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Date of submission: January 7, 2014

Red dragon or white knight?

Analysing Dutch news coverage on the People's Republic of China



Image: Luo (2013)

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Word count: 27.453

Summary

Even though much has been written about the roles 'the West' attributes to China, little research has been done about how the media portray China in our everyday newspapers. This would be important, because how Dutch people see China is largely based on what they read about it in the newspapers or what they see about China on the television. In other words, they have a mediatized image of China. In the media, China's growing influence is subject of ongoing debate. China is often portrayed as an opportunistic superpower, ready to take over the world. At the same time, China is said to be 'booming business' or might even save the world from economic disasters. By exploring the 'sending side' of the so-called framing process, this thesis sheds light on the ways in which China is being portrayed in the Dutch media and on how these different and sometimes even contradictory images 'work'. This thesis seeks to investigate the frames used by Dutch journalists in their news reports on China by doing a news frame analysis. Through an inductive frame analysis based on both elements of qualitative content analysis and grounded theory, six news frames were abstracted from the material: the miracle about to end-, red dragon-, white knight-, enfant terrible-, booming business- and immoral giant-frame. The results were tested for both inter coder and test-retest reliability. Finally, this thesis explores to what extent Beck's risk society theory and Said's Orientalism can explain the findings.

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Introduction

'Since the previous change of power (in 1989 and 2003), China is not only the world's largest exporter, but also the world's second largest economy and the most important US creditor. According to the World Bank, the Chinese economy will double over the next ten years. Chinese problems will get an increasingly global character. Who will lead China is of more importance than ever before: for the world in which China plays an increasingly assertive role, and for China itself, where the pride over obtained successes goes hand in hand with growing social unrest, an increasingly empowered middleclass and growing uncertainty about the sustainability of the economic export model. This all suggests that the social contract between the Party and the people is under great pressure. In the long term, China will be confronted with its own gigantic debt crisis' (NRC Handelsblad, 19 January 2012, own translation).

As a China Studies major, a little while ago I started to notice many people around me were making bold statements about China. Once in a while, my mother called me late at night, because she had seen another news item about the growing influence of China. She considered it to be a bad thing, but good for my future, since I speak the language and studied Chinese culture. When I mentioned that I study Chinese to other people, they always reacted in the same way: 'Oh, that's awesome! China is a big deal these days. It's booming business. Did you know they are buying up our entire port? Believe me, in a few years they own everything.' But not all of them were so enthusiastic. I heard the same comments over and over again: 'They are stealing our technology. They are filthy rich, sitting on huge gold reserves. They are exploiting Africa. They do not consider human rights to be important. They produce crappy products, it's junk.' It made me wonder where these attitudes come from.

Even though it has become increasingly affordable for Dutch people to travel to faraway destinations, most of them have never been to China. How they see China is largely based on what they read about it in the newspapers or what they see about China on the television. In other words, they have a mediatized image of China.

Seeing the People's Republic of China (later referred to as China) as a threat is not new. When using the term 'China Threat', scholars usually refer to a trend that arose in the mid-1990s, in which the emergence of China was being portrayed as a 'danger for international

peace and security' (Goldstein 2005, 81). According to Deng (2006, 186), the China Threat consists of a set of negative characteristics assigned to China by foreigners, in which China is considered to be harmful and destabilizing. Even though a scholarly consensus emerged in which the China Threat was considered to be exaggerated, in recent years negative attention for China's growing influence seems to be regaining in popularity.

However, now that the European Union is suffering from a financial crisis, newspaper articles also appear in which China is seen as a white knight: a possible saviour to the European crisis. How does this image of China as a saviour work, when we at the same time read articles about China as a threatening superpower, ready to take over the world?

Even though much has been written about the roles 'the West' attributes to China, little research has been done about how the media portray China in our everyday newspapers. Exploring the 'sending side' of the so-called framing process will allow me to shed light on the ways in which China is being portrayed in the Dutch media.

This thesis therefore seeks to investigate the frames used by Dutch journalists in their news reports on China by doing a news frame analysis, and it tries to explain why some frames are present whereas others are not. First, a corpus will be composed, by searching newspaper articles on China in two different newspapers in the period between the 1th of August, 2011 and the 1th of August, 2012. Secondly, qualitative analysis based on elements from qualitative content analysis and some principles of grounded theory will allow to abstract frames from the material. With these frames, a frame matrix will be constructed and a code book will be designed. The inductive news frame analysis will be followed by a deductive (but still interpretive) analysis in which a sample of the corpus will be recoded over time and will be coded by a different coder in order to calculate test-retest and inter coder reliability.

Finally, I will try to explain the results of the news frame analysis with two social theories: Beck's Risk Society and Said's Orientalism. Why do some frames play a more prominent role in the media than other possible frames?

This thesis does not seek to investigate if a certain frame is justified or corresponds with 'the truth'. It is not about China being a threat or not being a threat, being a saviour or not being a saviour. All frames found in their own way present a certain version of 'the truth'.

1. Theory

This thesis seeks to investigate the frames used by Dutch journalists in their news reports on China by doing a news frame analysis. This chapter will first explore constructivism, a paradigm from which frame theory can be understood. It will then look into social constructionism and the construction of social problems, followed by the question whether China's growing influence can be considered to be a social problem. In the second paragraph, this chapter focuses on the background of frame theory and will finally explain what makes frame analysis the most suitable method for answering the research question as posed above.

1.1. Constructivism and constructionism

Because framing theory and news frame analysis are based on the principles of constructivism, it is important to understand what constructivism is. However, it sometimes seems that the concepts of constructivism, constructionism, social constructivism and social constructionism get mixed up in the scholarly debate.

Constructivism is an epistemological theory based on the idea that knowledge about the world is mentally constructed, instead of objectively observed (Young and Colin 2004, 375-376). Kratochwil (2008, 81) explains that empiricists believe that we perceive 'reality' with our senses, where constructivists believe that 'the things we perceive are rather the products of our conceptualizations'. Social constructivists like Vygotsky (1978) 'recognize that influences on individual construction are derived from and preceded by social relationships' (Young and Colin 2004, 376).

Young and Colin explain that social constructivism is related to social constructionism. But where social constructivism mainly focuses on the cognitive processes involved in obtaining knowledge, social constructionism focuses on the products of these human interactions: social constructs (2004, 376).

1.1.1. Social construction

Because scholars define social constructionism in different ways, Burr argues '[t]here is no one feature, which could be said to identify a social constructionist position' (2003, 2). She does however identify some key assumptions to which social constructionist usually abide. First, 'social constructionism insists that we take a critical stance toward our taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world, including ourselves' (ibid, 2-3). Secondly, according to Burr constructionists believe that '[t]he ways in which we understand the world, the categories and concepts that we use, are historically and culturally specific' (2003, 3-4). Third, '[k]nowledge is sustained by social processes'.

Hacking (1999, 48) defines constructionism as the 'various sociological, historical, and philosophical projects that aim at displaying or analyzing actual, historically situated, social interactions or causal routes that led to, or were involved in, the coming into being or establishing of some present entity or fact.' Social constructionism is in other words based on the idea that people together construct knowledge. Through human interaction (and especially through language), social groups together construct knowledge and everyday reality, thereby creating shared concepts (Berger and Luckmann 1991 & Hacking 2000, 11). Burr is using dyslexia as an example (2003, 4-5). What we mean by dyslexia when we refer to it is not based on objectively observable facts, but rather on a shared concept that is the result of countless social interactions. Through human interaction, we get a better grip on reality by assigning everything we know into commonly accepted categories. Hacking therefore states, '[b]y social construction, we mean the way people assign meaning to the world (2000, 11).

So if all knowledge about the world is socially constructed, does that mean that the existence of everything becomes debatable? Hacking states that to say that something is socially constructed, is not to say that it is not 'real' (ibid, 29-30). The fact that what we call dyslexia is based on a shared concept that is the result of countless social interactions is not to deny the existence of dyslexia itself. The next paragraph will show how social problems are socially constructed and explain why it is useful to analyze social problems from a constructionist perspective.

1.1.2. The construction of social problems

It might seem easy to define what a social problem is. We only need to open the newspaper or turn on the television and we immediately come into contact with news about social problems. Poverty, crime, racism and corruption are among the issues most people would consider to be social problems. But it becomes a bit tricky when we talk about loverboys, sexual abuse in the Catholic Church, or even whales that wash up the shore or a song for our new king. Are they social problems? Best (2008, 3-14) describes two ways to define social problems. From an objectivist perspective, determining what a social problem is would be a matter of measuring it according to objective standards (how harmful it is for society or how many people it affects, for example). However, as Harris (2013, 2) points out, the problem with defining social problems in objectivist terms is that it is not easy to decide what qualifies as 'harmful' or what qualifies as 'many' people. From a subjectivist perspective, social problems are defined by people's subjective reactions to an issue: a social problem is what people consider to be a social problem. As we have seen in the paragraph above, the subjective process on which these considerations are based is called social construction. Constructionists believe that social problems are social constructs: through language we construct categories in order to give meaning to the world around us.

According to Loseke (2003, 6-7) social problems have four characteristics. First, as the word 'problem' already indicates, we would not talk about social problems if there is no problem. Social problems are always issues that are considered to be wrong (at least by a large group of people). Secondly, by social problems, we do not mean the personal problems that some individuals face, but problems that concern a large part of society. Loseke explains for example, that losing your job is not a social problem. But if something is causing many people to lose their jobs (so that it affects a large number of people), it can be considered to be a social problem. A third characteristic of social problems is the fact that this problem can be addressed: something can be done about it to change it in a positive way. While death or natural disasters confront many of us with challenging circumstances, they cannot be considered social problems because they are inevitable: they are not problems that can be solved. A final characteristic is the belief that the problem needs to be addressed. Loseke states: 'To say that something is a social problem is to take a stand that something needs to be done' (ibid, 7).

As we have seen, according to the constructionist approach, social problems exist because people believe certain issues are social problems. That is not to say that these problems do not really exist. Best (2008, 13) states that the examples of UFO's or witchcraft are frequently used to demonstrate the meaning of social constructions, but explains that these examples are a bit misleading. The author states: 'Poverty is just as much a social construction as UFO abductions are. The term poverty is another category that people have created to make sense of the world. Just as some people have drawn attention to UFO abductions, others have campaigned to raise concern about poverty' (ibid, 14).

Social problems do not emerge spontaneously. In as early as 1977, Spector and Kitsuse defined social problems as 'the activities of individuals or groups making assertions of grievances and claims with respect to some putative conditions. [...] The central problem for a theory of social problems is to account for the emergence, nature, and maintenance of claims-making and responding activities' (1977, 75-76).

Following the definition by Spector and Kitsuse, Best (2008, 19) argues that the construction of a social problem is a process in which many actors play an influential role (see figure 1).



Figure 1: The Social Problems Process by Best (2008, 19)

The social problems process starts with the stage of claims-making. Those who find a certain issue reprehensible make a claim, by which they hope to reach other people and try to convince them that something must be done about what they consider problematic (Spector and Kitsuse 1977, 78-81 and Best 2008, 19-20). Best distinguishes two kinds of claimsmakers: insiders and outsiders (2008, 64-66). Insiders are able to exert a direct influence on policy makers, whereas outsiders do not: they benefit most from media attention. The media are therefore very influential in this process. They make people aware of social problems and give a voice to those who want to address issues they consider to be

social problems. If these claims stem from journalists, the media can also become claimsmakers themselves.

The public can learn more about the social problem through the claimsmakers directly or through media coverage, and respond to it. If claimsmakers are successful, if the claims end up in the media and if the public response is big enough, policy makers can conclude that the problem should be addressed indeed. In that case new policy will be carried out and in the last stage of the process people will react to these new measures by stating whether they are effective or not: a new cycle then begins. Policymakers can however also respond to the claims with new claims without implementing new policy. If claimsmakers then respond to these anti-claims, the cycle also starts again. The stages in the social problem process are therefore all connected to each other. At every stage the actors can influence other actors or stages of the process.

1.1.3. China's growing influence as a social problem

Is China's growing influence a social problem? As we have seen, Loseke (20023, 6-7) described four characteristics of social problems: it is a condition that is said to be problematic and influences a large group of people. These people are convinced that something can and must be done about it.

When it comes to China's rise, some people think of it as an opportunity, whereas others consider it to be a threat. As we will see in the upcoming chapters this can be for various reasons: because they feel that China is buying up companies and natural resources; because the Chinese regime is undemocratic and a frequent abuser of human rights; because we cannot compete with cheap labor in China, etcetera. Those who think of China as a threat do feel that China's rise is problematic and believe it has a negative effect on a lot of people. It is difficult however, to indicate how many people consider China's rise to be a problem. While China's rise is hot topic, it can also be argued that most Dutch people are not directly confronted with the consequences of the rising superpower. While many people think of China as a threat, it is not likely that thousands of Dutchmen will lose their jobs because of China, or that the Chinese will show up at our doorsteps in the near future, waving with Mao's little red book. However, this does not mean that they would not see it as a social problem.

If we examine the letters written by the public and send to newspaper *De Telegraaf*, at least some people do seem to feel threatened by China. A couple of examples:

- *'China has been caught producing computer chips with secret backdoors. These are hidden accesses that in time of war or crisis can be used to paralyze friend and foe. It has been known for decades that China was spying, bribing and counterfeiting, making use of poison in toys and ignoring human rights. However, apparently it is cheap and this has always been paramount. This horrible discovery made the West shake to its foundations, since replacement is going to cost billions. In case of calamities, we are at the mercy of the Chinese. Apparently they can shut down our computers and are even able to use them*

against us. I am curious what the West is going to do about this, because this is cyber war' (by W. de Brouw, 31 May 2012, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'NedCar needs to shut down. This is an opportunity for our minister Verhagen, who is from Limburg himself, to boost the Dutch economy in these difficult times of fierce competition from China'* (by Loppan Struving, 8 February 2012, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'In these days everything comes from China. The European and Dutch economies are suffering because of it. We are selling our machines, knowledge and our economy to China. The quality of European products is much better and these products are being inspected to make sure the social conditions are good and the products are animal- and environment-friendly. Nevertheless, some people keep buying these pieces of rubbish from China because of the price. A good product that lasts longer is left out of consideration. So folks, buy good stuff from Europe and only rely on the Chinese for Chinese food once a week'* (by M.C.M. Hamers, 5 November 2011, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'Assad, the butcher of Syria, can murder and torture unhindered. China and Russia, two UN-members, prevent others to take a hard line on Syria. Kofi Annan, special representative of the UN, is still thinking that Assad is listening to him. Even after going to see him for a good talk – which was in vain – our naive Kofi now thinks that Assad will take his new realized agreement to heart. Next to Assad, it are the Chinese and Russian white-collar criminals that have blood on their hands and are responsible for the next Holocaust. Business before pleasure, but especially before human rights!'* (by J. Verniers, 12 April 2012, *De Telegraaf*).

The results of a survey by *De Telegraaf* also speak for themselves: 'Should China and other rising countries give Europe a helping hand to drive off the crisis? No, you answered *en masse*. No Chinese money in a European emergency fund! Six out of ten expressed the opinion that Peking already possesses half of the United States, and should therefore not gain more power' (Article 22, October, *De Telegraaf*).

Even though most letters fall into the categories that portray China as a threat, these examples are illustrative and by no means representative for the opinions of all Dutchmen.

Those who do not consider China to be a threat might be less likely to write letters to the newspaper, for example. But if most Dutch citizens are not directly influenced by the fact that China is buying up companies or abusing human rights, why do Dutch people express such strong opinions about China? Even though most of us are not directly influenced by China's rise, this actually seems to add to the feeling that China is sneaky and is viciously taking over the world.

Other scholars, like Spector and Kitsuse (1977) and Best (2008) described social problems as a claimsmaking process. The media play a large role in this claimsmaking process. A quick scan of three months of the corpus of this thesis showed that claimsmakers come from all kinds of areas (politicians, scientists, activists, business-people, etcetera), but it is remarkable that journalists themselves were frequent claimsmakers. The threats are largely constructed in the media, where different claimsmakers address a problem and try to convince others about the necessity to change it. Even though China's rise is a very complex phenomenon, following the definitions by Loseke, Best and Spector and Kitsuse, we could therefore say that China's rise can be seen as a social problem.

Even more interesting than asking if China's rise *is* a social problem according to these definitions, is asking if it is *useful* or *illuminating* to analyze China's growing power as a social problem. Investigating how many people consider China's growing influence to be a social problem is far less important than investigating how claimsmaking activities turn it into one.

Harris (2013, 3-8) states: 'It is the process of calling attention to a troubling condition, not the condition itself, that makes something a social problem. [...] The constructionist's goal is to understand how (and why) problems are noticed, interpreted, discussed, and acted upon.' News frame analysis is one of the tools that can be used to get a better understanding about how, why and by whom this discourse was shaped.

1.2. Framing theory

Framing theory is rooted in the fields of cognitive psychology (with the scholarly work on 'schemata' and remembering by Bartlett (1932)) and anthropology, where Bateson (1955) referred to a specific context in which interaction took place as a 'frame'. Bateson studied monkeys, and he found that playing monkeys did not associate biting each other with the usual hostility. In other words, the context of playing provided the monkeys with a cue on how to interpret being bitten: they understood it was not a sign of aggression, but part of the game.

This idea of metamessages signaling the receiver how to interpret a given message later led the American sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) to state: 'I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principals of organization which govern events [...] and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify' (Goffman 1974, 10f). Since then, scholars have used frame analysis in various ways and have employed many different – sometimes even contradictory – definitions. Therefore, Entman among others argued that framing is 'a scattered conceptualization' and a 'fractured paradigm' that 'is often defined casually, with much left to an assumed tacit understanding of reader and researcher' (1993, 51-52). Numerous scholars attempted to systemize the different approaches (De Vreese 2005, Scheufele 1999 and Van Gorp 2006 for example). However, it might in fact be frame analysis' interdisciplinary usage that makes it rather appealing. Frame analysis is particularly popular in psychology, sociology and media studies, but as Van Gorp (2006, 45 and 2007, 60) points out, was also used in many other disciplines.

Framing theory fits in the principles of social constructivism. The previous paragraphs showed how we organize 'reality' through social construction. Framing is one of the processes that helps us to get grip on reality. It is based on the constructivist idea that there is not just 'one reality': different versions or reality are socially constructed. Therefore, it is in this context not useful to ask whether China is a threat or not, or an opportunity or not. Frame analysis focusses on how we give meaning to a certain version of the truth.

The definition of framing that Entman proposed, led to more unambiguous usage of the term and was later adopted by many other scholars? Entman stated: '[t]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described' (ibid, 52).

Entmans definition already makes clear that language plays an essential role in the framing process. Even one word can make a difference and can determine what cognitive image will be activated in our brains (Lakoff 2004). A famous experiment done by Kahneman and Tversky (1981) shows how a single word can affect the decisions that we make. The psychologists presented a group of students with decision problems, in which different options and the corresponding consequences were presented. Participants had to choose between two treatments for an unusual Asian disease, which was expected to kill 600 people. Program A was predicted to save 200 people, while 400 people would die. If program B was adopted, there would be a 1/3 probability that all 600 people would be saved, and a 2/3 possibility that all 600 people would die. Kahneman and Tversky framed this decision problem in a positive and a negative way. The positive frame emphasized how many people would live, whereas with negative framing the emphasis was on how many people would die.

Frame	Program A	Program B
Positive	'200 people will be saved.'	'There is 1/3 probability that 600 people will be saved, and 2/3 probability that no people will be saved.'
Negative	'400 people will die.'	'There is 1/3 probability that nobody will die, and 2/3 probability that 600 people will die.'

Figure 2: Decision problems (by Tversky and Kahneman, 1981)

In terms of how many people survived, the outcome was the same for both the positive and negative frame. However, 72 percent of the participants chose program A when it was presented with positive framing, while only 22 percent of the participants chose this

program when it was presented with negative framing. This illustrates that even a single word can change how we think about things.

Van Gorp (2006, 29) for example, explains how words like 'asylum seeker', 'refugee' and '(im)migrant' have different connotations. In the Netherlands, the Dutch government changed the term 'long-term study fine' ('langstudeerboete') to 'long-term study measure' (langstudeermaatregel). 'Fine' has a very negative association, whereas 'measure' indicates there was a problem that the government needed to address. Likewise, during the news frame analysis I found a remarkable example, which can easily illustrate how framing works. When searching in database *Lexis Nexis*, some articles tend to come up twice. While I usually ignored this, two similar articles drew my attention. The body of the text of article 25 of May in *De Telegraaf* is the same as the body of the text of article 26 of May in *De Telegraaf*. The header however, is different. The first header states: 'Chinese interest for Pier'. Followed by the heading 'A glimmer of hope has been offered to the future of the icon of Scheveningen'. Article 26 on the other hand states: 'Chinese prey on Pier of Scheveningen'. Even though the body of both articles is exactly the same, the headers are able to activate a different cognitive frame, thereby causing a totally different reader experience.

This might make framing sound like something to disapprove of, because it manipulates how we perceive the news. But framing is inevitable and also very useful, for it helps us to select and organize the world around us. Even if framing would be something negative, it would be impossible to blame it on the news senders, because communicators cannot make use of certain frames without the audience being able to recognize them. That is, within the news articles, frames do not exist independently from the receivers (see figure 3). Entman (1993, 52-53) explains that on the sending side of the news framing process, communicators consciously or unconsciously choose how they convey a certain message by relying on the frames that organize their culture. By analyzing certain keywords, stock phrases and stereotypes, these frames can be revealed in the text. Based on their cultural background and former experiences, the public could recognize the frames because these keywords, stock phrases and stereotypes activate a certain image. This does not mean that the public is a passive receiver. The audience can still agree or disagree with the message that was sent.

Different disciplines tend to focus on different sides of the spectra. In psychology for example (as did Kahneman and Tversky), scholars often focus on the receiver side of the framing process. Media studies often focus on the sender side or analyze the text itself.

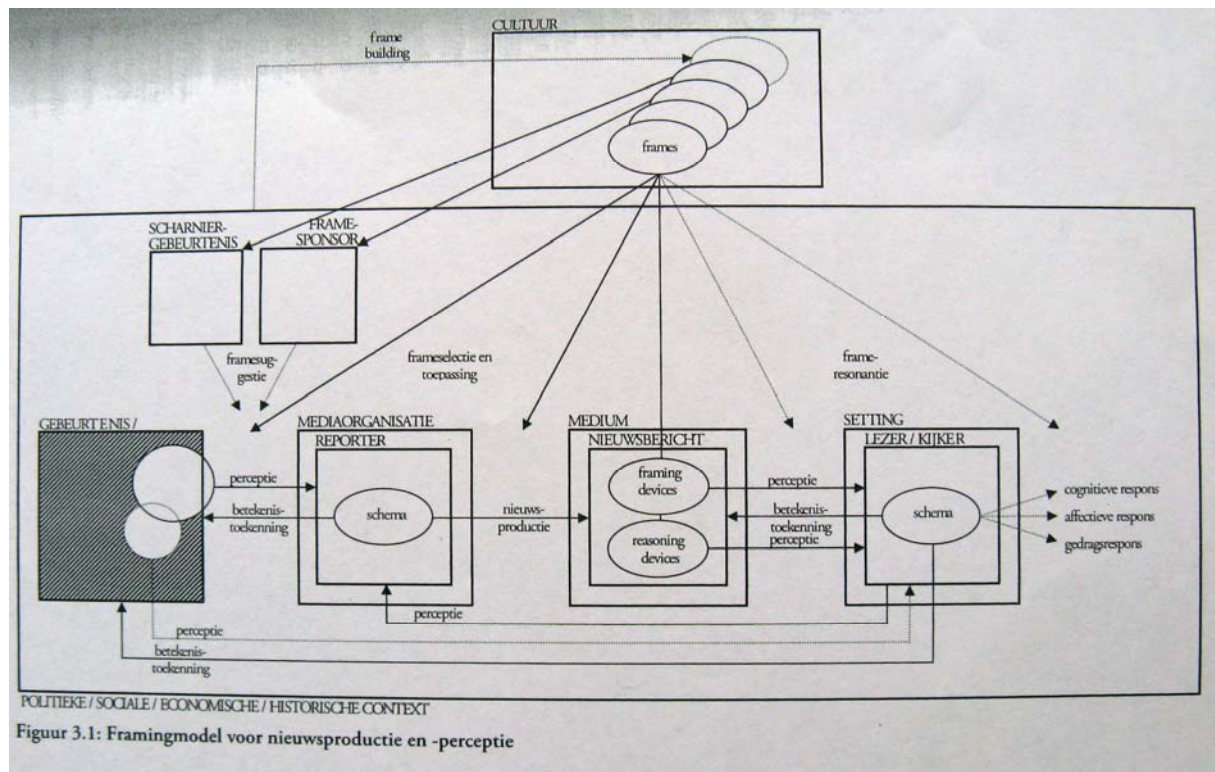


Figure 3: Framing model for newsproduction and -perception (Van Gorp, 2006)

Gamson and Modigliana (1989, 3) argued that frames should be seen as frame packages. They state: 'At its core is a central organizing idea, or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue'. The various elements of the frame package are able to activate the entire frame. According to Van Gorp (2007), the frames can be recognized by analyzing manifest framing devices and manifest or latent reasoning devices. These framing devices include the five framing devices put forward by Gamson and Lasch (1983, 399-400): metaphors, expressions, examples, descriptions and visual images, to which Van Gorp adds lexical choices, statistics, symbols, stereotypes and sources (2007, 83). The reasoning devices refer to the four elements in Entmans definition of framing: they define the problem, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest solutions. Van Gorp points out that not all four reasoning devices have to be present in a news article, but they have to be

connected to them (2007, 53). As we will see in later chapters, these reasoning devices are usually described in a frame matrix.

Analyzing framing devices and reasoning devices is an important step in news frame analysis. Because frame analysis does not presume that news frames exist independently from the reader of the text, news frame analysis is a subjective process by definition. The next chapter strives to make this subjective process as transparent as possible, by clarifying the working method and explaining the choices that were made.

2. Method

The previous chapter showed that news frame analysis to some extent will always be a subjective process. This does not mean however, that scholars should not strive to make this subjective process as transparent, valid and reliable as possible. Even though news frame analysis seems to keep gaining in popularity, many scholars have expressed their worries about the fact that it remains highly subjective. This chapter will first explore the different methods that can be used for a news frame analysis and it will then describe the working method that was used for this thesis and explain the choices that were made.

2.1. News frame analysis

Matthes and Kohring (2008) describe five methods frequently used by scholars involved in news frame analysis. Scholars who take a hermeneutic approach study a small sample in order to say something meaningful about the entire discourse. In most cases however, it remains unclear how the frames were subtracted from the material. Matthes and Kohring write: 'Hanson (1995, 384) simply states that the anticolonial frame "emerged from the analysis"; Haller and Ralph (2001, 412) indicate that "news frames were found"; Coleman and Dysart (2005, 13) assure that "a deep reading [...] informed the authors of the emergent frames"; and in Boni's (2002) study, there is no hint at all about how frames were extracted' (2008, 259). Careful description of the frames and the process may therefore be the only way to convince the reader of the validity of the frame or even its existence. But, as the authors point out, '[a]s should be apparent, there can be a threat to reliability because the extraction of frames may differ across researchers and coders' (2008, 259).

The second approach described by the authors is the linguistic approach. It measures the news frames by analyzing theme, script, syntax and rhetoric devices, but often fails to explain how these linguistic elements build up to the presence of a frame. Due to its complexity, the method also does not suit analysis of large text samples (ibid, 260).

Scholars using the manual holistic approach, first analyze some articles in detail in order to be able to abstract the news frames. These are then translated into a codebook; where after the rest of the material can be quantitatively coded accordingly. Matthes and Kohring again emphasize that 'the reliability and validity of this approach strongly depend upon the

transparency in extracting the frames', because the researcher might (un)consciously be searching for the frames he would like to find (ibid 260-261).

It is also possible to find frames through a computer-assisted approach. Frame mapping refers to a method in which the frames are found by the computer by mapping words that tend to occur together. Matthes and Kohring think this method is pretty reliable, but it does 'reduce frames to clusters of words', thereby maybe mapping story topics rather than frames. The method also lacks validity because the frequency with which words occur do not necessarily correspond to it being central or not central to the meaning of an article (ibid, 261). Dictionary-based approaches do go a bit further, because they do not only map words, but can 'capture the meaning of sentences'. However, the authors point out that human coders are more likely to capture the different meanings of a sentence than computers are. They also state that 'there is no standardized test of inter coder reliability for specifying word indexes or syntactic rules'. Again, 'this increases the risk that the identification of frames falls into a black box' (ibid, 262).

Deductive studies at last, score frames that were derived from existing literature, instead of directly from the material. But even though the deductive method can be used to score to what extent given frames are present in the material, it is likely that there will be one or more frames present that remain undetected (ibid, 263).

This review makes clear that most frame analyses lack reliability and/or validity. Matthes and Kohring (ibid, 263 – 265) therefore propose a new method that should be able to overcome these issues. According to this method, the presence of different frame elements (referring to the reasoning devices as explained by Entman (1993)), should be coded in a content analysis. Hierarchical cluster analysis is then used to reveal the frames, because it tests if these different elements tend to systematically cluster together. The proposed method quite elegantly makes that frames can 'be empirically determined, and not subjectively defined' (ibid, 265). The authors argue that other advantages are the fact that it provides criteria for the amount of frames that are found and also does not rule out the possibility of detecting new frames.

Even though the proposed method is admirable because it tries to deal with the usual lack of transparency, validity and reliability, it remains to be seen if it suits all news frame analyses.

First, while the method is perfect for measuring variables that signify single frame elements (reasoning devices), this method fails to capture how the frames work or to explain what evokes a frame in the mind of a human being. Matthes and Kohring state that by using their method, the influence of coder schemata decreases (2008, 275). That might be the case, but it is only at the cost of reducing the frames to problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations and treatment recommendations, that can be traced back to the text. Chapter one showed however, that sometimes a single word can activate a frame, and that the word choice of the author (often expressed in framing devices) is very influential. To reduce the job of different coders to identifying reasoning devices, is to recede from the actual activation of a culturally determined frame in which human schemata play a non-negligible role. It is the interaction between sender, text, receiver and culture that makes news frame analysis tricky, but it is also what makes news frame analysis interesting.

The second critique is more methodological in nature. The method proposed by Matthes and Kohring is limited to tracking reasoning devices, but not all reasoning devices have to be present in each article. The authors state: 'Because this study is a secondary analysis, we were not able to directly operationalize the frame element treatment recommendation. However, we treat the variables Negative Judgment of Biotechnology and Positive Judgment of Biotechnology as proxies for the treatment recommendation. We assume that whenever biotechnology is judged negatively, this implies a call to stop biotechnological applications.' This is a remarkable generalization. Saying that China's growing influence is something negative, does not imply a call to stop everything that further expands China's influence. Scoring the fourth variable in this way highly resembles the score of the third variable, in which benefits (positive judgment) and risks (negative judgment) were scored. It is then obvious that these variables tend to come up together in a significant way. As we will see in the next chapter, journalists and readers sometimes can disapprove of something, without knowing what to do about it. To focus on the reasoning devices that do not have to be present in each article, means to neglect all other text in the articles, while there might be different elements that could activate a frame.

Third, even though the researchers attempt to reduce the subjective role of the participants, their involvement should not be underestimated. The authors state for example: '[T]hese 39 topics were derived from earlier codebooks about biotechnology and from a series of

inductive steps. The process of creating codes was guided by the following principles: The codes should be mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and independent. In sum, we believe that these 39 topics mark the entire debate about biotechnology.' Even though they sum up the principles by which the process of creating codes was guided, the authors fail to carefully describe how these topics were found. By merely stating 'the topics were derived [...] from a series of inductive steps', they therefore in a way do the same as Hanson, Haller and Ralph and the other scholars they criticized. It also remains unclear how the nine different main topics were formed, and at last the researchers still had to make sense of the clusters they found, without familiarizing themselves with the material in the profound ways that is common in more subjective forms of frame analysis.

Finally, there are some practical considerations. Cluster analysis demands a substantial knowledge of statistics, and the researcher also needs to have considerable resources. The codebook used by Matthes and Kohring for example, was constantly tested, refined and improved during its use in international research networks. It was used in sixteen different countries. Working in a team allowed Matthes and Kohring to do several reliability tests (not only inter coder, but also cross-country). Even though cluster analysis would have been a welcome addition after using the method described in the next paragraph, it is for these reasons that it falls beyond the scope of this thesis.

While the method proposed by Matthes and Kohring seems to be very reliable (the results are stable and consistent), its validity (does it measure what it should measure) depends on the research question. Using this method is great if you want to identify reasoning devices, or frames if you believe that a frame is merely the sum of all reasoning devices. This thesis does not only want to determine how many and which frames are present, but also seeks to understand how these frames are formed in relation to the receiver and tries to find out how different and sometimes even contradictory images of China work in the media. Pan and Kosicki state (1993, 58): 'First, unlike the traditional approach to content analysis, framing analysis does not conceive news texts as psychological stimuli with objectively identifiable meanings (see Livingstone, 1990); rather, it views news texts as consisting of organized symbolic devices that will interact with individual agents' memory for meaning construction.'

Unlike Matthes and Kohring, this thesis assumes that a frame is more than the sum of its parts, or at least, more than the sum of these parts. Without denying the fact that reasoning devices are very important, this thesis does not want to overlook the influence of framing devices and culturally defined schemata. In that context, clarifying is more important than identifying. It does not try to grasp the frames as an end in itself, but it tries to use frames as a means to learn something about how we get grip on reality.

2.2. Working method

This thesis seeks to describe how China is being framed in the media. It does not merely want to identify reasoning devices, but also seeks to understand how these frames are formed in relation to the receiver and how different and sometimes even contradictory images of China work in the media. Therefore a more subjective form of news frame analysis was chosen. After all, Matthes and Kohring admit that alternative methods can be convincingly conducted, if the steps that are taken to generate the frames are being made explicit. This paragraph will therefore explain the steps that were taken during an inductive news frame analysis, which was followed by a deductive (but still interpretive) analysis in which a sample of the corpus was coded by a different coder in order to (at least partly) validate the reliability of the research. At last, it will describe the working method of an additional inductive analysis consisting of a 'new' and smaller corpus, which included articles from *Elsevier* magazine. Even though further research is necessary, this inductive analysis allows us to see to what extent the most prominent frames that were found in the Dutch newspapers, were also present in the magazine, and to see if there were any 'new' frames that were not present in the newspaper articles.

For the main analysis, inductive analysis was chosen, because there has been no research conducted yet on frames in news articles about China. Besides, deductive analysis might result in searching for the frames that the researcher wants to find, instead of approaching the material open-minded. The inductive analysis focused on framing and reasoning devices. Formatting devices were left out, because database *Lexis Nexis* (from which the corpus was derived) clears or changes most formatting structures (see figure 4).

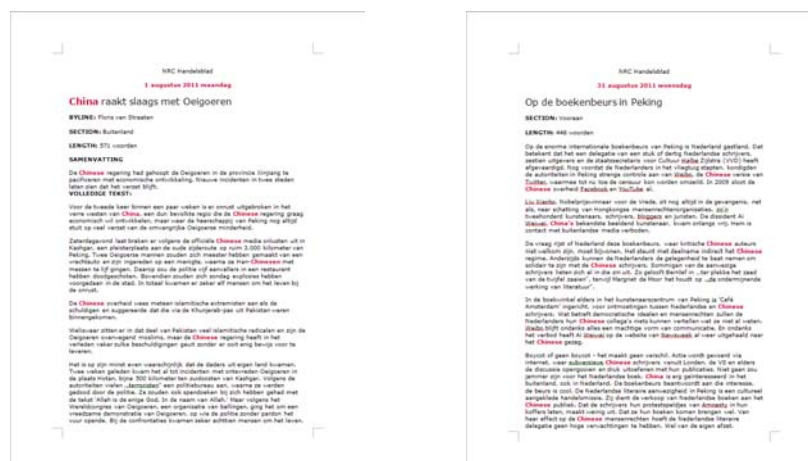


Figure 4: Cleared formatting structures in *Lexis Nexis*

The inductive analysis was inspired by both elements of qualitative content analysis (QCA) and grounded theory (GT). Schreier states: 'QCA is a systematic procedure for describing symbolic material by assigning data segments to the categories of a coding frame' (2012, 97). QCA is useful for qualitatively analyzing a large amount of material, because it reduces data. It is flexible, because it allows you to adapt the coding frame in a way that suits the material and the research question. Because QCA follows eight steps, it is also a systematic method (ibid, 5-8).

1. Deciding on your research question
2. Selecting your material
3. Building a coding frame
4. Dividing your material into units of coding
5. Trying out your coding frame
6. Evaluating and modifying your coding frame
7. Main analysis
8. Interpreting your findings

Figure 5: Steps in QCA (Schreier 2010, 6)

Grounded theory (GT) is a method that helps to turn data into concepts, which in turn are translated into theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The coding process in GT falls apart in three stages. The first stage is open coding (as described by Schreier 2010, 111-115). Open coding is used to abstract categories out of data. Schreier explains: 'The next two steps in the GT coding process, focus on the explanatory goal of GT and are not helpful for developing a coding frame in QCA. In axial coding, the focus is on continuing the process of relating the different categories to each other, and selective coding is about further refining and integrating the theory that is beginning to take shape.' While not interesting for QCA, in news frame analysis axial and selective coding can help to turn categories into frames. Therefore, the advantages of QCA were combined with the explanatory advantages of grounded theory.

2.2.1. Selecting the material

The following analysis tries to identify and describe the frames used in 1905 news reports on China, published in the Dutch newspapers *NRC Handelsblad* and *De Telegraaf* in the period between the August 1, 2011 and July 31, 2012. To narrow the scope of this thesis and keep the research method used as homogenous as possible, no other media sources (like internet-, radio- and television-reports) were included. If different media sources would have been included, the research method would become less homogenous because it would need to take into account variables specific for other media (like volume, type of voice or accompanying video images).

Instead of using a small sample, all relevant articles published in a year time were analyzed. Even though this resulted in an extensive corpus and caused the actual analysis to be very time consuming, this was a deliberate choice. According to van Gorp (2006, 49), a frame needs to be relatively fixed over time, and should not change with every subject. He states that a dynamic frame that keeps changing and depends on a single situation cannot be considered to be a real frame. It would also result in a very large amount of frames. Frames do change over time, and it is very likely that some of the frames or devices that were found during this analysis will not be applicable or present if this analysis would be reduplicated in another few years. However, by analyzing a large amount of articles over a large amount of time, it becomes possible to transcend describing incidents, and to present the more general frames that are employed when writing about China.

This research focuses on two newspapers from different sides of the newspaper spectrum. Two different kinds of newspapers were chosen, because it might be interesting to see if these newspapers come up with the same or with different frames. According to Bakker and Scholten (2003, 6), *De Telegraaf* can be characterized as a 'popular newspaper', whereas *NRC Handelsblad* falls in the category of 'quality newspapers'. The authors do point out however, that this distinction can be misleading, because it is not to say that *De Telegraaf* is of no quality, neither that *NRC Handelsblad* is not popular. The distinction is based on the underlying convention to name newspapers with a relatively large amount of (political) information 'quality newspapers', whereas newspapers that have a larger focus on entertainment are labeled 'popular newspapers'. The newspapers' audiences differ as well.

The readers of *De Telegraaf* are quite representative for the Dutch population in general, whereas the readers of *NRC Handelsblad* on average have a higher income and a higher education level.

According to the most recent statistics (Q2 2013, as measured by the Institute for Media Auditing HOI, see figure 6), *De Telegraaf* is the largest daily newspaper in Holland with a circulation of 530.865 newspapers a day. Like almost all Dutch newspapers, *De Telegraaf* experienced a drop in the circulation. Even though with a circulation of 192.336 newspapers a day *NRC Handelsblad* is much smaller than *De Telegraaf*, the newspaper has proven to be more successful in stabilizing its amount of readers, and at some point even experienced a growing public.

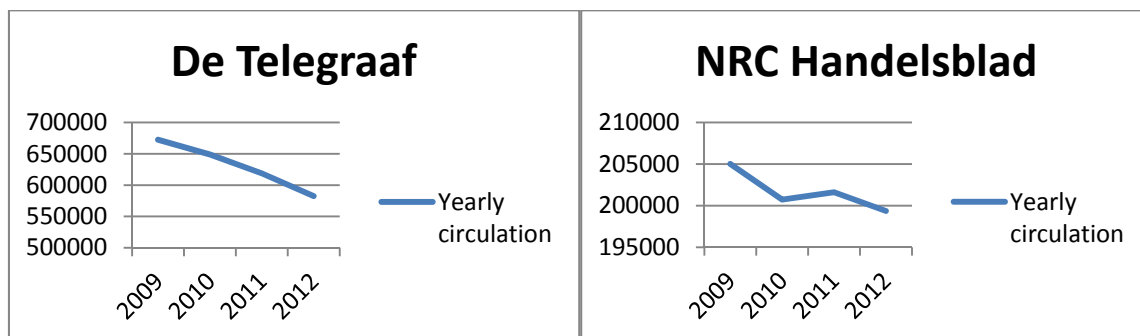


Figure 6: Yearly circulation of *De Telegraaf* and *NRC Handelsblad* (according to HOI)

As mentioned earlier, these newspapers were chosen because they differ at certain aspects, which make them interesting to compare. Nonetheless, to make a reasonable comparison, the newspapers also need to have some things in common. To compare a paid and a free newspaper for example, would not be homogenous enough. In that case, differences in the frames that were found do not have to reflect choices in style (popular versus quality), but could also reflect a difference in budget and resources. *De Telegraaf* and *NRC Handelsblad* also both have their own China correspondents (in the person of Marcel Vink for *De Telegraaf* and Oscar Garschagen for *NRC Handelsblad*).

The newspaper articles were selected by searching the online text database *LexisNexis Academic*. In this database both daily papers and news magazines are being archived. The search terms that were used were: 'China', 'Chinees', 'Chinese', 'Chinezen' and 'China's'. The

word ‘Peking’, that is often used when addressing the government of China, was not included as a search term, because it would be likely that the word ‘China’, ‘Chinees’, ‘Chinese’, ‘Chinezen’ and ‘China’s’ would then also be used at least once in the article. The same applies to the abbreviation ‘PRC’, which stands for the People’s Republic of China. After using the five aforementioned search terms, a total of amount of 1906 (*De Telegraaf*) and 2270 (*NRC Handelsblad*) articles came up (see figure 7).

Month	De Telegraaf	NRC Handelsblad
August 2011	127	183
September 2011	139	199
October 2011	192	194
November 2011	165	216
December 2011	195	215
January 2012	162	215
February 2012	140	197
March 2012	185	213
April 2012	167	156
May 2012	116	138
June 2012	150	185
July 2012	168	159
Total:	1906	2270

Figure 7: distribution of articles found after using the search terms

But not all of the 4176 articles were relevant. Some of them did not include any statements about China. In the context of this thesis, this meant for example that the reference to ‘China’ or ‘Chinese’ was merely geographical and did not contain any additional statements about China or something Chinese. For other – in many cases short and informative – articles, no framing devices or reasoning devices that could activate a frame were found. An example of reports in which often no framing or reasoning devices were found is short stock market reports. Because it is better to classify irrelevant material as relevant as the other way around (Schreier 2012, 83), narrow rejecting criteria were used, whereby irrelevant material was omitted in later coding rounds.

To make clear what kind of articles did not make the selection, a few examples will be given:

- *'Kyra Wassenaar is a motor girl. She is eight years old, goes to third grade and wears a pink trainings jacket. Her cousin Tony Roelsma, who is 19 years old, is into grass court racing. Kyra wanted to try it as well. She came up with it by herself, says Jessica Ploeg, her mother. "Ballet would have been fine by me". Luckily Kyra's father loves motorbikes. Bouke Wassenaar (31) bought a little Chinese motorcycle when Kyra celebrated her sixth birthday' (De Telegraaf, 1st August 2011).*

- *'When it comes to a good spring roll, practice makes perfect. [...] Ingredients for 15 spring rolls: 30 spring roll sheets (20x20); half a Chinese cabbage; half a bok choy, 500 grams of bean sprouts; red chili pepper, remove the seeds and the ribs; 625 grams of Peking duck breast; sesame seeds, soy sauce, fish sauce; sesame oil, 2 beaten egg yolks' (NRC Handelsblad, 1st March 2012).*

- *'It is remarkable to see what a good conversation can bring about. "You go for a nice swim to China, boy," they said. If then you are the first one tapping the border of the swimming pool, well yeah, that brings you to tears, even if you are in the water. And especially when some of your colleagues at the grandstand turn against you' (De Telegraaf, 1st August 2011).*

The fact that Kyra gets a Chinese motorcycle could mean a lot of things. It might be notable that a Dutch girl receives a Chinese motorbike, instead of a Dutch or a German one. It might mean that Chinese goods can be found everywhere in the world. Maybe they compete with local goods, or from a more positive point of view: they might make luxury goods more affordable. This is however largely based on assumption and interpretation, and cannot be distracted from the text itself. Would this newspaper article mention that the motorcycle was cheap and very likely to be defective within a year, than it would have been useful to investigate if journalists often report that Chinese goods are of bad quality. Likewise, a Chinese cabbage is not interesting in the context of this thesis, but if the cabbage was infected or if a Dutch company made a lot of profit thanks to Chinese cabbage consumption, the article would have been selected. In sum, this selection was based on the possible usefulness to help answering the research question.

After omitting the irrelevant articles, 1905 articles remained and formed the corpus for the inductive analysis (see figure 8).

Month	De Telegraaf	NRC Handelsblad
August 2011	57	84
September 2011	73	96
October 2011	98	81
November 2011	77	94
December 2011	90	93
January 2012	65	94
February 2012	72	100
March 2012	76	94
April 2012	78	75
May 2012	53	55
June 2012	65	81
July 2012	68	86
Total:	872	1033

Figure 8: distribution of the articles forming the corpus

Following the inductive analysis, a deductive analysis was conducted. The corpus consisted of a random sample of the corpus of the inductive analysis, which was coded by another coder in order to be able to calculate inter coder reliability.

At last, another inductive analysis was conducted for analysing news coverage on China in *Elsevier* Magazine. According to Bakker and Scholten (2003, 41), *Elsevier* is the largest Dutch magazine in terms of circulation. Readers of *Elsevier* are relatively old and enjoyed a relatively high education. *Elsevier* does also employ a China correspondent named Remko Tanis, who is living in Shanghai.

When searching for the same search terms as during the inductive analysis of newspaper articles ('China', 'Chinees', 'Chinese', 'Chinezen' and 'China's') a total number of 297 articles came up, of which 156 were considered to be relevant. Even though many articles from *Elsevier* were available through *Lexis Nexis*, the publisher did not have copyrights of all articles. Articles written by Remko Tanis for example, were mentioned but not available. These articles were accessed through the private database of *Elsevier*, were I did my internship.

2.2. From articles to frames

After selecting the material, the articles were coded during several open coding sessions. This second phase of the analysis took a lot of time, not only because of the large amount of news reports, but also because open coding is a cyclical process in which the researcher needs to go back to the material several times.

Because this analysis is not based on prior research or hypothesis-testing, a data-driven or inductive strategy was more appropriate than a concept-driven or deductive strategy. However, Schreier points out that: 'Even though a data-driven strategy is important in building coding frames, only few authors have made concrete suggestions for how exactly to go about this' (ibid, 88).

Schreier (2012, 107-126) describes four strategies for generating categories based on the actual material: progressively summarizing your material, adapting coding from grounded theory, subsumption and contrasting. Scholars who use the first strategy, will first paraphrase the most relevant parts of the material, after which the category names and descriptions are formed through different rounds of abstraction. The second strategy consists of three steps. The material is first being conceptualized, after which categories are defined and then developed. Subsumption, the third strategy, can be used when the researcher already has some idea of how the main category is formed. Schreier states: '[I]n a first step you go through your material, examining it for concepts related to that perspective. When you first come across such a concept, you create a provisional name or label. [...] You then continue going through the material until you next come across a relevant passage. Now that you already have a first subcategory, you have to check whether or not this new passage fits into the subcategory you have already created. In other words, you check whether the meaning of this new passage is highly similar to the meaning of the other passage you have already looked at.' If the meanings are similar, the second passage is subsumed in the subcategory that was already created. As we will see, subsumption to some extent was also used in later stages of this analysis. Comparison, the last strategy, also presumes that the researcher has some idea of the categories, after which two types of material are compared.

The working method of this thesis makes use of the second strategy: coding from grounded theory. The first step was conceptualization. In Excel, different variables were selected on which all the articles were scored. The first three columns were filled with the headlines of the articles, the date on which they were published and the articles were numbered to make referencing easier. The conceptualization process started in the fourth column.

Reading the articles was done in a systematic way. Reading the articles started with a quick scan of the headlines and the lead. If one of the search words was used in a small passage (that is: China was not the main subject of the article), this subsection in which one of the search words was marked in red was read. Then the entire article was read, after which closer attention was paid once more to the relevant subsection. If many search terms were marked however, the entire article was read from beginning to end. In the fourth column, the essence of the article was described in a few keywords. What was the article about and more specifically, what was said about China? What happened? An example of this thematic conceptualization process can be found in figure 9.

	A	B	C	D
1		date	article	theme
2				
3	Syrisch leger richt bloedbad aan in Hama	01 aug.	1	soevereiniteit; Rusland en China willen Syrië niet veroordelen
4	Veiligheidsmaatregelen beschermen niet tegen...	01 aug.	2	niet-democratisch
5	China raakt slaags met Oeigoeren	01 aug.	3	invloed regio; grondstoffen; onbetrouwbare media; tibet
6	Pijn wordt doorgeschoven naar 2013	02 aug.	4	economische invloed BRIC;
7	Verenigd in staatschulden	02 aug.	5	VS kwetsbaar voor geldschietter China
8	Amerikanen milder voor 'halfzachte' Obama...	03 aug.	6	opeisen politieke macht
9	Veel last van overheidsbezuinigingen	03 aug.	7	bouwsector China zorgt voor groei Arcadis
10	Eigen sancties tegen Damascus	03 aug.	8	soevereiniteit; tegen interventie Libië
11	Brutale aanvallen computersystemen ontdekt	04 aug.	9	beschuldigd van hacken;
12	Financiële strop WK tafeltennis in Rotterdam	04 aug.	10	tafeltennisgekke China biedt commerciële kansen
13	De noodzaak van noodhulp	04 aug.	11	grondstoffen Afrika;
14	Dit is geen nieuwe Lehman	05 aug.	12	miracle about to end
15	De relatieve rust van twee weken geleden...	05 aug.	13	willen mondiaal overleg; soft power
16	Zomaar je foto bij 'n advertentie	05 aug.	14	economische kansen
17	In het uiterste zuiden bestaat China niet	05 aug.	14	kritiek Westerse media
18	Ma Jian waarschuwt voor politieke situatie in China	05 aug.	15	politiek klimaat; mensenrechten; autoriteiten in gaten houden
19	Hoe zoekt een Chinees?	06 aug.	16	meer invloed dan google; kopiëren; auteursrechten; censuur
20	Landjepik helpt Afrika	06 aug.	17	opkopen land in afrika; neemt grondstoffen; geeft ontwikkeling?
21	Als ik een Fransman was, zou ik me zorgen maken'	06 aug.	18	opkoopwoede; economische macht; energie nodig; soft power
22	Een tijd van pessimisten	06 aug.	19	militaire dreiging; economische dreiging
23	Meer staat met minder geld	06 aug.	20	economische dreiging;
24	Wereld zoekt naar politiek vertrouwen	08 aug.	21	Dollar zwak, yuan stabiliteit maar niet vrij verhandelbaar
25	Machteloos China maant VS van schuldverslaving te...	08 aug.	22	economische macht; belerend tegen VS;
26	Tijd voor grote beslissingen	08 aug.	23	economische macht; belerend tegen VS;
27	Nieuwe leider nooit in Tibet geweest	09 aug.	24	in pikken natuurlijke hulpbronnen Tibet; mensenrechten
28	Chinese inflatie versnelt in juli	09 aug.	25	slechter met economie; einde wonder
29	Ai Weiwei uit weer kritiek via twitter	10 aug.	26	mensenrechten; censuur
30	China tilt biermarkt omhoog	11 aug.	27	kansen groeimarkt bier
31	China trekt de wereld economie niet zomaar weer uit...	11 aug.	28	stabiele yuan tegen vrijgeven; China wil economie niet helpen
32	Het Syrië van Bashar al-Assad wordt steeds meer een...	12 aug.	29	niet mee willen werken aan sancties tegen Syrië
33	De vrije hand van Assad	12 aug.	30	niet mee willen werken aan sancties tegen Syrië
34	Zonder ingrijpen ECB valt de euro'	12 aug.	31	EU en VS moeten niet op China rekenen; einde wonder
35	Europa moet weer leren te verliezen	12 aug.	32	concurrentie
36	Opnieuw nepwinkels van Apple in China	13 aug.	33	namaak; imitatie
37	Europa is te veel met zichzelf bezig en raakt achterop'	13 aug.	34	groeimarkt voor Unilever
38	De naam Asscher geeft net iets meer cachet'	13 aug.	35	China heeft de toekomst voor diamant; kansen
39	Crisis leidt al tot minder democratie	13 aug.	36	niet-democratisch
40	Vrouwen misbruiken abortus'	13 aug.	37	voorkeur voor mannen; mensenrechten
41	Geen land overleeft de economische storm zonder...	13 aug.	38	hoeveelheid geld van China; economische macht
42	Birmese oppositieleider Aung San Suu Kyi voor het...	15 aug.	39	damproject; mensenrechten (voor economisch gewin)
43	Heli VS bekeken door Chinezen	15 aug.	40	militaire dreiging; spionage
44	Boze 'wandelaars' dwingen staat tot concessies...	15 aug.	38	activisme; censuur; milieu; onderdrukking; niet-democratisch
45	VN: Na Darfur ook oorlogsmisdaden in regio Kordofan	16 aug.	39	soevereiniteit; tegen resolutie Soedan
46	Cambodja floreert ten koste van eigen burgers	16 aug.	40	landroof; corruptie; mensenrechten; economische ontwikkeling
47	Tibetaanse monnik steekt zichzelf in brand	16 aug.	41	religieuze repressie; mensenrechten; tibet
48	Mubarak als voorbeeld voor de Westerse wereld	17 aug.	42	censuur; mensenrechten; dictatoriaal niet-democratisch
49	China treedt hard op in Xinjiang	17 aug.	43	streng; repressie; communisme; militair (leger)
50	China: geen inspectie helikopter Navy SEALs	17 aug.	44	ontkenning eerder bericht; spionage; militaire dreiging
51	In de rij bij Prada	17 aug.	45	overschot geld; verwend; rijk

Figure 9: Conceptualizing

Schreier states about conceptualizing: 'You do so by looking at your data from up close, trying to take different perspectives, and pin-pointing any concepts that strike you as relevant. Over time, you will find the same concept coming up again, or you will be struck by different descriptions, different events or happenings. So, over time, you will increasingly make use of similarities and differences which you notice in your material.'

This was precisely what happened. After a while, some themes and metaphors kept coming back and certain patterns could be recognized. The words or phrases in column seven therefore were not always real framing devices, because this column was also used to capture signifiers. If I had already come across related articles and connected the article to this 'subcategory in progress', I tried to explain what words or phrases activated this (mental) connection. The articles were then labeled with different colors, to express this pattern or relation.

Later in the process, when the different categories started to take shape, the strategy of subsumption was used. Schreier states: 'If you are too quick to subsume a segment under an already existing subcategory, you run the danger of losing sight of something important. But if you are too reluctant to subsume segments and keep on creating new subcategories, you are in the danger of getting lost in the data. It will take you a bit of time to find a proper balance between these two extremes' (2010, 116). Therefore, the amount of subcategories first slowly increased, but after a while the amount of subcategories slowly decreased, because when taking some distance and going back to the material, it turned out that some subcategories could be merged into one. In the beginning, when none of the subcategories that were already used applied, a new category was formed, but after a while they were left blank, because it became possible to estimate if they should form a new category or should fall into a residual category. The open coding phase was a cyclical process in which the focus constantly shifted from meticulously analyzing individual articles to overseeing the entire corpus and more abstract connections.

Figure 10 shows the relevant articles in *NRC Handelsblad* that were published in the first six months. It illustrates how these many subcategories came into being.

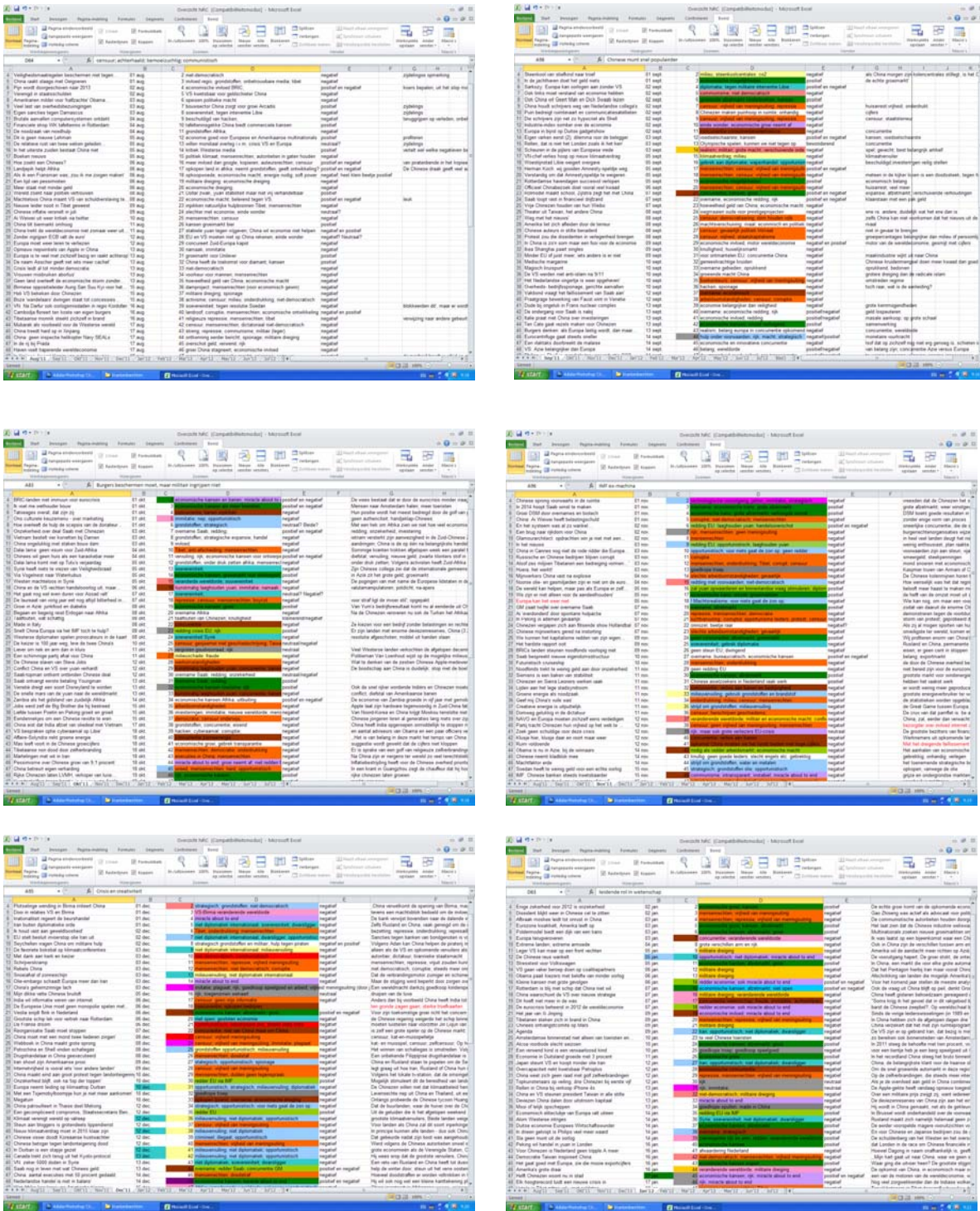


Figure 10: Defining categories

The colored subcategories in figure 10 are not real frames yet. They are the first step in grouping the concepts that emerged during the conceptualization phase according to similarity. The categories were in other words defined by mapping patterns and relations.

To some extent, the purpose of this analysis was already clear: finding frames. It was also already known that in order to find them, positive and negative judgments (in column five), framing devices (in column seven) and reasoning devices (noted simultaneously on the axial coding sheet) had to be noted. Starting with the analysis, it was not clear yet however, how these main categories would be translated into frames. The open coding process made it possible to freely write down whatever seemed relevant.

While the stage of defining categories was still a bit messy, during later stages of open coding, the different categories and subcategories became clearer. Combined with the axial coding (that took place simultaneously with the open coding process), frames were found after different rounds of abstraction. Van Gorp explains: 'The many voices that were heard during the period of gathering data were organized again according to interpretive logic in graphic and textual representations. This was done by assigning granted codes in dimensions around the axis (it is therefore called axial coding). It is important to note that this is not a sequential step and that it was not necessary to wait until the open coding phase was over' (2006, 104).

After the open and axial coding phase, the different elements that form a framing package can be described with a frame matrix, in which the columns describe the framing devices and the rows describe the different frames. Van Gorp explains that the columns of the frame matrix are filled first, after which searching for logical combination between the columns begins. It does not aim to find causal relations, but searches for reasonable combinations in which every link of the chain is useful and logical. The frame matrix is then completed by adding the framing devices that were found during the open coding stage (2006, 105-106).

More details about the results of the axial- and selective coding process, about the frames that were found and 'frames' that in later stages turned out not to be frames can be found in Chapter 4. Figure 11 shows the difference between the month December of NRC at the time of forming categories and during a later stage when the categories after several rounds of coding were transformed into frames.

Text	Category	Frame
1. Paragraaf verwijst in Rome naar China	21.00	21.00
2. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
3. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
4. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
5. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
6. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
7. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
8. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
9. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
10. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
11. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
12. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
13. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
14. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
15. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
16. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
17. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
18. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
19. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
20. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00

Text	Category	Frame
1. Paragraaf verwijst in Rome naar China	21.00	21.00
2. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
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5. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
6. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
7. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
8. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
9. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
10. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
11. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
12. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
13. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
14. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
15. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
16. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
17. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
18. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
19. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00
20. In een interview met de Chinese	21.00	21.00

Figure 11: from conceptualizing and defining categories (left) to frames (right)

In QCA, the open coding stage that was derived from GT is often adapted because its goal is primarily descriptive. GT on the other hand, tries to define and develop categories with an explanatory goal. Schreier (2010, 112) therefore states: ‘In making use of open coding for generating categories, you therefore have to adapt this step taken from GT. You would simply be looking for similarities between concepts, not for categories which have the power to explain these similarities.’ Here, the open coding phase was not adapted. It started descriptive, but further on in the process it became more and more important to develop categories with explanatory power.

This analysis differed in more ways from QCA. In QCA, the material is divided into segments, while in this analysis the newspaper articles form the units of analysis. QCA also demands that main and subcategories are mutually exclusive. In practice, newspaper articles can activate more than one frame. Likewise, they can be both positive and negative in their judgment about China’s growing influence. Decision rules were included in the code book (see Chapter 3), to make sure that the frames would not overlap. However, since newspaper articles can contain more than one frame, the coding frame allowed ascribing the article into more than one subcategory. This made statistical analysis difficult, but suited the research question best.

When the frames were found, it was time to write the category definitions (that were also used as a part of the interpretive code book during the deductive analysis) and then to try,

evaluate and modify the category definitions for the frames that were found. According to Schreier (2012, 96) a category definition should be made up of four parts: a name; a description of the category which explains what you mean by that name; examples and decision rules (when categories overlap, these decision rules provide guidance about what frame to choose). Next to these four elements, the descriptions of the frames included a set of questions that will help the coder to decide which frame the article supports, and descriptions and examples of reasoning devices frequently found in combination with the frame. These five elements formed the interpretive code book, after which another coding session was done in which all the material was coded accordingly and in which all the previous categories made room for frames or – in some cases – were ascribed to the residual category.

To test the reliability of the interpretive code book, an inter coder session was planned. The other coder read the code book and to practice, we then together coded the articles from August in NRC Handelsblad (except for those that were randomly selected for the sample). This training made it possible to informally assess the reliability, and we found that one of the frames caused trouble scoring. A final change was made in the arrangement of frames and then it was time to score the entire random sample. To test the reliability of the revised code book, I coded this sample four weeks later to see if the results were constant. Finally, according to the revised code book, the articles that previously fell under the ‘deleted frame’ were scored again.

In total, the data set changed a million times. In a dozen coding rounds, relevant passages were conceptualized, and these conceptualizations were translated into categories, which in turn were translated into frames. The inductive way in which the selected articles from *Elsevier* were analyzed, did not differ from the way in which the material from the newspapers was analyzed. Because this analysis followed the analysis of the newspaper articles, it remained particularly important to approach the material open minded and to see if there were any frames present that were absent in the former analysis. The next chapter shows the frames that were found through the process of open, axial and selective coding and will further evaluate the results in terms of reliability and validity.

3. Results

This chapter will present the results that were found using the news frame analysis as described above. The first paragraph will show the process and the final results of the open and axial coding phase. The second paragraph will describe the six dominant frames that were found. According to Schreier (2012, 96) a category definition should be made up of four parts: a name; a description of the category which explains what you mean by that name; examples and decision rules (when categories overlap, these decision rules provide guidance about what frame to choose). Next to these four elements, the descriptions of the frames include a set of questions that will help the coder to decide if, and if so which frame the article supports. Finally, descriptions and examples of framing devices frequently found in combination with the frame are described. This paragraph also presents the results of the selective coding phase: the frames in a frame matrix. The third paragraph tries to explain why some frames made it whereas others did not and will pay attention to the concepts of validity and reliability, followed by the results of the inter coder reliability test and test-retest reliability test. The final paragraph focuses on the articles published in *Elsevier* magazine.

3.1: Results of the open and axial coding phase

As described in the working method section, doing a news frame analysis is a cyclical process. During the open coding phase, different categories came up, which after some rounds of abstraction resulted to a first categorization system which included fifteen categories. At the same time, axial coding took place using presentation software Prezi. Prezi made it possible to arrange all things relevant, because things can be added, deleted and shifted on an infinite workspace (instead of being limited to the square form of a sheet of paper). The categories that were found at the end of the open coding phase are presented in figure 12. The final results of the axial coding phase are shown in figure 13.

1. Economic threat
2. Economic opportunity
3. White Knight (economic savior and financial help)
4. Miracle about to end
5. Cross-grained in international community
6. Moral frame: human rights / Tibet / Taiwan
7. No such thing as a free lunch / opportunistic
8. Communist / authoritarian / dictatorial / censorship
9. Military threat
10. Filthy rich
11. Panda Diplomacy / soft power
12. Changing world order
13. Environmental damage
14. Imitation goods
15. Producer of bad quality, cheap junk

Figure 12: Categorization

During several coding sessions, these categories were brought back to six final categories (category 1 – 6), which will be presented in the first subparagraph. Category seven was a separate frame for a long time: it was until the inter coder reliability training session that it was omitted. Category six, eight, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen were combined into one morality frame which entails almost everything that – from an ethical perspective – can be considered objectionable, distasteful or intolerable. The red dragon frame became more abstract, so that it did not only present China as an economic threat, but also as a military threat. ‘Panda diplomacy’ and ‘Soft power’ were combined with the White Knight frame. It no longer merely portrayed China as an economic savior, but became more abstract, now portraying China as a responsible and helpful power in general. The notions of China as being filthy rich and changing the world order were later found to be framing devices, where the former is often used in combination with the red dragon (they are so rich that they will buy up everything) or the booming business frame (they are so rich and eager to spend their money, that there is a lot to gain for our companies), and the latter is often found in combination with the red dragon frame. Now that we have seen how the frames came into being (this is a very simplified version, in reality it took weeks and the entire corpus was coded over and over again), we will take a look at the final frames. The amount of frames is based on careful consideration: you do not want to lose too many details, but at the same time you need to ‘summarize’ the data in order to make them useful.

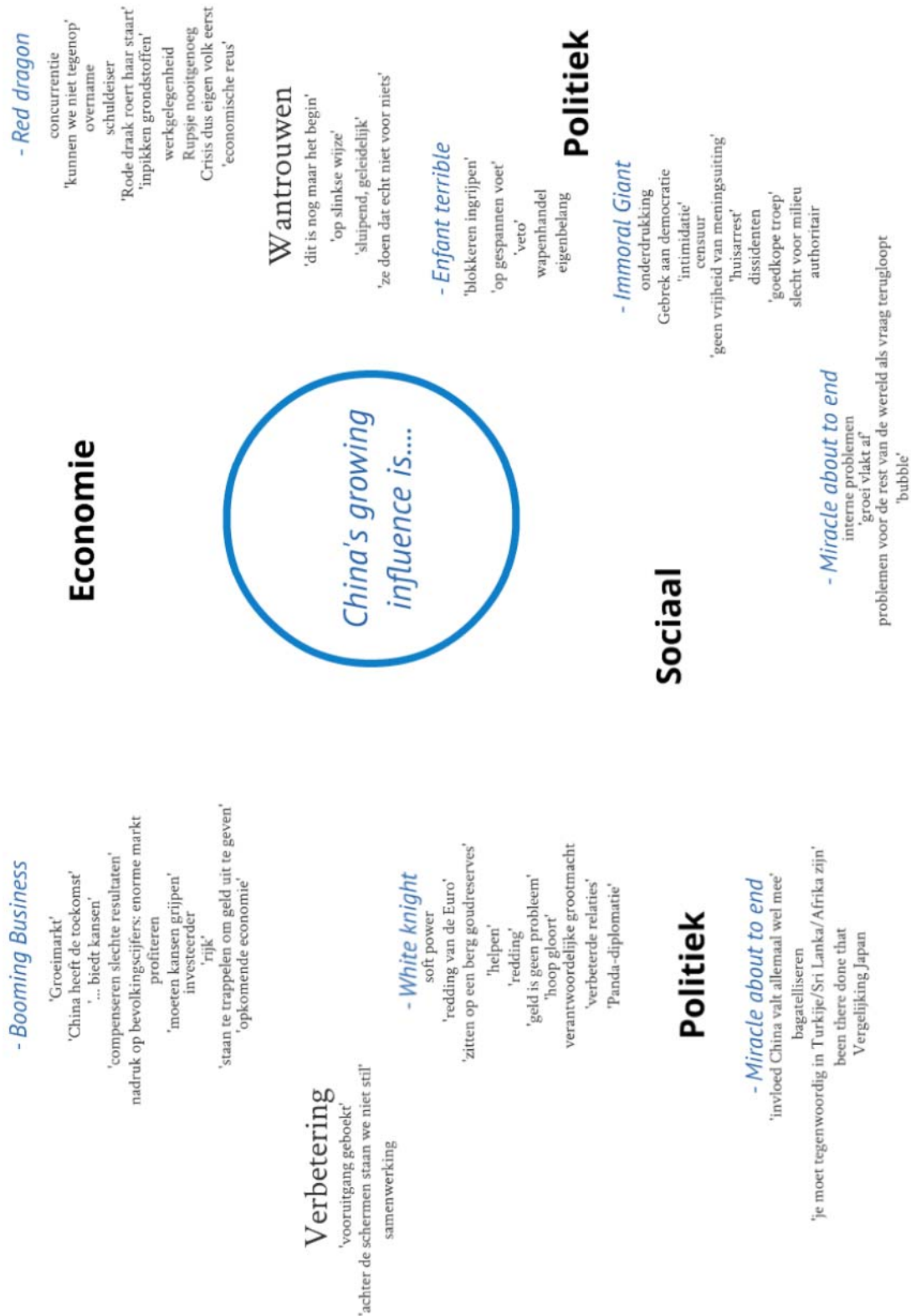


Figure 13: Axial coding results

3.2: Frame descriptions and frame matrix

These are the six dominant frames that were found:

Pro	Contra
Booming business	Red dragon
White Knight	Enfant terrible
	Moral frame
Miracle about to end	Miracle about to end

The category or frame definitions are presented below.

1. Miracle about to end

Description: This frame trivializes the fact that China's influence is growing (whether it is seen as a threat or an opportunity). It sometimes recognizes the fact that China is becoming more and more influential, but in that case it assumes that China's (economic) miracle is about to end. This can be for various reasons: global economic misery, domestic problems, the breaking down of the Chinese housing market, etcetera. A few years ago everybody thought Japan was going to challenge American hegemony, but in the end this did not happen. It is therefore reasonable to assume that China's growth in the end will level off as well. Although China's growing power is often presented as a threat, this frame sometimes sees a threat in the end of China's miracle. If Chinese demand drops, this can be a threat to other economies as well, and in that case the CCP should develop new policies to stimulate the economy. The frame can therefore be positive (China is no threat) or negative (China is a threat). It can also deny the booming business frame, by stating that when it comes to investing, other countries (like Sri Lanka for example) are way more attractive.

Questions:

- Does the article inform you about economic news from China that is disappointing?
- Does the article deny the fact that China is booming business (or mention that it is booming business, but it will not be so in the future)?
- Does the article assume that China's economic miracle is about to end?
- Does the article mention other countries are more attractive to invest in?

Examples:

- *'He wants to raise a note of caution. Everybody is fixated on China as the future economic superpower. "Twenty years ago, everybody said the same about Japan. Yes indeed, China has grown tremendously in the last couple of years. But will it continue like that? Or will it turn out to be a bubble?"'* (article 46, *NRC Handelsblad*, December).

- *'The progress is stagnating; growth numbers waver; dissatisfaction is rising; the Party is getting nervous and all other countries have less confidence in the ambitions of the superpower'* (article 10, *NRC Handelsblad*, January).

- *'For long, China was the promised land for Western multinationals to take care of their mass production. However, more and more large enterprises take off to surrounding countries'* (article 66, *De Telegraaf*, July).

Decision rules:

If the article mentions that China's economy is still growing, but the growth levels off, the article must be categorized under the 'miracle about to end'-frame (and not be categorized under the 'booming business'- or 'white knight'-frame).

Framing devices:

China's success is often compared with the former success of Japan. Metaphors of a bubble are frequently used to emphasize that China's success can suddenly come to an end.

- *'The country enjoyed the same status as China today: a threat trying to take over the West. But it didn't happen. At the end of 1992 de Nikkei dropped below 17.000 points. The asset manager explains the stock market crash by the bursting bubble of the real estate market'* (Article 27, January, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'Economists expect that the demand for steel, cement, oil and gas to will stay high in the next few decades. Unfavourable side-effects are the fact that a real estate bubble came into existence and the fact that urbanization goes hand in hand with tensions over land*

expropriation, corruption, growing criminality and air pollution' (article 45, January, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'According to the central bank, China faces enough problems of its own, like high inflation and bubbles on the real estate- and stock market'* (article 39, September, *De Telegraaf*).

- *"However, I don't think that a new bubble is located at the real estate market, but in the debts of the local government. On the instructions of Peking, the local government spends a lot of money on projects in infrastructure that now proof to be very unprofitable," says the asset manager'* (article 17, June, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'Will the Chinese bubble burst? China remains an enigma for financial markets. This year, merchant bank Goldman Sachs expects the Chinese economy to grow with 8,6 per cent. [...] But economists noted a Chinese crisis as one of the unforeseen circumstances more than once. According to asset manager BlackRock, a Chinese crisis is one of the events that can heavily wrench the world economy'* (Article 18, *NRC Handelsblad*, January).

2. Red dragon

Description: China's influence is growing and this is highly problematic for other countries. China is aggressively taking over our companies, our harbor, our gold and even buying up our famous pigeons and French wines. This frame is seeing China as a threat. Unfair competition causes people to lose their jobs. After taking over a company, most employees are fired anyway because cheap labor will be flown in from China. Because most companies in China are state-owned and the line between party and company is often blurred, China's economic dominance is being perceived even more threatening. This frame identifies China as a growing economic, military or political power that is eager to take over the world, but at the same time protects its own economy from foreign investors. China is an opportunistic and strategic player. Although its government sometimes might seem helpful, its benevolent nature is a facade, because its actions are strictly driven by self-interest. This frame often depicts China's rise as inevitable, but possible solutions can be found in protectionism, balancing power, forming a strong Europe or emphasizing we must keep innovating.

Questions:

- Is China being portrayed as an economic, military or political power that needs to be balanced?
- Does the article hint at a strategic master plan – China wants to take over the world?
- Does the article mention competition between China and other countries?
- Does the article mention the fact that China tries to satisfy its endless hunger for natural resources, thereby driving up prices of oil, gas or food?

Examples:

- *'My work can be done cheaper in China, and being unemployed at the age of 61 you do not get a second chance'* (article 53, September, *De Telegraaf*).
- *'What to do if Chinese state-owned companies end up buying all import Dutch companies? How can Dutch dredging companies compete with Chinese ones, if the Chinese government is satisfying African governments with extremely advantageous loans?'* (article 86, November, *NRC Handelsblad*).
- *'The fact that it is China who needs to bring in capital to save the euro, is of great convenience for the country. For years China has been trying to increase its influence on Europe. This is not happening in a blatant way, but insidious. It is buying up companies one after the other, for example. Experts all agree on one thing: the economic power in this world is slowly but surely moving from West to East'* (article 87, October, *De Telegraaf*).
- *'China Ltd. is buying up resources all over the world, while the West is watching it powerlessly. How dangerous that is, describes Dambisa Moyo in her new book, in which she warns for an economic and political catastrophe. Peruvian copper mountains as high as the Mount Everest. Spanish and Russian energy giants. Greek harbors. African and Middle Eastern oil- and gas fields. Afghan copper-mines. African and Argentinean farming giants. Dairy companies from New Zealand. Even French and Australian wine houses fall into the category of the Chinese definition of essential resources'* (article 28, June, *NRC Handelsblad*).
- *'Because Asia is buying up the grain reserves, pigs in China have food before laborers in Egypt do'* (article 87, December, *De Telegraaf*).

Decision rules:

The Red dragon-frame is not often confused with other frames.

Reasoning devices:

It is notable that many recurring reasoning devices are connected to the red dragon frame. First, we find many metaphors referring to the antagonist in popular folk tales, fairy tales or children's stories. China is seen as a red dragon or as the big bad wolf, and without specifically mentioning it, the image of the very hungry caterpillar also applies: China is said to have an endless hunger for raw materials and luxury goods.

- *'Oil, coals, copper, gold, uranium, rare earth metals – Mongolia swims in it, and when it comes to these rare metals, neighbor China is the biggest glutton on earth'* (article 84, January, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'The Chinese hunger for coals caused the price to explode'* (article 74, December, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'Stepmother GM [General Motors] wanted to liquidate Saab from the start. It did not see any danger in magician Victor Muller, but it certainly considered the Chinese big bad wolf to be dangerous'* (article 68, December, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'It is not very likely that China will save the euro. There are not only big obstacles from a political and economic perspective. The domestic situation in the Asian country itself is also an obstacle. Moreover, Europe should ask itself if it even want the red dragon to help us out of a scrape'* (article 58, December, *De Telegraaf*).

The red dragon frame is also frequently combined with game and war metaphors:

- *'China strikes mercilessly'* (article 28, June, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'She predicts that if Holland will stay forefront in innovation and export, we will easily win the battle with the Chinese'* (article 78, December, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'Being an open economy, depending on transit and export of goods, the Netherlands will be as good as dead facing the violence of rising countries like China and India'* (article 39, November, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'Chinese and Arabian air giants follow the path of war. They prey on the weak American and European fly markets'* (article 24, December, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'Leader Chinese pianist army [...]. Do Western critics, calling his virtuosity 'superficial', express fear that forty million Chinese piano students will take over 'our' music culture?'* (article 96, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'It's been said that every year hundreds of thousands engineers graduate in China. [...] How are we going to counterbalance this? We are fighting the competition with a growing army of communication experts, 'lifestyle and entertainment experts' and similar graduates'* (article 66, December, *NRC Handelsblad*).

This frame also often refers to the amount of money that China possesses. The 'money is not an issue' device is also frequently found in combination with the White knight- or Booming business-frame, but there it is used in a positive sense.

- *'With a foreign-exchange reserve of 2350 billion dollars, the Chinese are sitting on the largest piggy bank in the world. They want to use this money primarily to buy themselves in everywhere in the world and to form a consuming market'* (article 39, September, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'Money is not an issue, because state banks and state funds are ready. Rather today than tomorrow, prime minister Wen Jiabao converts the 3.200 billion dollar of foreign-exchange reserves [...] into oil, gas, copper, zinc and technology'* (article 78, July, *NRC Handelsblad*).

Furthermore, the red dragon frame is often combined with the notion of a changing world order. China is probably not the only reason why power in the world is shifting, but it frequently comes up in combination with reports about China's threat.

- *'This is the beginning of a new phase in which Europe can no longer effectively protect her prosperity and safety and is increasingly at the mercy of rising economies. The fact that communist China – that still has some of the characteristics of a developing country – needs to financially support capitalistic Europe in 2012, is the best illustration of the total reversal of global relations and clearly demonstrates how serious this is'* (article 55, April, NRC Handelsblad).

- *"Conversations about the rise of China and other Asian countries always seem a bit unreal, as if it primarily is an economic phenomenon," says Rudd. "In our part of the world we see this entirely different: it is a change of historical proportions that will jeopardize the existing world order. In a little while, a non-democratic country will be the largest economy of the world for the first time in 200 years. And all that is happening in a region that is not very stable, with tensions on the Korean peninsula, in the South-Chinese Sea and near Taiwan"* (article 20, February, NRC Handelsblad).

Finally, articles that fall into the category of the red dragon frame often hint at a secret Chinese master plan. What we have seen up till now is only the beginning:

- *'Everybody has heard about the concept 'Made in China'. In the next years we will more and more often hear about the concept 'Bought in China', because what we have seen in the last decade is only just a harbinger of what will come, a begin'* (article 78, July, NRC Handelsblad).

- *'The space program is endlessly ambitious. The Chinese expect to become bored on earth within a couple of years and already aim their rockets at the universe'* (article 39, August, De Telegraaf).

There are two more devices that are often found in combination with the Red Dragon-frame ('money is not an issue' and 'the masses') but these will be described below because we find them in combination with other frames as well.

3. White knight

Description: China becomes more influential, but this is a good thing. In this time of economic crisis, fast growing economies like the BRICs can compensate for losses in Europa and the United States. Sitting on foreign-exchange reserves of over 2.000 billion dollars, there are various ways in which China could save us from an economic crisis. It could for example offer a large amount of money to the IMF; buy up bonds of indigent countries; reduce interest rates, raise the value of the *yuan* or stimulate national consumption. According to the White knight frame, China is not only helping Europe financially, it is also increasingly displaying its soft power. It tries to keep North Korea in check, participates in various international institutions and makes conscious efforts to convince the international community that its rise is in fact a peaceful rise.

Questions:

- Does the article mention that Chinese policy has positive effects on the economy?
- Does the article portray China as a savior, which might provide financial help?
- Does the article display China as a responsible world power, which is willing to help countries in need or act with the higher interest in mind?
- Does the article hint at China's soft power or peaceful rise?

Examples:

- *'The international community is very concerned about these two developments. Neighboring country China is also worried about North Korea. Today, Chinese officials again consulted North Korean colleagues about the intended launch of the satellite. It was the second time in five days'* (article 53, March, *NRC Handelsblad*).
- *'Investors were relieved about signals from China, indicating extra economic stimulation. [...] The fact that vice-president Wen Jiabao declared to do more to speed up domestic economic growth, was a big relieve and gave new hope'* (article 36, July, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'Ghana is financing the construction with the help of Chinese loans. [...] According to DHV the ports contribute to a higher living standard of the local people living near the shore and it is boosting the export of fish'* (article 51, May, *De Telegraaf*).

Decision rules:

If the article mentions that China might provide financial assistance or help the global economy, it supports the White knight frame. If it also states that China will only help because it is in its own interest, or they will want something (more power in the IMF for example) in return, the article also supports the Red dragon frame and both categories apply. If the article mentions that news from China will stimulate the economy in general, the article supports the White knight frame. If the article states that news from China gives new opportunities for investors or companies, the article falls into the Booming business category.

Reasoning devices:

One of the reasoning devices that is frequently found in combination with the White knight-frame is the notion of a changing world order. This reasoning device is also often used in combination with the Red dragon-frame.

- *'The pile of debts of the West and the surplus in China, point out a fundamental change in the world. [...] There is an ongoing big convergence between the poor and rich countries in the world and that is good news; it is significant that European countries appeal to 'developing countries' like China and Brazil to contribute to the emergency fond'* (article 39, January, *NRC Handelsblad*).

There is also a lot of emphasis on the fact that China is very rich, often combined by stating impressive numbers.

- *'Take governmental procurements: if China would join the existing agreements, were are already talking about a hundred billion dollars a year'* (article 27, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

Finally, as is the case with the booming business frame, China's economy is often depicted as an engine.

- *'Even if the economy in the region will cool off, China will remain the strong engine of the world economy'* (article 25, April, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'Merkel hopes that Wen will use the Chinese financial fire power for the European fund to save the Euro'* (article 1, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

4. **Enfant terrible**

Description: China is the enfant terrible of the international community. China is not reliable as an international partner. Chinese officials tend to veto decisions that have a majority of votes, thereby preventing the international community to act on things they think of as being important. No matter if it is about interference in Syria or Libya, about environmental or weapon treaties or the introduction of a flight tax, China is always cross-grained and will veto or block important decisions. This not only portrays China as cross-grained. Because China veto's treaties about the banning of cluster bombs, CO₂-emission or sanctions against 'evil regimes violating human rights', this also reflects on China's image. This frame is easily activated when nothing is being told about the historical reasons why China is being so sensitive about sovereignty.

Questions:

- Does the article mention that China is vetoing or blocking an international agreement or treaty?

- Does the article portray China as being cross-grained?

Examples:

- *'These days, Russia and China are being mocked in the UN security council. They refuse to agree with a resolution or sanctions against Syria. Sarkozy called it a scandal. The UN ambassador of the United States was 'disgusted' by the veto. The motives? Self-interest. President Assad is the most important customer for buying Russian weapons. Furthermore,*

Russia and China see themselves faced with domestic problems in Chechnya and Tibet (article 75, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'[B]ut Russia and China, both having a right of veto, up to now blocked every action against the Syrian regime'* (article 48, December, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'China, the most important customer of Iranian oil, has publicly opposed to such measures'* (article 27, January, *NRC Handelsblad*).

Decision rules:

Because China veto's treaties about the banning of cluster bombs, CO2-emission or sanctions against 'evil regimes violating human rights', this reflects on China's image. However, if the article mentions China is being cross-grained and blocking international treaties or agreements, it should be marked as *Enfant terrible*, not as part of the immoral frame.

Reasoning devices:

The *Enfant terrible*-frame can often be found in combination with expressions and metaphors for hindering, sabotaging, blocking and vetoing.

- *'to put a spanner in the works'* (article 2, October, *De Telegraaf*). (In Dutch: 'roet in het eten gooien').

- *'In Moscow, the 'Coalition of the Unwilling' will meet'* (article 70, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'The conference was powerless from the start because of the absence of the most important players in the conflict: China and Russia, who blocked two anti-Assad resolutions [...]'* (Article 3, April, *NRC Handelsblad*). (In Dutch: 'vleugellam').

- *'They joined-up to torpedo the European law'* (article 1, November, *De Telegraaf*). (In Dutch: 'zij hebben de koppen bij elkaar gestoken om de Europese wet te torpederen').

It is also often emphasized that China is cross-grained out of self-interest, and a lot of assumptions can be found in the articles.

- *'The director of China's 410 billion dollar state fund China Investment Corp, said in Beijing that it is 'not opportune' to invest in European government bonds. He thereby ignored the appeal of German chancellor Merkel to do so'* (article 51, February, NRC Handelsblad).

- *'The fact that Russia and China can hinder humanitarian interference by veto, is indeed frustrating. Especially because the veto seems to be motivated by business interests. A veto based on business interests should not be possible'* (article 57, February, NRC Handelsblad).

- *'According to the International Energy Agency, China seems to use it as pressure, instead of endorsing the sanctions. In this way Beijing wants to force Iran to lower the rates, in order to take in and fill its strategic reserves'* (article 61, February, NRC Handelsblad).

Finally, the articles frequently appeal to the audience's emotions (pathos).

- *'But Russia and China bog down in polarising geopolitics and in that way do not take Syrian civilians and children into account'* (article 29, February, NRC Handelsblad). (In Dutch: 'laat in Syrië zo de burgers en kinderen in de kou staan').

5. Booming business

Description: China is booming business. Its rise brings lots of opportunities, and companies must make sure not to miss them. Chinese people are filthy rich and are eager to spend their money on Dutch products. Because of the large population, China is an interesting consuming market. Chinese companies should not be seen as competition, but as possible partners. If Dutch and Chinese companies cooperate in joint ventures, we all benefit. China's rise is not only good from an economic perspective: it also offers cultural exchange.

Questions:

- Does the article portray China as an attractive consuming market?

- Does the article mainly focus on benefits that came or will come with China's rise?
- Does the article mention cooperation between Dutch or international companies and Chinese companies?

Examples:

- *'In an economic sense the company is flourishing: Intel owes its record profit from the last quarter of the year (3,7 billion dollars, 24 percent increase) to good server sales and the healthy consuming market in China'* (article 93, November, NRC Handelsblad).

- *'But the name Asscher is not unknown outside our country's borders. On the contrary, they have been represented in 175 outlets in Japan alone [...], but the new plans go even further, with a first own shop in Tokio that was opened recently. The opening of four others are scheduled, in Peking, Shanghai and two more Chinese cities, because China is the future'* (article 35, August, NRC Handelsblad).

- *'In our country we speak about recession on a daily basis, but China is booming'* (article 20, May, De Telegraaf).

Decision rules:

If the article mentions that China might provide financial assistance or help the global economy, it supports the White knight frame. If it also states that China will only help because it is in its own interest, or they will want something (more power in the IMF for example) in return, the article also supports the Red dragon frame and both categories apply. If the article mentions that news from China will stimulate the economy in general, the article supports the White knight frame. If the article states that news from China gives new opportunities for investors or companies, the article falls into the Booming business category.

Reasoning devices:

This frame is often signified by expressions that illustrate the fact that China is booming, and/or that companies do not want to miss out on the opportunities.

- *'Ladies bags, perfumes and watches of LVMH are selling like hot cakes'* (article 9, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'Heineken missed the boat in China'* (article 38, July, *De Telegraaf*).

As already mentioned, this frame is also often combined with the metaphor of China as an engine, pushing on the entire world economy and company's profits.

6. Immoral giant

Description: China is an immoral giant, which is more concerned with securing 'harmony' and 'stability', than with its own people's wellbeing. China is so focused on its territory and so sensitive about sovereignty, that it at all costs will stay hold of Tibet, Xinjiang en Taiwan. Chinese dissidents 'disappear' or are being threatened; citizens are not able to express themselves and websites are blocked. Its authoritarian regime will by every possible means secure its own power, thereby regularly abusing human rights. Articles that use this frame usually describe things 'we' may find offensive: bad labor conditions, the one-child policy and forced abortions, repression, corruption, censorship, the lack of freedom of speech, products of bad quality ('cheap junk') etcetera. In these articles, 'China' often has the face of an arrogant non-democratic communist Party, which is sometimes making offensive statements about 'our' system. We should not want to cooperate with such an authoritarian regime and the Netherlands as a country and the international community in general should put more pressure on China to change these issues.

Questions:

- Is the article critical about China's role in the Tibet, Xinjiang or Taiwan issue?
- Does the article mention Chinese violations of human rights?
- Is the article about Chinese dissidents, censorship or the fact that Chinese people lack the freedom to express themselves?
- Does the article portray China as a dictatorial or authoritarian super power that does not tolerate any objections from the people? Does the article make mention of Chinese violence?

- Is the article about fake products, imitations, cheap junk or bad quality?
- Does the article mention bad working conditions, forced abortion, environmental depletion or mass protests?
- Or does the article report any other immoral, objectionable or condemnable situations?

Examples:

- *'Commotion about abortion in China. Horrible death of seven month old fetus. [...] Shocking pictures on the internet show a 23-year old farm girl from the poor province Shaanxi. She is lying on a bed, with a dead seven-month old bloody fetus next to her. She claims that local officials dragged her to the hospital. There, the child she expected to give birth to within two months' time, was brutally forced into this world with a lethal injection. On the internet people talk about murder and Nazi-procedures'* (article 42, June, *De Telegraaf*).

- *'Ai was in prison for almost three months, in what was seen as an attempt to intimidate him. Ai often criticizes the government in public'* (article 51, November, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'There has been a wave of religious self-immolations out of protest against Chinese repression'* (article 42, October, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'The Chinese no longer settle for copies of luxurious handbags, sport shoes and computers. Even the appearance, the atmosphere and the services of successful Western store concepts find a ready market in the Asian country. The demand for brand names like Ikea is growing. [...] The copied store in Kunming bears an uncanny resemblance to a normal Ikea store. [...] The furniture store is a thorn in their side'* (article 2, August, *De Telegraaf*).

Decision rules:

Because China veto's treaties about the banning of cluster bombs, CO2-emission or sanctions against 'evil regimes violating human rights', this reflects on China's image. However, if the article mentions China is being cross-grained and blocking international treaties or agreements, it should be marked as *Enfant terrible*, not as part of the immoral frame.

Reasoning devices:

This frame is often accompanied by individual cases that are used as examples to illustrate the seriousness of the situation.

- *'Traveling monks like Laren are being watched carefully. His Chinese followers, mainly wealthy businessmen, and his visitors are subject of intimidating checks. They are followed permanently (especially as long as they are in Chengdu) and presumably eavesdropped'* (article 16, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

In these articles we can also frequently find references to former situations.

- *'Rebellion must be suppressed, but anno 2011, tanks are no longer an option'* (article 51, December, *NRC Handelsblad*). -> N.B. although not directly, this article refers to the well-known image of the Chinese man standing before a tank at the Tiananmen Square during the Tiananmen Incident in 1989.

Finally, the articles often quote the Chinese government in a way that expresses the fact that the journalist does not agree with the statement, or in a way that makes the Chinese government look stupid.

- *'The Chinese authorities want to end the "audiovisual heroine" that is entering the country in the form of foreign television'* (article 49, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'The state media report Uyghur "terrorists" killed ten people with knives, after which the police shot two of them. According to a foreign Uyghur pressure group, a local protest against repression resulted into violence'* (article 99, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'Xi himself comes from a nervous environment that is preparing for a change of power and where criticism on the harsh, contraproductive approach with regard to Tibetans and dissenters will not be accepted. Just before Xi's departure to the US, two authors and a poet were sentenced to long imprisonments because of "subversive" publications, among which a poem of seven lines on the internet'* (article 42, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'The Chinese "eaglefather", as he calls himself in imitation of the Chinese tigermothers and wolffathers, is proud of the training schedule he developed for his son, who was born with complications and two months early'* (article 37, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'Should big sport tournaments only take place in "clean" countries? [...] No. The Olympic Games in 2008 in China have cracked things. It can be useful to organize a tournament in a country that we normally cannot enter that easily'* (article 5, May, *NRC Handelsblad*).

- *'Artist Ai Weiwei was imprisoned for 81 days. The Chinese authorities "released" him in June. He now lives in an immured house, while the police is constantly watching him'* (article 83, February, *NRC Handelsblad*).

These category definitions (that were also used as a part of the interpretive code book during the deductive analysis) are based on the elements as described by Schreier (2012, 96): a name; a description of the category which explains what you mean by that name; examples and decision rules. Next to these four elements, the descriptions of the frames included a set of questions that could help the coder to decide which frame the article supports, and descriptions and examples of reasoning devices frequently found in combination with the frame.

The end product of the inductive phase is a frame matrix, inspired by Van Gorp (2010). In figure 14 the frames as described above are presented in a matrix, where each row in the matrix represents a frame packages and each column a selection of framing and reasoning devices by which the frame manifests itself (van Gorp 2010, 13). The frame descriptions above do not follow the same arrangement as the frame matrix, because they are designed to help readers (and the second coder) to understand how to interpret (and use) the different categories, whereas the frame matrix strives to summarize and represent the frames themselves.

	Problem definition	The growing influence of the Chinese is...	Responsibility	Solution	Moral basis	Emotional basis	Framing devices
Miracle about to end	China's influence is waning. This can be a threat to our economies	...exaggerated. China's miracle is about to end, which can pose a threat itself	Lies with the CCP	The Chinese government should adopt policies to stimulate the economy	Not applicable	This will blow over, cool, matter of factly	'It is not so bad', 'miracle about to end', 'will level off'
Red dragon	The Chinese are an economic, political and military threat	... an economic, political and military threat	Lies with domestic and international politics	Protectionism, balancing power, a strong Europe	Large and powerful nations are usually a threat	Fear, distrust, suspicion, anger, xenophobia	Red dragon, very hungry caterpillar, war & game, taking over the world
White knight	There is no problem. China is a savior, providing economic help	... helpful when it comes to saving the economy	Lies with the CCP	Stimulate our economy to make it more attractive for China to invest	Strong nations that help the weak ones, will not be a threat	Hope, gratitude	Driving/motor of the economy, last resort
Infant terrible	China is a cross-gained member of the international community	... worrisome, since China is cross-gained	Lies with the CCP or the international community	International pressure, address cross-gained behavior	Large and powerful nations will impose their will on others	Disapproval, anger, frustration	'veto', 'block', 'hinder', 'sabotage'
Booming business	China's rise is an opportunity, not a problem	... a big opportunity for everyone	Lies with companies	Seize opportunities	We can all benefit from developing nations	Optimism, opportunism	'booming business', 'money is not an issue'
Morality	China is irresponsible when it comes to human rights or the environment	... objectionable, since it is no responsible country	Lies with the CCP	Pay attention to abuses, protest, boycotts, political pressure	It is our moral duty to help other people and save the environment	Sympathy, disapproval	'hideous', 'horrible', 'human rights'

Figure 14: Frame matrix

3.3: Evaluating the results

This paragraph will evaluate the results. The first subparagraph will try to explain why some frames made it to the frame matrix whereas other ‘almost-frames’ did not. The second subparagraph will pay attention to the concepts of validity and reliability, after which the subsequent subparagraph will present the results of the inter coder reliability test and a test-retest reliability test.

3.3.1. Finding generic frames

Paragraph 2.2.1. (selecting the material) already explained that for this analysis a large amount of articles was selected over a large amount of time, with the aim to transcend describing incidents, and to present the more generic frames that are employed when writing about China. This subparagraph will explain why some of the ‘frames-in-progress’ made it to the frame matrix, and why others were not considered to be ‘real’ frames.

Van Gorp (2006, 220-230) showed that participants to some extent interpret messages according to their own opinions. The concepts of ‘frame consonance’ and ‘frame dissonance’ can explain why we recognize some of the frames as frames, and other ‘almost-frames’ not. Frame consonance refers to the fact that a given message connects to the schemata of a receiver, whereas frame dissonance refers to a situation in which the receiver is not able to recognize the information as a frame because it simply does not correspond to his or her preconceived ideas about the world around them.

In 2012, both *De Telegraaf* and *NRC Handelsblad* published a series of news articles about Bo Xilai. The charismatic Bo was likely to be promoted as a member of the Chinese Politbureau in 2012, but his promising political career ended abruptly with the Wang Lijun incident. This incident refers to a political scandal involving corruption, intrigue, cover-ups and even murder (Wang Lijun accused Bo Xilai’s wife Gu Kailai of murdering British businessman Neil Heywood). The political intrigues portrayed the Chinese government as chaotic, instable and untrustworthy. However, when this image of the Chinese government was informally checked, Dutch people answered that they did not recognize the image of a Chinese government that is political instable or chaotic. Most of them admitted not to trust the Chinese government and to not be surprised by corruption. However, their view of the

Chinese government was mainly determined by the firm grip that the government tries to maintain on the society. One of the respondents stated: 'The Chinese government is authoritarian and Communist, but I don't recognize the political intrigues. When you read the newspapers, it's almost like watching a bad soap.' Many articles do indeed point out that it is very rare to get this glimpse of what is going on. However, the fact that this incident (as interesting as it might be) stands alone, was enough reason to not transform these concepts into a frame. In 2011, this notion of a chaotic, political instable government was never found, and after the incident – apart from some reconstructions – it was not found in the material anymore. The information did not correspond to the mental image we already have of the Chinese government.

This example shows that during news frame analysis, it is important to constantly check the findings with other people, because the framing process does not only take place in the text, but is also determined by the receiver and his or her ideas. Sometimes the information in an article seems to be pointing in one direction, while in combination with the feelings and believes of a receiver they point in a different direction. When in doubt, other people were always (informally) consulted.

Take the following news report:

- 'Twelve factories were closed in Eastern China because children from the area turned out to have high levels of led in their blood. This was reported yesterday by various Chinese media. Last month, an excessive amount of led was found in the blood of small boy living from the area the industrial zone. By now similar levels were found in the blood of fifteen other children. Worried parents plead to the local authorities to close the factories' (article 18, July, De Telegraaf).

Even though the fact that the local government closed twelve factories is a clear sign of good will (the Chinese government is not always this understanding when it comes to civilians' critiques), it is also alarming that Chinese children had high levels of led in their blood. However, when asking others about this article, the reaction was unanimous. 'This would never happen in Holland. Things like these can only happen in China, because the

government doesn't care about its citizens and because there are no strict regulations to make sure that factories are no threat to people's health. Poor boy.' In other words, none of the respondents recognized a 'soft power' or 'white knight'- frame, but all of them reacted very emotionally and the immoral giant-frame was easily activated.

Mythen explains: 'In some part the appropriation of mediated information follows pre-established habits and obeys the principle of the avoidance of cognitive dissonance. That is to say, the plethora of available information is reduced via routinized attitudes which exclude, or reinterpret, potentially disturbing knowledge. From a negative point of view, such closure might be regarded as prejudice, the refusal seriously to entertain views and ideas divergent from those an individual already holds; yet, from another angle, avoidance of dissonance forms part of the protective cocoon which helps maintain ontological security. For even the most prejudiced or narrow-minded person, the regularized contact with mediated information inherent in day-to-day life today is a positive appropriation: a mode of interpreting information within the routines of daily life' (2004, 188).

When doing news frame analysis it is therefore important to stay in contact with outsiders, because they can make clear what elements in a text have a large influence on receivers and what elements are overlooked. In the aforementioned example, the fact that these factories had a bad influence on the health of small children, was far more important than the fact that the local government listened to the parents and took immediate action.

3.3.2. Validity and reliability

After doing an inductive news frame analysis and abstracting frames from the material, frame definitions (consisting of a name, description, examples, decision rules, questions and framing devices) were formulated in order to make it possible for others to deductively determine if one of the frames is presented, and if so, what frame is present. This 'code book' still requires some interpretation. It is not a simple flowchart, but rather strives to make the frames recognizable and add to the insight of the coder. It respects the fact that news frame analysis to some extent will always be a subjective process, but the catch is that it can be too subjective, leading to unreliable results. That is: producing results that are not consistent (over time and intersubjectivity). Schreier states: 'It strengthens your claim if you

can show that others interpret the material in the same way: if two (or more) people independently agree on the meaning of your material, chances are that other members of your society and culture would most likely understand the material in a similar way, i.e. that the material 'has' this meaning for the members of this community' (2010, 169).

To assess the reliability of the frame definitions, inter coder reliability and test-retest reliability were determined for a sample of the corpus (see the next two subparagraphs). However, the fact that results are consistent is not to say that they are valid. Validity refers to the extent to which an assessment tool is measuring what it should measure. Graduate assistants Phelan and Wren (2005) give a good example. '[I]f your scale is off by 5 pounds, it reads your weight every day with an excess of 5 pounds. The scale is reliable because it consistently reports the same weight every day, but it is not valid because it adds 5 pounds to your true weight. It is not a valid measure of your weight.' In the case of this analysis, validity refers to the extent to which the frames that were defined are really present in the material.

Van Gorp (2006, 107) mentions six different criteria to test the validity of the frames. First, do the frames adequately reflect the data? Second, is it possible to define the situation on the basis of the frame? Is the formulation of the frames sufficiently abstract? Is the internal structure of the frames coherent and consistent? What is the explanatory potential of the frames and do the frames represent all actors in the debate?

Schreier (2012, 181) describes three signs of low face validity in data-driven coding frames. First, if there are many data segments that cannot be assigned to the categories that you are using, and many of them end up in the residual categories, this is a sign of low face validity, because it would mean that the categories that were designed do not fit the material. Luckily, the articles were first selected on relevance and then used to abstract frames. Otherwise, articles with no clear frame could have been (un)consciously dismissed. There are not many articles in the residual (or white) category. In *De Telegraaf* there are some, but paragraph 4.3.3. will shed some light on why these articles ended up in the residual category.

The second sign of low face validity is if many data segments are assigned to one subcategory, when at the same time other subcategories in that dimension are not frequently coded. Even though it is simply possible that one frame is more often found than other frames, this could indicate that the frames do not fit the material. Finally, a high level of abstraction could also be a sign of low face validity. It was therefore important to make the frames abstract enough to be able to transcend describing incidents, but not too abstract, because this could result in frames that actually do not correspond to the data.

After reading the frame definitions, they hopefully seem reasonable and plausible. In order to further evaluate the reliability, an inter coder reliability test and a test-retest reliability test were conducted. The results can be found in the next subparagraphs.

3.3.2.1. Inter coder reliability

A way to check the validity of the news frame analysis is using a second coder. A friend was prepared to come over and score a sample of articles. They were compared to my coding results: a method commonly referred to as calculating inter coder reliability. According to Lombard et al (2002, 589) inter coder reliability is ‘the extent to which independent coders evaluate a characteristic of a message or artifact and reach the same conclusion’.

First, a special website was used to generate random numbers. For every month (twelve months *NRC Handelsblad* and twelve months *De Telegraaf*) two articles were randomly selected (see figure 15).

Month	Telegraaf 1	Telegraaf 2	NRC 1	NRC 2
August 2011	3	56	26	47
September 2011	20	19	7	42
October 2011	38	80	59	22
November 2011	3	60	60	77
December 2011	26	84	27	91
January 2012	16	22	66	70
February 2012	46	31	11	16
March 2012	2	47	46	26
April 2012	3	56	51	73
May 2012	33	28	49	17
June 2012	10	42	13	9
July 2012	12	56	42	33

Figure 15: Randomly selected sample of the corpus

The second coder was briefed about the method and was asked to read the codebook. It involved reading a description of the different frames, examples and further explanations about the decision rules for differentiating between multiple categories. The training and instructions took about an hour. To practice, we then together coded the articles from august in NRC Handelsblad (except for those that were randomly selected for the sample). This training made it possible to informally assess the reliability. We found that one of the frames caused trouble scoring, namely the 'there is no such thing as a free lunch'- or in other words, 'opportunistic' frame. During a long discussion, we found this frame had too much in common with other frames, preventing the results to be unambiguous.

The description of the 'no such thing as a free lunch'-frame used to be:

'China is an opportunistic and strategic player. Although its government sometimes might seem helpful, its benevolent nature is a facade, because its actions are strictly driven by self-interest. China will not save Europe from an economic crisis without asking something in return. When it comes to making money, China will go for its own target, however crude the method. In Africa, Chinese businessmen are making an awful lot of money over the heads of local people, who end up just as poor as before. China tries to satisfy its endless hunger for natural resources, thereby not caring at all about international agreements or damage to nature. It tries to secure its own interests by buying up land and foreign businesses, at the same time not willing to open up its own economy. In its search for information, everything is allowed. Chinese spies are stealing Western technology and hacking foreign websites. Not only is the Chinese government opportunistic, Chinese people are egocentric as well. There even is a special Chinese word for it: 人吃人, literally referring to the 'people-eat-people' mentality.'

We found that this frame was almost always combined with one of the other frames, for it was actually part of other frames. The red dragon is very opportunistic; the cross-grained country that veto's international treaties is being very opportunistic, and not taking care of the environment or let people work under bad working conditions can also be explained by an opportunistic stance. We therefore decided to take out the opportunistic frame and expand the descriptions of the other frames so that the frames became more mutually

exclusive. In this way, the pilot session opened my eyes for existing problems: it became clearer where the model had to be changed or where the descriptions of the frames needed to be adjusted. The coding instructions were changed until the informal assessment suggested an adequate level of agreement. It was then time for the 'official' coding trial, which was done independently and during which there was no consultation. Figure 16 describes the results, in which the green codes belong to the second coder.

	Miracle about to end	Red Dragon	White Knight	Cross-grained	Booming Business	Immoral Giant	The same?
1 aug NRC					XX		Yes
2 aug NRC						XX	Yes
1 sep NRC						XX	Yes
2 sep NRC					XX		Yes
1 okt NRC			XX				Yes
2 okt NRC		XX					Yes
1 nov NRC		XX	XX				Yes
2 nov NRC		XX					Yes
1 dec NRC		XX					Yes
2 dec NRC		X	X				No
1 jan NRC		X	X		X		No
2 jan NRC		XX		XX			Yes
1 feb NRC		XX				XX	Yes
2 feb NRC						XX	Yes
1 mrt NRC					XX		Yes
2 mrt NRC				XX			Yes
1 apr NRC					XX		Yes
2 apr NRC		XX					Yes
1 mei NRC		XX					Yes
2 mei NRC			XX			XX	Yes
1 jun NRC	XX						Yes
2 jun NRC		XX					Yes
1 jul NRC					XX		Yes
2 jul NRC		XX					Yes
1 aug Tel						XX	Yes
2 aug Tel					XX		Yes
1 sep Tel						XX	Yes
2 sep Tel		XX					Yes
1 okt Tel					XX		Yes
2 okt Tel			XX				Yes
1 nov Tel	XX						Yes

2 nov Tel			XX				Yes
1 dec Tel					XX		Yes
2 dec Tel					XX		Yes
1 jan Tel		XX					Yes
2 jan Tel					XX		Yes
1 feb Tel					XX		Yes
2 feb Tel					XX		Yes
1 mrt Tel			XX				Yes
2 mrt Tel	XX						Yes
1 apr Tel		XX					Yes
2 apr Tel					XX		Yes
1 mei Tel		XX					Yes
2 mei Tel			XX				Yes
1 jun Tel						XX	Yes
2 jun Tel						XX	Yes
1 jul Tel				XX			Yes
2 jul Tel		XX					Yes

Figure 16: Results of the inter coder coding session

The intercoder reliability coefficients were then calculated using an online tool called ReCal2 (Reliability Calculator for 2 coders), using a working method described by Freelon (2010). In an Excel-sheet, the data were converted (see figure 17). In the first two columns of the file, the first and second coder's data were entered for the first variable 'Miracle about to end'. Presence of a frame was indicated by '1', whereas absence of a frame was indicated by '0'. Scores on the next variable 'Red Dragon' can be found in the third and fourth column, scores on the 'White Knight'-frame in the fifth and sixth column, etcetera. The 48 rows present the units of analysis, e.g. the 48 articles.

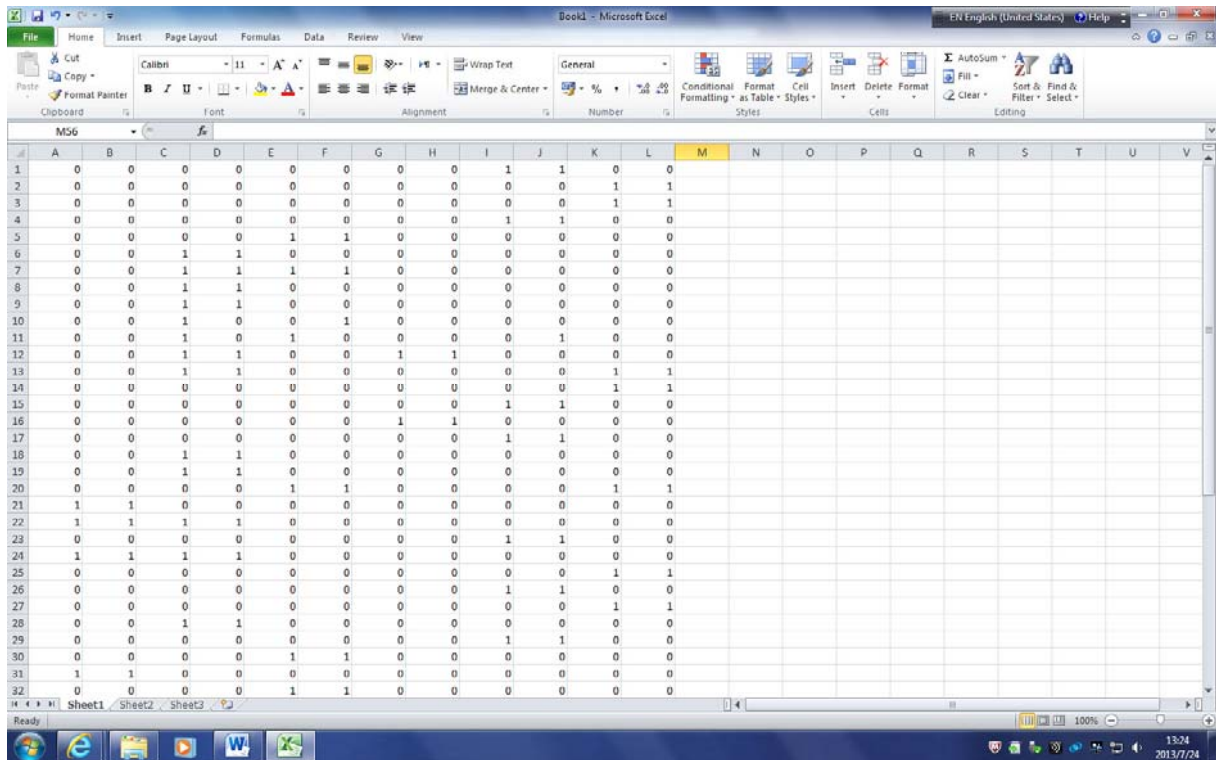


Figure 17: Converted data in Excel

Before this file was used to calculate different intercoder reliability coefficients, an acceptable level of reliability had to be determined. I decided to employ the standards mentioned by Lombard et al (2002, 593). They state: “[T]here are no established standards, but Neuendorf (2002) reviews “rules of thumb” set out by several methodologists (including Banerjee, Capozzoli, McSweeney, & Sinha, 1999; Ellis, 1994; Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 2000; Krippendorff, 1980; Popping, 1988; and Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 1998) and concludes that “coefficients of .90 or greater would be acceptable to all, .80 or greater would be acceptable in most situations, and below that, there exists great disagreement” (p. 145). The criterion of .70 is often used for exploratory research. More liberal criteria are usually used for the indices known to be more conservative (i.e., Cohen’s kappa and Scott’s pi).’

The results are presented below in figure 18.

**ReCal 0.1 Alpha for 2 Coders
results for file "intercoderreliability.csv"**

File size: 1200 bytes
N columns: 12
N variables: 6
N coders per variable: 2

	Percent Agreement	Scott's Pi	Cohen's Kappa	Krippendorff's Alpha (nominal)	N Agreements	N Disagreements	N Cases	N Decisions
Variable 1 (cols 1 & 2)	100%	1	1	1	48	0	48	96
Variable 2 (cols 3 & 4)	95.8%	0.906	0.906	0.907	46	2	48	96
Variable 3 (cols 5 & 6)	95.8%	0.85	0.85	0.852	46	2	48	96
Variable 4 (cols 7 & 8)	100%	1	1	1	48	0	48	96
Variable 5 (cols 9 & 10)	97.9%	0.948	0.948	0.949	47	1	48	96
Variable 6 (cols 11 & 12)	100%	1	1	1	48	0	48	96

Figure 18: Results inter coder reliability test

This means that the coefficients for all frames were acceptable. The two articles on which the coders disagreed were discussed. We came to the conclusion that in one case, one of us did not read carefully enough, and in the other case we had different interpretations. However, after discussing it we were able to agree on the outcome and felt that the codebook and the frame definitions did not need any other adjustments.

3.3.2.1. Test-retest reliability

To assess the reliability of an assessment tool it is not only important that results are consistent between different persons, but also that they are consistent over time. I therefore coded the aforementioned sample of the corpus six weeks after the inter coder coding session (see figure 19).

	Miracle about to end	Red Dragon	White Knight	Enfant Terrible	Booming Business	Immoral Giant	The same?
1 aug NRC					XXX		Yes
2 aug NRC						XXX	Yes
1 sep NRC						XXX	Yes
2 sep NRC					XXX		Yes
1 okt NRC			XXX				Yes
2 okt NRC		XXX					Yes
1 nov NRC		XXX	XXX				Yes
2 nov NRC		XXX					Yes
1 dec NRC		XXX					Yes
2 dec NRC		XX	X				No
1 jan NRC		XX	X		XX		No
2 jan NRC		XXX		XXX			Yes
1 feb NRC		XXX				XXX	Yes
2 feb NRC						XXX	Yes
1 mrt NRC					XXX		Yes
2 mrt NRC				XXX			Yes
1 apr NRC					XXX		Yes
2 apr NRC		XXX					Yes
1 mei NRC		XXX					Yes
2 mei NRC			XXX			XXX	Yes
1 jun NRC	XXX						Yes
2 jun NRC		XXX					Yes
1 jul NRC					XXX		Yes
2 jul NRC		XXX					Yes
1 aug Tel						XXX	Yes
2 aug Tel					XXX		Yes

1 sep Tel						XXX	Yes
2 sep Tel		XXX					Yes
1 okt Tel					XXX		Yes
2 okt Tel			XXX				Yes
1 nov Tel	XXX						Yes
2 nov Tel			XXX				Yes
1 dec Tel					XXX		Yes
2 dec Tel					XXX		Yes
1 jan Tel		XXX					Yes
2 jan Tel					XXX		Yes
1 feb Tel					XXX		Yes
2 feb Tel					XXX		Yes
1 mrt Tel			XXX				Yes
2 mrt Tel	XXX						Yes
1 apr Tel		XXX					Yes
2 apr Tel					XXX		Yes
1 mei Tel		XXX					Yes
2 mei Tel			XXX				Yes
1 jun Tel						XXX	Yes
2 jun Tel						XXX	Yes
1 jul Tel				XXX			Yes
2 jul Tel		XXX					Yes

Figure 19: Results of the test-retest coding session

The red and green codes are six weeks old, and the green codes are those of the other coder. The retest-codes are noted in purple. Again, the second article from December (*NRC Handelsblad*) and the first article from January (*NRC Handelsblad*) resulted in a ‘disagreement’. However, when taking a good look at the material and the results of the previous coding session, it became more clear to me why they were not the same. After the first coding session the conclusion was: ‘The two articles on which the coders disagreed were discussed. We came to the conclusion that in one case, one of us did not read carefully enough, and in the other case we had different interpretations. However, after discussing it we were able to agree on the outcome and felt that the codebook and the frame definitions

did not need any other adjustments.’ The first article (the second of December) was the article where we concluded that the other coder had not been reading carefully enough. It was therefore a good to see that it was coded the same as I had last time. The second article (the first of January) indeed contained two frames: the Red Dragon-frame and the Booming Business-frame. Even though the results were not entirely the same as last time, they supported the agreements that were reached between the two coders during the inter coder coding session. Again, the conclusion is that the ‘code book’ and frame definitions produce results that are pretty consistent.

3.4. Results of analysis Elsevier

One might expect to find differences between the frames that were used in the newspapers and the frames that were used in *Elsevier* magazine. The magazine does not only differ in style (*Elsevier* is an opinion magazine) but also in form: it either contains short informative news messages or long articles with elaborate background information. Remarkably, there were no striking differences between the frames that were found. The six frames that were found in the newspapers were all present in the material and similar framing devices were found.

The booming business frame for example, frequently presents China as an engine, propelling other economies. In *Elsevier* the metaphor of a locomotive was found in combination with this frame:

- *‘The Asian ‘Tigers’ are doing fine, with China and India as locomotives’* (Article 34, October, *Elsevier*).

The words ‘prey on’ – often found in combination with the red dragon frame – were found in the articles of *Elsevier* as well.

- *‘Just like the Americans want to get access to fast growing China, Alibaba preys on a comfortable position in the rich West’* (Article 41, November, *Elsevier*).

And the 'communist giant' mentioned in the article below, strongly resembles the image of an immoral giant.

- *"A system with more than one party will lead China to the brink of chaos and internal instability." With this warning prominent party leader Wu Bangguo made it very clear to the National Congress that the communist giant does not think about establishing a democracy.'*

It would have been interesting to find 'new' frames that were not found in the newspaper articles. After the different coding phases, the residual category contained four articles. The first (article 59) is about the fact that Chinese people save a lot of money. However, no statements were made about what this implied (for example that this is threatening or a good opportunity (because they are likely to spend it)). Two articles (article 63 and article 101) trivialized the miracle about to end-frame. They did not however, support the booming business frame. The fourth article (article 88) portrays Chinese employees are overly ambitious and arduous. But besides this characterisation no implications are given (for example that this is why they are taking over the world). The small number of articles did however not give enough reason to ascribe new frames to this material. As was mentioned before: the amount of frames is based on careful consideration: you do not want to lose too many details, but at the same time you need to 'summarize' the data in order to make them useful. Even though interesting, these four articles are not sufficient to form the basis of new frames.

4. Explanatory theories

When abstracting frames in an inductive way, it is important for researchers to approach the material with an open mind. It assures that the frames are derived from the data, and it avoids that researchers (maybe even unconsciously) search to confirm the frames they expect to find. However, it would be useful not only to identify the frames present in news reports on China, but also to transcend this level of analysis and try to find an explanation for the frames that were found.

The most prominent and contradictory frames that were found were the red dragon (threat) and booming business (opportunity) frame. It is not difficult to come up with theories on why people would want to present China's growing influence as an opportunity. Companies try to impress their shareholders and the public, or justify why they close yet another factory in Europe. Local governments try to justify the frequent trips to China, made by civil servants. Governments try to explain new policies (most policies are focused on making it easier to do business with China, not on making it harder). The claimsmakers do in other words benefit from portraying China's rise as an opportunity.

It is harder however, to understand why someone would want to portray China as a threat. What do claimsmakers gain by doing this? Therefore, in this chapter two different theories will be explored that could shed some light on how or why China is represented as a threat. The first paragraph is about the Risk Society, and focuses on risk perception and risk amplification. The second paragraph focuses on Said's Orientalism and also explores how a shared enemy can strengthen social cohesion. After exploring these theories, they are translated to the role of the media, after which the results from the news frame analysis are used as a small case study to see to what extent these theories can provide an explanation.

4.1: Risk society

'In these days we are inclined to see risk as the chance to lose, in all aspects of life. We do not only recognize visible and calculable risks in business enterprises. We are also aware of less calculable risks, like the chance to get breast cancer or the chance to de cease during medical surgery. We believe that the growing number of Polish migrants poses a risk to our social security and we fear that the European Constitution will only increase this risk. If on short notice, there is no reason to fear genetic manipulated soy, we will at least fear the long-term risks' (Drayer and Gude 2005, 8 (own translation)).

4.1.1. What is a Risk Society?

According to the British Medical Association, '[r]isk is the probability that something unpleasant will happen' (1990, 14). De Vries (2005, 9) explains that in the fifties, sixties or seventies, the term 'risk' was merely tied to the context of insurances or equity portfolios, whereas it is now related to numerous social problems.

The term 'risk society' stems from the eighties, and signals a paradigm shift in the way our modern society was perceived. Primarily influenced by sociologists Ulrich Beck (1992) and Anthony Giddens (1991), the way in which our modern society was seen, shifted from Marx' or Weber's industrial or class society into a risk society, in which the question was no longer how to evenly distribute wealth, but how to prevent or minimize the risks that were produced as part of the modernization process (De Vries, 2005, 9-12). Beck states: 'The driving force in the class society can be summarized in the phrase: I am hungry! The movement set in motion by the risk society, on the other hand, is expressed in the statement: I am afraid! The commonality of anxiety takes the place of the commonality of need. The type of the risk society marks in this sense a social epoch in which solidarity from anxiety arises and becomes a political force' (1992, 49-50).

Even though according to the risk society theory, our modern society confronts us with new risks, this is not to say that life became more dangerous. Giddens names several important risk-reducing advances like safe drinking water, sanitary sewage disposal, refrigeration, improved health care, safety belts in cars, etc. (1991, 116). He states: 'A risk society is not intrinsically more dangerous or hazardous than pre-existing forms of social order. [...] Life in the Middle Ages was hazardous; but there was no notion of risk and there doesn't seem in

fact to be a notion of risk in any traditional culture. The reason for this is that dangers are experienced as given. [...] The idea of 'risk society' might suggest a world which has become more hazardous, but this is not necessarily so. Rather, it is a society increasingly preoccupied with the future (and also with safety), which generates the notion of risk' (1999, 3).

Giddens therefore draws a distinction between external risk (that is: 'risk of events that may strike individuals unexpectedly') and manufactured risk (e.g. 'created by the very progression of human development' (1999, 4). According to Beck, the idea of a risk society is connected to large risks, that are hard to predict and difficult to influence. These risks generally have an international or even global character. It may not come as a surprise that the notion of a risk society was largely influenced by growing environmental concerns (1992, 19-50).

4.1.2. The Risk Society and the media

The modern risk society seems to be obsessed with calculating risk in order to avoid it, and all decisions made are based on these risk calculations. If something goes wrong, we immediately ask ourselves who is responsible and if or how it could have been prevented. Drayer and Gude argue that this quest to find 'the one responsible' does not make us feel calmer. They see it as an odd paradox: our desire to feel safe actually makes us feel more insecure (2005, 8).

According to Beck, it is the emergence of the mass media that actuated the notion of a risk society. He states: 'No mass media information, no consciousness of risk' (1987, 155). Beck's view sounds reasonable: The media nowadays are often considered to be a public watchdog and they are in charge of providing the public with risk information. Besides, publicizing articles about risks, threats or things that went wrong is more newsworthy than publicizing articles about stability and things that went well. In this sense, risk amplification by the media seems inevitable. Russell and Babrow (2011) show how news stories construct risk narratives. They state: '[T]he very logic of the news assumes a progressive accumulation of knowledge that enables ever greater rational control over time, but many risk stories are open-ended, complexly evolving causal structures. These open-ended stories suggest that the simple event structures assumed by traditional news reporting are profoundly limiting in the ways they narrate risk' (2011, 253).

The media do not only amplify risks for all kinds of purposes, on top of that humans – and journalists are no exception – are not very good at risk assessment. Gardner (2009) and Vasterman et al. (2008) explain that we tend to fear terrorist attacks, airplane accidents, shark attacks and poisonous toys from China, while we are far more likely to die from obesity or a car accident. We know about the risks of smoking or eating unhealthy. But the more we feel we can control these risks ourselves, the less threatened we feel by them. Singer and Endreny conclude: '[W]hat is newsworthy does not correspond very well with the distribution of hazards in the real world, as measured by mortality figures' (1993, 160).

4.1.3. Case study: News coverage on China and the Risk Society

What can we learn from the risk society when it comes to Dutch news coverage on China? When it comes to risks, Drayer and Gude think three parties are involved: the experts, who are signaling risk; the government, that has to respond to the risks often pointed out by experts; and the citizens, who want to avoid risks if possible (2005, 8). The discourse around China's rise that was investigated for this thesis shows a slightly different picture. Experts emphasize China's peaceful rise, and in most cases try to downsize the risk. Under the influence of journalists and claimsmakers, citizens could become convinced however, that China's rise poses a threat. The government is mostly occupied with how to piggyback on China's opportunities, and therefore does not seem to actively respond to the threats written by journalists or experienced by the people. Because the people are very passive in reaction to the threats, the government is (not yet) forced to take action.

If we translate this to the social problem process as described by Best (2008, 19), this means that the first stages of the process – e.g. claimsmaking and media coverage – did not (yet?) result in public reaction fierce enough to evoke political discussion about the issue, which in turn could result into policy changes. The fact that the government benefits from China's rise could be a possible explanation for the moderate reaction to the threats that it poses according to the media. The booming business image might in other words compensate for the threat image, causing a discrepancy between the sometimes negative image in the media and the adopted policies. The rise of (or growing number of people from) other countries of which the benefits are less emphasized, seem to arouse a lot more negative and nationalistic reactions.

According to Giddens' definitions (1999, 4), China's rise can be seen as a manufactured risk. We owe the problems to ourselves, but do not feel like we can exert any influence or keep someone responsible. The China threats are big, global and hard to predict.

While experts calculate risk in terms of probability, the risk perception of laymen is mostly influenced by different variables. The people perceive more risk if they do not know much about the social problem, if they feel like they cannot control it, if they feel like they do not have a choice and if they feel that its consequences are unjust (Miller et al. 2011). All these variables apply to the rise of China. Most people do not know much about China, feel like they cannot control China's rise or are able to make any choices in this process, and when they hear about people losing their jobs because it is cheaper to hire Chinese farmers; when they read that some dissidents were locked up after expressing their opinion; when they see pictures of harsh Chinese working environments or read about yet another cover-up: they are likely to see China as a threat, even though the chances are small that China's rise will have a large or immediate influence on them.

This connects social constructivism to the risk society. Beck explains: '[Risks such as those produced in the late modernity] generally remain invisible, are based on causal interpretations, and thus initially only exist in terms of the (scientific or anti-scientific) knowledge about them. They can thus be changed, magnified, dramatized or minimized within knowledge, and to that extent they are particularly open to social definition or construction. Hence the mass media and the scientific and legal professions in charge of defining risks become key social and political positions' (1992, 23).

4.2.: Orientalism

'They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented' (Karl Marx, 1853)

4.2.1. What is orientalism?

After publication of Edward Said's book *'Orientalism'* in 1978, the term orientalism was often used to describe Western attitudes towards or conceptions of 'the East'. During the period of European colonization, 'the West' increasingly got into contact with 'the Orient' and it became subject of study in various disciplines, like cultural studies, literature and art.

According to Said, the boundary between 'West' and 'East' or 'the Orient' and 'the Occident' is an artificial one (1978, 4-5). It is, in other words, a social construction. That is not to say that 'the Orient' did not exist in reality. 'The Orient' referred to an existing geographic area and orientalism studied and studies real things. However, Said points out, this all happens from the perspective of a prejudiced outsider. Said argues that Western scholars assigned certain characteristics to 'the Orient', like uncivilized, underdeveloped, primitive, exotic, static, sensual, passive, feminine and inferior. This implicitly formed an image of 'the West' as civilized, developed, rational, democratic, normal, flexible, active, masculine and superior. Setting itself off against 'the Orient' and seeing it as 'the Other', at the same time helped 'the West' to form an identity and image of 'the Self' (ibid, 1-28). Said points out that the way 'Western' scholars look at 'the Orient' will always be from a 'Western' perspective, and he rejects the idea that they believe this image is correct. But Said goes even further, by saying that this ideological construction was often used to justify European domination over and exploitation of 'the Orient'.

Said's orientalism received criticism from all over the world. Kerr for example states: 'In charging the entire tradition of European and American Oriental studies with the sins of reductionism and caricature, he commits precisely the same error' (1980, 544). Disagreements between Said and Bernard Lewis escalated into rude statements, ruining what could have been a civil scholarly discussion. Lewis (1982): 'This theme of violent seizure and possession, with sexual overtones, recurs at several points in the book. "What was important in the latter [sic] nineteenth century was not whether the West had penetrated and possessed the Orient, but rather how the British and French felt that they had done it"

(p. 211). Or again: "... the space of weaker or underdeveloped regions like the Orient was viewed as something inviting French interest, penetration, insemination – in short, colonization.... French scholars, administrators, geographers, and commercial agents poured out their exuberant activity onto the fairly supine, feminine Orient" (p. 219-220). The climax (so to speak) of these projected sexual fantasies occurs in Mr. Said's bravura piece, where he reads an elaborate, hostile and wholly absurd interpretation into a lexical definition of an Arabic root which I quoted from the classical Arab dictionaries.'

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to further elaborate on the scholarly discussion surrounding the orientalist discourse. Important however, is the fact that everyone studying Islam studies, Middle-Eastern studies, Chinese, Japanese, Korean or another Asian studies, still has to read Said's book, for it is important to keep in mind that real objectivity does not exist. As we will see, Said's observations are still relevant, also with regard to this thesis.

4.2.2. Orientalism and the media

Said (1978, 2-4) explains that 'Orientalism' can refer to three different things. First, '[a]nyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient – and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist – either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism' (ibid, 2). However, in these days most experts do not like the term 'Orientalist', because it hints at presumptuous attitudes of colonial times. Secondly, 'Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'' (ibid, 2). Said rejects the idea that this distinction is a good starting point for research on and writings about 'the Orient', because it tends to ignore the diversity in people, languages and culture. Finally, 'taking the late eighteenth century as starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the orient - dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (ibid, 3).

After reading Said's book, one could ask oneself if it is even possible to look at 'the Orient' from a non-Western perspective if you grew up in 'the West'. Probably not, and Said does

not blame anyone for that. He does however emphasize, that it is important to recognize the limitations that come with this bias.

So what could journalists do when they write about other cultures? When we use Said's comments as a starting point, journalists should try to down tone divisions between 'us' and 'them'. Living in the country they are writing about and speaking the language could help to overcome these constructed boundaries. They should recognize the shortcomings of this bias and avoid feelings of a superior culture (or even the moral duty to spread this superior culture). Even though distinctions between 'a Self' and 'an Other' might to some extent be inevitable, as we will see in the next paragraph, there unfortunately were quite some newspaper articles in which 'the Self' could not help but look down on 'the Other'.

4.2.3. Case study: news coverage on China and orientalism

When writing about China, Dutch journalists – consciously or unconsciously – activate the image of 'we' versus 'them', of an 'Other' and a 'Self'. In the case of negative news, everything negative that is reported about China implicitly supports a positive image of 'the West'. Articles about the Chinese violation of human rights, the lack of democracy or environmental pollution for example, imply a 'Western' superior standard: 'we' do respect human rights, democracy and the environment, and 'the Other' must become like 'the Self', especially when it comes to human rights or democracy. In the last few decades, China did however become more and more like the West. Naughton vividly describes China's transition of a socialist, Communist state to an increasingly more capitalist, market-driven society:

'China has undergone an unusual and tumultuous development process, passing through revolution, socialism, and Maoist radicalism, and then gradualist economic reform and rapid economic growth. The PRC government after 1949 at first created stability and economic growth, and rapidly left behind an era of war, civil war, and widespread poverty, but it then inflicted terrible suffering on its own people, particularly during the Great Leap Forward famine. [...] Since the beginning of economic reform in 1978, China has jettisoned most of the ideological baggage of socialism, and has again traversed a tremendous distance. This time the ground has been crossed with a remarkable improvement of living standards, a general easing of social conditions, and relative social stability. The objective of the transition process – a moderately prosperous society with a market-based economy – is now tantalizingly close

to being realized. [...] Never before have so many people moved out of poverty or near poverty in such a short time. (2007, 4)

However, now that economic development and industrialization changed every aspect of Chinese society, 'we' – that is 'the West' – are not always happy with the outcome. Due to growing welfare, China became the biggest contributor to CO₂ emissions. Chinese people now want to drive cars, use oil and gas, eat meat and maybe more importantly: they want to have a voice. It suggests that 'we' might feel threatened by 'the Other', because it became too much like 'the Self' and threatens 'Western' hegemony. We can recognize this attitude in the red dragon frame: 'Living standards in countries like China, India and Brazil keep rising. Those inhabitants also want a larger share of the resources' (article 64, De Telegraaf, April).

Although sometimes with good intentions, we still find the image of 'the West' that needs to take 'the Orient' by the hand and learn 'the Other' how things should be done. *De Telegraaf* for example interviewed a young Dutch entrepreneur in China who tried to implement 'Flexible Working' (in Dutch: 'het Nieuwe Werken') on the Chinese working floor:

'The working conditions in authority fearing China are not exactly an image in which you would immediately think about Western concepts like 'individual responsibilities', 'creativity' or 'defining your own working hours'. When computer expert Hugo Leijtens started his own software company in IT-city Chengdu in 2008, he immediately established the freedoms we know as 'Flexible Working'. 'They live in a culture of shame, I really had to teach them to say 'no' once in a while.' [...]

'Sometimes there were difficulties,' says Leijtens [...]. 'We really had to help the employees to take their responsibilities. In that way they learned that they get freedoms in return. That works stimulating. [...] We give them short- and long-term tasks and the freedom to organize their own time before the deadline. The more mature they are in dealing with these task, the better they can handle this. If they are out of line with the deadline, our computer system sends an e-mail to their chef, so he can address them. [...]

Leijtens organizes regular creative sessions with the employees. 'This is not present in the Chinese education system. They do not know any handicraft or anything. During those sessions we simply sit down and draw. It works well, they like it and slowly relax. It also stimulates their logic creativity, which is important for designing a user friendly software interface for example. So it is also functional. They live in a completely different world, I have to make sure they join ours.' (article 90, October, *De Telegraaf*, own translation).

Sometimes the tone was more negative. When the International Book Fair took place in Beijing for example, a lively debate rose in *NRC Handelsblad*. The newspaper published 21 articles about the book fair, whereas *De Telegraaf* published only two. In these articles, members of various pressure groups, writers and politicians argued about the Dutch participation. Some of them claimed that the visits of Dutch writers had a negative influence on Chinese dissidents, or that the Netherlands had to boycott the book fair out of sympathy with Chinese dissidents. Amnesty International told all the Dutch writers to wear a special pin as a form of protest. Dutch writers in turn were offended by the fact that the action group tried to tell them what to do.

De Telegraaf goes even further by publishing a couple of articles that generalize or portray Chinese as dumb, stupid, unintelligent or socially awkward.

- *'Everybody who visits a Chinese restaurant once in a while, knows that those people always eat the same. Whether you order number 39, number 48 or number 72, the dishes will always be the same. Almost every Chinese has a Peking blue tile on the wall with the words: What we Chinese do not know, we will never eat. [...] I will give our ice-cream man a golden advise. He should make prawn cracker-, babi pangang- or foe yong hai-ice-cream. In addition, he should not serve it in cones, but rather on two chopsticks. If he does this, I know for sure that within a week half of the country will visit his store'* (article 53, Januari, *De Telegraaf*, own translation).

- *'Five officials from Chinese province Shanxi were suspended after falling asleep during an important conference. The conference was about the campaign against falling asleep during working hours. Some Chinese get rich while asleep'* (article 29, December, *De Telegraaf*, own translation).

- *'In China, it works as in every other country, but still, not everybody knows how to reproduce. Recently, a newspaper article appeared in which a couple visited the doctor because after three years, they still weren't pregnant. Every night, they lay in bed holding hands, but the woman still didn't get pregnant. They had always focused on their study, and clearly not in human reproduction. [...] No, information about the birds and the bees was only given during physics. The Chinese will have to find it out themselves, literally. And that is what they have done diligently in this country with the most inhabitants of the world'* (article 12, September, *De Telegraaf*, own translation).

- *'Chinese elderly people are reckless in bed'* (article 24, August, *De Telegraaf*).

Newspaper articles that were openly ridiculing the Chinese were mainly found in *De Telegraaf*. Even though moral judgments were present in these articles, they were not

considered to form a special frame, because they did not define common problems, causes or solutions. These articles were probably written to amuse people instead of to inform them.

As a theory, Orientalism might explain how the construction of 'an Other' might strengthen the image of 'the Self', and in this case: how the construction of 'China' might strengthen the image of 'the Netherlands' or 'the West'. Social cohesion can be strengthened by constructing a common enemy, especially in times of financial uncertainty. Political scientist Lene Hansen (2006) explained that in the context of foreign security politics, to confirm the own identity in respect to outsiders and enemy's, it is more important than real, physical power relations.

5. Conclusion and discussion

This thesis sought to investigate the frames used by Dutch journalists in their news reports on China by doing a news frame analysis. Through an inductive frame analysis based on both elements of qualitative content analysis and grounded theory, six news frames were abstracted from the material: the miracle about to end-, red dragon-, white knight-, enfant terrible-, booming business- and immoral giant-frame. To assess the reliability of the assessment tool, both test-retest and inter coder reliability tests were performed, and the coefficients proved to be acceptable. Furthermore, this thesis shows that a qualitative method can be suitable for doing a news frame analysis, especially if one is convinced that a frame is more than a sum of the different reasoning devices. Because qualitative news frame analysis is often criticized for the lack of transparency, this thesis tried to describe the working method in detail and paid special attention to reliability and validity. The description of framing devices and a large amount of examples make clear how different - and sometimes even contradictory frames - can be triggered by the media. At last, this thesis showed how Beck's risk society and Said's Orientalism can partly explain the negative reports about China.

Although this thesis answered some questions, it also raised new questions and gave rise to ideas for further investigation. Ideally, after a pilot session, the full sample would have been rescored in order to test the test-retest reliability. And even more ideally, this would be done by two coders, without the researcher being one of them. However, due to time limits, this was not possible. As a final step in the working method that was used for this thesis, cluster analysis as described by Matthes and Kohring (2008) would also have been a welcome addition, but again, this could make up yet another thesis.

The main focus of this thesis was to investigate the frames used by Dutch journalists in their news reports on China. Further research is necessary to explore the motivations of journalists writing about China. Are they aware of the frames that they use? Do they recognize the frames that were found? In-depth interviews with journalists and important claimsmakers could clarify the reasons behind the frames and shed light on the claimsmaking- and social problems-process.

On the other side of the news framing process, it would be important to investigate the people's reaction to the frames in the media. To what extent do lexical choices and stylistics influence the public opinion about China?

For the next few years, China influence will continue to grow, and citizens, politicians, scholars and journalists will continue to contribute to the construction of the images surrounding China's rise. These images might influence not only personal opinions about China and 'the Chinese', but might also affect policy outcomes. China's rise will therefore remain a relevant topic in the next few years.

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