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Master's Thesis

北京奧運與中國大陸在
《時代》週刊與《經濟學人》雜誌所呈現之形象
Beijing Olympics and the Images of China
in *Time* and *The Economist*

Student: Grace, Meng-lin Kuo (郭孟霖)
Advisor: Professor Leonard L. Chu (朱立教授)

中華民國 99 年 5 月

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In Partial Fulfillment
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Abstract

Beijing Olympics and the Images of China in *Time* and *The Economist*

Grace, Meng-lin Kuo

This thesis explores whether hosting the Beijing Olympic Games has helped promote China's images as measured by quantitative and qualitative analysis of news coverage on China in *Time* and *The Economist*.

Content analysis showed that coverage on China in both magazines increased as the Beijing Olympic Games neared. Both *Time* and *The Economist* paid the most attention to China's "politics," "economics," and "society," while "education" and "health" received the least coverage. The newsmagazines covered China more negatively than positively; however, *Time* demonstrated a friendlier stance towards China than *The Economist*. In terms of length of article, both magazines spent the most number of pages covering "general," or articles that cover more than one subject, followed by "health" and "economics" in *Time* and "environment" and "economics" in *The Economist*.

Discourse analysis showed the frames used to cover China in the newsmagazines were, China as a country that suppresses its people's rights, China as a country full of chances yet beware of risks and uncertainties, China as a country working on environmental protection, China as a country short of resources, the Internet as a medium changing Chinese youth's way of living, China as an unstable and unequal developing country, China as a country with flowering creativity amid low acceptance, China's problematic education system yet willing to make changes, China lags in healthcare, disease surveillance and control.

Manheim and Albritton (1994) argue that a nation's image is boosted when

positive coverage increases, while negative coverage decreases. This study found that hosting the Olympic Games helped promote China's images in *Time* more significantly than in *The Economist*, particularly in “economics,” “environment,” “technology,” and “culture and leisure”.

Key words: China, Olympics, images, frames, content analysis



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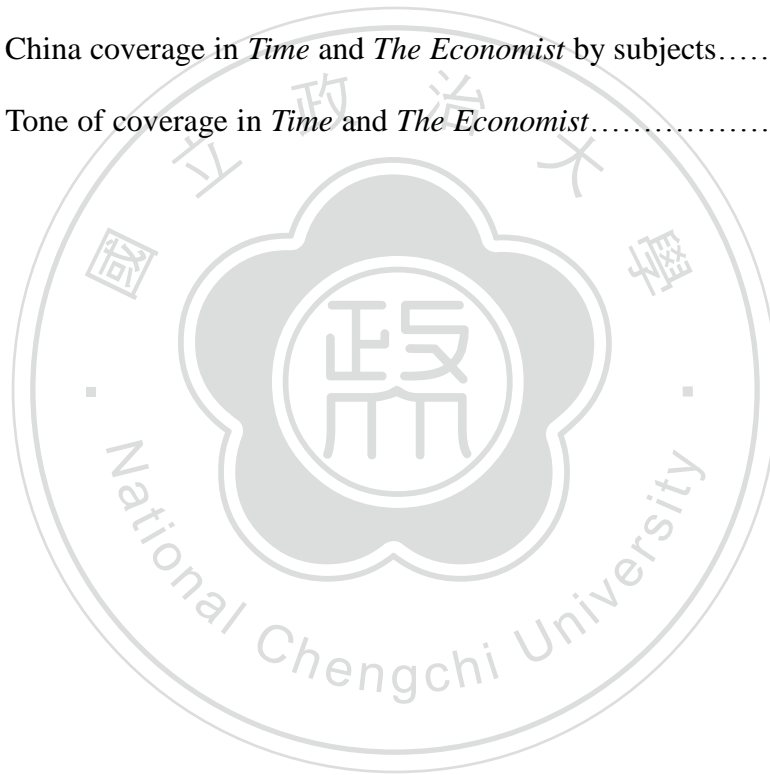
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Mega-Events as Image Makers

On August 24, 2008, the 29th Olympiad in Beijing ended as the last of the fireworks faded away, concluding the 17-day long, once in four years mega-event. Mega-events, such as the Olympic Games, are “large scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance” (Roche, 2000; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). Kenneth Roberts in 2004 (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006) defined mega-events as “discontinuous, out of the ordinary, international and simply big in composition”. Bluntly put, “megas” have “the ability to transmit promotional messages to billions of people via television and other developments in telecommunication” (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006).

Two central features of contemporary mega-events, according to Horne and Manzenreiter (2006), are that they are thought to have significant consequences for the host city, region or nation in which they occur, and that they will attract large amounts of media coverage. Indeed, previous Olympic Games have transformed the host countries one way or another. The 18th Tokyo Olympiad in 1964 brought a great change to Japan’s transportation system with the introduction of the Shinkansen bullet train, one of the fastest trains in the world (Web Japan, 2008); the 1988 Seoul Olympics brought a political reform in South Korea, in which the military government leader, former South Korean president Chun Doo Hwan, agreed to step down and hold direct elections in December 1987, which paved way for democracy in the country (Pound, 2008); the 1992 Barcelona Olympiad transformed the once rundown city into a famous tourist site with beautiful beaches (Eaude, 2007; Slot, 2008); the 2000 Sydney Olympics was regarded as the “world-first Green Games”

(Maguire, Jarvie, Mansfield, & Bradley, 2002) with the utilization of solar power as primary energy source and recycled timber as building construction materials. Further, public transportation employment was promoted as well (Maguire et al., 2002). Hence, since mega-events act as a stage for host countries to showcase their developments and promote their image in the world, many nations compete with each other for the hosting of such events.

China, one of the world's oldest and closed countries, was not an exception. The country has emerged as one of the world's most powerful countries. In 1978, Deng Xiaoping's economic reform, which opened up China to the world in terms of foreign trade and investment (CIA, 2009), boosted the country's economy. As of year 2007, the gross domestic product rate in China has grown at an average rate of 10 percent annually for the past 30 years (MOEA, 2008), ranking as the second-largest economy in the world after the United States in 2008 (CIA, 2009). With its economy rapidly growing, the world is starting to recognize this uprising country and has become more and more interested in its culture and language. Moreover, China has started to become active in participating in international organizations, which could be manifested by its joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 and signing Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) with various countries, for example, its cooperation with the Association of Southeast Asia Nations and becoming a participant of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), which aims to eliminate tariffs between contract parties (ASEAN, 2009). China's rapid economic growth is not without high costs, among which environmental pollution, human rights abuses, and food safety issues seem to have stood out and have tarnished China's images overseas. If mega-events like the Olympic Games can help to bring about changes and reform images of host countries, will it do the same for China? If so, in what aspects? This is what this thesis intends to address. However, to answer these questions, an understanding of the

world's contemporary images of environmental pollution, human rights abuses, and food safety in China shall help to background the research problem this thesis attempts to address.

1.2 China Images and the Beijing Olympic Games

People around the world have long held negative images of China's environment, human rights, and food product safety, and China has always been on the lookout for platforms to showcase itself and improve its images. The following presents how negative images of the mentioned issues were formed.

1.2.1 Environmental Pollutions

Aforementioned, environmental pollution is one main outcome of the country's rapid economic growth in the past decades, and one of the images that flashes into people's mind when talking about China. Increased demands of energy, water, and land in the country led not only to a depletion of natural resources and desertification (Beyer, 2006) but also to pollution. Coal, an abundant source energy in China (Goffman, 2007), has long been an important resource that has powered the country's economic growth (Economy, 2007). It provides about 70 percent of China's energy needs (Economy, 2007; Kim, 2007), with more than half of it used to generate over three quarters of the country's electricity supply (Creedy, Wang, Zhou, Liu, & Campbell, 2006; Goffman, 2007). Studies have found that the reliance on coal, one of the dirtiest energy sources (Goffman, 2007), has done great damage to China's environment and its people's health. According to Economy (2007), 90 percent of China's sulfur dioxide emissions and 50 percent of its particulate emissions are the result of coal usage, which are responsible for acid rain and respiratory problems, respectively.

Aside from coal usage, transportation vehicles contribute a lot to China's polluted air as well for they emit carbon monoxide and particulate matters such as lead and sulfur (Beyer, 2006). For Beijing, there was an estimated 2.87 million vehicles at the end of 2006, an increase of 370,000 from 2005 (Li, 2007). The reason is that "as the city continues to expand and increasingly fewer people report to a local work unit, more and more city residents live and work in different parts of the city...the lack of consideration of integrating land use and transportation systems are causing deteriorated urban transport conditions" (Goffman, 2007).

1.2.2 Human Rights Abuses

Given China's ideological system and political structure, one other image people have about the country is its human rights records. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) defines the term "human rights" as an individual having the right and freedom to move and reside within a state, to leave and return to a country; the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, opinion and expression, assembly and association; the right to vote, work, and participate in cultural life. All these seem to be wanting in China.

Being ruled by the Communist Party, China is a tightly controlled country that controls freedom of its people and silences dissent. Perhaps, one of the world's most implanted images of China's human rights abuse is the Tiananmen Square crackdown in 1989, which resulted in casualties among the demonstrators and, consequently, the imposition of economic sanctions by the West.

Suppression of human rights in China has been conspicuously manifested by the jailing of journalists as well. For example, both Shi Tao and Hu Jia, were imprisoned respectively in 2004 and 2007. Hu was sentenced to three-and-a-half years in jail under the name of "incitement to subvert state power" after criticizing China's

social system (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2008). Shi was arrested and charged with “providing state secrets to foreigners,” after Yahoo disclosed his information to the Chinese government for he had forwarded a Chinese governmental document warning journalists not to cover anything related to the Tiananmen Square Incident on the eve of its 15th anniversary in 1994 via Yahoo onto a U.S.-based website *Democracy Forum* (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2008). Shi’s case was particularly controversial because Yahoo, a U.S.-based company founded in a land known for its freedom of speech and human rights should have connived with a foreign authoritarian government in repressing its user’s freedom of speech.

The repression of minority groups in Tibet and Xinjiang are also issues brought up often by the international community when talking about human rights in China. The two regions resemble each other in that each, with its own religion and language, has fought to become independent. However, afraid that religious leaders will preach against the Chinese Communist Party and promote independence, temples, mosques, and religious schools are tightly controlled (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Enforced are “patriotic education” courses in which the Chinese authorities require religious figures, such as monks and imams, to study government propaganda (Yardley, 2008; Human Rights Watch, 2001). With such tight control, riots and demonstrations have occasionally broken out, but often resulting to the crackdown and tighter control by the Chinese authorities. For example, in March 2008, five months before the Olympic Games started, Tibetan monks went on the street to commemorate the 49th anniversary of Tibet’s failed independence uprising in 1959 and to demand for independence again. However, the riot developed into a bloody clash with the Chinese police, who further closed down the region, detained or expelled journalists in the area (Economy & Segal, 2008), and blocked Youtube videos about the protest.

1.2.3 Food Product Safety

Besides environmental pollution and human rights records, product safety has been an issue both the Chinese people and the government are working to cope with. The safety of products such as food has been a challenge the Chinese government has been facing in the past few years due to its weak enforcement of food and drug regulations, corruption, bribery, and a counterfeiting business culture (Barboza, 2007). From contaminated pet food, toothpaste, toys, seafood, eggs, dumplings, to the recently discovered milk powder for babies, pets and human beings have been affected by the chemicals used in these products.

Melamine, a chemical used to make plastic products, was found in pet foods and milk powder for babies, causing renal problems such as renal failures in pets and kidney stones in children. Diethylene glycol, a poisonous chemical commonly used in antifreeze and brake fluid (the Associated Press, 2007), was found in Chinese-made toothpastes exported to Panama, Haiti, Costa Rica, Australia, the United States, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, and Nicaragua (Bogdanich, 2007). The toxic toothpastes killed nearly 200 people in Haiti and Panama (Barboza, 2007).

Diethylene glycol, a chemical cousin of glycerin, which is a syrup commonly found in food, drugs and household products and usually more expensive (Bogdanich, 2007), was mislabeled as glycerin and imported from China to Panama in 2006 (Barboza & Bogdanich, 2007). Under the circumstances, the Panamanian government accidentally mixed the poisonous chemical into cold medicines and distributed them to its people, killing at least 100 people that year (Barboza & Bogdanich, 2007). Thus, “Made in China” has been a “warning label” (Barboza, 2007) that scares off consumers while purchasing goods.

1.3 The Beijing Olympics and China's Image Building

Against such battered image, China has been actively trying to present itself as a developed and harmonious country to the world by vying to host global events such as the Olympic Games. However, the process was full of twists and turns. In September 23, 1993, Beijing failed the bid for the 2000 Olympic Games to Sydney by a margin of only 2 votes: 45 to 43 (Ching, 2008; Berkowitz, Gjermano, Gomez, & Schafer, 2007). It was widely believed that human rights (Ching, 2008; Berkowitz et al., 2007) and environmental issues (Beyer, 2006) were the reasons why Beijing lost to Sydney for the 2000 Games. In April 1999, Beijing bade for the hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games again, and beat Toronto by 56 votes to 22 votes on July 13, 2001 (Ching, 2008), with the promise of improving human rights situation and environmental problems in the country.

Determined to hold a successful Olympic Games and to change the world's image of the country, the Chinese government prepared a "Beijing Olympics Action Plan" and announced that the goals of the 29th Olympiad are "Green Olympics," "High-tech Olympics," and the "People's Olympics" (BOCOG, 2002).

For "Green Olympics," priorities will be given to environmental protection in the planning, design, and construction of Olympic venues and facilities, with strict environmental standards. Controls for environmental pollution will focus on the prevention of air pollution and the protection of drinking water sources through the means of increased use of cleaner high-quality energies (e.g. natural gas, solar and wind energy). Bus and taxi drivers will be encouraged to use cleaner gaseous fuel. Further, the Chinese government will push forward urban afforestation as well as raise the public's environmental awareness and encourage them to make "green" consumption choices (e.g. commute via public transportations), and to actively participate in activities aiming to improve the environment (BOCOG, 2002; Wei & Yu,

2006).

“High-tech Olympics” refers to the application of science and technology in the preparation for the Games. It is proposed that high technology will be used in the designing of the Olympic venues and facilities, transportation management, environmental protection, information and telecommunications, security, and the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games (BOCOG, 2002). As one Chinese research institution notes (Beijing Development Research Center of the State Council, 2001), the status of a country in the world is often determined by the level of its technology. The Olympic Games is a great opportunity for China to showcase to the world its rapid technological development, and further to promote and establish a new image of China (Beijing Development Research Center of the State Council, 2001).

“People’s Olympics” refers to the promotion of Chinese culture and its people’s involvement. The Chinese government hopes to introduce the world to the history and development of Beijing as well as the friendliness and hospitality of its people during the Olympic Games. It is hoped that through the understanding of cultures between East and West, trust and friendship among people will stem (BOCOG, 2002).

According to the “Beijing Olympics Action Plan” (BOCOG, 2002), the Chinese Government proposes to be open in every aspect within the country and to the whole world. Their aim is “to upgrade the opening-up of Beijing to a new level, through the hosting of the Olympic Games, and display to the world a new image of China” (BOCOG, 2002). As Beijing’s Deputy Mayor and a top Olympic official Liu Jingmin has declared, “By applying for the Olympics, we want to promote not just the city’s development, but the development of society, including democracy and human rights” (Hom, 2008). Pound (2008), a former member of the International Olympic Committee for nearly thirty years, states that “No host country of the Olympic Games

has ever been the same after the Games as it had been before, especially countries that had been closed or particularly authoritarian.” Similar to the official expectations, a Chinese pro-democracy journalist Li Datong, who was fired after publishing a letter condemning the Chinese government for violating freedom of the press, contends that “A successful application...would heal a lot of the damage done to the regime” (Worden, 2008). By the same token, Wang Dan, a Chinese advocate for democracy and leading student organizer of the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident, publicly supported China’s Olympic bids because he believed that having “the international community come to China and engage with our [their] people” can help China “develop a strong civil society” (Wang, 2008). Furthermore, Wang (2008) believed that “the Olympics provide us [them] with a rare opportunity to secure the release of the many dissidents still under detention” (p. 102).

Despite supporting voices for China’s hosting the Olympic Games in hope that the international sporting event could bring about a human rights change to the country, there were others who showed no enthusiasm or desire for China to host the Games, not to mention their optimism for the Games making a change to the country. One such notable voice came from Bao Tong, a former Director of the Office of Political Reform of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and Political Secretary to Zhao Ziyang, the highest-ranking official who supported the Tiananmen Square movement, and one who was arrested for his support of the Tiananmen Square protesters. He said:

So far, what we have witnessed are the low wages paid to migrant construction laborers who work on the infrastructure projects that will serve the Olympics and the continued acquisition of land for new construction projects through administrative means without consultation or adequate compensation to the displaced...There is no doubt...that any good fortune brought by the forthcoming international sporting gala has fallen only into the hands of China’s ever-richer urban elites...The

Olympic Games are the ultimate example of the kind of policies that end up serving only a small group of the population (Bao, 2008; p. 250-251).

Bao (2008) lamented that “there is sadly little hope that the Beijing Olympic Games will push China any closer to an open society” (p. 251). Likewise, Liu Xiaobo, a Chinese writer honored by Reporters Without Borders as a “defender of press freedom” (Liu, 2008), contended that the Olympic Games would benefit both the government and the elite class. Liu (2008) asserts that “unless the Chinese government can be persuaded to undertake meaningful human rights reforms, the flickering hope for a truly better China could vanish once the flame of the Olympic Torch has been extinguished” (p. 272).

Through the “Beijing Olympic Action Plan” and the words of China’s top officials, it is obvious that China has the ambition of wanting the world to perceive a new China, an open and developed China. However, there have also been opposing voices to China hosting the Olympic Games for they believe that the less privileged are ever more exploited while the elite class gets all the benefits and doubt that the Games will bring about human rights changes to the country. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore whether hosting the Olympic Games has really made a change in China and helped promote the country’s images.

1.4 Significance of Study

Perceptions or images of China held in the United States and the United Kingdom have long been given much more attention by the Chinese elites and people. For China, these two countries are the two world powers that have impacted the country’s development most in modern history. Hosting the Olympic Games thus represents an opportune occasion to publicize China’s intention and efforts to adapt to

improve, and even to adapt within the framework implicit in the criticisms by people and media in China's two big diplomatic powers. While it is beyond this researcher's financial reach to sample people in the United States or the United Kingdom, least the people around the world, for their post-Games images of China, studying the news media in the two countries has become the natural choice. Toward this goal, this thesis will examine the coverage of China in *Time* and *The Economist*, the two leading general interest newsmagazines. It is believed that by analyzing the articles relating to China in general and the Beijing Games in particular before and after the Beijing Games, a succinct understanding of the issues at hand can be achieved. The in-depth analysis shall enable us to gain insight into how the two news weeklies "construct" China and the Beijing Games by way of their respective editorial routines and news frames. A comparison of these two news weeklies should also help to reveal the degree to which the United States and the United Kingdom resemble or differ in looking at China now.

Though there have been studies about the images of China in American and British media, as far as the author of this thesis knows, little research has focused on Beijing Olympics and China's images in the media, particularly in newsmagazines. By studying *Time* and *The Economist*, insights can be gained about the "image" issue at hand and news making as well. Reasons for analyzing these two newsweeklies and the concepts or theories relevant to the analysis will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter II

Images and Framing:

Conceptualization and Literature Review

In his *Public Opinion*, Walter Lippmann (1956) observes that the real environment is altogether too big, too complex and forever changing for people to obtain knowledge via direct experience. We are not equipped to deal with so much variety and so many combinations. The more we lack direct experience in issues like foreign affairs, the more we must rely on the mass media for information and interpretation of this issue (Hsu, 1990). Thus, the media becomes an important channel for us to understand the world outside. Their coverage and analyses of international news can not only construct social reality for the audience but also shape our images about the international community, as well as affecting the way we think and behave (Chang, 2003).

To the billions of people who have not visited China, their images of the country come from the media's news coverage of China (Ciao, 2006), whose coverage shape "pictures in our heads" (Lippmann, 1956). Though the coverage may be incomplete or distorted, it nevertheless forms the basis for people acquainting the outside world (Ciao, 2006). Citing Galtung and Ruge in 1965, Kunczik (1997) argues that the world is comprised of individual and collective actors whose actions are determined by their images of reality. Although images are not shaped solely by the news media, the media's ubiquity and perseverance make them in the number-one position as international imageformer.

Scholars (Dong, Li, Shi, Yu, Chen, & Ma, 2005) have argued that the Olympic Games is a great opportunity for nations to construct and promote their images. Especially nowadays the Games can be disseminated to every corner of the world via satellite telecasting and the Internet. This is especially important for China, for as

discussed in the previous Chapter, the international community commonly holds a battered image of China. They argue that through showcasing China's development in aspects like technology, people's images of China could be reshaped (Dong et al., 2005).

So, how does the media shape people's images and affect their thinking of other nations? What are the other factors that shape people's images of each other besides the media? In the following sections, these questions will be delved into by reviewing the pertinent theorizing and research on images and framing.

2.1 Theories on Images and Framing

2.1.1 Images of a Nation

The term *image* comes from the Latin word *imago*, which is related to *imitari*, meaning "to imitate" (Boorstin, 1971; Nimmo & Savage, 1976). Thus, Boorstin (1971) defines *image* as "an artificial imitation or representation of the external form of any object, especially of a person" (p. 197). In other words, image is "a physical likeness or representation of a person, animal, or thing, photographed, painted, sculptured, or otherwise made visible" (Random House Webster's College Dictionary, 2000). They are "pictures in our heads" (Lippmann, 1956), constructed via what we see, the experiences we have encountered and the knowledge we have obtained. Similarly, Boulding (1956) contends that images are built up of an individual's past experiences, which govern that person's behavior. Merrill (1962) asserts that the term *image* is a composite of impressions, opinions, and attitudes, and a characterization of the people and government of a country.

National image, then, refers to the international community's overall assessment of the stability of a particular country (Bu, 2009), including politics, economy, and society (Zheng, 2003). It is the images of a nation's political regime,

diplomacy, leader, governmental officials, citizens, culture and history (Fu, 2004).

According to Boulding (1959), nations' images of each other can be described in terms of a set of "relevant variables," which are: geographical space, ordinary and powerful people, hostility or friendliness, and the strength or weakness of a nation-state.

Geographical space is the territory of a state, which is often the result of conquering the other nation. Powerful people refer to the decision-makers in a nation, whose power may be measured by the number of people their decisions potentially affect. These people include the head of state, the prime minister, the secretary of state, minister of foreign affairs, and chiefs of the armed forces. The hostility or friendliness of a state on the whole refers to the idea that if nation A pictures itself as hostile toward B, it usually also pictures B as hostile toward itself. Moreover, Boulding (1959) contends that most nations seem to deem that their enemies are more hostile toward them than they are toward their enemies.

One important sub-dimension of this hostile-friendliness image is the stability of the relationship. Friendly relationships are usually formalized as an alliance, which changes as the world kaleidoscope changes, as new enemies rise, or as governments change (Boulding, 1959). For example, the relationship between China and the United States changed greatly after the September 11 attack of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in America. Former President of the United States, George W. Bush Jr., even called China an ally in fighting against terrorism. Lastly, the strength or weakness of a nation-state is usually thought of as whether the military forces of the state have the ability to protect its country or not. Economic resources and productivity, political organizations, and morale of the people are all elements to assess the strengths and weaknesses of a nation.

Heads of states play an important role in shaping a nation's image. For the past

eight years, the image of America was manifested by Bushism, an “-ism” that was formed under the Bush administration during 2000-2008. Bushism had the characteristics of pursuing after the four absolutes—absolute homeland security, absolute military superiority, absolute dominant power of the world, and absolute hegemony, ignoring international laws and agreements on arms control and the environment, applying the “forestalling the enemy” tactic, establishing the anti-terrorism standards as the U.S. wish. Thus, the image of America was “arrogant” and “peremptory” (Zakaria, 2009) during the Bush years.

As for the image making of China, the greatest contribution to China’s images could be attributed to Deng Xiaoping, who was most concerned with the development of China during his last twenty years (Zheng, 2003). His “four modernizations” and “open door policy” shaped China into a developing country. The “Open door policy,” in particular, has brought about the rapid growth of economy, which is one of the world’s images of China these days (Goodman, 1994). A year before the Games took place, a member of the Politburo Standing committee noted that “the successful reform policies had brought ‘rapid economic and social development’ which had given China the ‘capability and conditions’ to host the Games and display China’s ‘splendid accomplishments’” (deLisle, 2009). While former President Jiang Zemin worked to portray China as a peace-loving and anti-hegemonic country (Zheng, 2003), the incumbent Hu Jintao strived to form friendly ties with its neighboring countries, increase the possibilities of cooperating with all countries, and promote China’s influential role in the world (Zheng, 2003).

Many incidents occurred before the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, such as unsafe food products, Tibetan demonstration, and the Sichuan earthquake, with each forming the images of China as a country that produces low quality products including food and buildings as well as a country that suppresses minority and human

rights. Though most of the images of China are negative, there are still positive and touching images of China disseminated via TV channels, especially images of the Sichuan earthquake on May 12, 2008. Perhaps one of its most touching images was the one showing Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao comforting a little girl who lost contact with her parents after the earthquake. With a choked voice, he said to the crying little girl that “there is still the government to look after you”. Here, Wen was portrayed as a leader caring for his people and feeling what his people were feeling.

Whether the image of a nation presented to the audience is positive or negative is determined by how news media frame the events, issues, figures, or place of the country. So, what is a frame? How do journalists frame events and figures? What are the effects of frames? These are some of the questions further explored in the next section.

2.1.2 Framing

The concept of framing was first brought up by Bateson, who defines “frame” as the psychological principles and subjective process in which individuals understand and organize events (Tsang, 1999). However, it was not until Goffman published *Frame Analysis* in 1974 did scholars further delve into this concept. Following Bateson’s psychological definition, Goffman (1974) defines “frame” as “the principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them.” He further asserts that frame is a schema originated from people’s past experience, through which individuals interpret and understand the real world, answering the question of “what is it that’s going on here” (Goffman, 1974)? It enables users “to locate, perceive, identify, and label” occurrences in this world.

Making reference to Goffman’s work, scholars have developed their own

definitions of “frame” and “news frame”. Gamson (1989) defines news frame as “a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue” through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration (Tankard, 2001; Zaharopoulos, 2007). They are constructed from and embodied in the metaphors, keywords, concepts, symbols, and visual images (Entman, 1991). Parson and Xu (2001) define framing as a cognitive process journalists engage in when they seek to organize and make sense of what happens. Entman (1993) contends that to frame is “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 52). Thus, the functions of framing are those of defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies (Entman, 1993).

The process of framing is often conceptualized as an active process for it involves selection (Zaharopoulos, 2007). Goffman (1974) conceptualizes that journalists package news stories and give stories meanings in the process. They decide which elements to include or to exclude in a story; hence, events can be framed in various ways, producing different versions containing different attributes (Tankard, 2001). Parson and Xu (2001) argue that these frames, or ‘internal structures of the mind’ are often based on external values such as social norms, organizational constraints, and interest-group pressures. In their analysis of “News Framing of the Chinese Embassy Bombing by the *People’s Daily* and *the New York Times*,” they examine how the two most prominent newspapers of China and the U.S. frame the bombing of the Chinese Embassy by the U.S. military in Belgrade and the aftermaths of the event. Their textual analysis of key words in the two newspapers, particularly adjectives that reflect ideological frames found that the *New York Times* repeatedly

called the Chinese Embassy bombing as “the accidental bombing” (p. 57), whereas *People’s Daily* called it “the brutal attack” (p. 57). As for the aftermaths of this event, of which the Chinese protested outside the U.S. embassy in Beijing, *The New York Times* framed the student protests as “choreographed” (p. 59), while the *People’s Daily* referred to them as “spontaneous expression of indignation”.

Kobland, Du and Kwon (1992) argue that news is a channel for which ideology is conveyed through the choice of words used to describe characters and events, the way in which events are framed, the tone and emphasis of the news story as well as the way it is organized, and the selection and omission of events. Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (1998) argue that framing is an important mechanism by which ideology is transmitted via the news, and identify three types of ideology that influence the framing of news: dominant ideology, elite ideology, and journalistic ideology or occupational ideology. They see capitalism, anti-communism and male world views and values are examples of dominant ideology within the American society. Elite ideology refers to the particular ideology or policy orientation of the government or administration in office at a particular point in time. Occupational ideology functions as a major source of influence on how news is framed. For example, journalists’ preferences for official actors and sources can affect how characters and contents in news stories are shaped (Akhavan-Majid & Ramaprasad, 1998).

Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (1998) state that U.S. newspaper stories covering China has reflected the dominant ideology. One predominant frame used when covering China has been that of the “anti-communism” (Kobland et al., 1992; Akhavan-Majid & Ramaprasad, 1998), and the “deceitfulness of communists” (Kobland et al., 1992) has been often used as a narrative in the American press. Further, the press’s coverage of the communist countries has “almost entirely focused on the problems and failures of Marxist governments (Kobland et al., 1992;

Akhavan-Majid & Ramaprasad, 1998). The influence of anti-communist frame on the news can be manifested by Entman's (1991) study of how the American media cover the Korean Airlines and Iran Air incidents, of which the former was shot down by a Soviet fighter plane in 1983, and the latter was shot down by the U.S. Navy ship in 1988. Entman (1991) found that in the Korean Airlines case, the frame stressed on the moral bankruptcy and guilt of the perpetrating nation—the Soviet Union, whereas in the Iran Air case, the frame de-emphasized guilt and focused on the complex problems of military technology operation.

Xie (2007) in "Framing China: A Comparative Study of U.S. Elite Newspaper's Coverage of Nixon's Visit to China and the Chinese President's Visit to the U.S." found that the dominant ideology—the anti-communist frame—was used by *the New York Times* and *the Wall Street Journal* when covering the Presidents' visits.

Media framing is important because it can have powerful effects on the audience (Tankard, 2001; Zaharopoulos, 2007). It can shape their opinions about topics which they are ignorant (Tuchman, 1978). Kahneman and Tversky's experiment of the power of framing in 1984 is the most widely cited example (Entman, 1993). In "experiment one" of their study, they asked participants:

Imagine that the U.S. is preparing for the outbreak of an unusual Asian disease, which is expected to kill 600 people. Two alternative programs to combat the disease have been proposed. Assume that the exact scientific estimates of the consequences of the programs are as follows:

If Program A is adopted, 200 people will be saved. (chosen by 72%)

If Program B is adopted, there is a one-third probability that 600 people will be saved and a two-thirds probability that no people will be saved. (chosen by 28%)

In "experiment two," the statements were phrased as follows:

If Program A is adopted, 400 people will die. (chosen by 22%)

If Program B is adopted, there is a one-third probability that nobody will die

and a two-thirds probability that 600 people will die. (chosen by 78%)

The importance of this study is that it illustrates that frames determine whether people notice and how they understand and remember a problem, as well as how they assess and choose to act upon it (Entman, 1993).

Price and Tewksbury (1997) also note that framing is important because it has the potential to influence public opinion about a covered event and the people involved in it. Price, Tewksbury, and Powers's (1997) study found that news frames can affect audience's perceptions of issues and people in the news by stressing specific values and facts. Similarly, Kensicki (2004) asserts that frames influence how the public thinks about an issue by defining the issue, stating who or what is the cause, and suggesting what should be done. Tankard cited Lang and Lang's (1983) study of the formation of public opinion on the Watergate scandal during Nixon's presidency in early 1970s, which found an important shift away from support for President Nixon when the media changed their framing. The press originally used the frame of "Watergate caper." Public opinion began to change only after the frame changed to a national political scandal (Tankard, 2001).

Ghanem (1997) identifies four dimensions of media frames: the topic of a news item (what content is included in the frame), presentation (size and placement), cognitive attributes (details of what is included in the frame), and affective attributes (tone). The affective dimension deals with the public's emotional response that may result from how a journalist covered a story, and the narrative structure of the news is one way the media exerts this response (Ghanem, 1997). Ghanem (1997) further argues that one of the weaknesses of most framing studies is that the attributes of an issue are not generalizable to other issues, thus, these four dimensions could act as the basis of comparisons across different issues.

According to Zaharopoulos (2007), the importance of framing research is reinforced via media effects studies. For example, De Vreese (2004) found that “frames in television news have the ability to direct viewer’s thoughts when conceiving of a contemporary public issue.” Thus, as framing has the power to shape how one perceives an issue and can affect one’s thoughts, one of the aims of this study is to find out how *Time* and *the Economist* frame the Beijing Olympics.

2.2 Research on Images and Framing of China

Many scholars have conducted studies on the images of China, on how the Western newsmagazines perceive China, how American newspapers cover the Fourth UN Conference on Women and the NGO Forum in Beijing, how hosting the Olympics will affect China’s image, and the Olympics bidding experiences of China, etc.

A study by Wang (2003) found that the Chinese government has been quite attentive to China’s national image for the past few years, from establishing an Overseas Propaganda Department under the Party Central Committee in 1990 and a new Information Office under the State Council in 1991, to hiring international media expertise to polish China’s image. For example after the Tiananmen Square crackdown in 1989, Beijing hired an American firm “Hill and Knowlton” to help deal with the country’s public relations image problem (Hom, 2008). The same firm was employed again in 2006 by the Chinese government to act as its “communications consultant” (Hom, 2008). Further, Beijing either sponsored or organized cultural events in other countries to help promote the country’s image (Wang, 2003). Wang conducted content analysis of the *Peking Review* and *the Government Work Reports* from 1954-2002 and found that for the past forty-some years, the Chinese government has tried to build images of China as “a peace-loving country, victim of foreign

aggression, socialist country, bastion of revolution, anti-hegemonic force, developing country, major power, international cooperator, and autonomous actor” (Wang, 2003). The findings of Wang’s research indicated that the Americans’ perceptions of China correspond with some of the images the country projected (Wang, 2003). Americans share the view that China is a socialist country, a developing country, and a major power. They sometimes view China as opposing to hegemonic behaviors, but more often as engaging in hegemonic behaviors. Likewise, they sometimes see China as a victim of foreign aggression, but more often view China as victimizing her own neighbors. Lastly, Americans view China as militant and an obstructive force, which greatly contrasts to China’s projected images of being peace-loving and an international cooperator.

“On Shaping China’s National Image,” Zheng (2003) notes that the national images China has established are images of actively participating in international affairs such as Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), maintaining world peace, respecting the diversity of cultures and civilizations, and a developing and stable country. However, Zheng (2003) did not provide empirical evidences.

Ono and Jiao (2008) in their study “China in the US Imaginary: Tibet, the Olympics, and the 2008 Earthquake” found that articles related to the Olympics in the *New York Times* emphasized protests of the travel of the Olympic torch to 135 cities around the world and then to Mount Everest; news coverage about Tibet suggested that China treats Tibet as its colonized nation; articles covering the Sichuan earthquake praised the Chinese government and military’s responsiveness to the disaster, while at the same time criticized the government’s failure to construct quake-proof buildings. Ono and Jiao (2008) analyzed 89 articles covering China in the *New York Times* from July 1, 2007 to July 1, 2008. Basing on their findings, it is

obvious that a year before the Olympics started, the world's leading newspaper still holds a negative view regarding some of the greatest issues in China.

In "How Americans See Us," Zhang, a resident correspondent in Washington, D.C. notes his experience of interacting with many Americans, and found that Americans have distorted images of China. The most common phrases they used to describe China were "dictatorship," "totalitarian," "authoritarian," "communism," "violation of human rights," "persecution of Falun Kung," and "threatens to take Taiwan by force" (Zhang, 2003). Zhang (2003) further argues that American perceptions of the Chinese can be generalized by describing the views of four groups: the "parrot group," the "thoughtful group," the "pragmatists," and the "marble-headed group," with each group having its own characteristics and source of information about China (p. 115).

The "parrot group" reflects the views of the majority of Americans. People's knowledge of China in this group is limited, and their views of China are shaped largely by the media. Like parrots, people in this group echo others' views about China. Hence, the American media play a very influential role here (Zhang, 2003).

People in the "thoughtful group" are intellectuals, particularly academic professionals who pay visits to China regularly and have conducted research on Chinese culture, history, and society, for they are greatly interested in the differences between China and the United States and in how to build bridges between the people (Zhang, 2003). Thus, people in this group take the analytical approach to viewing China, rather than the political approach.

The "pragmatist group" consists of business people and diplomats who work to advocate healthy ties between China and the United States (Zhang, 2003). Lastly, people in the "marble-headed group" oppose to almost anything related to China (Zhang, 2003). According to Zhang (2003), this group is small but vocal, and their

anti-China stand is a result of ignorance.

The State Council of the People's Republic of China analyzed three American newspapers' coverage of China during the year 2005—*the New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today* (Jing & Yuan, 2007). Their research demonstrated that out of 243 coverage in all, 26% of them were objective, 40% were biased, and 40% were neither objective nor biased. This was a great difference compared to that of the news coverage of China in the 1990s, where biased coverage accounted for 60%-70%.

Xiang (2006) analyzed how *The Times* covered China's economics, politics, society and culture in year 2005. The scholar's findings showed that China was portrayed as an emerging economic superpower, the government stereotyped as a dictator, the society depicted as dirty, disordered and backwards, and its culture presented as mysterious and fascinating.

Similarly, Si and Su (2007) studied how *The New York Times* covered China's economics, politics, society, culture and technology in year 2006. Their findings indicated that though coverage of China increased over time, negative articles still account for most of the coverage, especially in articles on politics and society, while coverage on economics were mainly positive. Relatively, coverage on culture and technology were more objective.

Guo, Wang, Yu, Tang, Chen, and Li (2009) content analyzed the reports of China from 2004 to 2008 in *The New York Times* and *The Times*. They found coverage of China in both newspapers increased significantly over the years and that China's economy was portrayed as rapidly developing. However, the country's politics was depicted as closed, whereas its society was described as a society with clashes and conflicts frequently occurring. Further, *The New York Times* became friendlier towards China, in which its attitude changed to a positive direction, while *The Times* showed a

trend of “depoliticizing” on China-related reports, meaning coverage on China’s politics reduced more than half in the period of 2007 to 2008 as compared to that of 2000 to 2003. Though images of China changed, the western media’s prejudice against China still remains.

Ciao (2006) argues that if China’s corruption and coal mining disasters were framed as follows for example, different images of the country will be generated:

Frame 1.

Corruption and coalmining disasters are particular phenomena in China. The coalmining disasters imply a corruption of the officials, which the Chinese government has managed in vain. Complaints are heard everywhere. The Chinese media are afraid to cover these kinds of stories [in fear that they will be revenged]...Unless the Chinese government made a change to the current political systems, the problem of corruption will remain.

* Brackets added by the author of this thesis.

Frame 2.

Corruption and coalmining disasters are common problems in developing countries. Due to unsound systems and lack of official surveillance, many societal problems have surfaced one by one during China’s societal transformation, a result of its economical uprise. There have been comments from the citizens...The Government has been constantly fighting corruption, and the situation has improved. However, problems continue to surface, and the media will continue to do a follow up.

In “frame 1,” the Chinese government is portrayed as incompetent and one who suppresses freedom of the press. In “frame 2,” the Chinese government is portrayed as

actively fighting corruption and giving its media freedom to do a follow up of the issue. However, Ciao (2006) did not conduct an actual study on this issue.

Cheng (2006) conducted a content analysis of how *The Economist* viewed China from 1980 to 2005 and categorized the images of China into the following categories: economic, political, environmental, religious, leisure, technology, humanitarian and education. Her research showed that for the economic aspect, *The Economist* perceives China as being new to the capitalist world, with business and public infrastructures still at the initial stage of advancement in 1980. In 1995, China showed the hospitality of encouraging foreign investments amid stories about the country's corruption and lack of business regulations. In 2005, stories in *The Economist* indicated the world starting to recognize China's economy as a whole with constant interest by foreign investors as well as China's confidence in its influence in the world economy. For the political aspect, coverage in *The Economist* indicated the Chinese government's secrecy in disclosing decisions as well as an ill-structured internal system controlled by bureaucratic officials. For the environmental aspect, stories in *The Economist* showed that China started to become active regarding environmental issues in 1995. Most of the religious stories covered by *The Economist* concerned about the Chinese government's influence on Tibet's religious choice and the practice of Falun Gong. However, this topic was not dealt with in great depth. Stories regarding leisure emerged in 1995 with attention to China's efforts in trying to find a balance between leisure and the controlling of relevant activities, for example, the regulation of Internet and bloggers. China showed little competency in 1980 and 1990 in regards to technology, but in 2005, China's involvement, competency, and willingness to obtain technological know-how grew. For the humanitarian aspect, meaning record of China's human rights, violent image of the country's human rights situation was portrayed in 1980. In 2005, China seemed to loosen its restriction on

humanitarian (human rights) matters slightly. There were a limited number of articles regarding education before 2000. In 2005, stories covering education in China indicated the educational system in China becoming more democratic and active, for example, allowing students to democratically elect student representatives.

Following Cheng's (2006) study, Chen (2007) conducted a content analysis of *Newsweek's* overall perception of China from 1980 to 2005. She divided the articles related to China into eleven categories: economic, political, environmental, military, society, leisure, technology, religion, health, education, and humanitarian, and further made a comparison between the two researches. Her research indicated that China opened its large market to the world and welcomed foreign investments in 1980. The country's economic situation surged in 2005; however, problems emerged as well, such as the economic disparity between the urban and rural areas. For the political aspect, Chen (2007) found that from 1980 to 2005, there were protests in China and that China's relationships with other countries were tricky. Articles about China's environmental situation appeared in 2005, focusing on the polluted environment and that officials were not honest in handling the situation. For the military aspect, an analysis of *Newsweek's* relevant articles indicated that China's military force was laggard before 2000, but since 2005, the country expanded its military force by buying equipment from other countries. Most of the articles about the society in China focused on piracy and the government's vain efforts on cracking down piracy. For the leisure aspect, Chen (2007) concluded that in the past, China was a closed society in which people's behaviors were restricted, but since 1995, the country has reformed to becoming a more open society and people were given more opportunities to do what they want. Articles about China's technology appeared in 2000, covering pirated products such as CDs and software. In 2005, there was a great technological growth in the country. For the religion aspect, most of the articles were about China's

relationships with Catholics, the Falun Gong, and the Tibetan monks. In 2000, articles focused on the repression of Catholics and the Falun Gong. Articles regarding health emphasized on the poor medical system, bad equipment and government ignorance, which led to the spreading of AIDS and avian flu. Stories about doctors demanding “red-envelope” payments from patients were covered as well. There was only one story about “education” in 2005, which was about more and more schools having cooperative courses with Western universities. Lastly, articles related to humanitarian aspect, or human rights sector, showed that China did not respect human rights as a whole, for example, prisoners were tortured in jails.

Comparing her study with Cheng’s (2006), Chen (2007) suggests there are some differences in the images of China as portrayed by *The Economist* and *Newsweek*. In terms of economics, *Newsweek* mentioned the economic disparity between urban and rural areas, whereas *The Economist* did not. For the political aspect, *The Economist* perceived China as a country showing high degree of hospitality and enthusiasm, and gaining higher acceptance from other countries, whilst *Newsweek* perceived the existence of a tense relationship between China and other countries. There was also a difference in the education category, but Chen (2007) attributed this to the insufficient number of relevant articles in *Newsweek*. As for the military, society, and health aspects, Chen (2007) found that *The Economist* did not cover these topics. Chen (2007) concluded that there were more positive reports about China in *The Economist*, whereas *Newsweek* reports seemed more negative due to culture difference between the U.S. and the U.K.

These studies are of importance to this thesis for they provide us with an insight of the efforts China put in promoting its image, and allow us to see whether other countries’ perceptions of China correspond with some of the images the country projected, as well as a change of coverage and attitude towards China over that past

years.

No matter what the international community's images of China are, Beijing's hosting the Olympics, Shanghai's hosting the World Expo, and China's becoming a member of the World Trade Organization all evidence that the world, especially Western countries, have come to recognize and accept China (Zheng, 2003). These events are of great opportunities for China to showcase its achievements and promote its images. Moreover, the news coverage of China and the Olympics in 2008 were great chances for more people to know more about China, understand China, and like China (Zheng, 2003). This thesis aims to find out whether this was realized at least in the two leading newsmagazines, *Time* and *The Economist*.

2.3 Sports, Media and National Images

Aforementioned, the media plays an important role in how individuals perceive the world and have a powerful effect on the audience via news frames used by journalists. To China, a country with such battered image, the Olympic Games was deemed as a platform for them to showcase their progress in different aspects, while the media was like a megaphone broadcasting their improvements around the world. Giffard and Rivenburgh (2000) argue that nations compete with each other to host mega-events because, aside from prestige, they can promote trade and diplomatic relations, be recognized as an advanced nation, advance tourism and foreign investment, and advertise to the world that such a nation exists. Larson and Park's (1993) study was referred to, in which the scholars noted that one important goal of the 1988 Seoul Olympics was to help South Korea form political and economic relations with Eastern Bloc nations and the Soviet Union (Rivenburgh, 2004).

Leonard (1998) further asserts that global media event or international sport is perceived as a political tool and a propaganda showcase. These could be manifested

by the 1936 Nazi Olympics, during which the Nazi government campaigned to convince the world they were a responsible and peace-wanting country due to its terrible publicity of torturing, murdering their political opponents and Jewish people, as well as sending them into concentration camps (Graham, 1989) starting 1933 and 1939, respectively. International sport is also viewed as an economic showcase (Leonard, 1998), for lots of money are spent on Olympic-relevant constructions throughout the preparation for the Games, revealing the host country's economic abilities. For instance, total costs for the Rome, Tokyo, Munich, Montreal, and Moscow Olympics were, respectively, \$30 million, \$2.7 billion, \$600 million, \$1.5 billion, and \$3 billion (Leonard, 1998).

Whatever the purpose of hosting global media events or the host nations' desired image to be projected around the world, they cannot control how international media interpret and cover the events (Rivenburgh, 2000). This is the topic of several studies of Olympic coverage and images of host nations.

Chattalas (1999) employed a historical analysis, particularly focusing on the 1936 Berlin Olympics and the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. He analyzed commentaries in *Time* and *Businessweek* during and after each of the two Games and found a mixture of positive and negative images on Germany and its people, especially in the United States. Findings on Japan indicated a promotion in ethnic image and that products bearing "Made in Japan" gained recognition.

Sakamoto, Murata, and Takaki (1999) employed a panel study and explored whether the 1992 Barcelona Olympics changed the Japanese perception of foreign nations. Their findings demonstrated that the level of positive feelings toward foreign nations generally increased during the Games, however the increased level declined three months later. Nonetheless, the post-Olympic rating was still higher than that measured prior to the Olympic Games.

Wang and Wang (2007) utilized content analysis and textual analysis of how the 1988 Seoul Olympics, 1992 Barcelona Olympics, 2000 Sydney Olympics and 2004 Athens Olympics were covered in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. Their findings showed that host countries became more visible in the media as the Games approached, news coverage was generally longer, and more likely to appear on the front page.

Kim and Morrision (2005) empirically analyzed Japanese, Mainland Chinese and U.S. visitor's image change of South Korea about three to four months after the 2002 World Cup ended. The scholars found that the visitors from these three countries had more positive images of South Korea after the World Cup.

These studies are important for this research because they demonstrate that people's perceptions of the mega-event host nations changed more in a positive direction after the event took place and that more attention was given to the host nations as the event approached. Will these findings of positive image change and focus of attention apply to China before, during, and after its hosting of the Olympic Games? This thesis wants to answer the question by comparing the coverage of China and the Beijing Olympics in *Time* and *The Economist*.

2.4 Research Questions

As mentioned in the previous sections, studies have shown that coverage of China and attitude towards the country have changed over the past years. Further, people tend to have positive perceptions of mega-event host nations after the events take place. Hence, after reviewing past literature, the research questions generated for this study were:

1. How do *Time* and *The Economist* differ in the coverage of China in terms of subject, tone, and length of coverage?

2. Is there a trend of covering China in *Time* and *The Economist* regarding subject, tone, and length of coverage as the Beijing Olympic nears?
3. How do *Time* and *The Economist* frame the news about China?



Chapter III

Research Methods

This study employed both quantitative content analysis and qualitative discourse analysis to explore the news coverage of China by *Time* and *The Economist*. Quantitative analysis reveals statistics about frequency, percentage, and size of coverage in the magazines, whereas qualitative analysis discovers the themes and lexical styles in presenting China.

3.1 Content Analysis

The application of content analysis can be traced back to 18th century Sweden. In modern times, with the development of propaganda analysis and communication research, content analysis has become one of the most important research techniques in the communications and other social sciences field (Wang, 1991).

There are many definitions of content analysis. Berelson (1952) defines content analysis as analyzing communication content in an objective, systematic, and quantitative way. Walizer and Wienir in 1978 contended that it was a systematic procedure employed to analyze the content of recorded information (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003). Echoing Berelson, Kerlinger (1986) defines content analysis as “a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner.” Thus, content analysis has the following characteristics:

- A. Systematic: The content to be analyzed should be selected through a consistent rule, with each item having an equal chance of being included in the analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003).
- B. Objective: Categories of analysis must be precisely defined so that different analysts can employ them to the same body of content, yielding the same

results (Berelson, 1952).

C. Quantitative: Quantitative refers to the quantifying of the categories of analysis (Wang, 1991). For example, the frequencies with which symbols or themes appear in a text (Holsti, 1969).

Wimmer and Dominick (2003) assert that there are four functions of content analysis. First, it describes communication content, identifying what the messages are, and can be used to study changes in the society. Second, content analysis can be employed to test hypotheses of message characteristics, such as the relationship between the source of message and the characteristics of the message produced. Third, content analysis compares media content to the “real world.” It is a reality check in which the portrayal of a certain group, phenomenon, trait, or characteristic is assessed against standards taken from real life (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003). Lastly, content analysis can assess images of particular groups in a society, for example, the portrayal of Islamic people in the media.

Integrating previous scholars’ perspectives on the uses of content analysis, Wang (1991) contends that content analysis can be employed to examine the substance of communication content, explore the presentation of the content, analyze the characteristics of the source of communication content, understand the characteristics of the audience, and verify the effects of communication content.

As in any other research methods, content analysis has its strengths and weaknesses. Strengths are those like safety, unobtrusiveness, and a process occurring over long periods of time (Babbie, 1986), thus giving researchers insight about trends. Wimmer and Dominick (2003) argue that the limitations of content analysis are those like it cannot serve as the sole basis for claims about media effects, the frameworks of the categories and definitions used in the analysis limit the findings, and it is both time-consuming and expensive.

3.2 Choices of Newsmagazines for Study

Magazines were chosen for the following reasons: first, magazines have permanence (Johnson & Prijatal, 2000), that is they are more easily preserved, archived, and widely cited (Cheng, 1995; Chen, 2007). Second, magazines have more in-depth coverage than their news counterpart (Johnson & Prijatal, 2000; Eisenhart, 1994). For example, if an earthquake strikes in Los Angeles, news media such as TV news channels and newspapers will give the information on the size and effect of the earthquake. Magazines, on the other hand, tend to dig in deeper by presenting background information and analysis on the history of earthquakes in California, the geological formation that caused them, and future architectural developments to make earthquakes less disastrous (Johnson & Prijatal, 2000). Newspaper and broadcasting journalists are often under pressure to meet deadlines; therefore, they do not have time to do in-depth research on a given issue, whereas magazines are published weekly, hence, magazine journalists have more time to develop their articles.

Third, magazines are highly specialized in content and audience (Johnson & Prijatal, 2000). They provide readers information on subjects and areas of their lives that reflect their values and aspirations, which is a reason why the average reader spends 45 minutes reading each issue of a magazine (Frank, 2004). In fact, the time an individual spends on accessing the contents of a magazine has no limitation, which is referred to as “random access”, since readers can reread a page as often as they like and whenever they want (Frank, 2004). Today, there are different types of magazines ranging from finance, fashion, cars, sports...and so on, readers can enjoy absorbing knowledge via this medium according to their interests. There will always be a magazine for readers that match their interests (Frank, 2004). McKay (2000) in *The Magazines Handbook* states that magazines produce publications for groups of people with shared interest. It is like a club, with one of its functions being to provide readers

with a sense of community and pride in their identity (McKay, 2000). As Frank (2004) states in “Magazine,” the fundamental difference between magazines and most other media is the fact that readers pay for magazines, creating a relationship built on trust. Readers trust that the editors of a magazine will provide them with a quality product that satisfy their tastes and is worthy of their investment (Frank, 2004).

Fourth, the most important influence of magazines to the society is its political influence, for they are agenda setters and advocates who influence change by calling public attention to an issue (Johnson & Prijatal, 2000). Agenda setting refers to the idea that media do not tell people what to think, but what to think about (Baran & Davis, 2003). Magazines then act as agenda setters when they identify and frame the issues on which the society focuses (Johnson & Prijatal, 2000). They convey to the public that something is important and should be discussed and be paid attention to. As agenda setting theorists believe, magazine journalists do not directly cause social change; instead, they provide information that may motivate others to enact change (Johnson & Prijatal, 2000).

Fifth, magazine readers, on average, are better-educated (Gans, 2004; Johnson & Prijatal, 2000; Frank, 2004) and are more likely to be in prestigious jobs (Gans, 2004). Studies have found that college graduates occupying professional or managerial jobs with household incomes of \$60,000 or more read an average of 13.9 issues a month (Johnson & Prijatal, 2000). Another study of American business, political, media and other leaders by Weiss in 1974 found that *Time* and *Newsweek* were their preferred magazines (Gans, 2004).

Sixth, the issue of peer review makes the print publishers, as guardians of selection criteria and standards, a necessary arbiter in the world of scholarly information (Eisenhart, 1994).

Other reasons for focusing on magazines are that they provide opinions and

interpretations regarding a specific issue (Johnson & Prijatal, 2000). They are portable and accessible in terms of allowing consumers to read them anywhere (Wharton, 1992; Eisenhart, 1994; Frank, 2004).

In sum, magazines were chosen because of their permanence, in-depth coverage, specialized content and audience, agenda setting feature, better-educated readers, influence through providing opinions and interpretations, and accessibility and portability.

3.2.1 Choices of *Time* and *The Economist*

Time was chosen because it is the largest-selling newsmagazine in the United States of America (Perlmutter, 2007) with a circulation of 3,389,166 copies in 2008 (Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2008). Apart from national affairs, its coverage of issues includes Politics, World News, Business & Technology, Health & Science, and Entertainment. It is recognized to be influential as an “agenda-setting” and “opinion leading” publication (Perlmutter, 2007). According to a study by Weiss (1974), *Time* ranks number one as the most read magazines among American leaders, which includes intellectuals, economic, political, voluntary association, and media leaders (Ou, 1997). Besides the U.S. edition, *Time* has three other international editions: *Time Asia*, *Time Europe*, and *Time South Pacific* (Time, 2008). With a coverage of a variety of issues, *Time* is the first international newsmagazines that American leaders read (Weiss, 1974), and can reflect their views towards government policies. Even former U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt admitted that *Time* is a must read newsmagazine in order to understand the far eastern political situation (Ciao, 2006). The magazine sets the agenda for what is news, hence can influence the elites’ and eventually the “ignorant” individuals’ (Baran & Davis, 2003) perceptions about China. Further, *Time* was seen to take more liberal stands in covering China after founder of *Time* Henry

Luce stepped down as editor-in-chief (Gans, 2004). The news weekly took the stand of favoring the right wing and the Republicans when Luce was editor-in-chief of the news weekly due to his origins with China (Ou, 1997).

The Economist was founded by James Wilson in 1843, with a worldwide circulation of 1,390,780 copies in 2008 (Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2008). It covers main events of the week around the world such as business, world politics, finance and economics, markets and data, science and technology, books and arts. Further, it offers analysis and opinion towards events, as well as comparing different ways nations react to global challenges, such as epidemics (*The Economist*, 2010). According to Herd (1952), its readers include heads of States and governmental officials and ministers. According to *The Economist* (2010), *Los Angeles Times* has once said *The Economist* to be “one of the world’s most influential news magazines,” while *Newsweek* has said the British magazine is “required reading at the pinnacles of power. In the US *The Economist* is a weekend habit on Wall Street and in the White House” (*The Economist*, 2010), indicating its influence not only in the economics sector but also the politics sector.

One great feature about *The Economist* is that it speaks with a collective voice, and that journalists often cooperate with each other in composing the articles. All the articles are composed by “Anonymous” for the company believes in “what is written is more important than who writes it” (*The Economist* website, 2009).

The Economist takes the stand as the extreme center, and considers itself as “the enemy of privilege, pomposity and predictability” (*The Economist* website, 2009). It has backed conservatives such as Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, supported the Americans in Vietnam, endorsed Bill Clinton and Harold Wilson, as well as a variety of liberal causes such as opposing capital punishment from its earliest days, favoring penal reform and decolonization, gun control and gay marriage (*The*

Economist website, 2009).

As for its writing style, *The Economist* believes in plain language, putting things in “the most direct and picturesque manner, as people would talk to each other in common speech, to remember and use expressive colloquialisms” (*The Economist* website, 2009).

As of today, *The Economist* offers the North America edition, Europe edition, and Asia Pacific edition besides the UK edition, with bureaus in London, New York, and Hong Kong.

The Economist was chosen to be analyzed as a representative publication in the United Kingdom because of its economic and political influence, feature as a worldwide publication, central extreme position and its belief of anonymity, providing its readers unbiased information.

According to previous studies (Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977), elite print media emphasize more on international news than non-elite print media. They not only reflect social reality but also provide opinions, as well as placing importance on interpersonal and interstate relationships. Moreover, they have the characteristics of seriousness and having wide effects on the public. Thus, these two international elite media—*Time* (Asia edition) and *The Economist* (Asia Pacific edition)—were chosen for analysis of their coverage on China and the Beijing Olympics.

3.3 Research Periods

China began its bid for the Olympic Games in 1991, with the hope to overturn the world’s image of China as an unstable and suppressed country, and to regain the acceptance of the international community, for after the Tiananmen Square incident, which the Chinese government ordered troops to suppress the demonstrators and which further lead to casualties, the world imposed sanctions against China (Ching,

2008). However, Beijing lost two votes to Sydney in September 1993 as the host city of the 27th Olympiad. In 1999, Beijing bade for the Olympics again. This time, it won with a landslide victory of 56:22 votes to Toronto, the runner-up (Ching, 2008), in July 2001.

China, a closed country that suppresses the rights of its people, lost only two votes to Sydney on September 23, 1993 with its first try of bidding the Games. On July 13, 2001 with its second try, China won a landslide victory by 34 votes to Toronto. This indicated that China must have had its strength to lose by such a slight margin of votes in its first try and to win so overwhelmingly with its second try. Hence, it is expected that since the results of the first bidding, the magazines will have begun to recognize this rising country to give it more coverage and to analyze the reasons of the two bidding results. Thus, three important dates for Beijing's bid for the Olympic Games surfaced. The first being that of September 23, 1993, on which China lost its first bidding, while the second being that of July 13, 2001, on which China won its second bidding. And finally, the country's hosting of the 29th Olympiad on August 8, 2008. In order to provide a comprehensive study on the coverage of Beijing Olympics and China's images, issues one year before and after the three representative dates were analyzed. For *Time*, the three periods for analysis were September 21, 1992 to September 26, 1994, July 10, 2000 to July 15, 2002, and August 6, 2007 to August 10, 2009. For *The Economist*, the three periods for analysis were September 19, 1992 to September 24, 1994, July 8, 2000 to July 13, 2002, and August 4, 2007 to August 8, 2009.

In sum, the three research time periods for both newsmagazines were September 1992 to September 1994, July 2000 to July 2002, and August 2007 to August 2009, which respectively represent one year before and after China lost its first bidding to host the 2000 Olympic Games, one year before and after China won

its second bidding to host the 2008 Olympics, and one year before and after the hosting of the 29th Olympiad in 2008. All articles about China and the Olympic Games that fell within these three periods in the two magazines were sampled for analysis.

3.4 Units of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the smallest element of a content analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003). Berelson (1952) and Holsti (1969) identify two types of units: the recording unit and the context unit. Recording unit refers to the “specific segment of content” whose characteristic is made obvious by placing it in a given category. It may be a single word, phrase, theme, character, sentence or paragraph, item, and space-and-time measures. According to Berelson (1952), item may be a book, a magazine article or story or an editorial. Space-and-time measures refers to the physical part of content, such as the column inch, page or line (for print), minute (for radio), or footage (for film) (Berelson, 1952). As Holsti (1969) notes, it may not be possible to classify a recording unit without further reference to the context in which it appears. For example, images towards human rights in China cannot be inferred solely on the basis of how frequently the term appears in the communication content; instead, the researcher should take the entire sentence or even the paragraph in which the term appears into consideration when exploring people’s images of human rights in China. Hence, context unit is “the largest body of content that may be examined in characterizing a recording unit” (Berleson, 1952).

The units employed in this study were “paragraphs” in a piece of news and “page”. A paragraph is defined as the title (including the subtitle and subheading), lead and closer. Titles are the most important “typographic design tool” in catching the readers’ attention (Johnson & Prijatel, 2000), prompting them to read a certain

article. Similarly, leads also catch the audience's eye. They often highlight the experiences people encounter in their everyday lives, raise moral issues, or question common expectations (Gans, 2004). Closers, on the other hand, assess the importance of the experience highlighted, offer resolution to the issue, reaffirm the expectation (Gans, 2004) and often demonstrate a correspondent's tendency towards an issue. Hence, the title, lead and closer in the news articles were chosen for analysis.

Stories were selected according to whether the titles, subtitles, and subheadings on the contents page had the terms "China," "China's Olympics," "Beijing Olympics," names of Chinese leaders (e.g. Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zeming, Hu Jintao), cities (e.g. Shanghai, Beijing, Chengdu), projects (e.g. the three gorges dam). Articles about Hong Kong and China were not taken into consideration because before 1997, Hong Kong was a British colony, governed by the British government. For the sake of convenience, articles about Hong Kong and China were omitted. Articles about cross-strait relationship were neglected as well, for a majority of them were about China's attitudes toward presidential elections in Taiwan, policies of Taiwan's leader and the leaders' trips abroad, which were not directly related to Olympics and China's images.

As this study measured the lengths of the articles, "page" was employed as the unit. The layouts of *Time* and *The Economist* are that of two to three columns in one page and the lengths of the articles often range from one column to three columns on a page, so in order for convenience, in a page that has three columns, one column is defined as 1/3 of a page; half a column of a page that has three columns is defined as 1/6 of a page. Similarly, in a page that has two columns, one column is defined as 1/2 of a page; half a column of a page that has two columns is defined as 1/4 of a page. Then, the total page number was transferred into decimals. This measurement of length of article was adopted from Li's (1988) *Analysis and Comparison of Coverage*

3.5 Construction of Categories

The core of any content analysis is the category system used to classify communication content. Wimmer & Dominick (2003) identify three principles to follow when establishing category systems: mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and reliable. "Mutually exclusive" means categories should be mutually exclusive from each other. Every unit for analysis can be placed only into one category. It cannot belong to different categories at the same time. "Exhaustive" refers to the idea the categories constructed must be as complete as possible, so that there is a category for every unit of analysis. "Reliable" means that different coders should have a consensus about the category for each unit of analysis. The higher the consensus between the coders, the more reliable the results are.

Basing on these principles, subject category and tone category will be employed in this study.

3.5.1 Subject Categories

Subject category answers the question of "What is the communication about?" (Berelson, 1952). After preliminary reviewing of the magazine articles, nine categories were established: politics, economics, environment, technology, society, culture and leisure, education, health, and general.

A. Topics under the **politics** category are as follows:

- a. Human rights, including articles about freeing and jailing of dissidents or individuals, demonstrations and protests, election of village chiefs, forced relocations, freedom of speech, press freedom, censorship of the Internet, and

suppression of religions and minority groups, such as Tibetans and Uighurs. For example:

That's the sound of freedom being squelched—and a government that has spared no means to crush it. (*Time*—Jul. 2, 2001)

September 11th gave China a handy excuse to repress its discontented Muslim minority in Xinjiang...China is invoking Mr. bin Laden's name to justify tight control over its Turkic-speaking Muslims, especially the Uighurs who dominate this part of the Xinjinag "autonomous" region in China's far west. (*The Economist*—March 20, 2002)

- b. Chinese leadership, including the succession of Chinese leaders, corruption of governmental officials. For example:

On April 26th, Li Peng, the Chinese prime minister, was due to meet a foreign visitor. The meeting was cancelled and Mr. Li has not been seen in public since. Speculation about his fate is rife. (*The Economist*—Jun. 5, 1993)

- c. Foreign affairs, including articles about international relationships, such as Sino-American relationship and Sino-Japanese relationship, foreign visits by Chinese leaders. For example:

Relations between China and Japan have...never been anything but prickly...The people of China retain an ugly, if understandable, hostility toward the Japanese. (*The Economist*—Sept. 2, 2000)

- d. Military affairs, including military activities and spending. For example:

With streamlining, shake-ups in the ranks and a rapid weapons buildup, Beijing's armed forces are changing the Asian balance of power...they are making a number of neighbors just a little nervous. (*Time*—Apr. 12, 1993)

For the first time, China's nuclear submarines, previously glimpsed only by spy satellites, were planned to go on public display. (*Time*—May 4, 2009)

...China's total defence spending, including official and unofficial figures, is now the third-largest in the world, and rising fast. (*The Economist*—Jun. 11, 1994)

- e. Olympics, including Olympic bidding, torch relay, and the opening ceremony. For example:

A breathtakingly spectacular start to the Olympic Games heralds the return of China to the center of the world's stage. (*Time*—Aug. 18, 2008)

In its bid to host the 2008 Games, Beijing prepares a Potemkin Olympic Village. (*Time*—Feb. 26, 2001)

Though Beijing's Communist leaders insist that politics must not be allowed to sully the Olympics, their bid is nothing if not political. If it succeeds, it will, they hope, bring huge political blessings. The games will let them show China's authoritarian philosophy, as well as its sporting prowess, at its finest and help the county on its way towards their dream of Great Powerdom. (*The Economist*—Feb. 24, 2001)

If a gold medal were awarded for the most ruthless bid to stage the Olympic Games, the Chinese would win it. (*The Economist*—Aug. 21, 1993)

The "Olympics" topic was categorized under **politics** because both *Time* and *The Economist* unequivocally regarded it as a political event, as evidenced in the following:

Berlin, Tokyo, Mexico, Moscow, Los Angeles, Seoul: the Olympic Games are often "political" events, occasions for the flaunting of national progress, or for protestors to enjoy global publicity. (*The Economist*—Mar. 29, 2008)

Chinese officials have repeatedly demanded that the Olympics not be politicized. But Olympic history—from the horrors of Munich in 1972 to the boycotts of the Games in Montreal, Moscow and Los Angeles—suggests that's a forlorn hope. (*Time*—Aug. 20, 2007)

- f. Other, refers to a combination of at least two or none of the topics mentioned above, such as nationalism. For example:

The Sichuan earthquake, tragic as it was, has shown the world the compassionate face of Chinese nationalism. (*Time*—Jun. 23, 2008)

B. Topics under the **economics** category are as follows:

- a. Financial and banking systems. For example:

...the banks are in a mess...China's lending institutions are weak and politically subservient. (*The Economist*—Mar. 27, 1993)

- b. Investment, including the stock-market, foreign investment and overseas investment. For example:

China's attempts to invest strategically in the developed world keep running into walls. (*Time*—Jun. 22, 2009)

On August 1st the Shanghai stockmarket index of "A" shares (those that can only be bought by Chinese investors) soared 36%. (*The Economist*—Aug. 6, 1994)

- c. Agriculture. For example:

In the late 1970s, Sichuan was the seedbed for the agricultural reforms that Deng Xiaoping (a native Sichuanese) later spread throughout China...they seem to have done the province's lush grain fields and well-kept citrus orchards little good. (*The Economist*—May 8, 1993)

- d. Economic growth. For example:

While the West remains bogged down in the worst recession in decades, China's economy has sprung back to life with remarkable speed. (*Time*—Aug. 10, 2009)

China's extraordinary economic boom will shortly turn into a bust. (*The*

Economist—May 29, 1993)

- e. Trade, including exports and imports, most-favored nation trading status, and joining the WTO. For example:

...China's export growth rate falling from about 25% a year to single-digits by mid-2008. (*Time*—Mar. 31, 2008)

The world's hottest major economy is headed for harder times as its export and property sectors sag. (*Time*—Nov. 3, 2008)

China's chances of being a founder member of the World Trade Organization (WTO)...are looking slimmer. (*The Economist*—Aug. 6, 1994)

- f. Infrastructures of the country. For example:

And so the work goes on. At the base of a \$527 million bridge being built across the Yangtze River in Chongqing, dozens of dump trucks and backhoes rumble amid boulders and mud to prepare an access road to the span, scheduled to be completed this month. (*Time*—Jun. 1, 2009)

Travelling in China can test the patience. Your correspondent recently failed at the first try to get a confirmed seat on any of the ten flights and trains he wanted to take, and at a luxury hotel in Beijing, the fancy telephones were out of order for a day and a half of his five-day stay. These are small signs of a big problem: China's infrastructure is cracking under the pressure of its booming economy. (*The Economist*—Nov. 28, 1992)

- g. Pricing of everyday necessities, such as oil and water prices. For example:

Consumer prices are surging in China...Xu [Yaqing] and her husband get by on \$263 a month, and lately, the couple's monthly pensions haven't been enough. The price of the peanut oil that Xu cooks with has doubled in the past few months, and soaring costs for other staples have forced them to cut back on milk and to substitute bean curd for meat. They're not starving, but they're scared. "Prices are going up so much and so quickly," Xu complains. (*Time*—Oct. 22, 2007)

...data published this week show the biggest monthly rise in consumer prices for over ten years. (*The Economist*—Sept. 15, 2007)

h. Counterfeit goods. For example:

China could, in theory, get tough on piracy—not by going after the street vendors, but by shutting down the small, makeshift factories that churn out the discs. There are periodic raids, to be sure, but it would take a lot more effort to truly end the practice... (*Time*—Apr. 23, 2007)

On a busy street in Chengdu, a Chinese shopkeeper displays his wares: an impressive collection of compact discs. But the CDs themselves are not for sale—few Chinese can afford them, let alone a CD player. Instead, he offers to record customers' favourite CD tracks on to a cassette tape. This blatant abuse of copyright is, in fact, a double act of piracy. The CDs he is copying are also counterfeit. (*The Economist*—Apr. 23, 1994)

i. Economic reform. For example:

The Chinese reforms have succeeded thus far because they introduced a great deal of competition into the economy, albeit sometimes in forms that are hard to recognize. This has created an economy that at its grassroots works surprisingly well... (*The Economist*—Nov. 28, 1992)

j. Other, refers to a combination of at least two or none of the topics mentioned above, such as mining and antitrust law. For example:

As precious-metal prices soar, China is overtaking South Africa as the world's largest gold producer. (*Time*—Apr. 7, 2008)

...after 14 years of wrangling China will introduce a comprehensive antitrust law on August 1st... It could prove to be hugely important: it has been called China's "economic constitution". (*The Economist*—Jul. 19, 2008)

C. Topics under the **environment** category are as follows:

a. Shortage of resources. For example:

One of the most serious problems with China's headlong expansion is that it is underpowered. The energy sector is wheezing with rotating blackouts and brownouts the norm in urban areas. (*Time*—May 10, 1993)

Red Stone Bridge power station hums away amid fields of shimmering rice and yellow rape. It uses two 110 megawatt (MW) hydroelectric generators to provide power around Pengzhou, a bustling town in China's Sichuan province. Although the station was only completed in 1991, demand for its power already outstrips supply. The story is the same throughout China... (*The Economist*—Mar. 19, 1994)

b. Environmental projects, such as the Three Gorges Dam. For example:

As rulers of the world's most populous nation, China's leaders like their projects oversized... China's latest white elephant, which was officially unveiled last month, is a massive water project that aims to divert up to 10% of the Yangtze River to chronically drought-stricken swaths of northern China. (*Time*—Dec. 24, 2001)

In the village of Yaowan on the northern bank of the Yangtze River, some residents are dreading the imminent arrival of the demolition teams that will flatten their settlement and force its occupants to move. Yaowan is one of hundreds of villages and dozens of towns that will be flooded after the world's biggest hydroelectric dam blocks the Yangtze at the bottom of the scenic Three Gorges in June next year. (*The Economist*—Jul. 6, 2002)

c. Environmental policies. For example:

From May 1st smoking has been banned in a wide range of public buildings. Meanwhile, hotels, bars, restaurants and internet cafes have had to provide non-smoking areas. Individuals caught lighting up in the wrong place may be fined 10 yuan (\$1.40). Penalties as high as 5,000yuan await non-compliant businesses and institutions. (*The Economist*—May 10, 2008)

- d. Natural disasters, such as the snow disaster and the Sichuan earthquake. For example:

Vicious weather disrupts one of the great annual migrations, as millions struggle to reach home for Chinese New Year. Severe weather in much of the country has disrupted air, road and rail transport, causing dozens of deaths and leaving millions of travelers stranded...the forecast is bad, and officials expect the difficulties to persist. They have urged people to consider giving up their home visits for this year. For many of those freezing at stations, that would add heartbreak to acute physical discomfort. (*The Economist*—Feb. 2, 2008)

- e. Problems of pollution. For example:

Despite claims by Chinese environmental officials, rapid industrialization is turning water supplies into black toxic soup. (*The Economist*—Jul. 21, 2001)

- f. Environmental Protection. For example:

Inside [an 11-story building in Beijing] are the offices of the Sino-Japan Friendship Center for Environmental Protection, where experts study how Japan became one of the world's most energy-efficient countries, with the aim of applying those lessons and methods to China. (*Time*—Jul. 14, 2008)

These days China's environmental bureaucrats know how to talk the talk. They readily admit that pollution is poisoning the country's water resources, air and soil. They acknowledge that carbon emissions are soaring. If only, they lament the government would give them the means to do something about it. (*The Economist*—Jan. 26, 2008)

- g. Other, refers to a combination of at least two or none of the topics mentioned above.

D. Topics under the **technology** category are as follows:

a. Space programs. For example:

Forty-three years after cosmonaut Alexei Leonov spent 12 minutes outside an orbiting spacecraft, China became the third nation after the former Soviet Union and the U.S. to conduct a spacewalk. (*Time*—Oct. 13, 2008)

Having put three men into orbit without a hitch since 2003, the scientists and policymakers behind China's space programme are gaining confidence. (*The Economist*—Sept. 27, 2008)

b. Internet, including hackers and online matchmaking websites. For example:

Chinese computer hackers are allegedly breaking into high-security networks in the U.S. and other countries. (*Time*—Jan. 14, 2008)

...how the Internet is transforming relations among kids in China. Formerly, matchmakers paired up young couples, and families wielded immense power over potential lovers. In many cities the Internet now performs the same service in a far less domineering manner. (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000)

One of the more striking end-of-year statistics pumped out recently by the Chinese government was an update on the number of internet users in the country, which had reached 210m. It is a staggering figure, up by more than 50% on the previous year and more than three times the number for India, the emerging Asian giant with which China is most often compared. Within a few months, according to Morgan Stanley, an investment bank, China will have more internet users than America, the current leader. And because the proportion of the population using the internet is so low, at just 16%, rapid growth is likely to continue for some time. (*The Economist*—Feb. 2, 2008)

c. Rainmaking Technology. There were zero articles about social welfares in *Time* and *The Economist* during the three research time periods.

d. Aircraft building. For example:

China's Bangda Airport in Tibet is challenging for planes as well as pilots...Because the air is so thin there, the large Boeing and Airbus aircraft that comprise most of China's domestic fleet lack the power and lift to take off and land comfortably under certain conditions, especially in bad weather with a full load of passengers. So in 2002, the Beijing government came up with a surprising solution: China would build a small passenger jet so good that [it] could...handle Bangda with ease...(Time—Oct. 22, 2007)

"The Chinese people must use their own two hands and their wisdom to manufacture internationally competitive large aircraft. It is the will of the nation and all its people to have a Chinese large aircraft soar into the blue sky..." (The Economist—May 17, 2008)

e. Telecommunication. For example:

...the Chinese government would finally allow the country's three mobile-phone carriers to upgrade to 3G (third generation) network technology...(Time—Feb. 23, 2009)

f. Other, refers to a combination of at least two or none of the topics mentioned above. For example:

After centuries of false starts, the nation's science is finally poised for takeoff. (Time—May 10, 1993)

Use of the Internet and mobile phones is exploding in China. (The Economist—Jul. 22, 2000)

E. Topics under the **society** category are as follows:

a. Labor issues, including wages, strikes, job-seeking and unemployment, work accidents, child labor, hazardous work environments, and job discriminations. For example:

China knows its coal mines are dangerous. But operators are ignoring

state orders to shut them down...[Small mines] are precisely the most dangerous ones: small, unregistered and free to operate without safety equipment and supervision. (*Time*—Sept. 3, 2001)

Strikes in China? They do happen. On September 28th the “Beijing Youth News,” a government newspaper, reported that workers in factories in Tianjin, a port city, had gone on strike at least ten times this year. (*The Economist*—Oct. 2, 1993)

b. Social welfares. There were zero articles about social welfares in *Time* and *The Economist* during the three research time periods.

c. Social problems, such as crimes and suicides, unbalanced ratio between boys and girls, and division between urban and rural areas. For example:

A string of recent bombings in Chinese cities points to a growing frustration over social inequities. (*Time*—Dec. 31, 2001)

A study in the latest issue of “Population and Development Review” suggests that in two Asian countries, the ratio of boy babies to girl babies rose noticeable in the 1980s...this happened not just in China...but also in South Korea. (*The Economist*—Sept. 18, 1993)

d. Other, refers to a combination of at least two or none of the topics mentioned above, such as social change. For example:

China’s young people have a driving ambition...They have an idea about what’s off limits but have no map to show them where they can go, no coordinates for their ambitions. (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000)

“Young people are beginning to think for themselves about how to live in this society”...(*Time*—May 10, 1993)

Jill Robinson, a Briton, spends most of her time in Sichuan province, caring for bears rescued from bile farmers, who are compensated in return for shutting down their operations. She says support from local

young people is rising fast, and attitudes are starting to change. If China can stop binding women's feet, she asks, why should it not abandon cruelty to animals? (*The Economist*—Mar. 1, 2008)

F. Topics under the **culture and leisure** category are as follows:

a. Art, including movies, music, films, literature, and paintings. For example:

Despite widespread talk of a new rebelliousness, a Chinese musician says rock can't find an audience. (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000)

...a banned author had won this year's Nobel prize for literature for China for the first time...(*The Economist*—Oct. 21, 2000)

b. Lifestyle and taste. For example:

Home-buying these days is the engrossing topic among young professionals in Beijing and Shanghai. In the Beijing branch of Ikea, a Swedish chain of home-furnishing stores, the aisles are clogged with shopping carts. All normal stuff in many parts of the world, but a new development in China. (*The Economist*—Sept. 30, 2000)

c. Cultural heritage. For example:

A historic neighborhood ...fall victim to Shanghai's building boom. (*Time*—Mar. 5, 2001)

On September 7th they started knocking down the courtyard house of Cao Xueqin, the 18th-century author of "The Dream of the Red Chamber", China's greatest novel and one that occupies a bigger place in Chinese hearts than "Madame Bovary" or "Anna Karenina" do in French or Russian ones. The house was in the way of yet another soulless road that Beijing's municipal authorities want to drive through a centuries-old neighborhood of narrow alleyways, called "hutong" in the Beijing dialect, to the south-east of Tiananmen Square. (*The Economist*—Sept. 9, 2000)

d. Tourism. For example:

This might sound familiar to officials in Jiuquan on the edge of the Gobi

desert in north-eastern China. They too had big plans a few years ago for a tourism spin-off from the launch centre about 200km (125 miles) away, deep in the desert, from which the recent spacewalk mission was launched. They were disappointed. The centre's military controllers were not keen on visitors. A planned theme park on the edge of Jiuquan remains a wilderness. (*The Economist*—Dec. 13, 2008)

- e. Sport activities, includes those such as horse racing. For example:

Opportunities are sparse for China's small-time speculators. So it was with a certain ebullience that 7,000 residents of Wuhan recently gathered at the Orient Lucky City racecourse... They were the first people in mainland China to be given official approval to win money from horse races since the Communist Party outlawed gambling in 1949. (*The Economist*—Jan. 3, 2009)

- f. Other, refers to a combination of at least two or none of the topics mentioned above, such as lottery and delicacies. For example:

For the first time, China's citizens enjoyed an official day off on September 14th to celebrate one of their best-loved traditions, the mid-autumn festival. As usual the occasion was marked by gifts of stodgy pastries known as mooncakes, often containing a solid yolk representing that day's full moon. But mooncakes have come to mean much more. (*The Economist*—Sept. 20, 2008)

G. Topics under the **education** category are as follows:

- a. Education systems. For example:

With public schools in trouble, for-profit institutions of learning at all levels are springing up in China. (*Time*—Dec. 6, 1993)

It seemed like a dream come true for China's children. During his annual speech to parliament in March, the prime minister, Zhu Rongji, said from the podium of Beijing's Great Hall of the People that schools should "effectively reduce homework assignments for primary and secondary school students"... Officials are also beginning to talk more about the emotional wellbeing of China's students. (*The Economist*—Sept. 23,

2000)

- b. Studying abroad. For example:

A popular Beijing school teaches students that what they need to know in order to survive studying abroad. (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000)

- c. Other, refers to a combination of at least two or none of the topics mentioned above.

H. Topics under the **health** category are as follows:

- a. Health-care system. For example:

Sino-U.S. joint venture are just a modest beginning to repair China's ailing health-care system..."In terms of medical care, China is one of the most challenging countries"...(*Time*—Nov. 3, 2008)

At home and abroad, China's mental-health establishment suffers image problems. Overseas, China has drawn thoroughly deserved criticism for the way it has used police-run psychiatric hospitals as political prisons. At home, the system has long been seen chiefly as a sad but necessary place to cast the severely disturbed or profoundly abnormal. (*The Economist*—Aug. 18, 2007)

- b. Disease surveillance and control systems, including official's denial of diseases.

For example:

...Chinese officials still in denial about AIDS...one of [Little Jade's] hooker friends fell ill—Little Jade is sure it was AIDS—and the women chipped in with \$75 for medical treatment. But the private clinic her friend went to tipped off the authorities, and the woman was never seen again. (*Time*—Mar. 19, 2001)

...the vice-minister of health, Yin Dakui, acknowledged that China is "facing a very serious epidemic" and admitted that negligence by provincial and local-level officials had contributed to the spread of the

disease. (*The Economist*—Sept. 1, 2001)

- c. Other, refers to a combination of at least two or none of the topics mentioned above.

- I. The **general** category refers to articles that cover more than one subject. For example:

An unusually harsh series of storms paralyzes the nation's power and transportation networks, exposing the vulnerabilities of an economic juggernaut. (*Time*—Feb. 11, 2008)

Behind the sporting glitz, anxieties about minorities and the economy. (*The Economist*—Aug. 9, 2008)

3.5.2 Tone categories

Tone category tackles the question of how the communication content is being presented in terms of whether it is praising, criticizing or fact-stating without suggesting a view. The five categories employed were very positive, positive, neutral, negative, and very negative.

- A. **Positive**: refers to the praises, compliments, and show of support for the person, place, thing, and event depicted in the paragraph. For example:

Today, the world needs China...to help solve diplomatic crises from North Korea to Sudan, to power the ailing global economy and to help bring stability to its neighborhood. Today, China can no longer be ignored. (*Time*—Mar. 31, 2008)

A series of reciprocal visits over the past 20 months by the leaders of China and Japan have brought a thaw in bilateral relations. (*The Economist*—May 10, 2008)

B. **Neutral:** A paragraph is considered neutral if there are no specific stances for the person, place, thing, and event depicted in the communication content. For example:

China's leader depends on both ancient wisdom and communist doctrine as guides to action. (*Time*—Dec. 31, 2007)

China wants to join the club. (*The Economist*—May 14, 1994)

A new game to play in Beijing's traffic jams. (*The Economist*—Nov. 10, 2007)

C. **Negative:** refers to the negations, criticisms and condemnations of the person, place, thing, and event in the paragraph. For example:

Beijing's heavy hand control in Tibet is jeopardizing China's hope for a politics-free Olympics. (*Time*—Apr. 14, 2008)

China's Communist modernizers are wrecking the capital. (*The Economist*—Sept. 9, 2000)

China's housing market...is undergoing its first big downturn after years of boom. (*The Economist*—Oct. 25, 2008)

Among the title, lead, and closer, if all three were positive, then the article was rated as very positive. If two of the three paragraphs were positive with one neutral or negative, or if one of the three paragraphs was positive with two neutral, the article was rated as positive. If all three of the paragraphs were neutral, or if one of the three paragraphs had the situation of one being positive, the other neutral, and still another negative the article was rated as neutral. It was likewise for articles to be rated as very negative and negative (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Index and Scale

scale	very positive	positive	neutral	negative	very negative
index	3+	2+, 1- / 1+, 2△	3△/ 1+, 1-, 1△	2-, 1+ / 1-, 2△	3-

+ : positive
- : negative
△ : neutral

3.5.3 News Framing

With the construction of these categories, the frequency and size of the articles under each category were measured so as to understand which subjects were most emphasized by the two magazines, and to see whether there is a difference in focus of subjects between them. However, as frequency and size alone could not reveal the media’s position toward China and the Beijing Olympics, for example whether the media were favorable, unfavorable, or neutral against a project, van Dijk’s (1988) “news analysis” was adopted as well, looking particularly at the thematic structures and lexical styles used in the articles.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) classified framing devices in news discourse into four categories: syntactical structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetorical structure. Syntactical structure refers to the patterns of the arrangement of words or phrases into sentences. Van Dijk in 1988 called this structure “macrosyntax”, which for most news stories, was characterized by the inverted pyramid structure and by the rules of source attributions (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). An inverted pyramid was defined as a sequential organization of structural elements such as headline, lead, episode, background, and closure (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). The signifying power of the elements varies in the same descending order, as Figure 1 indicates, with headline as the most salient cue to activate certain related concepts in the readers’ minds, and lead

as the second most important device to use (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). As Pan and Kosicki (1993) stated, a good lead will give a story a newsworthy angle, suggesting particular perspective to view the event covered.

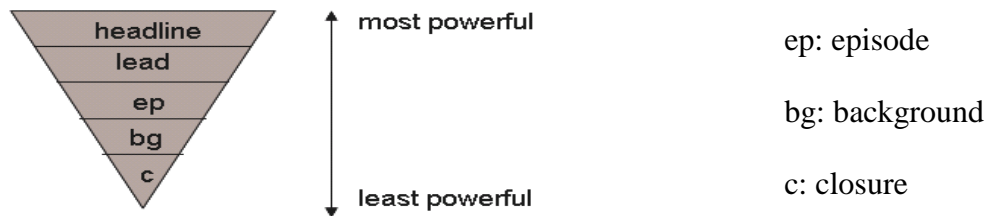


Figure 3.1 Inverted pyramid

According to Pan and Kosicki (1993), news reports are often seen as stories for they are stories in the literal sense of describing events. Further, they help link audiences with the environment of which they have limited experiences, which is the function of story telling. Thus, news discourse has scripts, which refers to “an established and stable sequence of activities and components of an event that have been internalized as a structured mental representation of the event” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; p. 60). The structure of a news script is defined by rules called “story grammars,” namely who, what, when, where, why, and how.

A thematic structure can be considered as consisting a summary and a main body, in which the summary is often represented by the headline, lead, or conclusion, and the main body is where the journalists introduce the background information of the event.

Rhetoric structure refers to the stylistic choices made by the journalists so as to have an intended effect. The five framing devices brought up by Gamson and Modigliani (1989)—metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images—belong to this category (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

In this study, thematic structures of the news articles about China and the

Olympics were described to gain an understanding of the themes or topics of the text. Then, lexical styles in the articles that referred to China and the above mentioned subject categories were identified to demonstrate the journalist's or media's stances toward China and the Beijing Olympics: favorable, unfavorable, or neutral. Comparison was made between the two magazines as well.

3.6 Measurements for Research Questions

The two previous sections explained the units, construction of subjects and tones, as well as the types of frames to be analyzed for this study. The following, then, presents a picture of how each of the research questions (RQs) was measured.

RQ1: How do *Time* and *The Economist* differ in the coverage of China in terms of subject, tone, and length of coverage?

The measurements for subjects and tone in this question were paragraphs (title, lead, closer), while for article length was page. First, each of the three paragraphs in an article was read to determine its subject and tone. If all three of the paragraphs talked about human rights and used negative tones, the article would be categorized as very negative under the "Politics" category. Below is an example of an article on page 44 in *The Economist* on September 6, 2008:

Title:

Xinjiang—Chinastan

A crackdown in China's wild West, its Muslim-majority chunk of Central Asia

Lead:

On the roads crossing the dusty fields of cotton and maize around the oasis city of Kashgar, China's police are on alert. Terrorists, as they call them, have been stepping up their attacks. Officers at checkpoints turn back foreigners venturing towards trouble spots. Citizens entering Kashgar line up by the roadside to have their identity cards scanned.

Body:

.....

Closer:

The Economist found a relative of one of the 57 near Kashgar. The police soon stopped the interview and detained those involved for over three hours. One officer said he had not been home for more than two weeks because of the alert in the area.

A Han Chinese, unusually for a rural policeman, he carries a pistol on his hip.

(*The Economist*—Sept. 6, 2008)

➔ **Conclusion:**

1. topic and category: human rights and politics
2. tone: very negative

Regarding article length, aforementioned, the layouts of the magazines are those of two to three columns a page. In a page that has three columns, one column is defined as 1/3 of a page; half a column of a page that has three columns is defined as 1/6 of a page. Then, the total page number in fractions will be transferred into decimals. In the case of the above example, the total page number was 0.88 pages.

RQ2: Is there a trend of covering China in *Time* and *The Economist* regarding subject, tone, and length of coverage as the Beijing Olympic nears?

The measurement for this question was the amount of articles under subject category and tone category throughout the three research periods, and the mean of article length for each subject. In other words, the amount of articles for subject and tone categories in each of the research periods were counted, and the mean of article length for each subject was calculated to see which subject the magazines stressed most.

RQ3: How do *Time* and *The Economist* frame the news about China?

The measurements for this question were paragraphs (title, lead, closer) and phrases used to describe a particular subject. The three paragraphs in every article of the most covered topic under each subject were read carefully, then, themes were drawn. For example, both magazines paid the most attention to “human rights” under the “Politics” category, of which many of these articles talked about suppression of minority groups, jailing of dissidents and so forth. Hence, a theme of “China as a country that suppresses its people’s rights” was drawn.

3.7 Reliability Test

Reliability refers to the idea that repeated measurement of the same material will yield in similar decisions or conclusions (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003). Because coders’ skills, experiences, and clarity of categories will affect the results of the study, it is important to run the reliability test in order to see whether the subject category and tone category constructed are objective or not. To check the intercoder agreement (IA), which refers to the levels of agreement among independent coders coding the same content by utilizing the same coding instruments (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003),

the following formula was employed:

$$IA = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

M : the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree

N1: the total number of coding decisions by the first coder

N2: the total number of coding decisions by the second coder

To further check the intercoder reliability (IR), the following formula was utilized:

$$IR = \frac{N (\text{average } IA)}{1 + [(N - 1) IA]}$$

N = number of coders

The two coders in this study were the thesis author and her classmate in the International Master's Program of International Communication Studies at National Chengchi University. As Wimmer and Dominick (2003) note, 10% to 25% of the data should be sampled for the reliability test. There were 696 articles in total within the three time periods, with 229 in *Time* and 467 in *The Economist*. 20% of the articles in each of the magazines were systematically sampled, yielding a result of 46 articles in *Time* and 93 articles in *The Economist* for the reliability test:

A. (IA) and (IR) of Subject Categories

$$IA = \frac{2 \times 122}{139 + 139} = \frac{244}{278} = 0.88$$

$$IR = \frac{2 \times 0.88}{1 + [(2 - 1) \times 0.88]} = \frac{1.76}{1.88} = 0.94$$

B. (IA) and (IR) of Tone Categories

$$IA = \frac{2 \times 126}{139 + 139} = \frac{252}{278} = 0.91$$

$$IR = \frac{2 \times 0.91}{1 + [(2 - 1) \times 0.91]} = \frac{1.82}{1.91} = 0.95$$

All the above test outcomes indicated the research as quite reliable, for Kassarjian (1997) and Wimmer and Dominick (2003) argue respectively that test results above 0.85 and 0.9 are considered reliable.

3.8 Statistical Tests

SPSS 15.0 was employed for statistical analysis, particularly frequency and percentage for an understanding of subject and tone distributions throughout the three periods, and whether there were any differences of subject, tone, and article lengths between the two newsmagazines. Other statistical tests such as chi-square and t-tests were not employed because the articles analyzed in this study were actually the population that appeared in *Time* and *The Economist* during the three periods of Olympic bid failure, bid success, and Games hosting.

Chapter IV

Findings

This chapter reports findings about the editorial presentations and news frames on coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics in particular and China in general in *Time* and *The Economist* during the three periods of China's Olympic bid failure, bid success, and Olympics hosting, as explained in Chapter Three. The first section gives a statistical profile of the coverage in the two magazines, i.e., the subjects, tones, and length of coverage, while the second section gives the frames in reporting China's human rights, environment, technology, economy, society, health, culture and leisure, and education sectors during the three research periods.

4.1 The Samples from *Time* and *The Economist*

During the study periods, a total of 696 articles were sampled from *Time* and *The Economist*, with 229 stories (32.9%) in *Time* and 467 stories (67.1%) in *The Economist* (Figure 4.1).

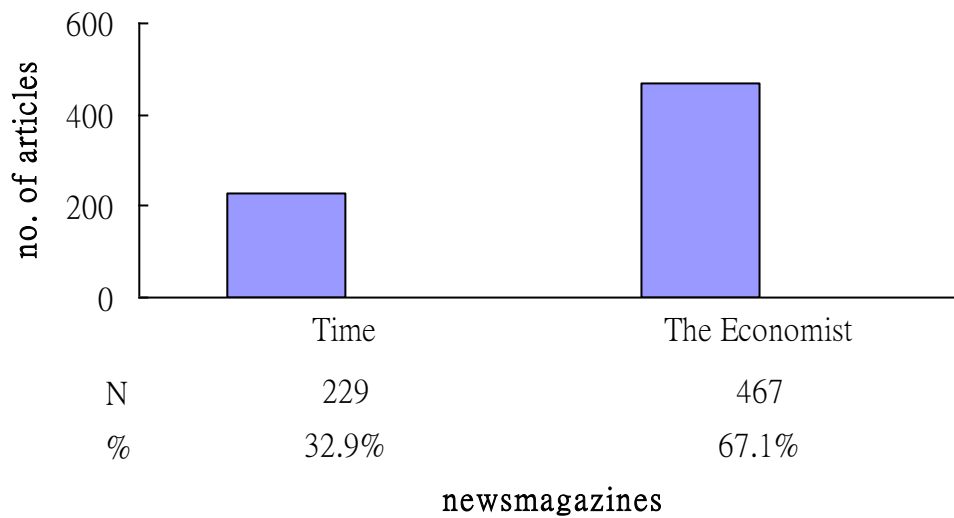


Figure 4.1 China coverage in *Time* and *The Economist*

Of the 229 *Time* articles, China-related articles accounted for 24.5 percent (56 stories), 37.6 percent (86 stories), and 38 percent (87 stories) in “September 1992 to September 1994,” “July 2000 to July 2002,” “August 2007 to August 2009,” respectively. Of the 467 articles sampled in *The Economist*, China-related articles accounted for 27.4 percent (128 stories), 29.1 percent (136 stories), and 43.5 percent (203 stories) in “September 1992 to September 1994,” “July 2000 to July 2002,” and “August 2007 to August 2009,” respectively (Figure 4.2).

Clearly, coverage on China climbed by 13.1 percent from “bid failure” to “bid success” and inched up by another 0.4 percent from “bid success” to “Olympics hosting” in *Time*, while coverage on China rose 1.6 percent from “bid failure” to “bid success” and jumped by another 14.4 percent from “bid success” to “Olympics hosting” in *The Economist* (Table 4.1).

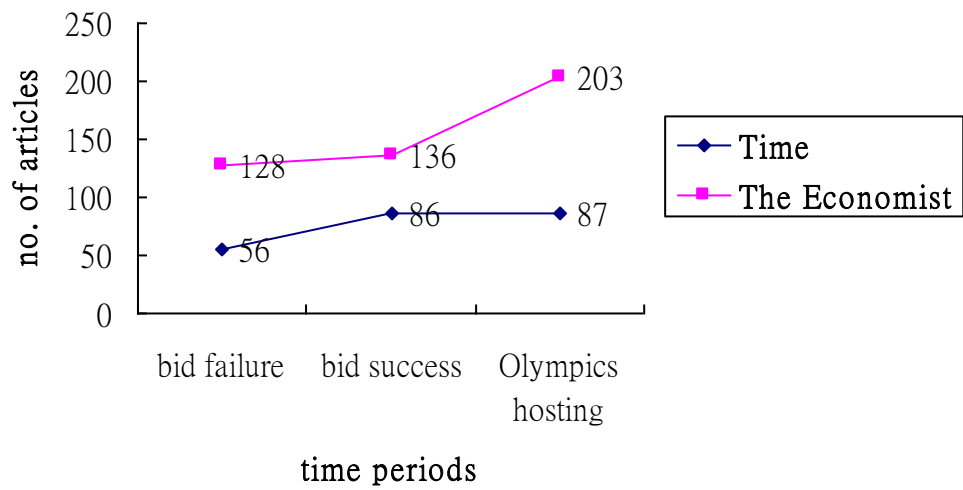


Figure 4.2 China coverage at three periods

*bid failure: September 1992-September 1994;

bid success: July 2000-July 2002;

Olympics hosting: August 2007-August 2009

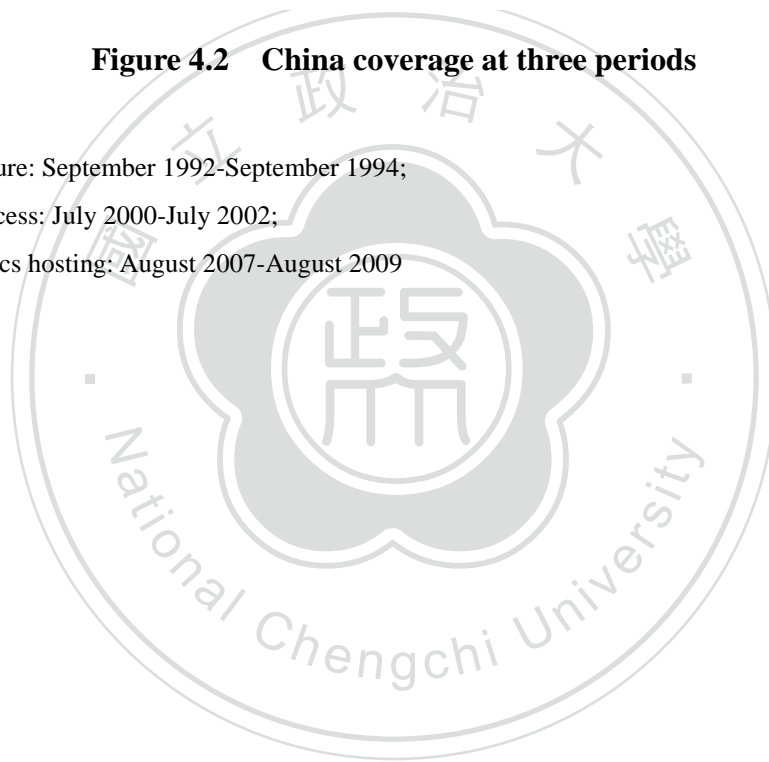


Table 4.1 China Coverage in *Time* and *The Economist* by Subjects during Bid Failure, Bid Success, and Olympics Hosting

Subjects	Time									The Economist								
	bid failure		bid success		Olympics hosting		Total			bid failure		bid success		Olympics hosting		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	rank	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	rank
pol.	27	11.8	39	17.0	39	17.0	105	45.9	1	46	9.9	63	13.5	70	15.0	179	38.3	2
econ.	19	8.3	8	3.5	25	10.9	52	22.7	2	62	13.3	44	9.4	75	16.1	181	38.8	1
environ.	1	0.4	2	0.9	5	2.2	8	3.5	6	1	0.2	6	1.3	11	2.4	18	3.9	4
tech.	1	0.4	4	1.7	6	2.6	11	4.8	5	0	0.0	4	0.9	8	1.7	12	2.6	7
soc.	4	1.7	18	7.9	5	2.2	27	11.8	3	11	2.4	10	2.1	15	3.2	36	7.7	3
cul. & lei.	1	0.4	11	4.8	4	1.7	16	7.0	4	5	1.1	4	0.9	7	1.5	16	3.4	5
educ.	1	0.4	1	0.4	0	0.0	2	0.9	9	0	0.0	2	0.4	0	0.0	2	0.4	9
health	0	0.0	2	0.9	2	0.9	4	1.7	7	0	0.0	1	0.2	6	1.3	7	1.5	8
gen.	2	0.9	1	0.4	1	0.4	4	1.7	7	3	0.6	2	0.4	11	2.4	16	3.4	5
Total	56	24.5	86	37.6	87	38.0	229	100		128	27.4	136	29.1	203	43.5	467	100	

* N = number of articles

* bid failure: September 1992-September 1994;
bid success: July 2000-July 2002;
Olympics hosting: August 2007-August 2009

4.2 China Coverage in *Time* and *The Economist* by Number of Pages

Table 4.2 and Figure 4.3 show the coverage of China in *Time* and *The Economist* by number of pages given for each subject. The number of pages devoted to each subject category was measured to see which subjects were covered with more details. Both newsmagazines spent the most pages on “General”, in other words, articles that cover more than one subject, with an average page number of 1.30 pages in *Time* and 0.72 pages in *The Economist*.

For *Time*, China’s “Health” matters received an average coverage of 1.23 pages, followed by “Economics” with 1.21 pages, “Education” with 1.17 pages, “Culture and Leisure” with 1.12 pages, “Technology” with 1.12 pages, “Environment” with 1.09 pages, “Politics” with 1.08 pages, and “Society” with 1.07 pages.

For *The Economist*, China’s “Environment” issues received an average coverage of 0.70 pages, followed by “Economics” with 0.68 pages, “Politics” with 0.68 pages, “Technology” with 0.66 pages, “Society” with 0.66 pages, “Education” with 0.55 pages, “Culture and Leisure” with 0.48 pages, and “Health” with 0.45 pages.

In sum, aside from the “General” category receiving the most number of pages in both magazines, China’s health issue received more detailed coverage in *Time*, followed by economics, education, culture and leisure, technology, environment, politics, and society, while environment issues were covered with more details in *The Economist*, followed by economics, politics, technology, society, education, culture and leisure, and health. The articles in the two magazines also seem to be of equal length except *Time*’s “General” articles are considerably longer than those in *The Economist*.

Table 4.3 presents the number of pages used for each subject throughout the three periods. For *Time*, one year before and after China lost the first bid for the 2000

Olympiad, “Culture and Leisure” received an average coverage of 1.83 pages, followed by “Economics” with 1.19 pages, “Politics” with 1.10 pages, “Technology” with 1.08 pages, “General” with 1.07 pages, “Society” with 0.76 pages, “Education” with 0.72 pages, “Environment” with 0.66 pages, and “Health” with 0 pages. One year before and after China won the second bid for the 2008 Olympic Games, “Education” had an average coverage of 1.61 pages, followed by 1.25 pages on “General,” 1.17 pages on “Economics,” 1.16 pages on “Society,” 1.14 pages on “Politics,” 1.02 pages on “Technology,” 1.02 pages on “Culture and Leisure,” 0.98 pages on “Health,” 0.62 pages on “Environment”. One year before and after the hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games, *Time* spent an average of 1.83 pages on “General,” followed by 1.48 pages on “Health,” 1.37 pages on “Environment,” 1.24 pages on “Economics,” 1.22 pages on “Culture and Leisure,” 1.19 pages on “Technology,” 1.02 pages on “Politics,” 1.01 pages on “Society,” and 0 pages on “Education”.

For *The Economist*, in “bid failure” period, “Environment” received an average coverage of 0.71 pages, followed by “Economics” with 0.71 pages, “Politics” with 0.67 pages, “General” with 0.57 pages, “Culture and Leisure” with 0.54 pages, “Society” with 0.43 pages, 0 pages for “Technology,” “Education,” and “Health,” respectively. In “bid success,” “Technology” had an average coverage of 1.01 pages, followed by “General” with 0.87 pages, “Society” with 0.76 pages, “Politics” with 0.68 pages, “Economics” with 0.66 pages, “Environment” with 0.59 pages, “Education” with 0.55 pages, “Culture and Leisure” with 0.46 pages, “Health” with 0.36 pages. In “Olympics hosting,” “Environment” had an average coverage of 0.76 pages, followed by 0.76 pages on “Society,” 0.74 pages on “General,” 0.68 pages on “Politics,” 0.67 pages on “Economics,” 0.48 pages on “Technology,” 0.47 pages on “Health,” 0.45 pages on “Culture and Leisure,” 0.47 pages on “Education”.

Thus, throughout the three study periods, clearly, “Culture and Leisure,” “Education,” and “General” were the most covered subjects in *Time*, while “Environment,” “Technology,” and “Environment” were the most covered subjects in *The Economist*.



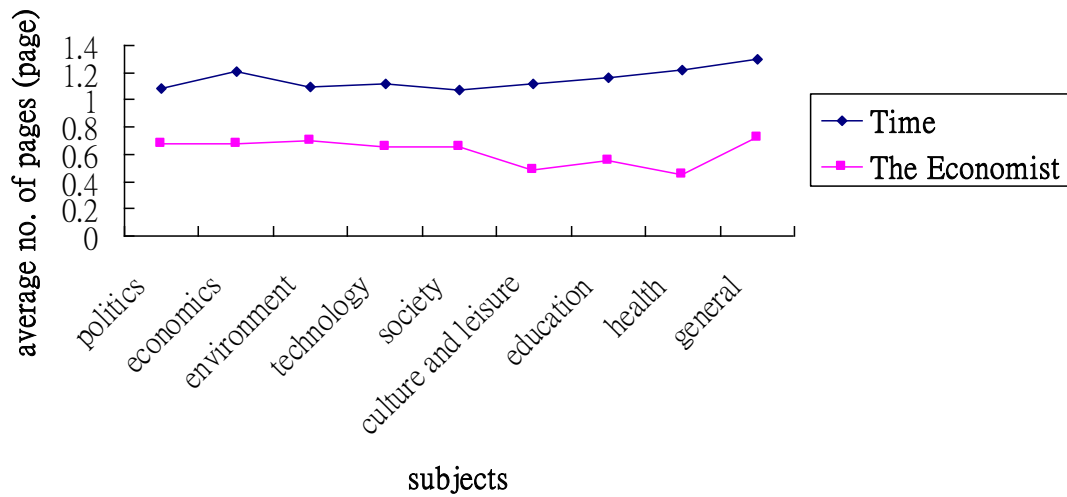


Figure 4.3 Coverage of China in *Time* and *The Economist* by number of pages

Table 4.2 Coverage of China in *Time* and *The Economist* by Number of Pages

Newsmagazines	Time			The Economist		
	Subjects	N	Sum	Mean	N	Sum
politics	105	113.66	1.0825	179	121.21	0.6772
economics	52	62.87	1.2090	181	123.20	0.6807
environment	8	8.73	1.0913	18	12.67	0.7039
technology	11	12.33	1.1209	12	7.89	0.6575
society	27	28.98	1.0733	36	23.65	0.6569
culture and leisure	16	17.95	1.1219	16	7.71	0.4819
education	2	2.33	1.1650	2	1.10	0.5500
health	4	4.90	1.2250	7	3.18	0.4543
general	4	5.21	1.3025	16	11.57	0.7231
Total	229	256.96	1.1221	467	312.18	0.6685

Table 4.3 Coverage of China in *Time* and *The Economist* by Number of Pages throughout the Three Periods

Subjects	Time						The Economist					
	bid failure		bid success		Olympics hosting		bid failure		bid success		Olympics hosting	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
pol.	27	1.0967	39	1.1387	39	1.0164	46	0.6663	63	0.6841	70	0.6780
econ.	19	1.1863	8	1.1725	25	1.2380	62	0.7084	44	0.6595	75	0.6701
environ.	1	0.6600	2	0.6200	5	1.3660	1	0.7100	6	0.5933	11	0.7636
tech.	1	1.0800	4	1.0225	6	1.1933	—	—	4	1.0075	8	0.4825
soc.	4	0.7550	18	1.1606	5	1.0140	11	0.4255	10	0.7590	15	0.7587
cul. & lei.	1	1.8300	11	1.0218	4	1.2200	5	0.5400	4	0.4625	7	0.4514
educ.	1	0.7200	1	1.6100	—	—	—	—	2	0.5500	—	—
health	—	—	2	0.9750	2	1.4750	—	—	1	0.3600	6	0.4700
gen.	2	1.0650	1	1.2500	1	1.8300	3	0.5700	2	0.8700	11	0.7382
Total	56	1.0998	86	1.1170	87	1.1415	128	0.6591	136	0.6790	203	0.6673

* bid failure: September 1992-September 1994;

bid success: July 2000-July 2002;

Olympics hosting: August 2007-August 2009

4.3 Profiles of China in *Time* and *The Economist* by Subjects

Table 4.1 and Figure 4.4 show a difference between *Time* and *The Economist* in coverage of China by news subjects. *Time* emphasized most on China's "Politics" with 105 stories (45.9%), followed by 52 (22.7%) "Economics" articles, 27 (11.8%) "Society" articles, 16 (7.0%) "Culture and Leisure" articles, 11 (4.8%) "Technology" articles, 8 (3.5%) "Environment" articles, 4 (1.7%) "Health" and "General" articles each, and 2 (0.9%) "Education" articles. *The Economist*, on the other hand, stressed most on China's "Economics" with 181 (38.8%) stories, followed by 179 (38.3%) "Politics" articles, 36 (7.7%) "Society" articles, 18 (3.9%) "Environment" articles, 16 (3.4%) "Culture and Leisure" articles, 16 (3.4%) "General" articles, 12 (2.6%) "Technology" articles, 7 (1.5%) "Health" articles, and 2 (0.4%) "Education" articles.

Time had 4 (1.7%) general articles, while *The Economist* had 16 (3.4%) of them. Articles under this category covered more than one subject. For example, *Time* did a coverage on how China's rising economy was creating social inequality problems as presented below:

The economic leap forward has also created a challenge for Beijing: how to cope with inequality and social ferment. (*Time*—May 10, 1993)

The Economist did a coverage on beyond China's excitement of hosting the Olympics, the Chinese government was actually worried about possible protests by minority groups and the slow growth of the country's economy:

Behind the sporting glitz, anxieties about minorities and the economy (*The Economist*—August 9, 2008)

Worthy of noting is that in 1992-1994, one year before and after China lost its

bid for the 2000 Olympic Games, *Time* paid a lot of attention to China's capable leadership. However, one year before and after China won the bid for the 2008 Olympiad, *Time* not only increased its coverage on China, but also switched its focus from Chinese leadership to the country's suppression on human rights. Human rights remained a major focus in *Time* one year before and after hosting of the Beijing Olympics. For example, *Time* reported the then Premier Zhu Rongji's decisiveness in dealing with China's banking issues as below:

As he took charge of the central bank last month, the official Xinhua news agency said Zhu Rongji would push his policies with "the power of a thunderbolt and the speed of lightning." (*Time*—Aug. 16, 1993)

Then, in 2001, the year of the bid success, *Time* had the following to say about how Beijing brought Falun Gong members to their knees via policies of brainwashing, bullying and brutal force:

Chinese police call people like Liu Shujuan "die-hard elements." After the government banned Falun Gong, her spiritual practice, Liu traveled three times to the political heart of China to protest in Tiananmen Square. The last time, in November, she brought her four-year-old daughter and unfurled a yellow banner reading, "The Falun Law Is the Universal Law!" Police jailed Liu and threatened to dispatch her to one of China's labor camps. Her terrified parents begged her to disavow her beliefs. Her husband smacked her. At work, her boss threatened to fire her. Then someone brought her weeping daughter to jail, and Liu's will broke. She promised in writing never to demonstrate against the government and for Falun Gong again... "It's hard to say," she responds when asked if she would still practice if the government hadn't banned Falun Gong. A pause. A glance at her minders. "I think it's still better not to." That's the sound of freedom being squelched and a government that has spared no means to crush it. (*Time*— Jul. 2, 2001)

Contrary to *Time*, one year before and after China lost its bid for the 2000

Olympiad, *The Economist* in 1994 focused a lot on the country's economy, particularly its "out of control" economic growth:

For the Chinese government, the Americans are a secondary problem. The runaway economy, and the political problems that go with inflation, are a bigger worry.

That creates another problem: the government's burden of debt is swelling. It will stay manageable only if the other elements of policy fall into place and if China settles down to a rate of fast-enough, not-too-inflationary growth. If. (*The Economist*—May 21, 1994)

In 2000-2002, one year before and after China won its bid for the Olympics Games, focus switched from the country's economy to politics, especially changes in Chinese leadership:

China's Communist Party is about to see the biggest change of faces at the top in over 20 years (*The Economist*—Oct. 28, 2000)

As China's leaders take their annual seaside break, storms are brewing over future policy and who is to get the top jobs (*The Economist*—Aug. 11, 2001)

However, one year before and after the hosting of the Games, in 2007-2009, equal attention was given to China's politics and economy, with human rights and economic growth receiving the most coverage. Besides, the overall amount of China coverage increased as well. Similar to *Time*, *The Economist* did a coverage on how China was worried that demonstrations by minority groups would spoil the Olympics, thus, the Chinese government tightened the securities:

If there is one city in China where the authorities are truly worried about

serious unrest that might spoil the Olympic games in Beijing in August, it is the Tibetan capital, Lhasa. Around the ancient monasteries and in the narrow streets of the city’s old quarter, filled with the shuffle and drone of pilgrims murmuring their prayers, residents say that security is being tightened. (*The Economist*—Mar. 15, 2008)

In sum, a dissimilarity in focus of subjects could be observed throughout the three periods. *Time* emphasized more on the “Politics”, “Technology”, “Society”, and “Culture and Leisure” sectors in China than *The Economist*, while *The Economist* stressed more on the “Economics” sector in the country than *Time*. China’s environment, education, and health had about the same amount of coverage in the two newsmagazines. More details are presented below.

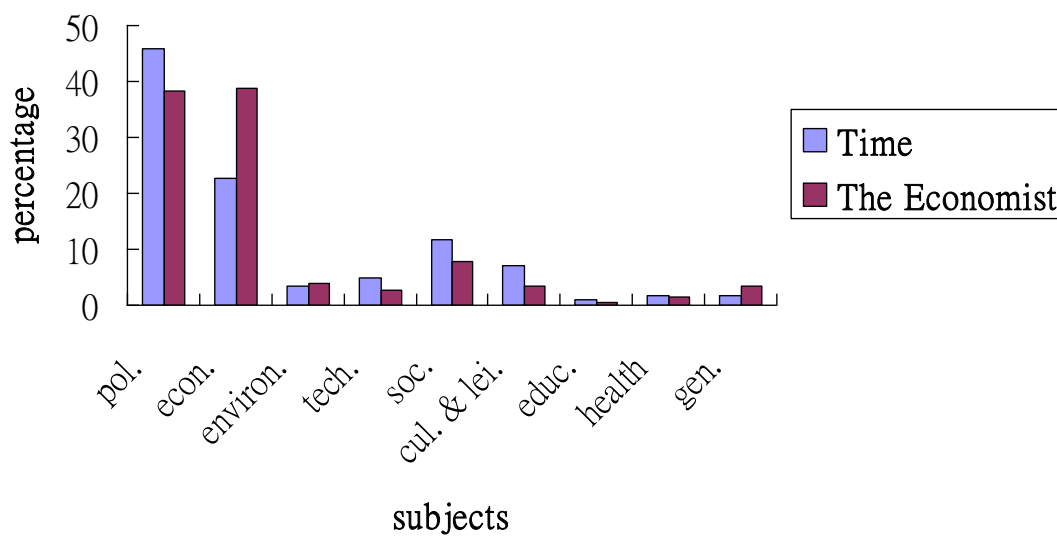


Figure 4.4 China coverage in *Time* and *The Economist* by subjects

Table 4.4 further shows the top three topics in the five most covered subjects in *Time* and *The Economist*. For *Time*, of the 105 articles on politics, human rights received the most attention with 48 articles (21%), followed by 28 articles (12.2%) on Chinese leadership, and 11 articles (4.8%) on the Olympics. For instance,

In its bid to host the 2008 Games, Beijing prepares a (Potemkin) Olympics Village (*Time*—Feb. 26, 2001)

Of the 52 articles on China's economy, 17 stories (7.4%) were on the country's investment, followed by 11 stories (4.8%) on trade, and 10 stories (4.4%) on the economic growth, such as:

While the West remains bogged down in the worst recession in decades, China's economy has sprung back to life with remarkable speed. (*Time*—Aug. 10, 2009)

China's society received a coverage of 27 articles, under which 16 stories (7%) were on social problems, 6 stories (2.6%) on other, and 5 stories (2.2%) on labor issues. For example, *Time* reported in September 2001 that coal mine operators did not care much about the lives of coal miners:

China knows its coal mines are dangerous. But operators are ignoring state orders to shut them down. (*Time*—Sept. 3, 2001)

There were 16 articles in *Time* about China's culture and leisure, with 11 stories (4.8%) on art, 4 stories (1.7%) on sport activities, and 1 story (0.4%) on culture heritage. For instance, one *Time* article showed that China was not very keen in protecting cultural heritages within the country:

...Even today, some cadres remain unconvinced by the mansion's art-deco touches. "I'm not sure the building has enough historical value to keep it from being demolished," sniffs He Bing, a park project manager. A blueprint of what Shanghai's new urban heart will look like in five months is taped above his

head. On it, the Pei house is gone. The only building that emerges unscathed is a nondescript gray affair that once housed the office of a Communist Party magazine. (*Time*—Mar. 5, 2001)

Of the 11 articles on China's technology sector, 4 stories (1.7%) were on the Internet, 3 stories (1.3%) on other, and 2 stories (0.9%) on the country's space programs. For example,

At the Beijing Olympics, China proved it was best in the world at coming in first by dominating the gold-medal count. On Sept. 27 the country showed it can also be very happy with bronze. Forty-three years after cosmonaut Alexei Leonov spent 12 minutes outside an orbiting spacecraft, China became the third nation after the former Soviet Union and the U. S. to conduct a spacewalk. (*Time*—Oct. 13, 2008)

For *The Economist*, there were 181 articles on China's economy, with 52 stories (11.1%) on investment, 41 stories (8.8%) on the economic growth, and 29 stories (6.2%) on trade. For example,

...New figures show that China's GDP growth fell to 6.8% in the year to the fourth quarter, down from 9% in the third quarter and half its 13% pace in 2007...(*The Economist*—Jan. 24, 2009)

Of the 179 articles on China's politics, 61 stories (13.1%) were on human rights, followed by 54 stories (11.6%) on Chinese leadership, and 40 stories (8.6%) on foreign affairs. For instance, *The Economist* reported that though relationship between Russia and China warmed up, there still seemed to be mistrust between the two sides:

Though officially friends again, Russia and China still worry about each other, not just about America. (*The Economist*—July 21, 2001)

There were 36 articles on China's society, under which 20 articles (4.3%) were on social problems, 15 stories (3.2%) on labor issues, and 1 story (0.2%) on other. For example, an article in October 1993 seemed to clarify people's view of the Chinese being obedient and hardworking and that Chinese actually go on strikes if being mistreated in their work environment.

Strikes in China? They do happen. On September 28th the *Beijing Youth News*, a government newspaper, reported that workers in factories in Tianjin, a port city, had gone on strike at least ten times this year. (*The Economist*—Oct. 23, 1993)

The environment sector in China received a coverage of 18 articles, with 5 stories (1.1%) on shortage of resources, 4 stories (0.9%) on environmental projects, and 3 stories (0.6%) on environmental protection. For example, one story showed that the Chinese government was not very active in improving environmental pollutions:

These days China's environmental bureaucrats know how to talk the talk. They readily admit that pollution is poisoning the country's water sources, air and soil. They acknowledge that carbon emissions are soaring. If only, they lament, the government would give them the means to do something about it. (*The Economist*—Jan. 26, 2008)

The general category and culture and leisure category both ranked as number 5 in *The Economist*, with 16 articles. Of the 16 articles on China's culture and leisure, 7 stories (1.5%) were on art, followed by 4 stories (0.9%) on other, and 2 stories (0.4%) on tourism. For instance,

China may boast a 5,000-year-old culinary tradition, but when it comes to fast

food, Western-style outlets rule. For this you can thank—or blame—changing consumer tastes, and the breathless expansion plans of chain restaurants, which are eager to grab a bigger slice of the country’s estimated annual Rmb2000 billion (\$29 billion) fast-food market. (*The Economist*—Oct. 25, 2008)

In sum, the top 5 subjects along with each of its 3 most covered topics in *Time* were: “Politics” (human rights, Chinese leadership, Olympics), “Economics” (investment, trade, economic growth), “Society” (social problems, other, labor issues), “Culture and Leisure” (art, sports activities, cultural heritage), and “Technology” (Internet, other, space program). The top 5 subjects with each of its 3 most covered topics in *The Economist* were: “Economics” (investment, economic growth, trade), “Politics” (human rights, Chinese leadership, foreign affairs), “Society” (social problems, labor issues, other), “Environment” (shortage of resources, environmental projects, environmental protection), with “Cultural and Leisure” (art, other, tourism) and “General” both as the fifth most covered categories. Note that as “general” refers to articles covering more than one subject, it indicates that *The Economist* seems to be presenting a more diversified China than *Time*.

Table 4.4 3 Most Covered Topics in Top 5 Subjects in *Time* and *The Economist*

3 most covered topics in top 5 subjects in <i>Time</i>					3 most covered topics in top 5 subjects in <i>The Economist</i>			
rank	subjects	topics	N	%	subjects	topics	N	%
1	pol. (N= 105)	Human Rights	48	21.0	econ. (N= 181)	investment	52	11.1
		Chinese leadership	28	12.2		economic growth	41	8.8
		Olympics	11	4.8		trade	29	6.2
2	econ. (N= 52)	investment	17	7.4	pol. (N= 179)	human rights	61	13.1
		Trade	11	4.8		Chinese leadership	54	11.6
		Economic Growth	10	4.4		foreign affairs	40	8.6
3	soc. (N= 27)	Social Problems	16	7.0	soc. (N= 36)	social problems	20	4.3
		Other	6	2.6		labor issues	15	3.2
		Labor issues	5	2.2		other	1	0.2
4	cul. & leisure (N= 16)	Art	11	4.8	environ. (N= 18)	shortage of resources	5	1.1
		sport Activities	4	1.7		environ-mental projects	4	0.9
		cultural Heritage	1	0.4		environ-mental protection	3	0.6
5	tech. (N= 11)	Internet	4	1.7	cul. & leisure (N= 16)	Art	7	1.5
		Other	3	1.3		Other	4	0.9
		Space Program	2	0.9		Tourism	2	0.4
					gen. (N= 16)	General	16	3.4

4.4 Trend of China Coverage in *Time* and *The Economist*

Table 4.1 also shows that for *Time*, the top three most covered subjects during the 1992-1994 bid failure period were “Politics” with 27 articles (11.8%), “Economics” with 19 articles (8.3%), and “Society” with 4 articles (1.7%). In the 2001-2002 bid success period, “Politics” received the most coverage with 39 articles (17%), followed by 18 “Society” articles (7.9%), and “Culture and Leisure” with 11 articles (4.8%). “Politics”, again, received the most coverage with 39 articles (17%) during the 2007-2009 Olympics hosting period. Next in line were “Economics” articles, followed by 6 “Technology” articles (2.6%).

The Economist mainly focused on the political, economical, and societal sectors in China in all the three periods, with an order-shuffle in the second period. For the 1992-1994 period, China’s economy counted 62 stories (3.3%), followed by 46 (9.9%) political articles, and 11 (2.4%) societal stories. During the 2000-2002 period, the main focus of the magazine switched from economy to politics with 63 stories (13.5%), while economy dropped to second place with 44 stories (9.4%), followed by society with 10 stories (2.1%). In the 2007-2009 Olympics hosting period, the political and economical sectors received about the same amount of coverage with the economic articles slightly higher than political ones by 5 stories (1.1%).

To summarize, the top three most covered subjects in *Time* one year before and after China’s Olympic bid failure were “Politics,” “Economics,” and “Society”, one year before and after China’s Olympic bid success were “Politics,” “Society,” and “Culture and Leisure,” one year before and after China’s hosting of the Games were “Politics,” “Economics,” and “Technology”. The top three most covered subjects in *The Economist* in “bid failure” were “Economics,” “Politics,” and “Society,” in “bid success” were “Politics,” “Economics,” and “Society,” in “Olympic hosting” were “Economics,” “Politics,” and “Society”.

Time seemed to have a more diverse coverage of China throughout the three periods, while “Politics,” “Economics,” and “Society” were foci of China coverage in *The Economist* all along. Nonetheless, as the time neared the Beijing Olympic Games, attention given to China’s environment, technology, and health sectors by both newsmagazines steadily grew. Just which tones the subjects are presented will be the focus of the following two sections, with Section 4.5 giving a statistical profile of the overall tone in both magazines, while Section 4.6 draws specifically on the tone of subjects in the two news weeklies.

4.5 Tones of China Coverage in *Time* and *The Economist*

Figure 4.5 and Table 4.5 indicate a difference in coverage of China by tone in *Time* and *The Economist*. Of the 229 articles in *Time*, there were 24 very positive stories (10.5%), 57 positive stories (24.9%), 13 neutral stories (5.7%), 82 negative stories (35.8%), and 53 very negative stories (23.1%).

Of the 467 articles in *The Economist*, there were 19 very positive stories (4.1%), 127 positive stories (27.2%), 11 neutral stories (2.4%), 176 negative stories (37.7%), and 134 very negative stories (28.7%).

Adding “very positive and positive” and “very negative and negative” categories together, respectively, forming favorable and unfavorable categories, it is evident that *Time* had 81 (35.4%) favorable articles and 135 (58.9%) unfavorable articles, while *The Economist* had 146 (31.3%) favorable articles and 310 (66.4%) unfavorable articles. Thus, it is apparent that *Time* covered China more positively than *The Economist*, while *The Economist* covered China more negatively than *Time*. It can be said that China’s images in the two newsmagazines during the study periods were negative indeed. Just which subjects received the more positive or negative coverage will be presented in the next section.

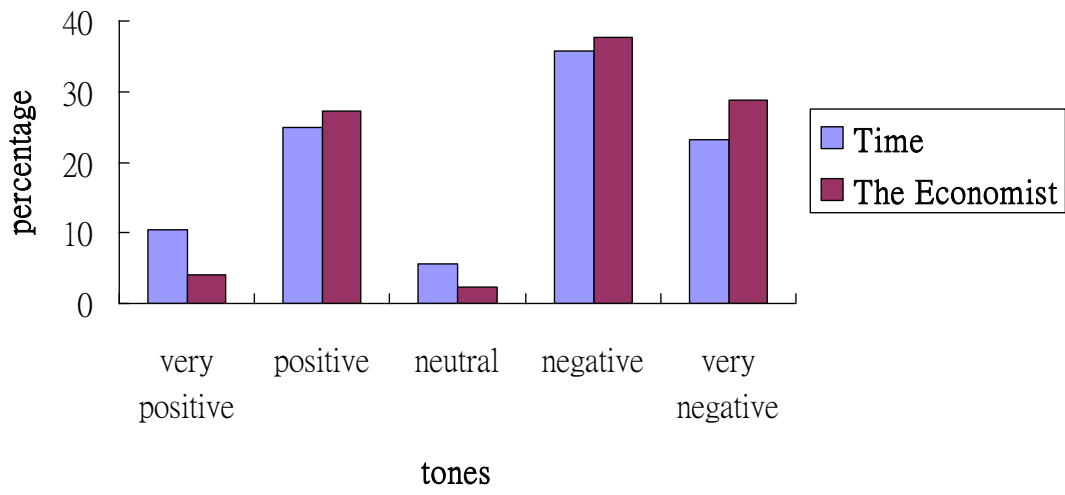


Figure 4.5 Tone of coverage in *Time* and *The Economist*

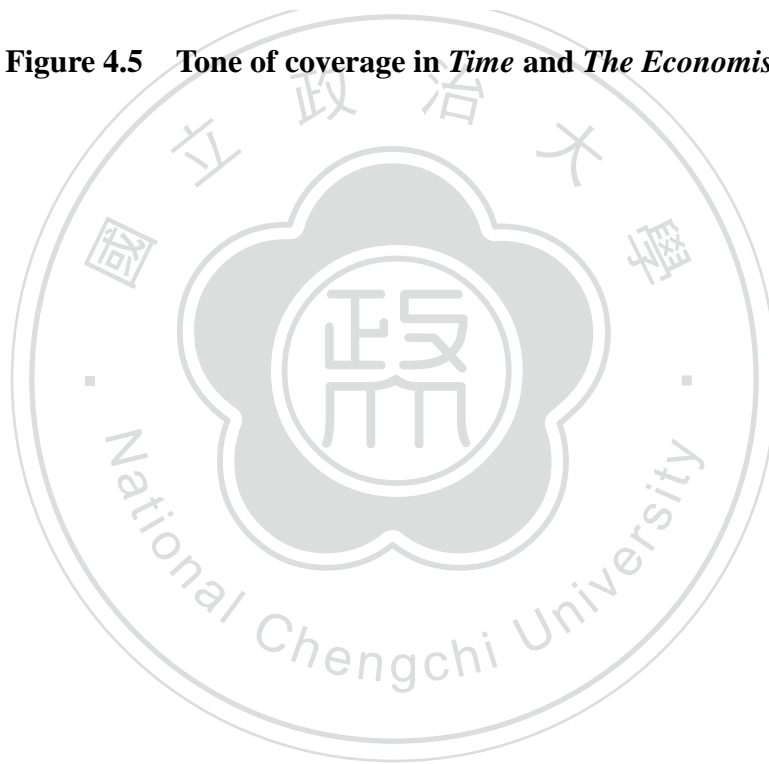


Table 4.5 Tone of Coverage in *Time* and *The Economist* in the Three Periods

Tones	Time								The Economist							
	bid failure		bid success		Olympics hosting		Total		bid failure		bid success		Olympics hosting		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
very positive	3	1.3	7	3.1	14	6.1	24	10.5	6	1.3	7	1.5	6	1.3	19	4.1
positive	18	7.9	17	7.4	22	9.6	57	24.9	34	7.3	34	7.3	59	12.6	127	27.2
neutral	2	0.9	7	3.1	4	1.7	13	5.7	3	0.6	2	0.4	6	1.3	11	2.4
negative	20	8.7	34	14.8	28	12.2	82	35.8	48	10.3	53	11.3	75	16.1	176	37.7
very negative	13	5.7	21	9.2	19	8.3	53	23.1	37	7.9	40	8.6	57	12.2	134	28.7
Total	56	24.5	86	37.6	87	38.0	229	100.0	128	27.4	136	29.1	203	43.5	467	100.0

* bid failure: September 1992-September 1994;

bid success: July 2000-July 2002;

Olympics hosting: August 2007-August 2009

4.6 China Coverage in *Time* and *The Economist* by Subject Tone

Table 4.6 demonstrates the tone of each subject in *Time* and *The Economist*. For *Time*, of the 105 political articles, 8 (3.5%) were very positive, 19 (8.3%) were positive, 7 (3.1%) were neutral, 38 (16.6%) were negative, and 33 (14.4%) were very negative. For example,

China's next leader may not have what it takes to effect political reform
(*Time*—Apr. 22, 2002)

Of the 52 economic articles, 1.7% (4 stories) account for very positive, 9.6% (22 stories) positive, 0.4% (1 story) neutral, 8.7% (20 stories) negative, and 2.2% (5 stories) very negative. For example, an article in *Time* indicated the world is now moving in the direction of relying on China to save the economy from its downfall.

Beijing, before the crisis, was already rising, its global reach and influence expanding. As the rest of the world falters, that is truer than ever. China is not yet the leader of the global economy. But it's getting there. (*Time*—Aug. 10, 2009)

Of the 8 environment-related articles, there were 3 (1.3%) very positive stories, 2 (0.9%) positive and negative each, and 1 (0.4%) very negative. For example,

China is losing the race to cut pollution and meet its soaring power needs with green technologies (*Time*—Feb. 25, 2008)

Time had 11 (4.8%) articles on technology, with 4 (1.7%) very positive, 2 (0.9%) positive, neutral, and negative each, and 1 (0.4%) very negative. For example, China's development in space industry received a positive coverage:

...China is on the rise in the commercial space industry (*Time*—Mar. 23, 2009)

There were 27 articles (11.8%) on China's society in *Time*, with 4 (1.7%) of them positive, 2 (0.9%) neutral, 13 (5.7%) negative, and 8 (3.5%) very negative. For instance, the problem of infant trading in the country was covered negatively:

In rural Yunnan, poverty and the strict family-planning policy spawn a harrowing trade in infants (*Time*—Jan. 8, 2001)

Of the 16 (7.0%) culture and leisure articles, 4 (1.7%) were very positive, 8 (3.5%) were positive, and 2 (0.9%) were negative and very negative, respectively. For example,

Chinese artists are moving beyond diatribe and Mao tableaux to address new social realities with courage and inventiveness. (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000)

Time had only 2 articles (0.9%) on China's education throughout the three periods, of which 1 (0.4%) was neutral and the other was negative. For example,

...Yang's English has improved vastly since then, but he still wonders whether he might have been better off staying in China. "One of my classmates from New Oriental did badly on his GREs, stayed behind and is now CEO of a company he founded," he says. "Sometimes I wonder what I might have accomplished is I hadn't done so well on my tests." But that's a question New Oriental—and most of its students—rarely ask. (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000)

Of the 4 (1.7%) health articles in *Time*, 3 (1.3%) were negative, while the other was very negative. For example, an article showed that China's health sector is still very underdeveloped and that in some parts of the area, there is a lack in medical equipment:

Tourist Jack Golden remembers a recent trip to China for all the wrong reasons. Golden, of Lenox, Mass., had a prostate condition that required medical treatment during a Yangtze River cruise. He had to endure an invasive procedure without anesthesia at a small, gritty hospital in Fengdu, an ancient city on the river's north bank. (*Time*—Nov. 3, 2008)

For *The Economist*, coverage on China's politics accounted for 38.3% (179 articles), of which 4 (0.9%) were very positive, 43 (9.2%) were positive, 4 (0.9%) were neutral, 68 (14.6%) were negative, and 60 (12.8%) were very negative. For example,

China, meanwhile, would for once have proved itself the greater power for Asia to reckon with. Masterful, and masterly. (*The Economist*—Apr. 9, 1994)

Of the 181 (38.8%) economic articles, 2.1% (10 stories) accounted for very positive, 13.1% (61 stories) positive, 1.1% (5 stories) neutral, 14.8% (69 stories) negative, and 7.7% (36 stories) very negative. For example,

The 14th Communist Party Congress, held in October, set the official seal on China's fourth wave of reform. The coming reforms will have to deal with the awkwardness that, for all China's progress in creating a market economy at the level of the firm, it has been bad at improving the government's economic performance...inflation is building to a peak. (*The Economist*—Nov. 28, 1992)

The Economist had 18 articles on China's environment, with 4 positive and negative stories (0.9%) each, and 10 very negative stories (2.1%). For instance, an article showed that China was working to improve its air quality before the Olympics:

...From May 1st smoking has been banned in a wide range of public buildings...The authorities have even encouraged citizens to rat on violators through a new telephone hotline...(*The Economist*—May 10, 2008)

Technology articles accounted for 2.6% (12 stories) of the 467 articles in *The Economist*, with 1 (0.2%) each under very positive and neutral, 7 (1.5%) under positive, and 3 (0.6%) under negative. For example, an article showed that Chinese people doubted whether China has the technology skills to send men up to the moon:

...Jiao Weixin of Peking University says China would not have the technical ability to put a man on the moon for another 20 years, well beyond America's target return date. And it would be very expensive. "You can't just say that because America landed on the moon in the 1960s, we ought to do it too," says Mr. Jiao. That, however, is the general idea. (*The Economist*—Oct. 27, 2007)

Of the 36 society articles (7.7%), there was 1 story each (0.2%) under very positive and neutral, 4 stories (0.9%) under positive, 11 stories (2.4%) under negative, and 19 stories (4.1%) under very negative. For example, one article showed officials worried about China facing a social stability threat due to the widening gap between rich and poor people:

...the widening gap between rich and poor, and between urban and rural people, is worrying officials, who increasingly fear that it poses a threat to China's social stability. (*The Economist*—Jun. 2, 2001)

Of the 16 (3.4%) culture and leisure stories, 2 (0.4%) were very positive, 3 (0.6%) were positive, 8 (1.7%) were negative, and 3 (0.6%) were very negative. For instance, an article showed an optimistic view that Chinese writer Gao Xingjian winning the Nobel Prize can help change the world's literary view of China:

...the Nobel prize will help Mr Gao [Xingjian] perform a second favor: that of changing the outside world's literary view of his homeland...(*The Economist*—Oct. 21, 2000)

Similar to *Time*, *The Economist* had 2 education articles, with 1 story (0.2%) each as very positive and positive. For example, *The Economist* did a coverage on how Chinese leaders were starting to pay attention to stress Chinese students were feeling:

Officials are also beginning to talk more about the emotional wellbeing of China's students. There are growing concerns that the traditional Chinese emphasis on learning by rote not only leaves students untrained in innovative thinking, but causes them too much stress...Longer breaks, a more relaxed regime, and better school lunches are no doubt on the way. (*The Economist*—Sept. 23, 2000)

Of the 7 coverage (1.5%) on China's health sector in *The Economist*, there was 1 story (0.2%) each under positive and very negative, while the rest of the 5 stories (1.1%) were negative. For instance, an article showed people's distrust of the government on disease control and surveillance.

Indeed, China last year saw a total of 80,000 cases and 17 deaths. But this year's [enterovirus 71] outbreak has caused unusual nervousness because it comes just three months before the start of the Beijing Olympics in August. As the disease tends to peak in the heat of June and July, health authorities say that more cases are likely. Despite signs of new cases in two Beijing kindergartens, Mao Qun'an of China's health ministry insists the outbreak will have no impact on the games. An anxious nation and its visitors want very much to believe him. (*The Economist*—May 10, 2008)

Again, adding "very positive and positive" and "very negative and negative" categories together, forming favorable and unfavorable categories, it is apparent that *Time* had 27 (11.8%) favorable articles, 7 (3.1%) neutral articles, 71 (31%) unfavorable articles for China's "Politics," 26 (11.3%) favorable articles, 1 (0.4%) neutral article, 25 (10.9%) unfavorable articles for "Economics," 5 (2.2%) favorable

articles, 0 (0.0%) neutral articles, 3 (1.3%) unfavorable articles for “Environment,” 6 (2.6%) favorable articles, 2 (0.9%) neutral articles, 3 (1.3%) unfavorable articles for “Technology,” 4 (1.7%) favorable articles, 2 (0.9%) neutral articles, 21 (9.2%) unfavorable articles for “Society,” 12 (5.2%) favorable articles, 0 (0.0%) neutral articles, 4 (1.8%) unfavorable articles for “Culture and Leisure,” 0 (0.0%) favorable articles, 1 (0.4%) neutral and unfavorable article each for “Education,” 0 (0.0%) favorable and neutral articles each, 4 (1.7%) unfavorable articles for “Health,” and 1 (0.4%) favorable article, 0 (0.0%) neutral article, 3 (1.3%) unfavorable articles for “General”.

The Economist had 47 (10.1%) favorable stories, 4 (0.9%) neutral stories, 128 (27.4%) unfavorable stories for China’s “Politics,” 71 (15.2%) favorable stories, 5 (1.1%) neutral stories, 105 (22.5%) unfavorable stories for “Economics,” 4 (0.9%) favorable stories, 0 (0.0%) neutral stories, 14 (3%) unfavorable stories for “Environment,” 8 (1.7%) favorable stories, 1 (0.2%) neutral story, 3 (0.6%) unfavorable stories for “Technology,” 5 (1.1%) favorable stories, 1 (0.2%) neutral story, 30 (6.5%) unfavorable stories for “Society,” 5 (1%) favorable stories, 0 (0.0%) neutral stories, 11 (2.3%) unfavorable stories for “Culture and Leisure,” 2 (0.4%) favorable stories, 0 (0.0%) neutral and unfavorable stories each for “Education,” 1 (0.2%) favorable story, 0 (0.0%) neutral story, 6 (1.3%) unfavorable stories for “Health,” and 3 (0.6%) favorable stories, 0 (0.0%) neutral stories, 13 (2.8%) unfavorable stories for “General”.

Thus, it can be concluded that China’s “Politics,” “Society,” and “Health” received more negative coverage in both newsmagazines, while “Technology” received more positive coverage. *The Economist* had more negative articles on China’s “Economics,” “Environment,” and “Culture and Leisure” as compared with *Time*, whereas “Education” was more favorable in *The Economist* than in *Time*.

4.7 Tone of Coverage in *Time* and *The Economist* by Trend

Table 4.5 also shows the tone of China coverage in *Time* and *The Economist* throughout the three periods. Worthy to note is that very positive articles in *Time* increased along the three periods, with 3 articles (1.3%) in “bid failure,” 7 articles (3.1%) during “bid success,” and 14 articles (6.1%) in “Olympics hosting”.

Meanwhile, negative and very negative articles steadily rose throughout the three periods in *The Economist*. In terms of negative articles, the newsmagazine had 48 of them (10.3%) one year before and after China’s bid failure, with which the number increased to 53 (11.3%) one year before and after China’s bid success, and 75 (16.1%) one year before and after the hosting of the Olympic Games. Very negative articles advanced 0.7% from 37 articles to 40 articles from “bid failure” to “bid success,” and climbed another 3.6% from 40 articles to 57 articles from “bid success” to “Olympics hosting”.

To summarize, throughout the three periods, very positive articles rose in *Time*, whereas negative and very negative articles increased in *The Economist*.

Table 4.6 Tone of Coverage in *Time* and *The Economist* by Subjects

Sub- jects	Time												The Economist											
	Very Positive		Positive		Neutral		Negative		very negative		Total		very positive		positive		neutral		negative		very negative		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
pol.	8	3.5	19	8.3	7	3.1	38	16.6	33	14.4	105	45.9	4	0.9	43	9.2	4	0.9	68	14.6	60	12.8	179	38.3
econ.	4	1.7	22	9.6	1	0.4	20	8.7	5	2.2	52	22.7	10	2.1	61	13.1	5	1.1	69	14.8	36	7.7	181	38.8
environ.	3	1.3	2	0.9	0	0.0	2	0.9	1	0.4	8	3.5	0	0.0	4	0.9	0	0.0	4	0.9	10	2.1	18	3.9
tech.	4	1.7	2	0.9	2	0.9	2	0.9	1	0.4	11	4.8	1	0.2	7	1.5	1	0.2	3	0.6	0	0.0	12	2.6
soc.	0	0.0	4	1.7	2	0.9	13	5.7	8	3.5	27	11.8	1	0.2	4	0.9	1	0.2	11	2.4	19	4.1	36	7.7
cul. & lei.	4	1.7	8	3.5	0	0.0	2	0.9	2	0.9	16	7.0	2	0.4	3	0.6	0	0.0	8	1.7	3	0.6	16	3.4
educ.	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4	1	0.4	0	0.0	2	0.9	1	0.2	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.4
health	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	1.3	1	0.4	4	1.7	0	0.0	1	0.2	0	0.0	5	1.1	1	0.2	7	1.5
gen.	1	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4	2	0.9	4	1.7	0	0.0	3	0.6	0	0.0	8	1.7	5	1.1	16	3.4
Total	24	10.5	57	24.9	13	5.7	82	35.8	53	23.1	229	100.0	19	4.1	127	27.2	11	2.4	176	37.7	134	28.7	467	100.0

Both newsmagazines showed a similar emphasis on China's politics, economy, and society, with *Time* focusing more on the political sector and *The Economist* stressing more on the economics sector. Further, China's environment and technology sectors received more and more coverage in both magazines as the Olympic Games neared. In terms of tone of coverage, findings indicated that though favorable articles increased throughout the three periods in both newsweeklies, their overall tone remained negative, especially in *The Economist*, in which unfavorable articles were two times more than favorable ones all the way along.

Meaningful as they are, these statistics will be supplemented by an examination of the frames used to refer to China's politics, technology, economy, environment...etc. in the following section.

4.8 Framing of China in *Time* and *The Economist*

This section presents the frames used to cover China in the two newsmagazines by presenting the most covered topics in each category. For example, "Human Rights" was the topic that had the most coverage in both magazines under "Politics". After rereading the articles on human rights, a theme of "China as a country that suppresses its people's rights" was drawn, followed by a discussion of relevant articles and the human rights situation within the country. Further, lexical styles were employed to describe China's human rights, investment, environment (shortage of resources and environmental protection), Internet, social problems, art, education systems, health (healthcare system and disease surveillance and control system). A "Olympics" topic was also identified under the "Politics" category to have a detailed picture of the journalist's or media's stances toward China. Similar analysis was made for the other 7 categories, except the diffusive "General" category.

A. China as a Country that Suppresses Its People's Rights

As indicated in Table 4.3, a majority of the political articles in both *Time* and *The Economist* focused on the human rights conditions in China, including jailing and freeing of dissidents, suppression of minority groups such as Tibetans and Uighurs.

From September 1992 to September 1994, the two years straddling Beijing's failure in its first Olympics bid, *Time's* coverage on China's human rights centered around the issue played in China-U.S. relationship, particularly on how the U.S. was using China's human rights conditions as a chip in renewing its most favored nation status and how China was turning a blind eye towards the appeal as the following headlines and stories inform us.

Crackdowns and Cosmetics

As the U.S. renews a trade privilege, Beijing's image takes a double pounding

The fallout in the U.S. from Bill Clinton's fancy haircut last week was nothing compared with Beijing's cosmetic woes. Just before the President decided to renew China's most-favored nation trading status, the People's Republic charm offensive melted like cheap makeup in the international spotlight. First a tour by European diplomats inspecting human rights in Tibet led to the largest protests in Lhasa since 1989. Then, even as China was about to release a well-known political prisoner, its heavy hand reached out to block an exiled dissident from speaking at U.N. headquarters in New York City. (*Time*—Jun. 7, 1993)

Good Cop, Bad Cop

A crackdown on dissidents creates a human rights uproar on the eve of Christopher's visit

"We strongly disapprove what was done, and it obviously was not helpful to our relations." That statement from President Bill Clinton was unusually strong—and so was the provocation. This week, barring a last-minute change, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher will visit Beijing to talk about its progress on human rights. As if to show its obduracy on the eve of the visit, China detained several of the country's leading human rights activists.

Whatever the rationale, the crackdown could not have come at a worse time for those wishing for renewal of MFN status. A U.S. Congressional subcommittee two weeks ago heard a succession of witnesses describe the worsening human rights conditions in China...Last month both the State Department and the human rights organization Asia Watch issued harsh reports on China's human rights record. Asia Watch concluded that, far from decreasing, political repression is increasing and that 1993 was the worst year for political arrests and trials since mid 1990. (*Time*—Mar. 14, 1994)

No Room for Compromise

As more and more dissidents speak out, Beijing angrily rejects U.S. attempts to link trade and human rights

“History has already proved that it is futile to apply pressure against China.” Though the words evoked decrees issued by once proud dynasties that long ago turned to dust, they had a particular bite last week as intoned in Beijing by Premier Li Peng. “China will never accept U.S.-style human rights,” he said after an afternoon of chilly talks with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. But what if Washington revokes China's most-favored-nation trade status? The Chinese leader sniffed, “China can live without it.” (*Time*—Mar. 21, 1994)

However, one year before and after China's successful bid for the Olympiad, attention to China's human rights in the magazine shifted to how the country intimidated dissidents by removing them from their job positions if they published information deemed to subvert state power, as in:

Silencing Dissent

Jittery over rising social unrest, China's leaders are once again trying to muzzle liberal thinkers

If someone were to call you a big Capital Economy Liberalization Element, how would you react? If you were in China, you'd be wise to duck. That's the label being applied to He Qinglian, a Shenzhen-based journalist whose books and articles on economics—of all subjects—are bestsellers throughout China. After publishing *A Comprehensive Analysis of China's Current Social Structural Evolution* in March, He was slammed for propagating dangerous ideas. Last month she was demoted from her position at the

Shenzhen Legal Daily and had her salary cut. Editors around the country were warned not to publish her work. (*Time*—July 31, 2000)

Or threats from the government to make life worse for jailed families if other family members sought international help:

When news of their letter hit the international press, police summoned Liu [Jing] and warned her to avoid further publicity if she didn't want her brother's life to get worse. Last week during the visit of U.N. High Commissioner of Human Rights Mary Robinson to Beijing, both Liu and Zhang [Hong] were kept under close police scrutiny. Plain clothes cops wielding video cameras even followed them to the park where they often meet to chat during their morning exercises. Fearful of what the police might do, Liu didn't dare talk to her friend. (*Time*—Mar. 21, 2001)

Crackdowns on minority groups and its effects were also given attention during this period, which can be manifested by:

China's Own Islamic "Extremists"

It's never easy being a Uighur in today's China. Now it's even harder

Today, Beijing fears that fighting in Afghanistan will encourage separatism in Xinjiang among the Muslim Uighurs that make up most of the province's population. In the days after the World Trade Center attacks, Beijing moved hundreds of soldiers into Kashgar's soccer stadium—not to reinforce China's narrow border with Afghanistan some 300 km away but, locals say, to put down potential local disturbances. (*Time*—Oct. 22, 2001)

One-Nation Divided

Since Sept. 11, Beijing has been cracking down in Xinjiang. Decades of repression have already made native Uighurs strangers in their own land.

With Beijing intent on extending its crackdown, Xinjiang will grow only more divided. At a recent Uighur wedding party in Urumqi, the groom in his suit and the bride in her white dress were modern, wealthy and about as deeply embedded in the government's repression machine as young Uighurs can get. He teaches politics at the local military academy; she works for the Bureau of

State Security—the secret police. Most of the 150 guests came from those two work units and had dedicated their careers to working within the Chinese government structure. Yet not a single guest was Chinese. “I guess they have their friends and we have ours,” said the wife of a writer for the military newspaper. Beijing might exaggerate the extent of the separatism movement—but in Xinjiang, it’s impossible to overstate the divide between Uighurs and Chinese that makes it the mainland’s most troubled spot. (*Time*—Mar. 25, 2002)

Crackdowns on minority groups continued to be the focus of *Time* when covering China’s human rights one year before and after the staging of the 2008 Olympiad, as the U.S. and the rest of the world were watching to see whether China kept its word of improving the human rights situation when it bade for being an Olympics host country. When the Tibetan protest broke out in March 2008, five months before the Games, stories in *Time* expressed doubts that hosting the Olympic Games could help improve China’s human rights situation and that the world was uncertain about how the country will react to the protests in Tibet.

The Ghost of Tiananmen

With the world watching once again, China must precisely calibrate its response to the unrest in Tibet

It is still nearly five months before the Olympics torch is to be lit in Beijing, officially starting the 29th Summer Games. But diplomats in the Chinese capital believe that a high-level game of chicken has already begun—one that has now turned deadly in Lhasa, the capital of what China calls the Tibetan Autonomous Region, and in neighboring areas, according to Tibetan exiles and human-rights groups.

“Knowing full well that something like this—maybe not as intense, but something of this sort—was likely to come before the Olympics,” says the Western diplomat, “is different than knowing exactly what to do when it comes. I’m not sure the leadership has a specific playbook for it.” Let’s hope it doesn’t reach for the one it used in 1989. (*Time*—Mar. 31, 2008)

The High Cost of Control

Beijing's heavy hand in Tibet is jeopardizing China's hope for a politics-free Olympics

What were the Communist Party cadres in Beijing feeling as they watched Lhasa burning in mid-March? Anger certainly. And worry about how the staging of the Olympics Games in August could be affected. But they were also surprised, shocked at how Tibetan resentment over Chinese rule had suddenly exploded into widespread rioting—not just in Lhasa but throughout regions with major ethnic Tibetan populations—spoiling what was supposed to be a positive, peaceful run-up to the Games.

The authorities will no doubt make it virtually impossible for journalists to enter Tibet in the months leading up to the Olympics. But it remains unclear exactly how they intend to deal with the estimated 30,000 foreign reporters expected to witness the event, all of them eager to take advantage of Beijing's own regulations specifying that they can interview anyone Chinese who agrees to talk. "They still don't have any idea what is going to hit them or how bad they will look to the outside world," comments one senior Western academic who has close ties to the upper echelons of the Beijing establishment. If its conduct over the past year is anything to go by, Beijing's instinctive reaction to new problems will be to use its heavy hand once more. (*Time*—Apr. 14, 2008)

...The Games showed that outside pressure on issues like human rights and civil society has little effect on Beijing. Now the world will be watching to see if the Chinese people take matters into their own hands and really begin building a new China. (*Time*—Sept. 8, 2008)

Other evidence showed disappointing improvements, with Beijing applying crackdowns and restrictions on its people in order to host a smooth and successful Olympics.

Foul Play. As the Olympics draw near, China launches a vigorous crackdown on dissent

Campaigning for the honor of hosting the 2008 Summer Olympics, Chinese officials offered vague assurances about learning to respect human rights. But the lessons have not sunk in. Hu Jia, an imprisoned writer, will soon

stand trail on the un-Jeffersonian charge of “inciting subversion of state power.” His apparent crime: writing a statement saying that the skyscrapers and venues on display in Beijing from Aug. 8 to 24 rest on a foundation of “tears, imprisonment, torture and blood.” Hu’s co-author, Teng Biao, was plucked from the street by four men in plainclothes and interrogated for 41 hours. “Before they let me out,” a shaky Teng explained to TIME’s Simon Elegant, “they told me I should ‘speak as little as possible.’” (*Time*—Mar. 24, 2008)

An Olympic-Sized Security Blanket

China’s determination to keep the Games safe and free of dissent has taken some of the fun out of the host city

Old Zhao is one unhappy Beijinger. His father needs surgery, but the doctor tells him that all operations have been postponed until after the Olympics. Unable to drive because 90% of vehicles have been banned from the roads, Zhao bicycles slowly home through the August heat; guards at every intersection force him to dismount for security inspections. When he finally does get home, his favorite dish of kidney and beans tastes awful. Because of endless delays caused by inspections of goods transported into the capital, only low-quality food is available at the markets, his wife tells him. “We can’t even have a decent meal because of the Olympics?” Old Zhao says in a fit of anger. “Do those foreigners who are coming to Beijing for the Games get to eat vegetables?”

And how does the story of Old Zhao end? He finally gets help from a member of his neighborhood committee, which gives him a pill that puts him in a coma for a month—an option also taken up by most of his neighbors. When he wakes up the Olympics are over and China has won more gold medals than any other country. “Not even a tiny accident had happened,” the Internet story goes. “Foreigners were awed.” Perhaps Old Zhao should have stayed awake and taken his chances. That’s the attitude of Xu [Guoqi], the history professor, who has been traveling around the country since July and arrived in Beijing on Aug. 4. Xu wants to witness the spectacle. Whether he stays, he says, “depends on how much fun I have.” And that may depend upon Beijing’s willingness to lighten up and enjoy the show. (*Time*—Aug. 18, 2008)

From the news articles, it is apparent that lexical descriptions of China’s human rights from “bid failure” to “bid success” to “Olympics hosting” are consistent:

crackdown, heavy hand reaching out to block exiled dissidents from speaking internationally, detain, worsening human rights conditions, increasing political repression, silencing dissent, muzzling liberal thinkers, keeping family members of jailed dissidents under close police scrutiny, soldiers moving in to autonomous regions to put down potential local disturbances, repression, the Chinese government making it impossible for journalists to enter Tibet for protest coverage, and banning vehicles.

Coverage on China's human rights in *The Economist* one year before and after China's bid failure to host the 2000 Olympics was in a sense similar to *Time* in which jailed dissidents were used as a bargaining chip by both the Chinese and U.S. government to reach a particular goal, as shown in:

Playing Games with Human Rights

After 14¹/₂ years in jail, Wei Jinsheng, a Chinese dissident, was unexpectedly freed from prison on September 13th. Up to a point, that is. On leaving jail Mr. Wei encountered freedom with Chinese characteristics. He was not allowed to rush home to see his parents, who were preparing a banquet for him. Instead, 40-year-old Mr. Wei found himself once more in police custody. His family were eventually told by the authorities that it was not clear when Mr. Wei would be back and that they could neither see him, nor speak to him on the telephone.

What happens if China wins the Olympic argument? Maybe there will be a clampdown on dissent, so that it can preserve a dignified face to the world, while foreigners enjoy themselves as guests of this morally dubious regime. And what if it does not get the games? Beijing tends to react angrily to disappointment, so maybe there will be a backlash, and the West will have less leverage over the government's behaviour. Mr. Wei may have left prison, but Mr. Wu [Shishen, a journalist working for the state-run news agency, Xinhua, and whom was sentence to life imprisonment for leaking information to a Hong Kong journalist] has just arrived. (*The Economist*—Sept. 18, 1993)

...Asia Watch says flatly that such prisoners are used by China as bargaining chips, to be released at key moments for maximum effect. It chides western governments for using releases as evidence of an improvement in human rights, ignoring the tens of thousands who remain in prison, and the hundreds of new arrests that take place yearly. (*The Economist*—Feb. 26, 1994)

...In February Mr. Wei [Jinsheng] infuriated China when he met America's human-rights man, John Shattuck, and asked him to use MFN to prod China on human rights. That meeting, combined with Mr. Wei's receipt of a \$50,000 human-rights prize awarded by an American group, may have sealed his fate. China is feeling so cocky about America's fumbles that it may even have the nerve to sentence Mr. Wei to another jail term not long after MFN is renewed. (*The Economist*—May 21, 1994)

In "bid success," *The Economist* did not have a particular focus when covering China's human rights, with restrictions on people's rights frequently covered, while some stories indicated a sense of sarcasm about the issue. For example,

It was one of Mao Zedong's many big ideas, and thus far one of his most enduring. In the late 1950s, at the time of the "great leap forward", China established its *hukou*, or household registration system, which required people to live and work only where they were officially permitted to. For a government intent on running its economy according to a strict central plan, it was well to have people stay where they were told. For China's hundreds of millions of rural dwellers it made leaving their village nearly as difficult as leaving the country. (*The Economist*—Sept. 1, 2001)

To the residents of Daling, a village in Hebei province, elections have brought nothing but misery. For opposing the officially approved candidates in the village council polls held seven years ago, dozens have endured beatings and threats by police and thugs. (*The Economist*—Sept. 29, 2001)

Some Milestone

It took China and the United Nations nearly two years to come to terms on the human-rights agreement they signed on November 20th in Beijing. The

document, described by the UN's High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, as a "milestone", calls for a programme of educational and technical co-operative projects with Chinese police, prosecutors, judges and academics aimed at improving the protection of civil and political rights in China.

On another level, China knows it can score valuable political points by agreeing to such human-rights initiatives. The government in Beijing, says one western diplomat, "is very good at exploiting our need for tangible results." Indeed, foreign human-rights monitoring groups give warning that China's government often points to the existence of such paper agreements as proof of progress, even as it brazenly flouts their terms. (*The Economist*—Nov. 25, 2000)

However, from August 2007 to August 2009, *The Economist* paid a great amount of attention to protests in Tibet and Uighur, the deteriorating relationship of Tibetans and Uighurs with the Han people, and how the Chinese government dealt with the issue. These were especially true in the months the riots and Games took place.

Demonstrations in Tibet—Monks on the March
The most serious unrest in years shakes the Tibetan capital

If there is one city in China where the authorities are truly worried about serious unrest that might spoil the Olympic games in Beijing in August, it is the Tibetan capital, Lhasa. Around the ancient monasteries and in the narrow streets of the city's old quarter, filled with the shuffle and drone of pilgrims murmuring their prayers, residents say that security is being tightened.

(*The Economist* —Mar. 15, 2008)

Ethnic-Chinese shopkeepers in Lhasa's old Tibetan quarter knew better than the security forces that the city had become a tinder-box. As word spread rapidly through the narrow alleyways on March 14th that a crowd was throwing stones at Chinese businesses, they shuttered up their shops and fled. The authorities, caught by surprise, held back as the city was engulfed by its biggest anti-Chinese protests in decades. (*The Economist*—Mar. 22, 2008)

Xinjiang—Chinastan

A crackdown in China's wild West, its Muslim-majority chunk of Central Asia

On the roads crossing the dusty fields of cotton and maize around the oasis city of Kashgar, China's police are on alert. Terrorists, as they call them, have been stepping up their attacks. Officers at checkpoints turn back foreigners venturing towards trouble spots. Citizens entering Kashgar line up by the roadside to have their identity cards scanned.

The Economist found a relative of one of the 57 near Kashgar. The police soon stopped the interview and detained those involved for over three hours. One officer said he had not been home for more than two weeks because of the alert in the area. A Han Chinese, unusually for a rural policeman, he carries a pistol on his hip. (*The Economist*—Sept. 6, 2008)

From the articles, it is evident that lexical descriptions of China's human rights by *The Economist* throughout the three periods are those such as clamping down on dissidents, lack of freedom of movement or residence, tightened securities, crackdowns, police stopping interviews, and unjustified long detentions.

B. China as a Country Full of Chances, Yet Beware of Risks and Uncertainties

In the two years surrounding China's bid failure, in 1992-1994, China was portrayed as a promising country with many investment opportunities in *Time* and *The Economist*, with overseas Chinese and foreign firms moving in to establish factories for product production. For example,

...[Johnny] Lau might have remained just another small businessman had he not recognized the promise of China. In 1981, well before others sensed what was ahead, he established a small factory to produce inexpensive sound equipment in the Pearl River delta town of Zhongshan... (*Time*—May 10, 1993)

...In a joint venture between American Motors and the Beijing Automobile Factory, 27,000 Cherokee Jeeps will be rolling off assembly lines in Beijing this

year. Volkswagen produces 65,000 of its Santana cars and 10,000 Jettas in China. Nike, the leading U.S. manufacturer of sports footwear, subcontracts to six Chinese factories that manufacture a fifth of its global production—90 million pairs of shoes a year—and plans to increase that share soon.

Along similar lines, Jilin province plans to sell 200 small firms to foreign investors... (*Time*—May 10, 1993)

Coke v Pepsi (cont)—Chinese Fizz

Coca-Cola likes to describe China's potential thirst with a promising calculation: if the Chinese drank the same amount of Coke per head as Australians do, it would sell some 10 billion cases annually there instead of the 100m it sold last year. On January 25th Coke's arch-rival Pepsi-Cola announced a huge expansion plan, predicting that within 12 years China will be its biggest market outside the United States. "By 2000, we aim to be the leading soft-drinks producer in China," boasts James Lawrence, president of Pepsi's Asia division. Who will win?

This network, and Coke's headstart in the market, probably gives Coca-Cola the edge. But Johnson Cheung of Wardley James Capel, a Hong Kong stockbroker, reckons that there is plenty of room for both firms. Chinese consumption is still only 13 soft drinks per person a year compared with 750 in America. Pepsi reckons each bottling plant in China should produce a return on investment of about 20% a year. But profits are likely to be ploughed straight back into expansion. "We have not taken a nickel out of China and won't for the next ten years," says Pepsi's Mr. Lawrence. "Our return will come in the next century." (*The Economist*—Jan. 29, 1994)

However, as time moved on to around the "bid success" period, when Asian countries were working to stand up on their feet after the Asian financial crisis in late 1990s, articles in both newsmagazines demonstrated a sense of uncertainty about Chinese stocks and issues such as corporation team-ups, in which investors question whether deals can help the tied-up firms make money:

The Great Leap Forward?

Legend's innovative partnership with AOL may signal the direction of China's Internet market

As Legend chairman Liu Chuanzhi prepared to sign last week's Internet

deal with AOL Time Warner, he jokingly made a show of trembling hands to confidants. His gesture had a serious undertone. The \$200 million agreement between these two strong-willed partners makes both sides nervous. Eighteen months in the making, it links behemoth AOL, the most visible symbol of American new media prowess, with Legend, a government-nurtured start-up that has grown to become China's most successful computer maker.

The deal ratchets up the pressure for China's struggling former Internet darlings such as Sohu, Netease and Sina to find powerful foreign partners of their own. Even as they cope with serious internal troubles, executives from Sina and Netease shared a table at the AOL-Legend celebratory banquet in Beijing, which struck some as a symbolic wake for China's early homegrown Internet businesses. Now all will be watching to see if this new venture can figure out what those ventures never could: how to make money. (*Time*—Jun. 25, 2001)

China's State Shares—Selling the Family Scrap-iron **The government struggles to profit from share sales**

China's stockmarket regulators have had a bad week. On January 26th, after weeks of discussions with officials and academics, they announced draft proposals for selling off the controlling stakes that the government holds in most listed companies on the mainland. The document was supposed to put an end to the stockmarket's long slump, caused in part by investors' anxiety about a possible flood of new shares. Instead, it has sown alarm. After a sharp fall in share prices, the regulators now admit that they will have to think again. (*The Economist*—Feb. 2, 2002)

Nonetheless, China was still seen as a country with investment opportunities in *Time*, especially when the world financial crisis broke out in 2008 and weakened the West. At the time, investors had their hopes on China to lead them out of the woes. It was then China began to show its confidence and asserted its importance on the world stage.

China's Turn

Beijing is asserting itself on the world stage as the global economic crisis weakens the West

...Despite the massive challenges Beijing faces, the Chinese leadership seems to regard 2009 much as Michael Corleone viewed the day of his godson's baptism in *The Godfather*—this year, China settles all business.

Still, Beijing has won big playing this game before. During the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s, China refused to devalue the yuan, which helped prevent a further run by speculators on Asian currencies. All the while, Beijing reminded other Asian governments of how the West had failed to come to their rescue. By the end of the crisis, China, previously viewed with suspicion by its Asian neighbors, had built a reputation as a benevolent regional power. (*Time*—Apr. 13, 2009)

While the Detroit giant tries to stave off bankruptcy in the U.S., its China operations are setting sales records (*Time*—May 18, 2009)

The Economist, on the other hand, held a more cautious and negative attitude about Chinese investment, and questioned whether some economic data were artificially boosted or not.

China's Stockmarket—In the Bird's-nest Soup Chinese shares enjoy a brief moment of respite

Investors had long ago seen their hopes dashed of a pre-Olympic boom in China's stockmarket. Indeed, among the shares hardest hit this summer were those that unscrupulous brokers had touted as sure-fire winners from the games: restaurants selling Peking duck, hotels, and the like. Bet after a sudden 8% gain on August 20th, an even more tantalizing idea emerged: could they benefit from a post-Olympic bounce?

Meanwhile, estimates for the growth of company earnings, though still high, are coming down, too. In January profits were expected to rise by 22% this year; now growth looks more like 14% and dropping, says Markus Rosgen, Asia strategist for Citibank. The only silver lining to all this, he adds wryly, is that a bottom, even if not in sight yet, is a lot closer than it was.

(*The Economist*—Aug. 23, 2008)

Bankruptcy in China—Silent Busts

More Chinese businesses are collapsing—though you would never know it
(*The Economist*—Oct. 11, 2008)

China’s Dubious Earnings Numbers—Red Flags

Investors appear to have little faith in company accounts

China’s stockmarket has been one of the best performing in the world this year, and the country’s firms have so far steered through the global financial crisis better than many of their global peers. Partly they may have been buoyed by robust business conditions in China. But two recent studies, which raise serious questions about the credibility of China’s corporate earnings, suggest that companies may also have had an artificial boost. (*The Economist*—May 30, 2009)

Lexical descriptions of China’s economy, particularly investment in both *Time* and *The Economist* throughout the three study periods could be seen in the above articles. In the “bid failure” period, both newsmagazines portrayed China as a country full of investment chances via the following lexical descriptions: the promise of China, firms increasing their shares in China, and companies announcing huge expansion plans in China on predictions that the country will be their biggest market outside the United States. However, in the “bid success” period, following Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s, both *Time* and *The Economist* demonstrated a sense of uncertainty about investing in China as firms were struggling and facing “serious internal troubles” (*The Economist*—Feb. 2, 2002), and share prices were sharply falling. As time moved on into the “Olympics hosting” period, *Time* showed a regain of confidence in China such as a U.S. firm’s “China operations are setting sales records” (*Time*—May 18, 2009), while *The Economist* was still pessimistic about investment in the country with the following lexical descriptions: “estimates for the growth of company earnings are dropping, Chinese businesses are collapsing, “investors appear to have little faith in company accounts” (*The Economist*—May 30, 2009).

C. China as a Country Working on Environmental Protection

As noted in Chapter One, environmental pollution is a serious problem in China amid its rapidly growing economy. Hence, in order to overturn people's image of China's pollution problems and hold a successful Olympic Games, China listed "Green Olympics" as one of its goals, with aims to prevent air pollution and protect drinking water sources via increasing usage of cleaner high-quality energies such as wind energy, solar and natural gas. Articles on China's environment protection first appeared in year 2000 and 2008 in *Time* and *The Economist*, respectively. Nevertheless, the country's efforts of creating a friendlier environment are mostly covered in the period of "Olympic Games" in both newsmagazines, especially months before the Olympic Games. For instance:

...China is applying green principles to the construction of entirely new cities such as Dongtan, an area outside of Shanghai the size of Manhattan, which will use recycled water only and generate electricity using biomass. Last year, 3.4 gigawatts (GW) of wind energy were added to China's electrical grid, making the country the fastest-growing market for wind power in the world. (*Time*—Feb. 25, 2008)

An 11-story building in Beijing is one of the few places in China where you'll hear people speak fondly of Japan. Inside are the offices of the sino-Japan Friendship Center for Environmental Protection, where experts study how Japan became one of the world's most energy-efficient countries, with the aim of applying those lessons and methods to China. (*Time*—Jul, 14, 2008)

China and India are increasingly keen to be seen to be tackling climate change; though it is dirtier, China is making a more convincing show of action (*The Economist*—Jun. 7, 2008)

**America and China Talk Climate Change—Heating Up or Cooling Down?
The big two emitters try to stop finger-pointing and save the planet**

Thousands of officials from all over the world this week neared the end of two weeks of difficult talks in Bonn under the United Nations' climate convention. But they were conscious that even more difficult and probably more important negotiations were under way in Beijing. America's most senior climate-change officials were meeting their Chinese counterparts. The two countries are by far the world's biggest emitters of greenhouse gases. They will determine whether a worthwhile global treaty to limit emissions can be concluded as planned in Copenhagen in December. (*The Economist*—Jun. 13, 2009)

However, well before the government took actions and made efforts to protect the environment, Chinese students had already gotten themselves involved and devoted to making China a better and greener country, as in the case of Li Li:

**China's Green Warriors
Despite official ambivalence, more and more students are fighting to undo environmental damage**

Most Chinese students would probably love to spend their vacations the way Li Li did this year: touring the U.S. But the 22-year-old history major from Peking University was not on a pleasure trip. Instead she spent four weeks traveling the country to meet with American environmental groups, learning how they organize, motivate, educate and protest.

Once, students wouldn't have dreamed of making a career out of environmentalism. But Li, for one, says she would rather be an activist than a historian. Ideally, her example will inspire more than jealousy among students who wish they, too could study abroad. If her trip was a reward, then she deserved it. For people like Li are trying to make China a better and greener country to live in, not a place that everyone wants to leave. (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000)

From the above articles, it is clear that both newsmagazines approved of the efforts China put in protecting the environment one year before and after the hosting

of the 29th Olympiad. The following lexical description are illustrative: China is aiming to apply Japan's energy-efficient methods to their country, China is making a more convincing show of tackling climate change as compared with India, China and the U.S. are working out plans to save the planet from climate change, and Chinese students are fighting to undo environmental damage. In short, China was gaining in its images in the environmental protection area.

D. China as a Country Short of Resources

Despite working on environmental protection, one big environmental issue *The Economist* paid more attention to than *Time* was China's shortage of resources made serious by economic development, as demonstrated in:

Electricity in China—Power Surge

Red Stone Bridge power station hums away amid fields of shimmering rice and yellow rape. It uses two 110 megawatt (MW) hydroelectric generators to provide power around Pengzhou, a bustling town in China's Sichuan province. Although the station was only completed in 1991, demand for its power already outstrips supply. (*The Economist*—Mar. 19, 1994)

E. The Internet as a Medium Changing Chinese Youth's Way of Living

As shown in Table 4.3, China's internet was the most covered in *Time* under the "Technology" category. Stories on the internet mainly dealt with how the medium has changed Chinese youth's relation with each other such as finding romance on line instead of through the traditional way of matchmaking, with such articles first appearing in October 2000. For example,

Just important, though, is how the Internet is transforming relations among kids in China. Formerly, matchmakers paired up young couples, and

families wielded immense power over potential lovers. In many cities the Internet now performs the same service in a far less domineering manner. Two of my colleagues married after having met in a chat room. One lived in China and the other in Boston, but they were able to transcend the geographic distance through e-mail. (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000)

...the growing popularity of online dating among Chinese youth... (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000)

Similar to *Time*, *The Economist* also had its most coverage on China's Internet under the "Technology" category, focusing on the blooming of internet websites and how the medium has changed people's pattern of living.

The Internet In China—Alternative Reality
China will soon boast more internet users than any other country. But usage patterns inside China are different from those elsewhere

One of the more striking end-of-year statistics pumped out recently by the Chinese government was an update on the number of internet users in the country, which had reached 210m. It is a staggering figure, up by more than three times the number for India, the emerging Asian giant with which China is most often compared. Within a few months, according to Morgan Stanley, an investment bank, China will have more internet users than America, the current leader. And because the proportion of the population using the internet is so low, at just 16%, rapid growth is likely to continue for some time.

The most dynamic area, and the hardest for outsiders to understand, is that of online communities, many of which are run by a company named Tencent. Its site offers an instant-messaging service and a MySpace-like social networking site, among other things. In each case the basic services are free, but users pay for add-ons (such as new backgrounds for their home pages or more storage space). Often, says Mr. [Richard] Ji [an analyst at Morgan Stanley], the members of these communities are people who, because of the single-child policy, have no siblings and are searching for virtual friendships... (*The Economist*—Feb. 2, 2008)

The articles in *Time* and *The Economist* demonstrated that internet users in

China were rising, and the medium was changing Chinese youth's way of making friends and finding their lifelong partners.

F. China as an Unstable and Unequal Developing Country

There was no obvious focus on China's social problems throughout the three periods in *Time* and *The Economist*. Nonetheless, certain subjects demonstrating China as an unstable and unequal developing country appeared from time to time.

Stories on China's instability included those of a deteriorating public security, for instance:

From Bad to Worse

There is more to steal in booming China—and more people are stealing it

"Old man, which do you want, your hand or your ring?" hissed the robber sitting next to the elderly passenger on a train headed for the scenic city of Hangzhou. Not about to argue with the man brandishing a knife, the passenger slipped the ring off his finger. Moving on through the cars, the robber and his accomplices forced other travelers to hand over valuables and more than \$12,000 in cash before jumping off the slow-moving train and making their getaway.

Some institutions as businesses have formed their own security patrols; in the cities there is a rise in the number of women taking martial-arts instruction to protect themselves. In the long run, sociologists say the only way to curb crime is to instill in the younger generation values in which they can believe; in China that is hardly a quick fix. (*Time*—Jul. 26, 1993)

Guns in China—The Wild East

Armed crime is rising sharply in a country that once prided itself on its law-abiding orderliness

One midnight last month, two brothers and another man went on a killing spree with a double-barrelled shotgun in Dayukou, a mining village 500km (310 miles) south-west of Beijing. Within an hour they had killed 14 people and

seriously injured three others. Among the casualties were four village officials.

Since early this year, the police have been engaged in one of their periodic “strike hard” campaigns against crime. The figures hint at the scale of the problem. Even in the well-ordered capital, the police seized over 100 hand grenades and 1,500 guns of various kinds between April and August. In the country as a whole, they confiscated 600,000 guns, including 8,800 military weapons, between March and June. That brings the total for the past five years to an extraordinary 2.4m guns. How many more are still out there?

(The Economist—Nov. 10, 2001)

Articles on China as an unequal developing country in the newsmagazines included illegal migrants, home and abroad, in search for better opportunities, gap between rich and poor as well as that between urban and rural people.

The epic theme of pulling up stakes and heading across country to seek a new and better life is rapidly becoming commonplace in booming China, and Xie Fugui, 52, a Communist Party member and retired government functionary, was swept up by the dream. In 1991 he left his home in a poor rural region of southern Zhejiang province and moved to the outskirts of Beijing, where he established a clothing wholesale business. His daughter Lijuan., 25, soon followed, and another daughter, Fang, 17, relocated to Beijing last year to work as a hairdresser. They each work 10 to 12 hours a day and live in cramped quarters in Dahongmen village, 8 km south of Beijing. Between them, the Xies have saved around \$10,000, a fortune by local standards, to build a multistory house back home. “We’ve done O.K. in business,” says Xie Fugui, “but we’ve had to pay all sorts of fees, fines and bribes.” *(Time—Feb. 21, 1994)*

To Build a Dream

As men from the provinces flood into the city, the villages they leave behind are dying out

The dusty, packed-earth road that connects Yantang village to the rest of China leads only one way: out. For the past decade, nearly all the able-bodied men from this remote hamlet in Zhejiang province have fled to the big city, where their toil has given rise to Shanghai’s gleaming skyline. At first, the men of Yantang brought nothing with them but their hammers and hard hats. Today, with nearly half of its 500 citizens living in Shanghai, the village has come to

the city. And despite the new houses built with money earned by the migrant laborers, Yantang is on its way to extinction.

For his elderly father, life is still spent in a graceful courtyard house, decorated with wooden friezes and strings of dried garlic. But even this 300-year-old home, the Wang patriarch knows, will eventually be knocked down, as more absentee owners build houses they will probably never inhabit. The children who grow up in these homes will be even less likely to return to the drying paddy fields of Yantang, much less invest their savings back home. “Who knows?” says Wang Quanneng. “Soon there may be no more Wangs left to go to Shanghai.” When that happens, the well-traveled road from Tantang may become like the trickle of water running under the village bridge: a fading memory of something that lost its life force many years ago. (*Time*—Aug. 21, 2000)

Chinese Yearning to Work Free

One of China’s many flourishing private-sector businesses is the shipping of emigrants to the United States. Whoever organized the voyage of the 661 Chinese who were caught off the coast of Mexico and repatriated this month may have taken something like \$20m in fares: a passage on one of these trips costs up to \$30,000. The trade has existed for as long as people have wanted to get out of China, but numbers seem to have been increasing lately. (*The Economist*—July 24, 1993)

Income Distribution in China—To Each According to His Abilities

Market reforms mean that China is becoming more unequal

“Let some people get rich first,” was the famous instruction of Deng Xiaoping, as China struggled to throw off the shackles of Maoist egalitarianism. Yet the widening gap between rich and poor, and between urban and rural people, is worrying officials, who increasingly fear that it poses a threat to China’s social stability.

After China joins the World Trade Organisation, officials expect inequalities to increase further, as hopelessly inefficient state-owned enterprises collapse and other companies benefit from improved access to world markets. Rural incomes will be further depressed by increased agricultural imports. According to official statistics, the average urban income was 1.7 times its rural counterpart in 1984. By 1999 it was 2.65 times. That gap will continue to widen, driving more country-dwellers into the cities and putting even greater pressure on the urban unemployed. Small wonder then if Chinese leaders are spooked by

income disparities that are ominously similar to those that fuelled the revolution 50 years ago. (*The Economist*—June. 2, 2001)

Rural China—And There's Another Country

China's rural governments are bust

The rural administration of Liangtousyuan, a cluster of villages in the rugged hills of Shaanxi province in north-western China, is crippled with debt. It cannot pay the teachers who work in its dilapidated schools. Even government employees must pay their own medical bills. The nearest market for farm produce is 15km (nine miles) away—involving a journey too arduous for most villagers to attempt. Instead, they grow just enough to feed themselves. Building a proper road is beyond the local government's dreams.

(*The Economist*—Dec. 15, 2001)

Another social problem both *Time* and *The Economist* paid much attention to was the consequences of one-child policy in China, such as imbalanced gender ratio.

That many Asian families prefer boys is no surprise. That they are, increasingly, having their wishes fulfilled is. A study in the latest issue of *Population and Development Review* suggests that in two Asian countries, the ratio of boy babies to girl babies rose noticeably in the 1980s. And this happened not just in China, whose draconian population policy has tended to be blamed for the mysterious shortage of girl babies, but also in South Korea. (*The Economist*—Sept. 18, 1993)

China—Men without Women

The consequence of family planning

It has been more than 20 years since China implemented its harsh and effective family-planning policy. By limiting urban couples to a single child and most rural couples to two, China has managed to slow the growth of the world's largest population. Now, however, the government must figure out what to do about the policy's unintended consequence: a huge and potentially destabilizing sex imbalance. Statistics just released based on the 2000 census disclose that, in the country as a whole, about 117 boys are born for every 100 girls. The imbalance is extraordinary in some areas, exceeding 135 for 100 in southern

Hainan province.

All this leads to worries about how society can function without enough women. The prospect of a large surplus of single men in China alarms Valerie Hudson, a professor at Brigham Young University in the United States. In a study to be published in the next issue of Harvard University's journal *International Security*, she notes that societies with large numbers of unmarried males tend to experience more crimes, unrest and violence. While acknowledging that sex imbalance is only one of many factors influencing levels of violence, Miss Hudson points out that the 30m unhappy unmarried men China is likely to have by 2020 could become "kindling for forces of political revolution at home". There could also be an impact outside China, she says. The government may decide to use the surplus men as a weapon for military adventurism and "actively desire to see them give their lives in pursuit of a national interest". A terrifying thought indeed. (*The Economist*—Jun. 22, 2002)

The Family Way

The loss of countless children in the Sichuan quake signals time to end China's one-child policy

In the rubble of the Sichuan earthquake, one particular horrific image piled upon another, until they nearly numbed a viewer: children buried in their collapsed schools, and many others orphaned. With my own first child due shortly, I found the sight of suffering children particularly trying. But another series of images also deeply affected me: that of grieving parents who, because of China's one-child policy, would have lost their only children.

All this must begin now, while China's demographic and gender imbalances remain mild, and while the state has a vast reserve of wealth. If Beijing does nothing about the one-child policy, the results could be even more catastrophic than the Sichuan quake. (*Time*—Jun. 9, 2008)

From the above articles, it is clear that the three social problems in China *Time* and *The Economist* focused on most throughout the three periods were crimes, population outflows from rural to urban areas, and imbalanced gender ratio due to the government's implementation of one-child policy to check the country's population growth. Lexical descriptions for crimes were those such as sharp rise of armed crimes,

“there is more to steal in booming China and more people are stealing it” (*Time*—Jul. 26, 1993), while for population outflows were those such as, villages people leave behind are dying out, widening gap between rural and urban areas, further increase of inequalities, and rural administrations crippled with debt. For imbalance between gender ratio and one-child policy, the lexical descriptions were for instance, limiting the number of children couples can bear, destabilizing sex imbalance, and the imbalance is extraordinary. In the social category, China’s image was negative indeed in both magazines.

G. China as a Country with Flowering Creativity (*Time*) Amid Low Acceptance by the People (*The Economist*)

Table 4.3 shows that art was the most covered topic in China’s “Culture and Leisure” in both *Time* and *The Economist*. *Time*’s coverage on the issue focused on how China was transforming into a country full of creativity throughout the study periods, with artists optimistic about opening up cultural opportunities (*Time*—May 10, 1993), foreseeing “a network that will help painters and sculptors find space to work, free of pollution and politics” (*Time*—Aug. 21, 2000), and musicians making a new kind of music amid people’s low acceptance, which could be manifested by:

Come On Feel the Noise

A new breed of sonic experimentalists is shaking up China’s underground music scene

Amid the relentlessly changing cityscapes of Beijing and Shanghai, a new kind of music is being made. In terms of its discordance and abstraction, it compares to Dada, or the New York City and Berlin avant-garde movements of the 1970s. Yet something about it—a certain urgency and iconoclasm—could only have been spawned amid the wild experiment that is modern China itself. The country’s punk and alternative rock scenes have been gushed over by excited commentators, eager to cite them as evidence of China’s changing

mores. But they are staid in comparison to that created by a new breed of artists, who eschew conventional guitar-based music in favor of baffling electronica, extreme noise and found sound.

For B6, that doesn't preclude intelligent synth pop. In 2007, he teamed with Shanghai singer-song writer Jay Wu to release *Synth Love*, an album of songs sung in English. A solo album of danceable techno, *Post Haze*, is due out this month on China's Modern Sky label. "The whole independent music scene is growing slowly in China," he says. Some of its hottest acts, incidentally, can be seen at Antidote, a night club co-founded by B6 and dedicated to new electronica. "Local kids are getting used to parties that are outside of traditional Chinese culture, and most of my audiences are young people who look for fresh, new music." In China these days, there's no shortage of that. (*Time*—Nov. 3, 2008)

I Know, It's Only Rock 'N' Roll

Despite widespread talk of a new rebelliousness, a Chinese musician says rock can't find an audience

More than 20,000 young Chinese got to their feet and roared with anticipation as the Year 2000 New Music Concert got under way last month at Beijing's Olympic stadium. True to form, the police surrounding the field ordered them back in their seats. But they needn't have bothered: the bands' lackluster performances quickly calmed things down. By the end of the second number, the audience was already seated, clapping politely. The rest of the two-and-a-half hour show was marked by sporadic enthusiasm—a few hands in the air, some homemade banners waving. Cheering erupted occasionally as rock icons like Tang Dynasty, my former band, performed their hits. But the overall reception was lukewarm, and the stadium started emptying midway through the headline act, pop-rock band Black Panther.

The more promising Chinese bands know that they can fulfill those dreams only through hard work, passion for the music and a healthy dose of realism. Thin Man, a hard-edged funk-rock outfit, regularly packs Beijing's clubs and thrills crowds with its high-octane showmanship. But the band's powerful, in-your-face stage energy has scared off state-run television, forcing members to focus their promotional efforts online and to tour aggressively. "We know what we're up against," says Dai, the band's charismatic 29-year-old, ethnic Mongolian front man. "It's a difficult road ahead, but we're not going to compromise and we're going to persevere. Endurance is victory." (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000)

Even the Chinese government was finding ways to nurture its people's appreciation of culture by launching an art-education project, which included lectures on Western classical music and promises to offer more affordable tickets for coming cultural performances at the National Center for the Performing Arts, which is often referred to by its former name, the National Center for the Performing Arts (*Time*—Jan. 14, 2008). “‘The National Grand Theater is not an exclusive club for the prestigious,’ says Deng [Yijian, deputy director of the center], ‘but a public cultural infrastructure for everyone’” (*Time*—Jan. 14, 2008)

However, through the process of transformation, “...like China itself, the art scene today is too complicated, subtle and fascinating to be captured in any simplistic nutshell” (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000). But one thing is for sure, that the explosion of media and people's different interpretations of a fast changing world “has helped fuel artistic and intellectual invention across Asia” (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000):

...Chinese contemporary art is playing a unique role in this revolution. Artists are moving beyond the clichés of Chineseness to deal concretely with issues faced by society today. How these tensions will be resolved, no one knows. But in the meantime, China's artists are turning this very friction into a source of newness and daring. (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000)

Contrary to *Time*, though *The Economist* had some coverage on creativity within China, most of the stories were about limitations set by the government and people's low acceptance. For instance,

Living Dangerously with Mr. Wang

The novels of Wang Shuo do not please traditionalists in China. One critic has called him a “hooligan” writing “about riff-raff for riff-raff”. The characters in Mr. Wang's 40 novels, short stories and screenplays use Beijing slang rather than classical language. He writes about people who, to quote the *China Daily*, “cheat, swindle, drink and smoke heavily, eat and gamble with

abandon”, yet “consider themselves honest and self-respecting.”

Support for such unorthodoxy has come from Wang Meng, a novelist and former minister of culture, who said recently that China’s open economic policy should be accompanied by open minds and even more flexibility in the arts. What good, he asked, was socialist literature if nobody read it?

(*The Economist*—Nov. 28, 1992)

Chinese Films

Back when it was considered a compliment, Shanghai used to be called the Hollywood of China. Like the city itself, Shanghai films peaked in the 1930s with communist screenwriters writing class-conscious hits for capitalist producers. After the war and the communist revolution the Shanghai Film Studio learnt to bend to the political winds. Except for the interruption of the cultural revolution, when it all but collapsed, the studio has made about 20 feature films a year, of varying quality.

In the new China, which Mr. Hu [Xue Yang, a young Shanghai director] calls “capitalist even though nobody wants to admit it”, Shanghai’s directors have been told that they can make pretty much whatever they like, so long as they find somebody to pay for it. Mr. Hu is not altogether pleased. “In a way we’re not as free as before. Now the first thing we have to look at is whether the film will sell a lot of tickets. If not, we can’t make it.” (*The Economist*—Oct. 2, 1993)

The above articles in *Time* showed artists were optimistic about more and more cultural opportunities in China, while Chinese youths were devoting themselves into making new kinds of music. Moreover, Chinese authorities were working to promote people’s involvement in cultural activities by providing art education. Nevertheless, there were still barriers to overcome such as people’s acceptability for rock music. Contrary to *Time*, *The Economist* coverage on China’s art focused more on people’s low acceptance on literature breakthroughs, and limits of filmmaking by the Chinese government, which were presented with the following lexical descriptions: traditionalists in China are not pleased with novels by Wang Shuo, and called him a

“hooligan,” nobody is reading socialist literature, and film directors are not free in making films as before.

H. China’s Problematic Education System, Yet Willing to Make Changes

Time coverage on China’s education first appeared in 1993, in which parents were unsatisfied with the education provided to their children in public schools and were willing to spend a large amount of money sending their kids to private schools that provide computer and language facilities. The article further showed that instead of confronting the problem and making any changes, the Chinese authorities would rather aid the establishment of catch-up schools and other institutions, though with a sense of reluctance:

Taking a Private Route

With public schools in trouble, for-profit institutions of learning at all levels are springing up in China

Pu Xiangming, a businessman in Hebei province, and his wife Xing Yan, a physician, had a problem. They were not happy with the education provided by the public primary school attended by their daughter Pu Hua, but neither had the time to tutor her at home. Last summer the couple learned of the opening of a private boarding school, Great Wall, in their hometown, Langfang, 60km east of Beijing. The institution, with a capacity for 150 students, offered such facilities—unheard of in public schools—as a computer room and language lab. While the cost was steep—a one-time fee of \$5,263 and annual tuition of \$1,400—the couple decided that Great Wall offered their child a path to a golden future. Said Xing: “Some people say it’s a waste of money, but for a child’s education, you have to invest.”

Grudgingly, the bureaucracy is going along. It is still withholding certification from special groups, such as religious institutions eager to form their own schools. But many of the new institutions that have shown promise are getting encouragement and material help from the government. Beijing’s catch-up Zhengze school was recently offered a piece of state-owned land for a new building. “That’s good news for us,” says headmaster Jia Weiyin—and

good news as well for the future of similar schools. (*Time*—Dec. 6, 1993)

Contrary to *Time*, articles on China's education appeared much later in *The Economist*, with one story focusing on how the government was concerned about the wellbeing of its students and the other on how some cities within the country were adopting policies that allows them to provide education to children of migrant workers.

China—A Revolution in Learning to Think

China is looking at new ways of educating a quarter of the world's children

It seemed like a dream come true for china's children. During his annual speech to parliament in March, the prime minister, Zhu Rongji, said from the podium of Beijing's Great Hall of the People that schools should "effectively reduce homework assignments for primary and secondary school students."

Officials are also beginning to talk more about the emotional wellbeing of China's students. There are growing concerns that the traditional Chinese emphasis on learning by rote not only leaves students untrained in innovative thinking, but causes them too much stress. Earlier this year, the Chinese press was gripped by a case in which a star pupil killed his mother with a hammer because she would not let him take time off from his studies for football, and sympathies were with the 17-year-old killer. Indeed, it was the uproar all over China over this case that prompted Mr. Zhu to share his thoughts on homework. Longer breaks, a more relaxed regime, and better school lunches are no doubt on the way. (*The Economist*—Sept. 23, 2000)

China's Schools for Non-children

On the map, the Peach Garden Elementary School is not far from Chinese centres of academic excellence like Beijing University. In fact, it is another world. Whereas their neighbours at nearby universities roam their sprawling campuses and prepare for high-powered careers, the Peach Garden children sit 50 to a room at rickety second-hand desks, learning how to read and counting themselves lucky to be in any sort of school at all. Their ages range from five to 14, and their accents range from all across China's vast expanse. But all 300 of them have one thing in common: they are children of migrant workers who have come to Beijing in search of a better life.

Wary of making Beijing an even greater magnet for migrants, local officials have not yet deigned to give the school formal approval. But Miss Zhang [Ailing] is confident they will not shut her down either. She notes that other cities, particularly Shanghai and Wuhan, have adopted far more flexible policies on migrants' education, and wonders when Beijing will catch up. "These are children like any other and they need an education, so somebody must solve this problem," she says simply. (*The Economist*—Nov. 18, 2000)

The only article on China's education system in *Time* showed that public schools were in trouble for they lack hardware equipment and language teaching. Unsatisfied parents were transferring their kids to private schools that would offer their children a path to a promising future. For *The Economist*, there were two articles on China's education system. One demonstrated the Chinese government was looking at new and relaxed ways of teaching their children, focusing on the wellbeing of students, while the other showed teachers and some government officials working to provide education to children of migrant workers.

I. China Lags in Healthcare, Disease Surveillance and Control

Articles on China's health was first seen in the "bid success" period in both newsmagazines, with "Disease Surveillance and Control System" and "Healthcare System" being the top two topics covered. Stories in "Disease Surveillance and Control System" showed the spreading of AIDS as a serious problem in China with citizens under the risk of obtaining the disease via blood selling, while the government neglected the importance of educating its people on prevention of the disease. For instance,

The Cost of Living

The residents of a remote Chinese village are paying an awful price for selling their own blood

Two weeks ago, soon after his second birthday, Cheng Weiwei got a new hat. But the undersized toddler was too listless to care about the square of white cloth tied around his head to mark his mother's death. Already, Weiwei can no longer swallow the porridge that used to sustain him. When he dies—in a week, or a fortnight or a month—no one will wear a white mourning hat for him. He is, says his grandmother, clasping the feverish boy, too small to merit such an honor.

Qian Xiulian says she has no plans to have herself tested for HIV, even though her husband, Cheng Laishui, has been bedridden for the past 18 days, propped up in front of a flickering TV set he bought with his blood-selling earnings. "You should get tested only if you feel sick," says Qian. "Otherwise, it's a waste of money." An AIDS test costs \$15, and Qian is saving the family money for an HIV remedy that is being peddled in a nearby village. But despite her hopes for a miracle cure, Qian keeps a bundle of white cotton cloth folded under her bed. Ten people in Chenglao have already died of the "strange disease" since January. In China's villages, the mourning has only just begun. (*Time*—Nov. 13, 2000)

AIDS in China—Confession Time

"A very serious epidemic"

After failing for months, if not years, to come publicly to grips with a fast-growing problem of HIV and AIDS, Chinese health officials on August 23rd pulled their heads out of the sand, at least partially. Talking to reporters in Beijing, the vice-minister of health, Yin Dakui, acknowledged that China is "facing a very serious epidemic" and admitted that negligence by provincial and local-level officials had contributed to the spread of the disease.

Attention now from Beijing will not include enough money to pay for the expensive life-prolonging medications that are available, but Mr. Yin [Dakui] announced a plan to spend \$23m on education programmes and on efforts to clean up the nation's blood-collection system. (*The Economist*—Sept. 1, 2001)

From the stories, it appears that the Chinese government did not seem to put much effort in or simply ignored educating its people about prevention of AIDS as a

common notion held by the people is “You should get tested only if you feel sick...otherwise, it’s a waste of money,” (*Time*—Nov. 13, 2000). Further, people were often afraid of letting the government know they got the disease on fears of not knowing what the government would do to them, hence, the only place they could go for treatment were private clinics. The government was also portrayed as being passive and cowardly. For one, they needed private clinics to tip them off about an AIDS case; for another, people “were never seen again” (*Time*—Mar. 19, 2001) after their identity was revealed to the government. The case of Little Jade’s friend is revealing.

Ticking Time Bomb

Why are Chinese officials still in denial about AIDS?

These country girls have eyes like hunters, says the cab driver, turning into an unlit lane of liquidambar trees in Kunming’s Golden Star neighborhood. “They can easily spot the men wanting sex.” The taxi pulls over, and a young woman sashays out from behind the trees. She’s wearing a cherry-colored blouse, tight white slacks and a cloud of cloying perfume. Her name is Little Jade, and she behaves less like a predator than prey, glancing nervously up and down the lane for cops—and, with equal apprehension, at the taxi’s passengers.

Little Jade leaves the taxi and wanders into the night. Her face hardens to resemble a painted opera mask as she readies for other customers. She says she needs to turn tricks “for a few more weeks” to save money to treat her boyfriend’s heroin addiction. After all, he saved her. Then she’ll stop. She recalls how one of her hooker friends fell ill—Little Jade is sure it was AIDS—and the women chipped in with \$75 for medical treatment. But the private clinic her friend went to tipped off the authorities, and the woman was never seen again. Little Jade doesn’t want that to happen to her. But it may already be too late. (*Time*—Mar. 19, 2001)

Stories on “Healthcare System” indicated the country’s lack of medical facilities/ equipment and that though the government was talking about healthcare reform plans, it did not seem to be willing to budget more money for the sector.

...Tourist Jack Golden remembers a recent trip to China for all the wrong reasons. Golden, of Lenox, Mass., had a prostate condition that required medical treatment during a Yangtze River cruise. He had to endure an invasive procedure without anesthesia at a small, gritty hospital in Fengdu, an ancient city on the river's north bank. And that was the easy part. "The Chinese accept it because this is what they have," he says. (*Time*—Nov. 3, 2008)

Startling economic growth in China has not been matched by similar improvements in health care. The cost of treatment is becoming ever more prohibitive for the poor. Government spending is meager. (*The Economist*—Feb. 23, 2008)

How much of an extra burden local governments will have to bear is still unclear. A deputy minister of finance, Wang Jun, told reporters on April 8th that the 850 billion represented "additional" spending on health care. *Caijing*, a Beijing business magazine, has pointed out that over the three years, the central government's annual average share of this would be about 111 billion yuan. This year's budget for health spending by the central government (including reform-related expenditures) is only 118 billion. The government's numbers do not appear to add up. (*The Economist*—Apr. 18, 2009)

To conclude, stories on China's "Health" showed that China was not willing to face the problem of AIDs and educate its people in the prevention of the disease. Furthermore, though the Chinese government talked about health reforms, it did not seem to be willing to spend money in the sector. In short, the image was negative.

The above section showed themes used to present China in both magazines were China as a country suppressing its people's rights, it is a country full of business or investment opportunities, with risks and uncertainties, China as a country short of resources but is working on environmental protection, the Internet as a medium changing Chinese youth's way of living, China as an unstable and unequal developing country, it is flowering with creativity (*Time*) amid low acceptance by the people (*The Economist*), China has a problematic education system yet willing to make changes,

and that the country is laggard healthcare, disease surveillance and control.

4.9 Images of China

Table 4.7 further presents the lexical descriptions of China's human rights, investment, shortage of resources, environmental protection, Internet, social problems, art, education systems, healthcare system, disease control and surveillance system, and the Olympics in reference to the three research periods.



Table 4.7 Lexical Descriptions of China

<div style="text-align: center;">Magazines</div> <div style="text-align: left;">Topics</div>	Time	The Economist
human rights	<p>NEGATIVE Bid Failure a wind of suppression, crackdowns, Beijing’s images takes a double pounding, protests, China’s heavy hand reached out to block an exiled dissident from speaking at U.N. headquarters, clampdowns and arrests, crackdowns, shocking abuses, empty talk to improve respects of human rights, cracking down harder, crackdown on dissidents, detained several human rights activists, the worsening human rights conditions in China, political repression is increasing, 1993 was the worst year for political arrests, suppression, ban, silencing dissent</p>	<p>NEGATIVE Bid Failure “Visitors arriving in China were supposed to surrender any foreign newspapers they may be carrying,” protests, oppress, clampdown on dissent, censorship, ban, crackdown, political repression in China is increasing, jailed</p>

Bid Success

control, silencing dissent, to muzzle liberal thinkers, the state keeps its grip, block any mentions of the Tiananmen immolations, bar, jailed, kept under close police scrutiny, held by Chinese authorities, silenced, Beijing detains yet another American academic, detentions, democracy denied, crackdown, fierce crackdown, bullying and brute force, ban Falun Gong, jailed, threatened, “the sound of freedom being squelched and a government that has spared no means to crush it,” “Beijing moved hundreds of soldiers into Kashgar’s soccer stadium... to put down potential local disturbances,” crackdown in Xinjiang, repression, intent on extending crackdown

Olympics Hosting

suppression of Tibet’s religious and cultural traditions, the hazard of citizen journalism, “As the Olympics draw near, China launches a vigorous crackdown on dissent,” crack down in Tibet, “oppressed citizens in Tibet and elsewhere,” “Beijing’s heavy hand in Tibet,” “the authorities will no doubt make it impossible for journalists to enter Tibet,” clamp down, “vehicles have been banned from the roads”

Bid Success

ban of Falun Gong, control, block, restrictions, a taste of democracy...turned sour, elections have brought nothing but misery, opposing officially approved candidates results to beatings and threats by police and thugs, repress Muslim minority in Xinjiang, tight control

Olympics Hosting

discrimination, control, ban, censorship, tighten, widespread human-rights abuses, crackdown in China’s wild West, police stopping interviews and detaining those involved for over three hours, ...“power should be returned to the people”...seems unlikely, suppression, clampdown, “monastery towns ...of the Tibetan plateau are being sealed off from visitors,” “China’s crackdown...is breeding resentment and storing trouble for the future,” “...security will be tightened, dissidents kept behind bars and foreigners firmly steered away from the region [Tibet],” access to Youtube has been blocked since shortly after the Tibetan government-in-exile showed video footage showing Tibetan protesters being beaten by Chinese police, Internet censors, repression, the state cracks down on civil society

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

release, freed, recent improvements

Bid Success

“the cooperation of orphanage workers and government officials allowed the foreigners to provide training and some money, and compared to 1990, it’s wonderful,” “So far, the government hasn’t objected to a few souls saved along the way,” “a North Korean family in China makes a bold bid for asylum—and wins its freedom,”

Olympics Hosting:

“gays in China no longer need to lead an underground life”

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

freed, loosen controls on overseas travel, release political prisoners,

Bid Success

“China’s press—Let a hundred papers boom,” “government eases the rules,” granting license to foreign media, a democratic transformation,

Olympics Hosting

You have permission to think freely...China’s prime minister lets a hundred flowers bloom”

investment

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

risk, trade of shares is so sluggish, market decline

Bid Success

The \$200 million agreement between AOL and Legend makes both sides nervous, foreign players will surely fail

Olympics Hosting

bear market, “China’s attempts to invest strategically in the developed world keep running into walls,” “Corporate America used to be enamored of China...the attraction is fading”

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

continuing failures of China’s domestic market, overheated about China, the risks of instability are high, often unprofitable, always unwieldy, China’s big state-owned firms cannot be restructured without foreign help, China officially announced a two-year ban on new foreign joint-venture car plants, foreigners are holding back in Chinese investment

Bid Success

“...foreigners are restricted to buying shares that are listed in China but quoted in a foreign currency,” “China’s stockmarkets are worse than a casino,” “The government struggles to profit from share sales,” “...the stockmarket’s long slump, caused in part by investors’ anxiety about a possible flood of new shares”

Olympics Hosting:

a tough new era for Chinese companies, risk aversion hits Chinese stocks, awful stockmarket performance, more Chinese business are collapsing, “the housing market provides some nasty shocks to China’s new middle-classes,” ...the murky and fragile state of Chinese business, “investors

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

the promise of China, “the gravitational pull of the mainland is proving to be a stronger force than political apprehension...not only China but also all East Asia is reaping benefits...,” Nike plans to increase shares in China

Bid Success

“A backward province steers its economy from drugs to a clean, green source of income [herbal medicine]”

Olympics Hosting

“Beijing is asserting itself on the world stage as the global economic crisis weakens the West,” “this year, China settles all business,” “While the Detroit giant [GM] tries to stave off bankruptcy in the U.S., its China operations are setting sales records”

appear to have little faith in company accounts,

“...companies may also have had an artificial boost”

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

Another Chinese take-off, China’s airlines are soaring upwards, the Chinese dragon is clearly flexing its wings, Pepsi-Cola announced a huge expansion plan, predicting that within 12 years China will be its biggest market outside the United States, China’s stockmarkets—erupting

Bid Success

the market soared, “The world’s best-performing stock-market in 2000 has been China’s”

Olympics Hosting

“...the listing and subsequent ballooning of the shares in WuXi PharmaTech has drawn gasps. It began trading on the New York Stock Exchange on August 9th at \$14 a share, and the price has since doubled,” China is an irresistible market, Shanghai’s bustling stockmarket

shortage of
resources

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

“One of the most serious problems with China’s headlong expansion is that it is underpowered”

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

“China is losing the race to...meet its soaring power needs with green technologies”

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

X

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

China—running dry, China—running out of steam

Olympics Hosting

China’s hunger for natural resources is causing more problems at home than abroad, wasteful water use, China’s water woes will only worsen

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

Electricity in China—power surge

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

X

**environmental
protection**

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

X

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

more and more students are fighting to undo environmental damage

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

Environmental protection in China—Don't drink the water and don't breathe the air...and don't expect the government's environmental watchdog to do much about it, China and the U.S. are by far the world's biggest emitters of greenhouse gases

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

“China is applying green principles to the construction of entirely new cities such as Dongtan... which will use recycled water only and generate electricity using biomass,” “...experts study how Japan became one of the world’s most energy-efficient countries, with the aim of applying those lessons and methods to China”

Olympics Hosting

China is making a more convincing show of action in tackling climate change

Internet

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

“Chinese computer hackers are allegedly breaking into high-security networks in the U.S. and other countries”

Olympics Hosting

...the Internet is not truly a worldwide web: it is only as wide as China

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

“liberated by the Internet”

Olympics Hosting

X

social problems

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

[public order] from bad to worse, more people are stealing, mushrooming illegal settlements

Bid Success

“As men from the provinces flood into the city, the villages they leave behind are dying out,” a harrowing trade in infants, China’s baby bust, bang goes stability, growing frustration over social inequities, Chinese junk, drugs were the scourge of pre-communist China

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

good websites

Olympics Hosting

social-networking and video-sharing sites are booming

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

China’s people are getting out of control,
...China’s draconian population policy has tended to be blamed for the mysterious shortage of girl babies

Bid Success

China is becoming more unequal, “guns in China—the wild East... armed crime is rising sharply in a country that once prided itself on its law-abiding orderliness, China’s rural governments are bust, the rural administration of Liangtousyuan... is crippled with debt, a huge and potentially

Olympics Hosting

China's demographic and gender imbalances, catastrophic, "Things have absolutely gone out of control [with kids' addiction to the Internet]

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

X

destabilizing sex imbalance

Olympics Hosting

A spate of attacks points to deep-rooted social troubles, "...urban factories are running out of migrant labour, and...bad working and living conditions in some cities are deterring the rural poor

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

suicide in China is at last being discussed...today the media often report on the issue, and national get-togethers are organized to tackle it

Olympics Hosting

X

art

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

rock can't find an audience

Olympic Hosting

X

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

“living dangerously with Mr. Wang, a writer whom a critic has called him a ‘hooligan’ writing ‘about riff-raff for riff-raff,’” “the ‘Palace’ [Cultural Palace of Nationalities] is a Stalinist monstrosity, Shanghai films collapsed during the cultural revolution

Bid Success

“A privately run museum of pre-Communist sexual art and artefacts had to move its premises because it was forbidden to display the word ‘sex’ on the street,” ticket sales remain depressed

Olympics Hosting

X

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

“a new brand of creativity is flowering in the marketplace,”
...upbeat about the cultural opportunities that are opening
up

Bid Success

creative types are finding inspiration and freedom in
China’s southwest, Chinese contemporary art is playing a
unique role

Olympic Hosting

a stunning new arts center, fascinating, “China’s capital is
buzzing with a hot cultural scene, creative entrepreneurs
and a collection of eye-popping buildings”

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

...Chinese cultural policy has lately been liberalised,

Bid Success

the Noble Prize will help Mr. Gao [Xingjian] perform a
second favour: that of changing the outside world’s literary
view of his homeland

Olympics Hosting

X

education systems

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

public schools in trouble, ...not happy with the education provided by the public primary school

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

X

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

X

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

X

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

Longer breaks, a more relaxed regime, and better school lunches are no doubt on the way, flexible policies on migrants' education

Olympics Hosting

X

healthcare system

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

“...an invasive procedure without anesthesia at a small, gritty hospital...” “In terms of medical care, China is one of the most challenging countries...”

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

X

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

the cost of treatment is becoming ever more prohibitive for the poor...government spending is meager, the healthcare system is a failure, the chances of free dialysis...are zero

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

officials are at last getting ready to unveil plans to fix the healthcare system

disease control and surveillance system

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

residents are paying an awful price for selling their own blood, the Chinese government is denial about AIDS

Olympic Hosting

the fight for drug safety suffers

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

X

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

“A very serious epidemic,” negligence by provincial and local-level officials had contributed to the spread of AIDS

Olympics Hosting

slow progress against snail-fever, ...the long-term solution for the disease is to find a vaccine...whenever that comes...it will be too late”

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

X

Olympics

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

Sydney trumped Beijing...the much touted and controversial [candidate]

Bid Success

In its bid to host the 2008 Games, Beijing prepares a (Potemkin) Olympics Village

Olympic Hosting

We [people] have no access to tickets...even if we [they] did, we [they] couldn't afford them

NEGATIVE

Bid Failure

X

Bid Success

China has changed, but not enough to get the Olympic games, Beijing's bid should be rejected

Olympics Hosting

Neither goal [of raising China's international profile and softening its image...conveying to the domestic audience that China has the stature and ability to take in place at the centre of the world stage] will be well served next year by ham-fisted responses to criticism, "the Beijing 2008 Olympic Torch Relay...was always a risk, the suppression of riots and protests in Tibet has ensured the torch's progress has graduated from minor diplomatic embarrassment to full-scale public-relations disaster," an ungracious host may give visitors one more reason to protest, all that gold does not glitter

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

The People's Republic strives to startle the world with its winning ways

Bid Success

...the Games will empower leaders who favor political reform

Olympics Hosting

A breathtakingly spectacular start to the Olympic Games heralds the return of China to the center of the world's stage, a battalion of Chinese athletes who resoundingly displaced the U.S. atop the gold-medal count

POSITIVE

Bid Failure

"...a Chinese representative simply pointed to the five rings on the Olympic flag and said: 'China has 1.27 billion people more than one-fifth of the world's population. Therefore one of those rings on the flags represents [us].' He has a point."

Bid Success

X

Olympics Hosting

X



From Table 4.7, it is clear that China's human rights were largely negatively covered throughout the 1992 to 2009 periods in both newsmagazines. The human rights image presented were those, for instance, suppression of minority groups and jailing of dissidents. However, improvements of human rights could also be seen, particularly in "bid success" period, during which the Chinese government granted license to foreign media, cooperated with orphanage workers to save orphans. In "Olympics hosting," China was seen to be more tolerant towards gays.

Another important topic under the "Politics" category aside from "human rights" was "Olympics". China's Olympics was also greatly negatively portrayed in the *Time* and *The Economist*. Both magazines questioned whether Beijing was ready and had the ability to host a mega-event. From "bid failure," "bid success," to "Olympics hosting" in *Time*, Beijing was framed as a touted and controversial candidate, the host nation was preparing a Potemkin Olympics Village, and that people neither have access nor be able to afford the tickets. From "bid success" to "Olympics hosting" period, *The Economist* said Beijing did not change enough to get the Games and that it should be rejected. Further, neither goals of China hosting to Games such as raising the country's international profile could be achieved. Nonetheless, the fact that China being able to host a spectacular Games and defeat the U.S. in terms of gold-medal counts were recognized in *Time* during the "Olympics hosting" period.

In terms of investment, during the "bid failure" period, China's stockmarket was seen to be risky. In "bid success," the stockmarket was viewed as worse than a casino with long slumps, and that foreign players will surely fail. In "Olympics hosting," China's stocks were seen to have awful performance with Chinese business collapsing, investors appearing to have little faith in the company accounts and that the attraction of China investment is fading. However, there were also positive images

of investment in China throughout “bid failure,” “bid success,” and “Olympics hosting,” respectively, such as the promise of China, the world’s best-performing stockmarket in 2000, and China was an irresistible market.

With regards to shortage of resources, China was seen to be underpowered from September 1992 to September 1994 in *Time*, running dry and out of steam from July 2000 to July 2002 in *The Economist*, water woes would only worsen and that the country was losing the race to meet its soaring power needs with green technologies from August 2007 to August 2009 in the magazines. However, China’s efforts of protecting its environment were starting to become recognized in both magazines, particularly in “Olympics hosting” period. *Time* showed China was learning how Japan became an energy-efficient country, hoping to apply the lesson to China, while *The Economist* praised China as making a more convincing show of action in dealing with climate change.

For the Internet in China, the medium was presented as liberating Chinese youth during “bid success” in *Time*, with booming social-networking and video-sharing during “Olympics hosting” in *The Economist*. However, during the two years before and after the hosting of the Games, *The Economist* noted that China’s Internet was not truly a worldwide web; it was only “as wide as China”.

In terms of social problems, both magazines had mostly negative images of the issue throughout the three periods. During “bid failure,” public order was portrayed as from bad to worse, more people are stealing and that the Chinese people are getting out of control. During “bid success,” there were images of China being unstable with crimes rising and unequally developed with rural governments crippled in debt. During “Olympics hosting,” the country’s gender was portrayed as imbalanced and living and working conditions in some cities were poor. However, *The Economist* noted that the Chinese government was starting to pay attention to suicidal problems

within the country and national get-togethers were organized to tackle it.

For China's art, the issue was more positively portrayed in *Time* than in *The Economist* throughout the three periods, such as flowering creativity in the marketplace, Chinese contemporary art was playing a unique role, and that new arts centers were stunning. *The Economist*, on the other hand, focused more on people's low acceptance.

China's public education was portrayed as problematic in *Time* during "bid failure," while *The Economist* was more optimistic about the changes to be made, as promised by the then Premier Zhu Rongji.

Images of China's health were largely negative in both magazines. For example, patients had to endure procedures without anesthesia at small and gritty hospitals, and cost of treatment was becoming more and more unaffordable by poor people during the "Olympics hosting" period. Moreover, the government was not active enough to prevent diseases like AIDS from spreading.

Chapter V

Conclusions and Discussion

This study sets out to explore whether hosting the Beijing Olympic Games has made a change in China and helped promote the country's images as measured by quantitative and qualitative analysis of news coverage on China in *Time* and *The Economist*. The research is aimed to answer the questions of 1) How do *Time* and *The Economist* differ in the coverage of China in terms of subject, tone, and length of coverage? 2) Is there a trend of covering China in *Time* and *The Economist* regarding subject, tone, and length of coverage as the Beijing Olympic nears? 3) How do *Time* and *The Economist* frame the news about China? This chapter presents a summary of the findings for each of the research questions, attempts a discussion on whether the Olympic Games helped promote China's images, and reflects limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

5.1 Coverage Difference Regarding Subject, Tone, Length of Article

Content analysis showed that coverage on China in both magazines increased as the Olympic Games neared, with relevant articles in *The Economist* having a steady growth all along, while the articles in *Time* showed a more significant jump from the "bid failure" period to the "bid success" period. Scholars have argued that when events especially those affecting interests of nations occur, coverage on the issue will increase (Gan, 2007). The findings of *Time* confirmed this argument, for during the "bid success" period, events regarding U.S.-China relationship occurred, such as the U.S. spy plane and Chinese fighter collision over South China Sea (April 2001) and the September 11th terrorist attack on the U.S. (September 2001). The American *Time* spent some articles talking about how presidents from both sides dealt with the

collision issue and how the U.S. and China cooperated with each other in fighting terrorism after the terrorist attack.

Findings also showed that both *Time* and *The Economist* paid the most attention to China's politics, economics, and society, while education and health received the least coverage. Ciao (2006) asserts that due to the media's political stances and ideologies, coverage on China in *Time*, for example, focus much on the different political systems between the U.S. and China, with coverage either criticizing China's politics or hoping China can make changes to its political system while simultaneously pushing for economic reforms, and move towards the path of capitalism. Findings in the present study corroborated this argument for both magazines criticized much on China's human rights abuses in terms of the "Politics" category. The finding also confirmed Cui-Lan Li's (1988) and Hsiao-Ling Cheng's (2006) findings. Li (1988) found *Time* paid the most attention to China's politics and economy from October 1978 to September 1987, whereas Cheng (2006) found a-45% coverage in China's economy, 30.7% coverage in politics, and 7.1% coverage in society in *The Economist* throughout her research periods—1980, 1990, 1995, 2000, and 2005. Clearly, the focus of China in both newsmagazines did not change much in the past two decades.

Further, both newsmagazines covered China more negatively than positively; however, *Time* demonstrated a friendlier stance towards China than *The Economist*. The findings of *Time* and *The Economist* each corroborated the findings of Tang's (2009) and Rao's (2009) studies. Tang (2009) found that positive and neutral coverage on China in *Time* and *The Newsweek* increased in 2007, however, negative articles still account more than positive ones. Rao (2009) reported subject coverage on China was more diverse in *The Economist* in 2008 but negative coverage appeared more than positive ones. One reason for *Time* being friendlier towards China could be

because China as an economic superpower was starting to be recognized, particularly when the world financial crisis broke out in late 2008, China's economy was relatively strong and less affected as compared with most Western countries. Another reason could be because of the growing economic and strategic bond between the US and China, of both governments reaching a consensus of working together to build a "positive, cooperative and comprehensive US-China relationship for the 21st century" (Huang, Tao, Wang, Yuan, & Zhao, 2009).

Interestingly, the finding of *The Economist* in the present study contradicted Chen's (2007) finding of *The Economist* having more positive reports on China than the American *Newsweek*. Chen (2007) argued that the reason was because the culture of the U.K is more conservative and stresses more on privacy, it tends to withhold information, while the culture of the U.S. is more casual and straightforward, with its media having more power to pursue information and report it to the public. Hence, her findings showed *The Economist* had more positive articles than *Newsweek*. In the present study, reasons for *The Economist* having more negative articles than *Time* in the present study could also be attributed to the U.K. being conservative, however, in a sense that out of conservatism, U.K. is cautious and tends to be pessimistic about things not yet with a clear picture, such as where nations' economies were headed amid the world financial crisis.

In terms of length of article for the top three subject categories, both *Time* and *The Economist* spent the most number of pages covering "General," or articles that cover more than one subject, followed by "Health" and "Economics" in *Time* and "Environment" and "Economics" in *The Economist*.

5.2 Coverage Trend Regarding Subject, Tone, Length of Article

Content analysis of the data also revealed a trend of coverage regarding subject, tone, and length of article in *Time* and *The Economist* throughout the three research periods. First, *Time* showed a more diverse coverage of China throughout the periods, focusing on “Politics,” “Economics,” and “Society” in the two years straddling China’s bid failure for the 2000 Olympic Games, “Politics,” “Society,” and “Culture and Leisure” one year before and after China won its bid for the 2008 Olympics, and “Politics,” “Economics,” and “Technology” one year each before and after China’s hosting of the 2008 Olympiad. “Economics,” “Politics,” and “Society” were the foci of attention in *The Economist* all along, with an order-shuffle of “Politics,” “Economics,” and “Society” in the “bid success” period.

Second, very positive articles increased in *Time* from “bid failure” (1.3%), “bid success” (3.1%), to “Olympics hosting” (6.1%), while negative articles and very negative articles grew in *The Economist* all along. The British newsmagazine had 10.3%, 11.3%, and 16.1% of negative articles and 7.9%, 8.6%, and 12.2% of very negative articles throughout the periods of “bid failure,” “bid success,” and “Olympics hosting,” respectively. The findings indicated as the 2008 Olympic Games neared, images of China in *Time* improved, while in *The Economist* worsened.

Third, regarding the length of China articles in both magazines, “Culture and Leisure,” “Education,” and “General” were the subjects with the most average number of pages throughout the “bid failure,” “bid success,” and “Olympics hosting” periods in *Time*, respectively, while “Environment,” “Technology,” and “Environment” again received the most average number of pages one year before and after China lost the 2000 Olympics bid, one year before and after China won the 2008 Olympics bid, and one year before and after the hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games, respectively.

The above statistical profile showed though images of China improved, particularly in *Time*, both *Time* and *The Economist* still had more negative images of China than positive ones. More detailed sketches of China's images in both magazines will be presented with reference to the three periods.

5.3 Images of China

This section presents the images of China in terms of human rights, investment, environment, Internet, social problems, art, education system, and health in *Time* and *The Economist* with reference to the three research periods: "bid failure," "bid success," and "Olympics hosting". The following pages summarize China's images with respect to the hosting of the Olympics.

A. Depressing Human Rights Conditions

China's human rights was negatively framed throughout the periods of "bid failure," "bid success," and "Olympics hosting" in both news weeklies. In "bid failure," negative lexical descriptions of China were to block dissidents from speaking at United Nations headquarters with its heavy hand, detain several human rights activists, ask visitors to surrender any foreign newspapers they may be carrying. Further, reports from human rights organization Asia Watch indicated that political repression in the country was increasing, and that 1993 was the worst year for political arrests. In "bid success," China was seen to jail scholars, keep families of jailed dissidents under close scrutiny, bring people practicing Falun Gong to their knees by bullying and brutal force, and turn "democratic" village elections sour by beating and threatening those who opposed to officially approved candidates. In "Olympics hosting," China was framed as suppressing Tibet's religious and cultural traditions, launching vigorous crackdowns on dissidents, blocking films about Tibetan

protests on Youtube, tightening security and steering foreigners away from Tibet after the demonstration, stopping interviews and detaining those involved for over three hours.

Despite negative lexical descriptions of China's human rights, positive ones were presented throughout the periods in both magazines as well. One year before and after China lost its first Olympics bidding, the country was seen to release political prisoners and loosen controls on overseas travel; however, the freeing of dissidents was viewed as a trick China was playing to let the world "believe" it was actually opening up so as to win the Olympics bid. Articles predicted that once the bidding results were out, these dissidents were bound to be locked up in jail again. Stories showing China's human rights improvements one year before and after the country won its second Olympics bidding were those such as the government providing asylum for North Korean refugees and allowing foreigners to provide training and money for orphanages, and granting license to foreign media. One year before and after the hosting of the Games, China was framed as being more tolerant towards gays in that gays no longer needed to lead an underground life and that the Chinese government was talking about political reforms, such as calling for resignation of senior officials publicly after the officials' bad performance in their job position.

Via the lexical descriptions, it was clear that in both magazines China was presented as a country that suppresses human rights, though a few signs of improvements could be seen in "bid success" and "Olympics hosting" periods.

In addition to "Human rights," another important topic under the "Politics" category was "Olympics," which both the newsmagazines viewed as "political". China's bid for the Olympic Games was negatively portrayed in *Time* and *The Economist*. Both magazines questioned whether China was prepared and had the ability to host the mega-event. In "bid failure," *Time* framed Beijing as the much

touted and controversial candidate. In “bid success,” Beijing was framed as not having changed enough to get the Olympic Games, it should be rejected, and that it was preparing a Potemkin Olympics Village. In “Olympics hosting,” people were seen not being able to access and afford the tickets in *Time*. This image was a great satire to China’s goal of hosting a “People’s Olympics,” which refers to the promotion of its people’s involvement. Further, *The Economist* framed the torch relay as always a risk, and that neither China’s goal of hosting the Games, such as raising its international profile, soften its images...etc. would be achieved. However, China’s abilities of hosting a spectacular Games and defeating the U.S. in terms of gold-medal counts were recognized in *Time* in the “Olympics hosting” period.

B. Abundant Investment Opportunities with Uncertainties

China was framed as a country full of chances, yet there were warnings of risks and uncertainties in both magazines. In “bid failure,” Chinese market was negatively framed as sluggish, declining, often unprofitable, instable and with high risks. In “bid success,” lexical descriptions of China’s stockmarket were those such as worse than a casino, long slump, and that foreign players would surely fail. In “Olympics hosting,” China’s stocks were seen to have awful performance with Chinese business collapsing, investors appearing to have little faith in the company accounts and that the attraction of China investment is fading. Positive lexical descriptions in “bid failure” were those such as the promise of China, companies announcing expansion plans as they foresaw China as their biggest market outside the United States. In “bid success,” China’s market was seen as the world’s best-performing stockmarket in 2000. In “Olympics hosting,” performances of Chinese firms on U.S. stockmarket had drawn gasps. China was framed as an irresistible and bustling market, and company branches in China were setting sales records while branches in the U.S. were bankrupted. Hence, it could

be concluded that though there were investment chances in China, investors still had to heed the risks and uncertainties.

C. Increased Environment Protection Efforts with Shortage of Resources

Images of China's environment were those such as short of resources yet working on environmental protection in *Time* and *The Economist*. In "bid failure," China's shortage of resources was negatively framed as being underpowered in *Time*. In "bid success," China was framed as running dry and running out of steam in *The Economist*. In "Olympics hosting," China was framed as losing the race to meet its soaring power needs with green technologies, wasteful water use, and that its water woes would only worsen. Positive image of shortage of resources was only seen in the "bid failure" period in *The Economist*, with the lexical description of power surge. Regarding environmental protection, negative images could only be seen in *The Economist* during the "Olympics hosting" period, in which the magazine said China and the U.S. were by far the world's biggest emitters of greenhouse gases, and warned the audience not to drink the water and breathe the air in China. Further, don't expect the government to do much about environment pollution. Positive images of China's environmental protection could be seen during the "bid success" period in *Time*, with more and more students realizing the importance of the issue and fighting to undo environmental damage. In "Olympics hosting," China was seen to apply green principles to the construction of new cities, to study how Japan became one of the world's most energy-efficient countries, with the aim of applying the methods to China in *Time*, while *The Economist* praised China as making a more convincing show of action in dealing with climate exchange. Hence, China's environmental images were those of in short of resources, yet working to protect the environment. In short, they were cautiously positive.

D. Internet as Social Networking Tool of Youth

Articles on China's Internet first appeared in the "bid success" period in both magazines, with positive frames such as Chinese youth being "liberated by the Internet". There was also a neutral frame of the Internet transforming ways young generations bond relationships with each other, with lexical descriptions such as the growing popularity of online dating among Chinese youth. In "Olympics hosting," China's Internet was negatively perceived as being not truly a worldwide web, it was only as wide as China. Nevertheless, social-networking and video-sharing sites were positively framed as booming in *The Economist* during the "Olympics hosting" period. Thus, though China's Internet was booming, liberating Chinese youth, and changing the youths' ways of making friends, the Internet was after all a closed one.

E. Social Problems: An Underdeveloped and Unequal China

Social problems were largely negatively framed in both *Time* and *The Economist* through all the three research periods. In "bid failure," public order was negatively framed as from bad to worse, more people were stealing, people were getting out of control, and illegal settlements were mushrooming. In "bid success," China was framed as becoming more unequal, armed crimes rose sharply, rural governments crippled with debt, destabilizing sex imbalance, and villages dying out after people flood into the city in search for job opportunities. In "Olympics hosting," frames of demographic and gender imbalances could still be seen. Other negative images of China's society in the period were those such as urban factories running out of migrant labour, bad working and living conditions in some cities deterring the rural poor. Despite negative images, *The Economist* had positive frames of the Chinese government finally discussing suicide problems in China and national get-togethers were organized to tackle the problem in the "bid success" period. Hence, as these

lexical descriptions showed, images of China's society were those of unstable and unequally developed.

F. Artist Creativity with Low Popular Acceptance

China's art was more positively portrayed in *Time* than in *The Economist*. For example, in "bid failure," China's art was framed as creativity flowering in the marketplace, artists being upbeat about the cultural opportunities that were opening up, and Chinese cultural policy had lately been liberalised. In "bid success" period, China's contemporary art was framed as playing a unique role and artists were finding inspiration and freedom in China's southwest. In "Olympics hosting," *Time* framed China's new arts center as stunning, with its capital buzzing with a hot cultural scene, creative entrepreneurs and a collection of eye-popping buildings. However, though creativity was blooming, people seemed to have low acceptance of it. In "bid failure," the Cultural Palace of Nationalities was framed as a Stalinist monstrosity. In "bid success," rock music was framed as "can't find an audience" (*Time*—Oct. 23, 2000) and "a museum of pre-Communist sexual art and artefacts had to move its premises because it was forbidden to display the word 'sex' on the street" (*The Economist*—Jul. 13, 2002). Further, the museum's ticket sales remained depressed. Therefore, it can be concluded that creativity was flowering in China, yet with low acceptance by the people. In this topic, the images were mixed.

G. Problematic Education System with Government Efforts on Improvement

China's education system was framed as negative and positive, respectively in *Time* during "bid failure" period and *The Economist* during "bid success" period. In "bid failure," public schools were negatively framed as "in trouble" and that parents were not happy with the education provided by the schools to their children. In "bid

success,” *The Economist* showed an optimistic view regarding China’s education that longer breaks, a more relaxed regime, and better school lunches were no doubt on the way. Further, Shanghai and Wuhan had adopted more flexible policies on migrants’ education. These references seemed to suggest that China’s education system was problematic, yet the government was willing to make changes.

H. Lagging Healthcare and Disease Control

China’s healthcare system, disease control and surveillance system were largely negatively framed in both magazines. With regards to healthcare system, relevant articles first appeared in the “Olympics hosting” period in both magazines. In “Olympics hosting,” China was seen to perform invasive procedure without anesthesia in small, gritty hospitals, cost of treatment was becoming ever more prohibitive for the poor, and that the healthcare system was a failure. Only one positive image appeared in *The Economist* during the “Olympics hosting” period, which was that officials were at last getting ready to unveil plans to fix the healthcare system. In terms of disease control and surveillance system, there were only negative images in both news weeklies, with relevant articles first appearing in the “bid success” period. During “bid success,” residents were seen to pay awful prices for selling their own blood, the Chinese government being negligent and denial about the spreading of AIDS. In “Olympics hosting” period, we could see that the fight for drug safety suffered, a slow progress against snail-fever, and long-term solution (vaccine) to some disease would be too late whenever it came out. Therefore, it could be concluded that China lagged in healthcare, disease control and surveillance.

Aforementioned, *Time* and *The Economist* still had more negative images of China than positive ones, however, looking at the amount of favorable, neutral, and

unfavorable tones of each of the subjects in both magazines as presented in Table 5.2, we could see that for *Time*, positive images of China's "culture and leisure," "technology," "environment," and "economics" seemed to have stood out, while images of its "politics," "society," and "health" remained negative. Images of China's "education" were not that apparent due to there were only two articles in the category, with one neutral and the other unfavorable. For *The Economist*, positive images of China's "technology" and "education" seemed to have stood out, whereas its "politics," "economics," "environment," "society," "culture and leisure," and "health" remained negative.

5.4 Discussion

Jacques Rogge, chairman of the IOC, has long argued that one of the main benefits of awarding the Games to Beijing was that the event would make China more open (Jacobs, 2008). Liu Qi, Beijing Mayor and president of the Olympics Bidding Committee, was also confident that the 2008 Beijing Olympics would help promote China's economic and social progress, moreover benefit the development of its human rights situation (Worden, 2008). Wang Dan, a student leader of the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, also held a similar view. These individuals of varied political and professional backgrounds and various studies all are saying hosting mega-events can help boost positive images of the host country (Chattalas, 1999; Sakamoto et al., 1999; Kim and Morrision, 2005). So, did hosting the 2008 Olympic Games help promote China's images?

Manheim and Albritton (1994) argue that a nation's image is boosted when positive coverage increases, while negative coverage decreases. Table 5.1 shows favorable articles in both *Time* and *The Economist* increased throughout the three periods. However, unfavorable articles also increased all along in the British news

weekly, while such negative articles in the American newsmagazine decreased from “bid success” to “Olympics hosting”. Clearly, hosting the Olympic Games helped promote China’s images in *Time* more significantly than in *The Economist*. Table 5.2 further reveals “economics,” “environment,” “technology,” and “culture and leisure” had more positive images, while “politics,” “society,” “education,” and “health” had more negative images in *Time*. “Technology” and “education” had more favorable images, whereas “politics,” “economics,” “environment,” “society,” “culture and leisure,” and “health” had more unfavorable images in *The Economist*. The differences could be an outcome of improved Sino-US relationship in the post-September 11 and post-financial crisis periods, whereas British relationship seemed less affected in the same periods.

Keeping in mind the three goals of “Green Olympics,” “High-tech Olympics,” and “People’s Olympics” as proposed by China in the “Beijing Olympics Action Plan” aforementioned in Chapter One, it is clear that China’s “Technology” had more positive coverage in both magazines, particularly on its space program and the Internet, of which the former was framed such as China’s next spectacular, the latter as the Internet liberating Chinese youth. Obviously, China’s effort in promoting its technology was being recognized and praised in the world.

With regards to “Green Olympics,” *Time* showed more favorable coverage on China’s “environment” than *The Economist*, particularly on environmental protection. China was seen to apply green technologies in constructing new cities and learn how Japan became one of the world’s most energy-efficient countries, with hopes to apply the lessons and methods in China. This generated positive images of China working on environmental protection, which was exactly the image the country wanted to world to see.

In terms of “People’s Olympics,” *Time* had more favorable coverage on China’s

“art” than *The Economist*. The American news weekly showed a recognition of the flowering creativity in China and was fascinated by a new arts center and other constructions, while the British newsmagazine was not that amused, and focused on Chinese people’s low acceptance of the subject instead.

As mentioned in Chapter One, Beijing’s deputy Mayor and a top Olympic official Liu Jingmin once declared, “By applying for the Olympics, we [China] want to promote not just the city’s development, but the development of society, including democracy and human rights” (Hom, 2008). However, findings of the present study showed images of China’s human rights were largely negative in both newsmagazines throughout the three research periods, with crackdowns on minority groups still often seen. Nevertheless, from “bid success” to “Olympics hosting,” there were also images of improvements in China’s human rights such as granting license to foreign media and cooperating with orphanage workers to save orphans. In between, China’s struggle of whether to improve its human rights was made apparent as in the case of whether to provide asylum to North Korean refugees in the “bid success” period. If China refused the people, the country would be condemned as cruel and callous, which was not an impression it wanted to make two weeks before the International Olympic Committee (IOC) voted for host winner of the 29th Olympiad. On the other hand, if refugees were allowed into the country, China feared there would be wide discussions of how the country treated Tibet and Xinjiang. Nonetheless, China chose to welcome the refugees so as to create an image that it was working to improve its human rights, winning votes of trusts from the IOC members. Therefore, it can be concluded that though images of China’s human rights were largely negative, winning the bid to host the Olympiad actually helped improve human rights within the country a bit.

Regarding “economics,” *Time* showed more recognition of China’s economy

than its counterpart. For example, the American newsmagazine was optimistic of China having lots of investment chances and recognized China's importance in the world economy, particularly after the world financial crisis in late 2008.

With regards to "society," both magazines showed China as unstable and unequally developed throughout "bid failure," "bid success," and "Olympics hosting," often pointing out and calling for the government's attention to the problem of gender imbalance, a consequence of one child policy. Thus, it can be concluded that hosting the Olympic Games had little effect on the improvement of China's social problems.

Rivenburgh (2004) asserts that host countries can gain prestige and favorable world opinion with the hosting of mega-events like the Olympic Games. Findings of the present study confirmed this argument in terms of China's "technology," of which its space program was widely recognized and positively covered in both magazines since the "bid success" period. The above discussion also indicate while mega-events did help in improving China's images in the environment, culture and art, and high technology areas, those in the human rights areas had actually worsened. This observation suggests more than anything else that images in the contemporary age are really much more a function of reality than creation or any single efforts however grandiose they may be.

Table 5.1 Tones of Favorable, Neutral, Unfavorable throughout the Three Periods

Tones	Time								The Economist							
	bid failure		bid success		Olympics hosting		Total		bid failure		bid success		Olympics hosting		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
favorable	21	9.2	24	10.5	36	15.7	81	35.4	40	8.6	41	8.8	65	13.9	146	31.3
neutral	2	0.9	7	3.1	4	1.7	13	5.7	3	0.6	2	0.4	6	1.3	11	2.4
unfavorable	33	14.4	55	24.0	47	20.5	135	59	85	18.2	93	19.9	132	28.3	310	66.4
Total	56	24.5	86	37.6	87	38.0	229	100	128	27.4	136	29.1	203	43.5	467	100



Table 5.2 Tones of Favorable, Neutral, Unfavorable by Subjects

Subjects	Time								The Economist							
							Total								Total	
	favorable		neutral		Unfavorable		N	%	favorable		neutral		unfavorable		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
pol.	27	11.8	7	3.1	71	31	105	45.9	47	10.1	4	0.9	128	27.4	179	38.3
econ.	26	11.4	1	0.4	25	10.9	52	22.7	71	15.2	5	1.1	105	22.5	181	38.8
environ.	5	2.2	0	0	3	1.3	8	3.5	4	0.9	0	0	14	3	18	3.9
tech.	6	2.6	2	0.9	3	1.3	11	4.8	8	1.7	1	0.2	3	0.6	12	2.6
soc.	4	1.7	2	0.9	21	9.2	27	11.8	5	1.1	1	0.2	30	6.4	36	7.7
cul. & lei.	12	5.2	0	0	4	1.7	16	7	5	1.1	0	0	11	2.4	16	3.4
educ.	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4	2	0.9	2	0.4	0	0	0	0	2	0.4
health	0	0	0	0	4	1.7	4	1.7	1	0.2	0	0	6	1.3	7	1.5
gen.	1	0.4	0	0	3	1.3	4	1.7	3	0.6	0	0	13	2.8	16	3.4
Total	81	35.4	13	5.7	135	59	229	100	146	31.3	11	2.4	310	66.4	467	100

5.5 Limitations and Suggestions

The study has succeeded in offering a detailed picture of the Olympic Games's role in promoting China's image in western media. However, one great limitation was that some coverage on the Olympics in the newsmagazines were either scattered in the categories or was coded under the "general" category. For example, articles on tearing down cultural heritages to make way for Olympic constructions were coded under the "cultural heritages" of the "cultural and leisure" category. In addition, there was a section entitled "The Beijing Olympics—Five-ring Circus," which lasted for about a month in *The Economist* prior to the opening of the Games, however, as these kinds of articles were composed by various small stories of different categories, for instance, torch relay, air quality, security measures, foreign leader's attendance of the Olympics opening ceremony, dog meat eating, population control...etc., they were coded under the "general" category. These limitations caused some difficulties in analyzing the images of China's "Olympics" in particular.

Another limitation was that there were no articles for some categories such as education and health in certain time periods, or categories simply not having enough articles, making it hard to determine whether there was a change in relevant images or not.

Third, some topical subcategories were too detailed, which also caused some difficulties in interpreting the findings.

Fourth, the findings would be more comprehensive if all China-related articles and photos from September 1992 to August 2009 were analyzed. However, due to time and financial restrictions, only articles in the critical periods were analyzed, namely one year before and after Beijing lost its bid for the 2000 Olympic Games, one year before and after Beijing won its bid for the 2008 Olympiad, and one year before and after the hosting of the Games.

Fifth, though content analysis is objective and is considered one of the most efficient ways to explore the content of the media (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003), further, utilization of other methods such as survey or focus groups can provide further insights and help reinforce the findings.

Readers also have to note that as the present study only analyzed the title, lead, and closer, important details in the body might be missed out.

With regards to suggestions for future research, as findings indicated that “Politics,” “Economics,” and “Society” were focused most by *Time* and *The Economist*, it would be interesting to explore whether media from other countries, such as France or China-neighboring nations such as Japan and Korea revealed similar results. Or to investigate whether there was a difference in stress of subjects between Eastern and Western media.

Images of nations are forever changing as events take place. The Olympics is just one mega-event providing host nations to showcase its improvements. Future researchers can study about the images of China with its hosting of other mega-events such as the 2010 Shanghai World Exposition. Such time series analyses and comparisons shall be both academically and practically informative. In this same regard, China’s national images as a result of the Olympic Games may take time to evolve and shape. Perhaps, only “hindsight” 10 years or 20 years from now can tell us.

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