoy nationwide popularity in each country.

In order to match blog sample size with the newspaper sample size, the researchers decided to randomly collect approximately 200 postings for each nation. Blog postings were retrieved using *Google Blogsearch* and from *Naver Blog*. The keyword and search period were the same as that used for newspapers. A total of 256,117 postings from *Google* and 5659 from *Naver* were found. For a representative daily distribution, stratified sampling (Kerlinger, 1986) was used by regarding each date as a stratum¹. Postings that included only photos, merely copied and pasted news articles, or were too short were not included. A total of 227 postings from *Google* and 207 postings from *Naver* were gathered.

Results

Description of the results

Content analysis was conducted for 219 articles from US newspapers, 157 from Korean newspapers, 227 postings from US blogs, and 207 postings from Korean blogs. The daily distribution of articles indicated that both Korean and US newspapers have articles concentrated within the first week right after the incident: 74.4% for the US newspapers (NYT+WP), and 90.4% for Korean newspapers (CHS+HG) were published during the first week. The distribution of blog postings was also similar to that of newspapers: 76.2% for the US and 82.1% for Korean blog postings appeared during the first week. The heavy distribution in a short time period reflects the short lifespan of episodic and instantaneous news. The results of the proposed research questions and hypotheses above are summarized in Table 3.

RQ1: Do the US and Korea newspapers show differences in framing that are reflective of collectivistic storytelling?

Hypotheses 1 and 2 assumed that the US and Korean news articles would show a different SF framing particularly on an international and a community level. The SF results indicated significant difference between the two nations ($\chi^2 = 18.24, p < .001$). To examine which cells produced significant differences, post hoc tests with standardized residuals were conducted (Frankfort-Nachmias & Leon-Geurrero, 2002). The tests supported hypotheses 1 and 2: specifically, Korean newspapers used

Table 3. Comparison of Korean and US newspapers and blogs.

Nation		Newspapers			Blogs		
		KOR	US	Total	KOR	US	Total
SF	Individual	51 (32.5)	74 (33.8)	125 (33.2)	41 (19.8)	62 (27.3)	103 (23.7)
	Community	19 (12.1)	56 (25.6)	75 (19.9)	4 (1.9)	34 (15.0)	38 (8.8)
	Societal	71 (45.2)	83 (37.9)	154 (41.0)	109 (52.7)	120 (52.9)	229 (52.8)
	International	16 (10.2)	6 (2.7)	22 (5.9)	53 (25.6)	11 (4.8)	64 (14.7)
TF	Past	33 (21.0)	44 (20.1)	77 (20.5)	15 (7.2)	45 (19.8)	60 (13.8)
	Present	94 (59.9)	128 (58.4)	222 (59.0)	136 (65.7)	136 (59.9)	272 (62.7)
	Future	30 (19.1)	47 (21.5)	77 (20.5)	56 (27.1)	46 (20.3)	102 (23.5)
CF: Gunman	Collective	55 (35.0)	24 (11.0)	79 (21.0)	136 (65.7)	21 (9.2)	157 (36.2)
	No NCF	102 (65.0)	195 (89.0)	297 (79.0)	71 (34.3)	206 (90.7)	277 (63.8)
CF: Victim	Collective	7 (4.5)	4 (1.8)	11 (2.9)	12 (5.8)	4 (1.8)	16 (3.7)
	No NCF	150 (95.5)	215 (98.2)	365 (97.1)	195 (94.2)	222 (98.2)	417 (96.3)
CF: Public response	Collective	59 (37.6)	46 (21.0)	105 (27.9)	123 (59.4)	43 (18.9)	166 (38.2)
	No NCF	98 (62.4)	173 (79.0)	271 (72.1)	84 (40.6)	184 (81.1)	268 (61.8)

Cross-national comparison: SF, CF of gunman and public response $\alpha < .01$; time n.s.

Korea cross-media comparison: all frames except CF of victim $\alpha < .01$; victim n.s.

US cross-media comparison: SF $\alpha < .01$; TF and all of CF n.s.

international-level framing more frequently than the expected frequency (10.2%; std. residual = 2.2, $p < .05$), while the US newspapers did not (2.7%; std. residual = -1.9, $p > .05$); The frequency of community-level framing in US newspapers was not significantly different from the expected frequency (25.6%; std. residual = 1.9, $p > .05$), while the level was significantly under-represented in Korea newspapers (12.1%; std. residual = -2.2, $p < .05$).

The percentages of occurrences of individual level of SF indicated that the appearance of the individual-level stories in the US and Korean newspapers were not significantly different from each other. Individual level was used in 33.8% of the US and 32.5% of Korean newspapers, failing to be significantly different from the expected frequencies in post hoc tests (for the US, std. residual = .1, $p > .05$; for Korea, std. residual = .2, $p > .05$). Accordingly, hypothesis 3 stating higher individual level in the US newspapers was not supported.

Hypothesis 4 argued that stories of gunman, victims, and public responses would show higher salience of CF in Korean newspapers than in the US newspapers. The results supported the hypothesis: the percentage of gunman stories in Korean newspapers was more than three times greater than that of the US newspapers: 35.0% versus 11.0% ($\chi^2 = 32.93$, $p < .001$). For public response stories, 37.6% of Korean newspapers used CF while only 21.0% of the US newspapers did ($\chi^2 = 12.48$, $p < .001$). Although a significance test for the content about victims could not be conducted because of the insufficient sample size, CF was more frequent in Korean newspapers' victim stories than in those from the US as well.

RQ2: Do the newspapers and blog postings show different framing within each nation?

The second research question explores cross-media difference between newspapers and blogs. Among the subsequent hypotheses, hypothesis 5a argues for the different use of SF between the media in the US. The result revealed a significance difference between the two media ($\chi^2 = 14.51$, $p < .01$). Although newspapers showed a balance of individual, community and societal-level stories with 33.8, 25.6, and 37.9%, respectively, a majority of blog postings (52.9%) was framed at the societal level, indicating this level was the most dominant. Blog postings also had a slightly higher percentage of international-level framing, 4.8%, rather than the 2.7% of the news articles.

Hypothesis 5b suggesting the difference of SF between Korean newspapers and blogs was also supported ($\chi^2 = 32.48$, $p < .001$). For Korean newspapers, the most frequently used levels were individual and societal with 32.5 and 45.2% of occurrences. On the other hand, Korean blogs presented societal and international level more frequently than individual and community level: 52.7 and 25.6% versus 19.8 and 1.9%.

Hypotheses 6a and 6b assumed a different pattern of TF between newspapers and blogs within each nation. Before testing the hypotheses, we tested if TF is differentiated among newspapers across the nations. The result of TF analysis indicated the difference between the two nations was non-significant ($\chi^2 = 0.32$, $p > .1$). On the other hand, the tests of different pattern in TF between newspapers and blogs revealed that there was a significant difference in the Korean case, supporting hypothesis 6b ($\chi^2 = 15.71$, $p < .001$). Although in both newspapers and blogs the present frame was dominant (59.9 and 65.7%), blogs included more future-oriented stories (27.1 in blogs

and 19.1 in newspaper), and newspapers revealed more past-oriented stories (21.0% in newspapers and 7.2% in blogs). For TF of the US analysis, however, the difference was non-significant, rejecting hypothesis 6a ($\chi^2 = 0.12, p = .94$).

The last hypothesis compares the presence of CF between newspapers and blogs. Hypothesis 7 states that Korean blogs will present CF-based storytelling involving gunman, victim, and public response more frequently than Korean newspapers, while the US blogs will not be different from newspapers. The results partially supported hypothesis 6 by indicating significant differences in gunman ($\chi^2 = 33.67, p < .001$) and public responses ($\chi^2 = 17.04, p < .001$) in the Korean case. Specifically, blogs exceeded newspapers more than 30% in the use of CF: for gunman stories, 65.7% of blog postings used a collective frame while 35.0% of newspapers did. For public response, 59.4% for blogs and 37.6% of news articles adopted CF. For victim stories, although the result was not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = .32, p = .57$), blogs showed a slightly higher percentage (5.8%) than newspapers (4.5%).

As hypothesis 7 additionally states, no difference was found in the US case: for gunman ($\chi^2 = .36, p = .55$), for victim ($\chi^2 = .00, p = .96$), and for public response ($\chi^2 = .30, p = .59$). These results indicate that not only collectivistic storytelling appears much less often in US newspapers than in Korean newspapers but also that collectivism as an embedded value has only minimal influence in setting the reference frame in the US public's mind. This is contrary to Korea's result showing that CF was much more prevalent in blogs than in newspapers.

Conclusions and discussion

This study explored cross-national and cross-media differences, particularly regarding the salience of collectivism in framing. The study argues that the process of framing is based on the interplay between the common journalistic practice and the culturally contingent values that an interpretive community preserves. Conceiving a nation as the unit of interpretive community, the study questioned (1) if the degree of a national culture's predisposition to collectivism produces different salience of collectivism in framing and (2) if newspapers and blogs, which represent professional journalism and the ordinary public's interpretation, respectively, share consistent or distinct framing patterns. The study's cross-national comparison meets the growing needs for comparative framing study along with globalization. It also attempted to integrate media and online public framing analyses given the increased impact of publicized news discourse on the Internet on an individual's news interpretation.

With the VT shooting incident, the study content analyzed US and Korean newspapers and blogs. Chyi and McCombs' (2004) time and space frames and a collectivism frame devised by the researchers were used for the analyses. One interesting set of results was that, despite the different framings, a generalizable framing pattern exists to some extent. Specifically, findings of the consistency regarding TF and the prominence on individual and societal levels in SF conclude that certain framing patterns are commonly applied regardless of national differences.

Particularly, the current study observed that newspapers of both nations emphasized the individual and societal aspect and highlighted the current state of the issue. The finding was contradicted with our initial assumption that individual level will be more salient in individualistic national newspapers. The highlight on individual actors related with an issue and the major provision of a societal-level

perspective should be regarded as a universalized journalism pattern. In addition, in both nations, victims tended to be under-represented in contrast with prevalent gunman stories. Giving a priority to the criminal coverage rather than victims could be understood as a common journalism practice to attract more audiences.

Meanwhile, the hypotheses of different news framing regarding collectivistic storytelling were supported by the significant differences of CF between the two nations' news articles. The high salience of collectivism in the Korean news stories of gunman and public response and the paucity of CF in the US news coverage imply the potential susceptibility of journalistic news construction to the nation's cultural predisposition. This conclusion is further supported by the highest salience of CF in Korean blogs. The significant gap of CF frequencies between Korean blogs and the rest of the media indicates the influence of cultural predisposition on the Korean public's interpretation of the issue: the most important concern of the Korean public was the fact that the gunman was 'a member of our group.' For Americans, conversely, it did not really matter whether the bad guy was 'one of us' or 'one of them.'

One final conclusion underlines the difference between journalism and public news discourse. As seen through the comparative analysis of SF between the newspapers and blogs, public discourse reconstructs the news with macro-perspectives and fewer individual details. On the other hand, individual-level stories occupy a great portion of the journalism news content. Considering that individual-level stories necessarily highlight the involved actors more than the contextual issues and accompany factual information rather than analytical investigation, these findings suggest personification and empiricism as the universalized journalism practice across the two nations. That blogs reveal less individual orientation and more reflection on societal or international context suggests that the public are not just mimickers of professional journalists but actually extract their own meaning by reconstructing news. These results, however, are limited because of the imbalance of the sampling proportions between the newspapers and blogs: there was a much greater amount of blog postings than the newspaper articles. Having similar sample sizes between the two media, blog postings may be less effectively represented.

The results highlight theoretically important questions about the influence of inherent cultural tendency and the relationship between journalistic news coverage and the public's news interpretations. The study could not articulate, however, the real driving force of cross-national differences. Is the difference due to inherent cultural differences or does it result from the journalistic practice of news domestication? Nossek and Berkowitz (2006) indicated that two elements, a national threat or a geographical proximity, affect the narrative shift to collectivistic styles. For Koreans, the Virginia Tech shooting is neither an influential political act of violence nor a geographically influential incident. Even so, both Korean newspapers and public perceived the issue as a 'threat' to national reputation. Korea's interpretation of this issue as a threat could be an indicator that the nation is inclined toward collectivistic understanding. Although this argument may be implicitly supported by the amplified discrepancy of CF between Korean newspapers and blogs, the evidence is still insufficient to conclude that the ultimate factor driving collectivistic storytelling was Koreans' predisposition to cultural collectivism. In order to confirm this reasoning, future studies may wish to pursue interviews with journalists and bloggers about what motivates them to use specific news frames.

Also, the juxtaposition of this study's findings and an analysis of another news issue involving international news domestication by a more individualistic nation may also help appraise the influence of cultural predisposition on the framing process.

Note

1. According to Chyi and McCombs (2004), space and time frame changes as the news lifespan progresses. For instance, the individual level is more salient during the early period of coverage whereas macro-leveled news stories increase later. Although the analysis of longitudinal process is not of interest in this study, researchers adopted the stratified sampling for data collection of blogs, being aware of the unequal distribution of frames. The sampling fraction was 1/1281 for Google and 1/28 for Naver, calculated by dividing 200 by total number of postings (200/256,117 and 200/5659).

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