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Obama, Trump and National Anti-Asian Racism: Case study of the United States government narrative of China

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Obama, Trump, and National Anti-Asian Racism

Case study of the United States government narrative of China



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Abstract

Despite the scientifically proved inexistence of human races, racism yet exists as a result of the social construction and institutionalization of human races in societies. In the United States, anti-Asian racism exists and is exceedingly problematic. At the same time, for the past thirty years United States power is relatively declining, and China is a rising power and changing the international world order. The Obama administration and the Trump administration dealt differently with the relative decline of United States power. In this paper, the United States government narrative of China and its effect on national anti-Asian racism in the United States is researched. First, existing literature on government policy tools, racism and narratives is critically analyzed. Thereafter, a narrative analysis is performed on the narratives used by the Obama administration and the Trump administration in a comparative case study. The results demonstrate that during the Trump presidency, the narrative of China was relatively more negative and anti-Asian racism levels were relatively higher. This implies that a more negative narrative of China causes more anti-Asian racism in the United States. Hence, this paper contributes to the academic field of political science by exposing the relation between governmental discursive power and citizen behavior.

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Introduction

“We opened our arms to Chinese citizens, only to see the CCP exploit our free and open society. It sent propagandists into our press conferences, our research centers, our high-school, and college campuses,” - Michael Pompeo, former Secretary of State (Pompeo, 2020c).

This citation demonstrates the anti-Chinese persuasion of Michael Pompeo, Secretary of State during the Trump presidency, a presidency in the era of shifting international powers. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States is considered the hegemonic power of the liberal international world order. However, the decline of United States power is an undeniable event occurring for the past thirty years. On the other side of this decline, China has risen for the past thirty years and expanded its power. The presidential offices of the United States dealt differently with the rise of China and the relative decline of United States power. Different presidents with different persuasions constructed different narratives of China and China was put high on the policy agenda during the recent presidencies. Therefore, with the aim at a relevant academic paper, my research is focused on the United States government narrative of China. In the meantime, national anti-Asian racism has changed in the United States. After the racist genocides of the 20th century, scientific research has been done in the field of human variation among different scholars, such as genetics, psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists. All scientific research has concluded, and UNESCO has stated in an official 1950 statement, that biological races do not exist among humans, as all humans belong to the species of homo sapiens with exceedingly little differentiation (Banton & Hiernaux, 1969, p. 30; Sussman, 2014, p. 1; Templeton, 2013, p. 267). However, despite these widely accepted conclusions, racism yet exists. Racism is understood as human behavior based on the social construction that there exist human races with distinct characteristics, abilities, and qualities, to distinguish those races as inferior or superior to each other. The aim of this thesis is to research whether the United States government narrative of China has an effect on national anti-Asian racism in the United States. Yet, my narrative research is focused on China, while I do not limit my racism research to anti-Chinese racism, as Americans are tended not to distinguish between different Asian ethnic groups and hence, anti-Asian racism as a whole is likely to increase or decrease (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). Hence, my research question is: “What is the effect of the United States government narrative of China on national anti-Asian racism in the United States?”

This paper contributes to the academic field of political science because of several considerations. Scholars in the field of racism and critical race theory are foremost focused on anti-Black racism and the implications of racism on national institutions, such as the healthcare system or educational system and the construction of racism in contemporary societies. Therefore, first, this paper contributes by focusing on anti-Asian racism in the United States. Second, this paper contributes by focusing on the role of the narrative used by the United States government and its implications for national racist structures. This paper can give an insight into the relation between governmental narratives on the one hand, and on the other hand, how citizens act and think on a daily basis. In other words, the discursive power of governments on citizens is researched, and thus, this paper contributes to the academic field of political science.

In this paper, I will use constructivist theory, and more specifically, narrative theory to research the narratives used by the Obama administration and the Trump administration in a comparative case study. Important to note, is that I will use constructivist analysis to compare the two cases, rather than the positivist assumptions of a comparative case study. This implies that I will perform a narrative analysis on speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings on China by the Obama administration, consisting of President Barack Obama and Secretaries of State Hillary Clinton and John Kerry, and by the Trump administration, consisting of President Donald Trump and Secretaries of State Thomas Shannon, Rex Tillerson, John Sullivan, and Michael Pompeo. The results show that the Trump administration pursued a more negative narrative of China compared to the Obama administration and that the anti-Asian racism level was relatively higher during the Trump presidency. Hence, the effect of the United States government narrative of China on national anti-Asian racism in the United States is that a more negative narrative causes more anti-Asian racism.

In part I of this paper, I will analyze the existing literature on racism and its implications. In part II, I will outline my theoretical framework and expectations. In part III, I will argue why a narrative analysis on my collected data is appropriate, what it can tell me about my research question, and I will outline the case selection. In part IV, I will discuss the results of the narrative analysis and data on anti-Asian racism in the United States. In part V, I will put my empirics into perspective to my theoretical framework and expectations. Thereafter, I will discuss the implications of my research for the broader field of my research, governmental discursive power. I will conclude this thesis with a conclusion, in which I give an overview of my research and discuss the possible strengths, shortcomings and implications of my research.

Part I. Literature review

Political psychologists research human behavior, motives for certain behaviors and mechanism that create human behavior. There are much political psychology theories, which implies many different ontologies and epistemologies among political psychologists and more broadly, political scientists. In this paragraph, I will outline theories on how governments influence citizen behavior and how these theories overlook social constructs. Constructivism will be further elaborated on in the theoretical framework. Thereafter, I will outline critical race theory and argue why it is important to my research, but not sufficient to answer my research question, as it is unable to explain how government narratives have an effect on national racism levels

1.1. Tools to influence citizen behavior

There has been conducted much research on tools used by governments to influence citizen behavior in research on policy instruments. Policy tools are used by governments for policy implementation. Hence, it connects policy goals to results. The policy instruments regarded as the most important are financial incentives, bans and mandates and information campaigns (Angrist & Krueger, 1991; Bemelmans-Videc, Rist, & Vedung, 1998; Gneezy, Meier, & Rey-Biel, 2011; Sierzchula, Bakker, Maat, & Wee, 2014; Snyder et al., 2004). These tools are used to stimulate behavior change. The financial incentives are for example taxes on alcohol and tobacco to stimulate a healthy lifestyle among citizens. Bans and mandates are compulsory education or the prohibition to drink alcohol while driving. Both financial incentives and bans and mandates overlook the impact of textual tools to influence behavior. Information campaigns effectiveness studies improve this by adding the power of textual tools to influence citizen behavior and socialize citizens into desired behavior. Textual tools are powerful according to those studies because the policy goal is clearly set out to the targeted audience. Hence, communication between governments and citizens is relatively clearer through textual tools (Angrist & Krueger, 1991; Bemelmans-Videc et al., 1998; Gneezy, et al., 2011; Sierzchula et al., 2014; Snyder et al., 2004). An example of an information campaign is the health warnings on tobacco products (European Commission, n.d.). However, those studies on textual tools overlook the discursive power of *how* communication influences citizens. The literature on policy instruments overlooks the aspect of narratives as a policy instrument, in which the way stories are told are standalone having an effect on citizen behavior. Moreover, an even bigger shortcoming to these theories on textual policy tools is that they overlook the aspect of unintended effects and they do not offer a possible explanation for unintended effects of textual policy tools. These theories are unable to explain how a governmental narrative is a policy tool

and how narratives could have the unintended effect of fueling national racism structures. To understand how narratives have an effect on citizen behavior and more specifically on racism, it is important to understand how social constructs influence human behavior, which will be further elaborated on in the theoretical framework.

1.2. Critical race theory

Critical race theory is a subfield of critical theory. Critical theory expands constructivism by engaging normatively and activistly. The activistic notion of critical race theory specifically is that it exposes racist structures to improve the position of minorities in contemporary societies. Hence, it is foremost historical and descriptive. Critical race theory argues that racism is constructed within international and national institutions and that racism shapes institutions and relationships, as racism is pervasive, permanent and must be challenged. Its permanency implies that racism adapts to social-economic changes. This construction of racism in international and national institutions is known as institutional racism and the racist institutions that shape the international liberal order imply racial liberalism in the current world order (Feagin, 2006, pp. 1-2; Griffith et al., 2007, pp. 381-382; Jung, Costa Vargas, & Bonilla-Silva, 2011, p. 33; Vaught & Castagno, 2008, p. 96). The research that has been done so far on racism from a critical race theory perspective, is mostly focused on anti-Black racism and more specifically the implications of anti-Black racism on United States healthcare system and educational system in foremost historical or descriptive research (Cunnigen, Bruce, & Beyani, 2015; Griffith et al., 2007; Miller & Garran, 2017; Patel, 2022; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). For my research, this implies that critical race theory explains how anti-Asian racism is constructed into United States institutions and relationships, which indicates institutional anti-Asian racism. Therefore, critical race theory is exceedingly important to outline how and why anti-Asian racism exists and is able to continue in the United States. However, it is unable to outline how the United States government has an effect on national anti-Asian racism levels and more broadly, on citizen behavior.

1.3. Previous research on anti-Asian racism in the United States

As demonstrated by discussing critical race theory, most research that has been done on racism in the United States is focused on anti-Black racism. Therefore, I argue that there has been conducted too little research on anti-Asian racism. The research that has been done on anti-Asian racism is foremost historical or descriptive, rather than interpretive, to expose racist structures in United States institutions. It argues that Asian Americans are the victims of the perceived inferiority to the dominant white group in the United States and therefore, anti-Asian

racism is institutionalized in the United States. However, the difference between anti-Black and anti-Asian racism is that Asians are more likely to also be regarded, besides their perceived inferiority, as a threat to American values and culture (Chen, Zhang, & Liu, 2020; Kurashige, 2016). For my research, this specifically implies that institutional anti-Asian racism exists in the United States, and it outlines how this is able to continue. However, it is unable to explain how the United States government has an effect on this national anti-Asian racism.

Part II. Theoretical framework

In my literature review, I have outlined why existing literature on policy instruments overlook the influence social constructs could have on citizen behavior. Thereafter, I have outlined the importance of critical race theory to explain how racism is constructed into contemporary societies, but how it is unable to indicate how governments have an effect on racism levels. Therefore, in this theoretical framework, I will explain constructivism to outline how human races are social constructs. Thereafter, I will outline narrative theory and how this theory could help me answer my research question. I will conclude my theoretical framework with my expectations for this research.

2.1. Constructivist theory and races as social constructs

Constructivism improves the theories discussed in the literature review, because it is able to explain why social constructs exists in societies and how it influences human behavior. Constructivist scholars argue that the world is socially constructed. In other words, ontology according to constructivists, exists of the anti-foundationalist assumption that we understand the world through our understandings of social constructs and therefore, that the world exists of social constructs. In other words, the foundationalist notion that there exists a ‘real’ world independent from our knowledge of it is rejected. Therefore, behavior is based on our understanding of the world through social constructs, which are ideas, beliefs, norms, identities, and other interpretive filters. The epistemology is interpretive knowledge consisting of shared ideas, understandings, and practices (Finnemore, 1996; Lowndes, Marsh, & Stoker, 2018; Onuf, 1989; Wendt, 1992; Wendt, 1995; Wendt, 1999). As I already outlined in my introduction, biological races do not exist among humans and yet, racism exists. Constructivist theory argues that race is a social construct and integrated in human worldviews. Humans act on interpretations and social interactions shape the meaning-making process of objects with no inherent meaning. The idea of human races is integrated in societies because of long lasting social interactions. This implies that societies are constructed into a hierarchical order of groups that are socially constructed into races and our understandings of those races (Blumer, 1966, p.2; Reichelmann, 2021, p. 536; Sussman, 2014, p. 2). For my research, this specifically implies that the Asian race is a social construct in the United States, in which interpretations and social interactions have shaped our understandings of the socially constructed Asian race. This social construct of the Asian race is perceived – and I here want to emphasize *perceived* - as inferior to the dominant white race in the socially constructed hierarchical order of the United States society (Blumer, 1966, p.2; Reichelmann, 2021, p. 536). However, the constructivist literature

discussed in this paragraph is insufficient to explain how narratives have an effect on human behavior. Hence, narrative theory expands constructivism and will be further elaborated on in the following paragraph.

2.2. Narrative theory and social constructs

For this research, I will use narrative theory, as it allows me to argue that narratives influence human behavior. Narrative theory expands the argument of constructivism. A narrative is the result of the meaning-making of events and objects in relation to each other. Narrative theory tries to understand those meaning-making processes and arrangements of events and objects (Forchtner, 2021, p. 304; Puckett, 2016, pp. 2-4). Narrative theorists study how humans make sense of the world through stories and how humans understand the world through these stories. In other words, narrative theory tries to understand narrative, which is the shaping of discourses and meaning-making of events and objects, and it argues that this shaping is important and has an effect on human behavior, as narratives have an effect on human perceptions. The discourse of a story is how it is conveyed and represented (Forchtner, 2021, p. 304; Puckett, 2016, pp. 2-4). This is in line with the constructivist ontology that behavior is based on our understanding of the world through social constructs. However, narrative theory adds to this by arguing that narratives are a tool to shape our understanding of the world through social constructs. Hence, narratives can be used as policy instruments by governments. For my research, this specifically implies that the United States government is able to use, intently or unintentionally, the narrative of China as a tool to influence the citizen understanding of the world and the social construction of race. However, there is a need to specify this more through narrative theory focused on a racial threat perception to specifically argue *how* the United States government uses the narrative of China to influence the citizen understanding of the world and the social construction of race. Therefore, in the following paragraph, I will outline how narrative theory expands the argument of a racial threat perception.

2.3. Narrative theory and racial threat perception

Narrative theory expands the argument of a racial threat perception. This expansion is that it argues that institutional racism implies a direct correlation between narratives and racism, as a negative narrative used by influential people, such as politicians, can cause the increase of racism and a positive narrative is able to decrease racism (Dubey, 2020, pp. 1-2; Jonsson, 2016, p. 51). Scholars argue that racism is caused by a perceived threat or collective feeling of being threatened by another group, for example through potential status displacement. 'Big events' create opportunities for tough questions about identity and awakens feelings of identification

with a certain racial group, which group representatives use to shape the racial threat and frame it in the opposition of the dominant group. In other words, governments are able through their narratives to shape a racial threat and frame it in opposition to the dominant group (Blumer, 1958, pp. 3-6; Reichelmann, 2021, p. 538). The rise of China and the racial equality principle is a perceived threat for white nationalist in the United States to demographic, cultural, economic, and geopolitical dimensions of white dominance and even survival of the liberal international order and American dominance (Búzás, 2021, p. 441; Mutz, 2018, p. 4332). For my research, this specifically has several implications. First, China is regarded as a threat to the dominant white group in the United States. Second, the United States government is able to shape the threat of China and use this as a policy tool to frame it in opposition to the dominant white group in the United States through their narratives, or, on the other hand, use their narratives as a tool to decrease the threat perception of China. Thereafter, the narrative used by the United States governments has an effect on citizen behavior, and more specifically, national racism levels. Hence, if the United States government pursues this negative narrative of China, it could possibly cause an increase in anti-Asian racism. On the other hand, if the United States governments pursues a more positive narrative of China, anti-Asian racism levels could possibly decrease.

2.4. Expectations

Drawing on narrative theory discussed in this theoretical framework, I will formulate my expectation for an answer to my research question: “What is the effect of the United States government narrative of China on national anti-Asian racism in the United States?”. Narrative theory focused on a racial threat perception argues that there exists a threat perception of China to white nationalists in the United States. The presidents and their offices could use this threat perception of China as a policy tool to frame it in opposition of the dominant group and this negative narrative increases racism. As Donald Trump and his office were known for openly discriminating and denigrating China and Chinese people, and Barack Obama and his office were expected to be less racist, which will be further elaborated on in the methodology, I expect that the more negative narrative used by the Trump office has caused a relative increase of national anti-Asian racism in the United States compared to the Obama office. In other words, the effect of the United States government narrative of China on national anti-Asian racism in the United States is that a negative narrative of China will cause an increase of national anti-Asian racism.

Part III. Methodology

In the previous part, I have outlined my expectations for my research. Therefore, in this part I will outline appropriate methods to find accurate results. In this paper, I will perform a comparative case study and narrative analysis to answer my research question “What is the effect of the United States government narrative of China on national anti-Asian racism in the United States?”. I will further elaborate on this in the following paragraph. Besides, I will explain why I have chosen the United States, anti-Asian racism and the offices of President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump for my case study. Thereafter, I will outline the specific methods of data gathering and analysis that will be used in this research.

3.1. A comparative case study and narrative analysis

A comparative case study is applicable to answer my research question because it allows me to research the single phenomenon of anti-Asian racism in the United States, as racism is sensitive to context and hence, each case should be researched separately. Therefore, I will perform a narrative analysis according to the constructivist epistemology (Gerring, 2004, p. 342; Lowndes et al., 2018, p. 75; Ragin, 1987, p. 35). More specifically, I will perform a narrative analysis to help me expose the narratives of China used by President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump and their Secretaries of State, as a narrative analysis is appropriate to research narratives used by political actors. The interpretive aspect of constructivist methods implies tempting to understand meanings to explain social life. A narrative analysis is a method from a constructivist perspective that aims to obtain knowledge about social and international life and the narratives used by political actors to shape social reality (Halperin & Heath, 2017, p. 336; Pouliot, 2007, pp. 360-365).

3.2. Case selection

The United States is suitable as case study, because of several considerations. First, the United States is the hegemonic power in the liberal international order, and thus, the rise of China has the most significant impact on the United States. Therefore, rising China is high on the policy agenda and thus, a much debated topic by the government, which increases the relevance of this paper. Second, the United States is ranked as having the 10th most negative view on racial equality of all states in the world (U.S. News, n.d.; World Population Review, n.d.). These findings imply that racism is still an important and visible aspect of United States society and that the United States is a remarkable outlier, and therefore, an interesting case to research the effect of the narrative of China used by state officials on national anti-Asian racism. I will not

limit my data to presidential speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks and press briefings, but rather also include those of the Secretaries of State. Therefore, there will be much more data available. Hence, the reliability of my results increases, as the effect of narrative will be more obvious with more data than it would have been when this research was limited to presidential narratives. I have made the deliberate decision to limit my research to one single country, because the contexts of racism and narrative differs in every country. This implies that every case should be researched separately to draw appropriate conclusions on what the effect of government narrative on national racism means specifically.

The focus on anti-Asian racism in the United States, rather than a focus on anti-Black or anti-Hispanic racism, increases the relevance of this paper, because there has been done much less research on anti-Asian racism. Second, Asian Americans are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States and expected to be the doubled in size in 2050, and anti-Asian racism has increased over the last years in the United States (Daniller, 2021; Pew Research Center, 2021). Therefore, it is important for both researchers and politicians to gain insight into the discursive power of the United States government narrative on national anti-Asian racism.

I have chosen to compare the Obama office and the Trump office, because I expect to find significant differences between the two offices. First, Obama was the first Black United States president and a democrat, which implies that his office was expected to be less racist. The aspect of Obama being the first Black president of the United States was a significant phenomenon and it was seen as a triumph in the American racial state and a progress in racial attitudes under the largely white electorate (Cunnigen et al., 2015, p. 78). The Trump office, on the other hand, is known for openly discriminating and denigrating minorities and Trump is a republican. Asians were discriminated by the Trump administration from the start of his presidency and Covid-19 strengthened this. Important to note here, is that all pre-Covid-19 data will also be accurately analyzed. Covid-19 has had an impact on national anti-Asian racism during the presidency of Donald Trump, but anti-Asian racism existed before the start of Covid-19. Therefore, to negate the impact of Covid-19, I will also critically analyze the anti-Asian hate crimes before Covid-19 during the Trump presidency separately. These findings imply that there is a difference in racist narratives between the Obama and Trump offices. Fourth, the presidencies of Barack Obama and Donald Trump were operational during the rise of China and decline of United States power. Therefore, I expect to find more data, as China has been high on the policy agenda. In this paper, I will try to expose the effects of the narrative of China used by United

States officials on national racism. Hence, two significant distinctive presidential perspectives on race and the role of Asians in American society contribute to revealing this effect.

3.3. Data gathering and analysis

The data will be gathered from speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings filtered on “China” or “Chinese” by President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump and the Secretaries of State during their presidencies. The Miller Center has saved all speeches of former presidents Barack Obama (2009-2017), and Donald Trump (2017-2021). The White House archival websites have saved all presidential remarks. The U.S. Department of State has saved all previous archival websites with official statements and remarks from Secretaries of State Hillary Clinton and John Kerry from the Obama administration and Thomas Shannon, Rex Tillerson, John Sullivan, and Michael Pompeo from the Trump administration. I will analyze the narrative of China used by President Obama and President Trump and the Secretaries of State and divide them between positive, neutral, and negative reporting on the one hand, and on the other hand divide them between topics to indicate on which topics China was narrated. Positive reporting is characterized by the framing of China as a friend or ally, neutral reporting is characterized by simply mentioning China in a statement without further substantive reference to China, and negative reporting is characterized by framing China as a challenge, threat, or enemy. The division between topics is a deliberate decision, as a narrative analysis is an interpretive method which is sensitive to researcher bias (Halperin & Heath, 2017, p. 344). I have tempted to limit this researcher bias by dividing the speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings into different topics and by creating a thorough research plan beforehand.

This narrative analysis implies that I will analyze 624 speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings of the Obama administration and 2049 speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings of the Trump administration. Important to note here, is that some data units consisted of two sentences, and some data units consisted of two-hour lasting interviews. Hence, to negate the impact of this difference, I have treated speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings that concerned multiple topics and in which different narratives were constructed, as multiple speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings. For example, a long interview on China that covered power, economics, and human rights, is indicated as three separated speeches. The difference in amount of data between the Obama and the Trump administration should be carefully considered in the

analysis. Hence, I will quantitatively present the results in numbers, but also in percentages to negate the impact of the difference. Thereafter, I will use secondary data consisting of surveys published by Pew Research Centre on anti-Asian racism, newspaper articles and statistic data of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to gather data on the level of national anti-Asian racism in the United States. When comparing the narratives of China used in the speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings with the data on levels of national anti-Asian racism, I can answer my research question “What is the effect of the United States government narrative of China on national anti-Asian racism in the United States?”.

Part IV. Results and analysis

Comparing the narratives of the Obama and Trump administration, I have gathered data to base my findings upon, which I will outline in this part and can be found in Annexes A and B. Furthermore, I have visualized my findings in tables in which I divided the speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements, and remarks between positive, neutral, and negative on the one hand, and on the other hand, between topics. I added percentages to the tables to negate the impact of the difference between the two presidential offices in number of available data. First, I will outline the tables and specific findings of the narrative analysis and second, I will discuss the collected secondary data on levels of national anti-Asian racism in the United States.

4.1. Quantitative tables narrative analysis

I have found a narrative of China in 624 speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings by Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, and John Kerry, which I visualized in table 1. I have found a narrative of China in 2049 speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings by Donald Trump, Thomas Shannon, Rex Tillerson, John Sullivan, and Michael Pompeo, which I visualized in table 2. The percentages of positive, neutral, and negative reporting are the percentage to the total narratives on that topic. For the percentages in the totals, it is the percentage compared to the 624 and 2049 speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings. This is to negate the impact of the difference in amount of data between the two administrations.

Table 1*Obama Administration Narratives*

Topic	Positive reporting	Neutral reporting	Negative reporting	Total
Power	64 (31%)	97 (48%)	42 (21%)	203 (32%)
Innovation and technology	40 (38%)	55 (51%)	12 (11%)	107 (17%)
Trade	31 (33%)	18 (19%)	46 (48%)	95 (15%)
Economy	43 (54%)	22 (28%)	14 (18%)	79 (12%)
Military and international security	12 (25%)	27 (56%)	9 (19%)	48 (8%)
Human rights	9 (22%)	1 (2%)	32 (76%)	42 (7%)
International institutions and the LIO	8 (28%)	14 (48%)	7 (24%)	29 (5%)
Climate change	7 (58%)	5 (42%)	0 (0%)	12 (2%)
Drugs	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	3 (60%)	5 (1%)
Racism	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (1%)
Covid-19	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	220 (35%)	239 (38%)	165 (27%)	624 (100%)

Note: The references to the speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks and press briefings of the Obama administration can be found in Appendix A.

Table 2*Trump Administration Narratives*

Topic	Positive reporting	Neutral reporting	Negative reporting	Total
Power	11 (2%)	156 (22%)	536 (76%)	703 (34%)
Innovation and technology	0 (0%)	17 (21%)	63 (79%)	80 (4%)
Trade	8 (2%)	63 (17%)	292 (81%)	363 (18%)
Economy	2 (2%)	20 (16%)	106 (82%)	128 (6%)
Military and international security	0 (0%)	15 (7%)	214 (93%)	229 (11%)
Human rights	0 (0%)	3 (1%)	253 (99%)	256 (12%)
International institutions and the LIO	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	47 (100%)	47 (2%)
Climate change	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	5 (1%)
Drugs	12 (40%)	0 (0%)	18 (60%)	30 (1%)
Racism	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	4 (1%)
Covid-19	0 (0%)	15 (7%)	189 (93%)	204 (10%)
Total	33 (2%)	289 (14%)	1727 (84%)	2049 (100%)

Note: The references to the speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks and press briefings of the Trump administration can be found in Appendix B.

4.2. Specific findings narrative analysis

Alongside tables 1 and 2, there are several specific findings I encountered while performing the narrative analysis. First, the Obama administration overall pursued a relatively more positive and neutral narrative of China, in which the amount of positive and neutral narratives is approximately equal (35% - 38% respectively). The Trump administration was relatively more negative (84%). I did not encounter significant differences between Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, and John Kerry, but for the Trump administration, I have found that Donald Trump was relatively more positive than his Secretaries of State. Important to note here, is Donald Trump had more interaction with the Chinese government compared to his Secretaries of State. For example, Trump tells President Xi Jinping in an official press meeting that “The people of the United States have a very deep respect for the heritage of your country and the noble traditions of its people. Your ancient values bring past and future together into the present. So beautiful” (Trump, 2017). I interpret this as Donald Trump expressing his respect for to the Chinese president. Rex Tillerson is more neutral in expressing his respect for China, as visible in the following quote: “On behalf the United States, I would like to congratulate all of the Chinese people as you celebrate the 68th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China on October 1” (Tillerson, 2017). Michael Pompeo is also neutral, as visible here: “On behalf of the people of the United States, I wish congratulations to the People’s Republic of China as you celebrate your National Day on October 1” (Pompeo, 2018). I will elaborate more on this difference in the discussion.

In the more positive and neutral narratives of the Obama administration, power was the most important topic and China is regarded as a powerful economic actor with the capability to create a cooperative and positive relationship with the United States to lead the world, as visible in the following quote:

I’ve spoken to the leaders of two of our closest allies, France and the United Kingdom, and we will work together in consultation with Russia and China to put forward a resolution at the U.N. Security Council requiring Assad to give up his chemical weapons, and to ultimately destroy them under international control (Obama, 2013b).

Besides, the abilities of China to become an important actor and ally regarding clean energy, trade, infrastructure, science and technology is largely addressed by the Obama administration, as visible in the following quote: “Engaging their talents, ideas and energies makes the U.S.-China relationship far deeper and more durable than anything our governments could do on our

own” (Clinton, 2012). These developments are regarded as an indication for the United States to step up their game. This is in contrast to the Trump administration, that often frames China as a threat and in opposition to the American people, as visible here:

The Chinese Communist Party cannot tolerate the free thinking of its own people, and increasingly is trying to extend its reach outside China’s borders. In the latest example, Chinese authorities have reportedly issued arrest warrants for six pro-democracy advocates resident outside of China, including a U.S. citizen. The United States and other free nations will continue to protect our peoples from the long arm of Beijing’s authoritarianism (Pompeo, 2020a).

I interpret here a difference between the Obama administration and the Trump administration, as the Trump administration indicates a threat perception of China and the Obama administration indicates China as an ally.

The human right violations are addressed by the Obama administration, but I also found effort to highlight the progress that has already been made in China after United States efforts for human rights and the ability of China to become an important ally in fighting threats like Iran and North Korea, as visible in this quote:

With respect to North Korea, the first point to make is that we hope North Korea will refrain from provocative actions and words at this time. We do want to work through the Six-Party Talks, and I will be discussing with South Korea, Japan and China how best to get the negotiations back on track (Clinton, 2009).

The Trump administration on the other hand, used an obvious we-versus-them narrative throughout their remarks and speeches and even narrates the United States and its visions as superior to China (Pompeo, 2020b). China is narrated as an enemy and the cause for mass unemployment and during the final year of the presidency, the cause for the pandemic and the American victims, as visible here: “The Chinese Communist Party punished brave Chinese scientists, doctors, and journalists who tried to alert the world to the dangers of the spreading virus, allowing a controllable outbreak to become a global pandemic” (Pompeo, 2020d). Even some imperialistic thoughts were found in the narrative used by the Trump administration, as terms like “civilization” or “cultivation” are used to indicate why the United States is superior to China (Pompeo, 2019; Pompeo, 2020b; Pompeo, 2020b).

During both presidential offices, anti-Asian racism existed. However, both offices addressed this issue differently and pursued a different narrative of anti-Asian racism. To demonstrate this difference, I retrieved two quotes from a speech by Obama about Asian and European immigration and anti-Asian and anti-European racism and by Michael Pompeo about anti-Asian racism and exclusion on university campuses. First, the Obama quote on immigrants and racism:

They were the Einsteins and the Carnegies. But they were also the millions of women and men whose names history may not remember, but whose actions helped make us who we are; who built this country hand by hand, brick by brick. They all came here knowing that what makes somebody an American is not just blood or birth, but allegiance to our founding principles and the faith in the idea that anyone from anywhere can write the next great chapter of our story (Obama, 2013a).

In this quote, Obama describes how the United States was built by immigrants and how valuable immigrants and their experiences are to American society. Therefore, he calls for a termination of hate crimes towards minorities. This is in contrast to the quote by Michael Pompeo in which he said that “fraudulent cries of racism or Sinophobia should never drown out a candid exposure of the activities of the Chinese Communist Party” (Pompeo, 2020b). I interpret this as Pompeo undermining here the seriousness of anti-Asian racism and rather insist on his conviction of the threat China poses to the United States.

With these specific examples, the different narratives are obviously contrasting. For my analysis, this implies that there is a difference between the Obama administration narrative of anti-Chinese racism and the Trump administration narrative of anti-Chinese racism. Hence, the Trump administration is more negative than the Obama administration.

4.3. Anti-Asian racism levels

I have gathered secondary data from various sources to indicate the levels of anti-Asian racism during the Obama and Trump presidencies. First, I will outline table 3 and figure 1 that quantitatively visualize the number of incidents, offences, and victims of anti-Asian racism in the United States. Victims here do not only imply individuals, but also businesses, religious organizations, government entities or societies as a whole (Federal Bureau of Investigation, n.d.). This will be followed by table 4 and figure 2 that outline the average incidents, offences and victims in the Obama administration, Trump administration and the Trump administration

before Covid-19. The added averages of the Trump administration before Covid-19 are to negate the impact of Covid-19 on anti-Asian hate crimes in the United States. Thereafter, I will discuss specific findings from surveys, newspapers, and interest groups on national anti-Asian racism.

Table 3

Anti-Asian Hate Crimes in the United States

Year	Incidents	Offences	Victims
2009	126	147	149
2010	150	190	203
2011	138	165	175
2012	121	134	143
2013	135	158	164
2014	140	168	201
2015	111	132	136
2016	113	131	137
2017	131	152	165
2018	148	171	177
2019	158	205	215
2020	279	341	356

Figure 1

Anti-Asian Hate Crimes in the United States

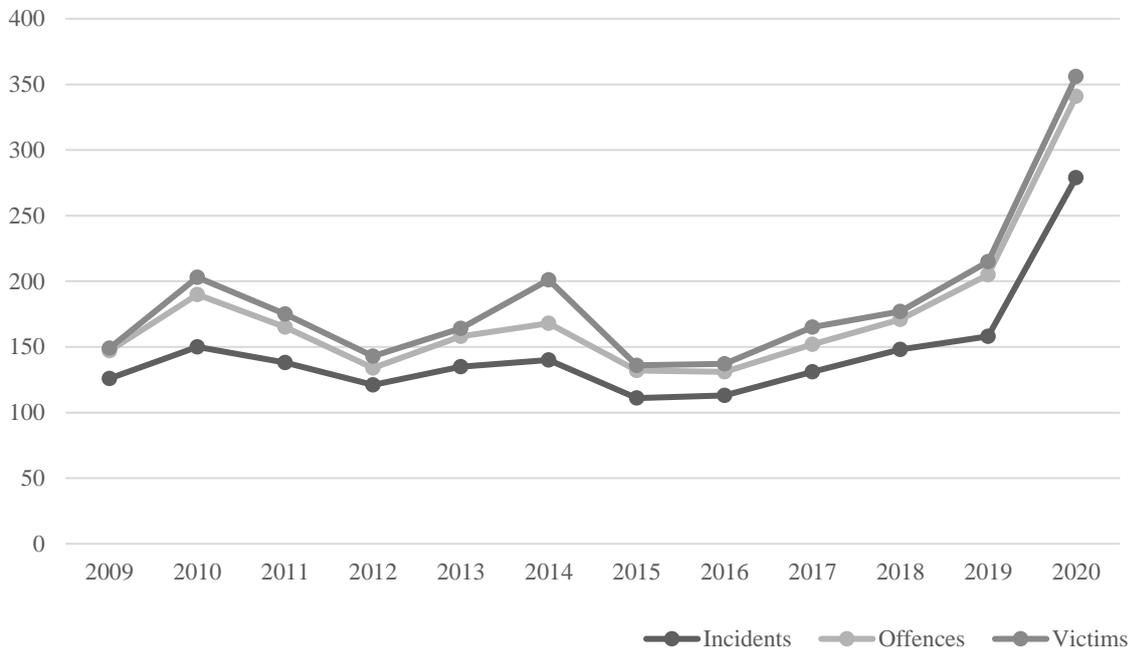


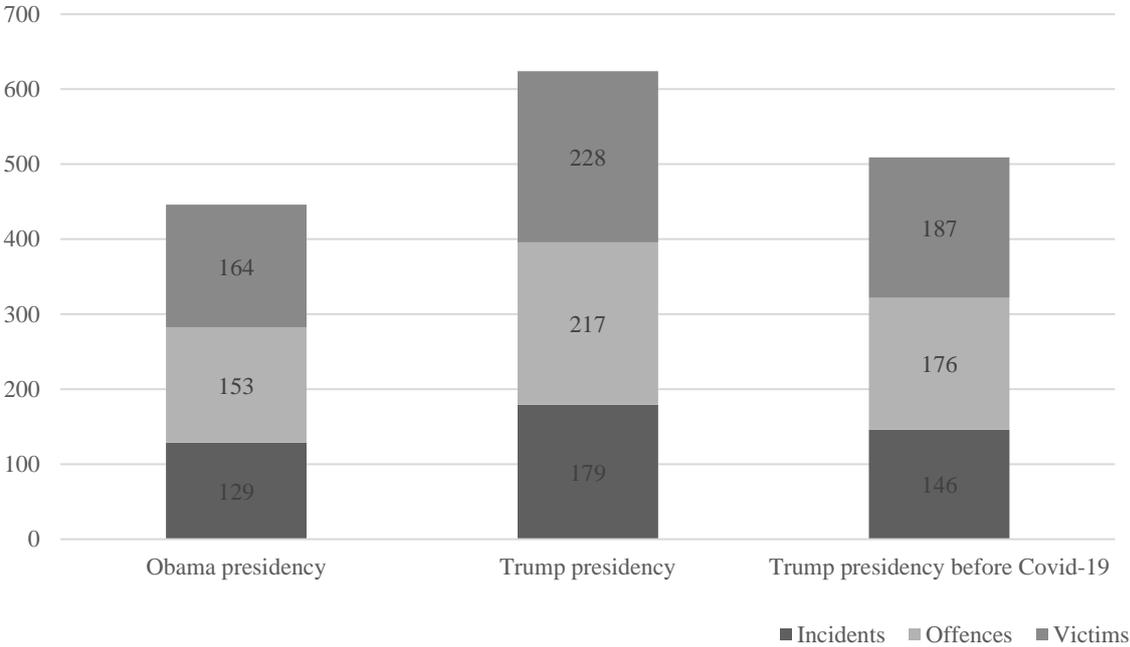
Table 4

Averages of Anti-Asian Hate Crimes in the United States

Presidencies	Incidents	Offences	Victims
Obama presidency (2009-2016)	129	153	164
Trump presidency entire period (2017-2021)	179	217	228
Trump presidency before Covid-19 (2017-2019)	146	176	187

Figure 2

Averages of Anti-Asian Hate Crimes in the United States



The reports of anti-Asian hate crimes by the Federal Bureau of Investigation show that anti-Asian racism levels were higher during the Trump presidency than during the Obama presidency. Important to note is that 2020, the year the United States was hit by Covid-19, is a remarkable outlier. The pandemic is an obvious explanation for the increased hate crimes, and this impacts the average of the reported hate crimes during the Trump presidency. To negate the impact of Covid-19, I added an average of hate crimes during the Trump presidency in which 2020 is excluded. Hence, even before the pandemic, anti-Asian hate crimes were more frequent during the Trump presidency than during the Obama presidency. This finding is strengthened by a survey under Asian Americans on anti-Asian violence. The most frequent answer, one-in-five, was that the main reason for an increase in anti-Asian violence is Donald Trump and his rhetoric, rather than the pandemic (Pew Research Center, 2021). Besides, the number of Asian respondents that personally experienced discrimination after the start of the pandemic remains the same as before the pandemic. Moreover, Black respondents experienced more often that people acted uncomfortable around them during the pandemic than Asian respondents (Pew Research Center, 2021). One Asian respondent commented that “four years of Trump has normalized racism and bullying” (Pew Research Center, 2021). Besides, the United Nations published an official rapport in which they addressed the seriousness and

severeness of anti-Asian hate crimes in the United States. The rapport argues that President Trump fuels this by legitimizing the violations, as he does not publicly oppose the anti-Asian hate crimes. Moreover, he is also accused of encouraging anti-Asian hate during Covid-19 (United Nations, 2020, pp. 2-3). These findings combined with the precise data of the Federal Bureau of Investigation indicates that there was a relative increase in anti-Asian racism during the Trump presidency.

Part V. Discussion

In this discussion, I will put the results of my research into perspective to my theoretical framework and expectations. Hence, I will here discuss findings that contradicted my expectations, and I will explain those findings. Thereafter, I will outline the implications of my findings to the broader field of my research, governmental discursive power.

5.1. Empirics related to theoretical framework and expectations

The empirics discussed in part IV are able to answer my research question: “What is the effect of the United States government narrative of China on national anti-Asian racism in the United States?”. My expectations beforehand were that the effect of the United States government narrative of China on national anti-Asian racism in the United States is that a negative narrative of China will cause an increase in national anti-Asian racism. This is in line with the assumptions of narrative theory that a negative government narrative increases national racism levels. I have found that the Trump office pursued a more negative narrative of China than the Obama office. Besides, I have found evidence from various sources that the anti-Asian racism level was higher during the Trump presidency than during the Obama presidency. Hence, the answer to my research question is that a more negative United States government narrative of China causes an increase in national anti-Asian racism in the United States. Thus, for my research this implies that I was able to explain the relation between the United States government narrative of China and national anti-Asian racism in the United States by using the assumptions of narrative theory, as discussed in my theoretical framework, through a narrative analysis. Besides, my expectations were proven right.

However, I encountered some findings that contradicted my expectations. First, I have found that President Donald Trump was relatively more neutral and positive than his Secretaries of State. This contrasted my expectations, because I expected President Trump to be the most negative narrator on China. However, Secretary of State Michael Pompeo proved to be the most negative narrator on China out of all researched actors, rather than the president. A possible explanation for this is that President Trump frequently referred to President Xi Jinping as his “friend”, and hence, was more tolerant than Michael Pompeo (Trump, 2018; Trump, 2020). Besides, Trump had more meetings with the Chinese government and was more often in China compared to his Secretaries of State, and hence, perhaps felt the need to be relatively less negative. Second, as discussed before, there is much more data on China available for the Trump administration, compared to the Obama administration, even though the Obama

presidency lasted twice as long. A possible explanation for this is that President Trump had put China high on the policy agenda from the start of his presidency (Institute for Security and Development Policy, 2018). To negate this impact, I have added percentages in my tables. Third, 2020 was a remarkable outlier when anti-Asian hate crimes increased with 165 % in the United States compared to 2019. Besides, Covid-19 was declared a public health emergency on January 22, 2021, and hence, exceedingly high on the policy agenda (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, n.d.). However, the topic of Covid-19 related to a narrative of China indicated just 10 % of the total topics on China during the Trump presidency. I expected this percentage to be higher because of the high position of Covid-19 on the United States policy agenda. Nonetheless, this relatively low percentage of Covid-19 as a topic could be caused by the fact that the Trump office was repeatedly confronted by national and international institutions of being racist towards China and Chinese people regarding Covid-19. Therefore, the Trump administration could have shifted the focus from Covid-19 to other topics to pursue their negative narrative of China. Future research could possibly indicate whether this was their motive.

5.2. Implications to the broader field of political science

As discussed in my introduction, the broader aim of this paper and therefore, its contribution to the academic field of political science, is that the relation between government narratives and citizen behavior is researched and exposed. This was achieved through a comparative case study of the Obama administration and the Trump administration narrative of China and its effect on national anti-Asian racism. In this paragraph, I will discuss the implications of my findings to the broader field of political science. First, the broader revealed relation of this research is that government narratives have an effect on citizen behavior. In other words, governments have discursive power over citizen behavior. However, important to note here, is that any more specific generalizations should be carefully made, as racism contexts differ for each ethnic group and in each country. Therefore, I am unable to conclude from this research that government narratives of other states have the same effect on national racism as the United States government has on national anti-Asian racism. Instead, the aim of this paper is to give an insight into the discursive power of governments on behavior at the citizen level in general, rather than any specific assumptions of the United States applicable to all countries. Future research on other countries and their racism contexts is necessary to draw appropriate conclusions on the influence of government narratives in those countries. However, as

discussed above, this paper is able to expose the governmental discursive power on behavior at the citizen level. Thus, therefore it contributes to the academic field of political science.

Conclusion

The relative decline of United States power and the rise of China has caused China to be high on the policy agenda in the United States. The United States government narrative of China has changed during different presidencies. At the same time, anti-Asian racism levels changed in the United States. According to narrative theory, a negative governmental narrative can cause an increase in national racism levels. Therefore, I have examined the following research question: “What is the effect of the United States government narrative of China on national anti-Asian racism in the United States?”. The aim of this paper was to indicate the effect of the United States government narrative of China on national anti-Asian racism in the United States by conducting an interpretive search for the relation between a positive, neutral, or negative narrative on national racism levels through a comparative case study according to the constructivist epistemology. This paper adds to the academic field of political science by focusing on anti-Asian racism and exposing the discursive power of governments on their citizens.

The results have shown that a negative narrative of China resulted in an increase of national anti-Asian racism. I have collected my data through a narrative analysis of speeches, testimonies, interviews, official statements and remarks, and press briefings in which I compared the Obama administration and the Trump administration, and I have collected secondary data on levels of anti-Asian racism in the United States during their presidencies. This indicated that levels of anti-Asian racism increased during the Trump presidency, in which the United States government narrative of China was more negative compared to during the Obama presidency. Thus, the answer to my research question is that a negative United States government narrative of China increases national anti-Asian racism in the United States.

Future research on the effect of the United States government narrative of China on national anti-Asian racism in the United States should indicate whether there were other variables that could explain why anti-Asian racism increased during the Trump presidency. Second, to draw more general conclusions on governmental discursive power on citizen behavior, additional research on other countries and their specific racism or other domestic problems is necessary, as contexts differ in each country.

I would like to conclude this paper with policy recommendations for governments and political actors in general. This paper has indicated that governments have discursive power over citizen

behavior. Political actors have power and prestige and set an example for citizens. Hence, they should be aware of the discursive power that comes with this responsibility and act accordingly and appropriately. It is the government its duty to protect and safeguard each inhabitant of their country and to ensure their safety. Therefore, they should do anything in their power to stop racism and other forms of discrimination. Hopefully, the awareness and needed carefulness of discursive power could help protecting minorities and contribute to ending racism in the world. As Michelle Bachelet, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, stated: “All of us need to call out and openly condemn all messages – especially political messages or discourses – which disseminate ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, or which incite racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance” (United Nations Human Rights, n.d.). I could not agree more.

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Appendix A

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Appendix B

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