

**A Canadian Press Perspective on China's Rise:
An Analysis of *Globe and Mail* Editorials, 2001-
2015**

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Abstract

The world has seen China's remarkable economic growth, its increasing military power and rising global influence since the end of the 1970s. Based on this background, this study is interested in Western media representations of China's rise in the 21st century. The specific focus is how China's rise is portrayed in one of the Canada's national newspapers, the *Globe and Mail*, from 2001 to 2015. This study used a mixed-methods approach: a quantitative content analysis of 243 *Globe and Mail* editorials and a critical discourse analysis of approximately 20 percent of the data set.

The findings revealed that China's image presented in the *Globe and Mail* is paradoxical. The portrayals of China as an "important economic partner" and an "authoritarian communist country" coexisted in the newspaper's editorials, with more emphasis on critiquing its role as an "authoritarian communist country". This study argues that this divisive perspective of China is due to the newspaper's Western-based understandings of liberal democratic capitalism. It assumes that the combination of market freedom and democratic political freedom is inevitable, and the pair is universal and appealing for every modern society. However, China's triumphant combination of market economics and the one-party state challenges their assumptions and forces the Western media to reconsider the relationship between market economics and liberal democracy. This study argues that liberal democratic capitalism is not universal and that liberal democracy should be taken in context.

Keywords: China's rise; The *Globe and Mail*; media representations; content analysis; critical discourse analysis; liberal democratic capitalism

Dedicated to my family and friends.
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List of Acronyms

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CNOOC	China National Offshore Oil Corporation
EU	European Union
G20	Group Twenty
IMF	International Monetary Fund
PRC	People Republic of China
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
USA	The United States of America
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter 1.

Introduction

In recent years, the world has witnessed China as a rising power economically and politically. After thirty years of remarkable economic growth since the end of the 1970s, China has become the second largest economy in the world after the United States (Barboza, 2010). Moreover, China has actively engaged with international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Politically, rather than being an international “policy-taker”, China has become an increasingly important “policy-maker” in making important political and geopolitical decisions. In Central Asia, the Chinese government has been the key to the creation and hosting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) since 2001. In recent years, China has also become an active participant in the Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional forum, and ASEAN-plus-three. China’s growing influence has also given China an important position in the G20 (Cao & Poy, 2011).

The facts set out above suggest China’s re-emergence in the 21st century (historically, we cannot ignore China’s dominant role in the world economy between 1100 and 1800). It has undeniably transformed global economy and international power relations.

The Chinese government views its growth as a “peaceful rise”. It has now become a part of China’s soft power strategy, picturing China as a peace-loving nation, international cooperator and autonomous actor.

However, through the lens of Western news media, the image of a rising China is controversial, or even exactly the opposite of what China views itself. To tackle such a discrepancy, the Chinese government has tried to improve China's national image abroad with multiple tactics, from establishing Confucius Institutes all over the world to hosting global mega sport events, such as 2008 Olympic Games. However, these efforts have not proven effective for building up China's national image (Zhao, 2013). China feels confused because she feels herself like a hardworking student but always receives low grades.

In order to figure out this discrepancy, let us answer the question first: What shapes China's images abroad? There are a plenty of factors to influence it: national activities and stances on international issues, the diplomatic style and performance of Chinese government, the behaviors of individual Chinese abroad, and products that are "made in China".

In addition to these factors, there is another significant factor: foreign media representations of China. The factor is significant because we live in a world where information is power. Many people, including policy makers, rely on news media for information, especially news about a foreign country (Smith, 1980: 111). It is a mediated world. China's behaviors at both the national and individual levels are transmitted to people in other countries through the news media.

My study aims at investigating how Canada views the rise of China by studying the media representations of China in the *Globe and Mail* from 2001 to 2015. Since previous studies have already shown that Western media habitually portray China with negative and unfriendly images (Cao, 2012; Dorogi, 2001; Zhang, 2011), why Canada might be special? There are several reasons.

First, with an average of over 40,000 new immigrants per year, Chinese are Canada's second largest immigrant group (Li, 2001) and the population size of Chinese immigrants is still growing. Therefore, unlike most other countries, whose relations with China are primarily active in investment deals and trade agreements, Canada has more cultural ties and demographic links with China. Whether this demographic factor will

make the Canadian perspective different from typical Western frames of China is an interesting question to ask.

Secondly, Canada shares a long historical links with the People's Republic of China. In 1970, Canada was one of the first developed countries to recognize the international position of the People's Republic of China in 1970, even before the People's Republic of China was admitted to the United Nations (Cao & Poy, 2011: 2). Furthermore, diplomatic relations between Canada and China were established on October 13, 1970, which is 9 years earlier than Sino-American diplomatic relations were established. Considering Canada's historical links with China, Canada may offer a different opinion about China's rise.

Thirdly, China's rise exerts significant influences on Canada's economy, as China is Canada's second-largest trading partner and the current scale of their trade is thought to be below its potential (Chen, 2010).

Last but not least, Canada has been the champion of the policy of multiculturalism. In 1988, Canada passed the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in order to protect diversity in language, customs and religions. It shows that Canada is willing to accept different cultures. This paper will examine if the spirit of this is upheld in the *Globe and Mail* editorials commenting on the cultures of China.

Therefore, with curiosity and uncertainty of Canadian media's opinions of China's rise, the objective of the study is to investigate general images of China in one of the Canadian national newspapers, *Globe and Mail*, from 2001 to 2015.

This paper is organized into five parts. Chapter 2 is a literature review to explore Western media representations of China based on previous studies and changing Sino-Canadian relationships during the 15-year period between 2001 and 2015.

Chapter 3 introduces the research methodology. It explains why I select the *Globe and Mail's* editorials as my research subject and why I only focus on the time span from 2001 to 2015. Besides, research methods about how the study employs content analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis are also introduced.

Chapter 4 reports the findings from the content analysis. It maps out a general image of China in the *Globe and Mail* by calculating the volume, subjects and tone of the selected editorials from 2001 to 2015. Chapter 5 focuses on a small portion of the same selected editorials for more advanced textual analysis and employs critical discourse analysis to find the underlying ideological frames in portraying China.

Finally, based on the findings from content analysis and critical discourse analysis, Chapter 6 discuss the debate between the West and China regarding their different interpretations of liberal democracy. It also discusses the shortcomings of this study and the possible future development of the topic.

Chapter 2.

Literature Review

The literature review is divided into three parts. Part one traces Western media representations of the developing world, which highlight news frames of the “other”. Part two examines historical patterns of Western media images of China, showing that liberal democratic frames and anti-communist frames are pervasive. Part three explores changing Sino-Canadian relations from 2001 to 2015.

2.1. Western Media Representations of the Developing World

Since World War II, scholars have noted that Western media distorts the images of third world countries and communist others by either marginalizing them or by only focusing on their negative aspects (Smith, 1980: 15). It has also been argued that international news coverage in the Western press is usually biased, negative, crisis-oriented and displays strong Western ethnocentrism (De Beer, 2004; Merrill, 2004). In short, Western press portrayals of most foreign events, people and nations (generally the third world) are usually presented as insights on the disadvantaged negative others (Riggins, 1997: 6).

According to Said (1979: 300-301), in media representations of the other, there are binaries between the West as “us” and the orient as “other”. In this binary opposition, the West is represented as being “modern”, while the Orient is typically cast as being “backward”. As Said (1979: 40) contends, Western portrayals of the Orient as incapable of modernization are part of Western control over the East. Moreover, Fukuyama (1989) argued that images of the non-West as technologically as well as socio-politically inferior has been long lasting.

2.2. Western Media Representations of China

Since frames of otherness are pervasive in Western media coverage, which habitually portray third world countries and communist countries negatively, long-lasting negative images of China in Western media come as no surprise. There are two main news frames in Western journalism when reporting China: the anti-communist frame and the liberal-democratic frame.

2.2.1. The Anti-Communist Frame

In their book *Manufacturing Consent* (1988), Herman and Chomsky put forward the propaganda model in the Western media. Focusing on the inequality of wealth and power and its effects on the mass media, this propaganda model describes five “filters” that the corporate media use to filter out information by marginalizing dissents and reinforcing dominant U.S. political economic interests.

One of the filters is the ideology of “anticommunism”, which operates as a national religion and control mechanism. Under this ideology, communism, which harms Western elites’ interests and superior status, is the ultimate evil. Not surprisingly, the Soviet, Chinese and Cuban revolutions were traumas to Western elites (Herman & Chomsky, 1988: 29-30).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, China became the most influential communist country in the world, thus the most threatening enemy in the eye of Western countries. In the Western media, it is common to find China, especially Mainland China, to be categorized as the communist other (Dorogi, 2001).

Moreover, Western media images of China have varied, depending on the changing geopolitics. From 1949 to 2000, Western’s attitudes toward China could be turned overnight from “the age of hostility” into “the age of admiration” due to U.S. President Nixon’s 1972 visit to China that dislodged China from the Soviet communist camp (Cao, 2012).

Another fluctuation happened before and after the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, which proves the continuing relevance of the anti-communist frame in Western journalism.

According to Stone and Xiao's research (2007), media coverage of the student demonstration provides obvious evidence of the anti-communist news frame in American media. It is found out that two similar student demonstrations, the Gwangju massacre in Korea and the Tiananmen Square massacre in China, received two distinct media portrayals. American media portrayed the Korean demonstrators' action as "rebellious insurrection" and the Korean government's massacre as an understandable response, while critiqued Chinese governmental control as cruel repression (Stone and Xiao, 2007).

What is more, Herman and Chomsky also argue that when anti-communist fervour is aroused, the demand for serious evidence of communist abuses and voices from the communists' perspective are suspended (Herman & Chomsky, 1988: 30). For example, in order to emphasize Chinese Communist Party's evilness, American media's dramatic depiction of Tiananmen massacre may not be factually correct (Madsen, 1995: 8).

2.2.2. The Liberal Democratic Framework

According to Hackett and Zhao's book *Sustaining Democracy: Journalism and the Politics of Objectivity* (1998), the liberal democratic discourse acts as a dominant media frame in Anglo-Canadian journalism. The core value of liberal democratic capitalism is the advocacy of organizing social life through the marketplace. This core value implies a number of ideas and principles, which includes the idea of individual rights, individual competition and entrepreneurship, and the state as a representative democracy where government is determined through competitive elections (Hackett & Zhao, 1998: 145-146). All these norms of liberal democracy are inclined to maintain certain types of social power, including technological expertise, patriarchy, private capital and the liberal state.

Moreover, these kinds of values underlie the selection, interpretation and presentation of news stories. Citing the work of Daniel C. Hallin (1986), Hackett and

Zhao note that these liberal principles categorize journalism into three spheres: spheres of deviance, legitimate controversy and consensus (Hackett & Zhao, 1998: 147). News stories about foreign countries' politics are typically cast in the sphere of deviance, especially when that country's government operates outside the liberal democratic ideological framework. At the same time, by marginalizing and denigrating democratic oppositional social actors in domestic politics, journalism tends to "naturalize" values of liberal democratic capitalism. Gradually, values of liberal democratic capitalism become legitimate values, which make alternative developmental paths difficult to imagine and to discuss.

However, as Hackett and Zhao argue, there is no inevitable and direct articulation between democracy, liberalism, and capitalism:

They have different logics. The logic of democracy is majority rule; liberalism's core principle is individual rights (both human rights and property rights); capitalism's core logic is market relation and capital accumulation (Hackett & Zhao, 1998: 165).

Furthermore, as Richard Madsen states in his book *China and American Dream*, "capitalist economic development, especially in societies whose major resources is cheap, semiskilled labor, does not necessarily imply democracy." On the contrary, as Madsen further explains, capitalist development can be incompatible with liberalism, because that kind of economic mode "requires a kind of large-scale organization and social control that can be inconsistent with the desire for individual freedom" (Madsen, 1995: 15).

The inaccurate assumption of intimate and inevitable relations between economic freedom and political democracy leads to dichotomous portrayals of China in the Western media. China's economic reform and opening policy, which pushed China down the path to a greater economic freedom, has sparked Western assumptions that China's economic freedom will lead to greater political freedom and greater freedom for individual self-expression. However, China just embraced market economy but not Western liberal ideas. Thus, negative images of China are habitually portrayed because China has failed to live up to dominant Western ideas. For instance, the Chinese government still operates outside the liberal democratic ideological framework.

Therefore, on the one hand, Western media coverage of China's economy is normally positive. On the other hand, the Western media express urgent demands that China moves forward to full political liberalization by critiquing and distorting China's one-party regime.

2.2.3. Western Media Representations of China in Different Subjects

There are several classic subjects of journalism: economy, politics (domestic and international), culture and society. In these different subjects, China has been portrayed in multiple ways by the Western news media.

Economically, China has transformed from one of the poorest countries to the world's economic powerhouse in the 21st century. China's remarkable economic growth has led to high-lightened reports on China's flourishing market economy and its increasing significant role in global capital markets.

However, China's economic advancements have also brought increasingly negative comments. Yang & Liu (2012) argue that China's growing significance in economic and military power contributes to its negative images in Western media, such as the discourse of China threat. The "China threat" discourse first emerged in American print media in the early 1990s (Broomfield, 2003; Cao, 2012). In this discourse, global society is threatened by China's increasing military built-up, cheap Chinese laborers that steal jobs and cause fierce competition for global resources due to China's huge population (Cao, 2012).

Second, in the political dimension, the main concern and complaint is around China's monolithic one-party political regime. Besides, critiques of China's human rights are usually intertwined with complaints about China's political regimes. According to Alistair Michie (2007: 55), Western media coverage mainly pertained to the three 'Ts' — Tibet, Taiwan and Tiananmen in the 1990s. In Zhang's (2010: 12) book, after the turmoil of the Tiananmen Square student demonstration, Western media diffused a very pessimistic and hostile mood about China, framing the incident as cruel and repressive actions against demonstrators with legitimate goals.

Third, as mentioned in the above literature review, when reporting on non-Western countries, Western media tends to frame developing countries as “other” by focusing on stories about “violence, war, crime, corruption, disaster, famine, fire, and flood” (Smith, 1980:70). Within this context, China’s environmental problems have also been a main topic in the West. Thus, the amount and tone of editorials in framing issues about China’s disaster and environment may prove whether or not Canadian media uses the framework of otherness to portray China.

Fourth, the cultural and social sides of China are usually ignored in Western media (Willnat & Luo, 2011). However, it has also been argued that China’s increasing cultural exports and image-building efforts have had a positive impact on both the amount and tone of coverage by American media (Wang, 2009). Therefore, the volume and tone of editorials concerning China’s cultural and social aspects serve as a good site to investigate whether Canadian news media correspond to the previous findings.

In sum, thanks to China’s remarkable economic growth, its increasing military power and rising global influence, China has not been marginalized in global news flow and Western media has paid more and more attention toward China over time (Stone & Xiao, 2007; Zhang, 2011).

However, under the anti-communist and the liberal-democratic frames, the overall tone about China is negative. Through the propaganda model, we could see dichotomous attention and divisive comments about China in different subjects.

2.3. The Relationship Between Canada and China in a Historical Perspective

2.3.1. Stable and Positive Relations 1949-2005

From China’s perspective in the Sino-Canadian relationship, Canada, overall, is a friendly capitalist country. In 1942, Canada first sent its ambassador to China. After China’s communist victory in 1949, Canada broke its relations with China until 1970. When Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau visited the People's Republic of China

(PRC) in 1970, Canada became one of the first Western countries to recognize the PRC. On October 13, 1970, Canada established diplomatic relations with China. Since then, the diplomatic interactions and trade between these two countries become warmer and closer, except one deep break when Tiananmen Square Massacre happened in 1989.

The West was shocked and disappointed by this event, as the incident contradicted Western, especially American, understandings of the relationship between capitalist and democratic values (Madsen, 1995: 15). The tragedy in China was also upsetting for Canada. In Mulroney's China policy in 1989, the Conservative government took a harsh view of China and placed a greater emphasis on human rights issues, which made the Sino-Canadian relationship deteriorated.

However, when the Liberals returned to power in 1993, China's human rights issues gradually became less important in Sino-Canadian relations. Under the leadership of the Liberals, Canada pursued closer economic relations with China and avoided open confrontation with China on human rights issues. Therefore, from 1993 to 2006, Sino-Canadian relations developed smoothly and became better.

Generally, Sino-Canadian relations have been stable since they were first established. Moreover, Sino-Canadian relations have improved both economically and diplomatically.

Economically, China is currently Canada's second largest trading partner and Canada is China's 13th largest, which is also thought to be below their potential (Chen, 2010). Moreover, China's rise in the 21st century would exert significant influence on Canada's economy as both an opportunity and a challenge. On one hand, the competition between Canada and China happened right in the U.S. market. China overtook Canada's place as the biggest trade partner with the U.S. (Cao & Poy, 2011). On the other hand, because China's rapid economic growth depends on heavy industrialization, labor- and energy- intensive industries, China's hunger for energy and resources is growing. Given its abundant energy and resources, Canada has naturally become one of China's most important potential markets (Cao & Poy, 2011).

Therefore, under various Liberal governments, and during 1984 to 1993 under the Conservative government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Canadian governments pursued closer economic relations with Beijing. For example, the government of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien developed the "Team Canada" approach that was first applied to furthering economic and trade relations with China. Trade between China and Canada grew by almost 400 percent between 1998 and 2007 (Cao & Poy, 2011).

Politically, China has always seen Canada as a friendly western power before the government of Harper came to power in 2006. In fact, under the Liberals, from 1993-2006, the Canadian government actively promoted engagement with China. In 2005, China's relations with Canada seemed to be at their best in history. For instance, during a visit to Ottawa in the fall of 2005, Hu Jintao declared that Canada and China had established a bilateral strategic partnership, which China defined as a very close and trustworthy diplomatic relationship with a foreign country.

In addition to economic and political interests, Canada also shares deep cultural links with China. With an average of over 40,000 new immigrants per year, the Chinese are Canada's second largest immigrant group (Li, 2001) and its population size is still growing. Moreover, Canada is home to a large Chinese diaspora as four percent of the Canadian population is of Chinese origin. Conversely, about 300,000 Canadians live in China (Cao & Poy, 2011), which makes Sino-Canadian economic, political and cultural relations increasingly important.

2.3.2. Distorted Relations and Debate about Human Rights VS Trade

The turning point about Sino-Canadian relations was marked when Prime Minister Stephen Harper took the office in the early 2006. Under the administration of Harper's cabinet (from February 6, 2006 to November 4, 2015), China-Canada relations began to deteriorate as Harper and his party intensified the debate of the relationship between China's human rights and Sino-Canadian trade. According to Jiang (2009), Harper's cabinet offended China by several unfriendly moves.

First of all, Harper Conservative government shows indifference to engage China actively. There are some facts: Foreign Minister Peter Mackay delayed a meeting with Chinese ambassador for several months; the Canadian government stopped using the term “strategic partnership” to describe Sino-Canadian relations in 2007; Harper decided not to visit China as a reciprocal visit after Hu’s Canada trip in 2005; Harper was also absent from the Beijing Olympics in summer 2008 (Jiang, 2009).

Secondly, Harper intensified China’s human rights issues by making trade and human rights mutually exclusive goals. At the 2006 APEC Summit held in Hanoi, Harper stated bluntly that the Canadian values of human rights should not be sold for almighty dollars. Responding to Harper’s blunt statement, China initially backed out of meeting between Harper and the Chinese president during 2006 APEC (Jiang, 2009). Hu in the end chose to have a brief pull-aside meeting with Harper.

Moreover, the Harper government went against China’s willingness in several diplomatic affairs to emphasize its determined stand on human rights. In 2006, the Harper government annoyed the Chinese government by granting the Dalai Lama Honorary Canadian Citizenship and having Harper meet officially with him. Chinese government viewed this move as supporting the Tibetan exile group’s efforts to separate from China (Jiang, 2009). In 2006 and 2007, the conflictions between China and Canada were amplified by the case of Huseyin Celii (Yu Shanjiang in Chinese). As a Canadian citizen of Xinjiang Uyghur origin, he was wanted by the Chinese government because of his suspicion of terrorists and separatist activities. After Uzbek authorities arrested Celii and extradited him to China in 2008, the Chinese government refused to recognize his Canadian citizenship and sentenced him into prison for "terrorist activities and plotting to split the country."

Lastly, another major diplomatic confliction between the Harper government and the Chinese government is about national security. In a 2003-04 report from the Canadian Security and Intelligence Services (CSIS), it suggested that there could be up to 1000 Chinese agents and informants operating in Canada for the purposes of collecting economic, scientific, and military information, among other secrets. Then in 2006, the Canadian government accused China of commercial espionage (Jiang, 2009).

Even though China refuted strongly, in 2007, China was still placed at top of the list of Canada's anti-espionage operations and Harper claimed that Chinese spies steal 1 billion dollars' worth of technological secrets from Canada every month. Even more, China's efforts to set up Confucius Institutes around the world have been suspected by Canada's spy agency as a national security concern. In 2014, the Toronto District School Board stopped outsourcing Chinese language and culture teaching to the Confucius Institute.

2.3.3. Harper Government's Changing Attitudes After 2008

Since early 2006, Sino-Canadian relations are clearly undergoing a chill and uneasy period. Due to the cool political relations during that period, China's investments in Canada's energy sector have been hold back. However, the Harper government's determined position about valuing human rights wavered after the global economic recession in 2008. The Harper government began to mend relations with China, where economic growth remains robust.

In December 2009, Prime Minister Harper made his first visit to China. In the same year, Finance Minister Jim Flaherty led a high-profile delegation to China to enhance economic and financial ties. Even when unrest in Tibet erupted in the spring of 2008, Harper's government took a rather cautious position. This changing attitude presented a striking contrast to the Canadian government's position when they granted Dalai Lama honorary Canadian citizenship in 2006.

In sum, since the PRC's founding in 1949, Canada has had a complex relationship with China. On the one hand, as one of the US-led Western countries in a Cold War context, Canada shares the dominant values of liberal democratic capitalism. This explains the cold relationship between the two countries from 1949 to 1970. During the Korean War in the early 1950s, Canadian troops were actually fighting against China. Even though the relationship between the two countries has improved since the 1970s, particularly under Liberal governments, China's human rights issues lingered on the Canadian government agenda and in the media. Such issues typically got amplified and intensified under Conservative governments, as exemplified by Mulroney's China policy in 1989

and Harper's indifference toward China since early 2006. Overall, Sino-Canadian relations can be understood in three phases between 2001-2015: the honeymoon, 2001-2005; chilling, 2006-2008; and uncertainty, 2008-2015.

Chapter 3.

Methodology

My research investigates how Canada views the rise of China by studying the media portrayals of China in *Globe and Mail's* editorials from 2001 to 2015. In order to map out how the editorials of the *Globe and Mail* represent China, this research interweaves content analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This chapter deals with the methodological issues in this research. It explains several questions: 1) Why do I choose the *Globe and Mail* as research subject? 2) Why study editorials rather than news? 3) Why I set the time span of 2001 to 2015? 4) How do I collect, categorize and analyze the editorials in both content analysis and CDA?

3.1. Selection of the Newspaper

The *Globe and Mail* is selected for several reasons. First of all, it has high readership and nationwide coverage. With a weekly readership of approximately 1,500,000 in 2015, it is Canada's largest-circulation national newspaper (Globe Newspaper Media Kit in 2015).

Secondly, unlike local newspapers, *the Globe and Mail* provides more information about politics and international affairs, which are suitable and pertinent to my research topic. At the same time, unlike the other Canadian national newspaper *National Post*, which is overwhelmingly conservative, the *Globe and Mail's* political stance is more balanced. For instance, it supported either Liberal Party or the Conservative Party of Canada in the past federal elections.

Thirdly, the *Globe and Mail* also targets the “upscale” readers by its strong international and business news (Hackett & Zhao, 1997: 63). These “upscale” readers usually have more influence on Canada’s attitudes toward China. It is widely considered that the *Globe and Mail* stands for the opinions of the Canadian elites. These opinions are influential factors in shaping Sino-Canadian relations, which are what my study aims at.

Fourthly, the *Globe and Mail* has longer and closer relations with China. The *Globe and Mail* launched its Beijing bureau in 1958, even before Sino-Canadian diplomatic relationship was established. Its Beijing bureau was the main sources of China news for the whole Western world, which were preferred by most U.S. dailies (Encyclopædia Britannic).

In sum, the *Globe and Mail* has been regarded by some as Canada’s “newspaper of record” for its large nationwide coverage, high circulation, professional authoritative editorials and newsgathering functions. Therefore, it justifies the *Globe and Mail* as an important news outlet across Canada. Besides, its close relations and contacts with China make the *Globe and Mail* perfect sources for studying media representations of China from Canada’s perspective.

3.2. Editorials vs. News

There are several different genres of writings in newspapers. Among these, news articles and editorials are the two most important genres. My study only focuses on editorials because they express the official views of news media outlets and their positions on relevant issues, rather than simple factual reports about events. Given that my study aims at investigating the paper’s ideological framing of China and Canada’s perception of China’s rise, I believe the analysis of editorials better serve my research aim.

3.3. Time Span

A time span from 2001 to 2015 has been chosen for this study. The main consideration is to reflect Canada's perception of China's rise, especially after China fully stepped into the global capitalist system, marked by China's accession to the WTO in 2001. As well, perhaps not accidentally, it was at the beginning of the 21 century that China's transformation from being one of the poorest countries to the world's economic powerhouse that was most visible to outside observers (Kurlantzick, 2007). If China's transformation and the new balance of global power has largely shaped the new perceptions about China, then what are these new perceptions? This is the main question that my study aims to answer.

3.4. Research Methods

This research interweaves a content analysis and a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of editorials on China in the *Globe and Mail*. I would first use content analysis to map out a general image of China by calculating how many editorials are on China each year, which subjects are emphasized and the tone of editorializing. Based on findings from content analysis, I would further use CDA to find the underlying journalistic frames of how Canadian news media portray China, what they choose to comment and how they comment it.

3.4.1. Content Analysis Methods

The study collected and coded 243 editorials in the selected newspaper during the 15-year period. There are three steps of processing the data: sampling, categorizing and tone coding.

First of all, these editorials were accessed through Factiva. I selected "the *Globe and Mail*" as the only print source and chose "China" or "Tainwan" or "Greater China" to obtain an inclusive collection of editorials about China. The search was applied for the time frame from January 1, 2001 to December 31, 2015, without further search restrictions. The search yielded 274 editorials.

Moreover, the sample inclusion criteria stipulated that at least 30% of a chosen editorial consists of discussion of the issues in China and China's impact on the global economy, politics, and society, rather than merely mentioning China as a reference or an example. Thus, although many articles mentioned China, I was interested only in items that went beyond mere reference to substantively discuss China and its influence. The final sample is composed of 243 articles.

After sampling, I categorized these editorials into 6 subjects, following the all-inclusive but mutually exclusive principle. These 6 subjects are: political regime and human rights, international relations and world affairs, economic trade and investment, environment and disaster, culture and education, and finally the Olympics. These six subjects are set not only because of the "classic" sections in newspapers but also stand for six typical aspects of reporting China.

Since editorials of China's politics are always intertwined with human rights issues, I have combined them into one category. Moreover, the subject of "Olympics" is set because the *Globe and Mail* had 16 editorials (more than five percent) focusing on how China applied to host the Olympics in 2001 and how China host the game in 2008. Finally, since I have already filtered out less relevant editorials during the sampling process, it turned out that all the finally selected editorials fit into the 6 substantive subjects. Thus, there is no need for the "other" category.

After categorizing, the last step in analyzing the data is to code editorials' tone and attitudes. The tone of the editorial items is a very important indicator of the general positive or negative image of China in the media, which could also implicate the Canadian elites' attitudes toward China. The overall attitudes toward China in the editorials are judged by subjects and adjective, adverbs and verbs. Each is rated on a 1 to 5 scale, with negative, neutral or mixed, and positive in terms of China's image being conveyed in the editorials.

3.4.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is useful in gaining a more in-depth view of media coverage of China. As the research is about the image of a non-West country in

the Western media, with an attempt to uncover the relations between discourse and power, the choice for CDA is obvious as CDA is committed to discussion of power relations, ideology and critical research (Fairclough, 1995)

A smaller portion of content analysis data is selected for a closer reading and detailed analysis through CDA. The standards of selection are set by both the subject matters and the timeline. First, since Sino-Canadian relationships are reviewed into three main different periods: the period of honeymoon, 2001-2005; the period of chill, 2006-2008; the period of thaw, 2008-2015, I select at least one article on each subjects in these different periods.

Once the smaller set of editorials, approximately 35 articles, was selected, I use a multilayered approach and the analytical tools borrowed from CDA to read and interpret the linguistic features and the metaphors embedded within the texts.

Chapter 4.

The Paradoxical Images of China: A Content Analysis of the *Globe and Mail*

This study employs content analysis to examine the depiction of China in the *Globe and Mail's* editorials on China from 2001 to 2015. The analysis aims to address the newspaper's perspectives of China's rise by calculating how many editorials are about China each year, which subjects are more emphasized and the tone of the commentaries.

4.1. Volume

Figure 1 shows that the volume of *Globe and Mail* editorials on China has demonstrated both an upturn and a downturn from 2001 to 2015.

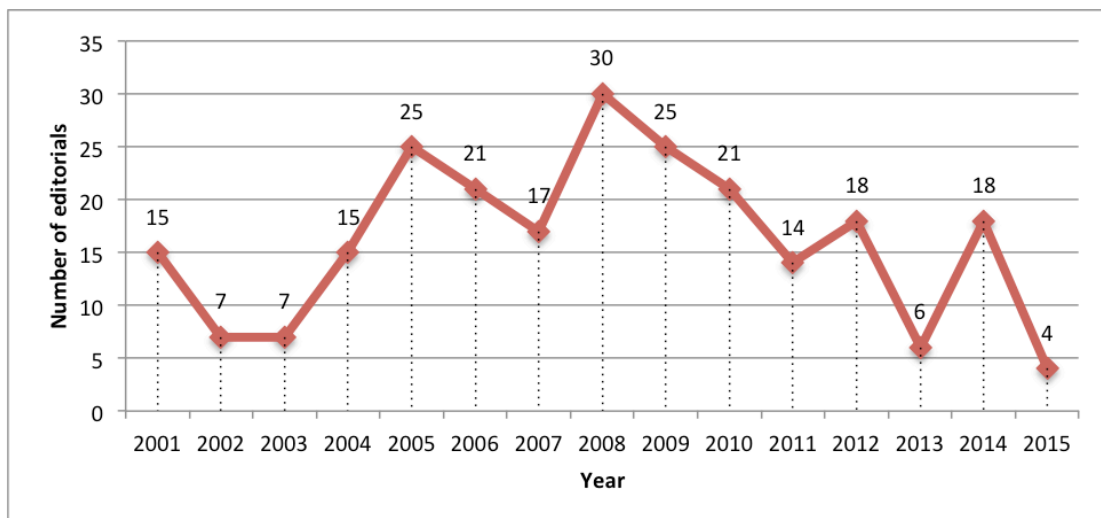


Figure 1 Volume of Editorials in *Globe and Mail*, 2001-2015

According to Figure 1, from 2001 to 2008, there was a general increase in the volume of editorials regarding China. In 2008, the volume of editorials peaked and the number of editorials began to fall off, reaching a lowest point of four editorials in 2015.

The increased volume could be explained by the increased contact Canada had with China under Liberal government from 2001-2005. During this period, Canada had closer contact and more engagements with China so that mainstream media paid more attention to China. The decline in 2006 and 2007 might then be explained by the foreign policy of Stephen Harper's Conservative government which took a harsh view of China and demonstrated less willingness to engage China.

In 2008, the volume peaked because of Beijing's Olympic games. After 2008, while there was a decline it was not precipitous in part because the Harper began to mend relations with China whose economic growth remained robust during the global recession. However, on the whole, Sino-Canadian relations experienced a chill and were uncertain throughout Harper's rein. This chill of estranged Sino-Canadian relations is reflected in the general decline of editorials from 2008 to 2015.

4.2. Subjects Distribution

Figure 2 depicts different aspects of China that were commented in the *Globe and Mail's* editorials between 2001 and 2015.

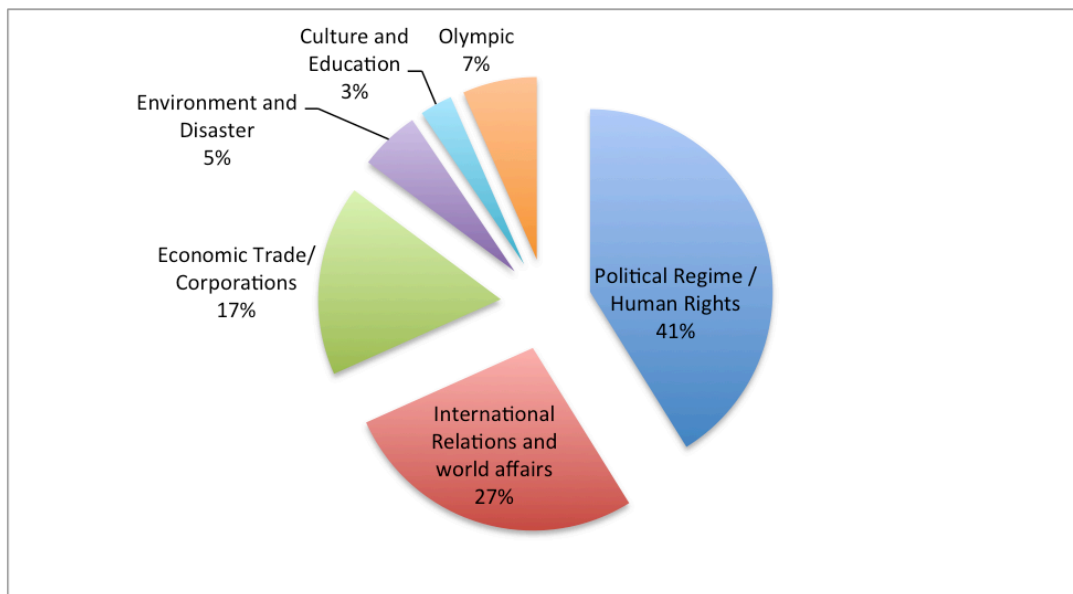


Figure 2 Distributions of Editorials by Subjects in the *Globe and Mail*, 2001-2015

The data indicates that editorials about China’s political regime and human rights dominated the newspapers’ attention. Editorials about this topic occurred 100 times and accounting for 41 percent of total story topics.

Political regime and human rights editorials are those that focus on China’s domestic politics, China’s Communist party and China’s human rights-related issues. These stories covered topics such as: China’s censorship (8 editorials), law and crime (8 editorials), cross-strait relations with Taiwan (6 editorials), minority governance in Tibet and Xinjiang (16 editorials), Hong Kong governance (20 editorials) and the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests (5 editorials). This range provides evidence for Alistair Michie’s (2007) claim that the three “Ts” — Tibet, Taiwan and Tiananmen would continue to focus how the Western media frames China. The *Globe and Mail* is not an exception, with over 10 percent of their editorials about the three “Ts”.

The second most frequent category is international relations and world affairs with 66 editorials, representing 27 percent of the total. International relations and world affairs editorials focus on China’s role in international relations and global organizations. This category includes editorials about China’s diplomatic policies and China’s behavior in its prominent trade relations such as with America, Russia Canada, as well as China’s

conflicts with Japan, and its complex relationship with North Korea. Many of these stories included geopolitical factors as well, identifying China's increasing influence in East Asia and how China's military power affects worldwide power relations.

Surprisingly, editorials on China's economy only rank third, with 41 articles, representing 17 percent of the total. "Economic trade and corporations" includes editorials about China's economic policies and China's economic performance on the international stage, such as the global influence of China's economic growth and its foreign direct investment activities.

With 16 editorials about China's application process in 2001 and eventual hosting of the Olympic summer games in 2008, the topic of Olympics occupies 7 percent of all editorials. The "environment and disaster" frame includes editorials about environmental issues, such as greenhouse emissions and protection of endangered species. This has been a minor topic area with only 13 editorials, accounting for 5 percent of the total. .

The least frequent subject is culture and education, with only 7 editorials and representing just 3 percent of the editorials over this 15-year period. This small volume on social and cultural affairs indicates that the *Globe and Mail* largely ignores Chinese cultural achievements in the same manner that Willnat and Luo (2011) argue of other Western media.

4.2.1. Subjects Distribution by Year

Figure 3 demonstrates that from 2001 to 2005, editorials about China's political regime and human rights predominated editorials on China's economic trade and corporations.

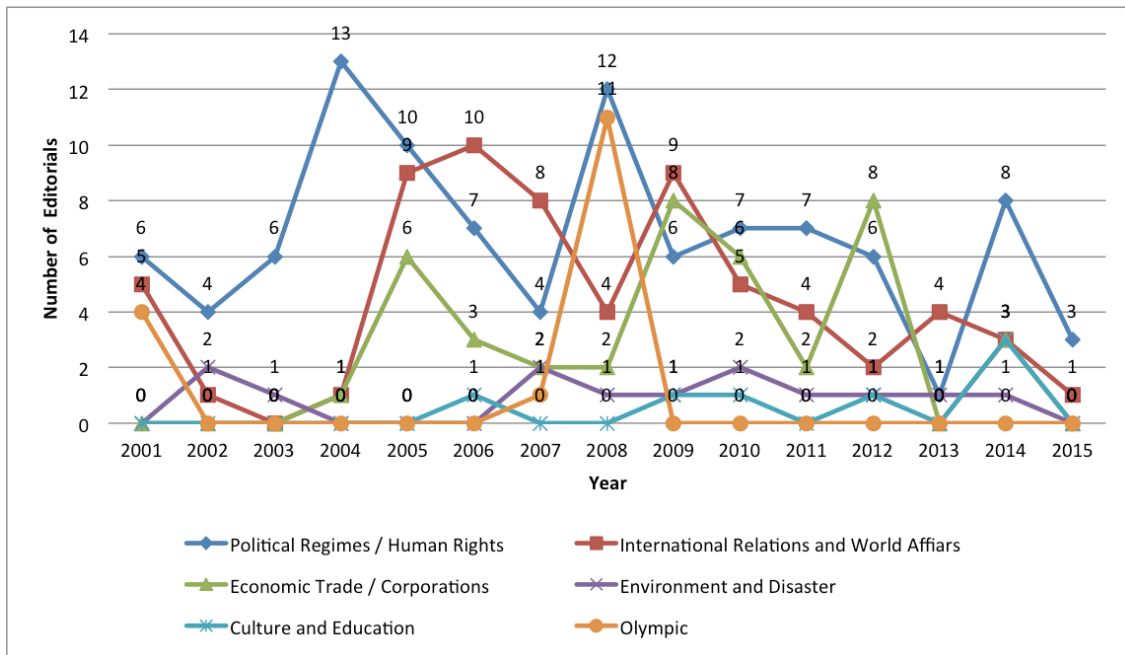


Figure 3 Subjects Distribution by Year in the *Globe and Mail*, 2001-2015

Editorials about China’s political regime and human rights peaked in 2004 with four editorials specifically about the legislative election in Hong Kong and concerns over Beijing’s influence on Hong Kong’s democracy

Relations between mainland China and Taiwan were another popular topic in 2004 following the re-election of Chen Shui-bian and the Democratic Progressive Party who ran on a platform of independence from mainland China. This electoral victory led to increased tensions and therefore attention on cross-strait relations.

It is perhaps because of these two events that other general issues of censorship, human rights, Tibet and even rehashes of the Tiananmen Square protests were raised on the *Globe and Mail’s* agenda in 2004.

Further illustrating trends in subject distribution across time, Table 1 shows the percentage of each subject by year. It shows that from 2001 -2005, the *Globe and Mail* paid main attention to China’s political regime and human rights issues, more than to economic and trade developments in the country. This finding is interesting because it demonstrates that the *Globe and Mail* emphasized political and human rights issues while the Canadian government was pursuing closer economic relations and bilateral

strategic partnership with China. Indeed, from 2001 to 2005, Sino-Canadian relationships were in a honeymoon period with China's political and human rights downplayed in bilateral relations (Cao & Poy, 2011).

Despite this apparent contradiction between the newspaper's and the Canadian government's foci, editorials on China's economic trade and corporations increased from 0 to 24 percent, between 2001 and 2005. We could infer that, although the *Globe and Mail's* main concern with China remained on the nation-state's political regime and human rights, increased Sino-Canadian trade aroused the newspaper editor's interests.

Table 1 **Subjects Distribution of Editorials by Year in the *Globe and Mail*, 2001-2015**

	Political Regimes / Human Rights	International Relations and World Affairs	Economic Trade / Corporations	Environment and Disaster	Culture and Education	Olympic	Total
2001	40.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	26.7%	100.0%
2002	57.1%	14.3%	0.0%	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
2003	85.7%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
2004	86.7%	6.7%	6.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
2005	40.0%	36.0%	24.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
2006	33.3%	47.6%	14.3%	0.0%	4.8%	0.0%	100.0%
2007	23.5%	47.1%	11.8%	11.8%	0.0%	5.9%	100.0%
2008	40.0%	13.3%	6.7%	3.3%	0.0%	36.7%	100.0%
2009	24.0%	36.0%	32.0%	4.0%	4.0%	0.0%	100.0%
2010	33.3%	23.8%	28.6%	9.5%	4.8%	0.0%	100.0%
2011	50.0%	28.6%	14.3%	7.1%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
2012	33.3%	11.1%	44.4%	5.6%	5.6%	0.0%	100.0%
2013	16.7%	66.7%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
2014	44.4%	16.7%	16.7%	5.6%	16.7%	0.0%	100.0%
2015	75.0%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

According to Figure 3, from 2006 to 2008, editorials about China's Political regime and human rights do not demonstrate an obvious trend to increase in either frequency or percentage. During 2006 and 2008, the frequency and percentage of political regime and human rights editorials were even smaller than from 2003 to 2005.

Political regime and human rights editorials peaked in 2008, with 12 editorials accounting for 40 percent of those published in that year. At the same time, editorials specifically about the Olympics occupied 11 editorials.

The increasing interest in China's economic performance is most emphasized after 2008. According to Table 1, in 2009, the proportion of editorials on China's

economy overtook editorials of China's political and human-rights issues for the first time. Economic editorials peaked in 2012 and the volume surpassed all other subjects, representing 44.4 percent of editorials on China in that year.

With the exception of 2009 and 2012, the *Globe and Mail* remains primarily focused on China's political regime and human rights issues at both the domestic and the international level. This is especially true in the 2013 and 2015 when there were no editorials about China's economy.

4.3. Tone

Based on Figure 4, the tone of 67.1 percent editorials is negative, 26.3 percent of editorials were presented with a neutral tone, and 6.6% in a positive tone. This indicates that the *Globe and Mail*, on the whole, holds a negative view of China.

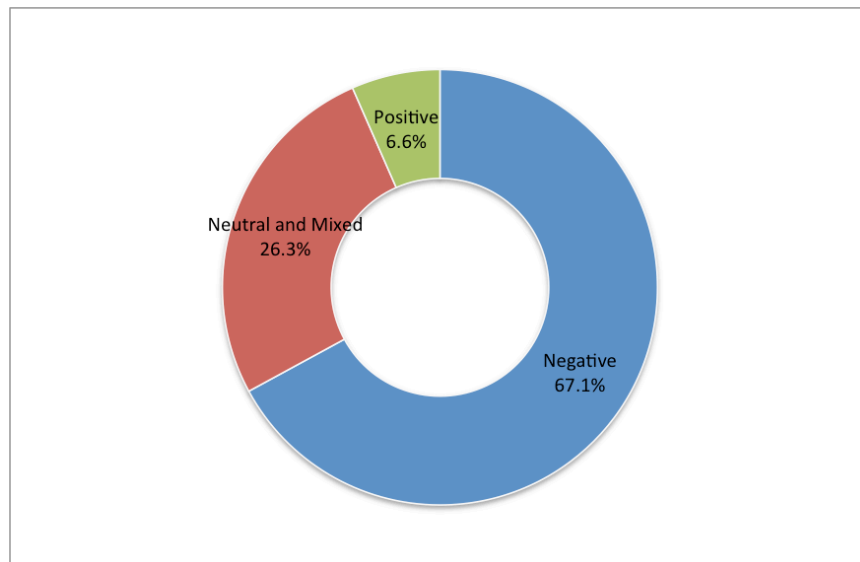


Figure 4 Tone of Chinese Editorials in the *Globe and Mail*, 2001-2015

According to the Figure 5, the tone of reporting China has not shifted across time. The tone toward China became increasingly negative in 2004 and peaked in 2008, when 25 out of 29 editorials displayed a negative tone. However, the attitude suddenly changed in 2009. The tone of editorials in 2009 was the least negative, with over 50 percent of editorials written in a positive or neutral tone.

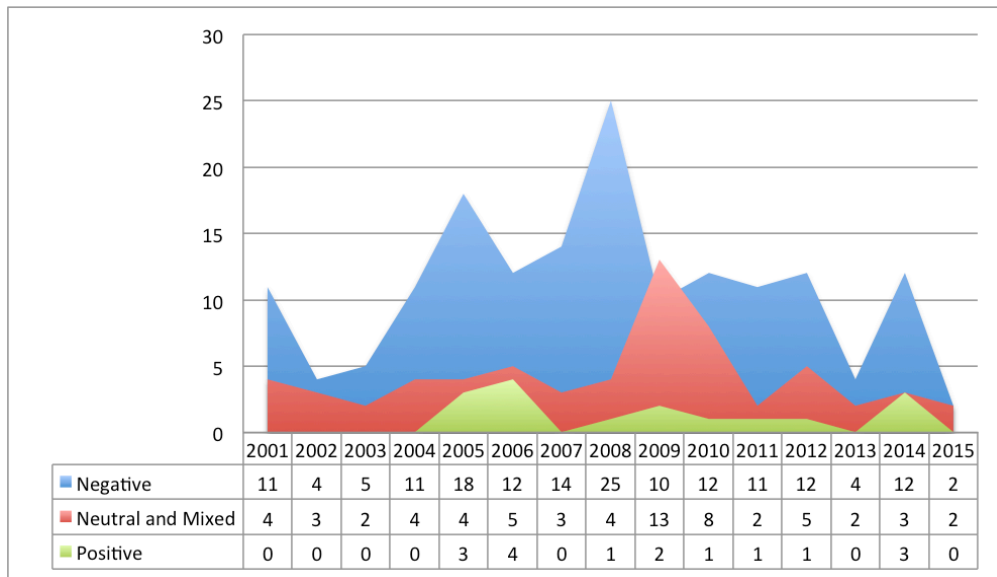


Figure 5 Tone of Chinese Editorials by Year in the *Globe and Mail*, 2001-2015

Although the overall tone is negative, there are distinctions between different subjects. Figure 6 shows that the tone of commentary on China’s political regime and human rights is overwhelmingly negative, with over 90 percent demonstrating a negative tone.

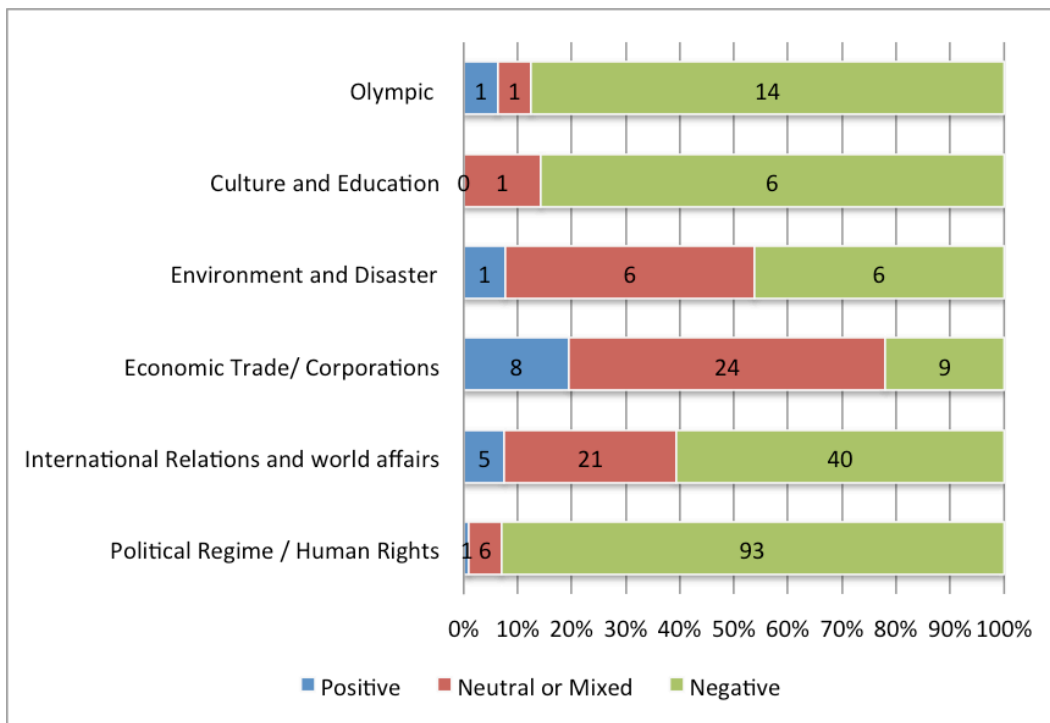


Figure 6 Tone of Editorials in Different Subjects

In the *Globe and Mail*, the tone of editorials about China's culture and education is mainly negative, with only one neutral editorial. The reason for this result is that the *Globe and Mail* usually discusses China's culture in the context of the nation-state's politics. For example, in 2014, *Globe and Mail* editors wrote three editorials advocating against the establishment of Confucius Institutes in the Toronto District School Board because "Confucius Institutes are tightly controlled by China's one-party state" (2014, July 2). The tone used to frame Beijing's Olympic games was also mainly negative, accounting for 14 out of 16 editorials on the subject.

Among all subjects, the least negative are the commentaries on China's economic trade and corporations. Approximately 30 percent of these editorials display a negative perspective, while over 50 percent were neutral or mixed, and almost 20 percent were positive. Editorials on free market development in China, the country's stock market, exports and imports, China's currency and China's performance in WTO, compose the biggest proportion of articles written in a positive or neutral light. The editorials with negative tones mainly critique protectionism and product quality.

Commentaries on China's role in international relations and world relations were also less negative than were editorials on China's political regime and human rights. However, commentaries on China's performance on the global stage were generally negative to neutral. For example, editorials about Sino-Japan relations blame China as the main aggressor while suggesting that Japan should be more sincere in its attempts at diplomacy. However, in the editorials concerning Sino-Canadian trade relations and meetings between Canada and China top officials, criticism of human rights violation in China dominated the coverage demonstrating a particularly negative attitude.

Surprisingly, the *Globe and Mail* take on environment and disaster issues in China has not been overwhelmingly negative. This topic has been even less negative than the tone taken on China's Olympics and its culture and education.

4.4. Summary

To summarize, the above analysis has demonstrated four main findings. First, the frequency of editorials could, to some extent, be related to the three phases of Sino-Canadian relationships: the honeymoon from 2001 to 2005 leading to increasing volume of editorials; the chill from 2006 to 2008 saw a stabilization in the volume; and lastly a decline in frequency when Sino-Canadian relations entered a period of uncertainty from 2008 to 2015.

Second, political regime and human rights topics dominate *Globe and Mail* commentaries about China. Through the three different phases of diplomatic relations, the *Globe and Mail's* interest in China's political regime and human rights did not change. Even during the honeymoon period, the number of editorials on political regime and human rights was predominated. However, after 2008 the number of editorials on economic trade and corporations increased while the overall percentage remained smaller than that of commentaries on China's political regime and human rights, except in 2009 and 2012.

Third, the *Globe and Mail's* overall tone about China has remained negative. This trend became more apparent in 2004 and continued to 2009 when, momentarily, the tone became more neutral and positive, which could be related to economic interests attempting to court Chinese attention in the aftermath of the 2008 global recession. After 2009, the negative tone remained dominate but overall there were fewer negative editorials.

Fourth, the *Globe and Mail*, took a different tone on different subjects. Editorials primarily took a neutral and positive tone when discussing China's economic development and trade. This neutral stance was generally repeated in editorials on China's international relations and world affairs as well as in commentaries on China's environment and disasters. However, the newspaper's positions on China's politics and other subjects, like culture and education or the Olympics, are overwhelmingly negative.

Based on the findings above, we could find that the *Globe and Mail* primarily focuses on China's political regime and human rights. At the same time, it has begun to

pay increasing attention to China's economic performance and China's role in international affairs. The critical discourse analysis in the next chapter explores how these subjects and tones indicate the presence of liberal democratic news frames in the *Globe and Mail's* representation of China.

Chapter 5.

Framing China: A Critical Discourse Analysis of *Globe and Mail* Editorials

Through critical discourse analysis, there are three repetitive and consistent frames in the *Globe and Mail*. The first two are: “China as an important economic partner” and “China as a dictator with a poor human-rights record”, referring respectively to economic editorials and political editorials. Besides these, an “anti-communism” frame also exists, which shows the double standard that *the Globe and Mail* takes when representing China as a communist country compared to commentaries on non-communist countries.

Beyond these three frames, I further discuss the editors’ changing attitudes toward China across time. I argue that the changing attitude is indicative of a struggle between moral values and material interests. These struggles result in *Globe and Mail*’s role as an anomaly in portraying China (Cao, 2012).

I end with a discussion of why the *Global and Mail* holds divisive perspectives of China. These portrayals represent that the struggles in the newspaper’s commentaries are in terms of moral values centered on understandings of liberal democratic capitalism rather than on explicit political and economic interests.

5.1. Important Economic Partner

Since China’s economic reform and opening up policy in the late 1970s that premised practices of ‘technological innovation’, ‘trade’ and ‘capitalism’, media representations of China in Western media have largely improved (Cao, 2002; Zhang, 2011). In line with this, the *Globe and Mail* now portrays China as an “important

economic partner” serving as a “supplier of cheap commodities and labours” and also as a “significant consumer and investor”.

On the one hand, China has become the manufacturing “workshop of the world”, providing cheap commodities and cheap labours to the global market. China’s place at the bottom of global production chains has benefited western modes of production. By accepting low-technological, labour-intensive, high-pollution industries China has helped to create an environment for Western countries to upgrade their domestic industries.

The *Globe and Mail* gave a nod to the importance of cheap Chinese goods in a 2005 editorial entitled *Imports from China are good for Canada*:

Thanks to China, Wal-Marts and dollar stores from coast to coast are chock full of bargains on items from power tools to towels to alarm clocks. If Canadians have enjoyed low inflation for more than a decade, it is at least in part because of imports from China (*Imports from China are Good for Canada*, 2005, November 1).

Beyond benefits to consumers, the *Globe and Mail* represents China’s cheap components and commodities as essential for improving Canadian corporations’ own competency:

One British Columbia fireplace maker brings in grates, castings and electrical parts and puts them all together in its Vancouver plant. “We’re in China primarily to make our Canadian factory more competitive,” says the owner (*Imports from China are Good for Canada*, 2005, November 1).

On the other hand, China’s rapid economic growth has increased its demands for oil, metals and other key resources. As an energy-rich state, Canada has become an important trade partner for China. In the *Globe and Mail*, China’s investments in Canada have been portrayed as welcomed and necessary. For example, a December 1st 2006 editorial *Don’t Invent Obstacles to Chinese Investment* encourages Chinese investment despite the political chill during that time period:

In the context of a chill in relations with China, the Conservative government is toying with the idea of intervening in takeovers by foreign state-owned enterprises in cases where there is a perceived threat to Canada’s long-term interests....While Chinese or other foreign companies, regardless of whether they are state-controlled, should be welcome to

invest in Canada (and thereby abide by Canadian labour rules and investment standards), Canadian companies should not face barriers preventing them from doing the same in the other countries' markets (*Don't Invent Obstacles to Chinese Investment*, 2006, December 1).

Although increasing Sino-Canadian economic ties have aroused several concerns about the environment and conflicts have resulted from different business practices, the newspaper's editorial opinions generally encourage the Canadian government and corporations to keep engaging China:

Any shortage of transparency in the businesses of Canadian-listed companies in China is likely to increasingly spook investors. Canadians should not retreat from China; instead, they should strive for a better understanding of Chinese businesses – and business practices – and Chinese firms should help by making themselves less muddy and more intelligible (*Clear Water Needed*, 2011, June 15).

Moreover, China's role as an increasingly significant trade partner for Canada has been indicated in *Globe and Mail* commentary. For example, in 2012 when a Chinese state-controlled corporation CNOOC (China National Offshore Oil Corporation) was negotiating a takeover of the Calgary-based oil company Nexen Corporation, the *Globe and Mail* highlighted China's increasing significance to the Canadian economy:

Canada has become increasingly aware this year that its prospects for export growth lie mainly in China and other emerging economies, while the United States continues to grow quite slowly and Europe is in recession. Above all, those exports mean commodities: oil and gas and minerals (*Canada Still Needs More Clarity*, 2012, December 10).

These positive comments not only reflected Herman and Chomsky's argument that, "news as well as editorials opinion will be strongly influenced by political and economic interests" (1988: 6). They also suggest that in contemporary North American society, news media ratify and reproduce an ideology of liberal democratic capitalism (Hackett & Zhao, 1997: 145). The *Globe and Mail's* endorsements of opening trade, globalization and free market are obvious and pervasive. The newspaper directly and indirectly encourages China to deepen its economic liberalization:

Canada has a vested interest in seeing this economic liberalization continue, and a Chinese presence in Canadian resources may actually

give Ottawa some leverage in this regard (*What China Seeks Here*, 2005, January 17).

In contrast, trade protectionism and anti-globalization, which threaten liberal capitalism values, are portrayed as irrational and unwise ideas or behaviours. In 2006, for instance, when China put in protections for state-controlled industries and home-grown technologies, the *Globe and Mail* sent the clear message that “China should beware a protectionist impulse”, regarding protectionism as great regressive action.

In a 2005 editorial about protests against globalization in Hong Kong, the author critiqued the protestors asserting that:

Hong Kong is the silliest place in the world to protest against globalization. Before embracing the challenge of trading with the world, it was a sleepy colonial seaport noted principally for malaria and opium. Today it is an economic powerhouse with a thicket of thrusting skyscrapers and individual wealth nearly as great as Canada's. Yet there they were this week, the angry opponents of globalization, battling police in the streets of a city that built itself from nothing on the merits of open trade. Have they no eyes? (. . . and *anti-WTO folly*, 2005, December 15)

Furthermore, without even addressing the reasons why people in Hong Kong were protesting against globalization, the *Global and Mail* provided legitimization for globalization as a universal and efficient path to bring economic boom to every modern society:

It worked for Hong Kong. It can work for others. If the Hong Kong protesters would only take off their blinkers and look around, they might see that the globalization that they oppose so fiercely is in fact the greatest force for economic progress in the world today (. . . and *anti-WTO folly*, 2005, December 15).

In sum, China has been portrayed as Canada's important trade partner. Under this frame, China's ongoing economic liberalization has been praised and is expected to continue into the future. Besides this, *Global and Mail* editorials reinforce the values of liberal democratic capitalism, including advocating for globalization and by marginalizing and stigmatizing dissenters.

5.2. Dictatorship-caused Tensions and Democracy as Panacea

Content analysis shows that in the subject of China's political regime and human rights several main issues are emphasized including: Hong Kong, Tibet and Tiananmen Square Protests in 1989. Consistent across these concerns is the framing of the Chinese government as "authoritarian, repressive and intolerant with less respects of civil rights". I argue that the way *Globe and Mail* frames China reinforces the values of liberal democratic capitalism.

In order to legitimate and strengthen liberal democratic values, the editorials first portray China as an authoritarian state, a dictatorship and even as a "beast". Therefore, on the premise of China's dictatorship, these editorials assume that China's dictatorship is the cause of the domestic and international tensions experienced by the nation-state.

When commenting China's domestic issues, including Hong Kong protests, governance in Tibet and cross-strait relations with Taiwan, the Chinese government has been portrayed as an opponent of its own people. Under this frame, Chinese people are not just satisfied with the material abundance afforded by economic reforms and are clamouring for democracy. Here is the example:

China's political bosses obviously believe the ability to make and spend money without restrictions should be more than enough to satisfy the people of Hong Kong and that this election confirms as much. They could not be more wrong (*Hong Kong's democrats*, 2004, September 17).

In this framework the Chinese government is portrayed as a vulnerable authoritarian who is as afraid of democracy as it is indifferent to its people's desires for democracy.

The "People's Republic," like all authoritarian governments, remains afraid of the people... They chose to unleash the market forces that would make the economy boom, believing that people would ignore the suffocating political climate in return for a higher standard of living. (*Economic Leap, Political Freeze*, 2009, June 4).

Therefore, the Chinese government is portrayed as brutal while the Chinese people (dissidents) are represented as innocent –with legitimate demands for democracy. Here is an example of how editorial creates antagonism between the Chinese government and Hong Kong people:

They (protestors) must show more determination and more patience than their opponent, with civil protests to regularly remind Beijing that Hong Kong wants what it was promised: autonomy and democracy (*Liberty's long game*, 2014, October 16).

The *Globe and Mail* also implies that China's dictatorship is the cause of its poor international reputation. It is implied that as an authoritarian state where most every facet of life is shaped by politics, every aspect about China, such as its hosting of the Olympics, or its cultural and educational practices, are fair game for stigmatization.

For example, the *Globe and Mail* published four editorials in 2001 to oppose China's hosting of the 2008 Olympics because of China's political record. In these articles, the International Olympic Committee was blamed for approving China because China is "one of the most repressive regimes in the world -- a regime that imprisons without charge, executes without appeal and tortures without mercy" (*China's Big Olympic Challenge*, 2001, July 14).

In the subsequent editorials about the Beijing Olympics in 2008, except for a single one expressing worries that Canada's absence at the Olympics would harm Canadian economic interests, all other editorials focused their emphasis on China's authoritarian regimes and human rights issues. The *Globe and Mail's* main standpoint was that "the Olympics have given a boost to China's authoritarian logic" (*Why China Should Not Get the Olympics*, 2001, July 9).

However, one month before the Olympics started, the *Globe and Mail* wrote an editorial *Don't Stay at Home Alone* (2008, July 8) to suggest Harper had better attend the opening ceremony, in order to avoid any possible political isolation.

Indeed, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper did not attend the opening ceremonies of the Beijing Games at the last moment, while U.S. President George W.

Bush and other main European leaders attended. This unfriendly and aggressive action from the Harper government indeed worsened the already chilly Sino-Canadian relations (Jiang, 2009).

As mentioned above, the Chinese government is also stigmatized in editorials about the country's cultural and educational efforts. For example, in 2014, the cooperation between China's Confucius Institutes and the Toronto District School Board was portrayed as Chinese communist propaganda infiltrating the Canadian education system:

It is the teaching of Chinese culture by the Confucius Institute to children and teenagers in Canada's largest city that is the problem. Confucius Institutes around the world are state-supported, state-directed entities. And the state behind them is a one-party regime that recently evolved from Marxism-Leninism into what can be best described as a novel form of non-democratic elitism with kleptocratic tendencies (*No room for Beijing in Canada's Schools*, 2014, October 3).

In general, China has been framed as both powerful and threatening on the international stage. The main concern expressed by the *Globe and Mail* is that China's close relations with what it represents as unstable and repressive regimes in Burma, Sudan, North Korea and Zimbabwe. By maintaining these relations China is portrayed as part of the problem of political instability in these regions:

The trouble is that you can become known by the friends you keep. Beijing has good relations with Myanmar's brutal military junta and provides succour to North Korea's Kim Jong-il. It said that Uzbek President Islam Karimov's bloody May crackdown that left hundreds of corpses in the streets of Andijan was justified because his government was defending itself against a "terror attack carried out by armed extremists (*China and Mugabe*, 2005, July 27).

In these depictions of China's domestic and international relations the *Globe and Mail* displays its liberal democratic standpoint. Simply put it out, the main claim connecting these stories is that liberal democracy is the only moral path to take. Namely, that its domestic tensions are the result of economic reform without political reforms and that its poor international reputation is its ongoing support of non-democratic nations and its own failing to reform.

Economic and military might will never bring China respect from the international community unless accompanied by basic freedoms (*Liu Xiaobo, and China's long march*, 2010, October 9).

The world keeps hoping that China's modernization will lead to true democratization, and China feeds that hope by talking about a 12-year plan to establish public democratic involvement at all government levels. But where is the evidence? Without democratization, the worst forms of oppression will no doubt continue (*Torture in China*, 2008, December 1).

China's continued rise to wealth and power cannot be assured unless it builds solid political foundations. Its undemocratic, unaccountable, unresponsive regime is simply incapable of governing such a complex, quickly changing society over the long haul. If China really wants to sustain its remarkable progress, it must embrace modern politics as warmly as it welcomes the other wonders of the modern world (*How Democracy Would Help China*, 2004, October 4).

By persuading China to practice liberal democracy, the *Globe and Mail* makes use of a “teacher and pupil” framework. Within this framework (Cao & Poy, 2011: 9), Canada is shown to be a role model for practicing liberal democracy and adhering to human rights, while China is depicted as student failing at democracy and civil rights.

To sum up, the *Globe and Mail's* stigmatization of China's political regime is used to strengthen the notion that liberal democracy is inevitable and universal. In almost every commentary effort is made to establish the point that the root problem is China's political regime, this then invites Western readers to the author's own conclusion that the best solution is political reform. The ultimate purpose behind all these critiques is to push Chinese government down to the path of political liberalization; and to be more like “us”.

5.3. Anti-Communist Frame

In the *Globe and Mail*, anticommunist frames are less explicit. However, they still exist. The double standards and dichotomies between how communist and non-communist countries are portrayed are not difficult to find. There are several examples.

First of all, when the *Globe and Mail* critiques the Chinese government for breaking its promise of maintaining Hong Kong's democracy, it ignores Hong Kong's

colonial history. Originally Hong Kong and Macau enjoyed few free political rights as European colonies and “Hong Kong's British overlords only began preaching the joys of representative democracy when they were packing to leave” (*The Hong Kong Vote*, 2004, July 19). It was only after China took over, that the *Globe and Mail* began to argue for the need to protect Hong Kong’s democratic traditions.

The double standards are continued in reports on China’s use of Canadian technology for surveillance purposes. When the Canadian government uses the same technology, it is portrayed as justifiably combating the threat of terrorism. However, when the Chinese government began using the same technology the *Globe and Mail* expressed concern. It asked, “Since when is it okay to sell the machinery of repression to a police state?” (*Tools of Surveillance*, 2004, September 22)

The comparison between China and other non-communist countries continues in the commentary on Canadian partnerships with Confucius Institutes. The *Globe and Mail* comments, “there is no room for Beijing in Canada’s schools” (*No Room for Beijing in Canada’s Schools*, 2014, October 3). As mentioned in the literature review, Canada has been building a multicultural policy and has claimed its respect and preference for diversity. Thus, it seems ironic for *Globe and Mail’s* discourse to kick out China’s cultural and educational institutes. In order to present itself as neutral and impartial observer, the newspaper explains that “the Confucius Institutes are in themselves a good thing” but we still need to refrain from partnerships with them. Why? The reasons include the following opinions:

Unlike other language and organizations such as the French Alliance Française or the German Goethe-Institute, Confucius Institutes are tightly controlled by China's one-party state, even while operating directly on Canadian university campuses and school property (*Chinese for “Conflict of Interest”*, 2014, July 2).

By contrast, the cultural agencies of liberal-democratic countries, such as France's Alliance française or Germany's Goethe Institute, are entirely compatible with Canadian democracy (*No Room for Beijing in Canada's Schools*, 2014, October 3).

Through the quotes above, we can see a clear boundary between “us” and “them”. It explicitly claims that China is not “us” because it does not practice liberal democracy. Moreover, in the editorial *No Room for Beijing in Canada’s Schools*, China’s one-party regime and its ideological origins in Marxism-Leninism are equal to “a novel form of non-democratic elitism with kleptocratic tendencies”.

In *Manufacturing Consent (1988)*, Herman and Chomsky argue that within the anti-communist frame, issues tend to be framed into a dichotomized world of Communist and anti-Communist powers. Usually, the anti-Communist side is “our side”, which is entirely legitimated and supported (Herman & Chomsky, 1988: 30). The above editorials help to demonstrate that there is an anticommunist filter in the *Globe and Mail*.

5.4. Struggles Between Moral Values and Material Interests

In addition to these persistent negative frames by which *the Globe and Mail* portrays China, we can observe general fluctuations in the attitudes the editorials take toward China over time. I argue that the fluctuation is due to the newspaper’s struggles between moral values and material interests.

On the one hand, the *Globe and Mail* largely represents the moral values of liberal democracy but easily falls back onto material interests when the latter is at stake. For example, in 2006, when Harper’s Conservative government had just come into power there were domestic concerns in Canada that Harper’s government would sacrifice the Liberal government’s 2005 bilateral strategic partnership with China (Cao & Poy, 2011). In contrast to these concerns, the *Globe and Mail* “applauded the Conservative government for distancing itself from a regime tainted by a culture of repression” (*Uneasy Partnership*, 2006, September 27).

It furthermore applauded Harper’s meeting with the Dalai Lama claiming that it was the right thing to do even though it would damage Sino-Canadian relations (*Uneasy Partnership*, 2006, September 27). At the end of this editorial, the author admitted how important China was as a trading partner for Canada as both a buyer of commodities and seller of low-cost consumer goods. However, the editorial concluded that before

Beijing is serious about its human rights problems and political freedoms, Ottawa should keep distance from China (*Uneasy Partnership*, 2006, September 27). It seems like the *Globe and Mail*, along with Harper's Conservative government, hold the determination to sacrifice "almighty dollar" for keeping Canadian values of human rights.

However, when Canadian economic interests are threatened, the newspaper appears to take precedence in the *Globe and Mail's* positioning. The newspaper starts to present China in a positive light, regardless of all complaints about China's politics and human rights issues before.

For instance, the 2006 editorial *Don't invent obstacles to Chinese investment* criticized Harper's idea of intervening in takeovers by China's state-owned enterprises, arguing that "while Chinese or other foreign companies, regardless of whether they are state-controlled, should be welcome to invest in Canada". This story helps to depict how economic interests can come to supersede political concerns and conditions.

The *Globe and Mail*, works to balance interest in developing economic trade relations with China against the teacher-pupil framework that situates Canada as China's teacher in terms of respecting human rights. Sometimes, its standpoint is tough. For example, when the Tibetan religious leader, the Dalai Lama, who has a hostile relationship with the Chinese government, planned to visit Ottawa, the *Globe and Mail* argued for the meeting and "let Beijing sputter" (*Meet the Dalai Lama*, 2004, April 7). But in 2008 when Beijing hosted the Olympics, the *Globe and Mail's* position changed by saying that "it is better to engage China than to isolate it" as Canada's absence in the Beijing Olympic Opening Ceremony would only "harm Canada's interests by straining relations with one of the world's emerging economies".

Based on the discussion above, the *Globe and Mail* comes off as Janus faced in its portrayal and recommended treatment of China. It hopes that China could be divided into two parts, an economic part and a political part. On the one hand, it suggests that Canada should pursue economic and trade relations with China as close as possible, even if this is with state-owned corporations. On the other hand, considering China's political regime and human rights record, the *Globe and Mail* suggests that the Canada government should take a step back from China.

As a result, *Globe and Mail's* fluctuating attitudes and its divisive voices in portraying China make the newspaper an anomaly: having a liberal face on a realpolitik body (Cao, 2012). According to Cao (2012), Western news media try to advocate Western values with a moral liberal rhetoric but easily fall back into material interests when the latter is at stake.

Image removed due to copyright

Figure 7 Are you a panda hugger or dragon slayer?

Source: cimsec.org

Figure 7 depicts the paradoxical nature of the *Globe and Mail's* contrasting media representations of China. China's economy and trade are the adorable panda because China increasingly follows the rules of free market capitalism. However, China's political regime is like a threatening dragon in its challenges to Western understandings of their democratic values. By identifying that the *Globe and Mail's* images of China are only positive when it embraces Western values we can see how its portrayals are linked to liberal democratic ideological frameworks.

5.5. Economic Leap, Political Freeze

Throughout all editorials about China, we see that the *Globe and Mail* holds a paradoxical view of China. Admittedly, the *Globe and Mail* shows that it is struggling with "the paradox of modern China":

This is the paradox of modern China. As a rapidly advancing economy it relies on information flow, on education, creativity, innovation. But then people ask questions, demand accountability and independent courts, insist on learning the truth about their history. What China needs economically it will not tolerate politically (*Economic Leap, Political Freeze*, 2009, June 4).

The *Globe and Mail* offers divisive portrayals of China between its advanced economy and one-party political regime:

For all its economic advances, China remains an authoritarian state with an appalling, and worsening, human-rights record (*China's Gall on Rights*, 2007, March 12).

China has made enormous progress on nearly every front since June 4, 1989, except those related to political freedom... But China is still a one-party state opposed to political reform... In some ways the country allows more space for personal expression and diversity. It feels like a bigger, more comfortable cage, as one dissident puts it. But still a cage (*Economic Leap, Political Freeze*, 2009, June 4).

Even though the Tiananmen Square protests tragedy occurred over ten years and there ago and that there are more brutal and terrible things happened in the rest of the world, the *Globe and Mail* continues to publish specific editorials about this event. We find reminders of the event in 2001 (The Tiananmen Story), 2005 (Tiananmen's Shadow), 2009 (Economic Leap and Political Freeze) and 2014 (Unhappy Anniversary), not to mention that the newspaper mentioning it plenty of times when commenting China's other issues. This ongoing and uncontextualized repetition of the story leads me to conclude that there are reasons beyond economic and political interests, to explain why the *Globe and Mail* feels deeply troubled by the paradoxical images of China and that these reasons can be found in why it keeps retelling the story about the Tiananmen Square protests.

According to Madsen (1995), China's refusal to adopt liberal democracy in 1989 contrasted against its successful post-Tiananmen combination of market economy and authoritarian politics threaten Western common understandings about the intimate link between a market economy and democratic forms of government. In other words, Western understandings of freedom that economic, political and sociocultural freedoms

rest upon the assumption that these are intimately interconnected and that they inevitable lead to one another. What is more, these ideas view the combination of market capitalism and liberal democracy as the universal path for every modern society.

However, I discussed earlier, the developmental path of liberal democratic capitalism is not necessarily universal. China's remarkable growth today could provide a chance for all global citizens, especially Westerners, to reconsider what constitutes a modern government and how it relates to the development of a modern economy; ultimately to reconsider the balance between freedom with social order (Madsen, 1995).

Admittedly, China has benefited from capitalist economics. However, this does not imply that China would necessarily benefit from liberal democracy. Just as much as democracy could be a 'healing pill' it could also be poison depending upon the context.

In fact, China's recent economic growth has heavily depended on cheap and semiskilled labors, which is the reason why China has been called the 'workshop of the world'. Because only an authoritarian government can suppress labour demands to keep the labor price low, an argument can be made that the suppression of political freedom is a precondition for the kind of economic growth that China has had.

Therefore, rather than being stubborn about the unwarranted assumptions, underlining Western media portrayals, it would be better to consider that freedom and democracy must be taken in context, and that different patterns of social development are possible in different cultures.

Chapter 6.

Conclusion

6.1. Media Representation and the Global Imagination

In her book *Media Representation and the Global Imagination*, Shani Orgad suggests that media representations are immensely powerful. On the one hand, power relations are encoded in media representations, and media representations, in turn, produce and reproduce power relations by constructing knowledge, values, conceptions and beliefs. On the other hand, the power of media representation could create and shape our imaginations of this world. Our imagination constitutes a common understanding that makes possible common practice and a widely shared sense of legitimacy (Taylor, 2002). My study supports these two observations.

First, media representations of China in the *Globe and Mail* show that its editorial opinions are strongly influenced by political and economic interests. As a result, the *Globe and Mail* displays divisive perspectives of China. In the newspaper, positive images of China are often portrayed when China embraces Western ideas and practices (“like us”), such as China’s market economy. In contrast negative images are usually connected to China’s rejection of Canada’s values of liberal democracy (“alien to us”). Besides, the anti-Communist frame indicates that editors are more likely to present China in a negative light especially when contrasted against non-communist countries.

Second, beyond economic and political interests, Western-centric social imaginaries of liberal democratic capitalism are behind the dichotomous portrayals of China. The consensus of the connection between the free market and democratic liberalism has shaped mainstream media coverage’s standpoint and the consensus has been reinforced and reproduced by mainstream media. As a result, Western

imaginings about a society's development path are limited to one: liberal democratic capitalism.

However, China's successful pairing of market economics and authoritarian politics challenges the Western consensus of liberal democratic capitalism (Madsen, 1995: 15). It provides an alternative that is different from the Western one. China's experience suggests that different understandings of democracy and social developmental paths, are possible.

Nevertheless, Western mainstream media, such as the *Globe and Mail*, still keep discrediting China's developmental path by representing China as an anomaly and by pushing China to follow Western liberal democracy. These media representations reinforce the current hegemony of market liberalism, which makes alternatives difficult to imagine and to discuss.

6.2. Shortcomings and Future Discussion

In analyzing the *Globe and Mail's* perspectives of China, this study only focused on editorials that discuss issues occurring in China or of China's global influences. Thus it excluded news stories and other types of articles. Future research might include all newspaper articles, including news, letters to editors and editorials. Such a study may provide a richer resource for the study of media representations of China in Canadian news media.

Second, the study looked at a period from 2001 to 2015. This enabled it to study media representations of China after it became the member of WTO in 2001. However, it excludes important time periods such as 1970, when Canada and China established diplomatic relations and also 1989 when the Tiananmen Square protests occurred. Would the *Globe and Mail's* attitudes change before and after these two events? Future study could expand the time span to identify the correspondence between bilateral relations and media coverage from a more complete historical view.

Last but not least, since communication is interactive, China's reactions and Chinese news media attitudes about Canada are also significant and interesting. Therefore, another direction for future research could include media representations of Canada in Chinese news media. This could provide voices about the same issue from two sides. Such a comparative study might help to isolate new factors in the value conflicts between liberal democracy and socialist societies.

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