

Appendix A

Table 1. Framing Analysis

No	Headline	Frame	Causal interpretation	Moral evaluation	Recommended response	Primary rhetorical appeal	Dominant theme
1	<i>Did China scrap COVID controls overnight?</i> (China Daily, 2 Jan 2023)	Sudden policy change / public confusion	Rapid policy shift by the authorities	Concern about governance/transparency	Official clarification; calm communication	Pathos / Ethos	Risk & Uncertainty
2	<i>Does the COVID-19 vaccine weaken your immune system?</i> (China Daily, 23 Dec 2022)	Vaccine-safety rumor	Misinformation/misunderstanding of immunology	Fear, vaccine hesitancy	Expert evidence, myth-busting, clear guidance	Logos / Pathos	Solution & Science
3	<i>The sooner to get infected, the better?</i> (China Daily, 17 Dec 2022)	Dangerous behavioural claim	Social media/misinformation encouraging infection	Moral riskiness of behaviour	Fact-checking; public-health guidance	Pathos / Logos	Risk & Uncertainty
4	<i>Did China waste 3 years in the COVID fight?</i> (China Daily, 22 Dec 2022)	Critique of national response	Alleged policy failures or missed opportunities	Blame/accountability	Review, explanation, defense, or reform	Ethos / Pathos	Responsibility & Governance
5	<i>Are restrictions on arrivals from China discriminatory?</i> (China Daily, 6 Jan 2023)	Travel restrictions/fairness issue	Policy choices possibly driven by fear or politics	Questions of discrimination/justice	Policy review, diplomatic/ethical debate	Ethos	Responsibility & Governance
6	<i>Has a new COVID-19 strain emerged in Shanghai?</i> (China Daily, 8 May 2022)	Possible emergence of a variant	Mutation/importation	Urgency and worry	Increased surveillance, testing	Pathos	Risk & Uncertainty
7	<i>Do couriers in Shanghai have COVID-19?</i> (China Daily, 17 Apr 2022)	Potential occupational infections	High exposure of delivery workers	Worker safety / public health concern	Testing, protection for workers	Pathos / Ethos	Risk & Uncertainty
8	<i>Is there a 'carton'</i>	Reports of makeshift	Strain on	Concern about capacity	Resource allocation,	Pathos	Risk &

	<i>makeshift hospital' in Shanghai?</i> (China Daily, 12 Apr 2022)	facilities	healthcare/improvisation	and care	official clarification		Uncertainty
9	<i>Will Shanghai suspend group purchasing?</i> (China Daily, 8 Apr 2022)	Disruption to food/supply chains	Policy measures tied to outbreak control	Access to essentials/fairness	Policy clarity and mitigation measures	Ethos / Logos	Responsibility & Governance
10	<i>Will the armed forces take over communities in Shanghai?</i> (China Daily, 8 Apr 2022)	Concern about enforcement measures	Use of military or heavy enforcement	Civil liberties/authority questions	Transparency; limits on enforcement	Ethos / Pathos	Responsibility & Governance
11	<i>Will express and takeaway delivery services be suspended in Shanghai?</i> (China Daily — fact-check)	Potential service suspension	Lockdown measures affecting services	Public inconvenience/safety	Official guidance; fact-checking	Logos / Pathos	Risk & Uncertainty
12	<i>Are Brightdairy milk products safe to drink?</i> (China Daily — fact-check)	Food safety amid outbreak	Rumors of contamination	Health risk to consumers	Lab testing; official reassurance	Logos	Solution & Science
13	<i>Is China having a second wave of COVID-19?</i> (Global Times, 11 May 2020)	Resurgence of cases	Imported cases/relaxation of controls	Need for vigilance	Strengthen surveillance and controls	Pathos	Risk & Uncertainty
14	<i>How soon will a vaccine be made available?</i> (Global Times)	Uncertainty about vaccine timeline	R&D and regulatory timelines	Hope + impatience	Accelerate R&D; prepare rollout plans	Logos	Solution & Science
15	<i>How did a community in Wuhan manage to have zero COVID-19 infections?</i> (Global Times)	Exceptional local success	Strict measures/community compliance	Model behaviour / moral example	Document and replicate practices	Ethos / Logos	Responsibility & Governance
16	Global	Global systemic	International policy	Blame/reflection	Global	Ethos /	Responsibility

	coronavirus cases hit 100m, can humanity really learn from the apocalypse-like pandemic? (Qingqing et al., 2021)	failure	failings/lack of preparedness		cooperation reform	Logos	y & Governance
17	<i>How did Biden's intelligence team concoct the 90-day report on coronavirus origins?</i> (Global Times, Aug 2021)	Political framing of the origins report	Allegations of politicization/bias	Distrust of foreign authorities	Skepticism; counter-narratives	Ethos / Pathos	Responsibility & Governance (political)
18	<i>How did the biggest power in the world end up with the largest number of deaths from coronavirus?</i> (Global Times)	High death toll in another country	Policy failures / systemic issues	Moral critique/schadenfreude risk	Lessons learned: comparative analysis	Ethos / Pathos	Responsibility & Governance
19	<i>What did China do during its fight against COVID-19 from December 2019 to May 2020?</i> (Global Times)	Retrospective on national measures	Interventions and policy choices	Defensive/justificatory tone	Documentation: share lessons	Ethos / Logos	Solution & Science / Responsibility
20	<i>How did the local infection emerge? / Why does the virus keep cropping up?</i> (Global Times)	Recurring local outbreaks	Importation / environmental persistence/lapses	Ongoing concern	Testing, tracing, localized controls	Pathos / Logos	Risk & Uncertainty

Table 2. Thematic Analysis — Headlines Table (colour-coded)

No.	Author	Major headline	Interpretation	Emergent theme	Implications for research
1	Ma (2023)	<i>Did China scrap COVID controls overnight?</i>	Frames sudden policy changes as confusing/urgent; invites verification.	Risk & Uncertainty	Shows how question headlines create urgency; useful for studying emotional engagement and information-seeking behaviour.
2	Ma and Ming (2022)	<i>Does the COVID-19 vaccine weaken your immune system?</i>	Raises vaccine-safety concerns and taps into anxieties about misinformation.	Solution & Science	Highlights need to examine how Qs mediate trust in science and correct misinformation.
3	Chinadaily.com (2022)	<i>Fact Check: The sooner to get infected, the better?</i>	Counters viral rumours; promoting risky behaviour; positions outlet as corrective.	Risk & Uncertainty	Suggests question-headlines can be deployed to dispel myths — link to persuasion via correction.
4	Chi et al. (2022)	<i>Fact Check: Did China waste 3 years in the fight against COVID?</i>	Presents an accusatory claim; prompting debate over national performance.	Responsibility & Governance	Useful for analysing how question-headlines invite moral/political judgments among international readers.
5	Chi and Jianfen (2023)	<i>Are restrictions on arrivals from China discriminatory?</i>	Frames travel bans as potentially unjust, prompting ethical evaluation.	Responsibility & Governance	Indicates headlines can shift the discussion from health to fairness — relevant for framing/diasporic identity studies.
6	Wenting (2022a)	<i>No new COVID-19 strain found in Shanghai</i>	Signals a possible new threat; elevates surveillance and fear.	Risk & Uncertainty	Shows pathos-driven engagement; useful for studying the amplification of perceived risk among diaspora audiences.
7	Wenting (2022b)	<i>Do couriers in Shanghai have COVID-19?</i>	Focuses on occupational risk and worker safety; elicits empathy/concern.	Risk & Uncertainty	Useful for exploring how question-headlines foreground vulnerable groups and mobilize protective responses.
8	Chen (2022b)	<i>Is there a 'carton makeshift hospital' in Shanghai?</i>	Questions reports about improvised care facilities; highlighting system strain.	Risk & Uncertainty	Useful for examining how visuals and Qs together heighten perceived crisis; important for multimodal framing.
9	China Daily Rumor Buster (2022c)	<i>Will group purchasing be suspended in Shanghai?</i>	Raises practical concerns about supply and access under outbreak measures.	Responsibility & Governance	Links logistical governance frames to public compliance and trust — study civic impact of headlines.
10	Chen (2022a)	<i>Will the armed forces take over communities in Shanghai?</i>	Suggests extreme enforcement measures; questions civil-military roles.	Responsibility & Governance	Invites study of the framing of civil liberties and how Qs may alarm or reassure different

					audiences.
11	Yi and Shuwei (2022)	<i>Will express and takeaway delivery services be suspended in Shanghai?</i>	Focus on daily-life disruption; addresses service continuity.	Risk & Uncertainty	Useful to track how questions link public health to everyday routines and compliance behaviour.
12	Wenting (2022c)	<i>Are Brightdairy milk products safe to drink?</i>	Tackles food-safety rumor with empirical testing implications.	Solution & Science	Demonstrates role of Qs in prompting evidence-based reassurance; ties to trust-building strategies.
13	Globaltimes. cn (2020a)	<i>Is China having a second wave of COVID-19?</i>	Raises the prospect of a resurgence, alarms readiness, and heightens cross-border concerns.	Risk & Uncertainty	Relevant for analysing how international-facing headlines manage transnational anxiety.
14	Global Times (2020b)	<i>How soon will a vaccine be made available?</i>	Information-seeking question about timelines; balances hope and impatience.	Solution & Science	Key to exploring how Qs encourage rational engagement and expectations management.
15	Globaltimes.cn (2020b)	<i>How did a community in Wuhan manage to have zero COVID-19 infections?</i>	Presents local success as a model for replication; highlights compliance/strategy.	Responsibility & Governance	Shows positive normative framing and how Questions can promote moral exemplars and policy learning.
16	Qingqing et al. (2021)	<i>Global coronavirus cases hit 100m, can humanity really learn from the apocalypse-like pandemic?</i>	Broad systemic critique prompting reflection on global failures.	Responsibility & Governance	Useful to study how Qs promote comparative judgments and international accountability frames.
17	Global Times (2021)	<i>How did Biden's intelligence team concoct the 90-day report on coronavirus origins?</i>	A politically charged question that questions foreign actors' credibility.	Responsibility & Governance	Demonstrates politicization via Qs — relevant for diaspora readers' political framing and persuasion.
18	Global Times (2022)	<i>A million COVID deaths expose US systematic failures, as Americans call for more than flags at half-mast to save lives</i>	Comparative critique of other states; moralizing tone.	Responsibility & Governance	Shows Qs used to delegitimize foreign governance, shaping diasporic identity and emotional climates.
19	Global Times (2020a)	<i>Timeline of China's battle against the COVID-19 pandemic</i>	Retrospective question inviting a narrative of actions/lessons.	Solution & Science	Enables analysis of Qs as vehicles for official narratives and legitimacy-building.
20	Xu (2020)	<i>Tianjin coronavirus case may arise from frozen food: expert</i>	Questions the recurrence and causes of outbreaks; invites procedural answers.	Risk & Uncertainty	Useful for studying how Qs sustain public attention on the persistence of risk.

No.	Pseudonym	Newspaper	Major Headline
1	H1	China Daily	Did China scrap COVID controls overnight?
2	H2	China Daily	Does the COVID-19 vaccine weaken your immune system?
3	H3	China Daily	Fact Check: The sooner to get infected, the better?
4	H4	China Daily	Did China waste three years in the COVID fight?
5	H5	China Daily	Are restrictions on arrivals from China discriminatory?
6	H6	China Daily	Has a new COVID-19 strain emerged in Shanghai?
7	H7	China Daily	Do couriers in Shanghai have COVID-19?
8	H8	China Daily	Is there a 'carton makeshift hospital' in Shanghai?
9	H9	China Daily	Will Shanghai suspend group purchasing?
10	H10	China Daily	Will the armed forces take over communities in Shanghai?
11	H11	China Daily	Will express and takeaway delivery services be suspended in Shanghai?
12	H12	China Daily	Are Brightdairy milk products safe to drink?
13	H13	Global Times	Is China having a second wave of COVID-19?
14	H14	Global Times	How soon will a vaccine be made available?
15	H15	Globaltimes.cn	How did a community in Wuhan manage to have zero COVID-19 infections?
16	H16	Global Times	Global coronavirus cases hit 100m, can humanity really learn from the apocalypse-like pandemic?
17	H17	Global Times	How did Biden's intelligence team concoct the 90-day report on coronavirus origins?
18	H18	Global Times	A million COVID deaths expose US systemic failures, as Americans call for more than flags at half-mast to save lives.
19	H19	Global Times	Timeline of China's battle against the COVID-19 pandemic.
20	H20	Global Times	How did the local infection emerge? / Why does the virus keep cropping up?