How is Nationalism Framed in Mainland China Media

with Different Levels of Government Control:

Case Study of Sino-Japanese Relationship

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Abstract

This research examines the construction of nationalism from a communication approach. It attempts to uncover the theoretical connections between media with different levels of government control. Also, it traces the nationalistic motives that are behind different frames.

From an intensive content analysis of two different cases, four different kinds of frames were recognized – national self respect, national self strengthening, co-operation with Japan and national humiliation. Through integrating nationalism theory with framing, the research aims to identify dominant frames in different levels of government control media. In addition, the research examines the relationship between the level of government control and the formation of nationalism.

Results show that absolute and high government control leads to the use of national self respect and co-operation with Japan as frames. In low control media, *Southern Metropolis News* shows different pattern in the two cases studied. Further analysis reveals that such a discrepancy can be accounted for by the nature of the incidents. Since they are foreign policy-related incidents, people usually have similar points of views on defending common enemies. As a result, the internal frames that low government control media used are same

as other media. However, for external frames, lower government control media provide a platform for different opinion presentations. Unbarred from the stringent government scrutiny on the media like *People's Daily*, writers of these newspapers can freely express their viewpoints through framing. This study contributes to our understanding of the differences between media representing different levels of government control. By portraying different kinds of nationalism, this study may also help in comprehending Sino-Japanese relationship.

論文概要

本論文從傳播學角度，探討中國國族主義的建構，試圖釐清媒介與不同程度的政府規管，重溯多重框架底下的國族化動機。

透過兩個有關中日關係的個案，所進行的內容分析（content analysis），歸納出四個重要的概念框架：國族自我認同（national self-respect）、國族自強（national self-strengthening）、與日本合作（co-operation with Japan），與及國恥（national humiliation），再將以上四個框架，與相關國族主義理論（）聯繫起來。再者，本文的分析可解釋政府管制與國族主義產生過程的關係。

除應用內容分析外，本研究亦以深度訪問（personal in-depth interview）為輔助研究方法。研究中，本人訪問不同傳媒機構的從業員。他們從事高低不同管制程度的媒體。訪問結果有助補充內容分析未能反映的媒介現實運作情況。

本論文多項研究結果顯示，極權與高程度政府管制的媒體，通常生產符合「國族自我認同」和「與日本合作」兩項理念框架的新聞內容。而在低管制的媒體，如《南方都市》，則利用「國族自強」與「國恥」兩個框架，來報道有關中日關係的新聞。本論文進一步揭示上述不同媒體表現迥異，與新聞事件本質有關。由於有關中日關係新聞多為外交事件，公眾通常會抱持著搶口一致對外」的態度。

本人期望本研究可展示不同程度的政府管制，與媒體所採用理念框架的關。另一方面，此研究分析到對國族主義的塑形，有助理解中日關係問題。

趙婉明
二零零六年九月二十八日

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Overview

Nationalism is the very foundation for the building of a nation. In other words,

nationalism is also the basic building block for the formation of ethnicity and

national identity.

Media has long been used as a tool for the spread of nationalism, especially in

today's world. Information and communication technology gave a new way for

shaping nationalism in Mainland China. Therefore, viewing nationalism from a

communications angle would bring in new insights to the way nationalism is

understood.

In China, there are three different types of media: the formal one which is

completely controlled by the government; one with less government control and also

one that is mostly "controlled" by the people. Formal media here carries the

authoritative statements from the government. Editorials, commentaries, and

opinions are published under government approval, and these news articles carry the

same or similar viewpoints of the government. There are few levels of control even

all of them are with government supervision. Even within political supervision, three

levels of control can be identified. The first one is complete control, in which the

media is the official "voice" of the government. The second type is the one with

high government control, and the third one is with less government control. These two kinds of media is province-based one or city-based, hence more market-oriented.

While the above media are controlled by the government on a higher level, informal media like the Internet has a larger freedom comparatively. According to Liu (2006), Chinese nationalists are eager to express and defend their points of views about the nation, and created their own frames and meanings towards incidents that related to the sovereignty of Mainland China. And these frames are usually contrasted with those found in media highly-controlled by the government.

Therefore, to confirm this claim, as well as to understand what kinds of frames were employed by these media, samples from media in China were chosen for this study. *People's Daily* (人民日報) is picked for representing absolute control media, *Global Times* (環球時報), and *China Daily* (中國日報) are picked as high government-controlled media, while *Southern Metropolis News* (南方都市報) was chosen as low control media for analysis.

People's Daily is picked for its prominent status in Mainland China. As an official news source of the Communist Party in China, its news, editorial and commentaries are subject to political supervision. It is the only newspaper that represents absolute government-control media.

Global Times is also picked as an example of high government-control media. It is under the control of *People's Daily,* but with a market-oriented force. It is one of the most significant newspapers that reports international news. According to *People's Daily* website, highly valuated articles by government officials will be published on *Global Times.*

As for *China Daily,* it is considered to be under high government control. In its official website, it claims to be the "Voice of China" or "Window to China." This showed the importance of government stance in this paper. Established in 1981, *China Daily* has an average daily circulation of 200,000. One third of the readers are from overseas and that it shows that market factor plays a role in this newspaper.

Southern Metropolis News, founded in 1997, belongs to the Nan Fang Daily Group. It is the first province level of government control paper. With a circulation of 1,400,000 in 2003, there is a high market force that drives the high volume of sales. Moreover, it is considered to be one of the forums with highest readerships, and it covers a large amount of foreign news and commentary articles.

Through an in-depth content analysis for 918 Mukden incident and also a recent visit to Yasukuni Shrine by Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in October 2005, this study aims to study the relationship between media and nationalism empirically.

These two incidents were picked for its significance in Sino-Japanese relationship. On September 18th, 1931, shortly after a session of the Japanese-owned railway has exploded, the Japanese military accused the Chinese for the attack and invaded China. Three provinces were fallen under Japanese control, and the Chinese government had little resistance towards this invasion due to its internal problems. Until these days, it is believed that 918 Mukden incident was in fact a plot by the Imperialist Japanese to invade China, and therefore, was considered by the Chinese people as National Humiliation Day.

As for the Yasukuni Shrine, this incident has been a controversial issue starting from Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's first visit in August, 2001. Yasukuni Shrine is a place that worships those who died for the country, including war criminals. To countries that were invaded by Japan before, visiting Yasukuni Shrine by its leader is a national gesture that Japan, instead of living up to its aggressive history, is glorifying those who sacrificed for Japan's imperialist ambition (Kwan, 2006). Koizumi, a liberal democratic, claims that his visits to the shrine is a private citizen act and does not relate to any political stance other than respecting the war dead. However, the visit to Yasukuni Shrine sparked outcries in countries like China and South Korea. And the one in October 2005 was the most recent visit. As a result, an investigation of these incidents can help locating how

nationalism was shaped under different levels of government control.

Based on the above understandings, while nationalism is a reflection of history and evolution in society, and media is a field to see how this reflection is framed, Sino-Japanese relationship provides such a chance to investigate the relationship between different forms of media and nationalism. Hence, the hypothesis is set to study how government control related to the framing of Sino-Japanese incidents by the media.

Given that the government plays a significant role in helping shape nationalism in China, and there are three main kinds of controls, sub-hypotheses are formed based on the levels of government control.

In order to test these hypotheses, Chapter 2 investigated how nationalism was developed in mainland China. Through incorporating theories from scholars like Ernest Gellner, Anthony Smith and Benedict Anderson, this study suggests that nationalism is a concept that reflects historical facts and evolution in society.

Given the importance of Japan in influencing the recent development of China, this focus of this research is mainly on the Sino-Japanese relations. From investigating previous literatures, nationalism in China has evolved under the manipulation of the government. From foreign invasion, to the struggle between Kuomintang (KMT) and Communist Party, and to the Tiananmen Square Incident,

different patterns of nationalism can be identified in this special time frame. Chapter 2 studied how media technology informed the development of nationalism. Due to the improvements in media technology and spread of media in Mainland China, media provides a platform for researchers to investigate how nationalism is framed and formed.

In Chapter 3, the idea of framing is explained. Framing is a concept to investigate how news stories are portrayed. This Chapter introduced four kinds of frames that are related to nationalism: national self respect, national self strengthening, co-operation with Japan and national humiliation. While national self respect and national self strengthening frames focus on China internally, the latter two analyze the two Sino-Japanese incidents from an external angle. This brief introduction provided a basic conceptual tool to understand nationalism from a communications approach.

Chapter 4 presented a grand view on methodology. Content analysis is conducted for this study. The two cases picked for the study are introduced, as well as a brief summary on the feature of the selected media text, are introduced.

Chapter 5 discusses the result. The hypothesis is not fully supported although sub-hypotheses are supported. Absolute and high government control leads to the use of national self respect and co-operation with Japan as frame, while media with

low government control have conflicts in the frames that were used.

Lastly, in Chapter 6, interpretation of such finding would be provided. In addition, limitation and further studies were suggested for future analysis of Chinese nationalism.

1.2 Significance

This thesis, through comparing how Sino-Japanese relationship related incidents were framed by the official government media *People's Daily*, high government control media *Global Times*, and *China Daily*, as well as less control media *Southern Metropolis News*, will help contributing to the understanding of the differences between the actual practices of media representing different levels of government control.

Previous research may not be as specific as in relating media and foreign relationship to different government controls, and this research will help to understand how Chinese media cover international events in general.

China and Japan have long been in a love-hate relationship. They have been partners and enemies in aspects like economics and history. A concrete and in-depth research on how media in China reports on past historical events provides us a better understanding of this relationship and how Chinese nationalism is shaped by the reporting of these incidents in the media.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

2.1 Definition of nation

To understand nationalism, the meaning of "nation" has to be defined. In this research, Benedict Anderson (1983)'s definition is employed as a basic concept to understand how nationalism was framed in Mainland China. Anderson (1991) proposes that nationalism is an imagined political community; imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. He defines the community as *imagined* because members of a community never know the other members. And it is nationalism that invents a nation. Also, the community is imagined as it is limited with boundaries. To define sovereignty of the community, it has to go back to the period of post-Enlightenment and other revolutions, which is an age of individual freedom. In addition, it is imagined as a community because the nation is conceived as having deep, horizontal comradeship.

According to Anderson, this imagined community is the foundation of nationalism. He explains that "nation-ness" is the most universally legitimate value in the politics. If it is nationalism that invents the idea of a nation in Mainland China, then the construction of nationalism, and how is nationalism portrayed, becomes an important issue for study.

2.2 History of Chinese nationalism

When applying this definition of nation to Mainland China, a country with a long history of civilization, it is important to understand the background and origins of Chinese nationalism.

Ernest Gellner (1983) argues that the origin of nationalism is a cultural one and that it is the congruent of culture and polity. Culture, in his definition, endows its own political proof. He argues that nationalism is a function of technological, industrial and economical forces that emerged in Europe during the late eighteenth century. With the new change in the society, such as urbanization, population explosion, labor migration and the development of a global economy, new cultural boundaries were built with dramatic movement. To Gellner (1983), industrialism demands a homogeneous high culture which in turn demands an educational system. Since an educational system demands a state to protect it, such a demand generates nationalism. According to Gellner's interpretation of nationalism, nationalism is made up of political, economic and social citizenship due to development. This argument is more of a state-based ideology. As industrialization was the main thrust for shaping the collective identity of a group of people, this type of nationalism is economic in nature as well. As a newly developed country, economics development is a key term in both the government and people's mind nowadays. Indeed, this kind of economic nationalism has evolved from a self-protection to a form that enables

co-operates with other countries. For example, the Euro is one the examples that can demonstrate this kind of change. And this kind of co-operation that brings mutual benefits became a trend in the 21st century.

However, scholars like James Townsend challenge this idea that Chinese nationalism is an ethnically based, as Han identity was often used as a cultural pride. This belief that ethnicity is a main component of Chinese nationalism is indeed based on what Anthony Smith (1989) says. It provides a more in-depth answer to explain how ethnicity helps generating a boarder picture of nationalism.

Smith emphasizes that the "primordial" character of nationalism is ethnicity. National sentiment is the base for mass movement. Under Smith's definition, a nation is a community that shares a unified history, culture, territory, economy, education system and legal rights. He argues that nationalism is cultivated to maintain autonomy, unity and identity of a nation. In order to achieve these goals, core networks among culture, language, religion, skills have to be formed. However, the most important factor was ethnicity.

According to Smith (1989), there are six characteristics of "ethnies", namely a common name for the unit of population included, a set of common origins and descent myths, some common historical memories, a sense of common "history territory", a shared culture like languages, customs or religion, as well as a sense of

solidarity among most members. Smith also emphasizes that ethnic nationalism is a non-Western concept, in contrast to Western ideas that nationalism are defined by territory boundaries.

At the same time, Zhao (2004) claims that ethnic nationalism was the mainstay of Chinese nationalism during revolutionary time. Han people revolted against non-Han people rule. It was not until Dr. Sun Yat-sen formed Constitution of the Republic of China that a majority of Han people ceased to push for the formation of an ethnic state. Later, during the conflicts between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Kuomingtang (KMT), the former decided to recognize the self-determination of different ethnic minorities. Yet, after the defeat of the KMT and its retreat to Taiwan, the CCP immediately discarded this policy and proceeded to implement unity among different ethnic groups. However, until now, ethnic nationalism remains a threat to the People Republic of China (PRC) government. As ethnic nationalism inevitably presents a challenge to CCP's authoritarian rule, a different form of nationalism must be developed.

Alternatively, many scholars have claimed Chinese nationalism began as one single ethnicity, even though China is made up of many ethnicities. Michael Yahuda suggested that Chinese nationalism started when Japan defeated China in 1895. Yahuda even described this as "the point at which the fear of the loss or the death of

China". Ever since then, China has gone through many domestic and foreign crises in its modern history, and one single ethnicity nationalism is always used to resolute these turmoil. For instance, during the 1930s and 1940s, the Japanese invasion gave rise to nationalist mass mobilization movements. Other incidents, such as the May fourth movement, and the Korean War also gave nationalism a chance to rise up around that time.

In late 1970s, the PRC government enforced a set of laws, such as "Decision on Strengthening Public Relations" to reinforce nationalism among different ethnic groups (Wang & Jeng, 2004). Indeed, the approach of transcending ethnic differences paved the way for the dawning of a single Chinese identity to which all ethnic groups must subscribe. The CCP manipulated stories from war-time, as well as how foreigners, especially the Japanese damaged the country, and bullied the people, such as rapping the women, and killing the children, as a collective memory tool to meltdown ethnic differences.

Therefore, political-territorial convergence is emphasized as a reflection of past history. This kind of state nationalism is based on one territorial concept. Because sovereignty is individualistic under state nationalism, it is used to maintain a multiethnic nation-state in response to foreign invasions.

Indeed, in the twentieth century, as people in China are being more educated,

more people, and especially the youth, tend to regard civil liberties and political participation as their inborn rights of citizenship. This kind of liberal nationalism is the "melting-pot" of cultural and all races.

Liberal nationalism was introduced to China in the early twenty century for fending off foreign imperialism and push for individual rights. However, later Mao Zedong launched an anti-rightist campaign which made communist state the sole representative political party in China.

According to Zhao (2005), liberal nationalism was the cause of the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989. And after this incident, Chinese liberal nationalists always criticize that the government for being too soft on foreign powers. This idea is demonstrated in liberal nationalism, which empowers people to differentiate themselves from outsiders by means of popular awareness and some degree of civic participation. Citizens have duty to support and defend their nations and pursued individual freedom (Zhao, 2005). As a result, liberal nationalism in China nurtures a group of people looking for a change to improve the current situation. They are looking forward to more freedom and democracy.

While some people desire an improvement in political strengthening, others desire economic strengthening for stronger economy. Compared with other Latin countries which witnessed the emergence of economic nationalism in the 1950s and

1960s, China has been a relatively latecomer. Normally, this kind of nationalism describes how colonized countries seek for economic independence, to protect its own production and workers. However, in China, this kind of nationalism that concerns its internal production evolved to the type that emphasized on co-operation with other countries. Qin (2005) claims that this economic nationalism is one that is more open for foreign partnerships, and participation of international trade. He also states that under globalization, this is the only choice China should make to move on. Since 2001, China has become a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO), a multinational regime for the coordination and supervision of new international economy (Jomo, 2000).

In this way, different kinds of nationalisms aroused in China, together with the media, created an imagined political community as what is described by Anderson - a strong relationship between printed journalism and the spread of nationalism.

This is because the spread of printed technology created a platform to connect people from lower classes to upper classes. They together embayed "the nationally imagined community". Secondly, printed technology helped to keep languages in a permanent form, which helped to build a central image of the nation in the long run. And thirdly, printed technology created "languages-of-power" that is different from the older administrative vernaculars.

Through reading the same printed papers or books, people who did not know each other started to build up "co-nationals" imaginations. These reasons explain how convergence of capitalism and printing technology made possible a new form of imagined community.

Indeed, the developments in media do contribute to the formation of nationalism in Mainland China. Many Western analysts claim that printed technology and capitalism are products of the elites. In China, the media, therefore, is considered to be a party propaganda for imposing a top down party-view of Chinese nationalism. Gries (2004) says many Western analysts claim that Chinese nationalism is often viewed as an elite one, which contributes to a top down party-view of Chinese nationalism. They see it as party propaganda. However, at the same time, many other Chinese analysts hold the opposite view that Chinese nationalism is indeed a result of bottom-up mass movement.

No matter whether nationalism is a top-down or bottom-up movement, there are similar points that scholars have in common. First, is the historical background of nationalism. They agree that there had not been such a huge political-related community before the eighteenth century. Secondly, they agree that the state or the highest administrative party plays a major role in nationalism. And thirdly, they agree that the structure of a nation is not only based on a single ethnicity, but also on

how to build up a nation with a diverse ethnic background. Moreover, based on

these understanding, people can conclude the power of technology, which helped to

create a kind of nationalism that does not have boundaries.

The above similarities help locate the direction of this research, which is how

different channels of media shape nationalism through framing historical incidents.

2.3 From state nationalism to popular nationalism

Gries (2004) identifies liberal nationalism as popular nationalism. Whitmeyer

(2002) defines popular nationalism as the opposite of elite nationalism, meaning a

group of non-elite members "exhibit nationalism". Sharing similar views, Gries uses

show the shift from a state suppression to a more open attitude towards Chinese

nationalism as a mass movement.

The first incident was Diaoyu Islands Protests in 1996. The CCP suppressed

anti-Japanese demonstrations in the streets, but Anti-Japanese protests still appear in

prints and Internet. Later, the CCP decided to co-opt this activism by exercising a set

of national education. These co-optation activities were also exercised in the *China*

Can Say No sensational series in 1996 to1997.

This shift of nationalism shows how the Internet helps to shift the state

nationalism to a popular one. And by investigating nationalism from how media

frame the news related to China as a country, it provides a better understanding of

how these different kinds of nationalism and the shift in between.

2.4 Three levels of Chinese nationalism

After discussing the history of nationalism in Mainland China media, it is important to note that there are different levels of nationalism. Zhao (2004) proposes that Chinese nationalism can be observed at three levels, which is at the state level, intellectual discourse and within the popular society.

Under the state level, patriotic education is used as a propaganda tool "to booster the CCP's leadership" (Zhao, 2004). These educational campaigns are often based on three themes, namely Chinese tradition and history, territorial integrity and national unity. In particular, victorious / glorious image of the Chinese is portrayed in media coverage.

For the intellectual level, nationalism is viewed as an "indispensable and a rational choice for advancing China's national interests". Therefore, according to Zhao, these intellectuals, including both conservatives and liberals, gather to contribute to this discourse.

Last but not the least, Zhao (2004) suggests that nationalism is also manifested in the popular level, especially best-sellers circulated in mainland China. The "Mao fever" back in the 1990s is the best case in point.

2.5 Media and nationalism

Media development has an inseparable relationship with the different kinds of nationalism in Mainland China. For example, it is the Party press that often related to the spread of nationalism. It started in late 1910s and early 1920s, according to Zhao (1998). Party press started off as radical journals for students and intellectuals to voice out their opposition to Western imperialism and Chinese warlords. Zhao claims that ever since the first Party organ, the Guide (Xiangdao), was established in 1922, the Party has continued to establish media organs and non-Party publications under its leadership.

Later in 1931, the Red China News Agency, which is the predecessor of Xinhua News Agency, was established. Its main duty was to send out reports to the world, and also use the military radio setting to collect outside news.

The party press continued to grow during the Anti-Japanese War (1937 - 45) and the Civil War (1945 - 49). After the Civil War in the early 1950s, private newspapers were forced to cover 60 percent of local affairs and to "design their coverage to support the Party's guidance in political and social life".

The idea that media is controlled by the Party is based on the Party Principle (dangxing yuanze) under which news media must accept the Party's guiding ideology as its own, and they must propagate the Party's programs, policies and directions. Also, they must accept the Party's leadership and stick to the Party's

organizational principles, policies and decision. Indeed, the Party developed different sets of rules to regulate direct the media. For example, there are clear parameters for news operations that can be found in Party resolutions, directions, announcements and internal bulletins such as Propaganda Trend (Xuanchuan Dongtai). Other government controls over the media include specific guidelines on news reporting and agenda-setting..

On top of these regulations is stringent government censorship. Zhao claims that under punishment like self-criticism and dismissal, many professionals prefer to conduct self-censorship. Propaganda Department and Party secretary at each level are also in-charged with monitoring media. General Press Office was set up in 1949 to administrate printed and broadcast media. Later, when this office was dismantled, Xinhua News Agency became a department under the State Council, China's cabinet. Xinhua thus became led by both the Party and the government. In 1987, State Press and Publications Administration was set up for monitoring printed press.

In China, scholars like Zhao (2005) and Zhang (2004), claim that "Party decides what experiences are to be exchanged and which are to be promoted or condemned" and that negative news is often ignored. News is often selected on the basis of its relevancy to the Party and government's agenda. Based on these understanding of government regulations, it is obvious that the central government

does exert enormous influence on China's media.

Cheung (2005) claims that newspapers brought a positive effect to its readers in strengthening nationalism and that media carried the "natural responsibility" to acknowledge the country. As a result, media is a protection of as well as the nutrition for nationalism in China. In light of the intricate relationship between media and nationalism, an investigation of nationalism from the media aspect is necessary.

2.5.1 Media in China- newspapers

As Anderson (1991) says, the development of printed technology is a key reason for the rise of nationalism because it helps preserve the conditions for the government to use press as a tool of framing incidents related to international incidents.

Merrill (1995) argues that the press must serve the state, and this kind of respect is important in forming a culture which builds up the nation. At the International Symposium on National Education in 2005, Anne-Marie Thiesse, the research director from the French National Centre for Research, presents the same view. She claims that public space like press and even museums is the place for promoting nationalism. It is through these daily activities that a government can educates the public and makes them feel proud of their own culture.

In China, official press is formed to serve such purpose. According to Zhang

(1998), the state controls 2,163 officially published newspapers. And among these newspapers, *People's Daily*, which is a government source of news, is often considered to be the official media in China. Zhang claims that there are pervasive state and self-censorship, and sensitive issues are well organized, advised and supervised. Pan (1997) also suggests that such kind of official Chinese press is designed as a party organ to educate the people.

According to a 2005 media control report issued by Human Rights in China, the PRC government controls the media. Media employees are civic servants who are accountable to the Party. Unlike their counterparts in many Western countries, civil servants in China are subject to the guidance of the Communist Party. This political control on media workers, therefore, might explain why China, according to the 2005 annual worldwide press freedom index report published by Reporters Sans Frontiers, ranked 159 out of 167. This dismal ranking suggests that Chinese "journalists have the toughest time and where government repression or armed groups prevent the media operating freely".

As a result, this research helps to understand how Sino-Japanese relationship was framed under these different kinds of media with different government control.

Chapter 3 - Framing

3.1 Overview

Goffman (1974), who first proposed frame analysis in 1974, assumes that since individuals cannot fully understand the world, they have to actively classify and interpret their life experiences to make sense of the surrounding world (Scheufele, 2000). According to Goffman, this way of using schemes of interpretation to process one's reaction to sensory information is called "primary frameworks". And it is this framework that provides meaning to texts. He also divides these frameworks into two types, which is natural and societal. Natural frame is used to interpret things that are non-intentional, while societal frame is used for intentional human action. In fact, Goffman points out that there are number of ways to interpret depending on different frames.

Entman (1993, 1991, 2001) defines framing as the manner through which the media tell a story to an audience by identifying and assigning it to a social context. Framing is a process 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 term described" (1993: p.54). According to Entman, frames select and call attention to particular parts of reality described in the media at the

expense of driving attention away from other parts of reality. Moreover, most frames are defined by what they omit, as well as by what they include (1993).

Gitlin (1980: p. 6 - 7) shares the same opinion as Entman and points out framing are "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion". Framing organizes the world for readers who rely on media. Journalists often use different frame elements, such as metaphors, catchphrases, and other symbolic devices, to construct a frame (Gamson).

Gamson and Modigliani (1987) suggest that framing is the construction of meaning. Media often provides "packages" to give interpretative meanings to the news events. These packages are long-lasting and they incorporate new events to the core frames.

Indeed, framing does contribute to politics by altering how people think. Entman (1993, 1991, 2001) conducts a research on how people from different political beliefs feel towards newspaper editorials. It is found that "media's selection of data makes a significant contribution to the outcome of each person's thinking". As a result, the relationship between the ways journalists frame the news and the way public think after reading these news is supported.

As Becker and McLeod (1976) explain, media "emphasis" affects people's cognition and their content "direction" affects people's attitudes (cited in Rossler &

Schenk, 2000, p.4). The authors also state that media framing influences people through cognition and behavior changes. "Media emphasis may indirectly exert an influence on people's attitudes (via their cognition) and, conversely, media evaluations may indirectly influence people's cognition (via their attitudes)" (Rossler & Schenk, 2000: p.4). By changing readers' cognition, media framing alters their attitudes. Hence, government-controlled media would be able to shape public's imagination or perception on nationalism through framing.

The importance of framing in this study is that media can influence the public by how they frame issues. And in China, in which government has a heavy hand in controlling the media, it is worthwhile to look at how different kinds of nationalism integrate with frames in reporting Sino-Japanese issues.

In fact, many kinds of frames are identified by social scientists. For instance, Kahn (1994), who divides the news frames as incumbent and challenger, suggests of using different kinds of indication as frames, such as the length of article, horserace coverage, tone, traits mentioned in article, positive and negative resources.

3.2 Four different frames

Huang and Lee (2003: p.41-61) develop four frames related to nationalism in China. According to them, "media have conformed to the party line by adopting its patriotic slogans to frame the news". Hence, they suggest affirmative, assertive,

aggressive and rational framing patterns of nationalism in Mainland China, which is

shown in the list below.

Table 3.1 Four major media patterns of nationalism, Huang and Lee (2003)

	Affirmative	**Assertive**	**Aggressive**	**Rational**
Central position	State nationalism	State-cum-popular nationalism	Popular nationalism	Rational nationalism
Agenda-setting strategy	Strictly following the party line	Stretching the party line to include media agendas	Mainly media-initiated, alternating between the party line and the bottom line	Pushing the boundaries of the permissible
Discourse approach	Mobilizing, propagandis-tic	Emotional, sensational	Bellicose, demagogic	Argumentative, analytical
Examples of media campaigns	Patriotic education, Hong Kong/ Macau handovers, bid for the Olympic Games	Crisis coverage of the Chinese embassy bombing (1999), Chinese-US plane collision (2001)	The *China Can Say No* series, the *US Media Deionization* series	*Southern Weekly, Open Times*, some online forums

Under this theoretical formulation of Huang and Lee (2003), news articles that

highly emphasized the accomplishments and greatness of China all can be grouped

under the affirmative frame. While the affirmative frame places a premium on the

gloriousness of China, its assertive counterpart tends to tape on any perceived

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humiliations to the Chinese people, hence a sensational and emotional effect which helps foster national unity against an external enemy. The aggressive model also focuses on external threat to China; however, this menace is to be constructed as an attempt by a foreign country to thwart China's rising power. Nonetheless the dominance of these three media patterns, a more rational discourse seems to be gaining momentum, especially with the proliferation of online forums. This rational framework emphasizes the importance of peace and harmony with other countries, hence a more pragmatic approach.

However, this current approach is not exclusive in setting a cutting point in looking the incidents internally and externally. Also, since the above frames could not show a polarized difference, a new frame model is formulated in order to find out the differences between high and low government control media.

Table 3.3 Four major media patterns of nationalism in framing Sino-Japanese issues

	National self respect	National self strengthening	Co-operation with Japan	National humiliation
Central position	State nationalism	Liberal nationalism	State / Economic nationalism	Liberal nationalism
Image of China / Japan	China: Hero	China: Weak	Japan: Partner	Japan: Enemy, villain
Discourse approach	Victory, brave, strong image	Analytical, democracy	For the good of both countries	Emotional, sensational stories
Attention	Internal	Internal	External	External

For national self respect and national self strengthening, these two frames are related to China as a whole itself. They are of two extremes, one thinking China as a hero, and the other one thinking China is not that strong and in need of reform. Another pair of co-operation with Japan and national humiliation is more external nature. Seeing Japan as a working partner and seeing Japan as an enemy is a polarized stand, and that these two frames can help investigate the hypothesis for this study.

3.2.1 National self respect

This frame is developed from the affirmative frame suggested by Whiting (1995). It is a frame that emphasizes on pride and achievements for building a positive "us" image and fostering patriotism among people. This pattern is evolved from state nationalism, which emphasized on the country's interests and pride, in whereas affirmative pattern is more related to international policies.

Similar to affirmative approach, national self respect is built up by national pride. Gries (2005) claims that past accomplishments built up pride and confidence towards an uncertain future, and this is what happened in China. Since the 1990s, Chinese government has started to advocate the use of the 5000 years of glorious civilization by implementing Confucianism ideas to the public. According to Gries, by using this approach that is derived from state nationalism, the Chinese

government transformed China's backwardness and feudal thinking to "a source of pride". Through imposing the image of China as strong, national dignity was built in public.

Indeed, this national pride approach sparked off during the 1930s and 1940s, when the China government tried to build a "victor" or "heroic" national narrative. Under this frame, scholars like Fan (2000) claims that this victorious pride should be based on the history of ancestors. The use of remembering these victorious past by the government gave way for the rise of such frame in the media, and especially in those that are highly-related to the government. Later, in the 1990s, a new nationalistic frame was formed in addition to this frame.

3.2.2 National self strengthening

Opposite to national self respect, national self strengthening sees China as one that needs to be reformed. This frame is derived from liberal nationalism. Liberal nationalism emphasizes on the value of freedom, equality, and individual rights.

Due to the recent rapid economic development in China, as well as the fast spreading of communication and education, these liberal ideals are more poplar among the public, resulting in a growing desire for reform. Under this frame, media promotes the morale urging for a reform to build a prosperous China. According to Tamir (1993), the concept of "self" is the key element in liberalism, and that by

co-operating the needs of "self" to nationalism, it is possible to develop inborn individual rights. Through providing such rights, she claims it would help to form "self determination". It is this determination that pushes forward for the strengthening of China. These self strengthening ideas include modernizations in industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology. Zheng (1999) explains the strengthening idea as a result of the force for reform.

Keeping these desires in hearts, stories such as raising the power of China in the world, critiques of the existing policy appeared. A very important concept in this frame is how articles mentioned the importance of China being strengthened. For example, self strengthening is a way to raise its status in the world, and that China has been weak for too long and it is time to step out to show its tough side.

Self strengthening is not a new concept. In the past century, people like Chiang Kai-shek, Yuan Shikai, Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the self-strengthening movement all aimed at strengthening the order of and stability in China through various kinds of reforms. The aim of self-strengthening is to develop a strong nation. And this is what exactly this frame targets for.

One of the major requests by the public during the 1989 Tiananmen square incident was self-strengthening reforms. With international attention fixated on Beijing after the June Fourth massacres, government-controlled media became

extremely cautious in reportage. As a result, in order to express their concerns, the public turned to media with less government control. Due to the above reasons, this frame is often used by the public, as a way to demonstrate their inner desires for self strengthening reform.

3.2.3 Co-operation with Japan

Co-operation with other countries in terms of economic benefits is a frame developed from economic nationalism. Unlike the previous two frames, this frame is more externally-related. It focuses on the mutual partnership that contributes to the economic well-being of China as a whole. Instead of stimulating the public sentiment, this frame is of a moderate tone, convincing the readers that co-operation helps to bring benefits to the country. Under this frame, historical grievances are downplayed. In other words, a more forward-looking approach is adopted. Japan is to be treated as an international partner whose cooperation is pertinent to China government's attempt to convince the global community that its ascension to power is not a threat.

Recent development of China goes with this line, including the launching of open door policy, as well as participation in the World Trade Organization and Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) as official members. All of these are milestones in the development of China's economy. This kind of economic

partnership will continue, and this is what the government wishes to go for.

In addition, at a more in-depth level, such co-operation is not only economical but also political. Closer co-operations between Japan and China means more interaction between the people from these two countries, thereby, in the long run, gradually resolving the conflict or bias between them. Hence, peace between these two countries is also described under this frame.

With the experience of breaking up of Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, in which some scholars viewed as the result of not having political and economic liberalization would bring chaos to the country, China is imposing partnership idea to promote economic and socio-political stability. Former Vice Premier Zhu Rongji once said that "once the central government becomes poor, China will be divided". Stability, therefore, is considered to be the most fundamental "survival" tool for China to become a unified and strong nation-state (Zheng, 1999). As a result, this frame is espoused by media who are in line with the government.

3.2.4 National humiliation

This model based on the combination of aggressive and assertive frame. Same as the co-operation with Japan frame, these two frames are externally-related. Whiting suggests that the assertive frame describes how out-groups challenge the in-groups. Huang and Lee (2003) provide a more detailed explanation. They suggest

that due to readers' hunger for sensation needs, media can "attach their own sub-agendas" and present stories in "a more dramatic, eye-catching and assertive manner". It is an evolution from state nationalism as well as ethnic nationalism. Because of how people feel as a group, negative actions towards the nation become a kind of humiliation to them. Whiting (1995) gives an example showing this situation. During the Tiananmen Square incident, it was descried as a storm stirred up by international climate (da qihou), and China's own minor climate (xiao qihou). *People's Daily* also described the incident as an act to justify foreign threats and connected it to China's humiliation.

To Gries (2005), this "victimization narrative" was constructed around the understanding of China's "century of humiliation". He thinks that a humiliating past can raise anxiety and anger in the present. These humiliating history, such as ceding Hong Kong to Britain, defeats of the two Opium Wars, and Sino-Japanese War made China government sign many "unfair" treaties. He suggests that a sense of injustice inflicted on China has lingered on in the national psyche. Gries suggests this feeling is not only anger, but a "righteous anger" due to the humiliating defeat of "big brother" China to "little brother" Japan. Through focusing on the softer side of human emotion, Gries thinks that it will lead to a pessimistic future of Sino-Japanese relations.

Besides, due to the pride these people have and the feeling that they are threatened by the out-groups, people construct a kind of protection. National humiliation identifies a specific foreign enemy.

Through portraying the negative side of Japan of how they humiliated China, and how Chinese people suffered, this frame gives people a chance to portray their inner feelings towards Sino-Japanese incidents.

3.3 Framing Sino-Japanese relationship

According to a research conducted by Lei (2006), there is a positive trend of coverage on Japan over 2003 to 2005 at *People's Daily*. The number of positive coverage rose from 2 in 2003 to 19 in 2005. Besides, the opposing side of coverage was inversed over the years. In 2003, the coverage of positive one to negative one was 2:8, while in 2005, the ratio turned to 19:13.

Lei claims that there was a sharp turn in 2005 due to the outbreak of an Anti-Japanese strike in April. In the beginning, public media, even *People's Daily* and *Wen Wei Po* which are controlled by the government, had a negative coverage on Japan, including incidents such as the attempt of joining the United Nations Security Council as permanent member, and the development of gas at the East China Sea. However, after the strike, the ratio of positive coverage to negative one at *People's Daily* changed from 5:11 to 14:2. According to Lei, this sharp turn reflects

the role of media as a mean by the PRC government to alter public's opinion through framing the news. Lei points out such framing power provided a more balanced coverage after the strike.

However, soon after the strike, Japan's attempt of becoming a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and its Prime Minister visiting Yasukuni Shrine once again led to public outcry in China.

Therefore, with these newly happened incidents and new frames developed from previous literature, this research aims to provide a new insight to improve the old findings, to gain more up-dated knowledge of how nationalism is framed in China.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

4.1 Theoretical concern

The theoretical concern of this thesis is to inspect how media with different government controls shapes nationalism through Sino-Japan relationship in the public. Based on framing theory, this research aims to examine the kind of nationalistic frame that media use in China. This is a key step to understand the framing pattern in China, and to provide a foundation to understand how government relates to the form of nationalism in China media. A summary of theoretical relation is shown as follow:

Government control (absolute/high/ low) $\longrightarrow$ Nationalism

Framing Sino-Japanese incidents
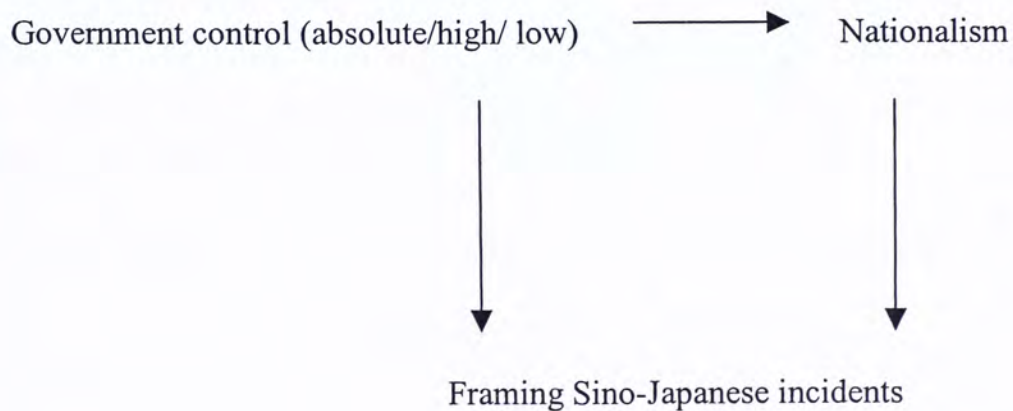
4.2 Case study

Case study is used in this research. It is a research approach that is widely used in social science study. Instead of collecting large amount of data from every incident that is related to Sino-Japanese relationship, two incidents are selected due to their significance and representation. By focusing on these specific cases,

researchers can gain a more in-depth understanding of the scenario. It is good to use this approach as a way to understand complex situation. In here, two case studies that are related to Sino-Japanese relationship are chosen for their importance.

4.2.1 First case study: the Mukden incident

To demonstrate this relationship, two Sino-Japanese cases are chosen as samples. The first incident is the Mukden incident, which is an illustrative case study to show Sino-Japan relationship in the media. The year of 2005, which is the 74th anniversary of the invasion of Japan, is particularly significant in this relationship.

In 1931, September 18th, a section of the Japan's South Manchuria Railway near Liutiao Lake was blown up. And Japan's military accused Chinese soldiers garrisoned at Beidayang for the explosion, and five hundred Japanese troops attacked Beidayang. Within a few days, Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning were all under Japan's control (Wang, 2000). Until today the Chinese insist the incident was a plot by Japan to invade China, while the Japanese blamed it on Chinese militaries. This incident brought discontents among Chinese people, and incorporated the national defeats as well as economical and life lost of the people.

Throughout the years, many activities are organized by the government and people to commemorate this incident. In a September 18th remembrance party held in Shenyang in 2005, which is located in Liaoning, four essays about how people

suffered were presented. War songs such as "Two young cowboys herding cattle", "Eight girls jumped into the river" and "Cut off the heads of the foreigners" were broadcasted as well. These songs are about how people suffered during the war started on 18th September 1931.

To scrutinize the representation and framing of how media with different government control over China-Japanese relationship, this case would serve as a starting point to understand framing in Mainland China media with a heavy control from government and one with less control.

4.2.2 Second case study: Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine

According to Su and Chen (2005), there are two main problems caused by the Japanese invasion during World War Two. The first is the lawsuit problem and secondly, the loss of Chinese people's lives and properties. However, apart from these left over problems from invasions, recent acts of Japanese government have caused huge discontent among the Chinese people.

Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine on 17th October, 2005 is certainly one of the recent causes of these discontents. Yasukuni Shrine was built in 1869, as a memorial for the soldiers who died during the Boshin Civil War. Emperor Meji named the shrine Yasukuni means a "peaceful country". Later, people who died for the country were also worshipped at the shrine. According to the official website of

the shrine, they treated these people who died for the country as Kami (Deities), and

Japanese people believe that by worshipping at Yasukuni, it offers their "gratitude to

the Kami and resolve to become fine citizens of our (their) nation".

And according to statistics, different Japanese prime ministers have visited

Yasukuni Shrine for more than 64 times from 1951 to 2004. A detailed description is

as follow:

Table 4.1 Japan minister visiting Yasukuni Shrine, Su (2005)

Japan prime minister	Period of visit	Number of visits
Yoshida Shigeru (吉田茂)	1951 - 1954	7
Kishi Nobusuke (岸信介)	1957 - 1958	2
Ikeda Hayato (池田勇人)	1960 - 1963	5
Sato Eisaku (佐藤榮作)	1965 - 1972	11
Tanaka Kakuei (田中角栄)	1972 - 1974	6
Takeo Miki (三木武夫)	1975 - 1976	3
Fukuda Takeo (福田赳夫)	1977 - 1978	4
Ohira Massayoshi (大平正芳)	1979 - 1980	3
Suzuki Senko (鈴木善幸)	1980 - 1982	8
Nakasone Yasuhiro (中曽根康弘)	1983 - 1985	10
Hashimoto Ryutaro (橋本龍太郎)	1996	1
Koizumi Junichiro (小泉純一郎)	2001 - 2004	4

Chinese people have shown their discontent towards the visiting of Yasukuni

Shrine by Japanese leaders. They regard such visits as disproof of the war history.

Indeed, a website about Koizumi Junichiro visiting Yasukuni Shrine (http://news.sina.com/cn/z/rbjgsbm/) was set up to report relevant news. Commentary and editorials are also posted on this site.

4.3 Media text

People's Daily, *China Daily*, *Global Times* and *Southern Metropolis News* were selected for this research. Text was collected from these media.

The media text collected from *People's Daily*, *China Daily*, *Global Times* and *Southern Metropolis News* include news reportage, commentaries and editorials.

News reportage and commentaries are parts where opinion leaders and government officials voice their opinions, and most importantly, demonstrate the stand of these media through the use of different frames. News reportage is the amalgamation of opinions from interviewees. Commentaries are the articles contributed by the public to the newspapers and they are normally deeper in content and lengthier than those in news reportage. One thing to put in mind is that moderators from the media and journalists do have the power to amend the commentaries, and have the right to choose whether the commentaries could be published.

On the other hand, *Southern Metropolis News* provides a more "free" space for the public to voice their opinions on Sino-Japanese relationship. Although there is

still controls and censorships by the government, this kind of control is less than of *People's Daily*, *China Daily* and *Global Times*. Below is a brief introduction of these different media.

4.3.1 People's Daily

People's Daily was started in June 1948, with a merger between two newspapers in Hebei. It was considered to be the official news source of the Communist Party in China. It started out as four-page newspaper and gradually turned to a 16-page one. The first four pages are news sections, and the fifth to twelfth one are in-depth reports, while the thirteenth to sixteenth are feature stories. During weekends, there are eight pages, the first four pages are news and the rest are features.

With a current circulation of three million, *People's Daily* claims itself to be the most influential and authoritative newspaper in China. *People's Daily* focuses on news about Chinese Government and major domestic news and international news releases from Mainland China. According to their official website, the newspaper reflects the views of the Chinese people and expounds on justice.

There are 10 newspapers that are published under *People's Daily*, including *People's Daily Overseas Edition, East China News, South China News, Market Daily, International Financial Daily, Jiangnan Times, Global Times, Securitiesa*

Times, Health Times, Satire and Humor. In addition, six magazines, *The Earth, News Front, Listed Companies, Times Trend* and *People Forum* are published under *People's Daily.*

In 1997 January, the online version of *People's Daily* was founded, and now, Chinese, English, Japanese, French, Spanish, Arabic and Russian versions are available. According to an interview conducted by Shen (2006), *Strong Nation Forum* was set up for "focusing on themes to reinforce China with greater national economic strength, while national unity has produced wide repercussions among its netizens and has thus been famed as 'the most renowned Chinese forum'".

According to a research conducted by *Japanese Studies* (Wu & Chen, 2004), Japan is the second country next to the United States that *People's Daily* covered the most. In 1991, the number of coverage on Japan is 240, whereas for U.S.A. is 520 and only 131 for U.K., 117 for France, and 124 for Germany. In 2000, there was an increase in the number of news in covering Japan by *People's Daily.* It grew to 276, while for countries like the U.K. dropped to 71 and France to 101. This pattern confirms the prominence of Japan in the agenda of *People's Daily.*

And among the above coverage by *People's Daily* on Japan, seven categories are used to define the news nature. Most of them are related to foreign policy, politics and economy. There is a sharp increase in social problems in Japan. The

number of coverage grew from 1 in 1991 to 25 in 2000. Also, politics and economy remained to be an important topic in covering Japan. These numbers once again prove the strong bonding between *People's Daily* and coverage of Japan as a whole.

As this study aims to investigate how media with different government controls frame the Sino-Japanese incidents, using *People's Daily* as sample text is the best way to find out the original mindsets and frames employed by the officials.

People's Daily's influence comes from its role as the Communist Party's official paper, and the source of the news is provided by the *Xinhua Agency*. Many other local newspapers will directly or indirectly cover *People's Daily* news. This shows the huge influence of *People's Daily* coverage from the government, as well as its circulation.

4.3.2 Global Times

Global Times was first published in January 1993, under the supervision of *People's Daily*, as a weekly paper. Starting in 2006 January, it has been reformed to be a daily newspaper (from Monday to Friday). It is considered to be the most influential newspapers that reports on international news. There are 16 pages published daily from Monday to Thursday, and 25 pages on each Friday. In 2004, the circulation is more than 20,000,000.

Global Times hires about 350 reporters and correspondents in over 75 countries. It is selected as one of the ten newspapers that are most frequently quoted by other newspapers, as well as the mostly read newspaper at China Airlines. The fact that many foreign media, such as CNN, *Washington Post* and *New York Times* from the United States, and *The Times* from the United Kingdom, make references to *Global Times* as a reflection of how Chinese people think suggests the significance of this newspaper. There are different beats in *Global Times*, including main news, global horizons, how foreigners see China, features, news from Taiwan, looking back into history, etc.

According to its official website, *Global Times* is a branch of *People's Daily*, and therefore, government control is predictable. All the news must undergo three gates before publishing, first, to report to the editorial team and discuss with other reporters whether they should include the news in the newspaper, who should they interview with and what to pay attention to while reporting. Then, they have to go through the chief reporter, or the sub-editor, who is responsible for signing and getting the newspapers for publishing. The last gate is to discuss with the chief editor and other editors. In this meeting, as said in an article in the *People's Daily* website, reporters have to shape their angle of reporting, as well as the content. In this way, government can impose control on the frames. In this way, *Global Times*

fully demonstrates the characteristics of high government control.

4.3.3 China Daily

China Daily was established in 1981, and is the only English newspaper that is circulated in China. It has reached a daily circulation of more than 200,000. One third of its readers are overseas one. For local readers, most of them are diplomats and governmental policy makers.

China Daily claims itself to be the "Voice of China" or "Window of China". According to its official website, it is "one of the country's most authoritative English media outlets and an important source of information on Chinese politics, economy, society and culture." Its title suggests the representation of high control from government in this newspaper.

China Daily is well known and often quoted. It is quoted at least 500 times a month by other international media. It is also printed and distributed by the Washington Post National Weekly Edition.

Apart from this, *China Daily* is the only China representative in Asian News Network (ANN), a non-government media organization consisting of 14 major English-language newspapers, whose total circulation is more than 20 million.

Concerning the structure of the newspaper, it features 16 pages Monday

through Friday and 12 pages on Saturday. Also, there is a market-oriented force for this newspaper. In 2004, the newspaper was redesigned to meet the needs of the public. The change was claimed to be a "contemporary style" which can set "a focus on appearance, the importance of their content and readers' needs".

4.3.4 Southern Metropolis News

Southern Metropolis News belongs to the Nanfang Daily Newspaper Group. It was established on 1st January, 1997 for readers in both Guangzhou and Shenzhen. With a management team having an average age of 32 years old and editorial team of 27 years old on average, this newspaper is considered to be one of the most liberal newspapers in Mainland China. Since its targeted audience is city dwellers at the frontline of China's opening policy, *Southern Metropolis News* shows a more diverse view while reporting. It covers a wide range of news, such as the unfairness and discrimination that farmer workers encountered after coming to work in the cities. As said in QQ, an Internet news platform, people called *Southern Metropolis News* as "conscience of the public" due to its coverage on issues about the general public.

Southern Metropolis News publishes 96 pages daily. In 2003, the daily circulation was over 1,400,000. Over 78% of the readers are between the age of 20 and 45, and 75% of the readers have an annual income of over RMB 20,000.

Different sections of the newspaper are news commentary, Guangzhou news, Shenzhen news, Guangdong news, China news, international news, sports news and entertainment news.

Since its main source of income comes from advertising, the newspaper is subject to a strong market force. In 2003, sales from advertisements have reached RMB 12 billion. The strategy of reporting on stories about the mass public as well as reporting from a magazine angle is considered to be the reasons that contribute to *Southern Metropolis News*'s strong readership, which evolves to a market force that target for similar news stories.

In this research, *Southern Metropolis News* was chosen because it provides more freedom for readers to express their ideas and information.

Other low control media like online forums were considered. However, since they are of different media nature, it is unfair to conduct a comparison. Also, forums like *Strong country Forum* (qiangguo luntan), which is under *People's Daily*, suppressed extreme nationalist postings (Grier, 2004) after 2001 plane collision, and may alter the research findings.

Given this fact, focusing on the above media can provide a more in-depth picture to understand nationalistic frames across different government-control levels media.

4.4 Data and sampling

People's Daily, China Daily, Global Times, and *Southern Metropolis News*
were chosen because of their popularity, extensive coverage on Sino-Japanese
relationship, as well as their social prominence and their influence with the public,
as well as government officials.

Market force is considered in this study as a concept in opposite to government
control. In China, the more the government control, the lower the market force, vice
versa. Below is a list showing the connection between government control and
market force.

Fig. 4.1 List of chosen media (Categorized by government control and market force)

	Government control (Absolute / High / Low)	Market force (High/ Medium/ Low)
People's Daily	Absolute	Low
China Daily	High	Medium
Global Times	High	Medium
Southern Metropolis News	Low	High

From the above list, the main factors that have an impact on *Southern
Metropolis News*, which is of a lower government control, the influences come from
its readership and interactions among the readers and the editorial. *Southern
Metropolis News* serves as a platform for reporters to frame incidents in lower

censorship comparatively, and to demonstrate how these writers see the world, as well as the way they perceive themselves as Chinese people.

The sampling includes two incidents. The first incident is the September 18th Mukden Incident. News stories are collected one week before and after the anniversary, from 12th September, 2005 to 24th September, 2005 to provide a better understanding of how different media reported this incident. A two weeks time-frame is employed for covering pre-event and post-event issues. Indeed, other scholars like Zhang and Harwood (2004) also employ a two-week time frame for coding. This proves that this period should be long enough to cover all the issues related to the event, both pre and post articles.

For the second event of Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine on 17th October 2005, due to its one-time nature, a one-week time frame from 17th October to 23rd October is employed. The length of these periods is chosen because of intensive discussion was followed after these incidents. If a longer or shorter period were selected, it would not be possible to identify the specific of frames used during the incident.

As for the Mudken Incident, 15 stories related to Sino-Japanese relations are from *People's Daily* while there are 26 from *Global Times*, 26 from *China Daily*, and 14 from *Southern Metropolis News* respectively. A total of 81 news stories are

investigated (N=81). And for Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine, 21 and

17 stories related to Sino-Japanese relationship are found in *People's Daily* and

Global Times respectively, and 6 from *China Daily*. 10 from *Southern Metropolis*

News as well (N=54).

There are totally 36 news stories from *People's Daily*, 43 from *Global Times*,

32 from *China Daily*, and 24 from *Southern Metropolis* (N=135). Due to the page

limit on *People's Daily*, *China Daily*, *Global Times* and *Southern Metropolis News*,

the sampling size is small. However, such a discrepancy in the number of news

stories will not affect the textual meaning of frames in these media that are of

different government control, as a significant amount of samples are collected for

representational analysis.

4.5 Content analysis

This research uses content analysis to understand the way that various media

with different levels of government control frames Sino-Japanese events. By

comparing the contents and frames of *People's Daily*, *China Times, Global Times,*

and *Southern Metropolis News*, this study aims to provide insights to how the media

facilitate the construction of different forms of nationalism among the public by

various reporting strategies on the of Sino-Japanese relationship.

According to Krippendorff (2004), content analysis is a research technique to

make replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use. Since texts have no objective meaning, no single meanings could be identified.

Holsti (1969) agrees that the nature of text is meant to be read, interpreted, and understood by people. In this study, content analysis is used to draw specific inferences from a body of communications to a particular context. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2003), content analysis enables social scientists to identify and recognize trends over a long period of time, which is significant in understanding the framing pattern in this study.

Content analysis is a powerful technique to avoid reactive situations. It can handle unstructured data and preserve the conceptions of the data's sources. Since a context is sensitive, it allows researcher to process data texts that are significant, meaningful and informative. In this research, since a large amount of data has to be analyzed, content analysis provides a safe and economy way to process this large volume of data.

4.6 Hypothesis

Turning the theoretical concern into hypothesis with reference to the context of the media in China, this study attempts to investigate the relationship of how media with different government control portrays Sino-Japanese related events as reflections of nationalism.

To compare the three types of government-control media, in which *People's Daily* representing an absolute control; *Global Times* and *China Daily* as high level of control; *Southern Metropolis News* represents a lower degree of control comparatively, this research first explores nationalism framing at a fundamental level.

Hypothesis: Different kinds of government control leads to different frames in the period reporting Mukden Incident and Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine.

In order to understand how government control plays a role in framing Mukden Incident and Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine, sub-hypotheses that categorized by the level of controls and incidents were formed respectively to understand how different kinds of frames and development in nationalism in China.

This research assumes that media with absolute level of government control would follow the hypothesis that the Chinese government will employ frames that emphasize on self achievement and co-operation with Japan as the core frames.

As suggested by different scholars (Fan 2000; Gries, 2005), the government tried to build a positive image for China by setting it as the victor in reportages. According to past literature review, the PRC government is imposing a kind of nationalism that emphasis on national achievements. By doing so, the government

can build up pride by emphasizes past accomplishments and bright history. Thus, the first sub hypothesis is as follows:

Sub-hypothesis 1: Absolute government-control would lead to the use of national self respect and co-operation with Japan frame in the period reporting Mukden Incident.

In order to show a clearer distribution of frames, the two Sino-Japanese incidents are separated for analysis in sub hypothesis. Applying the same concept shown in absolute government control media, that government is the power behind the paper. Hence, similar frames will be used by media with absolute government control on other issues.

Sub-hypothesis 2: Absolute government-control would lead to the use of national self respect and co-operation with Japan frame in the period reporting Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yahukuni Shrine.

Same for high government control media, since these media are under censorship of the government, and that they are on the same line with the government while reporting, this study assumes media at this level would employ the kind of frames as absolute control media. Therefore, hypothesis on *Global Times* and *China Daily* was set:

Sub-hypothesis 3: High government-control would lead to the use of national

self respect and co-operation with Japan frame in the period reporting Mukden Incident.

Again, similar frames will be used in news related to Sino-Japanese incidents. Therefore, another sub hypothesis is formulated for high government control media.

Sub-hypothesis 4: High government-control would lead to the use of national self respect and co-operation with Japan frame in the period reporting Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine.

On the other hand, *Southern Metropolis News* has lower government control. It is of a more liberal stand, and it focuses on reporting on the mass public side. Therefore, the reported stories would be different from those of higher government control. There is less control on how articles should be written, and this provides a larger freedom in framing issues.

According to past literature review, liberal nationalism is popular due to the spread of lower government control media. These media act as a mobilizing force in the Anti-Japan movements by stimulating emotional frames. Indeed, low government control media would impose sensational frames to attract readers. In this study, these sensational frames include urging for changes in the government, as well as implementing sad and humiliate frame in reporting.

Sub-hypothesis 5: Low government-control would lead to the use of national

self strengthening and national humiliation frame in the period reporting Mukden Incident.

Same for visiting Shrine, low government control would lead to a similar framing pattern in this incident.

Sub-hypothesis 6: Low government-control would lead to the use of national self strengthening and national humiliation frame in the period reporting Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine.

By answering the above hypotheses, understanding of the relationship between the above frames and nationalism was enhanced.

4.7 Coding categories and schemes

The history of Sino-Japanese relationship has long been a focus in media coverage. In spite of a shared negative feeling over Japan's aggressive history towards China, the Chinese government and people have different stances in relating to the news. Since there are different levels of government control on media, there are variations between the frames that media used.

Hence, the following content frames are investigated in this research: the way media portrays China; the way media portrays Japan and its government officials; what can China do – internally and externally. Each story will be coded for the frames of these categories.

4.8 Coding training

To ensure that the content analysis is carried out successfully, coders are trained to apply the codes and frames. All frames are explained verbally and a written explanation of procedures is provided. These preparation works help the coder to look for special clues such as adjectives, tones, verbs, and other features to differentiate the kind of frames. After reading the story, coders will mark down the quotes and paragraphs that help to analyze the frames for further discussion.

For impartiality, coders are not briefed on the intent of the study. They only receive a detailed and informative instruction and explanation on what they are expected to accomplish. After the coders finish coding, the intent of the study will be explained.

Each coder is given the same amount of news stories from absolute control (*People's Daily*), high level of government control media (*China Daily, Global Times*), and low level of government control media (*Southern Metropolis News*). News stories from *People's Daily* are named from 1 to 37. And then each number is copied on a different slip of a paper that is put inside an envelope, so coders could not tell the number from outside. Then, each coder picks the same amount of envelopes. The same procedure is performed on *China Daily, Global Times*, and *Southern Metropolis News*'s story to ensure each coder's stories are randomly

picked. There is one extra news story singled out after the division of articles, and is taken up by a coder after a random draw.

In addition, intercoder reliability is investigated. 24 paragraphs, 6 from *People's Daily*, 6 from *China Daily*, 6 from *Global Times*, and 6 from *Southern Metropolis News* are randomly selected. Coders will work on these 24 pieces and after divide the total number of agreements by the total number of paragraphs for the coded content, a coefficient of 0.83 (20 agreements divided by 24 of total number of paragraphs) is formed. An acceptable intercoder reliability is usually 0.7 or above according to Frey, Botan and Kreps (2000). Therefore, the intercoder reliability of this study has reached a satisfied level.

Chapter 5 – Results

5.1 Overview

An examination of reportage on the 918 Mukden Incident and Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukumi Shrine reveals differences in frames used by media with absolute, high and low government control.

A total of 149 news stories are analyzed (N = 149). 48 of them are from absolute government control media, i.e. *People's Daily*, 80 of them are from high government control media (47 from *Global Times* and 33 from *China Daily*), and 25 of them are from less government control media, i.e. *Southern Metropolis News*.

There are about 88 news articles in total for the 918 Mukden Incident (20 from *People's Daily*, 27 from *Global Times*, 26 from *China Daily*, and 15 from *Southern Metropolis News*). And for Japan Prime Minisister Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine, there are 61 news articles in total (24 from *People's Daily*, 20 from *Global Times*, 7 from *China Daily*, and 10 from *Southern Metropolis News*).

Distributions of articles are as follow, one with different media respectively, and one is segmented by the level of government control.

Fig. 5.1 Distribution of articles in media

Distribution of absolute, high and low government-control articles
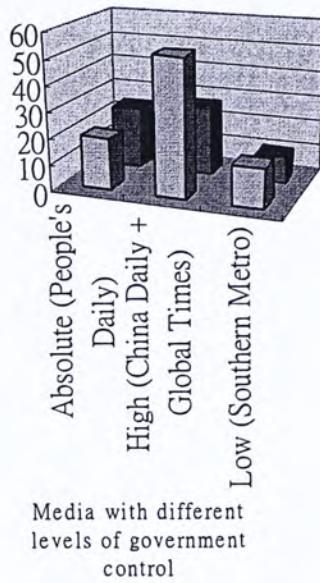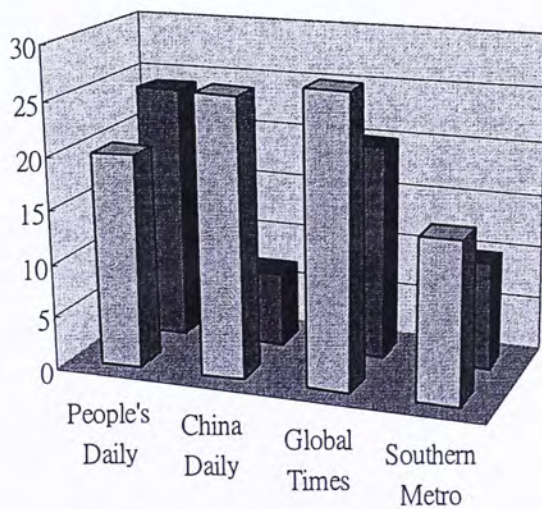
Media with different levels of government control

Mukden Incident   Visiting shrine

Fig. 5.2 Distribution of absolute, high and low government-control articles

Number of stories distribution

Media

Mukden Incident   Visiting shrine

It is obvious that the sample size is comparatively small. This is mainly due to pages limit of these media. Unlike media like Internet, printed media have less coverage. Indeed, after averaging out, there are more than one article for every two days, which showed the importance of these picked cases.

Also, out of those unrelated articles, most of them are war time stories or analysis on East Sea situation between China and Japan.

5.2 Quantitative results

Based on the four kinds of frame (national self respect, national self strengthening, co-operation with Japan and national humiliation), findings for each media can be summarized as follows:

1. Internal frame: describes the frame that is used to interpret how the Chinese government portrayed news related to Sino-Japanese relationship. The two polarized frames under this internal category are national self respect and national self strengthening.

2. External frame: describes the frame that is used to describe relationship with Japan while reporting Sino-Japanese relationship. Again, there are two exclusive polarized frames.

In the lists below, the numbers that are in Italian format represents the majority of frames in different media. And a total number of frames under different

government levels of control are counted. From this list, it shows a clear distribution according to 1) newspaper/ forum; 2) different government control levels and 3) incidents.

Fig. 5.3 Number of frames in 918 Mukden incident

			Frames				
Government control	Media name	Incident	National self respect	National self strengthening	Co-operation with Japan	National humiliation	Total
Absolute	People's Daily	918 Mudken Incident	*11 (55 %)*	0 (0%)	*6 (30%)*	3 (15%)	20 (100%)
Absolute - 918 total			*11 (55 %)*	0 (0%)	*6 (30%)*	3 (15%)	20 (100%)
			df = 3, chi-square = 13.25, p = 0.01				N =20
High	Global Times	918 Mudken Incident	*8 (29.6%)*	0 (0%)	*12 (44.4%)*	7 (26%)	27 (100%)
	<u>China Daily</u>	918 Mudken Incident	*9 (34.6%)*	2 (7.7%)	*13 (50%)*	2 (7.7%)	26 (100%)
High - 918 total			*17 (32.1%)*	2 (3.8%)	25 *(47.2%)*	9 (1.7%)	53 (100%)
			df = 3, chi-square = 26.91, p = 0.01				N = 53
Low	Southern Metro	918 Mudken Incident	*6 (40%)*	1 (6.7%)	*5 (33.3%)*	3 (20%)	15 (100%)
Low - 918 total			*6 (40%)*	1 (6.7%)	*5 (33.3%)*	3 (20%)	15 (100%)
			df = 3, chi-square = 3.9327, p = 0.01				N = 15
			df = 6, chi-square = 5.563055, p = 0.01				Total N = 88

Fig. 5.4 Number of frames in Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yahukuni Shrine

Government control	Media name	Incident	Frames National self respect	National self strengthening	Co-operation with Japan	National humiliation	Total
Absolute	People's Daily	Visiting shrine	*11 (45.8%)*	1 (4.2%)	*8 (33.3%)*	4 (17.7%)	24 (100%)
Absolute - Visiting shrine total			*11 (45.8%)*	1 (4.2%)	*8 (33.3%)*	4 (17.7%)	24 (100%)
			df = 3, chi-square = 9.67 , p = 0.05				N =24
High	Global Times	Visiting shrine	*11 (5%)*	0 (0%)	*6 (3%)*	3 (15%)	20 (100%)
	China Daily	Visiting shrine	*4 (57.1%)*	1 (14.3%)	*1 (14.3%)*	1 (14.3%)	7 (100%)
High - Visiting shrine total			*15 (55.6%)*	1 (3.7%)	*7 (25.9%)*	4 (14.8%)	27 (100%)
			df = 3, chi-square = 17.05 , p = 0.05				N =27
Low	Southern Metro	Visiting shrine	*3 (30%)*	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	6 (60%)	10 (100%)
Low - Visiting shrine total			*3 (30%)*	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	6 (60%)	10 (100%)
			df = 3, chi-square = 8.34, p = 0.05				N =10
			df =12, chi-square = 10.00, p = 0.05				Total N = 6

As summarized in Figure 5.3, both absolute and high government control media employ national self respect and national humiliation as frames in 918 Mukden incident.

First, to answer sub-hypothesis 1, 918 Mukden incident is investigated. In this

incident alone, national self respect frames take up 55% of the overall frames in *People's Daily*, and that co-operation with Japan takes up 30%. The chi square for absolute government control media is 13.25, which is larger than the p-value (11.35). Therefore, we cannot reject sub-hypothesis 1. At the significant level of 0.01, there is strong evidence that national self respect and co-operation with Japan are majority frames that was used by *absolute government control media* in the period reporting Mukden Incident. **Sub-hypothesis 1 is supported by the data.**

In sub-hypothesis 2, focus is set on Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine. According to Fig. 5.4, 45.8% of the overall frame is on national self aspect, and 33.3% is on co-operation with Japan. The chi-square is 9.67, and the p-value is 7.82. Therefore, as chi-square is larger than p-value, sub-hypothesis 2 cannot be rejected. **Sub-hypothesis 2 is in line with the data**. At the significant level of 0.05, we have strong evidence that absolute government-control would lead to the use of national self respect and co-operation with Japan frame in the period reporting Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yahukuni Shrine.

While sub-hypothesis1 and sub-hypothesis 2 that focus on absolute government control media are supported, it is interesting to investigate whether high control media shares the same frames with absolute control media.

According to the coding data, media with high government control (i.e. *China*

Daily and *Global Times*) hire national self respect and co-operation with Japan as frames as well. In related to 918 Mukden incident, articles using national self respect frame compiles 32.1%, comparing to the other polarized national self strengthening frame which is only 3.8%. As for the external set of frames for this incident, high government control lead to co-operation with Japan (47.2%), rather than national humiliation (1.7%).

The chi-square is 26.91, larger than the p-value which is 11.35. As a result, sub-hypothesis cannot be rejected. At the significant level of 0.01, there is strong evidence that high government-control would lead to the use of national self respect and co-operation with Japan frame in the period reporting Mukden Incident. **Sub-hypothesis 3 is supported by the data.**

As for framing Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yaukuni Shrine in high government-control media, national self respect is the majority again, taking up 55.6% of the overall frames. Co-operation with Japan takes up 25.9%, which almost doubles that of the national humiliation frame (14.8%). The chi-square is 17.05, and the p-value is 7.82. As a result that chi-square is larger than the p-value, there is strong evidence that high government-control would lead to the use of national self respect and co-operation with Japan frame in the period reporting Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine at the significant level of 0.05. Therefore,

sub-hypothesis 4 is in line with the data.

Coding has shown that the sub hypotheses for absolute and high government control media are right. However, for less government control media, result is different from expected. As for sub-hypothesis 5 and sub-hypothesis 6, which is whether low government-control would lead to the use of national self strengthening and national humiliation frame in the period reporting Mukden Incident and Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine, it shows different results.

In 918 Mukden incident, national self respect and co-operations with Japan frames are used as major frames. Compared with national self strengthening (6.9%) and national humiliation (20%), national self respect (40%) and co-operation with Japan (33.3%) play an important role. The chi-square is 3.9327, which is smaller than the p-value (11.345). Therefore, sub-hypothesis has to be rejected. At the significant level of 0.01, there is no strong evidence that low government-control would lead to the use of national self strengthening and national humiliation frame in the period reporting Mukden Incident. **Sub-hypothesis 5 is then rejected by the data**.

In the incident that Junichiro Koizumi visiting Yasukuni Shrine, low government control demonstrated a diverse pattern – majority frames are on national self respect (30.0%) and national humiliation (60%). Other frames like national self

strengthening and co-operation with Japan take up 0% and 10% respectively.

The chi-square is 8.34 and p-value is 7.82. Since chi-square is smaller than the p-value, sub-hypothesis 6 can be rejected. At the significance level of 0.05, there is no strong evidence that low government-control would lead to the use of national self-strengthening and national humiliation frame in the period reporting Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine. As a result, **sub-hypothesis 6 is rejected by the data**.

From the data collected, there is a diversification in the two coded media that may falsify the hypothesis.

In low-control media like *Southern Metropolis News*, if counting the two incidents as a whole, like absolute and high government control media, there is a focus on self respect, which takes up 36% of the overall frame. However, there is a diversification in the external frames they used.

Southern Metropolis News demonstrates a difference in framing the two incidents. In both incidents, *Southern Metropolis News* use national self respect as frames to describe Chinese government, but the frame used to describe Japan is different. In 918 Mudken Incident, it employs co-operation with Japan (33.3%) to frame the external relationship; while uses national humiliation (60%) as frame while reporting Junichiro Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni Shrine.

Below is a segmentation of frames under low government control media:

Fig. 5.5 Frame distribution in low government control media

Government control	Media name	Incident	National self respect	National self strengthening	Co-operation with Japan	National humiliation	Total
	Southern Metro	918 Mudken Incident	*6 (40%)*	1 (6.7%)	*5 (33.3%)*	3 (20%)	15 (100%)
Low - 918 total		918 Mudken Incident	*6 (40%)*	1 (6.7%)	*5 (33.3%)*	3 (20%)	15 (100%)
	Southern Metro	Visiting shrine	*3 (30%)*	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	6 (60%)	10 (100%)
Low - Visiting shrine total		Visiting shrine	*3 (30%)*	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	6 (60%)	10 (100%)
Low - Both incidents total		Both incidents	*9 (36%)*	1 (4%)	6 (24%)	*9 (36%)*	25 (100%)

N = 297

Italianized numbers are the dominated one. As shown in Fig. 5.5, *Southern Metropolis News* follows absolute and high control media's frames for internal frames, and hires different frames in two different cases. As a result of this unclear pattern in low government control media, **the overall hypothesis is partly supported by the data**, given that two sub-hypotheses are rejected.

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Chapter 6 - Discussion

6.1 Analysis

From the above results, this study confirms that there are differences in framing Sino-Japanese relationship in media with different government control.

With absolute and high government control, political belief of Mainland Chinese government is the reason that leads to the trend of using national self respect frame. As previous literature suggested, past history and especially the long civilization, helped to convince the public that China is the victor. Their beliefs in China as a strong country help to unit different ethnic groups to believe that China as a whole, and contribute to the unique formation of nationalism. Such kind of political belief was passed down to media while reporting news, and hence, triggered reporters from absolute government control media to impose such national self respect frame while reporting the two Sino-Japanese relationship incidents.

As for co-operation with Japan, due to the economic development of China, business partnership became an important element in nurturing foreign relationship. As the official "mouth" of the Chinese government, absolute control media carries the mission to spread this idea to develop a friendly and co-operational relationship externally with Japan.

In addition, such findings demonstrate a belief that the Chinese government

plays a significant control in these media with higher government control. While they are trying to meet with the market oriented needs of the public, they did not turn away from the government's stand. Instead of being too emotional, these media create a rational frame to describe Sino-Japanese relationship.

There is difference in framing under low government control. While absolute and high control media are more conservative in reporting, low government control media tends to report in an opposite way.

In order to understand the reasons for such pattern, examples from different frames extracted from these media were analyzed.

6.1.1 National self respect

Indeed, few different kinds of descriptions are formed under this frame, one on the China's achievements to demonstrate China's strength, and one on the bravery and courage of Chinese people. Below is a list of descriptions that were widely used under national self respect frame.

Fig. 6.1 Description under national self respect frame

	Achievement	**People**
Attitude	Pride	Victorious
Description	the strong nation, China	Chinese people are generous
	China is becoming more influential	Chinese people are brave
	China is improving	Chinese people are
	China has strong confidence	
	China is morality and justice	

Such findings demonstrate national identity and the past have a tight relationship. The reporting of a strong China helps to build up stronger national identity. The concept of security plays a significant role in explaining this situation. In the past century, China has struggled from foreign invasions as well as parties' conflicts, resulting in an insecure and feeling pessimistic feeling for the current political situation. Due to security-seeking mentality of the Chinese people, Chinese media portray them as the strongest tribe to anti-counter this feeling. For example, articles described China as a strong nation through its achievement in sending out Shenzhou - 6 Manned Space Flight Mission.

> *Shenzhou - 6 Mission carries the breakthrough of Chinese astronomy industry. As overseas students, we are glad for this achievement, and we are proud to have this pioneer work in China astronautics history. We are proud to have this bright accomplishment. (People's Daily, 18/10/2005)*

Through describing China's success, it arouses confidence in Chinese people, which is essential to build up state nationalism. Apart from describing China's brilliant achievement, media shows the powerful side of China by portraying how brave Chinese people are.

In this righteous war for the life of the nation and to strengthen it, the Chinese Communist Party will hold the anti-Japanese flag on high. It is going to unite all the people who belonged to different ethnicities in China, to fight bravely with the enemies. (People's Daily, 21/09/2005)

By showing the strong side of China, these media provide a secure feeling to the people. In here, such kind of security constructs a strong national image, as well as a self-reorganization for the readers. Indeed, such kind of emotion provides a passion that is central to state nationalism that the government is promoting. Base on these positive feelings, Chinese people honor their own achievement from the past. And at the same time, lower their dissatisfaction towards the government.

As a result, media with absolute and high control from government do employ this frame as a tool to reinforce the idea that China and Chinese people are strong to bring about the nationalism idea.

6.1.2 National self strengthening

Contrast to national self respect, national self strengthening is a frame that urges for change for a better protection of the country. These strengthening urges are segmented into two categories, one is learning from the past, and one is self reflection.

For example, under the category of learning from the past, some stories are framed with anger, and provoked a self strengthening urge for a better country. This

kind of frame shows the request for improvements and asks for public's supports.

Through building up such kind of national identity, individuals can then lead

meaningful, autonomous lives (Kymlicka, 2001). This demonstrates the

characteristics of liberal nationalism – national identity is needed to build up

democratic polities to function properly. This frame shows the desire of public urge

for rights that is discussed by Zhao (2004) – an evolution based on liberal

nationalism is developing.

As for self reflection to strengthen the country, some framed with traditional

values to suggest for reflection.

> *There are over 2740 tombs, creating an eternal righteousness and*
> *reflection for the world. The solution to heal the scars we got from*
> *wars, with bravery and courage, is humbleness. (People's Daily,*
> *23/10/2005)*

From bringing out the traditional values of humbleness, politeness, righteousness,

wisdom, and faith, China can then self strengthen itself from the attack of "devils".

These desires for a change are often related to the current situation or stand of

the Chinese government. The way that the news is portrayed often connects to the

dissatisfaction of the Chinese government.

> *The Chinese government should improve its civil services*
> *examination structure to improve the standard of the government*

and its efficiency. (Southerhn Metropolis News, 12/9/2005)

By pointing out the existing problem of the government, it shows people's

discontents towards the government, and to urge for change, the idea of self

strengthening was spread. Also, such kind of frames are usually found in low

government control media, as censorship and regulations would ban such kind of

frames.

According to Shen (interview, 1/3/2006), a reporter of a local newspaper in

Shenyang, national self strengthening frame is always used by low government

control media, in which some of the readers label themselves as "mad youth". He

described this group of people as extremist. Shen claimed that these youth desire to

listen to similar opinions, and low control media gave them a way to express their

ideas quickly in a simple way. Therefore, as a way to market these readers, low

government control media usually urge for improvement of government and

self-strengthening, as an alternative to the nationalistic idea imposed by the

government.

6.1.3 Co-operation with Japan

Co-operation with Japan is a frame that is used for describing external country.

Due to the open door policy of China, and becoming a member of the World Trade

Organization, there is a huge increase in trade internationally, and especially in East

Asia. From 1992 to 2001, the growth in trade in East Asia has rose by 1.1 times, and

brought a low of capital into China. In order to keep this growth, and to bring further

development to the country, Chinese government carries the idea of co-operation

forward. As Japan is a key player in Asia economy, it is inevitable to co-operate with

this country, to push forward the development in China.

> *Indeed, Asia's economic integration will be more and more trade,*
> *investment and consumption-led, as these three pillars (China,*
> *Japan and South Korea) will no doubt constitute the key elements*
> *of Asian growth and integration. (China Daily, 22/9/2005)*

As suggested by Qin (2005), such kind of partnership can promote flow and

exchanges in capitals, products, labors, skills and communication; and can

supplement the insufficiency of each other. This is indeed a mutual-beneficial

relationship.

Indeed, apart from economic co-operation which brings advantages to both

countries, this frame was used to push forward the idea of co-operation for peace.

This approach is on a more political aspect.

> *Problems that are related to security, such as nuclear weapons*
> *should require for co-operations of three countries. They can help*
> *to enforce motivation to push forward partnership in security area,*
> *and to make them to think deeply and seriously on the importance*
> *and necessarily. (Global Times, 23/9/2005)*

Security plays an important role in enforcing co-operation, and so does the idea of peace. These are essential for building up economic nationalism because of the enormous benefits that China could get economically, as well as keeping the people united.

> *We have to raise our flag for peace, development and co-operation,*
> *we have to steadfast to walk on the road of peaceful development,*
> *to be a world's citizen, and to enhance development of peace*
> *among human beings. (People's Daily, 18/10/2005)*

The above paragraph demonstrated the united spirit of peace, which is derived from the latest idea of economic nationalism. Instead of anti-globalization in the past that emphasis on individual economic development, benefits and success can be achieved by mutual partnership in trade and politics.

According to Yang (2005), a Xinhua Agency correspondent, China's current main concern is on development of China. And he claimed that such kind of co-operational developments are often the key item in coverage.

And through framing Sino-Japanese events in this way, the government can confirm its status and stand globally as an international power. And this is why media with absolute and high control hire this frame.

6.1.4 National humiliation

Undoubtedly, security feeling is built by looking at the enemy side as well. By

describing the negative side of its enemy, people gain the feeling of belongings and safety. Articles describe Japan as loser are found in high level government control media and descriptions as pigs, dogs are found in low level government control media.

> *Brave people are those who can face the past and be responsible for it. Escaping, altering the history are acts of losers. Although history is bygone, we still respect it. We can forgive, but not to forget, and we will never allow any kinds of amendments in history. (People's Daily, 23/10/2005)*

These descriptions as non human beings showed the discontents of people towards Japanese. And that some people even compare the Japanese with animals like pigs and dogs, which could only be found in low government control media like Internet forums. Though Internet is out of the sampling in this study, other media demonstrates similar sensational frames.

> *101 Japanese council members worshipped ghosts. (Southern Metropolis News, 19/10/2005)*

By describing those who were killed and who killed the Chinese people during the Second World War as "ghosts", this is an example of sensational frames under this category. The reason that media with more government control did not hire this frame was because of check and balance. According to an interview with Liu (2005),

reporters from *Xinhua Agency* need to balance in reporting, and also be objective, and do not over-claim on one side of the story. If absolute and high government control media use this national humiliation as frame, this is going to stimulate the public. Liu also claims that many media misled the public by providing them judgments or mislead information, and caused irrational acts of the public. He suggested that many of the publications on websites use such kind of frames and add in their own sentiment, which are unreasonable to absolute and high control media. This is the reason that usually low control media hire this national humiliation frame.

Indeed, absolute and high control media share same frames while reporting, and low control media has diversification in frames. This can be explained by the level of government control and nature of the samples, which will be further explained as follow.

6.2 Implications

After analyzing the framing pattern in media, it is found that government control and nature of media are the key players in framing Sino-Japanese relationship in Mainland China.

There is a clear framing pattern for absolute and high control media, in both

pairs of polarized frames (national self respect, and co-operation with Japan)[1].

However, while talking about the framing pattern in low control media, *Southern Metropolis News* use internal frame that are used by absolute and high control media (i.e. national self respect and co-operation with Japan). This can be explained by the nature of the incident that caused this contrast. Though *Southern Metropolis News* is of low government control, it is still under government supervision.

However, there is a diversification of external frames in the two cases reported by the *Southern Metropolis News*. This can be explained by the time of the incidents that happened. The 918 Mukden Incident happened in 1931, which is 74 years ago. People in China started to look forward and under the promotion of co-operation for mutual benefits, reporters and readers start to see this event from another aspect. However, as the Japanese prime minister frequently visits the Yasukuni Shrine, this can easily provoke the emotion of Mainland Chinese people. Hence, the external frames used by *Southern Metropolis News* would be different.

Also, another incident that may drive such result was the reforming of editorial department at the *Southern Metropolis News* last year. The deputy chief editor, Xia Yitao, was fired due to an "immature" reportage of You Ningfeng, a vice-governor of Guangdong, who had been given a demerit for his handling of the Meizhou coal

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[1] In this study, polarized frames could be found as there is no marginal case. All of the articles collected carry a specific nationalistic stand imposed by the governing level while framing.

mine disaster. Indeed, previous reportages on SARS situation has resulted the resignations of some editors and reports (*South China Morning Post*, 29th December, 2005). And some other reporters quitted the paper after these incidents. The change of editorials and reporters may bring an impact to the paper that they are more careful in selecting the news, as well as more cautious in reporting news.

Indeed, government control is the main focus of this study. There are differences in the frames used with different government control. As government control and market force has a negative correlation, i.e. higher government control media have low market force, and vice versa. Therefore, market force has an indirect relationship towards framing Sino-Japanese relationship. Higher market force leads to the use of liberal nationalism frame, while lower market force leads to state and economic nationalism frames.

6.3 Limitations and further study

This study consists of a number of limitations, which can be further explored for future studies.

First, in this research, the research methodology is focus on content analysis. Given the limit of time and resources, no interviews can be conducted to support the hypothesis. Future studies can be conducted with more interview data to uncover the interactions between these media that are of different levels of government control.

It is because framing involves both quantitative measures of data proof and qualitative perspectives on writers' insight and what influence them to write. Though intensive coding data can investigate the framing pattern, face to face testimonies can gain another insight through providing invaluable first hand experience and observations to explore the situation. Provided with more time and financial and resources support, in-depth interviews, and focus groups could be conducted to understand the psychological analysis of formation of frames, as well as Chinese nationalism.

Secondly, with the limited time frame, only two incidents from Sino-Japanese relationship can be analyzed. Indeed, there was an anti-Japanese demonstration in China in early summer 2005. However, due to the limited time period for conducting this study, this event is not captured. Although most of the media reportages could be found, it is impossible to look for articles at all media with different government control levels due to the large amount of articles-flow everyday. Provided with a longer period of time to collect sample of data, this study can be a more preliminary insight to this research topic.

Indeed, this study focuses on the kind of frames that media used under different levels of government control. However, no attempt is made here to uncover whether the idea of nationalism is a bottom-up or top-down ideology. Also, will either

top-down and bottom-up approaches are not enough to understand the complex situation of Chinese society and its derived nationalism nowadays? And whether these two different kinds of nationalism will emerge one day? These research topics are worth to be discussed in the future.

In addition, for further research, it will be interesting to explore the prospect of nationalism development in China. As online nationalism or cyber nationalism is growing rapidly recently, as well as inflow of capital and communication, it would be promising to analyze this ideology as a part of future trend.

6.4 Conclusion

This study sets out to examine if, and how media in China with different levels of government control frames Sino-Japanese incidents. The result shows that there is difference in terms of framing, but the situation may differ with the nature of media.

These findings are substantial. They reveal that under different media in Mainland China, different kinds of nationalism are framed. High government control media demonstrate state nationalism through national self-respect frame, as well as economic nationalism by using co-operation with Japan as frame. For low government control media, there are differences in framing. The difference in frames in the low government control sampled media shows that published media is still under the hand of government even though it is of low control. Because of the

dominant position of the Chinese government holds in media, it is worthwhile to find out how the kind of nationalism varies with that. The results of this study indicated that more efforts are needed to be put to understand the relationship of media and nationalism in China.

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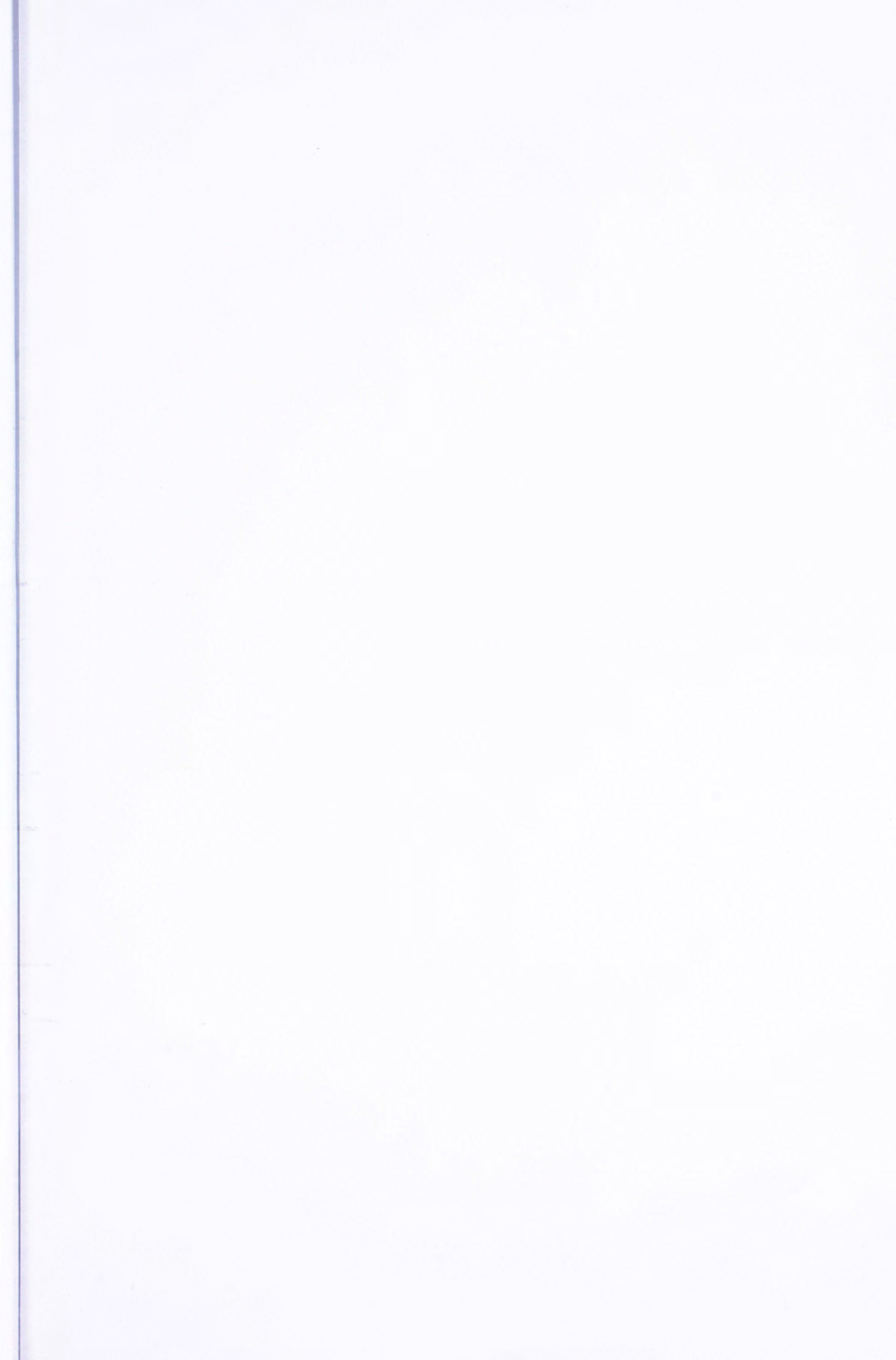
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