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**An Analysis of Framing in British News Media Representations of
China and the Chinese**

By

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ABSTRACT

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, with China's remarkable success in economic developments and greater openness to the outside world, two sharply opposing views of China have appeared in the Western perception of China - a rising superpower as well as a threat to the West, economically, militarily and environmentally. The West, particularly the US and Britain fears that China is likely to take advantage of its growing economic and geopolitical influence in order to change the world's power pattern.

Within such a social context, this thesis sets out to explore if the old concepts of Orientalism on China has ever changed in modern times and how the modern images China and the Chinese are framed in the contemporary British news media. It is carried out through four cases – Chinese migration, Hong Kong handover (1997), Tibet issue and Sichuan Great Earthquake (2008). More specifically, the thesis examines: how the two dominating masterframes – ethno-nationalist and liberal individualist masterframes co-exist or compete with each other in the reporting; and what the differences are between newspapers in terms of frame choice and the ratio of struggle between two frames.

The study implies that the old Orientalist stereotypes, such as 'Yellow Peril', which were used to describe China and the Chinese have not often appeared in the recent British news media representations in the selected four cases. Instead, the liberal individualist views have been widely and deeply embedded in the British news reporting, criticising China being essentially a Communist dictatorship as opposed to Western democracy. Additionally, the relations between two masterframes appear in three forms – coexistence or intertwining, supporting each other, and struggle.

Key words: framing, masterframes, ethno-nationalism, liberal individualism.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Thesis background

In the thirteenth century, Marco Polo (1254-1324), one of the most famous European explorers, discovered great riches during a trip to China, later completing the book *The Travels of Marco Polo* describing his experiences. Following his work, China became very fascinating and attractive to the West. However, since the Opium Wars in the nineteenth century China's image has changed. Stereotypes of the Chinese people were frequently created and adopted by the media, such as 'Yellow Peril', 'drug addicts', etc. Also, in the history of Chinese migration to the UK, the Chinese community has remained as a 'hidden' minority with a small population, limited political participation and a small amount of media representation. British mainstream society's impressions of China and the Chinese remained this way until 1978 when China opened its doors to the outside world. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, two sharply opposing Western perceptions of China as a modern Far Eastern country have appeared, both arising from the nation's magnificent development in economy, politics and culture during recent years. The positive view sees China as a rising global superpower, whilst the other sees it as a threat to the West in a multitude of ways.

Criticism of China's recent development commonly falls into three main categories. The first sees *China as an economic threat*. Due to China's remarkable economic growth in the last three decades, it is believed that it will have the world's largest economy by the middle of the twenty-first century. This growth has allowed millions of people to be helped out of poverty. It also officially joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001, which was expected to boost the economic reforms that started in 1978 and to open a massive new free market to the rest of the world. Over the past 30 years, China has maintained an average annual economic growth rate of 9.8 percent, which is triple the world average. However, some Westerners fear that 'China is likely to take advantage of its growing

economic and geopolitical influence to defend and advocate, even in the face of Western opposition, rights policies and a normative vision of the world at odds with current rights policies based on secular liberalism' (Peerenboom, 2007:4).

Secondly, some see *China as a military threat*. China's economic miracle has allowed large-scale expenditure on modernising its military forces. Thus, the nation's military strength has been increased by adding to and updating its capabilities in advanced missiles, long-range air defence systems, computer-targeting systems, etc. It has clearly become a major concern for Western countries, many of which criticise China for threatening the 'geopolitical stability' of Asia as well as other regions.

Last but not least, there has been widespread concern expressed in relation to *China as an environmental threat*. Whilst China has emerged as a major industrial power, the environmental damage caused by its expansion of heavy industry and urbanization has received waves of criticism. *The New York Times*, in the article 'As China Roars, Pollution Reaches Deadly Extremes', described the fears as 'China's problem has become the world's problem. Sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides spewed by China's coal-fired power plants fall as acid rain on Seoul, South Korea, and Tokyo. Much of the particulate pollution over Los Angeles originates in China, according to the Journal of Geophysical Research' (August 26, 2007). The environmental issue was also frequently brought up before and during the Beijing Olympics in 2008.

Furthermore, China has been continuously criticised by Western commentators over its political regime and human rights record. It remains a socialist state and some fear that 'since China is an increasingly important and influential country in world affairs, China's continuous antidemocracy diplomacy would have a significant impact on the diffusion of...democracy throughout the world' (Peerenboom, 2007:3). Meanwhile, China is still pictured as a brutal dictator who violently oppresses its citizens and has had a rich culture in anti-Westernism.

Within a social context, this thesis is aimed at exploring China's image in the contemporary British news media as an extension of China's historical representation in Britain since the first generation of Chinese migrants hit the shores. More specifically, the thesis explores how China and the Chinese have been represented in the British news media in recent years by examining what frames British newspapers chose when reporting and what the differences are between newspapers in terms of frame choices.

With this in mind, this thesis aims to demonstrate two significant points. Firstly, that there is little empirical research that has been done on newspaper representations of China and the Chinese as a whole, particularly on the perception of their modern images. One of the main reasons for this is that the British media's representation of China and the Chinese has been very limited in its media history. This became particularly apparent as I searched for news articles during my research. The four case studies I chose, present four different perspectives on China's and the Chinese people's image: the Chinese at home and abroad, China's relations with Britain, China's domestic conflict and its recent natural disasters. They cover various social aspects of China right up to the present. Secondly, I apply a combination of three research methods: frame analysis as the leading method, quantitative content analysis and qualitative discourse analysis as the auxiliary methods. Each method has its own strengths and weaknesses, so they are used in combination to ensure an exhaustive analysis.

The following sections of this chapter are going to explain what specific research questions there are and how this thesis is constructed to answer them.

1.2 Research questions, objectives and arguments

Framing, as the fundamental theoretical framework, is considered throughout the whole thesis and frame analysis is the perspective from which I examine how the media represent China in the modern era. It is the tool continuously used to explore and make sense of media discourses, from both cognitive and socio-cultural perspectives.

Entman's (1989, 1991, 1993, 2000, 2007) model is adopted as the main source of theoretical guidance in this thesis, as it suits the characteristics of newspaper journalistic practice, which involves active and deliberate selection of the concepts of frames and is also strongly affected by the wider context of society, in order to conform to particular organisations' principles on news coverage. This model emphasises the intention within the selection process of news coverage, which rejects the idea that frames are adopted in the course of communicative processes without consciousness.

Masterframes, or metanarratives, which focus on the content and distinguish from 'structural schemas' or generic frames ((Price et al., 1997:484; de Vreese, 2002) are consistently employed throughout my research. Three pervasive masterframes are found occurred frequently in the media discourses - *ethno-nationalism*, *liberal individualism* and *harmony with nature*. Due to the fact that the 'harmony with nature' frame is more dedicated to ecological issues and is less frequently adopted in media discourses, I *only* focus on the masterframes of Ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism in my research. The former tends to look from a racialised perspective, viewing China as inferior when compared to the Western world, with its dominant global status. As a specific form of racism, Edward Said's work (1978) and other recent literature on Orientalism are introduced and applied to my empirical research. These theories signify the systems of western 'Orientalist' representations of the East in history. The 'inferior', 'disordered', 'irrational' and 'primitive' characteristics of the 'orient' were always discussed in a context in which the West was thought of as 'superior', 'ordered', 'rational' and 'symmetrical'. Media representations as a form of expressing racism and Orientalism are explained in the later discussion. By considering how the media adopts the ethno-nationalism frame, it is also important to explore whether the Orientalist ideology is present in journalistic practice nowadays. Liberal individualism is more about how the West considers itself a democratic society compared to China, which is seen on the opposite side. Human individuals and freedom are taken as central to the concept. This frame claims that in a democratic society all members have maximum power to make the best of themselves and enjoy full rights to chase their best interests. According to Sardar, liberal democracy is unique to Western

culture. 'The individual's main concern is to keep his/her identity intact, separate from all others, to preserve the boundaries at all cost, to enclose herself/himself within a protective wall.' (1998:61) On the contrary, in non-Western society, the individual identifies himself/herself by culture, community, family, heritage etc. As a result, liberal individualism as a frame is often used in the Western press to criticise the Other. Criticism of China's human rights record is a typical example.

This thesis is aiming to find out which masterframe dominates, or how two masterframes work together within the texts of the same article or over the same news event. The following thesis structure demonstrates how each chapter contributes towards the thesis as a whole.

Therefore, the research is built from two starting points that lead to specific research questions, as discussed below.

- CONCEPTUALLY, it sets out to explore how China and the Chinese are represented in the British news media. The research focuses on how China and the Chinese are framed in their media representation, examining: 1, how have the two masterframes – ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism been applied in contemporary British news reporting on China and the Chinese; 2, the differences between newspapers in relation to frame selection.
- EMPIRICALLY, four cases are selected for analysis by adopting three methodological approaches. The case studies encompass four key issues involving the most popular (in terms of high media exposure), representative and communicative events covering China and Chinese migrants in the UK in recent decades. They are: the Tibetan issue throughout history, the Hong Kong handover and its 10th anniversary, the tragedies of Chinese migrants in Britain, and the 1976 and 2008 great earthquakes in China. For research methodology, a combination of three methods is adopted – content analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and frame analysis, the strengths of each method compensating for the weaknesses of

the others.

Therefore, the specific research questions are:

- How have the two masterframes been applied in the empirical reporting? What is the balance between the two contrasting forces - ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism - in media discourses? How has this balance changed over time through the four case studies?
- Which frame is leading the direction of reporting in every case, if there is one? What is the ratio between two frames and which is the dominant frame?
- What are the differences between newspapers in terms of frame selection?

The questions listed above are fundamental and central to the research contained within this thesis. They are the guides that lead all analysis and discussion of each case study in the empirical work.

1.3 Thesis structure

In order to answer the list of research questions above, this thesis is divided into two main parts and composed of a total of eight chapters. The first conceptual part is made up of the introduction to the thesis and the relevant theoretical framework and the methods adopted.

Chapter Two – *The theory of framing and its application in media discourses* is structured in five parts. It starts with the introduction of the origins and the development of definitions of framing. In the first section, the concepts of Goffman's and Entman's framing theories are reported and compared, followed by the reasons why I choose Entman's model as the main framework of the thesis. The second section examines how frames work in journalistic practice and how media studies explain the selection process. The third section begins with the introduction of three master frames: *ethno-nationalism*, *liberal individualism* and *harmony with nature*. Theoretical conceptualisation of ethnicity and racism, as well as their media representation, is the scaffold for the ethno-nationalism

masterframe. Previous work, particularly Said's (1978) contributions to the origins of the specific form of racism known as Orientalism is outlined as part of the section, followed by the historical images of the Chinese in Western media; from Fu Manchu and the 'Yellow Peril' in British and American movies throughout the twentieth century, to the images of the Chinese community in British mainstream media nowadays, which are chronologically introduced and discussed. In the fourth section, the development of historical and controversial concepts of liberal individualism is discussed. Concepts central to the discourse within liberal democracies such as equality, liberty, human rights and capitalism are given concrete explanations. This chapter is concluded with a summary of the arguments discussed within it.

Chapter Three discusses the combination of research methods the study employs and how they are applied to the research in my empirical work. There are in total three methods of data collection and analysis:

Quantitative analysis - content analysis

For each of the case studies that I've selected, I look at British national newspapers or both British national and regional newspapers that cover each issue within a defined period of time (depending on the size of the sample). From this, I give the overall picture of the frequency of reporting and, in such terms, compare newspapers. This approach may not answer my research questions, but it justifies the samples and informs on which samples should be analysed in greater depth.

Qualitative analysis – Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Unlike quantitative analysis, qualitative analysis is used to analyse the reporting of certain issues, topics, themes etc. within a social context. Concepts of Norman Fairclough's (1995a, 1995b, 2001) model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are borrowed in the study. It not only looks at the meaning within texts from a more sensitive analytical perspective than content analysis, but also can be used as a tool to help identify the frames embedded in news texts.

Frame analysis

Frame analysis shows how the newspapers define and construct the issues by identifying and scrutinising key words within concrete texts. In this thesis, frame analysis is targeted based on the results obtained from the content and discourse analysis; they are used in conjunction to identify the frames in the texts.

Application of research methods in the empirical work

In the last section of Chapter Three, the key elements of each research sample are given in detail, followed by a step-by-step explanation of how the research was carried out in my empirical work. Throughout, I clarify how the three methods fit together and reinforce each other, as well as compensate for each others' shortcomings. Any problems or difficulties I have experienced in conducting the research are also discussed.

The following four chapters specifically focus on examining media framing of China and the Chinese in practice. They consist of the analyses and discussion of four case studies. Following the discussion of the theoretical and methodological basis of the research, each chapter presents the resulting analysis of the recorded items of newspaper coverage. These chapters share the same structure, each consisting of five broad sections. Firstly, each chapter is introduced and outlined. Secondly, the background and the historical context of each chapter are discussed. In next two sections, the ethno-nationalist and liberal individualist masterframes are defined and summarised in separate sets. Evidence from both content analysis and discourse analysis is demonstrated under each masterframe. In each case the quantitative results are presented as tables and graphs, with summarised data of frequencies from the content analysis. A detailed qualitative analysis of the texts in selected news items is then provided. The last section, the conclusion, summarises what has been discovered from the frame and comparative analysis of the newspaper articles.

The Tibet case exhibits two comparisons made within the context of Orientalism. The first is of the *Tibetan Orient* versus the *Western Occident*. As for Said (1978), the Orient is not only a creation of the Western imagination, but also shows how the West perceives itself. It

combines a negative Other-presentation and a simultaneous positive self-presentation. In other words, the ‘inferior’, ‘disorder’, ‘irrational’ and ‘primitivism’ characterisations of the ‘orient’ have been made in a context in which the West is described using words such as ‘superior’, ‘order’, ‘rationality’ and ‘symmetry’. Hence, Tibet is a mythical construction made by, and for, Westerners. The intertwining of two contrasting images of Tibet is explained in Dreyfus’s work *Are we prisoners of Shangrila? - Orientalism, nationalism, and the study of Tibet*,

Tibet is subject to the play of binary oppositions. Either it is the holy land, the repository of all wisdom, the idyllic society devoted to the practice of Buddhism, or it is the land of all superstitions, a cesspool of medieval corruptions, an abominable theocratic regime based on the monstrous exploitation of serfs. (2005:2)

Hence, the West not only shows its interest in the exotic Tibet, but also tends to ‘know’ the Orient in order to ‘civilise’ and ‘liberate’ Tibet as an advanced intelligence.

The second comparison is that made between *Tibetan exoticism* and *Chinese dictatorship*. China is blamed for destroying Tibet’s cultural and religious purity by trying to manipulate Tibet’s politics, ideologies and culture.

Chapter Four discusses how the three British national newspapers – *The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Daily Mirror* reported on the subject of Tibet, for four selected events that occurred during the past 200 years. All articles (n=1043) are analysed in four parts, according to the four separate reporting periods. The four periods – the British invasion of Tibet (1903-1904), China’s military entry into Tibet (1950-1951), the Lhasa uprising (March 10, 1959) and the Olympic torch relay and pro-Tibetan protests (February-August, 2008), are the most instructive events in terms of the history of Tibet and the representation of its relations with Britain and China at the time. This chapter is divided into four sections, analysing, in turn, the reporting across the four periods in of

coverage of Tibet, in order to explore changes and developments in the concepts of Orientalism in the content. The first part (n=324) explores the newspaper coverage of Britain's first expedition to Tibet, within the two year period from 1903 to 1904. From 1950 to 1951, 119 news articles from the three chosen newspapers reported China's military entry into Tibet. A period of 12 months (6 months before *and* 6 months after the Lhasa uprising on the March 10, 1959) was covered by 120 national news articles. Fairly recently, during the Beijing Olympic torch parade, protestors, both outside and within China, attempted to disrupt the relay to focus worldwide attention onto the Tibet issue. 480 articles were selected to explore how the British mainstream news media presented the image of Tibet in the international debates that ensued.

In the last section, the chapter suggests that the issues attached to each masterframe are different from one case to the other, due to the differences between the events in each of selected historical periods. However, the judgements based on both frames have consistently remained the same, particularly those relating to China. Also, although both masterframes are present, they do not contradict each other in the selected case studies. More often, they co-exist with each other, although the masterframe of liberal individualism appears more frequently in each case study.

After the British colonial period, Hong Kong has become the financial centre of the world. Meanwhile, China is no longer an 'inferior' Far Eastern nation synonymous with 'disorder', but modern and fast growing. China's rising global status has changed the world pattern. **Chapter Five**, the first result chapter, analyses and discusses the news articles reporting on Hong Kong's transition back to being part of mainland China, and the 10th anniversary of the event, in British national newspapers. All of the articles (n=665), are analysed in two sections according to the two separate reporting periods. Within each section, the analyses of quantitative and qualitative results demonstrate the two frames – ethno-nationalism and liberal democracy (as a special form of liberal individualism) embedded in the news texts, in order to answer the questions such as: what perspectives did the British national press media choose to report the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997 and how

they have changed their viewpoints over the 10 years since handover. Furthermore, comparisons between newspapers are made to explore, not only the difference between newspapers in relation to framing choices, but also the differences between the two selected periods.

Chapter Six examines both *national* and *regional* newspaper coverage of two tragic incidents, which caused the deaths of Chinese migrants in the UK – the Dover tragedy and the Morecambe Bay Chinese cockle pickers tragedy by analysing a total of 254 news articles. As the most tragic experiences of Chinese migrants in the last decade, both incidents not only revealed the issues of human trafficking and smuggling, along with the associated British black market activity it implied, but also provoked discussion about British migration policies. The viewpoints of British newspapers were reflected in their reporting.

This chapter starts with the history of Chinese migration to the UK, providing the background for my later analysis, followed by the discussion of both ethno-nationalist masterframes and liberal individualist masterframes respectively in this case. The evidence of identified masterframes is obtained by two methods. The summarised data of frequencies comes from the results of content analysis and is presented in tables and graphs; discourse analysis is structured in three sections – headlines, actors and quotations, and lexicalisation. Comparisons of newspapers are given in the last part. The chapter concludes by suggesting that the masterframes of ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism cover all issues reported throughout the periods but focus on different primary topics. Hence, the balance between the two masterframes is not entirely equal on different issues.

Chapter Seven analyses and discusses the newspaper coverage of the two biggest earthquakes in Chinese history since the People’s Republic of China was formally established in 1949 - the 1976 Tangshan Earthquake and 2008 Sichuan Earthquake. Aiming at investigating the differences and changes in the masterframes embedded in the news, the concepts of Orientalism and liberal democracy are examined in order to discover how they

are applied to this case and how they work and shift from time to time. The chapter begins with an introduction to the literature of Orientalism and liberal democracy, which are the separate concepts that are examined in the news analysis. Together they are the lenses through which the West observes the East and are the frames embedded in the Western media's representation of the East. Essentially, Orientalism is a form of racism and it seeks to differentiate between the East and the West in two key respects - exotic aspect and barbarian aspect; while liberal democracy is the yardstick that the West uses to see if the East meets Western democratic standards. The second section introduces the historical and socio-cultural background of both earthquakes, followed by two sets of frames identified from the results of content analysis and discourse analysis. Discovering how the two frames cooperate or compete with each other and the balance between them are the primary goals to achieve. The comparisons of frames as well as newspapers in the two separate periods are summarised in the last section. The conclusion of the chapter suggests that the Orientalist frame can only be found in small traces, co-existing with the liberal frame. The masterframe of liberal individualism dominates the news reporting throughout this case by making judgements as to whether China fits the Western model of liberal democracy.

The **Conclusion** chapter consists of two parts. The first part reviews the research questions and explains how the aims are achieved in undertaking the research project. The results are organised in order to clarify how each of the questions is answered and how the research is related to the issues in a wider context. The second part brings the work to a close by discussing the implications of the findings of the thesis, detailing how I have applied theories and methods in my research and how it makes original contributions to existing knowledge.

1.4 Original contribution

This thesis has made original contributions in the empirical field. It fills a gap in the examination of how China and the Chinese have been recently represented in the contemporary British news media. Due to the developments China has made in various

areas during recent years, it has become a rising superpower as well as a threat to the Western world. My research contributes to the illumination of media framing in the recorded news texts of selected events with high media exposure, in order to examine the British perception of modern China. Additionally, as I discussed earlier in this chapter, there is little empirical research that has been done on newspaper representations of China and the Chinese as a whole, particularly on the perception of their modern images. One of the main reasons for this is that the British media's representation of China and the Chinese has been very limited in its media history. This became particularly apparent as I searched for news articles during my research. The four case studies I chose present four different perspectives of China's and the Chinese people's image: the Chinese at home and abroad, China's relations with Britain, China's domestic conflict and its recent natural disaster. They represent various social aspects of China right up to the present.

CHAPTER 2

Theories and applications of framing in media discourses

The view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard. The unfolding scene also depends upon where one stands, far or near, craning one's neck to the side, or gazing straight ahead, eyes parallel to the wall in which the window is encased.

-Tuchman, 1978:1

In this chapter I introduce and discuss the historical development of academic research on framing and frame analysis, as the fundamental theoretical framework of my analysis of British press media representation of China and the Chinese. In this chapter, as well as throughout the whole thesis, I apply Entman's (1989, 1991, 1993, 2000, 2007) model of frame analysis in discussing my research questions. This model emphasises the intention within the selection process of news coverage, which rejects the idea that frames are adopted in the course of communicative processes without consciousness.

This chapter is split into five sections. It starts with the introduction of the origins and developments of definitions of framing. In the first section, both the concepts of Goffman's and Entman's framing theories are described and compared, followed by the reasons why I choose Entman's model as the main framework for the thesis. The second section examines how frames work in journalistic practice and how media studies explain the selection process and the powerful effects this can have on the perception and understanding of received information. The third section begins with the introduction of three master frames: *ethno-nationalism*, *liberal individualism* and *harmony with nature*. Since the ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism frames are the most discussed and chosen in media practice, this thesis mainly focuses on them. Theoretical conceptualisation of ethnicity and

racism, as well as their media representation, is the scaffold for the ethno-nationalism masterframe. Previous work, particularly Said's (1978) contributions to the origins of the specific form of racism-Orientalism, is outlined as part of the section. In the fourth section, the development of historical and controversial concepts of liberal individualism is discussed. This chapter is ended with a summary of the relations, along with framing and news discourse.

2.1 Two framing models

Goffman's model

Both theoretically and empirically, research on framing is often characterised by confusion and vagueness. The absence of consistency and core knowledge in various definitions has inhibited a 'general statement of framing theory' (Entman, 1993:51).

Frame analysis is originally derived from the symbolic interactionism of the Chicago School. Sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) is often seen as the one who initially introduced the framing approach to media studies. Goffman's work on frame analysis is widely quoted and viewed as the original formulation. He located frames in his book *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience* as:

I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events [...] and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify. (p.10)

This early formulation has deep roots in cognitive psychology. Goffman continued these early thoughts and focused on how the 'principles of organization' decide the representation and reception of reality. In other words, for Goffman, 'frames are not consciously manufactured but are unconsciously adopted in the course of communicative processes' (Koenig, 2010). Framing is already embodied within all social interaction and

movements, so it is beyond the question of why frames exist and how they are constructed. Also for Gitlin (1980), frames are their manifestation in text of a larger set of structures and societal ideologies.

There are three areas in which frame analysis has developed since Goffman: management and organisational studies, social movement studies and media studies. However, due to the powerful effects of the journalistic communicative process, framing as a concept in media studies started losing its connection with Goffman's theories. Instead Entman (1993) was taken as a starting point, since framing had been widely used in media and communication research.

Entman's model

Contra Goffman (1974), Entman's definition views the conceptualisation of frames as being deliberately adopted and manufactured by emphasising the intentional selection process. He said,

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation. (1993:52)

He also suggested that salience is 'achieved by highlighting bits of information through placement, repetition, and associating them with culturally familiar symbols' (p.53). The central question provoked by this definition is: what is the process of how the 'aspects of a perceived reality' are chosen and highlighted? The answer determines the outcome or effect of the framing. Hence, the practice of framing has shifted from unconscious to conscious and deliberate selection when applied in journalism. Similarly, Pan and Kosicki (1993) argued that,

[W]e may conceive a news media frame as a cognitive device used in information

encoding, interpreting, and retrieving; it is communicable; and it is related to journalistic routines and conventions. Framing, therefore, may be studied as a strategy of constructing and processing news discourse or as a characteristic of the discourse itself. (p.57)

Following Entman, Wolfsfeld (1997) believed journalists routinely seek the best narrative fit between incoming information and existing frames in an interactive process. Reese (2001) explained two ways in which frames are 'organised'- cognitively and culturally. Cognitively, media lead audiences to tend to think about social phenomena in a certain way by emphasising some aspects of the event. This is often adopted in the reporting of racial issues; culturally, frames have deeper roots and longer term effects in audiences' understanding and values. 'Cultural frames' are more strategic, but both cognitive and cultural ways show active characteristic in the framing process. Furthermore, Reese suggested that 'frames are principles of organizing information, clues to which may be found in the media discourse, within individuals, and within social and cultural practices' (2001:14). This is in contrast to Goffman whose frames enhance rather than limit the reception and understanding of information by audiences.

Elements that construct a frame

Gitlin (1980) viewed frames as 'persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organise discourse...' (p.7). How the pieces of information are put together within a specific structure gives power to framing and decides how news readers perceive the information. For Entman (1993), frames are 'manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements' (p.52). Additionally, Iyengar (1991) understood that the concepts of framing referred to 'subtle alterations in the statement or presentation of [...] problems' (p.11). 'Subtle alternations' of original information is another way of framing. Overall, frames are built upon symbols as part of the presentation in order to help news consumers build their views to understand the world.

The powerful effect of framing

The art of framing creates meaning with powerful effects (Bhaskar, 1989). Entman (1993) in the journal article *Framing: toward a clarification of a fractured paradigm* outlined that, ‘Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location-such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel-to that consciousness’ (pp.51-52). He also identified the powerful effect of framing:

The frame of a news portrait can be enlarged so that media reports may penetrate the consciousness of a mass public that is minimally aware of most specific issues and events. Or the frame can be shrunk to miniaturize an event, diminishing the amount, prominence, and duration of coverage, and thus mass awareness. (1991:9-10)

Consequently, Entman’s theory is adopted as the fundamental framework of this thesis, for it suits the characteristics of newspaper journalist practice, which involves active and deliberate selection of the concepts of frames and is also strongly affected by the wider context of society, in order to meet organisations’ principles on news coverage.

2.2 Framing in media discourses

2.2.1 Ideology and its practice in journalistic framing

Since framing began with social cognition, it has been grounded in ideology. Hackett (1984) argued that media researchers should shift their focus from the study of objectivity and bias to ideology in the news. He also suggested that framing is a useful approach to media studies as it goes underneath the surface of news coverage and reveals the hidden implications and assumptions. Hackett, in his article, explained the difference between framing and bias. Firstly, framing is more complex and sophisticated from the cognitive psychological perspective. It does not simply represent black or white, positive or negative. Secondly, framing has a function which bias does not have; that it defines the situation or

event, and creates a debate around the issue. Thirdly, framing often works in subtle ways but has powerful effects in influencing audiences' points of view without their knowledge. Tankard, et al. (2001) also suggested,

Much of the power of framing comes from its ability to define the terms of a debate without the audience realizing it is taking place. Media framing can be linked to the magician's sleight of hand-attention is directed to one point so that people do not notice the manipulation that is going on at another point. (p.97)

Van Dijk (1998) defined ideology as 'the interface between social structure and social cognition ... ideologies may be very succinctly defined as the *basis of the social representations shared by members of a group*' (p.8). Similarly, ideology is often viewed as 'a coherent set of political beliefs and values' (Augoustinos et al, 2006:273) to serve the interests of certain groups. For Stuart Hall (1996), a frame is composed of 'mental frameworks - the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation - which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, figure out and render intelligible the way society works' (p.26).

Journalism is a practice of filling 'frames' with 'a pattern or set of ideas, assumptions, beliefs, values, or interpretations of the world by which a culture or group operates' (Foss, 1996:291) which all are products of 'ideologies'. In other words, framing is the approach of constructing elements with a certain logic to make sense of the dominant ideology (Bhaskar, 1989). Eder (1996) in his book *The Social Construction of Nature: A Sociology of Ecological Enlightenment* suggested that, 'Discourse analysis looks at the medium in and through which frames are constructed and reconstructed', thus 'frames are the micro-units of a discourse analysis' (p.166). Incidentally, Jameson (1971), the American Marxist political theorist, said:

For the dominant ideology of the Western countries is clearly that Anglo-American empirical realism for which all dialectical thinking represents a threat,

and whose mission is essentially to serve as a check on social consciousness: allowing legal and ethical answers to be given to economic questions, substituting the language of political equality for that of economic inequality and considerations about freedom for doubts about capitalism itself. The method for such thinking in its various forms and guises, consists in separating reality into airtight compartments, carefully distinguishing the political from the historical, so that the full implications of any given problem can never come into view; and in limiting all statements to the discrete and the immediately verifiable, in order to rule out any speculative and totalizing thought which might lead to a vision of social life as a whole. (pp.367-368)

2.2.2 Framing in interactive media-audience relations

Both Gamson (1992) and Entman & Rojecki (2000) have expressed their concerns at the dual relationship between media and audiences.

Gamson (1992) in his book *Talking Politics* addressed the interactive relation between media and audiences within political debates and particularly how media framing affects audiences. Every policy issue causes a public discourse. The discourse is carried on in different media forms, such as newspapers, magazines, television, books, films, and so on.

In such a dual relationship, journalists are not the ones who are playing a dominant role in this relationship. On the one hand, they are producers of the discourse. Journalists contribute their own frames and invent their own clever catch phrases and metaphors, drawing on a popular culture that they share with their audience. On the other hand, they are also ‘a site on which various social groups, institutions, and ideologies struggle over the definition of social reality.’ (Gurevitch and Levy, 1985:19)

Gamson (1992) investigated how frames work on media discourses by exploring three issues - *injustice*, *agency* and *identity*.

Injustice

He suggested '[m]edia practices have a double-edged effect, both stimulating and discouraging injustice frames' (p.34). In the news reporting, stimulating injustice is dominant. It means journalists are encouraged to tell stories which contain conflicts and problems, or tell them in dramatic ways. 'Narratives focus attention on motivated actors rather than structural causes of events.' (Gamson, 1992:34) Individual actors get more attention within one issue which ends with the fragmentation of information in news stories. Bennett (1988) argued, 'Fragmentation is then heightened by the use of dramatic formats that turn events into self-contained, isolated happenings'. (Gamson, 1992:35) It would be difficult for readers to make connections with issues. The development or trend of an issue also becomes incoherent.

Agency

Unemployed people are usually portrayed as a 'deviant group' with 'passivity and quiescence' (Gamson, 1992:59). According to Gamson (1992), the media should be blamed as it induces the public's indifference towards such group and their members' daily lives. Merelman (1984) analysed the role of television particularly in 'promoting a loosely bounded culture that backs people away from politics and directs them towards a private vision of the self in the world' (Gamson, 1992:60). Edelman (1988) also points out that political issues have been constructed or reconstructed by manipulation of symbols such as enemies and crises. Bennett (1988) argues, 'As long as the distribution of power is narrow and decision processes are closed, journalists will never be free of their dependence on the small group of public relations experts, official spokespersons, and powerful leaders whose self-serving pronouncements have become firmly established as the bulk of the daily news.' (1988:xii)

Identity

There is individual identity and collective identity. In terms of the individual, according to Gans (1988), people are living in their own small worlds – a microsocial condition, in which they are only concerned with 'seeking control, security, comfort, and convenience

for themselves and their families' (Gamson, 1992:86). This means people are in a routine which discourages them to think about issues in collective terms.

From a different perspective, Entman and Rojecki (2000) in their book *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America* stated that people make sense of a complicated and uncertain world with the help of habitual ways of thinking encoded by prototypes. People often make judgments 'using theories that satisfy pragmatic and emotional necessity rather than engage in exhaustive and dispassionate case-by-case analysis' (ibid.:61). Consequently, people have expectations or an understanding of issues based on preconceptions and stereotypes informed by cultural influences and personal experiences. Also, people often put others into categories due to prejudice, for example due to skin colour. They give characteristics driven by culture to explain their categorisations.

Before the assumption that the news has a large influence on audiences was first made, the traditional theory was that 'audiences are autonomous' and 'journalists are independent' (Entman, 1989:76). This theory leads to two inferences: firstly, audiences selectively choose information they are interested in and ignore what they do not like; secondly, audiences only pay little attention to news or they are not able to understand the whole meaning of news. Hence, all media messages can do is to 'reinforce existing preferences rather than help to form new attitudes or change old ones' (Entman, 1989:76). This theory suggests the media have little influence on audiences.

In recent research, scholars draw the conclusion that the media do have significant impact on audiences, but the news only affects what people think about, not what they think. As a result, media have a limited capability for manipulating people's opinions.

However, Entman (1989) had a new theory of how media messages work on people's thought processes. He believes media influence what people think by shaping what they think about, which implies that if the media can affect what people think about – the information they process - the media can affect their attitudes. His theory is based on the

interdependent relationship between the media and audiences.

How do the Whites' misapprehensions arise? Just about everyone has two paths of collecting social information: personal experience (including formal education, socialization, and conversation) and mediated communication. For most Whites these exist in confusing combination: most lack a theory or integrating perspective to harmonize the two streams. This is combined with what appears to be inherent tendencies in human mental processes to notice and respond negatively to group differences. Then add a culture, a stock of widely held and frequently reinforced ideas that emphasize racial difference, and imply a racial hierarchy with Whites on top. Stir in the psychic and other motivations Whites might have to maintain a sense of difference and superiority, such as a desire for group dominance. The result is a recipe for continued interracial alienation. (Entman & Rojecki, 2000:48)

For Entman and Rojecki, people are more 'theory-driven' than 'data-driven'- that is, 'we more often approach life with assumptions that lead us to confirm expectations rather than to inscribe fresh interpretations of daily experience upon a blank mental slate.' (p.48) These assumptions are caused by two mental approaches – schemas and frames. The two concepts are very similar; the only difference between them is that frames are usually located in media and public discourse whereas schemas are not. Schemas mean people 'make inferences about new information based on already organized prior knowledge' (ibid.:48). Media frames 'highlight and link data selectively to tell more or less coherent stories that define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies' (Entman & Rojecki, 2000:49). Media frames function based on audiences' schematic understanding of social events. For example, a news article 'framed' black criminals by selecting specific aspects of events which evoke people's daily schematic impression of Blacks.

Schema – personal experience

Schema is based on individual's cultural roots as part of personal experience. Within a

group, people share the same or similar schematic thinking. However, for the group members, other groups share different thinking and values, which causes distinctions to be made between groups. So, for Whites, the concepts of ‘Black’, ‘Asia’, ‘poverty’, ‘crime’, ‘non-skilled jobs’ are rooted in their minds as schemas.

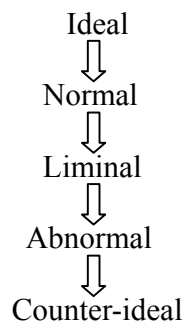
For Entman and Rojecki, there is a formula for the social judgments made about someone we do not know or know very little of:

Ideal Type Attainment = (Body traits + Communication behavior + Achievement-related status) (2000:51)

This formula can be explained as:

(1), Physical judgment – body traits

Generally speaking, a beautiful appearance can be easily connected with a positive impression, such as career success, high social status, etc. So, ‘individuals attach different weights to different traits according to their own judgments; the mainstream is an average of thinking among individuals who comprise a culture’ (ibid.:52). Different degrees of the judgments can be classified into 5 categories:



(ibid.)

For many Whites, certain skin colours e.g. Black, can be put in negative categories which are ‘abnormal’ and ‘counter-ideal’.

(2), Cultural judgment - Communication behaviour + Achievement-related status

This level of judgment is mainly based on social class. For Whites, they are the mainstream and their social status is dominant. However, Blacks are from a lower class with lower social status.

Hence, even if Blacks or other minority groups are well dressed and wealthy, and have very good educations and careers, they are still treated as an inferior group.

Frames – mediated communication

When the public lack enough information about things they cannot get close to, they build up images heavily reliant on the messages relayed by media. ‘The mediated communications help explain the tenacious survival of racial stereotypes despite a social norm that dampens public admission of prejudice.’ (Entman & Rojecki, 2000:49)

The independent relationship between media and audiences work in variable ways, for different people with different media messages. In other words, how the interaction works depends on the degree of the comprehensive attributes of the media message and the schemas of audiences.

As Entman (1989) pointed out, the media do not decide what people think about, but contribute or evoke people’s thoughts and influence their attitudes towards events.

‘The model of audience autonomy would require that people produce and apply their schema systems completely on their own. But members of the audience do not form and maintain the orientations they use to process information independently.’(Entman, 1989:84) Their opinions arise from cultural cultivation socialization, and even just from people around who have access to media. This instability can be ‘taken advantage’ of by the media with their strategies.

2.3 Masterframes

2.3.1 Masterframe and its early developments

As discussed earlier, the concept of frame is originally derived from the symbolic interactionism of the Chicago School and has widely generated research in sociology with the pioneer Erving Goffman (1974), humanities (Core, 1968) and cognitive psychology (Minsky, 1975).

The concept of masterframe has been deeply embedded in the research of social movements. Masterframes perform the same functions as the movement-specific collective action frames such as punctuation, attribution and articulation, but on a larger scale. That is to say, for the masterframes, their punctuations, attributions, articulations ‘may color and constrain those of any number of movement organisations’(Snow and Benford, 1992:138). Hence, specific collective action frames derivate from masterframes which are generic. To be more specific, ‘master frames can be construed as functioning in a manner analogous to linguistic codes in that they provide a grammar that punctuates and syntactically connects patterns or happenings in the world’ (ibid.).

In relation to variable features of the masterframe, the first one is the attributional function. As the first step of framing process, collective action frames serve as an accenting device to identify an unjust, immoral existing condition which deserves corrective action (Snow and Benford, 1992), in order to make subsequent diagnostic attributions by identifying the problems and prognostic attributions ‘by suggesting both a general line of action for ameliorating the problem and the assignment of responsibility for carrying out that action’ (ibid.:137).

Masterframes perform this function in a similar way, but in a more macro scale. They ‘provide the interpretive medium through which collective actors associated with different movements within a cycle assign blame for the problem they are attempting to ameliorate’ (ibid.:139).

Not all masterframes perform their functions in the same way. It depends on their attributional orientation, articulational scope and potency. For instance, masterframes can be either 'restricted' or 'elaborated' (Bernstein, 1970:1971). Some adopt a narrow range of syntactic alternatives; while the others are more syntactically flexible and lexically universalistic. The elaborate masterframe 'allows for numerous aggrieved groups to tap it and elaborate their grievances in terms of its basic problem-solving schema' (Snow and Benford, 1992:140). Accordingly, the more elaborated a masterframe is or the greater resonance it has, the more potent and influence it may own. Additionally, ideational centrality and narrative fidelity are the two other elements which may contribute to the extent of potency.

Since the concept of framing was widely adopted in the studies of media discourses, masterframes have accordingly emerged in the empirical research. They are applied with their general functions but with different taxonomies.

2.3.2 Masterframes in media research

In media studies, the frame taxonomy to systemise the general patterns in the news stories is to limit the analysts' direction to focus on specific frames. It distinguishes 'structural schemas' or 'generic frames' from other 'content frames'. The generic frames are most commonly used in media discourses with three summarised dimensions of media interests in reporting - *conflict*, *human interests* and *economic consequences* (Price et al., 1997:484; de Vreese, 2002). According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), conflict frame looks at a conflict between individuals, groups or institutions; human life stories are the main focus of the human interest frame; economic consequences frame concerns with the issues regarding benefits or costs related to individuals, groups, institutions, regions, or countries (ibid.:95).

The set of masterframes, or metanarratives, employed in my research, is a typology of frames and occurs frequently in the media discourses. They appear in three forms - *ethno-nationalism*, *liberal individualism* and *harmony with nature* (Billing, 1995; Eder, 1995;

McAdam, 1996a; d'Anjou and van Male, 1998; Gamson, 1992):

- The *ethno-nationalist* frame presupposes the existence of primordial groups, which are viewed just as much as ontological as are liberalism's individuals. Ethnicity is the core of the concept.
- The *liberal individualist* frame highly values human individuals and freedom and take them as central to the concept. This frame claims that in a democratic society all members have maximum power to make the best of themselves and enjoy full rights to chase their best interests;
- The *harmony with nature* frame is dedicated to ecological issues.

As the 'content frames', their characteristics are summarised by Thomas Koenig (2004) as they,

- (1), are so pervasive that they can be used in almost any situation, and
 - (2), possess a superior credibility, in that it has moved beyond empirical scrutiny.
- (ibid.:3)

Compared to the other two masterframes, the 'harmony with nature' frame is generally less frequently adopted in journalistic articles, particularly in the news items I selected for analysis. Hence, in future discussion, I will *only* focus on the first two masterframes.

2.4 Master frame 1: Ethno-nationalism

This frame has been grounded in the origins of nations and nationalism. Hence, I begin with its definition and describe forms of nations and nationalism. According to Anthony Smith, there are two conceptions of the nation - Western/civic nation and non-Western/ethnic nation. The civic ideal points to a territorial nation. It is a spatial conception. In other words, 'nations must possess compact, well-defined territories...People and territory must, as it were, belong to each other' (Spencer and Wollman, 2005:178). Also, the civic nation is 'a community of laws and institutions with a single political will'

(Spencer and Wollman, 2005:178). The laws and institutions are centralized within the community. Last but not least, the civic nation manipulates the population with shared culture and ideologies.

The ethnic model emphasises a community of birth and descent. It is different from the civic concept in several ways. First of all, its core is descent. All members of the nation are related as if the nation is a big 'family', which differentiates itself from other nations. However, the civic concept says people are free to choose to what they belong, regardless of where they were born. Secondly, people in the 'ethnic nation' follow their family ties; languages and customs are shared, whereas people are subject to laws and institutions in the civic model.

Anthony Smith suggested that 'every nationalism contains civic and ethnic elements in varying degrees and different forms' (Spencer and Wollman, 2005:180). In other words, sometimes the civic elements dominate and at other times ethnic elements are stressed. Therefore, the nation is defined as,

[A] named human population sharing an historical territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members. (Spencer and Wollman, 2005:181)

The terms 'nation' and 'nationalism' both suffer from having too broad and generalised definitions. In Louis L. Snyder's book *The meaning of nationalism* (1954), he was even unable to give a definitive meaning of nationalism. Gellner makes a similar conclusion in *Nations and Nationalism*; that it is best to proceed in an analysis of nationalism 'without attempting too much in the way of a formal definition...' (1983:7). Enoch Powell (1988), the political ideologue and activist, argued that,

Every society has a definition to identify those who belong to it-I shall resolutely refuse to define the word 'belong' itself, regarding it as sufficiently understood for

my purpose without definition-and to distinguish them from the rest of mankind who do not belong to it. (p.40)

For Elie Kedourie (1985), nationalism ‘pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state and for the right organization of a society of states’ (p.1). Harry Goulbourne (1991) suggested that,

Nationalism may be said, therefore, to establish sometimes subtle, sometimes quite crude, lines of communication with groups and individuals who feel that they ‘belong’ to an ostensibly common fold. An integral part of this process of communication is for nationalism to establish clear boundaries for those who do not ‘belong’. And whilst these lines of communication are essentially established within the laws of nationality, they are not at all restricted to these formal relationships...Overall, then, nationalism is crucially concerned with the most sovereign unit of organized *political* power, and its *social* basis of legitimation. (pp.16-17)

Michael Ignatieff in his book *Blood and Belonging* (1993) provided a more comprehensive definition of nationalism with three dimensions:

As a political doctrine, nationalism is the belief that the world’s peoples are divided into nations, and that each of these nations has the right of self-determination, either as self-governing units within existing nation-states or as nation-states of their own. As a cultural ideal, nationalism is the claim that while men and women have many identities, it is the nation that provides them with their primary form of belonging. As moral ideal, nationalism is an ethic of heroic sacrifice, justifying the use of violence in the defense of one’s national against enemies, internal or external. (http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic30775.files/3-1_Ignatieff.doc)

These three aspects are working with each other. For example, the moral ideal is based on people's feeling of belonging which is also the cultural ideal; at the same time, people's belonging and security are based on the political ideal of self-determination.

According to the two conceptions of nation, nationalism comes in two forms - civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism. Civic nationalism claims that the nation is made up of various races, colours, creeds, genders, languages, etc. It is civic because it emphasises the equal rights of citizens and democratic political practices and values. Britain before the mid-eighteenth century is a good example. It was composed of four nations - the Irish, the Scottish, the Welsh and the English, sharing institutes of the Crown, Parliament, and the rule of law. By contrast, ethnic nationalism defines the individual by their inherited roots, rather than the laws that are made in the nation to which they belong.

There are several significant differences between these two concepts. First of all, according to Andre Lecours (2000), ethnic nationalism is a traditional type of concept, whereas civic nationalism is the consequence of the development of ethnic nationalism.

Ethnic nationalism and cultural nations are related to an objective definition of the nation that uses linguistic, religious or ethnic criteria to determine membership. Civic nationalism and political nations are associated with a subjective definition that ignores these criteria and insists on the free will of individuals. The objective and subjective conceptions of the nation are said to be related to specific socio-economic and intellectual conditions that correspond to particular historical and spatial dimensions. (Lecours, 2000:153) Secondly, generally speaking, ethnic nationalism is geographically related to Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa; civic nationalism is more connected to the developed and industrialised West. Thirdly, ethnic nationalism historically considers nationhood as homorganic. On the other hand, civic nationalism adopts the idea of multiculturalism, as well as liberal values and governments.

2.4.1 Race and racism

The concept of race emerged between the end of the eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth centuries. Early explanations of human diversity were based on the unit of human kind. But the race science which described human diversity as a division between fixed and separate races, rooted in biological difference and a product of divergent heritages had emerged by the middle of the nineteenth century. All differences among human beings were treated as the result of biological variation. In the late nineteenth century, race science was born due to in the light of social developments. When Social Darwinism emerged, the power of the British Empire was in full force.

Recently, Robert Miles (1982; 1993) argued that, ‘there are no races, biological or social’ and Mason (1995) in his book *Race and ethnicity in modern Britain* also explained that through the social processes ‘social relationships become racialised; that is, represented ideologically as entailing race’ (p.8). In Mason’s book, race is described as a social relationship characterized by an unequal distribution of power and resources. So the dominant groups are making their efforts to protect their power by using the symbolic resources such as beliefs of race and stereotyped images of the others (ibid.).

Sociologically, race does not refer to categories of human beings (whether biologically or socially constituted). For Mason, race is rather a social relationship in which structural positions and social actions are ordered, justified, and explained by reference to systems of symbols and beliefs which emphasize the social and cultural relevance of biologically rooted characteristics. (1995:8)

So does racism. It has been wrongly restricted to being:

a system of beliefs, a mode of clarification or a way of thinking [...] this general and dominant tendency to define racism as a mental phenomenon has continually led to an under-theorization of the relationship between the mental classification involved and the practices in which they are inserted, between what racists are

thinking and what racists are doing. (Hage, 1998:29)

Donald and Rattansi (1992) argued that it is 'rooted in broader economic structures and material interests' (p.3). It is said,

Meanings and beliefs do not become irrelevant, but the coherence and falsity of racist ideas [are] now ascribed to the function they serve in legitimating social practices that reinforce an unequal distribution of power between groups differentiated in racial and/or ethnic terms. (ibid.)

Similarly, Anthias (1995) defined *racism* as,

Racism is not just about beliefs or statements (discourse in this narrow sense). Racism also involves the ability to impose those beliefs or world views as hegemonic, and as a basis for the denial of rights or equality. Racism is thus embedded in power relations of different types. (p.291)

John Richardson (2004) also argued with the broader definition of racism, which is not just a simple 'biological racism'. He listed two practical functions of racism in maintaining: 'first, inequitable systems of social power; and second, behavioural manifestations of racism such as verbal rejection, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack and extermination' (p.2). The social power which is transformed into prejudiced practices, attitudes and ideologies supports and manipulates discriminatory activities.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is an alternative way of thinking about human diversity. M.G. Smith (1986) defined an ethnic unit as 'a population whose members believe that in some sense they share common descent and a common cultural heritage or tradition, and who are so regarded by others' (p.192). Fredrik Barth (1969) has argued that 'ethnicity is more a matter of the processes by which boundaries are created and maintained between ethnic

groups than it is of the internal content of the ethnic categories' (Mason, 1995:13). In the work of Sandra Wallman (1979), she pointed out that,

[T]wo sets of people with common cultural origins placed in similar minority positions [will not] necessarily use the same elements of their traditional culture to mark themselves off from non-member 'others'. What they do use will depend on the resources they have, on what they hope to achieve (whether consciously or not) and on the range of options available to them at the time. (pp.5-6)

Ethnicity is also believed to be a situational concept. The implication is that people have different ethnic identities in different situations. In other words, people identify themselves differently according to 'situation, immediate objectives, and the responses and behaviour of others' (Mason, 1995:13).

Race vs. ethnicity

Stuart Hall (1990) has compared these two concepts:

[...] 'Ethnicity' by contrast, generates a discourse where difference is grounded in cultural and religious features... [However]...the articulation of difference with Nature (biology and the genetic) is present, but displaced through kinship and inter-marriage.' (Hall, 2000:222-3)

Conceptually, 'race' is not only a scientific category. The differences attributable to 'race' within a population are as great as that between racially defined populations. 'Race' is also a political and social construct. It is the organising discursive category around which has been constructed a system of socio-economic power, exploitation and exclusion - i.e., racism. However, as a discursive practice, racism has its own 'logic' (Hall, 1990). It claims to ground the social and cultural differences which legitimise radicalised exclusion in genetic and biological differences: i.e., in Nature. This 'naturalising effect' appears to make racial difference a fixed, scientific 'fact', unresponsive to change or reformist social

engineering.

These two concepts have always been used together and interchangeably, although 'race' is used as a biological and genetic referent and 'ethnicity' refers to cultural and religious difference and kinship. According to Stuart Hall (2000), these two categories are not separate systems, but are 'racism's two registers' (p.223). He noted that,

Biological racism privileges markers like skin colour, but those signifiers have always been used, by discursive extension, to connote social and cultural differences...The biological referent is therefore never wholly absent from discourses of ethnicity, though it is more indirect. The more 'ethnicity' matters, the more its characteristics are represented as relatively fixed, inherent within a group, transmitted from generation to generation, not just by culture and education, but by biological inheritance, stabilized above all by kinship and endogamous marriage rules that ensure that the ethnic group remains genetically, and therefore culturally 'pure'. (ibid.)

2.4.2 Mass media - everyday reproduction of racism

2.4.2.1 Theorising representation

To theorise representation, there are three fundamental theories. Firstly reflective theory, which suggests that language used in the texts reflect the meaning of a truth or reality that has existed. The second is intentional theory which claims that the authors of the texts intentionally represent certain ideas. The last is the constructionist theory adopted by most media researchers nowadays. There are two approaches towards it.

The first is semiotics which focuses on the linguistic level. The structure of language is analysed in a scientific way. The second approach is discursive, suggested by Michel Foucault. It emphasises the power-knowledge relationship.

‘Knowledge’ is always a matter of representation, and representation a process of giving concrete form to ideological concepts, of making certain signifiers stand for signified. The power that underlies these representations cannot be divorced from the operations of political force, even though it is a different kind of power, more subtle, more penetrating and less visible. (Ashcroft and Ahluwalia, 1999:70)

Media plays both the role of defining and producing the knowledge, as well as using its power to express the knowledge.

If you possess a particular knowledge and you have the power to express this knowledge, it can become the truth by which others will lead their lives. The knowledge might change over time, and hence the beliefs will change and we will behave differently according to the new ideologies. (Helsby et al., 2006:5-6)

2.4.2.2 Mass media - everyday reproduction of racism

Racism is usually studied as a macro-level phenomenon in the society. But in the everyday communicative situation, it becomes micro due to mass media reporting. The role of media ‘is not only defined in terms of its vast, mass-mediated scope, or by the assumed representational goals of the print or broadcast media in the reporting of social events; the media also play an intermediary role in the reproduction of other types of public discourse’ (van Dijk, 1987:40-41). For van Dijk (1987), news is not just about what is happening every day, but more about the most powerful groups, or the elites, of the society. Media is very important, sending people messages as discourses every day. ‘Most of people read or hear about the discourses of institutions, government, politicians, business people, professionals, groups, parties, unions, churches, or other groups and institutions through the media.’ (p.41)

Media production involves ‘shared values and routines of attention allocation, institutional access, selection, summarization, relevance assignment, stylistic (re)formulation, and

exclusion' (ibid.).

2.4.2.2.1 Early work in the UK

The original study of mass media and racism was done by Hartmann and Husband (1974) about ethnic news coverage in Britain during the 1960s (Hartmann and Husband, 1974; Hartmann, Husband, and Clark, 1974). From their survey data from the study of the *Guardian*, *The Times*, the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror* between 1963 and 1970 about ethnic attitudes with content analysis of the media, they conclude that media help to “shape the impression among the readers that ‘coloured people’ represent a problem and a threat, for instance because of immigrant numbers or the use of social resources” (van Dijk, 1991:18). For Critcher, Parker, and Sondhi (1977), the same conclusion as Hartmann and Husband has been drawn: that media ‘perpetuate’ negative images of minority groups and ‘routinize’ news about minorities, which lead journalists to make sense of situations with ‘racist definitions’. (van Dijk, 1991)

2.4.2.2.2 Media and racial stereotyping

Different groups of people look at things in particular ways and have different feelings toward them. Some sociologists saw the individual characters as responsible for their actions; however, we cannot ignore the important role of mass media in the social representation through mass communication and interactions because people get used to receiving daily information through newspapers, magazines, TV, radio, Internet, and so on. To some extent, they’re influenced by the media in many fields, such as politics, fashion, life-style etc. Media may help inform the social representation.

The media typically describe members of diverse cultural groups within specific content categories, usually such as crime, entertainment, and sports, not within general interest, like business, education, health, and religious content categories. And when we only see pictures of criminals, entertainers, and sports heroes, we forget we have been led by the media at the same time. For example, newspapers and news magazines usually influence the public's thinking about the image of Jews, women, gays and lesbians. This happens

because the photographers, reporters, editors, and publishers of some media organizations often pursue quick decisions and high volumes of publication without considering the issues carefully. For example, the status of African-American citizens is perpetuated by media as second-class. So most of time, the images perpetuated of Blacks on the screen are of burglars or drug dealers and the media pay much attention to these negative aspects.

For Ian Law (2002), the media “selectively repeat, rework and reinvent a simple pattern of key racist messages which have ‘helped to build a respectable coherent commonsense whiteness’” (p.77). Also, Braham (1982) suggested that,

the media have concentrated on the threat perceived by the white majority to be implicit in black immigration and in the black presence; and that they have neglected the extent of discrimination and disadvantage experienced by blacks except in so far as these key conditions seem to contribute towards the supposed threat, for example, by fostering anti-social behaviour. (p.279)

2.4.3 Orientalism

As a specific form of racism, Edward Said’s work (1978) and other literature on Orientalism are introduced and integrated to a broader concept of ethno-nationalism and part of the theoretical framework of my research. As Orientalism is described as ‘a style of thought, based on an ontological and epistemological distinction between Orient and Occident, and even an ideology, justifying and accounting for the subjugation of blacks, Palestinian Arabs, women and many other supposedly deprived groups and peoples’ (Macfie, 2002:4), these theories signify the systems of Western ‘Orientalist’ representations of the East throughout the history. Here, I start with Said’s definitions of Orientalism, followed by the explanations of general European superiority over Oriental inferiority which makes a large and important part of Said’s theories of Orientalism. Last, I give a separate section focusing on the demonstration of how an individual European country’s identity could be gained from its distinctive experience with the Orient, which builds the connection between Orientalism and ethno-nationalism.

2.4.3.1 Edward Said's Orientalism

The term 'Orientalism' is derived from 'Orientalist'. Orientalism holds different meanings for different scholars. In the original definition, Orientalism was seen positively as 'the study of languages, literature, religions... arts and social life of the East in order to make them available to the West' (MacKenzie, 1995:xii).

Edward Said, a professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, in his book *Orientalism* (1978) argued that the Orient was 'almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences' (p.1) and Orientalism is 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (p.3). He situated his theories in the realm of Arabs, Islam and the Middle East that originated primarily in England and France and later the United States.

According to Said, the Europe has gained its own identity through getting to know the Orient. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Britain and France were the two biggest empires dominating the 'Asia or the East, geographically, morally, culturally' (Said, 1978:31). Orientalism was therefore the experience between Britain and France and the Orient during that period. The knowledge and images of the 'Orient' have been developed to a certain degree during the rise of imperialism in the 19th century. Said argued, as Europe's the oldest and richest colonies,

[T]he Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of the Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles. (pp.1-2)

By knowing the colonised world, Europe dominated it. Yegenoglu (1998) suggested that

Orientalism is ‘a cultural representation of the West to itself by way of a detour through the other’ (p.1), in which ‘the [Western] subject is constructed by a mediation through the [Eastern] other’ (p.6).

The subject represents itself to itself through the other and constitutes itself as universal, abstract subject (the I or ego) by signifying the other as a categorical opposite, a radical denial or negation of itself. (ibid.)

Overall, Orientalism is about the West itself. As Said summarised, Orientalism has three interrelated meanings. Firstly, Orientalism is a specialised field of Western scholarship, having the Orient as its object of inquiry made between ‘the Orient’ and ‘the Occident’. Secondly, Orientalism is a Western style of thought. The Orient is Europe’s oldest and richest colony, ‘the source of its civilization and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other’ (Said, 1978:1-2). Europe is defined by the Orient; the Orient is invented by the West, owing to Westerners’ exotic experiences. Thus, the ‘inferior’, ‘disorder’, ‘irrational’ and ‘primitivism’ labels associated with the ‘orient’ have been made in a context in which the West is synonymous with words such as ‘superior’, ‘order’, ‘rationality’ and ‘symmetry’. Thirdly, Orientalism is viewed as a discourse in Foucault’s (1972; 1977) sense of the term which combines the other two meanings and conceptualised Orientalism in that the West ‘manage(s) the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively’ (Said, 1978:3).

2.4.3.2 Power and knowledge: a case of European superiority over the Oriental inferiority

Power and knowledge are the two core concepts of Said’s theories on Orientalism. Said argued, ‘knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control’ (1978:36). The implication of the definition above is that, Orientalism is ‘power’ and “authority of academics, institutions and governments, and such authority raises the discourse to a level of importance and prestige that guarantees its identification with ‘truth’” (Ashcroft and Ahluwalia, 1999:68).

They are also involved in Arthur James Balfour's (1848 - 1930) and Lord Cromer's (1841 - 1917) work. 'Our' knowledge, instead of military or economic power, is associated with supremacy over Egypt occupied by Britain in the late nineteenth century, as Balfour justified. According to Said, Balfour 'nowhere denies British superiority and Egyptian inferiority; he takes them for granted as he describes the consequences of knowledge' (Said, 1978:32). The pronouns 'we' and 'us' have been fully used to refer the 'Europeans' or the 'Westerners'; whereas 'it' is referred to the Oriental country.

Europe's own identity is built on creating their opposition - 'the Other', the Orientals. The Orientalist representation is structured not only by academic disciplines but also by the 'Darwinian theses on survival and natural selection' (Said, 1978:227), which explains why the Oriental is always being put in an inferior position, according to the Occidental or Western perspective. As a result, the power of the Occident is closely related to the knowledge about the Orient.

Take Britain as an example. In Said's book *Orientalism*, a critique of British sense of superiority has been constituted in the examples of British rules of Egypt. Britain 's reaction towards the Orient which was perceived as different or abnormal has formed its own way of defining the 'Other'. In the meantime, the British were defining themselves by identifying the opposites, in order to find a sense of belonging. By constructing the 'Other', an increase in the recognition of the 'Orient' has led to the development of various studies from academics and government officials. The Egypt is an example. Through the process of gaining the knowledge of Egypt's origin from its prime to its decline as a civilisation, Britain started developing a sense of supremacy over Egypt.

Said's main argument in his book *Orientalism* is that all knowledge is power. In the days of British occupation of Egypt, knowledge becomes power when Britain thinks it is a better authority on Egypt than Egypt itself. For Balfour, '[T]o have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for "us" to deny autonomy to "it" - the Oriental country - since we know it and it exists, in a sense, as we

know it.’ (Said, 1978:32) Also, ‘knowledge of subject races or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly popular dialectic of information and control’ (1978:36). Once initial knowledge contributes to power, this power requires and creates the opportunity for acquiring more knowledge, creating a cyclical dynamic of increasingly related knowledge and power. Hence, knowledge is power. Based on this knowledge-power relation, Britain started developing a sense of supremacy over Egypt; the British considered themselves civilized and therefore considered the Orient backward. In other words, the Orient represents an opposite identity to the West. As Said said, ‘European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self’ (1978:3). In the book *Covering Islam: how the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world* (1981), Said made further explanation of the ‘self vs. other’ relation and where the British sense of superiority came from.

The general basis of Orientalist thought is an imaginative and yet drastically polarized geography dividing the world into two unequal parts, the larger, ‘different’ one called the Orient, the other, also known as ‘our’ world, called the Occident or the West.’ Such divisions always come about when one society or culture thinks about another one, different from it; but it is interesting that even when the Orient has uniformly been considered an inferior part of the world, it has always been endowed both with greater size and with a greater potential for power (usually destructive) than the West. (p.4)

In light of the self vs. other attitude taken by the British, the development of a sense of supremacy naturally follows. However, the sense of superiority comes not from the establishment of opposites but from the cycle of knowledge and power. Those who realize that they have the power to manipulate knowledge about an ‘inferior’ entity in the Orient *naturally* would take on an attitude of superiority. They are not only the authority on Oriental subjects, but they create and control the identity of the Orient. Knowledge has

played a crucial role in the British Imperialism. The British summarised, generalised, and marginalised the peoples that made up the group 'Orientals' to the point that Imperial power was used to subjugate Orientals for their own good.

Britain's success in ruling Egypt has effect in the literature produced by British scholars, as Said argued, 'the Oriental is depicted as something one judges (as in a court of law), something one studies and depicts (as in a curriculum), something one disciplines (as in a school or prison), something one illustrates (as in a zoological manual). The point is that in each of these cases the Oriental is contained and represented by dominating frameworks' (1978:40). Therefore, the attitude of supremacy and pride of British imperialism and colonialism has been unconsciously embedded in identifying the Orient.

2.4.3.3 Orientalism and individual European national identity

The research of Orientalism has most often been characterised as an integral part of the European 'will-to-power' over the Oriental world. Said in his book *Orientalism* also referred to the relations of power and knowledge between the West and the Orient. However, the cases of the two major imperial powers in the late nineteenth century – Britain and France constructed their national identities differently through their own Oriental experience, such as historical connections and their distinctive interpretation of the Oriental countries. In other words, Orientalism had nationally specific inflections of the British and French regions.

Said called them 'individual pilgrims in the East (which included some American voyagers, among them Mark Twain and Herman Melville) from the authoritative reports of scholarly travellers, missionaries, governmental functionaries, and other expert witnesses' (1978:192).

In the example of Said's book *Orientalism*, British way of getting to know the Orient is through domination or occupation and through a real possession, such as Egypt or India. Britain constantly expressed its political ambition and power during its discover of the

Oriental world.

Egypt not only represented a successful case of English knowledge and power, but also demonstrated the sense of being proud of British national identity which has been seen as superior to their counterparts – the Oriental countries. The manifestation of power from knowledge occurred the moment the British considered themselves inherently better than the Orientals and used their knowledge to further control and dominate.

In general, the views of English writers who produced work on the Orient were based on a material possession, not pure imagination. Among them, Kinglake and his *Eothen* (1844) and Burton and his *Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* (1855 – 1856) represented two different perspectives when portraying the Orient but caused the same consequences in terms of the ‘political will and power’ and superiority of the British Empire.

Kinglake’s work showed his unconscious national sentiment of superiority and general race prejudice towards the Oriental culture and religion. In contrast, Burton was a real traveller and scholar who observed the Orient as a pilgrim and wrote Oriental narratives based upon his personal experience. All the information in his literatures has gained him a voice of the British Empire whose government conducted rules over the Orient referring to Burton’s statement that ‘Egypt is a treasure to be won’ (ibid.:196). Hence, the essence of what was in the British experience was summarised as ‘[T]o write about Egypt, Syria, or Turkey, as much as travelling in them, was a matter of touring the realm of political will, political management, political definition.’ (Said, 1978:169)

Both Britain and France have engaged in colonial or imperial pursuits to Egypt. However, compared to Britain’s success in gaining control of its colonies and owned its actual possessions such as Egypt and India, France presented a different story with its own colonial experience and its cultural and psychological legacy.

First, France had no 'sovereign presence' of an Oriental place when Britain colonized Egypt and India and had actually 'a sense of acute loss in the Orient'. (Said, 1978:169) It only became a political second-best to Britain in the East. Hence, French literature and artist work relied heavily on their imaginative interpretation. In order to justify the power, French literary pilgrims sought for an exotic and attractive Orient and exploited the Orient in their works with the intention to meet their obsession, myth and requirements of the mythical world.

According to Said, what really mattered to French writers was 'the structure of their work as an independent, aesthetic, and personal fact; rather than get to know the Orient through the domination of it' (1978:181). According to French historian Ina Baghdiantz McCabe and her book *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism and the Ancien Regime*, early Orientalism has profoundly shaped French culture and given it many of its modern characteristics. In contrast, English writers had a much 'harder' sense of the Orient but less an individual fantasy.

The differences between English and French works on the Orient were also reflected in English writer Lane's and French writer Chateaubriand's work. The former was more kin to science and the latter was more personal and aesthetic. Said explained it as,

The problems with the former were its impersonal Western confidence that descriptions of general, collective phenomena were possible, and its tendency to make realities not so much out of the Orient as out of its own observations. The problem with personal utterance was that it inevitably retreated into a position equating the Orient with private fantasy, even if that fantasy was of a very high order indeed, aesthetically speaking. (1978:176)

In relation to the religions, European empires individually supported the religions in order to serve their political policies of the Oriental world, as Said argued,

For standing near the center of all European politics in the East was the question of minorities, whose ‘interests’ the Powers, each in its own way, claimed to protect and represent. Jews, Greeks and Russian Orthodox, Druzes, Circassians, Armenians, Kurds, the various small Christian sects: all these were studied, planned for, designed upon by European Powers improvising as well as constructing their Oriental policy. (1978:191)

Except the British and French instances, Orientalism has also play an important role in constructing a historical German sentiment and a German national identity. “If the ‘German problem’ is a problem of identity, and ‘the German figure of totalitarianism’ racism, the discourse of Aryanism and, consequently, the orientalism on which it rested was empowered to play a role in German it never could play in England” (Pollock, 2000:305). In the meantime, Russia made its movements into the Orient. So did Austria-Hungary.

There are distinct national regions of Orientalism that are related to the specification of European nations. In order to understand Orientalism, therefore, we need to see it as related to broader notion of ethno-nationalism and national belongings. The connections between Orientalism and European nation’s individual identity are made upon not only the imitation or depiction of the Orient cultures through their own literature, art and music, but also on how each country has turned it into political power over the East. The interpretation of the Orient world has constituted and inspired Britishness, Frenchness, Germanness, etc. to certain extend, through Western scholars, writers, designers and artists.

2.4.4 Historical images of the Chinese in Western media

2.4.4.1 Fu Manchu and the ‘Yellow Peril’

‘Yellow Peril’, as an Oriental racist as well as a fictional term, became popular in the Western media when referring to the Chinese with the belief that they threatened to destroy Western civilization in the late nineteenth century. ‘Countless cartoons in the popular press

fanned the flames of xenophobia by depicting Asians as grasshoppers attacking Uncle Sam or as subhuman-looking workers trying to take jobs from whites' (Shim, 1998:388).

Chinatowns, where the Chinese were mostly concentrated, had been pictured to be inhabited by villainous characters. For instance, the Chinese was described in Isaacs's book *Scratches on our minds: American views of China and India* (1958) as,

The Chinese, of course, were by far the most foreign and outlandish. They ran laundries, no work for a man anyway, they had no families or children, they were neither Democrats nor Republicans. They wrote backwards and upside down, with a brush, they worked incessantly night and day, Saturdays and Sundays, all of which stamped them as the most alien heathen. (ibid.:109)

Fu Manchu, as the well known figure in Western fictions and films, is the incarnation of 'Yellow Peril', with an ingenious but sinister character. As an Oriental evil stereotype, he was created in English author Sax Rohmer's series of novels published in 1912 and was featured as a threat to the West. Rohmer described him in the first novel, in the Dr. Fu Manchu series *The insidious Dr. Fu Manchu* (1913) (also known as *The Mysterious Dr. Fu Manchu*),

Imagine a person, tall, lean and feline, high shouldered, with a brow like Shakespeare and a face like Satan, a close-shaven skull and long magnetic eyes of true cat-green. Invest him with all the cruel cunning of an entire Eastern race accumulated in one giant intellect, with all the resources, if you will, of a wealthy government, which however, has already denied all knowledge of his existence. Imagine that awful being, and you have a mental picture of Dr Fu Manchu, the yellow peril incarnate in one man. (p.165)

Fu Manchu is claimed as a great 'genius', in as much as he has received doctorate degrees in Philosophy, Law and Medicine. Meanwhile, he represents the 'conspiratorial' images of Chinese involved in crime, drugs and sex, in the Rohmer novels. Jenny Clegg (1994)

summarised the perception of the ‘devil doctor’ in the book *Fu Manchu and the ‘Yellow Peril’: the making of a racist myth*,

Fu Manchu is the powerful leader of a rebellious yellow mob – the scum of Chinatown’s opium dens, rough waterfronts, secret societies and heathen religious brotherhoods. In him the qualities of being exotic and evil are bound together, connecting the characteristics of the Chinese with crime, vice and cruelty. He characterises the threat of the yellow hordes and links this with the lecherous impulses of ‘Chinamen’ towards white women. He also personifies the dangers of combining Western science with the ancient customs of the Chinese, for Fu Manchu is Western-educated... This evil genius uses Western science to enhance his powers of super-hypnosis and develops a secret potion which induces cataleptic trance, giving him control over his opponents. (Clegg, 1994:4-5)

2.4.4.2 Sinophiles and Sinophobes - Western views of China

(1) Marco Polo and his journey to China

In the eyes of westerners, China always looks mysterious. Marco Polo (1254-1324), the first European explorer, discovered riches during his trip to Asia and completed the book *The Travels of Marco Polo*. However, he has been doubted by Frances Wood who argued that he had not travelled that far and his work was based on hearsay.

Marco Polo described Kin-sai, the capital of China during the Southern Song dynasty, (1126-1179) as a paradise:

At the end of three days you reach the noble and magnificent city of Kin-sai, a name that signifies ‘the celestial city’, and which it merits from its pre-eminence to all others in the world, in point of grandeur and beauty, as well as from its abundant delights, which might lead an inhabitant to imagine himself in paradise.... (Mackerras, 2000:3)

Marco Polo was amazed by Kin-sai's size and organised design and structure. 'According to common estimation, this city is a hundred miles in circuit. Its streets and canals are extensive, and there are squares, or marketplaces, which, being necessarily proportioned in size to the prodigious concourse of people by whom they are frequented, are exceedingly spacious.' (ibid.)

Its food was also impressive. 'At all seasons there is in the markets a great variety of herbs and fruits, and especially pears of an extraordinary size....From the sea, which is fifteen miles distant, there is daily brought up the river, to the city, a vast quantity of fish; and in the lake also there is abundance, which gives employment at all times to persons whose sole occupation is to catch them.' (pp.4-5)

As for the cultural aspect of the great city, Marco Polo described, '[t]hese women are accomplished, and are perfect in the arts of blandishment and dalliance, which they accompany with expressions adapted to every description of person, insomuch that strangers who have once tasted of their charms, remain in a state of fascination, and become so enchanted by their meretricious arts that they can never divest themselves of the impression....In other streets are the dwellings of the physicians and the astrologers, who also give instructions in reading and writing, as well as in many other arts.' (pp.5-6)

The residents of the city, observed Polo, were Buddhists and showed great respect to their families, without jealousy or suspicion. They were 'friendly to each other...appear like one family' and also good hosts to strangers (p.7). Citizens were well dressed, being 'always clothed in silk, in consequence of the vast quantity of that material produced in the territory of Kin-sai, exclusively of what the merchants import from other provinces' (p.6).

However, the image of China started to change from a 'fascinating country' to a 'falling apart empire' when the Opium wars broke out and The Eight-Power Allied Forces intruded into China.

(2) Opium Wars and The Eight-Power Allied Forces

British 'explorers' intrusion into China was a result of opium smuggling. The Opium Wars (lasting from 1839 to 1842 and 1856 to 1860 respectively) were a consequence of a trade dispute between China and the United Kingdom.

Rooted in economics, Britain East India Company traded opium with China, despite the fact that selling opium contravened Chinese law. In just one year, 1817, Britain sold 240 tons of opium to China; in the next 10 years, Britain would go on to sell up to 750 tons. By 1837, the figure exceeded 2500 tons, by which point the country was occupied by so many Chinese addicts. As a result, China became powerless against British.

The Opium Wars were a success for the British, with Hong Kong becoming a British colony. At the same time, in British literature, Chinese addicts became one of stereotypes of Chinese people.

The weak Chinese government gave Western powers opportunities to plunder China's resources. 'The Russians got Port Arthur, the British got the New Territories around Hong Kong, the Germans got a leasehold in Shantung, and the Americans got nothing. Concentrating largely on the Philippines and Guam, the Americans had missed the Chinese boat and so insisted on an "open door" policy in China in which commercial opportunities were equally available to all European powers and the political and territorial integrity of China remained untouched.' (Hooker, 1999)

On September 7, 1901, the coalition of eight powers sent by Britain, Germany, The United States, France, Tsarist Russia, Japan, Italy and Austria intruded into China. They burned houses, killed innocent people and robbed properties. China became a 'semi-colonial' country.

(3) 'Coolie Trade' – Victorian images of the Chinese in the nineteenth century

After Britain made massive profit from the slave trade by transporting cheap labour from

Africa, it started seeking similar opportunities in China and India. When the Chinese government was defeated in the Opium Wars and had to pay large indemnities to the British as part of the unequal treaties, taxes were raised to such an exorbitant level that the Chinese peasants could not afford them. Hence, Chinese workers considered migration. British agents organised for them to work in British colonies, which was known as the 'Coolie Trade'. Chinese labour was exported to the West Indies, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to build railroads.

The Chinese opium-smokers were seen as being 'weak and unmanly' in nature. So were the Chinese labourers. They were perceived as 'helpless, docile slaves' to be 'saved' (Shim, 1994:22). Meanwhile, the superiority the British felt was exercised in justifying its opium trade to China, and Chinese inferiority reaffirmed by the resultant local addiction problem.

Meanwhile, the Chinese migrant labourers were labelled as the 'Yellow Peril', due to their hard working nature and the low wages they were paid. As a consequence, they were seen as a threat by the local working classes, causing discontent.

2.4.4.3 British sinophobia and Chinese settlements in Britain

British sinophobia was a complex product of British and Western perceptions of Chinese in China itself, in Chinese settlements abroad, and in Britain. (Benton and Gomez, 2008:288)

In Britain, the Chinese were separated as distinctive from other racial groups due to China's political developments and international migration in the nineteenth century. The Chinese settlement in Britain has gone through three main periods:

(1) Pre-WWII

In the nineteenth century, the early Chinese migrants to UK were mainly seamen from south-eastern provinces of China, including Hong Kong. They settled around docks and the ports of Bristol, Cardiff, Liverpool and London. The Chinese seamen ran some businesses,

for example, the China tea trade via Canton was resumed despite increased competition from India, which quickly surpassed China as the primary source of British tea. In December 1877 the Loudon Castle delivered 40,000 packages of China tea to the London Docks.

By 1890 there were two distinct communities in London:

- The Chinese from Shanghai were settled around Pennyfields, Amoy Place and Ming Street (presently the area between Westferry and Poplar DLR stations).
- The Chinese from Canton and Southern China were settled around Gill Street and Limehouse Causeway.

By 1911 the area of Limehouse and Pennyfields was known as Chinatown. At Pennyfields there was a Christian Mission for the Chinese and a Confucian temple. At Limehouse Causeway there was the famous Ah Tack's lodging house.

They did not have an equal social position with the locals. However, as most Chinese people were working extremely long hours in the docks in order to find passage for the return voyage to China, this was largely irrelevant in their daily lives.

During the wartime period, Chinese settlements in London and Liverpool moved away from the original dockland areas due to bomb damage.

(2) Post-WWII

During the six years of wartime struggle, Britain paid a high price in terms of the depletion of its human, financial and natural resources. As Kathleen Paul (1997) stated, 'the desperate state of the economy and the shortage of labor became apparent within a few months of the war's end' (p.4). Even worse, there was a labour shortage created by a declining birth-rate, which had been considered as an anthropological problem, rather than an economic one. A dangerous effect of the low birth-rate was the shortage of labour

necessary for the exploitation of essential natural resources, which led to a financial crisis.

In order to find a practical solution that would help solve its labour shortage and consequent financial crisis, and to preserve the prestige of the country as the centre of an empire, the British Labour government proposed to define a clear-cut legal basis to allow people living in the remaining and former colonies to claim British nationality and freely enter and settle in Britain. As a result, the British Nationality Act took effect in 1948 which guaranteed freedom of access to the United Kingdom for commonwealth citizens.

The most recent mass immigration into Britain took place mainly during the three decades following the end of the Second World War. These immigrants were not people from continental Europe, but British citizens who were natives of existing and former British colonies. Hence, the character of the migratory movement from the colonies, ex-colonies or dominions, such as the West Indies, South, East and South-East Asia and West and East Africa, collectively known as the New Commonwealth, was different from that of previous immigrant flows that had been mainly from continental Europe. The Hong Kong Cantonese and Chinese constituted a major group of immigrants in Britain in the 1950s.

During the same period, there was a collapse in traditional agriculture in Hong Kong, which was heavily dependent on rice farming. According to Hugh D. R. Baker (1994), the availability of cheap rice from Southeast Asia after the Second World War led to the declining use of the fields for rice production in Hong Kong, thereby leaving the rice farmers unemployed. Small-scale farmers could no longer make any profit. However, there was an economic boom in Britain at the same time prompting the Chinese farmers to leave Hong Kong and look for jobs in the UK.

Baker suggested two other factors contributing to post-war immigration into Britain from Hong Kong. Firstly, there was a demographic problem in Hong Kong caused by the arrival of 'refugees in the years immediately before and after the successful communist revolution in China' (Baker, 1994:294). Since many Hong Kong Chinese had already been deprived

of jobs, the arrival of new competitors for the limited job opportunities created a push factor for the natives of the land. The second factor was a pull factor generated by the labour demands in Britain. Baker said,

At precisely this time, in Britain (and in other countries of Western Europe shortly afterward), a desire was appearing for more exotic and interesting food after the years of wartime austerity. Greek, Indian, Italian and other restaurants became popular, and Chinese food, long renowned as a high art, came into high demand both for its cheapness and for its interestingly different ingredients, taste, and presentation. (ibid.)

The increase in immigration was initially composed of single men coming to Britain on work permits. Sometimes the men would register their age as 10 years younger than they really were. This was especially true of those seeking employment in the Merchant Navy. After saving enough money they would bring their families over and establish their own catering businesses.

According to the statistics, over 90% of the Chinese who came to Britain during the decade between 1956 and 1965 were from the rural areas of Hong Kong and engaged in food trade. (HAC, 1985a) As a result, Hong Kong immigrants occupied the biggest proportion of the whole Chinese immigrant group.

The 1962 Immigration Act allowed more female Chinese immigrants to settle in Britain. Characteristics of immigration from Hong Kong after the 1962 Act were quite different from the earlier pattern of Chinese immigration into Britain. Baker, who points out that the first major change in the pattern of migration came with the 1962 Act, explains the consequences of the Act as follows: 'At this time the restaurant business was still expanding, and the restrictions struck hard. The response was to bring in dependants and, from about 1964 onward, there was a steady increase in the number of wives and other family members joining their men folk in the restaurant labor force' (Wickberg, 1994:298).

Hence, the predominantly male Chinese immigrant community in Britain began to change. Also, thanks to the co-operation of their wives and sometimes children, the owners of the restaurants were able to save substantial amounts of money. The businesses now began to be transformed into a "family enterprise" (Wickberg, 1994:26) and the benefit remained in the hands of the owners.

The second change was in housing patterns. Immigrants started renting houses, owing to the arrival of the women and children. Immigrant children needed to go to school, meaning the younger generation was forced to mix within mainstream society. So the isolated nature of the Chinese immigrants in Britain began to change.

The 1981 British Nationality Act was believed to have 'replaced the composite citizenship of the United Kingdom and colonies created by the Nationality Act of 1948 which had been gradually rendered obsolete by decolonisation, the change in Britain's position in the world and the growing political distance between Britain and many of its ex-colonies' (Spencer, 1997:148). It has also created two other categories of British citizenship: the citizenship of British Dependent Territories, such as Hong Kong and the Falkland Islands; and the British Overseas Citizenship designed for those who did not qualify in the other two categories, like the East African Asians in India (ibid.). People who were in either of these two new categories did not have the right of settlement, but had the right of entry only if they were born or naturalised or had parents born or naturalised in the specified countries.

(3) Nowadays - late 20th century to present

As Chinese cuisine became more and more popular in Britain, the need for labour expanded. During the decade between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s, there was a dramatic increase in the number of Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong to the UK.

British immigration law required that admission into the UK should be at the invitation of a relative or a specific employer for a particular job. 'Usually, travel documents and work

permits were arranged by the families in the UK; employment in Chinese eating establishments was promised; passage money was provided as an advance of wages.’ (Wei, 1994:45) Baker & Honey (1981) suggested that, Chinese immigrants left Hong Kong for Britain mainly because of the need for education, profession and finance; while people from mainland China mainly came for political reasons.

The Chinese population in the UK is now estimated at around 400,000 people. It has been reported that 26% of the Chinese population are UK born, 26 % from New Territories or Hong Kong, 10% from Malaysia, 12% from Vietnam, 4% from Singapore, 12% from Mainland China, and 12% from other parts of the world. It illustrates the diverse background of the Chinese community in Britain.

Early Chinese migrants suffered racism in the job market. However, through sheer hard work and entrepreneurial spirit the Chinese community established a strong position in the British economy. Despite the racist jibes that the Chinese were both dirty and immoral, the Chinese community became famed for the best laundry services in Britain, a tradition that continued until the industry's demise with the introduction of the domestic washing machine in the 1950's. Faced with economic collapse, the Chinese community successfully underwent a paradigm shift into the catering industry to become Britain's most popular ethnic cuisine. Today catering remains the largest employer within the Chinese community. There are over eleven thousand Chinese catering establishments in the UK - 9,500 take aways and 1,500 restaurants.

Chinese restaurants are distributed throughout the country, often in isolated pockets where there are no black or ethnic minority presences. This has resulted in the spread of the Chinese community throughout the country, more so than any other ethnic group. It is not surprising therefore that they are often victims of racist violence.

Career

Catering is the industry into which most Chinese immigrants’ enter their early careers.

Unlike the other immigrant groups in Britain, who first immigrated and then tried to find jobs, the Chinese had their employment waiting for them when they arrived. The restaurant business provided almost the only type of job for Chinese immigrants until the mid-1980s.

The Chinese catering trade in Britain can be classified into two categories-restaurants and take-aways.

The Chinese restaurants are run by multi-family partnerships. Managers, chefs, waiters and waitresses all can be the shareholders. It is generally understood that the ultimate goal for individual partners is to achieve independent proprietorship, and shareholders may therefore pull out of the partnership to establish their own business should opportunities arise (Watson, 1977).

The Chinese take-aways make small profits from a relatively small capital outlay. They are usually family-based, which means people of the same family all contribute to the business.

Since the 1970s, the number of Chinese take-aways has started to increase rapidly. It is now almost impossible to find a town, especially in England, with a population of 5,000 or more that does not have at least one Chinese eating establishment. (Watson, 1977; HAC, 1985a)

However, due to the extremely long working hours in the kitchen and 'above the shop' accommodation, Chinese immigrants remained detached and isolated from the host social and cultural environment. Although the waiters had more chance than the chefs to speak English and communicate with customers, their cultural interaction was still limited to a few words and sentences. The results of such an isolated lifestyle have been summarised by Baker, who points out that '...the Chinese in Britain led lonely, frustrated lives, deprived for much of the time of the social contact which they would have had in their native environment, ill at ease in the host society which was inaccessible to them for linguistic and work reasons' (1994:301).

There are three main reasons for the concentration of Chinese immigrants in the catering industry in the UK.

Firstly, employment opportunities have been restricted due to competition with the British labour force. Secondly, immigrants came to the UK seeking economic survival and eventually independence. So they went for family-based businesses and self-employment, with strong loyalty and commitment within their own kinship system. Thirdly, most of immigrants from Hong Kong had no qualifications and could barely understand English. Catering did not require specific skills.

In addition to the reasons listed above, the British catering industry also had a high demand for diversification and the Chinese catering trade has met the need.

Due to Chinese immigrants' 'peacefulness and quietness', most of time, 'the Chinese presence in Britain was no big thing' (Benton and Gomez, 2008:292).

2.4.5 The Chinese community in Britain

The Chinese community in Britain is not homogeneous, as it is made up of members from different regions speaking a diverse range of dialects and taking different occupations. The largest group is from Hong Kong, constituting nearly one-third of the population; a quarter were born in Britain and the others came from Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam and mainland China (Storkey and Lewis, 1996). Most Hong Kong immigrants came to Britain to earn a living between the late 1950s and the late 1960s. Due to the handover of the sovereignty of Hong Kong to mainland China in 1997, 50,000 families were given British citizenship. Hence, the proportion of people from Hong Kong in the Chinese community has increased since 1997.

Many studies have showed Chinese immigrants' considerable economic achievement. The 1991 UK Census shows that, 70 percent of Chinese men and 50 percent of Chinese women were defined as economically active. Of these, 88 percent of men and 90 percent of women

were in paid jobs (Cheng, 1996). The unemployment rates in the Chinese community were among the lowest compared to other ethnic groups (Modood et al., 1997). In addition, the average earnings of working Chinese families were higher than other groups, including the white group (Berthoud, 1998). Moreover, the Chinese have got the highest level of qualification among ethnic groups in Britain, with 26 percent having university degrees or professional qualifications in 1997, which explains their high employability (Chan, 1999).

As said previously, most Chinese people work in the catering industry. According to the Home Affairs Committee (1985), 90 percent of workers had chosen catering as their occupation. By contrast, the 1991 Census showed that only 60.5 percent of Chinese men and 50.9 percent of Chinese women were working in this industry; more and more Chinese young people have chosen other occupations recently. However, these figures are still higher than the white group (16.7 percent of men and 24.1 percent of women work in the retailing and catering sector) (Jones, 1998). According to *Chinese people and 'other' ethnic minorities in Great Britain: social and economic circumstances* (1994), the second and third most popular occupations among the Chinese are in the business services and health and education sectors. 12.4 percent of Chinese men and 13.7 percent of Chinese women work in business services; 8.7 percent of Chinese men and 15.7 percent of Chinese women take part in the health and education sector (Owen, 1994).

However, many Chinese people run their own take-away businesses and this causes the self-employment rate of Chinese workers to be higher than other ethnic groups. Also, it cannot be denied that the Chinese community do not have serious 'ethnic penalty' problems considering the high self-employment rates. But, as more and more young people are taking job in other fields, it is likely that they will suffer from discrimination in the job market.

Unlike other ethnic groups, the Chinese community is widely dispersed. The greatest concentration of Chinese people is in Greater London (39 percent), according to the Home Affairs Committee (1985). 'Chinatowns' in several cities in Britain such as London,

Manchester and Liverpool are 'meeting points' for Chinese people and tourists.

Another important reason for Chinese people's economic success is their traditional values - Confucianism that has heavily influenced Chinese people's way of life in Britain. Confucian values include 'work ethics, thrift, diligence, a respect for educational achievement, avoidance of overt conflict in social relations, loyalty to hierarchy and authority and a stress on order and harmony' which 'provide a strong philosophical foundation for Chinese communities to achieve economic success in capitalism' (Chau and Yu, 2001:108).

The Chinese are proud of their cultural heritage and are active in maintaining and promoting it.... Family ties within the Chinese community are strong and loyalty to the family is regarded as paramount. Family discipline and the work ethic are also strong. Parents will often expect children to help in the family business after school. (Home Office, 1985:147)

The basic unit for the Chinese is the family rather than the individual. Also, within family and even society the older people enjoy higher status and respect. For example, some restaurants in Chinatown in London are running as family systems. Family members are helping manage restaurants and serve the customers.

But Confucianism also stops the Chinese community integrating into mainstream society.

The Chinese in Britain were never concerned to develop social relationships outside their own closed communities and it is much the same today. Until recently they have regarded themselves as sojourners rather than settlers, resolutely maintaining their Chinese culture and continuing to identify their kinsmen at home rather than with the host community. (Jones, 1979:398)

However, doubts can be raised about the strength of Chinese people's family ties if their

immigration history is considered. The Amendment to the Commonwealth Immigration Act in the early 1970s required both parents of a child to be resident in Britain as a precondition for giving the child the right of abode (Taylor, 1987). This all or nothing approach meant many Chinese immigrants didn't bring their family members to Britain. Chinese immigrants were renowned for spending a lot of time working, which may also explain why they left their families in Hong Kong and came to Britain alone. Economic considerations seemed to be more important than traditional values.

Another factor that has been used to explain Chinese people's failure to use the mainstream services is:

The cultural tradition of the Chinese with its emphasis on self-help and mutual aid is very much to be commended, but arguably, it has led to a reluctance to look outside the immediate family, or at most the Chinese community for assistance. (Secretary of State for the Home Department, 1985:2)

Most Chinese people only concern themselves with their own family and pay little attention to the outside world beyond the family boundary. As a result, few Chinese sort their problems out by asking for help from community services.

'Physical distance implies social distance.' (Chau and Yu, 2001:115) It seems that Chinese people are responsible for their social isolation. But some evidence shows that Chinese immigrants make considerable efforts to integrate themselves into mainstream society via their involvement in private enterprise. By focussing on British customers, for example, teaching diners how to use chopsticks and decorating their restaurants in a traditional Chinese way, restaurateurs showcase and integrate their culture.

The Chinese community in the press

Except for Chinese take-aways and family ties, Kung Fu movies are symbolic of both mysterious Oriental power and Eastern gang crime. In most cases, the Chinese characters

play the role of ‘ultimate villainy – the sinister forces of the Orient that threaten to engulf all in a wave of violence and drugs’, in order to ‘highlight the superiority of Western civilisation, whose law and order is upheld under the leadership of the white hero’ (Shim, 1994:39).

Similarly, although the media exposure of the Chinese community in Britain is very low, when it is covered in the news, it is mostly linked with drugs, street crime, syndicates etc. in the British media.

2.5 Master frame 2: Liberal individualism

2.5.1 Liberal individualism and the historical development of its concepts

Liberalism, in common with existentialism and anarchism, takes human individuals as the central focus of its analysis. Within the terrain of liberalism, individualist and collectivist principles struggle against each other and a debate is created as to whether to emphasise individuals or not. For Brown (1993), the ‘human individual’ is understood as valuable in and of itself, the freedom of the individual is of paramount importance (p.11). Similarly, John Stuart Mill (1974) in his book *On liberty* argued that, ‘in each person’s own concerns his individual spontaneity is entitled to free exercise. Considerations to aid his judgment, exhortations to strengthen his will, may be offered to him, even obtruded on him, by others; but he himself is the final judge’ (p.143).

Contrasting with collectivists, liberal individualists believe that the freedom is internally motivated and authentic, but not constructed or determined by others. Brown (1993) also wrote, ‘[T]hey are active human subjects who give meaning to themselves and their world. It is not the group that gives shape to the individual, but rather individuals who give form and content to the group’ (p.12).

Benjamin Constant (1829) expressed his understanding of liberal philosophy with individuality and freedom as,

For forty years I have maintained the same principle-freedom in everything, in religion, in philosophy, in literature, in industry, in politics; and by freedom, I understand the triumph of individuality; as well as over the authority which aspires to govern by despotism, as over the masses which claim the right of subjecting the minority to the will of the majority...Everything which does not interfere with order; everything which belongs to the inward nature of man, like opinion; everything which in the manifestation of opinion, does not injure another...everything which in regard to industry, permits the free exercise of rival industry,-is individual and cannot legitimately be subjected to the power of society. (Ripley, 1838:265-266)

Similarly, Guizot (1997) in *History of civilization in Europe* argued that,

Individuality as the principle of the growth of man's mental and moral powers as well as of his capacity to live in freedom was both the hidden force and the aim of historical progress. Individuality was the dynamic principle of civilization. Progress, development, and improvement were characteristic of the historical continuum which molded all individual and aggregate actions into patterns of communal life.

History has shown that, individual freedom in collectivist regimes, such as Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, was highly demanded. The collectivist ideology denies the relation between human liberation and individualism. In opposition to such a political framework, liberal individualism gains popularity as a way to achieve human liberation.

Colin Bird (1999) in his book *The myth of liberal individualism* stressed the ambiguity of the concepts of liberal individualism. However, Bird clarified its two fundamental values as: liberty and individual inviolability; liberty and the private sphere (1999:30-35).

Liberty and individual inviolability

Bird denied the idea that 'freedom is a special kind of good which can be traded off among people' which is believed by some liberal individualists. He suggested that liberty is attached with privileged dignity and moral status for individuals, rather than goods like money or commodities.

Liberty and the private sphere

The private sphere is defined as 'an area within which citizens of a liberal order are free to think and act as they will...there are no internal boundaries, no core elements *within* the sphere of private action towards which individuals are bound to act in particular ways' (Bird, 1999:32). In such a sphere, no one is forced to do things. Accordingly, this value is naturally against paternalism and supports voluntarism, tolerance and neutrality. Jeffrey Reiman (1990) in his book *Justice and modern moral philosophy* wrote, 'Private ownership of the body is the nerve of liberalism. It accounts for the characteristic antipaternalism of liberalism...as well as its support for laws against physical aggression...[and]...for the value given to privacy in liberal societies' (p.171). This is regarded as the fundamental claim of anti-paternalism, or anti-dictatorship.

Loren Lomasky (1987) clarified two important factors to secure individuals' liberty and freedom. One is, 'great values attached to the ability of persons to lead their own lives'; the other is the values are 'within a wide and durable sphere of freedom from the interference by others they ought to be able to develop and pursue their own ideals of the good' (p.11). Hence, personal values and an environment to protect activities are the key things for the ideal of liberal individualism. To draw a conclusion, the society liberal individualists believe should be is the one 'that acknowledges individuals' rights to act as they wish within their personal spheres of conduct automatically acknowledges their dignity and special value by so doing' (Bird, 1999:35).

2.5.2 Practice of liberal individualism in political and cultural discourses

Origins of liberal democracy

James Madison, one of the 'Founding Fathers' of the American constitution, suggested that society is 'composed of different alliances, groupings and parties, all of them pursuing a plurality of interests' (Axtmann, 1996:20). His theory is based on the ancient Greek idea of 'democracy' which was raised for the first time in the first half of the fifth century BC. It was the idea 'formulated and institutionalized that a substantial number of free, adult males should be entitled to participate in governing the political community'. However, his idea is not based on harmony of diversity, but on the creation of homogeneity and uniformity.

Axtmann (1996) in his book *Liberal democracy into the twenty-first century: globalization, integration and the nation-state* suggested that a democratic nation-state means principles of non-discrimination are established and everyone equally enjoys the same rights and entitlements. In other words, 'all people, as citizens, must be treated equally, and laws and rules must be blind to individual and group differences. Hence, it denies claims that differences of, for example, race, ethnicity, class, sex and gender, or religion make a difference to people's rights, duties and opportunities: as "human beings", we are all equal' (p.80). Similarly, Held (1991) argued that in a liberal democracy, people have the 'undisputed right to determine the framework of rules, regulations and policies within a given territory and to govern accordingly' (1991:150). The political philosopher T.H.Green also stated that all members of society have maximum power to make the best of themselves (Simhony, 1993). Berting (1995) came across the notion - 'universal human rights' and explained it as,

[a]n active, rational, entrepreneurial person equipped with a certain degree of self-expression, self-help and self-defence: a person who has the opportunity to possess and manage property, to communicate views and purchase happiness along individually chosen lines, to share in government and freely go about everyday activities without interference of officials and prohibitions of the state beyond those

strictly necessary for the defence of others. (p.151)

Democracy associated with equality and liberty

As the core credo of democracy, equality demands that “all persons should to be treated equally, that is, they ought to be treated in the same way in relation to those important aspects in which they are the same; or, as Rees (1971) puts it, a common concept of the principle of equality is ‘that men should all be treated in the same way save where there is sufficient reason for treating them differently’” (Holden, 1993:20) In the debates, democrats hold the opinion that political equality which suggests ‘one person one vote’ and ‘each individual must in some significant sense have an equal say’ is the necessary condition for democracy, but not part of its definition (ibid.:21).

Liberty and democracy are two terms which can overlap, but also conflict with each other. There is ‘a troubled relationship between liberalism and democracy’ (Hoffman, 1988). Liberty means within a socio, particularly political context, individuals make their own decisions and decide their own actions, which represent the nature of ‘self-determination’. It overlaps with democracy because ‘the self-determination of the people (the liberty of the people) must consist in its making its own determining decisions (democracy)’ (Holden, 1993:24). However, from a political viewpoint, democracy forms a basis on which a state’s power is in the hands of people, whereas liberal individualism is always a central conception to the modern idea of liberal democracy and refers to the restriction of the state’s power in order to ensure individual freedoms. Hence, ‘[I]n a democracy the government expresses the will of the people; but even so, says the liberal democrat, the power of the government should be limited’ (ibid.:16).

Democracy and human rights

As the dominant form of Western democracy in the 21st century, ‘liberal democracy’ always puts a high value on individual freedom of choice, ‘not only between political parties but also as between different uses of one’s income, of one’s capital, and of one’s skill and energy’ (Macpherson, 1973:25).

For Sardar (1998), liberals associate the notion 'liberalism' with 'human rights' and seek a privileged status for the Western world. As a concept of democracy, individualism is a combination of both liberal democracy and postmodernism. It is, as Sardar stated,

[T]he notion that society is nothing more than the sum of individuals and that the individual is a self-contained, autonomous and sovereign being who is defined independently of society. The assumption that the individual is prior to society is unique to western culture: it is the defining principle of liberal democracy and shapes its metaphysical, epistemological, methodological, moral, legal, economic and political aspects. (1998:61)

When it comes to Other cultures, democracy serves as a tool for westernisation and postmodernisation. According to Sardar, liberal democracy is unique to Western culture. 'The individual's main concern is to keep his/her identity intact, separate from all others, to preserve the boundaries at all cost, to enclose herself/himself within a protective wall.' (1998:61) On the contrary, in non-Western society, the individual identifies himself/herself by culture, community, family, heritage etc.

Within the concept of liberal democracy, the notion of human rights is adopted: 'a truly democratic state is seen as a state that shows total respect for human rights' (Sardar, 1998:67). But human rights are also believed to be a tool to postmodernise the non-Western cultures, due to the idea that Other cultures do not pay attention to human rights, or Other cultures cannot have the idea of human rights till Western culture imports the notion. Therefore, the liberal notion of human rights 'has become a political device in the hands of the west, used largely to defend the status quo and maintain western dominance' (Sardar, 1998:69).

Liberal democracy and capitalism

Although the connection between liberal democracy and capitalism is considered as 'problematic' for liberal democracy, there is a common thought that regards capitalism as

necessary for the existence and development of liberal democracy. Coe and Wilber (1985) in the book *Capitalism and democracy: Schumpeter revisited* argued,

[B]oth systems are based on the belief that freedom of individual choice will result in socially desirable outcomes ... A capitalist market economy relies on maximising decisions of individual consumers and producers to achieve an efficient allocation of resources. A democratic political system relies on the decision of individual voters to achieve the proper resolution of political disputes. In both cases power is widely dispersed. Thus each system reinforces the other.

That is to say, the free market provides ‘freedom of choice’ which provides the condition for self-development, as Lukes (1979) in his work *The real and ideal worlds of democracy* said,

‘self-development’ ... may essentially require, market incentives and competitive striving. Thus many contemporary liberal thinkers, among them John Rawls and Robert Nozick, argue (in different ways) for *both* a market system based on incentives and a Humboldtian/Millian vision of the maximal development of human personality. (Lukes, 1979)

Thus, the material incentives create an environment and a base for the development of ‘human personality’ and are believed to be connected with liberal democracy.

2.6 Summary

Overall, as the fundamental framework of the thesis, framing is used as both a concept and method with the aim of discovering how the representation of China and the Chinese are constructed and what ideologies are manifested. The arguments are listed as below,

1, Entman’s theory is adopted as the fundamental framework of the thesis, for it suits the characteristics of journalistic practice which involves active and intended selection of the

concepts of frames, in order to meet organisations' principles on news coverage.

2, Ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism are the two most popular frames constructed in the news discourse in the modern period. This thesis aims to find out which frame dominates in the sample articles, or if both frames work in the same article or for the same event.

CHAPTER 3

Methodological approaches

For Goffman (1974), in order to explore how a text is constructed and its socio-cultural and ideological impact, frame analysis should be combined with other methods, such as semiotic and discourse analysis. The latter could help explain how the frames are produced and identified in the media texts. Therefore, frame analysis is not an all encompassing method. It should be used in conjunction with other methods.

This chapter discusses the combination of research methods I adopt for my empirical work. It starts with the description of the entire sample and research design, followed by the explanation of general theories for each method and how the three methods used work together as a whole. In real practice, the data are analysed in three steps – first, quantitative content analysis gives general answers to questions such as what the representation of China and the Chinese in the UK is in the British mainstream media and what the differences between newspapers reporting on the same event are. In the second step, texts of news items are analysed on a linguistic level from journalistic context to social context, in order to explore the different ideologies behind news reporting. The last step is frame analysis. Based on the results from the other two methods, frame analysis is used to explore how the two struggling forces - ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism presenting as two contrasting masterframes in media discourses within a broader socio-cultural context – are adopted in the news reporting. The last section of the chapter shows the procedure of how the three research methods are practiced in the empirical work followed by the three steps.

3.1 The sample

Representativeness is the first and most crucial criteria I consider when selecting the sample. However, when it comes to a large population of texts, it is not realistic to analyse every single piece. Therefore, it is important for me to ensure that the selected textual units do not bias the results and are representative in terms of range and contents. I have chosen

my sample for the following three reasons.

First of all, the choice of *cases*. In my research, a case study is also identified as a unit of analysis which is ‘distinguished for selective inclusion in an analysis’ (Krippendorff, 2004:98). It is a more generalised analysis of themes within texts, according to Deacon *et al* (1999). I choose four cases in total under examination - the Tibet issue, the Hong Kong handover, Chinese immigration, and the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake. They come from four events related to China and the Chinese covered by British newspapers during the most recent decade – Tibetans’ protests during the Beijing Olympic Torch relay in 2008; the Hong Kong handover in 1997 and its 10th Anniversary in 2007; the Dover tragedy in 2000 and the Morecambe Bay Chinese cocklers tragedy in 2004, and the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake. They are popular in terms of their highest exposure in British news media in the same period compared to other news relating to China and the Chinese and foci in four different areas - politics, religion, society and migration. Also, they have certain characteristics in common. Firstly, they cover the four biggest events relating to China and the Chinese in the most recent decade. The Hong Kong handover was one of the most important events in the history of Sino-British relations. Secondly, horizontally speaking, the four cases cover economic, political, social and cultural dimensions and their most recent developments; vertically speaking, within each case, recent events are compared with historically related events in order to explore the development of media framing in British newspapers. Last but not least, by selecting these latest big events, this research fills a gap in the current research on the media’s representation of China and the Chinese in modern times.

Second, the choice of *the population, resources and sample size*. The population of the sample is the whole range of content I look at. In my research, I choose both UK national and regional newspapers (both broadsheets and tabloids) for the Dove and Chinese cockle pickers tragedies which were not only local incidents but also caused global debates on the immigration issues; and UK national newspapers (both broadsheets and tabloids) for their coverage of other three events which happened in China and had global influences. For the

Tibet case and the first period of earthquake case, the reason I selectively analyse two quality broadsheets – *Times* and *Manchester Guardian* and a mass-market tabloid newspaper – *Daily Mirror* is because first, they have provided high frequency of reporting during those selected periods and second, due to the large amount of historical news record from all UK national newspapers of these events and the difficulties to have full access to all of them, the way for me to look for relevant news articles which can be traced back to 200 years ago is through three specific databases - *The Times Digital Archive (Gale)*, *Guardian and Observer Archive (ProQuest)* and *Daily Mirror Archive*. Hence, I choose the three newspapers for analysis. The intention of choosing both broadsheets and tabloids newspapers is to give a fuller picture of British representations with the consideration of readership from various backgrounds and classes.

Majority of the sample articles are collected from online resource - *LexisNexis*, and the others are collected from *The Times Digital Archive (Gale)*, *Guardian and Observer Archive (ProQuest)* and *Daily Mirror Archive*.

In relation to the size which means how much of the larger population needed can be used for analysis, in total, I have valued 1810 news items to be used in my research. (See Table 3.2)

Table 3.2: Sample of research

| Case No. | Key words for search | Selected range of newspapers | Length of selected period | Results: number of selected articles | Filtered results: number of selected articles |
|---|--|---|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| Case 1: Hong Kong handover and its 10 th anniversary | Hong Kong (and) handover | UK national newspapers | 01/06/1997 – 31/07/1997 | 498 | 227 |
| | Hong Kong (and) handover | UK national newspapers | 01/07/2006 – 30/06/2008 | 167 | 53 |
| Case 2: Tibet | Tibet (and) Britain | <i>Times; Manchester Guardian; Daily Mirror</i> | 01/01/1903 – 31/12/1904 | 324 | 288 |
| | Tibet (and) China | <i>Times; Manchester Guardian; Daily Mirror</i> | 01/01/1950 – 31/12/1951 | 119 | 101 |
| | Tibet (and) China | <i>Times; Manchester Guardian; Daily Mirror</i> | 11/09/1958 – 10/09/1959 | 120 | 99 |
| | Tibet (and) Olympics | <i>Times; Guardian; Daily Mirror</i> | 09/02/2008 – 08/08/2008 | 480 | 369 |
| Case 3: Chinese migration in the UK | Dover (and) Chinese (and) UK (or) Britain | UK national and regional newspapers | 21/06/2000 – 03/07/2000 | 204 | 134 |
| | Chinese cockle pickers (or) Chinese cocklers (and) UK (or) Britain | UK national and regional newspapers | 06/02/2004 – 19/02/2004 | 172 | 120 |
| Case 4: Earthquakes | China (and) earthquake | <i>Times; Guardian; Daily Mirror</i> | 28/07/1976 – 27/07/1977 | 58 | 42 |
| | China (and) earthquake | UK national newspapers | 13/05/2008 – 12/05/2009 | 827 | 377 |
| | | | | | Total No. = 1810 |

Third, the choice of *qualifying criteria*. What comes under the remit of study is important

before coding and analysis. For each case, the combinations of key words for searching articles are slightly different since each case is conducted by the reporting of a specific event. Hence, the contents do not only include 'China' and 'Chinese', but can also be 'Tibet' or 'Chinese immigration' related. The details of key word searching are given in the introduction section of each result chapter. However, the results of key words searching are too general. In other words, not every single news article in these cases can be counted for further coding and analysis, since the 'China and Chinese related' event does not play the dominant role in the article. For instance, a news article which contains all the searching phrases only provides 'passing references' to the story. Therefore, a more specified set of qualifying criteria is necessary and should be designed and applied at this stage.

In my empirical work, I take the proportion of relevant description in a sample article into account by disqualifying articles which do not contain the key words in headline(s) or the first three paragraphs. That is to say, the articles which can be identified for analysis should *wholly or predominantly* report the 'event'. This is intended to exclude articles which have an unrelated primary topic but still contain the key words. Duplicated articles should also be excluded from the analysis. The advantage of these qualifying criteria is to make sure all concluded articles concentrate on reporting the event. However, it is difficult to cover all the combinations of key words. Hence, the danger of adopting such qualifying criteria is to miss articles which do not contain all of the key words or the exact phrases as chosen.

3.2 Quantitative content analysis

3.2.1 Definitions and objectivities

Generally speaking, quantitative content analysis is a research method that has been defined as 'the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods' (Riffe et al., 1998:2). Based on the broad view of content analysis, specific definitions with emphases on the purpose and procedure of the analysis were offered.

Holsti (1968) stated that it is ‘any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages’ (p.601). So did Berelson (1952) who emphasised the manifest characteristics of the content and the ‘objective, systematic’ procedure of analysis, by explaining the term ‘content analysis’ as: ‘a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.’ (p.18) A reductionist view of the method is provided by Krippendorff (2004) that ‘[C]ontent analysis is a research technique for making replicative and valid inferences from data to their context’ (p.21). The communicative phenomena could be drawn to a manageable set of data for analysis. Based on the two definitions with different emphases, a more comprehensive definition can be made as,

Quantitative content analysis is the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, in order to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption. (Riffe et al., 1998:20)

With the aim to ‘quantify salient and manifest features of a large number of texts, and the statistics are used to make broader inferences about the processes and politics of representation’ (Deacon et al., 2007:119), quantitative content analysis is the first stage of textual analysis as it sketches out a general picture of the main features of selected news texts. It is ‘a directive method’ and ‘it gives answers to the questions you pose.’ (ibid.). However, the method is to count what is in the coverage rather than to analyse the implicit meaning of the content. It does not explore the internal meanings and relationships between texts, but only provides general answers to certain research questions and functions as a filter to justify the sample and select data for further in depth analysis, such as discourse analysis. Similarly, Gerbner (1958) argued that content analysis aims to produce ‘a big picture’ (delineating trends, patterns and absences over large aggregates of texts). So it is a method which suits the analysis of general meanings rather than deep

inferences.

3.2.2 The methods

The following steps show how the content analysis as a method was actually carried out in my empirical work.

Step 1: Producing a coding frame

I take the first step to conduct content analysis by producing a coding frame which is composed of two research instruments – a coding schedule and a coding manual. In my research, four cases share the same coding schedule but have their own coding manuals.

Coding schedule is a pro-forma sheet covering all the variables designed for the study. Normally four textual dimensions are coded in content analysis - who appears; how do they appear; evaluative features; and interpretive dimensions. (Deacon et al. 2007) Across the sampled news articles of all four cases, the same variables in the following are included:

- Case number
- Date, month and year
- Length of item
- Name of correspondent
- Type of item
- Location of item
- Status of Chinese migrants in the item
- Theme codes
- Actors
- How the actor appears
- Length of quotation
- Location of reporting

(A sample of the final version of coding schedule is giving in Appendix.)

The second research instrument – coding manual includes the detailed categories under each of the variables. For example, in the Chinese immigration case, categories 1 = Chinese migrants is the main focus of the item, 2 = Chinese migrants is a secondary element in the item are under the variable ‘status of Chinese migrants in the item’. Specific categories are designed due to the different characteristics of each case.

Step 2: Collecting data

Once the coding schedule and coding manual are set up properly, it is the time to commence data collection from the sample. It is not always simple and easy when filling the categories with data. I have gone through two major problems at this stage. First is the identification and interpretation of data. How to precisely identify the data from original news texts is not easy, because not every single reference is overt.

The second problem is how to be consistent and systematic in applying the data to designed categories. In several occasions, the data did not fit perfectly within the variables. There would be a danger if I kept modifying the categories in order to fit all data. The only solution for me was to consistently apply the same coding solution without compromising the principles behind its design.

Step 3: Analysing results

For data analysis, I use a computerised statistical package for social sciences – SPSS software to help me analyse the data. Entering individual variable with data from each of my case studies under their appropriate columns is the first step. Then I run the software for three basic purposes: generating frequency tables, cross-tabulations and providing descriptive statistical measures.

For generating frequency tables, the results are presented in ‘overall frequencies of reporting by newspapers’, ‘overall frequencies of themes by newspapers’, ‘mean length of reporting by newspapers’, etc. Cross-tabulations provide more complex findings through analysing more specific aspect of the data or comparing different sets of data. Both

generating frequency tables and cross-tabulations are used in the content analysis part of my research for general measures of tendency and the comparison between newspapers, in order to answer the initial questions of what the differences between newspapers in relation to their effort of covering stories of the selected events and their foci of reporting.

3.2.3 Problems with content analysis

Berelson (1952) in his book *Content analysis in communication research* suggested that,

[...] content analysis is ordinarily limited to the manifest content of the communication and is not normally done directly in terms of the latent intentions which the content may express nor the latent responses which it may elicit. Strictly speaking, content analysis proceeds in terms of what-is-said, and not in terms of why-the-content-is-like-that (e.g. 'motives') or how-people-react (e.g. 'appeals' or 'responses'). (ibid.: 262)

He summarised three assumptions within the method:

(1) Content analysis assumes that inferences about the relationship between intent and content or between content and effect can validly be made, or the actual relationships established. [...] Content analysis is often done to reveal the purposes, motives and other characteristics of the communicators as they are (presumably) 'reflected' in the content; or to identify the (presumable) effects of the content upon the attention, attitudes or acts of readers and listeners. (ibid.: 264)

(2) Content analysis assumes that study of the manifest content is meaningful. This assumption requires that the content be accepted as a 'common meeting-ground' for the communicator, the audience and the analyst. That is, the content analyst assumes that the 'meanings' which he ascribes to the content, by assigning it to certain categories, correspond to the 'meanings' intended by the communicator and/or understood by the audience. (ibid.: 264)

(3) Content analysis assumes that the quantitative description of communication content is meaningful. This assumption implies that the frequency of occurrence of various characteristics of the content is itself an important factor in the communication process. (ibid.: 265)

Accordingly, content analysis is supposed to function in the three ways laid out above. However, using content analysis as a homogenous method cannot answer all my research questions for a number of reasons. First of all, as content analysis makes sense of data by measurement, such as counting frequencies and lengths of reporting and comparing different papers, it might generalise the results without a qualitative description of the data. Compared to other methods such as qualitative discourse analysis, it is a relevantly shallow method compared to qualitative methods, which enable a more sensitive and delicate perspective to be gained. For example, the fact that some specific key words appear more frequently in one newspaper than others does not mean this paper is concerned about the event more than others. Deciding if the event is significant for a newspaper also depends on how it is reported, such as what perspectives and descriptions are used. This is why it is also used as a filter to identify 'valuable' items for further analysis. Secondly, this method is unable to answer 'why' questions: what causes the differences between papers? Why have/haven't the images of China and the Chinese changed? So, linguistic analysis and analysis of larger influences from outside are demanded. Discourse analysis offers this possibility. Therefore, content analysis cannot stand alone but cooperate with other methods in order to achieve the aims of the research.

3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The spirit of discourse analytic research is inductive; that is, it involves moving from the concrete to the abstract, from the particular to the general. (Wood & Kroger, 2000:34)

As the problems and limitations of quantitative content analysis suggested above, the aim

of answering the 'why' questions will be achieved by applying the method of Critical Discourse Analysis. This section starts with briefly introducing the theories of 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' in general terms.

It is very hard to define these two phrases, as they cover an extremely wide field. According to Schiffrin (1994), there are two general approaches to the definition of discourse. Firstly, this section deals with the *formalist or structuralist definition of discourse*. Discourse is defined as a particular unit of language, specifically, as a unit of language 'above' (larger or more extended than) the sentence. "Theorists who adopt this first definition of discourse tend to look at the features which link sentences together; the formal features which make two sentences 'a discourse' rather than just two unconnected phrases." (Richardson, 2007:22) To make sense of a discourse via a formalist or structuralist understanding, cohesion, narrative, causality and motivation are the main four aspects of analysis.

The second definition of 'discourse' is *functionalist*. Van Dijk (1997) suggested that it is 'a practical, social and cultural, phenomenon [...] language users engaging in discourse accomplish *social acts* and participate in *social interaction*, typically so in *conversation* and other forms of *dialogue*' (p.2). Similarly, Brown and Yule in their book *Discourse analysis* (1983) argued that the analysis of discourse is '[...] necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs' (p.1). For functionalists, discourse analysis is about what people do with language for language is actively involved in the events. Cameron (2001) suggested that what attracts theorists is '*what and how* language communicates when it is used *purposefully* in particular instances and *contexts*' (p.13). Hence, theorists who adopt this definition of discourse tend to find out how the discursive language is used by combining words, clauses, sentences etc. and also the intentions and sequences of such social acts.

However, texts do not exist in isolation. They 'must be understood, in relation to other

texts' (Richardson, 2007:100). As Blommaert (1999) stated, 'Every text incorporates, reformulates, reinterprets or re-reads previous texts, every act of communication is grounded in semantic and pragmatic histories which are not simple and linear, but complex, multi-layered and fragmented' (p.5). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as a way of performing discourse analysis from a critical perspective, plays an important role in investigating 'a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power-relations' (Titscher et al., 2000:146). This method adopts the functionalist definition of discourse but it is used to 'link linguistic analysis to social analysis' (Woods and Kroger, 2000:206). It mainly aims at working out the relationship between the text and its social conditions. In this chapter, I adopt Norman Fairclough's work on Critical Discourse Analysis. It starts with the texts and gradually builds outwards to discursive practice and social practice, which has significant differences from van Dijk's (1987, 1991, 1993, 1997a, b) social psychological model which focuses upon how 'cognitive schemata' shape news production and comprehension. By contrast, Fairclough emphasised the social aspect which is how genres and discourses are socially influenced and shaped.

3.3.1 Norman Fairclough's theories of Critical Discourse Analysis

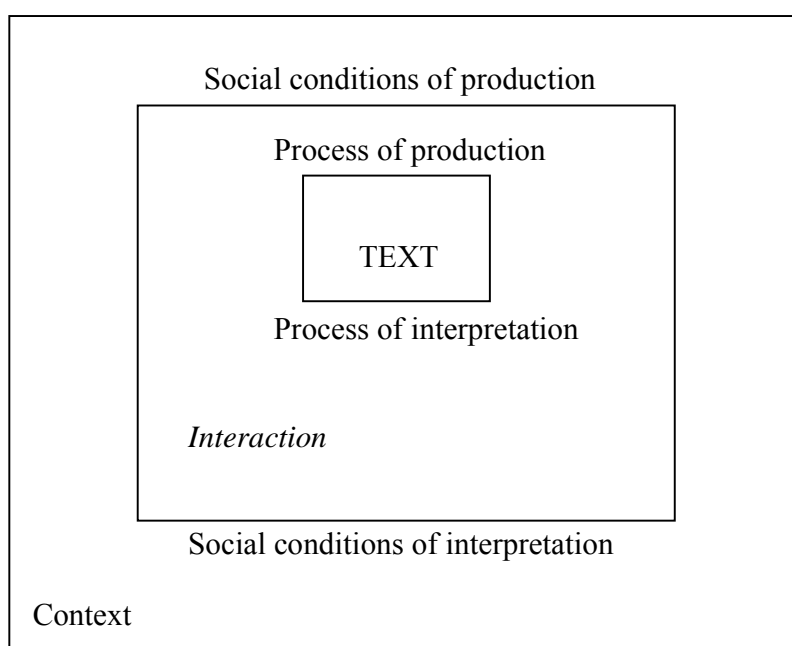
For Fairclough, 'to fully understand what discourse is and how it works, analysis needs to draw out the form and function of the text, the way that this text relates to the way it is produced and consumed, and the relation of this to the wider society in which it takes place' (Richardson, 2007:37). The term 'discourse' is used by Fairclough to refer to the entire process of social interaction which 'includes in addition to the text the *process of production*, of which the text is a product, and the *process of interpretation*, for which the text is a resource' (2001:20). Hence, the text is only part of the process and textual analysis is only part of discourse analysis which contains analysis of both productive and interpretative processes.

Since discourse analysis means the analysis of relations between the actual language used and the wider social and cultural contexts (Titscher et al., 2000), Fairclough attributed three components to the communicative event - *text, discourse practice and socio-cultural*

practice. In practice, he also distinguished three stages of critical discourse analysis - *description* of text, *interpretation* of the relationship between text and interaction, and *explanation* of the relationship between interaction and social text. (2001).

Fairclough drew a picture of the analytical framework of critical discourse. (See Figure 3.1)

Figure 3.1: The analytical framework of critical discourse



(Fairclough, 2001:21)

From the picture above, we can see firstly that the text ‘can be regarded from the perspective of discourse analysis on the one hand as *traces* of the productive process, and on the other hand as *cues* in the process of interpretation’ (Fairclough, 2001:20). Secondly, the process of production and interpretation is not only cognitive, but is also determined by the social ‘context’ - ‘they are socially generated, and their nature is dependent on the social relations and struggles out of which they were generated - as well as being socially transmitted and, in our society, unequally distributed’ (Fairclough, 2001:20). This social context is made up of three levels of social conditions - the level of the social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of social institution which constitutes the discourse

and the level of the society as a whole. (Fairclough, 2001) This approach ‘justifies the use of CDA rather than purely descriptive, data-driven approaches which are epistemologically inadequate in accounting for the complex linguistic choices made during the processes of text production.’ (Baker et al., 2008:281)

According to van Dijk (1991) in his book *Racism and the Press*, the specific aim of discourse analysis is to show ‘how the cognitive, social, historical, cultural, or political contexts of language use and communication impinge on the contents, meanings, structures, or strategies of text or dialogue, and vice versa, how discourse itself is an integral part of and contributes to the structures of these contexts’ (1991:45). Hence, my research aims at not only ‘vertically’ analysing the use of language in the British Press at ‘surface’ structure levels, but also ‘horizontally’ exploring the circumstances within which the texts are involved and how those elements of the texts serve to represent the underlying ideologies and social power. Across all four case studies involved in this research, I start out by introducing the social and cultural background of the selected event which sets up the broad social context.

3.3.2 Discourse as social practices

Across all four case studies, I start out with a discussion which extends to the societal and institutional level by introducing the social, cultural and historical background of the selected event, in order to examine how social structures affect the discourses. Fairclough (1995a) suggested that a complete Critical Discourse Analysis should include an analysis of the text's 'socio-cultural practice' or 'the social and cultural goings-on which the communicative event is part of' (p.57). This level of analysis 'may be at different levels of abstraction from the particular event: it may involve its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture' (ibid.:62). Luke (2002) argued that,

[...] what texts 'do' in the world cannot be explained solely through text analysis or text analytic language. To reiterate, the actual power of the text, its material and

discourse consequences, can only be described by reference to broader social theoretic models of the world. (p. 102)

The relation between the discourse and the society is dialectical. Firstly, 'society and the social formation - that is, the historic, economic, political and ideological features of society - forms a backdrop that both structures and enables the work of journalists' (Richardson, 2007:43). Hence, the social formation is deeply produced and structured within the social change and movement. However, the social formation cannot exist on its own, but is constituted by the work of journalism. This is informed by the degree of autonomy the journalists enjoy when writing the news. How to use this power given to the journalists in the newsroom always remains at the top of news agendas.

The power relationships in social institutions and society determine how the orders of discourses are constructed and how ideologies are embodied in the discourses. Generally speaking, there are three aspects of social practices - economic practices, political practices and ideological practices which are 'residing outside of the newsroom, permeate and structure the activities and outputs of journalism' (Richardson, 2007:114). The dialectical relationship between society and journalism is to say that society influences journalism in various ways, 'from the constitutive effects of ideology, social structures, social power, other agencies and institutions to the values and preferences of the target audience' (ibid.); while journalism uses its power to enforce or resist social movements. Therefore, '[s]ocial practices surround and shape the work of journalists, meaning that an analysis of the social practices of newspaper discourse requires the analyst to look outside the text and examine the relationships between journalism and the social formation as a whole' (ibid.).

3.3.3 Discursive practice

The discursive practice dimension of a communicative event is consisted of both the processes of text production and text consumption. Due to the research questions and foci of my thesis, only the former is involved in the analysis. That is to say, this stage of critical discourse analysis is about how the newspapers decide to produce texts and give meanings

to them, under a wider journalistic and social condition. Hence, the texts shaped by their producer represent the perspectives and rules of the news organisations. According to Fairclough (2001), since ‘the values of textual features only become real, socially operative, if they are embedded in social interaction, where texts are produced and interpreted against a background of common-sense assumptions which give textual features their values’, a coherence is necessary to be made between the texts and social structures. (p.117)

As being central to Fairclough’s model of CDA, intertextuality is understood as an interpretive analysis which works on the interface between text and discourse practice. It is “an analysis of texts from the perspective of discourse practice, and more specifically from the perspective of ‘discourse process’ – in terms of the ways in which genres and discourses available within the repertoires of orders of discourse are drawn upon and combined in producing and consuming texts, and the ways in which texts transform and embed other texts which are in chain relationships with them” (Fairclough, 1995a:75). For Fairclough, it has two inter-related axes - internal and external intertextualities. Firstly, texts are related to other texts, as Blommaert (1999) stated: 'Every text incorporates, reformulates, reinterprets or re-reads previous texts, every act of communication is grounded in semantic and pragmatic histories which are not simple and linear, but complex, multi-layered and fragmented' (p.5). This is the external intertextuality. The internal intertextuality has more to do with reported speech which constitutes an important part of news reporting. Direct quotation, indirect quotation, strategic quotations, etc. are involved in the discourse analysis in my thesis.

3.3.4 Some concepts and methods of linguistic analysis

In comparison with the two levels of discussion introduced above, the linguistic analysis of texts is at a micro and local level of analysis. It includes not only the “analysis of vocabulary and semantics, the grammar of sentences and smaller units, and the sound system ('phonology') and writing system” but also the ‘analysis of textual organization above the sentence, including the ways in which sentences are connected together’ (Fairclough, 1995a:57). It means that the linguistic analysis not only involves the elements,

but also involves the way that they are structured, combined and sequenced (Fairclough, 1995b). In the case studies, the textual structures are examined based on two major parts of the news items - headlines and news content. Due to the differences between them, I shall introduce the approaches and strategies of each part separately.

Headlines

As every newspaper reader knows, they are the most conspicuous part of a news report: they are brief, printed 'on top', in large bold type, and often across several columns. Their main function is to summarise the most important information in the report. (van Dijk, 1991:50) In other words, the headlines define the situation and evaluate it. Hence, the headlines not only sum up the information of the event, but also give ideological implications.

Headlines are always read first by readers. Also, since many readers only go through headlines without reading the whole story, they not only help reader get an overview of the news, but also 'activate the relevant knowledge in memory the reader needs to understand the news report' (ibid.). The term 'model of the situation' is proposed by van Dijk (1991) in order to explain how the personal memory of a certain representation is built by the headlines. This is a higher level function of headlines than summarising the information in the news report.

As the headlines are always kept short, the value of the information in the headline is maximized. Hence, every single word within headlines is carefully picked to represent the desired ideological meaning in reports.

Journalists usually use strategies when reporting the news. They tell stories by adhering to the rules, but also use strategies to express their opinions. One of the strategies used in this way is 'identity description'. Everyone has more than one identity. In other words, everyone can be identified in different ways. In the news discourse, a specific identity chosen to describe a person may result in a specific impact on the impression given to the

readers. ‘We all simultaneously possess a range of identities, roles and characteristics that could be used to describe us equally accurately but not with the same meaning.’ (Richardson, 2007: 49)

Another strategy is predication. According to Reisigl and Wodak’s work *Discourse and discrimination: rhetorics of racism and anti-semitism* (2001),

[P]redicational strategies are mainly realised by specific forms of *reference* (based on explicit denotation as well as on more or less implicit connotation), by *attributes* (in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctive clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups), by *predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns*, by *collocations* or *explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors* and other *rhetorical figures* [...] and by more or less implicit *allusions, evocations* and *presuppositions/implications*. (p.54)

This strategy, when used in headlines, leads to ideological implications which might bias readers’ perception process: ‘they summarize what, according to the journalists, is the most important aspect, and such summary necessarily implies an opinion or a specific perspective on the events’ (van Dijk, 1991:51).

News content

The linguistic analysis of news contents in this thesis is composed of three major sections. First is the *lexical analysis*. The selection of vocabulary, metaphor and the referring of social actors are the main tools. They cooperate with each other in the news in order to establish the relations between the social actors who are referred to and the social context they are associated with. The ‘ideological square’ is a popular strategy often used by the journalists, particularly in the reporting of racial issues. It was developed by Teun van Dijk who suggested it is ‘characterised by a Positive Self-Presentation and a simultaneous Negative Other-Presentation’ which claims the emphasising of positive characteristics of ‘Us’ and the de-emphasising of negative characteristics of the ‘Other’. Through this

framework, the world is perceived and represented based on where the reporter stands. Predication, as a strategy, is also often used in the text body. Predication, as another strategy, is also applied in the news content, with the same purpose of misleading the readers by giving certain characteristics to social actors.

The second is the structure of sentence. Transitivity and modality are the two most popular types of sentence construction. Transitivity ‘describes the relationships between participants and the roles they play in the process described in reporting’ (Richardson, 2007:54). Active construction and passive construction are the two most common forms. The choice of using either form could have significant political implications. Transitivity shows the link between form and content of the sentences. Modality expresses the reporter’s attitude towards the event through modal verbs and adverbs.

The third is presupposition. Except analysing what is ‘there’ in the texts, it is also important to “be sensitive to absences from the text, to things which might have been ‘there’, but aren’t” (Fairclough, 1995a:106). Presupposition is between the absence and presence of what is in the texts and taking for granted that the information which is ‘unsaid’ exists and is given to readers, or the readers have established certain knowledge on a specific subject.

The strategies of rhetoric, repetition (such as alliteration, rhyme, parallelism), hyperbole, metaphor, comparison and metonymia have also been adopted for textual analysis in the thesis.

In the empirical work, I have also been guided by several strategies suggested by Norman Fairclough (2001) in his book *Doing discourse analysis: methods of studying action in talk and text* which emphasises on the text analysis and the intertextuality between texts.

1, ‘Play with the text. Ask how it would read if a particular item (word, phrase, etc.) were omitted, phrased differently (i.e., consider substitutions), or combined with some other

item...consider syntax: How would the text read if the sequence of two items were reversed (e.g., a compliment comes after rather than before a request)?' (p.93)

2, 'Look carefully at how the text is structured, shaped, and ordered in both individual segments and overall, because structures are ways of achieving both content and function.' (p.93)

3, 'Part of the analyst's task is to describe and analyze the ways in which participants treat categories. Similarly, comparison is not only an essential activity of the analyst (e.g., comparing a participant's formulations of an event in different contexts); it is also a device used by participants (e.g., a participant employs a comparison as justification for a particular judgment).' (p.94)

4, 'It is important (although often difficult) to consider what is *not* there (in terms of both 'content' and form).' (p.92)

5, 'Assume that a focus on the literal meaning of an utterance or text may be the least helpful analytic strategy; concentrate on what the speaker or writer is doing, how that segment is related to other segments, and so on; consider also the possibilities of irony. This does not mean the complete neglect of literal meaning; rather, we need to ask how the literal meaning is used to do something, how it is related to what is done, and so on.' (p.92)

6, 'You do not need to be a linguist or grammarian, and your goal is not to identify linguistic or grammatical features. However, grammar is important to the social workings of discourse, and attention to grammatical features can help to identify those workings...The emphasis is on the social implications of grammatical features.' (p.94-95)

7, 'In a sense, all of the ideas that you can muster will constitute your analytical resources. It is important to remember that you come to discourse analysis as a member of the culture, as a speaker-hearer and writer-reader of the language. This raises some dangers, but it also

means that you can draw on your own knowledge. Discourse analysis is not like studying rocks. Rocks do not change under the gaze of the investigator in the way that people do under the scrutiny of a social scientist. As elsewhere, the critical feature is not how you come up with patterns, interpretations, and so forth, but how you justify your identification of patterns, how you ground your interpretations.’ (p.95)

Additionally, due to the intertextual characteristic of news reporting, a news article always involves either quotations in the form of information and comments, or background information (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, it is more important to investigate how the previous messages occur in the current news reporting than just simply state its existence.

In each case, I choose one sample article to present a detailed discourse analysis. My objective is to show how exactly I have in particular applied such analysis to the empirical work. Among these four news items, two are from broadsheet newspapers and the other two are from tabloid newspapers; two are from central left newspapers and the other two are from central right newspapers. Additionally, they are from the newspapers which among the ones providing most reporting during the selected periods. The reason for choosing them is to make sure these four items include all the characteristics of the ‘parent population’. More specific nationale will be given in the analysis of each article. (See Appendix II)

3.4 Frame analysis

Goffman’s original formulation suggested that framing is ‘an innate property of all social processes, not only those most consciously manufactured’ (Koenig, 2004:3), which shows the difference with Entman’s (1993) theory of selection and salience as the key concepts of framing. As discussed earlier, for this research, I am inclined to analyse the frames based on Entman’s theory which involves active and intended selection of the concepts of frames, in order to meet organisations’ principles on news coverage.

The social and political origins of framing provide a wide research ground that is not limited to textual analysis. For example, D’Angelo (2002) list four goals of identifying

framing studies,

(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 evaluations, and (d) to examine how news frames shape social-level processes such as public opinion and policy issue debates. (p.873)

This suggests frames are *both* cognitive and discursive. Not only linguistic textual analysis, but also broader social relations and structures within media texts are included in the goals which frame analysis is used to achieve. However, textual analysis is still the fundamental foundation upon which all other wider analysis is built. This explains why there is no stand-alone frame analysis method; it is often integrated with other quantitative and qualitative textual analysis methods (Downey and Koenig, 2006). Hence, this represents a stage beyond textual analyses - analysis of *thematic structure*. It is the top of the pyramidal structure of the news text. Concerning such analysis, it has been written that, 'In doing this, you should try to identify the key underlying conception or proposition which, although formally undefined, nevertheless informs the text as a whole and imparts to the text its relative coherence by interlinking its component parts.' (Deacon et al. 2007:183) However, in practice it is usually difficult to identify this key conception, as it is usually subtle. To achieve this, there are two questions that the analyses need to answer.

- What makes the text hang together as a narrative with a beginning, middle and end, and with particular passage operating within these stages of the narrative as well as contributing to the sense of a sequenced development of the story as a whole?
- What assigns each part of the news text - the events described, the quotations used, the outcome forecast, and so on - its position within the hierarchically ordered progression of the narrative?

(ibid.)

These questions also suggest that, although thematic analysis is a further stage, it should not be separate from the discourse analysis. They should work together to explain how the news text is constructed. The following three strategies are used to investigate how media develop a frame:

(1) Spotlighted facts and sources

As discussed in the previous chapter, Entman's work suggests that the media deliberately select information to highlight or ignore elements of a news item. In almost all news institutions, what to report or what not to is decided by those dominant holders. For instance, the dominant group barely put themselves in social problems or any crisis which could cause them bad reputation. In the case of the Dover tragedy, *The Independent (London)* mainly reported on the Chinese victims' poor financial situations back home driving them to come to Britain for a better life, instead of highlighting the 'black economy' in Britain as an important factor which indirectly caused the deaths.

Similarly, this strategy is applied to sources. It can be analysed from two aspects. One is the *quantitative* aspect. For van Dijk (1983), the construction of news is 'most of all a reconstruction of available discourses' (p.28). Journalists often use other sources when they cannot be witnesses of news events. So it is important to explore if there is any preferred other source adopted and the frequency of its appearance. The other is the *qualitative* aspect. What emotional reference is attached to a certain fact needs to be investigated through concrete analysis. For instance, if the cited description of Chinese migrants is often negative, using terms such as 'illegal', 'cheap labour' or 'poverty', it informs on the stance of reporter of the article.

(2) Prioritised value

This can be analysed in two steps. The first step is to "identify the stance taken and the values advanced by each source, and then plot out the relative position each is given in the overall sequence as this is arranged in the explanatory order, from the 'who did it' initiating summary, downwards through the representation of the main events, circumstances,

possible consequences and comments” (Deacon et al. 2007:184). The second step is to rank the values and summarise them in order to bring out the thematic structure underlying the texts.

3.5 The application of research methods in the empirical work

3.5.1 How I identify and measure the frames from news texts

Based on the earlier discussion of the mixed research methods I adopt, I shall explain here how I identify and measure the frames in my empirical study (see Figure 3.3 below).

Figure 3.3: Process of identifying and measuring frames

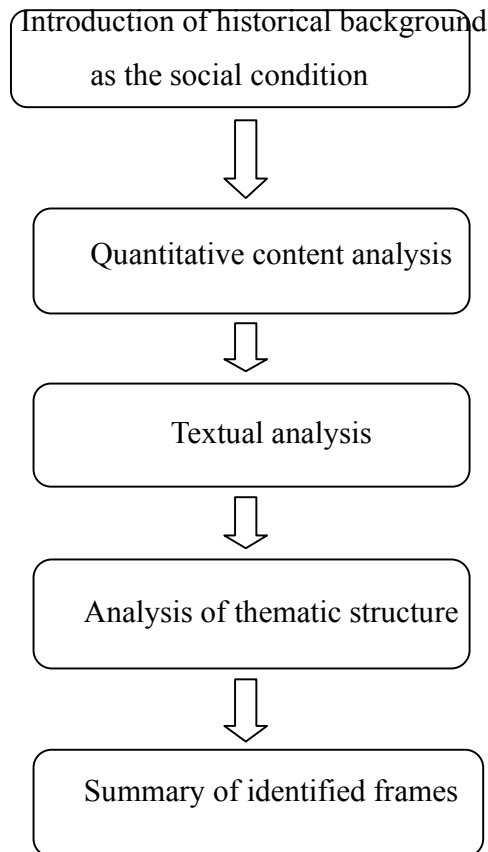


Figure 3.3 demonstrates the general steps taken in carrying out the mixed methods in the

empirical work of my research. First of all, the historical background as the social condition is introduced at the beginning of each case. As Richardson (2007) suggested, the historic, economic, political and ideological features of society - forms a backdrop that both structures and enables the work of journalists (p.43). For the next step in analysis, the results of Quantitative content analysis not only provide the general statistics as to how much effort newspapers made in reporting certain events within defined periods in relation to overall frequencies of reporting, mean length and news formats, but also show the foci and perspectives they chose when telling the stories in terms of adopted themes. Among all the cases I've chosen, I look at articles of British national and regional newspapers that reported on selected issues within defined periods of time (depending on the size of sample), and draw an overall picture with frequencies of reporting and differences between newspapers. This method may not directly answer my research questions, but it justifies the samples and gives an idea of which articles can be used for further deep analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) identifies the frames not only from the news texts by analysing the texts at a linguistic level, but also connects it with other texts and the wider context. Hence, I use textual analysis as a tool to examine the representative key words or phrases, in order to identify the components of frames. According to Fairclough (1995b), it includes not only the vocabulary, semantics and the grammar of sentences and smaller units, as well as individuals' writing styles, but also the way that the texts are structured, combined and sequenced. In my case studies, the analysis of texts divided into headlines and news contents is based on the lexical methods.

By applying the analysis of the thematic structure of news, the aim is to identify the underlying conception or proposition which informs the texts as a whole and interlinks the component parts of the frame. In other words, frames are constructed by the 'evidence' which comes from wider but more complicated social conditions that have impact on the media in relation to their selection of words and expressions.

Frame analysis decides which masterframe is behind the news framing in selected cases

and explains how the organised data are interpreted in order to demonstrate and support the masterframes.

The four result chapters share the same structure to represent the results of quantitative and qualitative analysis. They start with the chapter introduction and outline, followed by an introduction to the historical background of the news event. In the following analysis and discussion sections, general quantitative results from content analysis and comparisons made among selected newspapers are displayed. Later on, both masterframes of ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism are listed in two separate groups. Based on the discursive discourse analysis, masterframes are identified with supporting evidence in each group. In the last section, the changing levels of competition between two masterframes and different arguments employed in each frame throughout the case are discussed. Comparisons are also made between newspapers in relation of their adoption of masterframes.

3.5.2 Problems in practical work

The problems I experienced during the empirical work can be list according to the stages I carried out in the process of conducting my research.

First of all, *Quantitative content analysis*. As detailed previously in this chapter, used alone this method is too general to answer my research questions.

Secondly, *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)*. ‘Keyword search’ is usually used to measure the quantity of components, in order to identify the frames. I do not adopt this measurement in my research for the following reasons. (1), One of the problems with this method is, ‘[F]requency counts might thus hint at possible keywords, but in the end an interpretative identification of relevant keywords seems to be the more appropriate and more common route (Andsager, Austin, and Pinkleton 2001: 129; Tankard 2001: 103; Tedesco 2001: 2053, more technically centered: Miller 1997: 369). (2), Empirically, most of identified keywords cannot be interpreted as indicators of meaningful frames. (3), With

a reasonable amount of data (in total 1810 news item available for analysis), I choose to manually and interpretatively uncover the frames. A certain degree of subjective selection of evidence used to identify the frames cannot be avoided, but the 'keyword search' method also involves subjective decisions on the choice of keywords.

Thirdly, *frame analysis*. Another problem with identifying frames is the tacit character of frames in the journalistic reporting. Frames 'consist of tacit rather than overt conjectures, notorious difficulties to empirically identify frames arise' (Maher, 2001: 84). This is partly because in media discourses, frames are deliberately camouflaged in order to 'promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation' (Entman, 1993:52).

CHAPTER 4

Reporting an imagined Tibet: a paradox with the myths

4.1 Introduction: an imagined Tibet and its relation to Orientalism

Tibet as it emerged in the modern world as a geopolitical entity has been scripted in a tale combining imperialism, Orientalism, and nationalism.

-Dibyesh Anand (2007:65)

Tibet, as Landon describes it, is the ‘last country to be discovered by the civilized world’ (1905, xi). It had been hidden from the rest of the world until the 17th century when European soldiers, missionaries and scholars travelled to the Himalayas. Tibet was discovered and began to excite the Western imagination. Since then, the perceptions of Tibet have been always attached to terms such as ‘legend’, ‘myth’ and ‘adventure’. Forman (1936) wrote in his *Through forbidden Tibet: an adventure into the unknown*,

In the heart of ageless Asia, brooding darkly in the shadow of the unknown, is to be found a veritable explorer’s paradise-Tibet, the strange and fascinating, forbidden land of magic and mystery...where the opposites are kin and the extremes go hand in hand. (1936:vii)

However, Tibet has only ever existed in the imagination of Western romance seekers. Hilton’s book, *Lost Horizon* (1933), firstly introduced the term ‘Shangri-la’ which is inspired by a Tibetan legend in which ‘Shambhala’ is a mythical Buddhist kingdom in the Himalayas (Anand, 2007). In Hilton’s writings, Shangri-la is beyond the ‘real Tibet’ and is a dream –‘of mental peace, spiritual wisdom, “high” culture, and physical wealth. It is a storehouse of desires - Western desires that leave little room for the cultural and historical specificity of Tibet.’ (ibid.:41) The idea of Tibet as a utopia was taken to the extreme in the

late nineteenth century. British imperialism in the early twentieth century forced Tibet to enter into the modern world from being a backward region with a desire for British enlightenment.

Central to Edward Said's idea of Orientalism (1978), the Orient is a place based on Western imagination and experience. As Europe's wealthiest and oldest colony, it helps the West define and construct its own identity and representation. Therefore, the Orient is regarded as an integral part of Western civilization, politics and culture. All its characteristics are in opposition to those of the West. It is understood to be 'inferior', 'disordered', 'irrational' and 'primitive'; while the West is 'superior', 'ordered', 'rational' and 'symmetrical'.

The reporting on this case was full of contrasts and superlatives - Tibet as the 'quintessential Asia of the Western imagination' with 'an ancient culture and spirit' vs. 'the poor oppressed land'; and Tibet's mysterious and holy image vs. China's dictatorship. Accordingly, the opposing concepts of Orientalism have been formed when these contrasting images are represented in the British news media.

4.2 The mythical discourses on Tibet throughout the history

4.2.1 Early images of Tibet (17th – early 20th century)

The oldest description of Tibet can be traced back to the book *Histories apodeixis* (1959) by Herodotus (around 484 B.C. – 425 B.C.). He described Tibet as the 'most extreme lands of the earth' (ibid.). However, images of Tibet from most ancient sources are too vague and lack clear identification.

4.2.1.1 17th-18th century: Tibetan Buddhism – ancient wisdom as exotic symbolism

Slightly more recently, missionaries in the 17th century began their exploration of Tibet and started to see it as exotic in terms of its religion. Portuguese Jesuit AntÓnio de Andrade's report *The New Discoveries of the Great Cathy or of the Tibetan Kingdom* was published in

Lisbon in 1626. De Andrade was seen by the Western world as the first European who ever entered Tibet. In his travel reports, he emphasised the piety of Tibetans with celibacy and scenes of prayer. He wrote:

They discharge the largest part of the day with prayer, which they do at least two hours in the morning and just as long in the evening. They sing like us in a quiet tone, just as we sing the cantus firmus.... The lamas seem to me a very gentle people. One scarcely hears a rude word ever from a layman.... They even have houses of prayer similar to our own: everything is very clean, and paintings adorn of a female deity sitting with folded hands, and it was said that she was the mother of God. (Kaschewsky, 2001:5)

de Andrade and his reports in the 17th century are seen as the foundation of the cultivation of the myth of Tibet in the Europe. Another missionary, the Italian Juesuit Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733) who travelled to Tibet around a hundred years after de Andrade spent time understanding and translating Tibetan culture and tried to find out the compatibility of Tibetan Buddhism and Christianity in order to lead Tibetans to the Christian holy path. Desoderi is not only the first Tibetologist, but also the first to challenge Tibetan Buddhism.

There are other missionaries who recorded their thoughts on Tibet, such as Antonius Georgius, the Augustinian monk in his work *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (1763). He revealed Tibet to be ‘prolific syncretism’ (Kaschewsky, 2001:18) which stays in the centre of the myth of Tibet.

Tibetan religion has caused the West to criticise its own culture. Since ‘Tibet stands for the values of tradition, community, wisdom, religion, and modesty’, Westerners feel all those qualities are what they are lacking: ‘*joie de vivre*, harmony, warmth, and spirituality’ (Rinpoche, 2001:385-386). It emphasises the image of Tibet as the source of ancient wisdom as exotic symbolism.

4.2.1.2 19th – early 20th century: the first turning point

The period of 1850 to 1950 was the heyday of Western missionaries to Asia, Africa, the Americas and the Pacific. Tibet's mystique has increased due to its closed policy. Missionaries were waiting for the day when Tibet opened its door to them. However, the influence of Buddhism on Tibet and the piety of Tibetans made European missionaries' entry to central Tibet very difficult. Meanwhile, they saw themselves as the superior to Tibetans, with higher intelligence and enlightenment. On the one hand, they discovered the romantic and exotic aspect of Tibet as a 'mysterious land'; on the other hand, they described Tibetans as 'rough mountain people' (Herder, 1909:29) who 'desired' Christian enlightenment.

In order to focus on the enlightenment of Christianity, missionary writers needed to highlight the primitive aspect of Tibetan culture. Europe was regarded as 'rational, enlightened, discursive, scientific, active, and democratic'; whereas Asia was portrayed as 'emotional', 'tolerant of paradox', and 'despotic' (Rinpoche, 2001:379-80). Another comparison between Westerners and Tibetans was made by German author Paul Cohen-Portheim in 1920:

The European ideal is one of action, individuation, and intellectualisation. The West senses that man is separate from nature and is diametrically opposed to her.... The spirit of the West is active, since it seeks out power.... Passivity, universality, and intuition distinguish the East. There man does not feel himself separated from nature but instead feels himself as part of nature.... He does not seek power but harmony with all that lives. He wants to enter into nature, to offer himself to her, to become one with her. Hence I call the Easterner passive, and individualism strives against him. (Cohen-Portheim, 1920:26)

4.2.2 Britain's interaction with Tibet and its construction of Tibetan images

4.2.2.1 Britain's early relationships with Tibet (1774 - 1904)

Britain's interest in Tibet began after failing to keep trade ties with Nepal in 1769 AD. George Bogle, the Scottish adventurer and diplomat, and Captain Samuel Turner were sent to Tibet (in 1774 AD and 1783 AD respectively) to seek trade ties. However, due to the conflicts with Nepal in 1788 AD and 1791 AD, Tibet made itself secluded and refused relations with countries other than Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Mongolia, Turkestan etc.,.

In 1788, Nepal invaded Tibet to search for treasure. Local Tibetans failed to defend themselves but promised to pay an indemnity. Then the Gurkhas withdrew. However, the Gurkhas invaded Tibet again in 1791 claiming that Tibet had not fulfilled the agreement over the indemnity. The Chinese army entered Tibet and defeated the occupying troops who withdrew to Nepal. At the same time, the Chinese army occupied the most populous part of Tibet. The Chinese Emperor Qian Long closed the frontiers of Tibet to the outside world and used exclusionary policies on Tibet by restricting trade, thus keeping all foreigners away. The fact that the borders of Tibet were closed by the Chinese Empire stimulated Britain's interest in it and kept it unknown to the rest of the world.

4.2.2.2 British invasions of Tibet (1903 - 1904)

Throughout the 19th century, Britain had not stopped being curious about Tibet. The British Empire was encroaching from northern India into the Himalayas and Afghanistan and the Russian Empire of the tsars was expanding south into Central Asia. As a result, each power became competitive for domination in Central Asia and suspicious of the other's intentions towards Tibet.

The British expedition to Tibet in 1903 and 1904 by British Indian forces was made to prevent the Russian Empire from invading and gaining control of a state close to British India. The competition between the British and Russian Empires for domination in Central Asia was the cause of the subsequent war.

In 1903 and 1904, a British expedition led by Colonel Francis Younghusband was sent to Lhasa to force a trading agreement and to prevent Tibetans from establishing a relationship with the Russians.

In 1903, Younghusband prepared the expedition into Tibet with the British force which numbered over 3,000 fighting men. The Tibetan general made an agreement with Younghusband that they would not attack unless the other started the war. However, the British breached the agreement and killed a large number of Tibetan soldiers and civilians. The biggest massacre, which aimed at disarming the Tibetan army, took place on March 31, 1904. It was claimed that 1,300 Tibetan soldiers were killed and wounded by machine guns. Younghusband drafted a treaty which required Tibet to open its borders to British India to allow free trade with British and Indian traders. Also, Tibet was not allowed to have any relations with other foreign powers without British permission. This was confirmed by a Sino-British treaty in 1906 which stated neither the government of Britain nor China was allowed to interfere with Tibetan territory and its internal administration.

A number of books and reports were published to justify the Younghusband mission, including his own book *India and Tibet* (1910). Frontier officers in their reports described Tibetans as 'untruthful and faithless, deceitful and insincere' and Tibetan Buddhism as 'a disastrous parasitic disease' (McKay, 2001:71). The mission was presented as 'the use of modern weapons against primitively armed irregular forces' (ibid.). However, this argument only lasted for the British expeditionary period and the political motives behind it only intended to make it a mission to 'civilise' Tibet and free Tibetans.

Another important motive behind the mission was Britain's desire for knowledge of Tibet as the northern neighbour of India. The information Britain learnt about Tibet was very limited. The travel book and reports of Marco Polo and European missionaries were too brief to enable Britain to map Tibet. Not only the British government, but also the British public wanted to know more about Tibet.

4.2.2.3 Motives behind Tibet's image building – the second turning point

The second turning point in the British perception of Tibet was in 1910 when Britain started seeing the country in a much more positive way. The British officers who were sent to Tibet played a crucial role in the process of image production and cultural interpretation. Their voice became dominant since most information about Tibet came from them. The nature of this small group of similar reporters meant that the perception and translation of their reports were informed by similar influences. First of all, they were personally interested in Tibet and wanted to serve there as frontier officers. Their similar personal backgrounds, abilities, experiences and emotions could affect the perspectives of their reports on Tibet. Secondly, politically, they were still working for the British government, and as such, their reports had to be written from an official perspective. In other words, they were obliged to process the information and try to fit it to the image which served the best interests of British government. Last but not least, commercially, the Western public showed great interest in Tibet and demanded a lot of information from that mysterious land; officers also needed to fit in with the public's taste.

Charles Bell (1992) puts all essential elements together and pictures an independent Tibet as,

Modern Tibet...rejects...Chinese suzerainty and claims the status of an independent nation, [one in which]...national sentiment...is now a growing force. The Dalai Lama is determined to free Tibet as far as possible from Chinese rule [and in this he has the support of] the majority of the Tibetan race...[who]...see in him...the only means of attaining their goal. Anglo-Tibetan relations are of cordial friendship as they are both religious peoples, in contrast to the Chinese. Tibet would at length secure recognition of the integrity and autonomy of her territory. (Bell, 1992:5, 126, 139, 140, 213-14, 269)

This description was written, not only as the basis of the historical image of Tibet, but also as a reflection of the British policy on Tibet which was to promote it as a state separate

from the Chinese government. Britain also emphasised the magical and mystical characterisations of the country with the same political aims. This image strengthens Tibet's unique nature and identity in order not only to gain moral support from the rest of the world, but also to put pressure on the Chinese government relating to human rights.

In conclusion, the 'good' and 'bad' images of Tibet are intertwined in this one case. Britain kept changing the focus of its imagery, picturing and using different stereotypes of Tibet with the intention of meeting its political interests. Throughout history, the relations between Tibet and China have always been the subject of a considerable debate, with British perceptions reflecting the Western representation of China.

4.3 Representations of Tibet as a violated Holy land

4.3.1 The history of Sino-Tibetan relationships

4.3.1.1 China's military entry to Tibet (1950 - 1951)

The 13th Dalai Lama declared independence from China in 1913 and acted as both the religious leader and the political leader of Tibet. As a matter of fact, only three of the fourteen Dalai Lamas have actually ruled Tibet; regents ruled during 77 percent of the period from 1751 until 1960. The Communist Party of China gained control of central and western Tibet (the Tibetan area previously controlled by the Dalai Lama) after a decisive military victory at Chamdo in 1950.

The People's Liberation Army first entered eastern Tibet (Chamdo) on October 7, 1950. The highly mobile units of the PLA quickly surrounded the outnumbered Tibetan forces, and by October 19, 1950, the Tibetan army had surrendered. The PLA then continued on into central Tibet, but halted its advance 200 km to the east of Lhasa, at what China claimed was the de jure boundary of Tibet.

Several months later, in May 1951, Tibetan representatives signed a seventeen-point agreement in Beijing with the PRC's Central People's Government which the Chinese say affirms China's sovereignty over Tibet. The agreement was ratified in Lhasa a few months later. Point 15 of the agreement stated that the Chinese government would set up a military and administrative committee and a military area headquarters in Tibet. PLA troops entered Lhasa peacefully in the autumn of 1951. An article released by the Tibetan Government in Exile in 1996 states that the treaty was imposed on Tibet by force and it 'was never validly concluded and was rejected by Tibetans', a position that was supported by a UK parliamentary review.

4.3.1.2 Tibet and the Chinese government – from negotiations to rebellions (1951 - 1959)

From the 1950s, Tibet started negotiating with the Chinese communist government. In 1951, representatives of the Tibetan authorities, with the Dalai Lama's authorisation, held talks in Beijing with the Chinese government. A Seventeen Point Agreement was signed affirming China's sovereignty over Tibet. However, from 1951 to 1959, traditional Tibetan society with its lords and manorial estates continued to function unchanged. The Dalai Lama's government was permitted to maintain important symbols from its de facto independent period.

Before 1956 there had been unrest in eastern Kham and Amdo, where land reform had been implemented. The rebellions eventually spread into western Kham and Ü-Tsang. In some parts of the country the Chinese government tried to establish rural communes, as was happening in the whole of China. In 1959, the 'Lhasa Uprising' took place as a reaction to China's military crackdown on the rebellions in Kham and Amdo. The 14th Dalai Lama fled to India in 1959.

4.3.2 Contrasting images of Tibet and China in the global discussion

When Tibet has been represented by Western politicians as 'a zone of specialness, uniqueness, distinctiveness, or excellence' (Barnett, 2001:273), the Chinese government's administration in Tibet was represented as 'an undifferentiated mass of godless

Communists overrunning a peaceful land devoted only to ethereal pursuits, victimizing not only the missions of Tibetans but the sometimes more lamented Buddhist dharma as well' (Lopez, 1952:7). Tibetan exile has been regarded by the West as the abuse, threatening and violation of Tibetan culture and religion. Lopez also made a comparison between the Tibetan Orient and the Chinese Orient in his work *Prisoners of Shangri-La*,

Tibet embodies the spiritual and the ancient, China the material and the modern. Tibetans are superhuman, Chinese are subhuman. According to this logic of opposites Chinese must be debased for Tibet to be exalted; for there to be an enlightened Orient there must be a benighted Orient; the angelic requires the demonic. (1952:7)

Here, the human rights situation in Tibet is one of the most controversial debates in the international discussion.

4.4 Chapter outline

Based on Tibetan history and relevant literature, two comparisons within the context of Orientalism can be made. The first is the *Tibetan Orient vs. Western Occident*. As for Said (1978), the Orient is not only the creation of the Western imagination, but also shows the way that the West perceives the East. It combines a negative Other-presentation and a simultaneous positive self-presentation. Hence, Tibet is a mythical construction made by and for Westerners. The intertwining of these two opposing images of Tibet was explained by Dreyfus (2005) in a journal article titled *Are we prisoners of Shangrila? - Orientalism, nationalism, and the study of Tibet*,

Tibet is subject to the play of binary oppositions. Either it is the holy land, the repository of all wisdom, the idyllic society devoted to the practice of Buddhism, or it is the land of all superstitions, a cesspool of medieval corruptions, an abominable theocratic regime based on the monstrous exploitation of serfs. (2005:2)

Hence, the West not only showed its interest in exotic Tibet, but also claimed to ‘know’ the Orient in order to ‘civilise’ and ‘liberate’ Tibet as an advanced intelligence.

Another comparison is made between *Tibetan exoticism* vs. *Chinese dictatorship*. China has always been blamed for destroying Tibet’s cultural and religious purity by trying to manipulate this holy land’s religion, politics, and culture.

This Chapter discusses how three British national newspapers – *The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian* (later known as *The Guardian*) and *Daily Mirror* reported on Tibet for the four events selected from the last 200 years. As suggested above, all articles (n=1043) are analysed in four parts according to four separate reporting periods. The four periods involve the events which won most media attention and represented Tibet’s relations with Britain and China – the British invasion of Tibet (1903-1904), China’s military entry into Tibet (1950-1951), the Lhasa uprising (March 10, 1959) and the Olympic torch relay and Tibetan’s protests (February - August, 2008). The first part (n=324) explores the newspaper coverage of Britain’s first expedition to Tibet, within a period of two years from 1903 to 1904. From 1950 to 1951, 119 news articles from the three chosen newspapers reported China’s military entry into Tibet. A period of 12 months (6 months before *and* 6 months after the Lhasa uprising on March 10, 1959) was covered by 120 national news articles. Fairly recently, during the Beijing Olympic torch parade, both outside and within China, protestors tried to disrupt the relay to bring worldwide attention to the issue of Tibet. 480 articles were selected to explore how the British national news media presented the image of Tibet in the resultant international debates. The same methods have been adopted here as in later cases. The analysis in this chapter is divided into four sections representing reporting on Tibet across the four periods of news coverage, in order to explore the development of the concepts of Orientalism in the news contents.

4.5 Results and discussion

Frames and their supporting evidence in each period are presented chronologically. All periods adopt the same structure of analysis. First of all, the fundamental elements of the

news samples are coded in order to discover the general descriptive statistics. Frequency of reporting and themes taken from the content are collated in order to explore the quantitative differences, not only between selected newspapers but also between periods. Secondly, the masterframes of ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism are discovered in the analysis of defined periods demonstrating the complexion of relations between Britain, China and Tibet, as well as India and their most significant interactions throughout the 20th century. The changes in their interaction and the reasons behind such changes are explored throughout the analysis of the news coverage. Headlines and excerpts from news content are analysed by the method of critical discourse analysis undertaken in broad social context.

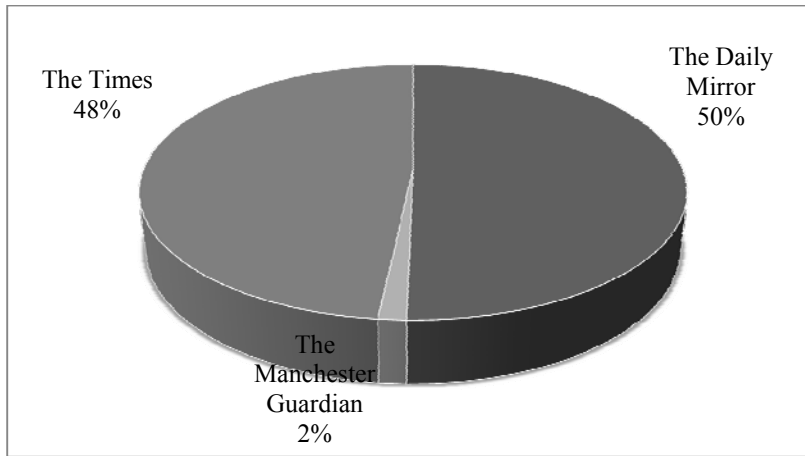
In this case, the masterframe of ethno-nationalism is represented in a specific form – Orientalism. As a type of race-thinking, Orientalism is an imaginative concept created by the West, as well as a lens through which the West perceives the very ‘different’ East. Through the manifestation of ‘knowledge and power’, the East is often framed as being exotic but backward. Tibet, in this case, is seen as a combination of both characteristics.

4.6 1903 – 1904: first British expedition to Tibet

4.6.1 Quantitative analysis results and discussion

In 1903, Britain made its first official military entry into Tibet. *The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian* and *Daily Mirror* all covered this expedition. Among 288 news items selected for analysis, *The Manchester Guardian* did not show much interest and only printed 4 articles in relation to the mission. Both *The Times* and *Daily Mirror* paid much more attention to the expedition and shared the vast majority of the published articles. (See Figure 4.1)

Figure 4.1: Overall frequencies of reporting, by newspaper



Although I chose a two year-period – 1903 and 1904 to analyse, only 11.8% of the total number of articles (n=34) were published in the year 1903; whereas the vast majority of articles (n=254, 88.2% of total number) were printed in the following year. This is because the mission was carried out in December 1903 and most of the reporting appeared after the events.

4.6.2 Masterframes and discussion

4.6.3 Masterframes of ethno-nationalism: Tibet - an exotic land vs. a barbaric region

Among all selected articles, Tibet and Tibetans were portrayed with contrasting images. On the one hand, Tibet was a ‘mysterious city’ and ‘the roof of the world’ which were ‘beyond the dreams of the most gifted of imaginative writers’ (*Daily Mirror*, July 6, 1904). As a religious and cultured region, Tibet had ‘broad streets and many fine houses’ and ‘the great, nine-storied temple palace of Dalai Lama’ (*Daily Mirror*, July 6, 1904). Tibetan nomads ‘proved to be friendly to Europeans’ (*The Times*, November 14, 1903). There was no armed resistance when British troops made their entry. Tibetan lamas chanted in the lamaseries and ‘the people [were] timid and peaceful’ (*The Times*, December 19, 1903).

In addition, not only did Tibet’s tough geography cause problems for the British mission,

but also its extreme weather made Tibet even more mysterious and inaccessible. When the British mission was carried out in December 1903, '[T]he cold is intense, the lowest temperature experienced being 36deg- of frost' (*The Times*, December 17, 1903). The difficulties of entering into Tibet were seen as one of the biggest problems for the British army. Its special geographic location made the British expedition particularly hard, as described by *Daily Mirror*,

The whole of the fighting will be done 12,000ft above the sea, and even from that elevation gigantic snow and ice-covered peaks spring up on every side of the track, giving splendid cover to the mountain fighters. At every turn there will be stone forts thousands of feet above the invaders to be stormed. The ground over which the expedition has already passed presented stupendous difficulties, but the remaining 120 miles between Gyantse and Lhasa is even more difficult. (July 6, 1904)

On the other hand, the same characteristics of Tibet and Tibetans could be perceived and translated in opposite ways. For instance, Tibetans' peaceful nature could be interpreted as weakness. 'The Tibetans have no rifles, only arms of primitive description.' (*The Times*, December 19, 1903) 'Primitive' summarises the barbarian nature of Tibetans in relation to their military equipment. In other words, their backward weaponry did not constitute a 'threat' to the British army.

Additionally, whilst Tibet's location is exotic, it could also be perceived as making it a 'a savage inaccessible country' suggesting that Tibet is a barbarian land isolated from modern civilisation (*Daily Mirror*, July 6, 1904). Meanwhile, *The Times* compared Britain with Tibet and drew the conclusion that 'the strength of the two opponents [were] too disproportionate' (November 27, 1903). The *Daily Mirror* particularly emphasised the perception of Tibet as a small and powerless, barbaric 'British Protectorate' (September 19, 1904).

4.6.4 Masterframe of liberal individualism: the British mission – the 'liberation' of Tibet

In relation to the British mission itself, on the one hand, *The Times* blamed the Chinese

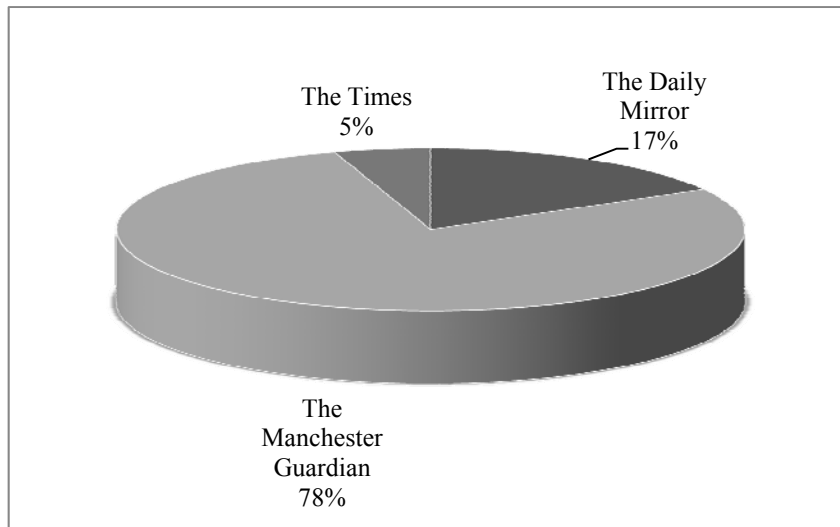
government for ‘secretly’ supporting ‘the inveterate obstinacy ignorance and arrogance of the Tibetan hierarchy’ against the British (May 25, 1903). On the other hand, *Daily Mirror* focused its concentration on justifying the British mission in Tibet and celebrating its ‘success’. Colonel Younghusband came back to London as a ‘hero’ after his ‘eventful and historic mission to Lhasa’ (*Daily Mirror*, December 12, 1904). When *Daily Mirror* summarised the war in 1904, it considered the British military as having ‘achieved our object’ (December 31, 1904). General McDonald was given ‘a golden image of Buddha’ by Tibetan monks who ‘burst into tears’ and thanked him for ‘having spared the monasteries from violation’ (*Daily Mirror*, September 28, 1904). Therefore, the consequence of such a selection of words, used to criticise China and to justify the British mission promotes the view that China is ‘ignorant and arrogant’, whilst lauding Britain as the ‘hero’ liberating Tibet and its people.

4.7 1950 – 1951: Chinese military entry into Tibet

4.7.1 Quantitative analysis, results and discussion

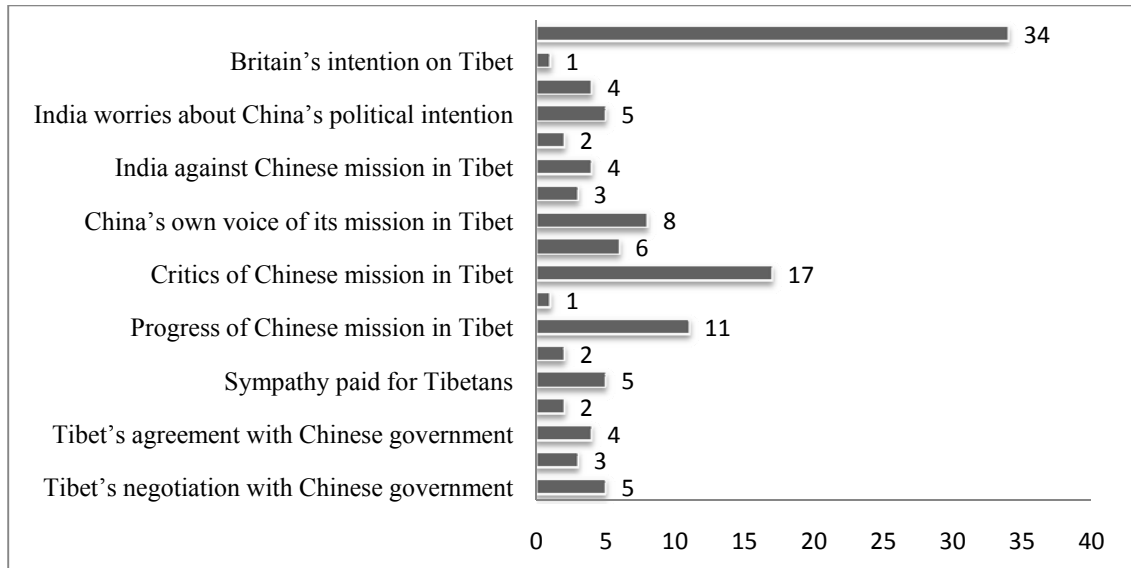
In total 119 articles were printed during the two years, 101 of which were chosen for analysis. The other 18 articles are unrelated to Tibet or the Chinese mission in Tibet, therefore they are not counted.

Figure 4.2: Overall frequencies of reporting, by newspaper



Firstly, as shown in Figure 4.2, an interesting finding is *The Manchester Guardian* which covered the British mission in Tibet the least, printed the most articles during this sample period (n=79, 78% of total number), followed by *Daily Mirror*.

Figure 4.3: Overall frequencies of themes, by newspaper



Secondly, Figure 4.3 gives the overall statistics of the different themes that were present in the content of news articles. 'Criticism of the Chinese mission' (n=17) in this period is the

most frequent theme in the reporting on Tibet, followed by 11 articles covering the ‘progress of the Chinese mission in Tibet’. The theme of ‘China’s own commentary on its mission in Tibet’ comes in the third (n=8). By contrast, only one article is related to Britain’s own intentions towards Tibet. Therefore, during this period, there were 47 articles (46.5% of the total) printed that objected to the Chinese mission; while only 8 articles (6.8%) gave China a chance to speak for itself over the intentions behind its mission. The supremacy of arguments against China and its mission in Tibet shows the non-neutral position of British news reporting on this issue. Additionally, themes related to Tibet were used 21 times during reporting, as well as 46 for China and 11 for India. Frankly, criticism of China was the main focus of reporting during the period, whereas India was not as involved in the following period.

Taking a look at each newspaper, the graphs below suggest that first of all, *The Times* adopted a relatively neutral position in its reporting compared to the other two newspapers, simply relating what had happened rather than criticising the protagonist or debating the consequences of the news event. Figure 4.4 illustrates that 50% of articles (n=4) were printed to tell the story of Tibet’s negotiation with the Chinese government regarding its dependence. The rest of the articles give equal coverage to China’s defence of itself, criticisms of China and its mission by Britain and India, as well as sympathy for the Tibetans.

Figure 4.4: Frequencies of themes - *The Times*

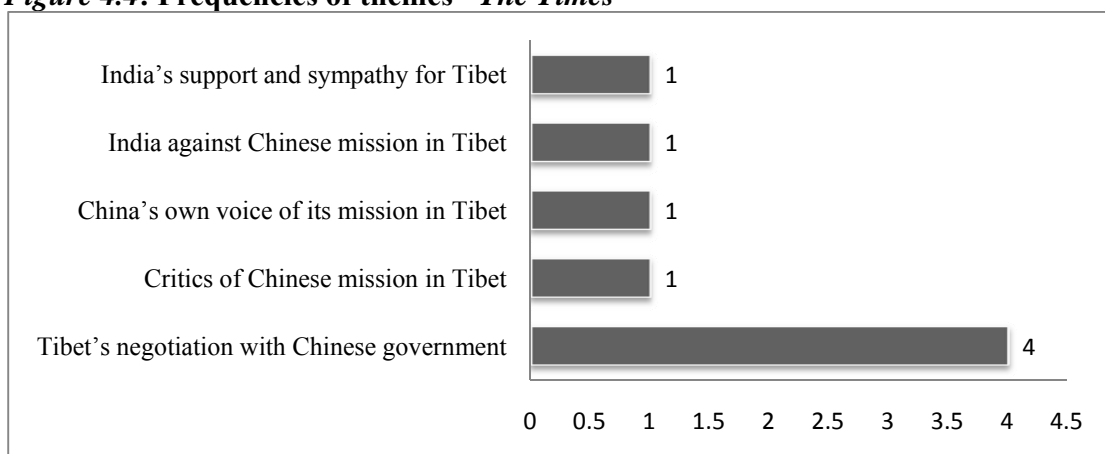


Figure 4.5: Frequencies of themes - *The Manchester Guardian*

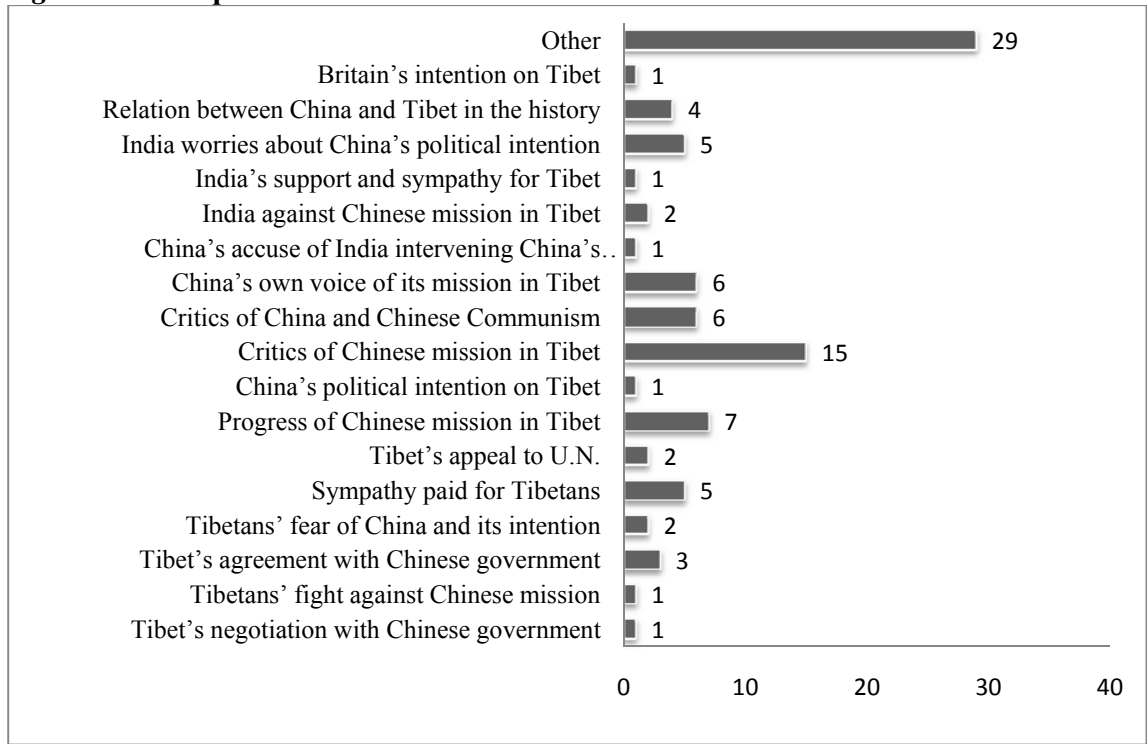
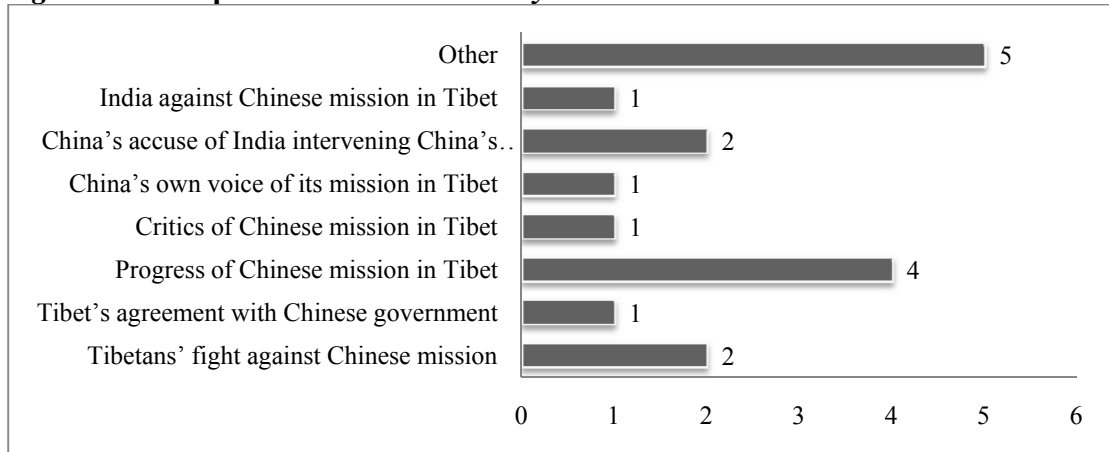


Figure 4.6: Frequencies of themes - *Daily Mirror*



The Manchester Guardian adopted a variety of themes, according to Figure 4.5. The three most popular themes in general were also adopted most by *The Manchester Guardian*. It criticised the Chinese mission more than other two newspapers. However, *Daily Mirror* did not show the same inclination, according to Figure 4.6. Similar to *The Times*, only one

article in *Daily Mirror* criticised the Chinese mission, instead mostly reporting on the progress of the mission in Tibet itself. In addition, it reports from the perspectives of each country equally – Tibet, China, Britain and India.

4.7.2 Masterframes and discussion

4.7.2.1 China - a combination of Communist and imperialist

The selected British national newspapers began to use the word ‘totalitarianism’ to refer to China and the Chinese authorities in this sample period. It is important to examine how the Chinese mission in Tibet was discussed in the news media in relation to its political intentions and the consequences of its actions, and how China was labelled Communist and as a suzerain.

First of all, China’s military entry into Tibet in 1950 was described by the West in several ways. Words and phrases were used such as ‘invasion’, ‘aggression’ and ‘Chinese intervention in Tibet’, etc. The excerpts of headlines which contain these labels are listed in the following.

Fight for human freedom: Mr. Churchill on menace of Communist aggression (*The Manchester Guardian*, July 17, 1950)

Tibet means to stay neutral - Chinese threat (*The Manchester Guardian*, August 5, 1950)

60,000 Reds marching on Tibet’ reports (*Daily Mirror*, August 9, 1950)

Tibet’s case against China: “gross violation against the weak”

- ***Suzerainty claim “never accepted”*** (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 14, 1950)

President Truman and Chinese intervention (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 16, 1950)

Invasion of Tibet

- ***Britain thinks Chinese should go home*** (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 21, 1950)

Headlines always catch readers’ attention, firstly by summarising the most important and valuable information in reports. Their ideological implications also influence readers in their understanding of the following detailed news stories. The list of headlines above identifies the mission and China in various ways.

First of all, ‘aggression’, ‘violation’, ‘intervention’ and ‘invasion’ are the words chosen to define the mission. All of them were used by *The Manchester Guardian*. These nouns share the same meaning: the use of force by one country against another. Thus, there are two messages conveyed by these words: firstly, Tibet was not recognised as part of China, but as a separate country; secondly, China’s mission was not permitted by the Tibetan people. In other words, China had made its entry into Tibet using violence and force. Tibet was seen as the victim of this military action. Secondly, *Daily Mirror* used the metonymic phrase - ‘Reds’ to refer to the Chinese troops and China as ‘Communist’ and a ‘suzerain’ by *The Manchester Guardian*. ‘Red’ was used as the symbolic colour of the communist revolution during the collapse of Imperial Russia in the early 1900's, as the background colour of the Soviet flag and later the Chinese flag under Mao. Here, the two phrases emphasise the nature of China as a Communist country, which satisfies the second definition of Orientalism. Thirdly, the headline ‘fight for human freedom’ provided by *The Manchester Guardian* presupposed not only the existence of ‘human freedom’ in Tibet before the Chinese mission, but also the non-existence of ‘human freedom’ in China. As a result, the Chinese mission was seen as destroying ‘human freedom’. Lastly, when *The Manchester Guardian* suggested that the ‘Chinese should go home’ it suggests that China had invaded Tibet.

More detailed descriptions about China and its mission have been made, according to the list of content in the following. In common with the headlines, the words ‘Communist’ and ‘suzerainty’ have been often used by *The Manchester Guardian* to refer to China or the Chinese. Also, as well as the words ‘invasion’ and ‘aggression’, other labels such as ‘armed attack’, ‘imperialist infiltration’, ‘occupation’ and ‘conquest’ were put on the mission, the former two of the three particularly highlighting the military and imperialist aspects of the mission.

Chinese suzerainty over Tibet (*The Times*, November 2, 1950)

A threatened Chinese Communist invasion (*Daily Mirror*, August 24, 1950)

The Chinese had made an armed attack on a peaceful people (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 10, 1950)

Chinese Communist aggression (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 14, 1950)

The Chinese imperialist infiltration in Tibet (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 16, 1950)

The attack on Tibet by Chinese Communist forces (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 11, 1950)

Communists take over Tibet (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 21, 1950)

Chinese occupation of Tibet (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 21, 1950)

The Chinese conquest of Tibet (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 29, 1950)

Additionally, the word ‘menace’ was used in a headline in *The Manchester Guardian* to demonstrate the unbalanced power struggle between China and Tibet. The word ‘threatened’ which is similar to ‘menace’ but more mitigating, again implies that China was believed to be superior to Tibet. The phrase ‘imperialist infiltration’ also revealed the newspapers’ views on Communist China’s political and military ambitions.

Moreover, comparisons between China and Tibet have been made in both headlines and news texts. China was always described as committing a ‘gross violation’ and Tibetans were always represented as ‘weak’ and ‘peaceful people’ who had no chance in the fight against China. *The Manchester Guardian* accused China of ‘swallow[ing] little ones without any interference from the democracies then the small countries have no option’ (September 2, 1950). China’s entry was even likened to the conduct of Nazi Germany, as being ‘a little too much like the diplomacy of Hitler’ (*The Manchester Guardian*, October 30, 1950).

In the meantime, among all 101 news articles, only 8 of them related China’s explanation of its mission in Tibet, proclaiming it as ‘liberating’ and ‘protecting’ the country from ‘imperialist powers’. *The Manchester Guardian* quoted the Chinese government’s statement in relation to the mission as ‘to liberate the people of Tibet, to complete the unification of the whole of China, to prevent imperialism from invading an inch of the territory of the Fatherland, and to safeguard and build up the frontier regions of the country’ (October 25, 1950). As suggested above, this mission, from the Chinese government’s point of view, was to defend Tibet as part of China’s own land and prevent foreign forces from interfering in the region. However, the Chinese government’s justification apparently was approved of by the British media, which believed the ‘liberation’ was only a veil cast

over an invasion and that China's official announcement was simply propaganda. As *The Manchester Guardian* suggested, 'there is every reason to expect that sooner or later the troops of the Chinese People's Government will in fact begin to put into effect Peking's much advertised intention of conquering, or, as they would have it, "liberating" this country' (August 9, 1950).

4.7.2.2 Tibet - the victim of Chinese suzerainty

When China was described as a 'suzerain', Tibet, on the other hand, was not only 'the world's most backward country' (*Daily Mirror*, January 7, 1950), but also a 'weak' or 'small country', which was believed to be too vulnerable to defend itself against Chinese suppression.

Firstly, *The Manchester Guardian* twice quoted the Tibetans' view of the Chinese military as an 'unknown devil' and 'strange, unknown, carnivorous animals' (September 2 & October 5, 1950). It also quoted in full Tibet's appeal to the U.N. regarding the Chinese mission,

[The Chinese troops] without warning or provocation, crossed the boundary at a number of places in October... Little is known in the outside world of this sneak invasion. Long after the invasion had taken place the Chinese announced to the world that they had asked their armies to march into Tibet. This unwarranted act of aggression has not only disturbed the peace of Tibet: it is in complete disregard of a solemn assurance given by the Chinese to the Government of India....The armed invasion of Tibet for the incorporation of it within the fold of Chinese communism through sheer physical force is a clear case of aggression....As long as the people of Tibet are compelled by force to become a part of China against their will and consent the present invasion of Tibet will be the grossest instance of the violation of the weak by the strong. (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 14, 1950)

In this paragraph, the Chinese mission is given two labels – 'invasion' and 'aggression'. The former term refers to a military action aggressively entering another territory without warning; the latter term refers to an action intended to cause harm or pain. Both speak of intentional and aggressive behaviour. In the excerpt, both terms appeared six times in total

and were attached to adjectives in order to emphasise the aggressive nature of the action, as in the phrases ‘sneak invasion’, ‘armed invasion’, ‘unwarranted act of aggression’ and ‘a clear case of aggression’, etc.

There are two clear reasons explaining why *The Manchester Guardian* chose to publish the Tibetan appeal. Firstly, the way that the Tibetans had judged China and its mission matched the newspaper’s own description. Hence, China’s image as a violent invader using force without any ‘warning or provocation’ had been strengthened through the printing of this appeal. The quotation of Tibet’s own voice constitutes a strong piece of evidence supporting the newspaper’s arguments and emphasising the Chinese mission’s imperialist nature. Secondly, how the Tibetans saw themselves in relation to the mission matched how *The Manchester Guardian* saw them. For example, they considered themselves to be the victims, speaking of their country’s ‘disturbed’ peace and damning the mission as ‘the grossest instance of the violation of the weak by the strong’.

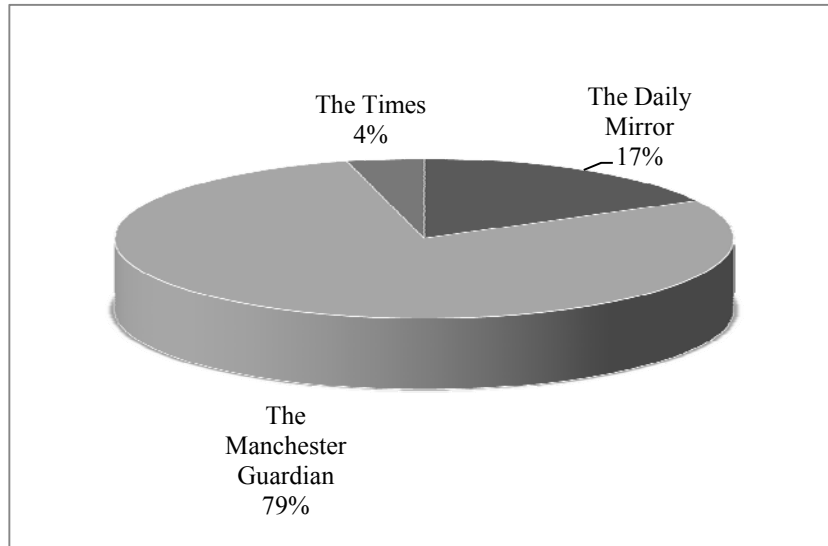
In summary, of all the publications within the sample period, *The Manchester Guardian* most frequently reported on China and Tibet. Its articles were written from the liberal individualist perspective; that Tibet was a backward, small region that was threatened, occupied, invaded and conquered by a big suzerain - China, despite claims by the Chinese government that the mission was one of liberation and unification. Relatively speaking, *The Times* and *Daily Mirror* adopted more neutral stances by focusing on reporting the facts of the mission itself.

4.8 1958 – 1959: Lhasa uprising

In total, 120 articles were printed during these two years, 99 of which were chosen for analysis. The other 21 articles are unrelated to Tibet or the Lhasa uprising, therefore they are not counted.

4.8.1 Quantitative analysis results and discussion

Figure 4.7: Overall frequencies of reporting, by newspaper



Very similarly to the previous period, *The Manchester Guardian* continued to provide the majority of the news coverage (n=78, 79% of total the number), followed by *Daily Mirror* (n=17, 17% of total the number). As the Lhasa uprising took place on March 10, 1959, the majority of reporting comes from the second year of the sample period.

Figure 4.8: Overall frequencies of themes, by newspaper

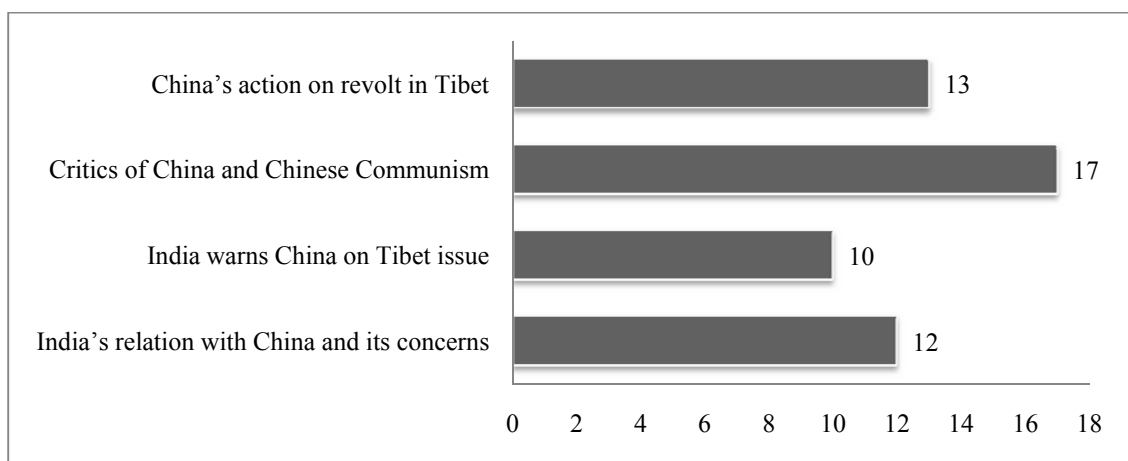


Figure 4.8 presents the most popular themes adopted by the three newspapers. The topic ‘criticisms of China and Chinese Communism’ has been adopted by the most articles (n=17), followed by the description of the Chinese action in response to the revolt in Tibet. It is also interesting to discover that during the period, China and India became the main foci of reporting overall. Tibet was no longer paid much attention, despite it being the region where the revolt took place.

Figure 4.9: Frequencies of themes - *The Times*

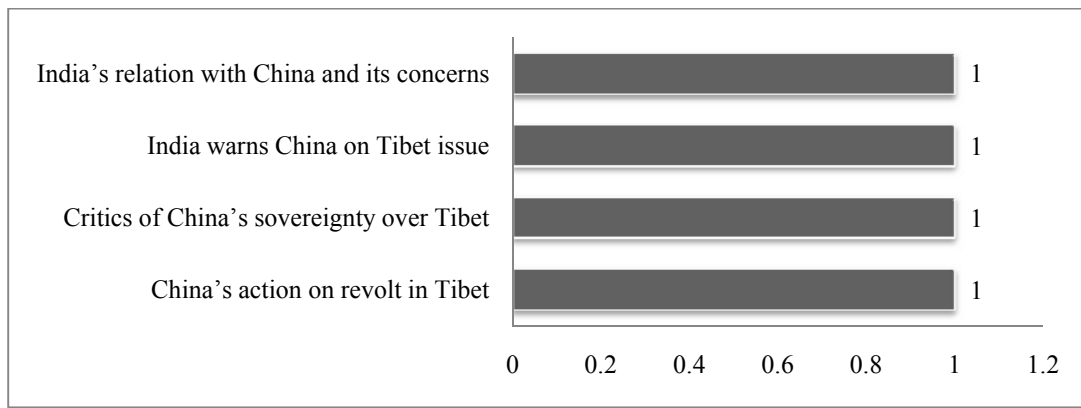


Figure 4.10: Frequencies of themes - *The Manchester Guardian*

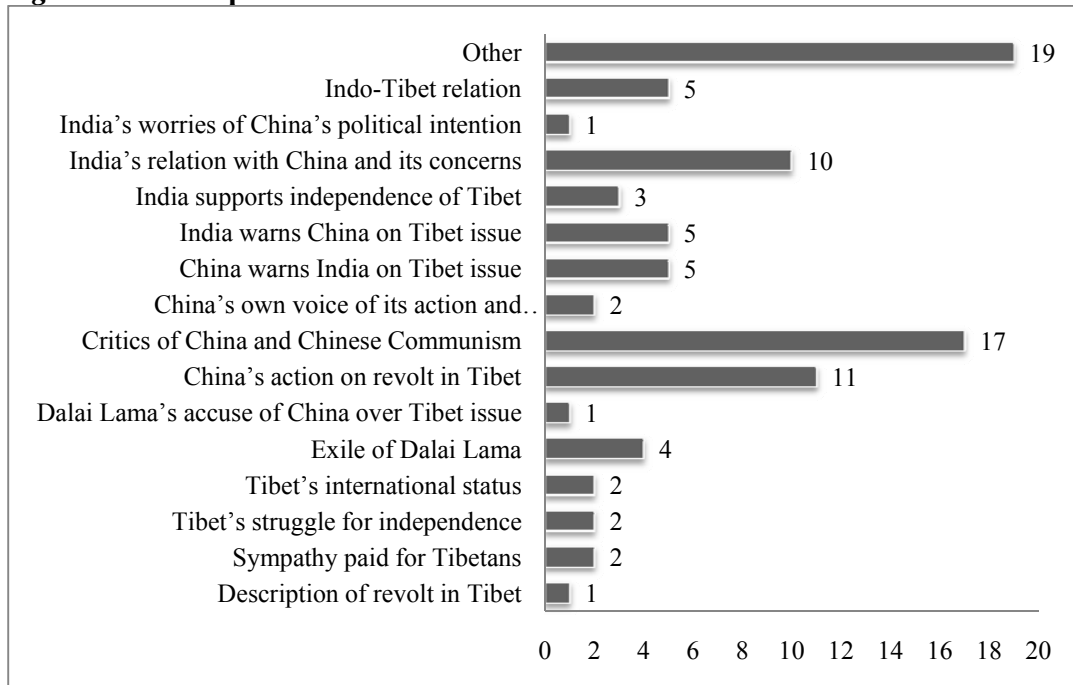
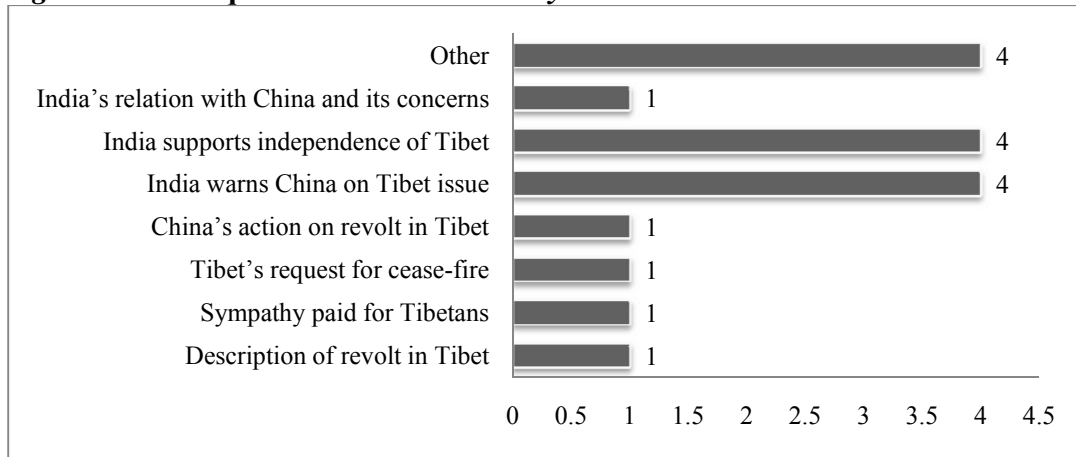


Figure 4.11: Frequencies of themes - Daily Mirror



Figures 4.9 – 4.11 show the frequency of the different themes in the reporting of each newspaper. As shown in Figure 4.9 above, it is very interesting to discover that *The Times* dedicated a completely equal number of articles to all four themes, all of which are descriptions instead of commentaries, as was the case for the previous period. Similarly as for the overall statistics of themes, *The Manchester Guardian* chose the same topics as the focus of their reporting aside from India's warning to China over the Tibet issue. The *Daily Mirror* paid more attention to India's new developments in Asia and its relations with China, something that was seen as cooperation between two super powers.

4.8.2 Masterframes and discussion

4.8.2.1 China's action in Tibet

During the previous sample period, the Chinese mission was identified in different ways. As shown in the list of news content below, the Chinese action was criticised various ways. The *Daily Mirror* decided to use the word 'seize' (1), which often describes a military invasion, in order to indicate Tibet's perceived oppression by the Chinese.

The newspapers adopted two syntactic styles, differently portraying the participants in the articles by changing the order in which they appeared in the headlines. In the first headline, China was viewed as playing a positive role in the situation; while in the second headline,

a passive sentence was used to imply Tibetan's inferior status as victims. Also, the phrase 'peace-loving people' used to describe Tibetans, emphasises their position of 'being oppressed by China'. The two opposing images in the same sentence draw sharp contrasts between the Tibetans and the Chinese – the former as peaceful victims; the latter as aggressive militarists.

The Manchester Guardian defined the China's actions as 'naked aggression' (4) and 'atrocities' (5). 'Naked' as an adjective in front of 'aggression', emphasises China's overt military action on Tibet. The word 'ironically' in the third quotation listed below, suggests that the liberation of Tibet was the opposite of what was occurring.

- (1), **China seized Tibet in 1950.** (*Daily Mirror*, March 21, 1959)
- (2), **The peace-loving people of Tibet are being oppressed by China.** (*Daily Mirror*, March 21, 1959)
- (3), **The Chinese Army (ironically called the “People’s Liberation Army”) may for the time being have “completely crushed” the insurgents in Lhasa, as it claims.** (*The Manchester Guardian*, March 30, 1959)
- (4), **China’s naked aggression** (*The Manchester Guardian*, March 31, 1959)
- (5), **[Protestors demonstrated in Bombay against] Chinese “atrocities” in Tibet.** (*The Manchester Guardian*, March 31, 1959)

4.8.2.2 China as a Communist dictatorship

The lists of headlines from three newspapers are shown below. Compared to the previous period, *The Manchester Guardian* continuously accused China of crushing the revolt in Tibet and defined its with extreme words and phrases, such as 'genocide' (3) and 'exterminated' (4) which refer to the act of murder, a crime under international law and 'the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of an ethnic, racial, religious, or national group' ("Genocide", 2010). In these terms, China was equated to militarists and criminals.

The *Daily Mirror* tended to focus on the Communist character of China and referred to its action in Tibet as 'dictation' (6). The adjective 'red' used to describe Tibet, also implied China's Communist domination of the country (5). Overall, China's behaviour in Tibet

was defined as the ‘New China terror’ (7), which summarises how China was perceived by the British news media in this period.

Compared to the other two newspapers, *The Times* informed readers of the facts more and made judgements less. Even in its most two ‘judgmental’ headlines, it was suggested that Tibet’s independence had not been completely taken by China (1) when the word ‘semi-independence’ was applied. Also, China was only said to be ‘accused over’ the violation of Tibetans’ basic rights (2). The use of ‘accused’ implies a neutral stance on the idea that China’s action in Tibet was a violation or an invasion. The difference is, *The Manchester Guardian* and *Daily Mirror* made their own direct judgements based on how they perceived the Chinese action; whereas *The Times* selected the phrases based more on a description of event itself. Readers of *The Manchester Guardian* and *Daily Mirror* were prescribed the newspapers opinions on China’s sovereignty over Tibet, instead of providing information and allowing them to make their own judgements.

The Times:

- (1), *Sovereignty over Tibet*
- ‘**Semi-independence**’ barred by China (May 7, 1959)
- (2), *China **accused over Tibet***
- *Violation of basic rights* (July 25, 1959)

The Manchester Guardian:

- (3), “**Genocide**” in Tibet
- *Chinese killed 65,000* (June 6, 1959)
- (4), *Over 65,000 Tibetans **exterminated***
- *Dalai Lama appeals to civilised world* (June 22, 1959)

Daily Mirror:

- (5), *Revolt in ‘Red’ Tibet* (March 21, 1959)
- (6), ‘No **dictation from anyone**’ – Nehru (March 31, 1959)
- New China terror in Tibet** (April 2, 1959)

In terms of *news contents*, all criticisms are categorised in relation to the different perspectives from which newspapers chose to make them. This allows the examination of the differences between newspapers’ focuses and ideologies (see examples below).

Category 1:

Communist China's over lordship of revolt-torn Tibet (*Daily Mirror*, April 6, 1959)

[Mr. Nehru:] [T]he Chinese had always regarded themselves as overlords of Tibet and in fact also “looked down on everyone else as lesser than themselves”....Recently China has become supersensitive to criticism and has developed an attitude of indifference towards her neighbours. (*The Manchester Guardian*, May 9, 1959)

Category 2:

Mr. Nehru the India Premier, yesterday accused the Red Chinese leaders of using “the language of the cold war, regardless of truth or priority,” in charges against India over Tibet....[This is] the strongest statement he has ever made about a Communist country. (*Daily Mirror*, April 28, 1959)

Unarmed Tibetans [vs.] Obviously the Chinese are bound to resort to strong measures to reassert their authority and the consequence must inevitably be a serious clash and bloodshed. (*The Manchester Guardian*, March 21, 1959)

While the Chinese despise the Tibetans for their barbarism and disorganised habits, the Tibetans in their return resent the intolerance of the Chinese and their superiority about their own civilisation. (*The Manchester Guardian*, March 31, 1959)

Many thoughtful people in non-Communist Asia – pro-Western or neutral – will note with deep regret that rulers of the People's Republic of China have thought fit, vis-à-vis Tibet, to take a leaf out of the book of the Japanese imperialists and militarists against whom they fought so valiantly and so well. (*The Manchester Guardian*, April 3, 1959)

In the Category 1, China's position over Tibet is represented as ‘over lordship’. The Manchester Guardian directly quoted the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's criticisms of China's attitude of indifference and arrogance towards its Asian neighbours. The second category, mainly accuses China of being imperialists and militarists rather than liberating and emancipating the Tibetan people. Here China is accused of repeating Japan's imperialist and militarist path whilst evoking the memory of China's fight with Japanese troops to defend its territory in the 1930s and 1940s. Tibetans are painted as the ‘victims’ of the inevitable consequence of Chinese authority in Tibet turning into ‘a serious clash and bloodshed’. The third quote also shows the comparison of positions and power between ‘weak’ Tibetans and armed Chinese troops.

4.8.2.3 Chinese propaganda

During earlier reporting, *The Manchester Guardian* had criticised China over its military

action in Tibet. Here, it judged the way China promoted its political ideologies to Tibetan citizens. It quoted India's Prime Minister Mr. Nehru as saying that the situation was more 'a clash of wills than a clash of arms or physical bodies' in Tibet (March 19, 1959). Two days later, *The Manchester Guardian* made its own similar comments on the same issue,

Ever Since the Chinese Communists sought to impose their authority on the Tibetans and to uproot Tibetans from their age-old traditions and faith they have been faced with stiff oppositions. Attempts to brainwash young Tibetans and discipline the older generation have failed miserably. (March 21, 1959)

In this quote, *The Manchester Guardian* made three presuppositions. Firstly, that China had attempted to politically dominate Tibet by setting up its own authorities. Secondly, that China attempted to ideologically manipulate the Tibetans. Thirdly, that all these attempts had failed.

4.8.2.4 Sympathy for the Tibetans

Tibetans' 'victim' image had been produced in three main ways in the news production. Firstly, Tibetans were represented as peace-loving people struggling for their independence. Thus, *The Manchester Guardian* morally judged China's actions by reporting 'This wanton act of aggression shocked the conscience of the world. And the warmth of sympathy expressed for Tibet was in direct proportion to nearness to China's frontiers. The West had felt no such moral indignation'. (April 4, 1959) Meanwhile, the *Daily Mirror* quoted the allegation made by Tibet's spiritual leader – the Dalai Lama that '[I]nnocent men, women and children have been massacred. More are being massacred every day'. He appealed 'to the people and governments of all nations to come to the aid of the tortured and unhappy people of Tibet'. (September 8, 1959) Such direct quotes of the Tibetan leader are treated as strong evidence to support the newspaper's view that China had broken the peace of Tibet and violated its people. Secondly, this 'victim' image has been promoted through criticism of the Chinese troops as militarists and China as a suzerain, as I discussed earlier in the chapter. Last is through the use of both methods described above in combination. Comparisons were made between the vulnerable Tibetans and the Chinese invaders, in

order to emphasise that what China had done in Tibet should not be accepted.

4.8.2.5 China's claim of 'liberating' Tibet

In opposition to Western criticism, China justified its actions as being the true 'liberation' of Tibet. Britain blamed China for taking Tibetans' freedom from them; whereas for China, Tibet's 'reactionary regime' was the main cause.

Only a few articles in *The Manchester Guardian* cited Chinese officials' announcements on the Tibet issue. For instance, on April 15, 1959, *The Manchester Guardian* quoted Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai's public speech, 'The overwhelming majority of the people of Tibet want to free themselves from the cruelty and darkness of serfdom. However, the obstinate reactionaries in Tibet, courting self-destruction, chose the path of betrayal of the people of Tibet and the motherland...We believe that from now on, the people of Tibet will gradually free themselves from poverty and backwardness and advance to the bright road of prosperity and happiness'. Thus, it is very clear in this statement that what constrained the Tibetan people was backwardness and serfdom, rather than China. The stated aim of Chinese army's action was to free the Tibetans from this backwardness. Also, Chou emphasised the relationship between China and Tibet was that China was the latter's 'motherland'. To put it another way, that Tibet belonged to China. In another article from *The Manchester Guardian*, on April 24, 1959, the 'reactionary regime' was blamed again as having 'ravaged the local people for a long time'. The article from the same newspaper titled 'China's plans for Tibet' explained that the plan was concerned with 'emancipating peasants and "slaves" and redistributing land' (July 8, 1959). The Tibetans were represented here as the 'victims' of serfdom, since the 'reactionaries' owned peasants' land and treated them as 'slaves'. The Chinese government justified their actions as 'freeing Tibetans' from serfdom; while the Western media thought Tibetans should be free from Chinese 'suzerainty'.

4.9 Present day

Since Beijing won the bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games on July 13, 2001, the nation

had been preparing itself and looking forward to the big event.

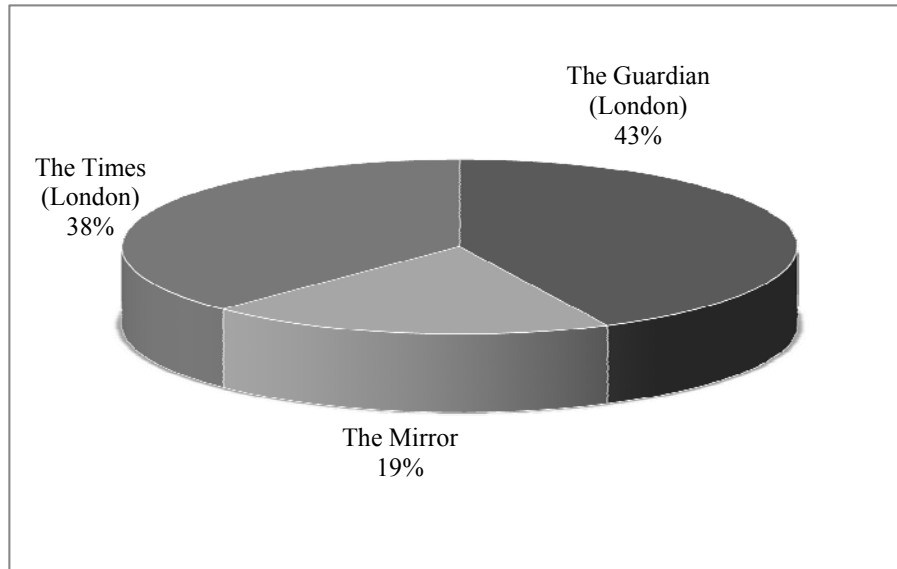
The Beijing Olympic torch relay, also called the 'Journey of Harmony' was run from March 24 till August 8, 2008. It lasted 29 days and the torch was carried for 85,000 miles around the world. After the torch was lit, at the birthplace of modern Olympic Games in Greece, it travelled from Athens to Beijing, following a route through six continents, on a journey that included the Silk Road and Mount Everest representing symbols of China.

However, political tensions and criticism of China played a huge part in the story of the torch relay, hitting the newspaper headlines throughout. It was accompanied by political demonstrations, such as pro-Tibet protests, human rights protests, Islamic separatists' protests, Darfur and Burma protests, etc. In addition, criticisms were made of Beijing's pollution levels, heightened security and China's patriotic fervour and ambition for medals making the Beijing Olympics extremely politicised and controversial. The protesters attempted to disrupt the torch relay in London, San Francisco, and Paris amongst other places. This forced the route to be cut short on several occasions. Chinese security forces were always alongside the runner carrying the torch and to try to protect it from attacks, a move which was also criticised by the West. Large numbers of overseas Chinese supporters joined the relay and cheered for Beijing Olympics.

In the 6-month pre-Olympic period, 480 news articles from *The Times (London)*, *The Guardian (London)* and *The Mirror* related to the raising of the issue of Tibet during the Beijing Olympic torch relay were printed, among which 369 articles were selected for analysis.

4.9.1 Quantitative analysis results and discussion

Figure 4.12: Overall frequencies, by newspaper



As shown in Figure 4.12, above, the three selected national newspapers share the total coverage more equally compared with previous periods. The majority of articles ($n=297$, 80% of total number) were printed by two broadsheets - *The Times (London)* and *The Guardian (London)* during the sample period. *The Guardian* was still the leading newspaper in terms of reporting frequency; whereas tabloid newspaper *The Mirror* contributed least with 72 articles.

Theme

Due to the targeting of the key words search, the themes of the selected articles mainly belong in two categories - China and the Beijing Olympics, and Tibet. Within each category the breakdowns are listed below.

Firstly, I discuss the breakdown for *all articles*. The theme – the Beijing Olympic torch relay appeared most (17.5% of the total number of articles), since it was the biggest event before Olympics. Pro-Tibet protests alongside the torch relay was the second most

important topic (13.5% of the total number of articles), followed by criticism of China and the Beijing Olympic and the boycott of the Beijing Olympics by Western countries. Also, China was criticised for over tightening security, for its human rights record and for its crackdown on Tibet.

Figure 4.13: Frequencies of themes - *The Times*

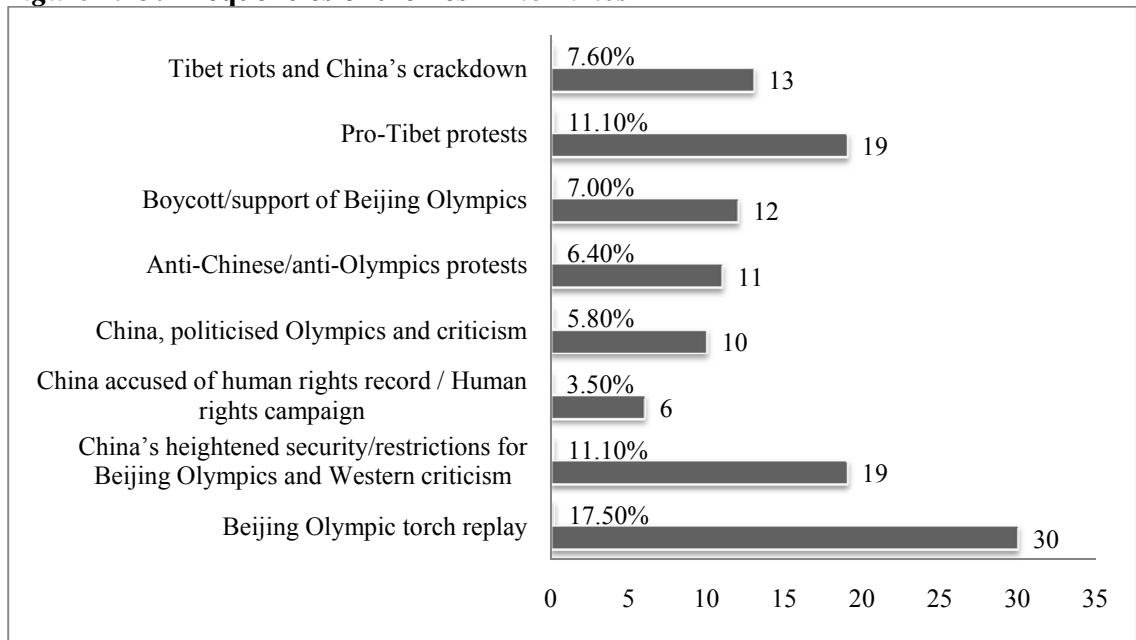


Figure 4.14: Frequencies of themes - *The Guardian*

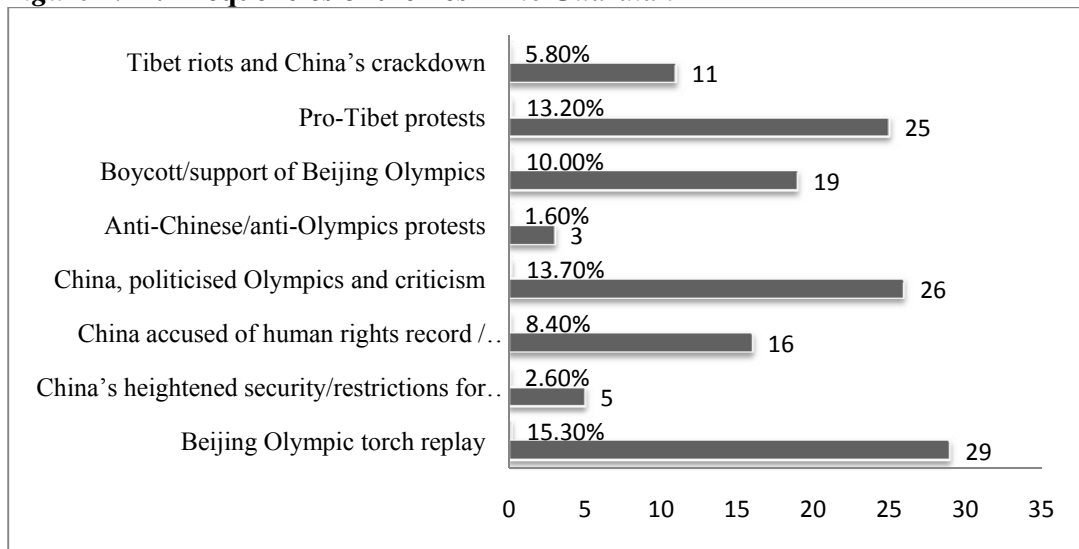
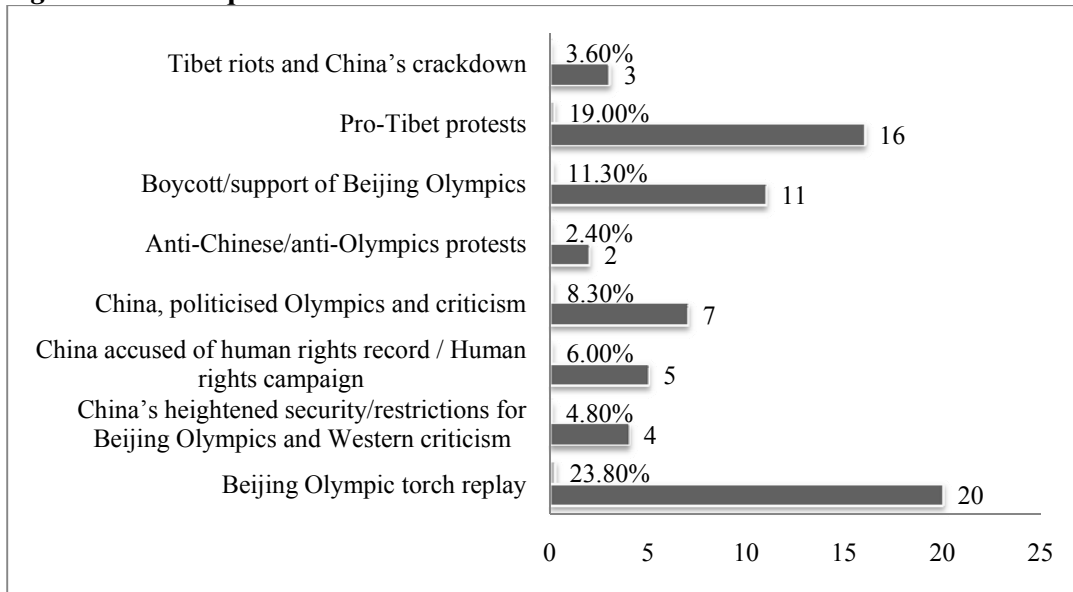


Figure 4.15: Frequencies of themes - *The Mirror*



Secondly, Figures 4.13 – 4.15 above display the differences in frequencies of themes adopted by the different newspapers. For all three papers, the Beijing Olympic torch relay and pro-Tibet protests are still the dominant themes in the figures. Taking a look at each newspaper individually, firstly in *The Times (London)*, 19 articles criticise China's tightened security and restrictions before Olympics. The same number of articles discusses Tibet's riots and, subsequently, China's crackdown. 26 *Guardian* articles focus on criticisms of China and the Beijing Olympics and 19 articles report the boycott of the Beijing Olympics by Western countries. The boycotting of the Beijing Olympics is also the third most frequent theme in *The Mirror*.

To make a comparison between the papers, *The Times* discussed China's security clamp down more than the other two newspapers; *The Guardian* mainly discussed 3 issues - China's human rights record, China and the politicised Olympics, and the boycotting of the Olympics. 8.4% of *Guardian* articles (n=16) challenged China's human rights record, a higher frequency than for the other two newspapers. To sum up, *The Times* and *The Mirror* take a more descriptive approach in their articles, whereas *The Guardian* seems more critical towards China when reporting on the issues of the pre-Olympic period.

4.9.2 Masterframes and discussion

The Beijing Olympics was one of the most politicised Games in the history. Around the globe there was a mixture of excitement, anticipation, anxiety and apprehension. Pro-Tibet demonstrations were the major form of protest against China and the Beijing Olympics, due in part to the riots in Tibet in March 2008.

The 2008 Tibetan riots (also called the ‘3.14 Riots’) started with a series of demonstrations on March 10, 2008 which was also the 49th anniversary of the Tibetan uprising in 1959. Protesters demanded that detained Tibetan monks were released. It was suspected that the riots had been motivated by Tibetan separatists and they quickly turned violent. Tibet’s spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, accused the Chinese government of a military crackdown. The following analysis shows in greater detail and depth how the Tibet issue was represented by the British news media during the pre-Olympic period.

4.9.3 Masterframes of ethno-nationalism

4.9.3.1 Dalai Lama – symbol of the holy land

As the spiritual leader of the holy land, the Dalai Lama not only represents Tibet, but also has the most influence among Tibetans. During the Olympic torch relay period, the Dalai Lama was accused by Beijing of ‘single-handedly stirring up anti-Chinese protests in Tibet two months ago, causing trouble for the Olympic torch, and aiming to secure the independence of Tibet’ (*The Times*, March 22, 2008). Within this period, two ways of portraying him as the representative of holy Tibet were adopted in 23 articles in relation to his actions relating to the Tibet issue.

Firstly, in Western literature and news reporting, the Dalai Lama was not only symbolised as the ‘god-king’ of the mysterious land, but also his image equated to spirituality and peace. He was seen to be the representative of Tibetan culture: ‘He creates images of Tibet, builds community through alliances among resident and exiled Tibetan populations, sustains non-Tibetans and Tibetan Buddhist believers, works toward Tibetan self-

determination and functions as the central focus of power and identity within the Tibetan diaspora' (Houston and Wright, 2003:218). *The Times* spoke highly of his influence in Tibet and around the world as,

Among Tibetans his word remains law. Speaking in his native language, he can be severe, even prescriptive, about behaviour and beliefs. In English, he has developed a more genial style. It is a charismatic combination that has transformed him into a figure of veneration, and even of worship, around the world. (March 17, 2008)

The Times again praised him for being a man 'with unsurpassable charm and tactical judgment, that should earn him the title of the world's most sophisticated political talent in a non-politician' in a news article titled 'Political brilliance incarnate, from a devout non-politician' (March 22, 2008).

Secondly, the Dalai Lama's public speeches have been quoted in British national newspapers as being the voice of Tibetans. His claims about the human rights situation in Tibet sounded more 'convincing' to readers due to his status and influence. In the Dalai Lama's appeals, two focuses are revealed. One is the 'suffering' Tibetans; the other is his criticisms against Chinese government. For instance, *The Guardian* quoted,

There are many remote places cut off from the world where the only sign is Chinese troop movement. I am really worried that a lot of casualties may happen. Then (there are) no medical facilities. So I am appealing to the international community, please think about these helpless unarmed innocent people who simply love Tibetan culture and are not willing to accept others' bullying. These are now facing death. (*The Guardian*, March 21, 2008)

Tibetans in this speech are described with the most sympathetic adjectives, such as 'helpless', 'unarmed' and 'innocent'. In opposition to these vulnerable images, China is accused of 'bullying' and threatening Tibetans, of causing 'death'. This contrast in his descriptions of the two participants appears often in the Dalai Lama's speeches regarding the Tibet issue, in order to gain sympathy and moral support worldwide. The newspapers

chose to quote his speeches, usually using them as evidence to support their view points on the issue.

In another example, *The Guardian* quoted the Dalai Lama as saying, '[T]he demonstrations, he said, had been spontaneous and "frustration had burst out" in Tibet. "People know they will suffer more. More Chinese soldiers, more arrest, more torture. In spite of that people are expressing loudly."' (March 21, 2008)

Consequently, by emphasising the Dalai Lama's spiritual status in Tibet, the media was trying to strengthen the image of innocent Tibetan people, a practice that falls within the 'exotic' aspect of Orientalism. Meanwhile, by quoting the Dalai Lama's criticisms of China, its image is further presented as totalitarian.

4.9.3.2 Chinese patriotism

Since China won the bid to host the Olympic Games for the first time in history, there were feelings of great honour, excitement and expectation among the Chinese people as Beijing looked forward to being at the centre of the world's attention. Under the glare of the world's attention, China was determined to show how far it had progressed by making the Beijing Olympics as magnificent as possible.

Among the themes, in relation to the Chinese patriotic campaign and Chinese opposition to foreign anti-China demonstration, there are only 19 articles dedicated to the Chinese fervour for Olympics and pro-Chinese opinions.

Whilst protesters condemned the Chinese government over different issues, Chinese patriots were showing passionate support for the coming Olympics. *The Times (London)* described the scene as 'Smiling Tibetan students were dancing in fur-trimmed robes, acrobats in lime green leotards' (April 1, 2008).

Additionally, the only published full feature article to be written by a Chinese official was from the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the UK – Fu Ying. She clarified the relationship between Tibet and China and emphasised that the Games should not be ruined by violent incidents in Tibet. She also said,

China is half way in its reform. It has taken at least 200 million people out of poverty and starvation in three decades, a basic foundation for real human rights. Fast growth has also created big environment and social problems. We have met many setbacks in the past, but we have proven to be a nation capable of learning from experience and improving itself. The harmonious society is our goal that will inspire us to face the problems and work for a better future for all. China is trying to embrace the world. (April 5, 2008)

In this article, Fu Ying not only explained the progress made and achievements of China's reform programme started in 1978, but also spoke of the effort it had made to improve the human rights situation, something that has been criticised by the Western world throughout history and up to the present day. Meanwhile, she states that China has got the capacity to overcome the problems along its path to further development.

The Mirror on March 20, 2008 published their correspondent's report from China. It is one of the few articles that entirely approves of China and does not criticise the Chinese government on political issues not necessarily related to the Olympics as a sport event. It says,

For the Chinese, the Beijing Olympics are a demonstration of national pride, progress and achievement. A chance to say to the world – you can't look down on us anymore. And although I haven't personally spoken to all 1.4 billion of them, as far as I can tell, this attitude is shared across the board....The only message they really want to send at the Beijing Olympics is – look how far we have come. And who can blame them? ... Epic pollution. Endemic corruption. Social inequality on a grand scale. But hundreds of millions of Chinese have never had it so good.... Western journalists keep writing that the Beijing Olympics are all about politics. They are wrong. They are about national pride – the pride of a people who no longer feel like the second-class citizens of the world.

The message coming from this article is that, it is unfair to only focus on the problems China has had during its development and ignore the progress it has made and its achievements. Also, it challenges the Western media's representation of China and acknowledges China's rising status in the world.

There are other articles that suggest inaccuracies in the Western media's on China. For instance, *The Guardian* on August 5, 2008 told its readers how angry the Chinese were in relation to the Western media's generalised statements on the Tibet issue and the importance of Western propaganda,

While many in the west will use the games to test their expectations of China, it is also a rare opportunity for the Chinese to test their expectations of the west.... If Chinese government propaganda has shaped Chinese perception of the west, so has propaganda from the west itself.

4.9.4 Masterframe of liberal individualism: pro-Tibet demonstration and anti-China criticism

Whilst China was attempting to deliver a positive image of itself to the outside world, more criticism on its crackdown on riots and protests hit the headlines.

The Times (London):

Monks under siege in monasteries as protest ends in a hail of gunfire (March 12, 2008)

'They stopped attacking the boy when I rushed forward' (March 15, 2008)

Tibetan prisoners are paraded on trucks as China tightens its grip (March 18, 2008)

Top hardliner sounds call for 'life or death struggle' to quell uprising (March 20, 2008)

More troops deployed to crush unrest (March 21, 2008)

Tibetan Tightrope (March 21, 2008)

They cried 'long live Dalai Lama' - then the firing started (April 5, 2008)

Olympic torch fears after China shootings (April 5, 2008)

Tibetan wounded as China police fire on pilgrim protest (April 7, 2008)

Olympic blackout fails to stem news of monks shot over Tibetan festival (July 18, 2008)

The Guardian (London):

Tibetan monks in biggest protest against Chinese rule in 20 years (March 12, 2008)

China plays down protests in Tibetan monasteries (March 14, 2008)

International: Tibet: Gunfire on the streets of Lhasa as rallies turn violent: Witnesses report killings and attacks on Chinese in fiercest protests for 20 years (March 15, 2008)

International: Tibet: 100 arrests after Lhasa is brought back under control: Thousands of troops reported searching city house to house in clashes elsewhere, horseback raid on government offices (March 19, 2008)

The Mirror:

China sends in tanks to crush Tibet riots (March 15, 2008)

If the lists of headlines above are compared each other, it can be seen that *The Times* put forward the most judgmental headlines, informing readers of its opinions rather than the unadorned facts. This trend is in stark contrast to the newspaper's inclination to only tell the story of events for previous cases discussed in this thesis. The focus of these opinionated headlines was on the criticisms of China's crackdown. Firstly, the reports of Chinese troops shooting at protesters spark the most criticism. The emphasis of each headline falls on the location, object and occasion of the event. For example, the gunfire is reported to have taken place during a Tibetan festival at a monastery, suggesting that the most peaceful and safe places in Tibet and Tibetans were the targets. It illustrates that the religion and spirituality of Tibet was destroyed by armed Chinese. Additionally, a few tragic moments were also specifically captured and related. For instance, the headline on April 5, 2008 reads that Tibetans cried 'long live Dalai Lama' – and then the firing started. The description not only suggests that China opposes the authority and political figurehead of Tibet, but also adopts the most 'cruel' of methods to resolve protests. Secondly, how Tibetans were treated during and after the crackdown is another focus. The phrases used to describe Tibetans by *The Times*, such as 'Tibetan prisoners' and 'monks under siege' indicate their powerlessness when confronting the Chinese. Therefore, again Tibetans are represented as 'victims' and 'innocent people' and Chinese soldiers as 'perpetrators'.

Compared to *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Mirror* did not offer as many opinions on China's actions, instead concentrating on descriptions and the details of what was happening. The headlines from *The Guardian (London)* are generally longer and contain more details of the news events than other two newspapers. Compared to *The Times*, *The Guardian* drew a more comprehensive picture of the whole situation, instead of focusing on one aspect, or incident, of the events.

On the same themes, the rest of the headlines criticise either China more generally, instead of specifically its actions over the Tibet issue, or speak of the consequences China had to face. The first and fourth headlines in the following, make the straightforward point that China's actions in Tibet regarding the unrest are defined as repression. The third headline directly quotes a reader's letter to the editor as its comment on Chinese crackdown in Tibet.

China faces crisis as world leaders call for restraint (*The Times*, March 15, 2008)

Flames turn to shame; two horrific stories of Chinese repression (*The Mirror*, March 15, 2008)

China must be told repression is unacceptable (*The Times*, March 17, 2008)

Reply Letters and emails: The Olympics are for the people, not rulers (*The Guardian*, April 15, 2008)

Meanwhile, a few other headlines relate China's view of the Tibet issue, revealing their opposition to the Western perception. For example, *The Times* quoted on March 24, 2008 that the 'Dalai Lama a terrorist, says China'. However, by quoting China's accusation of terrorism against the Dalai Lama was not simply to balance the argument, but to highlight the gulf between the Western and Chinese viewpoints on Tibet and the Dalai Lama. Based on the impressions of Tibet and China that were created by the vast majority of news reporting, it is hard to convince readers to agree with the Chinese viewpoint in such few articles.

To sum up, newspapers used various strategies in headlines, but they all seemed to portray the same picture, within which China was violent while Tibetans were fragile and innocent. When these contrasting images appeared in the headlines, these representations of China and Tibet would become more irresistible in informing readers' views.

4.10 Summary

Due to the different events in each of selected historical periods, the issues attached to each masterframe are different from one to the other. However, the judgements based on both masterframes have consistently remained the same, particularly those on China.

The masterframe of ethno-nationalism appeared in the first historical period – Britain’s first expedition to Tibet (1903 – 1904), disappeared in the following two periods and reappeared in the most recent Olympic period (2008). The images of exotic and religious Tibet as well as its spiritual leader Dalai Lama were the core concepts of frames in relation to their mysterious and sacred characteristics. During the two periods when the Orientalist frame was absent, Tibet was mainly portrayed as the victim of Chinese suzerainty because it was ‘small’ and ‘weak’, in order to emphasise the contrast between weak Tibetans and aggressive Chinese troops.

Regarding the masterframe of liberal individualism, the British mission was justified as a ‘liberation’ of Tibet; whereas the Chinese were continuously accused of being militarists and imperialists by invading Tibet and breaking its peace throughout the following three periods.

Since the concept of Communism is a rival and a threat to Western democracy and capitalism, China has always been labelled ‘Communist’ and been believed to have destroyed Tibetans’ freedom and basic human rights. In this case, the term Communism is equated to a lack of freedom and basic human rights.

A further interesting finding is that there is no contradiction between the arguments based on the two masterframes in this case. More often, they co-exist with each other by providing different but not opposing arguments, although the masterframe of liberal individualism plays the dominant role in the last periods by appearing more frequently than Orientalist frame. Throughout the four periods, it is not difficult to discover the strategies the three newspapers used in terms of frame choices. In order to justify the British mission to Tibet in the first period, the Orientalist frame was adopted by portraying Tibet as a backward region. Hence, the British army was there to liberate Tibetans and civilise Tibet. For the following three periods, in order to criticise China and its either mission to Tibet or action on pro-Tibet riots, the liberal individualist masterframe played the leading role, labelling China as Communist, imperialist and an invader of Tibet. The Orientalist frame

appeared again in the most recent period emphasising the Dalai Lama's status and influence in Tibet and his appeal to free Tibet. That is to say, Tibet's purity and exoticism should not be destroyed by Chinese military force. Since it has its own religion and religious leader, Tibet should not be forced to be under any other political administration. Thus, the Orientalist and liberal individualist frames cooperate with each other in the last selected period.

Moreover, among the three national newspapers selected for analysis in this case, *The Guardian* played the leading role not only in terms of frequency of reporting, but also in evoking China's Communist and imperialist images by choosing liberal individualist frames. *The Times* and *Daily Mirror* focused on reporting the events and described Tibet adopting the Orientalist frame.

CHAPTER 5

Reporting the Hong Kong handover and its 10th anniversary: end of a colony and the beginning of a new era

5.1 Introduction and chapter outline

After the end of the British colonial period, Hong Kong has become the financial centre of Asia. China is also no longer seen as an ‘inferior’ and ‘disordered’ Far East country, as it was when Hong Kong was given to Britain as a British colony in the late nineteenth century. Instead it has become a modern and fast growing nation. Its rising status in the world has changed the world pattern to certain degree and in various ways. Thus, as the historical circumstances of colonialism changed, does Orientalism still appear in the British media’s representation of China or have the concepts of Orientalism changed accordingly? If so, what are the new concepts of the term, or in what new forms does it exist in the modern era? How does the application of Orientalism work with the liberal individualist masterframe in this case?

This Chapter discusses how the British national media reported on Hong Kong’s transition back to being part of mainland China and the 10th anniversary of the handover in 2007. All the relevant news items (n=280) are analysed in two sections for the two separate reporting periods. The first part (n=227) explores British national newspaper coverage of the Hong Kong handover, which took place on 1 July 1997. Two months (one month before and one month after the event – from 1 June 1997 to 31 July 1997) were selected for quantitative and qualitative analysis. July 1st, 2007 marks the 10th anniversary of Hong Kong’s handover. The second part (n=53) covers the two years around the anniversary (one year before and one year after the 10th anniversary). This period was selected to explore how the British national newspapers represented the public perceptions of the ‘post-handover’ decade. These sample articles are used not only for comparison with the articles discussing the event of a decade ago, but also to explain the changes in the media representation of Hong Kong covering the years over which it has developed.

All results summarised from quantitative and qualitative analysis, are used to demonstrate the masterframes embedded in the reports. First of all, tables and graphs drawn from the Quantitative content analysis provide a general view of the news coverage at a macro level. Frequency and mean length of reporting are analysed to explore the differences between the coverage given by selected newspapers. The analysis of themes becomes distinctive in this case, since the majority of articles clearly belong to three categories with broader subjects – the economy, politics and national identity. The results of quantitative analysis not only categorise the data and prepare the ground for more in depth qualitative analysis, but also pose questions to be answered in the further discussion.

Secondly, qualitative analysis offers results in greater detail and depth in this case, in order to demonstrate the masterframes adopted and to answer research questions such as, from what perspectives the British national media have chosen to report the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997 and how they have changed their viewpoints over the 10 years since the handover. The discursive discussion is based on key words and key phrases drawn from the key speakers and their quotations. The analysis of masterframes is based on the results of both content analysis and discourse analysis. The aim of this chapter is to explore the agenda behind British news reporting on Hong Kong and China, as well as the Sino-British relationship, in order to identify the existence of new forms of Orientalism in modern times.

Furthermore, comparisons between newspapers are made to explore the two contrasting masterframes – ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism which are constructed within the texts of media discourses. In the following, I start by drawing an overall picture of Hong Kong under British rule in history, as the background for later analysis.

5.2 Colonial history of Hong Kong

Before the nineteenth century, Hong Kong was a small fishing community occupied by farmers, fishermen and pirates. As a result of the Opium Wars, Hong Kong was given to Britain as a British colony.

The direct maritime trade between Europe and China (without Arab intermediaries) started from the sixteenth century, after which it accelerated dramatically. Since the 15th century, Hong Kong has made business with the West. Chinese products, such as silk and tea were sent along the Silk Road, which ran from North-Western China to Eastern Europe. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in China in 1555. In order to protect domestic trade, the Qing government was trying to limit the contact between China and the West. Only trade through the port of Canton (now Guangzhou) was allowed. This resulted in high retail prices for imported goods, so the demand for such goods decreased immediately. Spain started to sell opium as well as tobacco and corn to the Chinese to prevent a trade deficit.

As Britain had a high demand for tea, silk and porcelain, while China had low demand for British goods, Britain had a large trade deficit with China. In order to balance this trade deficit, the British began to illegally export opium to China from British India in the eighteenth century. In 1729, the Yongzheng Emperor banned the sale and smoking of opium to curb the large number of addicts in China.

5.2.1 The First Opium War

The opium trade expanded rapidly, from 15 tons in 1730, to 75 tons in 1773. The Chinese Empire again prohibited the opium trade, and issued an official decree in 1810:

Opium has a harm. Opium is a poison, undermining our good customs and morality. Its use is prohibited by law. Now the commoner, Yang, dares to bring it into the Forbidden City. Indeed, he flouts the law! (Lo-shu Fu, 1966:380)

As the Qing government was located in Beijing, northern China and the opium was smuggled into China from the south, the decree had very limited impact.

In 1839, Lin Zexu (Tse-Hsu) (1785-1850) was appointed as the new Confucianist

commissioner to control the opium trade at the port of Canton. However, the British refused to stop the trade. Lin imposed a trade embargo and asked the British merchants to sign a bond promising not to smuggle opium. The British officially refused to sign. Lin dumped the opium into the sea.

After this, Lin presented a 'memorial' directly to the Queen Victoria to ask for a full stop to the trade. However, there was no response to Lin's appeal from the British government. Instead, the British sent a large army to China in June 1840. The British troops, armed with modern muskets and cannons, beat the Qing forces. In 1842, the Qing government signed the Treaty of Nanking in which China agreed to give the Hong Kong Island (29 square miles) to Britain, open several low-tariff trade ports to Britain and to allow British missionaries to work in China. The treaty ended the war, forcing the Chinese to open five ports to foreign commerce, abolish the cohong (state trading monopoly system that restricted imports), sharply limit the amount of customs duty they could charge, pay an indemnity of 21 million silver dollars, cede the island of Hong Kong to Great Britain and grant not only Great Britain, but also its allies, extraterritoriality, which made Westerners immune to Chinese law.

As a result of the First Opium War, Britain not only opened trade with China, but established a base of operations in Hong Kong that would remain until the island was returned to China in 1997.

5.2.2 The Second Opium War

The Second Opium War broke out in 1856 due to an incident where Chinese officials boarded a vessel called Arrow near a port owned by a Chinese privateer. The crew was arrested and accused of piracy and smuggling. The British consulate in Guangzhou insisted that Arrow was a British vessel. The war started when British troops subsequently attacked Guangzhou.

At the end of the war in 1860, China signed the Treaty of Tientsin. It agreed to legalise the

import of opium and grant some privileges to British (and other Western) subjects in China. Britain was also given Kowloon and Stonecutter's Island. In 1898, the British acquired an additional 325.5 square miles north of Kowloon on a 99-year contract, under the Peking convention. That piece of island is now called the New Territories.

Following Japan's seizure of Manchuria in 1932, the Sino-Japanese war broke out. As Japan headed into China, thousands of Chinese fled to Hong Kong, the number of refugees growing rapidly. That brought Hong Kong's population to about 1.6 million people at the start of World War II. World War II disrupted all activity in Hong Kong. On December 25, 1941, the British surrendered the territory to the Japanese army. After Japan's surrender in August of 1945, Britain reclaimed its territory. After that, Chinese civilians returned and the population, which had decreased rapidly, grew to 1.8 million again. Since the Chinese Nationalist Government were defeated in the civil war at the hands of the Communists in 1949, Hong Kong's population continued to rise and nowadays this small territory is home to about 6.5 million people.

5.3 The Hong Kong handover (1997)

The People's Republic of China was established on October 1, 1949. Three decades later, China opened its doors to the outside world and has been experiencing significant economic growth since then. In order to make sure Hong Kong stayed capitalist, the British and Chinese governments discussed the land release several times between 1979 and 1982. China outlined the first plan for the future of Hong Kong in April 1982. It included free trade, an autonomous government, free capital movement, a separate system of law and justice, etc. However, the British government still negotiated to try to convince the Chinese government that a continued British administration in Hong Kong was necessary. The Chinese delegation was unmoved by this and steadfastly stuck to their plan. The talks lacked any progress until the Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed between the two governments on December 19, 1984. The key point of this agreement was the adoption of the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy (Hong Kong was to keep its capitalist economic and political systems; whilst the rest of China retained its socialist system) which to a

certain degree ensured the autonomy of Hong Kong after the handover as a Special Administrative Region.

On July 1 1997, Hong Kong was handed back to the People's Republic of China (PRC) by the United Kingdom as a colonial-authoritarian polity. The old Legislative Council, elected during Chris Patten's reforms, was replaced by the Provisional Legislative Council elected by a selection committee whose members were appointed by the Chinese government. Tung Chee-hwa, elected in December by this selection committee, assumed his duty as the first Chief Executive of Hong Kong.

The main question raised in the British media after Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty had less to do with Hong Kong itself than with China. In other words, the question was not only about whether Western-style democracy would vanish in Hong Kong or not, but also about the extent to which China would influence Hong Kong's internal system and mechanisms.

As part of the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy, it was ensured that a 'Hong Kong way of life' would continue for fifty years after the takeover; the basic policies of this agreement are, the Hong Kong people to administrate Hong Kong with a high degree of autonomy to remain; Hong Kong would continue to retain its status of functioning as an international financial centre; everyone would be given an equal right to compete.

5.3.1 Quantitative analysis results and discussion

By coding the fundamental elements of the sample of news, tables and figures are used to display the descriptive statistics of selected items. In this section, findings are summarised in three main ways – frequency of reporting, mean length of reporting and themes in categories. The intension of this section is to make general conclusions based on the quantitative data and to explore the differences between the selected newspapers.

5.3.1.1 General frequencies of reporting

Table 5.1 lists the national newspapers with the number of articles on the Hong Kong handover that they published over the handover period – from June 1 to July 31, 1997. Among them, *The Independent (London)*, *The Times (London)* and *The Guardian (London)* reported most frequently with 93, 48 and 43 items respectively. These newspapers, two centre-left and one moderate conservative, make up 81.1% of the entire coverage contributed by all selected newspapers, leaving only 18.9% for the other 6 newspapers. *The Sunday Times (London)*, *The Mirror*, *Daily Mail (London)* and *The Observer* reported less relative to the other papers during the sampling period.

Table 5.1: Overall frequencies of reporting, by newspaper (01/06 – 31/07/1997)

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Daily Mail (London) | 9 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 4.0 |
| Mail on Sunday (London) | 1 | .4 | .4 | 4.4 |
| Sunday Mirror | 1 | .4 | .4 | 4.8 |
| The Guardian (London) | 43 | 18.9 | 18.9 | 23.8 |
| The Independent (London) | 93 | 41.0 | 41.0 | 64.8 |
| The Mirror | 10 | 4.4 | 4.4 | 69.2 |
| The Observer | 9 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 73.1 |
| The Sunday Times (London) | 13 | 5.7 | 5.7 | 78.9 |
| The Times (London) | 48 | 21.1 | 21.1 | 100.0 |
| Total | 227 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Table 5.2: Frequencies of reporting, by date

| | | Date | | Total |
|-----------|--------------------------|------------|------------|-------|
| | | 01/07/1997 | 30/06/1997 | |
| Newspaper | Daily Mail (London) | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| | The Guardian (London) | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| | The Independent (London) | 22 | 12 | 34 |
| | The Mirror | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| | The Times (London) | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Total | | 38 | 24 | 62 |

According to the statistics shown in Table 5.2, June 30 and July 1 are the two days in 1997 with the biggest media coverage of the event. Within the two days, 62 articles were dedicated to Hong Kong's handover, which is 27.3% of the total coverage during the whole two-month period. In particular, *The Independent (London)* contributed almost half of articles (34 out of 62 articles in total). *The Guardian (London)* and *The Times (London)* showed the second and third largest overall reporting frequencies during the whole period, but provided only 14.5% and 9.7% of total articles within the two days respectively. The absence of reporting by the other newspapers can be explained as they are all Sunday newspapers and did not publish any articles on either of the two days.

5.3.1.2 Mean length of reporting

Table 5.3: Mean length of reporting, by newspaper

| Newspaper | Mean Length (words) | N |
|---------------------------|---------------------|-----|
| Daily Mail (London) | 804.44 | 9 |
| Mail on Sunday (London) | 295.00 | 1 |
| Sunday Mirror | 907.00 | 1 |
| The Guardian (London) | 1185.79 | 43 |
| The Independent (London) | 692.17 | 93 |
| The Mirror | 633.80 | 10 |
| The Observer | 1723.33 | 9 |
| The Sunday Times (London) | 1002.54 | 13 |
| The Times (London) | 667.46 | 48 |
| Total | 840.19 | 227 |

Compared to Table 5.1, Table 5.3 above presents the fact that newspapers that covered the event most frequently did not necessarily devote the longest average reporting length to their articles. For instance, *The Independent (London)*, as a daily newspaper and the most frequently reporting newspaper during the sample period, contributed shorter average lengths of reporting than two other daily newspapers - *The Guardian (London)* and *Daily Mail (London)*, as well as three Sunday newspapers – *The Observer*, *Sunday Mirror* and *The Sunday Times (London)*. This can be easily understood, as weekly newspapers tend to summarise and explain the events and their developments during the week with details as well as commentaries. Hence, the stories in them generally occupy more space than in daily newspapers.

Additionally, and interestingly, *Daily Mail (London)*, as a tabloid newspaper, dedicated longer coverage to the handover event than two broadsheet newspapers - *The Independent (London)* and *The Times (London)*, although it published far fewer articles than those two

during the same period.

Table 5.4: Mean length and format of news articles, by newspaper

| Type | Mean Length (words) | N |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|
| Analyses | 750 | 1 |
| Arts | 1315 | 1 |
| Bloomberg | 716 | 1 |
| Business | 696.17 | 6 |
| Comment | 838.67 | 3 |
| Commentators | 1110 | 1 |
| Critics | 944 | 1 |
| Education | 1044 | 1 |
| Essay | 770 | 1 |
| Features | 1036.69 | 29 |
| Focus | 633 | 2 |
| Home news | 538.2 | 5 |
| Home & Money | 575 | 1 |
| International | 574.36 | 58 |
| Leader | 332 | 3 |
| Leader page | 143 | 1 |
| Media | 881 | 1 |
| Money | 501 | 1 |
| News | 614.67 | 9 |
| Overseas news | 562.69 | 26 |
| Saturday story | 1422 | 1 |
| Sports | 547 | 1 |
| Sunday review | 1418 | 1 |
| The Guardian features page | 1747 | 4 |
| The Guardian foreign page | 1086.39 | 31 |
| The Guardian higher education page | 1494 | 1 |
| The Guardian home page | 1234.33 | 9 |
| The Observer business page | 1560 | 1 |
| The Observer foreign page | 1827 | 1 |
| The Observer news page | 1781.8 | 5 |
| The Observer review page | 1607 | 2 |
| The Saturday story | 1616 | 1 |
| Title | 563.2 | 5 |
| Title page | 1327.5 | 2 |
| Total | 840.19 | 227 |

Table 5.4 above reports the average length of articles in different sections of publications, as well as the number of news articles in each. Firstly, rather than ‘analyses’, ‘commentaries’ and ‘criticisms’, news dominates the reporting of the Hong Kong handover with 97.4% of total coverage (n=221). Secondly, the ‘hard news’ format, which includes ‘news’, ‘home news’ and ‘overseas news’ amounts to 17.6% of the total number of articles (n=40); while ‘soft news’ which contains the rest of formats form a much larger group of articles (n=181). That is to say, the reporting of Hong Kong’s takeover appears more in the soft news format with detailed explanations of background and opinions, as well as a longer average article length.

The differences between the three newspapers with the highest number of publications in sample period in terms of mean length and news format, are illuminated in Table 5.5.

The table below presents how different news formats are adopted by the three selected newspapers. In terms of variety, the articles from *The Independent (London)* were written in much more formats. Additionally, the difference between *The Guardian* and *The Independent* is the later specifically contributed analyses and comments on the Hong Kong’s handover event rather than purely news of the event. In other words, the story of Hong Kong’s takeover appeared in all sorts of pages in *Independent*, but only on certain pages in *The Guardian* and *The Times*. In terms of news type, half of *The Times*’ articles belong to ‘hard news’; whereas *The Guardian (London)* and *The Independent (London)* tended to write ‘soft news’. As a result, *The Guardian (London)* and *The Independent (London)* dedicated longer average article lengths than *The Times (London)*.

Table 5.5: Mean length and format of news articles

| Newspaper | Type | Mean Length (words) | N |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| The Guardian (London) | The Guardian features page | 1747 | 4 |
| | The Guardian foreign page | 1086.39 | 31 |
| | The Guardian higher education page | 1494 | 1 |
| | The Guardian home page | 1234.33 | 9 |
| | Total | 1185.79 | 43 |
| The Independent (London) | Analyses | 750 | 1 |
| | Arts | 1315 | 1 |
| | Bloomberg | 716 | 1 |
| | Business | 360 | 1 |
| | Comment | 838.67 | 3 |
| | Commentators | 1110 | 1 |
| | Critics | 944 | 1 |
| | Education | 1044 | 1 |
| | Essay | 770 | 1 |
| | Features | 1585.67 | 3 |
| | Focus | 633 | 2 |
| | Home & Money | 575 | 1 |
| | International | 574.36 | 58 |
| | Leader | 235 | 1 |
| | Leader page | 143 | 1 |
| | Media | 881 | 1 |
| | Money | 501 | 1 |
| | News | 484.5 | 2 |
| | Saturday story | 1422 | 1 |
| | Sunday review | 1418 | 1 |
| | The Saturday story | 1616 | 1 |
| | Title | 563.2 | 5 |
| | Title page | 1327.5 | 2 |
| Total | 692.17 | 93 | |
| The Times (London) | Business | 601 | 2 |
| | Features | 969.55 | 20 |
| | Home news | 469.33 | 3 |
| | Overseas news | 431.36 | 22 |
| | Sports | 547 | 1 |
| | Total | 667.46 | 48 |

5.3.1.3 Frequencies of themes

Table 5.6: Theme codes for the Hong Kong handover (1997)

| Category | Code Number | Theme |
|------------------------------|-------------|---|
| Economic consequences | 1 | Investors/traders are confident and optimistic about Hong Kong's future. Business is as usual after handover. |
| | 2 | Investors/traders are worried about Hong Kong's future. There are risks in economic future. Britain doubts China would keep Hong Kong's capitalism after handover. |
| | 3 | Investors/traders 'wait and see'. |
| Democracy | 4 | China promises to rule Hong Kong lightly and keep it as much the same as possible. China massively invests on Hong Kong's future. |
| | 5 | Britain is worried about Hong Kong's political future in terms of the vanishment of democracy and freedom. Britain doubts if China would stick to 'One Country, Two Systems' policy. China has already started ruling Hong Kong in its own communist way. |
| | 6 | Hong Kong's future is uncertain. |
| National identity | 7 | China and the Chinese celebrate Hong Kong's reunion. Hong Kongers are proud of returning to mainland China. Hong Kong is part of China again. |
| | 8 | Britain says goodbye to Hong Kong and colonial atmosphere fades in Hong Kong. Citizens do not feel patriotic about the return of Hong Kong to mainland China. |
| | 9 | Hong Kong citizens feel as being 'Hong Kongers' as before. Or they feel indifferent towards the political takeover. |
| | 10 | Sino-British relation. |
| | 11 | Other themes. |

Table 5.7: Frequencies of themes (Since some items contain more than one theme, the total number of coded themes is larger than the total number of news items.)

| Theme code | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|------------|-----|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid | 1 | 15 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 5.9 |
| | 2 | 8 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 9.1 |
| | 3 | 4 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 10.6 |
| | 4 | 14 | 5.5 | 5.5 | 16.1 |
| | 5 | 77 | 30.3 | 30.3 | 46.5 |
| | 6 | 8 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 49.6 |
| | 7 | 26 | 10.2 | 10.2 | 59.8 |
| | 8 | 29 | 11.4 | 11.4 | 71.3 |
| | 9 | 4 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 72.8 |
| | 10 | 7 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 75.6 |
| | 11 | 62 | 24.4 | 24.4 | 100.0 |
| Total | 254 | 100.0 | 100.0 | | |

Table 5.6 shows the statistics of the themes adopted by newspapers. The high count of ‘if democracy would vanish in Hong Kong’s future, or if the Chinese government would keep its promises on carrying out the ‘One Country, Two Systems’ policy over Hong Kong’ reflects British national newspapers’ biggest concern. The findings are summarised as below.

First of all, it was felt that Hong Kong’s economic future looked promising. The frequency of items about Hong Kong’s optimistic economic future after the handover is double that of the articles which contain doubts from investors and traders (15 items vs. 8 items). The perceived uncertainty of Hong Kong’s future in terms of economic consequences was much less reported with only 1.6% of the total number of articles.

Secondly, the theme suggesting that Britain was worried about Hong Kong’s political future and doubts whether China would stick to the ‘One Country, Two Systems’ policy is the prominent focus of all newspapers. This theme appears in one third of the total number of articles. On the contrary, only 5.5% of total articles are interested in China’s massive investment in Hong Kong’s economy and its promises on keeping Hong Kong much the same as it was before the handover. Before Hong Kong was handed back to China, Britain

had established and maintained capitalism and democracy for a hundred years. Based on China's political regime, this could possibly explain why worries of Hong Kong's democratic development are so overwhelmingly represented over China's positive impact on Hong Kong's economy.

Thirdly, regarding the sentiments expressed towards the handover, on the one hand, China and its people were cheerfully embracing the big day, as it meant the end of a historic humiliation and Hong Kong finally becomes part of China again, and on the other hand, it was the day for Britain to say a final goodbye to its colony and to mourn the loss of administration over the territory. As shown in Table 5.6 above, the latter theme is covered by 29 news articles, which amounts to the second largest proportion of the total coverage.

Generally speaking, according to the newspapers, Hong Kong's economic future showed positive signs, but whether Hong Kong's democratic development after the handover would progress or not was the biggest fear. A high proportion of articles reflect this sad sentiment towards the handover.

Figure 5.8: Frequencies of themes, by the three newspapers devoting most reporting

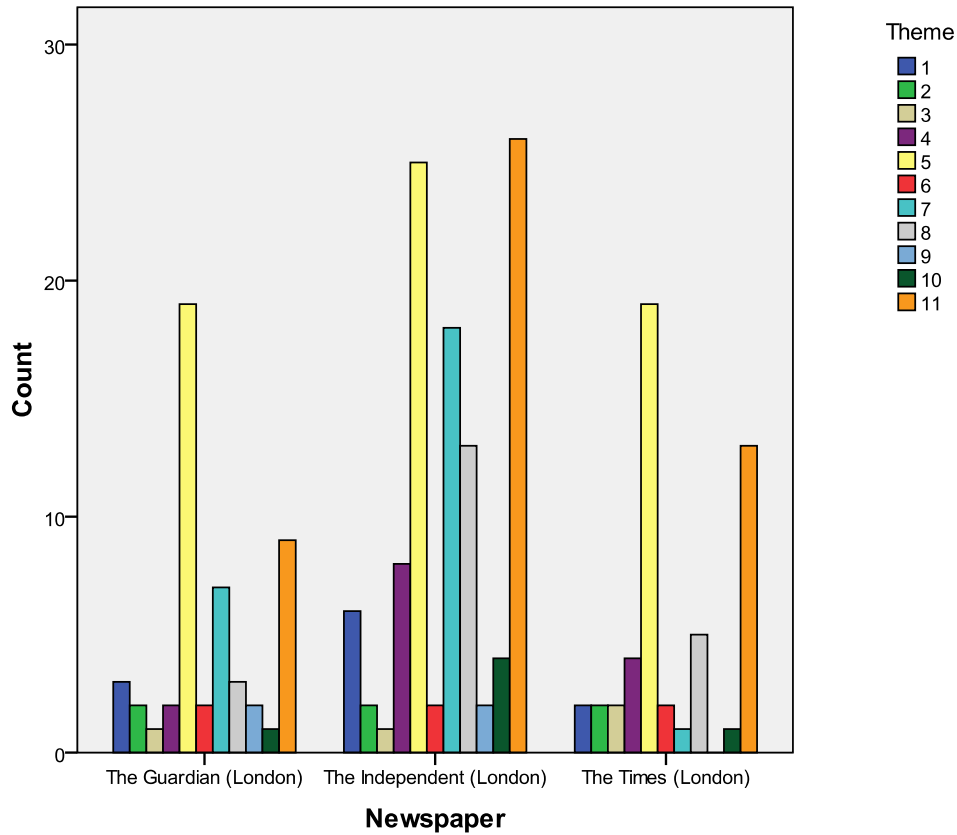


Figure 5.8 above demonstrates the similarities as well as differences between the three national newspapers which contributed most reporting on the Hong Kong handover story. First of all, all of them largely reported criticism over China’s principles and the ‘One country, Two Systems’ policy on Hong Kong, which was the main concern for all newspapers. Nearly one fourth of *The Independent’s* total coverage (n=25) as well as over one third of both *The Times’* and *The Guardian’s* total coverage (n=19) were occupied by this theme. In contrast, all three newspapers contained far less coverage on the issue of China’s promise on sticking to its policy on Hong Kong.

In relation to the differences between newspapers, compared to the other two newspapers, *The Independent (London)* provided three times as many positive articles on Hong Kong’s future as the papers with a more negative perspective. *The Times (London)* and *The*

Guardian (London) equally expressed hope and worry about Hong Kong's economic development in the future. Additionally, *The Times (London)* barely reported on the Chinese people's celebrations of the big event and their personal feelings about it. In contrast, *The Independent (London)* and *The Guardian (London)* focused more on the celebration than Britain's sadness.

5.3.2 Masterframes and discussion

During the handover period, masterframes are summarised into two sets – ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism. In each set I take two steps in discussing the selected key articles and phrases from the texts, in order to answer the specific research questions for the case study. First of all, as suggested above, all sampled articles are placed in three categories under broader subjects - economic consequences, democracy and national identity. In each category, the evidence is demonstrated and displayed with headlines and news contents for each organisation. Next, the comparisons made between newspapers and frames are analysed to reveal the overall relationship between both masterframes and the differences between newspapers in terms of the selection of masterframes on this issue.

5.3.3 Masterframes of ethno-nationalism

During Hong Kong's transition, the emotions of China's excitement and Britain's sadness almost equally share the coverage in all selected national newspapers.

Broadly speaking, Hong Kong's handover was a very important event for all Chinese around the world. The whole of China and the Chinese abroad celebrated it with cheering and tears. There was a holiday mood all over the country. For the Chinese, the fact that 'Hong Kong and China are whole again' showed the core feeling of the entire transition. It is most important that this successful transition was announced to the world by the Chinese. (*The Guardian*, July 1, 1997)

This event not only brought joy for China, but also invoked Chinese people's patriotism and loyalty to their mother country. A pro-democrat told *The Guardian (London)* on July 1,

1997 that he was 'proud to be Chinese, more proud than ever before'. The Chinese president Jiang Zemin declared that the return of Hong Kong to the mainland 'indicates that from now on the Hong Kong people have become true masters of this Chinese land' (*The Independent*, July 1, 1997). The sense of belonging for ordinary Chinese people became more distinct and stronger.

"We only have one identity," said Tang, a young research assistant, "and that must be Chinese." (*The Guardian*, June 28, 1997)

In addition, the Communist Party perceived this event as the end of a historic humiliation, as historically Hong Kong had been taken away from China. It was a national disgrace that China had been defeated by Britain in the past. On June 30, 1997, the headline of *The Independent (London)* said, 'Chinese unite as 150 years of humiliation end at last; amid the forced rejoicing, there is real joy'. The comparison between humiliation in the past and the celebration in the present is made very clearly.

The Communist Party also took this event as a significant 'triumph'. *The People's Daily*, owned by the party, was quoted by *The Times* on the transition day: 'It is only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that the century-old dream of reuniting China has been realized step by step' (July 1, 1997). The word 'only' shows the Party's confidence and ambition, which was denied by *The Times* by saying, '[T]he leadership and media were making it appear that only under Communist rule would the return of Hong Kong have been achieved, ignoring the fact that the treaty would have run out at midnight last night, no matter who was ruling China' (July 1, 1997).

In contrast, it is suggested that the handover meant humiliation to Britain due to its loss of administration over Hong Kong. 11.4% of total news articles (n=29) were dedicated to this sentiment. As shown in Table 5.9 below, among 29 articles, the centre-left broadsheet *The Independent (London)* printed the most articles covering this subject, followed by *The Times (London)*.

Table 5.9: Frequencies of reporting, by newspaper reporting handover as a humiliation to Britain

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Daily Mail (London) | 2 | 6.9 | 6.9 | 6.9 |
| Mail on Sunday (London) | 1 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 10.3 |
| The Guardian (London) | 3 | 10.3 | 10.3 | 20.7 |
| The Independent (London) | 13 | 44.8 | 44.8 | 65.5 |
| The Mirror | 2 | 6.9 | 6.9 | 72.4 |
| The Observer | 2 | 6.9 | 6.9 | 79.3 |
| The Sunday Times (London) | 1 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 82.8 |
| The Times (London) | 5 | 17.2 | 17.2 | 100.0 |
| Total | 29 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Whilst the Chinese were celebrating the big event, Hong Kong's handover represented 'a sad and emotional time' (*The Sunday Times*, July 1, 1997) for Britain. After rounds of negotiations between Chinese and British governments, Britain failed to keep Hong Kong for another 50 years. Daily Mail (*London*) described it as the one of the 'most shameful and humiliating episodes in British history' (June 25, 1997). Another example is an article printed in *The Independent (London)* titled 'Historic handover marred by snubs, fumble and farce' (June 30, 1997). The historic moment of the handover was described as one of 'confusion and embarrassment' in the first paragraph in an annotation of the articles headline. This was not the first time Britain had lost a colony, but Hong Kong's takeover was identified as 'diplomatic fumbling and farce' in Britain.

In addition, most of *The Independent's* reports focus on reminding its readers of British Imperialism's past contribution in developing Hong Kong during its colonial period, by instituting an efficient political system and organising the colony. It quoted Hong Kong's mainstream newspaper – *Ming Bao*,

[T]he British had set up a sensible and modern system, so that diligent Hong Kong people could compete freely on an equal footing and make use of the opportunities brought by China's open-door policy. (*The Independent*, July 1, 1997)

According to this statement, the British system was the foundation of Hong Kong's economic development; China's open-door policy was the stimulation. In other words, Hong Kong's bright future would be based on both Britain's historical success in the management of its colony and China's economic boom. The newspapers took comparatively neutral position in commenting on both Britain's and China's contribution and influence on Hong Kong's future.

Except for the contrasting emotions of joy and sadness, a small number of news articles (n=4) from *The Independent* and *The Guardian* covered the indifference of some Hong Kongers feelings about the transition, as *The Independent* described,

I see this as the strength of Hong Kong people. We don't jubilate just because we are supposed to or told to. We don't act excited when we are not. We accept that Hong Kong is now a part of China but we are not prepared to act as if we have no anxieties. (July 1, 1997)

Since Britain had ruled Hong Kong for a century and a majority of the Hong Kongers were born when Hong Kong was still under a British administration, they did not feel patriotic towards China, but only towards Hong Kong as their only homeland. They would rather identify themselves as 'Hong Kongers' than Chinese or British. A driver told *The Guardian (London)* that 'Yes, you can call us aiguo (loving our country, or patriotism), but we are much more aigang (loving Hong Kong)' (June 28, 1997).

5.3.4 Masterframes of liberal individualism

The masterframe of liberal individualism plays a dominant role in representing the ideologies adopted by British national newspapers. As suggested earlier, the liberal frame is a measuring stick used by the British media during their reporting to judge if China has met Western liberal and democratic standards. The following analysis explains whether or

not, and in what ways, China has developed Hong Kong's liberal democracy from two aspects – economic consequences and democracy.

Economic consequences

The reports that aim at discussing Hong Kong's economic situation and further development after the handover suggest three main attitudes were prevalent in the British media- optimism, worry and doubt. Overall, *The Independent (London)*, *The Times (London)*, and *The Guardian (London)* made 77.8% of the total reports on Hong Kong's economic situation (21 out of 27 articles). *The Independent (London)* tended to approve of Hong Kong's economic success and was optimistic for its future; whereas *The Times (London)* and *The Guardian (London)* tried to stand neutral.

During the 1997 handover period, over half of articles reporting Hong Kong's economic situation in the transition period were representing a positive attitude towards Hong Kong's economy. From the liberal point of view, the compliments on Hong Kong's economic development and its future made by British national newspapers are all linked to China's openness, such as its open-door policy, stock exchange and tourism. They are signs of China's development of liberalisation. In other words, they are signs of China saying goodbye to its 'isolated' and 'inferior' past.

First of all, China's open-door policy and its subsequent socio-economic developments would provide Hong Kong with a vital foundation and support for its future. China is a massive country in terms of its geographic size and the size of its population, the biggest in the world. Due to this size, its impact on and influence over the rest of the world will be significant and profound. *The Guardian (London)* explained on June 4, 1997 that 'the rise of China must change the world in a way that no other nation can, with the exception of India'. In other words, the rules must be changed to accommodate China and this which will change the world pattern. The following description of China's potential developments from *The Guardian* predicts it to be a powerful as well as an influential nation in the near future,

The entry of China on to the world scene over the next 20 years will have a profound impact in virtually every direction you look - China as a magnet for investment, China as an exporter, the rise of Mandarin as an international language, the growing popularity of Chinese art, the arrival of the Chinese tourist. (*The Guardian*, June 4, 1997)

These aspects of the impact of China, such as investment, exports, Mandarin becoming an international language and the spread of Chinese art and tourism demonstrate the changes brought about by the open-door policy. *The Guardian's* prediction for the next 20 years also shows its confidence and faith in China's future development.

Secondly, Hong Kong's stock exchange reached its highest level since the trading stocks started last century during the handover period. As the product of Western capitalism, the stock market is one of the features of the free market economy in which the government plays a neutral role in the administration and legislation of economic activity without limiting or actively promoting it. China had been a planned economy for three decades before its economic reform and open-door policy launched in 1978. Along with its booming stock market and the transformation of China's financial institutions, China has been moving towards becoming a market economy.

Hong Kong's prosperous stock exchange showed that its economy was already strong and gave both foreign and local investors hope for its future under communist rules. As a result, more and more investment was predicted to be made in Hong Kong in its new era. 5 articles from *The Independent (London)* were printed to prove this point, as well as 3 from *The Times (London)* and 2 from *The Guardian (London)*. If the rising stock exchange was the sign of a strong economy, then China's rapid development was the driving force behind that strength.

Red chips reach new highs. (*The Independent*, July 19, 1997)

Hong Kong's economy has risen almost 6 per cent a year over the past decade, and nearly all economists expect the rise to continue, with the switch to Chinese rule not, in the words of the trade, "a market factor". (*The Times*, July 4, 1997)

Hang Seng index is at an all-time high. (*The Guardian*, June 4, 1997)

In the meantime, China's need for foreign currency and the Chinese government's promises that Hong Kong would continue to remain a free-trade area with low taxation, presented international investors with great opportunities to do business with China. Wu Yi, China's foreign trade minister, invited British business people to 'be bolder and more aggressive towards China's market' (*The Sunday Times*, June 29, 1997).

Thirdly, according to *The Times (London)*, tourism was making an important contribution towards Hong Kong's economy and the locals were taking every opportunity to make money out of it. The promises made by the Chinese government ensured that Hong Kong would remain as a free-trade gateway with duty-free goods, making it a shopping paradise for visitors from Asia, particularly mainland China.

In contrast, the same number of articles as those holding an optimistic attitude towards Hong Kong's economic future, reported worries, doubts and uncertainty. After 156 years of British administration, Hong Kong, the symbol of capitalism, was handed back to communist China. People held fears and anxieties over what was going to happen in the future. British newspapers' suspicions about Hong Kong's economic future directly reflected their distrust of China's policies over Hong Kong. Among 12 articles which reveal such viewpoints, *The Times (London)* and *The Sunday Times (London)* were most pessimistic about Hong Kong's future. Their concerns came from the following two perspectives.

Firstly, *the stability and consistency of China's 'One Country, Two Systems' formula and its politics*. There were two doubts over China's political stability in terms of the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy in Hong Kong. One was whether this idea would really work in Hong Kong and whether its freedom would be restricted to some extent; another was if it worked, whether China would be able to stick to it. In addition, if China could, the question of how long it could keep its promises was waiting to be answered. *The Sunday Times (London)* quoted Ken Rossiter of Nikko Securities on July 13, 1997 as saying that there was 'no guarantee there will be political stability in 10 years' time'. At the same time,

business professionals suggested investors should think twice before making commitments to the investments in Hong Kong.

Secondly, *the Chinese government's policy on the entry of foreign companies*. The policy issued by the Chinese Central Government requested foreign firms to get permission to enter Hong Kong and then to play the same rules as local firms once they were in. However, the application process was believed to be a 'slow and imprecise bureaucratic procedure' (*The Sunday Times*, July 13, 1997) which could potentially affect foreign investors' confidence and determination.

Before the first Opium War broke out, the Qing government limited contact between China and the West in order to protect its domestic trade. 'Free trade' has always been required by the West throughout history. In this case, on the one hand, China needed foreign investment to strengthen its economy; on the other hand, its strict policies over the entrance of foreign companies were made to protect its interior industries.

In summary, behind the doubts and criticism over China's 'One Country, Two Systems' policy in Hong Kong and its control over the entry of foreign investment, the British media essentially criticised China's political regime and the idea of Communism, which are perceived as threats to Western democracy.

Democracy

When reporting one of the most controversial and sensitive issues raised by media during the handover period and afterwards, British national newspapers chose two different angles. One was that the Communist Party had promised to rule Hong Kong 'very lightly' and keep all its main characteristics; the other was that Britain doubted that China would stick to the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy and worried that Western democracy and freedom would fade away. Based on the quantitative results and analysis above, one third of news items showed concern that the territory would lose its democracy in the future under the Chinese government's administration. This constitutes the largest proportion of

the sample articles. 3.1% of the total articles were printed expressing the attitude of ‘wait and see’ towards China’s policy over Hong Kong (n=8). In the following discussion, I analyse the texts with the intention of exploring the strategies and agendas behind the media representations concerning its coverage of democracy in Hong Kong surrounding the handover.

Firstly, *the legitimacy of the new Chinese order*. The Provisional Legislative Council was set up to replace the Legislative Council of Hong Kong from July 1, 1997. Less than three weeks after it took over, Gladys Li QC, the former chairman of the Bar, accused Beijing of illegally appointing the council of and of being ‘incompetent’. Judge Patrick Chan, the head of the Appeals Court, told *The Times (London)* that the ‘laws previously in force are the laws of Hong Kong after July 1’, and admitted that ‘the Provisional Legislature has been validly established under Chinese law and was ratified by the National People's Congress’. (July 30, 1997) It meant that Hong Kong’s legislative system was not independent, which was against the idea of democracy in relation to law and justice. Daniel Fung, the Solicitor General, called the provisional body was ‘a constitutional crisis’ (*The Times*, July 30, 1997).

According to *The Independent (London)* on July 30, 1997, since the legislative council failed to function properly, all laws in operation before handover had to continue to be valid in order to avoid the ‘constitutional crisis’. The controversial, provisional legislature was believed to reflect the ‘mass’ of Chinese legal processing.

On the other hand, Chinese central government’s full control over Hong Kong’s legislature showed China’s power and status over its internal issues. From outside, it was criticised: ‘Beijing can just wave its magic wand and establish a new legislature’, Raymond Wacks, Professor of law at Hong Kong University, told *The Times (London)* (July 10, 1997).

Secondly, *the workers’ rights*. *The Guardian (London)* on July 22, 1997 reported, ‘The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) condemned the freezing of new

rights as “a slap in the face for Hong Kong workers, who were the source of Hong Kong's economic miracle”. The phrase ‘a slap in the face’ emphasised the shock and loss for Hong Kong workers who were seen as the foundation of the society.

Hong Kong’s new government’s actions were believed to please the tycoon dominated region. Hong Kong’s first chief executive Tung Chee-hwa, a billionaire shipping magnate, was hand-picked by Chinese government. *The Guardian (London)* on July 9, 1997, pointed out that ‘China's Communist Party, blamed in the past for fomenting industrial unrest in Hong Kong but now zealously capitalist, has joined businessmen in opposing any rapid expansion of workers’ rights in the former colony’.

As a result, China’s banishment of workers’ rights was seen as being related to its capitalist development and favour of ‘rich’ friends. For the British media, this Chinese love of money made economic sense but was seen as ‘cold-blooded’.

Thirdly, *Chinese troops’ entry into Hong Kong*. On June 28, 1997, a few days before the handover ceremony, Chinese troops made a triumphant entry into Hong Kong. The British government tried to persuade China to change its mind and stop the People's Liberation Army from parading their vehicles through some of the busiest areas of Hong Kong. Governor Chris Patten said it seemed not ‘to be the right sort of signal to send to the international community and, above all, I think it is a most unfortunate signal to send to the people of Hong Kong’ (*The Independent*, June 28, 1997). In the same article, *The Independent (London)* also commented that ‘Peking will be aware of the public-relations impact of marching the troops across the border at dawn but does not care. From its point of view, this is the clearest way to send the message that China now calls the shots on any question it sees as an issue of sovereignty, and will pay little attention to Hong Kong sensitivities’. On the same day, *The Mirror* quoted the former Tory Minister David Howell’s words: ‘China is doing this for its own propaganda reasons. But it needs to be persuaded to take things calmly’.

By sending troops to Hong Kong before the handover was completed, China's rush to establish a military presence again threatened Hong Kong's autonomy, as promised by China itself. Meanwhile, this action was seen as 'a final slap in the face for British diplomacy' (*The Guardian*, June 24, 1997). Britain perceived the signal sent by China as a symbol of Chinese sovereignty and dictatorship without principles and democracy. Also, China was seen to not care enough about Hong Kong's situation and what Hong Kongers expected from the transition. The image of China as a dictator has come into view again.

Last but not least, *the 'One country, two systems' policy and question of freedom*. The Basic Law, guarantees that the territory will continue to be governed in much the same way under Chinese rule as it was during the British administration. It outlines the basis for Deng Xiaoping's 'One Country - Two Systems' principle and regulations for people's freedoms.

In the Basic Law, it is stated that Hong Kong will have a high degree of autonomy and enjoy executive, legislative and independent judicial power, including that of final adjudication. Article 3 states that the government will only be made up of Hong Kongers, not by officials drafted in from the mainland.

The 'One Country, Two Systems' principle as outlined in article 5 says that; the socialist system and policies shall not be practiced in the Hong Kong SAR special administrative region, and the previous capitalist system and way of life shall remain unchanged for 50 years.

Article 27 of the Basic Law guarantees freedom of speech and a free press in Hong Kong. People have freedom of association, of assembly, of procession and of demonstration. However, self-censorship spread in the local media. Hong Kong journalists told *The Times (London)* that they feared for the future of press freedom under Chinese rule and said 'self-censorship was spreading like an insidious disease' (June 28, 1997). Tsang Tak-sing, editor of the daily newspaper *Ta Kung Pao*, Beijing's main voice in Hong Kong, talked to *The*

Times: ‘I worry about press freedom after the handover. I worry the press will become a tool of the powers in Beijing. I worry the press will exercise self-censorship’ (June 28, 1997). What Tsang said represents worries, not only from journalists themselves, but also from the Western media.

However, article 23 in the Basic Law gives the SAR government the opportunity to enact laws to overturn many of the freedoms outlined elsewhere. This was called ‘Chinese communism’ by the British media. *The Observer* said, ‘Chinese communism is alive and well and spreading to Hong Kong. Chinese communism, late Nineties-style, seems to be a unique mix of some of the worst aspects of both capitalism and communism; the world watches its development with horror in its eyes and potential contracts in its outstretched hands’ (July 6, 1997). This is not the future the West had hoped for Hong Kong. Essentially, Hong Kong was neither completely capitalist nor democratic under Chinese rule.

5.4 The 10th anniversary of Hong Kong handover (2007)

In 2007, 10 years had passed since Hong Kong was transferred from British to Chinese sovereignty. Economically, Hong Kong remained as a major international financial center and a leading gateway into China. As Hong Kong’s economic interaction with the Chinese mainland had grown deeper and broader over the 10 years since the handover, a free trade agreement named ‘Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement’ (also named ‘CEPA’) had been signed between China and Hong Kong.

5.4.1 Quantitative analysis results and discussion

5.4.1.1 General frequency of reporting

Table 5.10: General frequency of reporting, by newspaper

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Daily Mail (London) | 1 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.9 |
| Mail on Sunday (London) | 1 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 3.8 |
| Sunday Express | 2 | 3.8 | 3.8 | 7.5 |
| The Daily Telegraph (London) | 17 | 32.1 | 32.1 | 39.6 |
| The Guardian (London) | 4 | 7.5 | 7.5 | 47.2 |
| The Independent (London) | 3 | 5.7 | 5.7 | 52.8 |
| The Observer | 2 | 3.8 | 3.8 | 56.6 |
| The Sunday Telegraph (London) | 4 | 7.5 | 7.5 | 64.2 |
| The Sunday Times (London) | 4 | 7.5 | 7.5 | 71.7 |
| The Times (London) | 15 | 28.3 | 28.3 | 100.0 |
| Total | 53 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Table 5.10 above suggests that 10 years after the handover, *The Daily Telegraph (London)* and *The Times (London)* beat *The Guardian (London)* and *The Independent (London)* in terms of the frequency of reporting on the event – both newspapers with centre-right political alignments – *The Daily Telegraph (London)* with 32.1% of total news coverage (n=17) during the selected period, followed by *The Times (London)* with 28.3% of total coverage (n=15). The articles from both newspapers make up 60.4% of the total reporting. It is interesting to find out that *The Daily Telegraph (London)*, which had not covered the Hong Kong handover event at all in 1997, made the most coverage of its anniversary 10

years later. Compared to 10 years previously, both *The Guardian (London)* and *The Independent (London)* decreased their proportionate reporting dramatically from 18.9% and 41.0% to 7.5% and 5.7% of total the total number of articles respectively.

So it is an interesting finding that The Daily Telegraph (London), which was not among the newspapers making most contribution to cover the Hong Kong handover event in 1997, made the most coverage of its anniversary 10 years later. Another interesting finding is that all newspapers have generally reduced their reporting on Hong Kong. The period (2 years) selected for the anniversary is much longer than the period selected for the handover (2 months), but it contains far fewer articles concerning the event and Hong Kong's current situation. *The Guardian (London)* and *The Independent (London)* lost interest only days after Hong Kong's transition, significantly reducing their reporting; *The Times (London)* paid much more attention than most other papers, but still much less than it had 10 years previously.

5.4.1.2 Mean length of reporting

Table 5.11: Mean length of reporting, by newspaper

| Newspaper | Mean Length (words) | N |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|----|
| Daily Mail (London) | 119.00 | 1 |
| Mail on Sunday (London) | 513.00 | 1 |
| Sunday Express | 1077.00 | 2 |
| The Daily Telegraph (London) | 973.18 | 17 |
| The Guardian (London) | 965.00 | 4 |
| The Independent (London) | 628.00 | 3 |
| The Observer | 1252.00 | 2 |
| The Sunday Telegraph (London) | 802.75 | 4 |
| The Sunday Times (London) | 895.25 | 4 |
| The Times (London) | 612.33 | 15 |
| Total | 821.79 | 53 |

The same trends can be seen in the reporting of this period as they were for the previous periods in this chapter. Table 5.11, above, suggests that *The Times (London)* and *The Daily Telegraph (London)* have made shorter reports on Hong Kong's handover compared to other newspapers, despite publishing the most articles during the period. Sunday newspapers – *The Observer* and *Sunday Express* dedicated the longest average article lengths.

5.4.1.3 Frequency of themes

During this period, the majority of sample items in both selected periods contained three dimensions related to the events – economy, politics and nationalism. Hence, the most popular themes are identified accordingly and put into three categories with broader subjects - economic consequences, democracy and national identity. In the following, I not only analyse the popularity of certain themes, but also compare the themes adopted by the newspapers that published the most articles.

Table 5.12: Theme codes of Hong Kong handover's 10th anniversary (2007)

| Category | Code Number | Theme |
|------------------------------|-------------|--|
| Economic consequences | 1 | Hong Kong has a fast growing economy and keeps itself as the economic centre of Asia. It attracts waves of investors as well as tourists. |
| Democracy | 2 | China sticks to its promises to keep Hong Kong autonomy and Hong Kong people's way of living. |
| | 3 | Democracy in Hong Kong is still demanded as it is rationed and criticised by Britain; Hong Kong's political system is interfered by Beijing. |
| National identity | 4 | China and the Chinese celebrate 10 th anniversary of Hong Kong's reunification. |
| | 5 | Fall of British Empire. |
| | 6 | Hong Kong is culturally mixed, and Hong Kong has partly integrated to modern China. |
| | 7 | Hong Kong has changed little and it still keeps most traces coming from its colonial period. |
| | 8 | Sino-British relationship is uneasy. |
| | 9 | Other themes. |

Table 5.13, below, firstly shows British national newspapers' interest in Hong Kong's successful economy 10 years after the handover. Nearly a third of the total news articles (n=18, 28.6% of total number) focused their attention on Hong Kong's economic achievements and its promising future ahead, as compared to 1997 when just over 10% of total coverage (n=27, 10.6% of total number) was on Hong Kong's economy and half of it had faith in Hong Kong's economic future.

Secondly, the same amount of reporting was dedicated to discussing and criticising the rationing of democratic developments in Hong Kong over the 10 years since the handover (n=18, 28.6% of total number), which is more than twice the number of articles that considered that the Chinese government had kept its promises in terms of Hong Kong's retained autonomy.

To sum up, British national newspapers continuously paid attention to Hong Kong's economic progress and were more complimentary about Hong Kong's success in terms of economic growth. However, this positive reaction did not extend to Hong Kong's political situation. The statistics suggest Beijing was still believed to have interfered in Hong Kong more than it should have.

Table 5.13: Overall frequency of themes adopted by all selected newspapers

| Theme code | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|------------|-------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid | 1 | 18 | 28.6 | 28.6 | 28.6 |
| | 2 | 8 | 12.7 | 12.7 | 41.3 |
| | 3 | 18 | 28.6 | 28.6 | 69.8 |
| | 4 | 4 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 76.2 |
| | 5 | 1 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 77.8 |
| | 6 | 5 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 85.7 |
| | 7 | 2 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 88.9 |
| | 8 | 2 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 92.1 |
| | 9 | 5 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 63 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Since *The Daily Telegraph (London)* and *The Times (London)* wrote the most articles during the chosen period, I compared the themes they adopted.

Table 5.14: Frequency of themes adopted by *The Daily Telegraph (London)*

Theme code

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------|-------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid | 1 | 8 | 38.1 | 38.1 | 38.1 |
| | 2 | 2 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 47.6 |
| | 3 | 4 | 19.0 | 19.0 | 66.7 |
| | 4 | 2 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 76.2 |
| | 6 | 1 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 81.0 |
| | 8 | 2 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 90.5 |
| | 9 | 2 | 9.5 | 9.5 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 21 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Table 5.15: Frequency of themes adopted by *The Times (London)*

Theme code

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------|-------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid | 1 | 5 | 27.8 | 27.8 | 27.8 |
| | 2 | 4 | 22.2 | 22.2 | 50.0 |
| | 3 | 7 | 38.9 | 38.9 | 88.9 |
| | 6 | 2 | 11.1 | 11.1 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 18 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

The Daily Telegraph (London), adopted more diverse themes than *The Times (London)*. It covered every aspect of the event but its main focus was Hong Kong's successful economy 10 years after the handover to Chinese sovereignty; nearly 40% of its total articles concerned this theme (n=8, 38.1% of total number). *The Times (London)* focused more on Hong Kong's economy and politics rather than cultural aspects. Also, it tended to criticise Hong Kong's politics more than complimenting its economic success and democratic development.

In general, compared to 10 years ago, the news reporting over Hong Kong's new era changed in several ways due to its new socio-economic situation. First of all, the amount of reporting around the anniversary decreased dramatically compared to 10 years previously. This suggests that Hong Kong's handover, which at the time was one of the biggest events in Sino-British history, had faded as a story as time had passed. Secondly, regarding the statistics of the themes, there were no particularly negative or uncertain comments about Hong Kong's economy. However, nearly half of the articles from the handover period expressed doubts or worries regarding Hong Kong's economic future. The reporting in this period is all about how successful Hong Kong has been with its economy or how many financial benefits Hong Kong has got from mainland China's economic boom. Thirdly, Hong Kong's democratic future still seemed to be an unsolved question in reports. On the one hand, continuing democracy and the Chinese government's promises on keeping Hong Kong citizens' lives unchanged have been given credit; on the other hand, further development was expected towards full democracy. The demand for the election of the Chief Executive has always been an issue in Sino-British talks. Fourthly, the Sino-British relationship was always on the agenda for both governments. The news articles show it as quite uneasy one. Last but not least, Hong Kong had transformed from a colony to a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Hence, it still retained parts of its former colonial culture. However, it was reported that the Chinese identity had penetrated into the community to some extent.

5.4.2 Masterframes and discussion

Hong Kong, as the special administrative region of China enjoyed a 'high degree of autonomy' for the first decade after the handover. The masterframe of liberal individualism continuously played a dominant role in the reporting on Hong Kong's economic success and its democratic developments.

5.4.2.1 Economic consequences

After a decade, the media continued to celebrate Hong Kong's massive economic success. First of all, Hong Kong, as an international financial centre, had benefited to a great extent

from China's fast growing economy. Hong Kong's success was believed to be based on close ties with China and its massive support. 28.4% of total news coverage in this defined period was positive about the economic growth of Hong Kong. The number was much smaller in 1997, when only 5.9% of total news articles contained this theme. In this section, *The Daily Telegraph (London)* and *The Times (London)* played an important role in revealing the relationship between China's development and Hong Kong's economic success, as well as Hong Kong's stable position as the Asian financial centre, expressing extraordinary confidence in its promising future.

Ten years of stellar progress (The Times, February 7 2007)

The biggest change has been Hong Kong's much closer cooperation and interaction with the mainland. - Henry Tang, the financial secretary (*The Daily Telegraph*, April 26 2007)

[...] nothing has changed. In fact, it is better than ever. And it is better than ever because of China and all the unexpected benefits China has brought to Hong Kong. (*Mail on Sunday*, January 21 2007)

The headline in *The Times* summarised Hong Kong's 10-year economic development as 'stellar progress'. *The Daily Telegraph* and *Mail on Sunday* respectively, approved of Hong Kong's closer relationship with China and China's support and influence. The third quotation, from the *Mail on Sunday*, not only answers the concerns held at the time of the handover over what was going to happen, but also clearly states that Hong Kong's economic situation was 'better than ever' - 'better than the colonial period'. Progress made had totally dispelled people's doubts and worries. That the benefits Hong Kong had received from China were 'unexpected' implies China was not expected to provide Hong Kong with a good economic environment. HSBC's Hong Kong and China boss Peter Wong told Daily Mail that, 'Being the gateway to China, with such a large economy growing at 8pc-10pc a year, has enabled Hong Kong to become more firmly established as a financial centre.' (June 30, 2007)

Although China was the core factor of Hong Kong's success, conversely Hong Kong was also very crucial to China's development in functioning as the 'gateway' to mainland.

China needed foreign currency and foreign investment through this ‘gateway’, so mainland based companies which were called ‘red chips’ were listed in the Hong Kong stock market allowing access to foreign capital.

Secondly, international companies wanted to be part of Hong Kong’s prosperity. The great opportunity brought by the economic growth of mainland China attracted international attention. Foreign investors showed their confidence and will to be part of Hong Kong’s ongoing development. The quote below is a good example of this and tells the way the situation had changed from the Chinese government having to invite foreign investment to foreign businesses rushing to participate. Peter Sullivan, chief executive of Standard Chartered in Hong Kong and chairman of the city's British Chamber of Commerce, told *The Daily Telegraph* on July 30 2007 that,

The prospects of Chinese capital coming to invest in Hong Kong or using Hong Kong as a springboard to overseas markets lead us to feel upbeat about Hong Kong's outlook as an international financial centre. (*The Daily Telegraph*, July 30, 2007)

Third and lastly, Hong Kong showed a modern face to visitors. Hong Kong’s new look directly reflected its recent developments, such as its risen skylines, newly opened international airport and Disneyland. Hong Kong became a hot tourist spot and attracted waves of visitors, mostly from mainland China.

In summary, as China has begun to be described as a super power in the 21st century, its influence has spread to Hong Kong as well as surrounding Asian countries. In fact, this has been widely acknowledged in the British news media. In 1997, the doubts and worries about Hong Kong’s economic future stemmed from concerns over China’s Communist regime. However, 10 years later, the fact that Hong Kong’s economy was better than ever ensured those criticisms had disappeared.

5.4.2.2 Democracy

When the former British colony marked 10 years since the handover, Hong Kong was shown to have made progress in the development of its democracy and autonomy, as recognised and praised by the West. A headline in *The Times (London)* on July 4, 2007 made a distinct conclusion – ‘Democratic HK’. *The Times* had provided a more detailed explanation two days before, saying,

On the tenth anniversary of the handover of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong enjoys greater autonomy and less interference in its affairs from Beijing than the UK does from Brussels. (July 2, 2007)

The word ‘enjoy’ highlights a celebratory mood. ‘Greater autonomy’ and ‘less interference’ from Beijing also confirms China’s efforts at maintaining Hong Kong’s democracy over the years. This has also been acknowledged by Hong Kong’s previous governor Chris Patten. He told *The Daily Telegraph (London)* that ‘Hong Kong has all the attributes of a liberal, pluralist society’ (June 2007).

On the other hand, the effort made by the Chinese government seemed not to be enough for the West. More than twice the number of articles criticised Hong Kong’s democratic development than approved. Democracy in Hong Kong was believed to be incomplete and the freedom not to be full, on account of the chief executive being elected by an electoral college of 800 business and professional leaders rather than the Hong Kong public, and only half of the 60-member legislative council being directly elected. When it came to the arguments questioning Hong Kong’s democratic situation, British newspapers focused on Hong Kong’s electoral system and criticised its autarchy.

Since the British colony was handed back to China in 1997, there had been a debate about the selection of the chief executive. Hong Kong’s first chief executive, Tung Chee-hwa was picked by the Chinese government. *The Independent (London)* on July 9, 1997 said that ‘Hong Kong's election system is to be altered in a way which critics say will ensure selection of a compliant legislature’. The word ‘compliant’ reveals Hong Kong’s new

political status after the handover. On the one hand, Hong Kong needed mainland China for important support; on the other hand, Hong Kong had to yield to the Chinese Central Government and Communist Party and be obedient to their decisions.

On July 29, 1997, *The Times (London)* dedicated an article to Hong Kong's reshuffle of senior officials. The Chinese government was believed to have 'publicly humiliated' the Hong Kong government by announcing this reshuffle. Before the handover to Beijing, all important changes of office were declared in Hong Kong. However, since the ultimate power was held in mainland China after the takeover, Hong Kong no longer had the power to make its own decisions.

10 years after the handover, the election in Hong Kong was still not regarded as fully democratic. Donald Tsang, who was appointed chief executive by Beijing in 2005, predictably prevailed over his opponent, the Civic Party candidate Alan Leong, an outspoken critic of Beijing over China's failure to allow Hong Kong full democracy. *The Daily Telegraph (London)* on March 24, 2007 pointed out that Hong Kong's first contested leadership election 'is regarded as a foregone conclusion with Sir Donald Tsang, backed by China's Communist Party, retaining his position at chief executive'. The result of the election was not only certain, but was also manipulated by the party. *The Times (London)* called it 'democracy, Chinese – style' (March 22, 2007). In the same article, this phenomenon was summarised as the 'power of Beijing looms over election' (*The Times*, March 22, 2007). The word 'loom' reveals that Beijing's influence over and manipulation of the election were not only subtle, but also profound. On the same day, *The Times (London)* analysed Hong Kong's political situation, in which it struggled between powerful mainland China and an outspoken and energetic society which demanded a freer social environment for its citizens.

Over this issue, China and its government had been pictured as a political dictator that appointed its leaders without listening to public opinion. Democratic elections are an essential step in the development of full democracy. China's promise of autonomy in Hong

Kong was believed to have been broken.

As the British colonial period ended and China took Hong Kong back to its sovereignty, China would no longer allow the West to intervene in its domestic affairs, particularly the direction of Hong Kong's future development. Britain kept reminding China of the British system left over from the colonial period and its contribution to Hong Kong's development; the way China was to rule Hong Kong was not decided by Britain any more.

5.5 British perspectives of Hong Kong's takeover: a summary

In 1997, Hong Kong ended its 156-year colonial period under British rule and Britain lost its administration of Hong Kong after the handover. By 1997 China was already two decades into its meteoric economic development. In other words, China had already enjoyed a massive success from its open-door policy and had a fast growing economy. As a result, China was no longer portrayed as a country with a weak government, full of small-footed citizens and drug addicts.

In this case, three major subjects are summarised from the texts - economic consequences, democracy and national identity in the coverage from both selected periods – the Hong Kong handover and its development in the ensuing 10 year post-handover period. Within each subject, texts have been looked into in depth, both numerically and textually. As a result, each subject is defined and framed in the form of various stories, as we have seen.

From 1997 to 2007, the changes in terms of frame selection in the news reporting during two separate periods are summarised in three categories – economy, democracy and national identity. First of all, it is interesting to find out how Hong Kong's handover and its ensuing economic and democratic developments were represented in the British national news media, from the *liberal democratic* viewpoint.

In 1997, three attitudes - optimism, worry and doubt appeared in the reporting of Hong Kong's predicted economic development after handover. During the 1997 handover period,

over half of the articles reporting Hong Kong's economic situation in the transition period presented a positive attitude towards Hong Kong's economy. Hence, from the liberal point of view, the newspapers which made compliments on Hong Kong's economic development and its future were heralding China's openness in relation to its open-door policy, stock exchange and tourism. They are signs of China's development of liberalisation. In other words, they are signs of China saying goodbye to its 'isolated' and 'inferior' past. However, the same number of articles was pessimistic towards Hong Kong's economic future as those holding optimistic attitudes. Behind the criticism over China's 'One Country, Two Systems' policy in Hong Kong and its control over the entry of foreign investment, the British media essentially criticised China's political regime and the idea of Communism, both of which are perceived as threats to Western democracy.

After 10 years had passed, nearly one third of the total news coverage of the Hong Kong handover's 10th anniversary discussed Hong Kong's massive economic success, which was believed to be based on close ties with China and its massive support. China was described as a super power as well as an economic giant in the 21st century. Its influence spread to Hong Kong and surrounding Asian countries. In fact, this had been widely acknowledged in the British news media. The doubts and worries pertaining to Hong Kong's economic future due to China's Communist regime had disappeared during the 10 years after 1997 handover. This had much to do with the fact that Hong Kong's economy had been more successful than ever post-1997.

In relation to Hong Kong's democratic progress, on the one hand, the Communist Party promised to rule Hong Kong 'very lightly' and keep all its main characteristics; on the other hand, Britain doubted that China would stick to the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy and worried that Western democracy and freedom would fade. One third of news items, constituting the largest proportion of the sample articles, were concerned with whether the territory would lose its democracy in the future due to the Chinese government's administration.

When the former British colony marked 10 years since the handover, Hong Kong had made progress in the development of its democracy and autonomy attracting recognition and praise from the national newspapers. However, the efforts made by the Chinese government seemed not to be enough by Western democratic standards. More than twice the number of articles approving of Hong Kong's democratisation progress criticised its democratic development. The democracy in Hong Kong was believed not to be complete and the freedom not full.

As the British colonial period ended and China took Hong Kong back to its sovereignty, China would no longer allow the West to intervene in its domestic affairs, particularly the direction of Hong Kong's future development. Britain kept reminding China of the British system left over from colonial period and its contribution to Hong Kong's development; the way China was to rule Hong Kong was not decided by Britain any more.

Secondly, from the *ethno-nationalist* viewpoint, the emotions of China's excitement and Britain's sadness over Hong Kong's transition almost equally share the coverage in the newspapers. The Chinese Communist Party celebrated the transition as a massive success. It felt proud, since the handover was as 'smooth' as expected. Hong Kong had been under British rule for 156 years and Britain felt shame at the loss of its colony after failing to keep Hong Kong longer. Meanwhile, Britain was disappointed that the Chinese government was not complimentary enough towards the British administration in Hong Kong in the past. So, Britain's rule of Hong Kong was consigned to history whilst China led it towards toward a promising future.

After a decade of economic growth and political reform post-1997, culturally Hong Kong became unique, as it perfectly combined both Eastern and Western cultures. On the one hand, after being under China's administration for a decade, Hong Kong had done well to integrate into mainstream Chinese culture. On the other hand, people appreciated the way Hong Kong kept its Western and colonial elements.

Thirdly, *comparisons amongst newspapers*. Quantitatively speaking, the results from the content analysis can be summarised from the following three viewpoints. Firstly, the total amount as well as the density of reporting on Hong Kong's handover anniversary in 2007 decreased dramatically, compared to the statistics for 1997. It is suggested that Hong Kong had generally lost media attention over the years. Secondly, *The Times (London)* remained as one of the newspapers that provided the most coverage during both selected periods. Thirdly, in terms of themes, criticism of Hong Kong's political future was the biggest concern for all national newspapers including *The Independent (London)*, *The Times (London)* and *The Guardian (London)* in 1997. 10 years later, in general, the same criticism was given the same amount of media exposure as the reporting on Hong Kong's economic success. *The Times (London)* continually paid most attention to Hong Kong's democratic progress and China's impact on Hong Kong's politics from 1997 to 2007. Meanwhile, it interested itself in Hong Kong's economic development post-1997. Both *The Independent (London)* and *The Guardian (London)* showed comparatively little interest in the anniversary event. With their limited coverage (4 and 5 news articles respectively), they also did not focus reporting on any specific issue.

Qualitatively speaking, there has been a mixture of continuity and change during the 10 years from 1997 to 2007 in relation to newspapers' framing in their reporting.

Firstly, in 1997 all three popular national newspapers held hope for Hong Kong's economic development due to China's open-door policy and its achievements in relation to openness. The difference between the papers was that *The Independent (London)* tended to be more optimistic, whilst *The Times (London)* and *The Guardian (London)* tried to stay neutral. Secondly, with the overwhelming criticism of Hong Kong's political future and democratisation progress, all three newspapers reported their 'worries', but from different viewpoints. For instance, *The Times* was more concerned about the Chinese government's 'over-control' of Hong Kong's legislation and its promise on the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy; *The Guardian's* main focus was the workers' rights in Hong Kong; except for Hong Kong's elections, *The Independent* mainly cared about China sending troops to

Hong Kong before the official handover ceremony.

In 2007, both *The Times (London)* and *The Daily Telegraph (London)* actively reported on Hong Kong's economic successes of the 10 years post-1997, and revealed the relationship between China's development in terms of openness and Hong Kong's economic growth. By contrast in 1997, *The Times* had reported a mixture of hope, doubt and worry in relation to Hong Kong's economic future. That is to say, Hong Kong's development proved it could still maintain or even strengthen its economy under Chinese rule. Also, as discussed earlier in the quantitative analysis, critics of China's incomplete democratisation progress still caught most of the media's attention (as with Hong Kong's economic success). *The Times (London)* was more complementary in terms of China's democratic progress, yet more critical of its shortcomings than *The Daily Telegraph (London)*.

CHAPTER 6

Reporting Chinese immigrants in the UK: victims of human smuggling and trafficking

6.1 Introduction and chapter outline

This chapter examines both *national* and *regional* newspaper coverage of two tragic incidents which caused the deaths of Chinese immigrants in the UK – the Dover tragedy and the Morecambe Bay Chinese cocklers tragedy. There are in total 254 valuable news items (134 articles on the Dover tragedy and 120 articles on the Morecambe Bay Chinese cocklers tragedy) out of 376 items covering the two weeks *after* each of the events (June 21 - July 3, 2000 and February 6 - February 19, 2004 respectively) selected for quantitative and qualitative analysis. Both tragedies were chosen in this case due to the characteristics they have in common. Firstly, as the most tragic experiences of Chinese immigrants during the last decade in the UK; they were the victims of not only the tragedies, but also illegal human trafficking and smuggling. Secondly, both incidents have raised public discussions on British border control and immigration policies, as well as the social impact of illegal immigration. Last but not least, the perception of China and the Chinese by the British media was reflected in the news coverage during both periods.

Aiming at investigating how the British national and regional newspapers frame China and the Chinese in respect of these two tragic incidents, this chapter answers questions such as, how are the two masterframes - ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism applied in this case? What is the ratio between them? What frame(s) did newspapers choose? What are the differences between newspapers in relation to frame selection?

This chapter starts with the history of Chinese immigration to the UK providing the background for my later analysis, followed by the discussion of both ethno-nationalist masterframes and liberal individualist masterframes respectively in this case. The evidence of identified masterframes is obtained by two methods. The summarised data of frequencies comes from the results of content analysis and is presented in tables and graphs;

discourse analysis is structured in three sections – headlines, actors and quotations, and lexicalisation. Comparisons of newspapers are given in the last part of the chapter.

6.2 International immigration in the age of globalisation

Globalisation, which initially means the expansion of world trade, the transformation of political structures and reinscription of cultural norms under colonisation (Papastergiadis, 2000), was believed to have started from colonisation in the late fifteenth century, when the European powers exported their weapons and ideologies, whilst exploiting resources from the rest of the world. Today, globalisation is associated with the flexible and spatially extended forms of production, the rapid mobility of capital, information and goods, the denationalising of capital, the deterritorialisation of culture, the interpenetration of local communities by global media networks and the dispersal of socio-economic power beyond the Euro-American axis. (ibid.)

The globalising process makes distant places linked and interconnected and increases the freedom of the exchange and flow of capital and information. Immigration, as one of the most important consequences of globalisation, is also the force which stimulates the globalising process. In the age of globalisation, with the economic interests and political policies of receiving countries, the free movement among regional zones and increasing student and tourist mobility make the flow of people an irresistible process. ‘The number of immigrants in the world today, both legal and illegal, is thought to total perhaps 200m (though many of the figures, even those used by governments, are at best educated guesses).’ (Roberts, 2008)

In history, immigration was believed to encourage prosperity for both the sending and receiving countries. For poor countries, immigrants returned home with savings, skills and new technologies. For rich countries, immigration provided not only cheap labour, but also highly skilled immigrants. Today, these effects are still continuing.

Immigrants contribute to the recipient country’s economic growth; politicians carefully make decisions based on voters’ concerns over immigration; foreign policies and

immigration laws have to adapt and to be reconsidered; the idea of building stricter border controls comes under discussion; poverty in the developing countries is eased. In the following, I shall discuss the broader social context of what immigration means for Britain from different perspectives – economy, politics, immigration policies and other aspects.

Economy

(1) Legal and illegal immigrants

Every year, millions of people leave their home countries by crossing international borders. Most of them move for economic reasons, such as hunting for jobs or joining their relatives. Most of them are legal immigrants. According to a report released by Britain's Office for National Statistics on November 26, 2009,

An estimated 590,000 people arrived to live in the UK in 2008, the second highest figure on record after 596,000 in 2006. This compared with 574,000 in 2007 and represents a continuation of the level of immigration seen since 2004. Of all immigrants 505,000 (86 per cent) were non-British citizens in 2008. (Office for National Statistics, 2009)

The illegal immigrants also travel for economic reasons, but they choose different ways to get into their destination countries. Within the European Union it has become impossible to keep a tally because people can move legally among most of the member countries without applying for visas. Britain also finds it difficult to calculate the number of foreigners it has allowed in every year (Roberts, 2008).

In addition, refugees and asylum seekers escaping from war or political persecution are forced to move from their own countries to other parts of the world. So they are moving for negative reasons, whereas most immigrants usually move for positive reasons. Refugees and asylum seekers can move either legally or illegally.

(2) Immigrants as labour

Immigrants move from a poor country to a richer one in search of a better life. On the other hand, those countries with fast-growing economies have a high demand for cheap labour or highly skilled workers. 'One reason why much of the world has enjoyed a sustained economic boom with low inflation in the past decade is that the effective global workforce is expanding so fast.' (Roberts, 2008) Rich countries are short of skilled workers for their rapidly growing economies, so there is a high demand for outsiders. In Britain and America, 'foreigners typically make up 10-15% of the labour force and their share is rising' (Robert, 2008:6). Chinese immigrants are also eager to leave heavily populated areas of China searching for higher incomes.

Immigrants are beneficial for growing economies in host countries, but they do not necessarily think so. 'A poll in November 2007, for France 24, found that 55% of Spaniards consider immigrants a boon for their economy, and so do 50% of Italians, but only 42% of Britons and Germans and a mere 30% of French respondents.' (ibid:5) One of the most popular explanations is that hosts are afraid that immigrants will take their jobs. 'Around half of the new jobs created in Britain today are filled by immigrants, often because they have skills that locals lack (from plumbing to banking) or because natives scorn the work (from picking fruit to caring for the elderly).' (ibid:6) Another reason for not being popular in these countries is immigrants add an additional load onto public services and the tax system. For example, in Britain, local councils receive complaints from residents about rising crime caused by foreign immigrants.

Also, the foreign immigrants are much more flexible than the locals, as they move more often. Last but not least, they boost the economy by consuming food, accommodation and other services.

Sending countries also gain benefits when immigrants return. Hence, their governments encourage immigrants to come back and bring new skills and ideas.

Politics

In recent years, anti-migration has become the mainstream view in political debates on immigration. In Britain, Prime Minister Gordon Brown put forward the idea of 'British jobs for British workers'. His opposition, Conservative leader David Cameron, also suggested lower rates of immigration. On the one hand, all the benefits the host countries get from immigrants point to allowing more immigration. On the other hand, the general public's hostility towards immigration makes it difficult for politicians to be seen to be pro-immigration.

Poverty back home

Every year, a lot of money is sent back to immigrants' home countries. Taking America as an example, immigrants 'sent home \$275m in a single year, a total not far short of the value of all the gold mined in America' (Roberts, 2008:10). Most of the money sent back was used on food, housing, clothes, education and health. A World Bank study in 2007, reviewing evidence from 115 poor countries in 2003, found that when official international remittances rose by 10%, the share of people living on less than \$1 a day fell by 3.5%. Countries such as Uganda, Bangladesh, Ghana and Nepal saw the biggest gains. Babies had a higher birth weight and families spent more on education, with girls thought to be benefitting especially. Consumption creates jobs too, for example in housing. (ibid:11)

However, immigration, particularly illegal immigration raises the most attention due to its negative aspects. It has become the top of the list of both governmental and public concerns in the receiving countries due largely to '9.11'. Immigration control and the security level have been raised in recent years as a result. Illegal immigrants do not pay taxes and are low-skilled. They represent increased competition for supposedly scarce resources such as labour, housing and social services and related congestions; relative and absolute overcrowding; the driving down of wages or the displacing of indigenous workers; the undermining of power relations between organised workers (trade unions) and employers; and the brain drain from the sending countries.

6.3 Illegal immigration and human trafficking

Illegal immigration is a subcategory of international immigration. Its distinctive feature is the legal status defined by the rules adopted by national governments and intergovernmental organisations. The illicit status of immigrants also has consequences for the mechanisms of cross-border movement and the personal position of immigrants. In other words, illegal immigration cannot be separated either from the larger dynamics of the global economy nor the policies pursued by governments. Thus, although legal and illegal immigration differ in many crucial respects, they are both located at the interface of international economic and political systems. As Dr. Michael Samers in his journal “An emerging geopolitics of ‘illegal’ immigration in the European Union” suggested, ‘[i]llegal immigration has two characteristics: it is intimately connected with the policies of legal immigration and citizenship more generally, but precisely because of its epiphenomenal character, it also becomes an explicitly juridical and police matter. But the latter itself assumes two forms: prevention of entry and regulation of settlement’ (2004:27-45).

Britain did not have an anti-illegal immigration law until the Aliens Act of 1905 was issued. However, trafficking people from China made a huge profit for European smugglers. Also, very strict immigration controls in North America made Europe a more popular destination for human trafficking.

Human trafficking, as a form of human smuggling and a type of illegal immigration, is one of the main concerns of both governments and organisations around the world nowadays. Combating human trafficking has also become a priority for governments and authorities at different levels. The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons was signed in December 2000 defines trafficking and smuggling. It declared,

“Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits

to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.

Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

“Smuggling of migrant” shall mean the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident. (Laczko and Gramegna, 2003:180-181)

As the definition above suggests, violence, coercion, deception and exploitation are the central themes of ‘human trafficking’ within which trade and profit are the reasons and consequences. Thus, human trafficking is believed to be a large-scale and multi-million dollar business.

Asia, as one of the main immigration providers, has sent a large number of immigrants to more developed countries in Europe, North America and Australasia. However, there is also a great population of ‘irregular’, ‘illegal’ or ‘undocumented’ immigrants coming from this region. Britain’s National Criminal Intelligence Service and the Immigration and Nationality Directorate Investigation Service, which monitor irregular immigration, believe thousands of Chinese entered Britain in the period up to June 2000, when the tragic discovery of 58 dead Chinese stowaways in the back of a lorry on its way to Dover brought the issue of human trafficking to international attention. In subsequent years, the numbers of applications for asylum by Chinese continued to grow—from 2390 in 2001 to 3675 in 2002, when the Chinese made up 4 per cent of all applicants. (Benton and Gomez, 2008:55)

It is difficult to calculate the accurate number of Chinese illegal immigrants in the UK. However, the death of 58 Chinese immigrants in a lorry at Dover and 23 Chinese cockle

pickers at Morecambe Bay raised the alarm of ‘illegal immigration’.

6.4 Quantitative analysis results and discussion

6.4.1 General frequencies of reporting

On June 20 2000, 58 Chinese immigrants between ages of 20 and 30 suffocated in a lorry and were found dead at the port of Dover. They were believed to have been smuggled from the southern Chinese province Fujian to Zeebrugge Harbour via Moscow before crossing to Dover. Less than four years later, on the evening of February 5, 2004 in Lancashire, 23 Chinese cockle pickers were drowned by incoming tides at Morecambe Bay. They were also believed to be illegal immigrants. Immediately, British newspapers reported the tragedies. Over the two week period after each disaster, in total there were 37 newspapers that contributed 215 articles covering the Dover event and 134 of them are selected for coding and analysis; while 45 newspapers published 177 articles covering the Chinese cockle picking tragedy, 120 of which are chosen for coding and analysis.

Due to the limited local circulation and publishing period, it is not difficult to explain why there are fewer articles from regional newspapers than from national newspapers, generally speaking. However, for the Dover tragedy, it is interesting to discover that two regional newspapers – *The Evening Standard (London)* and *The Herald (Glasgow)* as well as two centre-left national broadsheets *The Guardian (London)* and *The Independent (London)* are among the newspapers with that published the most articles. In total they make up 25.4% of the total coverage. Similar to the Morecambe Bay case, two regional newspapers – the *Daily Post (Liverpool)* and the *Liverpool Daily Echo* joined two national broadsheets *The Daily Telegraph (London)* and *The Times (London)* providing more news articles than any other newspapers during the sample period. In total they made up 30.1% of the total coverage. The four regional newspapers above are all daily newspapers above a certain circulation, which could explain why they are among the most frequently reporting newspapers.

6.4.2 Mean length of reporting

Due to the large variety of newspapers involved in the reporting of both tragedies, here I have chosen the most frequently reporting newspapers to analyse.

Table 6.1: Mean length of reporting, by newspaper - Dover

| Newspaper | Mean Length (words) | N |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|----|
| The Evening Standard (London) | 288.25 | 8 |
| The Guardian (London) | 603.50 | 8 |
| The Herald (Glasgow) | 487.11 | 9 |
| The Independent (London) | 721.00 | 9 |
| Total | 529.62 | 34 |

Table 6.2: Mean length of reporting, by newspaper – Morecambe Bay

| Newspaper | Mean Length (words) | N |
|------------------------------|---------------------|----|
| Daily Post (Liverpool) | 399.12 | 8 |
| Liverpool Daily Echo | 389.82 | 11 |
| The Daily Telegraph (London) | 535.56 | 9 |
| The Times (London) | 642.13 | 8 |
| Total | 484.39 | 36 |

Table 6.1 and 6.2 both present the statistics for the average article length for the selected newspapers. It is suggested that with almost the same number of articles on each story, national newspapers dedicated longer reports on average than regional newspapers in both cases.

Table 6.3: Mean length and format of news articles, by four most frequently reporting newspapers - Dover

| Newspaper | Type | Mean Length (words) | N |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|----------|
| The Evening Standard (London) | | 288.25 | 8 |
| | Total | 288.25 | 8 |
| The Guardian (London) | Guardian home pages | 603.50 | 8 |
| | Total | 603.50 | 8 |
| The Herald (Glasgow) | | 487.11 | 9 |
| | Total | 487.11 | 9 |
| The Independent (London) | Comment | 884.75 | 4 |
| | Features | 950.00 | 1 |
| | News | 533.67 | 3 |
| | Title page | 399.00 | 1 |
| | Total | 721.00 | 9 |
| Total | | 393.53 | 17 |
| | Comment | 884.75 | 4 |
| | Features | 950.00 | 1 |
| | Guardian home pages | 603.50 | 8 |
| | News | 533.67 | 3 |
| | Title page | 399.00 | 1 |
| | Total | 529.62 | 34 |

Table 6.4: Mean length and format of news articles, by four most frequently reporting newspapers – Morecambe Bay

| Newspaper | Type | Mean Length (words) | N |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|----|
| Daily Post (Liverpool) | News | 399.12 | 8 |
| | Total | 399.12 | 8 |
| Liverpool Daily Echo | Comment | 290.00 | 1 |
| | Features | 510.00 | 1 |
| | News | 387.56 | 9 |
| | Total | 389.82 | 11 |
| The Daily Telegraph (London) | Features comment | 936.00 | 2 |
| | Feature leading article | 395.00 | 1 |
| | Features letter to the editor | 114.33 | 3 |
| | News | 736.67 | 3 |
| | Total | 535.56 | 9 |
| The Times (London) | Features | 310.00 | 1 |
| | Home news | 689.57 | 7 |
| | Total | 642.13 | 8 |
| Total | Comment | 290.00 | 1 |
| | Features comment | 936.00 | 2 |
| | Feature leading article | 395.00 | 1 |
| | Features | 410.00 | 2 |
| | Features letter to the editor | 114.33 | 3 |
| | Home news | 689.57 | 7 |
| | News | 444.55 | 20 |
| | Total | 484.39 | 36 |

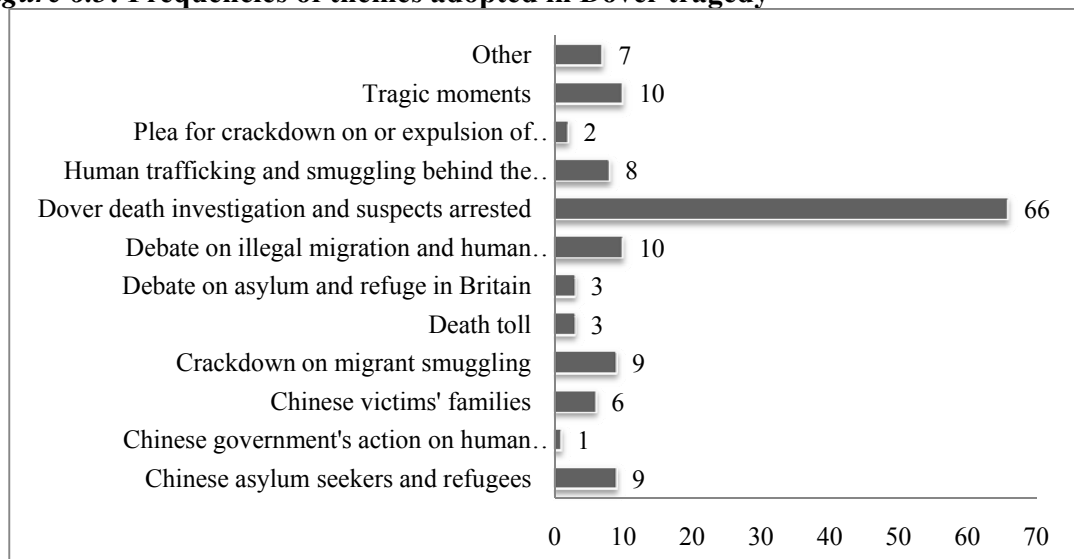
As shown in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 above, first of all, ‘hard news’ makes up a much bigger proportion of reporting in the Morecambe Bay case than in the Dover case (75% and 8.8% respectively). Secondly, in relation to the differences in media coverage, *The Independent (London)* dedicated nearly half of its reporting in comment format, which is the highest

proportion among all selected newspapers that tended to focus on news reporting. Also, it is hard to see *The Times (London)*, *Daily Post (Liverpool)* and *Liverpool Daily Echo* providing any ‘soft news’ articles.

6.4.3 Frequencies of themes

The two graphs below (Figure 6.5 and 6.6) separately show the statistics for the reporting of both tragic events. Since they are very similar in several ways, in that Chinese illegal immigrants lost their lives in the UK and both have brought the debates of illegal immigration and related policies as well as legislations, the similarities are figuratively demonstrated.

Figure 6.5: Frequencies of themes adopted in Dover tragedy

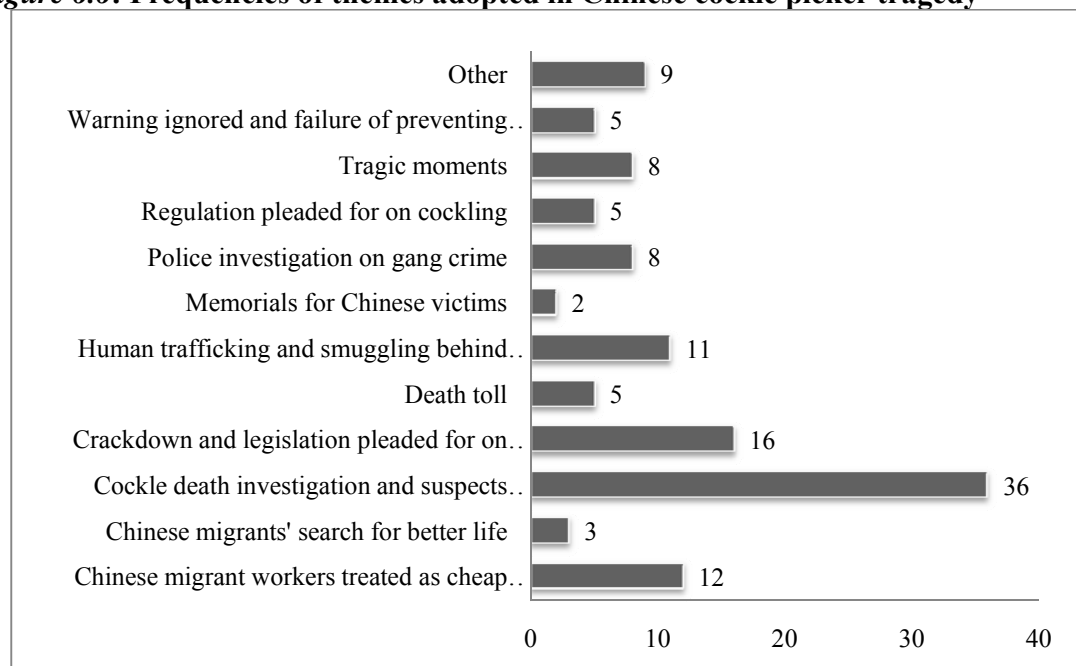


To be more specific, the progress of the police investigations into the incidents has been given the most attention in the cases of both tragedies (49.3% for Dover and 30.0% for Morecambe Bay respectively). Also, in both cases, all relevant articles about Chinese victims and their stories as illegal workers in Britain take up to one fifth of each case’s total number of stories. The fact that such a high percentage of total news coverage in each tragedy is concerned with Chinese victims and their lives before deaths already makes the

reporting of this case particularly humane.

Except for the investigation into the deaths and stories of Chinese immigrants, the human trafficking and smuggling behind the tragedy and the pleas for crackdowns is the third largest theme in the reporting of both tragedies. However, nearly 10% of articles discuss human trafficking and smuggling in the Morecambe Bay case compared to only 6.0% of articles in Dover case. Additionally, nearly a quarter of articles (24.2% of total number) on the Morecambe Bay case concentrate on the outcry for a crackdown on illegal immigration and human trafficking, as well as the regulations pleaded for on gang crime and the cockling business; while this topic is less popular in the Dover case with only half of the proportion of stories (9.2% of total number).

Figure 6.6: Frequencies of themes adopted in Chinese cockle picker tragedy



Another difference is, after the death of the Chinese illegal immigrants at Dover, the debates over the situation of asylum, refuge and illegal immigration became popular in the newspapers. Nearly 10% of articles are concerned about the current immigration policies and border controls and how they should be amended to meet the government's needs;

whereas the newspapers tended to concentrate on revealing the British black economy behind human trafficking after the Chinese cocklers' deaths with 9.2% of the total articles (n=11). In a word, the left-wing dominated news coverage focused its concentration in the discussion on either tightening or loosening border controls in the Dover case; while when the conservative view dominated news coverage a stronger argument was made for fighting against illegal immigration and the British black economy in the Morecambe Bay incident.

6.4.4 Who are quoted and what do they say?

Actors appearing in the news and their words quoted by journalists are always an important part of the news structure, which shows not only who has spoken but also 'who have special access to the media, which news actors are found important and credible enough to be actually quoted, who are allowed to give their own opinions' (van Dijk, 1993:252). The analysis below is undertaken in 2 steps. The first examination is to categorise actors in terms of their characteristics. In this case, actors from the reporting of both incidents are generalised referring to their nationalities as the larger category and their political belongings as the sub-category. Thus, most actors are generally divided into British and Chinese. British actors belong to government, state officials, Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, Social Worker's Party, private and non-profit organisations, organisations speaking for asylum seekers or immigrants, academic, media, legal workers, criminal, religious and citizens. While Chinese actors are referred to as government, cockle pickers - victims and their families, other migrant workers/asylum seekers and their families, organisations, media, legal workers, criminals and citizens. The four categories - British government and legal workers, and Chinese cockle victims/families and citizens are quoted most in overall news coverage.

In the news coverage, British government officials and legal workers, as white participants in the events, were quoted much more than Chinese officials. This bias may be explained by the fact that these authorities are dominated by white elites and they are generally found to be more credible and reliable in giving comments. In addition, they have easier access to

the media. Therefore, majority actors become the only source to give the official definition of the incidents. Generally speaking, for such ethnic news, quotations are limited to white elite speakers, such as politicians, scholars, or members of social bureaucracy.

In this case, not only were British speakers widely quoted, but also Chinese victims and locals, as participants in the events, appeared often in the news. They were interviewed to tell their own stories behind the tragedy, explaining the poor working environment in the UK and what the biggest motivation was for them to sacrifice everything to come to Britain. As the quotation is under the control of the media entirely, ‘the form of exclusion, marginalization and silencing of minority opinion is nothing else but a serious form of symbolic discrimination and racism’ (van Dijk, 1993:255). By paying special attention to white elite opinions about ethnic affairs, the press now only follows its own routines of news-making, namely, by providing access to elites to its news-making, but at the same time literally silences minority opinion, especially when it is competent and critical. The public is thus confronted with a seriously unbalanced set of white opinions about ethnic affairs, and with scarcely a minority perspective. (ibid.) However, the general rule of media to quote more white elites or authorities is broken by equally quoting minority speakers in this case.

The two groups – the British legal workers and Chinese citizens (21.6% and 17.6% of total number respectively) - appeared most frequently in the news reporting of both incidents, followed by British government and Chinese victims and their families (both are 9.5% of total number). Additionally, *The Times (London)* and *The Daily Telegraph (London)* quoted British legal workers far more than any other speaker. Relatively speaking, Chinese cockle pickers - victims and their families and Chinese citizens - have been quoted more often than Chinese authorities. The reason is that the British legal workers appear mainly to explain the accidents as official information sources and they have easier access to mainstream media; and Chinese victims’ families and other citizens have been interviewed in terms of their poor living conditions and social status in China, as their stories are passive and related to their tragic destination. However, for *The Guardian (London)* and

The Independent (London), British legal workers speak less but the British government and Chinese citizens are quoted more.

6.4.5 Summary

To sum up, the quantitative results are summarised from the following three aspects. Firstly, since both national and regional newspapers are all coded, the variety of news coverage has made the frequencies of reporting more evenly distributed between each newspaper, rather than certain newspapers dominating. Relatively speaking, the centre-left broadsheets *The Guardian (London)* and *The Independent (London)* as well as two regional newspapers – *The Evening Standard (London)* and *The Herald (Glasgow)* have published the most articles in the Dover case; while the right-wing broadsheets *The Times (London)* and *The Daily Telegraph (London)* as well as two regional newspapers – *Daily Post (Liverpool)* and *Liverpool Daily Echo* published most articles on the Morecambe Bay tragedy during the sample period. *The Evening Standard (London)* and *Liverpool Daily Echo* are the two most widely read evening newspapers in the UK. Hence, it is not difficult to explain their high media coverage of both events.

Secondly, news coverage of both tragedies is concerned with the Chinese victims and gives large space for the stories of Chinese immigrants (up to 20% of each case's total number of articles). Sympathy has been paid, not only for the tragic incidents, but also Chinese immigrants' difficult lives in Britain as illegal workers. The differences are, the news coverage of the Dover case seems more interested in debates on border control and immigration policies; while in the Chinese cockler case, crackdown on human trafficking was the first priority for the British government.

Lastly, the British legal workers and Chinese citizens are quoted most amongst all actors in both incidents. The British legal workers appeared in the centre-right broadsheets – *The Times (London)* and *The Daily Telegraph (London)* more than any other speakers. However, the centre-left newspapers – *The Guardian (London)* and *The Independent (London)* gave Chinese citizens more chance to speak rather than the British authorities.

6.5 Masterframes and discussion

The following analysis and discussion is constructed by the division of two sets of masterframes – ethno-nationalist and liberal individualist frames. The demonstration of each masterframe is based on categorised evidence from news coverage, which is sorted into the three main subject areas shared in the reporting of both tragic events - Chinese illegal immigrants as victims, the human trafficking behind the tragedies and Britain's immigration policies. These three dimensions of reporting are summarised from the themes of selected news articles.

6.6 Masterframes of ethno-nationalism

In general, from the ethno-nationalist point of view, China as an illegal immigration operation and the Chinese as a group of 'ghosts' living invisibly in Britain are attributed to the ethnic root. The impression of a single incident or from a small group of Chinese can be taken as the image of the whole ethnic nation. In other words, all Chinese share the same characteristics as they belong to the same nation. Based on such a perception, there were calls for Chinese asylum seekers and illegal immigrants to be sent home and for immigration policies to be toughened.

6.6.1 The 'ghost nation' and pleas for tougher border control

In the Dover tragedy, 8.2% of the total news articles published contained criticism of the Chinese immigrants' illegal status and potential threat this posed to the host country. However, this topic gained less attention compared to the coverage that was sympathetic towards the Chinese victims (13.0% of total number). *The Herald (Glasgow)* published an article with the title 'Nation of ghosts hidden beneath the respectable surface of Britain' (June 21, 2000). The descriptions of the two participant groups forms an 'ideological square', Chinese illegal immigrants being described as an invisible, hidden group whereas Britain is regarded with respect. The negative side of Chinese illegal immigrants has been emphasised with their description as a potential danger; while the positive term 'respectable' is used to refer to Britain. Within the content, the Chinese are treated as a group with no basic human rights but as 'a ghost population which services the restaurant

trade and appears on no voters' roll'. They are also referred to as 'an ethnic nation'. Thus, the ethnicity and invisibility of the immigrants are connected back to China (as a nation) being a potential threat or danger to Britain.

After the deaths of Chinese immigrants, human trafficking and illegal immigration overtook drugs to become the most urgent issue for the legislature and the government amid press and public pleas for the tightening of immigration policies. There were 31 articles between the two incidents discussing whether immigration policies should be tougher or looser. 4 of them suggested that deporting Chinese illegal immigrants and forbidding any more to come to Britain were the solutions to reduce illegal immigration. As a result, the Chinese immigrants were blamed for their own miseries. For instance, *Yorkshire Post* made a claim that '[i]llegal Chinese immigrants should be deported on sight. The government should get tough and stop any others from entering' (February 16, 2004).

6.6.2 The Chinese Mafia

According to estimated statistics provided by the United Nations, '[A]t least 200m people are the victims of a growing world trade in human beings 15 times the number of slaves shipped across the Atlantic to America over four centuries' (*Sunday Business*, June 25, 2000). The traffic in illegal immigrants, prostitutes and sweatshop workers from developing countries is growing rapidly nowadays. These illegal migrant workers make up a large proportion of the workforce in the main industries and issues such as exploitation and violence as well as lack of health care have become common problems. Similarly, in this case, human traffickers and the black market behind the trade are mainly blamed for the deaths of the Chinese immigrants.

A police investigation was launched soon after the incidents and some key suspects were arrested. Human trafficking was believed to be directly responsible for the Chinese deaths in both tragedies. The list of headlines below gives examples of how the human traffickers are referred to in the headlines. Victims and perpetrators are always portrayed in opposite ways in the reporting of incidents or crimes, with sympathy paid to the victims and the

criticisms made of the criminals. The phrases such as ‘evil’, ‘peril’ and ‘guilty’ used to describe the perpetrators contrast strongly with the words used in relation to the Chinese victims – ‘despair’, ‘dying cocklers’, ‘slaves’ and so on.

Evil behind this 21st century slave trade (*The Express*, June 21, 2000)

Supply and demand, profit and peril (*The Sunday Herald*, June 25, 2000)

Migrants at the mercy of gangs and the tides (*The Times*, February 7, 2004)

The Chinese gangs were specifically blamed for the deaths by most newspapers. Amongst all the newspapers that investigated the human trafficking behind both incidents, the majority of articles (15 out of 19) believed the Chinese gangs should take full responsibility for the deaths (78.9% of total the number). The *Financial Times* (*London*) claimed that the Dover tragedy ‘represents one of the most tragic outcomes wrought by China’s Snakeheads, or smugglers of illegal immigrants’ (June 21, 2000). The ‘snakeheads’ and ‘smugglers’ are specifically identified as Chinese. That is to say, a presupposition is made by the reporter asserting that all the criminals involved were Chinese. Similarly, *The Herald* (*Glasgow*) directly named these gangsters as ‘Chinese Mafia’ who ‘launder money or indulge in drug distribution’ or ‘dangle the prospect of a chosen son or daughter being smuggled into the West to earn relatively untold wealth to support the family back in the motherland’ (June 21, 2000).

Furthermore, *The Scotsman* linked China’s recent increase in asylum seeking applications to the UK with the deaths at Dover,

China, where the illegal smuggling operation that ended in the deaths of 58 people in a lorry at Dover began, has overtaken Sri Lanka as the country providing the largest number of asylum applicants, according to Home Office figures released yesterday. (June 27, 2000)

Accordingly, China has not only been blamed for causing the disaster that killed 58 people in a lorry at Dover, but also been criticised for an ‘illegal smuggling operation’ and the increasing number of Chinese asylum seekers in Britain. In other words, the deaths at Dover and the number of Chinese asylum applicants were both connected with China,

which was believed to be the source of human trafficking and smuggling because of its incomplete border control and immigration system. In short, the label Chinese has been related to the traffickers and smugglers and in turn they are attributed to China as an ethnic nation.

The two headlines in the following below also demonstrate that the Chinese government's control on its illegal emigration was counted as a factor when the human trafficking issue was brought up for discussion. Again, the same point of view on China's responsibilities appears in the discussion of a crackdown on human trafficking. As the asylum seekers and illegal immigrants are from China, China is responsible for the tragic deaths as the consequence of the illegal immigration trade.

Straw plea to China on migrants (The Guardian (London), June 26, 2000)

Britain acts to stem increase in Chinese asylum seekers (The Scotsman, June 27, 2000)

6.7 Masterframes of liberal individualism

In general, from the liberal individualist point of view, Chinese immigrants enjoy maximum freedom to chase a better life for themselves. Hence, sympathy was paid to them when their lives were taken as a result of illegal human trafficking and smuggling. It is also believed that everyone should be equal and have equal rights, duties and opportunities regardless of race, class, gender, sex, etc. When Chinese illegal immigrants were treated as 'cheap labour' and 'slaves', the advocate for basic human rights and social recognition came from the liberal individualist perspective. Furthermore, in the debates on immigration policies, the liberal individualists pleaded for a loosening of border controls allowing more skills immigrants to contribute to the British economy.

6.7.1 Sympathies for Chinese victims

The perception of Chinese victims in the news coverage of both tragedies comes from three perspectives of reporting – tragic moments and memorials for victims, causes of the Chinese victims fleeing to Britain, and Chinese illegal migrant workers' situations in

Britain. After 58 Chinese lost their lives at Dover, nearly one fifth of total articles (25 out of 134) concentrated their attention on covering Chinese victims and the experiences of Chinese asylum seekers in Britain. In the Morecambe Bay case, almost the same proportion of articles (25 out of 120) was printed on Chinese cockle pickers' hope for a better life and their difficult situation in Britain as illegal workers.

The following analysis is based on the three perspectives suggested above and explain how the liberal individualist masterframe has been involved in different subjects and arguments adopted by newspapers.

6.7.1.1 The tragic moments and memorials

10 articles from the Dover case and 8 articles from the Morecambe Bay case share the theme of the Chinese victims' last moments in both tragedies. The description can be found in both the headlines and the news texts. First of all, Table 6.9 below gathers headlines which describe Chinese victims' suffering during their last moments. In 2000, 58 Chinese men left their wives and children for a trip which turned out to be their last. *The Times* and *Daily Record* published one article each on the same day with headlines describing the Chinese victims as 'clad only in rags' and their 'last journey' as a 'hell hole trip' as well as using the phrase 'nightmare memories' (June 21, 2000). The Chinese victims' desperation to make a fortune in order to lift their families out of poverty back home was seen as the main driving force for them to take such long journey, ultimately leading to their deaths, as *Daily Mail (London)* put in its headline 'Snake road to hell; six thousand miles from Dover, a Mail writer uncovers the despair and the evil men behind Britain's worst ever asylum tragedy' (June 24, 2000). The phrases 'the despair' and 'the evil men' are used in order to emphasise the opposing images of the Chinese victims and the criminals responsible. The tragedy made the victims' hometown into a 'widow's village', according to *The Independent* (June 25, 2000).

Headlines No.5 to 8 capture Chinese cockle pickers' last moments on Morecambe Bay before their lives were taken by the tides. The devastating scene was rebuilt in order to

evoke the generous sympathy of readers. When the cockle pickers were in the situation where the tragedy was ‘in waiting’, one ‘dying cockler’ made a ‘frantic phone call’ to say last his goodbye to his family. These headlines would catch readers’ attention and encourage them to read through the sad stories. (See the list as below)

They took their last journey clad only in rags (*The Times*, June 21, 2000)

We survived hell hole trip that killed 58; human cargo; Dover tragedy brings back nightmare memories (*Daily Record*, June 21, 2000)

Snake road to hell; six thousand miles from Dover, a Mail writer uncovers the despair and the evil men behind Britain’s worst ever asylum tragedy (*Daily Mirror*, June 24, 2000)

Focus: As Dover counts the cost, a village in China says goodbye to its men; so many men have fled to the West from willow grove, on China’s Fujian coast, that it has earned the nickname ‘widows’village’ (*The Independent*, June 25, 2000)

Dying cockler called his wife (*Evening Chronicle - Newcastle*, February 11, 2004)

‘I am up to my waist in water...I am going to die’ (*The Evening Standard*, February 11, 2004)

Frantic phone call from man trapped by tide (*The Times*, February 11, 2004)

A tragedy in waiting... (*UK Newsquest Regional Press – This is Lancashire*, February 16, 2004)

6.7.1.2 Searching for a better life

Every year, millions of people leave their home countries by crossing international borders. Most of them move for economic reasons, such as hunting for jobs or joining their relatives. Immigrants move from a poor country to a richer one in search of a better life. On the other hand, those countries with fast-growing economies have a high demand for cheap labour or highly skilled workers. ‘One reason why much of the world has enjoyed a sustained economic boom with low inflation in the past decade is that the effective global workforce is expanding so fast.’ (Roberts, 2008:4) Rich countries are short of skilled workers for their rapidly growing economies, so immigrants are much needed. In Britain and America, ‘foreigners typically make up 10-15% of the labour force and their share is rising’ (Roberts, 2008:6). In this case, the poverty back home was revealed by newspapers as one of the main factors causing Chinese victims’ to flee to Britain searching for higher incomes.

Newspapers explored the causes of Chinese immigrants’ coming to Britain in both incidents. 9 articles from the Dover case and 3 from the Morecambe Bay case were

published on this topic. As shown as below, the list of selected headlines seeks to reveal what drove the Chinese to come to Britain as illegal immigrants. Poverty back in China was believed as the main reason, which is directly supported by headline No. 5. The significant profit from human trafficking and smuggling was seen as the biggest motivation behind such crimes. The phrase ‘the new slavery’ in *The Sunday Herald* refers to the form of forced labour that the Chinese illegal immigrants were subjected to, to be treated as the property of smugglers, without any social status or human rights. The adjective ‘new’ not only emphasises the fact that slavery still exists nowadays, but also indicates that human smuggling has become a form of slavery.

As the deaths of 58 Chinese people found in a lorry at Dover are investigated, a man living in a Devon asylum-seekers’ hostel explains what made him risk everything to flee his country (Express & Echo - Exeter, June 21, 2000)

Focus: The Dover immigrant tragedy: special report: why people are dying to come to Britain: the deaths of 58 Chinese at Dover revealed the full extent of a criminal trade in human misery that looks set to force Europe to open up its borders (The Observer, June 25, 2000)

The new slavery; Morecambe drowning highlights a Sinister world of gangsters and human traffic; they came from China and were forced to work for a pittance in Britain. Torcuil Crichton and Hector McKenzie in Beijing uncover the trail which led to tragedy (The Sunday Herald, February 8, 2004)

Cockler deaths: ‘Our life is bloody hard here’: Last week 19 people, most Chinese, died while picking cockles in Morecambe Bay. What drives migrant workers to take such risks? Jonathan Watts reports from Fujian province while, right, a Chinese cockler tells her story (The Guardian, February 9, 2004)

A tragedy caused by poverty (UK Newsquest Regional Press - This is Local London, February 13, 2004)

Aside from the poverty in some regions of southern China, historical and cultural traditions could also explain why victims primarily came from particular parts of the Fujian province and what made them risk everything to work in Britain.

In Fujian, three major counties are home to a large number of illegal immigrants – Changle, Fuqing and Lianjiang. There are three major social and cultural bases for such irregular immigration. First of all, the people of these coastal regions of China have a long historical tradition of making fortunes or joining rich relatives abroad due to the maritime character

of Fujian back to the ninth century. Many Fujianese ‘relied on the sea for their subsistence, which in turn not only fostered the extraordinary seafaring spirit of the Fujianese, but also promoted their emigration mentality and the immigration waves to foreign lands which have occurred intermittently over the last 11 centuries’ (Chin, 2003:60). America, Britain and Japan are the favoured destinations for Fujianese immigrants.

Secondly, the desire for a better quality of life encouraged people to migrate or join their relatives abroad in order to send home ‘the kind of money that it is not possible in Fujian Province, China to make by farming or fishing’ (*Daily Mail*, February 14 2004). However, ‘These are not desperate people fleeing for their lives. These are men and women who have paid up to £20,000 each to be smuggled into Britain.’ (*Sunday Mercury*, June 25 2000) Fujian has been a relatively prosperous region in China in recent years. Hence, ‘[E]conomics, it seems, not poverty or political persecution’ is the main driving force for illegal immigration.

Particularly in the newspaper coverage of the Chinese cocklers tragedy, Chinese immigrants’ search for better life has been reported entirely from a liberal perspective. *Liverpool Daily Echo* on February 11, 2004 put in its headline – ‘Chinese prepared to risk all for better life in the West’. The same newspaper wrote a similar headline two days later – ‘Rachael Tinniswood: Tragic search for better way of life’. In the article, aside from the deep sympathy the reporter paid to Chinese victims, she also made the comment that ‘They weren’t asylum seekers. They weren’t the victims of a dictatorship regime. They just wanted a good lifestyle. And they took a risk to get it which ultimately cost them their lives’ (February 13, 2004). These cocklers came out of their hometown looking for the dream of a better life.

Thirdly, an important reason why they risked everything to work in Britain is the traditional Chinese value – ‘to save one’s face’. Anyone who could not bring a large amount of money back from abroad would feel shamed compared to relatives or friends who had sent money back home or built new houses for families. This competition drives

hundreds and hundreds of Fujianese to try their luck in foreign countries.

6.7.1.3 Chinese migrant workers as cheap labour

Immigrants are beneficial for the growing economy of host countries, but the latter do not necessarily think so. ‘A poll in November 2007, for France 24, found that 55% of Spaniards consider immigrants a boon for their economy, and so do 50% of Italians, but only 42% of Britons and Germans and a mere 30% of French respondents.’ (Robert, 2008:5) One of the most popular explanations is that hosts fear that immigrants would take their jobs. ‘Around half of the new jobs created in Britain today are filled by immigrants, often because they have skills that the locals lack (from plumbing to banking) or because natives scorn the work (from picking fruit to caring for the elderly).’ (ibid.:6) Another reason for not being popular in these countries is that immigrants put an additional load on public services and the tax system. For example, in Britain, local councils often receive complaints from residents about rising crime levels caused by foreign immigrants.

In recent years, the anti-migration view has become the mainstream in political debate on immigration. In Britain, former Prime Minister Gordon Brown was challenged by the idea of ‘British jobs for British workers’. His opposite number, Conservatives’ leader David Cameron, also suggested lower a rate of immigration. All the benefits host countries get from immigrants point to more immigration being desirable. However, the hostility to immigration in the press and amongst the general public gave politicians a hard time in making their decisions.

Due to the differences between the two incidents, in that the Chinese illegal immigrants died before they reached their destination in the Dover case, while the Chinese worked as illegal migrant workers before the tragedy happened in the case of Morecombe Bay, the reporting on Chinese workers as cheap labour and slaves is concentrated in the Morecombe Bay case with 10% of the total number of articles. As a summary of headlines with descriptions of the hard working environment and low living standard of Chinese immigrants, The following list of headlines displays evidence of how Chinese illegal

immigrants lived and worked as ‘slaves’ in the UK. Living ‘in squalor’, facing a ‘housing crisis’ and being paid ‘11p an hour’ or ‘1 pound a day’, they were not only the victims of cockle picking, but also the victims of ‘the new slave trade’.

‘They fill a void in the labour market, but have no rights’ (*The Independent*, February 7, 2004)

Like turner’s slaves, the Chinese cocklers were the market’s innocent victims *The (Daily Telegraph*, February 7, 2004)

Voice of the Sunday Mirror: sad victims of the new slave trade (*Sunday Mirror*, February 8, 2004)

Sunday Mirror investigates: 11p an hour...pounds 1 a day; scandal of cockle slaves beating and rape threats to terrified (*Sunday Mirror*, February 8, 2004)

Cockle pickers lived in squalor (*The Journal - Newcastle*, February 9, 2004)

Cockler deaths: ‘Our life is bloody hard here: Last week 19 people, most Chinese, died while picking cockles in Morecambe Bay. What drives migrant workers to take such risks? Jonathan Watts reports from Fujian province while, right, a Chinese cockler tells her story (*The Guardian*, February 9, 2004)

Cocklers face housing crisis (*Liverpool Daily Echo*, February 11, 2004)

Give Chinese cockle-pickers a chance (*The Daily Telegraph*, February 13, 2004)

Cheap labour (*The Daily Telegraph*, February 18, 2004)

The first headline states that Chinese immigrants fill a gap in the labour market, as affirmation by *The Independent* that migrant workers have made positive contribution to the British economy. However, due to their illegal status, they were ‘invisible workers’ and had ‘no rights, no papers, little English, and are often in debt to the ruthless gangmasters who bring them into Britain’, according to *The Herald (Glasgow)* (February 7, 2004). The following two headlines reveal the vulnerable position the Chinese workers were in when they were subject to human trafficking. Compared to the criminals and black marketeers behind the illegal trade, they were only ‘sad’ and ‘innocent’ victims.

The difficult living and working environment for the immigrants has been given more detailed description in headlines No.4 to 7. Their extraordinary low pay, poor living conditions and their own expressions of their situation give readers a more concrete picture of what has been going on in the Chinese workers’ lives. *The Daily Telegraph* pleaded for an amnesty on Chinese cockle pickers due to their status in the situation as the only victims.

In the news content, *The Independent (London)* commented on February 7, 2004 that ‘Every day thousands of migrant labourers work in appalling conditions, an invisible mass until a tragedy highlights their plight’. It revealed the size of the entire population of unrecognised illegal migrant workers and indicated the danger of having similar tragedies happen again. The word ‘invisible’ appeared again in *The Journal (Newcastle, UK)* three days later. It said ‘There are no days of rest, no holiday pay and no recreation. This is not asylum seeking. It is not economic migration. It is slavery.’ (February 10, 2004) The investigation after the incidents revealed that these victims had paid £2,000 to snakeheads before leaving China and then owed roughly £1,500 to the gangs to gain employment after arriving at their destination. Therefore, the Chinese immigrants had no choice but to work without basic human rights and the protection of the law in order to pay money back to gangsters as part of the fee for being smuggled to Britain as well as to save for their families at home.

To sum up, Chinese illegal migrant workers were sent to Britain as part of the slavery trade, having no rights and poor living conditions. Meanwhile, Britain benefited from their contribution to the economy, as *The Daily Telegraph (London)* argued that ‘These Chinese workers hadn’t been abusing our generosity; we’d been benefiting from their desperation’ (February 13, 2004). To put it another way, newspapers which covered this theme tended to approve of international immigration due to its economic contributions.

6.7.2 British black economy: the culprit for the deaths?

Rather than Chinese gangsters, the liberals viewed that the profits behind the smuggling trade were due to the British ‘black economy’. Relevant articles take up to 21.2% of all the newspaper articles that investigated the human trafficking behind both incidents. The relationship between supply and demand can be simply explained; ‘not everyone is entitled to a legal job, and the black economy has been greedily swallowing up the Fujianese who cannot get proper work’, according to *The Times* (February 7, 2004). Due to the large profits involved, there was no sign that the black economy was going to go into decline. It was believed that this has been a ‘£20 billion-a-year trade in illegal immigrants’

(*Birmingham Post*, June 26 2000) which could earn the criminal gangs ‘a profit of up to £15 million’ (*The People*, June 25, 2000). According to *The Sunday Herald*, ‘[T]he global refugee trade is estimated to be worth \$7 billion annually, and each year some 350,000 people are illegally trafficked into the UK, in addition to the 700,000 asylum-seekers who enter by other means’ (June 25, 2000).

Both headlines shown as below, not only reveal the nature of the slavery trade but also expose the shocking truth of the black economy in Britain. ‘Cowboy capitalism’, advocated by Ronald Reagan’s Government, refers to the American capitalist model (including the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland and the United Kingdom) which is different from the social market economy or the managed capitalism in Continental Europe and Japan. *The Guardian* here blamed the model of ‘free market’ economics as being responsible for the rise of human trafficking and smuggling, which involves enormous profits. *The Sunday Herald* described it as ‘a sinister world of gangsters and human traffic’. *The Observer* not only revealed the ‘violent exploitation’ characteristic of Britain’s ‘black economy’, but also indicated that the situation was getting more and more out of control as the black economy was ‘flourishing’.

Comment & analysis: The underbelly of globalisation: the Chinese workers who died were victims of cowboy capitalism (*The Guardian*, February 7, 2004)

UK gangmasters control 100,000 slave labourers: Tony Thompson reveals the scale of violent exploitation behind Britain’s flourishing back economy (*The Observer*, February 15, 2004)

Furthermore, the criticism over Britain’s black economy also suggested that China should not be the only one to be blamed for the human trafficking and the tragedies caused by it. Chinese gangs would be in the trafficking business if there was no market for it abroad. Thus, the black economy is the wider social context and human trafficking is an international crime across borders. Additionally, when the tragedies were linked with the recent increase in Chinese asylum seekers, it was believed to be the potential cause of the deaths, although *The Sunday Herald* also argued that these are separate issues. It clarified that ‘while there is undoubted evidence of snakehead syndicate involvement in the

trafficking of Chinese nationals, they do not represent the most significant nationality attempting illegal entry. Home office figures show that more Yugoslav, Sri Lankan and Iraqi nationals are intercepted attempting to enter the UK than Chinese' (June 25, 2000)

6.7.3 Immigration control by loosening the border?

Different from the idea of tightening the border and limiting immigration, a typical liberal point of view of immigration policies or legislation from *The Independent (London)* is,

Monday's deaths were not the result of laxness, but a direct and inevitable consequence of previous "toughness". Yet heavier penalties on people - smuggling, and tougher curbs on entry, will just push up the price to the poor immigrant and increase the danger and the violence in which he or she is imported. Just as with drugs. (June 21, 2000)

This article explained the relationship between tough border controls and increasing illegal immigration. It believed that 'tough' immigration policies would result in causing more similar tragedies in future, arguing that the difficulty of getting into the country legally would force immigrants to turn to illegal methods, which could possibly take their lives. This is to say, tight policies could not prevent immigrants coming, but rather encourage them to take illegal measures to get in.

The Sunday Herald published two articles on June 25, 2000 on the same theme and expressed similar point of views in relation to Britain's crackdown on human trafficking. One titled 'Why Britain is making a bad situation even worse' argued that the British government has not only failed to curb illegal immigration, but actually made the situation even worse. It suggested that the effect of measures for combating traffickers 'has been to dramatically decrease the possibility of deceptive immigration (passing through regular immigration channels with forged documents) and increase the demand for clandestine immigration (avoiding regular immigration checks by concealment with containers etc). This increase is confirmed by the Home Office's own figures'. The other argued that 'the harder Britain makes it for people to flee persecution and try to enter, the more desperate their attempts become' (*The Sunday Herald*, June 25, 2000). As a result, loosening border

controls was suggested by the liberals as a solution.

There are 9 out of 17 articles in case of the Dover tragedy and only 2 out of 11 articles in case of the Morecambe Bay tragedy concerning the debates on illegal immigration that were against the conventional crackdown on human trafficking. It was suggested that British immigration policy should be loosened rather than tightened. For instance, *The Sunday Herald* argued that the policy should be ‘marginally more rational’, so it ‘would demand fewer sacrifices of people who only want to offer us their time and their energy’ (June 25, 2000). Also, *The Independent* suggested a more liberal and humanised policy as,

Perhaps before we can frame a rational and humane policy for letting people in, we need to be reminded that they are indeed people...the dead Lius and Chens deserve somebody to remind us that they paid the price, not just for their own wish to live better, but for our exclusiveness. (June 21, 2000)

The reporter particularly emphasised that humanity be considered as part of immigration policy making. Chinese immigrants’ deaths reflect the ‘exclusiveness’ of British culture, which also challenges so-called ‘multiculturalism’ in Britain.

Another liberal view on the immigration rules came from *Scotland on Sunday* which also pointed to the ‘ethical’ issues attached to Britain’s foreign policy. ‘Human rights’ called for serious consideration, as the article argues,

What is possible is the development of policies which relieve the pressure on the countries of emigration of the 21st century, and which allow their people’s energies to find wider scope within their borders. This kind of thinking is the good part of the much abused ethical foreign policy: a project to spread a respect for human rights more widely...For the moment, calls for more liberal immigration rules do more to make us liberals feel good than convince any government composed of men and women who wish to be re-elected. (June 25, 2000)

The quote above fully expresses the view that everyone has individuality and freedom to exercise his/her will. Also, every human being should be treated equally regardless of their

race, ethnicity, class, sex or gender. To put it another way, this quote expresses that immigration policy making should be made based on respect for human beings as individuals, each of whom should be treated without prejudice or discrimination.

Similarly, *UK Newsquest Regional Press – This is Local London* believed tightening immigration policy would not decrease or stop human trafficking. It said,

The tragedy of the Chinese cockle pickers and other casualties in the Morecambe sounds cannot be effectively prevented from happening again with tougher penalties for the gang members who exploited the illegal immigrants and asylum seekers. (February 13, 2004)

Rather than use the ‘blame the victim’ strategy, the liberals focus on social strategies to ease the problem. For example, *The Herald (Glasgow)* suggested more social services needed to be built up for asylum seekers and their families whose rights should be protected (June 29, 2000). *Coventry Evening Telegraph* also showed its support for refugees against ‘racially-motivated attacks and negative stereotyping of refugees’. It said, ‘These people are desperate to leave their own countries to escape war, poverty or discrimination, and will do anything to get somewhere safe’ (June 24, 2000).

6.8 Comparisons between newspapers

Among all coded national and regional newspapers, the variety of news coverage has made the frequency of reporting more evenly spread between newspapers, as opposed to a few papers dominating the coverage. Comparatively speaking, the centre-left broadsheets *The Guardian (London)* and *The Independent (London)* as well as two regional newspapers – *The Evening Standard (London)* and *The Herald (Glasgow)* published most articles on the Dover case; while the right-wing broadsheets *The Times (London)* and *The Daily Telegraph (London)* as well as two regional newspapers – *Daily Post (Liverpool)* and *Liverpool Daily Echo* published most articles on Morecambe Bay tragedy during the sample period. *The Evening Standard (London)* and *Liverpool Daily Echo* are the two most widely read evening newspapers in the UK. Hence, it is not difficult to explain their high media coverage of both events.

The news coverage of the Dover case shows more interest in debates on border control and immigration policy; whereas in the Chinese cockler case, cracking down on illegal immigration was seen as the first priority for British government. To be more specific, nearly 10% of articles discuss human trafficking and smuggling in the Morecambe Bay case, compared with only 6.0% of articles in the Dover case. Additionally, nearly a quarter of articles (24.2% of the total number) in the Morecambe Bay case support a crackdown on illegal immigration and human trafficking, as well as tougher regulations on gang crime and the cockling business; while this topic is less popular in the Dover case with only 9.2% of the total number of articles.

Furthermore, after the death of Chinese illegal immigrants at Dover, the debates over the situation of asylum, refugee and illegal immigration have become popular in the newspapers. Nearly 10% of articles were concerned about immigration policies and border controls and how they should be changed to meet the government's needs. Additionally, newspapers tended to concentrate on revealing the British black economy behind human trafficking after Chinese cocklers' deaths with 9.2% of total articles (n=11). In general, the left-wing dominated news coverage focused its attention on the discussion of either tightening or loosening border controls in the Dover case; whilst the conservative dominated news coverage made stronger arguments to fight against illegal immigration and the British black economy in the Morecambe Bay incident.

Last but not least, *The Times (London)* and *The Daily Telegraph (London)* quoted the British legal workers more than any other speakers; whereas the left-wing newspapers – *The Guardian (London)* and *The Independent (London)* gave more space to Chinese citizens.

The analysis of relations between masterframes is based on the results from content analysis and discourse analysis. In terms of quantifying whether one masterframe dominates the other and the relationship between both masterframes over individual issues, two qualifying criteria have been adopted. Firstly, what is the theme of the article? Hence,

all articles are sorted into three categories - Chinese illegal immigrants as victims, Human trafficking behind the tragedies and Britain's immigration policies. Secondly, what frame is behind the argument over the topic? In some cases both masterframes exist on the same topic.

Table 6.7: Statistics of masterframes on selected subjects

| Subject | Ethno-nationalist masterframe | Liberal individualist masterframe |
|--|--|---|
| Chinese illegal immigrants as victims | Criticism over Chinese immigrants' illegal status and potential threat to Britain – 8.2% | Sympathy paid to the Chinese victims – 14.5% What drove Chinese to come to Britain illegally – 10.5% |
| Human trafficking behind the tragedies | The Chinese gangs should take full responsibility for the deaths - 78.9% | British black economy - 24.2% |
| Britain's immigration policies | Pleas for the tightening the immigration policies – 7.5% | Pleas for the loosening the immigration policies – 2.5% |

Table 6.7 above illuminates the struggle between the two frames. To be more specific, the ethno-nationalist masterframe dominates the reporting by having the majority of coverage criticising Chinese gangs for the tragedies and connecting the incidents to China as an illegal immigration operation. Hence, it gains more support for tightening controls on entry into Britain rather than opening the border for more immigrants. However, the liberal individualist masterframe was only more prevalent when the reporting focused on the tragic stories of Chinese immigrants.

6.9 Summary

This case explores the competition between two masterframes on each topic and reflects the differences in political views and ideologies between the newspapers.

First of all, the masterframes of ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism cover all issues reported throughout the periods but focus their concentration on different themes.

From the perspective of ethno-nationalism, Chinese illegal immigrants and their existence have threatened Britain in relation to their invisibility and the slavery trade in which they were involved. Crackdowns on gang crimes and illegal smuggling activities were pleaded for as the first priority for the British government and legislature. Consequently, tightening the immigration policies became necessary in order to stop the illegals (particularly from China) and to control human trafficking activities. Accordingly, Chinese gangs and China's own emigration control have been criticised and linked with the tragedies directly. Hence, measures such as sending Chinese asylum seekers back home were brought up in order to control the asylum and refugee situation in Britain.

On the contrary, with the premise that 'the human individual is of primary importance in the struggle for liberation' (Brown, 1993:10), the masterframe of liberal individualism highly values human rights and freedom and pays specific attention to what has driven Chinese immigrants to pay such high price (a large smuggling fee to the gangsters and the risk of losing lives) in coming to Britain. The huge efforts made and risks taken by the immigrants show how highly they prize the individual freedoms that they seek. Arguments are made to loosen Britain's border controls to let more skilled immigrants to enter the country legally, in order to contribute to Britain's economy given its falling population.

Secondly, the struggle between the two masterframes is not totally balanced over different issues. The liberal individualist masterframe dominated the reporting in expressing sympathy and concern for Chinese victims of the tragedies and the slavery trade. Over the discussion of what made the Chinese come to Britain and of their difficult situation in Britain, their 'struggle for liberation' as the reason to look for better life in Britain was approved of based on basic humanity and the freedom of individuals. With a much smaller proportion of the total coverage, the ethno-nationalist frame also contributed its views by identifying the Chinese illegal workers as an ethnic nation of 'ghosts' threatening Britain and describing China as an illegal immigration operation due to the tragic incidents and increasing number of Chinese asylum seekers in Britain.

Over the discussion of human trafficking and the slavery trade behind the tragedies, the ethno-nationalist masterframe overtook liberal individualism and became dominant. Within such a frame, newspapers used the strategy of 'blame the victim' accusing China of causing the disasters and being an illegal immigration operation. Over the debates on immigration policies and regulations, the ethno-nationalist views played a dominant role, believing crackdowns on illegal immigrants and the tightening of border controls would be the most effective ways to reduce human trafficking and smuggling. Nearly 40% of all articles discussing immigration policies were under this frame. Liberal views of opening the borders were also adopted by newspapers, but less frequently than the ethno-nationalist views.

CHAPTER 7

Reporting two great earthquakes: a new face of China compared to three decades ago

7.1 Introduction and chapter outline

The newspaper coverage of two of the largest natural disasters in Chinese history - the 1976 Tangshan Earthquake and 2008 Sichuan Earthquake was chosen for analysis in this case. They are, at the time of writing, the biggest earthquakes in terms of magnitude, quake damage and death toll as well as aftermath impact since the People's Republic of China was formally established in 1949. British news coverage of both disasters showed different quantities of reporting as well as various perspectives from which the stories were told. This chapter aims at investigating the differences in reporting between the two events and how perspectives had changed over the time between the two earthquakes. The theories of 'Orientalism' and 'liberal democracy' (as the specific forms of ethno-nationalism and liberal individualism) were examined in order to investigate how they worked with each other and how the balance between them shifted over time.

For the 1976 Tangshan Earthquake, three national newspapers - *The Times*, *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mirror* - were selected for analysis. There were in total 58 news articles containing the keywords 'China' and 'earthquake' covering a period of 12 months - from July 28, 1976 to July 27, 1977. 42 articles were selected as being valuable for analysis. For the recent Sichuan Earthquake, this Chapter discusses how *all* British national newspapers reported on the earthquake and its aftermath during the following year. There were 827 articles which contained the keywords 'China' and 'earthquake' covering the period of 12 months from May 13, 2008 to May 12, 2009. From these, 377 valuable articles (45.6% of total number) were chosen for quantitative and qualitative analysis.

In order to explore how British national newspapers framed China and the Chinese in their reporting on these two massive earthquakes in two separate periods, the following analysis is divided into four sections. It begins with the concepts in the literature of Orientalism and

liberal democracy, which were examined in the news analysis. Orientalism and liberal democracy are two separate systems of concepts. However, both are the lenses through which the West observes the East and they are the frames embedded in Western media representations of the East. Essentially, Orientalism is a form of racism and it seeks to highlight the differences between the East and the West from two aspects – the exotic aspect and the barbarian aspect. On the other hand, liberal democracy is the measuring stick the West uses to see if the East meets Western democratic standards. The second section introduces the historical and socio-cultural backgrounds of both earthquakes, followed by the two sets of frames identified from the results of the content analysis and discourse analysis. How the two frames cooperate or compete with each other and the balance between them are the primary questions to answer. The comparisons of frames as well as newspapers in two separate periods are summarised in the last conclusion section.

7.2 Background of both earthquakes in Chinese history

7.2.1 The 1976 Tangshan Earthquake

Political background

American President Richard *Nixon* made his historic 1972 visit to China, four years before the 1976 earthquake. This trip was significant as it marked the beginning of normalising the Sino-American relationship. For a long time before 1972, the relationship was characterised by limited contact, restricted areas of cooperation and asymmetrical interactions, mainly due to the end of the American policy of isolation and containment against China after the Korean War. These two estranged countries had finally made an important step forward.

Meanwhile, this diplomatic engagement also suggested at China's willingness to be more open, resulting in increasing cooperation contact with the US. Since then, trade and economic relations between the two countries have grown dramatically. It was also seen as preparation for China's adoption of openness and economic reform 6 years later.

Furthermore, it is important to take a look at the political atmosphere in China in 1976 and the stage China was at in its history, as the foundation of any further analysis. Two major issues which make 1976 an important year need to be addressed.

Firstly, the earthquake came in one of the most politically sensitive years in the history of the People's Republic of China. During this year, Chinese Prime Minister Zhou En-lai and Chinese military leader and statesman Zhu De died few months before the earthquake; Chairman Mao past away in the same year in September. The political conflicts within China, such as the struggle against Deng Xiaoping became much more dramatic than the quake itself. The 'Gang of Four' filled the press by denouncing Deng and his political proposition. China was wracked by sorrow and uncertainty.

Secondly, it was two years before China began opening up in 1978. It was also the year before China carried out fundamental and significant economic reform called 'Socialism with Chinese characteristics' led by Deng Xiaoping. One of the main goals of the reform was to improve China's economic performance and raise people's living standards. By expanding foreign trade and encouraging foreign companies to invest in China, the country joined the community of the world market.

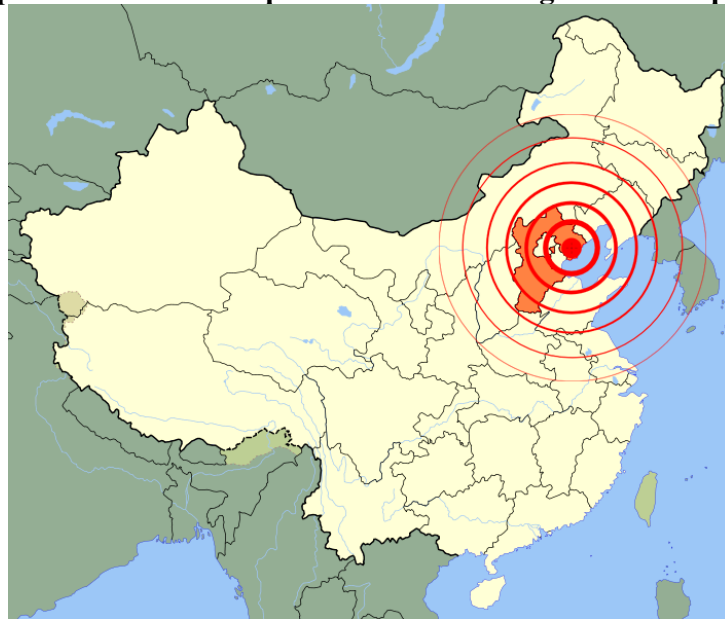
This new 'Open Policy' was successfully applied in some areas of China, although many Chinese doubted the Deng-led revolution since, to a certain degree, it changed the national character and political culture of Mao's tenure.

The reform has been very successful throughout the beginning of the 21st century. One analyst commented that 'China now stands at the threshold of the greatest opportunity in human history: a new economic era promising greater wealth and achievement than any previous epoch' (Gilder, 1990:369). In the process of transition, China has already impressed the world with its achievements in terms of economic success, institutional change, and new international status. For instance, the nation has overcome food shortages despite maintaining the largest population of any country in the world.

The earthquake

The earthquake, which was believed to be the largest one to hit China in the 20th century, occurred with a magnitude of 7.8 on the Richter scale, on July 28, 1976. The epicenter was near Tangshan, Hebei Province in China, an area with approximately 1,000,000 residents. A serious aftershock followed, also at a magnitude of 7.8, worsening the damage and increased the death toll. Since the quake hit in the early morning, many people were still sleeping and not prepared to cope with such a big disaster. The earthquake affected the city over an area of around 4 miles (6.4 km) by 5 miles (8.0 km). Many of the people who survived the initial earthquake were trapped under collapsed buildings and houses. Tremors were felt as far away as Xi'an approximately 470 miles (760 km) away. 85% of the buildings collapsed or were left uninhabitable. (See Figure 7.1)

Figure 7.1: Map of China and the epicentre of 1976 Tangshan Earthquake



(Orlovic, 2008)

However, the statistics coming from Chinese official sources in the wake of the earthquake were controversial. The Chinese government was believed not to be providing accurate damage information and death toll figures in an attempt to create a more harmonious post-quake atmosphere in light of the politically sensitive nature of the time. Some foreign

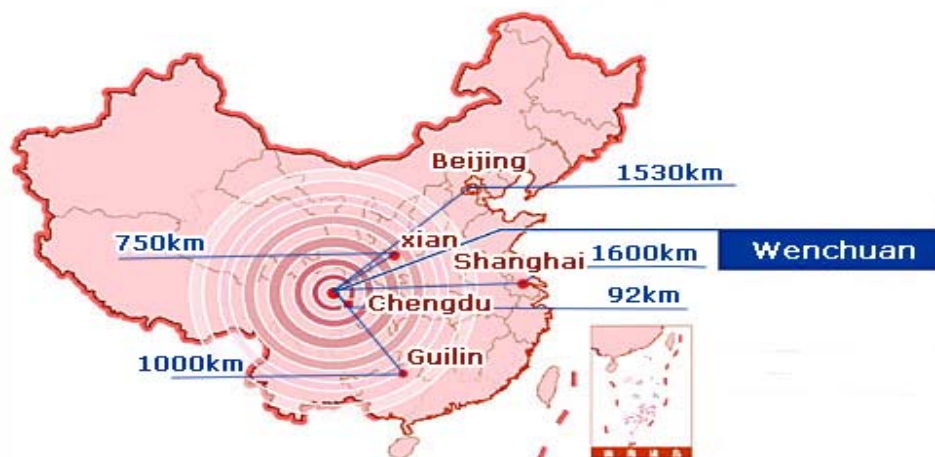
sources estimated that the death toll was three times higher (242,419) than the figure released by the Chinese authorities.

7.2.2 The 2008 Sichuan Earthquake

The Sichuan Earthquake, also called ‘the Great Sichuan Earthquake’ or ‘the Wenchuan Earthquake’, was the deadliest natural disaster in China in the year of 2008, coming less than 3 month before the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympic Games.

The statistics of the earthquake are shocking. On the afternoon of May 12, 2008, it measured at magnitude 8.0 on the Richter scale, with its epicenter in Wenchuan County, 80 kilometers northwest of Chengdu (the capital of Sichuan) affecting at least 7 other provinces - Gansu, Shaanxi, Chongqing, Yunnan, Shanxi, Guizhou and Hubei. (See Figure 7.2) According to an official report from the Chinese Central Government (as of June 23, 2008 12:00 CST), 69,181 were confirmed dead and 374,171 injured, with 18,498 listed as missing (The Central People’s Government of the People’s Republic of China, 2008). Including the following months of aftershocks and further damage, more than 6.5 million homes were damaged and 46 million people’s lives have been affected to different degrees in the vast area.

Figure 7.2: Map of China and the epicentre of 2008 Sichuan Earthquake



(China Highlights, 2010)

People around the country were enthusiastically involved in making donations and volunteering. In almost every government organisation, every company, every factory, even in the villages, people were giving money to help the quake victims. Over 44 billion RMB (3.2 billion GBP) worth of funds and goods, mostly from domestic sources has since been distributed to the quake affected areas, according to the statistics.

This traumatic natural disaster plunged the whole country deeply into grief only three months before one of the biggest events in the country's history - the Beijing Olympics was going to have its opening ceremony. However, in the aftermath of this tragedy, China displayed the image of an open, responsible and caring nation. Compared to three decades earlier, when the Tangshan Earthquake had occurred on July 28, 1976, Chinese media coverage and the government's emergency response had been improved dramatically.

7.2.3 Changes in media coverage - from Tangshan to Wenchuan

On July 28, 1976, the 7.8-magnitude Tangshan earthquake claimed more than 240,000 lives and left millions more injured or homeless. The Chinese national media was full of 'class struggles' as a daily routine, reporting without giving any comprehensive coverage of the earthquake. The earthquake China suffered recently was even more severe. But the media did not treat the event in the same way as they had 32 years before.

First of all, the Xinhua News Agency released a newsflash confirming a big tremor had been detected by the China Earthquake Administration. Within 20 minutes of the earthquake happening China Central Television (CCTV) had begun the non-stop live coverage on the disaster and relief work.

Secondly, the dominant status of the Chinese state-run media had been replaced by domestic and foreign news agencies sharing news sources. In total, there were approximately 550 journalists, including 300 foreigners from 114 overseas news outlets gathered together in the quake zone. Internet and mobile phones were also used as

important ways to catch up with the latest news. Meanwhile, Chinese audiences had become used to getting information from various news channels.

7.2.4 Improvement of the government emergency-response mechanism

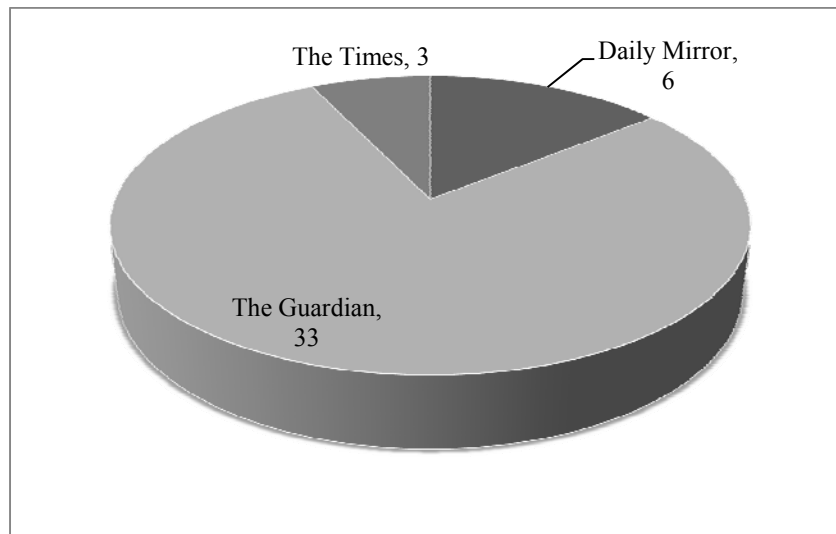
Only ten minutes after the major quake hit, the People's Liberation Army's (PLA) Chengdu Military Command set up an emergency command and control center; three minutes later, a top-down coordination mechanism was kicked off by the Central Military Commission at its Beijing headquarters. President Hu Jintao visited the most devastated areas to show solidarity and the resolution of the whole nation in the face of the natural disaster despite the risk of aftershocks. Within two hours of the quake, Premier Wen Jiabao boarded a hastily-prepared plane to fly to the quake-ravaged counties. He visited Sichuan on three occasions, to meet the survivors and inspect the efforts being made to defuse the later threat from quake lakes. Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee visited quake-hit Sichuan or adjacent provinces that were also affected. They not only tried to comfort people at quake zone, but also demonstrated the central government's determination to ensure things be done the right way. Official statistics showed that more than 130,000 service people and 40,000 local militiamen were deployed in relief work. Millions of tons of relief goods were transported into Sichuan and other affected provinces.

7.3 The 1976 Tangshan Earthquake

7.3.1 General frequencies of reporting

42 valuable articles from the three mainstream newspapers - *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *Daily Mirror* covering the 1976 Tangshan Earthquake are selected for analysis. According to Table 7.3 below, *The Guardian* dominated the news coverage with a contribution of nearly 80% of total related articles (n=33), whereas both *The Times* and *Daily Mirror* only contributed less than one fifth of the total number each.

Figure 7.3: Overall frequencies of reporting, by newspaper - 1976 Tangshan Earthquake



7.3.2 Masterframes and discussion

As discussed earlier, 1976 was a politically sensitive year for China and the Chinese. It was in the period between China recovering Sino-American relations after Richard Nixon's visit in 1972 and China carried out its iconic economic reform in 1978. Politically China was still deeply involved in a class struggle, which was the first priority on the Chinese government's agenda. Economically, China had only just started showing signs of openness by cooperating and trading with the US before it largely opened its door to the outside world two years later. Hence, democracy and freedom in China were still the 'targets' of British news media when covering the earthquake. Both the politicisation of earthquake in the Chinese national media and Chinese journalistic censorship received the most criticism during this period.

7.3.2.1 Politicised earthquake in the Chinese press

Due to the political atmosphere in China in 1970s, the Tangshan Earthquake could not avoid being politicised in the Chinese media's reporting. The power struggles were always linked to the earthquake, although they didn't seem related to each other in any way. *The Guardian*, which dominated the British national news reporting during the year after

earthquake, criticised the connection made between the relief work and the struggle against Deng Xiaoping by Chinese national newspapers. It accused the Chinese media of keeping ‘its bad habit of formalism’, which was seen in the trend that it was ‘obligatory to place the struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping’s line ahead of the struggle against the earthquake, as was done by the People’s Daily in its editorial on the disaster’ (August 6, 1976). The *People’s Daily*, representing the will of the state, was regarded as reporting the authoritative statements of Chinese central government and the Communist Part of China. In other words, criticising The *People’s Daily* equated to criticising the Chinese government. Here, *The Guardian* not only charged the Chinese media with formalising news in reporting the natural disaster, but also criticised the Chinese government for politicising the earthquake and missing the point.

In another example, *The Guardian* reported an order that was issued by the Communist Party warning the Chinese citizens after the Tangshan earthquake that ‘class enemies’ were ‘taking advantage of the earthquake disaster’,

We must heighten our vigilance and guard against sabotage by the bourgeoisie in the party and a handful of class enemies. We must stand ready to expose and deal resolute blows at the sabotage activities of the handful of class enemies taking advantage of the earthquake disaster to make rumours with a view to confusing and poisoning people’s minds. (August 10, 1976)

In this order, apparently ‘bourgeoisie’ and ‘class enemies’ are what the Chinese should guard against and deal with, not the disaster itself. The mixture of the earthquake and political struggles in China suggests that not only the Chinese news media, but also the whole state did not necessarily focus on quake rescue and post-disaster reconstruction as well as pacifying the public as the first priorities. Instead, the reporting of the earthquake was mixed with going-on internal political power struggles, suggesting that the state was putting political issues above humanity.

7.3.2.2 Chinese censorship in journalism

In the Western liberal framework, Chinese journalistic censorship, freedom of speech in China and Chinese political power struggles always attract most attention and discussion. Previous analysis showed that *The Guardian* published the most articles (78.6% of total news coverage) during the year after the 1976 Tangshan Earthquake. This newspaper also contributed the most comments, the majority of which are criticisms. On the one hand, the newspaper approved of China's efforts in the rescue work. 6 out of 33 *Guardian* articles (18.2% of total number) praised the Chinese government's effective rescue and aftermath damage control. For example, *The Guardian* on July 31, 1976 reported that aftershocks could potentially hit China and that citizens of Beijing had to camp on the streets. The picture was described as,

[T]he main impression was one of discipline, organisation, and complete lack of panic. 'The Chinese have been told exactly what to do in case of earthquakes and they are doing it, quietly and without fuss.' (*The Guardian*, July 31, 1976)

'Discipline, organisation and complete lack of panic' shows the high level of organisation of the Chinese government's emergency response and crisis management, which establishes an image of China as a mature country.

On the other hand, nearly 80% of the total articles (4 times of the number of articles approving China's effective rescue) criticised China's censorship in journalism, the Chinese government's emergency-responsive mechanism and the political struggles. To be more specific, first of all, no 'real' figures on the impact of the quake had been released by the Chinese authorities, which had been challenged over and over again by *The Guardian* throughout the sample period. The evidence is gathered in Table 7.4 below.

There is still no official news...the only available reports, all to do with the few foreigners in Tangshan.... (*The Guardian*, July 29, 1976)

[A]gency did not report any damage or casualties. (*The Guardian*, July 30, 1976)

Meanwhile there is still no real news, in the Western sense of the word, from the stricken city that took the main force of the earthquake last week. (*The Guardian*,

August 2, 1976)

The report (of China News Agency) did not disclose how many people were killed in the city. (*The Guardian*, August 4, 1976)

...although the Chinese have given no figures. (*The Guardian*, December 2, 1976)

The Chinese themselves have never released any figures on Tangshan. Officials in Peking asked today about the 1.4 million estimate merely said they could not comment (*The Guardian*, January 6, 1977)

All quotations above relate an argument often appearing in the British media's news coverage of the Tangshan Earthquake – China had not released real statistics of deaths and damage. This charge not only appeared in newspapers in the days immediately following the quake, but carried on until January 1977 – 6 months after the disaster, at which point *The Guardian* expressed the belief that it was unlikely China would publish any quake figures at all. No. 1 and 3 quotations both use the word 'still' to emphasise the amount of time that had passed since the quake without any figures being published.

Secondly, formalism in Chinese journalism. China was seen as a nation that controlled and decided what its national media should or should not report, as evidenced by political propaganda and journalistic censorship. It was believed to be against the freedom of the press - the freedom of communication and expression through the media. On August 4, 1976, a *Guardian* article explained step-by-step how the news was selected before publishing in China.

China is a country where planes never crash, trains are never wrecked, and ships never sink. Transport accidents are never reported except, occasionally, where foreigners are involved....It is not that the Chinese have no reporters. The staff of the New China News Agency will be down with the troops and rescue teams in and around Tangshan, and they will be filing their reports to Peking. But once the copy reaches the capital it is up to the Central Propaganda Bureau, a key party department, to decide what, if anything, shall be published. The stories and articles will be carefully chosen and written to sustain general morale and to provide exemplary narratives illustrating the 'correct political line'.

The process of such news selection is perceived to be the result of Communism in terms of the politicised journalism and restriction in news reporting and free speech. The aim of not

releasing the official numbers relating to the quake was believed to be to try to ‘minimise’ the perception of death and casualties as well as quake damage, in order to ‘fake’ a ‘perfect’ image of China. The following texts are also collected from *The Guardian* regarding criticisms of selection and formalism of the news in Chinese journalism. (See list as below)

Such morbid arithmetic must remain speculation until the Chinese release details, but observers here and in Peking believe they will not do that until well after the emergency is over, and then only in selective fashion. (*The Guardian*, August 2, 1976)

In the face of disasters, China has always tried to manage on its own resources. (This inconsistently does not apply to the import of foreign technology to speed economic advancement). (*The Guardian*, August 2, 1976)

Unfortunately, even at a time of natural disaster, the Chinese press seems unable to shake off its bad habit of formalism. It still appears obligatory to place the struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping’s line ahead of the struggle against the earthquake, as was done by the People’s Daily in its editorial on the disaster. (*The Guardian*, August 6, 1976)

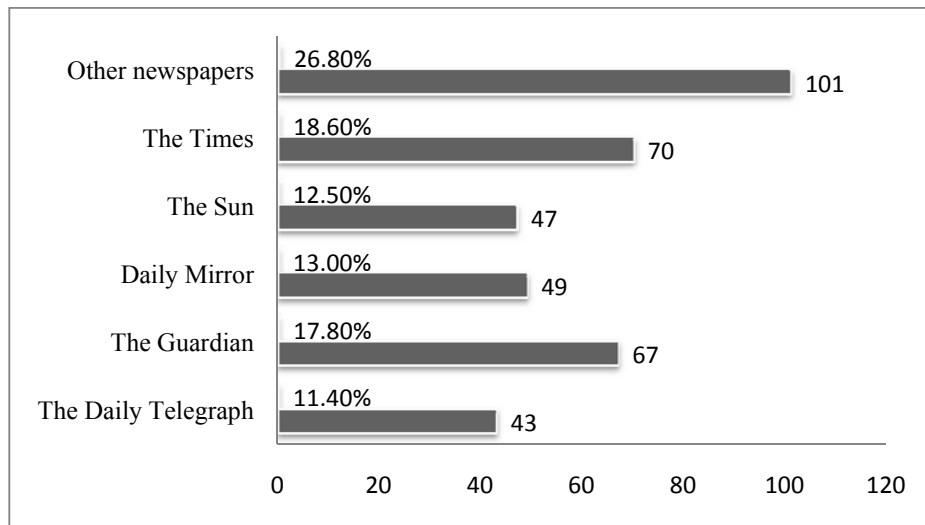
The criticisms above demonstrate that *The Guardian* clearly believed what China did with the quake information was against the idea of Western democracy, for it believed that China would manage the news resources by not releasing quake information until the disaster was over and then only report it selectively. This old and bad ‘habit’ of Chinese journalism was seen as a symbol of Chinese Communism, which reflects the past dictatorship characteristics of China, that politics was above everything and the central government decided everything.

7.4 The 2008 Sichuan Earthquake – a new face of China

7.4.1 General frequencies of reporting

Three decades later, British national newspapers published a larger number of news articles (n=377) in which five newspapers - *The Daily Telegraph* (London), *The Guardian* (London) - *Final Edition*, *Daily Mirror*, *The Sun* (England) and *The Times* (London) published most articles during the year after the Sichuan Earthquake occurred. They share 68% of total reports (n=276), while other 17 national newspapers share the remaining 26.8%. (See Figure 7.6)

Figure 7.4: Overall frequencies of reporting, by newspaper – 2008 Sichuan Earthquake



As shown above, nearly one fifth of the total number of articles appeared in *The Times* (London) (n=70) which published most during the period, followed by *The Guardian* (London) - *Final Edition* dedicating 18.0% of total articles on this event. Compared to 1976, for the same length of sample period, *The Times* not only overtook *The Guardian* in terms of coverage, but also published a much bigger number of articles on Sichuan Earthquake than it had in 1976. *The Guardian* contributed a smaller proportion of the total number of reports but doubled its number of publications compared to 1976. The *Daily Mirror* also contributed more coverage to the 2008 earthquake than it had for the previous earthquake. Generally speaking, far more reports were made during the year after the Sichuan Earthquake took place in 2008, which illuminates the higher degree of international attention the quake received, 32 years after 1976.

Figure 7.5: Monthly number of articles on 2008 Sichuan Earthquake

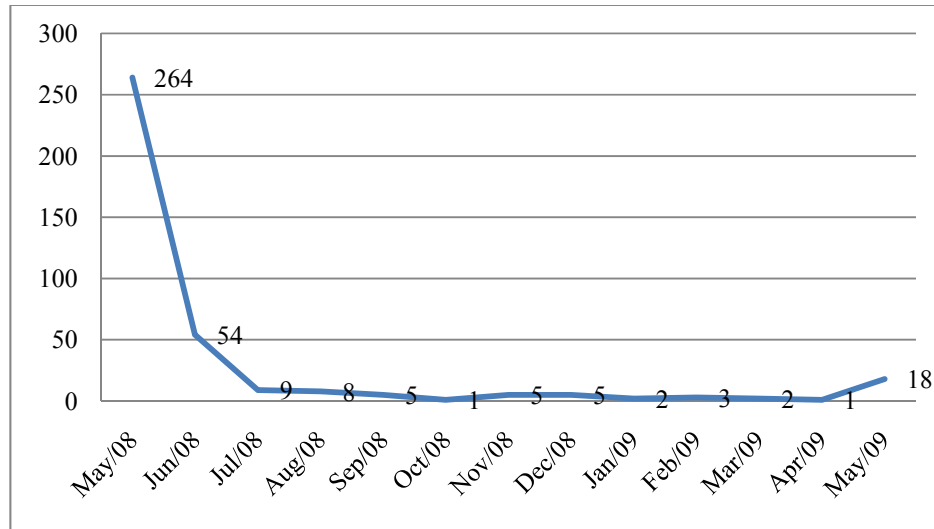


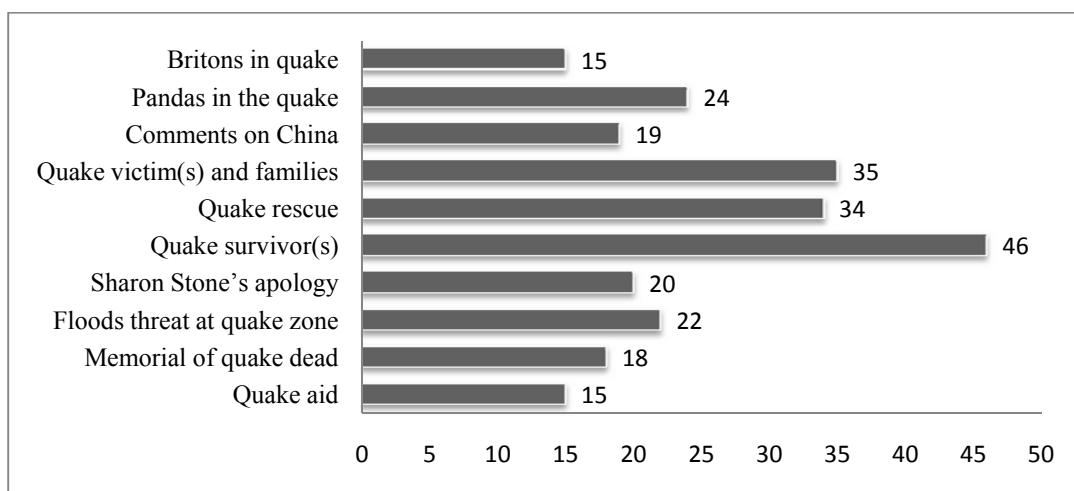
Table 7.5 above demonstrates how the amount of reporting changed throughout the year after the quake. It is also interesting to discover that the amount of news coverage of the Sichuan Earthquake reduced dramatically in the few months after it occurred. On May 13, 2008, the day after the quake hit Sichuan, 264 news articles were printed, which is 70% of the total reporting over the whole selected year. For June 2008, the month after quake, it went down to 54 news articles and in the following months, only a few covered the story. On the first anniversary of the Sichuan Earthquake, the news coverage increased a little due to articles reporting on how the quake zone and its people had recovered during the past year. The overall trend shows the temporality of the media coverage on the event. In other words, the British national newspapers did not give a large amount of media exposure to the disaster for very long after the event.

7.4.2 Frequencies of themes

Comparatively speaking, the three selected national newspapers covering the 1976 earthquake focused their concentration mainly on what happened in the quake zone. *The Times* only published three relevant articles, all of which reported the quake only, aside from one comment in an article on July 28, 1976 that very briefly mentioned criticism of China for having given no warning before the earthquake. All 6 articles in the *Daily Mirror*

shared the same theme - quake news with full descriptions of what was happening in China, except for one article on August 3, 1976 criticised the lack of information being released in China, saying it was '[t]he biggest problem in Peking...not knowing what will happen...You were constantly told another...tremor would hit. You always live in suspense'. Compared to the other two newspapers, the coverage in *The Guardian* is more diverse and comprehensive in terms of reporting from different perspectives on the quake - quake description, comments on China and perspectives of reporting.

Figure 7.6: Overall frequencies of themes - 2008 Sichuan Earthquake



News coverage of the Sichuan Earthquake provided a comprehensive and various collection of topics related to the event. All themes could be generally divided into three categories – quake news, China and other related issues including the Chinese economy, Chinese tourism, pandas and as British tourists involved in the quake. The themes of quake survivor(s) stories, quake rescue and tragedies of victims were given the highest rates of media exposure. Figure 7.6 above displays the themes adopted most frequently during the year after earthquake. The majority of them are directly related to the quake and rescue information, such as updated quake news, relief work and the quake's impact on people. In contrast to 32 years previously, the British media reported on the openness and efficiency of the Chinese government and emphasised it by comparing the situation to the one in Burma, where a natural disaster had occurred at almost at the same time.

7.4.3 Masterframes and discussion

2008 was only a year before China marked the 30th anniversary of its economic reform, which started in 1978. Over the years, China had maintained an average annual growth rate of 9.8 percent, more than three times the world average. The reform and opening-up were acknowledged by Chinese leaders as the fundamental causes of the achievements and developments China had since made. It had turned the once poverty-stricken country into the world's fourth-largest economy. Also, China had won the right to host the 2008 Summer Olympics. It was another great opportunity for China to promote its success and progress and present itself with brand new images.

However, this tragedy happened just a few months before the Olympics, when the Chinese were excited and looking forward to hosting the biggest event in the world of sport. On the one hand, the British media was impressed with China's openness in its journalist reporting and its government's quick response in terms of quake rescue. On the other hand, China's corruption which indirectly caused the deaths of school children and Chinese officials' response to it were the main targets of criticism. Meanwhile, the way frames were constructed within the news texts was explored and compared with the coverage of the 1976 earthquake.

7.4.3.1 Quake information and Chinese journalism

China's openness in its journalistic reporting and welcome of international help were acknowledged in the British media. In 1976, when information on the quake was believed to have been blocked by the Chinese authorities, *The Guardian* published nearly one fifth of its total articles criticising this. By contrast, 9 British national newspapers printed 15 articles revealing the quake statistics and continuously updating the death toll over the year after Sichuan Earthquake in 2008. Especially, *The Guardian* reported on the quake by providing concrete figures on the dead and survivors immediately after the tragedy, updating the death toll five days later. A few days before the anniversary of Sichuan Earthquake, it made a special report on the fact that Chinese officials had 'finally' announced the number of schoolchildren who lost their lives. In this article, the figures

were quoted from the Chinese state news agency as well as local media. Its headline ‘International: China releases quake death toll of children’ emphasises the change in the way that the Chinese government had dealt with quake information (May 8, 2009).

Also, it is interesting to see how the British media made comparisons between itself and the Chinese media. In terms of journalistic censorship in China in 1976, which had been the main target attacked in Western criticisms, China made a different impression this time. *The Daily Telegraph* made a comparison in its headline showing the dramatic change in how China had dealt with the release of crisis information – ‘Unlike 1976, news was out instantly’ (May 13, 2008). The word ‘instantly’ speaks of the efficiency of the Chinese authorities’ information provision. After the Sichuan Earthquake occurred, *The Daily Telegraph* printed an article the very next day expressing its views on ‘China’s new-found transparency’,

It was a contrast to the events in Tangshan 32 years ago, when the Chinese government refused for months to admit the 7.8 magnitude earthquake had even happened, despite the deaths of an estimated 255,000 people. (May 13, 2008)

It discovered the difference in China’s attitude towards releasing official quake information immediately after the quake. Compared to three decades ago in Tangshan, when the Chinese government had ‘refused’ to ‘admit’ the earthquake had happened and to the number of deaths it had caused, there was a big ‘contrast’ when the Chinese government instantly published the death toll and updated it constantly in 2008 (*The Daily Telegraph*, May 13, 2008). *The Times* summarised this Chinese ‘phenomenon’ as ‘its habit of secrecy and insularity around natural disasters’ and invited foreign media and rescue teams to participate in the relief efforts, which turned the tragedy into a sense of unity nationwide. (May 29, 2008).

7.4.3.2 Comparison with Burma’s famine

Another natural disaster happened in Burma almost at the same time as the Wenchuan

earthquake. *The Sun*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Times* specifically published 14 articles (3.5% of total number) with the intention of comparing how the two countries were dealing with their tragic natural disasters. The similarity between the two Asian Communist countries was that both countries were suffering from the massive loss of lives and destruction of property associated with a major natural disaster. However, their authorities made completely different impressions on the media based on their governments' contrasting responses towards quake rescue and the fluency of their information channels. '[I]n one case (Chinese) that helps people, in the other (Burmese) it kills them' (*The Guardian*, May 21, 2008). The comparisons are mainly made from three perspectives, as below.

First of all, general impressions. China had dealt the earthquake with 'massive, organised and immediate' (*The Guardian*, May 17, 2008) relief efforts to help the victims and an open-door policy for media reporting, showing China's 'remarkable openness' and 'sense of urgency' (*The Independent on Sunday*, June 1, 2008). By comparison, Burma was seen to have shut its door. Although both were Communism-led countries, China's reaction to its disaster was seen as a model, saving thousands of people's lives, whilst in Burma, 'the Burmese we could save are left to die' (*The Guardian*, May 21, 2008). Humanity is always brought up in the debate of Communism. Here, China set a good example of how it cared for its people as a Communist country; while Burma set the opposite impression by seemingly ignoring the lives of disaster victims.

China's present image was also compared to its old one in history. China's new face was represented as 'China - once so suspicious of the West - has allowed the world in to share their grief and help in their moment of need' (*The Sun*, May 16, 2008). The word 'suspicious' adequately shows how China was seen by the West as a closed, Communist country with all the characteristics criticised in Burma's handling of its natural disaster,

[T]he generals in Burma have behaved like the Chinese did years ago and pulled down the shutters to pretend 2.5million people haven't been left hungry and homeless...Burma resembles China's hidden nation of three

decades ago. A land where political principle seems to override common sense. (*The Sun*, May 16, 2008)

Secondly, the government's response. Both government leaders were referred to as 'dictators' in the press. But they acted 'strikingly' differently, according to *The Guardian* (May 20, 2008). The Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao paid visits to the quake zone 'personally directing the relief effort and speaking frankly to both Chinese and foreign journalists' (*The Independent on Sunday*, June 1, 2008). 'Personally' shows how serious the Chinese government was about the tragedy and 'frankly' tells of the openness and honesty, producing another image of an 'open China'. *The Times* adds that,

China's leaders, however, have reacted with exemplary speed and concern, mobilising a massive national effort to rescue survivors and prevent the outbreak of disease. The contrast could not be more poignant....The Chinese response this time is sharper and more mature. (May 14, 2008)

In contrast, 'Burmese generals, who have done a most effective job in preventing the world from witnessing the wholly ineffective way in which they appear to have dealt with the devastation brought to the Irrawaddy delta by Cyclone Nargis' (*The Guardian*, May 19, 2008). Such an ironic tone of media reporting deepens its criticisms of the behaviour of the Burmese government, the attitude of which is described as 'indifference to shame' (*The Sun*, May 15, 2008).

Compared to the Chinese government's response to natural disasters in the past, the British news media approved that 'Beijing was behaving better than it has over past calamities' (*The Guardian*, May 14, 2008). However, it was also claimed that China's impressive handling of the earthquake was due to 'the West's "positive engagement" with China's dictators' (*The Guardian*, May 14, 2008). This shows China's ability to deal with calamities was still doubted to some degree by the British media, as China was viewed as a 'dictatorship' which has not changed over time.

7.4.3.3 Renewed Sino-Japanese relationship

China's acceptance of Japanese relief supplies and rescue teams was seen as, not only a sign of its openness in modern times, but also a symbolic breakthrough in the relationship between two nations. This relief effort saw the first Japanese warship to visit China since the Second World War.

Tensions between the two countries could be dated back to the Sino-Japanese War during 1894-1895, and more recently Japan's occupation of China between 1931 and 1945. Anti-Japan nationalism has been deeply rooted in Chinese culture due to this history and has become nation-wide. However, this nationalist sentiment was replaced by Beijing's openness towards Japan's humanitarian relief.

The story of China accepting Japanese relief aid was covered by *The Times*. It was referred to as 'Earthquake Diplomacy' and 'Gunboat Diplomacy' (May 29, 2008 & June 25, 2008 respectively). *The Times* also compared this breakthrough with the popular 'Ping-pong Diplomacy' in 1970s, which was an ice-breaking event in Sino-American diplomatic history when nine American table tennis players were invited to Beijing for exhibition games with Chinese players in April 1971 (May 29, 2008). It meant that China had made an important step towards openness by being friendly with the biggest power in the world.

The invitation sent by the Chinese government to Japan for help in the quake zone was perceived as 'an extraordinary breakthrough in Sino-Japanese relations unthinkable two months ago....The unprecedented access granted to foreign relief teams, the television reports from the area and the visits of China's leaders have changed the national mood', according to *The Times* (May 29, 2008). Also, this paper states that '[n]atural disasters, however, can overwhelm political rigidities...This is a moment of great Asian humanity. Mr Hu has shown courageous leadership'.

The description above indicates several comparisons with China's old ways of dealing with natural disasters. First is the improvement of Sino-Japanese relations, which still remained

frosty before the earthquake. Secondly, the fact that China had become more open towards foreign aid, media coverage and Chinese leaders paying visits to the disaster zone constructed a totally different image of China from 30 years previously during the 1976 devastating earthquake. In the past, China had refused foreign help for the rescue work, blocked media access and reporting, and cut contact with other countries. Now, China was seen to be doing things in the opposite way. Referring to the history of ‘Ping-pong Diplomacy’, *The Times* said that ‘the Chinese President showed that he can safely boast the most impressive forehand at table tennis of any head of state’ (May 29, 2008).

China’s welcome to Japanese rescue teams was surprising as it would not even have been imagined before the quake. Given the history, it was such a big step forward that the Chinese government had made. Two headlines from *The Times* told of the significance of the improvement in Sino-Japanese relations,

Battered China asks old enemy for military help as flood threat rises (May 29, 2008)
War memories sink plan for Japan’s military to help China (May 31, 2008)

The newspaper also described this politicised international aid as, ‘[t]he extraordinary request for help from China’s historically detested foe will produce an image that few could have imagined possible two weeks ago’ (May 29, 2008). Japan was recognised as an ‘old enemy’ and ‘historically detested foe’ of China. However, the bloody past evoked ‘painful memories’ for the Chinese which could not easily forgive and forget. But when facing the disaster, Japan as a nation with more experience of earthquakes and professional rescue skills, China chose to put history aside and only focused on quake rescue. It not only demonstrated China’s respect for lives of the victims, but also that China was willing to treat every country equally without any historical prejudice, which is a sign of democracy.

7.4.4.4 Corruption and collapsed school buildings

When the Chinese government was praised for its openness in releasing information and giving access to journalists and volunteers as well as rescue workers to the quake zone,

critics of its corruption followed and became the main anti-government argument during the aftermath. Since most school buildings collapsed during the earthquake and hundreds of school children lost their lives, the poor quality of school buildings and the corruption of Chinese authorities were blamed. 9 news articles covered how parents' grief and anger turned into fury, culminating in them being 'paid' to not to protest.

Corruption, a betrayal of fair competition based on price, quality and innovation, leads to competitive bribery. It 'flouts rules of fairness and gives some people advantages that others don't have' (Uslaner, 2008). Hence, from a liberal point of view, corruption is contradictory to the idea of equality and liberal democracy, for it means the misuse of power for private gain.

During the month after the earthquake occurred, the sorrow of parents turned into anger. On the one hand, *The Guardian*, *The Sunday Times* and *The Sunday Telegraph* had their correspondents from Wufu, Hanwang and Dujiangyan respectively (three regions close to the epicentre) interview the young victims' families revealing their fury about poor school building standards as well as the corruption involved. These factors were believed to be key in the deaths of the children in the earthquake. Protests were organised to question the Chinese government by victims' parents. However, instead of investigating the crime behind the collapsed buildings, the Chinese government was revealed by *The Guardian* as 'Beijing seems keener to gag the bereaved than punish the culprits' (August 26, 2008). Thus, a contradiction is established between devastated parents and Chinese authorities who did not bring justice but tried hard to cover up the scandal.

7.4.4.5 Chinese censorship – the 'China syndrome'

9 articles from 5 newspapers - *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *Daily Mirror*, *The Sunday Telegraph* and *The Daily Telegraph* made the criticism that there was no journalist freedom in China. As with the criticism of China's 'habit of formalism' in journalistic reporting in the 1970s, the same criticism remained in 2008.

The central government's investigation over corruption was carried out at the quake sites, but the results were not released straight away, according to *The Guardian* (June 13, 2008).

Chinese officials denied the charges of restricting the foreign media's access to destroyed schools, which was believed to be a reflection of 'some local officials' efforts at self-preservation' (*The Guardian*, June 13, 2008). In other words, the foreign media believe that China was hiding the truth. China was accused of trying to hide the corruption and bribe the media in order to prevent the real causes of the school children's deaths in the quake from being exposed. Firstly, parents of victims were forbidden to protest or organise memorials for their children, as the four headlines below reveal. For instance, *The Sunday Telegraph* on May 25, 2008 published the headline: 'Grief and anger in town of dead children parents are threatening to protest over corruption, they blame for the collapse of a school that killed their loved ones, reports David Eimer from Wuhu'. 'Grief and anger' describes how those Chinese parents felt after losing their children - not only sadness for their loss, but also anger about the cause of collapse the of school buildings. Their kids were 'killed' by corruption. Other examples are listed in the following,

Parents attacked (*Sunday Mirror*, June 22, 2008)

No memorial, parents of quake dead told (*The Daily Telegraph*, May 9, 2009)

Quake parents held (*The Times*, May 9, 2009)

Secondly, the Chinese media were not allowed to report the causes of collapse of schools, such as the incompetent officials etc. In the headline 'China orders journalists to end negative quake coverage' (*The Sunday Telegraph*, June 8 2008), 'order' indicates a necessity for mandatory compliance, suggesting a lack of freedom for the Chinese media. Also in another headline, 'Chinese media blocked as parents seek justice over collapsed schools' (*The Guardian*, June 13 2008), 'blocked' (by the Chinese government) again emphasised the impression of 'censorship in China'. Once more, the lack of freedom of speech is criticised in China as 'China buys the silence of grieving parents' (*The Sunday Times*, July 27, 2008). The word 'buy' hints at corruption.

Meanwhile, as the Beijing Olympics was only days away, China's human rights record was under increasingly intense scrutiny from the foreign press. *The Guardian*, *Daily Mirror* and *The Times* covered the side story that a Chinese teacher who had posted

photographs of collapsed schools on the web and expressed his anger at the school building construction had reportedly been arrested and ordered to serve in a labour camp for a year on the charge of ‘disturbing social order’. Compared to the other two newspapers, *The Guardian* especially connected this story with the allegation that China had prevented parents from protesting and had silenced critics. It revealed that the Chinese police ‘have dragged grieving parents away from demonstrations’ and ‘families have also been pressed to take compensation in exchange for signing contracts which include commitments not to protest or attempt to sue the authorities’ (July 31, 2008). That is to say, Chinese parents were forbidden to express their anger about the corruption that caused the deaths of their children and ‘bribed’ them to keep silent.

The Times on October 17, 2008 published an article entitled ‘Return to the China syndrome’. They express disappointment over the contrasting faces of China as seen in the aftermath of the 2008 earthquake; on the one hand, greater openness and a greatly improved disaster response, yet on the other tales of bribery, corruption and suppression of freedom of speech. The phrase ‘China syndrome’ comes from a 1979 American film *The China Syndrome* which tells the story of a journalist and cameraman who were trying to reveal safety cover-ups at a nuclear power plant. The term refers to the absurd idea that a nuclear meltdown at a reactor in the US could cause nuclear fuel to burn a hole through the Earth from America to China. However, in reality the opposite side of the earth from USA is the Indian Ocean, not to mention the fact that a body could not fall all the way through the Earth under the action of gravity. Hence, ‘China syndrome’ is an imaginative idea indicating an exaggerated version of reality. In the media discourse, it is usually used as a metaphor describing the sentiment of disappointment coming from the West that China has not reached its expectations. Here, ‘China syndrome’ implicates the disappointment of China staying the same and not making enough progress towards democratisation after years of development.

When the British national media approved of China’s acceptance of their sympathy and relief aid, it was thought that ‘maybe it was not only the ground in Sichuan that had

cracked, but also the authoritarian face that China showed the world. This, too, has proved not to be the case' (*The Times*, October 17, 2008). However, this 'improvement' of democratisation only seemed to have lasted for the Olympic period. Hence, China's new appearance to the world turned out to be only a 'glimpse'. At the end of the article a paragraph expressed how the feeling of the British newspapers had changed from 'surprised' to 'disappointed' in terms of China,

The world was hoping that, having been lured out of its shell, China might enjoy basking in the sunlight a little longer. China remains wary, even though history shows that, in the long run, the censor has always lost. Sooner or later, China will acknowledge that you can cage the singer, but not the song. (*The Times*, October 17, 2008)

The rise of the British news media's hopes for Chinese democracy came from the new image of a modern and more open China. Thus, China was expected to act as a liberal democratic nation under the Western model, despite China's different political regime and history. As a result, China could not fit into the imaginary picture created by the British media, causing it to express sentiments of disappointment.

7.4.4.6 Exception for one-child policy

China's one-child policy has existed for three decades and allowing it to successfully curb its population increase. However, it is always criticised by human rights advocacy groups on this issue, as it is perceived as a violation and abuse of basic human rights. According to the Chinese authorities, parents who had their only child killed or seriously injured in the earthquake would be allowed to have another child. Both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* on the same day – May 27, 2008 used the word 'relax' in their headlines to indicate this population control policy had been loosened for the parents of child victims. This specific word suggests, not only the flexibility of the policy made by the Chinese government, but also that it continues to be enforced in China. In other words, the policy remains in force in China, though can be adapted a little according to the circumstances. The 'silence' in the reporting of China's one-child policy in this case shows that China's temporary change in its regulations on population control has not made any specific

impression on the British media, since the situation of having only one child in a family remained the same. Thus, China still has the West's liberal and democratic standards in relation to Western democracy.

Overall, the British media gave high praise to the new images China portrayed whilst facing the disaster, in terms of its openness in news reporting and government's efforts with the quake rescue. *The Sun*, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* emphasised China's dramatic change in their headlines,

Chinese have set examples (*The Sun*, May 15, 2008)

China earthquake: Beijing open to foreign aid and scrutiny in wake of tragedy (*The Guardian*, May 17, 2008)

Chinese Prime Minister leads new era of openness (*The Independent*, May 14, 2008)

A new picture has been portrayed by the British media giving readers a new and fresh perspective on modern China. However, the degree of China's recent democratisation has not met the standard of Western liberal democracy. Hence, there was still wide criticism of China. Allegations of corruption were made against China, a factor that was blamed for the deaths of thousands of schoolchildren in the quake. According to the reporting, the attitude of the Chinese government towards the corruption investigation was to hold back information, to forbid the Chinese media reports and to prevent the parents of the children from protesting. This imitates the 'problems' China had in 1976 - news formalism and a lack of free speech. Although China made its policies on population control regulations more adaptable to the situation and showed more humanistic care, it is still a policy that is essentially against the idea of Western liberal democracy.

7.5 Summary

Based on the theoretical framework, Orientalism and liberal democracy are not only two different perspectives the West observes the East from, but also the two measuring sticks the Western world uses to judge the East. In this case, the Orientalist frame can only be found in occasionally, intertwined with liberal frame. It appears when the phrase 'China

syndrome' is used to express the disappointment the British national news media feels towards Chinese censorship. As a fanciful idea, 'China syndrome' has its root in Orientalism, due to the exclusiveness of China as an ethnic nation. However, the British news media constantly made the judgement of whether or not China fitted the Western model of liberal democracy by looking at different issues reported during the two defined periods.

In general, the masterframe of liberal individualism dominates the news reporting throughout this case. In 1976, the liberal frame was mostly used in criticising the Chinese government over its censorship policies in journalism. After the Tangshan earthquake, the British media accused China of not instantly releasing quake information. Chinese authorities were blamed for blocking the channels for publishing official statistics.

In the reporting of the Sichuan Earthquake in 2008, China displayed its new images from the following five perspectives. The British national newspapers contrasted images of China in the modern times with the past, but also directly compared China with Burma to emphasise the differences.

To sum up, the arguments made by the British national newspapers on the different issues can be placed into two categories. On the one hand, modern China showed its openness to the world. Firstly, China's efficiency in releasing quake information and updating quake news was praised by the British news media. It was also compared with the situation three decades ago when no real figures were published by the Chinese authorities after the 1976 Tangshan Earthquake. Also, the Chinese government with its post-quake response and crisis management was put forward as a good example when it was compared to the Burmese government, who were dealing with a natural disaster at the same time.

On the other hand, the same liberal standard has been adopted when reporting on journalistic censorship in China from 1976 to 2008. However, different judgements have been made. After the Tangshan earthquake, the news provided by the Chinese media was

believed to have been 'selected' and 'formalised'. China was accused of controlling and deciding what the national media should or should not report. Additionally, the Chinese media was accused of putting internal political power struggles ahead of the tragedy. This was generally seen as being against the idea of Western democracy and liberty. 32 years later, Chinese censorship continued. Poorly built school buildings and the corruption of the Chinese authorities were believed to be the human factors that caused many of the deaths during the earthquake. The results of the official investigation carried out by the Chinese authorities were not released to the public. Facing anger from victims' parents, the Chinese authorities reportedly prevented them from protesting and tried to bribe them into 'silence'. Furthermore, compared to the subjects mentioned above, discussion of China's one-child policy makes up a fairly small proportion of the total news coverage in this case. As a controversial issue on which West often challenges China, it received surprisingly little attention in this case. One explanation for this is that, although China relaxed its policy for the parents of the child victims, this was not considered to be enough of a change as the policy still applied to the majority of Chinese citizens and it was still generally considered to be against human rights.

In summary, the relaxation of Chinese media censorship has increased over the decades according to the standards set by Western liberal democracy. China improved its transparency in terms of releasing news of the quake, but failed in openly investigating its corruption charges. As a result, the British news media felt 'disappointed'.

In relation to the relative ratios of reporting of newspapers, in 1976, as the most popular newspaper with 78.6% of the total number of articles, *The Guardian (London)* contributed 80% of its total coverage to the criticism of China over journalistic censorship, the smaller proportion of the coverage concerns itself with China's timely rescue plan and government's effective emergency-responsive mechanism. The situation in 2008 is different. Firstly, a much larger number of national newspapers participated in reporting the event and they shared the coverage more evenly. Secondly, 13.3% of the total articles published generally approved of China's openness in relation to the instant release of news

and the government's quick rescue response, compared to 3.9% of the total number of articles on criticism of Chinese corruption and journalist censorship. 9 British national newspapers printed 15 articles specifically on quake statistics, continuously updating the death toll over the year after the quake, compared to a majority of news articles that criticised the absence of official quake information in 1976.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

In this thesis, the most prominent finding across all four case studies is that, the old Orientalist stereotypes, such as ‘Yellow Peril’, which were used to portray China and the Chinese have not often appeared in the recent British news media representations. Instead, the liberal individualist views have been widely and deeply embedded in the British news reporting, criticising China being essentially a Communist dictatorship as opposed to Western democracy.

The Orientalist frame only made few appearances in the recent British news media. One is most recent Olympic period (2008) in the Tibet case. The images of exotic and religious Tibet, as well as its spiritual leader – the Dalai Lama, with connotations of mystery and holiness were the core images emphasised by the use of the Orientalist frame. In the earthquake case, the Orientalist frame is only discovered when the phrase ‘China syndrome’ is used referring to the West’s disappointment about Chinese censorship. As a fanciful idea, the phrase ‘China syndrome’ has its root in Orientalism, due to the exclusiveness of China as an ethnic nation.

Based on the discussion in the earlier result chapters, it is not difficult to see that China’s modern images consist of two major components. On the one hand, China’s significant economic growth and greater openness in recent years has afforded it an unprecedented global status. Due to this, China is no longer seen as ‘inferior’ or ‘barbarian’, as it used to be portrayed with the use of stereotypes. On the other hand, with its Communist government, China has always been the target of Western criticism when judged against of the standards of democracy. China has been criticised in various areas, such as human rights, censorship, media freedom, freedom of speech, etc. Based on what I have discovered in this research, the British news media used its own but always the same yardstick - the Western standard of liberal individualism with which to judge China,

drawing the conclusion that China's progress in its democratisation is not completed yet. Aiming at examining how the two masterframes work together across all cases and which masterframe dominates, as well as the differences between newspapers, the thesis provides answers to the research questions set up in the Introduction chapter. Here, I shall summarise the findings in the light of the above as below.

First of all, **the two masterframes make their appearances in specific forms – Orientalism and liberal democracy in the reporting.** As specific forms of the two masterframes, Orientalism and liberal democracy are separate systems of concepts and are different lenses through which the West observes the East. The similarity between them is that both look at the East from the perspective that the East is inferior and barbarian and that the West is privileged. Where they differ is that Orientalism is essentially a form of racism that seeks to selectively accentuate differences between the East and the West in two aspects – the exotic aspect and the barbarian aspect, according to Said (1978). To the contrary, liberal democracy is the yardstick the West uses to judge whether the East has met Western democratic standards.

The masterframe of liberal individualism appears in the liberal democratic form in three cases. Except for the Chinese immigration case, all other cases adopt 'Western democracy' as the yardstick against which to judge China in relation to its democratisation, human rights, journalistic censorship etc. Thus, the conclusions the British news media have drawn are based on whether China has met the Western standard of democracy or not.

Looking at the three case studies, all the criticisms the British news media have made point to China being a Communist country. In the Hong Kong handover case, China's open-door policy and its recent socio-economic development inspired confidence in Hong Kong's future when the handover took place in 1997. However, doubts were also expressed in the discussion, due to the suspicions surrounding China's political regime and its influence on policies in Hong Kong. Ten years later, Hong Kong's economy was still growing fast and it had made progress in the development of democracy and autonomy. There were positive

comments in the news coverage admitting to China's positive influence on Hong Kong, but still held the idea that its democratisation was not complete. In the Tibet case, the Chinese are continuously accused of being militarists and imperialists by invading Tibet and breaking its peace. Since the concept of Communism is a rival system of government that threatens Western democracy and capitalism, China has always been labelled 'Communist' linked to the belief that it has destroyed Tibetans' freedoms and their basic rights. In the earthquake case, Chinese authorities were blamed for blocking information channels in 1976 and stopping corruption from being revealed in 2008. Chinese censorship was criticised, although it was recognised that some progress had been made over the years.

Secondly, **the relationships between two masterframes are in three different forms – coexistence or intertwining, supporting each other, and struggling with each other.** The evidence of all three types of relationships across all four cases is summarised in the following.

(1), *Coexistence or intertwining*. This means both frames appear in the reporting of separate subjects, or the same subject and provide different but not opposing arguments. There is no conflict between them in relation to the arguments based on these two masterframes. It is often the case that each does not appear alone in the reporting of an event. In the media discourses, usually they are both adopted by newspapers and the balance between them, across the media as a whole, varies depending on the choices individual newspapers have made on frames and the ratio of newspapers on either side of the political divide.

Except for the Chinese immigration case, this relation between two masterframes can be discovered in all the other three case studies. In the Tibet case, there is no competition between the two masterframes throughout the four defined periods. More often they coexist, although the masterframe of liberal individualism played the dominant role in every period by appearing much more frequently than ethno-nationalist masterframe. The frame of Orientalism, as a specific form of the ethno-nationalist masterframe, appeared in

the first historical period – Britain’s first expedition to Tibet (1903 – 1904), disappeared in the following two periods and reappeared in the most recent Olympic period (2008), claiming the exotic and barbarian characterisations of Tibet. Regarding the masterframe of liberal democracy, the British mission was justified as a ‘liberation’ of the people in Tibet during the British expeditionary period, but the Chinese troops were continuously accused of being militarists and imperialists by invading Tibet and breaking its peace throughout the following three periods. During the two periods when the Orientalist frame was absent, Tibet and Tibetan people were mainly portrayed as the victims of Chinese suzerainty, in order to emphasise the contrast between vulnerable Tibetans and aggressive Chinese troops. Hence, there was a marked difference in the framing of the similar events of British and Chinese incursion into Tibet.

In the Hong Kong handover case, three major subjects are summarised from the texts - economic consequences, democracy and national identity in the coverage of both selected periods – the Hong Kong handover and its aftermath. Ethno-nationalist and liberal democratic masterframes are embedded in the reporting of different subjects. The ethno-nationalist viewpoints are expressed in the national sentiments of both British and Chinese citizens in relation to the handover, whereas the liberal democratic viewpoints are expressed in the news coverage, during and ten years after the handover, of Hong Kong’s economic and democratic development during the 10 year period after the British rule.

In the earthquake case, the Orientalist frame can only be found in traces and it co-exists with the liberal frame. In most circumstances, the Western model of liberal democracy is the benchmark against which the British media make judgements as to whether or not China has met the democratic standard during the two defined periods. The term ‘China syndrome’ in this case, is an example of two frames ‘intertwining’ with each other in the same expression.

The Times on October 17, 2008 published an article entitled ‘Return to the China syndrome’. The disappointment of watching China’s democracy come and go is expressed

in the article. On the one hand, this phrase is a fanciful idea and has its root in Orientalism due to the exclusiveness of China as an ethnic nation. On the other hand, it is used as a metaphor describing the sentiment of disappointment coming from the West that China has not reached its expectations.

(2), *Supporting each other*. Although the two masterframes are comprised of different concepts, news media often apply both in the same report and employ arguments for each that could support the other. A typical example is the Tibet case. Through the four periods of the Tibet case, it is not difficult to discover the strategy three newspapers used in terms of frame choices. In order to justify the British mission to Tibet in the first period, the Oriental frame was adopted by portraying Tibet as a backward region. Hence, the British army was there to liberate Tibetans and civilise Tibet. For the following three periods, in order to criticise China and either its mission to Tibet or the action taken against pro-Tibet riots, the liberal individualist masterframe played the leading role. In this way, China is criticised as being Communist, imperialist and an invader of Tibet. The Orientalist frame appeared again in the most recent period, by emphasising the Dalai Lama's status and influence in Tibet and his appeal to free Tibet. That is to say, Tibet's purity and exoticism should not be destroyed by military force. Since it has its own religion and religious leader, Tibet should not be forced to be under any other political administration. Thus, the Orientalist and liberal individualist frames complement each other in the last selected period.

(3), *Struggling with each other*. It means two masterframes are competing with each other on the same subject by providing contrasting arguments. News reporting of the selected cases in this research does not only carry one single frame, but more often both frames are adopted when the same story is told from various perspectives. Hence, this phenomenon is due to different newspapers having different or even opposing political alignments and ideologies, informing various choices of frames. A good example is the Chinese immigration case. This case explores the competition between the two masterframes on each topic and reflects the differences in political standings and ideologies adopted by a

variety of newspapers.

From the perspective of ethno-nationalism, Chinese illegal immigrants have threatened Britain in relation to their hidden identification and the slave trade they were involved in. Crackdowns on gang crime and illegal smuggling activities were asked for a top priority for the British government and legislature. Consequently, tightening the immigration policies became necessary in order to stop the illegals (particularly from China) and control human trafficking activities. Accordingly, Chinese gangs and China's own emigration control have been criticised and directly linked with the cockle picker and Dover tragedies. Hence, measures such as sending Chinese asylum seekers back home were brought up in order to control the number of asylum seekers and refugees in Britain. On the contrary, the masterframe of liberal individualism highly values human rights and freedom and pays specific attention to what has driven Chinese immigrants to pay such a high price (large smuggling fees to the traffickers and the risk of loss of life) to come to Britain. Making such great efforts and taking huge risks in looking for a better life strongly implies that the fundamental individual freedoms the Chinese immigrants have been seeking do not exist in China. It also all suggests that looser border controls and the allowing of more skilled immigrants to cross the border legally, in order to contribute to Britain's economy and falling population, is desirable.

Thirdly, under most circumstances, the liberal individualist masterframe is the most common frame that the British news media have used in its representation of China and the Chinese in recent decades; it is much more widely applied than the ethno-nationalist masterframe during most selected periods.

To be more specific, in the Tibet case, the masterframe of liberal democracy makes its appearance in all four selected periods of news reporting on Tibet and its relations with China. The first time was to justify the British mission as a 'liberation' of Tibet and Tibetans. Through the following three periods, the Chinese were constantly accused of being militarists and imperialists by invading Tibet and breaking its peace. Since the idea

of Communism is a rival and a threat to Western democracy and capitalism, China has always been labelled 'Communist' and been believed to have destroyed Tibetans' freedom and their basic rights. In other words, the term Communism in this case is equated to no freedom and no human rights, conditions to which the concept of liberal democracy is opposed.

In the Hong Kong handover case, both frames cover the story from different perspectives, but the liberal democratic frame overwhelmingly plays the leading role. All sampled articles are placed in three categories under broader subjects - economic consequences, democracy and national identity. The ethno-nationalist frame is involved in the subject of national identity, discussing the opposing views in Britain and China towards the Hong Kong handover; while the liberal democratic frame focuses on the subjects of Hong Kong's economic development and the progress of democratisation.

In the Chinese immigration case, the liberal individualist masterframe dominated the reporting by expressing the sympathy and concern felt for the Chinese victims of human miseries and the slavery trade. During the discussion about what made the Chinese come to Britain, their 'struggle for liberation' was cited as the cause based on the humanity and freedom of individuals. Although constituting a much smaller proportion of the total coverage, the ethno-nationalist frame also contributed its arguments by identifying the Chinese illegal workers as an ethnic nation of 'ghosts' threatening Britain and describing China as an illegal immigration operation due to the Dover incident and the increasing number of Chinese asylum seekers in Britain. The only case in which the ethno-nationalist masterframe overtook the liberal individualist masterframe is with the discussion of human trafficking and the slave trade behind the tragedies. Using such a frame, newspapers used the strategy of 'blame the victim', accusing China of causing the disasters and being an illegal immigration operation. In the debates on immigration policies and regulations, the ethno-nationalist views play a dominant role, believing crackdowns on illegal immigrants and tightening border controls would be the most effective ways to reduce human trafficking and smuggling. Nearly 40% of all articles discussing the immigration policies

adopt this frame. Liberal views relating to the relaxation of border controls were also adopted by newspapers, but this occurred less than the use of ethno-nationalist views.

In the earthquake case, the Orientalist frame could only be found where the phrase ‘China syndrome’ was used to refer to the disappointment expressed by the British national news media towards Chinese censorship. In the vast majority of reporting covering the two earthquakes, the masterframe of liberal individualism dominated, throughout the two defined periods. In 1976, the liberal frame was mostly used in criticising the Chinese government over its censorship policies in journalism. The news provided by the Chinese media was believed to have been ‘selected’ and ‘formalised’. China was accused of controlling what national media should or should not report, in line with its alleged political propaganda and journalistic censorship policies. Additionally, the Chinese media were charged with not only putting the domestic class struggle above the tragedy but also referred the disaster to the struggle against its political leader. This is generally seen as being opposed to the idea of Western democracy and liberty. In its media reporting on the Sichuan Earthquake in 2008, China displayed new images to the world. On the one hand, modern China showed its new openness to the world. Firstly, China’s efficiency in releasing quake information and updating quake news was praised by the British news media, especially in comparison with the 1976 Tangshan Earthquake, three decades earlier, after which no figures were published by Chinese authorities. Also, the Chinese government’s post-quake response and crisis management was set as a good example in comparison to the Burmese government’s response to its natural disaster of the same period. On the other hand, Chinese media censorship was seen to be as prevalent as it had been 32 years earlier. Although the poor construction of school buildings and the corruption of the Chinese officials were believed to be the man-made factors which resulted in deaths during and after the earthquake, the results of an official investigation were not released to the public. Chinese authorities were even reported to be preventing victims’ parents from protesting and of trying to bribe them into ‘silence’.

Overall, Chinese censorship has made progress over recent decades when judged against the standards set by Western liberal democracy. China has improved the transparency of its

quake news releases, but failed in openly investigating allegations of corruption. As a result, the British news media expressed ‘disappointment’ and a belief that China was still not ‘democratic’ enough.

Last but not least, **in relation to the differences between newspapers in terms of frame selection, the research finding that the liberal individualist frame plays a leading role in all four case studies can also be reflected by the fact that centre-left newspapers dominated the total coverage.** That is to say, newspapers such as *The Guardian (London)*, *The Independent (London)* and *The Daily Mirror* were always among the newspapers with highest number of articles during the defined periods. They focused their concentration on issues such as democracy, freedom of speech, human rights, etc. *The Times (London)* chose to adopt a neutral stance by either sticking only to the facts in stories, or making comments in favour of both sides of the arguments.

Take the Hong Kong handover case as an example. Initially in 1997, all three most popular national newspapers (*The Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Independent*) held hope for Hong Kong’s economic development due to China’s open-door policy and its achievements in relation to greater openness. However, there were differences in the viewpoints taken by the newspapers. *The Independent (London)* chose to be more optimistic about Hong Kong’s economic future, while *The Times (London)* and *The Guardian (London)* tended to stay neutral and hold a ‘wait and see’ attitude. Secondly, all three newspapers expressed their deep ‘worries’ for Hong Kong’s political future and democratisation progress, but from different perspectives. For instance, *The Times* was more concerned with the Chinese government’s potential ‘excessive control’ of Hong Kong’s legislature and whether it would keep its promise on the ‘One Country, Two Systems’ policy; *The Guardian*’s main focus was the workers’ rights in Hong Kong; except for Hong Kong’s elections, *The Independent* mainly cared about the message sent by China sending troops to Hong Kong before the official handover ceremony.

In 2007, both *The Times (London)* and *The Daily Telegraph (London)* actively reported

Hong Kong's economic successes over the 10 years since the handover and revealed the relationship between China's development in terms of openness and Hong Kong's economic growth. Compared to 1997, *The Times* expressed a mixture of hope, doubt and worry. That is to say, Hong Kong's development has proved it could still maintain or even strengthen its economy under Chinese rule. Also, as discussed earlier in the quantitative analysis, critics of China's incomplete democratisation progress still caught most of the media's attention. *The Times (London)* made a bigger effort, both in terms of complementing China's democratic progress and criticising its shortcomings than *The Daily Telegraph (London)*.

I shall also restate in the Conclusion that this thesis has made a significant empirical contribution to the knowledge in media framing in British newspaper representation of China and the Chinese, by providing the findings above. The need for future research on the media coverage of China and the Chinese would be done with adopting different cases covering either wider range of social aspects, or longer periods. Audience research can also be important to discover how the readers perceive and interpret the images of China and the Chinese in the news media.

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APPENDIX I
An example of a coding schedule: Chapter 6
(Chinese migration case)

Coding schedule for ‘Chinese migration’ Case

- **Case number**
- **Date, month and year**
- **Length of item**
- **Name of correspondent**
- **Type of item**
- **Location of item**
- **Status of Chinese migrants in the item**

1 Chinese migrants is the main focus of the item

2 Chinese migrants is a secondary element in the item

- **Theme codes**

3 Britain’s asylum seekers

4 British gang crime

5 Cheap labours in Britain

6 Chinese cockle picker tragedy

7 Chinese migration to Britain

8 Dover tragedy

9 Illegal migrant workers in Britain

10 Racist joke

11 Chinese refugees

12 Other

- **Actors**

British –

British government and organisations

- 13 Anti-immigration lobby
- 14 British Police / spokesman
- 15 Lancashire Police / spokesman
- 16 Lothian and Borders Police
- 17 Merseyside Police
- 18 Morecambe Police
- 19 Kent Police / Spokes(wo)man
- 20 British Government
- 21 British Ports Association
- 22 Civil Guard
- 23 (Labour dominated) Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Selected Committee
- 24 Green Party (Local)
- 25 Health and Safety Executive
- 26 Home Office/Officials
- 27 Immigration and Nationality Directorate
- 28 House of Commons Committee
- 29 Immigration Service/Officers
- 30 Immigration Service/Officers of Plymouth
- 31 Liverpool Coastguards
- 32 National Crime Squad/Spokesman/Officer(s)
- 33 National Criminal Intelligence Service (in Scotland)/Source
- 34 National Immigration Bureau
- 35 Parliament
- 36 RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary, Northern Ireland)
- 37 The Tories

- 38 Scotland Yard
- 39 Security Services/Officials
- 40 UCATT – Britain’s main construction union
- 41 Other

Politicians and people of organisations

- 42 Alun Michael - Rural Affairs Minister
- 43 Amy Leather – of Socialist Workers’ Party
- 44 Barbara Roche – Immigration Minister
- 45 Baroness Amos – Lords leader
- 46 Beverley Hughes - Home Office Minister
- 47 Brendan Barber – TUC General Secretary
- 48 Bob Gaiger – Customs and Excise Spokesman for Plymouth
- 49 Bob Packham – Squad’s Deputy Director (General)
- 50 Chancellor
- 51 Chris Dransfield – Labourer
- 52 Colin Breed – Liberal Democrat MP
- 53 David Bell – First Customs Officer
- 54 David Blunkett - Home Secretary
- 55 David Davis – the Shadow Home Secretary
- 56 David Whitehead – Director of BPA
- 57 Dennis McGookin –Supt of Kent Police
- 58 Detectives/Investigators
- 59 Fiona Mactaggart - Home Office Minister
- 60 Foreign Office Ministers
- 61 Geraldine Smith – MP for Morecambe and Lunesdale
- 62 Gillian Shepherd – Conservative MP
- 63 Graham Pearson – Director of Scotland’s Drugs Enforcement Agency
- 64 Graham Perrin – Constable
- 65 Gwen Meclure – Head of Interpol’s special projects group on organisational crime

- 66 Habib Rahman – Chief Executive of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants
- 67 Harry Roberts – of RNLT Rescue
- 68 Jack Straw – Foreign Secretary
- 69 Jeff Maxwell – Spokesman of RUC
- 70 Jessica Yudilevich – of the Refugee Council
- 71 Jim Andrews – the Committee’s Chief Fisher Officer
- 72 Jim Sheridan – Labour MP
- 73 Jon Munroe – NECFAR (The North East Campaign for Asylum Rights) Spokesman
- 74 John Abbot – Head of National Criminal Intelligence Service
- 75 John Denham – Home Office Minister
- 76 John Travis – of Liverpool Coastguard
- 77 Julia Hodson – Lancashire’s Assistant Chief Constable
- 78 Ken Livingstone – Mayor of London
- 79 Margaret Hodge – Minister
- 80 Mark Pugash – Kent Police Spokesman
- 81 Martin Donnellan – Detective Chief Superintendent
- 82 Merseyside church leaders
- 83 Michael Chan – Lord
- 84 Mick Gradwell – Det Chief Insp
- 85 Michael Howard – Tony leader
- 86 Mr Sledmore – leader of Arnside Coastguard
- 87 Monique Verkerk – of the National Catering Trade Union
- 88 Pratrik O’Donoghue – of Catholic Church
- 89 PC Collin Higgins – West Midlands Police’s Chinese Liaison Officer
- 90 Peter Taylor – Senior Officer of UK’s Immigration Service Union
- 91 Philip Trott – a solicitor of Immigration Law
- 92 P&O officials
- 93 Rev Norman Setchell – one of Dover’s port chaplains
- 94 Ric Phillips – of RAF Kinloss
- 95 Richard Debicki – inspector

- 96 Richard Sturt – of East Kent Corner
- 97 Robert Smith – Chief Immigration Officer in Plymouth
- 98 Roy Penrose – Head of National Crime Squad
- 99 Spokesman of Downing Street
- 100 Stephen Boys Smith – Head of the immigration service
- 101 Steve Finnigan – Deputy Chief Constable of Lancashire Police
- 102 Sue Todd – Operation Manager of Liverpool Coastguard
- 103 Tim Collins – Westmorland and Lonsdale MP
- 104 Tony Blair – Prime Minister/his Spokesman
- 105 Tony Woodley – General Secretary of T&G
- 106 Tony Johnson – a councillor in Bolton-le-Sands
- 107 United Reformed Church Minister
- 108 Vera Kochetkova – of Kaliningrad Frontier Guards
- 109 Wendy Walker – Chief Superintendent
- 110 Whitehall Officials
- 111 Other

Industries

- 112 A.F van der Spek Transport
- 113 Conservas Dani – a Spanish-based multinational seafood company
- 114 Heiploeg – a Dutch firm
- 115 P&O Ferry
- 116 Trevor Colebourne – based in Liverpool
- 117 Other

People of industries

- 118 Christophe Martin
- 119 Colin McDonald – of Wirral Seafoods Deeside Ltd
- 120 David Engelhard – owner of a foundation for asylum seekers
- 121 Earl of Limerick – Chairman of tyre company Pirelli

- 122 Frank van der Bulck
- 123 Ken Kennish – a haulier based in Dover
- 124 Paul Kenny – owner of AA Kenny
- 125 The Edens (suspects, father and son)
- 126 Other

Media

- 127 Colin Kerr – Deputy Editor of South China Morning Post in Hong Kong
- 128 Hannah Arendt – a political theorist
- 129 Ingrid Kent – News Editor of *The Visitor*
- 130 Jennifer Duddy – reporter of Evening Herald (Plymouth)
- 131 Jeremy Cooke – BBC reporter
- 132 Jeremy Harding – an author
- 133 Jonathan Watts – a *Guardian* journalist, based in China
- 134 Mr. Bumble – author of ‘the law is an ass’ on Oliver
- 135 Robert Henderson
- 136 Robert Keatley – editor of South China Morning Post in Hong Kong
- 137 Simon Macklin – reporter of South China Morning Post in Hong Kong
- 138 Other journalists

139 *Daily Telegraph*

140 *The Independent on Sunday*

141 *The People*

142 *The Sunday Times*

143 *The Spectator*

144 *Sunday Mercury*

145 Other – local media

Legal workers

146 Dilip Deb – a lawyer

- 147 Tanburgh's – a London-based law firm
- 148 Tony Nelson – presenting the Edens
- 149 Prosecutors/Office spokesman
- 150 Other

Academic

- 151 Jane Duckett – a China expert at Glasgow University
- 152 Khalid Koser – of London University's Migration Research Centre
- 153 Mark Galeotti – of Keele University
- 154 Other

Criminals

- 155 Gangmaster(s)
- 156 Ilyr – a smuggler
- 157 Simon – a gangmaster
- 158 Suspects
- 159 Other

Victims of smuggling/asylum seekers

- 160 Klodi Kastrati
- 161 Salim Fouad
- 162 Other

British citizens

- 163 Derek Aldren – Morecambe resident
- 164 Geoff Morton – local fisherman
- 165 Janet Butler – of Newbiggin Shellfish
- 166 Kensington residents
- 167 Locals of Morecambe Bay
- 168 Maureen – David Eden's wife

169 Phil Jenkins – local cockler

170 Other

Chinese -

Chinese government/politician

171 Chinese authorities/officers

172 Chinese Embassy/Spokesman

173 Chinese Government

174 Wang Fengchao – a Chinese official at Beijing’s liaison office

175 Wen Jiabao – Chinese Vice Premier

176 Zhu Bangzao – Spokesman of Chinese Foreign Ministry

177 Other

Victims and their families

177 Cao Chaokun

178 Guo Binglong

179 Guo Bingzhong

180 Guo Changmao

181 Guo Mei-hwa

182 Guo Wen

183 He Xiuyu

184 Ji Xicai’s family

185 Lin Lishui

186 Lin Qin

187 Xie Xiaowen

188 Yang Chen

189 You Yingsong

190 Yu Hui

191 2 survivors

192 Other

Other Chinese migrant workers/asylum seekers and their families

193 Chen Lin

194 Gua Lin

195 Hu zhenxi

196 Hui

197 Lin Mulung

198 Ping

199 RY Tang

200 Wang

201 Wang Wen

202 Yang Chen

203 Yu Qing

204 Other

Chinese gangmasters/smugglers

205 Han

206 He Zhongfang

207 Yang Shishi

208 Zhang Yonghui

209 Zhao Xiaoqing

210 Other

Organisations

211 Chinese Police

212 Fuqing authorities

213 Chinese community in the UK

214 Other

People of organisations

- 215 Andrew Yu – of a Buddhist association
- 216 Brian Wong – Chairman of the Chinese Business Association in Liverpool
- 217 Gina Tan – leading member of Morecambe’s Chinese community
- 218 Jabez Lam – of Min Quan
- 219 He Jiajin – of Fujian Community Centre in London
- 220 Officer in China
- 221 Officer in Britain
- 222 Richard Lam – Director of Chinese Community Centre in Chinatown
- 223 Thomas Chan – Director of Chinese in Britain Forum
- 224 Other – Other Chinese community leader/spokesman in Britain
- 225 Other Chinese community member
- 226 Other

Media

- 227 A local journalist in Fujian
- 228 John Morrison
- 229 Other journalists

- 230 Fujian press
- 231 *The People’s Daily*
- 232 Other – local media

Legal workers

- 233 Beng Chew – of London-based solicitors Thomas Andrew and Tan
- 234 Wah Piow Tan – London solicitor
- 235 David Tang – an immigration lawyer
- 236 Other

Criminals

237 You Yi

238 Ying Guo

239 Other

Chinese citizens

240 Chen Zhuan

241 Li

242 Lin Weihong

243 Liu Jiazhi

244, Liu Yide and his family

245 Wing Wai Chan – owner of a restaurant

246 Yang Weide – a villager

247 Other

Algerian -

248 Kamel Kadri – an asylum seeker

Australian -

249 Mark Craig – a research

Belgian -

250 Antoine Duquesne – Belgian Interior Minister

251 Belgian Interior Ministry/Spokesman

252 Belgian Police/Source

Canadian -

253 An official

254 Brian Croker – a Beijing-based Canadian immigration officer

255 Jean Claude Delisle – a veteran of the Canadian Immigration Service

256 Susan Gregson – immigration counsellor at the Canadian Embassy in Beijing

Danish -

257 Anders Fogh Rasmussen – Prime Minister

Dutch -

258 Arie van der Spek – owner of the Dutch lorry

259 Dutch authorities spokesman

260 Dutch detectives

261 Loi Che Chan – working on a Chinese programme on Dutch Radio

262 Menngs Garretsen – a spokesman for the Dutch illegal human trafficking unit

263 Ministry of Justice Spokesman

264 Nationals

265 NRC Handelsblad – a Dutch newspaper

266 Paul Geence – an expert of Chinese Affairs at Rotterdam University

267 Perry Whacker – a lorry driver

268 Police/officer(s)

269 Rotterdam Police

270 Source(s)

German -

271 German Social Democrat-led government

Hong Kong -

272 John Tsang – Commissioner of Customs & Excise in Hong Kong

273 Journalist(s)

274 Officials

275 Triads

Indian -

276 Alan – Sing’s fellow asylum seeker

277 Sing – an asylum seeker

Iranian -

278 Victims of smuggling

Kurdish -

279 Three workers

Polish -

280 Krystyna – a female worker

Romanian -

281 A boy – victim of smuggling

Russian -

282 A Russian newspaper

283 A senior security officer

284 A secret service source in Moscow

285 Border guard service

Sri Lanka -

286 Robert – Secastian’s brother

287 Roberts’ parents

288 Sebastian Stefan – an asylum seeker

US -

289 US immigration officials

EU -

290 European Commission

291 Europol – police agency

UN -

292 Hope Hanlan – UN High Commissioner for Refugees representative to the UK and

293 Ireland

294 Nicolas Serriere - of UN's International Labour Organisation

295 Pino Arlacchi – Head of the UN's office for Drug Control & Crime Prevention

296 Other nationality

- **How the actor appears**

297 Directly quoted

298 Indirectly quoted/paraphrased

299 Mentioned only

- **Length of quotation (Numeric - 4 digits)**

300 Type of Theme Linked to Actors

301 Mainly/Solely good news for the linked actor

302 Mainly/Solely bad news for the linked actor

303 Mixed news (broad parity between the positive and negative implications discussed)

304 No evaluation presented

- **Location of reporting**

305 Europe

306 Belgium

- 307 Croatia
 - 308 Zagreb
- 309 Holland
- 310 Spain
- 311 UK
 - 312 Dover
 - 313 Glasgow, Scotland
 - 314 Kent
 - 315 Liverpool
 - 316 London
 - 317 Morecambe Bay, Lancashire
 - 318 Northern Ireland
 - 319 Plymouth
 - 320 Warwickshire
- 321 China
 - 322 Fujian Province (South-eastern China)

APPENDIX II
Sample Critical Discourse Analysis
(All four cases)

A, The Tibet case

The Times (London)
May 22, 2008 Thursday

Political brilliance incarnate, from a devout non-politician

BYLINE: Bronwen Maddox

SECTION: HOME NEWS; Pg.33

LENGTH: 742 words

If there were a single word to describe the Dalai Lama it might be "worldly". Tibet's spiritual leader delivered a performance yesterday in Westminster, with unsurpassable charm and tactical judgment, that should earn him the title of the world's most sophisticated political talent in a non-politician.

The main purpose of his 11-day visit to Britain was, he said, "the promotion of human values", as well as to repeat his call for cultural autonomy for Tibet. The media always politicised things, he said, bursting into long chuckles. But speaking in the hardly apolitical surroundings of Parliament Hall, he delivered - with a constant beaming smile that is an inseparable part of his power as a figurehead - a series of comments that put the ball awkwardly into the court of his opponents.

Would he have gone to 10 Downing Street if Gordon Brown had invited him? "No reason not to go," he said, laughing - giving support to those who criticised the Prime Minister for agreeing only to meet him at Lambeth Palace, an evasion which appears designed to dampen China's outrage at any contact with the Dalai Lama.

Would he go to the Olympics in Beijing, if asked? "I am happy to go," he said, although adding deadpan that "there is no indication (the Chinese Government) wants me to go". The Dalai Lama was forced into exile from his native Tibet 49 years ago and China has chosen to treat him as a malign activist, accusing him of single-handedly stirring up anti-China protests in Tibet two months ago, causing trouble for the Olympic torch, and aiming to secure the independence of Tibet.

But one of the reasons he is so influential an exile is that he deliberately calls only for more autonomy, not separation. Yesterday, he said neatly that by autonomy he meant "those things Tibetans can handle better", but then delivered a speech in favour of China's new prosperity, arguing that this was one thing that Tibet, "a very backward place",

couldn't do for itself. "Every Tibetan wants to modernise Tibet," he said, adding that real progress was possible only as part of China. On their own, six million Tibetans were "weak, but as part of another strong country, strong".

But for all his paeon to prosperity, he added, "the economy is important, but human values are more important", and urged countries, "while you are making close relations in the business field not to forget those principles". In Tibet, China's respect for human rights "is now worse than in 1959", he said. "There is no improvement inside Tibet. So among Tibetans, there are signs of frustration. Originally, we (the advocates of working with China) had plenty of reasons. Now, with more suppression, it is difficult to convince these people."

He suggested that Britain, with many Chinese students in its universities, could educate them that he is not "a devil with horns", as many Chinese believed. The next talks between China and his representatives are in the second week of June. Asked whether these were purely tactical on China's part, to hold criticism at bay before the Olympics, he said "after the Olympics, we can see".

It is impossible to set aside his irrepressible light-heartedness in judging his appeal. Asked whether he liked Britain, he said, giggling, "I always enjoy everything", and recalled when he was a child, he would get particularly excited when someone came from the British mission, because they always brought him toys. Asked for a positive comment by a California-based outfit called Positive TV, he roared with laughter, pushing up his yellow-tinted glasses, and told them that "in my preparation for the next life, I hope for a positive rebirth, not a negative one" - as a less fortunate or more primitive creature. But, without making light of the predicament of his countrymen, or the distress that it causes him, as a political act, you couldn't improve on his present incarnation.

SPIRITUAL LEADER

- * The title Dalai Lama means "Ocean of Wisdom"

- * The 14th Dalai Lama was born in 1935 in a village on Tibet's boundaries

- * He was two when a search party of Buddhist officials recognised him as the reincarnation of the 13th Dalai Lama. He was crowned, aged three

- * He was educated at a monastery and achieved the Geshe Lharampa Degree - a doctorate of Buddhist philosophy

- * Mao Zedong's troops entered Tibet when he was 15-years-old in 1950, and he fled to India on foot in 1951

Source: Times archives

LOAD-DATE: May 23, 2008

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

JOURNAL-CODE: tt

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My sample critical discourse analysis in this case study is an article which appeared on a British national newspaper *The Times* on May 22, 2008. It is selected according to the quantitative content analysis results of the most recent period in Tibet case. *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Mirror* are the three national newspapers selected for analysis, among which *The Times* published the second largest number of articles during the period.

There are several interesting findings from the critical discourse analysis of this article. First of all, the symbolised ‘Dalai Lama-an-incarnate’ formulation has been applied throughout the report. This ‘soft-news’ story contains a headline and a lead paragraph with a list of predicational descriptions of Dalai Lama which are consistent with the discourse. The headline of the ‘soft-news’ story summarises the images of Dalai Lama as both a ‘political brilliance incarnate’ and ‘a devour non-politician’, which are a pair of contrasting descriptions as being both political and non-politician at the same time. In other words, Dalai Lama plays a dual-role as being both a politician who promotes democracy and human rights, and a spiritual leader in Tibet. He is portrayed as a ‘god-king’ of the holy land. In the lead paragraph, the image of Dalai Lama as a spiritual leader of Tibet continues to be strengthened by a combination of superlative descriptions, such as ‘with unsurpassable charm and tactical judgement’ and ‘the title of the world’s most sophisticated political talent in a non-politician’. Throughout the following texts, the references of Dalai Lama are again consistent with the images of him established earlier in the story. For instance, detailed description of his expressions and gestures are given along his speech, such as ‘a constant beaming smile’ and expressing his political views ‘neatly’, etc. in order to strengthen his representative images as a spiritual ‘figurehead’.

Another interesting finding is, as the story is based on the author’s own and direct observation (he was at Dalai Lama’s speech in Westminster), the information including the descriptions of Dalai Lama gains credit from the readers. The author established the images of him as the incarnate of the god, so any information which does not fit this discourse of Dalai Lama would become less reliable. For example, the predication of Dalai Lama as ‘a malign activist’ made by China is obviously opposed to his deified image. Hence, the

conflict of two opposite images here is to emphasise that Dalai Lama has a sacred status and China has made a slander on him. To take another example, when Dalai Lama was asked if he would go to meet Gordon Brown at No. 10 Downing Street if invited, he said he would and laughed at the same time. It is interpreted by the reporter that he was ‘giving support to those who criticised the Prime Minister for agreeing only to meet him at Lambeth Palace, an evasion which appears designed to dampen China's outrage at any contact with the Dalai Lama’. This is also a presupposition based on author’s own understanding.

Thirdly, two aspects of Orientalism are presented in the story – the barbarian Tibet and the deified Dalai Lama which fall within the ‘backward’ while ‘exotic’ aspects of the Orientalist frame. On the one hand, Dalai Lama admitted the backwardness of Tibet as the six million Tibetans are ‘weak’ and need China’s help to ‘modernise Tibet’; on the other hand, Dalai Lama constantly used his spiritual image and influence which the Westerners find exotic and attractive to emphasise the importance of human values and in the meantime criticised China’s respect for human rights.

Last but not least, as a news story published on *Times*, a broadsheet newspaper with moderate conservative political alignment, it is surprising to see only a homogenous attitude or tone in the representation of Dalai Lama in this article, which is completely ‘leaning to one side’. This is very different from other journalistic reports which provide with a more balanced discussion of the issue by quoting various voices. The tone of presentation is extremely subjective, which makes the story dominated by an entirely personal admiration of Dalai Lama.

B, The Hong Kong Handover case

Daily Mail (London)

June 28, 1997

The dawn invaders; Six hours after Prince Charles ends British rule, Chinese soldiers will sweep in

BYLINE: David Williams

SECTION: Pg. 2

LENGTH: 749 words

CHINA sent a shiver through the West last night by unveiling plans to send a force of 4,000 troops into Hong Kong six hours after Prince Charles formally ends 156 years of British rule over the colony.

Its People's Liberation Army, responsible for the Tiananmen Square massacre eight years ago □, will cross the border in armoured vehicles, helicopters and warships.

They will sweep in at 6am on Monday, as the colony slumbers following all-night parties to commemorate the handover. Tony Blair, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and a host of foreign leaders will still be there.

The announcement shocked residents of the colony and British officials.

Outgoing Governor Chris Patten said: 'It doesn't sound to me the right sort of signal to send to the international community and, above all, I think it is a most appalling signal to send to the people of Hong Kong.'

Pro-democracy legislator Emily Lau said: 'We don't need so many and we don't need them coming in such a fashion. I don't think it's necessary, but they like to act the bully.'

Mr Patten promised to try to dissuade China from making such a show of military force but admitted there was little he could do.

'This decision is most unfortunate. We will continue to make representations and hope that it is reversed.

'I think I'm right in saying the arrival of the armoured personnel carriers will more or less coincide with the evening network news in America.'

The Foreign Office said the deployment might send a 'negative signal' to the world.

Diplomats fear it has been arranged as a triumphal march into the territory which China has called 'the great humiliation'.

Soldiers and weapons will fly in six helicopters to the Shek Kong airbase in the new territories, together with 21 armoured cars.

Ten warships will steam into Victoria harbour after the royal yacht Britannia takes Prince Charles and Mr Patten home.

Three separate columns will deploy to military bases vacated hours earlier by British soldiers.

'They (Peking's leaders). . . should have more sensitivity towards the feelings of the Hong Kong peoples,' said Mrs Lau. 'Hong Kong people are not very enamoured of the PLA.'

The deployment has awful echoes of the 1989 massacre of unarmed students in Tiananmen Square which provoked a dramatic flight of people and capital from the colony and galvanised the pro-democracy movement. □

Hong Kong business leaders are cautiously optimistic of a prosperous future under Peking rule, reflected in the local stock exchange ending on a record high.

Although 700 troops will be in Hong Kong before the handover, an invasion by the PLA has been one of the residents' greatest concerns.

When details were announced, it was through the office of Tung Chee-hwa, Peking's handpicked chief executive-designate for the new Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

Later, China trumpeted the decision on its evening television news, saying the soldiers would enter through three border posts, depicted in detail on a topographical chart.

Washington took the announcement in its stride, saying China was acting within its rights - Peking is allowed to station up to 9,500 troops in Hong Kong, the same number as Britain had at the height of its military presence.

'They've always said they were going to put Chinese troops where the British troops were. That's not anything unusual. It's their territory,' said a White House official, who declined to be identified.

The countdown to the end of the British empire in the Far East continued amid the furore. Prince Charles, Foreign Secretary Robin Cook, Edward Heath, Paddy Ashdown, and other dignitaries left Heathrow aboard a British Airways jumbo in the airline's new livery to attend the ceremonies, and rehearsals for the handover ceremony were being completed.

Some 186 bandsmen from units as disparate as the Royal Marines, the Black Watch, the Gurkhas and the Scots Guards will be joined on the parade ground by hundreds of troops from the Army, Royal Navy and RAF.

It will be their task to ensure the final withdrawal is solemn and dignified.

Traditional military pomp and splendour will be interwoven with Chinese dance and music to portray the 'spirit of Hong Kong', with two 70-piece orchestras and a 650-strong choir of adults and children.

At the climax, flags will be lowered simultaneously on the parade ground and on Britannia moored alongside.

LOAD-DATE: June 30, 1997

LANGUAGE: English

PUB-TYPE: Paper

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My sample critical discourse analysis in this case study is an article which appeared on a British national newspaper *Daily Mail* on June 28, 1997, only few days away from the Hong Kong Handover on July 1. It is chosen according to the results of content analysis on British national newspaper coverage of the Hong Kong handover in 1997. *Daily Mail*, as a tabloid newspaper, dedicated a small number of articles but longer coverage to the handover event than quality newspapers – *The Independent (London)* and *The Times (London)* which are the top two newspapers with largest number of publications during the selected period. Additionally, this article shares the most popular theme – Britain’s doubts over Hong Kong’s democratic future, with other newspapers.

As a ‘hard-news’ story published on a tabloid newspaper, metaphorical application of the discourse is a prominent feature of this report. It is evident in the headline and lead paragraph.

First of all, in the headline and lead paragraph, various metaphorical expressions like ‘invaders’, ‘sweep in’ and ‘sent a shiver’ are used to present China as a military threat to Hong Kong and Britain, in order to emphasise Britain’s worries of the political and democratic future of Hong Kong after the handover. ‘Invaders’, that is how the Chinese troops are referred to, not only emphasises the forceful and hostile entre into Hong Kong, but also indicates the ‘harm’ instead of ‘protection’ the Chinese military brought to Hong Kong people. Also, ‘sweep in’ is a verb establishing vivid image of how quickly the Chinese warships steamed in and how ‘shocked’ the British were. Such political transition is portrayed as a military action, with the sort of language that is often used in the military account. Therefore, Chinese troops’ entre to Hong Kong is made as a fictional discourse of military forced invasion to highlight Britain’s worries and fears.

Such application to the discourse of military invasion has been formulated several times throughout the whole article and the language of military discourse continues. For instance, in the text body, ex-Governor Chris Patten called it ‘a most appalling signal to send to the people of Hong Kong’ and ‘a show of military force’, as well as Pro-democracy legislator

Emily Lau called the action ‘the bully’ are all consistent with the discourse of military invasion. Also, Chinese military entrance is believed to represent as an ‘arranged as a triumphal march’ and China ‘trumpeted the decision’ as appeared in the texts are again consistent with the discourse.

The predications of Chinese troops have been intertextually linked to the same historical event twice, in order to emphasise the images of Chinese army as an invader and dictator (as shown in the texts with marks □ and □). The news reporter is trying to refresh the readers’ memories by connecting both events with the ‘military’ actions involved. Therefore, it is interpreted by the newspaper as a symbol of dictatorship and anti-democracy, from the liberal democratic perspective.

In this story, the voices are heavily leaning to one side – the British politicians and officials. As the prominent speaker in this article, previous Governor of Hong Kong Chris Patten is quoted most in the report summarising China’s action before the handover day as a military force entry and an ‘appalling signal’, in other words, a threat to the people of Hong Kong. This argument is advocated by a pro-democracy legislator, the Foreign Office and British diplomats. However, The White House provided an opposed view by announcing the legitimacy of the Chinese action. This is an interesting debate here. On the one hand, Britain was infuriated that China’s rush to make a military presence has threatened Hong Kong’s autonomy which is understood by Britain as anti-democracy and showed its indifference to the public relations between China and Britain. On the other hand, America argued legislatively China had the right to make the entry, which is against British definition of this military action as an ‘invasion’. Also, the article has mentioned twice that China’s entrance would offend the Hong Kong residents by saying ‘The announcement shocked both residents of the colony and British officials’ and ‘an invasion by the PLA has been one of the residents’ greatest concerns’, but there is surprisingly no voice from Hong Kong people to support such arguments.

In general, the Chinese military entry into Hong Kong is criticised as an ‘invasion’ in this story, supported by a pro-democratic view that China has offended Hong Kong’s autonomy by sending military force without asking for permission right after Britain formally ends rule over the colony. Britain has been worried about if democracy could be kept in Hong Kong after the handover, and China’s triumphal entry just deepened these worries.

C, The Chinese immigration case

Liverpool Daily Echo
February 11, 2004, Wednesday

CHINESE PREPARED TO RISK ALL FOR BETTER LIFE IN THE WEST

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 7

LENGTH: 364 words

ON the streets where they lived, there is little work -and even less hope.

It is why the sons and daughters of the Fujian,or Fukien,province of south east China,continue to search for a better,more prosperous,life in Europe and America.

Eight of the 19 cocklers who perished in Morecambe Bay are thought to come from the Fujian province,having been smuggled into this country by "snakehead" gangsters.

And this represented the second large-scale, high-profile tragedy to befall the people of this Chinese region in the last four years.

Baihu village is still reeling from the horrific deaths of 58 of its former residents, who suffocated in the back of a lorry bound for Dover from Zeebrugge in Belgium.

"There are people in Fujian who have been coming to this country for the last few years," says Jabez Lam,of the London-based Chinese rights group Min Quan.

"And many of them,because of the government's immigration and asylum system, become unauthorised workers."

Unemployment in Baihu currently runs at over 50% -and the area has been on its knees since the state textile factory and others it used to rely on closed down in the 1990s.

"China has embraced Thatcherism even more than Britain did," says JonathanWatts,a Guardian journalist based in China.

"Factories have been closed down and people have lost their livelihoods -I'm sure people in Liverpool won't have any difficulty in understanding what that can mean to a community."

Jonathan says there is a long tradition of Chinese people taking risks to try and make new lives abroad.

A young mother in Baihu told him: "You ask why they didn't stay here and work. It's because there is no work. In Britain, people have money."

TONY Woodley, the Wallasey-born general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union has joined Renfrewshire West MP Jim Sheridan, in calling for the licensing of gangmasters.

He believes the Chinese cockle pickers represent "the tip of an enormous iceberg" and that as many as 3,000 gang masters could be operating in this country.

And he is backing Jim Sheridan's Gangmaster Licensing Bill, which gets its second reading on February 27.

LOAD-DATE: February 11, 2004

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

TYPE: Newspaper

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My sample critical discourse analysis in this case study is an article which was published on a British regional newspaper *Liverpool Daily Echo* on February 11, 2004, 6 days after the Chinese cockle picker tragedy happened in Morecambe Bay, Lancashire. It is selected based on the results of content analysis of the Chinese immigration case. Firstly, *Liverpool Daily Echo* is one of the newspapers which published the biggest number of articles during the sample period. Secondly, for the incident is more a local event, regional newspapers have paid their attention by making significant coverage of it. In particular, regional newspapers, such as *Liverpool Daily Echo* and *Daily Post (Liverpool)*, joined by other two national newspapers, make up nearly one third of total coverage of all UK newspapers.

The discourse type is a ‘soft-news’ story from a tabloid newspaper. It is different from a ‘hard-news’ story which usually includes a headline and a lead paragraph with the abstract of the story. This article is to explore in depth why the Chinese immigrants risked everything to come to work in Britain. By focusing on the angle of unemployment in South East China, the author took background research and interviews various people for their opinions. The nature of this discourse type is colloquial. The structure of the discourse is less standard or recognizable. As the story appeared on the newspaper several days after the tragedy, it is intended to provide background information of what happened and why it happened, rather than a up-to-the-minute news and all ‘facts’ of the tragedy itself.

The article starts with a headline not only defining the situation of the Chinese immigrants choosing to come all the way to the UK to take such dangerous and low-paid job, but also evaluating it with a liberal view that they came for a better life with a high price to pay – risking everything, even lives. Another feature of the headline is, an ambiguous association is made between the Chinese as a race group and the action as risking ‘all for better life in the West’ (rather than in the UK specifically). Such

generalisation in the headline would create the impression that the tragedy was not the only incident. The Chinese have the tradition of risking their lives to go to the West for a better life.

However, the Chinese victims in this news story only came from one Chinese region – Fujian Province. Such generalisation in the headline is evident in the body text. First, in the second paragraph, the Chinese from Fujian are described as to ‘continue to search for a better, more prosperous, life in Europe and America’. The word ‘continue’ shows the repetition of such activity from the history till the present. It is also intertextually linked with previous coverage of a similar Chinese immigrant incident – the Dover tragedy in 2000. The history is recalled in order to draw the connections between the two large-scale and high-profile tragedies over four years – the victims were from the same Chinese region and came to the UK for the same reason – a better life. Therefore, the conclusion of the ‘Chinese’ in general sacrificing everything and searching for a better life in the West is drawn upon the shared characteristics of both events.

Additionally, the word ‘prepared’ in the headline indicates that these Chinese immigrants were aware of the dangerous consequences of going to and working in the UK illegally, but they were still willing to risk for it. Hence, from the liberal individualist point of view, it proves that this was their completely subjective initiative rather than the Chinese being forced to come to the UK.

This news article is discussing what/who should be responsible for the tragedy. Its structure starts with an argument that the unemployment in the Chinese region is the main cause of making the Chinese people immigrate to Britain illegally. Under such view, four different social actors were interviewed. Only one of them is from a Chinese rights group and blamed the British government’s immigration and asylum system for the tragedy; the other three including a journalist from *The Guardian*, a local Chinese

resident and the general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union believed China's unemployment and poverty as well as Chinese gangsters should be responsible for the tragedy.

The prominent argument of the article that the Chinese have a long tradition of making sacrifices and looking for a 'better' life abroad is again supported by a quotation of a journalist from another central-left newspaper *The Guardian*. He uses the term Thatcherism, as associated with liberalism promoting free market and privatisation, to indicate that China closed down its state factories in the 1990s and caused massive job losses is the reason behind the Chinese migration.

Overall, the article concentrates on arguing the low employment rate in the province of South-eastern China has made people choose to migrate to the West, even risking their lives. This argument is supported by the liberal view that everyone is entitled to freedom of choice and purchasing happiness for his own best interests.

D, The Chinese earthquakes case

The Guardian (London) - Final Edition

June 13, 2008 Friday

Chinese media blocked as parents seek justice over collapsed schools

BYLINE: Jonathan Watts, Beijing

SECTION: GUARDIAN INTERNATIONAL PAGES; Pg. 26

LENGTH: 599 words

Chinese police blocked access to several collapsed schools yesterday as distraught parents attempted to hold mourning ceremonies for their dead children a month after the Sichuan **earthquake**.

The clampdown in Dujiangyuan and Juyuan came amid a tightening of media controls, as domestic journalists were instructed to focus on upbeat stories about the relief effort and foreign reporters were denied entry to the area. □

"Many of the parents wanted to mourn at school today but we could not get in. There are so many police, hundreds of them, not just around the school but everywhere on the street," said one of the parents near Juyuan middle school, Liu Rongjie. "We want justice, but we also need spiritual and financial support. Hundreds of students and teachers died there. It's heartbreakingly sad."

The restrictions are a step back from the first two weeks after the May 12 earthquake, when the government was widely praised for opening the disaster area to journalists, volunteers and aid workers. □

The tightening reflects political concerns that the destroyed schools could become a focus for anti-government sentiment. Thousands of children died when their classrooms were reduced to rubble even though surrounding buildings remained standing. This has prompted allegations of shoddy construction, official corruption and poor safety oversight.

Central government investigation teams have visited the sites, but will not release their findings until next Friday at the earliest. □

Parents have staged demonstrations amid the debris of middle schools in Juyuan and Dujiangyuan and other areas, demanding an investigation, punishment for wrongdoing and compensation. Both towns are now out of bounds for foreign reporters, at least seven of whom have been temporarily detained in the past week by police. Others have been stopped at checkpoints or removed from the towns. □

Yesterday a national official denied **China** was tightening up on media coverage in the disaster zone. "Our open attitude has not changed," said Wang Guoqing, vice-director of the state council's news division. "We will soon host the Olympics and even more reporters will come. Our door is open. It will not close."

The discrepancy with the situation on the ground may partly reflect some local officials' efforts at self-preservation. Although Dujiangyuan and Juyuan are closed to reporters, damaged schools in other areas, such as Beichuan and Mianzhu, are still open. A provincial government official said the restrictions were not ordered by higher authorities. "The local officials did not inform us about this, they just decided and operated on their own," said an official with the provincial foreign affairs department. "I am angry and I've reported this to my superiors."

But state propaganda officials have reportedly tried to direct domestic coverage away from the school issue. "Conditions are relatively good, but we are still not completely free to report," said a photojournalist from Guangdong province, who did not want his name published. "We are supposed to be speaking with one voice and concentrating on heartwarming stories."

News portals, which previously ran prominent stories about the structural quality of collapsed schools, are now avoiding the topic or running reports that appear to affirm the correct implementation of building standards.

The nation's main focus is on reconstruction. Temporary homes are being built for many of the 5 million displaced people and entire towns will be rebuilt. Ninety-five per cent of the buildings in Wenchuan county, near the epicentre, have been destroyed or condemned.

LOAD-DATE: June 13, 2008

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newspaper

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My sample critical discourse analysis in this case study is an article which was published on a British national newspaper *The Guardian* on June 13, 2008, a month after the Sichuan Earthquake occurred on May 12, 2008. It is selected based on the results of content analysis of the Chinese earthquake case. In this case, *The Guardian* is among the five British national newspapers which published most articles and shared 68% of total reports with other 17 national newspapers during the year after the Sichuan Earthquake.

As appearing on a national quality newspaper *The Guardian*, an official and congruent style is chosen for the discourse. This is a ‘hard-news’ story with a standard structure – “a ‘nucleus’ consisting of a headline and a lead paragraph which gives the gist of the story; a series of ‘a satellite’ paragraphs which elaborate the story in various directions; and a final ‘wrap-up’ paragraph which gives a sense of resolution to the story” (Media Literacy Report 1993). Both the headline and the first paragraph of the article summarise the whole story, followed by more detailed narratives of the situation. Various voices from both victims’ parents and Chinese officials are represented in this report.

The headline is a passive construction with the absence of the agent – Chinese authorities. In relation to transitivity choices, the Chinese media are represented as the objects of Chinese authorities’ action; while the Chinese police are represented as active agents in the lead paragraph. In this case, due to the characteristic of the news headline as it always catches the readers’ eyes first, the reporter considers ‘Chinese media blocked’ a more important aspect of the story than the fact that who exactly blocked the Chinese media.

Throughout the story, four intertextualities can be found linked with previous coverage of either the same event or the 1976 Tangshan Earthquake. Shortly after the 1976

Tangshan Earthquake occurred, *The Guardian* in most of its coverage criticising China's censorship in journalism. It challenged Chinese authorities with the absence of 'real' statistics of the quake and the politicised Chinese journalism which were seen as being against the freedom of communication and expression. In 2008, *The Guardian* was among the British national newspapers which acknowledged China's openness in its journalistic censorship and praised its progress in the press freedom and democratisation. However, a metaphor 'a step back' is referred to the restrictions on media reporting of the collapsed school and parents' protests in this article, presupposing China is 'supposed' to keep its progress in democratisation and put more freedom on its journalistic censorship but it actually goes the opposite way. China's censorship in news reporting is taken for granted to be free and transparent by the reporter's own expectation and liberal democratic point of view that the media should enjoy freedom of speech and everyone is entitled to seek for justice.

With the same argument, a broader intertextuality is made between this article and news coverage of another great earthquake – 1976 Tangshan Earthquake (refer to the texts with the mark □). The same claims were made by *The Guardian* on China's censorship in journalism 32 years ago, regarding the formalism existing in the Chinese journalism. In 1976, Chinese authorities were reported to control and decide what the media should or should not report. It was still the same situation in 2008 as the Chinese media were 'told' to focus only on the 'positive' side of the quake and avoid reporting the parents' protest. There was no transparency in the delivery of quake information by Chinese central government.

As indicated in the article with marks □ and □, the failure of delivering up-to-the-minute and first-hand quake information is also reflected in the articles of 1976 Tangshan Earthquake. The same issue was brought up when there was no real or immediate information released by the Chinese government after the quake. The

transparency in delivery of quake information was questioned. In 2008, the ‘old habit’ of Chinese journalistic freedom and censorship still has not changed.

In relation to the selection of speakers and quotations, the credibility is gained through direct interviews between the reporter himself and news actors, since Jonathan Watts is the correspondent of *The Guardian* in Beijing and he had direct access to the actors. Three Chinese national and local officials are directly quoted and speak for themselves. The author attributed the problem to ‘some local officials’ efforts at self-preservation’, due to the ‘discrepancy with the situation’ that some areas were still open to the media. Additionally, the first part of the report focuses on devastated parents as the dominant voice, promoting allegations of poor structural quality of collapsed schools and official corruption. Later in the article, state and provincial Chinese officials’ voices are more prominent, denying the claims of tightening media coverage in quake zone. Only one journalist’s voice is included in the last part of the story, contrasting the official’s speeches by expressing the incomplete freedom in journalistic reporting of the quake.

Overall, the prominent argument of this news story is that Chinese government blocked media from reporting the collapsed school and stopped victims’ parents to ‘seek justice’. The author defined the situation and evaluated it from a liberal perspective that this action authorised by the Chinese government with its journalistic censorship is against the Western standard of democracy.