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The Representation of Trade Wars in Western Newsmagazines

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Time, The Economist, L'Express, and Der Spiegel on China (2010) and Japan (1987)

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Submitted in fulfilment

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		Chair:	Assoc Prof Binghan Zheng

Dedicated to my family

Abstract

This doctoral thesis explores the representation of China's and Japan's trade wars with their trading partners in four Western newsmagazines: *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*. Based on both quantitative and qualitative approaches, this interdisciplinary thesis draws on two analytical frameworks from the realm of critical discourse analysis (CDA), van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory of social-actor representation and van Dijk's (1980) notion of macro-rules as the overarching approaches, supported by multilingualism and translation, to understand the changing dynamics of international relations and the global economy through Western media. The sample in this thesis consists of 160 headlines and 160 lead texts, half of which are focused on China and the other half on Japan. The time frame stretches across a period of 12 months in 2010 (China) and in 1987 (Japan). The analysis is carried out via four case studies: Case Study 1 on China in the headlines; Case Study 2 on China in the lead texts; Case Study 3 on Japan in the headlines; and Case Study 4 on Japan in the lead texts. The findings obtained from the empirical research have revealed that China was not only reported more unfavourably than Japan in terms of depth, but also across a broader range of areas spanning economics, politics, and military affairs. It has also emerged that all the four Western newsmagazines tended to centre their coverage on the United States and China in 2010, and the United States and Japan in 1987, although they did not speak in one collective voice with regard to their coverage of China and Japan. This thesis makes the following three key contributions to scholarship: (1) the inclusion of information drawn from primary sources in Chinese, French, German, and Japanese to complement English-language sources, along with their translation into English where necessary; (2) the inclusion of one French and one German newsmagazine to complement the coverage by one American and one British newsmagazine, thus giving a fuller Western perspective on China and Japan, and (3) the author's proposed 'discourse of harm', which encapsulates the discovery of a separate strand of discourse on the Economic Other that (i) harms others to benefit itself, and (ii) harms others and harms itself.

Key words: American Hegemony ● China ● Critical Discourse Analysis ● Discourse of Harm ● Eurocentrism ● Great Power Politics ● Japan ● Legitimacy ● Media Representation ● Multilingualism ● Trade War ● Translation

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List of Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CN	China
CNN	Cable News Network
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
FAT	Four Asian Tigers (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan)
FDI	Foreign direct investment
GDP	Gross domestic product
GNI	Gross national income
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JP	Japan
LT	Lead text
n/a	Not applicable
N. Korea	North Korea
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPP	Purchasing power parity
PRC	People's Republic of China
S. Africa	South Africa
S. Arabia	Saudi Arabia
S. Korea	South Korea
SOE	State-owned enterprise
SF	Standfirst
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (also comnmonly known as the Soviet Union)
W. Europe	Western Europe
W. Germany	West Germany
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Damien Teck Hian Ng (黄德行), Zurich

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I declare that the thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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Damien Teck Hian Ng (黃德行), Zurich

The faults of the others are more easily seen than one's own, but seeing one's own failings is difficult

Siddhārtha Gautama (563 BC – 483 BC)

Knowing others is wisdom, knowing yourself is Enlightenment

Lao Tzu (probably 6th century BC)

Study the past if you would define the future, Confucius (551 BC – 479 BC)
温故而知新, 可以为师矣 (wen gu er zhi xin, ke yi wei shi yi)
故きを温ね新しきを知る (furuki wo tazune atarashiki wo shiru)

1 Setting the Scene: Brewing Trade Wars

1.1 Introduction

In the midst of international tensions over trade-related issues among key economies in 2010, Reuters published a news report entitled "Geithner vows U.S. will not devalue dollar" (Christie and Lawder, 2010) that highlighted the competitive devaluation of currencies by major countries to bolster their exports, ahead of the G20 summit in Seoul, South Korea, scheduled to be held on 11-12 November 2010. Many countries, including China and Japan, were reportedly engaged in exchange-market intervention and/or capital controls to curb currency appreciation. The world economy was further complicated by global imbalances between export-driven countries – mostly emerging economies, such as China, but also developed nations, such as Japan and Germany, – and the large global consumers, the United States, Britain, and France (Christie and Lawder, 2010).

At this juncture, the Anglo-American media produced different news reports on China, a major non-Western country that is widely regarded to have the potential to overtake the United States as the next global economic superpower (Mahbubani, 2018; Paulson, 2016; Nye, 2015). News headlines ranged from those on China's impressive economic development, such as "China passes Japan to become no. 2 economy" (Barboza, 2010) in *The New York Times* and "Chinese economic boom has been 30 years in the making" (Wearden, 2010) in *The Guardian*, to those that sounded more alarming, with an emphasis on the harmful effects of trade wars and China's currency, such as "The makings of a trade war with China" (Samuelson, 2010) in *Newsweek* and "War is hell – China's currency" (The Economist, 2010) in *The Economist*.

China also did not slip under the radar of the local media in continental Europe. Headlines of news reports included those with a global political tint, such as "China, the United States: between interdependence and realpolitik"[1] (Kateb, 2010) in *Le Monde*, to

[1] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: "Chine, États-Unis: entre interdépendence et Realpolitik".

those that suggested the emergence of a new world order, such as "The dawn of the Chinese century"[2] (Imbert, 2010) in *Le Point* and "The changing world order: China – a new type of superpower"[3] (Fischer, 2010) in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and those that hinted at the latent weakness of China's economic growth, such as "Economy: China becomes dangerously good"[4] (Obst, 2010) in *Focus*.

This is reminiscent of the news coverage of Japan's trade tensions with its trading partners in the 1980s. Headings at the time ranged from those that foregrounded Japan's growth model for the other countries, such as "Great Britain: Japan as a model"[5] (Kratz, 1987) in *Die Zeit*, to those with a more trade-oriented focus, such as "President imposes tariff on imports against Japanese" (Boyd, 1987) in *The New York Times*. Japan was also depicted as the factory of the world, as exemplified by the headline "The factory country gathers momentum"[6] (1987) in *Libération*, and a fragile nation facing economic downturn, such as "Disillusionment in Japan: The end of the miracle"[7] (Bertram, 1987) in *Die Zeit*, and an aggressive Japan that was causing harm to others, such as "The teeth of the tiger"[8] (1987) and "How the Japanese want to eat us"[9] (1988) in *Le Nouvel Observateur*.

1.2 Historical Background: From Rags to Riches

China is the primary focus of this thesis and Japan is only included for comparative purposes. For this reason, this section emphasises the historical background of China's post-war economic development from its opening up to the world in 1978 to the culmination of a trade war with its trading partners in 2010. An account of Japan's post-war economic development is also provided to give more context about the country's trade war with its trading partners (particularly the United States) in the 1980s.

[2] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: "À l'aube du siècle chinois".
[3] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: "Weltordnung im Wandel: China – eine Supermacht neuen Typs".
[4] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: "Wirtschaft: China wird gefährlich gut".
[5] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: "Grossbritannian: Japan als Vorbild".
[6] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: "Le pays-usine accélère la cadence".
[7] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: "Ernüchterung in Japan: Das Ende des Wunders".
[8] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: "Les dents du tigre".
[9] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: "Comment les Japonais veulent nous manger".

1.2.1 China's Economic Opening-up in 1978

In 1978, a year widely held to be pivotal in China's modern history,[10] a series of sweeping economic and social reforms was initiated under Deng Xiaoping's leadership that has lifted more than 500 million of people out of poverty on an unprecedented scale over the past 40 years and led to the most radical transformation of Chinese society after the long-ravaging cultural revolution, land reform, collectivisation movement, and economic mismanagement of the Mao era (World Bank, 2014).[11] Deng Xiaoping was largely credited for his immense contribution to China's economic reconstruction and opening up to the world, succinctly summarised in four Chinese characters *gaige kaifang* (改革开放), which eventually led to China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001.

Former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who played an instrumental role in bringing about rapprochement between the United States and China, said:

> What Deng labelled reform and opening up was not only an economic but also a spiritual endeavour. It involved, first, the stabilisation of a society at the edge of economic collapse and, then, a search for the inner strength to advance by new methods for which there was no precedent in either Communist or Chinese history (Kissinger, 2012, p. 398).

Deng Xiaoping's important role in China's success was also highlighted by former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (1997), who argued in *Die Zeit* that "Deng Xiaoping has contributed more to the modernisation of the Middle Kingdom than his predecessors. Under his leadership, the People's Republic (of China) became a global economic, geostrategic and military power."[12]

The China that Deng inherited was economically backward and isolated from the international community following centuries of political turmoil. It was a period within what was also known as the "Century of Humiliation", when China struggled for national salvation in the aftermath of the First Opium War, the successive incursions of

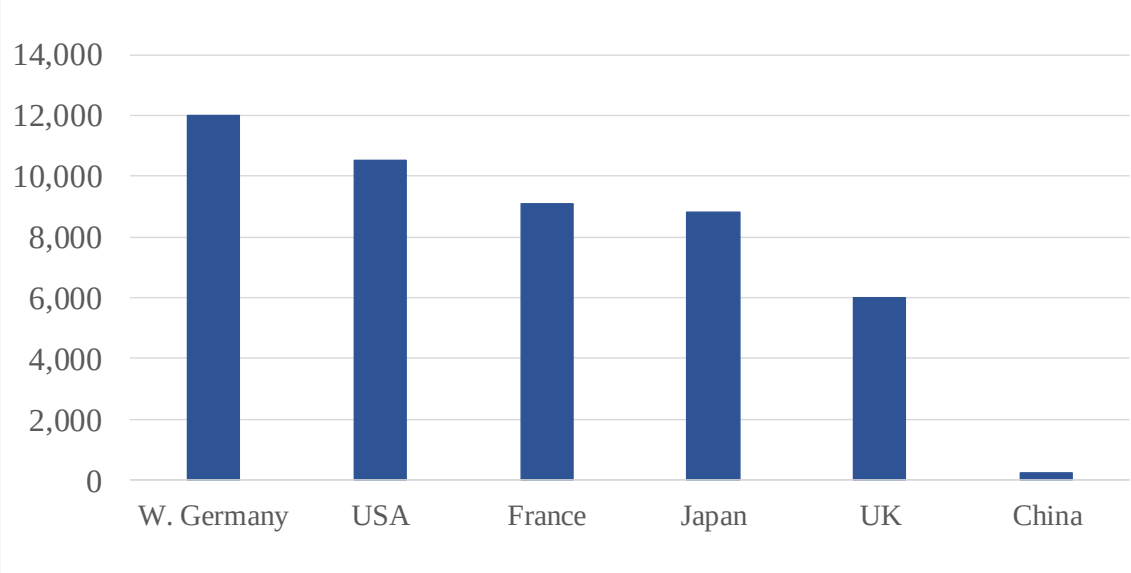
[10] A majority of historians (Fenby, 2013; Mitter, 2013, 2008, 2004; Spence, 2012) have classified the modern period of China as beginning in 1912 when the Government of the Republic of China was formally established in Nanjing.
[11] This figure is based on the information provided by the World Bank.
[12] Author's translation from the original in German: "Deng Xiaoping hat mehr für die Modernisierung des Reichs der Mitte getan als die Vorgänger. Unter seiner Führung wurde die Volksrepublik wirtschaftlich, geostrategisch und militärisch zur Weltmacht."

Western imperialism into China, the 1911 Xinhai Revolution, and the Japanese occupation between 1931 and 1945 (Cao, 2014a; Jacques, 2012; Wilson, 2009).

Moreover, a combination of adverse weather conditions and Mao Zedong's policies enacted during the Great Leap Forward, which lasted from 1958 to 1962 and was designed to catch up with the economy of the Western world, had dismally led to massive poverty and environmental damage and to the death of tens of millions of people in the subsequent famines that raged across the whole country. Dutch historian Frank Dikötter (2010, pp. 324-327) has argued that there were at least 45 million premature deaths from 1958 to 1962, while Chinese journalist Yang Jisheng (2008, p. 430) estimated that China's total population loss was 76 million.

China's destitute situation prior to its economic reforms was well reflected in the official statistical numbers. As reported by the Economic Statistics Branch of the United Nations, China had approximately a quarter of the world population but was one of the poorest countries in the world. As Figure 1 shows, the East Asian country had a per capita GDP of USD 224 in 1978, a meagre fraction of the wealth of the industrialised nations, such as West Germany, the United States, France, Japan, and the United Kingdom.

Figure 1: Per capita GDP of the six countries under study in 1978



Source: United Nations

In addition, 1978 marked the moment when China and Japan entered into a Treaty of Peace and Friendship, which came into effect on 23 October 1978 with Deng Xiaoping's state visit to Japan (Yahuda, 2013, p. 923). Not only had he won the support

of Japanese political and business leaders, but he also encouraged the importation of Japanese movies, literature, and television into China. Such a move was intended to urge the Chinese to learn from Japanese scientists, technicians, and industrial leaders and to overcome their negative feelings towards Japan for the war atrocities committed before and during the Second World War (Perez, 2013, p. 15).

Moreover, 1978 was characterised as one of the most dramatic moments in Sino-American relations in which, following decades of suspended diplomatic relations, the United States and China reopened their doors to each other (Wang, 2014, p. 97). This was followed by Deng Xiaoping's week-long tour of the United States in January 1979, when he established good relations with President Jimmy Carter, congressional leaders, and business leaders (p. 89). The importance of this symbolic trip has been succinctly summarised by British historian Perry Anderson in the *London Review of Books*:

> Not agrarian reform, by any measure the most beneficial single change for the people of China in the 1980s, but the Open Door becomes Deng's greatest achievement - its very name a welcome embrace of the slogan with which the United States secretary of state John Hay bid for a slice of the Chinese market after the American conquest of the Philippines. (2012, pp. 20-22)

1.2.2 Japan's Post-War Economic Growth to Trade War in the 1980s

In stark contrast to China, by the 1970s Japan was witnessing a spectacular economic boom and was at the zenith of its economic power. In spite of the 1970s energy crises that severely affected Western countries, Japan was the first East Asian country to industrialise and rise from the ashes of the Second World War to become a global financial and manufacturing powerhouse (Jacques, 2012, pp. 55-57). By then, Japan was already the world's second-largest economy in terms of nominal GDP, and its success in developing itself into a trading and technologically advanced giant had also elicited admiration (and alarm) worldwide. Japan's rise was so rapid and successful that it even prompted speculation that it would soon displace the United States to become the world's most dominant economic power (Baumol, Litan, and Schramm, 2007, p. 185).

The world's financial leadership even appeared to be shifting from New York to Tokyo (Cassis, 2006, p. 268). So great was Japan's economic might in the 1980s that Lawrence Summers, former chief economist of the World Bank (1991–1993) and secretary of the United States Treasury (1999–2001), wrote:

> An Asian economic bloc with Japan at its apex ... is clearly in the making. Moreover, Japan's burgeoning trade surpluses and soaring investments became a political issue in the West. This all raises the possibility that the majority of American people who now feel that Japan is a greater threat to the United States than the Soviet Union are right. (quoted in Katz, 1998, p. 9)

The epitome of this thinking was the book entitled *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America*, published by Ezra Vogel in 1979. It was a bestseller in Japan and sold well in the United States. "It is a matter of urgent national interest for Americans to confront Japanese successes," Vogel (1979, p. ix) warned, "before Japan takes control of the global economy." Across the Atlantic, in the midst of global trade tensions, French President Francois Mitterand in his first state visit to Japan in 1982 told Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki "On what grounds should Europe blame Japan? For her work, her sacrifices, her success. That would be unfair and guilty".[13]

The eventual takeover by a culturally and ethnically non-Western[14] country (Japan) of the Rockefeller Centre in New York and other assets, such as Sony's acquisition of Hollywood's Columbia Pictures, prompted the "Japan scare" of the 1980s where some companies and labour unions were predicting the demise of American competitiveness and the collapse of American manufacturing (Haft, 2015, p. 66). The animosity between the United States and Japan over trade was best captured on the cover page of the April 1987 edition of *Time* (see Figure 2), which illustrated the stand-off between both countries.

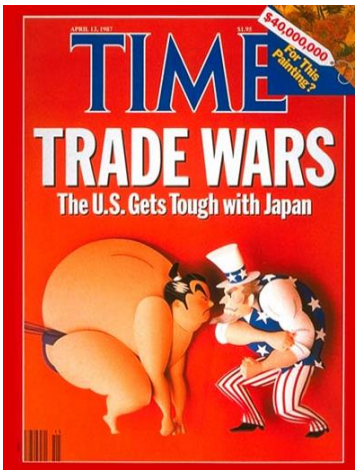


Figure 2: US-Japan face off, April 1987.

1.2.3 Rising Trade Tension in the Aftermath of the 2008 Financial Crisis

Since the onset of the global financial crisis in the year 2008 that primarily affected the industrialised world, such as the European Union, the United States, and Japan, emerging countries in the world (particularly those of the booming BRICS nations

[13] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: "De quoi l'Europe accuserait-elle le Japon? De son travail, de ses sacrifices, de ses réussites. Cela serait injuste et coupable". Excerpt taken frmo the homepage of the French Embassy in Tokyo. *Quelques dates clés des relations franco-japonaises*. [online] Available at: https://jp.ambafrance.org/Quelques-dates-cles-des-relations-franco-japonaises [Accessed 10 Aug. 2016].

[14] For more information about the conceptual definition of the West, see Section 1.5.1.

of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) had been seeing a steady rise of their economic and political clout in world affairs (Scerri and Latres, 2013, p. xii). This led some observers to view the global financial crisis as "an accelerator of an already well-established trend of relative Western decline" after "500 years of Western predominance" (Ferguson, 2012, pp. 20-21). Similar to the trade war with Japan in the year 1987 (see Section 1.2.2), the balance of power is also expected to shift from the West to the East and may soon dramatically change the context in dealing with international challenges (Mahbubani, 2018, 2014; Lamy, 2012; Hoge, 2004).

As a result, Western norms, values, and institutions will increasingly find themselves competing with those of China, since its emergence as a major global power is expected to mark the end of Western universalism by bringing along with it a new world order (Golub, 2016; Layne, 2012; Jacques, 2012; Schuman, 2010). According to the World Economic League Table 2018 report published by The Centre for Economics and Business Research with Global Construction Perspectives, for instance, China's economy is expected to surpass that of the United States by 2032. China is now the world's largest trading nation with the biggest foreign-exchange reserves,[15] and has overtaken Japan to become the world's second-largest economy (in terms of nominal and purchasing-power-parity GDP). China is also a major holder of European debt[16] and the United States' largest foreign creditor (US Treasury bonds). It has become a key player in the global financial crisis and world affairs.

China's transition from a centrally planned to a market-based economy has also led to the internationalisation and growing importance of its currency, potentially challenging the US dollar as a dominant reserve currency (Orastean, 2018, p. 304). While this has elicited admiration from some Western observers to believe that a world superpower has returned (Prasad, 2017; Kissinger, 2014; 2012; Jacques, 2012), it has also caused some to hold the view that China's currency internationalisation is destined to failure (Steil and Della Rocca, 2018).

In contrast to China's growing economic and political influence, Japan is faced with an ageing population, sluggish exports, and weak consumer spending (Haft, 2015,

[15] This figure is based on the database provided by the Word Trade Organization.
[16] This figure is based on the database provided by the International Monetary Fund.
[10] This figure is based on the database provided by the Word Trade Organisation.
[11] Unemployment data taken from the website of the US Bureau of Labor Statistics, French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies, and the UK Office for National Statistics.

pp. 15-16). Japanese politicians have also been fighting deflation with a series of monetary policies, from the "zero interest-rate policy" in the 1990s to "Abenomics" over the past 20 years. This period is also notoriously termed as Japan's "lost decades" since the asset bubble burst in 1990 (Watanabe, 2015; Pesek, 2014; Katz, 1998). In the meantime, Tokyo has also lost its dominance as a global financial center in Asia to Hong Kong and Singapore (Haila, 2016, p. 188).

The United States and the eurozone are confronted with high unemployment, low GDP growth rates, and massive debt. China's spectacular ascent in the twenty-first century and its ardent quest for wealth and power to see itself returning to greatness and honor have also given rise to fears of a declining West (Rachman, 2017; Schell and Delury, 2013). As Peerenboom (2007, p. 4) puts it, "China is likely to take advantage of its growing economic and geopolitical influence to defend and advocate, even in the face of Western opposition, rights policies and a normative vision of the world at odds with current rights policies based on secular liberalism."

Figure 3: When China buys up the world, 28 January 2011

1.2.4 China-related Trade War in 2010

In September 2010, Japanese Prime Minister Naoto Kan directed the Bank of Japan to intervene in foreign-exchange markets for the first time since 2004 in an effort to stem the yen's appreciation against the US dollar. By disbursing approximately USD 20 billion, the Japanese prime minister aimed to reinvigorate the country's faltering economy and boost the country's export competitiveness (Cooper and Eckert, 2010). As Table 1 demonstrates, Japan was the world's fourth-largest exporter of merchandise goods in 2010, down from third place in 1987. In spite of American and European objections to Japan's yen sell-off, Naoto Kan also pledged to "take further resolute measures in the case of any undesirable exchange-rate fluctuations" (Prime Minister's Office of Japan, 2010).[17]

[17] Author's translation into English from the original text in Japanese: "そういう好ましくない変動に対しては断固たる処置をとっていくという姿勢は変わりません". Excerpt taken from the homepage of the Prime Minister's Office of Japan. Available at: https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/kan/statement/201009/17kaiken.html

In addition to Japan, other East Asian nations (China, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand) have also put in place controls to limit excessive capital inflows and devalued their currencies to enhance export competitiveness (United Nations, 2012, p. 20). As Barley (2010) reported, "Japan's decision to intervene in the currency market to drive down the value of the yen blew a hole in the developed world's united effort to persuade China and other Asian countries to stop artificially holding down their currencies."

Table 1: Leading exporters in world merchandise trade 1987 vs 2010.

1987				2010			
Rank	Countries	USD billion	%	Rank	Countries	USD billion	%
1	West Germany	294	11.7	1	China	1,578	10.4
2	United States	254	10.0	2	United States	1,278	8.4
3	Japan	231	9.2	3	Germany	1,269	8.3
4	France	148	5.9	4	Japan	770	5.1
5	United Kingdom	131	5.2	5	Netherlands	572	3.8
6	Italy	116	4.6	6	France	521	3.4
7	Soviet Union	107	4.3	7	South Korea	466	3.1
8	Canada	98	3.9	8	Italy	448	2.9
9	Netherlands	93	3.7	9	Belgium	411	2.7
10	Belgium-Luxembourg	83	3.3	10	United Kingdom	405	2.7

Source: WTO; in 1987, China was the world's 16th largest exporter (1.6% share of world exports), after Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, South Korea, Switzerland, and Sweden.

While the global share of Japanese exports fell from 9.2% in 1987 to 5.1% in 2010, Chinese exports have been steadily growing over the last few decades. According to Tables 1 and 2, China's share of the global export market expanded from 1.6% in 1987 to 10.4% in 2010.

Table 2: Leading importers in world merchandise trade 1987 vs 2010.

1987				2010			
Rank	Countries	USD billion	%	Rank	Countries	USD billion	%
1	United States	424	16.0	1	United States	1,968	12.8
2	West Germany	228	8.8	2	China	1,395	9.1
3	France	158	6.1	3	Germany	1,067	6.9
4	United Kingdom	154	6.0	4	Japan	693	4.5
5	Japan	151	5.8	5	France	606	3.9
6	Italy	125	4.8	6	United Kingdom	558	3.6
7	Soviet Union	96	3.7	7	Netherlands	517	3.4
8	Canada	93	3.6	8	Italy	484	3.1
9	Netherlands	91	3.5	9	Hong Kong, China	442	2.9
10	Belgium-Luxembourg	83	3.2	10	South Korea	426	2.8

Source: WTO (https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/statis_bis_e.htm); China was the world's 14th largest importer (1.7% share of world imports).

In response to the foreign-exchange interventions undertaken by several East Asian countries, in particular China, former US Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner

testified in two separate congressional hearings in September 2010 on Chinese currency policy and demanded that Beijing allow its currency to appreciate faster, tacitly threatening retaliatory action if the Chinese government refused to do so. United States congressional representatives and senators from both parties blamed China for the loss of American jobs and its growing trade deficit, while criticizing the Obama administration for failing to officially declare China a "currency manipulator" or impose tariffs and other penalties on Chinese exports to the United States (US Department of the Treasury, no date).

Other American observers also threw their weight behind the discussion: Fred Bergsten (2010) wrote in *The Financial Times* that the US should sell an equivalent amount of US dollars to counteract China's intervention in foreign-exchange markets, while Paul Krugman (2010) advised in *The New York Times* that the US government should take on China. In fact, this position also resonated with the American public. According to a CNN/Opinion Research poll conducted in November 2010, 58% of Americans believed that China's wealth and economic power was a threat to the United States, compared with 35% who viewed China's rise as an opportunity.

On 3 November 2010, under the leadership of former Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke, the United States launched a new programme of quantitative easing that required spending an even larger amount of money (USD 600 billion) on longer-term Treasury securities in a bid to create jobs, lower unemployment, and boost the economy in the light of faltering global recovery and the deteriorating eurozone crisis, which saw several member states (Greece, Portugal, Ireland, Italy, and Spain) unable to refinance their government debt (Ari, 2014, p. 152).

This led Guido Mantega, Brazil's finance minister, to declare that an international currency war had broken out (Wheatley, 2010). Across the Atlantic, however, the reaction was more mixed. While German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble (2010) reportedly criticised the Federal Reserve's strategy of quantitative easing as an incomprehensible protectionist measure and contended that it was inconsistent for the Americans to accuse the Chinese of manipulating exchange rates while they were depressing the value of the US dollar by printing money themselves,[18] Martin Wolf (2010) from *The*

[18]This is the author's translation of Schauble's comments in German "dass die USA mit anderen Mitteln so ähnlich handelten, wie sie es China vorhielten" at the BMW Stiftung in Berlin, taken from: Die Welt. (2010). Schäuble holzt gegen die USA wegen Dollar-Schwemme. *Die Welt*, [online] Available at: https://www.welt.de/aktuell/article10751692/Schaeuble-holzt-gegen-die-USA-wegen-Dollar-Schwemme.html [Accessed 15 Aug. 2013].

Financial Times labelled China a stubborn country, which should be prevented from purchasing US Treasury bills to avoid American trade sanctions.

The rationale for Western fears of China's rise is arguably best summarised by Michael Schuman's (2011, para. 10) article with the headline "Why do we fear a rising China?" in *Time.* In it, he argued:

> China appears to be challenging not just today's economic orthodoxy and order, but the world's political and military framework as well. China isn't content just to sell more TV sets to the world, like Japan. The Chinese want to have more control over the world. And they want to use their economic clout to get it.

A conflict between China and the West thus seems inevitable. This is consistent with Allison's (2017) theory of the Thucydides' trap, which postulates that a rising power and an established power are destined for war. A defining historical feature of the decline of specific empires in the world of the capitalist system has been the conflict surrounding the emergence of a successor. The United States and Germany, for instance, engaged in a prolonged struggle in the first half of the twentieth century to determine which country would replace Great Britain as the dominant hegemon. After Germany's second defeat in the Second World War in 1945, the United States and the now-defunct Soviet Union contended for global hegemony even though the United States was the pre-eminent hegemonic power in economic and military terms throughout the four decades of the Cold War (Cabestan, 2018, 2015; Allison, 2017).

Since the demise of the Soviet Union, the United States has resorted to its unrivalled global power (military, economic, technological, cultural, and political) as a weapon to retain its hegemony, especially in the face of rising powers, such as Japan in the 1980s and China in the 2010s (Ikenberry, 2005, pp. 133-152). Disagreements range from disputes over the exchange-rate policy with the United States to trade disagreements over imports/exports with the European Union. From the Western perspective, as Morrison (2018, p. ii) suggested, trade conflict between China and its trading partners is largely a result of China's incomplete transition to a free market economy.

While China has significantly liberalised its economic and trade regimes over the past three decades, it continues to maintain a number of state-directed policies that appear to distort trade and investment flows (Morrison, 2018, p. ii). Major areas of concern expressed by Western policy makers and stakeholders include the transfer of jobs from the industrialised Western countries to China, China's relatively poor record in enforcing intellectual property rights, its allegedly widespread cyber economic espionage

against Western firms, its mixed record in implementing its World Trade Organization (WTO) obligations, as well as the Chinese state's financial support of Chinese firms, trade, and investment barriers (Minzner, 2018; Godement and Vasselier, 2017).

1.3 Rationale and Significance of the Study

1.3.1 Rationale for a Study on China and Japan

China and Japan are the focus of this research, and they have been selected for three main reasons. First, China and Japan were the second-largest economies in the world in 2010 and 1987, respectively. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), China's share of world GDP was 9.32% in 2010, compared to Japan's share of 14.16% in 1987 (see Table 3). In addition, while Japan is expected to contribute 2% of the world's GDP growth in nominal terms from 2010 to 2020, China is set to become the largest contributor at approximately 26%, ahead of the United States at 12% and the European Union at 10% (IMF, 2015).

Table 3: Gross domestic product of the top 11 countries – 1987 versus 2010.

1987				2010			
Rank	Countries	USD m	%	Rank	Countries	USD m	%
1	United States	4,702,100	27.51	1	United States	14,582,400	23.13
2	Japan	2,420,156	14.16	2	China	5,878,629	9.32
3	Germany	1,256,262	7.35	3	Japan	5,497,813	8.72
4	France	922,366	5.40	4	Germany	3,309,689	5.25
5	Italy	776,293	4.54	5	France	2,560,002	4.06
6	United Kingdom	686,731	4.02	6	United Kingdom	2,246,079	3.56
7	Canada	421,530	2.47	7	Brazil	2,087,890	3.31
8	Spain	309,486	1.81	8	Italy	2,051,412	3.25
9	Brazil	294,084	1.72	9	India	1,729,010	2.74
10	India	276,003	1.61	10	Canada	1,574,052	2.50
11	China	266,217	1.56	11	Russia	1,479,819	2.35

Source: The World Bank, International Monetary Fund.

As a consequence, China and Japan's sheer economic size makes them key global players among major countries (such as France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States), and they thus have a profound influence on international trade and finance. While China is a member of BRICS, which includes other large developing nations (Brazil, Russia, India, and South Africa) that are poised to challenge the economic supremacy of the West (Desai, 2013), Japan is one of the founding members of the Group of Seven, a group comprising other members like Canada, France, Germany,

Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The G7 still wields considerable influence on the IMF and the World Bank.

Second, geopolitics has also driven China and Japan into trade talks with the rest of Asia as they seek to integrate themselves economically with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)[19] through free-trade agreements. Furthermore, the establishment of the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the "One Belt One Road initiative," which aims to provide finances to infrastructure projects around the world, is regarded by some observers (van der Merwe, 2018; Ehteshami and Horesh, 2017) as a rival to Western-led liberalism and dominance in the world.

Third, an ascending China in the 2010s affects the world order in which the United States has been maintaining its hegemonic power since the fall of the Soviet Union. Rising powers have always challenged the position of the dominant (hegemonic) power in the international system, and these challenges have usually ended in war (Allison 2017; Layne, 2008). Layne (2008, p. 16), for instance, argued that the US is prepared to respond aggressively if it is of the opinion that countries (particularly China) that do not adopt American-style political and economic systems or play by the rules of the American-led international order are threats.

These are the reasons it is important to study the events leading to the trade war between Japan and its trading partners (especially the United States) in the 1980s due to the similar growth trajectory of both countries to understand the discourse and rhetoric about China in the 2010s. After all, China and the United States are the two largest economies in the world, and their relations with each other thus have the ability to profoundly affect every aspect of world affairs (Mahbubani, 2018; Pomfret, 2016; Shambaugh, 2013).

1.3.2 Rationale for a Study on Western Media

First, most research (Amer, 2015; Pan, 2013; Lin, 2012) into the so-called Western perspective vis-à-vis the 'other' is predominantly that of the United States and the United Kingdom. This is understandably so, given the dominance of the English language in global media and the sheer volume of publications available in the English lan-

[19] The ASEAN-China FTA has been in effect since 1 January 2010 and is the largest free-trade area in terms of population. The ASEAN-Japan FTA, however, came into force on 1 December 2008.

guage as well as the large number of English-speaking online users and English-language Internet content (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009, p. 29). Furthermore, news media play an influential role in shaping the perceptions of the public (Bersick et al., 2012, p. 22). Media contributes "to our variable capacity to make sense of the world, to make and share its meanings" (Thussu, 2009, p. 2). In this context, it may thus be argued that the Anglo-American ideologies exert extensive influence on readers through its global reach.

Second, Table 3 shows that the other major global economies include the United States, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, in addition to China and Japan, in terms of total nominal GDP as of 2010. For this reason, the definition of the "West" in this thesis will include not only the English-speaking countries (the United States and the United Kingdom) but also France and Germany.

Although this section discusses the importance of studying media, newsmagazines have been selected for research in this thesis. It is important to emphasise the focus on the printed aspect of the media in this thesis since media encompass both the traditional printed outlets and the digital outlets in the form of websites (Masterman and Wood, 2011, p. 117). Although elite newsmagazines are not representative of the entire media discourse of a country, given their lower circulation than newspaper counterparts, newsmagazines "occupy similar positions in prestige and influence in each society, making them suitable for a controlled comparative analysis" (Hallin and Mancini, 2012, p. 5).

1.4 Research Questions and Hypotheses

To achieve a better understanding of the dominant ideological discourses and representations of China's and Japan's economic rise in the West, this thesis has outlined five research questions that should help to achieve the goal. It begins by answering the following broad question:

1. **What are the prevailing ideological discourses and representations of China and Japan in *Time, The Economist, L'Express,* and *Der Spiegel*?**

To help answer the principal question highlighted above, the thesis intends to provide answers to the following secondary questions:

2. What were the prevailing topics surrounding the rise of China and Japan in 2010 and 1987, respectively, in the headlines and the lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines?
3. What were the main representational categories that were used to construct the social actors in the headlines and the lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines?
4. a) Who were the main social actors involved in the representation of China and Japan in the headlines and lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines?
   b) How were they discursively represented in relation to one another across the four newsmagazines?
5. Were China and Japan more positively or negatively appraised in the headlines and lead texts?

In addition to the research questions, the thesis has also outlined two hypotheses that it intends to test. The hypotheses are as follows:

1. China is reported more unfavourably than Japan by the Western press.
2. The Western newsmagazines do not speak in one collective voice with regard to China or Japan.

1.5 Theories and Methods

This section will present a discussion about the three key concepts employed in this thesis. These include the definition of the term 'West' (Section 1.5.1) and 'representation' (Section 1.5.2), as well as a brief overview of the method used in this thesis, critical discourse analysis (Section 1.5.3).

1.5.1 The West

First, it is important to emphasise the difficulty in providing a conceptual definition of "the West". This is because it is dependent on the perspectives (historical-religious, cultural values, and political system) through which it is defined (Trautsch, 2013; Stuenkel, 2011). For instance, while Huntington (1997, p. 41) defined Western civilization to comprise countries that share post-Cold War liberal democratic values as opposed to the monopolistic, state-owned, and centrally planned structure of the now-defunct Soviet Union, Jacques (2012, pp. 42-43) argued that the West is shaped by the Declaration of American Independence in 1776, the French Revolution in 1789, the British Industrial Revolution, the two World Wars, the Russian Revolution in 1917, and the fall of Communism in 1989.

Next, it is also crucial to highlight the challenge to categorise Japan as a Western or non-Western country. As Cao (2014a, p. 17) points out, Japan is widely held to be part of the West despite it being an East Asian country, in contrast to post-Cold War Eastern European states that are still seen as transitioning from 'the East' to 'the West'. Thus, while Japan may be considered a Western country by some scholars due to its democratic political system (Drifte, 2003; Gravereau, 1993), there are some who argue that it is a non-Western nation that merely embodies certain features common to Western countries (Sugiyama, 2012; Jacques, 2012; Lehman, 2010). In Jacques' (2012, p. 57) terms, while Japan might appear superficially similar to Western country, it is inwardly very different.

As far as this thesis is concerned, the West is defined as the regions comprising North America and Western Europe from the cultural, historical, and shared Greco-Christian perspective. Although Japan is not a Western country *per se* based on these criteria, it is regarded as a Western ally due to its political alignment with the West.

1.5.2 Representation

As far as critical discourse analysis (CDA) is concerned, representations refer to the meanings assigned to groups and their social practices through the language that is used in a text or speech (Fairclough, 1989; 1995; van Dijk, 2002). Such an understanding corroborates Hall's (1997, p. 17) notion of *representation* as the "production of meaning of the concepts in our minds through language". However, the mere construction of meanings through language is insufficient. It also requires a shared mental conceptual map among people so that they can "represent or exchange meanings and concepts" through a common language (Hall, 1997, p. 18). In other words, it is only by means of a shared conceptual map, which reflects subjective cultural perceptions, that people can communicate meaning fully with one another (Cao, 2014a, pp. 5-8). This means that representation can be understood to vary in accordance with the specific perspective in question.

1.5.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Based on a corpus comprising 80 articles collected from four Western newsmagazines (*Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express,* and *Der Spiegel*) centring on trade wars and the international economy, this interdisciplinary doctoral thesis draws on van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory of social actor representation and van Dijk's (1980) macro-rules from the realm of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to unveil the dominant discourses and representations of China in 2010 in the headlines and lead texts of the four Western newsmagazines under study. To better understand the representation of China-related trade wars in the newsmagazines, the reporting on the trade war involving Japan and its trading partners in 1987 is also included as a secondary focus of the research for comparative purposes.

As a methodological approach, CDA contributes to critical understanding by tying theoretical concerns and practices together (van Leeuwen, 2008; van Dijk, 1980, 1998, 1993; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Specifically, it focuses on the interdisciplinary study of discourse analysis that mediates between the cognitive quality of readers and the social practice depicted in speeches and texts (van Dijk, 1998b, p. 108). As Mayr (2008, p. 9) held, "CDA addresses broader social issues and attends to external factors, including ideology, power, inequality, and draws on social and philosophical theory to analyse and interpret written and spoken texts."

In addition to the foregrounding of the concealed message embedded in a discourse, Wodak and Meyer (2007) bring it further by including the transparent nature of structural relationships into the overall definition of CDA. They write:

> CDA can be defined as being fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimised, and so on, by language use (or in discourse). (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 10)

Therefore, the analysis in this thesis goes beyond the mere analysis of clauses and sentences to study the actions and the reactions of the protagonists represented in the headlines and the lead texts.

1.6 Contribution (Filling the Gap)

Although there is a wealth of literature (Campion, 2016; Charles, 2016; Mackerras, 2015; Cao, 2014a; Pan, 2013; Lin, 2012; Vukovich, 2011) dedicated to the study of Western perspectives on China in the English language, the "West," which is often represented as a single, uniform entity employed in the dichotomy versus China, refers in actual fact to the Anglo-American realm of the Western world, in particular the United States, which some scholars (Greene, 2014; Turner, 2011, 2014; Perlmutter, 2007; Li and Hong, 1998; Jespersen, 1996; Isaacs, 1964) have even decided to focus solely on. This discounted the large amount of historical studies on the East from the perspectives of Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, and Germany.

This is understandably so given that, despite the Iraq War and the Global Financial Crisis, the United States remains the most powerful country in the world in terms of economic, military, and soft power since the collapse of the Soviet Union (Nye, 2015; Fukuyama, 2014) and is by far the leading country for the production of perspectives on China (Mackerras, 2015, p. 30). As Babones (2015) wrote in an article entitled "American hegemony is here to stay" in the *The National Interest*, "the United States emerged from the [second world] war as the dominant economic, political and technological power" (para. 2) in addition to his argu ment that "America can and should seek to remain the world's top dog" (para. 1).

Hence, the American government has both the desire and ability to toe the line, both at home and abroad, that suits its interests (Mackerras 2015, p. 30) by attempting to

thwart the rise of potential emerging powers, in particular China (Arase, 2017; Mearsheimer, 2003). However, this ignores the effects of national economic interests, political influences, socio-cultural factors, and the historical interactions of other non-Anglo-American Western countries, which are also large economies, such as Germany and France.

There is, however, one study (Wang G, 2017) with the title "Sourcing International news: A comparison of Five Western Countries' Newspapers" that appeared in the journal called China Media Research that was found to have included Australia into its analysis, in addition to the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. Although this is more representative of the West than the four newsmagazines from four Western countries examined in this thesis, the study is primarily focused on the newspapers' coverage of the dispute between China and Japan over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands from 2011 to 2013 based on the 'media package' approach to news framing by Gamson and Modigliani (1989), and Gamson and Lasch (1983).

For this reason, it is hoped that this study will fill the gap in the existing knowledge on Western perspectives on China by including the perspectives of the European Union's two largest economies (in 2010), which remains the most important alliance within the group and has the ability to perform a powerful agenda-setting role (Cole, 2017, p. 278).

It is hoped that this thesis could help promote a better understanding of the contemporary world that is increasingly shaped by an ever more complex and non-unipolar international system (Mahbubani, 2018; Tunsjø, 2018; Allison, 2017; Nye, 2015; Dyer, 2014). As some scholars (Layne, 2018, 2012; Golub, 2016; Jacques, 2012; Schuman, 2010) have put it, a power shift from a declining West to a rising China is under way. In this context, CDA is thus an important language-based approach that helps improve better appreciation of the effect of media coverage on global affairs through the representation of the international economy. Specifically, it will explain the way language is used by the Western newsmagazines to create and define particular meanings and our understanding of Others.

1.7 Thesis Layout

This doctoral thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1 sets the scene by providing a brief account of the historical background of China's and Japan's post-war economic rise to the eruption of trade wars with their trading partners in 2010 and 1987, respectively. This is followed by Section 1.3, which points out the rationale for conducting a study on (i) China and Japan, and (ii) Western media. Section 1.4 outlines the research questions and the hypotheses that the thesis sets out to answer. Section 1.5 offers a definition of the term 'the West' and 'representation', and introduces CDA, which is the key methodological approach of this thesis. The first chapter of the thesis is concluded by the knowledge gap that this thesis is aiming to fill.

Chapter 2 provides an explanation of the meaning of discourse and ideology, as well as an overview of the historical development of the CDA field and the key theories underpinning the CDA approach, followed by a critical review of CDA. The second and third parts of Chapter 2 reviews the existing literature relating to the Western representation of China and Japan.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework undertaken in this thesis. It explains the procedures and decisions to collect and analyze the data. It offers an explanation regarding why the four newsmagazines – *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel* – were chosen, and the rationale for selecting the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany to represent the West. The chapter further elaborates the methods used for the analysis: van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory of social actor representation and van Dijk's (1980) macro-rules.

Chapter 4 examines the representation of social actors in the headlines of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*. The backdrop is China's trade war with its trading partners in 2010. The analysis examines the dominant topics across the headlines of each of the four Western newsmagazines via van Dijk's (1980) macro-rules, as well as the prevailing ideological discourses and representations of China in accordance with the five representational categories from van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory. Through a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, the representational patterns are examined and revealed regarding the representational categories: (i) inclusion and exclusion, (ii) role allocation, (iii) functionalisation, identification, and appraisement, (iv) association and dissociation, and (v) personalisation and impersonalisation.

Chapter 5 examines the representation of social actors in the lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*. As in Chapter 4, the backdrop was China's trade war with its trading partners in 2010. The analysis follows the methodology mentioned in Chapter 4 above.

Chapter 6 shifts the focus to Japan's trade war with its trading partners in 1987. Similar to Chapter 4, it examines the representation of social actors in the headlines of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*. The analysis follows the methodology outlined in Chapter 4 above.

Continuing with Japan's trade war in 1987, Chapter 7 examines the representation of social actors in the lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*. The analysis follows the methodology specified in Chapter 4 above.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis and provides answers and explanations to the research questions (Section 8.2) and hypotheses (Section 8.3) outlined in Section 1.4. In addition, Section 8.3.3 challenges van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square model before Section 8.3.4 discusses the latest developments of the trade war and media. Section 8.4 reiterates the three contributions to scholarship, which have implications for CDA theory, the methodology, and the literature on Western representation of China and Japan. Finally, the chapter addresses the challenges and limitations encountered along the research process and offers some recommendations for future research.

2 Critical Review: Critical Discourse Analysis and Western Representations of China and Japan

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three parts: (i) the theories underpinning the critical discourse analysis, (ii) the Western representation of China, and (iii) the Western representation of Japan. The first part begins by providing a brief account of the various definitions of the term *discourse*, particularly in association with CDA. This is followed by an overview of the major schools of CDA, their criticisms, and a definition of the term *ideology* employed in this thesis. The second and third parts of this chapter offer a review of the existing literature relating to the Western representation of China (Section 2.3) and Japan (Section 2.4). As previously highlighted in Section 1.2, the reporting on the trade war involving Japan and its trading partners in 1987 is merely included as a secondary focus of the research for comparative purposes. For this reason, Chapter 2 assigns greater attention to the literature pertaining to the Western representation of China than to Japan. Finally, Chapter 2 is concluded with some closing remarks.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

2.2.1 What is Discourse?

Although the history of the word *discourse* can be traced back to ancient Greece, its contribution to the field of CDA comes from *The Archaeology of Knowledge*[20] by Foucault (1969, p. 141), who argued that discourse refers to the conformity of all statements or utterances to the generally accepted rules of a community or society.[21] In other words, our understanding and knowledge, also known as 'epistemes' or 'discursive formations' in Foucault's words (1969, p. 250), are largely influenced by rules that go beyond those of grammar and logic and operate beneath the consciousness of individual subjects. In so doing, the words reach the limits of what is thinkable (Jacob, 2013).

[20] This is translated from Michel Foucault's original version in French *L'Archéologie du Savoir* published in 1969.
[21] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'l'ensemble des énoncés qui relèvent d'un même système de formation'.

Despite its historical connection to Foucault, providing a simple definition of discourse remains challenging due to the multitude of overlapping usages of the term, which may differ among theoretical traditions and academic disciplines. As Mills (2004, p. 1) noted, *discourse* is a term that is widely used in 'critical theory, sociology, linguistics, philosophy, social psychology and many other fields'. In this context, there is no single meaning that captures the essence of the term *discourse* adequately (Mill, 2004; Fairclough, 1993).

This difficulty is further reinforced due to the different approaches to the study of discourse between the Anglo-Saxon academic sphere of influence and the French school of structuralism. Van Dijk (1998a, p. 7) remarked that, while the former combines 'influences from structural or generative linguistics, cognitive psychology, pragmatics, and microsociology', scholars (Derrida, 1967; Foucault, 1969; Bourdieu, 1972) in the latter camp had a 'more philosophical style of discourse analysis, with regular references to ideological, historical, psychoanalytical, and NeoMarxist work and applications' (van Dijk, 1998a, p. 7). Despite their different approaches, there are increasing crossovers, overlaps, translations, and mutual influences between both schools of analysis (van Dijk, 1988, p.7).

Critical linguist Gunther Kress (1988, p. 160) explained that discourse could be conceptually defined as 'systematically-organised sets of statements that give expressions to the meanings and values of an institution' in the semiotic sense of the word. Other scholars (Richardson, 2007; Shapiro, 1989) have emphasised the social aspect of language understanding by equating the study of discourse to the study of language in use. Chilton, Tian, and Wodak (2012, p. 1) gave further depth to the term by writing that discourse can be comprehended not only through its use of language in society as a whole but also in specific sub-domains that consider the social, national, regional, and local contexts.

This means that discourse principally regards language as a social practice (van Dijk, 1998a; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) and emphasises the importance of the context of language use (Wodak and Meyer, 2008, p. 5). Drawing upon Bernstein's (1990) notion of recontextualisation in which 'discourse is constructed by a recontextualising principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses and relates to other discourses to constitute its own order and orderings' (Bernstein, 1993, p. 184), van Leeu-

wen (2008) broadened the concept of discourse by stating: 'all discourses recontextualise social practices, and that all knowledge is, therefore, ultimately grounded in practice, however slender that link may seem at times' (p. vii).

In other words, discourse is a recontextualisation of a social practice according to van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 3-22). Despite van Leeuwen's admission that Bernstein's notion of recontextualisation underpins his framework approach, he agreed with the Foucauldian sense of the term *discourse* by writing:

> In the sense of social cognition, of a socially constructed knowledge of some social practice developed in specific social contexts, and in ways appropriate to these contexts, whether these contexts are large, for instance multinational corporations, or small, for instance particular families, and whether they are strongly institutionalised, for instance, the press, or less so, for instance, dinner table conversations. (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 6)

Since this thesis is primarily concerned with the representation of social actors in the headlines and lead texts of the four selected Western newsmagazines, the definition of discourse used in this thesis follows Foucault's (1969, p. 141) understanding of the term *discourse* as a 'socially constructed knowledge of some social practice' specially tailored for particular social contexts. Major linguists in the field of CDA (e.g. Fairclough, Chilton, van Dijk, and Wodak) also share the French philosopher's understanding of discourse (Gutmeyr, 2017, p. 17).

2.2.2 Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis

The emergence of the study of CDA can be traced to a group of linguists (Fowler et al, 1979; Kress and Hodge, 1979) at the University of East Anglia in England in the 1970s. The further development of CDA as a distinct methodology, however, was largely attributed to Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1993, 1995, 1996, 2001, 2003, 2010), Ruth Wodak (1989, 1995, 1999, 2001, 2005, 2009), Teun van Dijk (1980, 1988, 1991, 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999), and Paul Chilton (1996, 1997, 2012), who remain some of the leading proponents of the method. There is, however, another group of scholars that comprises Michael Billig (2008), Jan Blommaert (2000, 2005), and Henry Widdowson (2004), who have criticised CDA. Therefore, this section is divided into three parts. It begins by first

explaining the 'critical' aspect of CDA (Section 2.2.3.1), before providing a brief overview of the major schools of CDA (Section 2.2.3.2). Criticisms of CDA in Section 2.2.3.3 rounds up the discussion of this section.

2.2.2.1 Defining the 'Critical' Aspect of Critical Discourse Analysis

Given that Section 2.2.1 has already provided a discussion about the multitude definitions of *discourse*, it is important to explain the *critical* aspect in the term CDA before delving into the different schools of CDA that have taken shape over the past few decades. Chilton, Tian, and Wodak (2012) explained that critical analysis of discourse renders 'explicit the implicit relationship between discourse, power, and ideology, challenging surface meanings, and not taking anything for granted' (pp. 3-4). Such interpretation of the term *critical* to signify the uncovering of the latent message is also shared by other scholars. For instance, Fairclough (2001, p. 4) stated: 'Critical is used in the special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people – such as the connections between language, power and ideology'.

By *critical*, Hodges and Nilep explained that it is:

> To imply a broad understanding of critical scholarship on a general level, such scholarship is characterised by careful analysis of empirical data. Moreover, it entails a certain amount of distance from the data in order to examine the issues from a wide, considered perspective. (2007, pp. 3-4)

Cao added further depth to the definition of *critical* by emphasising the importance of upholding neutrality in the study of CDA and being prepared to challenge the norms and power structure implied in the discourse:

> It is critical, in the sense that the researcher does not take anything for granted, but opens up the complexities and contradictions, as well as interests and power relations that are embedded in texts, talks and related actions (2014b, p. 3).

It is thus clear from the above definitions that CDA scholars do not associate the term *critical* with the notions of disapproval or derision. Rather, *critical* emphasises the importance of conducting a detailed and scholarly analysis of the empirical data in an objective manner for the purpose of unlocking the hidden meanings embedded in the discourse and bringing them to the surface.

2.2.2.2 Major Schools of Critical Discourse Analysis

Now that a brief explanation of the background and purpose of CDA has been provided, attention shifts to the different varieties of the CDA approach. There are five major schools of CDA (see Nonhoff, 2017, para. 6; Krzyzanowski, 2010, p. 69):

1. the Duisburg school of CDA that centres on Siegfried Jäger (1993, 1999, 2001), who is greatly influenced by Michel Foucault's (1969) archaeological approach and Jürgen Link's (1988) collective symbolism;
2. van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach;
3. Fairclough's systemic-functional approach, which is firmly informed by social theory;
4. van Leeuwen's and Kress' socio-semiotic and systemic functional approach;
5. Wodak's discourse-historical approach.

Due to the space constraints of this thesis, this section will not be able to provide an in-depth analysis of each of the five schools of CDA. Instead, it will concentrate on the two central principles that are widely shared among the different schools centring on Fairclough (2010), van Leeuwen (2008), van Dijk (1998a), and Wodak (2009), who belonged to the network of scholars involved in the development of CDA as an academic discipline (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 3). Furthermore, this section will also elucidate van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, especially with regard to his concept of the ideological square (1998a). In general, the CDA scholars share two common principles.

First, CDA is an established methodological approach that is principally concerned with social and political issues (Fairclough, 2010; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). For van Dijk, CDA offers a specific 'perspective on doing scholarship' (2001, p. 96) since it 'focuses primarily on social problems and political issues, rather than on current paradigms and fashions' (2008, p. 86). This particular attention to social and political problems was rendered clearer when Fairclough (2001, p. 230) explained that 'CDA is committed to progressive social change'. Van Dijk went even further by explicitly calling upon CDA scholars to assume their social and political responsibilities:

> Unlike other discourse analysts, critical discourse analysts (should) take an explicit sociopolitical stance: they spell out their point of view, perspective, principles and aims, both within their discipline and within society at large. (1993, p. 252)

Based on this, it can thus be argued that the employment of CDA as an approach reflects the explicit socio-political interests of the CDA scholars. Related topics that are

commonly addressed in CDA include (i) social inequality, racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, xenophobia, and sexism (Wodak, 2018, 2007; Reisigl, 2014; van Dijk, 2001, 1999, 1998), and (ii) the world of politics (Chilton, 2004; van Dijk, 1997).

Second, CDA scholars are concerned with power and ideology embedded in discourse. For them, discourse is in essence a medium through which power and ideology are enacted and re-enacted. Thus, CDA is a discourse analytical research that primarily 'studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimised, and resisted by text and talk' (van Dijk's, 2015, p. 466). It is through the critical investigation of this power abuse and inequality that are 'expressed, constituted, legitimised, and so on, by language use (or in discourse)' that CDA exists (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 10).

By virtue of the power that certain social groups hold, they dominate weaker social groups. Dominance is defined here as 'the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality' (van Dijk, 1993a, pp. 249-250). It is particularly in this context that CDA scholars are charged with the mission to reveal the unequal relations of power and representations that 'underlie ways of using language in a society, and in particular to reveal the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging socio-political dominance' (Smith and Higgins, 2013, p. 10). It is also in this sense that CDA contributes to the existing social reality by combining a critique of discourse and an explanation of how it figures as a basis for action to change that existing reality in particular respects (Fairclough, 2015, p. 21).

In addition to the principles highlighted above, Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 271-280) have also proposed the key tenets of CDA. These are summarised into eight main points as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems.
2. Power relations are discursive.
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture.
4. Discourse does ideological work.
5. Discourse is historical.
6. The link between text and society is mediated.
7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory.
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

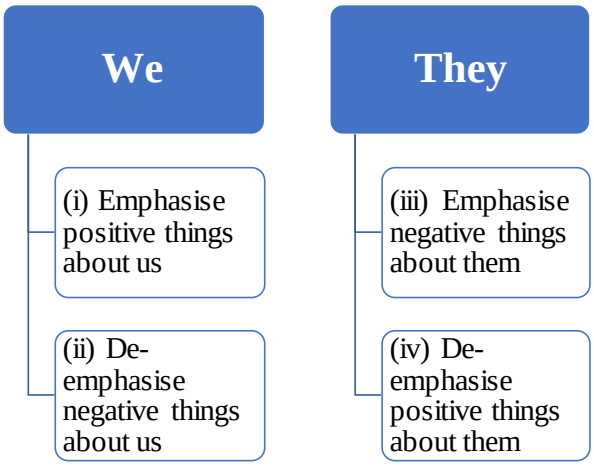
Indeed, language and a society's set of beliefs and value system (see 'ideology' in Section 2.2.3) go hand in hand with each other. More precisely, the ideology of a society or a social group is reflected in its language use, which in turn affirms and reaffirms the ideology. The CDA approach is thus useful in the understanding of the representation of China and Japan in Western newsmagazines, which this thesis seeks to discover. In the following section, a brief discussion about van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach is provided due to its relevance to the findings obtained from the empirical research conducted in this thesis.

2.2.2.3 Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach – Concept of Ideological Square

The socio-cognitive approach to discourse, propounded by van Dijk (2016, p. 4), holds that constructions are merely mental representations that are formed in the brain. It is in this context that van Dijk (2006, p. 3) proposed a triangulation framework in which cognition plays a mediating role between discourse and social structures. According to the concept of this triangulation, the emphasis is on the reader's cognitive dimension, which is connected to the discourse structure and the ways in which social inequality, domination, and ideologies occur. To discover social representations, attitudes, and ideologies of social actors, the connection between the structure of discourse and the structure of society should be viewed.

It is worth noting that van Dijk (1998a, p. 267) proposed the concept of the ideological square, which is a four-strategy ideological intergroup discourse based on the socio-cognitive approach that ideologies influencing the choice of discursive patterns are inherently cognitive. For van Dijk, ideological discourse is 'generally organised by a general strategy of positive self presentation (boasting) and negative other-presentation (derogation)' (2006, p. 126). Therefore, van Dijk's model (see Figure 4) encapsulates macro semantic strategies of emphasising the positive aspects of the in-group and concurrently foregrounding the negative aspects of the out-group. This means that it will affect the cognitive functions of the reader and influence the way news is understood.

Figure 4: Van Dijk's four-strategy classification of ideological square



Although there are several studies (Akber, 2018, Jalalian, Sanatifar and Awang, 2018; Cyn and Ganapathy, 2016; Wirth-Koliba, 2016; Shojaei, Youssefi and Hosseini, 2013, Gadalla, 2012) that have employed van Dijk's concept of the ideological square for the analysis of their research, an examination of their research has revealed that the authors have merely applied the concepts of van Dijk's ideological square to demonstrate the positive representation of 'us' versus the negative representation of 'them'. For example, Gadalla (2012) concluded that van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square 'is theoretically perfect in relation to the ideological analysis' of former American President Barack Obama's political speeches. Specifically, he has found that Barack Obama employed the tactics of (i) positive self-representation: emphasising the good properties about himself, the United States, and the West, while reducing their negative properties and actions, and (ii) negative them-representation: emphasising the bad properties of Al-Qaeda, Hamas, and Iran, while reducing the good properties and actions.

It is also worth mentioning Jalalian, Sanatifar and Awang's (2018) investigation of manipulation in political discourse translation through the use of van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square model. Jalalian, Sanatifar and Awang's study (2018, p. 5) concluded that the 'de-emphasising' and 'emphasising' aspects of the ideological square need to be complemented by including the subcategories of 'preserving', 'blocking', 'demoting', and 'promoting' the positive or negative properties of 'us' and 'them' to account for the strategies undertaken by political discourse translators.

2.2.2.4 Criticisms of Critical Discourse Analysis

The CDA approach is not without its critics. Although this thesis relies on CDA as a methodological tool to answer its research questions, it is important to be transparent about the criticisms of CDA that have been raised by others. This section will focus on two non-CDA scholars, who have presented their criticisms of CDA as an academic practice. They include Billig (2008) and Blommaert (2005). The first of the critics, Billig (2008), draws attention to the contradictions facing CDA practitioners between what the latter preach and what the latter do in practice. Specifically, the CDA scholars are accused of committing double standards in their criticisms of non-CDA practitioners' frequent use of nominalisations, although such linguistic applications are employed by the CDA scholars themselves. In a rather disapproving manner, Billig (2008) wrote:

> Critical discourse analysts have suggested that nominalisation (along with passivation) has important ideological functions such as deleting agency and reifying processes. However, the language used by critical analysts, as they explore nominalisation, is revealing. They tend to use, and thereby instantiate, the very forms of language whose ideological potentiality they are warning against - such as deleting agency, using passives and turning processes into entities…If critical analysts take seriously their own ideological warnings about nominalisation and passivation, they need to change the standard ways of writing critical analysis. (Billig, 2008, abstract)

Another critic who voiced his disapproval of CDA is Blommaert. Specifically, Blommaert (2005, pp. 34-35) highlighted the linguistic bias that arises in CDA as a result of the extensive focus on linguistic-textual analysis. In this respect, Blommaert singled out Fairclough's systemic-functional approach for criticism, due to the latter's emphasis on linguistic analysis on available discourse. For Blommaert, Fairclough's systemic-functional approach has significant drawbacks since it does not consider discourse that is absent from the text for analysis. As Blommaert stated:

> The emphasis on linguistic analysis implies an emphasis on available discourse, discourse which is there. There is no way in which we can linguistically investigate discourses that are absent, even if such analyses would tell us an enormous amount about the conditions under which discourses are being produced. (2005, p. 35)

For this reason, Blommaert saw the 'linguistic bias' in the application of CDA as problematic. In other words, the CDA approach is seen as merely applicable to explicitly encoded discourse and not to discourse that is excluded from the texts.

It is important and worthy to consider the above-mentioned brief discussion of the key criticisms of CDA in this thesis. Despite its shortcomings, the author of the thesis is convinced that CDA provides an excellent theoretical and methodological starting point for the examination of the Western representation of China and Japan. This is because CDA goes beyond textual or content analysis to analyse the context of the text (e.g. social, cultural, religious, political, historical, economic and cognitive aspects; Amer, 2015, p. 34).

Furthermore, the CDA approach employed in this thesis draws heavily from van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory of social-actor representation. According to this framework, there is a representational category ('exclusion'; see Section 3.4.2.1) that considers social actors that are omitted from the text (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29). In so doing, it avoids the linguistic bias that Blommaert mentioned.

2.2.3 What is Ideology?

Similar to discourse, there are different definitions of the term *ideology*. Although it was the French philosopher, Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1798), who coined the term *ideology* to mean a 'science of ideas'[22] (cited in Nicolas, 2004, p. XII), its contemporary usage is largely attributed to *Die Deutsche Ideologie* published by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848. According to Marx and Engels, ideology represents the 'production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness' that is 'at first directly intertwined with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life'[23] (cited in Eagleton, 2000, p. 89).

As far as the Foucauldian sense of the term *discourse* is concerned, there are also other dimensions of *ideology.* For the purpose of this thesis, however, the discussion is limited to the relationship between ideology and language, and thus the definitions that have been offered by linguists. Language and ideology go hand in hand. In other words, the set of beliefs and value systems are revealed by the language employed

[22] Author's translation into Englsh from the original text in French: *'*La science de la pensée'.
[23] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: *'*Die Produktion der Ideen, Vorstellungen, des Bewusstseins ist zunächst unmittelbar verflochten in die materielle Tätigkeit und den materiellen Verkehr der Menschen, Sprache des wirklichen Lebens*'*.

among people from a particular social stratum, which in turn affirms and reaffirms the shared beliefs and value systems. For example, Hodge and Kress (1993, p.1) defined *ideology* as a systematic set of ideas, which are organised around a particular point of view.

This position is also echoed by Fowler (1991, p. 101), who argued 'anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position'. It is thus clear from his statement above that ideology is not meant in any way to be pejorative, as evidenced by his subsequent explanation about the notion of ideology:

> Something more neutral: a society's implicit theory of what types of object exist in their world (categorisation); of the way that world works (causation); and of the values to be assigned to objects and processes (general propositions or paradigms). These implicit beliefs constitute 'common sense' which provides a normative base to discourse. (Fowler, 1996, pp. 10-11)

Not all linguists, however, share Fowler's neutral definition of ideology. Fairclough, for instance, held a more Marxist interpretation of the term in the sense that 'ideologies arise in societies characterised by relations of domination on the basis of class, gender, cultural group, and so forth, and in so far as human beings are capable of transcending such societies, they are capable of transcending ideology' (1992, p. 91).

Despite their different interpretations, ideology essentially refers to the distinctive set of ideas, beliefs, and values that people maintain to make sense of their social world. It is thus a 'general set of beliefs' that has been promoted by the 'elites to construct fresh socio-political truths' (Cao, 2014b, p. 9). In this context, ideologies may thus be succinctly defined as 'the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group' (van Dijk, 1998a, p. 8). When the ideology is maintained by a powerful social group (such as the state, international organisations, and/or companies), it is thus regarded as the dominant ideology (Wemyss, 2016, p. 10).

This inequality in the power held by a particular social group has the effect of shaping the linguistic practices of members belonging to the social group, which in turn affirms and reaffirms the ideology of the social group through language practice vis-à-vis that of a different social group. As van Dijk (2004, p. 20) succinctly stated, 'discourse and communication are crucial in the establishment, legitimation and the reproduction of power and inequality' between different social groups.

Now that a review of the existing literatures on discourse, major schools of CDA, its criticisms, and ideology has been conducted, the following section moves to the Western representation of China and Japan.

2.3 Shifting Western Representations of China

China has long fascinated the West since the many travels and writings by European missionaries, diplomats, and merchants over the centuries. In particular, interest peaked among philosophers and thinkers (Leibniz, Voltaire) in eighteenth-century Europe, a period commonly referred to as the Age of Enlightenment (Miller, 2017; Ching and Oxtoby, 1992). It was a period when the history, governance, religion, and philosophy of the two countries, as a result of European Jesuit missionaries, were fashionable in Europe (Ting, 1928, p. 6).

As the focus of this thesis is on (i) the representation of China, against the (ii) backdrop of its trade war with its major trading partners in 2010, with (iii) Japan in 1987 being included for comparison, there is a greater emphasis on the review of the existing literature pertaining to the Western representation of China published after the end of the Second World War (Section 2.3), along with a reduced focus on Japan (Section 2.4). The reasons are two-fold. First, a detailed discussion about the Western perceptions of historical China and Japan is beyond the scope of this thesis. Second, an examination of the existing literature on the Western representation of post-war Japan will facilitate better understanding on the similarities and differences in how post-war China was represented in 2010. The discussion in Section 2.3 is structured according to the available literature on the topic in the English, French, and German languages encountered during the author's research.

2.3.1 China in the English-Language Literature: Largely Driven by Bilateral Relations and Political Developments

There is a great deal of research conducted in the English language on the Western representation of China in addition to a great wealth of books published recently on a wide range of subjects:

- China's rising political and economic power (see Lee, 2018; Mahbubani, 2018; Rudolph and Szonyi, 2018; French, 2017, 2014; Mosher, 2017);
- China's authoritarian government (Hackenesch, 2018; Krzywdzinski, 2018; Minzner, 2018; Gallagher, 2017);
- China's crippling debt (Magnus 2018; McMahon, 2018; Schoeppel, 2018; Wilson, 2017);
- the Chinese president (Economy, 2018; Khan, 2018);

- China's increasing presence in Africa (Lee, 2018; Brautigam, 2015, 2011; French, 2014); and
- the question whether China is a friend or a foe of the West (De Burgh, 2006).

These ranged from those about the images of China viewed through the lens of the 'West' as a whole (see Saffle and Yang, 2017; Pan, 2013) to those specifically targeting the American perspective on China (see Campion, 2016; Turner, 2011, 2014; Lin, 2012; Peng 2004, Yan 1998, Jespersen, 1996; Isaacs, 1958) and those focusing on the British perspective about China (see Cao, 2014a, Mawdsley, 2008a, 2008b). By contrast, there were fewer studies that covered the European perspective on China (see Wang, 2017; Knuesel, 2012; Bersick et al., 2012), and the mutual representations between China and Africa (see Batchelor and Zhang, 2017).

In addition, there were research studies in the form of PhD theses that employed CDA to determine the dominant representations of China and items associated with the country, as evidenced by 'Visualising China through the Lens of the West: A Critical Discourse Analysis of British TV Documentaries on China' (Wang, S., 2017), 'Responsible China: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Soft Power Projection through Transnational Media' (Zhao, 2017), 'Advertising Greenness in China: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Corporate Online Advertising Discourse' (Liu, 2015), 'Critical Discourse Analysis of Chinese Electric Household Appliance Advertisements from 1981 to 1996' (Wang, M., 2014), and 'Hegemony and resistance as Shown in Critical Discourse Analysis of Trainee Interpreters from the P.R.C. and Taiwan in Mandarin-English Simultaneous Interpreting' (Chang, 2012). In this context, the following sections will review the literature from the perspective of each language, rather than the individual perspective of each country.

2.3.3.1 Shifting Images of China in Different Ages

One of the earliest post-war articles in the literature relating to China's image in the West was Harold Isaacs' 'Scratches on Our Minds: American Images of China and India'. Published in 1958 at the height of the Cold War, Isaacs' research was conducted at a time of intense political tension due to the differences in political ideology when the capitalistic and democratic ideals, as represented by the American-led Western bloc, were pitted against those of the communist East spearheaded by the Soviet Union. Based on a detailed analysis of popular literature, cartoons and films, Isaacs explored

how the Chinese and Indians were regarded in the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

According to Isaacs (1958, p. 71), there were six key periods or ages that describe the dominant image of China, whose image reflects the prevailing Western attitudes during that period (Cao, 2014a, p. 6). They include:

i) The Age of Respect (the eighteenth century);

ii) The Age of Contempt (1840-1905);

iii) The Age of Benevolence (1905-1937);

iv) The Age of Admiration (1937-1944);

v) The Age of Disenchantment (1944-1949); and

vi) The Age of Hostility (1949-present).

Isaacs argued that the nature of images has shifted in response to external developments. In 1840, for example, a majority of the Americans supported the United States involvement in the First Opium War against China, which was considered 'stubborn and isolationist' (Isaac, 1958, p. 71). As the Age of Contempt lasted until 1905, hopes were raised that the Chinese were welcoming modernity and Western standards of civilisation. The positive image of China last until 1944. For Isaac, it was a period known as the Age of Benevolence (p. 71) and was also the golden age of Christian missionary activity in China (Gu, 1996, p. 351). Jespersen (1996, p. 45) agreed that the prevalent American view of China in the 1930s and 1940s was that of a 'friendly, democratic, and increasingly Christian state, in many ways akin to the United States'. Furthermore, references to China as an awakening power were very popular in the Western media due to the country's tumultuous transformations from a dynasty to a republic interjected by 'warlordism, civil wars, and communism' (Knuesel, 2012, p. 2). Isaac's research led him to conclude that there were two contrasti ng images of China in American minds, oscillating between a despicable China and an admirable China. As he succinctly summarised:

> In the long history of our associations with China, these two set of images (of a wondrously civilised and brutally barbaric place) rise and fall, move in and out of the centre of people's minds over time, never wholly displacing each other, always coexisting, each ready to emerge at the fresh call of circumstance (evoking in turn) emotions about the Chinese that have ranged between sympathy and rejection,

> parental benevolence and parental exasperation, affection and hostility, love and a fear close to hate (Isaac., 1958, p. xxi).

Other scholars (Cao, 2014a, 2007; Mosher, 2000) have also updated Isaacs' (1958, p. 71) proposed trajectory of China's images in the West over the past centuries. Picking up from where Isaac stopped, Mosher (1990, pp. 20-21) suggested four new 'ages' that characterised the Western perspectives towards China from 1949 onwards. They were as follows:

(i) The Age of Hostility (1949-1972);
(ii) The Second Age of Admiration (1972-1977);
(iii) The Second Age of Disenchantment (1977-1980); and
(iv) The Second Age of Benevolence (1980-1989).

Mosher's (1990) Second Age of Admiration in particular deserves some explanation. China's image was enhanced at a time when the relationship between the United States and China normalised as a result of former President Nixon's visit to China, leading to the West's romanticisation of China (Mosher, 1990, p. 22). The next update to the historical pattern of China's changing images was provided by Cao (2014a, p. 6), who added two new 'ages' to Mosher's (1990) observation:

(i) The Third Age of Disenchantment (1989-2001); and
(ii) The Age of Uncertainty (2001-present).

During the Third Age of Disenchantment, the demise of the Soviet Union exposed the global geopolitical reality of the era in that China was the 'only significant country with rising economic power practising an alien ideology' (Cao, 2014a, p. 6). Combined with the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown on student protests, an era characterised by the West's disenchantment began from 1989 onwards. Western media emphasised China's reportedly shoddy track record on human rights records that included 'prison labour, child abuse, the death penalty, Tiananmen, Taiwan, and Tibet' (Cao, 2014a, p. 7). It was not until 2001 when China became a member of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) after a lengthy process of negotiations and significant adjustments to the Chinese economy that the Age of Uncertainty was ushered in. In Mackerras's words:

> The most important Western image of China since 2001 is that this is a country that is rising rapidly and becoming much more important and influential internationally; however, it has a political system that has so far stood out

> against the trend towards democracy, abuses human rights, and is increasingly able to challenge Western hegemony. (Mackerras, 2015, p. 73)

In other words, the political developments and bilateral relationships between China and the Western countries, in particular the United States, played a crucial role not only in shaping the images of China in the West but also in the perceived threat posed by a political other ('China') to the established status quo maintained by the West.

2.3.2.2 Western Images of China on the Basis of Chinese Political Developments

Several other scholars have also attempted to track the evolution of the Western perceptions of China on the basis of China's political developments. For example, Peng Z. (2004, pp. 53-67) analysed the coverage of China in the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* between 1992 and 2001 and concluded that the Western representation of China could be categorised into four eras since 1949 when the People's Republic of China was founded. They are as follows:

i) Red China (1949–1979);
ii) Green China (1979–1989);
iii) Dark China (1989–1992); and
iv) Grey China (1992–present).

Classified according to four different colours associated with China's politics, Peng Z. (2004, p. 55) explained that the Cold War perception was dominant in the coverage of China in the American press when 'Red China' was founded by communist leader, Mao Zedong in 1949. American perceptions were negative during this period, clearly reflecting America's foreign policy towards China, which was aimed at containing the spread of communism. However, the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between China and the United States in 1979 prompted American media to present China as 'green', symbolising a country with a promising future. Thus, 'Green China' was reported in a more objective and favourable manner (Peng Z, 2004, p. 56). This representation also led to a generally improved attitude towards China between 1979 and 1989, although the country was still regarded as communist and undemocratic.

Unlike Cao's (2014a, p. 6) Third Age of Disenchantment, which covered between 1989 and 2001, Peng Z. (2004, p. 56) introduced the concept of a 'Dark China' between 1989 and 1992 to capture the Western media's predominant negative coverage of China's suppression of the student protests at Tiananmen Square. As a result of China's improved economic relationship with the United States, a 'Grey China' was

represented, encapsulating America's mixed feelings about it (p. 57). In this context, China was viewed as a 'potential enemy and a strategic partner' (Lin, 2012, p. 69).

2.3.2.3 Western Images of China on the Basis of Bilateral Relations/Foreign Policy

The Western media coverage of China changes in accordance with the shifts of foreign policy towards China. Scholars have also attempted to follow the developments in Western perceptions of China on the basis of the constantly-evolving bilateral relations, and they included Dawson (1967), Cohen (2010), Kusnitz (1984), Lin (2012), Mackerras (1989, 1999, 2015), Moscher (1990), Hirschberg (1993), Jespersen (1996), Yan (1998), Gittings (1999), Mann (2000, 2007), Cao (2007, 2014a), Pfeiffer (2009), Knuesel (2012), and Turner (2014). For instance, Yan (1998, pp. 47-62) found from his research into the image of China in *The New York Times* from 1949 to 1988 that China's image has changed in accordance with the changes in the US foreign policy towards China over the past 40 years and with the bipolar nature of Cold War politics.

Mann (2000, 2007) argued that US-China relations have long been based on one of two assumptions: 1) capitalist reforms in China will inevitably lead to a democratic government ('The Soothing Scenario') or 2) China is headed for certain political and social collapse ('The Upheaval Scenario'). According to him, the biggest problem is that the media coverage of China in the United States tends merely to reinforce, and even propagate, whatever is the reigning stereotype, image, or frame, of China in any particular decade or era. As historian Archibald Steele's (1966, p. 1) explained, "Americans have tended to react intensely and emotionally to developments in China, with sudden fluctuations of feeling". He also added: "The ups and downs of public opinion on China become understandable only against the historical background and the heritage of assumptions, expectations, emotions, traditions and even illusions and legends which have contributed to our present attitudes" (Steele, 1966, p. 1).

In the 1950s, the media coverage in the United States was of the Chinese as disciplined automatons. In the 1960s, however, US foreign policy towards China was directed by its anti-communist ideology and its strategy to contain the further spread of communism (Knuesel, 2012; Cohen, 2010; Lin, 2009; Mann, 2000). For instance, American support for the Kuomingtang (KMT), which was a Chinese political party that governed a part of mainland China from 1928 to 1949 and subsequently ruled Taiwan under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, was perceived as part of the US government's battle agains t communism (Knuesel, 2012; Yan, 1998). Thus, the

existence of an ideological divide between a capitalist United States and a communist China poses a source of concern in their bilateral relations (Campion, 2016, p. 46). As a result, Western perceptions of China during the period were consequently negative (Campion, 2016; Knuesel, 2012; Hirschberg, 1993). In the early 1990s, it was 'crackdown in China' (Mann, 2000, p. 391), which has since been transformed into a 'China rising' narrative (p. 439).

Such images reflect Western expectations that there was no acceptable or credible alternative other than an uncivilised China that must conform to superior Western ideals (Turner, 2014; Cohen, 2010). This was echoed by Jeffrey Wasserstrom (2010, 1994) who lamented that Westerners know very little about China and that American misunderstanding of China is prevalent, whether it is regarding the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests or China's one-child policy and cultural diversity (given that the "common belief in the United States is that China is culturally homogeneous"; Wasserstrom, 2010, p. 104). He (1994) also put forth that the depiction of Tiananmen can be seen as a construction made up by various tales of Tiananmen produced and reproduced in different contexts by different groups of people for different purposes.

2.3.2.4 Western Images of China on the Basis of Global Developments

Western images of China have also shifted at various historical junctures, including global developments such as the Second World War, the Korean War, and the rise of USSR-led communist ideology. During the Second World War, for instance, the increasing criticism of Japan's role in the war led British cartoonists to portray China as the innocent victim vis-à-vis a Japan as the perpetrator after having previously depicted Japan as a noble, friendly power vis-à-vis an evil, menacing power (Knuesel, 2012, pp. 148-150). The eruption of the Korean War in 1950 between North Korea (principally supported by China and Soviet Union) and South Korea (primarily aided by the United States) has also affected the way China was perceived in the West. China's image deteriorated as the Soviets did not directly engage in the hostilities against the United States, thus elevating China as "a potent Communist enemy" embroiled in a direct confrontation with the Americans (Campion, 2016, p. 47). As Turner (2011) noted:

> During the Second World War, China was a valuable ally of the United States in its protracted conflict with Japan, and popular American attitudes towards that country and its people had become ostensibly positive. The establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 and its entry into the Korean War in

> 1950 just as Western concerns that a global 'monolithic' communist threat had begun to pervade American society ensured a rapid and dramatic shift in opinion. Popular American imagery of China became significantly more negative and so, in this sense, what China and the Chinese 'did' is certainly a legitimate basis for the investigation. (p. 28)

In other words, although Western imagery of China may be influenced by the Western emotive reactions to the happenings of historical moments as highlighted by Steele (1966), global developments in the form of major historical events also have the ability to shape and reinforce Western perceptions of China.

2.3.2.5 Western Images of China on the Basis of Economic Relations

Turning to economic relations, Zhang (2016) deployed content analysis to examine the dominant news narratives in three elite European newspapers, namely *The Times* from the United Kingdom, *LeFigaro* from France, and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* from Germany based on two-week periods in 2008, 2010, 2012, and 2014. The findings from Zhang's (2016) study revealed that (i) there was a general increase in media coverage on China's economy after the 2008 financial crisis, (ii) *The Times* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* tended to centre their coverage on their domestic interests with China's economy, and (iii) *LeFigaro* was inclined to discuss issues from the perspective of the European Union. Furthermore, Zhang (2016, p. 49) also found that the news narratives projected by all three newspapers oscillated between 'hope and uncertainty'.

2.3.2.6 Changing Western Images of China – Unchanged Underlying Structures

As Chen (2015) observed in an article entitled 'The Worrying Rise of Anti-China Discourse in the US' in *Diplomat* magazine, there has been an increasing number of anti-China discourses in various circles of the United States. These include journalism, academia, government, policy-making, and military (para. 3) as a result of China-US relations and Asian security (para. 2). The anti-China discourses, according to Chen (paras. 4-6), can be divided into three categories:

i) China's collapse theory (see Lee, 2017; Gorrie, 2013);
ii) China is a regional bully theory (see Mosher, 2017);
iii) Punishing China discourse (see Navarro and Austry, 2011).

These discourses corroborate the primary focus of the books that have been recently published, that is, fear of China. It permeates the discourses underpinning the representation of China, from the discourse about the country's collapse as evidenced by 'Will China's Economy Collapse?' (Lee, 2017) and 'The China Crisis: How China's Economic Collapse Will Lead to a Global Depression' (Gorrie, 2013) to the 'China Is a Bully' discourse like 'Bully of Asia: Why China's Dream Is the New Threat to World Order' (Mosher, 2017) and the 'Punishing China' discourse 'Death by China: Confronting the Dragon – A Global Call to Action' (Navarro and Austry, 2011). It is clear that the discourses on China, primarily built upon the sentiment of fear, remain unchanged. As Cao wrote:

> Though the Western image of China has oscillated for centuries, the underlying structures have changed little. Image shifts often correspond to the perceived interests of the West and changes in power relations. Perspectives in seeing China are underpinned largely by the West's self-perceptions and, fundamentally, its conceptions of 'modernity', as these constitute the core repertoire from which a range of forms of legitimising and legitimised discourse can be drawn upon. (2014a, p. 20)

The unchanged underlying structures on China can be attributed to the way China was reported and the small range of themes in which China was reported. Based on a content analysis of news stories about China in the online editions of the *New York Times*, *BBC*, and *The Economist* in 2013, Griffiths (2013, p. 4) found that China was reported in only five key themes: (i) the economy, (ii) politics, (iii) foreign affairs and national security, (vi) human rights, and (v) the environment. News pertaining to China's politics and economics accounted for more than half (53%) of the total news stories about the country, while issues reflecting society and social change, culture, science, and technology received minimal coverage. Griffiths (p. 5) concluded that the reporting of China was more about 'confirming existing beliefs and ideas rather than breaking new ground'. As Mackerras stated:

> How the West views China depends not only the realities of China itself, but also to a large extent on the intellectual or ideological climate in the West…To all observations, each person – no matter what their culture – brings experiences, ideological background, temperament and biases of various kinds. They may not

be aware of what formulates their views, but influences operate on them all the time. (2015, p. 2)

It is thus clear that Western representation of China is not so much about China *per se* or its bilateral relations, global developments, and economic relations but is about the amalgamation of several factors that include the set of cognition, beliefs, and ideas.

2.3.2 China in the French-Language Literature: Largely Focused on the Age of Enlightenment

The interaction between France and China could be traced to the time when King Louis XIV sent a group of Jesuit missionaries to the court of Chinese Emperor Kangxi in 1687. This also means that France was one of the earliest Western countries that became interested in China. The importance of this period was clear from the number of studies conducted that fully focused on China during this period. These studies included 'China During the Age of Enlightenment and Chinese Enlightenment'[24] (Cheng, 2015), 'The Image of China During the European Thought of the Eighteenth Century: From Apologia to Practical Philosophy'[25] (Zhan, 2007), 'The Image of the Chinese Empire Written by French Travellers During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries'[26] (Zhi, 2006), and 'The Descriptions of China by the French (1650-1750)'[27] (Ting, 1928).

In addition to the research into the general images of China during the Age of Enlightenment, studies also examined the representation of China in French literature. These included 'China and the Chinese in the French Novels During the Eighteenth Century'[28] (Li, 2013), 'The Image of China by Culturalist François Cheng' (Liu, 2013), and 'The Representation of the Chinese in the Literature: 1840-1940'[29] (Decome, 2009). It is worth mentioning that a Chinese character with the name 'Chang' appeared in the

[24] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'Chine des Lumières et Lumières chinoises'.
[25] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'L'image de la Chine dans la pensée européenne du XVIII^{e} siècle : de l'apologie à la philosophie pratique'.
[26] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'L'image de l'empire de Chine sous le plume des voyageurs français des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles'.
[27] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'Les descriptions de la Chine par les Français'.
[28] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'La Chine et les Chinois dans les romans français du XVIIIe siècle'.
[29] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'La représentation des Chinois dans la littérature : 1840–1940'.

French-language comic series called 'The Adventures of Tintin – The Blue Lotus'[30] (Hergé, 1936). The plot, which portrayed Tintin (the protagonist) rescuing a vulnerable young Chinese boy 'Chang' against an evil, big-toothed Japanese character 'Mitsuhirato', reflected the attitudes of the French-speaking world *vis-à-vis* the Chinese (and the Japanese) during the Second World War.

When attention shifts to the studies about the French perspective on post-war China, it has emerged that there were surprisingly few studies about the subject. This was particularly striking, especially given the fact that France was one of the earliest observers of China, along with Portugal, Spain, and Italy. The few studies that focused on the Western representation of contemporary China included 'The Image of Propaganda in China, a Tool of Social Control: The Beijing Case'[31] (Kloeckner, 2016), 'China and the West: Five Centuries of History'[32] (Cartier, 2015), and 'Crossed Images between France and China'[33] (La Documentation française, 2014).

It is important to highlight two points here. First, the three named studies were not specifically about the representation of China in France but about the more general issues relating to the image of China among the French public. Second, Cartier (2015) did not merely delve into contemporary China but also its historical interactions with the West over the last five centuries. Apart from the representational aspect, there are also books that have been published in the French language about China from the international relations perspective. The majority of these books (Cabestan, 2018; Godement and Vasselier, 2018; Ekman, 2018; Berman, 2017; Duchâtel, 2017; Gravereau, 2017; Meyer, 2015, 2014; Détrie, 2014; Godement, 2012; Domenach, 2009, 2007, 2002, 1992) are primarily concentrated on China's global politics, economy, and society.

Although Kloeckner's (2016) PhD thesis was not specifically about the representation of China in the French media, its examination of the propaganda disseminated through the video on the thirteenth Five-year Plan[34] (2016-2021) released on the website of Xinhua was revealing. Kloeckner concluded that propaganda and

[30] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'Les Aventures de Tintin – Le Lotus Bleu'.
'[31] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'L'image de propagande en Chine, outil du contrôle social : le cas de Pékin'.
[32] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'La Chine et l'Occident: Cinq siècles d'histoire'.
[33] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'Images croisées France-Chine'.
[34] It is a series of social and economic development initiatives launched by the Communist Party of China that covers a period of five years.

speeches made by government officials constituted a central pillar in the exercise of urban government in China (para. 36). Further, Kloeckner found that the Chinese authorities had relied on the dissemination of propaganda as a form of social control, thus foregrounding the French perception of an authoritarian China that lacks freedom, as opposed to the more democratic, liberal West. The image of a fearsome China would thus corroborate the observations made by other scholars (see Barret, 2018; Thi, 2013) that France in particular and the West in general should not fear China.

'Crossed Images between France and China' published by La Documentation Française (2014), a French public publishing service for the French administration and the French public, examined the perceptions of the French public on China. Although this was not a study that was concerned with the representation of China in the French media, it was interesting to understand the perceptions of the French public on contemporary China. It was found that a great majority of the French public held positive views of China's history and culture (87%) and on the Chinese as being hardworking (73%; p. 19). When attention shifts to the image of Chinese enterprises, only 22% of the French public had a positive image of them, behind the companies from other emerging economies, such as Brazil (52%), India (37%), and Russia (23%; p. 21). Images of China thus oscillated between a 'conquering dragon' and 'paper tiger' (p. 24).

2.3.3 China in the German-Language Literature: Largely Driven by Events

As far as the literature in the German language is concerned, the situation in terms of quantity of research into the German representation of post-war China is rather similar to that of the French language. The only difference is that, although the quantity remains low, a greater number of studies (see Vogel and Jia, 2017; Kuang, 2014; Bieber, 2011; Braun, 2011; Richter, Gebauer, Heberer, and Hafez, 2010; Peuckmann, 2010; Pfeiffer, 2009, Trampedach, 1998) examined China's post-war image in the German press.

Specifically, the German media tended to represent China on an event-driven basis. The three events included (i) the student-led protests in the West in 1968, (ii) the Chinese students' protest on Tiananmen Square in 1989, and (iii) the 2008 Olympic Games held in China. There were also studies that put the focus on the representation of China in German literature, as evidenced by 'Perception of the Other: China in German

and Germany in Chinese Travel Reports: From Opium War to the First World War'[35] (Liu, 2001), 'Image of China in German Literature in the 1980s: The New Reception Form and Attitude'[36] (Heuser, 1996), and 'Image of China in German Literature 1871–1933'[37] (Fang, 1992).

Apart from the studies into the representation of China, there were undoubtedly more German books that have been published on China that tended to emphasise the threatening aspect of the country's growing global might and the challenge it posed to the United States in particular and the West in general (see Baron and Yin-Brown, 2018; Hartmann and Maennig, 2018; Hartmann, Maennig, and Wang, 2017; Sieren, 2018; Hirn, 2013). In the following text, a discussion of the representational aspect of China is presented due to its relevance to this thesis.

2.3.3.1 German Representation of China Against the Backdrop of 1968 Movement

The first study into China's image in Germany was published in 1968, entitled 'China, the Fairy Land, in the German Press'[38]. The publication came at a time when several Western nations were witnessing the largest anti-conformist protest movement of the post-war period against the perceived authoritarianism and hierarchism embodied by traditional Western society. Against the backdrop of the rise of an intellectual New Left political mobilisation (Gilcher-Holtey, 2014, p. 3) at the height of the last Chinese cultural revolution in 1968-1969 (Wu, 2014, p. 50), student protesters in Europe were challenging the established institutions of Western democracy and were questioning the exclusive right of representation by established parties and intermediary groups as well as the basic assumptions of post-war order (Gilcher-Holtey, 2014, p. 2).

In other words, the anti-establishment youth movement marked a significant moment in the cultural history of European integration and a major shift to the left, which saw the emergence of a cohort of politicised young people who had come to view themselves not merely as members of a particular European nation but as a continent-wide, transnational social group (Jobs, 2009). While Touraine argued that the protest

[35] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Wahrnehmung des Fremden: China in deutschen und Deutschland in chinesischen Reiseberichten; vom Opiumkrieg bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg'.
[36] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Das China-Bild in der deutschsprachigen Literatur der achtziger Jahre: die neuen Rezeptionsformen und Rezeptionshaltungen'.
[37] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Das Chinabild in der deutschen Literatur 1871-1933'.
[38] Author's translation into English from the origial text in German: 'China der deutschen Presse Märchenland'.

symbolised a form of new social movements in a post-industrial Western society (Touraine, 1968, p. 3), Bourdieu (1984, p. 456) contended that a 'critical moment' in the development of society was under way.[39]

Hence, the outcome of Günter Amendt's 35-page study into China's image in Germany was largely influenced by the socio-historical context of 1968. Based on 11 German and three Swiss newspapers over a two-month period between 15 August and 15 October 1966, the German sociologist aimed to determine China's contemporary image in the German (and Swiss) newspapers and to 'unveil the concealed truth by saying the unspoken words'[40] (Amendt, 1968, p. 27). According to Amendt, the press had intentionally framed China as a hostile country, subjected to many manipulations (p. 27). In addition, the editors of the newspaper companies were asked about the source of their information relating to China, and Amendt discovered that none of them had any reporter based in China and that they were mostly not particularly interested in sending any.

As a result, press articles concerning China were often inaccurate and lacked objectivity because facts and backgrounds of China-related events could not be assessed adequately (p. 30). Furthermore, Amendt found that there was a distinct difference in the reporting of China between the tabloid and liberal-bourgeois newspapers. While the liberal-bourgeois newspapers, which were more sympathetic to the 1968 youth movement, framed China as a potential enemy to the existing social circumstances in Germany and Switzerland, the tabloid newspapers were more blunt by framing China as an external enemy, equating it with the internal enemy in the form of the 1968 anti-establishment youth movement to justify government action against this group of people. Amendt concluded that the press reporting of China was highly politically led.

2.3.3.2 Communist China in the Aftermath of Tiananmen Square in 1989

It is only almost three decades later that another study into China's image in Germany was published. It is a doctoral thesis entitled 'Shifting China's Images: Media Representation in German Press'[41] written by Christiane Hilsmann in 1997 at the

[39] The 1968 movement was analysed in the chapter entitled 'Le moment critique' in Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Homo academicus*. Paris : Les édition de minuit.
[40] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Verschleiertes bloßzulegen und Unausgesprochenes auszusprechen' in Amendt's 1968 study on page 27.
[41] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Chinabild im Wandel – die Berichterstattung der deutschen Presse'.

Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. Based on the student-led protests on Tiananmen Square in June 1989, Hilsmann aimed to track the change in China's image over a period of 12 years stretching from 1984 to 1996 in six German national (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, and *Die Zeit*) and regional newspapers (*Passauer Neue Presse*, *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, and *Rheinischer Merkur*). According to Hilsmann, news on China had significantly increased from 1984 to 1996 and even the choice of topics about the country had changed over time. The eruption of the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989 marked a significant turning point in the reporting on China, as the German press increasingly took on a political (and negative) dimension, in particular on human rights abuses. Hilsmann concluded that the German perception of China had changed from 'sympathetic interest and approval' in 1984 to '[China is a] secret and menacing state' after the 1989 event (Hilsmann, 1997, p. 98).

In 1998, Trampedach published an article entitled 'Object of Fascination: China. German Contemporary Images of China'[42] in the *Berliner China-Hefte*, a semi-annual academic journal covering contemporary developments in the Chinese-speaking world. Trampedach argued that the handover of Hong Kong was used by the German media 'so that the Germans can confirm once again that China is politically a communist dictatorship, however, economically speaking, very flexible' (Trampedach, 1998, p. 46). He saw that the German press had the tendency to frame China in a rather irrational and extreme manner, either idealising or demonising it. In addition, he noticed that press coverage of China in Germany was often exaggerated and subjected to stereotypes from 1949 to 1999. There was also a growing discourse of fear against China due to the nation's military build-up, Chinese immigration, and crimes committed by Chinese immigrants (p. 50).

In another study entitled 'The New Empire of evil? The People's Republic in the German Media: 1949 and 1999'[43] published in the same academic journal in 2000, Trampedach analysed the German press coverage of the People's Republic of China's 50th anniversary since the country was founded by Mao Zedong in 1949. According to Trampedach, there was increasing conformity among German newspaper companies to frame China as a 'strikingly ill-tempered' country (Trampedach, 2000, p. 5), justifying

[42] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Faszinosum China. Deutsche Chinabilder der Gegenwart'.
[43] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Das neue Reich des Bösen? Die Volksrepublik China in den deutschen Medien: 1949 und 1999'.

the German media's rejection of China's political developments and their 'devastating judgement' of the Chinese Communist Party (p. 8). He attributed this partly due to the 'practice of simplification' in journalism in Germany and to 'a presumed social demand' from those from the political right and left to satisfy their claims and confirm their prejudices and stereotypes about China (p. 9). While the political right criticised China for the existence of the Chinese Communist Party's dictatorship, the political left condemned China for the violation of human rights and unfettered capitalism. The media, as Trampedach argued, served this public discourse by reporting negatively about China (pp. 9-10).

2.3.3.3 Authoritarian China during the 2008 Olympics Games

Since the 2008 Olympic Games, however, there has been an increasing number of articles and books about China published in Germany. Although not academic research *per se*, German sinologist Thomas Heberer wrote an article entitled 'Hysterical Behaviour of the West - The Demonisation of China'[44] on 16 April 2008 in *Die Tageszeitung* stating that the Western media, particularly the German media, had the tendency to report China one-sidedly. Heberer highlighted that the West had idealised China's economic progress in the 1990s, only to demonise the country only a few years later.

In 2009, translator Michael Poerner published an article entitled 'The Olympics Fire Burns. And with it the Mistrust'[45] in the 38th volume of the *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs.* He analysed the coverage of the Chinese Olympics via selected articles of the largest German national daily and weekly newspapers from 8 to 25 August. He found that the news coverage of China was often superficial and one-sided due to German journalists' obvious deficits in cultural and foreign-language skills in combination with a distinct lack of reflection of the intrinsic cultural influence. He attributed this to German journalists' ignorance of foreign cultures, which they 'internalised and reproduced in the reporting of China' (Poerner, 2009, p. 177). Poerner even argued that the events at Tiananmen Square in 1989 also led to the continued negative reporting of China until today (p. 167).

[44] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Hysterisches Verhalten des Westens – Die Verteufelung Chinas'.
[45] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Das Olympische Feuer brennt. Und mit ihm lodert das Misstrauen'.

There were also two more recent studies (Kuang, 2014; Bieber, 2011) that examined the representation of China in the German press and television in 2008. For example, Bieber (2011) conducted a content analysis on China based on articles collected from *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, and *Die Welt*. She chose to focus on the representation of China based on the following three events: (i) the conflict over Tibet in 2008, (ii) the Sichuan earthquake in 2008, and (iii) the Chinese Olympics in 2008. Bieber (2011, p. 107) concluded that the German representation of China was partially one-sided, as the German journalists were found to focus their attention on certain Chinese geographical regions rather than the entire country and were highly oriented to the events, without any proper contextualisation of the events (p. 107). Furthermore, she found that German journalists had the tendency to emphasise the negative news when reporting their coverage of China. Bieber wrote:

> There are hardly any articles on China that do not report on topics that criticise the country, some of which repeatedly dominate the agenda: the poor human rights situation, the censored media, the oppression of ethnic and religious minorities, as well as the doubts as to whether the Olympic Games should have been awarded to China.[46] (p. 107)

Kuang (2014) also relied on the use of content analysis to study the representation of China in Germany. Specifically, he examined the image of China in the German public-service television broadcast channel, ZDF (also known as 'Second German Television').[47] According to Kuang, the coverage of China on German public television was a particular exception, especially given that the general lack of coverage on developing countries on German television (p. 265). He concluded that ZDF had the tendency to resort to stereotypes when it came to portraying China to the German audience. As Kuang stated:

> Stereotyping also contributes significantly to the construction of the image of China during the period of study. Often, common stereotypes are used explicitly and instrumentalised for the representation of China. A good example of this is the stereotype of the Chinese that they eat everything, specifically dogs, which is

[46] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Kaum ein Artikel kommt ohne eine Vielzahl von chinakritischen Themen aus, von denen manche immer wieder die Agenda dominieren: die schlechte Menschenrechtslage, die zensierten Medien, die Unterdrückung ethnischer und religiöser Minderheiten sowie die Zweifel daran, ob die Olympischen Spiele an China hätten vergeben werden sollen'.

[47] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen'.

the subject of many broadcasts and strongly influences the Western perception of Chinese cuisine or Chinese eating habits.[48] (p. 262)

In addition to the stereotypical image of Chinese bizarre eating habits, the German news channel, ZDF, was also found to resort to constructing an 'us-versus them' dichotomy that served to accentuate the difference between China and the West. For example, Kuang (2014, p. 267) remarked that China was often politically represented as a totalitarian, communist country, which stood in complete contrast to the democratic West. In so doing, ZDF suggested and reinforced the superiority of the Western countries *vis-à-vis* China (p. 267). The finding regarding resorting to stereotypes to project a distorted image of China in the German media was also shared by Vogel and Jia (2017). They found that China's image in the German media was filled with clichés and thus revealed more about the German 'majority culture in the past and in the present' rather than about China and the Chinese (p. 13).

2.3.3.4 German Media in Transition

Although the German media was largely blamed for propagating one-sided reports on China (see Kuang, 2014; Bieber, 2011; Braun, 2011; Richter, Gebauer, Heberer, and Hafez, 2010; Peuckmann, 2010; Pfeiffer, 2009, Trampedach, 1998; Amendt, 1968), studies have also shown that there were efforts to project a more complete picture of China that considered the multi-facetted feature of the country. As Thimm (2017 p. 46) found, based on an examination of articles collected from 2012 in the German newspapers *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *die Welt*, and *Die Tageszeitung*, China's image presented by the German press was clearly presented as that of a country in transition. While the German media was impressed by China's strong economic growth, the country's interaction with the environment and the protection of human rights were greatly disapproved. Furthermore, the more personal contact one has with the Chinese through culture and travel, the better the understanding of China. Those who tend to view China through the lens of Western values will tend to view China negatively and resort to stereotypes (p. 46).

[48] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'Zur Konstruktion des Chinabildes im Untersuchungszeitraum trägt auch wesentlich die Stereotypisierung bei. Oft werden landläufige Stereotype explizit verwendet und für die Darstellung Chinas instrumentalisiert. Ein gutes Beispiel dafür die der Stereotyp der Chinesen als 'Alles- bzw. Hundesser', der in vielen Sendungen direkt thematisiert wird und die westliche Vorstellung von der chinesischen Küche bzw. Chineischen Essgewohnheiten stark beeinflusst'.

2.4 Shifting Western Representations of Japan

Turning to Japan, there was a wealth of literature published on the country. Left in tatters following the ravages of the Second World War, Japan rose to become the world's second-largest economy in the 1970s as a result of its 'people's determination' to make their country a 'leading economic power' (Suvanto, 2008, p. 48). Such a significant contrast was made even more apparent when Japanese products were notorious for their shoddy workmanship and inferior quality in the beginning of the 1950s (Koontz and Weihrich, 2010). Japan's impressive economic success had also fascinated and alarmed many observers in the West. Books illustrating this fascination and fear of Japan's stellar economic development and its reportedly aggressive global expansion included Ezra Fosca Maraini's (1971) *Japan Patterns of Continuity*, Takie Sugiyama Lebra's (1976) *Japanese Patterns of Behavior*, Ezra Vogel's (1979) *Japan as Number One*, Edwin Reischauer's (1985) *The Japanese*, Eleanor Westney's (1987) *Imitation and Innovation*, and Christian Sautter's (1987) *The Teeth of the Giant: Japan's Conquest of the World.*[49]

Several books (Suvanto, 2008; Breger, 2002; Littlewood, 1996, Wilkinson, 1991, 1982; Yokoyama, 1987) also had specifically examined the Western representations of Japan and attempted to provide reasons for the way Japan was perceived in the West. According to these authors, the main reasons for the West's fears of Japan were largely due to (i) cultural misunderstanding, (ii) the tendency to view the Japanese through a stereotypical lens, and (iii) the economic threat posed by a rapidly growing Japan. For example, in Suvanto's (2008) study of the representation of Japan in Western popular literature in the 1980s and 1990s, the image of the Japanese people was correlated with Japan's economic prowess. In other words, as Japan became economically more successful, the Japanese were found to be portrayed as 'economic animals' more often (p. 48). This was largely due to the stereotypical belief that the country's rapid economic growth was built upon the backs of the hardworking Japanese workers who were willing to accept low salaries and few vacations.

The reason for such an unfavourable representation of Japan and its people was attributed to a lack of intercultural communication between Japan and the West. As Suvanto wrote:

[49] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'Les dents du géant: Le Japon à la conquête du monde'.

> Negative images of this Japanese and economic and political friction between Japan and the Western world were seen as due to a lack of knowledge and understanding of the differences between the Japanese and Western cultures. The communication culture was especially seen as difficult. (2008, p. 91)

The Western representation of Japan was not limited to the general Japanese society but also included business practices. Again, the different communication styles between Japanese and Western businessmen served to further reinforce the otherness of the Japanese. Suvanto noted:

> Western businessmen find their Japanese colleagues polite, formal people with whom it is very difficult to communicate not only because they do not speak foreign languages, but also because their culture is very different. They have a very strict protocol and they respect punctuality. They are harmony-seeking people who avoid saying negative things to maintain harmony and save others' faces. They do not say things they are and they do not have to say everything. They are quiet and calm people. (2008, p. 92)

Resorting to stereotypes was another reason that caused the deterioration of Japan's image in the West. In particular, Japan's stellar economic expansion was regarded as a continuation of the Second World War against the West's interests, thus further reinforcing the image that (Suvanto 2008, Littlewood, 1996). As Littlewood remarked:

> Given the history of our relations with Japan, it is not a frivolous exercise to ask how much the past 150 years have taught us about the country which now affects our lives in such a variety of ways. That the West has so often responded to Japanese successes over the past two decades by resurrecting the samurai and turning back to the imagery of the Second World War is not a cheerful omen. Instead of merely shuffling our pack of stereotypes whenever the political climate changes, we need to start challenging them. If we don't, the same stereotype will sooner or later produce the same reaction. (1996, p. 211)

In other words, Japan's distorted image in the West was as much a result of 'ignorance' as the 'Japanese inability to project a clear and ambiguous message abroad' (1991, p. 241). The West's widespread ignorance of contemporary Japan combined with war-time images of Japan's military aggression against the backdrop of a highly competitive Japan gave rise to a 'symbolically powerful image of Japan Incorporated' (Breger, 2002, p. 178), which was reportedly determined to seek global economic domination. Ultimately, the dominant representation of Japan during the height of Japan's economic

success in the 1980s was that of a threatening country where ‘samurais wore business suits’ (Suvanto, 2008, p. 48; Littlewood, 1996, p. 194). This also means that the greater the perceived economic threats, the construction of an ever more fearsome Japan was consolidated and perpetuated.

2.5 Closing Remarks

This chapter presented a review on (i) the theories underpinning the CDA, and (ii) the Western representation of China and Japan. In the first part of the chapter (Section 2.2), a brief account of the various definitions of the terms *discourse*, *critical*, and *CDA* were given. This is followed by an overview of the major schools of CDA, their criticisms, and the definition of *ideology*. In the second and third parts of this chapter, the existing literature relating to the Western representation of China (Section 2.3) and Japan (Section 2.4) was reviewed, respectively. A greater attention was assigned to the literature pertaining to the Western representation of China since the reporting on the trade war involving Japan and its trading partners in 1987 is merely included as a secondary focus of the research for comparative purposes. The following chapter presents the methodological framework of this thesis.

3 Methodological Framework: Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological framework of this thesis. A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods are administered to examine the ideological discourse and representation of the key social actors in the headlines and lead texts of the media coverage of trade wars (i) between China and its trading partners in 2010, and (ii) between Japan and its trading partners in 1987. Regarding qualitative analysis, CDA is employed (as stated in Section 1.5.3). Specifically, this thesis relies on van Dijk's (1980) macro-rules and van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory of social-actor representation to analyse the headlines and the lead texts of the Western newsmagazines. Turning to quantitative analysis, the frequency distribution of the social actors is tabulated in percentages and numbers regarding the representational categories applied.

3.2 Data Collection: Decisions and Procedures

To answer the questions outlined in Section 1.4 of this thesis, this section provides a detailed account of the decisions and procedures involved in the collection of the corpus. First, it discusses the reasons and decisions for the selection of the Western countries (Section 3.2.1). Subsequently, it provides the reasons for the choice of the Western newsmagazines in the selected Western countries (Section 3.2.2). Section 3.2.3 specifies the time period under study in this thesis. This is finally followed by an explanation of the purposive-representative sampling (Section 3.2.4) and the decisions and procedures undertaken for the selection of the corpus (headlines and lead texts) for analysis (Section 3.2.5).

3.2.1 Selection of Western Countries

As previously stated in Section 1.3.2, this thesis focuses on the following Western countries: the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. This is primarily due to the significant economic weight of these countries on the global stage. In fact, these four countries along with China and Japan were the six largest economies in the world in 2010 (see Table 3). Furthermore, by including the newsmagazines from France and Germany, the author of the thesis is able to

demonstrate his language and translation skills due to his ability to read/write/understand French and German,[50] in addition to English. Therefore, the inclusion of France and Germany in the thesis is a conscious decision.

3.2.2 Selection of Western Newsmagazines

Now that the choice of the four Western countries has been explained and revealed, Section 3.2.2 gives the rationale for the selection of the newsmagazines. In this thesis, the selected newsmagazines are (i) *Time* from the United States, (ii) *The Economist* from the United Kingdom, (iii) *L'Express* from France, and (iv) *Der Spiegel* from Germany. The selection of these newsmagazines is primarily based on the large circulation volumes in their countries and their popularity around the world.

According to the Alliance for Audited Media, a non-profit organisation that connects North America's top media companies, advertisers, and advertising agencies, *Time* had a circulation average for the six months ending on the 30th of June 2018 of approximately 2.4 million. This makes *Time* the most widely circulated newsmagazine in the world. Turning to *The Economist*, it had a worldwide circulation of approximately 1.4 million in 2017 according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations based in the United Kingdom (cited in The Economist, 2018). As regards *Der Spiegel*, Mercury Publicity (2018) estimated that *Der Spiegel* had a weekly circulation of approximately 730,000 worldwide. Such high volumes also mean that *Der Spiegel* is the largest circulating newsmagazine in Germany.

Lastly, although the centre-right *L'Express* had a lower circulation volume (288,046) than the centre-left *Le Nouvel Observateur* (304,680) in 2017 according to the Alliance pour les Chiffres de la Presse et des Médias (2018), *L'Express* was chosen for analysis in this thesis. This is primarily because (i) there were not enough articles on economic news relating to China in 2010 or Japan in 1987 in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, and (ii) *L'Express* was modelled after *Time* (Sterling, 2009, p. 1007) and *Der Spiegel* (Sandford, 1976, p. 49).

It is to be highlighted that, although the political orientation and ideological stances (liberal or conservative) of the selected newsmagazines were not top priority criteria for their selection, their political orientation and ideological stances are

[50] The author has successfully passed the C2 level of the CEFR for French (*Diplôme approfondi de langue française* and *Diplôme de français professionnel Affaires*) and German (*ÖSD Wirtschaftssprache Deutsch* and *Goethe-Zertifikat*).

indicated in the introduction of each newsmagazine in the following discussion. The four newsmagazines are considered elite and prominent publications domestically and internationally. As Roger, Henn, and Tuppack (2013, p. 54) stated, the four newsmagazines are based on the same media format and attract the same segment of educated readers.

3.2.2.1 Time – the United States

Founded in 1923, *Time* is a weekly newsmagazine published in New York City. It is considered a liberal newsmagazine that supports the left-wing political spectrum in the United States. Owned by Time Inc., under which some 140 different magazines are published, *Time* is also popular for its nomination of the person of the year in December of every year. These include political figures, such as Mikhail Gorbachev in 1987 and Deng Xiaoping in 1985 (see Figure 5). It is also widely considered the world's most influential newsmagazine (Angeletti and Oliva, 2010).

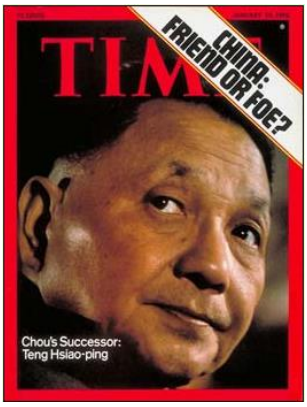


Figure 5: Deng Xiaoping on the cover of Time, 19 January 1976

3.2.2.2 The Economist – the United Kingdom

Founded in September 1843, *The Economist* is an English-language weekly newsmagazine headquartered in London. It reports news about global politics, economic issues, science, and technology. In January 2012, *The Economist* devoted a section exclusively to China, the second country to be given such attention since the introduction of a new section for the United States in 1942. According to the website of *The Economist*, it considers itself to be in the radical centre and is thus neither left nor right (The Economist, 2013). It takes an editorial stance of classical liberalism and economic liberalism that is supportive of deregulation, privatisation, and same-sex marriage. See Figure 6 for an example of the cover page of *The Economist*.

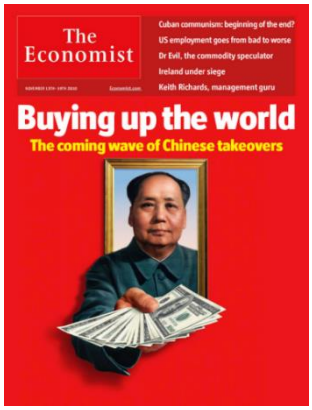


Figure 6: Buying up the world, 11 November 2010

3.2.2.3 L'Express - France

Founded in 1953 during the First Indochina War, *L'Express* is a French weekly newsmagazine that was modelled on the US newsmagazine *Time* and the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*. Although the French newsmagazine was initially left wing, as exemplified by its support of left-leaning politician Pierre Mendès-France's policies in Indochina, it is today a centre-right/conservative newsmagazine (Absolu, 2014, p. 266). According to Raymond (2011, p. 44), *L'Express* is perhaps the leading weekly newsmagazine in France. See Figure 7 for an example of the cover page of *L'Express*.

Figure 7: How China invades Europe, February 2011

3.2.2.4 Der Spiegel - Germany

Founded in 1947, *Der Spiegel* is a German weekly newsmagazine headquartered in Hamburg. *Der Spiegel* is largely known in German-speaking countries (Austria, Germany, and Switzerland) for its investigative journalism. For instance, it played a key role in uncovering many political scandals, such as the Spiegel scandal in 1962 and the Flick affair in the 1980s. *Der Spiegel* is a centre-left/liberal newsmagazine. *Der Spiegel* is widely regarded as the most influential newsmagazine in Germany (Rooke, 2013; Moran, 2012). See Figure 8 for an example of the cover page of *Der Spiegel*.

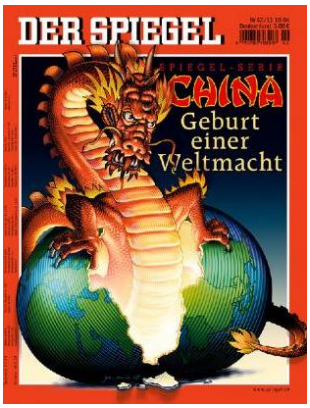


Figure 8: China - Birth of a world power, October 2004

3.2.3 Time Period under Study

News reports on China and Japan were based on a 12-month period in 2010 and 1987, respectively. This also means that the selected news articles were related to China's international economy and trade war with its trading partners, published from January to December of 2010 (see Section 1.2.4). Similarly, news articles pertaining to Japan's international economy and trade war with its trading partners from January to December of 1987 were chosen (see Section 1.2.2).

3.2.4 Purposive-Representative Sampling

The corpus of this thesis comprises data collected from 160 articles. Half of the total number of the 160 articles concern China in 2010; with 20 articles taken from each of the four Western newsmagazines. Similar logic applies to Japan in 1987. All the articles were found on the Internet, with the exception of 20 articles on Japan in 1987 from *L'Express*. To retrieve the data that were not available online, hardcopy versions of the French newsmagazine were consulted at the library of the Zurich City Archives in Switzerland.

The combinations of keywords for searching the articles for analysis are slightly different. For the first case study (Chapter 4) and second case study (Chapter 5), which concern the examination of the representation of the social actors in 2010, the keywords include 'China', 'economy', and 'trade'. Similarly, the keywords for the third case study (Chapter 6) and fourth case study (Chapter 7) include 'Japan', 'economy', and 'trade'.

It is to be emphasised that purposive-representative sampling is employed in the selection of the corpus for analysis in this thesis. This is because it is simply unrealistic to analyse all the articles relating to China or Japan published in the four Western newsmagazines. As Seale (2017, p. 156) reasoned, the participants, events, or incidents are selected 'on the basis of having a significant relation to the research topic' when using purposive-representative sampling. Purposive-representative sampling is thus the optimal way to obtain insight into a new area of study, discover new meaning, or gain a more profound understanding of a complex situation or event (Grove, Gray, and Burns, 2015, p. 270).

Consequently, the 20 articles from each Western newsmagazine are chosen based on their relevance to the research topic of this thesis, namely international trade and economic affairs involving China and its trading partners in 2010 (for Chapters 4 and 5), and Japan and its trading partners in 1987 (Chapters 6 and 7). However, since it is impractical to analyse each and every article relating to China or Japan available in the four newsmagazines, the 20 articles are also selected on a random basis.

3.2.5 Corpus Description

Before turning to the rationale and procedures involved in the selection of the corpus, the reasoning behind the sample size needs to be discussed. The number of articles on China is capped at 20 per newsmagazine. In other words, there are altogether 80 articles on China collected from the four newsmagazines for examination. The same

methodology applies to Japan. There are two main reasons for keeping the number at 20. First, the newsmagazines are published on a weekly basis; which also means that there are 52 publications for every newsmagazine per year. Not every newsmagazine reports about China and the economy every week. Second, and perhaps more importantly, there were only 20 articles pertaining to Japan and the economy published by *L'Express* in 1987. To make the number of articles the same for each country (China and Japan), the number 20 was chosen. As Polit and Beck (2017, p. 321) explained, the determination of the sample size is normally based on informational needs.

Furthermore, this thesis is only concerned with the examination of the social actors in the headlines and the lead texts of the news reports collected from *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*. As Pasha (2011, p. 132) asserted, there are three categories of news consumers. They include those who (i) read only the headlines, (ii) read the headlines and the lead texts, and (iii) comprehensively and critically read all or most of the news reports. It is in this context that this thesis has opted to take the headlines and lead texts for analysis since 80% of readers never read past the headlines and subheadings (Champion, 2018; Kerns, 2017).

3.2.5.1 Headlines

The headline is usually the first clause or sentence of a news report that is meant to spur the reader's interest to read further. Amer (2015, p. 70) explained that headlines determine whether the reader will continue reading the news reports or move to another article. In this context, the news headline plays an important, operative role. In Bell's (1991, p. 187) words, 'it simply abstracts the story'. Furthermore, the reader may be influenced by the content of a news headline since it reflects the perspective of the writer or even the editorial stance of the news outlet. Fairclough (1992b, p.180) stated that headlines are 'promotional phrases or clauses, likely to be imbued with ideological implications derived from the choices made by text producers'.

It is important to highlight that the kicker is also included in the definition of a headline in this study. This is because a kicker normally appears above the main headline and is usually formatted to stand out visually from the rest of the news report (Corbeil and Archambault, 2009, p. 18). However, kickers are not included in all headlines due to the various layouts of the different newsmagazines. For transparency purposes, the number of words in each headline is clearly displayed in the tables. In choosing the sample, the study analyses a total of 160 headlines about China or Japan

published by *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*. Precisely, 80 headlines relating to China and 80 on Japan are examined.

3.2.5.2 Lead Texts

In addition to the news headline, a lead text is also another segment of an article that formulates the most important information of a story. Van Dijk (1988, pp. 34, 143) explained that the headline and lead text summarise the most essential and relevant pieces of information about a news story and express the main topic of the text. In terms of the structure of the lead text, it is normally an introductory paragraph immediately following the main headline (Chovanec, 2014; Bell, 1991; Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b). Here, it is important to emphasise that that such an introductory paragraph is referred to as the 'standfirst' in British English, and the 'deck', 'lead text', 'lead', or 'lede' in American English.

Furthermore, since the layout of an article differs significantly in accordance with in-house editorial guidelines set forth by each newsmagazine, it also means that not every article follows the sequence of kicker, headline, standfirst, deck, lede, and main text (Corbeil and Archambault, 2009, p. 18). For this reason, this study uses the term 'lead text' to denote the standfirst, or the first paragraph of an article that does not have a standfirst.

3.2.5.3 Translation

In this thesis, 80 headlines and 80 lead texts are translated from their original languages (French for *L'Express* and German for *Der Spiegel*) into English for analysis. Although the author is fully aware that bias could be incorporated into the translation, the decision to provide the translation in English in the main text is due to (i) readability since most readers of the English-language thesis might not understand French or German and (ii) is a demonstration of the author's foreign-language and translation skills (see footnote of Section 3.2.1). The headlines and lead texts in question are translated in the spirit of the original texts. For the sake of transparency and completeness, the headlines and lead texts are available in their original languages (French and German) for verification in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7, and the Appendix.

In addition to the translation of the empirical data for analysis, the author of the thesis also relies on primary sources in Chinese, French, German, and Japanese[51] for information other than English, and where necessary, translations from these languages into English are provided by the author himself. In so doing, the thesis draws on a wider range of perspectives than studies that are limited to literature found in the English-language world. Therefore, the inclusion of other language sources provides a fuller perspective of the representation of trade wars between (i) China and its trading partners, and (ii) Japan and its trading partners.

3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis Application I: Van Dijk's Macro-Rules

3.3.1 Concept and Main Principles

The first part of the methodological framework is based on the application of van Dijk's (1980, pp. 46-50) macro-rules to determine the global meaning of a given text. This is also known as the topic of the text, as it summarises the gist and the semantic information of the text. The basic assumption is that the semantic structure of a text comprises an 'ordered sequence of propositions', which are represented in specific structures at the text surface in a cohesive way (Schäffner, 2005, p. 76). To comprehend the texts, readers must rely on their cognitive operations to arrive at the semantic macrostructures of the text.

Macro-rules operate with natural language and are not grammatical rules. Hjelm (2011, p. 137) explained that they are tools that require the readers to have contextual knowledge to interpret the meaning. According to van Dijk (1980, pp. 46-50), the cognitive operations include (i) deletion, (ii) generalisation, (iii) construction, and (iv) zero rule. Macro-rules are also recursive, which means they can be applied repeatedly to organise global meanings into still higher-level global meanings (Endres-Niggemeyer, 1998, p. 56). As van Dijk (1980, p. 46) explained, macro-rules are semantically derived.

[51] In addition to the language qualifications for French and German stated in Section 3.2.1, the author has also successfully passed the *Diploma in Translation* (Japanese into English) awarded by the Chartered Institute of Linguists and the highest level of the *Japanese Language Proficiency Test* (Level 1), in addition to the completion of a *Master in Translation* (Chinese into English; French into English) at the University of Bristol.

3.3.1.1 Deletion

Deletion is the first of the macro-rules proposed by van Dijk (1980). In essence, it eliminates all the propositions of the text that are considered globally irrelevant for the interpretation of other propositions of the discourse (van Dijk, 1980, p. 46). In other words, information that is regarded as unnecessary is removed during the application of the deletion rule. For example:

1. ***China: ~~beloved~~ enemy*** *> application of the deletion rule >* ***China: enemy*** *G12C*

3.3.1.2 Generalisation

Turning to the second macro-rule, generalisation does not omit globally irrelevant propositions like the deletion rule. Instead, it creates a semantic abstract from the sentences in question by constructing a proposition, which is conceptually more general (van Dijk, 1980, p. 47). For example:

1. ***As China's economy grows, so does labor unrest*** *> application of the generalisation rule >* ***workers' rights*** *A8C*
2. ***On North Korea and more, China flexes its muscles*** *> application of the generalisation rule >* ***China's military power*** *A11C*

3.3.1.3 Construction

According to van Dijk (1980, p. 48), construction is said to have taken place when a proposition, which denotes a higher-level global meaning, replaces a sequence of propositions, which represent lower-level global meanings. What it differs from the deletion and generalisation rules is that construction always involves the creation of a new proposition, comprising a 'new predicate to represent the complex event described by the respective propositions of the text' (p. 48). In this thesis, however, the construction rule is not used. This is due to the strategy of deriving an even more concise topic, which eliminates the need for even a predicate as mandated by the construction rule.

3.3.1.4 Zero Rule

Finally, the zero rule stipulates that the propositions are left intact. In other words, the proposition is the same at the macrolevel and microlevel (van Dijk, 1980, pp. 48-49): nothing is changed. The zero rule is particularly relevant for short

discourses, where the microstructure and macrostructure overlap each other. For example:

1. ***A vicious circle*** *> application of the zero rule >* ***A vicious circle*** *A17C*

3.3.2 Analytical Procedures: Deriving the Topics of Headlines and Lead Texts

The derivation of the topics from the headlines and lead texts follows certain procedures. It is predicated upon the importance to summarise information 'at the expense of the trivia' (Brown and Day, 1983, p. 2). For this reason, only 'generalisation', 'deletion', and 'zero rule' are employed in this thesis. It is nevertheless important to highlight that the derivation of the topics can differ among different readers. As van Dijk (1980, p. 230) noted, different people may produce different macro-propositions to derive at the macrostructure of a text, thus rendering it subjective in nature.

3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis Application II: Van Leeuwen's Socio-Semantic Inventory

3.4.1 Concept and Main Principles

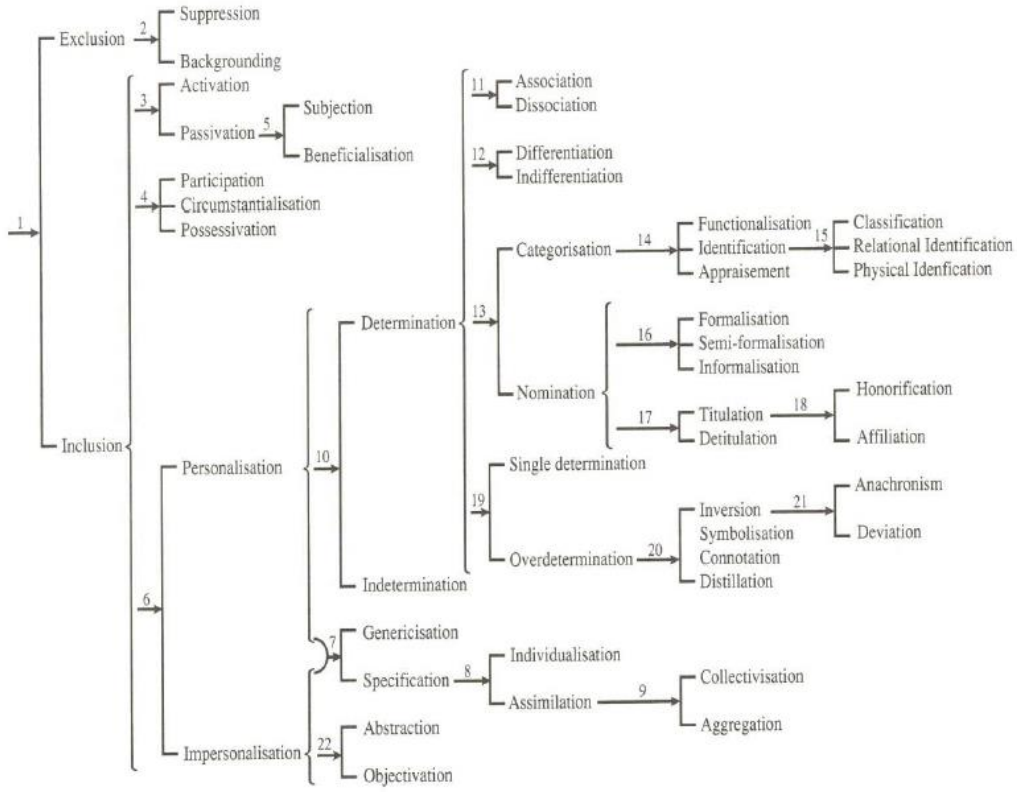
The second part of the methodological framework systematically employs a socio-semantic inventory to demonstrate how the social actors are represented in the headlines and the lead texts of the four Western newsmagazines. As a CDA approach, van Leeuwen's (2008, p. 23-25) socio-semantic model of social-actor representation is primarily concerned with how the social actors are depicted in the texts and with their semantic roles rather than certain grammatical realisations. This is clear from van Leeuwen's (2008, p. 25) explanation that, although his model is 'grounded in linguistics', its emphasis is on the 'sociological' aspect of the representational categories. After all, 'meaning belongs to culture rather than to language' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 24).

3.4.2 Representational Categories

The socio-semantic inventory presented by van Leeuwen (2008) has 22 representational categories (see Figure 9). In this thesis, only five representational

categories[52] are employed to examine the linguistic features and discursive practices implied in the headlines and lead texts of the 160 articles. These representational categories are chosen due to their suitability, relevance, and applicability to the examination of the representation of the social actors in the corpus.

Figure 9: Representational Categories of Socio-Semantic Inventory



Source: Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 52)

3.4.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Inclusion and exclusion are the first representational categories of van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory. Beginning with exclusion, it has two subcategories: *radical* and *less radical*. Radical exclusion means the complete suppression of the 'social actors and their activities' from the text, as 'they leave no traces in the representation' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29). Regarding less radical exclusion, although there are no indications that the excluded social actors are related to a specific action, they are mentioned elsewhere in the text (p. 29). In van Leeuwen's (2008) words, the identity of the partially excluded social actors can be reasonably inferred.

[52] The five representational categories are outlined from Sections 3.3.2.1 to 3.3.2.5.

According to van Leeuwen (2008, p. 28-32), there are four methods that can be employed to realise suppression or backgrounding. The first method is passive agent deletion. For example:

1. *A report from Shanghai, where this plane is designed with a maximum of Western technology*[53] *F11C*

As shown in the lead text of F11C, the agent social actors are partially excluded from the text. This renders the readers confused about the agency of the design of the aeroplane, although the readers could reasonably infer from the lead text that the agents probably concern the Chinese social actors due to the report being issued from Shanghai.

The second method is realisation through non-finite clauses. For example:

2. *Economy and business: Fighting the trade tilt* *A8J*

In the above example, the downgrading of the process through the use of the gerund form of the verb 'to fight' enables the social actors responsible for the 'fighting' of the trade imbalances to be excluded since the second clause in the headline of A8J could have revealed the identity of the social actors by adding more information about them. By transforming the clause into a grammatical participant, the social actors responsible for the action are excluded. Such a strategy thus reinforces the 'fact that exclusion has taken place a little less accessible; the trace is a little less clear' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29).

The third method is nominalisation and process nouns. For example:

3. *The winners and losers of the currency war*[54] *F18C*

This nominalisation allows the social actors to be excluded, as it makes no trace or reference to the social actors. In fact, the excluded social actors could be China, the United States, or any other countries, including the citizens and global institutions.

Finally, the fourth method shows that adjectives can be employed to realise suppression and backgrounding. For example:

4. *Workers: The monster factory*[55] *G7C*

[53] This is the author's translation into English from the original lead text in French. For the original text, please see Table 146 in Appendix.
[54] This is the author's translation into English from the original lead text in French. For the original text, please see Table 22 in Appendix.
[55] This is the author's translation into English from the original lead text in German. For the original text, please see Table 31 in Appendix.

In the above example, the adjective ‘monster’ conjures an image of an extraordinarily large factory where workers toil away. Such a strategy eliminates the need to identify the origin or location of the factory. To make it more obvious, the author of the headline of G7C could have replaced the adjective ‘monster’ with ‘Chinese’, thereby rendering it unambiguously clear that the headline concerns the labour conditions of the workers in the Chinese factory.

3.4.2.2 Role Allocation

Role allocation is the next representational category employed in this thesis. In essence, social actors are distinguished in terms of the grammatical participant role they are allocated: activated or passivated. Social actors that are allocated activated roles are represented as active and dynamic in the activities indicated in the texts (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 33). According to van Leeuwen (2008), activation can be realised in three ways: (i) participation (the social actors in question are in the subject position of a clause), (ii) circumstantialisation (the social actors concerned are modified with prepositions such as ‘by’ or ‘from’), and (iii) possessivation (the social actors in question are modified with the preposition ‘of’ or the possessive apostrophe).

5.	*China takes aim at the US on currency conflict*	*A4C (participation)*
6.	*Chinese takeovers: Being eaten by the dragon*	*B18C (circumstantialisation)*
7.	*Fear of China’s missiles (and money) is overblown*	*A20C (possessivation)*

Social actors can also be given passivated roles. According to van Leeuwen (2008, p. 33), passivation can be realised in two ways: (i) subjection and (ii) beneficialisation. For the former, this means that the subjected social actors are depicted as undergoing an activity; they are thus treated like a grammatical object. For the latter, the beneficialised social actors are represented as being at the receiving end of an activity. They are depicted to be affected by ‘the action positively or negatively’ (p. 33).

8.	*You will never ever understand Japan*	*G1J (subjection)*
9.	*China takes aim at the US on currency conflict*	*A4C (beneficialisation)*

In this category, authors of news reports can ‘reallocate roles or rearrange the social relations between the participants’ (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 32). To put it differently, such a strategy has the effect of redistributing agency to assign the responsibility of an action to a specific social actor, thereby emphasising the active role associated with the given action. The redistribution of non-agency follows the same

logic. By accentuating the grammatical patient, who is defined in terms of the semantic role played in the phrase rather than the syntactic role assumed, the passive role associated with the action is foregrounded (Jackson, 2013, pp. 23-32).

3.4.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification, and Appraisement

There are three subcategories in this representational category. Functionalisation refers to the activities, occupations, or roles of the social actors. According to van Leeuwen (2008, p. 42), functionalisation can be realised in two ways: (i) by a noun formed from a verb through suffixes, such as –ie, –er, -ant, -ent, or -ian and (ii) by the compounding of nouns denoting places or tools closely associated with an activity. For example:

10.	*Is China a debt junkie?*	*A9C*
11.	*Economist John Markin and hedge-fund honcho James Chanos*	*A19C*

Identification is defined in terms of what social actors 'more or less permanently, or unavoidably are' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42). For example:

12.	*Chinese workers proved willing to endure stagnant wages and unemployment as the national economy slowed.*	*A8C*
13.	*Japan and West Germany appear to be the troublemakers, each amassing huge external surpluses at the expense of the world.*	*B8J*

Finally, appraisement can be applied to social actors in relation to their action. Van Leeuwen (2008, p. 45) suggested that the appraisement process can be realised by a set of adjectives, nouns, and idioms that evaluate the social actors as either 'good or bad, loved or hated, admired or pitied'. For example:

14.	*Europe and an inscrutable China*	*B3C*
15.	*China and USA: Not exactly eye to eye*	*B9C*

3.4.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Association and dissociation are another representational category that is utilised in this thesis. According to van Leeuwen (2008, p. 38), association refers to groups that are formed in relation to a specific activity. In this context, dissociation is thus the antonym of association. Both association and dissociation can be realised in three ways: (i) parataxis, (ii) possessive pronouns and possessive attributive clauses with verbs such as 'have' and 'belong', and (iii) the circumstances of accompaniment, a concept

presented by Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, p. 174), who asserted that it corresponds to an extension of the participant itself, by addition or variation. For example:

16.	*US-China friction: Why neither side can afford a split*	*A1C (parataxis)*
17.	*Teeth of the giant, Japan's conquest of the world*	*F20J (possessive pronouns)*
18.	*Now Japan seems poised to follow this Franco-German protectionist lead by excluding Britain's Cable and Wireless and America's Pacific Telesis from competing with Japan's state-owned monopoly in its international telecom services.*	*B1J (circumstances of accompaniment)*

3.4.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

The last representational category employed in this thesis is personalisation and impersonalisation. For the former, social actors are represented as human beings, as realised by the use of personal or possessive pronouns, proper names, or nouns whose semantic meaning includes the feature 'human' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 46). Such a humanisation strategy has the effect of drawing the social actors closer to the reader. For example:

1.	*Tim Geithner could reveal today whether or not his Treasury Department will formally label China a 'currency manipulator'.*	*A15C*
2.	*As an American, I've always believed that democracy, capitalism and economic progress are all intimately connected.*	*A18C*

In contrast to personalisation, impersonalisation removes the 'human' quality of the social actors. According to van Leeuwen (2008. p. 46), there are two ways to realise impersonalisation: (i) abstraction and (ii) objectivation. For the former, social actors are depicted by means of a 'quality assigned to them by and in the representation' (p. 46). Regarding the latter, social actors are referenced 'to a place or a thing that is closely associated either with their person or with the action in which they are represented as being engaged' (p. 46).

3.	*China's export prospects: Fear of the dragon.*	*B1C (abstraction)*
4.	*The workshop of the world is embarking on a migration of its own*	*B11C (objectivation)*

3.4.3 Analytical Procedures: Representation of Social Actors

The examination of the representation of the social actors in the headlines and lead texts of the 160 news articles follows certain procedures, which are based on both quantitative and qualitative approaches. In each of the five representational categories, namely, (i) inclusion and exclusion, (ii) role allocation, (iii) functionalisation,

identification, and appraisement, (iv) association and dissociation, and (v) personalisation and impersonalisation, the quantitative approach is first applied, before the qualitative analysis takes place. It is important to highlight that we can only realise the other representational categories when the social actors are included in the text under analysis.

According to the quantitative method, the frequency distributions of the social actors are calculated and compared with one another for representational patterns. In terms of the qualitative analysis, the focus is not only on the syntactic and semantic meanings of the lexical choice, verbs, and idioms but also on the representational categories that are employed to construct the social actors in the headlines and lead texts. Although the thesis is rigorous in terms of the quantitative approach of the methodology, there is a slight divergence from the methodological framework suggested by van Leeuwen (2008) in the application of his socio-semantic inventory of social-actor representation.

In contrast to previous studies (Amer, 2015; Rashidi and Rasti, 2012; van Leeuwen, 2008), this thesis has undertaken a different method to count the number of representational categories in the headlines and lead texts. To avoid statistical bias tilting towards a particular author/journalist of the headline or lead text, which could easily employ more than one representational category to represent a social actor, the number is always limited to one for every headline or lead text. For example, Figure 10 shows that the counting of the represented American social actor is kept at one, although the lead text of A15C has personalised the American social actors twice ('Tim Geithner' and 'his'). The use of this method also means that the frequency is always capped at 20 for the 20 headlines (and likewise 20 lead texts) per social actor. Such an approach eliminates the risk of author/journalist bias.

Figure 10: How the frequency of a representational category is counted.

Tim Geithner could reveal today whether or not his Treasury Department will formally label China a "currency manipulator." There is mounting political pressure for the U.S. to take stronger action against China's currency policy. Being perceived as "soft" on China won't help the Democrats in upcoming November elections.

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion			Chinese	
			China	US
1	Personalisation	No.	2	1
		%	10%	5%

Source: Lead text of article A15C from *Time* newsmagazine

3.5 Closing Remarks

This chapter presents the methodological framework employed in this thesis. It discusses the decisions and procedures that were undertaken regarding data collection, followed by the application of two models from the field of CDA. Beginning with the data collection, the explanations for the choice of Western countries, Western newsmagazines, the period under study, the criteria for the selection of a purposive-representative sample, and the corpus description are provided. This is followed by a discussion of the CDA approaches adopted in this thesis. They are van Dijk's (1980) macro-rules and van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic inventory of social-actor representation. The next chapter begins with the first case study, which examines the representation of the social actors in the headlines of the four Western newsmagazines.

4 Case Study 1: China (2010) – Representation of Social Actors in the Headlines

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to answer the research questions: (i) what are the prevailing topics surrounding the rise of China in the year 2010 as expressed through the headlines of four sample newsmagazines - one American (*Time*), one British (*The Economist*), one French (*L'Express*) and one German (*Der Spiegel*), (ii) what were the main representational categories that were used to construct the social actors in the headlines of each of the four newsmagazines, (iii) who were the main social actors involved in the representation of China in the headlines of each of the four newsmagazines, (iv) how were they discursively represented in relation to one another across the four newsmagazines, (v) was China more positively or negatively appraised in the headlines, as well as the principal research question "What are the prevailing ideological discourse and dominant representation of China in Western newsmagazines". By doing so, this chapter helps to test the two hypotheses outlined in Section 1.4: (i) China is reported more unfavourably than Japan by the Western press, and (ii) The Western newsmagazines do not speak in one collective voice with regard to China or Japan.

Based on the application of Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-semantic categories[56] as well as Van Dijk's concept of macro-rules[57] (1980), the analytical model in this thesis provides a starting point in critical discourse analysis to answer the aforementioned research questions. As headlines disclose the most important topic of the news and thus the highest-level macro-proposition of a news discourse, the study proceeds by first identifying the prevailing topic of each of the headlines through the application of macro-rules before linking the socio-semantic categories with their linguistic realisations (see chapter 3).

Sections 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5 examine the representation of the major social actors in the 20 headlines of each of the newsmagazines, namely *Time, The Economist, L'Express,* and *Der Spiegel*. As previously mentioned, each section begins with a global description of the data collected from the 20 headlines of each newsmagazine by first identifying the prevailing topics on China's rise in 2010, then tabulating the inclusion

[56] See Section 3.4 for the representational categories and the rationale for choosing them over others.
[57] See Section 3.3 on how to apply the macro-rules.

and exclusion of the main social actors in frequency and percentage, before applying the other representational categories to the analysis of the social actors. Section 4.6 concludes the chapter by comparing and summarising the similarities and differences in the representation of the main social actors related to China across the newsmagazines and highlights any patterns that emerge from the data.

4.2 American Perspective – *Time*

4.2.1 Overview

This section examines the American perspective on China's rise through the analysis of the headlines of 20 articles published by *Time* newsmagazine in 2010, the period under study. There were, altogether, nine authors across these articles, they were: Michael Schuman (12 articles), Austin Ramzy (2), Bill Powell (1), Fareed Zakaria (1), Ishaan Tharoor (1), Rana Foroohar (1), Zachary Karabell (1), and Stephen Mihm and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, who co-authored an article (A19C). Due to space constraints of this thesis, a brief introduction to the top two contributors only is presented here.

Michael Schuman contributed the highest number of articles (specifically, A1C, A3C, A5C, A6C, A9C, A10C, A12C, A13C, A15C, A16C, A17C, and A18C) and put forward a relatively sympathetic view of China and its economic development in comparison with his colleagues. Author of *Confucius: And the World He Created* (2015) and *The Miracle: The Epic Story of Asia's Quest for Wealth* (2010), Schuman works as a correspondent for *Time* on issues related to Asia and the global economy and holds a masters of international affairs degree from Columbia University and a bachelor's degree in Asian history and political science from the University of Pennsylvania (Time, no date).

Austin Ramzy, who wrote two (A4C and A8C) of the 20 articles, was a Beijing correspondent for *Time* between 2007 and 2013. He graduated with a degree in Asian Studies from Middleburg College and completed journalism school at the University of California, Berkeley. He joined the *New York Times*'s Beijing office in 2013 but was forced to leave China a year later after the country refused to grant him a journalist work visa.

Presented in Table 4 are the prevailing topics of the 20 headlines about China in the year 2010, which draw on Van Dijk's macro-rules to yield the semantic macro-

structure – specifically the overall meaning of the headlines. Table 4 shows that 19 topics (95%) of the 20 headlines are derived from the use of the "generalisation" macro-rule, followed by one (5%) from "zero rule". According to the generalisation rule, a series of propositions are summarised into a more general proposition. Lastly, the zero-rule is applied when none of the elements in a discourse is deleted. Zero-rules are evident in short discourses or one-sentence texts.

Table 4: Prevailing topics of the headlines (*Time*)

No.	Headlines	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words
A1C	US-China friction: Why neither side can afford a split	Generalisation	US-China bilateral relations	9
A2C	Economy and policy: Will China's economy collapse?	Generalisation	China's growth model	4
A3C	China: A new economic model?	Generalisation	China's growth model	5
A4C	China takes aim at the US on currency conflict	Generalisation	International trade and currency	9
A5C	Economy and policy: Is the Chinese yuan too cheap?	Generalisation	International trade and currency	9
A6C	Economy and policy: Pressing China on the yuan won't work	Generalisation	International trade and currency	10
A7C	Is Google the omen of a US-China trade war?	Generalisation	International trade and currency	9
A8C	As China economy grows, so does labor unrest	Generalisation	Workers' rights	8
A9C	Wall Street and markets: Is China a debt junkie?	Generalisation	China's growth model	9
A10C	Does China need a second stimulus	Generalisation	China's growth model	6
A11C	On North Korea and more, China flexes its muscles	Generalisation	China's military power	9
A12C	Economic and policy: The real victims of China's yuan policy	Generalisation	International trade and currency	7
A13C	Economy and policy: Are old wounds Asia's fatal flaw?	Generalisation	Asia's growth model	9
A14C	The real challenge from China: Its people, not its currency	Generalisation	Human rights	10
A15C	Economy and policy: Who would win a currency war?	Generalisation	International trade and currency	9
A16C	Economy and policy: India vs China: Which is the best role model for the developing world?	Generalisation	Growth model	16
A17C	A vicious circle	Zero rule	A vicious circle	3
A18C	Is democracy necessary for economic success?	Generalisation	Growth model	6
A19C	How China is like 19th century America?	Generalisation	China's growth model	7
A20C	Fear of China's missiles (and money) is overblown	Generalisation	China's military power	8
			Total no.	162
			Average no. per headline	8.1

The top three prevailing topics are found to be issues related to *international trade and currency* (six headlines: A4C, A5C, A6C, A7C, A12C, and A15C), *China's growth model* (five headlines: A2C, A3C, A9C, A10C, and A19C) and *growth model* (three headlines: A13C, A16C, and A18C). For purposes of simplicity, *China's growth*

model and *growth model* are merged into one single overarching generic topic, *growth model*, which thus becomes the most frequent topic (eight headlines) across the 20 sampled articles in *Time*.

Albeit at a low frequency, the other less-prominent topics that also surfaced include *China's military power* (two headlines: A11C and A20C), *workers' rights* (one headline: A8C), *human rights* (one headline: A14C), and *US-China bilateral relations* (one headline: A1C). It should be highlighted, however, that it is difficult to determine the topic of one particular headline when reading it in isolation from the lead and main texts, and the headline has thus been left unaltered; in other words, the "zero-rule" macro-rule was applied. The headline concerned is:

1. A vicious circle *A17C*

This can be attributed to the nature of the headline in A17C, expressed in the form of a strong collocation in which the link between the words 'vicious' and 'circle' is quite fixed and restricted. Readers, however, will understand the intended message since the idiom conjures up an image of an unpleasant situation or problem that has the effect of creating new problems that lead back to the original situation.

Finally, the average number of words per headline for all the 20 sampled articles is 8.1 words and the total number of words of the 20 headlines is 162.

4.2.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

4.2.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Now that the prevailing topics of the 20 headlines have been identified, this section applies Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic categories to the representation of the main social actors in the across the headlines of *Time*. The first category examines how the main social actors are included and excluded in the 20 headlines. In brief, social actors are included whenever they are mentioned in the headlines, and they are excluded when they are not indicated in relation to the action from the headlines.

Since the articles primarily concern China, which is one of the two countries[58] under focus in this thesis, the social actors are thus grouped into Chinese and non-Chinese actors. Given that there are many non-Chinese actors involved, they are further split into different actors to give a more accurate representation of the key social actors.

[58] The other being Japan, which is examined in chapters 6 and 7. For the rationale behind the choice of the two countries, see Section 1.3.1.

Eight non-Chinese actors are identified, and they are the US, the UK, India, the West, Africa, South Korea, North Korea, and Asia.

Table 5 and Table 6 show the frequency distribution for the inclusion and exclusion of the social actors (Chinese and non-Chinese) in the 20 headlines, and draw a distinction between the agent and non-agent social actors. This clarifies the role of agency and non-agency in the inclusion and exclusion of the actors across the sampled headlines through frequency distributions.

Table 5: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors								
		Chinese	Non-Chinese							
		China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
Inclusion	No.	15	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	%	75%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%
Exclusion	No.	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	%	20%	15%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	95%	25%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%

Note: Since Google (A7C) is an American multinational company, it is merged with the American actors for the purpose of this thesis and the combined share of the inclusion of the American agent actors thus amounts to 10%.

As Table 5 shows, the agency of the Chinese social actors is included in the corpus more frequently than it is excluded; being included as an agent actor at a frequency of 75%, and being the most regularly represented amongst all the social actors. Chinese social actors are also included at a nearly eight-fold rate compared to the next largest agent social actors (the American), which is included at a frequency of 10%.

Apart from the Americans, which is the most dominantly represented participant in the subgroup of included non-Chinese agent actors, the Asian and Indian participants are the other non-Chinese actors that are equally mentioned at a frequency of 5% each. The agency of the African, British, Western, South Korean, and North Korean actors, however, is represented at a frequency of 0%.

Regarding the exclusion of actors in the headlines, the Chinese actors are also excluded more frequently (20%) than the six non-Chinese actors. Likewise, the agency of the American actors is the most frequently excluded (15%) among the subgroup of non-Chinese actors, followed by India (5%). The exclusion of the agency of African, Asian, British, South Korean, North African, and Western actors is 0%. The following are some examples of the exclusion of Chinese and American actor agency:

1. *Are old wounds Asia's fatal flaw?* *A13C*

2. *Who would win a currency war?* *A15C*
3. *A vicious circle* *A17C*
4. *Is democracy necessary for economic success?* *A18C*

Given that the agency of Chinese and American actors is included and excluded the most regularly across the 20 sampled headlines, it also means that they are attributed with representational categories more frequently than the other non-Chinese actors. In other words, their appearance in the headlines is more readily recognisable to the readers of the newsmagazine.

Table 6: Exclusion of agent social actors (*Time*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Agent social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
1	Backgrounding	No.	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
		%	20%	15%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

It should be highlighted that exclusion has two subcategories: the radical (total deletion or suppression) and the less radical (partial or backgrounding) variants. Table 6 shows that *Time* predominantly relies on the strategy of backgrounding the Chinese (20%), American (15%), and Indian (5%) social actors, thus delaying their appearance related to the actions mentioned in the headlines. This has the effect of reducing explicit references to the agency of an action, thus de-emphasising the social actors. However, they are still subsequently referred to in the lead and main texts underneath the headlines concerned.

There are two methods *Time* uses to realise less radical exclusion or backgrounding: the use of (i) adjectives and (ii) interrogative pronouns. In the *growth model* topic (A13C and A18C), for instance, the use of the adjectives ‘old wounds’, ‘fatal flaw’ and ‘necessary for’ without identifying the culprit(s) renders it difficult for the reader to determine the identity and the actor(s) responsible for Asia’s ‘old wounds’ (A13C) and for the consequences that may befall economic growth in the absence of democracy (A18C). Nevertheless, the choice of the adjectives depicts an image of an unsustainable growth model doomed to failure if political reforms are not undertaken to address current government and past mistakes.

Another method used to realise backgrounding is through the interrogative pronoun 'who' (A15C), which functions as a grammatical subject bypassing the need for explicit references to the agents. Although the headline (A15C) addresses a question that seeks to find the beneficiary in issues related to international trade and currency, the interrogative pronoun puts the focus onto itself and also brings to mind an opportunistic relationship in which a group of trading partners is benefiting from the conflict over currencies at the expense of others. In this case, it could be the Chinese or any of the non-Chinese participants, or even the international community at large, who would win the currency war should it happen.

Compared to the Chinese, the agency of the American actor is backgrounded, evidenced by its frequency of 15%. The following are some examples of the backgrounded American actor:

1. *Pressing China on the yuan won't work* *A6C*
2. *Who would win a currency war?* *A15C*
3. *A vicious circle* *A17C*

The American agency is backgrounded through the use of the gerund of the verb 'press' at the beginning of the clause (A6C), thus functioning as a grammatical subject and eliminating the need to identify the agency of the social actor. This semantic strategy has the effect of targeting the message directly at the reader, rendering them more sympathetic to the action of the backgrounded American actor against that of the Chinese. In a similar vein, just solely on the headline the interrogative pronoun 'who' (A15C)" puts the social actor in the background since it makes no reference to the agency of the action. It could also be used rhetorically to mean "who would win? No one would win".

Now that the process of inclusion and exclusion of agent social actors has been examined, Table 7 shows the frequency distribution of the key non-agent social actors.

Table 7: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors								
		Chinese	Non-Chinese							
		China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
Inclusion	No.	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	%	5%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%
Exclusion	No.	0	4	1	2	2	1	1	0	0
	%	0%	20%	5%	10%	10%	5%	5%	0%	0%
	Total	5%	30%	5%	10%	10%	5%	5%	5%	0%

In Table 6, the American non-agent actor is included (10%) twice as often as the Chinese and North Korean non-agent actors (5% each). This pattern points to a higher incidence of the American actor being the recipient of an activity in the headlines. The following are some examples of the included American non-agent actors:

1. *China takes aim at the US on currency conflict* *A4C*
2. *How China is like 19th century America?* *A19C*

The headline inclusion rate for the other non-agent actors (such as Africa, Asia, India, and South Korea, the West, and the UK) is 0%.

In the process of exclusion, while Table 4 shows that the Chinese agent actor is excluded the most frequently, Table 6 shows a pattern in which the Chinese non-agent actor, along with North Korea and Asia, is excluded at a rate of 0%, while the American, British, Indian, African, South Korean, and Western non-agent actors are excluded at 20%, 5%, 10%, 5%, 5%, and 10%, respectively. In other words, the exclusion representational category reveals the formation of two groups: one comprising China and North Korea, and another Africa, India, South Korea, the West, the UK, and the US.

Table 8: Exclusion of non-agent social actors (*Time*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Non-agent social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
1	Backgrounding	No.	0	4	1	2	2	1	1	0	0
		%	0%	20%	5%	10%	10%	5%	5%	0%	0%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 8 shows that *Time* has the tendency to background American, African, British, Indian, South Korean, and Western non-agent actors, thus reducing explicit references to the non-agents in association with the activity mentioned in the headlines. Their traces, however, can still be found in the headlines.

The following are some examples of the exclusion of American actor non-agency in topics related to *China's military might* (A11C and A20C):

1. *On North Korea and more, China flexes its muscles* *A11C*
2. *Fear of China's missiles (and money) is overblown* *A20C*

As A11C and A20C show, *Time* uses the mass noun 'North Korea' and the nominalisation 'fear' to background the non-agency of the American actor through prepositional and post-modifying phrases, such as 'on' and 'of' respectively. The focus thus

shifts to the agent's action, which has caused burden and even harm to the backgrounded non-agents. Both headlines depict China's military prowess without clear reference to the non-agents, rendering it difficult for the reader to determine the target of China's demonstration of military power. Furthermore, the obfuscation of the patient has the effect of directing the message at the readers, putting them in the shoes of the patient undergoing the action.

The following are further examples of the exclusion of non-agency in the topic *international trade and currency* (A12C) and *growth model* (A18C):

1. *The real victims of China's yuan policy* *A12C*
2. *Is democracy necessary for economic success?* *A18C*

In this context, it should be noted that the editors may be the ones deciding who and what to be included and who and what to be excluded to match their ideological stance. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that other representational categories (such as activation versus passivation, functionalisation and appraisement, association versus dissociation, and personalisation versus impersonalisation) can only be applied when the social actors are included, not excluded (see section 3.4.2 for more details).

4.2.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 9 shows the frequency distribution of the next representational category, role allocation, which assigns activated and passivated roles to social actors in the headlines. In contrast to activated social actors, who are given an active and dynamic role in an activity, passivated social actors are represented as undergoing or receiving an action.

Table 9: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors								
				Chinese	Non-Chinese							
				China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
1	Activation	Participation	No.	11	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
			%	55%	5%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
			%	15%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
			%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The above table shows that the Chinese social actors are activated the most frequently, at 75%, compared to the non-Chinese social actors. Among the non-Chinese social actors, the American and the Indian participants are activated at 10% and 5%, respectively. The activation of social actors can also be realised through participation, circumstantialisation and possessivation, while the passivation of social actors can be realised through subjection and beneficialisation. Table 9 shows that the Chinese social actors are activated through participation, circumstantialisation and possessivation at a frequency of 55%, 5%, and 15% respectively. The American actors are activated through participation (5%) and possessivation (5%). The Indian actors are activated through participation (5%) only; and Asian actors are activated through possessivation (5%) only. The African, South Korean, and North Korean actors are activated at 0% each.

In the following examples, the Chinese social actors are depicted as active participants through participation; that is, in the subject position in a clause and being the agent of the action engaged in the material process of threatening others on issues relating to currency and the military.

1. *China takes aim at the US on currency conflict* *A4C*
2. *On North Korea and more, China flexes its muscles* *A11C*

The underlined verbs 'takes aim' and 'flexes' are action verbs that describe what the subject, China, of the clauses is doing. In A4C, for instance, the verb 'takes aim' puts the focus on Chinese criticism of US action over foreign exchange as a dynamic activity, that is, China's main action is depicted as targeting the US. Chinese aggression is further emphasised through the use of the verb 'flexes', as shown in A11C, which implies China's readiness to resort to using its military, political, or financial power on issues relating to North Korea. These representations indicate that China is the causal agent of the violent actions expressed in the two headlines.

The Chinese actors are also activated through circumstantialisation by using the prepositional circumstantial 'from' as shown in the headline A14C. This has the effect of foregrounding the impact of China's society or its people, which are depicted to pose a greater problem for the others than the country's currency.

In addition, the activation of the Chinese actor is realised through possessivation, the use of a possessive pronoun 'of' or the postmodification of nominalisation requiring 'of', as shown in the following two examples:

1. *Economic and policy: The real victims of China's yuan policy* *A12C*

2. *Fear of China's missiles (and money) is overblown* *A20C*

In the above two examples, the use of the preposition 'of' after the nouns 'victims' (A12C) and 'fear' (A20C) draws attention to the causal relation between China's agency and its impact on the others. Through allocation of the activated role, the emphasis is placed on the causal effect of China's yuan policy (A12C) and, secondly, its military and financial strength.

The Chinese and North Korean social actors are allocated passive roles through subjection at a frequency of 5% each, while the American actors are subjected and beneficialised from the action at 5% each. The Indian, African, South Korean, and Asian actors are passivated at 0% each The subjected Chinese and North Korean social actors are shown in the following headlines A6C and A11C, respectively:

1. *Economy and policy: Pressing China on the yuan won't work* *A6C*
2. *On North Korea and more, China flexes its muscles* *A11C*

Allocated with a passivated role, China is depicted as an object subjected to an action initiated by an unidentified agent through the use of the gerund form of the verb 'pressing' over its currency policy. North Korea is also represented as an object subjected to the action of the others, i.e. China and the unidentified subject of China's flexing of muscles.

Compared to the Chinese and North American social actors, which are passivated through subjection only, the American actors are allocated a passivated role through beneficialisation (A4C) and subjection (A19C):

1. *China takes aim at the US on currency conflict* *A4C*
2. *How China is like 19th century America* *A19C*

In contrast to the subjected American actor, which is depicted as an object of the comparison with China (A19C), the beneficialisation process in A4C suggests that the American actors are the recipients of China's action in a negative way over issues relating to foreign exchange.

4.2.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Categorisation, the next representational category of socio-semantic inventory, comprises functionalisation, identification and appraisement. Functionalisation refers to the way social actors are represented through the activities they do, such as their occupations or roles. Identification happens when social actors are designated not through

the activities that they undertake, but in terms of what they inexorably are. Appraisement is concerned with the use of terms that assess the participants in a dichotomic manner, such as good/bad or right/wrong. According to van Leeuwen (1993, p. 154), when someone is categorised for appraisement, the power of this participant is delegitimised or legitimised in relation to its activities.

Table 10: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
1	Functionalisation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
		%	10%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
		%	40%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%

Table 10 shows that the Chinese actors are categorised the most frequently (at 55%), followed by the Indian participant at 10%, and Asia at 5%. The United States, Africa, South Korea, North Korea, the West and the UK, however, are represented at a frequency of 0%. In the representational category of categorisation, the Chinese participants are appraised most notably (40%) compared to the process of identification (10%) and functionalisation (5%). The appraisement of the Chinese actors is eight-fold greater than that of India and Asia, at 5% each.

Here are examples of the appraisement of the Chinese actors, particularly in issues relating to *growth model*, *international trade and currency* and *workers' rights*.

1. *Economy and policy: Will China's economy collapse?* *A2C*
2. *China: A new economic model?* *A3C*
3. *Economy and policy: Is the Chinese yuan too cheap?* *A5C*
4. *As China economy grows, so does labor unrest* *A8C*
5. *Wall street and markets: Is China a debt junkie?* *A9C*
6. *Does China need a second stimulus?* *A10C*
7. *Economy and policy: The real victims of China's yuan policy* *A12C*
8. *Economy and policy: India vs China: Which is the best role model for the developing world?* *A16C*

In the *growth model* topic, the use of the evaluative verb 'collapse' (versus the antonym 'rise' or 'success') in A2C and the evaluative adjective 'new' (as opposed to 'old') in A3C cast doubt on the viability and sustainability of China's economic growth model, which is further depicted as overly reliant on debt through the evaluative noun

‘debt’ in the compound noun ‘debt junkie’ (A9C) and also requiring further fiscal stimulus to encourage economic growth through the adjective ‘second’ (in contrast with ‘first’) in A10C. Lastly, A16C utilises the interrogative pronoun ‘which’ to elicit a response from the readers, who have to compare China’s and India’s development model and choose the most suitable one – by means of the evaluative adjective ‘best’ (as opposed to ‘worst’) – for the other emerging economies to follow.

It is to be highlighted that all the headlines (A2C, A3C, A9C, A10C, and A16C) relating to *growth model* are framed as questions, which has the effect of garnering attention, interest, and curiosity, therefore inducing certain types of behaviour in the reader. As Moore, Neal, Fitzsimons and Shiv (2012) and Munch and Swasy (1988) explain, the power of question headlines is rooted in their ability to initiate cognitive processes associated with recall, accessibility, and elaboration of information. Furthermore, people have slightly more negative expectations of news articles that follow question-based headlines compared to news articles that follow traditional headlines (Sacco and Muddiman, 2016, para. 8).

In the *international trade and currency* topic, the value of the Chinese yuan is represented as being undervalued through the evaluative adverb ‘too’ and adjective ‘cheap’ (A5C), and having the effect of causing harm through the assessable noun ‘victim’ denoted in A12C. The plight of the workers are also put at the forefront with the aid of the conjunction ‘as’ and the evaluative noun ‘unrest’, which conjures up an image of a growing number of public demonstrations led by dissatisfied workers despite China’s growing economy.

The functionalisation of the Chinese actor is realised from the construction between the noun ‘junk’ and the suffix ‘-ie’, i.e. junkie (A9C).

4.2.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Another representation of social actors involves the utilisation of association, which is defined by the formation of groups in relation to a specific activity, whether of a static nature or of a less stable one. Dissociation is the antonym of association and examines how groups are unformed.

Table 11: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
1	Association	No.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Dissociation	No.	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
		%	15%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The analysis of association/dissociation shows that the Chinese actors are associated and dissociated at rates of 5% and 15%, respectively, compared to the American participants that are associated and dissociated at 5% and 10%, respectively. India is attributed the dissociation category at 5%. Africa, South Korea, North Korea, the West, the UK, and Asia, however, are neither associated nor dissociated.

Here is an example of the association between the Chinese and American actors:

1. *How China is like 19th century America* *A19C*

In A19C, China is associated with the nineteenth-century United States through the use of the interrogative adverb 'how' and the preposition 'like' to denote 'in what way' and 'similar to' respectively. From the semantic perspective, the comparison to the United States of two centuries ago implies a dissociation between present-day China and the United States in the twenty-first century. In terms of economics, it could be a reference to America's role in the nineteenth century as a major and growing producer. It could equally, for example, be a headline that concerns trade protectionism not growth. This is because the nineteenth century was a period when the United States was undergoing an industrial revolution and Great Britain was the world's largest economy (Morris 2012).

1. *US-China friction: Why neither side can afford a split* *A1C*
2. *Is Google the omen of a US-China trade war?* *A7C*

A1C and A7C show that the dissociation between the Chinese and American actors can be realised through the lexical choice of 'friction', 'split', and 'war', which denote a state of competition and hostility between groups that are pitted against each other in bilateral trade and other issues. Furthermore, both actors can be dissociated from each other by means of parataxis, which places clauses one after another without words indicating coordination or subordination, as shown in A1C. 'US-China friction' in the first clause highlights the state of bilateral relations, followed by the choice of the noun 'split' in the second clause that further reveals the division between both countries.

This has the effect of creating group polarisation: an in-group and an out-group. Since *Time* is an American newsmagazine with a sizeable American readership, the formation of an in-group (the United States) and an out-group (China) leads to a us-versus-them scenario.

Economy and policy: India vs China: Which is the best role model for the developing world? A16C

The headline in A16C shows that the dissociation between the Chinese and Indian actors in the *growth model* topic can be realised through the use of parataxis, whereby the two key actors 'India vs China' in the second clause are brought to the attention of the readers for the first time in the issue concerning 'economy and policy' indicated in the first clause, followed by the third clause where readers have to compare the development model of both countries and choose one that best fits developing countries' needs.

As China economy grows, so does labor unrest A8C

Not only can dissociation transpire between China and another country, as the examples above involving China, the United States, and India show, the different elements that make up the Chinese social actor can also be dissociated from each other. As A8C shows, China's economy is dissociated from its labour through the use of the conjunctions 'as' and 'so', which imply a causal relationship between a larger Chinese conomy and the rise in workers' dissatisfaction.

4.2.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

The next representational category of social actors is personalisation, which is concerned with participants who are included and represented as human beings, linguistically realised through the use of personal and relative pronouns, possessive adjectives, and question words, or through names or nouns that include their "human" aspect. The antonym of personalisation is impersonalisation, which comprises abstraction and objectivation. Abstraction represents social actors through the use of abstract nouns or concrete nouns that do not denote the semantic feature 'human'. In objectivation, social actors are represented through references to an action, place or thing that is closely associated with them.

Table 12: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors								
				Chinese	Non-Chinese							
				China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
1	Personalisation		No.	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 12 shows that the Chinese actors are the only participants that are personalised (10%), as the non-Chinese actors are personalised at a frequency of 0%. The personalisation of the Chinese actors is realised through the nouns 'workers' (A8C) and 'people' (A14C), whose semantic meanings include features that are 'human':

1. *As China's economy grows, so does labor unrest* *A8C*
2. *The real challenge from China: its people, not its currency* *A14C*

The use of conjunctions 'as' and 'so' in A8C, for instance, reflects a causal relationship between the situation facing the workers (the personalised element of the Chinese actors) and the expanding Chinese economy (the impersonalised element of the Chinese actors). This personalisation/ impersonalisation strategy puts the emphasis on the Chinese workers' dissatisfaction and struggle, which are depicted to be the effect of China's growing economy. This has the effect of eliciting empathy from the readers for the workers' plight and in turn dissociate themselves from the impersonalised reference to China's economy. As van Dijk (1995, p. 154) states, eliciting compassion is a discursive strategy that can be employed to enhance the brutality of the Other by showing empathy or sympathy for the victims of the Other's actions.

The Chinese social actors can also be impersonalised through abstraction, which transpires when a quality is assigned to the social actors, who are depicted at a frequency of 15% according to Table 12. For instance:

1. *Economy and policy: Will China's economy collapse?* *A2C*
2. *Economy and policy: Pressing China on the yuan won't work* *A6C*

The analysis of abstraction shows that it can be realised through the use of the abstract nouns 'China's economy' and 'yuan', which do not have the trait 'human' in their meanings.

In addition to the abstracted Chinese actors, impersonalised references to the Chinese social actors can also be realised through objectivation, which refers the social actors to a place or thing closely related with them. Table 12 shows that the Chinese actors are objectivated at a frequency of 15% in the following examples:

1. *Economy and policy: Is the Chinese yuan too cheap?* *A5C*
2. *Wall street and markets: Is China a debt junkie?* *A9C*
3. *Fear of China's missiles (money) is overblown* *A20C*

Objectivation analyis shows that the Chinese social actors are metonymically referred to as 'the Chinese yuan' (A5C) and 'debt junkie' (A9C) when it comes to economic issues, and 'China's missiles (money)' (A20C) as regards China's military might. This has the effect of distancing readers from the negative connotation associated with the Chinese social actors. As van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 46-47) puts forth, personalisation/impersonalisation can be utilised within texts for the purpose of foregrounding/backgrounding the identity or roles of social actors, lending impersonal authority or force to an action, adding positive or negative connotations to actions or utterances of a social actor.

4.3 British Perspective - *The Economist*

4.3.1 Overview

This section examines the British perspective on China's rise through the analysis of actor representation across the headlines of 20 articles from *The Economist* in 2010. Compared to *Time* under study in the previous section, articles in *The Economist* do not carry their writers' names, in accordance with the newsmagazine's editorial policy not to include the byline, therefore the writers remain anonymous. As the newsmagazine explains, this anonymity policy allows their writers to speak with a collective voice.

Table 13: Prevailing topics of the headlines (*The Economist*)

No.	Headlines	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words
B1C	China's export prospects: Fear of the dragon	Generalisation	International trade and currency	7
B2C	China's economy: Not just another fake	Deletion	China's growth model	6
B3C	Europe and an inscrutable China	Generalisation	Europe-China bilateral relations	5
B4C	Geopolitics: Facing up to China	Generalisation	Geopolitical tensions	5
B5C	China's financial system: Red mist	Generalisation	China's growth model	5
B6C	China's currency: Bending, not bowing	Generalisation	International trade and currency	5
B7C	China, America and the yuan: Over to you, China	Generalisation	International trade and currency	9
B8C	The China Model: The Beijing consensus is to keep quiet	Generalisation	China's growth model	10
B9C	China and USA: Not exactly eye to eye	Generalisation	China-US bilateral relations	8
B10C	China's economy: Defanging China's growth	Generalisation	China's growth model	5
B11C	China's labour market: The next China	Generalisation	Workers' rights	6
B12C	China and India: Contest of the century	Generalisation	New world order	7
B13C	Japan as number three: Watching China whizz by	Generalisation	New world order	8
B14C	The yuan goes global: A Mao in every pocket	Generalisation	Global expansion	9
B15C	The global economy: How to stop a currency war	Generalisation	International trade and currency	9
B16C	Dependance on China: The indispensable economy?	Generalisation	China's growth model	6
B17C	Chinese acquisitions: China buys up the world	Generalisation	Global expansion	7
B18C	Chinese takeovers: Being eaten by the dragon	Generalisation	Global expansion	7
B19C	Global power: The dangers of a rising China	Generalisation	Global expansion	8
B20C	China's place in the world: Friends, or else	Generalisation	Global expansion	8
			Total no.	140
			Average no. per headline	7

Table 13 shows the prevailing topics of the 20 headlines about China in the year 2010 based on van Dijk's macro-rules to yield the macro-structure. Table 13 also demonstrates that 19 topics (95%) of the 20 headlines are derived from the application of the "generalisation" macro-rule, followed by one (5%) from "deletion" that omits all the propositions that are unnecessary for the interpretation of the other propositions of the discourse (van Dijk 1980, pp 46-47).

The top three prevailing topics, from the British perspective, are found to be issues related to *global expansion* (five headlines: B14C, B17C, B18C, B19C, and B20C), *China's growth model* (five headlines: B2C, B5C, B8C, B10C, and B16C), and *international trade and currency* (four headlines: B1C, B6C, B7C, and B15C). There are also other topics that emerged at a lower frequency, including the *new world order* (two headlines: B12C and B13C), *Europe-China bilateral relations* (one headline: B3C), *China-US bilateral relations* (one headline: B9C) and *workers' rights* (one headline: B11C). For purposes of simplicity, *Europe-China bilateral relations* and *China-US bilateral relations* are merged into one single overarching generic topic; in other words, there are two headlines that express the topic *bilateral relations*.

The average number of words per headline for all the 20 sampled articles is seven and the total number of words across the 20 headlines is 140.

4.3.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

4.3.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Upon inspection of the represented actors across the 20 sampled headlines, the following observation is made: compared to *Time* analysed in the previous section, in which continental European countries were omitted altogether from the group of eight non-Chinese actors, Europe and Germany are featured among the nine non-Chinese actors represented in *The Economist*. There are nine non-Chinese actors and they are the US, the UK, Germany, Europe, India, Japan, North Korea, the West, and the world.

Table 14 and Table 15 show the frequency distribution of inclusion and exclusion of agent and non-agent social actors, respectively.

Table 14: Inclusion/exclusion of main agent actors in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors									
		Chinese	Non-Chinese								
		China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
Inclusion	No.	15	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
	%	75%	10%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
	%	5%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%
	Total	80%	20%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%	10%	0%	0%

Table 14 shows that the Chinese social actor is included as an agent actor at a frequency of 75%, by far the highest amongst all the social actors; it is represented 7.5 times more often than the next two actors, the US and North Korea, which are included at 10% each; and 15-fold more frequently than Europe, India and Japan, which are included at a frequency of 5% each. The agency of the UK, Germany, the West and the world, however, is included at a frequency of 0%.

Regarding the exclusion of actors in the headlines, only the American and Chinese agents are excluded at 10% and 5% respectively. The other actors are excluded at a frequency of 0%. The following is an example of the exclusion of Chinese and American actor agency in the topic *international trade and currency* and another example of the exclusion of American agency in the topic *geopolitical tensions*:

Topic: *International trade and currency* (excluded Chinese and American agency)

1. *The global economy: How to stop the currency war?* *B15C*

Topic: *Geopolitical tensions* (excluded American agency)

1. *Geopolitics: Facing up to China* *B4C*

Since the frequency of the inclusion and exclusion of the Chinese and American agents is the highest across the 20 sampled headlines, they are also attributed with representational categories more often than the other non-Chinese actors. Specifically, their appearance in the headlines is readily recognisable to the readers of the newsmagazine.

Table 15: Exclusion of agent social actors (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Agent social actors									
			Chinese	Non-Chinese								
			China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
1	Backgrounding	No.	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
		%	5%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 15 shows that the Chinese (5%), American (10%), and North Korean (10%) social actors are backgrounded, meaning that traces of these actors can be found in the headlines although they appear in the lead and main texts that follow. In order to realise backgrounding or less radical exclusion (B15C), *The Economist* newsmagazine relies on the use of the interrogative adverb 'how', which functions as a grammatical subject alleviating the need for explicit references to the agents that are causing the currency war.

1. *The global economy: <u>How to</u> stop the currency war?* *B15C*

This has the effect of rendering uncertainty in the reader of the identity of the culprit(s) of the conflict over the valuation of currencies, since it can be the Chinese or any of the non-Chinese participants, or even the international community at large. Furthermore, the interrogative adverb puts the focus onto itself, distancing the readers away from the unidentified agents of the trade dispute and conjuring up an image of an aggravating trade crisis that could exert an adverse impact on the global economy, in which the rest of the trading partners are affected.

Another strategy that *The Economist* uses to background agency is through the use of the gerund form of the verb 'face' at the beginning of the clause (B4C). 'Facing' thus functions as a noun and circumvents the need to identify the agency of the social actor. Furthermore, the use of the phrasal verb 'face up to' means that the readers, along with the backgrounded American agent actor, must accept the fact that a difficult situation exists with regard to China. This semantic strategy has the effect of targeting the message directly at the readers, rendering them more sympathetic to the action of the backgrounded American actor against that of the Chinese in issues related to geopolitics.

1. *Geopolitics: <u>Facing up to</u> China* *B4C*

Now that the process of inclusion and exclusion of agent social actors has been examined, Table 16 shows the frequency distribution of the key non-agent social actors.

Table 16: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors									
		Chinese	Non-Chinese								
		China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
Inclusion	No.	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%
Exclusion	No.	0	5	1	2	5	0	5	0	2	1
	%	0%	25%	5%	10%	25%	0%	25%	0%	10%	5%
	Total	20%	25%	5%	10%	25%	0%	25%	0%	10%	10%

Table 16 shows that the Chinese non-agent actor is included (20%) four times as much as the world actors, which are included at 5%, while the rest of the non-Chinese actors are included at a rate of 0%. This pattern means that the Chinese actors have a higher propensity of being at the receiving end of an activity in the headlines. The following are some examples of the included Chinese non-agent actors:

1. *Europe and an inscrutable China* *B3C*
2. *China, America and the yuan: Over to you, China* *B7C*
3. *China's economy: Defanging China's growth* *B10C*
4. *Japan as number three: Watching China whizz by* *B13C*

The following is an example of the included world actors:

1. *Chinese acquisitions: China buys up the world.* B17C

When the focus shifts to the process of exclusion, however, Table 16 shows that the Chinese, North Korean, and Indian non-agent actors are represented at a rate of 0% each, while the non-agency of the American, British, German, European, Japanese, Western, and the rest of the world is represented at 25%, 5%, 10%, 25%, 25%, 10%, and 5%, respectively. In other words, the exclusion pattern appears to reveal the formation of two groups: one comprising China, North Korea, and India, and another comprising participants from the US, the UK, Germany, Europe, Japan, North Korea, the West, and rest of the world.

However, given that the non-agency of India is included at 0% whereas that of China is included at 20%, as aforementioned, it could be argued that *The Economist* categorises the participants into two main groups: China versus all the other participants. This is an instance of van Dijk's dichotomy of in- and out-groups.

Table 17: Exclusion of non-agent social actors (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Non-agent social actors									
			Chinese	Non-Chinese								
			China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
1	Backgrounding	No.	0	5	1	2	5	0	5	0	2	1
		%	0%	25%	5%	10%	25%	0%	25%	0%	10%	5%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 17 shows that *The Economist* has the tendency to background the non-agency of the US, the UK, Germany, Europe, Japan, the West, and rest of the world. This has the effect of reducing explicit references to the non-agents in association with the activity mentioned in the headlines. Their traces, however, can still be found in the headlines.

The following are some examples of the backgrounded non-agent American, European, and Japanese actors in the topic related to *China's global expansion* (B17C, B18C, B19C, B20C):

1. *Chinese acquisitions: China buys up the world* *B17C*
2. *Chinese takeovers: Being eaten by the dragon* *B18C*
3. *Global powers: The dangers of a rising China* *B19C*
4. *China's place in the world: Friends, or else* *B20C*

There are two main strategies that *The Economist* newsmagazine employs to background the American, European, and Japanese non-agents: the use of (i) mass nouns 'the world' (B17C), (ii) passive agent deletion (B18C), as well as (iii) count nouns 'dangers' and 'friends' (B19C, B20C). The obfuscation of the patients undergoing China's acquisition and takeover puts the focus on the phrasal verb 'buys up' (B17C) and the verb expressed in the passive voice 'being eaten' (B18C) respectively. Both headlines conjure up an image of an outbound China that is buying something in large quantities or all that is available, at the expense of the others. The menace posed by China's global expansion is further heightened through the use of (i) the count noun 'dangers' caused by a China vying for global power and (ii) the phrase 'friends, or else' that warns what will happen if China does not get what it wants in the world.

The following is an example of the exclusion of American, European, German, and Japanese non-agency in the topic *international trade and currency* (B1C):

1. *China's export prospects: Fear of the dragon* *B1C*

As B1C shows, *The Economist* first relies on the nominalisation of 'fear', which is a word that can be a noun or a verb, to background the non-agency of the American actor through the post-modifying phrase 'of'. This has the effect of shifting the focus onto China, which is represented as a dragon that has overwhelmed the backgrounded non-agent(s) with its exports. In addition, the obfuscation of the patient and the impersonalisation of China as a dragon have the result of directing the message at the readers, drawing them closer to the plight of the patient undergoing the action. As No (2017) puts forth, while dragons are considered bringers of luck and wealth in the East, they represent evil, sin, and gluttony and are beasts to be feared in the West.

There is another observation that emerges: the non-agency of the British participant is excluded at a frequency of 5% in B12C.

In this context, it should be noted that *The Economist* has a strong stance (classic economic liberalism) that might have led the editors to decide who and what to be included and excluded. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that other representational categories (such as activation versus passivation, functionalisation and appraisement, association versus dissociation, and personalisation versus impersonalisation) can only be applied when the social actors are included, not excluded (see section 3.4.2 for more details).

4.3.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 18 shows the frequency distribution of the next representational category, role allocation, which allocates activated and passivated roles to social actors in the headlines.

Table 18: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors									
				Chinese	Non-Chinese								
				China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
1	Activation	Participation	No.	6	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
			%	30%	10%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
			%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%
		Beneficialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%

The above table shows that the Chinese social actors are activated the most frequently at 50%, compared to the non-Chinese social actors. Among the non-Chinese social actors, the American, European, Indian, and Japanese participants are activated at 10%, 5%, 5%, and 5%, respectively. Table 18 shows that the Chinese social actors are activated through participation, circumstantialisation, and possessivation at a frequency of 30%, 5%, and 15% respectively; the American, European, Indian, and Japanese actors are activated through participation at 10%; 5%, 5%, and 5%, respectively. Actors involving the UK, Germany, Japan, North Korea, the West and the rest of world are activated at 0% each.

In the following examples with the topic *global expansion*, the Chinese social actors are activated through *participation*, i.e. assuming the semantic role of the main participant followed by the main verb used in a clause.

1. *The yuan goes global: A Mao in every pocket* *B14C*
2. *Chinese acquisitions: China buys up the world* *B17C*

The underlined verbs 'goes' and 'buys up' are action verbs that describe what the subject of the clauses is doing. In B14C, for instance, the verb 'goes' puts the focus on the internationalisation of the Chinese currency, while the phrasal verb 'buys up' in B17C describes a China that is buying something as much as it can around the world. These representations suggest a China that is in the process of expanding globally by means of its currency and acquisitions.

The activation of the Chinese actors through circumstantialisation is realised through the use of the preposition 'by' as shown in the headline B18C, resulting in the shift of focus onto the action undertaken by China's agency. The effect is further intensified by hyperbole, 'being eaten by' to represent the acquisitions made by the Chinese. As van Dijk (2006, p. 737) explains, hyperbole is one of the categories of ideological discourse analysis that relies on semantic rhetorical devices to enhance the meaning of a discourse, particularly when used within the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

1. *Chinese takeovers: Being eaten by the dragon* *B18C*

In addition, the activation of the Chinese actor is realised by postmodifying the nouns 'fear' (B1C), 'contest' (B12C), 'dangers' (B19C) with the preposition 'of', and has the effect of drawing attention to the causal relationship between China's agency and its impact on the others. By allocating the Chinese actors with a dynamic role

through their actions of ‘export prospects’, ‘contest’, and ‘rising China’, the reader will be dissociated from the Chinese actors due to the threat they are portrayed as posing. Here are the three examples:

1. *China’s export prospects: Fear of the dragon* *B1C*
2. *China and India: Contest of the century* *B12C*
3. *Global power: The dangers of a rising China* *B19C*

In the analysis of passivation, the Chinese and the world are allocated passive roles through subjection at a frequency of 20% and 5% respectively, while the Japanese are beneficialised from the action at 5%. The US, the UK, Germany, Europe, India, North Korea, and the West are passivated at 0% each.

Chinese social actors, for instance, are passivated through subjection, i.e. in the object position of a clause, as shown in the following headlines:

1. *Europe and an inscrutable China* *B3C*
2. *China, America and the yuan: Over to you, China* *B7C*
3. *China’s economy: Defanging China’s growth* *B10C*
4. *Japan as number three: Watching China whizz by* *B13C*

In B3C and B7C, for instance, China is depicted as an object subjected to an action initiated by Europe and America, respectively, by using the adjective ‘inscrutable’ and the phrase ‘over to you’. The adjective ‘inscrutable’, which comes from the root word ‘to scrutinise’, describes a China that is impossible for Europe to fathom and to understand; and the phrase ‘over to you’ puts the focus onto China, which is depicted to be the recipient of the action exerted by the United States and that China should now act with regard to the Chinese currency.

While China is subjected to the action ‘watching’ in B13C, Japan assumes the dynamic role of looking at China overtaking itself. However, the description of Japan becoming number three (the world’s third-largest economy) and watching itself being overtaken by China’s rapidly growing economy, implied by the verb ‘whizz by’, conjures up an image of a passivated Japan at the receiving end of the action ‘overtaken’. This passivation of Japan is realised through beneficialisation since Japan benefits from the action negatively.

4.3.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 19 shows that the Chinese actors are the only one categorised. They are functionalised at 0%, identified at 15% and appraised at 55%. None of the non-Chinese actors are categorised in this representation category. Here are the examples of the appraisement of the Chinese actors, particularly in issues relating to *China's growth model*, *international trade and currency*, *global expansion* and *workers' rights*.

Table 19: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors									
			Chinese	Non-Chinese								
			China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
1	Functionalisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	55%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The process of identification is realised by foregrounding the aspects of the Chinese actors that are more or less unchangeable, as shown in the following examples:

1. *China's financial system: Red mist* B5C
2. *China's labour market: The next China* B11C
3. *The yuan goes global: A Mao in every pocket* B14C

B5C, for instance, shows that the financial system of the Chinese social actors is represented as being associated with intransparency through lexical choice, such as 'red mist', to imply the incomprehensible nature of China's financial system. At the same time, it is also to be highlighted that 'red mist' is an informal phrase in British English that is used in reference to a person's judgement being clouded by anger, thus emphasising the deep dissatisfaction of the others over China's financial system.

Further, the evocation of China's political system with the colour 'red' to describe its financial system may have the effect of widening the distance between the Chinese social actors and the readers of *The Economist* magazine, which is known to adopt an editorial stance of economic liberalism supporting free trade and globalisation. As Strukov (2014, para. 1) puts forth, red's association with communism is 'so strong that it became a byword in the West' to denote ' Soviet threat' during the Cold War. In other words, such representations conjure up an image of threat and danger.

For B14C, *The Economist* relies on humour to associate the Chinese currency with communism by conjuring up an image of a miniaturised Chairman Mao in a pocket, and also a pun with Mao and the pocket as a part of clothing (since Mao is also the term used to describe the style of Chinese suit famously worn by Mao).

The following are the examples showing the appraisement of the Chinese social actors:

1. *China's export prospects: Fear of the dragon* *B1C*
2. *China's economy: Not just another fake* *B2C*
3. *China's financial system: Red mist* *B5C*
4. *The China Model: The Beijing consensus is to keep quiet* *B8C*
5. *China's economy: Defanging China's growth* *B10C*
6. *The yuan goes global: A Mao in every pocket* *B14C*
7. *Dependance on China: The indispensable economy* *B16C*
8. *Global power: The dangers of a rising China* *B19C*

The analysis of appraisement shows that China's growing economy (B1C, B2C, B10C, B16C, and B19C) is depicted to be frightening but absolutely necessary, through the evaluative nouns 'fear', 'fake', 'dangers'; the evaluative verb 'defanging', as well as the evaluative adjective 'indispensable'. Such nouns, verbs and adjectives carry a particular semantic meaning that conveys the writers' attitude towards the social action or actors in the discourse. The noun 'mist', for instance, used in conjunction with 'red' in B5C conjures up an image of a financial system that is shrouded in secrecy and which is not based on free-market principles. The notion of threat posed by China is further intensified through the use of the evaluative verb 'to defang' (B10C), which puts the emphasis on the direct object that is the recipient of the action of the transitive verb 'to defang', i.e. the burden or harm caused by China's economic growth.

In addition, the relationship between China and the other countries, such as the United States, Europe, and India, has also been appraised to be suboptimal. By using the evaluative adjective 'inscrutable' and the phrases 'not exactly eye to eye' and 'contest of the century', China is depicted to be completely at odds with the other major regions in the world. The examples are as follows:

1. *Europe and an inscrutable China* *B3C*
2. *China and USA: Not exactly eye to eye* *B9C*
3. *China and India: Contest of the century* *B12C*

4.3.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 20 shows that the Chinese actors are dissociated at 30%, compared to the American, European, Indian, Japanese and the world participants that are dissociated at 10%, 5%, 5%, 5% and 5%, respectively. The Chinese and the world actors are associated with each other at a frequency of 5% each, while all the other actors are associated at a rate of 0%.

Table 20: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors									
			Chinese	Non-Chinese								
			China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
1	Association	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%
2	Dissociation	No.	6	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
		%	30%	10%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%	0%	0%	5%

The following two examples illustrate the dissociation between the Chinese and American actors:

1. *China, America and the yuan: Over to you, China* *B7C*
2. *China and USA: Not exactly eye to eye* *B9C*

In A19C, for instance, the dissociation of the social actors is realised through parataxis, i.e. the placing of clauses one after another, without words to indicate coordination or subordination. The phrase ‘China, America and the yuan’ in the first clause introduces the key actors in the discourse, followed by ‘over to you, China’ in the second clause. This has the effect of foregrounding the American expectation that it is time for China to do something about its currency. The use of parataxis to realise the dissociation between China and the United States is also evident in B9C, where the first clause ‘China and USA’ brings both countries to the attention of the readers for the first time, followed by the phrase ‘not exactly eye to eye’ in the second clause. Derived from the antonym of the phrase ‘see eye to eye’, which means to be in full agreement, the China-US bilateral relations are depicted to be antagonistic since both countries do not share the same opinion with each other.

Here are the examples of the dissociation between the Chinese and European/Indian/Japanese actors:

1. *Europe and an inscrutable China* *B3C*
2. *China and India: Contest of the century* *B12C*
3. *Japan as number three: Watching China whizz by* *B13C*

In B3C, for instance, China is depicted to be dissociated from Europe through the use of the adjective 'inscrutable', which comes from the root word 'to scrutinise', that describes a China that is impossible for Europe to fathom and to understand. B12C and B13C show that China is dissociated from India and Japan through the portrayal of a China engaged in competition with India to attain a position of power and Japan for economic dominance, respectively. Particularly for B13C, the use of the number 'three' to denote Japan's new hierarchy in comparison to China in the global economy shifts the focus onto China's economic outperformance vis-à-vis Japan. As van Dijk (2006, p. 738) explains, numbers can be used to enhance credibility and emphasise objectivity.

In addition to China's dissociation with the four major global players – the United States, Europe, India, Japan – portrayed in the five headlines listed above, the following example shows a combination of association and dissociation – within the same headline – between the Chinese and world participants at 5% each:

1. *China's place in the world: Friends, or else* *B20C*

Parataxis is used to achieve association/dissociation, where 'China's place in the world' in the first clause prepares the readers for what is to come: China and its position, role or even hierarchy in the world. This is followed by the phrase 'friends, or else' in the second clause, which serves as a warning or threat for those who are portrayed not to accept China's role in the new world order (dissociation), and an offer of friendship to those who are depicted as accepting China's role (association). This is in line with van Dijk's (1995, p. 156) explanation that warning is one of the discursive strategies employed to emphasise possible threats and terror created by the Others.

4.3.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

According to Table 21, the analysis of personalisation/impersonalisation shows that the Chinese actors are humanised and demhumanised at frequencies of 5% and 30%, respectively. None of the non-Chinese actors are represented in this category.

Table 21: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors									
				Chinese	Non-Chinese								
				China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
1	Personalisation		No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

B14C shows that the Chinese yuan is humanised in the form of China's communist revolutionary leader Mao Zedong. As Mao is widely regarded as one of the most significant communist figures of the Cold War, along with Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin (Westad, 2017), the internationalisation of the Chinese yuan personalised in the form of 'Mao' in the subordinate clause thus alludes to the socialist nature of China's market economy.

1. *The yuan goes global: A Mao in every pocket* *B14C*

Impersonalised references to the Chinese social actors can be realised through abstraction, which is depicted at a frequency of 10% according to Table 21. The analysis of abstraction shows that China is depicted as a fearsome dragon in both B1C and B18C, which not only have the trait 'human' in their meanings, but also the ability to cause dread and anxiety expressed through the use of nominalisation 'fear' and sentence structure in the passive voice 'being eaten by'. Furthermore, in contrast to the Chinese image of a dragon, which is often associated with benevolence and great fortune, the Western image is that of a frightening, forbidding animal associated with evil (Lazerg, 2017, p. 25). Such representations founded on fear thus have the effect of alienating the reader from the Chinese actors, leading to the formation of an in-group versus out-group. The two headlines concerned are:

1. *China's export prospects: Fear of the dragon* *B1C*
2. *Chinese takeoevers: Being eaten by the dragon* *B18C*

In addition to the abstracted Chinese actors, impersonalised references to the Chinese social actors can also be realised through objectivation. Table 21 shows that the Chinese actors are objectivated at a frequency of 20% in the following examples:

1. *China's economy: Not just another fake* *B2C*
2. *China's financial system: Red mist* *B4C*
3. *The China Model: The Beijing consensus is to keep quiet* *B8C*
4. *China's labour market: The next China* *B11C*

In B11C, for instance, the Chinese actors are dehumanised in the form of 'labour market' in the main clause to depict another dimension of China's economy, where only the supply and demand for labour count. Such a portrayal of China's economy has the effect of evoking the image of a country driven by capitalism that is only interested in the relentless pursuit of economic growth on the back of its dehumanised workforce.

4.4 French Perspective - *L'Express*

4.4.1 Overview

In the previous two sections, the American and British perspectives on China's rise are examined. The focus of this section is shifted to Continental Europe, where the perspective of France on the rise of China is examined through the analysis of 20 headlines collected from *L'Express* in 2010. There are 13 articles that have a byline and the writers are Laura Raim (3 articles), Catherine Gouëset (2), Brice Pedroletti (1), Emile Lévêque (1), Libie Cousteau (1), Marc Epstein (1), Marie Simon (1), Raphaël Balenieri (1), Rémy Pierron (1) and Valérie Lion (1). The remaining seven articles do not have a byline. The top two contributors are Laura Raim and Catherine Gouëset.

Laura Raim is an independent French journalist and contributes regularly to the monthly newspaper *Monde Diplomatique*, which focuses on politics and current affairs, and monthly newsmagazine *Regards*, which investigates the world through photojournalism. Raim is one of the authors of the book "Break the euro to save Europe"[59] published in 2014. Catherine Gouëset began her career as an archivist with *L'Express* in 1988 and became a journalist responsible for the 'World' section of the French newsmagazine.

The following observation emerged when collecting data from *L'Express* compared with the two Anglo-American newsmagazines, *Time* and *The Economist*, in that it is comparatively more difficult to find articles relating to China and the economy in *L'Express* in the year 2010. Thus, 12 articles (F1C -F12C) are collected from the newsmagazine *L'Express* and the remaining eight (F13C-F20C) from the monthly *L'Expansion*. The latter was a French newsmagazine that belonged to *L'Express* Group and was discontinued in 2017 due to poor sales figures.

Based on Van Dijk's macro-rules to yield the macro-structure, Table 22 shows the prevailing topics of the 20 headlines about China in the year 2010. All the 20 topics are derived from the use of the "generalisation" macro-rule. The top prevailing topic, from the French perspective, is by far found the issue related to *international trade and currency* (nine headlines: F5C, F8C, F11C, F12C, F13C, F15C, F18C, F19C, and F20C). The other less prominent topics are *Shanghai, the posterchild* (three headlines: F2C, F3C, and F4C), *China-Japan bilateral relations* (two headlines: F6C and F7C),

[59] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: "Casser l'euro pour sauver l'Europe".

Franco-China bilateral relations (two headlines: F9C and F10C), *new world order* (two headlines: F14C and F16C), *China-US bilateral relations* (one headline: F1C) and the *automotive industry* (one headline: F17C).

For purposes of simplicity, *China-Japan bilateral relations, Franco-China bilateral relations,* and *China-US bilateral relations* are merged into one single overarching generic topic; in other words, there are altogether five headlines that express the topic *bilateral relations* and this is the second most prevalent topic across the 20 sampled headlines in *L'Express*.

The average number of words per headline for all the 20 sampled articles in the French and English languages is 8.1 and the total number of words is 162 for each language.

Table 22: Prevailing topics of the headlines (*L'Express*)

No.	Headlines	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words (EN)	No. of words (FR)
F1C	Nouvelles frictions entre la Chine et les États-Unis **New frictions between China and USA**	Generalisation	China-US bilateral relations	6	8
F2C	Bienvenue à Shanghai: "la tête du dragon" **Welcome to Shanghai: "the head of the dragon"**	Generalisation	Shanghai, the posterchild	8	7
F3C	Shanghai, le prodige chinois **Shanghai, the Chinese prodigy**	Generalisation	Shanghai, the posterchild	4	4
F4C	Shanghai, le laboratoire du monde **Shanghai, the laboratory of the world**	Generalisation	Shanghai, the posterchild	6	5
F5C	L'Elysée annonce 16 milliards d'euros de contrats avec Pékin **The Presidency of the French Republic announces 16 billion euros in contracts with Beijing**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	14	9
F6C	Montée des tensions entre la Chine et le Japon **Rising tensions between China and Japan**	Generalisation	China-Japan bilateral relations	6	9
F7C	Chine-Japon, le feuilleton de la brouille **China-Japan: the soap opera of the fall-out**	Generalisation	China-Japan bilateral relations	7	6
F8C	La Chine impose l'épreuve de force sur les métaux rares **China readies for showdown on precious metals**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	7	11
F9C	Les hauts et les bas des relations franco-chinoises **The ups and downs of the franco-Chinese relations**	Generalisation	Franco-China bilateral relations	8	8
F10C	La servilité de la France nous rend complices du régime chinois **The servility of France makes us an accomplice of the Chinese regime**	Generalisation	Franco-China bilateral relations	12	11
F11C	Comment la Chine veut grignoter Airbus et Boeing **How does China want to nibble at Airbus and Boeing**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	10	8
F12C	Le commerce entre la Chine et l'Afrique a explosé en 2010 **Trade between China and Africa exploded in 2010**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	8	11
F13C	Exportation: L'Allemagne dépassé par la Chine **Exports: Germany was overtaken by China**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	6	6
F14C	Actualité économique: La Chine maître du monde dans 10 ans? **Economic news: China master of the world in 10 years?**	Generalisation	New world order	10	10
F15C	La Chine, première source des contrefaçons en France **China, the top source of counterfeits in France**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	8	8
F16C	La Chine est-elle vraiment la deuxième puissance économique mondiale? **Is China really the second largest economic power in the world?**	Generalisation	New world order	11	9
F17C	Auto: La Chine démarre en trombe **Automobile: China kicks off**	Generalisation	Automotive industry	4	6
F18C	Les gagnants et les perdants de la "guerre des devises" **The winners and the losers of the "currency war"**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	9	10
F19C	Comment éviter une guerre des monnaies **How to avoid a currency war?**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	6	6
F20C	Pourquoi la Chine joue au sauveur de la zone euro **Why is China playing the role of the saviour of the eurozone?**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	12	10
			Total no.	162	162
			Average no. per headline	8.1	8.1

4.4.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

4.4.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

In the corpus collected from *L'Express*, the key actors include the Chinese and non-Chinese, such as the US, France, the UK, Germany, Europe, the West, Japan, and Africa. The statistics of inclusion and exclusion of the agent Chinese and non-Chinese actors are shown in Table 23.

Table 23: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors								
		Chinese	Non-Chinese							
		China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
Inclusion	No.	18	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
	%	90%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%	5%
Exclusion	No.	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	10%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	100%	15%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%	5%

Table 23 shows that the agency of the Chinese actor is included more frequently than it is excluded. At a frequency of 90%, the Chinese agent actor is included the most regularly, nine-fold larger than the most highly represented non-Chinese actor, Japan (10%). Apart from the Japanese actor, the US, France, and Africa are also included at a rate of 5% each. The agency of Germany, Europe, the UK, and the West, however, is included at a frequency of 0%.

When it comes to the exclusion of actors in the headlines, the Chinese are excluded at a rate of 10%, similarly with the US. The agency of France, the UK, Germany, Europe, the West, Japan, and Africa, however, is excluded at a rate of 0%. This inclusion and exclusion patterns suggest that the Chinese – along with the American and Japanese, albeit at a much lower frequency – is the predominant participant under focus across the sampled articles and is thus attributed with representational categories than the other social actors. From Table 23, another observation can be made: the Chinese are 100% depicted as an active participant in the headlines (through 90% inclusion and 10% exclusion).

The following are some examples of the exclusion of Chinese and American actor agency pertaining to the *international trade and currency* topic:

1. *The winners and the losers of the currency war* F18C
2. *How to avoid a currency war?* F19C

Table 24: Exclusion of agent social actors (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Agent social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
1	Backgrounding	No.	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	10%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

In the representational category of exclusion, there are the radical (total deletion or suppression) and the less radical (partial or backgrounding) variants. Table 24 shows that *L'Express* backgrounds the agency of the Chinese (10%) and American (10%) social actors in issues relating to international trade and currency, thus delaying their appearance related to the actions mentioned in the headlines. This has the effect of reducing explicit references to the agency of an action, thus de-emphasising the social actors. However, they are still subsequently referred to in the lead and main texts underneath the headlines concerned.

There are two methods that *L'Express* uses to realise less radical exclusion or backgrounding: the use of (i) process nouns (F18C) and (ii) interrogative adverbs (F19C). In F18C, for instance, the process nouns 'winners' and 'losers' are used, which are formed from the normalisation of the verbs 'to win' and 'to lose', without revealing the identity of those that have benefited or have been disadvantaged by the conflict over currency valuation. The other method is through the interrogative adverb 'how' (A19C), which functions as a grammatical subject without having to explicitly refer to the agents. In both instances, the strategy of backgrounding the actors emphasises an unequal trade relationship, where the interests of a group of trading partners have been compromised by the beneficiary group.

Now that the process of inclusion and exclusion of agent social actors has been examined, Table 25 shows the frequency distribution of the key non-agent social actors.

Table 25: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors								
		Chinese	Non-Chinese							
		China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
Inclusion	No.	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0
	%	0%	0%	10%	0%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	0	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	0
	%	0%	15%	10%	5%	10%	5%	5%	5%	0%
	Total	0%	15%	20%	5%	15%	10%	5%	5%	0%

When attention is shifted to the non-agency of social actors, a pattern emerges: European countries and areas, such as France, Germany, and Europe, are included at 10%, 5%, and 5%, respectively, while the Chinese, American, British, Western, Japanese, and African actors are included at 0%. This pattern points to a higher incidence of European actors, particularly the French, being at the receiving end of an activity. The following are some examples of the included American non-agent actors:

Here are some examples of the included French non-agent actors:

1. *The servility of France makes us an accomplice of the Chinese regime* F10C
2. *China, the top source of counterfeits in France* F15C

In the process of exclusion, Table 26 shows that the non-agency of all actors, with the exception of the Chinese and the Africans, is excluded. As Africa is depicted as an included agent at 5% only (see Table 26), the frequency patterns seem to suggest that the formation of two main groups: China versus the rest (the US, France, the UK, Germany, Europe, Japan, and the West), which is in line with van Dijk's ideological dichotomy of in- and out-groups. The non-agency of the US, France, Germany, Europe, and Japan is excluded at 15%, 10%, 10%, 5%, and 5%, respectively. Similar to the Chinese, the non-agency of the African actor is excluded at 0%.

Table 26: Exclusion of non-agent social actors (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Non-agent social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
1	Backgrounding	No.	0	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	0
		%	0%	15%	10%	5%	10%	5%	5%	5%	0%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 26 shows that *L'Express* predominantly relies on the backgrounding of the American, French, German, European, and Japanese non-agent actors. This reduces explicit references to the non-agents in association with the activity mentioned in the headlines. Their traces, however, can still be found in the headlines since they are mentioned later in the lead and main texts.

The following are some examples of the exclusion of American actor non-agency:

1. *How does China want to nibble at Airbus and Boeing* F11C
2. *Economic news: China master of the world in 10 years?* F14C
3. *Is China really the second largest economic power in the world?* F16C

In F11C, for instance, *L'Express* avoids mentioning the country by indicating instead the names of the American and European aerospace companies (Boeing and Airbus, respectively), which will be compromised by China's action. Through the use of figurative language, such as the action verb 'to nibble at', China is depicted as a beneficiary in the international trade and currency issue, at the expense of the others. In addition, the interrogative adverb 'how' puts the emphasis on the means by which China seeks to enrich itself while undermining its trade competitors.

It is to be noted, however, that the verb 'nibble' means taking very small bites. This could also suggest that China will make some progress but that this will be very small and not seriously affect Airbus or Boeing. It also brings connotations of a small animal, since this word is typically used when talking about, for example, a mouse.

The American non-agent actor is also excluded in the *new world order* topic from *L'Express,* which uses the nouns 'master' and 'power' to describe China and avoids explicit reference to the non-agents. Consequently, this renders it difficult for the reader to determine the patient of China's economic catch-up. For instance, F14C seeks to answer the question of whether China will be replacing the US as the world's largest economic power, while F16C asks whether China has indeed overtaken Japan – the other actor that has been backgrounded – to become the second-largest economy.

When analysing the non-agency of the French and German actors it can be observed that by evoking common projects (Airbus and the eurozone) undertaken by France and Germany without specifically naming them, *L'Express* depicts both actors as patients undergoing the same action from China in issues relating to international trade and currency. Furthermore, the interrogative adverb 'how' (F11C) and the interrogative pronoun 'why' (F20C) have the effect of emphasising China's action and alienating the French reader from it, since it is represented as potentially harmful to Franco-German interests. Here are two examples of the exclusion of French and German non-agency:

1. *How does China want to nibble at Airbus and Boeing* *F11C*
2. *Why is China playing the role of the saviour of the eurozone?* *F20C*

In this context, it should be noted that the journalists and editors decide who and what to be included and who and what to be excluded to match their ideological stance. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that other representational categories (such as activation versus passivation, functionalisation and appraisement, association versus

dissociation, and personalisation versus impersonalisation) can only be applied when the social actors are included, not excluded (see section 3.4.2 for more details).

4.4.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 27 shows that the Chinese and French social actors are the only participants that are allocated an active role, at a rate of 45% and 5% respectively, compared to the others, which are all activated at a rate of 0%. Since activation can be realised through participation, circumstantialisation and possessivation, while passivation can be applied by means of subjection and beneficialisation, Table 27 shows that the Chinese social actors are activated through participation, circumstantialisation and possessivation at a frequency of 20%, 0%, and 25% respectively. In the analysis of passivation, the Chinese actors are allocated a passive role at a rate of 0% while the United States, France, Germany, and Europe are beneficialised at frequencies of 10%, 10%, 5%, and 5%, respectively.

Table 27: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors								
				Chinese	Non-Chinese							
				China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
1	Activation	Participation	No.	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	20%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0
			%	0%	10%	10%	0%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%

In the following examples, the Chinese social actors are depicted to be active participants through *participation*, i.e. in the subject position in a clause, when it comes to threatening the others with war or competing with the others on business:

1. *China readies for showdown on rare metals* *F8C*
2. *How does China want to nibble at Airbus and Boeing* *F11C*
3. *Automobile: China kicks off* *F17C*
4. *Why is China playing the role of the saviour of the eurozone?* *F20C*

The underlined verb 'readies' (F8C) is an action verb that describe what the subject, i.e. China, of the clauses will undertake. The portrayal of China as the active participant of the action puts the emphasis on Chinese agency, i.e. it is prepared to confront

the others over precious metals. Chinese social actors are also depicted as active participants involved in questionable business practices through the use of hyperbole 'nibble at' on the grammatical object of western high-tech companies (Airbus and Boeing).

In addition, the activation of the Chinese actor is realised through the use of the postmodification of nominalisation, as shown in the following examples:

1. *Shanghai, the laboratory of the world* *F4C*
2. *The servility of France makes us an accomplice of the Chinese regime* *F10C*
3. *Economic news: China master of the world in 10 years?* *F14C*
4. *China, the top source of counterfeits in France* *F15C*
5. *Why is China playing the role of the saviour of the eurozone?* *F20C*

In the above examples, the use of the preposition 'of' after the nouns 'servility' (F10C) and 'source' (F15C) draws attention to the causal relation between China's agency and its adverse impact on France. By giving prominence to the patient (France) rather than the agent (China), the agent disappears wheras the semantically subordinate role of France becomes the main focus of the clauses. The reader may thus already form a negative social cognition of the depicted victimiser and develop sympathies for the victim before they move on to the lead text or main article under the headlines.

4.4.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 28 shows that the Chinese actors are categorised the most frequently (at 70%), followed by the French at 15%, and Japanese at 10%, as well as the American, German and African actors at 5% each. Among all the participants, the Chinese are the most frequently appraised, at 40%.

Table 28: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
1	Functionalisation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	25%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	8	1	2	0	1	0	0	2	1
		%	40%	5%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%	10%	5%

When it comes to doubts or even suspicion of China's motives, the Chinese actors are functionalised (F20C). In so doing, the emphasis is placed on their action and the interrogative adverb 'why' China wants to help the eurozone. Functionalisation is realised through the use of the noun 'saviour', which comprises the verb 'save' and the suffix '-iour', as shown in the following headline:

1. *Why is China playing the role of the saviour of the eurozone?* *F20C*

The Chinese actors, who are identified for who they inexorably are, can be found in the following examples:

1. *Shanghai, the Chinese prodigy* *F3C*
2. *Shanghai, the laboratory of the world* *F4C*
3. *Economic news: China master of the world in 10 years?* *F14C*
4. *China, the top source of counterfeits in France* *F15C*
5. *Is China really the second-largest economic power in the world?* *F16C*

The analysis of identification shows that China is depicted as having multiple identities. While Shanghai is portrayed to be an outstanding city with exceptional qualities in China through the use of the words 'prodigy' and 'laboratory' in F3C and F4C respectively, F14C and F16C are phrased as a question that challenge the presupposed identities of the country China itself. In F16C, for instance, the adverb 'really' can be used to imply a negative answer to the question, i.e. 'no, China is not the second-largest economic power in the world'. This is in line with Betteridge's law of headlines stipulating that any headline that ends in a question mark can be answered with the word no.

It can be observed that *L'Express* has the propensity to appraise the social actors predominantly through the perspective of bilateral relations between China and other countries. The frequencies of the appraisement of the bilateral relations between China and other countries like the United States, France, and Japan transpires at 5%, 10%, and 10%, respectively. The following are the headlines concerned:

US-China relations

New frictions between China and USA *F1C*

Sino-Japanese relations

Rising tensions between China and Japan *F6C*

China-Japan: the soap opera of the fall-out *F7C*

Franco-Chinese relations

The ups and downs of Franco-Chinese relations *F9C*

The servility of France makes us an accomplice of the Chinese regime *F10C*

The appraisement examples depict China's relations with the United States, Japan, and France as suboptimal through the lexical choices 'new frictions', 'rising tensions', 'soap opera of the fall-out', 'ups and downs', 'servility', and 'accomplice' to denote relations between these countries. In addition to bilateral relations, trade relations between China and other trading partners (Africa and Germany) are also appraised. For instance, China's trade relations with Africa are depicted to have 'exploded', conjuring up an image of a massive increase in trade activity between both parties, while Germany is portrayed to have lost out to China in exports. Such representations create a group, which comprises China and Africa, versus another group, which comprises France, Germany, Japan, and the United States.

Trade relations

Trade between China and Africa exploded in 2010 *F12C*

Exports: Germany was overtaken by China *F13C*

4.4.2.4 Association and Dissociation

This representational category, association/dissociation, examines how groups are formed and unformed in relation to an activity. According to Table 29, China is the most frequently dissociated (25%) among the social actors.

Table 29: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
1	Association	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%
2	Dissociation	No.	5	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0
		%	25%	5%	5%	0%	5%	0%	0%	10%	0%

Table 29 shows that the dissociation between the China and the United States, which transpires at a frequency of 5%, is realised through the use of the noun 'friction' to describe the state of bilateral relations between both nations. In this respect, this semantic strategy has the effect of foregrounding the conflict or animosity between both countries. Here is the headline concerned:

1. *New frictions between China and USA* *F1C*

By contrast to the United States, with whom China is depicted to have conflict, China is also dissociated from (i) France (5%) through the use of the phrase 'ups and downs' in the headline of F9C that evaluates the bilateral relations between France and China to be unstable and changeable, and dissociated from (ii) Germany (5%), which is

depicted in the headline of F13C to be ceding its leading position in exports to China through the use of the verb 'was overtaken'. Here are the following examples:

1. *The ups and downs of the Franco-Chinese relations* *F9C*
2. *Exports: Germany was overtaken by China* *F13C*

Through the use the expressions 'rising tensions' and 'the fall-out', *L'Express* reveals its pessimistic view on the relationship between China and Japan, which are depicted to be dissociated from each other at a frequency of 10%. This representation gives readers the notion that China and Japan are confronted with the adverse outcome of increasingly strained bilateral relations between them, as shown in the following two headlines:

1. *Rising tensions between China and Japan* *F6C*
2. *China-Japan: the soap opera of the fall-out* *F7C*

However, the Chinese and African actors are portrayed to be associated with each other at a rate of 5% when it comes to bilateral trade between the both of them. This is achieved through the use of the verb 'exploded', which describes the rapidly increasingly intertwined bilateral trade between both trading partners, as shown in the following headline:

1. *Trade between China and Africa exploded in 2010* *F12C*

The creation of an in-group and out-group in the representational category of association/dissociation shows that the bilateral relations between China and other major economic powers (the United States, France, Germany, and Japan) are depicted to be suboptimal, in comparison to the trade relations between China and Africa that are portrayed to be intensifying.

4.4.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

According to Table 30, the analysis of personalisation/impersonalisation shows that all the actors are personalised at a rate of 0% each.

Table 30: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors								
				Chinese	Non-Chinese							
				China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
1	Personalisation		No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
			%	10%	5%	5%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Impersonalised references to the Chinese social actors can be realised through abstraction, which is depicted at a frequency of 5% according to Table 30. The analysis of abstraction shows that Shanghai is depicted as the 'head of the dragon' in F2C, further enhancing the image of Shanghai being a highly important location in China. In contrast to Shanghai, the country China itself is depicted as a dragon that does not have the trait 'human' in its meaning. Here is the example:

1. *Welcome to Shanghai: "the head of the dragon"* *F2C*

It is worth remembering that countries are often characterised as animals in Western media, such as the American eagle, the Russian bear, the British lion or bulldog – all with associated characteristics. Table 30, however, shows that abstraction is only being used for China despite abstraction 'animals' existing for France (Gallic rooster) and Germany (eagle), in addition to the aforementioned national animals representing the United States and the United Kingdom. In this regard, the abstraction of China as a dragon here can be used as a vehicle for contrast, exaggeration and stereotyping.

In addition to the abstracted Chinese actors, the objectivation of the Chinese social actors can also be realised through metonymical references. Table 30 shows that the Chinese actors are objectivated at a frequency of 10% in the following examples:

1. *Shanghai, the laboratory of the world* *F4C*
2. *China, the top source of counterfeits in France* *F15C*

In line with the discourse of Shanghai's exceptionalism discussed in the analysis of personalisation, metonymy is employed in F4C to depict Shanghai as the world's laboratory. This has the effect of evoking an image of an innovative city that provides copious opportunities for science. When it comes to the country China itself, however, it is portrayed to be the major supplier of fraudulent products in France (F15C). Such contrasting representations of Shanghai and China create a discourse of the inequality of regional economic development facing the nation.

4.5 German Perspective - *Der Spiegel*

4.5.1 Overview

The previous three sections look into the American, British and French perspectives on the rise of China in the year 2010. This section examines the German perspective through the analysis of 20 headlines collected from *Der Spiegel* newsmagazine in 2010. The key writers are Wieland Wagner (7 articles) and Erich Follath (3). The other writers are Andreas Lorenz (2), Gerald Traufetter (1), Katrin Rossler (1), as well as Alexander Jung, Armin Mahler and Gregor Peter Schmitz who co-authored one article (G14C) withn Wieland Wagner. There are three articles (G3C, G9C, G10C) taken from Reuters, one article (G13C) from Associated Press.

Wieland Wagner has been working as a journalist at Spiegel at various locations in East Asia (Tokyo, Shanghai, Beijing, New Delhi) since 1995. He completed history and German studies and wrote a thesis on Japan's expansion in East Asia.

Erich Follath is a German journalist and author of many books, which include *Jenseits aller Grenzen: Auf den Spuren des grossen Abentuerers IBN Battuta durch die Welt des Islam* (2017), *Die Kinder der Killing Fields: Kambodchas Weg vom Terrorland zum Touristenparadies* (2010) and *Das Vermächtnis des Dalai Lama. Ein Gott zum Anfassen* (2007). He graduated with a PhD in German and political studies in 1974.

Based on Van Dijk's macro-rules at deducing the gist of the headlines, Table 31 shows the prevalent topics of the 20 headlines about China in the year 2010. There are 19 (95%) of the 20 topics that are derived from the use of the "generalisation" macro-rule, followed by one from "deletion".

The top prevailing topic, from the German perspective, is found to be issue related to *international trade and currency* (six headlines: G1C, G3C, G9C, G14C, G18C, G20C). The other less prominent topics are *China's growth model* (four headlines: G4C, G5C, G10C, G13C), workers' rights (G7C, G8C, G19C), *global expansion* (G11C, G15C, G17C), *new world order* (one headlines: G2C), *growth model* (one headline: G6C), *China, an enemy* (one headline: G12C), *environment* (one headline: G16C).

For purposes of simplicity, *China's growth model* and *growth model* are merged into one single overarching generic topic; in other words, there are altogether five

headlines that express the topic *growth model* and this is the second most prevalent topic across the 20 sampled headlines in *Der Spiegel*.

The average number of words per headline for all the 20 sampled articles in German language is 5.9 and the total number of words of the 20 headlines in German is 118. In contrast, the average number of words per headline in English is 7.6 and the total number of words is 152.

Table 31: Prevailing topics of the headlines (*Der Spiegel*)

No.	Headlines	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words (EN)	No. of words (GE)
G1C	Wechselkurs: Auf Kosten der Anderen **Foreign exchange rate: At the expense of the others**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	9	5
G2C	Politics: Chimerica: Zwei gegen den Rest der Welt **Politics: Chimerica: Two against the rest of the world**	Generalisation	New world order	9	8
G3C	Billig-Export: US-Kongress will China für Wechselkurs bestrafen **Cheap exports: US Congress wants to punish China for its currency policy**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	12	7
G4C	China-Kehrtwende: Peking forciert Comeback der Staatswirtschaft **China's u-turn: Beijing forces the return of the state economy**	Generalisation	China's growth model	10	6
G5C	China: Labor der Zukunft **China: Laboratory of the future**	Generalisation	China's growth model	5	4
G6C	Globalisierung: Rasende Harmonie **Globalisation: Fast-moving harmony**	Generalisation	Growth model	3	3
G7C	Arbeitnehmer: Die Monster Fabrik **Workers: The monster factory**	Generalisation	Workers' rights	4	4
G8C	Streiks in China: Aufstand in der Welt-Werkstatt **Strikes in China: Uprising in the world's factory**	Generalisation	Workers' rights	8	7
G9C	Stabiler Wechselkurs: China bremst Hoffnung auf rasche Yuan-Aufwertung **Stable exchange rate: China dashes hopes on quick yuan appreciation**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	10	8
G10C	Überhitzer Immobilienmarkt: Harvard-Professor sieht Anzeichen für China-Crash **Overheated housing market: Harvard professor sees signs of a China crash**	Generalisation	China's growth model	11	7
G11C	Die Umarmung des Drachens **The dragon's embrace**	Generalisation	Global expansion	3	4
G12C	China: Geliebter Feind **China: beloved enemy**	Deletion	China, an enemy	2	2
G13C	Joboffensive: China wirbt um ausländische Manager **Job campaign: China looks for foreign managers**	Generalisation	China's growth model	7	6
G14C	Welthandel: Währung als Waffe **International trade: Currency as weapon**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	5	4
G15C	Staatskonzerne auf Kauftour: Chinas unstillbarer Übernahmehunger **State-owned enterprises on a shopping spree: China's unquenchable hunger for takeover**	Generalisation	Global expansion	11	6
G16C	Kopenhager Klimagipfel: USA und China verbrüderten sich gegen Europa **Copenhagen Climate Summit: USA and China ally themselves against Europe**	Generalisation	Environment	10	9
G17C	Politics: Chinas Rolle in Afrika: Ansturm der gierigen Helfer **Politics: China's role in Africa: Onslaught of the greedy helper**	Generalisation	Global expansion	10	9
G18C	Welthandel: Hilfe mit Hintergedanken **International trade: Help with ulterior motives**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	5	4
G19C	Chinesische Investoren in Deutschland: "Hauptsache, wir haben Arbeit" **Chinese investors in Germany: "Main thing, we have jobs"**	Generalisation	Workers' rights	9	8
G20C	Schuldenkrise: China bietet sich als Euro-Retter an **Debt crisis: China presents itself as the euro's saviour**	Generalisation	International trade and currency	9	7
			Total no.	152	118
			Average no. per headline	7.6	5.9

4.5.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

4.5.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

An analysis of the corpus from *Der Spiegel* shows that there are seven non-Chinese social actors represented across the 20 sampled headlines, in addition to the Chinese actors, and they are the US, Germany, Europe, Japan, the West, the world and Africa. Table 32 shows the frequency distribution of inclusion and exclusion of the agent social actors (Chinese and non-Chinese).

Table 32: Inclusion/exclusion of main agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors							
		Chinese	Non-Chinese						
		China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
Inclusion	No.	12	4	0	0	0	1	0	0
	%	60%	20%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	30%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	90%	25%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%

Note: Since the British social actors were not represented in the articles from *Der Spiegel*, the UK is not included in the frequency/percentage tables in Section 4.5.

As Table 32 shows, the Chinese social actor is included as an agent actor at a frequency of 60%, the highest amongst all the social actors. It is also included at a three-fold rate compared to the next biggest agent social actor (American), which is included at a frequency of 20%. This indicates that the Chinese agent social actors have a higher likelihood of being attributed representational categories than the non-Chinese social actors given their higher prevalent presence in the headlines.

Apart from the Americans, which is the most dominantly represented participant in the subgroup of included non-Chinese agent actors, the West is the other non-Chinese actor that is included, at 5%. The agency of the German, European, Japanese, world and African actors, however, is included at a frequency of 0%.

When the focus shifts to the exclusion process, the Chinese agents are also excluded more frequently (30%) than the non-Chinese actors. Only the agency of the American actor is excluded (5%) among the subgroup of non-Chinese actors, while the rest (Germany, Europe, Japan, West, world, and Japan) remains at 0%. The following are some examples of the exclusion of Chinese agency:

1. *Foreign exchange rate: At the expense of the others* *G1C*
2. *Globalisation: Fast-moving harmony* *G6C*
3. *Workers: The monster factory* *G7C*
4. *The dragon's embrace* *G11C*

5. *International trade: Currency as weapon* *G14C*
6. *International trade: Help with ulterior motives* *G18C*

Given that the Chinese and American agents are the only actors that are included and excluded across the 20 sampled headlines, it also means that they are attributed with representational categories more frequently than the other non-Chinese actors. This means that the German newsmagazine is putting its focus on the action of the Chinese and American participants by agentilising both of them in the headlines, while de-agentilising the other participants.

Table 33: Exclusion of agent social actors (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Agent social actors							
			Chinese	Non-Chinese						
			China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
1	Backgrounding	No.	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	30%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 33 shows that *Der Spiegel* newsmagazine predominantly relies on the strategy of backgrounding the Chinese (30%) and American (5%) social actors, thus delaying their appearance related to the actions mentioned in the headlines. This has the effect of reducing explicit references to the agency of an action, thus de-emphasising the social actors. However, they are still subsequently referred to in the lead and main texts underneath the headlines concerned.

There are two methods which *Der Spiegel* newsmagazine uses to realise less radical exclusion or backgrounding: the use of (i) adjectives (G6C, G7C, G11C, G18C) and (ii) non-finite clauses (G1C, G14C). In G6C and G18C, for instance, the use of the adjectives ‘fast-moving’ and ‘ulterior’ to mask the agency of the actions renders it difficult for the readers to determine the identity of the actor(s) responsible for speeding up the process of harmony (G6C) and for having hidden intentions when extending help to the others (G18C). The choice of the adjectives depicts an image of a hasty collaboration, probably even temporary in nature, between trading partners in a globalised context, as well as someone with a hidden agenda.

Another method used to realise backgrounding is through non-finite clauses, which function as a grammatical subject and eliminating the need to identify the agency of the social actor. By using the phrase ‘at the expense of’ and ‘currency as a weapon’ in the subordinate clauses of G1C and G14C, respectively, to circumvent the need to

reveal the agency, readers will find it more difficult to know who is responsible for the problems concerning foreign-exchange rates and international trade.

The analysis of the examples above indicates an unequal relationship, in which the interests of a group of trading partners (the in-group) have been compromised or even burdened by the action of the other group of trading partners (the out-group). As Van Dijk (2000) posits, burden is one of the analytical strategies that journalists may employ to shape perceptions with their ideological position. Given that it is unclear who are the patients or social actors subjected to the burden and who are the agents or social actors causing the harm, this ambiguity in the headline creates an ominous impression to the readers of what is to come in the main text. As Maitland (2016) puts it, the unknown generates anxiety and fear.

Now that the process of inclusion and exclusion of agent social actors has been examined, Table 34 shows the frequency distribution of the key non-agent social actors.

Table 34: Inclusion/exclusion of main non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors							
		Chinese	Non-Chinese						
		China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
Inclusion	No.	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0
	%	10%	0%	5%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	0	6	1	1	2	1	1	0
	%	0%	30%	5%	5%	10%	5%	5%	0%
	Total	10%	30%	10%	20%	10%	5%	5%	0%

When attention is shifted to the non-agency of social actors, Table 34 shows that the Chinese and European actors are included the most frequently, at 10% each respectively, compared to the German (5%), and European (15%). This pattern points to a higher incidence of the Chinese and European actors being at the receiving end of an activity in the headlines.

Here are some examples of the included Chinese non-agent actors:

1. *Cheap exports: US Congress wants to punish China for its currency policy* G3C
2. *Overheated housing market: Harvard professor sees signs of a China crash* G10C

The following are some examples of the included European non-agent actors:

1. *Copenhagen Climate Summit: USA and China ally themselves against Europe* A4C
2. *Debt crisis: China presents itself as the eurozone's saviour* G20C

For the other non-agent actors (such as the US, the West and Africa), the rate of in their inclusion in the headlines is 0%.

In the process of exclusion, Table 35 depicts the following pattern: the non-agency of the Chinese and African actors is excluded at a rate of 0%, while that of the

American, German, European, Japanese, the world and the West is excluded at 30%, 5%, 5%, 10%, 5% and 5% respectively. In other words, the exclusion representational category reveals the formation of two groups: one comprising China and Africa, and another the US, Germany, Europe, Japan, the world, and the West.

Table 35: Exclusion of non-agent social actors (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Non-agent social actors							
			Chinese	Non-Chinese						
			China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
1	Backgrounding	No.	0	5	1	1	2	1	1	0
		%	0%	30%	5%	5%	10%	5%	5%	0%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 35 shows that *Der Spiegel* newsmagazine has the tendency of backgrounding the American, German, European, Japanese and Western non-agent actors, thus reducing explicit references to the non-agents in association with the activity mentioned in the headlines. Their traces, however, can still be found in the headlines.

The following are some examples of the background of American actor non-agency:

1. *Foreign exchange rate: At the expense of the others* *G1C*
2. *Stable exchange rate: China dashes hopes on quick yuan appreciation* *G9C*
3. *Job campaign: China looks for foreign managers* *G13C*
4. *State-owned enterprises on a shopping spree: China's unquenchable hunger for takeover* *G15C*

In this context, it should be noted that the journalists and editors decide who and what to be included and who and what to be excluded to match to their ideological stance. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that other representational categories (such as activation versus passivation, functionalisation and appraisement, association versus dissociation, and personalisation versus impersonalisation) can only be applied when the social actors are included, not excluded (see section 3.4.2 for more details).

4.5.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

In this set of representational category, Table 36 shows that that the Chinese and American social actors are the only participants allocated activated roles, at 25% and 20% respectively. The other participants like Germany, Europe, Japan, West, world, and Africa are activated at a frequency of 0%. Within the sub-categories of activation, China

is activated through participation, circumstantialisation and possessivation at a frequency of 20%, 0% and 5% respectively; the United States is activated through participation (5%).

Table 36: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors							
				Chinese	Non-Chinese						
				China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
1	Activation	Participation	No.	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	20%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
			%	5%	0%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	5%

In the following examples, the Chinese social actors are depicted to be active participants through *participation*, i.e. in the subject position in a clause, when it comes to issues relating to international trade and currency:

1. *China's u-turn: Beijing forces the return of the state economy* *G4C*
2. *Stable exchange rate: China dashes hopes on quick yuan appreciation* *G9C*
3. *Job campaign: China looks for foreign managers* *G13C*
4. *Debt crisis: China presents itself as a euro's saviour* *G20C*

The subjects of the clauses, Beijing and China, are activated in relation to the actions they undertake through the use of action verbs 'forces' (G4C) and 'dashes' (G9C). In both instances, Chinese agency is foregrounded, highlighting its active role in reinstalling state-run economy against the will of the others, and in causing disappointment and disillusion over any possibility of a quick fix on foreign exchange. Chinese agency is also emphasised through the use of the action verbs 'look for' (G13C) and 'present itself' (G20C) when China is depicted to be taking the initiative in offering career opportunities to international talent and in extending a helping hand to rescue the euro.

In addition, the activation of the Chinese actor is realised through possessivation, the use of a possessive pronoun 'of' or the postmodification of nominalisation requiring 'of', as shown in the following two examples:

1. *Politics: China's role in Africa: Onslaught of the greedy helper* *G17C*

In the above headline, the use of the preposition 'of' after the noun 'onslaught' draws attention to the causal relation between China's agency and its impact on Africa. The readers' perceptions of the syntactic relations thus shifts from the victim (Africa) to

the perpetrator (China) through the foregrounded action 'onslaught', evoking an image of a destructive attack and an overwhelmingly large number of people originating from China.

American agency is foregrounded through active participation (at a frequency of 20%) rather than circumstantialisation (0%) or possessivation (0%). In G3C and G10C, for instance, through 'US Congress' and 'Harvard professor' the American social actors are represented as the dynamic force in an activity, in particular as agents involved in mental processes by means of active verbs such as "wants to punish" and "sees".

1. *Cheap exports: US Congress wants to punish China for its currency policy* *G3C*
2. *Overheated property market: Harvard professor sees signs of a China crash* *G10C*

The US Congress is depicted to be the dynamic participant that is seeking to mete out punishment to the beneficialised China, which is portrayed as benefitting from the action negatively (represented at a frequency of 5%). This is because China's perceived trade practices to boost its economy through *cheap exports* have adverse effects on the United States. Furthermore, the export-led Chinese economy is depicted as about to *crash* and be doomed to failure through subjection (at a frequency of 5%) as a result of the overly expensive housing market in China, which might have repercussions on the financial market.

4.5.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 37 shows that the Chinese actors are categorised the most frequently (at 65%), followed by the West at 5%. By contrast, the United States, Germany, Europe, Japan, world, and Africa are represented at a frequency of 0% each. Specifically, the Chinese actors are the only participants appraised (30%); they are functionalised and identified at a rate of 10% and 20%, respectively. The American and the Western actors are identified and functionalised at 10% and 5%, respectively.

Table 37: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors							
			Chinese	Non-Chinese						
			China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
1	Functionalisation	No.	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
		%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	30%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The functionalisation of the Chinese actors, ‘investors’ (G10C), ‘helper’ (G17C), ‘saviour’ (G20C), can be realised from the construction between a noun and a suffix; for instance, the noun ‘investor’ is comprised of the noun ‘invest’ and the suffix ‘-or’. This has the effect of highlighting the role of the Chinese actors vis-à-vis the others. This way, *Der Spiegel* can highlight the role of the Chinese actors vis-à-vis the others, i.e. the Chinese are depicted to be investing and providing the Germans with jobs (G10C) and to be rescuing the euro (G20C) in Europe; but when it comes to Africa, the Chinese are portrayed to be providing Africa with help with an intense and selfish desire for power and wealth (G17C).

1. *Chinese investors in Germany: “Main thing, we have jobs”* *G10C*
2. *Politics: China’s role in Africa: Onslaught of the greedy helper* *G17C*
3. *Debt crisis: China presents itself as the euro’s saviour* *G20C*

In contrast to functionalisation, the Chinese actors are identified through the use of nouns that describe who they inexorably are: a state-run economy (G4C) that manufactures a large quantity of goods for exports to the world (G8C). China is also portrayed as a place where innovation and experimentation play an important role in society (G5C). Nevertheless, the country is still depicted as a hostile nation - presumably to Germany since the target readership of the *Der Spiegel* are German - through the use of the noun ‘enemy’ to denote China. This has the effect of distancing the German readers from the Chinese social actors.

1. *China’s u-turn: Beijing forces the return of the state economy* *G4C*
2. *China: Laboratory of the future* *G5C*
3. *Strikes in China: Uprising in the world’s factory* *G8C*
4. *China: beloved enemy* *G12C*

The Chinese actors are also largely appraised negatively through the use of evaluative adjectives, ‘unquenchable’ (G15C) and ‘greedy’ (G17C), which conjure up an image of a China that is highly driven by its intense and selfish desire for wealth and power when it comes to expanding globally. The negative appraisement of the Chinese actors transpires through the depiction of its inexpensive exports (G3C) – unfair trading practices - to the United States. When it comes to China’s growth model, a more positive appraisement transpires through the lexical choice ‘laboratory of the future’ (G5C), which paints an image of a place where new ideas and experimentation take place. However, G12C takes on a more ambivalent tone through the use of the adjective

'beloved' to modify the noun 'enemy', resulting in the semantic meaning 'a hostile nation that is very much loved'. Here are the appraisement examples:

1. *Cheap exports: US Congress wants to punish China for its currency policy* G3C
2. *China's u-turn: Beijing forces the return of the state economy* G4C
3. *China: laboratory of the future* G5C
4. *China: beloved enemy* G12C
5. *State-owned enterprises on a shopping spree: China's unquenchable hunger for takeover* G15C
6. *Politics: China's role in Africa: Onslaught of the greedy helper* G17C

The positive representation of the non-Chinese social actors can be seen through the strategy of functionalisation, which puts an emphasis on uncovering their identity through their function in society (i.e. the occupations and roles) instead of merely revealing who they, more or less permanently, are. This way, *Der Spiegel* can reveal the socio-economic status of the non-Chinese social actors, who are depicted as enjoying higher levels of education and income, by referencing to the highly skilled jobs they are engaged in, such as *professor* (G10C) and *managers* (G13C). In addition, the inclusion of descriptive adjectives, such as *Harvard* and *foreign*, provide more information about the nouns that they modify, underlining the point that those at the upper echelon of the society and the job market are not Chinese. Such a categorisation reinforces the impression that China needs external expertise prop up its economy, which would otherwise be doomed to collapse. For instance:xs

1. *Overheated property market: Harvard professor sees signs of a China crash* G10C
2. *Job campaign: China looks for foreign managers* G13C

4.5.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Association and dissociation examine the way groups are formed and unformed in relation to an activity respectively. Table 38 shows that China and the United States are the two participants most frequently associated (10% each) and dissociated (10% each) among the social actors. The other actors that are dissociated include Europe and the world, at 5% each.

Table 38: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors							
			Chinese	Non-Chinese						
			China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
1	Association	No.	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	10%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Dissociation	No.	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	0
		%	10%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%	5%	0%

In issues related to the environment, China and the United States are depicted as associated with each other. For instance:

1. *Chimerica: Two against the rest of the world* *G2C*
2. *Copenhagen Climate Summit: USA and China ally themselves against Europe* *A4C*

From the lexical perspective, the term "Chimerica" in headline G2 is merely a portmanteau comprising the linguistic blending of two words "China" and "America" to coin a new word. However, it is a meaningful one since it symbolises an inseparable relationship between two individual words. Through the use of the quantifier "two", it plays a crucial role as it further emphasises that the enclosed group is exclusive to the Chinese social actor and American social actor only, much to the exclusion of all the others. Furthermore, the agents activated by participation rather than by circumstantialisation.

4.5.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

Personalisation is concerned with participants who are represented as human beings, linguistically realised through the use of names or nouns that include their "human" aspect. The antonym of personalisation is impersonalisation. Table 39 shows that the Chinese actors are personalised at a frequency of 10%, in comparison to the American actors at 5%. The abstraction and objectivation of the Chinese actors transpire at a frequency of 15% each.

Table 39: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors							
				Chinese	Non-Chinese						
				China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
1	Personalisation		No.	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	10%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The Chinese actors are personalised when they are depicted as 'investors' (G19C) and 'saviour' (G20C) in Germany and the eurozone, but are abstracted through the use of abstract expressions 'u-turn' (G4C), 'China dashes hopes' (G9C) and China's unquenchable thirst' (G15C) that portray an image of a greedy China that reverses its political policy and has disppointed over its currency. The analysis of the objectivation of the Chinese actors shows that metonymical references are made in association with China's manufacturing industry through 'cheap exports' (G3C) and 'the world's

factory' (G8C), while references are made to China's non-market-based economy through 'state-owned enterprises' (G15C). Among the non-Chinese actors, the American participants are the only ones that are personalised through 'Havard professor' (G10C). This has the effect of endearing them to the readers due to the 'human' aspect of the 'professor'.

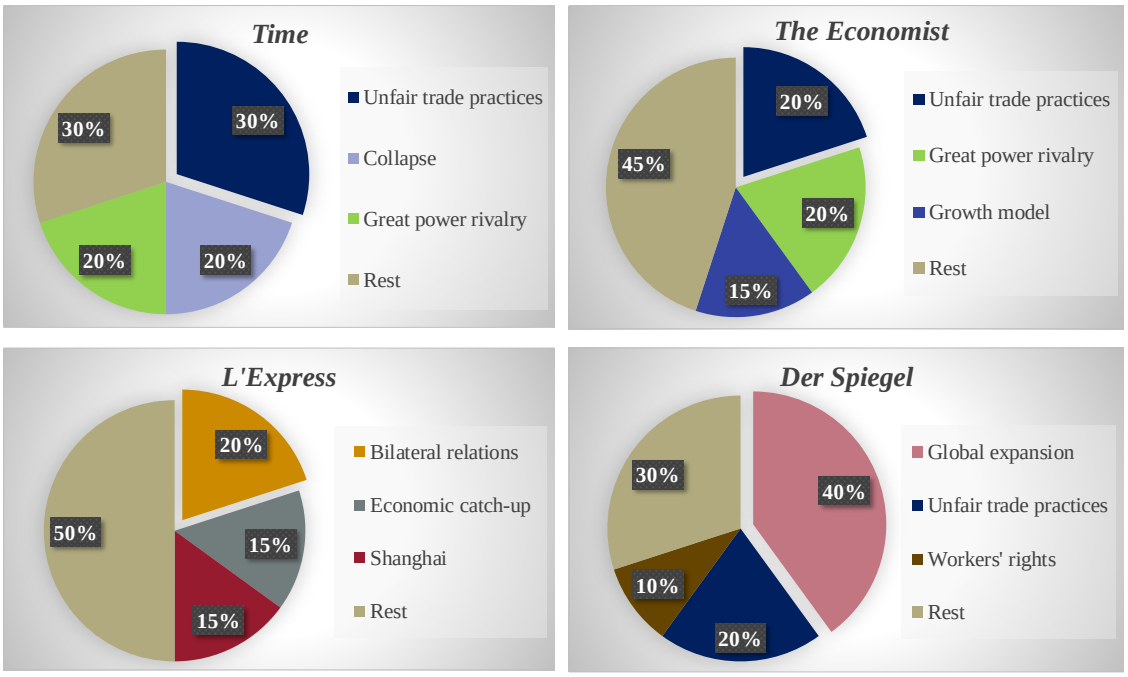
4.6 Closing Remarks

This chapter examined the representation of the key Chinese and non-Chinese social actors in the headlines of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel* against the backdrop of the currency tension involving China that erupted in 2010. First, the chapter began by deriving the dominant topics, also known as the macrostructure, of the headlines on the basis of van Dijk's macro-rules, before applying van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory of social actor representation on the representation of the social actors reported across the 80 headlines. The five representational categories of van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory were: (i) inclusion and exclusion, (ii) role allocation (activation and passivation), (iii) functionalisation, identification, and appraisement, (iv) association and dissociation, and (v) personalisation and impersonalisation.

Based on the topics deduced from the application of van Dijk's macro-rules, the results have revealed that each of the four Western newsmagazines under study focuses on different areas in the headlines when it comes to the reporting of China's economic rise in 2010. Although none of the four newsmagazines share the same order of importance in the focus areas they cover, the extrapolated results (see Figure 11) indicate that they are all concerned about general international trade and currency issues with China. As Figure 11 demonstrates, the international trade and currency topic represented 30% of the coverage in *Time*, 20% in *The Economist*, 45% in *L'Express*, and 30% in *Der Spiegel*.

Moreover, the headlines of *Time*, *The Economist*, and *Der Spiegel* have been found to be more inclined to (i) construct an aggressive China by foregrounding the country's military power and global expansion, and (ii) make insinuating references to a revisionist China that seeks to challenge, and even replace, the existing world order with a new one. These representations, however, stand in contrast to the seemingly more neutral image projected by *L'Express*, which is observed to complement (i) China's negative bilateral relations with its trading partners, with (ii) the positive aspects of the country's financial city, Shanghai.

Figure 11: Overview of the top three key topics in each Western newsmagazine



Turning to the application of van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory of social actor representation, the patterns that have emerged reveal that the overall image of China depicted in the headlines of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel* was overwhelmingly negative. It has also been found that China and the United States were the two key protagonists across the 80 headlines, suggesting the rise of great power rivalry between an emerging superpower (China) and the incumbent superpower (the United States). Furthermore, it has also been observed that an us-versus-them dichotomy emerged, revealing the newsmagazines' tendency to create two discursive groups opposing each other, along with a discursive representation of a "China that harms others to benefit itself."

Nevertheless, it is worth highlighting that *L'Express* has been found to cast an unfavourable light on the behaviour of France ('servility', 'accomplice'), in particular with regard to the French political actors' business dealings with China. This stands in contrast to *The Economist* and *Der Spiegel*, which tended to put their focus on China and the United States, rather than on the country where they are headquartered, that is the United Kingdom and Germany, respectively. It is therefore conceivable to put forth the argument that such representations have unequivocally disclosed the ideologies that were adopted by the four newsmagazines to perpetuate the discursive representation of the Chinese and non-Chinese social actors in the headlines.

The following chapter shall examine the representation of social actors in the lead texts of the 80 articles against the backdrop of the currency tension with China in 2010. Likewise, the following chapter begins by deriving the dominant topics of the lead texts by means of van Dijk's macro-rules, before employing van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory of social actor representation to analyse the representation of the social actors.

5 Case Study 2: China (2010) - Representation of Social Actors in the Lead Texts

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the representation of social actors in the news within the context of China's rise in the headlines. This chapter, however, shifts the focus onto the depiction of social actors in the lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel.*

Specifically, Chapter 5 seeks to answer the research questions: (i) what are the prevailing topics surrounding China's rise in the year 2010 in the lead texts of the four newsmagazines? (ii) What were the main representational categories that were used to construct the social actors in the lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines) (iii) Who were the main social actors involved in the representation of China in the lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines? (iv) How were they discursively represented in relation to one another across the four newsmagazines? (v) Was China more positively or negatively appraised in the lead texts? (vi) What are the prevailing ideological discourses and dominant representations of China in the selected Western newsmagazines?

Ultimately, the answers to the above-mentioned questions should help answer the two hypotheses in Chapter 8 of this thesis: (i) China is reported more unfavourably than Japan by the Western press, and (ii) The Western newsmagazines do not speak in one collective voice with regard to China or Japan.

Based on the application of Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-semantic categories[60] as well as Van Dijk's concept of macro-rules[61] (1980), the analytical model in this thesis provides a starting point in critical discourse analysis to answer the aforementioned research questions. As headlines disclose the most important topic of the news and thus the highest-level macro-proposition of a news discourse, the study proceeds by first identifying the prevailing topic of each of the headlines through the application of macro-rules, before linking the socio-semantic categories with their linguistic realisations (see Chapter 3).

[60] See section 3.4 for the representational categories and the rationale for choosing them over others.
[61] See section 3.3 on how to apply the macro-rules.

Sections 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5 examine the representation of the major social actors in the 20 lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express,* and *Der Spiegel*. Each section begins with a global description of the data collected from the 20 lead texts of each newsmagazine by first identifying the prevailing topics on China's rise in 2010, then tabulating the inclusion and exclusion of the main social actors in frequency and percentage, before applying the other representational categories to the analysis of the social actors. Section 5.6 concludes the chapter by comparing and summarising the similarities and differences in the representation of the main social actors related to China across the newsmagazines, and highlights any patterns that emerge from the data.

It is to be emphasised that this thesis makes the assumption that the reader typically approaches an article of a newsmagazine with a top-down strategy. In other words, the reader reads the headlines first before continuing to the lead texts and the main texts that follow.

5.2 American Perspective - *Time*

5.2.1 Overview

This section examines the American perspective on China's rise through an analysis of the lead texts of 20 articles published by *Time* newsmagazine in 2010, the period under study. Table 140 in the appendix shows that 18 topics (80%) of the 20 lead texts are derived from the use of the "generalisation" macro-rule, followed by two (10%) from "deletion". Due to space constraints, a table of the lead texts has been placed in Appendix.

The following observation emerged when collecting data from *Time* compared with the other three newsmagazines, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*, in that *Time* does *not* employ brief introductory summaries (that is, a brief summary that typically appears after a headline and yet is typographically distinct from the rest of the article) for the 20 selected articles. Since the layout of articles may differ across various newsmagazines, according to in-house styles and formatting preferences, the introductory paragraphs (that is, the first paragraph of each article) of the 20 articles are instead collected from *Time* for analysis. This is consistent with the explanation put forth by Sterling (2009, p. 836) when layout varies from medium to medium based on the purpose of the publication. Furthermore, Pape and Featherstone (2005, pp. 28-29)

and van Dijk (1988a, p. 66) also argue that the lead paragraphs formulate the most important points of the story of an article.

The top four prevailing topics in *Time* are issues related to *China's unfair trade practices* (six lead texts: A4C, A5C, A6C, A12C, A15C, and A17C), *China's collapse* (three lead texts: A2C, A3C, and A9C), g*reat power rivalry* (three lead texts: A11C, A13C, and A20C), and a *Western versus Asian growth model* (three lead texts: A16C, A18C, and A19C). For purposes of simplicity, *China's slowdown* (one lead text: A10C) is merged with *China's collapse* to form one single overarching generic topic: *China's collapse*. Similarly, *US-China relations* (one lead text: A1C) is classified under the *great power rivalry* topic. This also means that *China's collapse* and *great power rivalry* thus become the second-most frequent topics (with four lead texts each) across the 20 sampled articles in *Time* newsmagazine. The only other topics were *China's exploited workers* (two lead texts: A8C, and A14C) and *American hero versus the big bully* (one lead text: A7C).

Finally, the average number of words per lead text for all the 20 sampled articles is 51.45 words, and the total number of words of the 20 headlines is 1029.

5.2.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

5.2.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Table 40 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of inclusion/exclusion.

Table 40: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors								
		Chinese	Non-Chinese							
		China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
Inclusion	No.	10	12	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
	%	50%	60%	0%	5%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%
Exclusion	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	50%	60%	0%	5%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%

Table 40 shows that the Chinese and American agent actors are included the most frequently, at 50% and 60% respectively, compared to the agency of India (5%), South Korea (5%), North Korea (5%), and Asia (5%). This pattern points to a higher incidence of the Chinese and American actors being the dynamic forces behind activities mentioned in the lead texts.

Table 41: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors								
		Chinese	Non-Chinese							
		China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
Inclusion	No.	10	8	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
	%	50%	40%	0%	0%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
	%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%
Total		50%	40%	5%	0%	10%	10%	5%	0%	0%

Table 41 shows that the Chinese and American non-agent actors are included the most frequently, at 50% and 40% respectively, compared to the non-agency of the West (10%), and South Korea (5%). This pattern points to a higher incidence of the Chinese and American actors being the recipients of activities in the lead texts.

Since the excluded social actors have already been discussed and analysed in Chapter 4, which is dedicated to the examination of social actor representation relating to China's rise in the headlines, the exclusion of the social actors from the lead texts still applies. Please refer to Chapter 4 for more details.

5.2.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 42 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of role allocation (activation/passivation).

Table 42: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors								
				Chinese	Non-Chinese							
				China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
1	Activation	Participation	No.	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	20%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%

In the lead texts of A4C, A5C, A12C, and A17C cited below, the Chinese social actors are depicted to be active participants through participation (20%), i.e. in the subject position in a clause, when it comes to the nation's deliberate undervaluation of the Chinese yuan that has caused great annoyance to the United States. The underlined verbs '<u>to lower</u> the value of their currency' (A4C), and '<u>has been setting</u> the value of the yuan' (A5C) are action verbs that describe what the subject, i.e. China, of the clauses is doing. The portrayal of China as the active participant of the action puts the emphasis

on Chinese agency, that is, its purposeful intervention in the foreign-exchange market to export more to its trading partners at the expense of the latter. China's unethical trade behaviour with regard to its currency is also further emphasised by using the adjective 'so-called' and the expression 'proven to be a big yawn' to describe the action, or rather inaction, it is undertaking through verbs, such as 'ended' and 'permitted' (A12C).

In the lead text of A17C, for instance, the United States is also represented as extremely annoyed by China's maintanance of the value of the Chinese yuan lower than it really is, but both countries reportedly managed to prevent a full-blown conflict between each other from taking place. This is due to China's depicted efforts to give what the American policymakers want in order to prevent further disagreements in arguments or war through the use of the verbs 'attempted' and 'to appease'. Such a representation reinforces the general belief that the United States is still the world's superpower, which has the ability to exert influence over all others. As American political scientist Mearsheimer (2003, p. 2) argues, a hegemon will always seek to maintain its dominant position over potential rivals and look for opportunities to shift the balance of power in its favour.

1. *It was easy to confuse whom he was criticizing when he denounced efforts by some countries to lower the value of their currency to boost trade.* — *A4C*
2. *There is a widespread belief around the world that Beijing has been setting the value of the yuan at an artificially cheap level, which gives Chinese exports an unfair advantage in international markets.* — *A5C*
3. *A so-called "reform" of the regime introduced in June, in which Beijing finally ended a de facto two-year yuan-dollar peg and permitted its currency to "float" in a narrow band, has proven to be a big yawn.* — *A12C*
4. *The U.S. and China have avoided fighting an all-out currency war. Beijing has attempted to appease anger in Washington over its undervalued yuan by allowing it to (very) slowly creep upward against the dollar.* — *A17C*

China is also allocated an activated role through the use of possessivation (5%) in the form of a prepositional phrase with 'of' postmodifying a nominalisation or process noun, such as 'rise', as shown in the lead text of A16C. This semantic strategy has the effect of putting the emphasis on China's action, which is to grow, and its consequence on the others. In other words, the lead text reflects a causal relationship between China's growing economic might and the West's increasing lack of faith in

economic liberalism. This can be noticed from the use of the verb ‘has made’, which has the effect of foregrounding the impact of China’s agency – its ascent – on the West, which is depicted to be beneficialised (5%) by China’s action from the grammatical perspective. Here is the lead text concerned:

1. *The rise of China has made the West doubt the continued validity of its cherished principles of democratic, free-market capitalism.* A16C

The American social actors are also activated in relation to their role in (i) offering advice to global investors with regard to China’s impending economic problems (A2C), (ii) philosophising whether China’s economy is doomed to failure due to the flawed monetary policies that the Chinese state has implemented (A3C), and (iii) trying to make China do something difficult and unpleasant, especially by threatening to raise tarrifs on imports if it does not yield to the demands made by the United States (A6C). The implicit meaning of such representations is to indicate (i) the gloomy prospects of China’s long-term economic success due to the colossal hurdles it has to overcome, and that (ii) the United States is still the world’s superpower and has the ability to coerce any potential rivals to do its bidding. As Gombert and Binnendijk (2016, p. 5) argue, the United States still possesses the power to coerce using non-military means to pressure unfriendly states to do what they would otherwise not.

1. *Investors have recently focused on some of the problems potentially facing the Chinese economy, and they're getting worried. The concerns are that China might be facing a destabilizing property price bubble and rising bad loans at its banks due to last year's recession-busting credit boom. I've offered a word of caution myself.* A2C
2. *I asked whether China was headed for trouble due to the potential damage done to its banking system by the government’s giant stimulus program.* A3C
3. *In yet another attempt by the U.S. to force China to change its currency regime, senators on Tuesday introduced legislation that would require the government to impose duties on goods from countries that don’t address currencies deemed to be misaligned.* A6C

When it comes to social actors relating to multinational companies and the governments, the analysis of the activation process demonstrates that the Americans are portrayed to be retaliating to China’s aggression. American agency is foregrounded through the use of the verbs, such as (i) ‘contemplating pulling out’, which depicts Google’s reaction to China’s relentless hacking attempts, and (ii) ‘authorized’, which puts the emphasis on the method used by the United States to punish and subjugate

China by selling arms to Taiwan. This has serious geopolitical implications, particularly given that Taiwan remains a thorny issue in US-China relations (Schubert 2015, Wei 2012).

1. *Google announced that it was contemplating pulling out of China because of repeated attacks on its network as well as censorship constraints. In the past week, the U.S. government authorized $6 billion in arms sales to Taiwan* *A1C*

5.2.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 43 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of functionalisation/identification/appraisement.

Table 43: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
1	Functionalisation	No.	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	20%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	9	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
		%	45%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%

The functionalisation of the American social actors (20%) is realised by the explicit reference to occupations widely associated with higher socioeconomic status. These include the co-founder of American multinational technology company Google (A7C), an economist (A19C), and an investment manager in charge of hedge funds (A19C). By contrast, the Chinese social actors (20%) are functionalised as (i) *workers*, who are willing to tolerate unchanged wages and poor working conditions in order to protect their jobs amid a deteriorating national economy (A8C), (ii) *government officials*, such as 'Chinese Prime Minister' (A4C) and 'Beijing's policymakers' (A9C), through the overt indication of occupational roles that are associated with the Chinese government, and (iii) *a dishonest nation*, which influences the exchange rates in an unscrupulous way by adding the suffix '-or' to the verb 'manipulate' to form the noun 'manipulator' (A15C). Such semantic strategies serve to emphasise (i) that the Americans have jobs with higher socioeconomic status than the Chinese, who are depicted as coming from a lower social class and are struggling to eke out a living; and (ii) the economic system in the United States is based on free-market principles, in comparison to China's, which is led by the state. Here are some extracts of the lead texts

concerned:

1. *At one moment during Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao's press conference on Sunday…* A4C
2. *Few people would be surprised by Google Co-founder Sergey Brin's bravado.* A7C
3. *…in part because Chinese workers proved willing to endure stagnant wages and unemployment as the national economy slowed.* A8C
4. *Now one of the big questions facing China is whether or not Beijing's policymakers are about to get their own lesson in the perils of debt-driven growth.* A9C
5. *Tim Geithner could reveal today whether or not his Treasury Department will formally label China a "currency manipulator."* A15C
6. *Yes, Martin Jacques asserts confidently in his buzz-generating When China rules the World…No, say China skeptics like economist John Markin and hedge-fund honcho James Chanos, with equal self-assurance.* A19C

The American social actor is also functionalised when it comes to China posing military threats to US dominance in the Pacific Ocean. The lead text of A20C shows that the functionalised American social actor takes the form of 'Admiral Robert Willard', who is represented as giving a warning about China's lethal missile capabilities to destroy American ships in the Pacific. Such a denotation has the effect of endearing the admiral to the American readership of *Time*, as well as legitimising the portrayal of China as an aggressive country that has the military capabilities to jeopadise US presence in the region.

1. *Admiral Robert Willard, the US commander in the Pacific, about a new ballistic missile developed by the Chinese that could blow American ships out of the water…* A20C

One of the aims of the social-actor appraisement process in the lead texts is to evaluate the social actors concerned in terms of whether they are good or bad, loved or hated, admired or pitied (van Leeuwen, 2008; p. 45). From the lexical perspective, the use of evaluative adjectives, such as 'artificially cheap', 'unfair advantage', 'misaligned', 'contorted', and 'undervalued', in the lead texts of A5C, A6C, A12C, and A17C depict the Chinese yuan, which is used as a vehicle for China to reap financial rewards for itself, at the expense of its trading partners. This has the effect of creating an image of a China that consistently relies on unfair trade means to boost its exports, through the deliberate manipulation of the value of the yuan relative to the US dollar. Concerns over China's reportedly unenthusiastic attempts at remedying the situation are further emphasised when evaluative expressions, such as 'proven to be a big yawn' (A12C), and '(very) slowly creep upward against the dollar' (A17C), are used to

describe the Chinese authorities' disregard of international trade rules. The outcome of such a behaviour is represented as angering and prompting the US government (A6C, A12C, and A17C) to consider ways to mete out punishments to China. Here are the examples of the lead texts concerned:

1. *At one moment during Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao's press conference on Sunday, it was easy to confuse whom he was criticizing when he denounced efforts by some countries to lower their currency to boost trade.* *A4C*
2. *There is a widespread belief around the world that Beijing has been setting the value of the yuan at an artificially cheap level, which gives Chinese exports an unfair advantage in international markets.* *A5C*
3. *Senators on Tuesday introduced legislation that would require the government to impose duties on goods from countries that don't address currencies deemed to be misaligned.* *A6C*
4. *Frustration in Washington is growing over China's contorted policy on its currency, the yuan. And for good reason. A so-called "reform" of the regime introduced in June, in which Beijing finally ended a de facto two-year yuan-dollar peg and permitted its currency to "float" in a narrow band, has proven to be a big yawn.* *A12C*
5. *Beijing has attempted to appease anger in Washington over its undervalued yuan by allowing it to (very) slowly creep upward against the dollar.* *A17C*

Through the use of the evaluative adjectives 'implacable, muscle-flexing' and the noun 'behemoth' (A7C), for instance, China is also depicted to be an extremely large, unappeasable, and hostile bully, which uses its military and political might to intimidate its opponents. This threatening image of a very powerful China is intensified when the lead text of A7C emphasises Sergey Brin's show of boldness against the powerful, oppressive state that is China. Such a semantic strategy has the effect of allegorising a hero standing up to a large, fearsome monster, an image often enacted in Western fables. China's rise to global economic superpower – along with India – is also portrayed in the lead text of A13C to be unavoidable, through the use of the evaluative adjective 'inevitable' and the expression 'march to greatness'. Such a representation, however, creates an image of the relentless economic progress achieved by a non-Western continent that is determined to make the United States cede its economic dominance to a looming new world economic order, which is increasingly shaped by Asia.

1. *Few people would be surprised by Google Co-founder Sergey Brin's bravado. After all, if you were a 36-year-old billionaire, you'd probably be forgiven a little audacity yourself. Even when it comes to the implacable, muscle-flexing behemoth that is China.* *A7C*
2. *Asia's march to greatness sometimes has an inevitable quality about it… China will* *A13C*

overtake the U.S. as the world's No. 1 economy. India won't be far behind.

The analysis of social-actor appraisement also shows that the bilateral relations between the United States and China are represented as stormy, through the negative use of the adjective 'banner' – which is American English and the same meaning can be conveyed with the word 'bumper' in British English - to highlight the exceptionally larger than usual number of incidents affecting the relationship between both countries within a short space of time (A1C). In addition, global investors are portrayed to be 'worried' and 'concerned' about China's economy due to a looming collapse in property prices, greater exposure to uncollectible bank loans (A2C), as well as an impaired banking system caused by the massive stimulus programme undertaken by the Chinese government (A3C). These representations lead to the portrayal of a Chinese economy that is doomed to failure because of the reckless, irresponsible policies that the Chinese state has created.

1. *It hasn't been a banner few weeks for U.S.-China relations* *A1C*
2. *Investors have recently focused on some of the problems potentially facing the Chinese economy, and they're getting worried. The concerns are that China might be facing a destabilizing property price bubble and rising bad loans at its banks* *A2C*
3. *I asked whether China was headed for trouble due to the potential damage done to its banking system by the government's giant stimulus program.* *A3C*

Lastly, the lead text of F15C shows that the American social actors are also being appraised by *Time*. This is achieved through use of the evaluative adjective 'soft' to describe how the US Democrats deal with China on currency issues. According to this representation, the Democrats are portrayed to be too lenient in the way they deal with China, which may lead to the consequence that they may not win the next elections in November 2010. Here is the lead text concerned:

1. *There is mounting political pressure for the U.S. to take stronger action against China's currency policy. Being perceived as "soft" on China won't help the Democrats in upcoming November elections.* *A15C*

5.2.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 44 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of association/dissociation.

Table 44: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
1	Association	No.	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
		%	10%	5%	0%	0%	5%	0%	5%	0%	0%
2	Dissociation	No.	5	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
		%	25%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	5%	0%

In issues relating to China's currency policy, the analysis of the association/dissociation process shows that the Chinese and American social actors are depicted to be dissociated from each other (20%), as shown in the following lead texts:

1. *In a nasty round of political bickering over China's currency* *A5C*
2. *In another attempt by the U.S. to force China to change its currency regime* *A6C*
3. *Frustration in Washington is growing over China's contorted policy on its currency* *A12C*

Both countries are depicted as dissociated from one another through the evocation of increasing US resentment and disappointment ('frustration' in A12C) with China's currency policy. Moreover, US disapproval of the Chinese government's exchange-rate policy, which is described as 'contorted' (A12C) and a 'regime' (A6C), is further intensified by the portrayal of the US engaged in quarrels (A5C), with the aim to exert pressure on China to change its unfair trade practices that are affecting others.

When it comes to issues relating to cybersecurity, China is also depicted as dissociated from foreign firms. Google, for instance, is reportedly considering quitting the Chinese market due to persistent security breaches, alluded to be caused by hackers in China. Although the culprit of the cyberattacks is not explicitly identified in the lead text of A1C, it can be deduced from the context of the lead text of A1C that the Chinese authorities responsible for Internet censorship in the country may be implicated in compromising the integrity of Google's network (A1C).

1. *In mid-January Google announced that it was contemplating pulling out of China because of repeated attacks on its network as well as censorship constraints* *A1C*

In addition to the dissociation between the Chinese and the non-Chinese social actors, the Chinese social actors are also represented to be dissociated from themselves (5%). For instance, A8C demontrates that Chinese workers are no longer willing to remain calm and tolerant now that the country's economic growth has returned. In other words, China is depicted as facing a disconnect between the nation's growing economy and dissatisfied workers.

1. *But now Chinese growth has rebounded, workers aren't so patient* *A8C*

Furthermore, China is also portrayed as associated with problems (10%) that could happen in the future. Through the use of the noun 'problems' (A2C), abstract references are made to the risks of a collapse in property prices and increasing exposure to bad loans, which are depicted as exerting an adverse consequence on the Chinese economy. The financial situation facing China is further represented as dire by associating the country with 'trouble' and 'potential damage' due to the monetary stimulus measures undertaken by the Chinese government (A3C). Such semantic strategies have the effect of foregrounding the looming, self-inflicted disaster facing a China on the brink of financial ruin, which global investors should take heed of.

1. *Investors have recently focused on some of the problems potentially facing the Chinese economy, and they're getting worried. The concerns are that China might be facing a destabilizing property price bubble and rising bad loans at its banks.* *A2C*
2. *I asked whether China was headed for trouble due to the potential damage done to its banking system by the government's giant stimulus program.* *A3C*

The analysis of the association/dissociation process also shows that the non-Chinese social actors can be represented as partaking in a shared activity, pitted against another group of non-Chinese social actors, in terms of their relationship with the Chinese social actors. In the following lead text, for instance, the American and South Korean social actors are portrayed as associated with each other (5%) via joint military exercises, in response to the dissociated North Korea's (5%) presumed attack on a South Korean warship.

1. *20 U.S. and South Korean ships, more than 100 aircraft and some 8,000 personnel will take part in a four-day series of war games. …hostile North Korea that's allegedly responsible for the March sinking of the Cheonan, a South Korea warship* *A11C*

Finally, the lead texts of A16C and A18C show that the American and Western social actors are depicted as associated with the principles of liberal democracy and market capitalism. By putting the emphasis on the importance of these two values to the United States and the West, a cognitive division is created between (i) a group comprising both actors, and (ii) another involving those actors who do not believe in liberal democracy and market capitalism.

1. *The rise of China has made the West doubt the continued validity of its cherished principles of democratic, free-market capitalism.* *A16C*

2. *As an American, I've always believed that democracy, capitalism and economic progress are all intimately connected, that you can't have one without the others.* A18C

5.2.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

Table 45 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of personalisation/impersonalisation.

Table 45: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors								
				Chinese	Non-Chinese							
				China	US	UK	India	West	Africa	S. Korea	N. Korea	Asia
1	Personalisation		No.	2	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	10%	35%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The analysis of the personalisation/impersonalisation process demonstrates that *Time* has the tendency to allocate the American social actors human features (35%). First, this is achieved through the use of the personal pronouns 'I' in the first-person singular nominative case, as shown in A2C, A3C, and A18C. Such a semantic strategy has the effect of targeting the message directly at the reader, rendering it more personal and more likely for the reader to identify with. As a consequence, the reader assumes the role of the author giving prudent advice on the danger of rising debt load (A2C), asking whether China was indeed destined for problems (A3C) and that they have always believed in the close relationship between democracy, capitalism and economic development (A18C).

1. *The concerns are that China might be facing a destabilizing property price bubble and rising bad loans at its banks due to last year's recession-busting credit boom. I've offered a word of caution myself.* A2C
2. *A few days ago on Curious Capitalists, I asked whether China was headed for trouble..* A3C
3. *As an American, I've always believed that democracy, capitalism and economic progress are all intimately connected.* A18C

Second, individuals are also given human features by revealing their names, such as 'Sergey Brin', 'Martin Jacques', 'John Markin', and 'James Chanos'. Although this semantic strategy has the effect of drawing the reader closer to the four individuals, it is applied differently depending on the authors' intention. For those (Sergey Brin) who are depicted as standing up to China's unruly behaviour, or those (John Markin and James Chanos) who have doubts that China will rule the world, their occupations are revealed, for instance, Google Co-founder, economist, and hedge-fund honcho, respectively. On

the other hand, for Martin Jacques, who believes that China will rule the world, his occupation as a journalist and writer is not explicitly mentioned but implied through the use of the adjective 'buzz-generating'. Incidentally, Sergey Brin, John Markin, and James Chanos are Americans, while Martin Jacques is British. Here are some extracts of the lead texts concerned:

1. *Few people would be surprised by Google Co-founder Sergey Brin's bravado. After all, if you were a 36-year-old billionaire, you'd probably be forgiven a little audacity yourself. Even when it comes to the implacable, muscle-flexing behemoth that is China.* *A7C*
2. *Yes, Martin Jacques asserts confidently in his buzz-generating When China rules the World… No, say China skeptics like economist John Markin and hedge-fund honcho James Chanos, with equal self-assurance.* *A19C*

Third, the American social actors are also humanised in the form of a 'senator', and 'Tim Geithner', who are both portrayed to be threatening and meting out punishments, respectively, to China over its currency policy (A6C, and A15C). When it comes to military threats emanating from China, the American social actor takes the form of 'Admiral Robert Willard', who is depicted as the US commander in the Pacific reporting on Chinese missile capabilities. The effect of this strategy is two-fold: firstly, the explicit indication of Robert Willard's name and his role in the US navy endears him to the American readership of *Time*, and secondly, by indicating his navy credentials it lends personal authority to his assessment that an aggressive China has the military capability to challenge the United States. As van Leeuwen (2008, p. 107) explains, in the case of personal authority, legitimate authority is vested in people due to their status or role in a particular institution.

1. *In yet another attempt by the U.S. to force China to change its currency regime, senators on Tuesday introduced legislation…* *A6C*
2. *Tim Geithner could reveal today whether or not his Treasury Department will formally label China a "currency manipulator".* *A15C*
3. *Admiral Robert Willard, the US commander in the Pacific, about a new ballistic missile developed by the Chinese that could blow American ships out of the water* *A20C*

Contrary to the humanised American social actors, who are depicted to be either responding to China's military aggression and unfair trade practices, or highly regarded individuals in their respective fields, the Chinese social actors are also humanised (10%) in the form of 'Prime Minister Wen Jiabao', and 'Beijing's policymakers', with the intent to elicit irony, however. The lead text in A4C, for instance, seeks to highlight the irony of the Chinese prime minister criticising others for depreciating their currencies,

when China itself is also depicted to be engaged in similar activity. Moreover, the Chinese social actors involved in making policies and policy decisions are depicted as meting out the same policies, which drive economic growth through debt, that would cause major problems.

1. *At one moment during Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao's press conference on Sunday, it was easy to confuse whom he was criticizing when he denounced efforts by some countries to lower their currency to boost trade.* *A4C*
2. *Even when it comes to the implacable, muscule-flexing behemoth that is China…* *A7C*
3. *Now one of the big questions facing China is whether or not Beijing's policymakers are about to get their own lesson in the perils of debt-driven growth.* *A9C*

5.3 British Perspective - *The Economist*

5.3.1 Overview

This section examines the British perspective on China's rise through analysis of the lead texts of 20 articles published by *The Economist* in 2010. The top three prevailing topics of the 20 lead texts about China in the year 2010 are *China's unfair trade practice* (four lead texts: B6C, B7C, B14C, and B15C), *great power politics* (four lead texts: B4C, B12C, B19C, and B20C), and *China's growth model* (three lead texts: B2C, B5C, B8C). The other topics include *China's dispensable economy* (B16C), *China's global acquisition* (B18C), *China's global expansion* (B1C), *China's labour market* (B11C), *China's slowdown* (B10C), *EU-China relations* (B3C), *Japanese competitiveness* (B13C), *US-China relations over North Korea* (B9C), and *Welcoming China's capital* (B17).

Table 141 (see Appendix) shows that 18 topics (90%) of the 20 lead texts are derived from the use of the "generalisation" macro-rule, followed by two (10%) from "deletion". Finally, the average number of words per lead text for all the 20 sampled articles is 14 words and the total number of words of the 20 lead texts is 279.

5.3.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

5.3.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Table 46 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of inclusion/exclusion.

Table 46: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors									
		Chinese	Non-Chinese								
		China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N.Korea	West	World
Inclusion	No.	16	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
	%	80%	10%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%	0%	5%	0%
Exclusion	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	80%	10%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%	0%	5%	0%

Table 46 shows that the Chinese agent actor is included the most frequently (at 80%), compared to the agency of the United States (10%), Europe (5%), India (5%), Japan (5%), and the West (5%). This pattern points to a higher incidence of the Chinese actor being the dynamic force of an activity in the lead texts.

Table 47: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors									
		Chinese	Non-Chinese								
		China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
Inclusion	No.	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
	%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	10%
Exclusion	No.	0	6	1	1	4	0	3	2	0	0
	%	0%	30%	5%	5%	20%	0%	15%	10%	0%	0%
	Total	20%	30%	5%	5%	20%	0%	20%	10%	0%	10%

Table 47 shows that the Chinese non-agent actor is included the most frequently (at 20%), compared to the non-agency of Japan (5%), and the World (10%). This pattern points to a higher incidence of the Chinese actor being the recipient of an activity in the lead texts. The American (30%), British (5%), German (5%), European (20%), Japanese (15%), North Korean (10%) social actors continue to be excluded from the lead texts.

Given that a detailed analysis of the excluded social actors has already been discussed in Chapter 4, which is dedicated to the examination of social actor representation relating to China's rise in the headlines, the explantions for the excluded social actors from the lead texts still apply. Please refer to Chapter 4 for more details.

5.3.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 48 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of role allocation (activation/passivation).

Table 48: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors									
				Chinese	Non-Chinese								
				China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
1	Activation	Participation	No.	7	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
			%	35%	5%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%	0%	0%	5%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
			%	10%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The Chinese social actors are depicted to be active participants through participation (10%), i.e. in the subject position in a clause. Here are the two examples of the lead texts:

1. *As China and India rise in tandem, their relationship will shape world politics.* *B12C*

2. *China grapples with a huge potential export: its currency.* *B14C*

Through the use of the verbs, 'will shape' (B12C) and 'grapples' (B14C), the Chinese social actors are represented to be the dynamic force in the pursuit of an activity. Specifically, they are depicted to (i) have an active role in potentially influencing global politics together with another emerging power, India (B12C), and (ii) be struggling to latch onto the immense opportunity to export its currency (B14C). Furthermore, China is portrayed in B4C as having recently acquired the status of a superpower ('new superpower') that behaves like a bully, whose unreasonable actions have led the others to resist it ('not to be confused with giving way to it').

In addition to the activated Chinese social actors, the non-Chinese social actors, such as the EU, the USA, and the West, are also allocated an active role through participation. For instance, while the EU is represented to be increasingly aware of the actual situation concerning China and trying to deal with it in a practical way (B3C), the United States is depicted to be the agent responsible for reducing the likelihood of a quarrel with China over its currency policy in trade (B7C). Such a representation conjures up an image of a China that does not play by international trade rules and is also becoming increasingly assertive in exerting its growing influence around the world.

Here are the lead texts concerned:

1. *The European Union gets more realistic about China – and China gets more realistic about the EU* *B3C*
2. *Making room for a new superpower should not be confused with giving way to it* *B4C*
3. *America has dampened a currency row with China. Now Beijing must let the yuan rise.* *B7C*
4. *In the West people worry that developing countries want to copy "the China model".* *B8C*
5. *Keep calm, don't expect quick fixes and above all don't unleash a trade fight with China* *B15C*

The Chinese social actors are also allocated an activated role through circumstantialisation (5%), which is realised through the use of the prepositions 'by'. Such a strategy depicts the Chinese social actor - represented in the form of a firm - as the dynamic force of the action 'to buy'. However, the rhetorical question 'what it feels like' at the beginning of the clause puts the focus on the existence of a causal relationship, alluding to the presence of a victim that has been created by the causal Chinese agents. Here is the lead text concerned:

1. *What it feels like to be bought by a Chinese firm.* *B18C*

Lastly, the Chinese social actors are activated through possessivation (20%), as shown in the following lead texts:

1. *China's share of world markets increased during the recession. It will keep rising.* B1C
2. *The similarities between China today and Japan in the 1980s may look ominous. But China's boom is unlikely to give way to prolonged slump.* B2C
3. *The workshop of the world is embarking on a migration of its own.* B11C
4. *Living with China's rise will test America's diplomacy as never before.* B20C

In the above examples, the use of the preposition 'of' and the apostrophe 's together with the (i) process nouns, such as 'boom' (B2C), and 'rise' (B11C), and the (ii) verb 'increased' (B1C) demonstrate China's economic expansion as the main activity. In other words, the main action of China is to grow rapidly. However, its economic expansion has also become a causal agent in itself as it is portrayed to affect the dynamics of international relations with the United States and China (B20C).

5.3.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 49 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of functionalisation/identification/appraisement.

Table 49: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors									
			Chinese	Non-Chinese								
			China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
1	Functionalisation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
		%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	8	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
		%	40%	5%	0%	0%	0%	5%	10%	0%	0%	0%

The Chinese social actors are functionalised (5%) when it comes to the question of legitimacy of China's development model for the other developing countries to follow. In other words, China is depicted as a potential role model for others to imitate. However, this has caused apprehension in the 'West' about the potential challenge posed by the Chinese development model. As Gu in Bindenagel, Herdegen and Kaiser (2017, p 57) explains, the China Model, which is a combination of market economy and an authoritarian state, could challenge the dominant Western model of modernisation, which is based on liberal democratic ideals.

1. *In the West people worry that developing countries want to copy "the China model".* B8C

The identification of the Chinese (15%) and Japanese (5%) social actors can be found in the following lead texts:

1. *Making room for a new superpower should not be confused with giving way to it.* B4C
2. *Who matters in the world's second-largest financial system is barely understood.* B5C
3. *As the supply of migrant labour dwindles, the workshop of the world is embarking on a migration of its own.* B11C
4. *Japan is now the world's third-largest economy. Can its firms cope?* B13C

The identification of China shows that it is depicted to be (i) a country that uses its newfound power and influence to threaten and intimidate the others, who have allowed China to become a superpower alongside the United States (B4C), and (ii) a country with the world's largest economy second only to the United States (B5C). However, its financial system is not only portrayed as opaque but that people in the West, specifically the key players within it, are failing to understand or are not seeking to truly understand it (B5C). Furthermore, B11C shows that China is depicted to be highly dependent on its shrinking pool of migrant workers to manufacture goods for the world. Such representations have the effect of foregrounding the irony of a 'superpower-global workshop' dichotomy caused by China's multifaceted identities. In contrast to China, which is still a developing country with the world's second-largest economy, Japan is also identified (5%) through the use of the adverb 'now' and the adjective 'world's third-largest' to describe the country's displacement from the second slot in the global economy (B13C) to China's ascendance. This strategy of identifying China (B4C, and B5C) and Japan (B13C) thus puts the focus on the declining economic competitiveness and influence of Japan, vis-à-vis China's growing economic strength.

The American (5%), Chinese (40%), Indian (5%), and Japanese (10%) social actors are appraised, as shown in the following lead texts:

1. *The similarities between China today and Japan in the 1980s may look ominous. But China's boom is unlikely to give way to prolonged slump.* B1C
2. *In the West people worry that developing countries want to copy "the China model". Such talk makes people in China uncomfortable.* B8C
3. *China is slowing. That's good news.* B10C
4. *As China and India rise in tandem, their relationship will shape world politics. Shame they do not get on better.* B12C
5. *Japan is now the world's third-largest economy. Can its firms cope?* B13C
6. *China grapples with a huge potential export: its currency.* B14C
7. *China may not matter quite as much as you think.* B16C
8. *What it feels like to be bought by a Chinese firm.* B18C

9. *China and America are bound to be rivals, but they do not have to be antagonists.* *B19C*

The Chinese social actors are appraised through the use of (i) evaluative adjectives, such as 'uncomfortable', 'good', 'huge potential'; (ii) evaluative verbs, such as 'grapples', as well as (iii) evaluative phrases, such as 'may not matter quite as much', and 'feels like'. The choice of the lexicals has the effect of depicting (i) the Chinese as worried or embarassed about the discussions of the Chinese development model (B8C) as they may have preferred the topic to be kept low profile, and that (ii) China's slowing economy is to be welcomed (B19C), since it would solve the 'Chinese currency' problem (B14C) and stop Chinese acquisitions (B18C). Furthermore, its economy is not as important as it is widely purported to be (B16C).

The relationship between China and the other countries, such as the United States (5%) and India (5%), is also appraised. The overall image is that of (i) great hostility between an emerging power (China) and an established power (United States), and (ii) growing tensions between two rising powers (B12C). This appears to coincide with Allison's (2017, p.29) notion of a Thucydides Trap, in which conflict often ensues when a rising power challenges the ruling power of the international order.

5.3.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 50 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of association/dissociation.

Table 50: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors									
			Chinese	Non-Chinese								
			China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
1	Association	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Dissociation	No.	6	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
		%	30%	10%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%

Table 50 shows that the Chinese and American social actors (10%) are dissociated from each other, as shown in the following examples:

1. *They did not agree about North Korea, or much else. But at least they avoided a row.* *B9C*
2. *China and America are bound to be rivals, but they do not have to be antagonists.* *B19C*

B9C and B19C show that the dissociation between both social actors is achieved through the negation of the verb 'agree' (B9C) and the noun 'rivals' (B19C), which describes a hostile relationship in which the actors are at odds with each other. This is further intensified by the expression 'or much else' and the nouns 'row' and

‘antagonist’, which alludes to global power rivalry between two opposing countries at loggerheads over issues relating to North Korea and everything else.

Not only is China portrayed to be involved in dispute with the United States, China and India are also depicted be dissociated (5%) from each other when it comes to global power rilvary among emerging countries. The lead text of B12C uses the phrase ‘in tandem’ to denote the growing strength of China and India at the same time, but the more they become successful, the more both nations become dissociated from each other. This is realised through the use of the noun ‘shame’, an example of British humour, to express serious concerns that the two rising emerging countries, whose bilateral relations are represented to have the ability to influence global politics, do have hostility towards each other. Here is the lead text concerned:

1. *As China and India rise in tandem, their relationship will shape world politics. Shame they do not get on better.* *B12C*

A comparison between China today and Japan in the 1980s, incidentally the topic of this thesis, is made in B1C that depicts both being dissociated (5%) from each other through the use of the modal verb ‘may’ and the adjective ‘unlikely’. It is to be highlighted that ‘may’ and ‘unlikely’ do not necessarily mean that China’s boom today is totally unlike that of Japan’s in the 1980s that subsequently went bust in the 1990s. But rather there is a possibility that China may not end up following in Japan’s footsteps.

1. *The similarities between China today and Japan in the 1980s may look ominous. But China’s boom is unlikely to give way to prolonged slump.* *B1C*

Lastly, the EU and China are also depicted to be dissociated from each other (5%) by portraying both parties becoming more ‘realistic’ about each other. In other words, they are represented to recognise and accept the true nature of each other and will try to deal with it in a practical way.

1. *The European Union gets more realistic about China – and China gets more realistic about the EU.* *B3C*

The analysis of the association process also demonstrates that some of the Chinese social actors are depicted to be supportive of a stronger, more flexible currency, realised through the use of the adjective 'Chinese' to premodify the noun 'case', as shown in the lead text of B6C. Such an implicit representation has the effect of underscoring the conflicting views present within China, where there is a group of associated actors who are portrayed to share the same arguments put forth by *The Economist* that China should allow a 'stronger, more flexible currency', versus another group of dissociated actors who are against the plan. Here is the lead text concerned:

1. *The Chinese case for a stronger, more flexible currency.* *B6C*

5.3.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

Table 51 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of personalisation/impersonalisation.

Table 51: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors									
				Chinese	Non-Chinese								
				China	US	UK	Germany	Europe	India	Japan	N. Korea	West	World
1	Personalisation		No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The Chinese social actors are impersonalised through objectivation by metonymically referencing them to 'China's share of world markets', 'supply of migrant labour dwindles', and 'Chinese firm'. Such representations evoke an image of (i) a China whose exports will continue to increase in the world despite a temporary depression in economic activity (B1C), (ii) place where manufacturing or other forms of manual work are carried out for global consumption (B11C). For instance:

1. *China's share of world markets increased during the recession. It will keep rising.* *B1C*
2. *As the supply of migrant labour dwindles, the workshop of the world is embarking on a migration of its own.* *B11C*
3. *What it feels like to be bought by a Chinese firm.* *B18C*

5.4 French Perspective - *L'Express*

5.4.1 Overview

This section examines the French perspective on China's rise through an analysis of the lead texts of 20 articles published by *L'Express* newsmagazine in 2010. Due to space constraints, a table (Table 142) with the lead texts has been placed in Appendix.

The main topics are found to be issues related to *China's economic economic catch-up* (three lead texts: F13C, F14C, and F16C), *China's unfair trade practices* (two lead texts: F8C and F15C), *currency war* (F18C and F19C), *Franco-China relations* (two lead texts: F9C and F10C), and *Sino-Japanese relations* (two lead texts: F6C and F7C). The other topics include *Africa-China trade relations* (one lead text: F12C), *China's military threat* (one lead text: F1C), *Shanghai's characteristics* (one lead text: F2C), *Shanghai, the showcase city* (one lead text: F3C), *Shanghai, the high-tech city* (one lead text: F4C), *Franco-China trade relations* (F5C), *Made in China products* (F11C), *China's economic potential and risks* (F17C), and *China's global expansion* (F20C).

For purposes of simplicity, *Franco-China relations* and *Sino-Japanese relations* are merged into one single overarching generic topic: *bilateral relations* (four lead texts); *Africa-China trade relations* and *Franco-China trade relations* are combined into *China's trade* relations (two lead texts); and *Shanghai's characteristics*, *Shanghai, the showcase city*, and *Shanghai, the high-tech city* are merged into *Shanghai* (three lead texts). As a consequence, the top three prevailing topics in *L'Express* are: *bilateral relations, China's economic economic catch-up, and Shanghai.*

Table 142 shows that 16 topics (80%) of the 20 lead texts are derived from the use of the "generalisation" macro-rule, followed by four (20%) from "deletion".

Finally, in French the average number of words per lead text for all the 20 sampled articles is 29.05 words and the total number of words is 581. This compares with the umber of words in the English translated lead texts: 29.1 words per lead text on average and 582 total number of words for all the 20 lead texts.

5.4.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

5.4.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Table 52 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of inclusion/exclusion.

Table 52: Inclusion/exclusion of main agent actors in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors								
		Chinese	Non-Chinese							
		China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
Inclusion	No.	17	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	1
	%	85%	5%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%	5%
Exclusion	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	85%	5%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%	5%

As Table 52 shows, the Chinese social actors are included as agent actors at a frequency of 85%, the highest amongst all the social actors. The other included actors are the United States (5%), France (15%), Japan (10%), and Africa (5%). None of the social actors are excluded.

Table 53: Inclusion/exclusion of main non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors								
		Chinese	Non-Chinese							
		China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
Inclusion	No.	3	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	0
	%	15%	0%	10%	0%	5%	5%	5%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	0	4	2	1	2	1	0	1	0
	%	0%	20%	10%	5%	10%	5%	0%	5%	0%
	Total	15%	20%	20%	5%	15%	10%	5%	5%	0%

Table 53 shows that the Chinese non-agent actor is included (15%) the most frequently, compared to the non-agency of France (10%), Germany (5%), Europe (5%), and the West (5%). This pattern points to a higher incidence of the Chinese actor being the recipient of an activity in the lead texts.

Given that Chapter 4, which is dedicated to the examination of social actor representation relating to China's rise in the headlines, has already analysed the exclusion process of social actors, no further analysis on the exclusion process is required in this sub-section. For more details, please refer to Chapter 4.

5.4.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 54 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of role allocation (activation and passivation).

Table 54: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors								
				Chinese	Non-Chinese							
				China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
1	Activation	Participation	No.	9	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	45%	0%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
			%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	10%	10%	5%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
			%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
			%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%

According to Table 54, the Chinese social actors are depicted to be active participants (45%) in terms of the grammatical role they play in the clauses. The action verbs 'host', 'show', and 'use' in the lead texts of F2C, F3C, and F4C show the active role of China in providing the facilities for the Global Exhibition to take place, in revealing Shanghai's ambition to become one of the most important cities in the world, and in leveraging on the strength of its market to appeal to major foreign companies to set up research centres in the country, respectively. In this context, China is represented to be the causal agent of the action of exhibiting itself to the world through its model city, Shanghai.

1. *What are the characteristics of the city hosting the Global Exhibition from Saturday?* — *F2C*
2. *In less than twenty years, Shanghai has undergone a metamorphosis. At the time of the Global Exhibition, the showcase city shows its ambition: to become one of the world's leading cities.* — *F3C*
3. *In Shanghai, China is using its fabulous market to attract large foreign groups to ever more efficient research centres.* — *F4C*

The Chinese social actors are also allocated an activated role by their subject position in the clause when it comes to issues relating to the economy and finance. The underlined verbs 'have overtaken', 'confirmed' and 'buying' in the lead texts of F14C and F20C describe what the subject, China, is doing. In F14C, for instance, the verb 'have overtaken' has the effect of putting the focus on the action by emerging economies, in particular China, as a dynamic activity, that is, China's main action is to become economically more successful than the developed countries. The notion of China's growing economic power is further intensified through the use of the verbs 'has accelerated', 'came to sign', 'confirmed' and 'buying', as shown in F10C, F12C, and F20C respectively, which allude to China's readiness to expand its foothold in Africa

and Europe through (i) more trade exchanges with Africa (F10C), which itself is portrayed to be beneficialised (5%) from China's agency, (ii) the conclusion of several major bilateral contracts with France (F10C), which benefits from the trade deals with China, and (iii) investments in the bonds issued by the indebted eurozone states (F20C), which are treated like grammatical objects undergoing Chinese agency.

1. *Paris rolls out the red carpet to Chinese President Hu Jintao, who came to sign a series of major bilateral contracts this week.* F10C
2. *China, Africa's leading partner since 2009, has further accelerated its trade with the African continent, up 43.5%.* F12C
3. *Emerging countries, first and foremost China, will have overtaken developed countries by 2020, predicts a study.* F14C
4. *The Chinese government confirmed on Thursday that it could be buying bonds issued by the troubled states in the euro area.* F20C

China's activated role is also realised through the emphasis on the causal relationship between the agent (China) and the patient (French companies) in the lead text of F15C. In this representation, China is portrayed to be the causal agent responsible for the counterfeit goods that led French companies to incur losses of 6 billion euros in 2008. In other words, while China is represented to assume an activated role, French companies are given a passivated role through beneficialisation due to Chinese agency.

1. *A report by the Union des fabricants (UNIFAB) for the Ministry of the Economy reveals that counterfeiting cost French companies 6 billion euros in 2008. China is responsible for 73% of the companies surveyed.* F15C

China is also portrayed as an active participant in relation to the actions it undertakes to confront the United States in issues relating to defence and military. In the lead text of F1C, for instance, Chinese agency is foregrounded through the use of action verbs, such as 'suspends' and 'protest', which highlights its active role in delaying or stopping military exchanges with the United States due to an earlier action undertaken by the latter. According to this representation, the reader can thus infer from the context that China does not shy away from asserting itself by taking retaliatory measures against the Americans. Moreover, China's growing assertiveness is further intensified, as shown in F7C, through implicit references to the unauthorised entry of a Chinese fishing boat in disputed waters. In response to the trespass, Japanese patrol boats are activated through circumstantialisation, that is, by the prepositional circumstantial 'by'. As a consequence, this depiction has the effect of emphasising the active role played by the

Japanese patrol boats in capturing the Chinese trawler, which is represented as a grammatical object subjected to Japanese agency.

1.	*Beijing suspends military exchanges with Washington to protest new arms sales to Taiwan.*	*F1C*
2.	*Relations between the two Asian giants have just experienced their worst crisis since a Chinese trawler was arrested by Japanese patrol boats on the 8th of September.*	*F7C*

In addition to the activated Chinese and Japanese social actors, *L'Express* also allocates an active role to the French social actors in relation to their economic dealings and diplomatic engagements with China. First, they are depicted to be the active participants (20%) of the action indicated in the clauses of the lead texts F5C, F9C, F10C, and F15C. For instance, the action verbs 'signed', and 'rolls out' describe the action undertaken by the French social actors, that is, they are reportedly actively engaged in the conclusion of several contracts with China (F5C) and in the warm welcoming of the former Chinese president to France for the purpose of signing major bilateral contracts (F10C). France continues to be portrayed in the lead texts of F9C as the active participant engaged in the action of oscillating between fascination and reservation towards China (F9C), through the use of the verbs 'has hesitated'. Such a representation has the effect of putting the focus on the dilemma faced by the French social actors on how best to deal with China.

1.	*French companies signed several contracts with China on Thursday during Hu Jintao's visit to France. He promised his support to the French presidency of the G20.*	*F5C*
2.	*Since the diplomatic recognition of China by de Gaulle in 1964, France has hesitated between fascination and reserve towards Beijing.*	*F9C*
3.	*Paris rolls out the red carpet to Chinese President Hu Jintao, who came to sign a series of major bilateral contracts this week.*	*F10C*
4.	*A report by the Union des fabricants (UNIFAB) for the Ministry of the Economy reveals that counterfeiting cost French companies 6 billion euros in 2008.*	*F15C*

The French social actors are also activated through circumstantialisation (10%) by using the preposition 'by' to indicate French agency, as shown in F9C and F15C. In F9C, for instance, the preposition 'by' shifts the focus to the action undertaken by Charles de Gaulle, who is depicted as the person responsible for the recognition of diplomatic relations with China in 1964. It thus appears as if the lead text of *L'Express* was intending to bring the reader on the side supporting a moderate view of China ('fascination') by mentioning General Charles de

Gaulle's diplomatic recognition of China in 1964. As de Gaulle is still widely revered in France, by exploiting this association the lead text might be making the audience subconsciously more acccepting of the view it is putting forward of China.

5.4.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 55 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of functionalisation/identification/appraisement.

Table 55: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
1	Functionalisation	No.	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
		%	15%	0%	5%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	5	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
		%	25%	0%	0%	0%	5%	5%	5%	0%	5%
3	Appraisement	No.	7	1	2	0	1	0	0	2	1
		%	35%	5%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%	10%	5%

The analysis of functionalisation demonstrates that *L'Express* has the tendency to portray the Chinese social actors (three lead texts: F10C, F11C, and F17C, or 15%) as a 'manufacturer' (F11C) and a 'producer' (F17C), in contrast to the German social actors (one lead text: F8C, or 5%) who are depicted as 'employers' (F8C). The lead texts of F8C, F11C, and F17C show that functionalisation can be realised by adding the suffix '-er' to the verbs 'employ', 'manufacture', and 'produce' to create the new nouns 'employer', 'manufacturer', and 'producer', respectively. References are also made to the roles of the Chinese and French social actors (one lead text: F10C, or 5%) when the latter, the president of the Association of Solidarity China (F10C), is reportedly expressing strong disapproval of the special welcome that was being extended to China's former President Hu Jintao by the French authorities. Here are the lead texts concerned:

1. *Paris rolls out the red carpet to Chinese President Hu Jintao, who came to sign a series of major bilateral contracts this week. An attitude that does not honour France, says Marie Holzman, president of the Association of Solidarity China.* F10C
2. *Comac, the Chinese manufacturer announced this Tuesday the first hundred orders for its future medium-haul aircraft, the C-919.* F11C
3. *In less than ten years, the Middle Kingdom has become the world's leading car producer.* F17C

In the process of identifying the Chinese social actors (five lead texts: F3C, F11C, F14C, F16C, and F20C, or 25%), it can be observed that (i) China's financial city, Shanghai, is depicted as a model city, which has the ambition to become one of the most important cities worldwide (F3C); (ii) the aircraft manufacturer, Comac, is revealed to be a Chinese company (F11C), (iii) the focus on the identity of the purchaser of the eurozone bonds is the Chinese government, and (iv) China is represented to be a poor, emerging country, although it has now become the nation with the world's second-largest economy (F14C and F16C). By contrast, the identity of the (i) employer from the developed country is revealed to be German in the lead text of F8C, (ii) the technology that Comac relies on to build its medium-haul aircraft originates from the West (F11C), and (iii) the states that are facing trouble are from the euro area (F20C).

1. *At the time of the Global Exhibition, the showcase city shows its ambition: to become one of the world's leading cities.* *F3C*
2. *After the governments of Japan and Germany, the German employers expressed on Tuesday their concern at the blockade of Chinese exports of rare metals that affect all high-tech industries in developed countries.* *F8C*
3. *Comac, the Chinese manufacturer announced this Tuesday the first hundred orders for its future medium-haul aircraft, the C-919. A report from Shanghai, where this plane is designed with a maximum of Western technology.* *F11C*
4. *Emerging countries, first and foremost China, will have overtaken developed countries by 2020, predicts a study. And the Middle Kingdom will become the world's leading economic power.* *F14C*
5. *The second wealthiest country in the world is also a poor country. It will take 30 to 50 years for the Chinese to approach the Americans' standard of living.* *F16C*
6. *The Chinese government confimed on Thursday that it could be buying bonds issued by the troubled states in the euro area.* *F20C*

When it comes to the representational category of appraisement, it is found that *L'Express* tends to appraise the social actors through the lens of bilateral relations, as shown in the lead texts of F6C, F8C, F9C, and F10C. While the relationship between China and Japan is perceived to be tense and at an all-time low point through the use of evaluative adjectives 'strained' and 'worst' in F6C and F8C, the French relationship with China oscillates between fascination and reservation (F9C). These mixed feelings can be exemplified by the grand welcome extended by the French state to the former Chinese president, whose presence also elicited disapproval from the president of the Association of Solidarity China in France (F10C).

1. *Sino-Japanese relations have been strained for several months.* *F6C*

2. *Relations between the two Asian giants have just experienced their worst crisis since a Chinese trawler was arrested by Japanese patrol boats on the 8th of September.* F8C
3. *Since the diplomatic recognition of China by de Gaulle in 1964, France has hesitated between fascination and reserve towards Beijing.* F9C
4. *Paris rolls out the red carpet to Chinese President Hu Jintao, who came to sign a series of major bilateral contracts this week. An attitude that does not honour France, says Marie Holzman, president of the Association of Solidarity China* F10C

In addition to bilateral relations, China is also perceived to be a market that offers extraordinary opportunities to large foreign groups through the use of the evaluative adjective 'fabulous' in the lead text of F4C. However, the lead text of F14C casts doubt over whether China, which is still an emerging economy, can truly become the world's dominant economic power by 2020, through the explicit mention that such a scenario is 'not unrealistic but implausible'. The doubt that China will become the world's largest economy is further intensified when F11C highlights Chinese heavy reliance on Western technology to develop medium-haul aircraft by the quantifying expression 'at a maximum of'. Such a representation inevitably provides the reader with the notion that China is still a developing country and highly dependent on foreign technology to compete with others in the international business space.

1. *In Shanghai, China is using its fabulous market to attract large foreign groups to ever more efficient research centres. Is the future of high-technology written here?* F4C
2. *Comac, the Chinese manufacturer announced this Tuesday the first hundred orders for its future medium-haul aircraft, the C-919.A report from Shanghai, where this plane is designed with a maximum of Western technology.* F11C
3. *Emerging countries, first and foremost China, will have overtaken developed countries by 2020, predicts a study. And the Middle Kingdom will become the world's leading economic power. A scenario not unrealistic but implausible.* F14C

5.4.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 56 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of association/dissociation.

Table 56: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors								
			Chinese	Non-Chinese							
			China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
1	Association	No.	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		%	25%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%
2	Dissociation	No.	6	2	2	0	0	0	0	3	0
		%	30%	10%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	15%	0%

In section 4.4 of the previous chapter, which examines the representation of social actors in the headlines of the newsmagazines, the analysis of the association/dissociation process has already revealed that China is depicted to be dissociated from France, Germany, Japan and the United States, but associated with Africa in the headlines concerned. Similarly, the lead texts of the same articles (F1C, F6C, F7C, F8C, F9C, F12C, and F13C) continue to portray the dissociation between China and France (one lead text: F9C, or 5%), Japan (three lead texts: F6C, F7C, and F8C, or 15%), and the United States (one lead text: F1C, or 5%). As in the headline, Africa (one lead text: F12C, or 5%) is also represented in the lead text to be associated with China through their increasingly intertwined bilateral trade.

The realisation of dissociation often includes a lexical inventory, which places China in one group pitted against another that constitutes France, Japan, and the United States. For instance, negative denotations of China's relations with the four countries are realised through the use of unequivocably unfavourable expressions, such as 'suspends military exchanges with Washington' (F1C), 'relations have been strained' (F6C), 'their worst crisis' (F7C), 'expressed their concern' (F8C), and 'hesitated between fascination and reserve' (F9C). On the other hand, the association between China, which is reportedly Africa's largest trading partner, and Africa is realised through the use of the adverb 'further' to emphasise the rapid growth in trade exchanges (F12C).

1. *Beijing suspends military exchanges with Washington to protest new arms sales to Taiwan.* F1C
2. *Sino-Japanese relations have been strained for several months while China has cancelled discussions with Japan.* F6C
3. *Relations between the two Asian giants have just experienced their worst crisis…* F7C
4. *After the governments of Japan and Germany, the German employers expressed on Tuesday their concern at the blockade of Chinese exports of rare metals that affect all high-tech industries in developed countries.* F8C
5. *Since the diplomatic recognition of China by de Gaulle in 1964, France has hesitated between fascination and reserve towards Beijing.* F9C

6. *China, Africa's leading partner since 2009, has further accelerated its trade* F12C *with the African continent, up 43.5%.*

The creation of an in-group and out-group in the representational category of association/dissociation shows that the bilateral relations between China and other major economic powers (the United States, France, Germany, and Japan) are depicted to be suboptimal, in comparison to the trade relations between China and Africa that are portrayed to be intensifying.

There is, however, a lead text (F18C) that reveals the position of *L'Express* with regard to the currency war facing the major trading countries in the world. While China and the United States are portrayed to be dissociated (one lead text: F1C, or 5%) from each other in issues relating to military exchanges, they are represented to be associated (one lead text: F18C, or 5%) with each other in issues concerning exchange-rate decisions being made in Washington. This is achieved through the expression 'the United States and China are well positioned to win it', which conjures up an image of a zero-sum outcome that results from the negotiation with the other major countries. In other words, the United States and China are depicted as benefitting from the failure to reach an agreement on how to avoid the currency war, at the expense of all the other major countries.

1. *Over this weekend in Washington, the world's finance ministers from the major countries have failed to make any concrete decision to avoid a "currency war". The United States and China are well positioned to win it.* F18C

In addition to the formation of in-groups and out-groups, which exist in relation to a specific activity or set of activities, van Leeuwen (2008, p. 39) argues that the representational category of association/dissociation can also be realised by circumstances of accompaniment. This is because this semantic strategy represents an extension of the participant itself, by addition or variation, and also encompasses an additional sense of cause and contingency (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: pp. 348-349). For instance, the lead texts of F2C, F10C, F15C, and F20C show that China is associated with (i) the business contracts that it presents to French companies during the Chinese president's state visit in France (F2C), (ii) the promise he made to support France's G20 presidency (F2C), (iii) the majority of the counterfeit products in France that caused French companies to incur a loss of 6 billion euros in 2008, and (iv) hidden

political motives, rather than financial reasons, for purchasing the bonds of the indebted eurozone states (F20C).

1. *French companies signed several contracts with China on Thursday during Hu Jintao's visit to France. He promised his support to the French presidency of the G20.* F2C
2. *Paris rolls out the red carpet to Chinese President Hu Jintao, who came to sign a series of major bilateral contracts this week. An attitude that does not honour France, says Marie Holzman, president of the Association of Solidarity China.* F10C
3. *A report by the Union des fabricants (UNIFAB) for the Ministry of the Economy reveals that counterfeiting cost French companies 6 billion euros in 2008. China is responsible for 73% of the companies surveyed.* F15C
4. *The Chinese government confimed on Thursday that it could be buying bonds issued by the troubled states in the euro area. Decoding a gesture more political than financial.* F20C

Further to the circumstances of accompaniment, the lead texts of F16C and F17C also reveal that China is associated with (i) a low level of personal income, despite the country being the 'second wealthiest country in the world' (F16C), and (ii) a market that offers abundant opportunities ('eldorado') and also plentiful risks for international manufacturing companies (F17C). Nevertheless, the lead text of F16C also reveals the dissociation (one lead text: F16C, or 5%) between China and the United States by emphasising the significant disparity in standards of living for an average inhabitant in China and the United States. As a consequence, the focus shifts to the many years (30 to 50) that China needs in order to catch up with the American standard of living. According to this representation, China is thus in no way close to matching the United States from the economic perspective.

1. *The second wealthiest country in the world is also a poor country. It will take 30 to 50 years for the Chinese to approach the Americans' standard of living.* F16C
2. *An eldorado into which foreign manufacturers are rushing, but there are many threats in the market.* F17C

5.4.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

Table 57 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of personalisation/impersonalisation.

Table 57: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors								
				Chinese	Non-Chinese							
				China	US	France	UK	Germany	Europe	West	Japan	Africa
1	Personalisation		No.	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	10%	0%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%	5%
		Objectivation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The analyis of the personalisation/impersonalisation process demonstrates that the Chinese (10%) and French social (15%) actors are the only participants to be represented in this representational category. Here are the lead texts concerned:

1. *French companies signed several contracts with China on Thursday during Hu Jintao's visit to France. He promised his support to the French presidency of the G20.* *F5C*
2. *Since the diplomatic recognition of China by de Gaulle in 1964, France has hesitated between fascination and reserve towards Beijing.* *F9C*
3. *Paris rolls out the red carpet to Chinese President Hu Jintao, who came to sign a series of major bilateral contracts this week. An attitude that does not honour France, says Marie Holzman, president of the Association of Solidarity China.* *F10C*
4. *On all sides, voices are calling for a reform of the international monetary system. Nicolas Sarkozy makes it a priority during his G20 presidency. As the Summit in Seoul opens, several courses of actions are on the table.* *G20C*

The lead texts of F5C and F10C show that the Chinese and French social actors are humanised in the form of heads of state when the clauses concerned want to put the focus on France's successful conclusion of bilateral trade deals with China's former president, Hu Jintao, during the latter's state visit in France. According to this representation, President Hu Jintao's arrival in France is perceived to be of great importance from the economic perspective to the French authorities, who are depicted to be welcoming the Chinese leader with pomp and ceremony, through the use of the expression 'to roll out the red carpet' in the lead text of F10C. In addition to the reportedly beneficial economic dimension of the state visit, F5C also alludes to the hidden agenda that former French President Nicolas Sarkozy has had for extending such a warm welcome to the Chinese leader: garnering China's support for a French G20

presidency. Criticism of the French decision to welcome President Hu, however, is embodied in the form of Marie Holzman, president of the Association of Solidsarity China, who proclaimed that it was ‘an attitude that does not honour France” (F10C).

L’Express also employs the strategy of humanising the French social actors through explicit reference to Charles de Gaulle (F9C), when it wants to remind the reader about the historical background of Franco-Chinese diplomatic relations. This strategy of evoking an eminent historical figure as important as Charles de Gaulle is highly significant, because the focus shifts from China to the instrumental role that the French general and statesman played in enabling the establishment of diplomatic relations between France and China in 1964.

5.5 German Perspective - *Der Spiegel*

5.5.1 Overview

This section examines the German perspective on China's rise through an analysis of the lead texts of the 20 articles published by *Der Spiegel* in 2010. Due to space constraints, a table with the lead texts has been placed in Appendix (see Table 143).

The top two prevailing topics are found to be issues related to *China's global expansion* (eight lead texts: G11C, G12C, G13C, G15C, G17C, G18C, G19C, and G20C), and *China's unfair trade practices* (four lead texts: G1C, G3C, G9C, and G14C). Albeit at a lower frequency, the other topics include *China's contradictions* (G5C), *China's crash* (G10C), *convenient allies* (G16C), *labour exploitation* (G7C), *repression of workers' rights* (G8C), *new world order* (G2C), and *state capitalism* (G4C). For purposes of simplicity, *labour exploitation* and *repression of workers' rights* are merged into one single overarching generic topic: *workers' rights*, which thus becomes the third most frequently occuring topic (two lead texts) in the corpus collected from *Der Spiegel*. Table 143 in Appendix shows that all the topics are derived from the use of the "generalisation" macro-rule.

Finally, in German the average number of words per lead text for all the 20 sampled articles is 32.7 words and the total number of words of the 20 lead texts is 654. This compares with the higher number of words in the English translated lead texts: 33.1 words per lead text on average and 662 total number of words for all the 20 lead texts.

5.5.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

5.5.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Table 58 shows the frequency distribution of the inclusion/exclusion of agency (Chinese and non-Chinese) in the lead texts.

Table 58: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors							
		Chinese	Non-Chinese						
		China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
Inclusion	No.	19	4	0	0	0	1	0	0
	%	95%	20%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	95%	20%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%

As Table 59 shows, the Chinese social actors are included as agent actors at a frequency of 95%, the highest amongst all the social actors. The other included actors are the United States (20%) and the West (5%). None of the social actors are excluded.

Table 59: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors							
		Chinese	Non-Chinese						
		China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
Inclusion	No.	1	2	2	4	0	1	1	1
	%	5%	10%	10%	20%	0%	5%	5%	5%
Exclusion	No.	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0
	%	0%	15%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	5%	25%	10%	20%	10%	5%	5%	5%

Table 59 shows that the European non-agent actor is included the most frequently (at 20%), compared to the non-agency of China (5%), American (10%), German (10%), the West (5%), the world (5%), and Africa (5%). This pattern points to a higher incidence of the European actor being the recipient of an activity in the lead texts. The Japanese social actors are excluded at a frequency of 10%.

Since the excluded social actors have already been discussed and analysed in Chapter 4, which is dedicated to the examination of social actor representation relating to China's rise in the headlines, the exclusion of the Japanese social actors from the lead texts still apply. For a detailed analysis of the exclusion process for *Der Spiegel*, refer to Chapter 4.

5.5.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 60 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of role allocation (activation/passivation).

Table 60: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors							
				Chinese	Non-Chinese						
				China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
1	Activation	Participation	No.	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	35%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	2	0	1	2	0	2	0	1
			%	10%	0%	5%	10%	0%	10%	0%	5%

The Chinese social actors are depicted as active participants through participation (35%), i.e. in the subject position in a clause, in the following examples:

1. *In order to boost its economy, China is once again pegging its currency to the dollar. This policy exacerbates global imbalances – and it also harms the country itself.* *G1C*
2. *As an alliance, they could dictate world affairs.* *G2C*
3. *The rapid rise of the Middle Kingdom presents Germany with a growth miracle.* *G12C*
4. *In order to make their state-owned companies healthy, the Chinese authorities want to hire international management.* *G13C*
5. *The two largest climate offenders thwarted all the plans of the Europeans.* *G16C*
6. *The second-largest power is securing raw materials and political influence without any consideration for African workers or nature.* *G17C*
7. *The Chinese are using the weakness of Europe to develop influence on the continent.* *G18C*

The underlined verbs 'is pegging', 'dictate', 'presents', 'want', 'thwarted', 'is securing', and 'are using' describe what China, the first participant in the clauses, is doing. Such representations have the effect of emphasising Chinese agency by portraying it as (i) a powerful country that has the ability to command global affairs together with the United States (G2C and G16C), (ii) an opportunistic country that exploits the vulnerability of the others to gain political influence (G17C and G18C) and raw materials (G18C), (iii) an increasingly wealthy country that can help Germany achieve economic growth (G12C), and (iv) an outward-looking country whose authorities are depicted as attracting foreign talent to run the Chinese SOEs (G13C). However, China's policy of fixing its currency to the US dollar to improve its economy is also depicted as exerting a burden on others in global trade, and eventually even harming itself (G1C).

While the Chinese social actors are allocated an activated role through participation, as the above lead texts show, the German (5%), European (10%), and African (5%) social actors are depicted as passivated through beneficialisation. In other words, they are portrayed as affected by the actions undertaken by the Chinese social actors in a negative or positive way. Specifically, Germany is represented as benefitting economically from China's rapid rise (G12C), Europe is depicted as negatively affected by the action undertaken by (i) an exploitative China that takes advantage of the former's weakness (G18C), and by (ii) the world's largest polluters, China and the United States, that successfully obstructed the former's climate plans (G16C).

The Chinese social actors are also allocated an activated role through circumstantialisation (5%). This is achieved through the use of the prepositions 'from' and 'by', which shift the focus onto China's agency. Furthermore, the investments and acquisitions undertaken by the Chinese social actors have also led to the emphasis on their impact on the German social actors, who are portrayed as helpless recipients (through beneficialisation) of Chinese agency. Here is the lead text concerned:

1. *Investors from the Far East have a bad reputation in Germany.* *G19C*
   But for many companies, a takeover by the Chinese is their salvation.

It is to be highlighted that the author of G19C, Katrin Rössler, relies on the generalisation of the proper noun 'Far East' to denote China, whose investments are depicted to be treated with suspicion and mistrust in Germany. In so doing, the author omits the need to explicitly associate China and its notoriety with regard to its investments. Such a representation has the cognitive effect of emphasising an 'acquiror-and-the-acquired' relationship, otherwise a 'culprit-versus-the-victim' relationship, in which German companies are portrayed to be at the mercy of Chinese acquisitions. As a consequence, readers may already form negative social cognitions of the depicted culprit and develop sympathies for the victim before they move on to the main article. Furthermore, the portrayal of China representing the whole of the negatively appraised Far East, which is depicted to be a single, homogeneous group, could have the effect of being a vehicle for stereotyping that leads to the construction of the Other vis-à-vis Germany.

Lastly, the Chinese social actors are activated through possessivation (15%), by postmodifying nominalisation or using apostrophe 's. This has the effect of shifting the focus onto the nominalised verbs, such as 'desire', 'rise', and 'offers', and 'purchase', which convey an overall image of a China that is (i) eager to expand (G6C), (ii) rapidly growing in importance (G12C), and (iii) using investments to pull the crisis-hit eurozone member states towards itself. Here are the lead texts concerned:

1. *But China's super-fast train network enlargement is above all a lesson about Beijing's desire to expand.* *G6C*
2. *The rapid rise of the Middle Kingdom…* *G12C*
3. *They attract with offers of investments and the purchase of troubled euro countries' government bonds…* *G18C*

5.5.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 61 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of functionalisation/identification/appraisement.

Table 61: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors							
			Chinese	Non-Chinese						
			China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
1	Functionalisation	No.	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
		%	15%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%
2	Identification	No.	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	40%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	65%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The Chinese social actors are functionalised (15%) by evoking their occupations or role, such as 'workers', 'policemen', 'demonstrators' (G8C), 'investors' (G19C), and 'helper' (G20C). This is achieved by adding suffixes '-er', '-men', '-or', '-or', '-er' to the verbs 'work', 'police', 'demonstrate', 'invest', and 'help', respectively, to form new words. In so doing, it reveals the different roles assumed by the Chinese social actors according to the context in which they are situated. From the individual perspective, for instance, the focus is placed on the increasingly confident workers (G8C), whose rights are depicted to be trampled by the policemen sent by the Chinese authorities. Such a representation has the effect of associating the Chinese authorities with the power of the police force, ultimately alluding to a repressive state that relies on the police to limit its people's freedom. When it comes to China's relations with actors from Europe, such as Germany, Ireland, and Spain, the Chinese social actors are functionalised as 'investors' (G19C) and a 'helper' (G20C) who could offer economic opportunities and assistance.

1. *China's workers are showing self-confidence… The communist authorities are reacting in their own way – by sending policemen to hound the demonstrators.* G8C
2. *Investors from the Far East have a bad reputation in Germany.* G19C
3. *The People's Republic, your friend and helper: China promises crisis-hit countries, such as Ireland and Spain…* G20C

The analysis of identification shows that China is predominantly depicted (40%) to be a country run by a communist government (G4C, G8C, G19C) that undertakes for-profit economic activities ('capitalists' in G19C) through the companies and businesses that it controls and owns (G12C and G13C). The menace posed by such state-run industries is foregrounded through the representation of the serious, severe competition they could pose to the others (G12C). Through the use of the noun 'power' (G2C, G5C,

and G17C), China is also portrayed as a very powerful and influential country that is (i) comparable with the United States (G2C), (ii) confronted with contradictions or dilemma of its own (G5C), and (iii) in the midst of a global expansion to obtain raw materials and gain political influence. Here are the extracts of the lead texts concerned:

1. *The US and China are already the most important powers on the planet today.* *G2C*
2. *The Communist government in Beijing has paid homage to capitalism for years… China is returning to the state system.* *G4C*
3. *But it is precisely the world fair that reveals the contradictions faced by the superpower* *G5C*
4. *The communist authorities are reacting in their own way – by sending policemen to hound the demonstrators.* *G8C*
5. *But Beijing's guided industry is developing to become a dangerous rival.* *G12C*
6. *In order to make their state-owned companies healthy, the Chinese authorities want to hire international management.* *G13C*
7. *With a lot of money and harsh methods, the world's second-largest power is securing raw materials and political influence…* *G17C*
8. *The communist capitalists get jobs and create new ones.* *G19C*

Finally, the Chinese social actors are appraised (65%) through the use of (i) evaluative adjectives, such as 'most important', 'cheap exports', 'unexpected renaissance', 'model metropolis', 'low wages and miserable conditions', 'imminent', 'dangerous', 'unfair', 'unexpected boost', 'harsh methods', and 'bad reputation'; evaluative nouns, such as 'disilluionment', 'crash', 'losers'; evaluative verbs, such as 'harms', 'exacerbates', as well as evaluative adverbs, such as 'gently'. The choice of the lexicals has the effect of portraying China negatively as a country that will (i) resort to unfair trade practices by exporting cheap goods (G3C), (ii) disregard the well-being of its numerous workers suffering from poor working conditions (G8C), and (iii) aggressively expand its presence in the world through dubious, or even unethical means (G11C and G17C), all for the sake of pursuing power (G2C and G17C), economic (G4C, G5C, and G15C) and political gains (G2C and G17C) for itself. China's behaviour is also represented as leading to (i) casualties, in the form of losers (G14C), and (ii) a country held in low repute by other countries (G9C and G19C). The consequences of these situations are portrayed to be dire since China will end up harming itself (G1C) and thus it is doomed to failure and collapse (G10C).

1. *In order to boost its economy, China is once again pegging its currency to the dollar. This policy exacerbates global imbalances – and it also harms the country itself.* *G1C*
2. *The US and China are already the most important powers on the planet today.* *G2C*

3. *The background story for this is the cheap exports of the People's Republic, which burdens America's trade balance.* G3C
4. *The centrally planned economy is experiencing an unexpected renaissance.* G4C
5. *… reveals the contradictions faced by the superpower – even within its model metropolis* G5C
6. *… the workers at Honda and Hyundai are standing up, striking against low wages and miserable accommodation.* G8C
7. *Euophoria not long ago, now already disillusionment.* G9C
8. *The crash of the real estate market… the collapse is even imminent.* G10C
9. *Unfair trade agreements, commerce and Confucius, how China is 'gently' conquering the world.* G11C
9. *But Beijing's guided industry is developing to become a dangerous rival. Will the boom become a China-trap?* G12C
10. *There is a race to devalue the currency in the currency markets, where there are only losers.* G14C
11. *The financial crisis has given the Chinese economy an unexpected boost.* G15C
12. *With a lot of money and harsh methods, the world's second-largest power is securing raw materials and political influence…* G17C
13. *Investors from the Far East have a bad reputation in Germany.* G19C

When it comes to the functionalisation of the non-Chinese social actors, their occupations are mentioned, thus revealing the socio-economic status among the different social actors. American social actors, for instance, are functionalised (15%) by virtue of their highly skilled professions, such as 'senators' (G3C), 'Harvard professor' (G10C), and 'US diplomats' (G17C). By contrast, the African social actors are functionalised (5%) as 'African workers', whose well-being and rights are ignored by an encroaching resource-hungry superpower (G17C).

1. *A senator said, "If the Chinese do not move, we will force them"…* G3C
2. *The crash of the real estate market, according to the conviction of Harvard professor Rogoff cannot be avoided.* G10C
3. *US diplomats watch suspiciously China's advance in Africa… the second-largest power is securing raw materials and political influence without any consideration for African workers or nature.* G17C

5.5.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 62 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of association/dissociation.

Table 62: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors							
			Chinese	Non-Chinese						
			China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
1	Association	No.	3	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
		%	15%	5%	5%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Dissociation	No.	4	2	1	3	0	0	0	0
		%	20%	10%	5%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 62 shows that the Chinese and American actors are represented to be dissociated (10%) from each other, as shown in the following examples:

1. *As an alliance, they could dictate world affairs. But, do they really want to?* G2C
2. *That is why the dispute between the US and China is now escalating.* G14C

G2C shows that the dissociation between both social actors is achieved through the use of the modal verb 'could' to refer to conditional situations, in which the United States and China have to first agree to work together in order for them to be able to achieve the same goal, i.e. command global affairs. The disagreement between both of them is further highlighted by the 'dispute' that is depicted to be deteriorating (G14C).

When it comes to environmental issues, however, the United States and China are portrayed to be working with each other to successfully oppose the plans prepared by the Europeans. In other words, the United States and China are depicted as associated (5%) with each other, but dissociated from Europe in matters relating to the environment. Here is an extract of the lead text concerned:

1. *The disclosed US cables reveal that the US and China are working together. The two largest climate offenders thwarted all the plans of the Europeans.* G16C

The dissociation between the social actors from China and continental Europe, particularly Germany (5%) and other European (10%) actors, is further exemplified in the following examples:

1. *The rapid rise of the Middle Kingdom presents Germany with a growth miracle, but also new risks.* G12C
2. *The Chinese are using the weakness of Europe to develop influence on the continent. They attract with… and thus create allies within the EU.* G18C
3. *China promises crisis-hit countries, such as Ireland and Spain, concrete help in the fight against the debt crisis. What exactly does it mean is so far unclear.* G20C

Although China is depicted to be offering immense opportunities to Germany's economic growth (G12C), forging friendships (G18C) and extending help to the crisis-affected EU countries (G20C), which all show the association between China and Germany (5%)/Europe (10%), the authors of the three lead texts have also highlighted the potential menace of China's involvement on the European continent. This has the effect of conjuring up an image of an opportunistic China with ominous intentions that harbours ulterior motives in its relationship with Europe. In other words, China is depicted to be exploiting the vulnerability of some EU member states by providing them with temporary financial solutions, which have the potential to lead to a more serious and insidious problem, such as gaining political influence.

In addition to the portrayal of a China dissociated from the other countries, China is also represented as being dissociated (5%) from itself. For instance, G1C shows that China's policy of fixing the value of the Chinese renminbi to the US dollar is not only causing harm to its trading partners, but it also has adverse consequences on China itself. In other words, G1C seems to represent the attitude of *Der Spiegel,* which realises that China is harming itself when China does not realise this itself. *Der Spiegel* is thus representing China as young, inexperienced, immature in terms of it economics in comparison to Germany.

1. *In order to boost its economy, China is once again pegging its currency to the dollar. This policy exacerbates global imbalances – and it also harms the country itself.* G1C

Finally, the association of China with some activities can also be achieved through the use of a relative clause that explains the activities signposted in the main clause. For instance, China's trade agreements, commerce, and Confucius Institutes are depicted to be vehicles for China's plans to expand and win over the world.

1. *Unfair trade agreements, commerce and Confucius, how China is 'gently' conquering the world.* G11C

5.5.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

Table 63 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of personalisation/impersonalisation.

Table 63: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors							
				Chinese	Non-Chinese						
				China	US	Germany	Europe	Japan	West	World	Africa
1	Personalisation		No.	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
			%	25%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The Chinese social actors are represented to be personalised (25%) more frequently than the American (15%) and African (5%) social actors. They are depicted as humans when references are made to labour rights ('workers'), China's global expansion ('investors'), and membership of the communist political system in China ('comrades'), as shown in the following examples:

1. *Move forward comrades, we are going back! The Communist government in Beijing has paid hommage to capitalism for years like no other country in the world.* *G4J*
2. *China's workers are showing self-confidence: Of all the people in the People's Republic, the workers at Honda and Hyundai are standing up, striking against low wages and miserable conditions.* *G8C*
3. *Investors from the Far East have a bad reputation in Germany.* *G18C*

By contrast, the American social actors are humanised in the form of a 'senator', 'Harvard professor Rogoff', and 'US diplomats', who are portrayed to be (i) threatening China if it does not do what it is expected to do (G3C), (ii) expressing expert opinions on China's imminent crash (G10C), and (iii) mistrustful of China's actions in Africa (G17C). Here are some extracts of the lead texts concerned:

1. *A senator said, "If the Chinese do not move, we will force them"…* *G3C*
2. *The crash of the real estate market, according to the conviction of Harvard professor Rogoff cannot be avoided…* *G10C*
3. *US diplomats watch suspiciously China's advance in Africa…* *G17C*

The African social actors are also humanised in the form of 'workers' when the lead text wants to foreground the violation of their rights by a ruthless China. This is achieved through the use of the preposition 'without' to describe the lack of kindness and throughtfulness for the plight of the African workers. In other words, the African social actors are depicted to be personalised when the aim is to emphasise China's

readiness to sacrifice nature and the African workers' rights for the purpose of obtaining raw materials and gaining political influence in Africa. For instance:

1. *The second-largest power is securing raw materials and political influence without any consideration for African workers or nature.* G17C

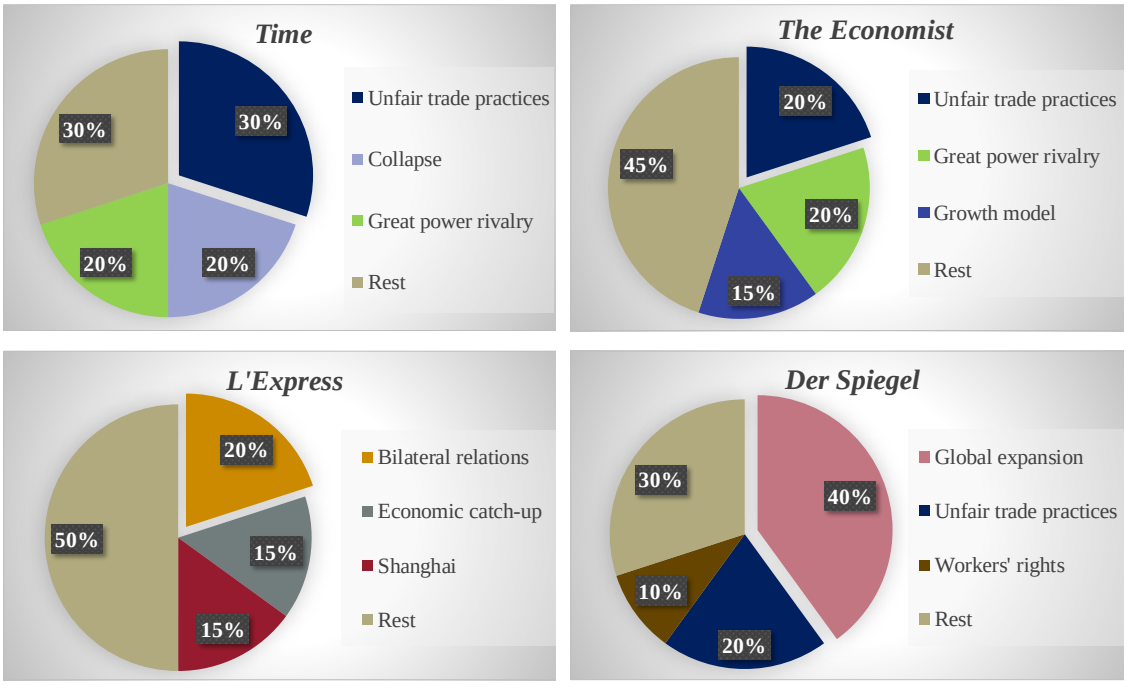
In contrast to the humanised African social actors in the form of workers, the Chinese social actors are dehumanised through impersonalised references to their presence in Africa. Moreover, the noun 'advance' gives the notion that the Chinese are making their presence felt across the African continent, by arriving in large numbers like a forward movement of people or vehicles in a military operation. This menacing effect is further intensified through the use of the adverb 'suspiciously' to highlight the mistrust by the US diplomats about China's real intentions for coming to Africa. In other words, G17C depicts that there is something sinister about China's presence in Africa. For instance:

1. *US diplomats watch suspiciously China's advance in Africa.* G17C

5.6 Closing Remarks

Similarly to the patterns observed in the previous chapter, the results obtained in this chapter have further corroborated that the four Western newsmagazines under study have different focus areas in their lead texts when reporting on China's economic rise in 2010. According to the topics deduced from the application of van Dijk's macro-rules, although none of them have exactly the same order of importance in the focus areas they cover, the derived results (see Figure 12) have clearly revealed the following patterns: (i) China's unfair trade practices are one of the most important issues reported in the lead texts of *Time* (the top topic, with 30% representation), *The Economist* (also the top topic, represented at 20%), and *Der Spiegel* (the second-most important topic, with 20% representation); and (ii) great power politics involving China, the United States, and India is a topic that is also widely reported in *Time* and *The Economist*. By contrast, *L'Express* continues to put the emphasis on China's bilateral relations with its trading partners, its economic catch-up with developed countries, and the country's financial city, Shanghai.

Figure 12: Overview of the top three key topics in each newsmagazine



As regards the application of van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory of social actor representation, the patterns that have emerged across the 80 lead texts, as demonstrated in this chapter, have proven the newsmagazines' propensity to portray China negatively. Not only was China depicted as a threatening, communist,

mercantilist and expansionist nation with ambitions to challenge the United States, it has also been found that China and the United States were the two key social actors depicted in the lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*. These representations suggest the presence of great power rivalry that is characterised by an emerging superpower (China) challenging the supremacy of the incumbent superpower (the United States).

Furthermore, it has also been observed that the four Western newsmagazines had the tendency to project an us-versus-them dichotomy, in which China was represented to belong to the out-group pitted against the in-group of members. Such a strategy has revealed the newsmagazines' tendency to create two discursive groups opposing each other, along with a discursive representation of a "China that not only harms others to benefit itself", but also a "China that harms others, and harms itself".

The following chapter shall examine the representation of social actors in the headlines of the 80 articles against the backdrop of the trade tensions with Japan in 1987. Likewise, the chapter begins by deriving the dominant topics of the lead texts by means of van Dijk's macro-rules, before employing van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory of social actor representation to analyse the representation of the social actors.

6. Case Study 3: Japan (1987) - Representation of Social Actors in the Headlines

6.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters examined the representation of China's rise in the headlines and lead texts in the year 2010. This chapter and the following, however, look at Japan's rise in the year 1987 in the headlines and lead texts, respectively. Specifically, C hapter 6 aims to answer the research questions: (i) what are the prevailing topics surrounding the rise of Japan in the year 1987 expressed through the headlines of the four newsmagazines? (ii) What were the main representational categories that were used to construct the social actors in the headlines of each of the four newsmagazines? (iii) Who were the main social actors involved in the representation of Japan in the headlines of each of the four newsmagazines? (iv) How were they discursively represented in relation to one another across the four newsmagazines? (v) Was Japan more positively or negatively appraised in the headlines? (vi) What are the prevailing ideological discourse and dominant representation of Japan in the Western newsmagazines?

In so doing, this chapter helps to test the two hypotheses outlined in Section 1.4 of this thesis: (i) China is reported more unfavourably than Japan by the Western press, and (ii) The Western newsmagazines do not speak in one collective voice with regard to China or Japan.

The analysis applies ten of Van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-semantic categories[62] to the headlines as well as Van Dijk's concept of macro-rules[63] (1980), which provides a starting point in critical discourse analysis to examine how the social actors are constructed. As headlines disclose the most important topic of the news and thus the highest-level macro-proposition of a news discourse, the study proceeds by first identifying the prevailing topic of each of the headlines through the application of macro-rules before linking the socio-semantic categories with their linguistic realisations (see Chapter 3).

Sections 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5 examine the representation of the major social actors in the 20 headlines of each of the newsmagazines, namely *Time*, *The Economist*,

[62] See Section 3.4 for the representational categories and the rationale for choosing them over the others.
[63] See Section 3.3 on how to apply the macro-rules.

L'Express and *Der Spiegel*, respectively. As previously mentioned, each section begins with a global description of the data collected from the 20 headlines of each newsmagazine by first identifying the prevailing topics on Japan's rise in 1987, then tabulating the inclusion and exclusion of the main social actors in frequency and percentage, before applying the other representational categories to the analysis of the social actors. Section 6.6 concludes the chapter by comparing and summarising the similarities and differences in the representation of the main social actors related to Japan across the newsmagazines and highlights any patterns that emerge from the data.

6.2 American Perspective - *Time*

6.2.1 Overview

This section examines the American perspective on Japan's rise through an analysis of the headlines of 20 articles published by *Time* newsmagazine in 1987, the period under study. There were altogether nine authors and they were: Barry Hillenbrand (four articles), Stephen Koepp (three), Janice Castro (two), George Russell (one), Howard Chua-Eoan (one), Jill Smolowe (one), Kurt Andersen (one), Nancy Gibbs (one) and Philipp Elmer-Dewitt (one). Due to space constraints, brief background information on only the top two contributors is presented here.

Born in 1941 in Chicago, Barry Hillenbrand joined *Time* newsmagazine as a correspondent in Boston in 1968. Between 1986 and 1992, he was the newsmagazine's bureau chief in Tokyo, where he covered news related to the death of Emperor Hirohito and US-Japan trade issues, and was the largest contributor (A6J, A12J, A17J, and A20J) across the 20 sampled articles. Barry Hillenbrand spent 34 years with *Time* before retiring in 2001. He has a bachelor's degree in history from Loyola University.

Stephen Koepp, who wrote three (A8J, A16J, and A19J) of the 20 articles, joined *Time* in 1981 as a correspondent in the newsmagazine's Letters Department, where he answered letters from readers. He received a bachelor's degree with a journalism major and German minor from the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire in 1978.

The prevailing topics of the 20 headlines about Japan in the year 1987, which draw on Van Dijk's macro-rules to yield the super-concept, are presented in Table 64. Table 64 shows that 16 topics (80%) of the 20 headlines are derived from the use of the

"generalisation" macrorule, followed by three (15%) from "deletion" and one (5%) from "zero-rule".

Table 64: Prevailing topics of the headlines (*Time*)

No.	Headlines	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words
A1J	Japan: The 1.004% solution	Generalisation	Gradual solution	4
A2J	Japan: Global affairs are a bummer	Generalisation	International relations	6
A3J	Economy and business: Fighting off the suitcase brigade	Generalisation	International trade	8
A4J	Economy and business: I'll take Manhatten - and Waikiki	Generalisation	Global expansion	8
A5J	Employment: The mighty yen hits home	Deletion	Employment	6
A6J	Japan: A whiff of blood in the water	Zero rule	Japan: blood in the water	8
A7J	Style and design: An elegant sweep toward heaven	Generalisation	International trade	8
A8J	Economy and business: Fighting the trade tilt	Generalisation	International trade	7
A9J	The challenges of success	Deletion	Challenges	4
A10J	Trade face-off: A dangerous US-Japan confrontation	Generalisation	International trade	7
A11J	Japan Yasu, the chips are down	Generalisation	International trade	5
A12J	Economy and business: Saying hello to BMW-san	Generalisation	Car industry	7
A13J	Economy and business: Publishing Tokyo's foxy biz whiz	Generalisation	Industry	8
A14J	Economy and business: A puzzling toll at the top	Generalisation	Industry	9
A15J	Economy and business: Beware of machines in disguise	Generalisation	International trade	8
A16J	Economy and business: Global competition: Taking on the world	Generalisation	International trade	9
A17J	Japan tee time for the threesome	Deletion	Tee time	6
A18J	Business: Japan let us shake hands	Generalisation	International relations	6
A19J	Born in the USA, sold to Japan	Generalisation	International trade	7
A20J	Socking it away in Japan	Generalisation	Safe haven	5
			Total no.	136
			Average no. per headline	6.8

Represented at a frequency of 35%, the top prevailing topic is found to be an issue related to *international trade* (seven headlines: A3J, A8J, A10J, A11J, A15J, A16J, and A19J). For reasons of simplicity, *industry* (two headlines: A13J and A14J or 10%) and *automobile industry* (one headline: A12J or 5%) are merged to form the overarching topic *industry*, thus appearing at a total frequency of 15%. The other topics include *blood in the water* (one headline: A6J or 5%), *challenges* (one headline: A9J or 5%), *employment* (one headline: A5J or 5%), *global expansion* (one headline: A4J or 5%), *gradual solutions* (one headline: A1J or 5%), *international relations* (two headlines: A2J and A19J or 10%), *safe haven* (one headline: A20J or 5%), *style and design* (one headline: A7J or 5%) and *tee time* (one headline: A17J or 5%).

Finally, the average number of words per headline for all the 20 sampled articles is 6.8 words and the total number of words of the 20 headlines is 136.

6.2.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

6.2.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Now that the prevailing topics of the 20 headlines have been identified, this section applies Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic categories to the representation of the main social actors in the headlines of *Time* newsmagazine. The first category examines how the main social actors are included and excluded in the 20 headlines. In brief, social actors are included whenever they are mentioned in the headlines and they are excluded whenever they are absent from the headlines.

Since the articles primarily concern Japan, which is one of the two countries[64] under focus in this thesis, the social actors are thus grouped into Japanese and non-Japanese actors. The main non-Japanese actors represented in *Time* newsmagazine in 1987 are the US, Soviet Union, West Germany, Western Europe, and foreigners.

Table 65 and Table 66 show the frequency distribution of inclusion and exclusion of the social actors (Japanese and non-Japanese) in the 20 headlines and draw a distinction between the agent and non-agent social actors. This way, we will more clearly understand the role of agency and non-agency in the inclusion and exclusion of the actors across the sampled headlines through frequency distributions.

Table 65: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors					
		Japanese	Non-Japanese				
		Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
Inclusion	No.	8	1	0	0	0	0
	%	40%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	4	4	0	0	0	1
	%	20%	20%	0%	0%	0%	5%
	Total	60%	25%	0%	0%	0%	5%

As Table 65 shows, the Japanese social actor is included as an agent actor at a frequency of 40%, the highest amongst all the social actors. It is also included at a nearly eight-fold rate compared to the next biggest agent social actor (the US), which is included at a frequency of 5%. Since BMW (mentioned in A12J) is a German automobile manufacturer, it is treated as a West German actor for the purposes of this thesis. The agency of the Soviet Union, West Germany, and Western Europe is included at a frequency of 0% each.

[64] The other being China, which is examined in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

Regarding the exclusion of actors in the headlines, the Japanese agents are also excluded more frequently (25%) than the four non-Japanese actors. Likewise, the agency of the American actor is the most frequently excluded (20%) among the subgroup of non-Japanese actors. The exclusion of the agency of the Soviet Union, West Germany and Western Europe is included at a frequency of 0% each.

The following examples show that it is difficult for the reader to know the identity of the participants involved in the social practice indicated in the clauses if they merely read the headlines. Without further context and information, the causal relationship between the agent and the non-agent is unclear. In other words, the participants of the social practice could be the American, the Chinese, the Japanese, or the international community at large.

Here are some examples of the exclusion of Japanese actor agency:

1. *Economy and business: I'll take Manhatten – and Waikiki* *A4J*
2. *Style and design: An elegant sweep to heaven* *A7J*
3. *The challenges of success* *A9J*
4. *Economy and business: A puzzling toll at the top* *A14J*

Given that the Japanese and American agents are included and excluded the most regularly across the 20 sampled headlines, it also means that they are attributed with representational categories more frequently than the other non-Japanese actors. In other words, their appearance in the headlines is more readily recognisable to the readers of the newsmagazine.

Table 66: Exclusion of agent social actors (*Time*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Agent social actors					
			Japanese	Non-Japanese				
			Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
1	Backgrounding	No.	4	4	0	0	0	1
		%	20%	20%	0%	0%	0%	5%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Exclusion has two subcategories: the radical (total deletion or suppression) and the less radical (partial or backgrounding) variants. Table 66 shows that *Time* newsmagazine predominantly relies on the strategy of backgrounding the Japanese (25%) and American (20%) social actors, thus delaying their appearance related to the actions mentioned in the headlines. This has the effect of reducing explicit references to

the agency of an action, thus de-emphasising the social actors. However, they are still subsequently referred to in the lead and main texts underneath the headlines concerned.

Time newsmagazine uses three methods to realise less radical exclusion or backgrounding of the Japanese actor: the use of (i) passive agent deletion, (ii) adjectives, and (iii) nominalisation. In the *gobal expansion* topic (A4J), for instance, the explicit reference to the agent social actor is deleted from the headline and instead replaced with the use of the first-person singular nominative case personal pronoun 'I'. This has the effect of rendering it more difficult for the readers to ascertain the agency and responsibility for the takeover of Manhattan and Waikiki – two city districts in the United States. As Manhattan is America's major economic and financial centre and home to the world's two largest stock exchanges by total market capitalisation, the New York Stock Exchange and Nasdaq, the takeover conjures up an image of a foreign acquisition that could potentially compromise the economic and financial interests of the United States.

The second method used to realise backgrounding is through the adjectives, 'elegant' (A7J) and 'puzzling' (A14J). In the *style and design* topic, the use of the adjective 'elegant' in combination with the noun 'heaven' brings to mind an image of grace and great appeal. This stands in contrast to the *economy and business* topic, where the adjective 'puzzling' evokes a situation that is perplexing and difficult to understand.

The last method that *Time* newsmagazine uses to background the Japanese agent actor is through the nomalisation of the verb 'to challenge'. This allows the exclusion of the social actors as it makes no explicit reference to them, which are portrayed as having to overcome difficulties in order to achieve success.

American agency is backgrounded through the use of (i) gerunds and (ii) defective verbs. The verb 'fight' is used twice at the beginning of the clauses A3J and A8J, which functions as a grammatical subject bypassing the need for explicit references to the agents. This has the effect of putting the focus onto the phrasal verb 'fight off' in A3J, which brings to mind a situation in which a trading partner has to defend itself against an attack by another, and the verb 'fight' in A8J, which depicts the struggle of the backgrounded agent in overcoming and eliminating the trade imbalances. In addition, the phrasal verb 'to take on' conjures up an image of competition. The use of the defective verb 'beware of' (A15J) gives a warning that one should be careful of something hidden and even insidious. This semantic strategy has the effect of targeting

the message directly at the readers, rendering them more sympathetic to the action of the backgrounded American actor against that of the Japanese.

Now that the process of inclusion and exclusion of agent social actors has been examined, Table 67 shows the frequency distribution of the key non-agent social actors.

Table 67: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors					
		Japanese	Non-Japanese				
		Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
Inclusion	No.	3	0	0	1	0	0
	%	15%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	4	3	1	0	3	0
	%	20%	15%	5%	0%	15%	0%
	Total	35%	15%	5%	5%	15%	0%

Table 67 shows that the Japanese non-agent actor is included at 15%, three times as often as the United States and West Germany, which are included at 5% each. This pattern points to a higher incidence of the Japanese actor being at the receiving end of an activity in the headlines. For the other non-agent actors (the Soviet Union and Western Europe), the rate of their inclusion in the headlines is 0%.

In the process of exclusion, Table 67 shows that the Japanese non-agent actor is excluded at a rate of 20%, while the non-agency of the United States, Soviet Union, and Western Europe is excluded at 15%, 5%, and 15%, respectively.

Table 68: Exclusion of non-agent social actors (*Time*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Non-agent social actors					
			Japanese	Non-Japanese				
			Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
1	Backgrounding	No.	4	3	1	0	3	0
		%	20%	15%	5%	0%	15%	0%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 68 shows that *Time* newsmagazine has the tendency to background the non-agency of Japan, the United States, Soviet Union, and Western Europe, thus reducing explicit references to the non-agents in association with the activity mentioned in the headlines. Their traces, however, can still be found in the headlines.

1. *Economy and business: Fighting off the suitcase brigade* *A3J*
2. *Economy and business: Fighting the trade tilt* *A8J*
3. *Economy and business: Beware of machines in disguise* *A15J*
4. *Economy and business: Global competition: Taking on the world* *A16J*

The examples above show that the Japanese non-agents have been backgrounded through the use of impersonalised nouns ‘suitcase brigade’, ‘trade tilt’, ‘machines in disguise’, and ‘the world’, which are depicted as grammatical objects of the action relating to the economy and business indicated in the clauses. Readers will thus have to figure out the identity of the non-agents themselves by continuing to read the other parts of the articles.

1. *Business: Japan let us shake hands* *A18J*
2. *Born in the USA, sold to Japan* *A19J*

The backgrounding of American non-agency can also be used to portray an image of helplessness due to the action caused by the agents. For instance, *Time* relies on the pronoun ‘us’ (A18J) and a prepositional phrase (A19J) to background the non-agency of the American actor. Furthermore, the obfuscation of the patient has the effect of directing the message at the readers, putting them in the shoes of the patient undergoing the action.

Before moving on to the following sub-sections, it is important to keep in mind that other representational categories (such as activation versus passivation, functionalisation and appraisement, association versus dissociation, and personalisation versus impersonalisation) can only be applied when the social actors are included, not excluded (see section 3.4.2 for more details).

6.2.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

According to Table 69, the frequency distribution of role allocation is tabulated. This representational category allocates activated and passivated roles to social actors in the headlines. In contrast to activated social actors, who are given an active and dynamic role in an activity, passivated social actors are represented as undergoing or at the receiving end of an action.

Table 69: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors					
				Japanese	Non-Japanese				
				Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
1	Activation	Participation	No.	8	1	0	0	0	0
			%	40%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	1	1	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The above table shows that the Japanese social actors are activated the most frequently at 40%, compared to the non-Japanese social actors. Among the non-Japanese social actors, only the American participants are activated (5%). Table 69 shows that the Japanese and American social actors are activated through participation at a frequency of 40% and 5%, respectively. By contrast, the Soviet Union, West Germany, and Western Europe are activated at 0% each.

In the following examples, the Japanese social actors are placed in the subject position in the clauses:

1. *Japan: The 1.004% solution* *A1J*
2. *Employment: The mighty yen hits home* *A5J*
3. *Japan: A whiff of blood in the water* *A6J*
4. *Trade face-off: A dangerous US-Japan confrontation* *A10J*
5. *Japan Yasu, the chips are down* *A11J*
6. *Japan tee time for the threesome* *A17J*
7. *Business: Japan let us shake hands* *A18J*

Activated through participation, Japan is indicated at the beginning of A1J, A6J, A11J, A17J, and A18J followed by the predicates that describe the action of the subject (Japan). Through the use of a number-noun modifier (1.004%) in A1J, for instance, Japan is depicted as offering an inadequate solution, in contrast to a 100% solution that could have implied completeness and perfection. In addition, as the headline does not mention the identity of the target of the solution, Japan's means of solving a problem or dealing with a difficult situation is represented as falling short of the expectations of the others, which could be the American, the Western European, or the international community.

In A6J, the use of the idiomatic expression 'blood in the water' in the predicate describes a situation in which the vulnerability and weakness of one party increases competitive aggression in the others. An unbalanced or even harmful relationship involving Japan and others is emphasised with the conciliatory tone struck in A18J, in which the activated Japanese actor is depicted extending friendship and goodwill to its business partners. Although the typical American reader of *Time* newsmagazine may not understand the meaning of 'Japan Yasu'[65] mentioned at the beginning of A11J, the semantic meaning of the phrase 'the chips are down' evokes an image of a difficult situation or even a situation at crisis point relating to Japan. While the previous three headlines suggest a difficult situation, 'Japan tee time' in A17J appears to indicate the commencement of an action for a group of three people engaged in the same activity.

The use of the collocation 'hits home' in A5J is a combination of the verb 'to hit' and the noun 'home' is quite fixed and restricted. Readers will understand the intended message since the collocation suggests that the realisation is dawning that a strong Japanese yen is causing an unpleasant problem to the domestic job market in Japan. In other words, a strong Japanese yen is portrayed to be harmful to its own economy, particularly its labour market. This representation indicates that Japan's strong currency is the causal agent in the clause, causing harm to its own economy, particularly its labour market.

Japan is also allocated an active role, along with the US in A10J, through the nominalisation of the action verbs 'face off' and 'confront'. Both nouns signify aggression in the issue relating to trade between Japan and the US, further excerbated by the use of the premodifying adjective 'dangerous' to describe the spat between both countries. Besides the activated roles, the analysis of role allocation in the same headline of A10J shows that the Japanese social actors are allocated passive roles through beneficialisation at a frequency of 5%, along with the American actors who are also beneficialised at 5%. All the other actors are passivated at a frequency of 0%.

1. Trade face-off: A dangerous US-Japan confrontation *A10J*

[65] The meaning of Yasu will be explained in the following chapter (see Section 7.2.2.5), which examines the lead texts. This chapter aims to discover readers' interpretations of the headlines, without any reference to the lead or main texts.

6.2.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 70 shows that the Japanese and American actors are appraised at a frequency of 10% and 5%, respectively. None of the other actors are functionalised, identified or appraised at all.

Table 70: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors					
			Japanese	Non-Japanese				
			Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
1	Functionalisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	2	1	0	0	0	0
		%	10%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The analysis of appraisement shows that the Japanese yen is depicted to be a 'mighty' currency in the headline of A5J, in relation to the perceived problems it is causing to employment in Japan. In other words, the Japanese are portrayed as finally accepting the 'fact' that their currency is so powerful that it is hurting its labour market, even though it may be painful for the Japanese to realise.

1. *Employment: The mighty yen hits home* *A5J*

When it comes to bilateral trade issues, only the relationship between Japan and the United States has been appraised through the use of the lexical choice 'face-off', 'dangerous', and 'confrontation', as shown in the following example:

1. *Trade face-off: A dangerous US-Japan confrontation* *A10J*

Such a representation depicts a situation of heightened mutual hostility between Japan and the United States over trade issues, which is confined to both parties. In other words, trade tensions are portrayed as exclusively concerning these countries, not the other trading partners.

6.2.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 71: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors					
			Japanese	Non-Japanese				
			Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
1	Association	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Dissociation	No.	2	2	0	0	0	0
		%	10%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 71 shows that the dissociation between the Chinese and American actors transpires at a frequency of 10% each, as shown in the following examples:

1. *Trade face-off: A dangerous US-Japan confrontation* *A10J*
2. *Born in the USA, sold to Japan* *A19J*

The analysis of dissociation shows that the division between the United States and Japan can be realised through the use of the nominalisations 'face-off' and 'confrontation', which depict the mutual hostility between both countries over trade issues (A10J). The dissociation between both countries is further exemplified in the headline of A19J, which relies on parataxis to imply the relationship between the United States and Japan, without actually labelling the relationship, i.e. something is being created at the source ('born in the USA'), but handed over to the destination in return for money ('sold to Japan').

Such a representation has two ultimate effects: (i) the formation of an in-group (the USA) and an out-group (Japan), especially given that *Time* newsmagazine is an American newsmagazine with a sizeable American readership, as well as (ii) the projection of the focal point on two key players: the United States and Japan, to the exclusion of others.

6.2.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

According to table 72, the analysis of personalisation/impersonalisation shows that the Japanese actors are personalised at a rate of 5%, abstracted at 5% and objectivated at 10%, while the West German actors are the only ones to be personalised in this representational category. None of the other non-Japanese actors are personalised or impersonalised.

Table 72: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors					
				Japanese	Non-Japanese				
				Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
1	Personalisation		No.	1	0	0	1	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	2	0	0	0	0	0
			%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

When it comes to the Japanese entertainment business, the Japanese social actors are personalised in the form of someone who is a 'whiz', who is very good and successful at something. In addition to the 'human' quality, they are attributed with the adjective 'foxy', which highlights a quality that is associated with a good business mind and something to be admired. In other words, the author of A13J relies on the use of fun and playful words, 'foxy biz whiz', to indicate a positive meaning (since whiz is also clearly positive here).

1. *Economy and business: Publishing Tokyo's foxy biz whiz* *A13J*

The headline of A12J shows that the German social actors have been personalised through the inclusion of the Japanese honorific title '-san' to the name of the German car manufacturer BMW. Equivalent to Mr and Mrs in the English language, the addition of the honorific title to names is a mark of respect in Japanese culture. Further, the use of the greeting 'saying hello' to a personalised German car manufacturer has the effect of emphasising the Japanese car industry's deference to their counterparts in Germany.

1. *Economy and business: Saying hello to BMW-san* *A12J*

Impersonalised references to the Japanese social actors can be realised through the use of the number '1.004%' and the noun 'solution' in the headline of A1J, to denote Japan's inadequacy in solving a problem or dealing with a difficult situation.

1. *Japan: The 1.004% solution* *A1J*

In addition to the abstracted Japanese actors, the Japanese social actors are also objectivated through metonymical references, such as the 'mighty yen' and 'a whiff of blood in the water'. Such representations paint Japan as a very strong and highly competitive economy, which causes harm to the others.

1. *Employment: The mighty yen hits home* *A5J*
2. *Japan: A whiff of blood in the water* *A6J*

6.3 British Perspective - *The Economist*

6.3.1 Overview

In this section, the British perspective on Japan's rise is examined through the analysis of actor representation across the headlines of the 20 articles from *The Economist* in 1987. Compared to the other three newsmagazines (*Time*, *L'Express*, *Der Spiegel*) under study in this thesis, the names of the writers of *The Economist* articles are kept anonymous in accordance with the newsmagazine's editorial policy not to include the byline. As the newsmagazine explains, this anonymity policy allows their writers to speak with a collective voice.

The prevailing topics of the 20 headlines about Japan in the year 1987, which draw on Van Dijk's macro-rules to yield the super-concept, are presented in Table 73. Table 73 shows that the topics are principally derived from the following two macro-rules: generalisation (19 topics or 95%) and deletion (1 topic or 5%).

Table 73: Prevailing topics of the headlines (*The Economist*)

No.	Headlines	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words
B1J	Japan's protected telecoms	Generalisation	International trade	3
B2J	Tokyo stockmarket: Who's afraid of the big bad rabbit?	Generalisation	Threat from Japan	9
B3J	Toyota learns to sprint	Generalisation	International trade	4
B4J	Awful truth about exchange rates	Generalisation	Currency	5
B5J	Japanese stockmarkets: A yen to grow	Generalisation	Currency	6
B6J	World business: Is Japanese industry prepared to join the world?	Generalisation	International trade	10
B7J	A very Japanese affair	Generalisation	Japan's domestic affair	4
B8J	West Germany and Japan: strange bedfellows?	Generalisation	West Germany-Japan bilateral relations	6
B9J	US-Japan trade: Japan's turn to lose its temper	Generalisation	International trade	6
B10J	Dreaming of trade wars	Generalisation	International trade	4
B11J	Why America needs Japan as much as Japan needs America	Generalisation	US-Japan bilateral relations	10
B12J	World business: Diminished giants	Generalisation	International trade	4
B13J	Economic policy: Can Japan bow to international opinion?	Generalisation	International trade	6
B14J	Germany's surpluses are not like Japan's	Generalisation	International trade	6
B15J	Japan über alles	Generalisation	Japanese superiority	3
B16J	Japan's bed of unsavoury rice	Generalisation	International trade	5
B17J	EEC-Japan trade: Japan-bashing catches on	Generalisation	International trade	5
B18J	Japan Inc. to the rescue	Generalisation	International trade	5
B19J	The new threat from Japan is patience	Deletion	Threat from Japan	7
B20J	Japan and the Gulf: Timidly rising sun	Generalisation	International relations	3
			Total no.	111
			Average no. per headline	5.55

The top three prevailing topics are found to be issues related to *international trade* (eleven headlines or 55%: A1J, A3J, A6J, A9J, A10J, A12J, A13J, A14J, A16J,

A17J, and A18J), *currency* (B4J and B5J or 10%) and *threat from Japan* (B2J and B19J or 10%). For purposes of simplicity, *West Germany-Japan bilateral relations (B8J)*, *US-Japan bilateral relations (B11J)* and *international relations (B20J)* are merged into one single overarching generic topic: *international relations*, which thus becomes the second most frequently represented topic (three or 15%) across the 20 sampled articles in *The Economist*. The other less prominent topics include *Japan's domestic affairs* (B7J) and *Japanese superiority* (B15J), represented at a frquency of 5% each.

Finally, the average number of words per headline for all the 20 sampled articles is 5.55 words and the total number of words of the 20 headlines is 111.

6.3.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

6.3.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

An examination of the corpus collected from *The Economist* shows that the main Japanese social actors are the US, the UK, West Germany, France, Europe, the Gulf, the world, and the four Asian tiger (FAT) countries that comprise Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan. Table 74 and Table 75 show the frequency distribution of inclusion and exclusion of agent social actors.

Table 74: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors								
		Japanese	Non-Japanese							
		Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
Inclusion	No.	15	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
	%	75%	10%	0%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	1	3	2	1	0	2	0	0	0
	%	5%	15%	10%	5%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	80%	25%	10%	15%	0%	15%	0%	0%	0%

Note: Since Toyota (B3J) is a Japanese car manufacturer, it is merged with the Japanese actor for the purposes of this thesis.

As Table 74 shows, the Japanese social actors are included as an agent actor at a frequency of 75%, the highest amongst all the social actors. They are also included at a nearly seven-fold rate compared to the next group of agent social actors, the US and West Germany, which are included at a frequency of 10%. Europe is included at a rate of 5% in the form of the European Economic Community or EEC (B17J) while the rest of the non-Japanese actors like the UK, France, the Gulf, and the World are included at 0%.

When it comes to the category of exclusion, the agency of Japan, the US, the UK, West Germany, and Europe is excluded at frequencies of 5%, 15%, 10%, 5%, and 10% respectively. By contrast, the agency of France, the Gulf, and the World is excluded at 0%.

The headline of B12J is an example of the excluded Japanese agent actors:

1. *World business: Diminished giants* *B12J*

The following are some examples of the exclusion of the American actor agency:

1. *Awful truth about exchange rates* *B4J*
2. *Dreaming of trade wars* *B10J*
3. *Can Japan bow to international opinion?* *B13J*

The above examples show that it is difficult for the reader to know who are the participants involved in the social practice indicated in the clauses, merely by reading the headlines. Without further context and information, the causal relationship between the agent and the non-agent is unclear. In other words, the participants of the social practice could be the American, the British, the West Germans, the Europeans, the Chinese, the Japanese, or the international community at large.

Table 75: Exclusion of agent social actors (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Agent social actors								
			Japanese	Non-Japanese							
			Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
1	Backgrounding	No.	1	3	2	1	0	2	0	0	0
		%	5%	15%	10%	5%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 75 shows that *The Economist* predominantly relies on the strategy of backgrounding to exclude the Japanese (5%), American (15%), British (10%), West German (5%), and European (10%) social actors. This has the effect of delaying their appearance related to the actions mentioned in the headlines.

In the case of Japanese agency, B12J uses passive agent deletion to circumvent the need to explicitly reveal the identity of the subject agent(s) responsible for diminishing the importance of the non-agent, 'giants', in global business. When it comes to the backgrounding of non-Japanese agency, B10J, for instance, uses the

gerund of the verb ‘dream’ at the beginning of the clause, which functions as a grammatical subject and eliminates the need to identify the agency of the social action. Another method employed to realise backgrounding is the use of the abstract noun ‘international opinion’ (B13J), which masks the identity of the agent responsible for causing Japan to submit to their pressure and demands. All these semantic strategies have the effect of rendering it difficult for the reader to determine the identity of the agency if they only read the headlines. The agency can refer to the Japanese, the non-Japanese participants or even the international community at large.

Now that the process of inclusion and exclusion of agent social actors has been examined, Table 76 shows the frequency distribution of the key non-agent social actors.

Table 76: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors								
		Japanese	Non-Japanese							
		Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
Inclusion	No.	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
	%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	10%	0%
Exclusion	No.	2	12	4	4	1	1	0	0	2
	%	10%	60%	20%	20%	5%	5%	0%	0%	10%
	Total	20%	60%	20%	20%	5%	5%	5%	10%	10%

Table 76 shows that the non-agency of the Japanese social actors, along with the Gulf and the World, are included at 10%, 5%, and 10%, respectively. By contrast, the American, British, West German, French, European, and FAT non-agent actors are not included. When it comes to the process of exclusion, the non-agency of the Japanese, American, British, West German, French, European, and FAT social actors is excluded at 10%, 60%, 20%, 20%, 5%, 5%, and 10% respectively. This pattern points to a higher incidence of the American actor being the recipient of the social action indicated in the headlines.

The following examples show that merely reading from the headlines, the identity of the participants involved in the social practice indicated in the clauses is obfuscated. This has the effect of confusing the reader, since the causal relationship between the agent and the non-agent is unclear. Specifically, the participants of the social practice could be the American, the British, the West Germans, the Europeans, the Chinese, the Japanese, or the international community at large.

Here are two examples that illustrate the exclusion of Japanese actor non-agency:

1. *Awful truth about exchange rates* *B4J*
2. *Dreaming of trade wars* *B10J*

The following are some examples of the exclusion of the non-agency of the American actors:

1. *Japan's protected telecom* *B1J*
2. *Tokyo stockmarket: Who's afraid of the big bad rabbit?* *B2J*
3. *Tokyo learns to sprint* *B3J*
4. *Is Japanese industry prepared to join the world?* *B6J*
5. *A very Japanese affair* *B7J*
6. *West Germany and Japan: strange bedfellows?* *B8J*
7. *World business: Diminished giants* *B12J*
8. *Germany's surpluses are not like Japan's* *B14J*
9. *Japan über alles* *B15J*
10. *Japan's bed of unsavoury rice* *B16J*
11. *The new threat from Japan is patience* *B19J*
12. *Japan and the Gulf: Timidly rising sun* *B20J*

The exclusion of the non-agency of the British actors is shown in the following headlines:

1. *Japan's protected telecom* *B1J*
2. *Tokyo stockmarket: Who's afraid of the big bad rabbit?* *B2J*
3. *A very Japanese affair* *B7J*
4. *World business: Diminished giants* *B12J*

The following are some examples of the exclusion of German actor non-agency:

1. *Japan's protected telecom* *B1J*
2. *Awful truth about exchange rates* *B4J*
3. *Is Japanese industry prepared to join the world?* *B6J*
4. *Japan über alles* *B15J*

Lastly, the following are some examples of the exclusion of French or European actor non-agency:

1. *Japan's protected telecom* *B1J*
2. *Awful truth about exchange rates* *B4J*
3. *Is Japanese industry prepared to join the world?* *B6J*
4. *Japan's bed of unsavoury rice* *B16J*

Table 77: Exclusion of non-agent social actors (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Non-agent social actors								
			Japanese	Non-Japanese							
			Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
1	Backgrounding	No.	2	12	4	4	1	1	0	0	2
		%	10%	60%	20%	20%	5%	5%	0%	0%	10%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

According to Table 77, *The Economist* predominantly relies on the backgrounding strategy to exclude the non-agency of the Japanese (10%), American (35%), British (10%), West German (20%), French (5%), European (5%), and FAT actors (10%). Only the non-agency of the American (25%) and British (10%) has been suppressed; in other words, there are neither traces of their existence nor association with the social action mentioned in the headlines.

As B1J shows, the backgrounding of the American, British, French, and West German non-agency is realised through the use of passive agent deletion. This has the effect of obfuscating the identity of the recipient(s) of Japan's protectionist measures that the nation has enacted on its telecom sector. Although there is no way the reader is able to already know the identity of the non-agents by reading the headline alone, the adjective 'protected' forming from the past participle of the verb 'to protect' conjures up an image of Japan's efforts to shield its domestic industry from foreign competition. When it comes to the question of whether Japan is ready to join the world, B6J backgrounds the non-agency of the American, British, European, and West German participants through generalisation in the form of 'the world'. The focus thus shifts away from 'the world' to the question that the headline seeks to answer: is Japan ready to play by the rules set by the four participants.

American and British non-agency is backgrounded through the use of the noun 'giants' (B12J), eliminating the need to explicitly mention their identity. Solely from reading the headline, the reader will not know who the 'giants' are whose importance and leadership in global business are being diminished, and by who. In contrast to the other Western participants, such as France, West Germany and Europe, the non-agency of the American and British is suppressed. This is realised through the use of the (i) interrogative pronoun, and (ii) adjective. The interrogative pronoun 'who' (B2J) functions as a grammatical subject bypassing the need for explicit references to the non-agents. Furthermore, the headline B2J 'Who's afraid of the big bad rabbit?' alludes to

the song ‘Who’s afraid of the big bad wolf’ featured in the 1933 Disney cartoon *Three Little Pigs*, suggesting that only the wisest among all could defeat the invader on the stock exchange. Moreover, although rabbits are widely considered to be affectionate, sociable animals (Moore 2005) that should endear Japan to the reader, the use of the adjectives ‘big’ and ‘bad’ to modify the noun ‘rabbit’ (B2J), however, conjures up an image of a Japan that is up to mischief. Furthermore, the noun ‘rabbit’ is also used in the animal simile ‘as timid as a rabbit’ in the English language to describe someone who is shy and easily frightened.

In B7J, the use of the adjective ‘Japanese’ describes a matter that is limited to the Japanese, further emphasised by the adverb ‘very’. This has the effect of suppressing the non-agency of the other participants from the headline since nothing connected to them is mentioned.

West German actors are also backgrounded through the use of allusion, as shown in the headline of B15J. The choice of the German phrase ‘über alles’, which means ‘above all else’, is derived from the first stanza of Germany’s historic national anthem that has now come to be widely associated with the Nazi regime (Hanson 2013, Emison 2010). By alluding to Nazi Germany’s national anthem, which glorified and exaggerated its racial and cultural superiority (Eko 2013, p.4), Japan is depicted to be a rogue regime that believes in its cultural superiority over the others. The lexical choice is in line with van Dijk’s (2006 p. 737) assertion that lexicalisation can be used in the overall ideological strategy of negative representation of the Other.

The backgrounding/suppression of social actor non-agency shows the formation of two groups of non-Western countries with regard to Japan’s trade practices in global business: a group comprising the United States and the United Kingdom, and another comprising France, West Germany and Europe in general.

6.3.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 78 shows the frequency distribution of the first representational category of inclusion: the role allocation (activation versus passivation) of the Japanese and non-Japanese social actors.

Table 78: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors								
				Japanese	Non-Japanese							
				Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
1	Activation	Participation	No.	6	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
			%	30%	10%	0%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
			%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The above table shows that the Japanese social actors are activated the most frequently at 55%, compared to the non-Japanese social actors. Among the non-Japanese social actors, the American, West German, and European participants are activated at 10%, 15%, and 5% respectively. Specifically, the Japanese social actors are activated through participation (30%), circumstantialisation (5%) and possessivation (20%); the American, West German, and European actors are activated through participation only. The other participants, such as the British, French, Gulf, the World, and FAT are activated at 0% each.

In the following examples, the Japanese social actors are depicted to be active participants through *participation*, i.e. in the subject position in a clause:

1. *Toyota learns to sprint* — *B3J*
2. *World business: Is Japanese industry prepared to join the world?* — *B6J*
3. *West Germany and Japan: strange bedfellows* — *B8J*
4. *Why America needs Japan as much as Japan needs America* — *B11J*
5. *Can Japan bow to international opinion?* — *B13J*
6. *Japan Inc. to the rescue* — *B18J*

The underlined verb ‘learns’ (B3J) and ‘bow’ (B13J) are action verbs that describe what the subject, i.e. Japan, of the clauses is doing. By using the verb ‘learns’, for instance, the focus shifts to Toyota’s discovery of something new, which can be in the form of a newly discovered technology or skill, that allows Toyota to move forward at full speed but over a short distance. Such a representation conjures up an image of a car manufacturer that is still at its infancy and is only beginning to catch up with the others. In B13J, the use of the modal verb ‘can’ at the beginning of the clause seeks to answer whether the activated Japanese participant is able to submit to the pressure and demands of the international community. It is to be highlighted here that merely from

the headline, the reader is unable to ascertain who the 'international community' are that the mass noun is refering to. This is because the international community could refer to the majority of World Trade Organisation members, its major trading partners, or only Western nations.

1. *The new threat from Japan is patience* *B19J*

The Japanese actors are also activated through circumstantialisation by using the preposition 'from' as shown in the headline B19J. This has the effect of foregrounding another threat, which is perceived to emanate from Japan.

In addition, the activation of the Japanese actor is realised through the use of possessives, as shown in the following examples:

1. *Japan's protected telecoms* *B1J*
2. *US-Japan trade: Japan's turn to lose its temper* *B9J*
3. *Germany's surpluses are not like Japan's* *B14J*
4. *Japan's bed of unsavoury rice* *B16J*

In the above four examples, the use of the possessive apostrophe after the noun 'Japan' draws attention to the causal relation between Japan's agency and its impact on the others. In other words, by allocating Japan an activated role, the emphasis is placed on Japan's agency and its causal effects on the others due to its (i) protectionist measures enacted on its domestic industry (B1J), (ii) angry reaction to trade tensions with the United States (B9J), (iii) exports larger than imports resulting in trade surpluses, which are depicted to be dissimilar from West Germany's (B14J), and (iv) unpleasant, disagreeable rice production.

In the following examples, the United States, West Germany, and Europe are depicted as active participants through *participation*, i.e. in the subject position in a clause:

1. *Why America needs Japan as much as Japan needs America* *B11J*
2. *Germany's surpluses are not like Japan's* *B14J*
3. *EEC-Japan trade: Japan-bashing catches on* *B17J*

6.3.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 79 shows that the Japanese and West German actors are the only two participants represented in this category of socio-semantic inventory.

Table 79: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors								
			Japanese	Non-Japanese							
			Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
1	Functionalisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
		%	35%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The Japanese actors are identified at a frequency of 5%, as shown in the following headline:

1. *Japan Inc. to the rescue* *B18J*

Through the use of the abbreviated form of the adjective 'incorporated', the headline of B18J alludes to the close relationship between the Japanese state and its corporate world. As Bouissou (2002, p. 205) explains, Japan Inc. entailed an era characterised by the strong influence of the Japanese corporate world on the economy and society at large, particularly during Japan's economic boom that began in the late 1970s and lasted until the early 1990s.

The Japanese social actors are appraised at a frequency of 35%, as shown in the following seven headlines:

1. *Japan's protected telecom* *B1J*
2. *Tokyo stockmarket: Who's afraid of the big bad rabbit* *B2J*
3. *Japan über alles* *B15J*
4. *Japan's bed of unsavoury rice* *B16J*
5. *The new threat from Japan is patience* *B19J*
6. *Japan and the Gulf: Timidly rising sun* *B20J*

The analysis of appraisement shows that (i) Japan's trade practices are depicted to be protectionist in nature (B1J), (ii) the country behaves disreputably on the financial market through the use of the evaluative adjective 'bad' (B2J), and (iii) Japan's rice production is suboptimal, perhaps even achieved through questionable means, that resulted in substandard rice. At the same time, while Japan is depicted as believing itself to be culturally superior than others through the use of the German phrase 'über alles' (B15J), and portrayed to pose another menace in the form of patience (B19J), its relationship with the Gulf region is appraised to be lacking courage and confidence. In other words, such representations appear to suggest a shrewd nation when it comes to

international trade and business, but inadequate and awkward when it comes to bilateral relations with others.

The relationship between Japan and West Germany has also been appraised, as shown in the headline of B8J. By using the evaluative adjective 'strange' along with the noun 'bedfellows', both countries are depicted as working together in an unexpected way.

1. *West Germany and Japan: strange bedfellows* *B8J*

6.3.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 80 shows that the Japanese, American, European, and West German actors are the only participants represented in the association/dissociation category.

Table 80: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors								
			Japanese	Non-Japanese							
			Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
1	Association	No.	4	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
		%	20%	5%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Dissociation	No.	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
		%	10%	5%	0%	5%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%

The following two examples illustrate the association (B11J) and dissociation (B9J) between the Japanese and the American actors:

1. *US-Japan trade: Japan's turn to lose its temper* *B9J*
2. *Why America needs Japan as much as Japan needs America* *B11J*

In B9J, for instance, the dissociation of the social actors is realised through parataxis, i.e. the placing of clauses one after another, without words to indicate coordination or subordination. The phrase 'US-Japan trade' in the first clause introduces the key actors involved in the trade relationsip, followed by 'Japan's turn to lose its temper' in the second clause. This has the effect of foregrounding Japan's failure to retain its composure as it become angry over issue relating to trade with the United States. B11J shows that both the United States and Japan are also depicited to be associated with each other. This is realised through the use of the idiom 'as much as' to depict an indispensable relationship, in which both countries are portrayed to need each other.

The analysis of association/dissociation shows that West Germany is most frequently associated or dissociated with Japan, as shown in the following three examples (association: B8J, and B15J) and (dissociation: B14J):

1. *West Germany and Japan: strange bedfellows?* *B8J*
2. *Germany's surpluses are not like Japan's* *B14J*
3. *Japan über alles* *B15J*

West Germany is associated with Japan, as shown in B8J and B15J, through the use of the noun 'bedfellows' and the German phrase 'über alles'. In B8J, for instance, *The Economist* suggests that West Germany and Japan are closely connected with each other in a particular activity through the use of the lexical choice of 'bedfellow'. However, the adjective 'strange' shifts the focus to the unusual alliance between both nations from the perspective of the newsmagazine. The German phrase 'über alles' in the headline of B15J shows that Japan is alluded to be associated with Germany's Nazi regime, which glorified and exaggerated its racial and cultural superiority. This has the effect of depicting Japan as a nation that believes in its cultural superiority over the others.

When it comes to trade surpluses, i.e. when a nation exports more than than it imports, West Germany is depicted to be dissociated from Japan. This is realised by negating the preposition 'like' to show that both of the countries do not share the same qualities or features with regard to international trade.

As regards the European actor in the form of the EEC – which comprises member states such as France, West Germany, and the UK, among others – Japan is depicted to be dissociated from the European economic community as shown below:

1. *EEC-Japan trade: Japan-bashing catches on* *B17J*

The above headline shows that Japan has come under strong, often unfair criticism by the EEC over issues relating to trade. It is to be highlighted that the phrasal verb 'catches on' suggests that EEC criticism of Japan's trade practices is becoming popular, presumably initiated by another important actor other than the EEC.

6.3.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

According to table 81, the analysis of personalisation/impersonalisation shows that the Japanese actors are the only participants that are represented (15% impersonalised) in this category. None of the non-Japanese actors are personalised or impersonalisd.

Table 81: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors								
				Japanese	Non-Japanese							
				Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
1	Personalisation		No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Impersonalised references to the Japanese social actors can be realised through objectivation (15%), as shown in the following three examples:

1. *Tokyo stockmarket: Who's afraid of the big bad rabbit?* *B2J*
2. *Japan's bed of unsavoury rice* *B16J*
3. *Japan and the Gulf: Timidly rising sun* *B20J*

The Japanese social actors are dehumanised in the form of a 'rabbit', 'rice', and 'sun'. Although rabbits are widely considered to be affectionate, sociable animals (Moore 2005) that should endear Japan to the reader, the use of the adjectives 'big' and 'bad' to modify the noun 'rabbit' (B2J), however, conjures up an image of a Japan that is up to mischief. Furthermore, the noun 'rabbit' is also used in the animal simile 'as timid as a rabbit' in the English language to describe someone who is shy and easily frightened. This representation is consistent with the use of the adverb 'timidly' to describe the 'rising sun'. This objectivation to the rising sun alludes to the formal Japanese name of Japan, Nippon, which means the land of the rising sun. Lastly, such portrayals of Japan have the effect of evoking an image of a country that is acting dishonestly in the stock market, and engaged in unpleasant or even morally unacceptable rice production practices, but shy and nervous when it comes to international relations with the Gulf region.

6.4 French Perspective - *L'Express*

6.4.1 Overview

The previous two sections examined the Anglo-American perspectives on Japan's rise in 1987, the period under study. This section delves into the French perspective on Japan's economic rise. There were altogether thirteen authors and they were: Lillian Ginoza (six articles), Yves Messarovitch (four), Charles Lescaut (two), Christine Delavennat (two), Jean-Claude Casanova (two), Jean-Louis Lemarchand (two), Sylvie Santini (two), François Regniault (one), Jacques de Vernisy (one), Jean Leclerc (one), Marie-Pierre Gröndahl (one), Ryu Otomo (one), and Sabine Delanglade (one)[66]. Since no information is available on the Internet about Lillian Ginoza, who is the top contributor among the corpus, and that Jean-Claude Casanova has his personal column on his take about the latest financial market development in *L'Express*, the following will thus give a brief introduction to the background of Yves Messarovitch and Jean-Claude Casanova.

Yves Messarovitch, who wrote three (F6J, F11J, and A18J) of the 20 articles, was the chief business editor of *LeFigaro*, the editorial director of the *Expansion Group*, and a journalist at *L'Express*, *Le Quotidien de Paris*, and *Journal des Finances*. He co-authored several books, including *Le grand gâchis : L'État contre les classes moyennes* (1996), *Bernard Arnaut. La passion créative* (2000), *Mon vrai journal* (2002), and *Et pourquoi alors? Entretien avec Francois Michelin* (2002), among others. Yves Messarovitch graduated with a PhD in Finance.

The other contributor is Jean-Claude Casanova, who wrote two (F7J and F8J) of the 20 articles. He was the editor of the daily newspaper *Le Monde*, the monthly newspaper *Corsica*, and was a co-host of the TV series *La rumeur du monde* on public radio channel *France Culture*. Jean-Claude Casanova, born on the 11th June 1934, is a French economist and liberal intellectual, and graduated with a PhD in Economics at the Paris Institute of Political Studies.

The prevailing topics of the 20 headlines about Japan in the year 1987, which draw on Van Dijk's macro-rules to yield the super-concept, are presented in Table 82. Table 82 shows that generalisation (17 headlines or 85%) and deletion (3 headlines or 15%) are the macro-rules that have been used to derive the topics of the 20 headlines.

[66] Jean-Louis Lemarchand and Charles Lescaut co-authored the article F2J; Sylvie Santini, Lillian Ginoza and Charles Lescaut co-authored the article F5J; and Jean Leclerc, Yves Messarovitch, Lillian Ginoza, and Ryu Otomo co-authored the article F18J.

Table 82: Prevailing topics of the headlines (*L'Express*)

No.	Headlines	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words (EN)	No. of words (FR)
F1J	Analyse de l'accélération de la chute de la dollar **Analysis on the acceleration of the fall of the dollar**	Generalisation	Volatile US dollar	10	9
F2J	Analyse de l'ampleur du déficit commercial U.S **Analysis on the extent of the US trade deficit**	Generalisation	International trade	9	7
F3J	Lancement de la privatisation de N.T.T. **Launch of the privatisation of N.T.T.**	Construction	Growth model	6	6
F4J	Performance des japonais dans la miniaturisation des puces **Japanese performance in chip miniaturisation**	Construction	Semiconductor industry	5	8
F5J	Progression du chômage au Japon **The rise in unemployment in Japan**	Deletion	Unemployment	4	5
F6J	Nature de la coopération Austin Rover et Honda pour la conception de voitures **Nature of the cooperation between Austin Rover and Honda in car design**	Generalisation	Automotive industry	12	11
F7J	Performance du Japon sur le marché des semiconducteurs, aux dépends des USA **Japan's performance in the semiconductor market, at the expense of the USA**	Deletion	Semiconductor industry	12	12
F8J	Performance du train japonais à levitation et entrainement magnétique (sans bruit ni pollution, ni rail, ni roues) **Japanese train performance with magnetic levitation and train drive (no noise and pollution, no rail, no wheels)**	Generalisation	Automotive industry	17	17
F9J	Excédent record de la balance commerciale japonaise, pour l'année fiscale se terminant en 87 **Record trade surplus for the fiscal year ending March 1987**	Generalisation	International trade	10	14
F10J	Origines des déclarations de J. Baker et P. Volcker sur la nécessité de stabiliser le dollar **Basis for J. Baker's and P. Volcker's declaration on the necessity to stabilise the dollar**	Generalisation	Volatile US dollar	15	16
F11J	Recours à une machine de marque japonaise pour la fabrication des passeports des citoyens américains **The use of a Japanese brand machine for the manufacture of passports for American citizens**	Construction	International trade	15	15
F12J	Aveu d'infériorité **Admitting to inferiority?**	Construction	Japanese superiority	3	2
F13J	Le Japon est-il fautif? **Is Japan at fault?**	Construction	Japanese superiority	4	5
F14J	Cout de la vie à Tokyo **Cost of living in Tokyo**	Deletion	Cost of living	5	6
F15J	Effets des variations du dollar sur les couts de productions au Japon et aux USA **Effects of the fluctuations of the dollar on the production costs in Japan and USA**	Generalisation	Volatile US dollar	15	15
F16J	Commerciale Japon: Emirats du Golfe et Arabie Saoudite **Japan trade: Gulf Emirates and Saudi Arabia**	Generalisation	International trade	7	8
F17J	Succès au Japon des cartes alimentaires **Success of food vouchers in Japan**	Construction	Japan's domestic industry	16	16
F18J	Réactions aux initiatives commerciales du Japon au Vietnam **Reactions to Japan's trade initiatives in Vietnam**	Generalisation	International trade	7	8
F19J	Concessions du Japon à l'égard des occidentaux nouvelles mesures du plans de relance économique **Japan's concessions with regard to the new economic stimulus measures enacted by the West**	Generalisation	International trade	14	14
F20J	Dents du géant, le Japon à la conquete du monde **Teeth of the giant, Japan's conquest of the world**	Construction	Global expansion	9	10
			Total no.	195	204
			Average no. per headline	9.75	10.2

Represented at a frequency of 20% each, the top prevailing topics are found to be issues related to *international trade* (four headlines: F5J, F9J, F10J, and F13J) and *currency* (four headlines: F1J, F6J, F12J, and F19J). The *Japanese superiority* (F7J and F8J) is represented at a frequency of 10% across the sampled headlines. For purposes of simplicity, however, *unemployment in Japan* (F3J) and *Japan's labour market* (F14J) are merged into one single overarching generic topic: *Japan's labour market* (two headlines); *America's political realism* (F2J) and *global dominance* (F18J) are classified under *new world order* (two headlines); and *global stock markets* (F11J), the impending crash (F17J), and *global markets* (F20J) are placed under *global markets* (three headlines). The other less prominent topics are *France's economic success* (F4J), *price of the miracle* (F16J), and *speak up* (F15J).

Finally, in the original language (French) the average number of words per headline for all the 20 sampled articles is 10.2 words and the total number of words of the 20 headlines is 204, longer than the translated English versions of 9.75 and 195 words respectively.

6.4.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

6.4.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

This section applies Van Leeuwen's socio-semantic categories to the representation of the main social actors in the headlines of *L'Express*. The first category examines how the main social actors are included and excluded in the 20 headlines. There are altogether nine non-Japanese actors and they are: the US, France, West Germany, the UK, Europe, the USSR, China, South Africa, and the four Asian tiger (FAT) countries, which comprise Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. Table 83 shows the frequency distribution of inclusion and exclusion of the agent social actors (Japanese and non-Japanese) in the 20 headlines.

Table 83: Inclusion/exclusion of main agent actors in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors									
		Japanese	Non-Japanese								
		Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
Inclusion	No.	9	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	%	45%	10%	5%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	9	10	2	8	0	4	0	0	5	0
	%	45%	50%	10%	40%	0%	20%	0%	0%	25%	0%
	Total	90%	60%	15%	40%	0%	25%	0%	0%	25%	0%

As Table 83 shows, the Japanese social actors are included as an agent actor at a frequency of 45%, the highest amongst all the social actors. Other included social actors are the American (10%), French (5%), and European (5%). When it comes to the process of social actor exclusion from the headlines, the Japanese, American, French, West German, European, and the FAT agents are excluded at frequencies of 45%, 50%, 10%, 40%, 20%, and 25% respectively. Since the American and Japanese are excluded the most frequently, here are some examples of their excluded agency:

1. *Economy (parity) - Currency: the waltz with four beats* *F1J*
2. *Economy (markets) - United States: Defending the empire* *F2J*
3. *Economy (electronics) - War on the chip planet* *F5J*
4. *Economy (currency) - Dollar: the reasons for an about-turn* *F6J*
5. *Admitting to inferiority?* *F7J*
6. *Economy (stock market) - can the 1929 crash happen again?* *F11J*
7. *Economy (technology) - Audiovisual: Europe counterattacks* *F13J*
8. *Economy (social) - Japan: forced vacation* *F14J*
9. *World - the miracle on credit* *F16J*
10. *Business - Crash: the hold-up of the century* *F17J*

Table 84: Representation category: Exclusion of agent social actors (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Agent social actors									
			Japanese	Non-Japanese								
			Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
1	Backgrounding	No.	9	10	2	8	0	4	0	0	5	0
		%	45%	50%	10%	40%	0%	20%	0%	0%	25%	0%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 84 shows that *L´Express* relies on the strategy of backgrounding to exclude the social actors from its headlines. F1J, F5J, F6J, F11J, F16J, and F17J show that the identity of the agency responsible for the action indicated in the headlines is backgrounded through nominalisation. In other words, agency is excluded from the headlines by using nouns, such as 'the waltz' (F1J), 'War' (F5J), 'reasons' (F6J), '1929 crash' (F11J), 'miracle' (F16J), and 'hold-up' (F17J), that omit the need to identify the agents responsible for (i) causing the waltz to take on a four-beat rythmic pattern, instead of the usual three-beat, in issue relating to currency (F1J), (ii) causing conflict in the chip industry (F5J), (iii) causing an about-turn in policy with regard to the US dollar (F6J), (iv) increasing the likelihood that the stock market could crash like that of the 1929 crash (F11J), (v) enjoying a miracle that has to be compensated at a later date (F16J), and (vi) causing a delay in the flaring-up of an imminent crash (F17J).

Agency is also backgrounded through the use of the gerund of the verb 'defend' and 'admit' at the beginning of the clauses (F2J and F7J), thus eliminating the need to identify the agents responsible for the social action indicated in the headlines. According to these representations, the identity of the agency is unclear with regards to who (i) causes the United States to react and (ii) causes the non-agent to have no other choice but to concede defeat due to the agent superiority. F13J and F14J demonstrate that the backgrounding of agency can also be realised through the use of the intransitive verb 'counterattack' and the adjective 'forced'. Such semantic strategies render it more difficult for the reader to ascertain the identity of the agency, if they do not read beyond the headlines. The social actors could have been included to make it easier for the reader to understand the key stakeholders involved.

Now that the process of inclusion and exclusion of agent social actors has been examined, Table 85 shows the frequency distribution of the key non-agent social actors.

Table 85: Inclusion/exclusion of main non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors									
		Japanese	Non-Japanese								
		Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
Inclusion	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	2	4	5	1	2	4	1	1	1	1
	%	10%	20%	25%	5%	10%	20%	5%	5%	5%	5%
	Total	10%	20%	25%	5%	10%	20%	5%	5%	5%	5%

Table 85 shows that none of the non-agent actors are included. When attention shifts to the representational category of exclusion, the Japanese, American, French, West German, British, European, Soviet, Chinese, FAT, and South African actors are excluded at 10%, 20%, 25%, 5%, 10%, 20%, 5%, 5%, 5%, 5%, respectively.

Table 86: Representational category: Exclusion of non-agent social actors (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Non-agent social actors									
			Japanese	Non-Japanese								
			Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
1	Backgrounding	No.	2	4	5	1	2	4	1	1	1	1
		%	10%	20%	25%	5%	10%	20%	5%	5%	5%	5%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 86 shows that *L'Express* backgrounds the non-agency of the Japanese, American, French, West German, British, European, Soviet, Chinese, FAT, and South African at frequencies of 10%, 20%, 25%, 5%, 10%, 20%, 5%, 5%, 5%, and 5%, respectively. Since the non-agency of French social actors is excluded the most frequently, here are the five headlines concerned

1. *Economy (stock market) - can the 1929 crash happen again?* *F11J*
2. *World - the miracle on credit* *F16J*
3. *Business - Crash: the hold-up of the century* *F17J*
4. *Special Japan: The yen's surge* *F19J*
5. *Special Japan: The third shock* *F20J*

The above headlines show that the identity of the non-agents affected by the represented social action indicated in the clauses is backgrounded through the use of nominalisation, such as '1929 crash' (F11J), 'miracle' (F16J), 'hold-up' (F17J), 'surge' (F19J), and 'shock' (F20J). However, such representations conjure up a gloomy image of a world that is not only embroiled in economic turmoil, but its adverse consequences could affect the non-agents and the world at large. This is because the headlines do not mention the identity of the participants that are subjected to the social action; in other words, the social action can affect the major trading countries, the developed world only, or the world community at large.

6.4.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 87 shows the frequency distribution of role allocation (activation versus passivation) of the Japanese and non-Japanese social actors.

Table 87: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors									
				Japanese	Non-Japanese								
				Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
1	Activation	Participation	No.	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	5%	5%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	10%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Note: Since Toshiba (F10J) is a Japanese multinational company, it is merged with the Japanese actors for the purpose of this thesis.

Table 87 shows that the Japanese social actors are activated through participation (5%) and possessivation (10%); the American, French and European actors are activated through participation at a frequency of 5% each. None of the actors are passivated.

As shown in the headline of F10J, Toshiba is depicted to be an active participant; that is in the subject position in a clause. By using the phrasal verb 'make

amend', Toshiba is represented to be actively engaged in the material process of correcting a mistake that it has made. In other words, this semantic strategy has the effect of emphasising the Japanese agency in committing a mistake and subsequently making up for it. Here is the headline concerned:

1. *Economy (technology) - Toshiba makes amends* *F10J*

The possessivation of the Japanese social actors is realised through the use of the possessive apostrophe, which has the effect of foregrounding the action of Japanese agency. By using the possessive apostrophe, the focus shifts to the post-modified noun 'surge' highlighted in the headline of F19J; that is, the emphasis is that the value of the Japanese yen is increasing rapidly and suddenly. In addition to the application of possessivation through postmodification, the premodification of the process noun can also be used to allocate Japanese social actors an activated role. As F14J, shows, the prepositive adjective 'forced' is used to pre-modify the noun 'vacation', conjuring up an image of workers being compelled to take paid holidays against their will. Here are the headlines concerned:

1. *Economy (social) - Japan: forced vacation* *F14J*
2. *Special Japan: The yen's surge* *F19J*

The American, French, and European social actors are also allocated an activated role through participation. This is realised through the use of action verbs, such as 'defending' (F2J), 'make' (F4J), and 'counterattacks' (F13J), which depict the American, French, and European social actors involved in the material processes of (i) fighting to preserve its empire (F2J), (ii) acquiring wealth in France (F4J), and (iii) attacking in response to one by a competitor in the audiovisual technology (F13J), respectively. The action verbs used in the headlines of F2J and F13J, however, emphasise American and European aggression against a strong, rising competitor, while the focus in the headline of F4J, along with the use of a question mark, is on whether one can acquire wealth in France. Here are the three headlines:

1. *Economy (markets) – United States: Defending the empire* *F2J*
2. *Economy (success) - Can we still make a fortune in France?* *F4J*
3. *Economy (technology) - Audiovisual: Europe counterattacks* *F13J*

6.4.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 88 shows that the Japanese and American social actors are the only ones represented in this category of social-semantic inventory. Although none of them are functionalised, they are identified at a frequency of 5% each. The Japanese social actors are the only participants appraised at 10%.

Table 88: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors									
			Japanese	Non-Japanese								
			Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
1	Functionalisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

An examination of the identification process shows that the American and Japanese social actors are the only participants that are represented in this category of socio-semantic inventory of social-actor representation. The headline of F2J, for instance, depicts the United States as an 'empire' in the financial markets, as highlighted in the kicker 'Economy (markets)' of the article. Such a semantic strategy has the effect of emphasising the dominant role of the United States in the international economic order, in which it wields considerable power over the rest of the world. Similarly, the Japanese social actor is also represented to be one of the 'giants of the world', as indicated in the second clause of the headline of F18J. This has the effect of portraying Japan as a nation that is very successful and powerful on the global stage. Here are the headlines:

1. *Economy (markets) – United States: Defending the empire* *F2J*
2. *Special Japan: The masters of the world* *F18J*

Besides identification, the Japanese social actors are also appraised in the following two headlines:

1. *Is Japan at fault?* *F13J*
2. *Special Japan: The third shock* *F20J*

In the headline of F13J, for instance, the phrase 'at fault' is used to question whether Japan is responsible for an undesirable situation, although the reader is unsure of what situation the headline is refering to if they merely read the headline. In the headline of F20J, on the other hand, a quantifier is used to emphasise the number of

shocks that are related to Japan mentioned in the first clause of the headline. As there is little information about the causal relationship of such a shock, this strategy thus has the effect of inducing the reader to read beyond the headline should they want to know more it.

6.4.2.4 Association and Dissociation

According to Table 89, the Japanese social actors are the only participants that are represented to be associated, at a frequency of 15%.

Table 89: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors									
			Japanese	Non-Japanese								
			Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
1	Association	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Dissociation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

1. *Economy (unemployment) - Japan: save your job if you can* *F3J*
2. *Economy (international trade) – Revival: the Japanese folding screen* *F9J*
3. *Finance - Japan: speak louder* *F15J*

As the headlines of F3J, F9J, and F15J demonstrate, the association of Japanese social actors is realised by means of a parataxis. Such a strategy leads to the creation of two clauses, circumventing the need to use any words to indicate coordination or subordination. The headline of F3J, for instance, shows that Japan's labour market is represented to be associated with the risk of job losses, suggesting that the country was undergoing difficult economic conditions. As the second clause of the headline puts it, Japanese employees should try to save their jobs if they can in order to avoid unemployment. The tough economic climate in Japan is further intensified by the use of the noun 'revival', as shown in the headline of F9J. This term implies that the Japanese economy is emerging from the doldrums due to the Japanese folding screens (decorative free-standing furniture) as indicated in the second clause of the headline. Finally, Japan is also depicted to be associated with 'speaking louder' in finance. According to these representations, however, it is unclear (i) to what extent do the Japanese folding screens really play a role in international trade between Japan and its trading partners, and (ii) who needs to speak louder and why. In this context, reader will thus have to read beyond the headline if they want to know more about the complete stories.

6.4.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

According to Table 90, the analysis of personalisation/impersonalisation shows that the Japanese and American actors are the only participants represented in this category. Both the Japanese and American social actors are impersonalised at a frequency of 10% each.

Table 90: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors									
				Japanese	Non-Japanese								
				Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
1	Personalisation		No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	10%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

By impersonalising the American social actors through abstraction (10%), for instance the headline of F12J puts the emphasis on the 'empire' that the United States is depicted to be defending. In other words, the state of the international economic order in 1987 is by now clearly stated in the headline for the reader of *L'Express*: the United States presides over a global economic system in which it has absolute control. Such a representation reinforces the notion that the American economy continues to reign over the others, although there is a rising challenger that could potentially usurp America's dominant position. Abstract references to the American social actors are also made by evoking the complete change in attitude and policy ('about-face') with regard to the US dollar, as shown in F6J. Here are the headlines concerned:

1. *Economy (markets) – United States: Defending the empire* *F2J*
2. *Economy (currency) – Dollar: the reasons for an about-turn* *F6J*

The Japanese social actors are also impersonalised through abstraction (10%), as shown in F12J and F19J. This is realised by depicting them by means of a quality assigned to them in the representation. In F12J, for instance, the expression 'the yen has no colour', instead of the more widely used expression 'money has no smell', suggests the neutrality of Japan's commercial dealing with any countries regardless of their political leanings.

Abstraction is also used in F19J, for instance, to conjure up an image of a sudden, rapidly expanding Japan through the use of the noun ‘surge’ to postmodify the Japanese yen. In other words, the reader of *L’Express* is invited to continue reading beyond the headline if they want to know with whom Japan is trading.

1. *Economy (exchange) – the yen has no colour* *F12J*
2. *Special Japan: The yen’s surge* *F19J*

6.5 German Perspective - *Der Spiegel*

6.5.1 Overview

The German perspective on Japan's rise in 1987 is examined in this section through an analysis of the 20 sampled headlines collected from *Der Spiegel* newsmagazine. Of the 20 articles, there were three that reveal the names of the authors: Tiziano Terzani (G1J and G14J) and Walter Knips (G13J).

Tiziano Terzani (1938-2004) began his career with *Der Spiegel* in Singapore as an Asian correspondent in 1971. For thirty years, he covered news related to East Asia for the German newsmagazine. He lived for years in Beijing, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Bangkok, and New Delhi. He was the author of several books, such as *Fantaasmi: disapicci dalla Cambogia* (2008), *Un altro giro di giostra* (2004), *In Asia* (1998), *Giai Phong! La liberazione di Saigon* (1976), *Pelle di leopardo. Diario vietnamita di un corrispondete di guerra* (1972-1973).

The other writer is Dr Walter Knips, who is born in 1911 in Berlin and passed away in 1994. He is an author of *Die Problematik wirtschaftspolitischer Zielkonflikte*, which can be translated into *The Problems of Economic Policy Trade-off*[67] in the English language, published in 1970.

Table 91 shows the prevailing topics of the 20 headlines about Japan in the year 1987, which draw on Van Dijk's macro-rules to yield the super-concept. The macro-rules used to derive the topics include generalisation (15 headlines or 75%) and deletion (five headlines or 25%).

[67] Author's translation

Table 91: Prevailing topics of the headlines (*Der Spiegel*)

No.	Headlines	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words (EN)	No. of words (GE)
G1J	Ihr werdet Japan doch niemals verstehen **You will never ever understand Japan**	Generalisation	Japan's identity	6	6
G2J	Welthandel: Lebt auf Pump **International trade: Living on tick**	Deletion	International trade	5	4
G3J	Dollar auf der Achterbahn **Dollar on the roller coaster**	Generalisation	Volatile US dollar	5	4
G4J	Japan: Historischer Wendepunkt **Japan: Historical turning point**	Deletion	Japan's turning point	4	3
G5J	Automobile: Heisse Quelle **Automobile: Hot springs**	Generalisation	Automotive industry	3	3
G6J	Chip-Industrie: Gereizte Stimmung **Chip industry: Irritation**	Generalisation	Semiconductor industry	3	3
G7J	Noch ein Kind **Still a child**	Zero rule	Still a child	3	3
G8J	Amerikanisch/japanischer Handelskrieg: Warnschuss vor den Bug der Japaner **American/Japanese trade war: A warning shot across the bows of the Japanese.**	Generalisation	Warning to Japan's trade practices	9	13
G9J	Automobile: Hoch das Bein **Automobile: Lift up your leg**	Generalisation	Automotive industry	4	4
G10J	EG/Japan: Von der Tarantel gestochen **EC/Japan: Stung by the tarantula**	Generalisation	EC-Japan trade relations	6	6
G11J	Japan: Kunst des Zaitech **Japan: Art of Zaitech**	Generalisation	Growth model	4	4
G12J	Welthandel: Neuer Markt **International trade: New market**	Deletion	International trade	4	3
G13J	Wirtschaft: Wandelt sich das Export-Monster? **Economy: Is the export monster changing itself?**	Generalisation	International trade	7	5
G14J	Wirtschaft: Man hasst uns wie die Kakerlaken **Economy: They hate us like cockroaches**	Generalisation	Unequal trade relations	6	7
G15J	Automobile: Tut weh **Automobile: It hurts**	Generalisation	Automotive industry	3	3
G16J	Automobile: Langsam peinlich **Automobile: Slowly embarassing**	Generalisation	Automotive industry	3	3
G17J	Automobile: Zukunft im Sack **Automobile: Damaged future**	Generalisation	Automotive industry	3	4
G18J	Automobile: Steil bergab **Automobile: Steep downhill**	Generalisation	Automotive industry	3	3
G19J	Welthandel: Japaner wollen Handelspartnern entgegenkommen - Kyocho statt kyoso **International trade: Japanese want to accommodate the demands of their trade partners - cooperation instead of competition**	Generalisation	Japan's trade practices	3	3
G20J	Über japanische Handelspratiken: Freundschaft allein reicht nicht **About Japanese trade practices: Friendship alone is not enough**	Deletion	Japan's trade practices	6	4
			Total no.	90	88
			Average no. per headline	4.5	4.4

Table 91 shows that the following topics surface more than once: *automotive industry* (six headlines: G5J, G9J, G15J, G16J, G17J, and G18J), *international trade* (three headlines: G2J, G12J, and G13J) and *Japan's trade practices* (two headlines: G19J and G20J). For purposes of simplicity, however, *automotive industry* and *semiconductor industry* (G6J) are merged into one single overarching generic topic: *industry*, which thus becomes the most frequent topic (seven or 35%) across the 20 sampled articles; *Japan's trade practices* and warning to *Japan's trade practices* (G8J)

are also combined under the generic topic, *Japan's trade practices*, thus totalling three headlines (or 15%); *EC-Japan trade relations* (G10J) and *unequal trade relations* (G14J) are classified under the topic *trade relations*, which is thus represented at a frequency of 10%.

There are also other less prominent topics that have surfaced, and they include: *growth model* (G11J), *Japan's identity* (G1J), *Japan's turning point* (G4J), *still inexperienced* (G7J), and *volatile US dollar* (G3J) at 5% each.

Finally, in the original German version the average number of words per headline for all the 20 sampled articles is 4.4 words and the total number of words of the 20 headlines is 88. This compares to the higher number of words in the translated version in English: the average number of words per headline is 4.5 and the total number of words of the 20 headlines is 90.

6.5.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

6.5.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Table 92 and Table 93 show the frequency distribution of inclusion and exclusion of the social actors (Japanese and non-Japanese) in the 20 headlines and draw a distinction between the agent and non-agent social actors. There are six main non-Japanese actors and they are: the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Europe, the Third World, and the Far East.

Table 92: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors						
		Japanese	Non-Japanese					
		Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
Inclusion	No.	6	2	0	0	0	0	0
	%	30%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	7	2	2	2	0	2	0
	%	35%	10%	10%	10%	0%	10%	0%
	Total	65%	20%	10%	10%	0%	10%	0%

As Table 92 shows, the Japanese social actor is included as an agent actor at a frequency of 30%, the highest amongst all the social actors. While the Americans dominate the represented participants in the subgroup of included non-Japanese agent actors at 10%, and the agency of the other non-Japanese social actors is included at a frequency of 0%.

Regarding the exclusion of actors in the headlines, the Japanese agents are excluded at a rate of 35%, more frequently than the United States (10%), Europe (10%), the Far East (10%), and West Germany (10%). The following are some examples of the exclusion of Japanese actor agency:

1. *Automobile: Hot springs* *G5J*
2. *Chip industry: Irritation* *G6J*
3. *International trade: New market* *G12J*
4. *Economy: Is the export monster changing itself?* *G13J*
5. *Automobile: It hurts* *G15J*
6. *Automobile: Slowly embarassing* *G16J*
7. *Automobile: Steep downhill* *G18J*

The following are some examples of the excluded non-Japanese agency:

American and European agency:

1. *International trade: Living on tick* *G2J*
2. *Economy: They hate us like cockroaches* *G14J*

West German agency:

1. *Automobile: Lift up your leg* *G9J*
2. *Automobile: Damaged future* *G17J*

Table 93: Exclusion of agent social actors (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Agent social actors						
			Japanese	Non-Japanese					
			Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
1	Backgrounding	No.	7	2	2	2	0	2	0
		%	35%	10%	10%	10%	0%	10%	0%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 93 shows that *Der Spiegel* relies on the strategy of backgrounding to exclude the social actors. While the Japanese are backgrounded at 35, the American, West German, European, and the Far East actors are backgrounded at a rate of 10% each, respectively.

Der Spiegel uses (i) modified nouns, and (ii) nominalisation to background the Japanese actors. The use of the modified nouns ‘hot springs’ (G5J) and ‘export monster’ (G13J) to metonymically refer to Japan, for instance, has the effect of bypassing the need for explicit references to the Japanese agency in issues relating to cars and international trade. From the perspective of the reader, however, it would be difficult for them to identify the agent(s) concerned solely by reading the headlines, since ‘hot springs’ can be found in many countries other than Japan, and ‘export monster’ could

refer to major export nations in 1987, such as West Germany, the United States, or France (see Table 1). The use of nominalisation 'irritation' (G6J) and 'new market' (G12J) also renders it difficult for reader to determine the identity of the actor(s) responsible for the annoyance (G6J) and the rising opportunity to sell goods and services to new customers (G12J).

The backgrounding of Japanese agency, whose representation leaves no traces in the headline nor lead text, is also realised through the use of passive agent deletion. This strategy has the effect of eliminating the need to explicitly mention the agent. In G15J, G16, and G18J, the agent is responsible for the 'hurt' (G15J), 'embarassement' (G16J) and 'worsening situation' (G18J) of the other in the car industry. In other words, the agency of the actors could have been included and made obvious for the reader in G15J, G16, and G18J by using post-modifiers such as 'by', 'of', or 'from'.

Now that the process of the inclusion and exclusion of agent social actors has been examined, Table 94 shows the frequency distribution of the key non-agent social actors.

Table 94: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors						
		Japanese	Non-Japanese					
		Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
Inclusion	No.	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	5	4	4	3	1	0	1
	%	25%	20%	20%	15%	5%	0%	5%
	Total	35%	20%	20%	15%	5%	0%	5%

Table 94 shows that the Japanese social actor is included as a non-agent actor at a frequency of 10%, while none of the non-Japanese non-agent actors are included. When it comes to the exclusion of non-agency in the headlines, the non-agency of the Japanese, American, West German, European, third world actors, and the United Kingdom is excluded at rates of 25%, 20%, 20%, 15%, 5%, and 5%, respectively. The following are some examples of the exclusion of Japanese non-actor agency:

1. *International trade: Living on tick* *G2J*
2. *Dollar on the roller coaster* *G3J*
3. *Automobile: Lift up your leg* *G9J*
4. *Economy: They hate us like cockroaches* *G14J*
5. *Automobile: Damaged future* *G17J*

The following are some examples of excluded American non-agency. It is to be highlighted that the non-agency of the Third World and the United Kingdom is excluded in the headline of G12J and G13J, respectively.

American agency:

1. *Chip industry: Irritation* *G6J*
2. *International trade: New market* *G12J*
3. *Economy: Is the export monster changing itself?* *G13J*
4. *International trade: Japanese want to accommodate the demands of their trade partners – cooperation instead of competition* *G19J*

Table 95: Exclusion of non-agent social actors (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Exclusion			Non-agent social actors						
			Japanese	Non-Japanese					
			Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
1	Backgrounding	No.	5	4	4	3	1	0	1
		%	25%	20%	20%	15%	5%	0%	5%
2	Suppression	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 95 shows that *Der Spiegel* backgrounds the Japanese non-agent actors at a frequency of 25%, compared to American, West German, European, Third World, and British non-agents, which are backgrounded at a frequency of 20%, 20%, 15%, 5% and 5% respectively. None of the non-agents is suppressed.

1. *International trade: Living on tick* *G2J*
2. *Dollar on the roller coaster* *G3J*
3. *Automobile: Lift up your leg* *G9J*
4. *Economy: They hate us like cockroaches* *G14J*
5. *Automobile: Damaged future* *G17J*

The Japanese non-agents are backgrounded when the social actions described in the headlines, e.g. ‘living on tick’, ‘dollar on the roller coaster’, ‘lift up your leg’ and ‘damaged future’, do not directly concern them. In other words, there are no traces of the Japanese non-agents in the headlines. However, they may be mentioned in the main text of the articles. In G14J, however, the Japanese non-agents are backgrounded through the use of the noun ‘cockroaches’ that omits the need to explicitly reveal the identity of the non-agent/recipient(s) that is being ‘hated’ by the agents. In addition, the use of polarisation in the form of the pronouns ‘they’ and ‘us’ lead to the creation of the ‘us-versus-them’ narrative. As van Dijk (2006, p. 738) explains, the us-them categorisation is one of the few semantic strategies employed to express polarised

cognitions and to categorically divide social actors into an in-group (us) and an out-group (them).

The backgrounding of the American non-agents is realised through the use of nominalisation ‘irritation’ (G6J), ‘export monster’ (G13J) and ‘trade partners’ (G19J) to circumvent the need to identify the non-agent(s) involved in the headlines. In other words, the reader is unsure who (the agent) is responsible for causing the ‘irritation’ to whom (the non-agent or patient) in the semiconductor industry (G6J); whose (the agent) very large volume of exports is implicitly depicted to be affecting the non-agents (G13J), and who are portrayed to demand that Japanese (agents) should cooperate with them in international trade (G19J).

When it comes to the topic relating to the car industry, the representational category of inclusion/exclusion of social-actor agency/non-agency shows that the automobile industry is represented as an issue concerning only Japan and West Germany. The exclusion of the non-agency of West Germany is realised through the backgrounding strategy, as shown in the following examples:

1. *Automobile: Hot springs* *G5J*
2. *Automobile: It hurts* *G15J*
3. *Automobile: Slowly embarassing* *G16J*
4. *Automobile: Steep downhill* *G18J*

Through the use of the intransitive verb ‘it hurts’ (G15J), as well as adjectives ‘embarassing’ (G16J) and ‘steep downhill’ (G18J), for instance, *Der Spiegel* leaves out the recipient(s) of the social action from the three headlines. The focus thus shifts to the intransitive verb and the adjectives themselves, which serve to describe the unpleasant situation facing the unidentified non-agents in the car industry.

Now that the inclusion/exclusion of social-actor agency and non-agency has been examined, the next sub-section analyses the other representational categories: activation versus passivation, functionalisation and appraisement, association versus dissociation, and personalisation versus impersonalisation.

6.5.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 96 shows the frequency distribution of the first representational category of inclusion: the role allocation (activation versus passivation) of the Japanese and non-Japanese social actors.

Table 96: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors						
				Japanese	Non-Japanese					
				Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
1	Activation	Participation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The above table shows that the Japanese social actors are the only participants allocated an activated role, at a frequency of 5%, and a passivated role, at a frequency of 5%. None of the non-Japanese social actors is activated or passivated.

In the following headline, the Japanese social actors are depicted to be active participants through *participation*, i.e. in the subject position in a clause that causes or initialises the action. Specifically, they are portrayed to be willing to give what is needed to their trading partners with the main purpose of pleasing or satisfying them.

1. *International trade: Japanese <u>want to accommodate</u> the demands of their trade partners – cooperation instead of competition* *G19J*

Japanese social actors are also passivated through subjection, i.e. in the object position in a clause, as shown in the headline G1J. Allocated with a passivated role, Japan is depicted to be the direct object affected or acted upon by the action expressed by the verb ‘understand’. Furthermore, the use of the pronoun ‘you’ in the headline has the effect of targeting the message directly at the reader of *Der Spiegel* that Japan is unfathomable and baffling in nature.

1. *You will never ever understand <u>Japan</u>* *G1J*

6.5.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 97 shows that the Japanese social actors are functionalised at 0%, identified at 10% and appraised at 15%. None of the non-Japanese actors is functionalised, identified, or appraised.

Table 97: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors						
			Japanese	Non-Japanese					
			Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
1	Functionalisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The headline of G7J shows that the identification of Japan as 'a child' depicts the country as having little or no experience in a particular area, perhaps even at an inferior level of competence in something compared to the other countries that are more developed. In G11J, Japan is identified by its adeptness at 'zaitech', a practice that Japanese companies employed in the 1980s and 1990s to boost profits by investing money borrowed at low interest rates. This has the effect of conjuring up an image of speculative Japanese companies for the reader, since zaitech is regarded as an unwise and overly risky form of investment (Okabe 2016).

1. *Japan: Still a child* *G7J*
2. *Japan: Art of Zaitech* *G11J*

The analysis of appraisement shows that Japan is assessed in two major topics: Japan's identity (G1J), and Japan's trade practices (G8J, and G). In G1J, for instance, Japan's identity is depicted to be totally incomprehensible for the reader through the use of the phrase 'never ever', which comprises the evaluative adverbs 'never' and 'ever', to reveal the author's attitude towards Japan. When it comes to Japan's trade practice, it is assessed through the negation of the evaluative adjective 'enough' (G20J), which is portrayed to have a causal effect on one of its trading partners, the United States (G8J). The headline of G8J relies on the metaphorical device 'a warning shot across the bows' to conjure up an image that the United States is very displeased with Japan's behaviour and will take action if the situation does not improve.

1. *You will never ever understand Japan* *G1J*
2. *American/Japanese trade war: A warning shot across the bows of the Japanese* *G8J*
3. *About Japanese trade practices: Friendship alone is not enough* *G20J*

6.5.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 98 shows that the Japanese actors are associated at a frequency of 5% and dissociated at a frequency of 10%. Among the non-Japanese actors, the American participants are the only ones dissociated, at 5%.

Table 98: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors						
			Japanese	Non-Japanese					
			Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
1	Association	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Dissociation	No.	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
		%	10%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Through the use of the preposition ‘instead of’, the focus shifts to the noun ‘cooperation’ from ‘competition’. In other words, Japanese social actors are depicted as ready to work with their trading partners for a common purpose that benefits mutual growth and success, rather than ending up in a zero-sum situation in which the Japanese gain at the expense of its trading partners.

1. *International trade: Japanese want to accommodate the demands of their trade partners – cooperation instead of competition* G19J

In the analysis of dissociation, however, Japan’s extension of ‘cooperation’ (G19J) and ‘friendship’ (G20J) to its trading partners is depicted to be insufficient and unsatisfactory. Specifically, Japan’s actions are deemed inadequate despite its friendly gestures towards the others, who expect the country to do more about the unpleasant situation caused by its trade practices.

1. *About Japanese trade practices: Friendship alone is not enough* G20J

The identity of one of Japan’s trading partners is revealed to be the United States, which is depicted as engaged in a ‘war’ with Japan over trade (G8J). The dissociation between both countries is exemplified by the use of the noun ‘war’ and the slash ‘/’ to describe the hostile economic competition. The following examples illustrate the dissociated Japanese/American actors:

1. *American/Japanese trade war: A warning shot across the bows of the Japanese* G8J

6.5.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

Table 99 shows that the Japanese social actors are personalised and impersonalised at a frequency of 5% each. None of the non-Japanese actors is personalised or impersonalised.

Table 99: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors						
				Japanese	Non-Japanese					
				Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
1	Personalisation		No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

By using the colon to separate the two independent clauses in the headline of G7J, for instance, the noun ‘child’ in the second clause is used to refer to ‘Japan’ in the first clause. In other words, Japan is represented as a country with little or no experience in a particular area, even up to the time mentioned, as evidenced by the use of the adverb ‘still’.

1. *Japan: Still a <u>child</u>* *G7J*

When it comes to the bilateral relations between the European Community and Japan, metonymical references are used to symbolise their unpleasant, even harmful, relationship. In G10J, for instance, the passive voice is used to put the emphasis on who or what, ‘the tarantula’, performs the action, ‘sting’, by means of the preposition ‘by’. This has the effect of foregrounding the agent of the action, i.e. a very large hairy spider that is causing a small but painful injury.

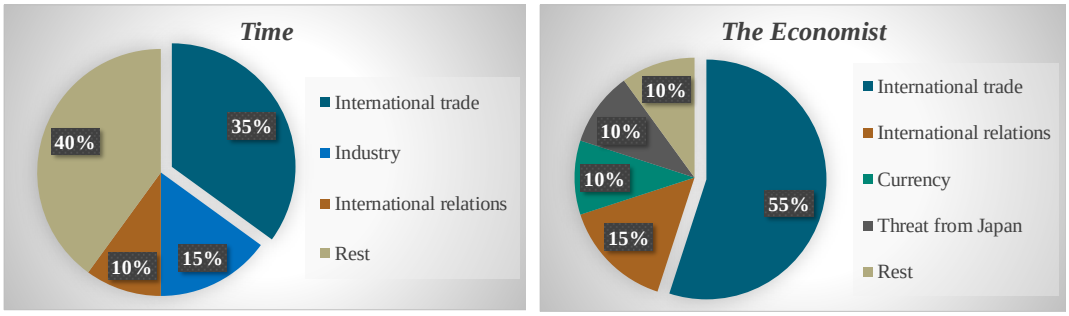
1. *EC/Japan: <u>Stung by the tarantula</u>* *G10J*

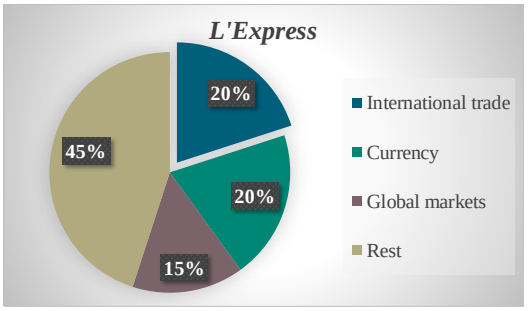
6.6 Closing Remarks

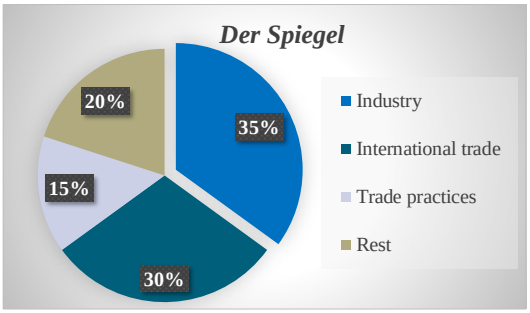
In this chapter, we have examined the representation of Japanese and non-Japanese social actors in the headlines of the four newsmagazines against the backdrop of Japan's trade tensions in 1987. First, this chapter began by deriving the dominant topics, also known as the macrostructure, of the headlines on the basis of van Dijk's macro-rules, before applying van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory of social actor representation on the representation of the social actors reported across the 80 headlines. The five representational categories of van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory were: (i) inclusion and exclusion, (ii) role allocation (activation and passivation), (iii) functionalisation, identification, and appraisement, (iv) association and dissociation, and (v) personalisation and impersonalisation.

According to the topics deduced from the application of van Dijk's macro-rules, the results (see Figure 13) have revealed that the four Western newsmagazines under study showed concern about general international trade issues with Japan (35% for *Time*, 55% for *The Economist*, 20% for *L'Express*, and 35% for *Der Spiegel*) in 1987. It has also emerged that the headlines of (i) *The Economist* were more inclined to construct an intimidating Japan through the overt use of the words 'fear' (B2J) and 'threat' (B19J), and (ii) *Time* and *Der Spiegel* had the tendency to portray a highly competitive, industrialised Japan that is determined to challenge, and even to replace, Western car and chip industries with Japanese ones. These representations, however, stand in contrast to the seemingly more neutral image projected by *L'Express*, which has been observed as focusing on Japan's foreign exchange and its financial markets, in addition to international trade.

Figure 13: Overview of the top three key topics in each Western newsmagazine







Overall, the application of van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory of social actor representation has revealed that the four newsmagazines have not been able to portray a consistent image of Japan in the headlines, which could be categorically considered negative or positive. Further, although it has emerged that (i) *The Economist* was more inclined to associate Japan with West Germany and to paint an image of an intimidating Japan in its headlines, (ii) *Der Spiegel* a highly competitive, yet inexperienced Japan with a unique cultural identity, and (iii) *L'Express* a Japan as one of the major countries having a significant influence in global affairs, all four newsmagazines share a common feature; that is, they are pre-dominantly focused on issues relating to business and trade. What is particularly interesting is that none of the social actors, including the Japanese social actors, were functionalised. This is very different from cases in Chapters 4 and 5, where all the five representational categories were used to construct China. In addition, the patterns that have emerged have also revealed the formation of an important discourse on Japan that 'it not only harms others to benefit itself', but 'it also harms others and harms itself'.

In the following chapter, the representation of the social actors in the lead texts of the 80 articles against the backdrop of the trade tension with Japan in 1987 shall be examined. Similarly, the following chapter begins by deriving the dominant topics of the lead texts by means of van Dijk's macro-rules, before employing van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory of social actor representation to analyse the representation of the social actors.

7. Case Study 4: Japan in 1987 - Representation of Social Actors in the Lead Texts

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examines the representation of social actors in the news relating to Japan's rise in the headlines. This chapter, however, shifts the focus onto the portrayal of social actors in the lead texts in *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*.

Specifically, Chapter 7 seeks to answer the research questions: (i) What are the prevailing topics surrounding Japan's rise in the year 1987 in the lead texts of the four newsmagazines, (ii) What were the main representational categories that were used to construct the social actors in the lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines? (iii) Who were the main social actors involved in the representation of Japan in the lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines? (iv) How were they discursively represented in relation to one another across the four newsmagazines? (v) Was Japan more positively or negatively appraised in the lead texts? (vi) What are the prevailing ideological discourses and dominant representations of Japan in the Western newsmagazines.

Ultimately, the answers to the above-mentioned questions should help answer the two hypotheses in Chapter 8 of this thesis: (i) China is reported more unfavourably than Japan by the Western press, and (ii) The Western newsmagazines do not speak in one collective voice with regard to China or Japan.

Based on the application of van Leeuwen's (1996) socio-semantic categories[68] as well as van Dijk's concept of macro-rules[69] (1980), the analytical model in this thesis provides a starting point in critical discourse analysis to answer the aforementioned research questions. As headlines disclose the most important topic of the news and thus the highest-level macro-proposition of a news discourse, the study proceeds by first identifying the prevailing topic of each of the headlines through the application of macro-rules before linking the socio-semantic categories with their linguistic realisations (see Chapter 3).

[68] See Section 3.4 for the representational categories and the rationale for choosing them over others.
[69] See Section 3.3 on how to apply the macro-rules.

Sections 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, and 7.5 examine the representation of the major social actors in the 20 lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express,* and *Der Spiegel*. Each section begins with a global description of the data collected from the 20 lead texts of each newsmagazine by first identifying the prevailing topics on Japan's rise in 1987, then tabulating the inclusion and exclusion of the main social actors in frequency and percentage, before applying the other representational categories to the analysis of the social actors. Section 7.6 concludes the chapter by comparing and summarising the similarities and differences in the representation of the main social actors related to Japan across the newsmagazines and highlights any patterns that emerge from the data.

It is to be emphasised that this thesis assumes that the reader typically approaches an article of a newsmagazine with a top-down strategy. In other words, the reader reads the headlines first before continuing to the lead texts and the main texts that follow.

7.2 American Perspective - *Time*

7.2.1 Overview

This section examines the American perspective on Japan's rise through the analysis of the lead texts of 20 articles published by *Time* newsmagazine in 1987. The prevailing topics of the 20 lead texts are in Appendix. Table 144 shows that eight topics (40%) of the 20 headlines are derived from the use of the "generalisation" macro-rule, followed by seven (35%) from "construction" and five (25%) from "deletion".

The application of van Dijk's macro-rules also show that there are many diverse topics across the corpus. For the purpose of simplicity, however, some of the topics are merged. They are as follows:

Japan's unfair trade practices (A3J), *Old habits die hard* (A9J), *US-Japan trade tensions* (A10J), *Selling to Japan* (A12J), *Toshiba's sales to the Soviets* (A15J), and *Japan changes tactics* (A18J) are merged into one overarching topic; *Japan's trade*, which thus becomes the most frequently represented topic (six lead texts).

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone (A6J and A11J) and *Contest for Japan's prime ministership* (A17J) are also combined together to form *Japan's prime ministership* (three lead texts: A6J, A11J, and A17J); *American protectionism* (A8J) and *America's paltry exports* (A16J) are consolidated under the general topic *American trade* (two lead texts: A8J and A16J). Lastly, *Japan's new investment target* (A4J) and

Sony's acqusition (A19J) are fused together to form *Japan's overseas investment* (two lead texts: A4J and A19J).

The other topics that have also surfaced include *Japan's artificial display of military strength* (A1J), *Foreign-induced social problems* (A2J), *Japan's unemployment rate* (A5J), *Japanese architect wins Pritzker Prize* (A7J), *The sophisticated Japanese heroine* (A13J), *Death of Japan's corporate chiefs* (A14J), and *Japanese envy of European welfare system* (A20J).

Finally, the average number of words per headline for all the 20 sampled lead texts is 38.35 words and the total number of words of the 20 lead texts is 767.

7.2.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

7.2.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Table 100 shows the frequency distribution of the inclusion/exclusion of agency (Japanese and non-Japanese) in the lead texts.

Table 100: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors					
		Japanese	Non-Japanese				
		Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
Inclusion	No.	17	4	0	0	0	1
	%	85%	20%	0%	0%	0%	5%
Exclusion	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	85%	20%	0%	0%	0%	5%

As Table 100 shows, the Japanese social actors are included as an agent actor at a frequency of 85%, the highest amongst all the social actors. It is also included at a more than four-fold rate compared to the next largest agent social actor (the American), which is included at a frequency of 20%, and the foreigner, which is included at a rate of 5%. The exclusion process shows that none of the agents are excluded. In other words, the agents that are excluded from the headlines have now emerged in the lead texts.

Table 101: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors					
		Japanese	Non-Japanese				
		Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
Inclusion	No.	2	3	1	0	2	0
	%	10%	15%	5%	0%	10%	0%
Exclusion	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	10%	15%	5%	0%	10%	0%

According to Table 101, the Japanese, American, Soviet Union, and European non-agents are included at frequencies of 10%, 15%, 5%, and 10%, respectively. Similarly to the exclusion process for the agents, none of the non-agents are excluded. In other words, the non-agents that are excluded from the headlines emerged in the lead texts. The excluded social actors have already been discussed and analysed in Chapter 6, which is dedicated to the examination of social actor representation relating to Japan's rise in the headlines; see Chapter 6 for more details.

7.2.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 102 shows the frequency distribution of the first representational category of inclusion: the role allocation (activation versus passivation) of the Japanese and non-Japanese social actors. Only the Japanese and American social actors are represented in this category.

Table 102: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors					
				Japanese	Non-Japanese				
				Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
1	Activation	Participation	No.	13	4	0	0	0	0
			%	65%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	1	1	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The Japanese social actors are activated through participation in the material process, as exemplified by the underlined action verbs, 'has reached' (A5J), 'led' (A6J), 'wins' (A7J), 'putt' (A17J), 'changes' (A18J), and 'pays' (A19J), which describe Japanese action indicated in the clauses. In other words, these verbs foreground

Japanese agency relating to (i) the act of achieving an unemployment rate of three percent, expressed through the verb ‘has reached’; (ii) the leadership of Japan’s Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone that enabled the ruling party to triumph in both houses of the Diet, with the help of the verb ‘led’ (A6J); (iii) the achievement accomplished by Japan’s chief architect, that is, to ‘win’ the Pritzker Prize (A7J); (iv) the contest for the prime ministership among three competitors, by means of the verb ‘putt’ (A17J); (v) the change in the tactics due to the exertion of pressure by its allies (A18J), as well as (vi) the payment made by the Japanese multinational company, Sony (A19J).

1. *Because of continuing woes in such industries as steel and even autos, Japan has reached the 3% jobless level…* *A5J*
2. *Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, an adroit political tactician, led his ruling Liberal Democratic Party to a sweeping victory last summer in both houses of the Diet…* *A6J*
3. *Japan's modernist master architect wins the coveted Pritzker Prize* *A7J*
4. *A trio of contenders putt for the prime ministership* *A17J*
5. *Under pressure from allies, Tokyo changes tactics* *A18J*
6. *Sony pays $2 billion for pacesetting CBS Records* *A19J*

In contrast to the Japanese social actors, who are depicted to be the dynamic force involved in the material processes of ‘leading’, ‘winning’, ‘putting’, and ‘paying’, the American actors are activated through participation in the material processes of ‘firing’ (A8J) and ‘imposing’ (A10J). Such a semantic strategy has the effect of highlighting American aggressivity in the enactment of tariffs to protect its domestic industries against the import of Japanese electronic goods, as described in A8J. The situation is further intensified by the use of the verb ‘imposed’, as shown in A10J, which foregrounds American agency in levying punitive sanctions against Japan. According to these representations, the United States is prompted to act in order to safeguard its domestic industries against Japanese competition.

1. *The U.S. fires protective tariffs at Japanese electronics products* *A8J*
2. *After the Reagan Administration imposed trade sanctions against Japan in an attempt to protect American makers of microchips…* *A10J*

The participation of the activated Japanese social actors is also represented in the verbal process, as demonstrated by the underlined following citation verbs, ‘announced’ (A1J), ‘asked’ (A2J), ‘reports’ (A13J), and ‘advises’ (A13J). These verbs depict the Japanese participants engaged in the verbal processes relating to (i) the public communication released by the government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone about

its new defence budget, with the help of the verb 'announce' (A1J); (ii) the inquiry undertaken by the Japanese TV news special on the possible association between the 'source of the problem' and the 'foreign sailors' who reportedly visit Kobe's red-light district (A2J), (iii) a detailed account of Japanese business encroachment into the American market through the verb 'reports' (A13J), and (iv) the advice given to the Japanese protagonist's 'boss' about the best way to 'buy up' a bank in the United States, inevitably conjuring up an image of a plan that is being hatched to buy all that is available of a bank.

This stands in contrast to the representation of the American social actors through participation in the verbal processes. For instance, A3J shows that the American economic social actors – in the form of the 'American chipmakers' – are portrayed as participants that are actively engaged in the verbal process of 'calling' for strong official action to punish Japan for its unfair trade practices. In addition to the chipmakers, Chrysler's chairman is also depicted as being involved in the act of 'announcing' the sale of US-made cars in six countries in Western Europe. Here are the examples:

1. *...the government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone announced that its proposed new budget will raise defense spending to 1.004% of Japan's estimated 1987 gross national product.* *A1J*
2. *A TV news special seeking to pinpoint the source of the problem, suggested darkly that foreign sailors frequenting Kobe's red-light district were to blame, and asked: "Can Kobe live down this…* *A2J*
3. *American chipmakers call for a crackdown on Japanese dumping* *A3J*
4. *Armed with a Harvard M.B.A., she reports on Japanese business inroads in the U.S. and advises her boss on how to buy up a bank* *A13J*
5. *Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca announced in September that for the first time in nearly ten years, the automaker would begin selling U.S.-made autos in six West European countries* *A16J*

The activated Japanese social actors are also represented as participating in (i) behavioural processes, as manifested by the use of the underlined verbs 'seeking to pinpoint' (A2J) and 'is carrying' (A13J), as well as (ii) the mental process of 'learning to love' (A4J). The mental verb 'learn', as indicated in A4J, has the effect of foregrounding the cognitive state of the Japanese investors vis-à-vis American real estate, in contrast to the behavioural verbs that serve to emphasise Japanese agency in society through the anecdotal accounts of (i) the attempt made by a TV news special to identify the 'source of the problem' (A2J), and (ii) the romantic courtship between the

Japanese protagonist and a 'dashing' economist (A13J). The American social actors are also allocated an activated role through participation in the behavioural process of 'getting excited' over some business deals with a foreign country. As A16J shows, the use of the modal verb 'should' in a sentence that ends with a question mark shifts the focus to the unsatisfactory business deals that the United States has struck with the foreign country concerned, which is further intensified through the identification of the United States as an economic power that deserves larger, better deals.

1. *A TV news special seeking to pinpoint the source of the problem, suggested darkly that foreign sailors frequenting Kobe's red-light district were to blame…* *A2J*
2. *Japanese investors learn to love American real estate* *A4J*
3. *…meanwhile, she is carrying on a romance with a dashing economist.* *A13*
4. *Should an economic power as large as the U.S. get excited about the sale of a few thousand autos or tons of steel to a foreign country?* *A16J*

In addition to participation, the activated Japanese social actors are also portrayed to be possessivated by using the possessive apostrophe to postmodify the noun 'Toshiba' (A15J). Such a semantic strategy has the effect of putting the emphasis on Japanese agency in selling its products to the Soviets. Here is the example:

1. *The shocking conspiracy behind Toshiba's sales to the Soviets* *A15J*

7.2.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification, and Appraisement

Table 103 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of functionalisation/identification/appraisement.

Table 103: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors					
			Japanese	Non-Japanese				
			Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
1	Functionalisation	No.	6	2	0	0	0	1
		%	30%	10%	0%	0%	0%	5%
2	Identification	No.	2	1	0	0	1	1
		%	10%	5%	0%	0%	5%	5%
3	Appraisement	No.	4	0	0	0	0	0
		%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The process of functionalisation reveals that the social actors come from car-manufacturing nations like Japan and the United States, and are described as 'manager' (A20J) and 'chairman' (A16J), respectively. For instance, the Japanese economic social actor, 'Yozo Matsuoka', is presented as a 'manager' of the European operations at the

Japanese car manufacturer, Honda; while the American economic social actor, 'Lee Iacocca', is also presented as the 'chairman' of the American car manufacturer, Chrysler. The functionalisation of high-status occupations can also be observed in A7J, where the Japanese economic social actor is revealed to be an 'architect' who wins the highly desired Pritzker Prize. Here are the excerpts of the three lead texts:

1. *Japan's modernist master architect wins the coveted Pritzker Prize* A7J
2. *Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca announced in September that for the first time in nearly ten years…* A16J
3. *When Yozo Matsuoka was a manager at Honda's European operations in Brussels…* A20J

Japanese political social actors are also functionalised in the form of Japan's 'Prime Minister' Yasuhiro Nakasone, as shown in A1J and A6J. Such representations have the effect of attaching formality to the Japanese political social actor, creating an image of respect for the political figure in Japan. This, however, stands in contrast with the more informal address of the prime minister by merely indicating his surname in A11J.

1. *After an eight-hour meeting of key officials last week, the government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone announced that… 1987 gross national product.* A1J
2. *Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, an adroit political tactician, led his ruling Liberal Democratic Party to…* A6J
3. *Nakasone is caught between the U.S. and the voters at home* A11J

The following lead text (A2J), however, functionalises the lower-status occupations when it wants to associate the participants with trouble and disease. This is realised by evoking the victim's occupation ('prostitute'), for instance, who reportedly died due to AIDS transmitted by non-Japanese social actors who are functionalised as 'sailor'. According to this representation, the existence of different social classes in Japan comes to the fore.

1. *Then came word that the first female patient had died on Jan. 20 of AIDS-related pneumonia… The victim, a prostitute,… was unquestionably heterosexual… A TV news special seeking to pinpoint the source of the problem, suggested darkly that foreign sailors frequenting Kobe's red-light district were to blame…* A2J

An examination of the identification process demonstrates that the investors are depicted to be 'Japanese' (A4J), while the chipmakers are identified as 'American' (A5J and A10J). This representation constructs a scenario in which the Japanese are alluded to be wealthy by associating them with the noun 'investors', while the Americans are presented as manufacturers; that is, they are associated with technology. While the

excerpts of the lead texts A4J, A5J, and A10J have the effect of revealing the identity of the Japanese and American social actors, A18J points out that Japan is an ally.

1. *Japanese investors learn to love American real estate* *A4J*
2. *American* chipmakers *call for a crackdown on Japanese dumping* *A5J*
3. *After the Reagan Administration imposed trade sanctions against Japan in an attempt to protect American makers of microchips…* *A10J*
4. *Under pressure from allies, Tokyo changes tactics* *A18J*

In addition to the identification of the Japanese social actors, the European participants ('Belgian' pensioner) are also allocated an identity, as indicated in A20J. By revealing the mental process of Matsuoka in recalling one of his Belgian neighbours, the lead text alludes to the generous social welfare system available in Belgium, where pensioners are depicted as leading a comfortable lifestyle, supported by the great amount of taxes paid to sustain such a system. This representation advances the notion that Europe is a welfare state, according to the Japanese perspective, compared to Japan's welfare system.

1. *…one of his neighbors was a Belgian pensioner. "This man lived a life beyond our imaging," recalls Matsuoka. "He owned his house, drove a nice car and rented a cottage in Spain for five months a year. I knew that they paid lots of taxes for the social-welfare system in Belgium, but I realized with envy the security they got in return."* *A20J*

The sailors, who are depicted to be the source of a problem to Japanese society, is revealed to be foreigners. In other words, troublemakers are represented to be foreigners from the perspective of the Japanese. Here is the lead text concerned:

1. *A TV news special seeking to pinpoint the source of the problem, suggested darkly that foreign sailors frequenting Kobe's red-light district were to blame,* *A2J*

In the appraisement category, the selected lead texts show that the Japanese social actors are the only participants who are evaluated. On an individual level, the Japanese social actors are positively described with (i) evaluative adjectives, such as 'sharp' (A13J), 'stylish' (A13J), 'trusted' (A13J), 'dashing' (A13J), 'adroit' (A6J), and (ii) the evaluative noun 'heroine' (A13J). On the macroeconomic level, however, the unemployment rate of 3 percent in Japan is depicted to be a 'cause for national anguish and alarm' for the Japanese, compared to 'most countries' that would have interpreted the level of joblessness as low, and even 'nirvana' (A5J). The difference between Japan and other countries is also further put to the fore by the metaphorical device 'fear rattled

the country like an earthquake' (A2J), which has the effect of emphasising Japanese fear of a disease that could be brought in by foreign sailors. The evaluative adverb 'darkly' (A2J) further paints a picture of a threatening, mysterious, ominous connection between foreigners and disease. The overall effect of such representations is two-fold: (i) to depict Japan as a highly successful society, and (ii) to highlight its insularity, even cultural superiority, from the outside world.

1. *Fear rattled the country like an earthquake. Stock in condom manufacturers soared by as much as 500 points on the Tokyo exchange. A TV news special seeking to pinpoint the source of the problem, suggested darkly that foreign sailors frequenting Kobe's red-light district were to blame* A2J
2. *In most countries an unemployment rate of only 3% would be nothing short of nirvana. But in Japan it is cause for national anguish and alarm.* A5J
3. *Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, an adroit political tactician, led his ruling Liberal Democratic Party to a sweeping victory last summer in both houses of the Diet…* A6J
4. *She is sharp, stylish and, at 29, the trusted confidante of business leaders and government finance officials. Armed with a Harvard M.B.A., she reports on Japanese business inroads in the U.S… meanwhile, she is carrying on a romance with a dashing economist. Sawako Matsumoto is the heroine in a hardcover, cartoon-style guide to economics…* A13J

7.2.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 104 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of association/dissociation.

Table 104: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors					
			Japanese	Non-Japanese				
			Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
1	Association	No.	5	1	1	0	0	1
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%
2	Dissociation	No.	3	3	0	0	0	0
		%	10%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%

An examination of the association/dissociation process demonstrates that Japan is alluded to be associated (15%) with (i) *bureaucracy*, as shown in A1J, because the government of former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is portrayed to be lifting national defence spending after hours of discussions with important officials, (ii) as having *reluctance to engage in military activities*, also shown in A1J, through the use of the quantifiers 'that much' and '1.004%' to highlight the insignificant increase in defence expenditure as a share of Japan's GNP, and (iii) *Japan's mere display* of

military expansion intentions, realised by the use of the adverb ‘psychologically’ and the adjective ‘significant’. In other words, A1J suggests that Japanese actions are more a show of power than a real physical threat. Japan is also represented to be associated with its unwillingness to change their way of doing things that they are accustomed to, as exemplied by the use of the phrase ‘old ways still die hard’ (A9J). These representations give the notion that Japan is a nation that is bureaucratic, non-flexible, and adverse to military expansion. Here are the two lead texts concerned:

1. *The decision did not increase military strength that much, but it was psychologically significant. After an eight-hour meeting of key officials last week, the government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone announced that its proposed new budget will raise defense spending to 1.004% of Japan's estimated 1987 gross national product. If adopted by the Diet, the outlays would exceed for the first time the 1% ceiling on defense spending that Japan has observed for the past ten years.* A1J
2. *A new current sweeps across Japan, but the old ways still die hard* A9J

In contrast to the other three magazines, A15J shows that *Time* has made explicit references to the association (5%) between the Japanese economic social actor (‘Toshiba’, Japan’s car manufacturer) and the Soviet social actors (‘Soviets’). The extent of the secret connection between both participants is intensified by the use of the adjective ‘shocking’ and the noun ‘conspiracy’, which further compounds the severity of the situation. In other words, the notion of Toshiba’s illicit dealings with the Soviets, or perhaps even betrayal, is conveyed to the reader, with the subsequent effect of distancing them from the Japanese social actors.

1. *The shocking conspiracy behind Toshiba's sales to the Soviets* A15J

Non-Japanese social actors, however, are depicted to be associated (5%) with trouble through the use of the adjective ‘foreign’ to identify the origin of the sailors, from the perspective of the Japanese. This is realised by associating the non-Japanese social actors with ‘the source of the problem’, which Japan’s ‘TV news special’ is reportedly trying to find out. Here is the lead text concerned:

1. *A TV news special seeking to pinpoint the source of the problem, suggested darkly that foreign sailors frequenting Kobe's red-light district were to blame,* A2J

When it comes to the bilateral trade relations between the United States and Japan, A3J, A8J, and A10J rely on the dissociation (15%) strategy to highlight the stand-off between both countries. In these instances, the depiction of the opposition between the two countries is realised through the use of the noun ‘crackdown’ (A3J),

the verb ‘fires’ (A8J), and the adjective ‘most serious’ (A10J) to denote the deteriorating US-Japan trade relations. Here are the three lead texts concerned:

1. *American chipmakers call for a crackdown on Japanese dumping* — *A3J*
2. *The U.S. fires protective tariffs at Japanese electronics products* — *A8J*
3. *…but it was big enough to cause one of the most serious episodes between the U.S. and Japan since the end of World War II... After the Reagan Administration imposed trade sanctions against Japan in an attempt to protect American makers of microchips, it suddenly looked last week as if the U.S. and Japan were headed for...* — *A10J*

Despite the representation of dissociated US-Japan trade relations, Japanese investors are depicted to be associated (5%) with their appreciation of America’s real estate. Nevertheless, their appreciation for the real estate in the United States is reportedly at the infancy stage, as evidenced by the presence of the verb ‘learn’ in A4J.

1. *Japanese investors learn to love American real estate* — *A4J*

7.2.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

Table 105 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of personalisation/impersonalisation.

Table 105: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*Time*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors					
				Japanese	Non-Japanese				
				Japan	US	Soviet Union	W. Germany	W. Europe	Foreigner
1	Personalisation		No.	6	2	0	0	0	1
			%	30%	10%	0%	0%	0%	5%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

In this category of socio-semantic representation, it can be observed that *Time* has the tendency to allocate social actors with human features in the lead texts. Not only are American individuals, for instance, personalised (10%) in the form of ‘Lee Iacocca’ (A16J), who is reportedly the chairman of the American car manufacturer, Chrysler, the reigning administration of the United States is also given a human touch by mentioning ‘Reagan’ (A10J) to highlight the presidency of Ronald Reagan. The strategy of personalising high-status social actors is also applied to the Japanese social actors, who are personalised at a frequency of 25% and embodied in the form of (i) Japan’s Prime Minister ‘Yasuhiro Nakasone’ (A1J, A6J, and A11J); (ii) ‘Sawako Matsumoto’, a

reportedly stylish, highly capable, and young Japanese woman with whom business leaders are able to discuss their private problems (A13J); and (iii) 'Yozo Matsuoka', manager of the European operations of the car manufacturer, Honda (A20J).

1. *After an eight-hour meeting of key officials last week, the government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone announced that… 1987 gross national product.* *A1J*
2. *Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, an adroit political tactician, led his ruling Liberal Democratic Party to…* *A6J*
3. *After the Reagan Administration imposed trade sanctions against Japan in an attempt to protect American makers of microchip…* *A10J*
4. *Nakasone is caught between the U.S. and the voters at home* *A11J*
5. *She is sharp, stylish and, at 29, the trusted confidante of business leaders and government finance officials. Sawako Matsumoto is the heroine in a hardcover, cartoon-style guide to economics that is published by Nihon Keizai Shimbun, Tokyo's largest business daily.* *A13J*
6. *Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca announced in September that for the first time in nearly ten years…* *A16J*
7. *When Yozo Matsuoka was a manager at Honda's European operations in Brussels during the early 1980s, one of his neighbors was a Belgian pensioner. "This man lived a life beyond our imaging," recalls Matsuoka. "He owned his house, drove a nice car and rented a cottage in Spain for five months a year. I knew that they paid lots of taxes for the social-welfare system in Belgium, but I realized with envy the security they got in return."* *A20J*

In addition to the portrayal of high-status political and economic social actors, the personalised Japanese participants are also revealed to be sufferers of severe medical conditions, such as AIDS, haemophilia, and pneumonia, in one of the lead texts. This compares to the foreigners who are depicted to be sailors, alluded to have transmitted AIDS to the Japanese. Such a representation could have the effect of emphasising the notion of Japan's insularity vis-à-vis the outside world, further strengthening the bifurcation of us versus them.

1. *Until recently Japan's two dozen known AIDS victims were either male homosexuals or hemophiliacs. Then came word that the first female patient had died on Jan. 20 of AIDS-related pneumonia…The victim, a prostitute, was unquestionably heterosexual…A TV news special seeking to pinpoint the source of the problem, suggested darkly that foreign sailors frequenting Kobe's red-light district were to blame…* *A2J*

7.3 British Perspective - *The Economist*

7.3.1 Overview

This section examines the British perspective on Japan's rise through the analysis of the lead texts of 20 articles published by *The Economist* in 1987. The prevailing topics of the 20 lead texts about Japan in the year 1987 are presented in Table 145 in Appendix. Table 145 shows that 14 topics (60%) of the 20 lead texts are derived from the use of the "generalisation" macro-rule, followed by three (15%) from "construction" and three (15%) from "zero-rule".

The application of van Dijk's macro-rules also show that there are many diverse topics across the corpus. For purposes of simplicity, however, some of the topics are merged. They are as follows:

Japan's offshore strategy (B3J, B6J), *Japan's unfair trade practices* (B8J), *Japan bears the brunt of America's wrath* (B14J), and *The world is getting impatient with Japan* (B19J) are merged into one overarching generic topic; *Japan's trade practices*, thus becoming the most frequent topic (five lead texts: B3J, B6J, B8J, B14J, and B19J) across the 20 sampled articles in *The Economist*.

Japan's protectionism (B1J, B7J, and B16J), *American protectionism* (B11J), and *Japan's paradoxical economy* (B13J) are also merged to constitute the generic topic *trade protectionism*. Along with the aforementioned *Japan's trade practices* topic, *trade protectionism* thus becomes the most represented topic, with five lead texts B1J, B7J, B11J, B13J, and B16J, tied with *Japan's trade practices*.

Another highly represented topic is *trade relations.* In this category, there are four lead texts concerned: *US-Japan trade relations* (B9J), *Impending trade war* (B10J), *EEC-Japan relations* (B17J), *and EEC-Japan relations* (B17J).

There are also other topics that surfaced. These include *Japan's alignment with the West* (B2J), *International exchange rate* (B4J), *Osaka-Tokyo competition* (B5J), *US-Britain economic pre-eminence* (B12J), *US declines, Japan rises* (B18J), and *Japan's vested interest in the Gulf* (G20J).

Finally, the average number of words per lead text for all the 20 sampled articles is 47.9 words and the total number of words of the 20 lead texts is 958.

7.3.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

7.3.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Now that the prevailing topics of the 20 headlines have been identified, this section applies van Leeuwen's socio-semantic categories to the representation of the main social actors in the headlines of *The Economist*. Table 106 shows the frequency distribution of the first representational category, inclusion/exclusion of social actors.

Table 106: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors								
		Japanese	Non-Japanese							
		Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
Inclusion	No.	15	6	2	3	0	2	0	0	0
	%	75%	30%	10%	15%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Total	90%	30%	10%	15%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%

As Table 106 shows, the Japanese social actors are included as an agent actor at a frequency of 75%, the highest amongst all the social actors. The other included actors are the Americans (30%), the British (10%), West Germans (15%), and Europeans (10%). The agency of the Japanese is excluded at a frequency of 15%, compared to the non-agency of the non-Japanese social actors, which is excluded at 0%.

Table 107: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors								
		Japanese	Non-Japanese							
		Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
Inclusion	No.	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
	%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	10%	0%
Exclusion	No.	0	11	4	4	1	2	0	0	2
	%	0%	55%	20%	20%	5%	10%	0%	0%	10%
	Total	10%	55%	20%	20%	5%	10%	5%	10%	10%

Table 107 shows that the non-agency of the Japanese, Gulf, and the world actors are included at frequencies of 10%, 5%, and 10%, respectively. When it comes to the process of exclusion, the American, British, West German, French, European, and FAT non-agent actors are excluded at frequencies of 55%, 20%, 20%, 5%, 10%, and 10%, respectively.

Since Chapter 6, which is dedicated to the examination of social actor representation relating to Japan's rise in the headlines, has already analysed the

excluded social, the exclusion of the social actors from the lead texts still applies. Please refer to Chapter 6 for more details.

7.3.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 108 shows the frequency distribution of the next representational category, role allocation, which allocates activated and passivated roles to social actors in the headlines. According to the table, the Japanese social actors are represented the most frequently in this category, compared to the non-Japanese participants.

Table 108: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors								
				Japanese	Non-Japanese							
				Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
1	Activation	Participation	No.	9	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
			%	45%	10%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The following examples show that the Japanese social actors are activated through participation; that is, they are represented as the dynamic force in an activity, particularly as an agent in relational, mental, and material processes.

1. *So long as foreigners are excluded, Japan will have a costly and inefficient telephone service.* B1J
2. *1987 is the year of the rabbit. It does not really start until the lunar new year on January 29th, but Japan likes to get a head start by making it correspond with the western new year.* B2J
3. *A stronger yen is forcing it change its cautious ways. Against its instincts, Toyota is now producing cars abroad and diversifying at home.* B3J
4. *Japan's businessmen have always shown a remarkable ability to bounce back from whatever external shocks have hit them.* B6J
5. *Japan and West Germany appear to be the troublemakers, each amassing huge external surpluses at the expense of the world… while both buy sizeable quantities of raw materials, the Federal Republic also imports a large volume of manufactured goods.* B8J
6. *The trade rows that Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, the Japanese prime minister, and President Reagan met to defuse (see page 35) threaten to scare away the Japanese who are investing in America's economy.* B11J

7. *In the 1970s Japan was the most successful of the advanced industrial countries in adjusting to the three challenges of absorbing the oil price shocks, controlling inflation and moving industries out of old declining businesses into new competitive ones.* B13J
8. *That should provide a convenient excuse for the Japanese government to push much-needed reforms of Japan's inefficient and protected farm industry.* B16J
9. *Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone… said in his last press conference as Japan's prime minister that he had tried to get the world to see his country as a place interested in more than mere exports.* B20J

The underlined verbs, 'by making it' (B2J), 'is now producing' (B3J), 'diversifying' (B3J), 'to bounce back' (B6J), 'amassing' (B8J), 'buy' (B8J), 'are investing' (B11J), 'adjusting' (B13J), 'controlling' (B13J), and 'moving' (B13J), are action verbs denoting material processes and describing what the subject of the clauses is doing. These verbs put the focus on Japanese agency relating to (i) Japan's deliberate change from the lunar new-year system to the gregorian one in alignment with the west (B2J), (ii) Toyota's move to manufacture its cars abroad and to expand the variety of its products, services, and operations domestically in order to reduce risks (B3J), (iii) Japan's, along with West Germany's, accumulation of large trade surpluses and acquisition of huge quantities of raw materials (B8J), (iv) Japanese investment in America's economy (B11J), and (v) Japan's ability to adapt itself to the 1970s' oil crisis, to keep inflation in check, and to transform declining industries into competitive ones (B13J). The verb 'likes' in the lead text of B2J is a mental verb that represents Japan is in the process of feeling and wanting.

As regards the activation of the Japanese social actors in relational processes, the use of the relational verb 'to have' in B1J emphasises the causal relationship between Japan's agency in excluding foreigners and the result is a telephone service that is expensive and inefficient. Such a scenario creates the notion that Japan is enacting policies that are harming itself. In other words, the Japanese social actors are depicted as benefitting from the actions that they undertake. The portayal of self-harm is further exemplified in B11J, where the Japanese prime minister together with the American president are represented to be engaged in the material process of meeting each other through the use of the action verb 'met', with the aim to remove the prospects of a trade war. However, their action is reportedly having the negative effect of turning the Japanese investors away from investing in America. In other words, they end up being the recipient ('beneficialisation') of the action that they have undertaken.

The activation of the Japanese actors can also be realised through circumstantialisation by using the preposition 'by' as shown in the headline B6J. This has the effect of shifting the focus onto the action undertaken by Japanese agency, that is, attention is drawn to the action of the Japanese yen, which is to increase in value. Although the Japanese social actors are depicted as being allocated an activated role through circumstantialisation, the lead text of B6J also reveals that Japanese social actors are passivated through beneficialisation. In other words, Japan's businessmen are portrayed as beneficialised by the action caused by a rapidly strengthening Japanese yen. Such a representation is further intensified through the use of hyperbole 'are buffeted by', which conjures up an image of the Japanese businessmen repeatedly undergoing setbacks due to their strong national currency. Inevitably, the reader will gain the notion that the Japanese social actors are harming themselves through their own actions.

1. *Japan's businessmen have always shown a remarkable ability to bounce back from whatever external shocks have hit them. Now that they are buffeted by the rapid appreciation of the yen…* B6J

7.3.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification, and Appraisement

Table 109 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of functionalisation/identification/appraisement. In this category, the Japanese social actors are represented the most frequently (30% functionalisation, 40% identification, and 30% appraisement), compared to the other participants, such as the American, British, West Germans, and Europeans.

Table 109: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors								
			Japanese	Non-Japanese							
			Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
1	Functionalisation	No.	6	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
		%	30%	15%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	8	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
		%	40%	5%	5%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	30%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The analysis of functionalisation shows that the Japanese social actors tend to be depicted as associated with economic and industrial activities, as exemplified by the use of the words such as 'businessmen' (B6J), 'manufacturers' (B6J), 'policymakers' (B9J),

and ‘exporters’ (B15J and B17J) to describe the Japanese social actors. This is achieved through the use of (i) nouns formed from verbs, such as adding the suffix ‘-ers’ to the verbs ‘manufacture’ (B6J) and ‘export’ (B15J and B17J), and (ii) compound nouns, such as adding the suffixes ‘-men’ and ‘-makers’ to the nouns ‘business’ and ‘policy’, which denote places or tools. Here are the extracts concerned:

1. *Japan's businessmen have always shown a remarkable ability to bounce back from whatever external shocks have hit them… Manufacturers are moving production offshore.* B6J
2. *The Japanese are perturbed, and turning to anger – an emotion that policymakers in Washington have known for some time.* B9J
3. *As Japan's exporters become more like West Germany's, trade tensions will ease.* B15J
4. *The time is past when the Community would wring its hands as Japanese exporters added another billion dollars or so to their country's trade surplus with the EEC and send a deputation to Tokyo to beg for voluntary export restraints.* B17J

In addition to the functionalisation of social actors in issues relating to the economy and business, the social actors are also functionalised in terms of what they do in politics. The political roles played by the Japanese include ‘prime minister’ (B11J and B19), by the American with ‘president’ (B11J) and ‘treasury secretary’ (B14J), and by the American and European ‘politicians’ (B10J). In this respect, *The Economist* does not attempt to make a distinction between the Japanese and American/European social actors from the political perspective. Here are the extracts concerned:

1. *They should thereby have taught American and European politicians the simplest of economic lessons.* B10J
2. *The trade rows that Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, the Japanese prime minister, and President Reagan met to defuse…* B11J
3. *Mr James Baker, America's treasury secretary, stepped up pressure on Japan and West Germany to expand their economies.* B14J
4. *Few people can be more virtuous than the overbearingly patient Mr Noboru Takeshita, Japan's next prime minister. He may yet try the patience of the world.* B19J

When it comes to the analysis of identification, it is shown that Japan, along with West Germany, is identified as a troublemaker in the global economy through the use of the compound noun ‘troublemakers’ (B8J). Such a semantic strategy has the effect of conjuring up an image of a pair of countries that habitually cause difficulty or problems, in particular with the intention to encourage the others to defy those in power. In other words, B8J suggests that Japan and West Germany create many problems for those countries in power due to the huge external surpluses that they have reportedly

accumulated. The identity of those in power is revealed in B12J, when a historical comparison in economic pre-eminence is made between the United States at the end of the twentieth century and Britain towards the end of the nineteenth. This has the effect of giving the notion that the world has been shaped by the Anglo-American international economic order over the last two centuries, in which the United States and the United Kingdom were the world's economic superpowers. Here is the extract concerned:

1. *In a superficial examination of today's global economy, Japan and West Germany appear to be the troublemakers, each amassing huge external surpluses at the expense of the world.* B8J
2. *America at the end of the twentieth century has much in common with Britain at the end of the nineteenth. It has lost its economic pre-eminence.* B12J

The extracts from B6J, B17J, and B18J, for instance, show that companies, exporters and investors are identified to be Japanese, who are reportedly rich due to the association of 'abundant' cash with the Japanese (B17J). Japan's economic development is also identified to be miraculous but paradoxical (B13J), due to the intervention of the government (B16J) and the nearly nationalised nature of the domestic industries (B7J) that are both identified to be Japanese in nationality. This is consistent with van Leeuwen's (2008, p.42) explanation that identification defines social actors in terms of what 'they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are'. When it comes to the identification of West Germany as the 'Federal Republic', as shown in B8J, references are made to West Germany's system of government in which several states form a unity but remain independent in internal affairs. Here are the extracts concerned:

1. *Manufacturers are moving production offshore. This could be the beginning of a fundamental change for Japanese companies.* B6J
2. *NTT remains a quasi-nationalised, quasi-monopoly* B7J
3. *Japan and West Germany appear to be the troublemakers… while both buy sizeable quantities of raw materials, the Federal Republic also imports a large volume of manufactured goods.* B8J
4. *The trade rows that Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, the Japanese prime minister, and President Reagan met to defuse…* B11J
5. *At the heart of the Japanese miracle lies a paradox.* B13J
6. *That should provide a convenient excuse for the Japanese government to push much-needed reforms…* B16J

7. *The time is past when the Community would wring its hands as Japanese exporters added another billion dollars…* B17J
8. *Abundant Japanese cash, it was wishfully thought, would keep share prices moving up, especially as Japanese investors were becoming warier of foreign markets.* B18J

Finally, the Japanese social actors are appraised through the use of (i) evaluative adjectives, such as 'elusive' (B1J), 'clever' (B1J), 'fertile' (B1J), 'remarkable' (B6J), 'rapid' (B6J), and 'successful' (B13J), to describe the Japanese economy; as well as the (ii) evaluative nouns, such as a 'tortoise', to denote the slow-paced action by auto manufacturer, Toyota (B3J), and a 'paradox', to emphasise the contradictory features or qualities of the Japanese economy (B13J). The adverse consequences implied to be caused by a reportedly paradoxical Japanese economy are further revealed in B18J, through the use of the evaluative adjectives, such as (i) 'absurd', to describe the relationship between companies' stock prices relative to earnings per share ('price/earnings ratios'), and (ii) 'crazy', to transmit the notion of the ridiculously high property prices in Japan; as well as the use of the evaluative adverb 'lots of' to describe the level of engagement in high-risk investment activities.

In addition to the appraisement of the Japanese social actors, the trade relations between the United States and Japan have also reportedly reached their nadir through the use of the evaluative phrase 'at their lowest ebb' to describe the relationship between both countries. The impact of the reportedly poor bilateral trade relations is further intensified from the portrayal of America's withdrawal from its free-trade principles, which is assessed to be 'dangerous' for the interests of the United States (B11J). Ultimately, such nouns, adjectives, and phrases carry a particular semantic meaning that conveys the writers' attitude towards the social action or actors in the discourse.

1. *In the Oriental zodiac, 1987 is the year of the rabbit. It does not really start until the lunar new year on January 29th, but Japan likes to get a head start by making it correspond with the western new year. Rabbit years are characterised by elusiveness, cleverness and fertility.* B2J
2. *Toyota is the motor industry's tortoise - the company that comes from behind to win by letting others set the pace.* B3J
3. *Japan's businessmen have always shown a remarkable ability to bounce back from whatever external shocks have hit them. Now that they are buffeted by the rapid appreciation of the yen.* B6J
4. *Trade relations between America and Japan are at their lowest ebb in 40 years.* B9J

5. *President Reagan met to defuse (see page 35) threaten to scare away the Japanese who are investing in America's economy. Such a retreat would be as dangerous as trade protectionism.* B11J

6. *At the heart of the Japanese miracle lies a paradox. Its economy flaunts its rigidities almost as a matter of principle… and yet in the 1970s Japan was the most successful of the advanced industrial countries in adjusting to the three challenges of absorbing the oil price shocks…* B13J

7. *Pundits have picked Tokyo as the stockmarket likeliest to bust: absurd price/earnings ratios, crazy property prices and lots of share speculation by industrial companies all suggested the Japan Sea Bubble would pop first.* B18J

7.2.3.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 110 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of association/dissociation. According to the table, the Japanese social actors are the participants that are represented to be dissociated the most frequently, at 25%.

Table 110: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors								
			Japanese	Non-Japanese							
			Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
1	Association	No.	4	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0
		%	20%	5%	5%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Dissociation	No.	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	25%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The analysis of association/dissociation demonstrates that *The Economist* is inclined to associate Japan with West Germany (20%), when the focus is put on (i) the large external surpluses they are depicted to accumulate (B8J), (ii) their acquisition of reportedly large amounts of raw materials (B8J), (iii) the converging pattern of Japan's and West Germany's exports (B15J), and (iv) the representation of the necessity of both countries to enlarge their economies (B8J). These representations are realised through the portrayal of Japan and West Germany as a grouping, which exists in relation to a specific activity or set of activities that emphasise their beneficiary role in relation to international trade surpluses, raw material acquisitions, exports, and even the need to expand their economies. Japan and West Germany are also depicted to be dissociated from each other (5%), as shown in the lead text of B8J, where their foreign trade patterns are represented to be totally different from each other. This convergence in trade between both countries is exemplified by the explicit indication of the huge

quantity of manufactured products that West Germany is reportedly buying, in contrast to the implied antithesis of Japan's purchases. Here are the lead texts concerned:

1. *In a superficial examination of today's global economy, Japan and West Germany appear to be the troublemakers, each amassing huge external surpluses at the expense of the world. Yet the foreign trade pattern of the two is completely different-which is somewhat surprising as neither is well-endowed with natural resources: while both buy sizeable quantities of raw materials, the Federal Republic also imports a large volume of manufactured goods.* B8J
2. *At this week's meeting of OECD ministers, Mr James Baker, America's treasury secretary, stepped up pressure on Japan and West Germany to expand their economies.* B14J
3. *As Japan's exporters become more like West Germany's, trade tensions will ease.* B15J

References to the dissociation between Japan and other countries – expressed in the form of 'foreigners' (B1J) – in issues relating to Japan's uncompetitive domestic telecommunication market and its trade relations with the United States can also be realised through the use of the phrase 'so long as' (B1J), which foregrounds the causal relationship between (i) the prohibition of foreign participation in Japan's domestic market, and (ii) the adverse consequences of such a protectionist policy, which ultimately leads to an unproductive telecommunication industry and also affects the Japanese consumer who has to pay a higher price for telephone services. It is also to be highlighted that the identity of the 'foreigners' remains backgrounded in the lead text of B1J. In other words, similarly to the headline of B1J as discussed in the previous chapter, the reader is still unable to identify the foreigners who are the target of Japan's protectionist policy; they could be the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, or all of them.

Association is also applied to connect Japan with negative aspects of the economic and industrial policies that are implied as being implemented by the nation. This is realised through the use of possessive attributive clauses that come along with the verb 'have' (B1J), the possessive pronoun 'its' (B13J), and the apostrophe 's (B16J), which associate Japan with market inefficiency, economic rigidities, and industrial protectionism. These representations have the effect of emphasising the adverse results that arise from the reportedly restrictive actions and policies implemented by the Japanese government, embodied in the form of MITI (or the Ministry of International Trade and Industry) as shown in B13J, for instance. The consequences of such a semantic strategy are two-fold: first, the reader will develop the notion that the Japanese government's protectionist policies, which aim to protect local businesses and jobs from

foreign competition, are detrimental to the country itself; and second, which is perhaps even more important, is the implied innate superiority of the free-market capitalistic economic system, where the prices and services are determined by the open market and consumers, and the laws of supply and demand are free from state intervention.

1. *So long as foreigners are excluded, Japan will have a costly and inefficient telephone service.* *B1J*
2. *At the heart of the Japanese miracle lies a paradox. Its economy flaunts its rigidities almost as a matter of principle (consider the way MITI defends strict non-tariff barriers) and yet in the 1970s Japan was the most successful of the advanced industrial countries in adjusting to the three challenges of absorbing the oil price shocks, controlling inflation and moving industries out of old declining businesses into new competitive ones.* *B13J*
3. *That should provide a convenient excuse for the Japanese government to push much-needed reforms of Japan's inefficient and protected farm industry.* *B16J*

The Economist also relies on the strategy of association/dissociation for the purpose of forming impressions of the existence of a camp, which comprises in-group members, versus another that is made up of out-group members. In B9J and B18J, for instance, the United States is depicted to be dissociated from Japan in issues relating to bilateral trade and the stockmarkets from both countries. According to these representations, the division between the United States and Japan is reportedly caused by their deteriorating bilateral relations, which are described to be at their worst, as exemplified by the use of the phrase ‘at their lowest ebb’ and the verb ‘falling out’. Moreover, not only does the bone of contention between both countries lie in the ‘semiconductors, telecommunications, fighter aircraft and the building of Japan’s Kansai airport’, as indicated in B9J, but B18J uses Wall Street and Tokyo to allude to America’s and Japan’s money market and financial interests, respectively, to highlight their asymmetrical growth patterns, that is, Wall Street is ‘deflating’ versus Tokyo that is ‘swelling’.

On the other hand, B12J uses the device of association (5%) to emphasise the shared history and experiences of the United States and the United Kingdom. From the historical perspective, the comparison between America in the twentieth century and Britain towards the end of the nineteenth not only highlights the transition of hegemonic power from British to American dominance of the international order, but it also implicitly reminds the reader that the world order is and has been shaped by the Anglo-American sphere of influence over the last two centuries. In other words, although the

United States was one of the world's two superpowers in 1987 alongside the Soviet Union, Britain was implied to have contributed to American success through the evocation of 'its commitment to free trade', and its continued role in the form of Anglo-American power.

1. *Trade relations between America and Japan are at their lowest ebb in 40 years. Over semiconductors, telecommunications, fighter aircraft and the building of Japan's Kansai airport, the two countries are falling out.* B9J
2. *America at the end of the twentieth century has much in common with Britain at the end of the nineteenth. It has lost its economic pre-eminence. As a result, its commitment to free trade is under attack.* B12J
3. *How perverse, then, that when Wall Street first started to deflate, Tokyo swelled. Abundant Japanese cash, it was wishfully thought, would keep share prices moving up, especially as Japanese investors were becoming warier of foreign markets. The time had come, optimists said smugly, for the Tokyo and New York markets to their separate ways.* B18J

7.2.3.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

Table 111 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of personalisation/impersonalisation.

Table 111: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*The Economist*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors								
				Japanese	Non-Japanese							
				Japan	US	UK	W. Germany	France	Europe	Gulf	World	FAT
1	Personalisation		No.	5	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
			%	25%	25%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The analysis of the personalisation/impersonalisation process demonstrates that *The Economist* has the tendency to allocate the Japanese social actors human features (25%), followed by the use of the title 'Mr' as a form of address and their job function. As the lead texts of B11J, B19J, and B20J show, the Japanese social actors are personalised by explicitly mentioning the full name of Japanese prime ministers, 'Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone' (B11J and B20J), and 'Mr Noboru Takeshita' (B19J and B20J), along with the indication of 'Mr' as a form of respect.

This compares to the use of the title 'President' directly in front of the surname of Ronald Reagan (B11J), which appears at a frequency of 5%. This could be a deliberate strategy employed by the authors of the articles to introduce the Japanese

prime ministers to the readers of *The Economist*, who may not be familiar with the names of the important political figures in Japan, but are certainly aware of the name of the president of the United States. When it comes to Japan's business industry, the Japanese social actors are also personalised as 'businessmen' with remarkable ability (B6J). Such a representation reinforces the notion that the Japanese are not only engaged in commercial or industrial activities, but are also adept at responding to unexpected challenges.

1. *Japan's businessmen have always shown a remarkable ability to bounce back from whatever external shocks have hit them.* *B6J*
2. *The trade rows that Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, the Japanese prime minister, and President Reagan met to defuse (see page 35) threaten to scare away the Japanese who are investing in America's economy.* *B11J*
3. *If patience is a virtue, few people can be more virtuous than the overbearingly patient Mr Noboru Takeshita, Japan's next prime minister. He may yet try the patience of the world.* *B19J*
4. *Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, due to hand over his job to Mr Noboru Takeshita on November 6th, said in his last press conference as Japan's prime minister that he had tried to get the world to see his country as a place interested in more than mere exports.* *B20J*

In addition to the personalisation strategy, the Japanese social actors are also impersonalised (5%) by the metonymic reference to a tortoise, as shown in the lead text of B3J. Inevitably, this semantic strategy will make the reader think of the animal simile 'as slow as a tortoise' that emphasises the low speed at which Toyota, Japan's auto manufacturer, moves in the motor industry. Here is the lead text concerned:

1. *Toyota is the motor industry's tortoise - the company that comes from behind to win by letting others set the pace. A stronger yen is forcing it to change its cautious ways.* *B3J*

When it comes to non-Japanese social actors, the Americans are also humanised (20%) through the explicit mention of the name of America's treasury secretary, 'Mr Baker' (B4J), and 'Mr James Baker' (B14J), along with the indication of 'Mr' as a form of respect. As shown in the lead texts of B9J and B10J, they are also further portrayed as 'policymakers' and 'politicians', along with European 'politicians', who are involved in policy-making and politics. From the political perspective, the legitimacy of the Americans and the Europeans – the latter albeit to a lesser extent compared to the former – in their interaction vis-à-vis the Japanese is further enhanced, due to the

legitimate authority vested in them because of their status or role in a particular institution (van Leeuwen, 2008: p. 107).

1. *Present ones are just about right. Including the dollar's. Don't let Mr Baker ruin this.* *B4J*
2. *The Japanese are perturbed, and turning to anger – an emotion that policymakers in Washington have known for some time.* *B9J*
3. *They should thereby have taught American and European politicians the simplest of economic lessons.* *B10J*
4. *At this week's meeting of OECD ministers, Mr James Baker, America's treasury secretary, stepped up pressure on Japan and West Germany to expand their economies.* *B14C*

7.4 French Perspective - *L'Express*

7.4.1 Overview

The previous two sections examined the Anglo-American perspectives on Japan's rise in 1987. This section delves into the French perspective on Japan's economic rise reported in the lead texts of *L'Express*. The prevailing topics of the 20 lead texts are presented in Table 146 in Appendix. Table 146 shows that 12 topics (60%) of the 20 lead texts are derived from the use of the "generalisation" macro-rule, followed by five (25%) from "construction" and three (15%) from "deletion".

For purposes of simplicity, *Japan's global expansion* (F19J and F20J) and the *ambiguity of a rising economic superpower* (F18J) are merged into one single overarching generic topic, *Japan's global economic expansion* (three lead texts); *global economic order* (F17J) and the *end of American hegemony* (F16J) are classified under the *global economic order* (two lead texts) topic. In other words, the top two prevailing topics are found to be issues related to *international trade* (three lead texts: F1J, F12J, and F13J), and *Japan's economic rise* (three lead texts). Represented at a lower frequency, the other topics are *America's trade offensive* (two lead texts: F2J and F5J), *global financial crisis* (two lead texts: F11J and F15J), *Japan's labour market* (two lead texts: F3J and F14J), *US-Japan trade tensions* (two lead texts: F7J and F8J), *appeasing American anger* (F10J), *France's creation of wealth* (F4J), and the *US dollar* (F6J).

Finally, in the original language (French) the average number of words per headline for all the 20 sampled articles is 38.8 words and the total number of words of the 20 headlines is 776, shorter than the translated English versions of 39.9 and 798 words respectively.

7.4.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

7.4.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Now that the prevailing topics of the 20 headlines have been identified, this section applies van Leeuwen's socio-semantic categories to the representation of the main social actors in the headlines of *L'Express*. Table 112 shows the frequency distribution of the first representational category, inclusion/exclusion of social actors.

Table 112: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors									
		Japanese	Non-Japanese								
		Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
Inclusion	No.	15	9	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
	%	75%	45%	15%	15%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	3	3	0	5	0	4	0	0	5	0
	%	15%	15%	0%	25%	0%	20%	0%	0%	25%	0%
	Total	90%	60%	0%	40%	0%	25%	0%	0%	25%	0%
		90%	60%	15%	40%	0%	25%	0%	0%	25%	0%

As Table 112 shows, the Japanese social actors are included as an agent actor at a frequency of 75%, the highest amongst all the social actors. The other included participants are the Americans (45%), French (15%), West German (15%), and European (5%). When it comes to the process of exclusion, West Germany and the FAT countries are the most frequently represented in this category, at 25% each. This is followed by Europe (20%), Japan (15%), and the United States (15%).

Table 113: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors									
		Japanese	Non-Japanese								
		Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
Inclusion	No.	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	%	10%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	5%
Exclusion	No.	0	3	5	1	2	4	0	1	1	0
	%	0%	15%	25%	5%	10%	20%	0%	5%	5%	0%
	Total	10%	20%	25%	5%	10%	20%	5%	5%	5%	5%

As Table 113 shows, the Japanese social actors are included as a non-agent actor at a frequency of 10%, twice larger than the other included participants, such as the Americans (5%), Soviet Union (5%), and South Africa (5%). However, the non-agency of Japan is excluded at a rate of 0%, compared to the United States (15%), France (25%), West Germany (5%), the UK (10%), Europe (20%), China (5%), and the FAT countries (5%).

Given that a detailed analysis of the excluded social actors has already been discussed in Chapter 6, which is dedicated to the examination of social actor representation relating to Japan's rise in the headlines, the explanations for the excluded social actors from the lead texts still apply. Please refer to Chapter 6 for more details.

7.4.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 114 shows the frequency distribution of the next representational category, role allocation, which allocates activated and passivated roles to social actors in the headlines.

Table 114: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors									
				Japanese	Non-Japanese								
				Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
1	Activation	Participation	No.	13	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
			%	65%	10%	10%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	1	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	0	1%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The table above shows that the only participants represented in this category are the Japanese, American, French, and European actors. The following examples show that the Japanese social actors are activated through participation; that is, they are represented as the dynamic force in an activity, particularly as an agent in material, mental, verbal, and behavioural processes.

1. *The Americans are letting the dollar go. The Japanese are trying to retain it. The Germans do not want to interfere. The French can hardly do anything about it.* *F1J*
2. *To avoid dismissals, bosses are paying people to do nothing: the madigowas.* *F3J*
3. *Japan did not manage to get the trade sanctions lifted: everything has been postponed for further discussions….Nevertheless, the Japanese government has decided to lower its interest rates…to import USD 1 billion worth of large computers and to spend USD 30 billion over a period of three years to help poor countries…* *F8J*
4. *Will Japan change its economic trajectory, by developing the consumption habits of its 120 million habitants? Or maintain a trade aggressivity that led to USD 100 billion surplus in 1986?* *F9J*
5. *The Japanese firm had sold prohibited equipment to the USSR. Its CEO resigned. To appease the anger of the Americans.* *F10J*
6. *Japan, South Africa's principal trade partner. A place where Japan can justify having a stronger currency.* *F12J*
7. *The government hopes to reduce the number of working hours per week to forty… in 1995.* *F14J*
8. *Professor of Economics at Osaka University, Iwao Nakatani has been expressing his fears about a global financial crisis for several months. In an interview with L'Express, he calls on Japan and West Germany to take their responsibilities.* *F15J*
9. *But what have the big three - the United States, Japan, West Germany - done together to restore order in the global economy? Almost nothing.* *F17J*
10. *When Wall Street crashes, all eyes turn to Japan. And towards its formidable rise in power. Economically, financially. Can the world's wealthiest country also compete for leadership in America? Does it want it?* *F18J*
11. *A brash economic success has enabled Tokyo to conquer the financial markets. Can it become the world's banker?* *F19J*
12. *They triumphed over the oil crises. Penalised by the rise of the yen, they invest heavily abroad and adapt themselves for a rebound.* *F20J*

The underlined verbs, ‘are paying’ (F3J), ‘did not manage to get’ (F8J), ‘has decided to lower’ (F8J), ‘to import’ (F8J), ‘to spend’ (F8J), ‘change’ (F9J), ‘developing’ (F9J), ‘maintain’ (F9J), ‘had sold’ (B10J), ‘to appease’ (F10J), ‘compete’ (F18J), ‘to conquer’ (F19J), and ‘invest’ (F20J), are action verbs denoting material processes and describing what the subject of the clauses is doing. These verbs put the focus on Japanese agency relating to (i) its act of giving money (‘paying’) to the ‘madigowas’ (literally meaning the ‘window ledge tribes’) for not doing anything (F3J), (ii) Japan’s failure (‘did not manage to get’) to convince the United States to lift trade sanctions (F8J), (iii) the Japanese government’s decision to decrease (‘has decided to lower’) its interest rates in order to buy USD 1 billion worth of large computers from abroad

('import') and to extend financial aid ('spend') of USD 30 billion to poor countries (F8J), (iv) its ability to switch ('change') to another economic development model by cultivating ('developing') its citizens' consumption habits or whether it will continue to adopt ('maintain') aggressive trade practices that led to the accumulation of large trade surplus (F9J), (v) its sale ('had sold') of forbidden equipment to the USSR that resulted in the resignation of Toshiba's CEO in order to stop aggravating the Americans ('appease') by giving the latter what they want (F10J), (vi) its ability to vie ('compete') for leadership in America (F18J), (vii) its success in taking control ('conquer') of the financial markets thanks to its rapid economic success (F19J), and (viii) its act of putting money, effort, and time ('invest') in expanding business operations abroad.

As regards the activation of the Japanese social actors participating in mental processes, the use of the mental verbs 'hopes to reduce' (F14J) and 'want' (F18J) emphasise the processes of feeling and wanting to achieve a goal; that is, focus shifts to the Japanese government's wish ('hopes') to cut the number of working hours per week and whether Japan has the ambition ('want') to challenge American leadership. The Japanese social actor, represented in the form of Iwao Nakatani in F15J, is also depicted as engaged in the verbal process of expressing his fears about the potential flaring-up of a global financial crisis. Finally, the behavioural verbs used in F1J, F10J, F12J, and F20J demonstrate that the Japanese social actors are allocated an active role involved in the behavioural processes of (i) making the effort ('try') to keep the US dollar (F1J), (ii) giving up a job ('resigned' in F10J), (iii) being able to give a good reason ('justify') to trade with South Africa (F12J), and (iv) changing ('adapting') themselves in order to achieve economic recovery (F20J).

The activation of the Japanese actors can also be realised through circumstantialisation by using the preposition 'by' as shown in the headline B6J. This has the effect of shifting the focus onto the action undertaken by Japanese agency, that is, attention is drawn to the action of the Japanese yen, which will increase in value. Although the Japanese social actors are allocated an activated role through circumstantialisation, the lead text of B6J also reveals that Japanese social actors are passivated through beneficialisation. In other words, Japan's businessmen are portrayed to be the beneficialised by the action caused by a rapidly strengthening Japanese yen. Such a representation is further intensified through the use of hyperbole 'are buffeted by', which conjures up an image of Japanese businessmen repeatedly undergoing

setbacks due to their strong national currency. Inevitably, the reader will gain the notion that the Japanese social actors are harming themselves through their own actions.

7.4.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification, and Appraisement

Table 115 shows the frequency distribution of the functionalisation/identification/appraisement of the Japanese and non-Japanese social actors.

Table 115: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors									
			Japanese	Non-Japanese								
			Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
1	Functionalisation	No.	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	20%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	5	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	25%	15%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	7	8	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
		%	35%	40%	10%	5%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%

The analysis of functionalisation shows that the American, Japanese, and French social actors have been functionalised. While the Americans (5%) and French social actors (5%) are functionalised in terms of their political role as a 'US Treasury Secretary' (F6J) and a 'deputy general secretary to the French President' (F9J) respectively, the Japanese participants are functionalised (20%) in terms of their economic role as a 'CEO' (F10J), 'Professor of Economics' (F15J), and a 'banker' (F19J), in addition to the political role of a 'Prime Minister' (F7J). All these representations depict individuals with occupations that are widely regarded as enjoying a high socio-economic status. Here are the excerpts of the lead texts concerned:

1. *Why did the US Treasury Secretary join the camp of those who want to stabilise the greenback?* — *F6J*
2. *The visit of Mr Nakasone, Prime Minister of Japan, to Washington takes place in an atmosphere of crisis…* — *F7J*
3. *Christian Sautter, 47, a graduate from the École Polytechnique, former member of the Franco-Japanese Cultural Exchange Centre in Tokyo, deputy general secretary to the French President from 1981 to 1985, and who has just published "Teeth of the giant, Japan conquers the world"…* — *F9J*
4. *The Japanese firm had sold prohibited equipment to the USSR. Its CEO resigned. To appease the anger of the Americans.* — *F10J*
5. *Professor of Economics at Osaka University, Iwao Nakatani has been expressing his fears about a global financial crisis for several months.* — *F15J*

6. *A brash economic success has enabled Tokyo to conquer the financial markets. Can it become the world's banker?* F19J

When it comes to the process of identification, the Japanese social actors are identified with the highest frequency, at 30%, as shown in the following examples

1. *To avoid dismissals, bosses are paying people to do nothing: the madogiwas. But the number of unemployed reaches a critical threshold.* F3J
2. *As a result, the United States agreed to import Japanese cars, but limited their imports to 20% of the market.* F7J
3. *Nevertheless, the Japanese government has decided to lower its interest rates – which is a step in the right direction – to import USD 1 billion worth of large computers and to spend USD 30 billion over a period of three years to help poor countries.* F8J
4. *The Japanese firm had sold prohibited equipment to the USSR.* F10J
5. *Will tomorrow's television set be Japanese?* F13J
6. *Can the world's wealthiest country also compete for leadership in America?* F18J

F7J, F10J, and F13J, for instance, show that cars (F7J), firms (F10J), and tomorrow's television (F13J) have been identified to be Japanese. In other words, this semantic strategy specifies and emphasises the national origin of the cars, firms, and televisions, which have been exported from Japan. Furthermore, *L'Express* identifies (i) the national origin of the government; that is, a 'Japanese' government that purportedly made the decision to decrease its interest rates to import large quantity of computers and to spend a significant sum of money to help poor countries (F8J), thus implying that Japan is a wealthy nation, which is further intensified by the use of the superlative adjective 'the world's wealthiest country' in F18J, and (ii) those Japanese workers, who are paid to do nothing in offices due to the companies' reluctance to dismiss them, as the 'madogiwas' (F3J). It is to be highlighted here that the Japanese term 'madogiwas', or more commonly known as the 'madogiwa-zoku', is used in F3J to bring a negative aspect of Japanese corporate society to the fore; that is, Japanese workers, who have been made redundant and thus ostracised by the rest of the team, are made to sit by the window ledge until their retirement.

While the analysis of the identification shows that the Japanese social actors have been overall positively representated particularly in issues relating to the extention of financial aid to poor countries, F2J and F16J show that the United States has been identified through the lens of political realism in international relations (10%). This is exemplified in the use of terms, such as the 'world's leading power' (F2J) and

‘American hegemony’ (F16J), to denote an international world order shaped by America’s global supremacy. From the international economic perspective, however, F17J shows that the major economic powers encompasses Japan and West Germany and the United States. Identified through the collective term ‘the big three’, they are represented (5% each) to have the financial means and thus the responsibility to bring order back to the global economic system. Here are the excerpts of the lead texts concerned:

1. *To make up for its huge trade deficit, the world's leading power is going on a trade offensive.* *F2J*
2. *Wall Street understood it before Reagan: five years of uninterrupted growth, in fact, have hidden the end of the American hegemony.* *F16J*
3. *Over a trillion dollars gone. But what have the big three - the United States, Japan, West Germany - done together to restore order in the global economy?* *F17J*

When it comes to the appraisement of social actors, an examination of the corpus shows that the Japanese social actors are assessed (25%) in terms of (i) the number of unemployed in the domestic labour market, which is reportedly reaching a threshold that is described with an alarming evaluative adjective ‘critical’ (F3J), (ii) the lowering of Japanese interest rates, which is positively assessed to be ‘a step in the right direction’ (F8J), (iii) its trade practices, which are represented by the negative evaluative noun ‘aggressivity’ (F9J), and (iv) the competition that Japan poses in the laser market, which is pre-modified with the evaluative adjective ‘intensifying’ (F13J). As regards the Japanese economy, it is positively assessed with the evaluative adjective ‘strong’ in F20J to describe its rebound in spite of the oil crises and yen appreciation. Here are the excerpts of the lead texts concerned:

1. *To avoid dismissals, bosses are paying people to do nothing: the madogiwas. But the number of unemployed reaches a critical threshold.* *F3J*
2. *Nevertheless, the Japanese government has decided to lower its interest rates - which is a step in the right direction - to import USD 1 billion worth of large computers and to spend USD 30 billion over a period of three years to help poor countries.* *F8J*
3. *Will Japan change its economic trajectory, by developing the consumption habits of its 120 million habitants? Or maintain a trade aggressivity that led to USD 100 billion surplus in 1986?* *F9J*
4. *Will tomorrow's television be Japanese? The builders of the Old Continent are playing the Eureka card. But the war in the laser market is intensifying.* *F13J*
5. *They triumphed over the oil crises. Penalised by the rise of the yen, they invest heavily abroad and adapt themselves for a rebound. How strong they are!* *F20J*

In matters relating to trade relations, *L'Express* puts the emphasis on the appraisement of binational trade between Japan and the United States, as shown in F7J. This is exemplified by the use of the adverb 'not' to point out that it is certainly not the first time the United States and Japan have faced challenging situations with regard to trade issues. In fact, relations between them in the textile, steel, and car sectors are described as tense and uneasy ('strained'), but improved ('relaxed') after both sides had reached a compromise. When it comes to the international economy, the (in)action of the 'big three' – the United States, Japan, and West Germany – is appraised to be highly inadequate through the use of the evaluative adverb 'almost' and the evaluative pronoun 'nothing'. Such a semantic strategy reveals the disappointment of the journalist responsible for the article F17J at the inaction, and even reluctance, of the United States, Japan, and West Germany to work together, despite their purportedly large economies in the world. Here are the two lead texts:

1. *Indeed, these are not the first trade difficulties between the United States and Japan. In the past, relations between both countries in the textile, steel and automotive sectors were strained and subsequently relaxed due to compromises. The Americans were thus more liberal than the Europeans, but less than they wanted to appear.* F7J
2. *Over a trillion dollars gone. But what have the big three - the United States, Japan, West Germany - done together to restore order in the global economy? Almost nothing.* F17J

Although the aforementioned analysis shows that the United States, Japan, and West Germany tend to be appraised in connection to their economic weight in international trade and the global economy, *L'Express* also evaluated the (in)action of French social actors in the global currency market, particularly when concerned disagreements between the United States and Japan over the US dollar. In F1J, for instance, the evaluative adverb 'hardly' is employed to convey the disappointment, or even irony, that the French are incapable of doing anything about the discord between the Americans and the Japanese over foreign-exchange issues. The disappointment with France's (in)ability to create wealth within its borders is further intensified through the use of the evaluative postpositive adjective 'inclined', as shown in F4J. Such a semantic strategy thus puts the focus on the factors - which purportedly include tax on high net-income individuals, high taxes on income and profits, and regulatory constraints – inhibiting the creation of wealth in France.

1. *The Americans are letting the dollar go. The Japanese are trying to retain it. The Germans do not want to interfere. The French can hardly do anything about it.* F1J
2. *What opportunities do we have to make a fortune today? The question is particularly important in France, a country inclined to see the drivers of wealth outside its borders. But in this regard where the environment has recently improved: abolition of the tax on the super wealthy, reduction of taxes on income and profits, relaxation of regulatory constraints.* F4J

7.4.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 116 shows the frequency distribution of the next representational category of association/dissociation of the Japanese and non-Japanese social actors.

Table 116: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors									
			Japanese	Non-Japanese								
			Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
1	Association	No.	4	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1
		%	20%	10%	0%	10%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	5%
2	Dissociation	No.	4	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	20%	15%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

On the currency front, the world's major trading nations in the 1980s – the United States, Japan, West Germany, and France – are portrayed as dissociated from one another (5% each), due to their reportedly different policies with regard to the US dollar. As F1J shows, for instance, the Americans are represented as selling the dollar ("letting the dollar go"), while the Japanese are depicted as making attempts to keep the dollar ("retain it"). At the same time, the Germans are reportedly reluctant to become themselves involved in the drama surrounding the dollar, while the French are purportedly helpless although they have the will to do something about it. In addition, the use of the verb 'join' also reveals the association between the American political social actor – in the form of the US Treasury Secretary – and 'the camp' in support of a stable US dollar (5%).

1. *The Americans are letting the dollar go. The Japanese are trying to retain it. The Germans do not want to interfere. The French can hardly do anything about it.* F1J
2. *Why did the US Treasury Secretary join the camp of those who want to stabilise the greenback?* F6J

In issue relating to international trade, Japan is represented to be dissociated from the United States (10%), as shown in F7J and F10J. This is achieved by emphasising (i) the 'trade difficulties' and 'strained' relations between both countries (F7J), and (ii) American anger over the Japanese firm's prohibited sale of equipment to the Soviet Union (F10J). While the Americans and Japanese are depicted as dissociated

from each other, the Japanese and South Africans are portrayed to be associated (5%) with each other through trade. As F12J explains, Japan is South Africa's principal trading partner. Here are the excerpts of the lead texts concerned:

1. *These are not the first trade difficulties between the United States and Japan. In the past, relations between both countries in the textile, steel and automotive sectors were strained and subsequently relaxed due to compromises.* F7J
2. *The Japanese firm had sold prohibited equipment to the USSR. Its CEO resigned. To appease the anger of the Americans.* F10J
3. *Japan, South Africa's principal trade partner.* F12J

On a macroeconomic level, *L'Express* shows that the association between various trading partners changes, according to the perspective of the actor involved. For instance, F15J highlights the perspective of professor of economics, Iwao Nakatani, that Japan and West Germany are associated (5%) with each other with regard to their involvement in the potential flaring-up of a global financial crisis. This is different from the perspective of the journalist of F17J that the United States, Japan, and West Germany are associated with one another (5% each) due to their reportedly non-action in restoring order in the global economy. Here are the excerpts of the lead texts concerned:

1. *Professor of Economics at Osaka University, Iwao Nakatani has been expressing his fears about a global financial crisis for several months. In an interview with L'Express, he calls on Japan and West Germany to take their responsibilities.* F15J
2. *But what have the big three – the United States, Japan, West Germany – done together to restore order in the global economy? Almost nothing.* F17J

On a domestic level, however, Japan's labour unions are depicted as dissociated from the government's plans (5%) to decrease the number of working hours to forty per week through the use of the preposition 'against'. Such a semantic strategy has the effect of reinforcing the notion that the Japanese are a hardworking, self-disciplined society, despite the government's intentions to cut the official number of working hours for its citizens.

1. *The government hopes to reduce the number of working hours per week to forty… in 1995. Even the labour unions are against it.* F14J

7.4.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

According to Table 117, the analysis of personalisation/impersonalisation shows that the American, Japanese, Europeans, French, and West German social actors are

humanised at frequencies of 30%, 20%, 5%, 10%, and 5%, respectively. With the exception of the Japanese social actors, which are impersonalised at a frequency of 5%, none of the non-Japanese social actors are impersonalised.

Table 117: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*L'Express*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors									
				Japanese	Non-Japanese								
				Japan	US	France	W. Germany	UK	Europe	USSR	China	FAT	S. Africa
1	Personalisation		No.	4	6	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
			%	20%	30%	10%	5%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

An analysis of the personalisation/impersonalisation process demonstrates that the American, Japanese, Europeans, French, and German social actors have all been allocated human features, as shown in the lead texts of F1J, F6J, F7J, F8J, F9J, F10J, F15J, and F16J. Although they are humanised generically as the Americans (F1J, F7J, F8J, and F10J), Japanese (F1J), Europeans (F7J), French (F1J) and German (F1J), the degree of humanness among them differs.

For the American social actors, for instance, this is realised by stating (i) their job titles, such as the US Treasury Secretary, without revealing the name of the political actor assuming this role (F6J), and (ii) their last name, such as Reagan, without the honorific 'Mr' or title 'President' (F8J and F16J). This stands in contrast to the Japanese social actors, who are personalised by (i) using the honorific 'Mr' to address Nakasone (F7J and F8J), followed by the former's job title, 'Prime Minister of Japan' (F7J), and (ii) mentioning the full name 'Iwao Nakatani', followed by his job title, 'Professor of Economics' (F15J).

Such representations may serve two purposes: first, *L'Express* journalists could be showing their respect for the Japanese political and economic social actors mentioned in their news articles; and second, the journalists may have taken into consideration that the average French reader may be more familiar with American than Japanese politics. This could explain the reason for the discrepency in the approach to humanising the American and Japanese actors.

The corpus also shows that the French social actor is not only humanised in the form of 'Christian Sautter', as shown in F9J, but a detailed introduction to his academic and professional background – along with his age – has also been provided. This strategy has the effect of endearing the French social actor to the reader of *L'Express*, who would be acutely aware of the prestige of École Polytechnique among French

engineering graduates in France (Corner, 2015: 112). In the same lead text, Christian Sautter has reportedly published a new book entitled *Teeth of the giant, Japan conquers the world*, representing a dehumanised Japan by making references to a part of the body, the teeth. According to this representation presented by Sautter, Japanese global expansion is depicted to be aggressive, as the title of the book evokes an image of a monster on a global rampage.

Here are the lead texts concerned:

1. *The Americans are letting the dollar go. The Japanese are trying to retain it. The Germans do not want to interfere. The French can hardly do anything about it.* *F1J*
2. *Why did the US Treasury Secretary join the camp of those who want to stabilise the greenback?* *F6J*
3. *The visit of Mr Nakasone, Prime Minister of Japan, to Washington takes place in an atmosphere of crisis… The Americans were thus more liberal than the Europeans…* *F7J*
4. *Mr Nakasone's visit to Washington did not solve anything… But Reagan acknowledged that a further decline of the dollar would have negative effects for everyone. He reproaches his interlocutors for the lack of precise commitment… and he can tell the Americans that they will not make any…* *F8J*
5. *Christian Sautter, 47, a graduate from the École Polytechnique, former member of the Franco-Japanese Cultural Exchange Centre in Tokyo, deputy general secretary to the French President from 1981 to 1985, and who has just published "Teeth of the giant, Japan conquers the world",* *F9J*
6. *The Japanese firm had sold prohibited equipment to the USSR. Its CEO resigned. To appease the anger of the Americans.* *F10J*
7. *Professor of Economics at Osaka University, Iwao Nakatani has been expressing his fears about a global financial crisis for several months.* *F15J*
8. *Wall Street understood it before Reagan: five years of uninterrupted growth, in fact, have hidden the end of the American hegemony.* *F16J*

7.5 German Perspective - *Der Spiegel*

7.5.1 Overview

This section examines the German perspective on Japan's rise through the analysis of the headlines of 20 articles published by *Der Spiegel* in 1987. Due to space constraints, a table (Table 147) with the lead texts has been placed in Appendix. Table 147 shows that ten topics (50%) of the 20 lead texts are derived from the use of the "construction" macro-rule, followed by seven (40%) from "generalisation" and one (10%) from "deletion".

Although there are many diverse topics following the application of van Dijk's macro-rules, they fall into two major categories: international trade and new technologies. In international trade, the key topics include *Japan's trade practices* (four lead texts: G10J, G12J, G13J, and G20J), *US-Europe trade dispute* (one lead text: G2J), *Dollar hegemony* (one lead text: G3J), *US reacts to Japanese conquest strategy* (one lead text: G6J), *US-Japan trade dispute* (one lead text: G8J), *Japan's global expansion* (one lead text: G11J), *Japan wins the competition* (one lead text: G18J), and *Japan's goodwill offensive* (one lead text: G19J). For the purpose of simplicity, G6J, G11J, G18J, and G19J are merged to form the overarching topic: Japan's trade offensive.

As regards new technologies, the key topics include *Honda's new technologies* (one lead text: G5J), *Japanese still catching up with the West* (one lead text: G7J), *New German technologies* (one lead text: G9J), *New technologies* (one lead text: G15J), *Extra charges for more installations* (G16J), and *New technologies enhance competitivity* (one lead text: G17J). Finally, other topics that have surfaced include *Japanese exceptionalism* (one lead text: G1J), *Retrenchment in Japan* (one lead text: G4J), and *Japanese sense of crisis* (one lead text: G14J).

Finally, in the original language (German) the average number of words per lead text for all the 20 sampled articles is 19.5 words and the total number of words of the 20 headlines is 390. For the translated English versions, the average number of words per lead text is 22.45 words and the total number of words of the 20 lead texts is 449.

7.5.2 Representation of Actors in Frequency and Categories

7.5.2.1 Inclusion and Exclusion

Table 118 shows the frequency distribution of inclusion/exclusion of agency (Japanese and non-Japanese) in the lead texts.

Table 118: Inclusion/exclusion of agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories		Agent social actors						
		Japanese	Non-Japanese					
		Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
Inclusion	No.	13	4	2	2	0	0	0
	%	65%	20%	10%	10%	0%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
	%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%	0%
	Total	65%	20%	10%	10%	0%	10%	0%

As Table 118 shows, the Japanese social actors are included as an agent actor at a frequency of 65%, the highest amongst all the social actors. It is also included at a rate more than three-fold higher compared to the next largest agent social actor (the American), which is included at a frequency of 20%. When it comes to the process of exclusion, the Far East is the only participant represented in this category, at a frequency of 10%.

Table 119: Inclusion/exclusion of non-agent actors in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories		Non-agent social actors						
		Japanese	Non-Japanese					
		Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
Inclusion	No.	2	2	0	1	1	0	0
	%	10%	10%	0%	5%	5%	0%	0%
Exclusion	No.	5	2	4	2	0	0	1
	%	25%	10%	20%	10%	0%	0%	5%
	Total	35%	20%	20%	15%	5%	0%	5%

In Table 119, the Japanese and American non-agent actors are included (10%) twice as often as the European and Third World non-agent actors (5% each). As regards exclusion, the non-agency of the Japanese, American, West German, European, and British participants is excluded at 25%, 10%, 20%, 10%, and 5%, respectively.

Given that a detailed analysis of the excluded social actors has already been discussed in Chapter 6, which is dedicated to the examination of social actor representation relating to Japan's rise in the headlines in *Der Spiegel*, the explanations for the excluded social actors from the lead texts still apply. See Chapter 6 for more details.

7.5.2.2 Role Allocation: Activation and Passivation

Table 120 shows the frequency distribution of the next representational category, role allocation, which allocates activated and passivated roles to social actors in the headlines. According to the table, the Japanese actors are the participants that are represented most frequently in this category.

Table 120: Activation/passivation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Activation vs Passivation				Social actors						
				Japanese	Non-Japanese					
				Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
1	Activation	Participation	No.	7	3	0	0	0	0	0
			%	35%	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Circumstantialisation	No.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Possessivation	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Passivation	Subjection	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Beneficialisation	No.	1	2	0	0	1	0	0
			%	5%	10%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%

The following examples show that the Japanese social actors are activated through participation; that is, they are represented as the dynamic force in an activity, particularly as an agent in relational, mental, material, verbal, and existential processes.

The participation of the Japanese social actors is demonstrated by the underlined verbs, ‘invest’ (G11J), ‘buy’ (G11J), and ‘destroying’ (G13J), which are action verbs denoting material processes and describing what the subject of the clauses is doing. These verbs put the focus on Japanese agency relating to (i) its foreign investment and acquisition (G11J), and (ii) its destructive impact on everyone except Japan by depicting the Japanese semiconductor as Godzilla, an enormous, destructive monster (G13J). These semantic strategies give the notion that Japan is embarking on an aggressive expansion globally, causing a great burden or even harm to everyone else. It is, however, important to emphasise that G13J also portrays the American social actor as an activated participant that is engaged in the verbal process of complaining about the harmful practices by Japanese semiconductor producers. Here are the examples:

1. *The Japanese <u>invest</u> huge sums of money abroad. They <u>buy</u> anything that promises profit and reputation: securities, real estate, art.* *G11J*
2. *"The Japanese semiconductor Godzilla is now <u>destroying</u> everything but Tokyo", complains US senator Pete Wilson of allegedly ruinous practices by Japanese semiconductor producers.* *G13J*

As regards the activation of the Japanese social actors in relational process, the use of the relational verb ‘have’ in G4J emphasises the causal relationship between the agency of the Japanese car manufacturers and its impact on the employees. In other words, the Japanese car manufacturers are depicted as engaged in the act of retrenching employees, who in turn are portrayed as the recipient (subjection) of the action. The portayal of self-harm is further intensified through the use of the mass noun ‘horror’ to describe the feeling of shock and fear in Japan due to the discharge of workers. Here is the example:

1. *Horror in Japan: Car companies have to lay off employees.* *G4J*

The Japanese social actors are also activated through participation in mental processes through the use of mental verbs, such as ‘consider’ (G1J), ‘think’ (G1J), ‘want’ (G1J), and ‘realised’ (G7J), which describe what they are feeling, thinking and perceiving. For instance, G1J points out that the Japanese have the tendency to believe that they are different from the others due to their self-perceived uniqueness, racial homogeneity, special noses and brain, and culture. On the other hand, G7J demonstrates that the Japanese have become aware of their missed opportunities in the commercial rocket business. As a consequence, they reportedly have to strive to reach the same standard, stage, or level achieved by the Europeans and Americans. This is achieved by using the action verb ‘try’ and the phrasal verb ‘catch up’, which further reinforce the notion that the Japanese are still at an infant stage compared with their European and American counterparts.

1. *They consider themselves unique and racially "homogeneous". They think they have special noses and a special brain. They want to make the world happy not only with the products of their economy, but also with their culture.* *G1J*
2. *The Japanese realised their chances in the commercial rocket business too late. Now, they are trying to catch up with the Europeans and Americans.* *G7J*

In addition to participation, the activated Japanese social actors are also portrayed to be possessivated by using the preposition ‘of’ to postmodify the nouns ‘conquest strategy’ (G6J) and ‘offensive’ (G8J and G19J). Such a semantic strategy has the effect of putting the emphasis on Japanese aggressiveness in exporting its products to the world and the retaliatory actions undertaken by the Americans. For instance, the Americans are portrayed to be engaged in the (i) behavioural process of ‘responding’ to Japanese chip manufacturers’ aggressive expansion strategy (G6J), and the (ii) material process of ‘imposing’ import duties on Japanese products (G8J).

1. *...the Americans are responding to the conquest strategy of the Japanese chip manufacturers.* G6J
2. *the USA imposed punitive tariffs on the export offensive of its ally Japan.* G8J
3. *After the export wave, an offensive of goodwill is now rolling in from Japan.* G19J

The activation of the Japanese actors can also be realised by combining circumstantialisation and possessivation, as shown in G13J, where (i) 'nobody' is represented to be involved in the mental process of liking the Japanese for their export successes, because (ii) 'all' are depicted to be involved in the verbal process of making accusation about Japanese exports through the verbal verb 'accuse'. This is achieved by using the preposition 'against' and postmodifying the noun 'campaign' with the preposition 'of', resulting in the shift of focus onto the action undertaken by Japanese agency. The effect is further intensified by hyperbole, 'annihilation' to represent the acquisitions made by the Japanese . G5J shows that the Japanese social actor in the form of car manufacturer, Honda, is allocated an activated role in the existential process of 'being' the first to be engaged in the material process of 'launching' a passenger car with the latest technology. Lastly, G12J demonstrates that the Japanese social actors are activated in the material process of acquiring new customers from the developing world, who are in turn represented to be recipients of Japan's 'Marshall Plan', an ironic allusion to the real Marshall Plan (the US's massive programme of investment in Europe after the Second World War that helped with reconstruction but also ensured the preeminent role of the US in the world economy and secured Europe against the Soviets). In other words, by allocating the developing world with a passivated role (subjection), which is further emphasised by the preposition 'with', this semantic strategy has the effect of putting the focus on the method that the Japanese use to gain new customers from the developing world; that is, to provide them with loans so that they can buy Japanese products. Moreover, this circumstance of accompaniment alludes to Japan's unethical trade practice that saddles poor countries ('third world') with more debt ('loans').

1. *The Japanese car manufacturer, Honda, will be the first to launch a passenger car with all-wheel steering on the market this year.* G5J
2. *It is really hard for them, the Japanese. Nobody likes them for their export successes, all accuse them of leading a campaign of annihilation against foreign rivals.* G13J
3. *Japan's Marshall Plan for the Third World: New customers for Japanese products are to be acquired with loans.* G12J

The action verb 'rules, as indicated in G3J, shows that the American social actors are activated in the material process of ruling the world economy with its currency.

Such a representation has the effect of reinforcing the notion of American economic hegemony, which is rendered possible by the pre-eminent role of the US dollar in the global economy. As Lehman (2017, p. 235) explains, the US dollar had become the world's dominant reserve currency since the establishment of the Bretton Woods agreement in 1944 that linked the US dollar to the price of gold. In contrast to the representation of America's dominance in the global economy, the German social actor in the form of Volkswagen is depicted as falling victim to Japanese agency, as shown in G18J. This is achieved by the use of the expression 'leaves the field' and the phrasal verb 'is closed down', which highlights the negative consequences of Japanese expansion for Volkswagen. In this instance, the German social actor is beneficialised.

1. *America rules the world economy with its currency (I)* *G3J*
2. *Wolfsburg leaves the field to the Japanese - the VW plant in the USA is closed down.* *G18J*

7.5.2.3 Functionalisation, Identification and Appraisement

Table 121 shows the frequency distribution of the next representational category of inclusion: functionalisation/identification/appraisement of the Japanese and non-Japanese social actors. According to Table 121, the Japanese, American, West German, and the 'Third World' actors are functionalised at frequencies of 20%, 5%, 10%, and 5%, respectively. When it comes to identification, only the Japanese, American, and German participants are represented, at 10%, 5%, and 5%, respectively. Lastly, the Japanese, American, and European actors are appraised at 20%, 10%, and 5%, respectively.

Table 121: Functionalisation/identification/appraisement in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Functionalisation vs Identification vs Appraisement			Social actors						
			Japanese	Non-Japanese					
			Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
1	Functionalisation	No.	4	1	2	0	1	0	0
		%	20%	5%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%
2	Identification	No.	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
		%	10%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	Appraisement	No.	4	2	0	1	0	0	0
		%	20%	10%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%

The analysis of functionalisation reveals that *Der Spiegel* has the propensity to depict the Japanese and the German social actors as manufacturers and producers, in comparison to the American social actors who are portrayed as senators (G13J), and the actors from the 'Third World' as customers (G12J). Nevertheless, a distinction is made between the Japanese and the German social actors in terms of the type of products they

are represented as manufacturing: (i) cars, chips, and semiconductors by the Japanese (G5J, G6J, G13J, and G16J), and (ii) solely cars by the Germans (G13J). The Japanese social actors are also functionalised as employees, who are reportedly retrenched by the car manufacturers. Functionalisation can be realised, for instance, by adding the suffixes '-ee', '-er', '-er', '-er' to the verbs 'employ', 'manufacture', 'custom', 'produce', as shown in the following excerpts:

1. *Horror in Japan: Car companies have to lay off employees.* *G4J*
2. *The Japanese car manufacturer, Honda, will be the first to launch a passenger car with all-wheel steering on the market this year.* *G5J*
3. *With increasing bitterness, the Americans are responding to the conquest strategy of the Japanese chip manufacturers.* *G6J*
4. *Japan's Marshall Plan for the Third World: New customers for Japanese products are to be acquired with loans.* *G12J*
5. *…complains US senator Pete Wilson of allegedly ruinous practices by Japanese semiconductor producers.* *G13J*
6. *A second exterior mirror could help prevent accidents, but German car manufacturers usually deliver it for an extra charge.* *G16J*

In the process of identification, an analysis of the corpus shows that there is one lead text (G1J) that portrays the Japanese as an arrogant people who have a strong sense of racial uniqueness and cultural superiority over others. At the same time, they are also depicted to be bureaucratic, as shown in G17J, with a penchant for making complicated regulations over the import of foreign goods. Inevitably, this gives the reader the notion that Japan has the tendency to resort to unfair trade practices in order to protect its domestic industries from foreign competition. Compared to the Japanese participants, who are generalised into a homogeneous, monolithic culture, *Der Spiegel* adopts a more nuanced approach to differentiating the identities of the various American actors. As shown in G2J, President Reagan is reportedly making efforts to encourage the use of peaceful solutions to solve problems versus those Congress members who strongly support the use of force in political relationships.

1. *SPIEGEL editor Tiziano Terzani on the self-confidence and superiority of the Japanese. They consider themselves unique and racially "homogeneous". They think they have special noses and a special brain. They want to make the world happy not only with the products of their economy, but also with their culture: The Japanese are becoming more self-confident and arrogant.* *G1J*
2. *President Reagan can hardly stop the hawks in Congress.* *G2J*
3. *Japan's bureaucrats are making the import of foreign goods more difficult with subtle regulations.* *G17J*

As regards appraisement, Japanese social actors are assessed with the choice of lexical items (i) 'self-confident', 'arrogant', 'superiority', as indicated in G1J, to describe the identity of the Japanese; (ii) 'horror', as highlighted in G4J, to denote the strong feeling of fear and shock in Japanese society about the retrenchment of workers; and (iii) 'cheap', as mentioned in G10J, to represent the inferior quality and low prices of Japanese goods. Americans' disapproval of Japanese trade practices is also foregrounded by the adjective 'increasing' and the evaluative noun 'bitterness', as shown in G6J. This has the effect of emphasising the burden that Japan is causing to its trading partners, including even the United States, which is considered to be its ally (G8J).

1. *SPIEGEL editor Tiziano Terzani on the self-confidence and superiority of the Japanese… The Japanese are becoming more self-confident and arrogant.* G1J
2. *Horror in Japan: Car companies have to lay off employees.* G4J
3. *With increasing bitterness, the Americans are responding to the conquest strategy of the Japanese chip manufacturers.* G6J
4. *For the first time since the Second World War, the USA imposed punitive tariffs on the export offensive of its ally Japan.* G8J
5. *Brussels wants to tighten anti-dumping rules against cheap Japanese imports.* G10J

In addition to the appraisement of Japanese-American trade relations, the United States and Europe are also represented to be engaged in a trade dispute with each other (G2J). This is achieved by using the evaluative adjective 'getting worse' to denote the disagreement between both parties over trade. Here is the example:

1. *The trade dispute between the USA and the Europeans is getting worse.* G2J

7.5.2.4 Association and Dissociation

Table 122 shows the frequency distribution of the next representational category of association/dissociation of the Japanese and non-Japanese social actors. According to Table 122, none of the social actors are depicted as associated. The Japanese, American, and Europeans, however, are represented to be dissociated at frequencies of 25%, 15%, and 15%, respectively.

Table 122: Association/dissociation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational category: Association vs Dissociation			Social actors						
			Japanese	Non-Japanese					
			Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
1	Association	No.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Dissociation	No.	5	3	0	3	0	0	0
		%	25%	15%	0%	15%	0%	0%	0%

In the process of association/dissociation, *Der Spiegel* has the tendency to represent the dissociation among trading partners over trade issues. For instance, it can be observed in G6J and G8J, where the United States and Japan are depicted as dissociated from each other due the latter's export of chips to the former. At this juncture, it is also important to note that G8J has made allusion to the association between both countries by evoking their ally relationship with each other. The disagreement over trade issues is not only confined to the United States and Japan, but also the United States and Europe. As shown in G2J, both the United States and Europe are reportedly engaged in a deteriorating 'trade dispute' with each other.

However, *Der Spiegel* adopts a more nuanced approach to differentiating the different American actors involved in the trade dispute with the Europeans. By dissociating President Reagan from the hawkish members of the US Congress, G2J has the effect of distancing the reader away from the 'hawks', while eliciting empathic emotions from the reader for the difficult position President Reagan is situated. As a consequence, the reader is made aware that there are many different American actors involved in the trade negotiation process with the European participants. In other words, this strategy reinforces the notion that some of the American participants have a aggressive stance on international relations, while others – including the American president - prefer the use of dialogues and peaceful solutions with their European counterparts.

1. *The trade dispute between the USA and the Europeans is getting worse. President Reagan can hardly stop the hawks in Congress.* G2J
2. *With increasing bitterness, the Americans are responding to the conquest strategy of the Japanese chip manufacturers* G6J
3. *For the first time since the Second World War, the USA imposed punitive tariffs on the export offensive of its ally Japan… but nevertheless the conflict heated up to a trade war due to the export of microchips to the USA, in which neither wants to step back.* G8J

Unlike the Americans, however, the Japanese social actors are portrayed in instances of bifurcation between us versus them. This is realised by presenting (i) *them* ('they') still in the process of catching up with the standard of the Europeans and Americans in the commercial rocket business (G7J); and (ii) *them* disliked and accused by 'all' for their export successes (G13J). The European displeasure with the import of 'cheap' Japanese goods is further intensified by Brussel's implementation of stricter rules to counteract Japan's practice of selling goods so cheaply that companies in Europe cannot compete fairly (G10J). These representations emphasise Japan's unfair trade practices, which burden and even harm its trading partners.

1. *The Japanese realised their chances in the commercial rocket business too late. Now, they are trying to catch up with the Europeans and Americans.* G7J
2. *Brussels wants to tighten anti-dumping rules against cheap Japanese imports.* G10J
3. *It is really hard for them, the Japanese. Nobody likes them for their export successes, all accuse them of leading a campaign of annihilation against foreign rivals.* G13J

7.5.2.5 Personalisation and Impersonalisation

Table 123 shows the frequency distribution of social actor representation in the representational category of personalisation/impersonalisation.

Table 123: Personalisation/impersonalisation in frequency and percentage (*Der Spiegel*)

Representational categories: Personalisation vs Impersonaliastion				Social actors						
				Japanese	Non-Japanese					
				Japan	US	W. Germany	Europe	Third World	Far East	UK
1	Personalisation		No.	7	3	2	1	0	0	0
			%	35%	15%	10%	5%	0%	0%	0%
2	Impersonalisation	Abstraction	No.	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
			%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		Objectivation	No.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
			%	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Note: It is to be highlighted that Tiziano Terzani is an Italian journalist and writer. However, for the purpose of this thesis, he is treated to be a German social actor in G1J and G14J due to his role as an editor for *Der Spiegel*.

The analysis of the personalisation/impersonalisation process demonstrates that *Der Spiegel* has the tendency to attach a human aspect to the Japanese social actors through the use of generic references 'the Japanese', as shown in G1J, G7J, G11J, G14J, and G18J, or 30%. This stands in contrast to the German social actors, who are individualised at a frequency of 10% in the form of 'Tiziano Terzani', as shown in the lead texts of G1J and G14J. The only exception to the aforementioned strategy is demonstrated in the lead text of G20J, where the Japanese social actor is depicted as

‘Toshihiko Yamashita’ (5%), while generic reference to the German social actor is realised through the use of ‘Spiegel interview’ (5%) and omitting the need to explicitly mention the name of the journalist making the interview.

The same strategy is also applied to the American and European social actors in the lead text of G2J, where the objectivation of the former is realised by metonymical reference to the ‘USA’ (5%), while the personalisation of the latter is achieved by using the generic reference ‘Europeans’ (5%) in the same clause. From the lexical perspective, such semantic strategies have the effect of creating three groupings: (i) an innermost group, which includes the German participant in the form of *Der Spiegel* employee, Tiziano Terzani; (ii) a second group, which comprises the Japanese and European participants; and an out-group, which consists of the Americans. From the country perspective, however, the explicit mention of the ‘USA’ vis-à-vis the ‘Europeans’ highlights the contrast between a reportedly cohesive American national power and the people from Europe. Here are the extracts of the lead texts concerned:

1.	*SPIEGEL editor Tiziano Terzani on the self-confidence and superiority of the Japanese.*	*G1J*
2.	*The trade dispute between the USA and the Europeans is getting worse.*	*G2J*
3.	*The Japanese realised their chances in the commercial rocket business too late.*	*G7J*
4.	*The Japanese invest huge sum of money abroad.*	*G11J*
5.	*SPIEGEL editor Tiziano Terzani on the Japanese' new sense of crisis.*	*G14J*
6.	*Wolfsburg leaves the field to the Japanese - the VW plant in the USA is closed down.*	*G18J*
7.	*SPIEGEL interview with Matsushita's board member Toshihiko Yamashita about Japanese trading practices*	*G20J*

When it comes to American political social actors, *Der Spiegel* attaches a human aspect (15%) to them by revealing their names, as exemplified in the lead texts of G2J, G13J, and G20J, where the American social actors take the form of ‘Reagan’, and ‘Pete Wilson’. In these instances, by highlighting (i) the plight of President Reagan vis-à-vis the Congress members with warlike foreign policies, and (ii) the complaint made by US senator, Pete Wilson, about the harmful business practices of Japanese semiconductor manufacturers, the reader would likely develop sympathy for the predicament faced by President Reagan, while distancing them away from the Japanese social actors who are depicted as threatening American interests with their unethical business practices.

1.	*President Reagan can hardly stop the hawks in Congress.*	*G2J*
2.	*complains US senator Pete Wilson of allegedly ruinous practices by Japanese semiconductor producers.*	*G13J*

The Japanese social actors are impersonalised by using abstract nouns (10%) to refer to their global business expansion. For instance, Japan's ambitious desire to expand aggressively abroad is reflected in the lexical items (i) 'conquest strategy', which gives the impression that Japanese chip producers have been meticulously planning to gain control of their competitors' market share in the United States through unethical or forceful means (G6J); as well as (ii) 'export wave' and 'offensive of goodwill', which further reinforces the notion that Japan is aggressively demonstrating gestures of friendliness and benevolence following large quantities of exports that overwhelm importers. The impersonalisation of the Japanese social actors is also realised through objectivation (5%). This is realised by depicting the Japanese semiconductor as Godzilla, harming everyone except Japan itself. In contrast to the impersonalised Japanese social actors, the American social actors are given a human aspect through the use of the generic reference 'Americans'. These representations ultimately present Japanese social actors as a global threat, with the intention to distance the reader from them.

1. *With increasing bitterness, the Americans are responding to the conquest strategy of the Japanese chip manufacturers.* G6J
2. *"The Japanese semiconductor Godzilla is now destroying everything but Tokyo",* G13J
3. *After the export wave, an offensive of goodwill is now rolling in from Japan.* G19J

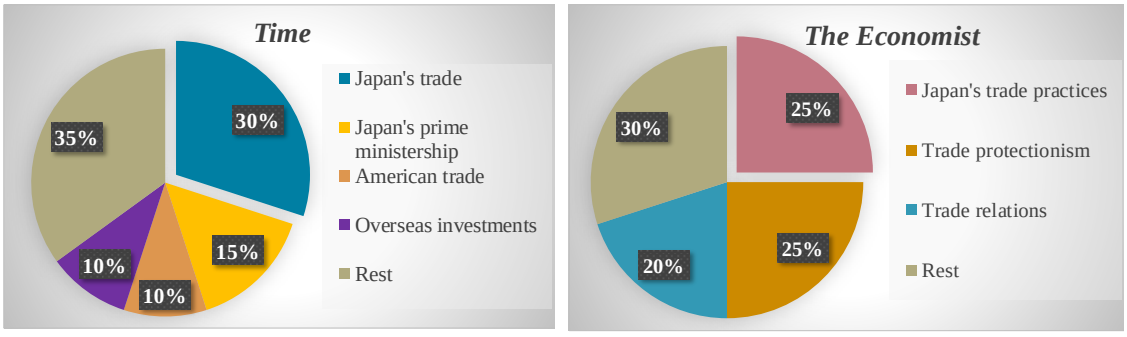
7.6 Closing Remarks

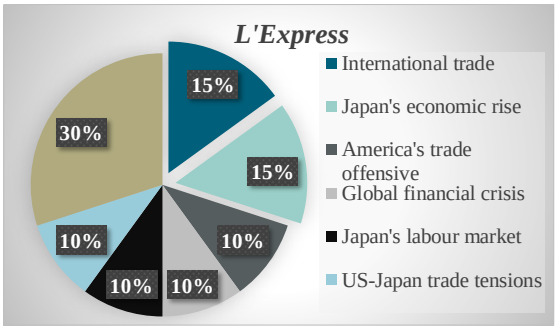
This chapter examined the representation of the key social actors in the lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel* against the backdrop of Japan's trade tensions with its trading partners in 1987. First, the chapter began by deriving the dominant topics, also known as the macrostructure, of the headlines on the basis of van Dijk's macro-rules, before applying van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory of social actor representation across the 80 lead texts.

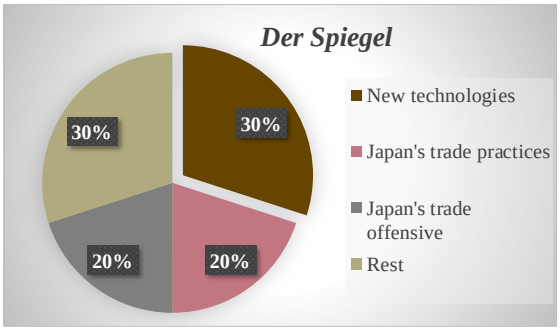
Following the patterns observed in the previous chapter (Chapter 6), the results obtained in this chapter have further corroborated that the four Western newsmagazines under study have different focus areas in their respective lead texts when it comes to the reporting of Japan's economic rise in 1987. Although none were found to have the same order of importance in the focus areas they cover, preliminary results have clearly revealed the tendency of the four newsmagazines to report issues relating to the economy and international trade. Specifically, an image of a protectionist Japan has emerged in *The Economist*, where it was the most frequently represented topic (25%), followed by Japan's trade practices, which was often reported in *The Economist* (25%) and *Der Spiegel* (20%), as demonstrated in Figure 14.

What is particularly interesting from the analysis of the topics is the attribution of agency in issues relating to the trade offensive in *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel*. As was observed, the agency of the trade offensive was represented to be attributed to the United States according to the French perspective; however, the German perspective appeared to assign the agency of the trade offensive to Japan. One possible explanation for this discrepency could be due to the economic or political interests of West Germany and France vis-à-vis Japan, which was treated more like an economic competitor by the former than the latter.

Figure 14: Overview of the top three key topics in each Western newsmagazine







All in all, the patterns which emerge reveal that the overall image of Japan depicted in the lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, and *Der Spiegel* is largely negative, while *L'Express* takes a more positive view. It has also been found that Japan, the United States, and West Germany were the three key protagonists across the 80 lead texts, highlighting the rise of great power rivalry that involved an emerging economic superpower (Japan), along with West Germany to a smaller extent, challenging the economic supremacy of the incumbent, the United States. Furthermore, the patterns have also revealed the semantic strategies adopted by the four newsmagazines to perpetuate the discursive representation of a "Japan that not only harms others to benefit itself", but also a "Japan that harms others and harms itself".

The following chapter is the final chapter of this thesis and will attempt to provide answers to the research questions (see Section 8.2) on the basis of the key findings obtained from the four analytical chapters. This is followed by Section 8.3, which states and discusses the two hypotheses (see Sections 8.3.1 and 8.3.2), and maps the findings to van Dijk's ideological square model, and where necessary, challenges it (see Section 8.3.3).

8. Discussions and Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This thesis set out with the objective of revealing the dominant ideological discourses and representations of China and Japan in *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel* against the backdrop of the brewing trade tensions with those nations' trading partners in 2010 and 1987, respectively. Section 8.2 of this chapter attempts to provide answers to the research questions outlined in Section 1.4 of this thesis, in relation to the findings and observations derived from the empirical analysis conducted in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7. To recapitulate, the principal question is as follows:

1. What are the prevailing ideological discourses and dominant representations of China and Japan in *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*?

To help answer the above-mentioned principal question, the thesis intends to first provide answers to the questions that follow. In other words, Section 8.2 proceeds by answering the second research question, followed by the third, fourth, and fifth questions before attempting to solve the principal question stated above.

2. What were the prevailing topics surrounding the rise of China and Japan in 2010 and 1987, respectively, in the headlines and lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines?
3. What were the main representational categories that were used to construct the social actors in the headlines and the lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines?
4. a) Who were the main social actors involved in the representation of China and Japan in the headlines and lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines?
   b) How were they discursively represented in relation to one another across the four newsmagazines?
5. Were China and Japan more positively or negatively appraised in the headlines and lead texts?

Specifically, each answer to the five research questions presented from Sections 8.2.1 to 8.2.6 integrates the conclusion (highlighted in bold as shown in Section 8.2.1.1, Section 8.2.1.2, etc.) and the empirical evidence into the explanations based on a cross-country comparative approach. In addition to the explanations to the research questions,

Section 8.3 answers the two hypotheses stated in Section 1.4. The hypotheses are as follows:

1. China is reported more unfavourably than Japan by the Western press.
2. The Western newsmagazines do not speak in one collective voice with regard to China or Japan.

Specifically, a discussion of the two hypotheses are carried out in Sections 8.3.1 and 8.3.2. This is followed by Section 8.3.3, which challenges van Dijk's (1998) ideological square from the theoretical perspective on the basis of the findings derived from the empirical research in this thesis. Section 8.3.4 provides an overview of the latest developments in the trade war that erupted between China and the United States in 2018. Further, Section 8.4 reiterates the scholarly contributions of the thesis. Section 8.5 discusses the challenges and limitations of the thesis, followed by Section 8.6 that concludes the thesis with the road ahead for future research.

8.2 Answering the Research Questions

8.2.1 Question 2: What were the prevailing topics surrounding the rise of China and Japan in 2010 and 1987, respectively, in the headlines and lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines?

8.2.1.1 Prevailing China-related topics in the year 2010

The analysis of the key topics by means of van Dijk's macro-rules in Chapter 4 has revealed that in addition to the topics on the Chinese growth model and general issues relating to international trade and currency, the headlines of *Time*, *The Economist* and *Der Spiegel* tended to view China through the lens of political realism by putting their focus on China's military power, global expansion, and the emergence of a new world order. Such a realist interpretation confirms previous studies (see Allison, 2017; Mearsheimer, 2003) on international relations, in that there are fears that China may resort to military force to dominate Northeast Asia if it becomes an economic powerhouse. This stands in contrast to the topics observed in the headlines of *L'Express*, which was more inclined to concentrate on China's international trade and currency, China's bilateral relations, and Shanghai.

As Chapter 5 has shown, while a realist interpretation continued to surface in the lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, and *Der Spiegel*, in the form of (i) great power rivalry between the United States and China and (ii) China's global expansion, the three newsmagazines have also viewed China according to the norms of a rule-based system. A notable example was the foregrounding of China's unfair trade practices in the lead texts of these three newsmagazines. Such a focus is in line with previous studies (see Shatz, 2016, p. 67; Ikenberry, 2014, p. 42) on international relations, which argue that it is in the interests of the West, in particular the United States, to integrate China into the existing liberal economic system based on rules and institutions. These topics, however, significantly differed from those in the lead texts of *L'Express*, which was found to be mainly concerned about China's bilateral relations, China's economic catch-up, and Shanghai. For purposes of clarity, an overview of the prevailing topics in the headlines and lead texts on China is provided in Table 124.

Table 124: Overview of prevailing topics in the headlines and lead texts on China

		Headlines		Lead Texts	
	No.	Prevailing Topics	%	Prevailing Topics	%
Time	1	China's growth model	40%	China's unfair trade practices	30%
	2	China's international trade and currency	30%	China's great power rivalry	20%
	3	China's military power	10%	China's collapse	20%
The Economist	1	China's global expansion	25%	China's unfair trade practices	20%
	2	China's growth model	25%	China's great power rivalry	20%
	3	China's international trade and currency	20%	China's growth model	15%
L'Express	1	China's international trade and currency	45%	China's bilateral relations	20%
	2	China's bilateral relations	25%	China's economic catch-up	15%
	3	Shanghai	15%	Shanghai	15%
Der Spiegel	1	China's international trade and currency	30%	China's global expansion	40%
	2	China's global expansion	25%	China's unfair trade practices	20%
	3	New world order / Chinese workers' rights	15% each	Chinese workers' rights	10%

8.2.1.2 Prevailing Japan-related topics in the year 1987

Turning to Japan, the analysis of the key topics on the basis of van Dijk's macro-rules in Chapter 6 has demonstrated that the headlines of all four newsmagazines were inclined to represent Japan through the perspective of international trade. *Time*, for instance, was found to put its focus on Japan's international trade, Japan's industry, and Japan's international relations in its headlines; while *The Economist* concentrated on Japan's international trade, Japan's international relations, currency, and the threat of Japan in its headlines. On Continental Europe, it was observed that the headlines of *L'Express* were more highly likely to be concerned about Japan's international trade, currency, and global markets; which stand in comparison to the headlines of *Der Spiegel* that were more interested with Japan's industry, Japan's international trade, and Japan's trade practices.

As regards lead texts, Chapter 7 has revealed that *Time* was most concerned about Japan's trade, followed by Japan's prime ministership, America's trade, and Japan's overseas investments. *The Economist*, on the other hand, was found to put its focus on Japan's trade practices, trade protectionism, and Japan's trade relations in the lead texts. When attention shifts to *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel*, it was found that the former was most interested in Japan's international trade, Japan's economic rise, America's trade offensive, global financial crisis, Japan's labour market, and US-Japan trade relations, while the latter attached greater significance to new technologies, Japan's trade practices, and Japan's trade offensive. For clarity, an overview of the prevailing topics in the headlines and lead texts on Japan is provided in Table 125.

Table 125: Overview of prevailing topics in the headlines and lead texts on Japan

		Headlines		Lead Texts	
	No.	Prevailing Topics	%	Prevailing Topics	%
Time	1	Japan's international trade	35%	Japan's trade	30%
	2	Japan's industry	15%	Japan's prime ministership	15%
	3	Japan's international relations	10%	America's trade / Japan's overseas investments	10% each
The Economist	1	Japan's international trade	55%	Japan's trade practices	25%
	2	Japan's international relations	15%	Trade protectionism	25%
	3	Currency / Japan's threat	10% each	Trade relations	20%
L'Express	1	Japan's international trade	20%	Japan's international trade	15%
	2	Currency	20%	Japan's economic rise	15%
	3	Global markets	15%	America's trade offensive / global financial crisis / Japan's labour market / US-Japan trade tensions	10% each
Der Spiegel	1	Japan's industry	35%	New technologies	30%
	2	Japan's international trade	30%	Japan's trade practices	20%
	3	Japan's trade practices	15%	Japan's trade offensive	20%

8.2.2 Question 3: What were the main representational categories used to construct the social actors in the headlines and the lead texts of the four newsmagazines?

8.2.2.1 There were five representational categories that were employed to construct the social actors in the headlines and the lead texts

As Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 have demonstrated, there were five representational categories from van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory that were employed in the construction of the social actors in the headlines and the lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*. They were as follows:

(i) inclusion and exclusion;

(ii) role allocation (activation and passivation);

(iii) functionalisation, identification, and appraisement;

(iv) association and dissociation;

(v) personalisation and impersonalisation

8.2.2.2 Inapplicability of functionalisation of social actors across the headlines of all four newsmagazines in the year 1987

Firstly, the representation of Japan and the West as developed economies reflects the historical economic context that Japan was already a developed country in the year 1987 since it resumed its industrialisation in the first decade after its defeat in the Second World War, and developed at a pace "the world had never seen" (Vogel,

1991, p. 1). Japan's high growth enabled the country to reintegrate into the global economy and to even catch up with the developed economies of the United States and Europe (see Ohno, 2006). For this reason, the need to functionalise the Japanese and Western social actors in the headlines (Chapter 6) was eliminated, since there was little difference between Japan and its Western counterparts in terms of economic development.

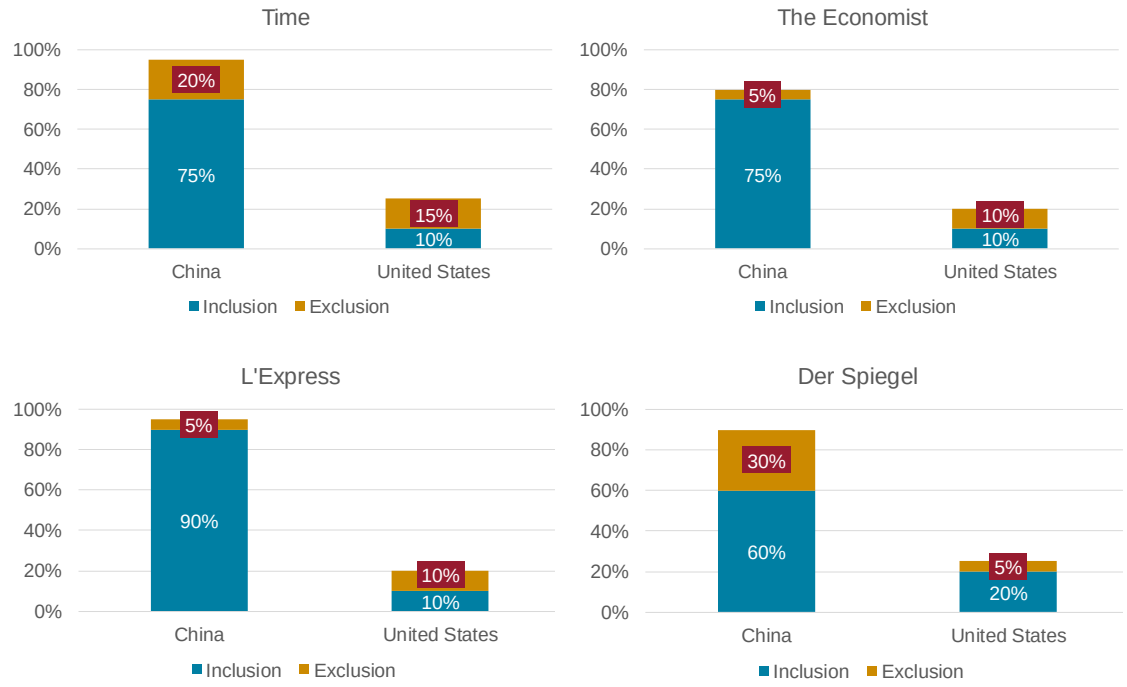
Secondly, the Chinese and the American social actors were functionalised in both the headlines (Chapter 4) and the lead texts (Chapter 5) of the four newsmagazines in the year 2010. By representing the Chinese social actors as a 'junkie', and a 'saviour' and 'helper' with ulterior motives in the headlines (Chapter 4), and 'workers', 'policemen', and 'demontrators' in the lead texts (Chapter 5), China's authoritarian political system and its fragile, large economy thus come to the fore. Chapters 4 and 5 have shown that such an emphasis was reinforced when the American social actors were functionalised as 'Harvard professor' in the headlines, and 'Google co-founder', 'hedge-fund honcho', and 'diplomats' in the lead texts. Therefore, it is clear that the Western newsmagazines attempted to highlight the different stages of economic growth between a developing China and a developed West, as well as the divergent political system between an authoritarian China and a capitalist West.

8.2.3 Question 4a: Who were the main social actors involved in the representation of China and Japan in the headlines and lead texts of each of the four newsmagazines?

8.2.3.1 China in the headlines: China and the United States were the two main social actors across the headlines of all four newsmagazines

The administration of a quantitative approach to tabulate the rate of inclusion/exclusion of the agency of the key social actors has clearly revealed the two most frequently included/excluded agents across the 80 headlines (Chapter 4) of the four Western newsmagazines; they were the Chinese and the American social actors, as demonstrated in Figure 15. This also means that both social actors, particularly the Chinese ones, were predominantly represented as the initiator (or the causal agent) of the social practice indicated in the headlines.

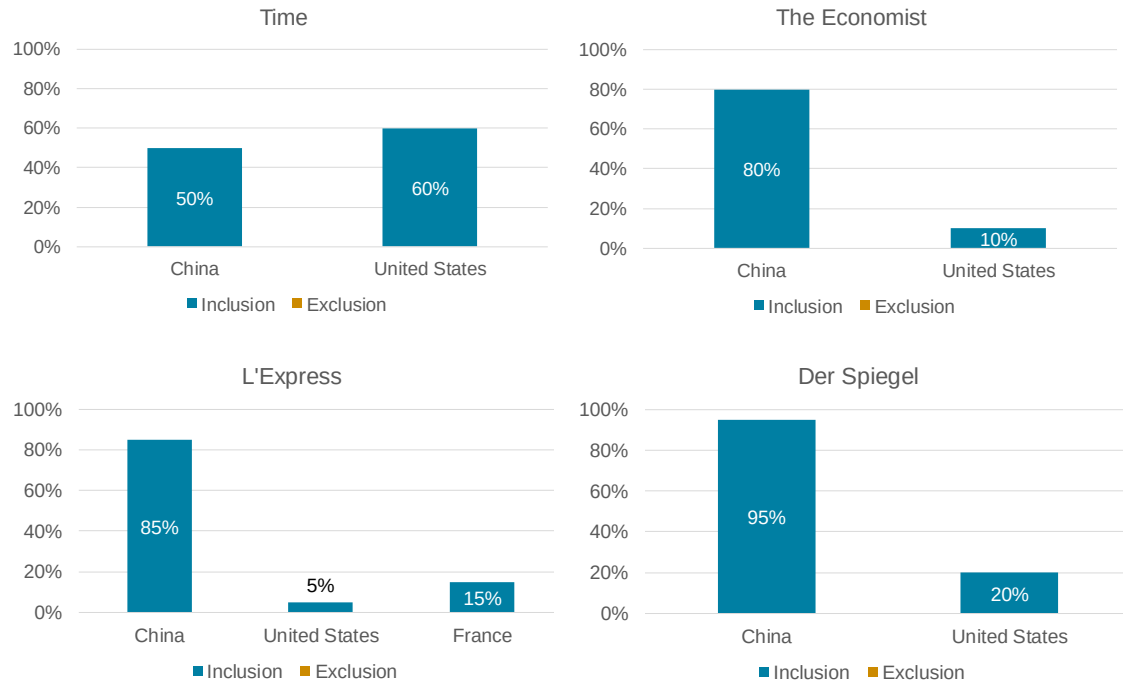
Figure 15: Overview of agency inclusion/exclusion across the 80 headlines



8.2.3.2 China in the lead texts: China and the United States remained in focus across the lead texts of all four newsmagazines in 2010

Chapter 5 has shown that China and the United States continued to be the two most frequently included social actors in the lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, and *Der Spiegel*. On the other hand, *L'Express* was found to depict France as the second-most included social actor in this category, after China but before the United States. Another interesting pattern to emerge (see Figure 16) from the lead texts can be traced to *Time*, which was the only newsmagazine out of the four to have included United States agency (60%) more frequently than China (50%). This observation is particularly significant, as it demonstrated that *Time* and *L'Express* had the tendency to see the United States and France, respectively, as having the ability to initiate a social practice, or even to influence global events.

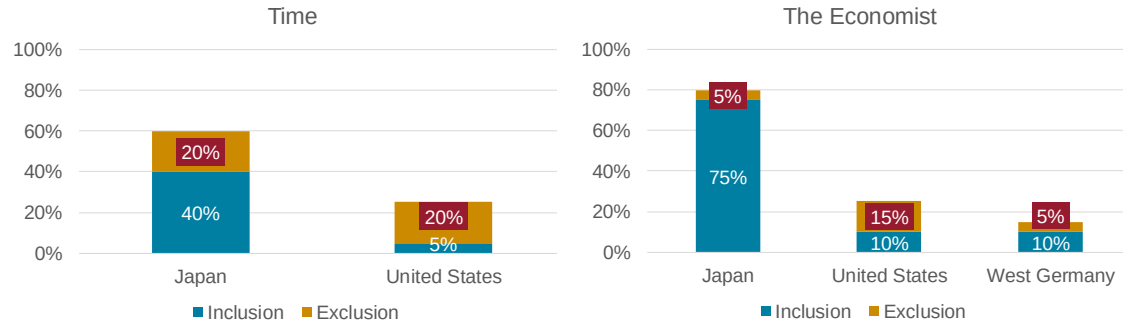
Figure 16: Overview of agency inclusion/exclusion across the 80 lead texts

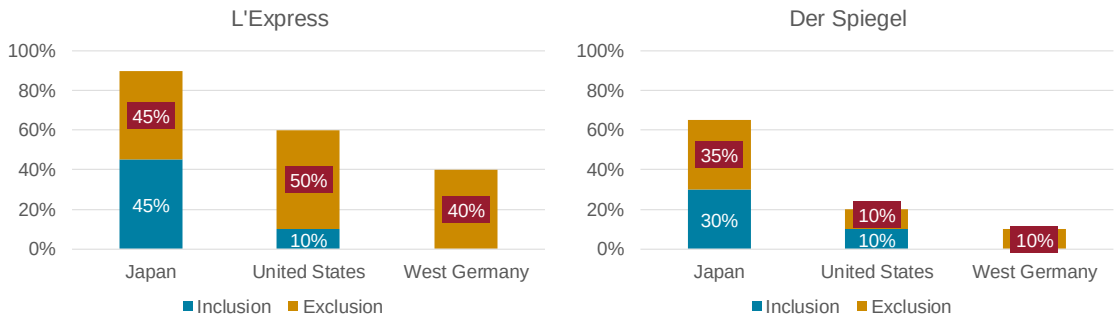


8.2.3.3 Japan in the headlines: The agency of Japan and the United States grabbed the headlines of *Time* in 1987, but *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel* included West German agency in their headlines

As attention shifts to the findings in Chapter 6, the Japanese and American social actors were found to be the two most frequently included/excluded agents across the 20 headlines of *Time* in the year 1987. This observation stands in contrast to the other three newsmagazines, which all included West Germany as the third-most frequently represented protagonist in their headlines. Despite this disparity, Japan was overwhelmingly depicted as the dominant initiator - or the causal agent - of the social practice indicated in the headlines, as illustrated in Figure 17.

Figure 17: Overview of agency inclusion/exclusion across the 80 headlines





8.2.3.4 Japan in the lead texts: *Time* continued to put its focus on the agency of Japan and the United States in its lead texts in 1987; West German agency also further remained in focus in the lead texts of the other three magazines

As was observed from the data in Chapter 7, the Japanese and American social actors were the two most frequently included/excluded agents across the 80 lead texts of the four Western newsmagazines. In contrast to *Time*, however, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel* were found to have also included/excluded the agency of West Germany, as demonstrated in the recapulative Figure 18.

Figure 18: Overview of agency inclusion/exclusion across the 80 lead texts

8.2.3.5 Key reasons for the particular attention on Japan and the United States in *Time*, and the inclusion of West Germany in the rest: Political and economic contexts in the year 1987

There are two likely explanations for this observation. First, West Germany, along with the United States and Japan, was one of the key players in the global economy in 1987. In fact, this corroborated the data presented in Chapter 1 of this thesis that West Germany was the wealthiest of the countries concerned in terms of GDP per capita, and the third largest economy in terms of nominal GDP, after the United States and Japan, in 1987. Second, given that Japan was the world's second-largest economy in 1987, it was widely expected at that time that it would challenge and overtake American economic supremacy, as evidenced by the amount of literature (Fingleton, 1995; Vogel, 1986) available during the 1980s and 1990s predicting this. This could perhaps explain the reason why the American perspective was more focused on its immediate competitor, rather than West Germany.

8.2.4 Question 4b: How were they discursively represented in relation to one another across the four newsmagazines?

8.2.4.1 China in the headlines: An 'us versus them' dichotomy that pitted China against the West in the headlines of the four newsmagazines

The non-agency exclusion process of the social actors, as presented in Chapter 4, has not only unveiled the formation of an 'us versus them' dichotomy across the 80 headlines of the four newsmagazines, but also the manifestation of the following segregation pattern: For *Time* and *The Economist*, China and North Korea are represented to belong to the out-group, versus the in-group of actors that comprise the rest. When focus shifts to the two newsmagazines on Continental Europe, however, both *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel* have been found to band China and Africa together to create an out-group, versus the in-group that encompasses the rest. Table 126 provides an overview of the non-agent actors in terms of their exclusion from the headlines in frequency and percentage. These findings are particularly significant, as they are consistent with previous studies (see Turner, 2014) on the Western prism of viewing China through the ideological divide between a Western-led liberal world order and an authoritarian communist system, and of polarisation between developed and developing countries.

Table 126: Overview of non-agency inclusion/exclsion across the 80 headlines

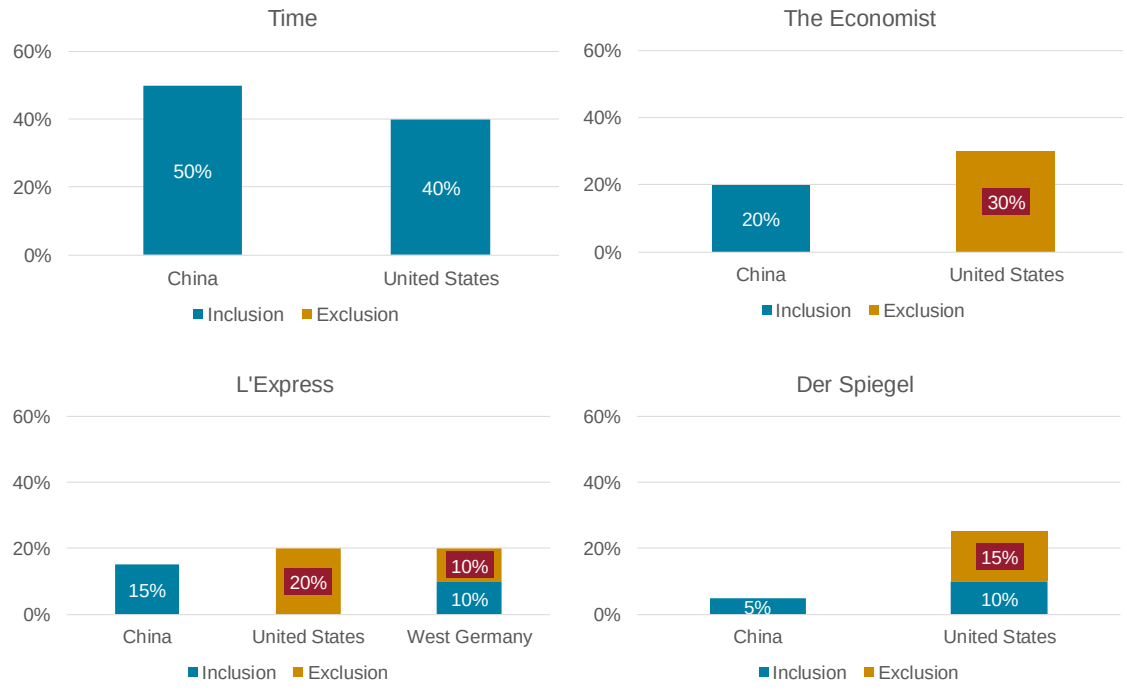
	We (In-group)	They (Out-group)
Time	**United States (20%)**, United Kingdom (5%), Africa (5%), India (10%), South Korea (5%)	**China (0%)**, North Korea (0%)
The Economist	**United States (25%)**, United Kingdom (5%), Germany (10%), Japan (25%), Europe (25%), the West (10%), the World (5%)	**China (0%)**, North Korea (0%)
L'Express	**United States (15%)**, France (10%), Germany (10%), United Kingdom (5%), Europe (5%), the West (5%), Japan (5%)	**China (0%)**, Africa (0%)
Der Spiegel	**United States (30%)**, Germany (5%), Europe (5%), Japan (10%), the West (5%), the World (5%)	**China (0%)**, Africa (0%)

8.2.4.2 China in the lead texts: *L'Express* had also associated China with French political and business actors for their unprincipled business dealings

As can be observed from the data recapitulated from Chapter 5 into Figure 19, it has emerged that *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel* relied on inclusion and exclusion to represent the non-agency of the United States, but merely inclusion for Chinese non-agency. According to this pattern, it may be argued that an 'us versus them' narrative began to show signs of manifestation through the depiction of non-

agency in these three newsmagazines. In *Time*, however, the non-agency of the United States has been found to be included (40%), and not excluded as it was in the other three newsmagazines. This anomaly corroborates the pattern revealed in the previous Section 5.6.2; that is, *Time* had the tendency to emphasise the importance of the United States, along with China, involved in the social practice indicated in the lead texts through non-agency. Hence, it could conceivably be hypothesised that the American perspective is more inclined to portray the United States as a powerful force vis-à-vis China, in other words, the United States is the only country that is capable of resisting the challenges posed by a rising China.

Figure 19: Overview of non-agency inclusion/exclusion across the 80 lead texts



On association/dissociation, Chapter 5 has also found that the manifestation of the 'us versus them' dichotomy (see Table 127) continues to be represented in the form of (i) China pitted against the United States, Google, and the West in *Time*; (ii) China against the United States, the European Union, and Japan in *The Economist*; and (iii) China against the United States, France, Germany, Japan, and the troubled eurozone states in *L'Express*. These representations are found to be different from the approach taken by *Der Spiegel*, which banded the United States and China together, facing off the Europeans over climate issues, but (i) dissociated China from the United States over their bilateral disputes over global affairs, (ii) differentiated China's growth opportunities and risks from Germany's, (iii) distanced China from the world due to the

portrayal of Chinese attempt at dominating the world, and (iv) alienated China from Europe due to China's hidden motives for helping the troubled eurozone states. The continued focus on China's growing influence in Europe, in particular, is in line with previous studies (Benner et al., 2018; Godement and Vasselier, 2017) on European concerns about China's investments on the continent. As Godement and Vasselier (2017, p. 9) declare, it is increasingly obvious that the European Union must devise policies that are fit for an era in which China rejects reciprocity.

One unanticipated finding, however, was observed in *L'Express*. It has emerged that the French newsmagazine had the tendency to portray a warm relationship between China's President Hu Jintao and French political elites in Paris, and between China's President Hu Jintao and French companies, over the signing of business contracts. This reportedly warm relationship between both parties, however, has (i) come under fire from the French social actor, Marie Holzmann, president of Association Solidarity China, who reportedly said that such an attitude did not honour France, as well as (ii) also revealed the allusion that *L'Express* has made to Chinese support for former French president Sarkozy's bid to French presidency of the G20 in return for the conclusion of business contracts.

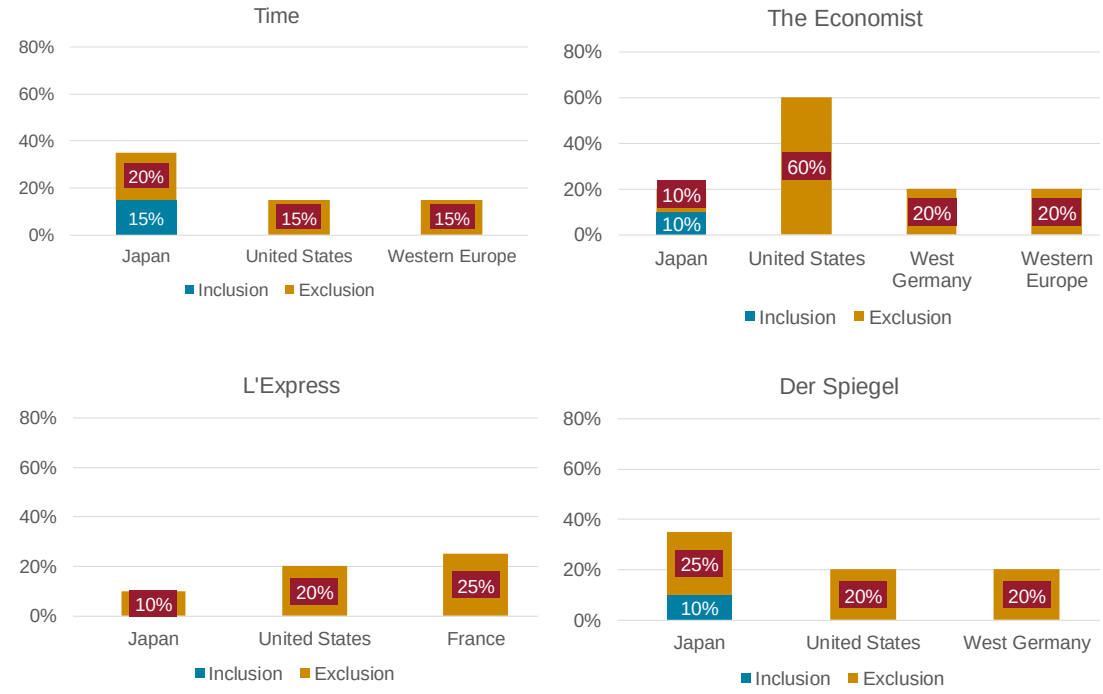
Table 127: Overview of association/dissociation across the 80 lead texts

		Dissociation		Cause
		We (association)	They (association)	
Time	1	United States	China	Americans forcing China to change currency regime
	2	United States	China	Frustration over China's currency policy
	3	United States	China	Political bickering over China's currency
	4	Google	China	Google pulling out of China due to repeated attacks
	5	n/a	China, workers	Impatient Chinese workers
	6	n/a	China, problems	Due to destabilising property price bubble, rising bad loans
	7	n/a	China, trouble	Damage done to China's banking system due to government's giant stimulus programme
	8	United States, South Korea	North Korea	North Korea is responsible for sinking South Korea's warship
	9	West	China	China made West doubt its principles of democratic, free-market capitalism
	10	American, democracy, capitalism, economic progress	n/a	An American has always believed that democracy, capitalism and economic progress are all intimately connected
The Economist	1	United States	China	They did not agree about North Korea, or much else
	2	United States	China	Bound to be rivals
	3	Japan	China	China may not end up following in Japan's footsteps
	4	European Union	China	Both get more realistic about each other
	5	n/a	China, currency	Chinese case for a stronger, more flexible currency
L'Express	1	United States	China	China's protest of US arm sales to Taiwan
	2	Japan	China	China's cancelled discussions with Japan
	3	Japan	China	Relations between both countries at their worst
	4	Germany, Japan	China	German employers express concerns over Chinese exports
	5	n/a	China, Africa	Trade
	6	France	China	Between fascination and reserve towards Beijing
	7	French companies, French Presidency	China's President Hu Jintao	China's signing of contracts with France
	8	Marie Holzman, Paris	Chinese President Hu Jintao	China's signing of contracts with France
	9	French companies	China	Counterfeiting
	10	Troubled eurozone countries	China	China's real political intentions to help eurozone countries
	11	n/a	China, United States	Both countries are well positioned to win the currency war
Der Spiegel	1	United States	China	Dictating world affairs
	2	United States	China	Dispute
	3	Europeans	United States, China	Climate offenders
	4	Germany	Middle Kingdom	Growth opportunities and risks
	5	n/a	China's pegging of its currency to the dollar, harms itself	China's currency policy
	6	World	China	How China conquers the world
	7	Europe	Chinese	The Chinese use the weakness of Europe to develop influence
	8	Crisis-hit countries, Ireland and Spain	China	China's help in fight against debt crisis. But it is unclear what is means for Europe

8.2.4.5 Japan in the headlines: No evidence suggested that *L'Express* put France in the discursive in-group

When attention shifts to the inclusion/exclusion of non-agency, an interesting pattern began to emerge from the findings observed in Chapter 6: In the headlines of *Time*, *The Economist*, and *Der Spiegel*, it has been observed that (i) Japan was depicted to be included and excluded, while (ii) all the other social actors (the United States and Western Europe for *Time*; the United States, West Germany, and United Kingdom for *The Economist*; and the United States and West Germany for *Der Spiegel*) were portrayed as excluded. This observation diverges from that of *L'Express*, which clearly excluded Japan, the United States, and France from its headlines. Further, France was the second-most excluded non-agent from the perspective of the French newsmagazine. This result would seem to suggest that *Time*, *The Economist*, and *Der Spiegel* have discursively created an 'us versus them' dichotomy that pits Japan (out-group) against the rest (in-group). Incidentally, there was no significant evidence that supported the observation that France was a part of the in-group of the three aforementioned newsmagazines (see Figure 20).

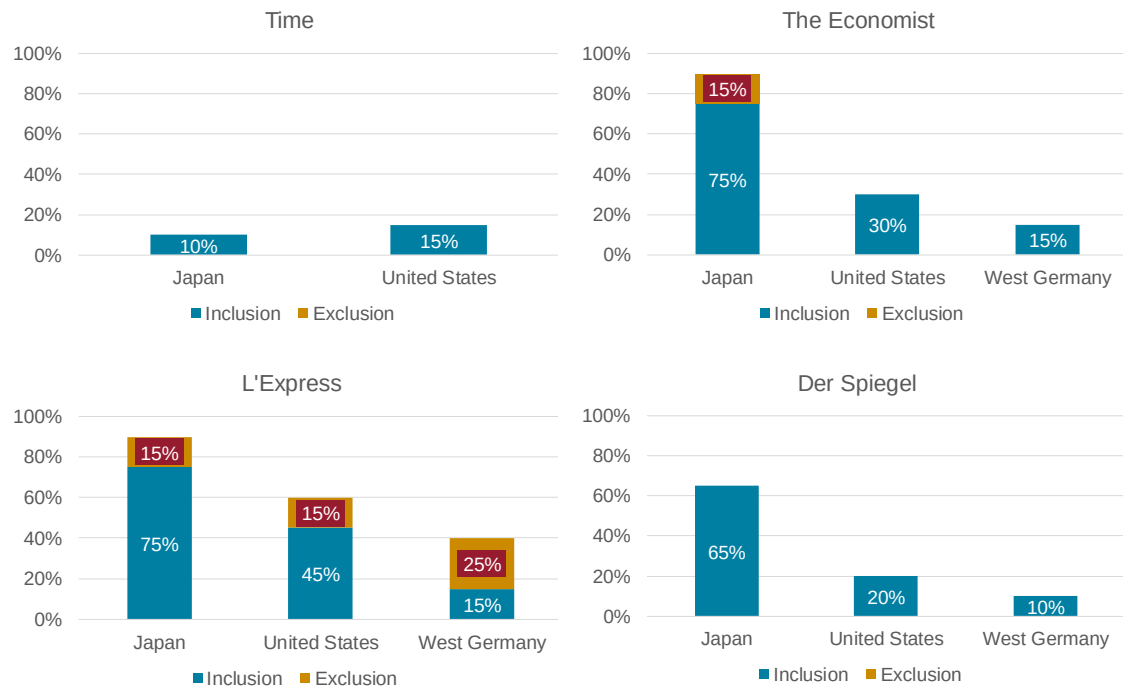
Figure 20: Overview of non-agency inclusion/exclusion across the 80 headlines



8.2.4.6 Japan in the lead texts: American non-agency was foregrounded the most in *Time*. By comparison, the other three newsmagazines put their focus on Japanese non-agency

Chapter 7 has revealed that all four newsmagazines have been found to be more likely to include the non-agency of Japan at a higher frequency than that of the United States, with the exception of *Time* (see Figure 21). Specifically, *Time* has been observed to include the non-agency of the United States more often than that of Japan. This discrepancy could be attributed to the higher likelihood of *Time* representing the United States as the recipient of the reported social practice indicated in the lead texts. In other words, it may be argued that this strategy has greater tendency to foreground the victimhood of the United States as a result of the causal effect caused by the Other. As van Dijk (1995, p. 154) explains, eliciting compassion is a discursive strategy that can be employed to enhance the harm caused by the Other, thus emphasising the harm caused by Japan.

Figure 21: Overview of non-agency inclusion/exclusion across the 80 lead texts



While Chapter 7 has revealed that the 'us versus them' dichotomy was manifested in the representation of Japan pitted against the United States in the four Western newsmagazines under study, another striking observation has emerged from the lead texts (see Table 128). *The Economist*, for instance, adopted the strategy of banding Japan and West Germany together, but dissociated from the United States and

the United Kingdom that were portrayed to share a common economic development pattern historically. Here, it is worth noting that *The Economist* resorted to foregrounding the commonalities between the United States and the United Kingdom on the basis of their economic pre-eminence. Such a constructivist interpretation, which rests on the crucial role of identity in interpersonal and international relations (Wendt, 1999), reflects the foreign policies of both countries; that is, they emphasise a special relationship that is rooted in a common language, ideals, and democratic practices (Eznack and Koschut, 2014, p. 74).

Time was found to put its focus on Japan by (i) associating the Japanese social actors with the Soviet Union participants over the sale of prohibited equipment, and (ii) dissociating the Japanese social actors from foreigners. In so doing, Japan's actions were delegitimised and the country's insularity and even xenophobia were foregrounded. This is consistent with van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square model, which posits that the negative deeds of the others are emphasised for the purpose of delegitimising them through an 'us versus them' dichotomy. What is surprising is that *L'Express* appeared to report the social practice, which involved the Japanese, American, and West German participants, through the lens of a third-party.

Table 128: Overview of association/dissociation across the 80 lead texts

		Dissociation		Cause
		We (association)	They (association)	
Time	1	n/a	Japanese government, Japan's new budget for defence spending	Japan's reluctance to engage in military activities
	2	n/a	Japan, old ways	Japan's old ways die hard
	3	n/a	Japan, Soviet Union	Toshiba's sales to the Soviets
	4	Foreigner	Japan	Source of societal illness
	5	United States	Japan	Crackdown on Japanese dumping
	6	United States	Japan	America's protective tariffs against Japanese electronic products
	7	United States	Japan	Trade sanctions against Japan
The Economist	1	United States	Japan, West Germany	US Treasury Secretary stepped up pressure on Japan and West Germany to expand their economies
	2	n/a	Japan, West Germany	Troublemakers
	3	n/a	Japan, West Germany	Exports
	4	Foreigner	Japan	Japan's costly and inefficient telephone service due to the exclusion of foreign participation
	5	n/a	Japanese miracle, economic rigidities	Contradiction
	6	n/a	Japanese government, Japan's inefficient and protected farm industry	Much needed reforms
	7	United States	Japan	Trade relations
	8	20th Century America, 19th Century Britain	n/a	Much in common
	9	New York Stock Market	Tokyo Stock Market	Going separate ways
L'Express	1	n/a	Japan, South Africa	Trade
	2	n/a	Americans, Japan, Soviet Union*	Sales of prohibited equipment to the Soviet Union
	3	n/a	United States, Japan*	Trade difficulties
	4	n/a	US Treasury Secretary, camp supporting dollar stability	Support for dollar stability
	5	n/a	United States, West Germany, Japan*	Restoring order in the global economy - almost nothing
	6	n/a	Japanese government, labour unions	Plans to reduce working hours to forty per week
	7	France	United States, West Germany, Japan*	National policies vis-à-vis the dollar
Der Spiegel	1	United States	Europeans	Trade dispute worsens
	2	Americans	Japanese	Bitterly, Americans are responding to Japanese chip manufacturers
	3	United States	Japan	America's punitive tariffs on Japan's export offensive
	4	Brussels	Japan	Rules against Japanese imports
	5	Europeans and Americans	Japanese	Japanese are trying to catch up with the Europeans and Americans
	6	Nobody	Japanese	Nobody likes Japanese for their export success

8.2.5 Question 5: Were China and Japan predominantly appraised positively or negatively?

8.2.5.1 China in the headlines: An economically fragile, authoritarian China overly reliant on currency distortion to drive its economy

Turning to the analysis of appraisement, Chapter 4 has revealed that the four newsmagazines were inclined to rely on the use of the lexical devices of negativisation to construct overwhelmingly unfavourable images of China (75% for *Time*, 87.5% for *The Economist*, 100% for *L'Express*, and 100% for *Der Spiegel*). This is exemplified by

the predominant use of disparaging adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and expressions to discredit China by means of the negative qualities associated with the semantic meaning of the words (see Table 129). In agreement with van Dijk's (1998) concept of the ideological square, these semantic strategies thus have the effect of amplifying China's negative properties, with the ultimate consequence of reducing, or even delegitimising, the country's positive traits or achievements, if there are any, according to the newsmagazines. It is, however, to be highlighted that *L'Express* has been observed as more likely to appraise China through the lens of its bilateral relations (see Rieker, 2017; Alarcón, 2014; Détrie, 2014; Gallis, 2006) with the other countries, as well as to describe the social practice in which China is engaged in an analytical manner ('friction', 'tensions', and 'ups and downs'). For this reason, it could even be argued that France is more likely to assess China through a third-party perspective.

Table 129: Overview of appraisement across the 80 headlines

	China	Part of speech	Appraisement	
Time	A **new** economic model	Adjective	Can be positive or negative	Six out of eight overtly negative appraisement, or 75%
	Second stimulus	Adjective	Negative	
	Real victims of China's yuan policy	Adjective and noun	Negative	
	Yuan **too cheap**	Adverb and adjective	Negative	
	China's economy **collapse**	Noun	Negative	
	Labour **unrest**	Noun	Negative	
	Debt junkie	Compound nouns	Negative	
	Which is the best role model for the developing world?	Interrogative pronoun	Can be positive or negative	
The Economist	**Indispensable** economy	Adjective	Negative	Seven out of eight overtly negative appraisement, or 87.5%
	Red mist	Adjective and noun	Negative	
	Fear of the dragon	Process noun	Negative	
	Dangers of a rising China	Process noun	Negative	
	A **Mao** in every pocket	Noun	Can be positive or negative	
	Defanging	Verb	Negative	
	Keep quiet	Expression	Negative	
	Not just another fake	Expression	Negative	
L'Express	**New frictions** between China and USA	Adjective and noun	Negative	Six out of six overtly negative appraisement, or 100%
	Rising tensions between China and Japan	Adjective and noun	Negative	
	China-Japan: the **soap opera** of the **fall-out**	Process noun	Negative	
	The **ups and downs** of Franco-Chinese relations	Process noun	Negative	
	The **servility of France** makes us an **accomplice** of the Chinese **regime**	Noun	Negative	
	Trade between China and Africa **exploded**	Verb	Negative	
	Germany was **overtaken** by China	Verb	Negative	
Der Spiegel	**Cheap** exports	Adjective	Negative	Six out of six overtly negative appraisement, or 100%
	State economy	Adjective	Negative	
	Laboratory **of the future**	Adjective	Negative	
	Beloved enemy	Adjective	Negative	
	unquenchable hunger	Adjective	Negative	
	greedy helper	Adjective	Negative	

8.2.5.2 China in the lead texts: A China engaged in great power rivalry with the United States

It has been observed in Chapter 5 that the projected images of China, as regards the analysis of appraisement, in the lead texts are predominantly negative, as demonstrated by the capulative Table 130 (93% for *Time*, 100% for *The Economist*, 62.5% for *L'Express*, and 79% for *Der Spiegel*). Furthermore, it has been observed that *Time* has nearly always put its focus of evaluation on China's currency policy, which was described as a 'regime' that has kept the Chinese yuan 'artificially cheap', 'contorted', 'misaligned', and 'undervalued'. This focus differs from that of *The*

Economist, which tended to assess the great power rivalry between China and the United States, and between China and India. When it comes to the German perspective, *Der Spiegel* alluded to the bipolar superpower system shared by China and the United States and also viewed China through the lens of business, economics, and trade. Finally, while *L'Express* examined China's market and the bilateral relations between China and Japan, and between China and France, it also unfavourably assessed the involvement of French participants, in particular French political actors, in trade deals with China. Such a recurring emphasis on great power rivalry and the bipolar superpower system confirmed previous studies (Tunsjø, 2018; Feldman, 2013) on the contest between the United States and China for global hegemony. As Tunsjø (2018, p. 2) argues, the return of bipolarity in world politics is increasingly shaped by the narrowing power gap between the number-one power (the United States) and the number-two power (China).

Table 130: Overview of appraisement across the 80 lead texts

	China	Other countries	Part of speech	Appraisement	
Time	Chinese currency **artificially cheap** level	n/a	Adjective	Negative	14 out of 15 overtly negative appraisement, or 93%
	China's currency policy is **misaligned**	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	Currency currency policy is **contorted**	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	Chinese exports have **unfair** advantage	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	Chinese yuan is **undervalued**	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	China is an **implacable, muscle-flexing behemoth**	n/a	Adjective and noun	Negative	
	China's **so-called "reform" of the regime** has proven to be a **big yawn**	n/a	Adjective and noun	Negative	
	Beijing has allowed the Chinese yuan to **(very) slowly creep upward** against the dollar	n/a	Adverb, verb, and adjective	Negative	
	Investors are **worried** and **concerned** about China's economy	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	China is headed for **trouble** caused by the government's **giant** stimulus programme	n/a	Adjective and noun	Negative	
	n/a	America's Google co-founder Sergey Brin's **bravado**	Noun	Negative	
	n/a	(British author) Martin Jacques asserts in his **buzz-generating** *When China rules the World*	Adjective	Negative	
	Asia's **March to greatness** has an **inevitable quality** about it. China will **overtake** the US as the world's no. 1 economy	n/a	Adjective, verb, and noun	Can be positive or negative	
	It hasn't been a banner few weeks for China-United States relations		Adjective	Negative	
	n/a	Being perceived '**soft**' on China will not help the Democrats in the November elections	Adjective	Negative	
The Economist	China and the United States are **bound to be rivals**, but they **do not have to be antagonists**		Expression	Negative	nine out of nine overtly negative appraisement, or 100%
	China-India relations **will shape world politics, but shame they do not**		Expression	Negative	
	Similarities between China today and Japan in the 1980s **may look ominous**. But China's boom is **unlikely** to give way to prolonged slump		modal verb, adjective	Negative	
	n/a	**Can** Japanese firms **cope** now that Japan is the world's third-largest economy?	modal verb, adjective	Negative	
	China is slowing. That's **good** news	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	China **may not matter quite as much as you think**	n/a	Expression	Negative	
	What it **feels like** to be bought by a Chinese firm	n/a	Expression	Negative	
	China **grapples with** a huge potential export: its currency	n/a	Verb	Negative	
	Talk about developing countries may want to copy the China model makes people in China **uncomfortable**	n/a	Adjective	Negative	

	China	Other countries	Part of speech	Appraisement	
L'Express	China-Japan relations **strained** for several months		Adjective	Negative	five out of eight overtly negative appraisement, or 62.5%
	China-Japan relations experience their **worst** crisis		Adjective	Negative	
	France has **hesitated between fascination and reserve** towards Beijing		Verb and noun	Negative	
	Paris rolls out the red carpet to China, but it is **an attitude that does not honour France**, according to Marie Holzman		Expression	Negative	
	China has **further accelerated** its trade with Africa		Adverb and verb	Can be positive or negative	
	China is using **its fabulous** market to attract large foreign groups	n/a	Adjective	Positive	
	Chinese plane is designed with a **maximum** of Western technology	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	China to become the world's leading economic power - a scenario **not unrealistic but implausible**	n/a	Adjective	Can be positive or negative	
Der Spiegel	China and the United States are already the **most important powers on the planet** today		Adverb and adjective	Can be positive or negative	11 out of 14 overtly negative appraisement, or 79%
	China's currency policy **exacerbates** global imbalances and **also harms** the		Verb	Negative	
	China's **cheap** exports	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	Centrally planned economy is undergoing an **unexpected renaissance**	n/a	Adjective and noun	Positive	
	Workers at Honda and Hyundai strike against **low** wages and **miserable** accommodation	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	Model metropolis reveals **contradictions** faced by the superpower (China)	n/a	Adjective and noun	Negative	
	The **crash** of China's real estate market - the **collapse is imminent**	n/a	Adjective and noun	Negative	
	China's **unfair** trade agreeement	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	How China '**gently**' **conquers** the world	n/a	Adverb and verb	Negative	
	Beijing's **guided** industry is developing to become a **dangerous** rival	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	Germany's economic boom driven by China could become a China **trap**	n/a	Noun	Negative	
	Financial crisis gives China's economy an **unexpected** boost	n/a	Adjective	Can be positive or negative	
	Investors from the Far East have **bad** reputation in Germany	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	With a lot of money and harsh methods, China acquires raw materials and political influence in Africa		Pronoun and adjective	Negative	

8.2.5.3 Japan in the headlines: A Japan tamed in international relations, but aggressive in business

In the case of the analysis of appraisement, Chapter 6 has shown that *The Economist* was more inclined to rely on the use of the lexical devices of negativisation to construct overwhelmingly unfavourable images of Japan in terms of frequency (six), compared to *Time* (two), and *Der Spiegel* (three). This is exemplified by the newsmagazine's predominant use of depreciatory adjectives and adverbs to discredit Japan by means of the negative qualities associated with the semantic meaning of the words (see Table 131). What is noticeable from the data is (i) *L'Express*' relatively ambivalent assessment of Japan, and (ii) *Time*'s and *Der Spiegel*'s tendency to evaluate the bilateral trade relations between the United States and Japan. For these reasons, it may be argued that *The Economist* was more likely to conform to one of the four semantic macro strategies highlighted in van Dijk's (1998) concept of the ideological square; that is to 'emphasise their negative properties', with the ultimate consequence of

downplaying, or even delegitimising, Japan's positive traits or achievements, if there are any, according to the British newsmagazine.

Table 131: Overview of appraisement across the 80 headlines

	Japan	United States-Japan relations	Part of speech	Appraisement	
Time	The **mighty** yen hits home	n/a	Adjective	Negative	Two out of two overtly negative appraisement, or 100%
	n/a	A **dangerous** US-Japan confrontation	Adjective	Negative	
The Economist	Japan's **protected** telecom	n/a	Adjective	Negative	Six out of six overtly negative appraisement, or 100%
	the big bad rabbit	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	Japan **über alles**	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	Japan's bed of **unsavoury** rice	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	The **new** threat from Japan is patience	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	Japan and the Gulf: **Timidly** rising sun	n/a	Adverb	Negative	
L'Express	Is Japan **at fault**?	n/a	Adjective	Can be positive or negative	One out of two overtly negative appraisement, or 50%
	Special Japan: The **third** shock	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
Der Spiegel	You **will never ever understand** Japan	n/a	Adverb and verb	Negative	Three out of three overtly negative appraisement, or 100%
	Japanese trade practices: Friendship alone **not enough**	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	n/a	**warning** shot across the bows of the Japanese	Adjective	Negative	

8.2.5.4 Japan in the lead texts: An insular, wealthy, and arrogant Japan, but an ally of the United States

It has been observed in Chapter 7 that the projected images of Japan, as regards the analysis of appraisement, in the lead texts of *Der Spiegel* and *The Economist* are predominantly and clearly negative, as demonstrated by the capulative Table 132 (33% for *Time*, 60% for *The Economist*, 50% for *L'Express*, and 80% for *Der Spiegel*). However, these findings were unanticipated, especially when West Germany was often represented to be associated with Japan in *The Economist*, which tended to suggest that Japanese and West German social actors were colluding with each other in issues related to business and trade against the interests of the United States and the United Kingdom (B8J, B12J, B14J, and B15J).

What is particularly striking was *L'Express*, which was observed to be the only newsmagazine among the four under study to appraise the country of its origin (France), where it was headquartered. Specifically, compared to Japan where one could reportedly accumulate wealth, France was described to be a place that was incapable of generating wealth ('outside its borders') and the French actors were helpless in anything

relating to the tension over foreign exchange with the United States and Japan, according to *L'Express.* A likely explanation is the editorial stance of the centre-right *L'Express*, which tends to favour the market economy.

Table 132: Overview of appraisement across the 80 lead texts

	Japan	United States	Part of speech	Appraisement	
Time	**Fear rattled** the country **like an earthquake**	n/a	Metaphor	Negative	Two out of six overtly negative appraisement or 33%
	suggesting darkly that foreign sailors frequenting Kobe's red-light district were to blame	n/a	Adverb and verb	Negative	
	Unemployment rate of **only** 3% is **cause for national anguish and alarm** in Japan	n/a	Adverb and expression	Can be positive or negative	
	Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is an **adroit** politician **tactician**	n/a	Adjective and noun	Positive	
	She is **sharp, stylish…heroine**	n/a	Adjective and noun	Positive	
	romance with a **dashing** economist	n/a	Adjective	Positive	
The Economist	Elusiveness, cleverness and fertility	n/a	Noun	Positive	Three out of five overtly negative appraisement or 60%
	Industry's **tortoise**	n/a	Noun	Negative	
	Remarkable ability to bounce back from whatever external shock	n/a	Adjective	Positive	
	Trade relations between Japan and the United States are at their **lowest** ebb		Adjective	Negative	
	Tokyo stockmarket is likely to **bust, absurd** price/earnings ratios, **crazy** property prices	n/a	Adjective and verb	Negative	
L'Express	**Not the first** trade **difficulties** between the United States and Japan	n/a	Adjective and noun	Negative	Three out of six overtly negative appraisement or 50%
	Trade **aggressivity**	n/a	Noun	Negative	
	Big three	**Big** three	Adjective	Can be positive or negative	
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
	Unemployment reaches **critical** threshold	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	Japanese government lowers its interest rate **- a step in the right direction**	n/a	Expression	Positive	
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
	How strong they are!	n/a	Expression	Positive	
Der Spiegel	**Self-confidence, superiority, arrogant**	n/a	Adjective	Negative	Four out of five overtly negative appraisement or 80%
	Horror in Japan due to retrenchment	n/a	Noun	Negative	
	With increasing bitterness, the Americans are responsing to the conquest strategy of Japanese chip manufacturers		Noun	Negative	
	Cheap Japanese imports	n/a	Adjective	Negative	
	n/a	Trade dispute between the USA and the Europeans is getting **worse*****	Adjective	Negative	
	Ally of the United States	n/a	Noun	Positive	

	West Germany*	France**	Europe***	Part of speech	Appraisement
Time	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
The Economist	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
L'Express	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Big three (West Germany)*	n/a	n/a	Adjective	Can be positive or negative
	n/a	The French **can hardly do anything about it** (France)**	n/a	Expression	Negative
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	France is **inclined** to see the drivers of wealth outside its borders**	n/a	Adjective	Negative
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Der Spiegel	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	n/a	n/a	Trade dispute between the USA and the Europeans is getting **worse*****	Adjective	Negative
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

8.2.6 Question 1: What are the prevailing ideological discourse(s) and dominant representations of China and Japan in *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*?

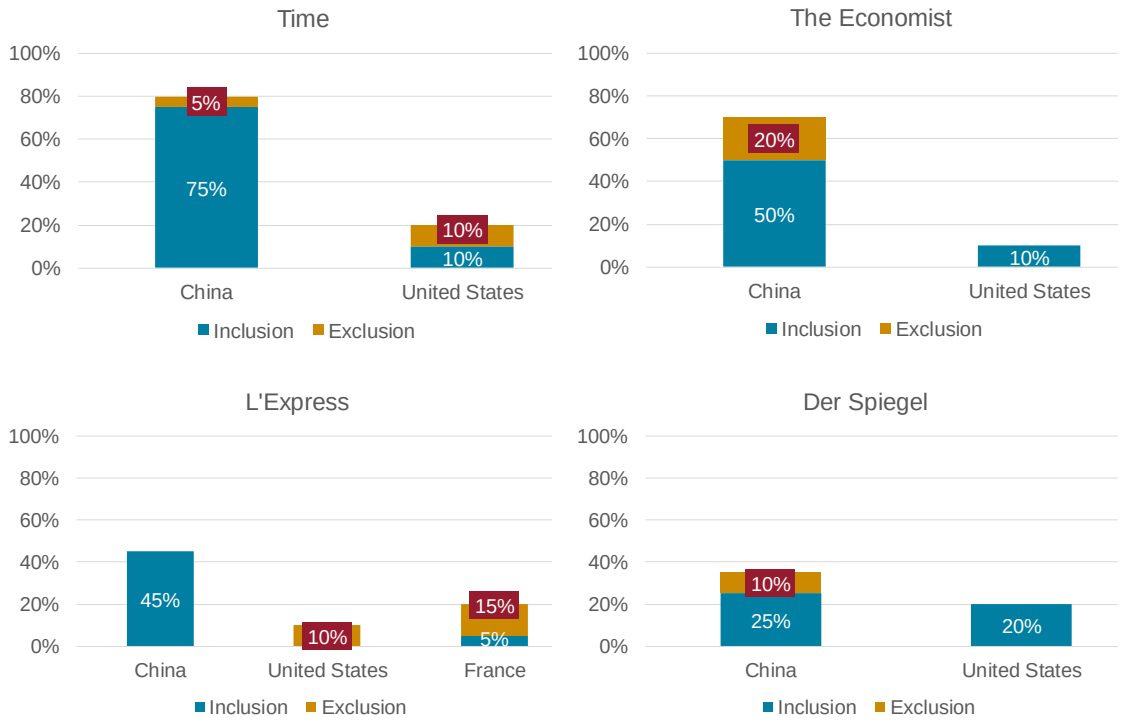
8.2.6.1 China in the headlines: China as the abuser and the West as the abused – China harms others to benefit itself

As far as the analysis of the activation and passivation processes is concerned, as shown in Chapter 4, all four newsmagazines have been shown to have had a propensity to allocate China an activated role at a higher frequency than that of the United States.

Unlike the other three newsmagazines, it is apparent from Figure 22 that *L'Express* is the only magazine that allocated France an activated (5%) and an passivated (15%) role more often than the passivated United States (10%). *Time* has been observed to portray China as assuming the activated role in the social practice depicted in the headlines.

Besides the quantitative approach, the qualitative examination of the participation, circumstantialisation, and possessivation processes employed in the headlines has revealed an image of an aggressive ('flexes its muscles' in *Time*; 'onslaught' in *Der Spiegel*), coercive ('forces' in *Der Spiegel*), confrontational ('takes aim' in *Time*, 'readies for showdown' in *L'Express*), exploitative ('plays the role' in *L'Express*; 'looks for' and 'presents' in *Der Spiegel*), greedy ('buys up', 'takeovers', and 'eaten by' in *The Economist*; 'nibbles at' in *L'Express*) China that stood ready to harm the others for its own benefit. In such a system, out-group members are attributed negative characteristics for the purpose of legitimising marginalisation or exclusion.

Figure 22: Overview of activation/passivation across the 80 headlines



8.2.6.2 China in the headlines: China is largely identitied as a copyright violator, innovator, producer, and even economic role model

According to the list of the identification devices (see Table 133), it emerged in Chapter 4 that *Time* had the tendency to portray China as a potential economic model for developing countries, while *The Economist* and *Der Spiegel* have been observed to

make allusion to the communist nature of China's political system through the evocation of 'Mao' and 'state economy'. *L'Express*, on the other hand, adopted a bolder approach by alluding to China as the 'master' of the world, in which it commands the 'second-largest economy'. What distinguishes *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel* from *Time* and *The Economist*, however, is the inclination of the French and German newsmagazines to conjure up an image of an experimental, innovative China ('laboratory'). Further, while *Der Spiegel* associated China with the production of goods ('factory'), *L'Express* evoked an image of a copyright violator China that was described as the 'top source of counterfeits' in France. All in all, the application of identification can be said to have revealed a relatively neutral image of China, as the negative connotations have been largely overshadowed by the positive.

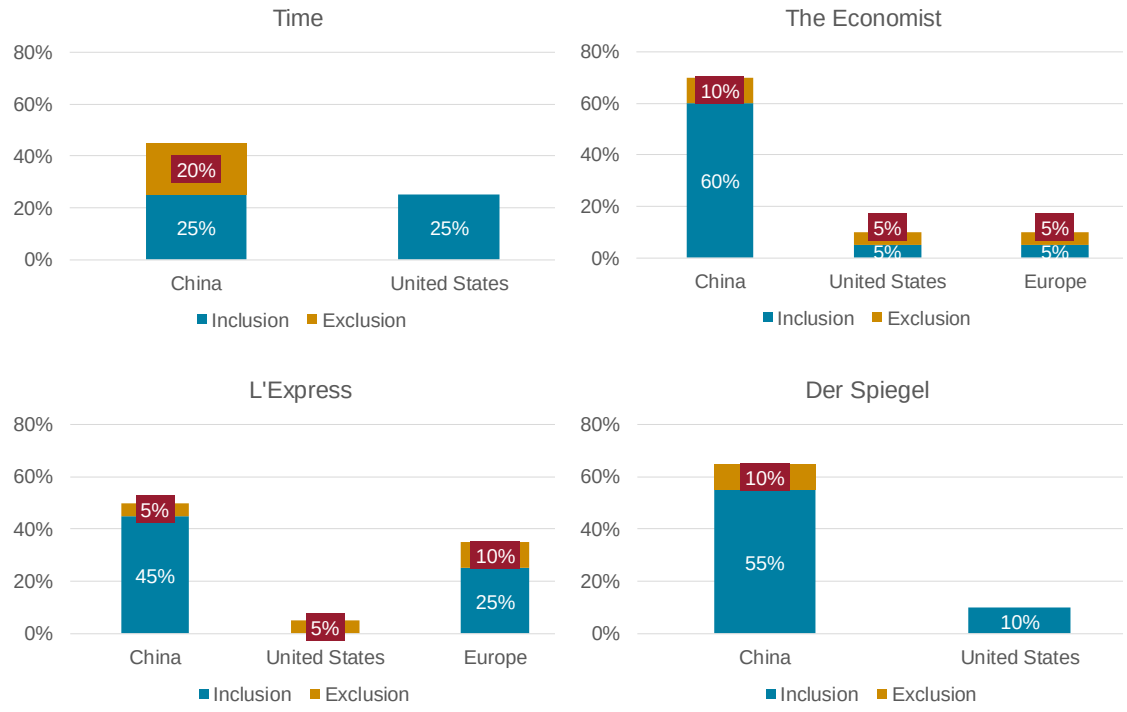
Table 133: Overview of identification across the 80 headlines

	Identification		
	China	United States	France
Time	New economic model, best role model for the developing world?	n/a	n/a
The Economist	Mao, red mist, the next China	n/a	n/a
L'Express	Chinese prodigy, laboratory of the world, master of the world, second-largest economic power, top source of counterfeits in France	n/a	Accomplice, servility
Der Spiegel	State economy, laboratory of the future, world's factory, enemy	n/a	n/a

8.2.6.3 China in the lead texts: China as both the abused and the abusor – China not only harms others to benefit itself, but also harms itself

Turning to the analysis of the activation and passivation processes in Chapter 5, the Western newsmagazines under study have all demonstrated their propensity to allocate China an activated role at a higher frequency than that of the United States, with the exception of *Time*. Linking this observation to that of *L'Express*, in which France (25%) is activated more often than the United States (0%), as shown in Figure 23, it can therefore be assumed that the American and French perspectives tended to depict the United States and France, respectively, as the major powers that have the ability to initiate the social practice vis-à-vis China in the lead texts.

Figure 23: Overview of activation/passivation across the 80 headlines



Besides the quantitative approach, a qualitative examination of the participation, circumstantialisation, and possessivation processes employed in the headlines have revealed an image of an aggressive (‘repeated attacks’ in *Time*; ‘exacerbates’ and ‘thwarted’ in *Der Spiegel*), concessive (‘has attempted to appease anger’ in *Time*), self-destructive (‘censorship’, ‘problems potentially facing’, ‘headed for trouble’, ‘repeated attacks’ in *Time*; ‘harms the country itself’ in *Der Spiegel*), expansionist (‘desire to expand’ and ‘takeover’ in *Der Spiegel*), exploitative (‘could be buying’ in *L’Express*; ‘offers of investments’ and ‘are using the weakness’ in *Der Spiegel*), booming (‘boom’, ‘share of world markets increased’, ‘rise’ in *The Economist*; ‘rapid rise’ in *Der Spiegel*), struggling (‘grapples’ in *The Economist*) China that not only harms others for its own benefit, but also itself. This predominantly negative image of China, however, stands in contrast with that of Shanghai depicted in *L’Express*, which relied on the action verbs ‘hosting’ and ‘shows’ to paint a showcase Chinese city.

8.2.6.4 China in the lead texts: United States as a capitalistic, democratic country in the lead texts of *Time*, versus China as a communist, fragile emerging superpower and global workshop in the other three newsmagazines

As Chapter 5 has revealed (see Table 134), although *Time* did not represent China in this category, it did present the United States as a capitalistic, democratic country. In comparison, the other three newsmagazines all attempted to disclose China's identities to the reader, although these representations have been observed to differ among the three newsmagazines. *The Economist*, for instance, has been found to be more likely to make allusion to the emergence of a new world order, which is purported to be increasingly shaped by the arrival of a new superpower (China) that not only has *the* second-largest financial system, but it is also *the* workshop of the world.

In the same way, *Der Spiegel* also – to a certain extent – adopted a similar strategy to underline the creation of a new world order, as exemplifed by its description of China as the world's second-largest 'power'. However, *Der Spiegel* has been found to differ from *The Economist* by also emphasising the communist nature of China's political and economic governance, with phrases such as 'communist government', 'state system', 'communist authorities', 'guided industry', 'state-owned enterprises', and 'communist capitalists'. The constant depiction of China as an expansionist is in line with a report by the Berlin-based Global Public Policy Institute, succintly entitled "Authoritarian advance" (Benner et al., 2018), in which Europe is called upon to respond to China's growing influence on the continent (ibid, p. 2).

What distinguishes *L'Express* from *The Economist* and *Der Spiegel* is the inclination of the former to foreground China's identity as an emerging economy, albeit the most important one among the developing countries. This is followed by *L'Express'* emphasis on the irony and contradictions facing China, which remains a poor nation despite it being the world's second wealthiest country. In consideration of the aforementioned analysis on the identification in the lead texts of the four newsmagazines, the overall projected image of China is thus of a fragile emerging superpower, whose state-run, communist form of governance runs counter to that of the more liberal, democratic West.

Table 134: Overview of identification across the 80 lead texts

	Identification	
	China	United States
Time	n/a	capitalist, democracy
The Economist	New superpower, world's second-largest financial system, workshop of the world	n/a
L'Express	Showcase city, Chinese manufacturer, emerging countries (first and foremost China), second wealthiest country in the world is also a poor country, Chinese government	n/a
Der Spiegel	communist government, state system, communist authorities, guided industry, state-owned companies, world's second-largest power, communist capitalists	n/a

8.2.6.5 China in the lead texts: Widening rift between a reportedly mercantilist, expansionist China and the individualised Western social actors

As Table 135 summarised from Chapter 5 demonstrates, *The Economist* and *Der Spiegel* have been observed to portray China without the semantic feature "human". In the case of *The Economist*, it tends to construct an image of (i) a labour-intensive China as exemplified by 'the workshop of the world', (ii) an export-driven China that is concerned about its 'share of world markets', and (iii) a corporate China as epitomised by 'the Chinese firm'. Taken together, the dominant image portrayed in the lead texts of *The Economist* is that of a mercantilist China, which exports massively through a deliberately undervalued currency, cheap labour, and foreign investments. *Der Spiegel*, on the other hand, is more likely to strike a slightly more alarming tone by alluding to an expansionist China, as exemplified by its advance in Africa (G17C). Such images coincide with Godement and Vasselier's (2017, p. 2) take on China's contradiction that the country is in the process of political and mercantilist closure that undercuts its own surface support for globalisation.

What is particularly striking from the application of personalisation/impersonalisation can be traced to the lead texts of *Time* and *Der Spiegel*. As regards *Time*, it has emerged that the newsmagazine humanised the American social actors more frequently than the Chinese social actors. This is achieved through the use of the pronoun 'I', and the disclosure of the full names ('Sergey Brin', 'John Markin', 'James Chanos', 'Tim Geithner', and 'Robert Willard') of the American social actors interviewed, along with a detailed declaration of their occupations, in comparison to the generic references ('Beijing's policymakers') made to the Chinese social actors. When it comes to *Der Spiegel*, the Chinese social actors are personalised in the form of 'workers', similarly to the African social actors, whereas the American

social actors are portrayed to be senators, diplomats, and a university professor, further accentuating the socio-economic occupational differences between the two groups. Overall, it has been found that the American and French social actors are more highly likely to be assigned onymity than the Chinese participants.

Table 135: Overview of personalisation/impersonalisation across the 80 lead texts

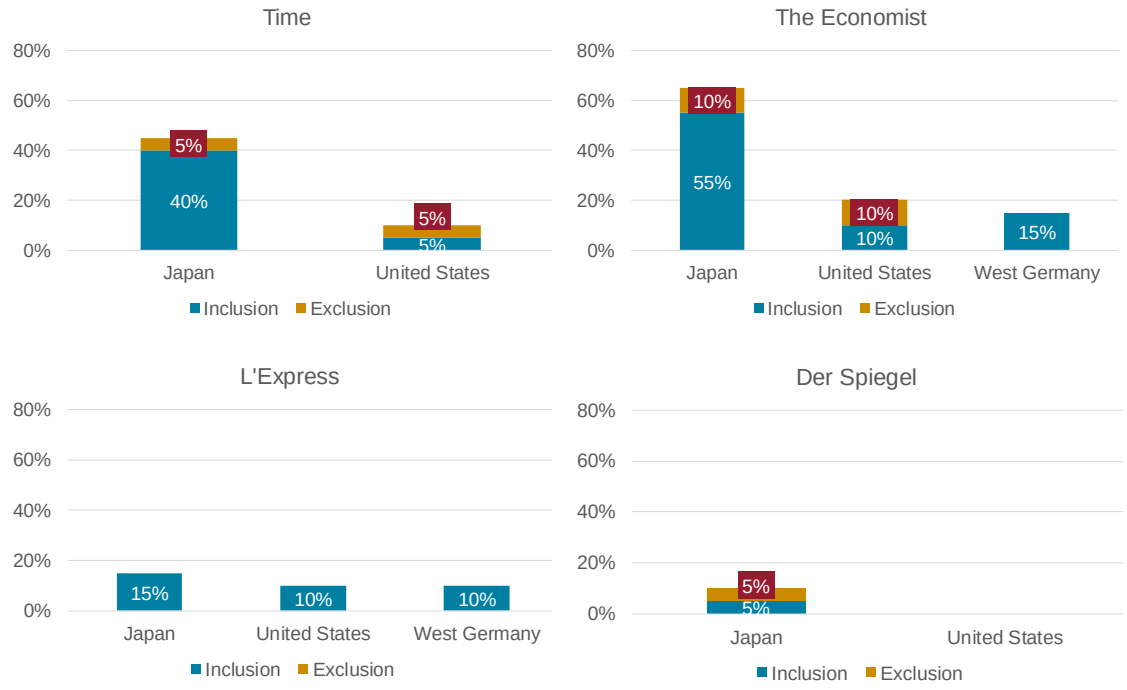
	China			United States		
	Personalisation	Impersonalisation		Personalisation	Impersonalisation	
		Objectivation	Abstraction		Objectivation	Abstraction
Time	Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao, Beijng's policymakers	n/a	n/a	I, Google co-founder Sergey Brin, economist John Markin, hedge-fund hocho James Chanos, US Treasury Secretary Tim Geithner, Admiral Robert Willard, senators	n/a	n/a
The Economist	n/a	Currency, Chinese firm, workshop of the world	China's share of world markets,	n/a	n/a	America's diplomacy
L'Express	Chinese President Hu Jintao,	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Der Spiegel	Comrades, China's workers, investors	n/a	China's advance	Senator, professor Rogoff, US diplomats	n/a	n/a
	United Kingdom* / Africa**			France		
	Personalisation	Impersonalisation		Personalisation	Impersonalisation	
		Objectivation	Abstraction		Objectivation	Abstraction
Time	Martin Jacques*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
The Economist	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
L'Express	n/a	n/a	n/a	De Gaulle, Nicolas Sarkozy, president of the Association Solidarity China Marie Holzman	n/a	n/a
Der Spiegel	African workers**	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

8.2.6.6 Japan in the headlines: Japan as both the abuser and the abused, and the West as the abused – Japan harms others to benefit itself, at our and its own expense

As far as the analysis of the activation and passivation processes is concerned, Chapter 6 has demonstrated that all four newsmagazines had the propensity to allocate Japan with an activated role at a higher frequency than that of the United States, with the exception of *Der Spiegel*, in which Japan was the only participant involved in this category. There are two particularly noticeable trends that have emerged from the data: (i) *The Economist* and *Time* were more likely to activate Japan at a much higher frequency than the United States and West Germany, compared to the approach undertaken by *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel*, and (ii) the focus of activation has revealed that *The Economist* activated West Germany (15%) at a higher frequency than the United States (10%), and that *L'Express* activated the United States and France equally at 10% each (see Figure 24).

According to these correlations, there is evidence to suggest that (i) *Time* and *The Economist* were more likely to project a shared Anglo-American perspective on Japan, compared to the Franco-German perspective, (ii) *The Economist* tended to allude to the connection between Japan and West Germany, and (iii) *L'Express* had the tendency to report the involvement of its country (France), similarly to that of *Time* with the United States, in world affairs, unlike *The Economist* and *Der Spiegel* where the United Kingdom and West Germany, respectively, took on a less significant role.

Figure 24: Overview of activation/passivation across the 80 headlines



Besides the quantitative approach, an examination of the participation, circumstantialisation, and possessivation processes employed in the headlines has also revealed an image of inexperience ('learns to sprint' and 'is prepared to join' in *The Economist*), concessive ('bow to' in *The Economist*; 'makes amends' in *L'Express*, 'want to accommodate' in *Der Spiegel*), confrontational ('confrontational' and 'face-off' in *Time*), irritable ('lose its temper' in *The Economist*), opportunistic ('to the rescue' in *The Economist*), and protectionist ('protected' in *The Economist*) Japan that stood ready to harm the others and harm itself. In such a system, out-group members are attributed negative characteristics for the purpose of legitimising marginalisation or exclusion.

8.2.6.7 Japan in the headlines: A corporate and technologically advanced Japan that challenges American hegemony

As regards the list of the identification devices, it has emerged from Chapter 6 that *Time* was the only magazine that did not assign an identity to Japan in this representational category. By contrast, *The Economist* clearly attempted to insinuate the close relationship between the Japanese government and the nation's business sector by adding the abbreviated adjective 'Inc.' (incorporated) to it. Such a strategy differs from that employed by *Der Spiegel*, which has been observed to make allusion to (i) Japan's inexperience in a particular field of competence, and (ii) Japan's speculative nature due to its use of 'zaitech' to raise profits by investing money borrowed at low interest rates.

What is particularly interesting is the identification of both Japan and the United States in the headlines of *L'Express*, in which Japan is represented as one of the 'masters of the world', while the United States is distinctly identified as the 'empire'. By presenting Japan in the plural form of the noun 'master', this strategy has exposed the French magazine's subtle approach in alluding to an American-led global order ('empire'), in which Japan undoubtedly also had substantial influence in the world. To put it bluntly, Japan is depicted as 'one of the masters of the world', not 'the master of the world' (see Table 136).

Table 136: Overview of identification across the 80 headlines

	Identification	
	Japan	United States
Time	n/a	n/a
The Economist	Japan Inc.	n/a
L'Express	Masters of the world	Empire
Der Spiegel	Child, zaitech	n/a

8.2.6.8 Japan in the headlines: From a competitive Japan that challenges American supremacy, to an inexperienced competitor, and even a big bad rabbit,

As Table 137, summarised from Chapter 6 demonstrates, *Der Spiegel* is the only newsmagazine that did not resort to the devices of impersonalisation to represent Japan. Rather, it choose to humanise Japan in the form of a child, with the objective to accentuate the country's inexperience in a particular field of speciality, which was not clear merely by reading the headline concerned. While Japan is represented as inexperienced according to the perspective of the German magazine, *Time* has been found to construct an image of (i) a competitive Japan ('whiff of blood'), (ii) a Japan

with a strong currency, and (iii) a Japan that is reluctant to raise it military budget significantly. What is striking about the pattern, which has emerged from the data, is the revelation of the different strategies adopted by *The Economist* and *L'Express* to represent Japan and the United States. While *The Economist* has been observed to dehumanise Japan with the help of negative attributes, such as 'big bad rabbit', 'unsavoury rice', and 'timidly rising sun', *L'Express* not only made abstract references ('currency') to Japan, but also alluded to America's currency policy and empire.

Table 137: Overview of personalisation/impersonalisation across the 80 headlines

	Japan			United States		
	Personalisation	Impersonalisation		Personalisation	Impersonalisation	
		Objectivation	Abstraction		Objectivation	Abstraction
Time	Foxy biz whiz	mighty yen, whiff of blood	1.004% solution	n/a	n/a	n/a
The Economist	n/a	big bad rabbit, unsavoury rice, timidly rising sun	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
L'Express	n/a	n/a	Yen has no colour, yen's surge	n/a	n/a	About-turn in the dollar, defending the empire
Der Spiegel	Child	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

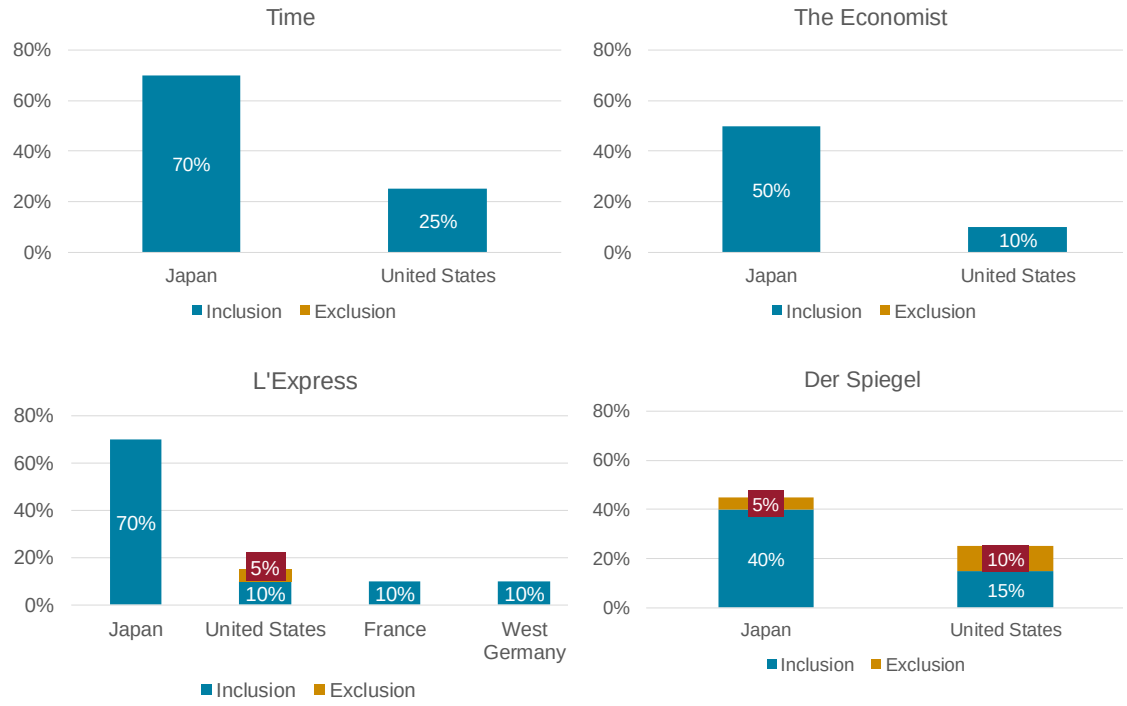
8.2.6.9 Japan in the lead texts: Japan as both the abuser and the abused, and the West as the abused – Japan harms others to benefit itself, but also harms itself

Turning to the analysis of the activation and passivation processes in Chapter 7, many images were associated with Japan, according to the application of activation, and they ranged from an (i) aggressive ('annihilation', 'conquest strategy', 'destroying', 'export offensive' and 'offensive of goodwill' in *Der Spiegel*), (ii) arrogant ('consider themselves', 'they think they have', 'They want to make' in *Der Spiegel*), (iii) competitive ('likes to get a head start' in *The Economist*; 'launch' in *Der Spiegel*), greedy ('amassing' and 'buy' in *The Economist*), and self-destructive ('will have a costly and inefficient', 'push for much-needed reforms' in *The Economist*) Japan, to a concessive ('had tried to get' in *The Economist*; 'to appease anger' in *L'Express*), adaptable ('invest heavily' and 'adapt themselves' in *L'Express*), successful ('adjusting to the challenges', 'controlling inflation', 'moving industries out of', 'bounce back' in *The Economist*; 'formidable rise in power' in *L'Express*; 'export successes' in *Der Spiegel*), and manufacturing ('producing', 'diversifying' in *The Economist*) Japan.

What is striking is the overall emergence of the consistent discursive representation of a Japan that not only harms others for its own benefit, but also itself. In agreement with van Dijk's ideological square, such a strategy thus has the effect of

de-legitimising Japan's actions by emphasising its negative properties (1998, p. 258), which were further intensified by the portrayal of a disciplinary United States that sought to mete out punitive measures against Japan's behaviour, as exemplified by the use of action verbs ('called for a crackdown', 'fired' and 'imposed' in *Time*). As a consequence, the hegemonic role of American power in the world was reinforced, as was also observed by the use of the action verb 'rules the world' in *Der Spiegel*.

Figure 25: Overview of activation/passivation across the 80 lead texts



8.2.6.1.0 Japan in the lead texts: While Japan was viewed as an intimidating country in Continental Europe, it was not treated as a serious threat by the Anglo-Americans

With the exception of *Time*, Table 138 demonstrates that *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel* were found to have the tendency to portray Japan without the semantic feature "human". While *The Economist* relied on metonymic devices to associate Japan with being the tortoise of the car industry, for the purpose of alluding to its slow-moving action in achieving something, *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel* painted a threatening Japan by making references to the teeth of a giant and a godzilla, respectively. Although it could be argued that the two newsmagazines from Continental Europe had a greater likelihood to resort to the employment of lexemes relating to the field of large creatures (giant, godzilla) for the objective of striking an alarming image

of Japan, these differences can be explained in part by the different newsmagazines' perspectives on the relationship between their country of origin and Japan.

Bluntly put, while *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel* were more likely to see Japan as a powerful, intimidating country, in contrast to *The Economist* that saw a non-threatening Japan in the form of a small, slow-moving animal, as well as *Time* that did not even view, or want to see, Japan as being capable or large enough to pose any existential threat to American hegemony. As Stankowich and Blumstein (2005, p. 5) explain, larger size foregrounds the apparent size differences between predator (in this case, Japan) and prey and can thus increase the perceived threat posed by the former.

Table 138: Overview of personalisation/impersonalisation across the 80 lead texts

	Japan			United States			France* / West Germany**		
	Personalisation	Impersonalisation		Personalisation	Impersonalisation		Personalisation	Impersonalisation	
		Objectivation	Abstraction		Objectivation	Abstraction		Objectivation	Abstraction
Time	Japanese prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, Sawako Matsumoto, Yozo Matsuoka	n/a	n/a	Reagan, Lee Iacocca	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
The Economist	Japanese prime minister Nakasone, Japanese businessmen, Noboru Takeshita	Tortoise	n/a	American politicians, Mr James, Baker, policymakers,	n/a	n/a	European politicians	n/a	n/a
L'Express	Iwai Nakatani	Teeth of the giant	n/a	Americans, US Treasury Secretary, Reagan	n/a	n/a	Christian Sautter*, French President*, Europeans*	n/a	n/a
Der Spiegel	Japanese, Toshihiko Yamashita	Godzilla	export wave, offensive of goodwill	Americans, President Reagan, Pete Wilson	USA	n/a	Tiziano Terzani**, Europeans**	n/a	n/a

8.3 Discussions and Conclusions

The answers and explanations provided in Sections 8.2.1 to 8.2.6 have shown that China and Japan were largely depicted in an unfavourable manner in the headlines and lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*. Although both countries were mostly shown in a bad light, it has been found that the degree of negativity in the representation differs (i) between China and Japan and (ii) among the four Western newsmagazines.

The results of the analysis thus confirmed the first hypothesis (see Sections 1.4 and 8.1) that China was not only reported on more unfavourably in 2010 than Japan in 1987 by the Western newsmagazines in terms of the depth of negativity but that China was also represented across a broader range of areas spanning economics, politics, and military affairs. This compares to the representation of Japan on issues predominantly relating to the economy in the four Western newsmagazines.

Furthermore, it has emerged that all the four Western newsmagazines tended to centre their coverage on the United States and China in 2010, and on the United States and Japan in 1987. The findings obtained from the empirical research have also clearly confirmed the second hypothesis (see Sections 1.4 and 8.1) that the Western newsmagazines, in particular *L'Express*, did not speak in one collective voice regarding their coverage of China and Japan.

Trade wars are largely shaped by economic and political realities (Sieren, 2018; Irwin, 2017; Watanabe, 2017), which influence the way China and Japan are represented in the Western newsmagazines. In other words, the representation of China and Japan in 2010 and 1987, respectively, reflected the contemporary economic and political circumstances, thus affecting bilateral relations and foreign policies (see Sections 2.3.2.2, 2.3.2.3, and 2.3.2.4).

In this context, Section 8.3 centres its focus on the discussion of the two hypotheses (see Sections 8.3.1 and 8.3.2), in particular with relation to the key influencing factors identified in this thesis. They include (i) the increasing challenges to America's hegemony posed by the Economic Other (China in 2010 and Japan in 1987; see Section 8.3.1.1), (ii) challenges to the existing Western-led global economic governance posed by a Political Other (China; see Section 8.3.1.2), (iii) the ideological leanings of the four newsmagazines (Section 8.3.1.3), and (iv) the reason for the divergence of *L'Express* from the other three Western newsmagazines (see Section 8.3.2.1).

This is followed by Section 8.3.3, which attempts to challenge van Dijk's (1998a) ideological square on the basis of the findings from the theoretical perspective. Finally, Section 8.3.4 concludes Section 8.3 by providing an overview of the latest development in the trade war that erupted between the United States and China in 2018.

8.3.1 Hypothesis 1: China was Reported more Unfavourably than Japan

8.3.1.1 Challenging America's Hegemony by an Economic Other

The application of van Dijk's (1980) macro-rules and van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic categories through their linguistic realisations has revealed that the four Western newsmagazines tended to centre their coverage on China and the United States in 2010 (see Sections 8.2.3.1 and 8.2.3.2) and on Japan and the United States in 1987 (see Sections 8.2.3.3, 8.2.3.4, 8.2.6.7, and 8.2.6.8). These findings have further reinforced the notion put forth by previous studies (see Mahbubani, 2018; Tunsjø, 2018; Allison, 2017; Nye, 2015; Dyer, 2014) that these media have the tendency to focus on the competition between the established superpower (the United States) and the emerging economic superpower in the form of the economic other like China in 2010 and Japan in 1987.

At issue here, however, is thus not whether China has the largest population and the second-largest economy in the world, whether the United States is still the world's most powerful nation, or even whether the economy of China is about to overtake that of the United States (or for that matter, whether Japan was about to overtake the United States in the 1980s), but it is more concerned about the 'So what?' questions. As Pan (2013, p. 10) explained, often what matters is 'not purely reality but an interpreted and contested reality'. I n other words, the real questions are 'What does that mean for China, the United States, and for the world, and what to do about it?' Cartier wrote:

> The question that now arises is whether this rise in power will be accompanied by profound social transformations and a conversion to the liberal values of the West, including democracy and consumer habits, or whether the country, even before it becomes the driving force of the world economy, would not be tempted to assert its cultural uniqueness at the risk of posing a challenge to the West.[70] (2015, p. 15)

[70] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'La question qui se pose désormais est celle de savoir si cette montée en puissance s'accompagnera de transformations sociales profondes ainsi que d'une conversion aux valeurs libérales de l'Occident, y compris la démocratie et les habitudes de

As China surpassed Japan to become the world's second-largest economy in 2010 (see Section 1.3.1), it also led to fears that it would not only attempt to challenge the status quo by putting an end to the Western-led liberal international order (Ikenberry, 2018; Duncombe and Dunne, 2018) but would also lead to greater conflict with the United States (Allison, 2017; Watanabe, 2017). The United States had no credible rivals after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 until the eruption of the global financial crisis in 2008 (see Section 1.2.3), when China arguably achieved superpower status (Nye, 2015; Fukuyama, 2015; Dyer, 2014). Consequently, the focus on China and the United States across the headlines and lead texts of all four newsmagazines in 2010 reflects the economic realities underpinning a new world order, which is increasingly shaped by the world's two largest superpowers (see Sections 8.2.4.1 and 8.2.5.2).

If such a realist interpretation of the geopolitical struggle between the United States and China turns out to be true, China's growing power is thus likely to bring it into conflict with the reigning hegemon, the United States (Allison, 2017; Mearsheimer, 2003). As the theory of the Thucydides' trap put forth by Allison (2017) postulates, war would be inevitable between a rising power and an established power. It is in this context that an outcome as dire as a war between the world's two largest countries would not only have severe implications for international politics and the global economy but would also have the ability to profoundly affect the society in which we all live. As Zhu Hong Bing wrote in the fourth volume of the Chinese bestseller, *Currency Wars*:

> Over the next ten years, large countries will undergo profound changes. It will also be a decade that is filled with risks and challenges. Over the past thirty years, China and the United States have undergone fundamental changes due to the foundation of their cooperation based on geopolitical and economic interests.[71] (2012, p. 281)

8.3.1.2 Western-led Global Economic Governance Threatened by a Political Other

The rapid rise of China on the global stage marks an important turning point in the world economy whose growth is increasingly driven by emerging markets. It has the

consommation, ou si le pays, avant même d'accéder à la situation de moteur de l'économie mondiale ne serait pas tenté d'affirmer sa singularité culturelle au risque de constituer un défi pour l'Occident'.

[71] Author's translation into English from the original text in Chinese: 未来 10 年、将是大国格局发生深远变化的 10 年，也是充满危险和挑战的 10 年。"中美国"在过去 30 年里由于地缘政治和经济利益所建立起来的合作基础，将发生根本性的变化。

potential to profoundly transform the Western-led global economic architecture, which is gradually evolving to reflect the structural changes that have taken place over the past few decades (Rudolph and Szonyi, 2018; Paulson, 2016; Carter, 2014; Cox, 2012). China overtook the United States as the world's largest economy in terms of purchasing-power parity in 2014, and it is widely expected to bridge the gap with the United States in nominal terms in the foreseeable future (Golub, 2016; Chan, 2014). In other words, China is now in a position to co-author the rules of international commerce, trade, and economy. Hence, it will become increasingly pertinent for not only Washington, but also other Western countries, such as France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, to determine how their countries could play a role in shaping this emerging China-centric global economic system.

Along with a series of development and investment initiatives, such as the New Silk Road and Maritime Silk Road, the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) reflects China's rising geo-economic clout in the region and the world (Tunsjø, 2018; Sakhuja and Chan, 2016). The importance of these initiatives should not be underestimated since they challenge the authority of traditional rule makers – principally the industrialised countries – to set the international agenda and to shape the world economy (Golub, 2016, pp. 132-133). In addition, the decision of 57 countries – with the exception of the world's major economies, such as the United States and Japan – to join the AIIB suggests that a shift towards a new world economic order, which is increasingly shaped by China, is well under way. As Godefroy also argued:

> China's ambition is to influence international financial institutions from the inside, and one strand of this is asserting the yuan as a global reserve currency. The other is to create parallel and complementary institutions that will allow for the yuan's internationalisation without convertibility. (2016, p. 1)

In contrast to Japan, which shares similar democratic values to the West (see Section 1.5.1), China's political system generates greater fear in the West. This is apparent from the dominant representation of China as an 'authoritarian' (see Section 8.2.5.1), 'communist' (see Section 8.2.6.4), 'copyright violator' (see Section 8.2.6.2), 'expansionist' (see Section 8.2.6.5) country, in comparison to the prevailing representation of Japan as an 'insular' (see Section 8.2.5.4), 'arrogant' (see Section 8.2.5.4), 'technologically advanced' (see Section 8.2.6.7), yet 'aggressive in business' (Section 8.2.5.3) nation and a West that is reportedly 'democratic' and 'capitalistic' (Section

8.2.6.4). In other words, a political other (China) increasingly presiding over a Western-led global economic governance results in greater media attention.

8.3.1.3 Ideological Leanings of the Newsmagazines

The ideological leaning (liberal/conservative) of the Western newsmagazines is an important element influencing the construction of discourse on China and Japan. This is because the ideology of a discourse is not always immediately transparent, as many producers of the discourse will try to conceal their ideologies and hence their interests (van Dijk, 2008, p. 34). In this context, the editors or journalists will be those deciding who and what topics are to be included (or excluded) to match their ideological stance, depending on the agreed practices of the news providers. This supports van Dijk's argument that the editors or journalists will seek to influence the cognitive functions of the reader by reproducing their editorial ideologies in such a way that they are accepted as 'socially representative of the general or natural system of values, norms, and goals of the same social group' (van Dijk, 2008, p. 34).

Although the political position of the newsmagazines is not one of the key reasons for choosing *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel* (see Section 3.2.2), it is to be reiterated that *Time* and *Der Spiegel* are liberal (centre left), while *L'Express* is more conservative (centre right), as stated in Sections 3.2.2.1, 3.2.2.2, 3.2.2.3, and 3.2.2.4. Regarding *The Economist*, the editorial stance of the newsmagazine states that it is neither liberal nor conservative since it favours free enterprise, deregulation and privatisation, supports gay marriage and the legalisation of drugs, and disapproves monarchy (*The Economist*, 2013, para. 2-3). The administration of van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory of social-actor representation and van Dijk's macro-rules have revealed differences between the liberal (*Time*, *Der Spiegel*) and conservative (*L'Express*) newsmagazines in their coverage of China and Japan.

For example, the findings from *L'Express*, which lamented the absence of wealth drivers in France due to the country's imposition of high taxes on the affluent (F4J) compared to the wealthier countries like Japan and the United States, was a notable example of the role played by political leanings. As Sieraczek-Laporte (2013, p. x) explained, those on the right-wing spectrum of the French political ideology opposed the imposition of taxes on the wealthy following the election of centre-left François Mitterrand as the president of France.

8.3.2 Hypothesis 2: The West did not Speak in One Collective Voice

8.3.2.1 Discrepancy between *L'Express* and the Other Three Newsmagazines

The discrepancy in the attribution of blame for the trade offensive between *L'Express* ('America's trade offensive') and *Der Spiegel* ('Japan's trade offensive') in 1987 was largely related to the different national interests of France and West Germany vis-à-via the United States and Japan during that period (see Section 8.2.1.2). Beginning with France, according to the perspective of *L'Express*, this reflects French political interests in opposing an international system that was characterised by an American-Soviet hegemony during the Cold War. As Kohl (2015, p. 165) explained, under the leadership of General Charles de Gaulle, France viewed a bipolar international system dominated by Moscow and Washington with great hostility and was thus suspicious of all efforts by the Soviet Union and the United States to negotiate nuclear-arms accords that protected the monopoly positions of the two superpowers at the expense of smaller states. This is in line with previous studies (see Alarcón, 2014; Gallis, 2006) on French foreign policy, which was widely known for its independence in policy-making, both with its European counterparts and the United States.

For West Germany, the explanations for *Der Spiegel*'s attribution of responsibility to Japan were due to the economic and foreign policy of West Germany in the 1980s. First, as Table 1 in Chapter 1 demonstrated, Japan was the third-largest exporter of merchandise in the world in 1987, after West Germany and the United States. Inevitably, Japan posed a competitive threat to the economy of West Germany, particularly when both countries competed for global market share in the car, semiconductor, and technology industries. Second, West Germany was an ally of the United States, which helped rebuild post-war German infrastructure and economy through the Marshall Plan. This had the effect of ensuring that West Germany, among other European countries, remained in the US-led liberal order and anti-Soviet bloc, especially given the Cold War rivalry between the two superpowers of that time, the United States and the Soviet Union (Lemza, 2016, pp. 95-96).

Turning to the coverage of China, *L'Express* has also been found to differ from the other three Western newsmagazines. This is evidenced in its focus on the prevailing topics (Section 8.2.1.1) vis-à-vis China, and its emphasis on the unprincipled business dealings between China and French political and economic actors (Section 8.2.4.2). While it may be argued that the coverage of China was largely due to the tendency of the French to engage in self-criticism (Essif, 2013; Abel, 1993), it is also worthwhile to

highlight the importance of Sino-French bilateral relations. As the lead text of F9C demonstrated, *L'Express* reminded the reader about the historical background of Franco-Chinese diplomatic relations by evoking an eminent historical figure as important as Charles de Gaulle, who played an important role in enabling the establishment of diplomatic relations between France and China in 1964. As Puel wrote:

> Chinese diplomats tried to establish links with European countries that stand out from American "imperalism", first and foremost General de Gaulle's France. Diplomatic relations were established between Paris and Beijing in 1964.[72] (2013, p. 50)

Furthermore, China's impressive economic growth over the past three decades highly resembles France's 30-year rapid economic expansion in the aftermath of the Second World War, otherwise known as the 'The Glorious Thirty'. This is best summarised in French journalist Caroline Puel's (2013) book entitled *The Chinese Glorious Thirty*[73], which alludes to China's economic growth corresponding to that of France.

8.3.3 Socio-Cognitive Level: Challenging van Dijk's Ideological Square

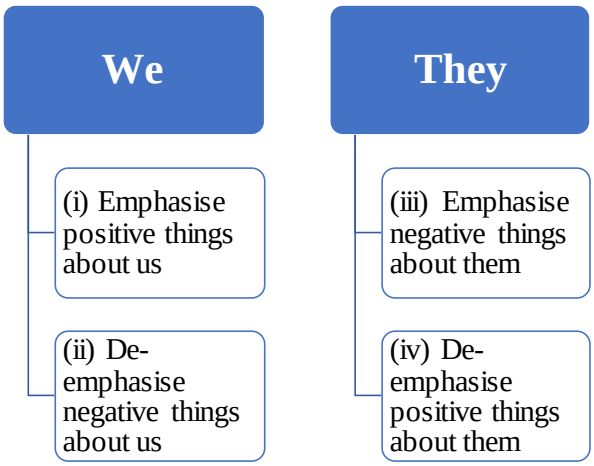
The previous section offered answers to the research questions and discussed the influencing factors and real-life implications of the findings obtained from the empirical research conducted in this thesis in relation to the two hypotheses. This section, however, discusses the theoretical implications of the findings in relation to van Dijk's (1998a) concept of the ideological square indicated in the literature review (Chapter 2). To recapitulate, van Dijk's (1998a, p. 267) ideological square is a four-strategy ideological intergroup discourse, which is based on the socio-cognitive approach that ideologies influencing the choice of discursive patterns are inherently cognitive (see Section 2.2.2.3).

In essence, van Dijk (1998a, p. 267) encapsulated the macro semantic strategies of emphasising the positive aspects of the in-group and concurrently foregrounding the negative aspects of the out-group (see Figure 26). This is because, if the mental models that control the content of discourse are polarised, the discourse will also show various

[72] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: "Les diplomates chinois s'efforcent d'établir des liens avec les pays européens qui se démarquent de « l'impéralisme » américain, au premier rang desquels la France du général de Gaulle. Des relations diplomatiques sont établies entre Paris et Pékin en 1964".
[73] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'Les Trente Glorieuses Chinoises' (Puel, 2013).

types of polarisation (van Dijk, 2006, p. 734). This means that it will affect the cognitive functions of the reader and influence the way news is understood.

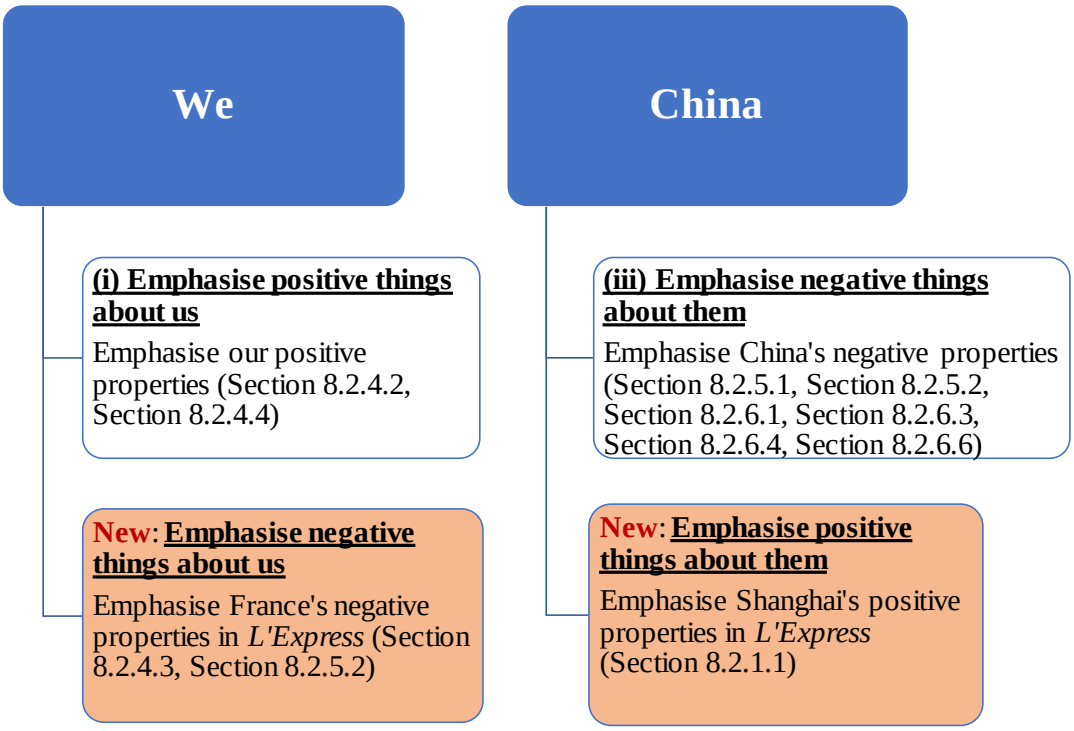
Figure 26: Van Dijk's four-strategy classification of ideological square



8.3.3.1 Dominant Ideological Discourses on China

The results in Section 8.2 revealed that the four newsmagazines resorted to the creation of an 'us versus them' narrative, which designated China in the discursive out-group pitted against the interests of those identified as belonging to the in-group. Therefore, these results largely corroborate van Dijk's (1998a) theory of the ideological square, which postulates that the negative properties of the out-group (China in this case) are accentuated, while the positive properties of those identified as belonging to the in-group (the West in this case) are emphasised, as shown in Figure 27.

Figure 27: Mapping the findings of this thesis on China to van Dijk's ideological square model.



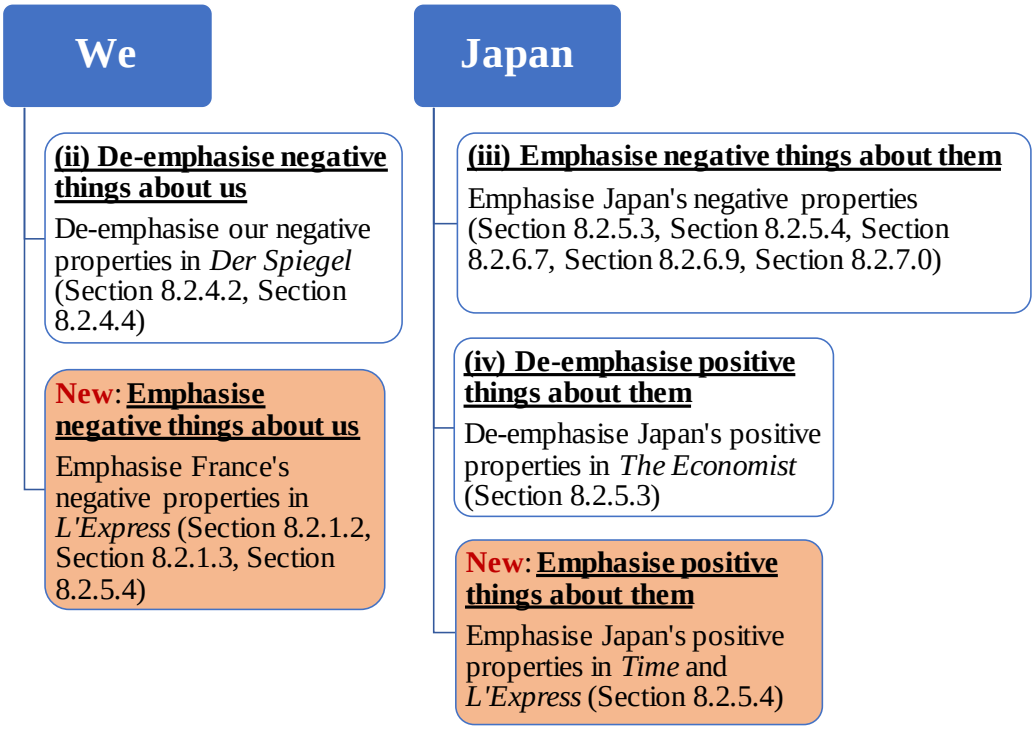
However, at variance with van Dijk's theory that positive representation is only applicable for the in-group (likewise, negative representation is pertinent only for the out-group), it has clearly emerged that *L'Express* also highlighted positive things about China, especially regarding the positive representation of Shanghai (headlines: 'head of the dragon' in F2C, 'the Chinese prodigy' in F3C, and 'the laboratory of the world' in F4C; lead texts: 'showcase city' in F3C, and 'fabulous market' in F4C). Concurrently, the involvement of French political and economic actors in business trade deals with China was unfavourably assessed and distinctly emphasised (Sections 8.2.4.3 and 8.2.5.2). These observations were strikingly missing from van Dijk's ideological square model.

8.3.3.2 Dominant Ideological Discourses on Japan

When attention shifts to the revealed ideological discourses on Japan, the results from Section 8.2 demonstrated that the Western newsmagazines also created an 'us versus them' narrative across the headlines and lead texts. Similarly to the dominant discourses on China (Section 8.3.3. 1), Japan was also represented to be pitted against those identified as belonging to the in-group. The findings obtained from the thesis largely corroborate van Dijk's (1998a) theory of ideological square that the negative properties of the out-group (Japan, in this case) are accentuated in contrast to their

reduced positive properties along with the de-emphasis of the negative aspects about the in-group (see Figure 28).

Figure 28: Mapping the findings of this thesis on Japan to van Dijk's ideological square model.



However, the revealed findings also clearly demonstrated that they stand in disagreement with van Dijk's ideological square, which puts forth that the in-group is positively represented in contrast to the negatively represented out-group. Specifically, Figure 28 shows that *Time* and *L'Express* also accentuated the positive things about Japan, such as ('adroit politician tactician', 'she is sharp, stylish…heroine', 'wealthy Japan', and 'how strong they are!' as shown in Section 8.2.5.4).

In addition, *L'Express* also emphasised the negative things about France ('France is inclined to see the drivers of wealth outside its borders' and 'The French can hardly do anything about it' as shown in Section 8.2.5.4) and the United States ('American trade offensive' as shown in Sections 8.2.1.2 and 8.2.1.3). These observations were evidently missing from van Dijk's ideological square model.

8.3.3.3 The ‘Discourse of Harm’

In addition to the discovery of the macro semantic strategies ‘emphasise negative things about us’ and ‘emphasise positive things about them’, as shown in Sections 8.3.1 and 8.3.2, which clearly contradict van Dijk’s (1998a) four-strategy ideological square, there were another four macro semantic strategies that were employed to represent the rise of China and Japan in the headlines and lead texts of the four newsmagazines in 2010 and 1987, respectively. Here are the four uncovered macro semantic strategies:

(i) China harms others to benefit itself;

(ii) China harms others and harms itself;

(iii) Japan harms others to benefit itself;

(iv) Japan harms others and harms itself.

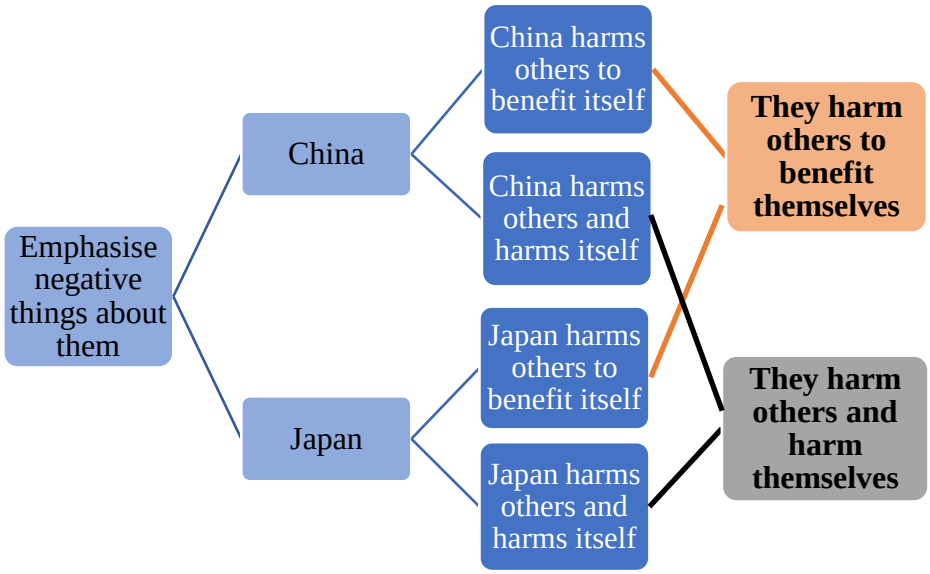
By mapping these four macro semantic strategies to van Dijk’s (1998a) ideological square model, it is clear that they are embedded within the macro semantic strategy of ‘emphasising negative things about them’ (see Figure 29). Furthermore, this emphasis on the harm caused by the out-group (China or Japan) to the in-group (the West and their allies) also revealed a distinct discourse on both countries in the four Western magazines, whether it concerns the reporting about the rise of China in 2010 or Japan in 1987.

Therefore, the author of this thesis would like to propound the concept of the ‘discourse of harm’ as another particular type of discourse, which encapsulates the different strands of the conclusions (see Section 8.2) into a single category of harm discourse. This focus on harm and negativity is consistent with previous studies that have argued that bad news sells more newspapers and newsmagazines than good news (Hanania, 2018; Whiteley, 2011; Pateman, 2009). The ‘discourse of harm’ comprises two macro semantic strategies, which are as follows (see Figure 29):

(i) They harm others to benefit themselves;

(ii) They harm others, and they harm themselves.

Figure 29: The author's proposal of the 'discourse of harm'.



Finally, it is important to highlight that the newsmagazines also attributed the agency of harm to Japan, which is an ally of the West (see Section 1.5.1, and Mitter, 2013; Shibusawa, 2006). In this context, the 'discourse of harm' is thus applicable for legitimising the oppression, marginalisation, or exclusion of any social actors that have been designated to belong to the out-group. By emphasising the harm caused by the out-group, the focus also shifts to the represented victimhood of the in-group, thereby providing reasonable cognitive arguments for maintaining the ideological perspective of the in-group. Eliciting compassion is a discursive strategy that can be employed to enhance the brutality of the Economic Other by 'showing empathy or sympathy for the victims of the other's actions' (van Dijk, 1995b, p. 154).

On the basis of the above-mentioned findings, the delegitimisation of the actions by China in 2010 and those of Japan in 1987 was consistent with van Dijk's (1998a, p. 257) explanation that ideology and (de)legitimation are closely intertwined. The use of legitimisation and delegitimisation to draw distinction between an in-group and out-group, depending on the ideological stance of the editors or journalists, has shown that there is a close relationship between discourse, ideology, and politics.

As van Dijk (2006, p.768) concluded, politics is mostly discursive and ideological, and ideologies themselves are largely reproduced by text and talk. The reproduction of ideologies thus has the effect of confirming and legitimising the power of the in-group over the out-group through 'news outlets that produce and reproduce the social power structures' (van Dijk, 2008, p. 55).

8.3.4 Latest Developments of Trade War and the 'Discourse of Harm'

Concerns about a trade war resurfaced following American President Donald Trump's imposition of tariffs on USD 34 billion worth of Chinese goods, which came into effect on the 6th of July 2018. As the Chinese government threatened to retaliate by placing punitive tariffs on American goods, the American government also responded that it would impose further tariffs on Chinese products should China react. Similarly to the situations in 2010 and 1987 as highlighted in Chapter 1, the eruption of trade war in 2018 has led to a proliferation of news reports about the escalating trade conflict between the world's two largest economies.

Although the trade war was still underway at the time of writing this thesis, there were already some news headlines that alluded to the harmful effect caused by the aggravating trade conflict. These included 'How a US-China trade war could hurt us all' (Vaswani, 2018) in the *BBC*, 'Trade war could hurt these economies far more than U.S., China' (Carvalho, 2018) in *Reuters*, 'The trade war begins to penalise the United States',[74] (Leparmentier, 2018) in *LeMonde*, and 'USA, China, Europe: There can only be losers in a trade war',[75] (Knipper, 2018) in *Der Tagesspiegel*. The foregrounding of the victims and the detrimental consequences appear to further support the concept of the 'discourse of harm' propounded by the author of the thesis in Section 8.3.3 that it is a distinct category of ideological discourse, which ultimately serves to delegitimitise the action of the out-group members while emphasising the harmful effect on those belonging to the in-group.

The 'discourse of harm' notwithstanding, there would be adverse real-life ramifications for China should its trade conflict with the United States worsen further. This is particularly significant for China, as it is determined to overcome the challenges facing many middle-income countries, that is, to break away from the middle-income range due to the inability to compete with lower-cost countries in manufacturing and with the more developed economies in the high-value-added markets (Peerenboom and Ginsburg, 2014; Gill and Kharas, 2007). To avoid the middle-income trap, a term coined by Gill and Kharas (2007), China launched 'Made in China 2025' in 2015, a

[74] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: 'La guerre commerciale commence à pénaliser les États-Unis'.
[75] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: 'USA, China, Europa: Ein Handelskrieg kennt nur Verlierer'.

strategic 10-year plan that aims to move the country's key manufacturing sector up the value chain.

Although Table 139 shows that China's nominal GDP grew from 9.32% in 2010 to 15.04% of the world's total nominal GDP in 2017, the journey to joining the ranks of the high-income countries is long and arduous. In fact, the World Bank announced on the 1st of July 2015 that the definition of a high-income economy is that of a nation whose gross national income (GNI) per capita surpasses USD 12,736. This threshold is still nearly 1.5 times greater than China's GNI per capita of USD 8,690 in 2017, according to data from the World Bank.

Moreover, as China's economy continues to expand, its relationship with the United States will also become ever more complicated. Whether the United States and China will be able to avoid the fate of the Thucycides' trap (Allison, 2017), in which a rising power threatens to displace a ruling one and conflict ensues, remains to be seen. China will thus have to prudently balance its relationship with the United States and realise its economic and political goals before it could truly claim to have escaped the middle-income trap.

Table 139: Nominal GDP of top 11 countries – 2010 versus 2017.

2010				2017			
Rank	Countries	USD million	%	Rank	Countries	USD million	%
1	United States	14,582,400	23.13	1	United States	19,390,600.00	24.28
2	China	5,878,629	9.32	2	China	12,014,610.00	15.04
3	Japan	5,497,813	8.72	3	Japan	4,872,135.00	6.10
4	Germany	3,309,689	5.25	4	Germany	3,684,816.00	4.61
5	France	2,560,002	4.06	5	United Kingdom	2,624,529.00	3.29
6	United Kingdom	2,246,079	3.56	6	India	2,611,012.00	3.27
7	Brazil	2,087,890	3.31	7	France	2,583,560.00	3.23
8	Italy	2,051,412	3.25	8	Brazil	2,054,969.00	2.57
9	India	1,729,010	2.74	9	Italy	1,937,894.00	2.43
10	Canada	1,574,052	2.50	10	Canada	1,652,412.00	2.07
11	Russia	1,479,819	2.35	11	South Korea	1,538,030.00	1.93

Source: International Monetary Fund, World Bank

8.4 Contributions of the Study

There are three contributions to scholarship. They are briefly summarised as follows.

8.4.1 Drawing on Information from Non-English Primary Sources

In this thesis, the author included information drawn from primary sources in Chinese, French, German, Japanese, and English (see Section 3.2.5.3). Where necessary, translations were rendered into English from Chinese, French, German, and Japanese by the author himself for the purposes of readability, along with their corresponding original texts displayed in the footnotes for transparency reasons. It is to be highlighted that some of the non-English primary sources are only available in their original languages, such as:

- *Currency Wars: The Warring States Era*[76] (Zhu, 2011) in Chinese;
- *The Chinese Glorious Thirty*[77] (Puel, 2013) in French;
- *Future? China! How the new superpower changes our lives, our politics, our economy*[78] (Sieren, 2018) in German; and
- *Japan Moves Forward (US-China War): Future of the Global Economy in a Changing World Order*[79] (Watanabe, 2017) in Japanese.

In this context, the thesis incorporated a broad range of perspectives that would have otherwise be limited to those of the English-language primary sources. Language shapes thought due to different cognitive structures, attitudes, and values (Smart, 2011, p. 99). The inclusion of information from Chinese, French, German, and Japanese sources thus complements the English sources, thereby providing a fuller perspective of the representation of trade wars between (i) China and its trading partners, and (ii) Japan and its trading partners.

[76] Author's translation into English from the original text in Chinese: "货币战争: 战国时代".
[77] Author's translation into English from the original text in French: "Les trentes glorieuses chinoises".
[78] Author's translation into English from the original text in German: "Zukunft? China! Wie die neue Supermacht unser Leben, unsere Politik, unsere Wirtschaft verändert".
[79] Author's translation into English from the original text in Japanese: "米中開戦躍進する日本新秩序で変わる世界経済の行方".

8.4.2 Complementing the Anglo-American with Franco-German Perspectives

Secondly, the headlines and lead texts of *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel* have been included in the Western representation in this thesis, in addition to *Time* and *The Economist*. As highlighted in Chapter 1, there is a wealth of literature (Campion, 2016; Charles, 2016; Mackerras, 2015; Cao, 2014a; Pan, 2012; Lin, 2012; Vukovich, 2011) dedicated to the study of Western perspectives on China in the English language, the 'West', often represented as a single, uniform entity, employed in the dichotomy versus 'China' refers in actual fact to the Anglo-American realm of the Western world, in particular the United States, which some scholars (Greene, 2014; Turner, 2014; Perlmutter, 2007; Li and Hong, 1998; Jespersen, 1996; Isaacs, 1964) have even decided to focus solely on. This discounted a large number of historical and contemporary studies on the East from the perspectives of Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, and Germany. According to the knowledge of the author of this thesis, this is the first time that a study of such large scale on the Western representation of China and Japan through CDA has been conducted in the English-speaking world (or in the French or German-speaking world for that matter).

8.4.3 The Author's Proposed 'Discourse of Harm'

Finally, this thesis makes a major contribution to van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach by expanding his ideological square model further. Specifically, the author of this thesis has put forth the concept of the 'discourse of harm' (see Section 8.3.3) as another particular type of discourse, which encapsulates the different strands of the conclusions (see Section 8.2) into a single category of the harm discourse. Such a discourse is based on empirical evidence provided in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7. In essence, the 'discourse of harm' comprises two macro semantic strategies, as follows:

(iii) They harm others to benefit themselves;

(iv) They harm others, and they harm themselves.

Given that the Western newsmagazines have also resorted to the 'discourse of harm' in representing Japan, which shares the same democratic values as the West, it is thus argued that such a harm-based discourse is applicable to the rising economies in the form of the Economic Other. In this respect, truth thus does not exist within a vacuum but within the social groups that want to maintain and propagate the truth through their ideology. Mackerras (2015, p. 3) states:

What is true depends to some extent on power systems, including those within the political, economic, social and cultural realms. Conversely, truth as produced by these power systems helps sustain the existing power relations.

8.5 Challenges and Limitations Encountered

It is to be emphasised that the objective of this thesis is not to engage itself in the creation of an us-versus-them dichotomy by appraising and proclaiming who is right or wrong in their actions, or whether their ideological stances are good or bad. Rather, it is a thesis that employs language, specifically CDA approaches, to explore how meanings are reproduced and how social actors are represented and recontextualised. It is also in this sense that it is interdisciplinary in nature since the CDA approaches are supported by multilingualism and translation to understand the changing dynamics of international relations and the global economy through Western newsmagazines. In so doing, a greater understanding of the relationship between China and the West could be reached, thus enabling all stakeholders to better understand the implications for international relations and the financial markets that shape the world we live in.

8.5.1 Tackling Challenges Along the Way

The author of the thesis encounted several challenges during the research process. These challenges include the following key aspects of the research:

1. **Translation of the Headlines and Lead Texts**: The decision to translate the 80 headlines and 80 lead texts from their original languages (French for *L'Express* and German for *Der Spiegel*) into English for analysis in the four case studies was a conscious one. Although the author is well aware that bias could be incorporated into the translation, English translation was provided because (i) it improves readability since most readers of the English-language thesis might not understand French or German, (ii) there are no English translations of the French and German articles, and (iii) it clearly demonstrates the author's foreign-language and translation skills. Furthermore, since the author is a Singaporean citizen, he can claim to be neutral in the translation of the headlines and lead texts in the spirit of the original text, since he comes from neither China nor Japan nor any of the four Western countries under study in this thesis. For the sake of transparency and

completeness, the headlines and lead texts are available in their original languages (French and German) for verification in the Appendix.

2. **Layout of the Newsmagazine Articles**: The layout of the articles differs across the surveyed newsmagazines. Specifically, not all newsmagazines or articles share the same layout in the following order: kicker, headline, standfirst, lead text, and main text (see Sections 3.2.5.1 and 3.2.5.2). The only newsmagazines that were consistent in the layout in 1987 and 2010 were *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel*. Thus, in the absence of a lead text, which is normally defined as a summary that appears below the headline but is topographically separate from the main text (see Section 3.2.5.2), the first opening paragraph of the main text is taken for analysis.

8.5.2 Limitations of the Study

While this thesis has made some claims to knowledge (see Section 8.4), it is nevertheless subject to several limitations. They are summarised as follows:

1. This study was restricted to the coverage of the rise of China and Japan in 2010 and 1987, respectively, in four Western newsmagazines. It focuses on two newsmagazines from the Anglo-American world, *Time* and *The Economist*, and two from continental Europe, *L'Express* and *Der Spiegel*. This study therefore does not claim that it has revealed and represented the perspective of each and every single newsmagazine that is published in the Western countries where they are headquartered. However, given that an overwhelming majority of existing research in the Anglo-Saxon academia, as discussed in Chapter 2, that studies the 'Western' representation of China's rise refers in reality to the perspective of the United States and the United Kingdom, the inclusion of the French and German perspectives in this thesis has no doubt enriched and complemented the so-called 'Western' perspective that was otherwise lacking.
2. Second, the conclusion of this thesis was based on the findings derived from the 80 articles collected from the four Western newsmagazines on China for the whole year of 2010 with 20 articles from each newsmagazine, and 80 articles from the four Western newsmagazines on Japan for 1987 with 20 articles from each newsmagazine. This is because the four newsmagazines are published on a weekly basis. Since a year has 52 weeks, this also means that each of the four newsmagazines publishes a maximum of 52 issues per year. However, not every newsmagazine reports on China or Japan in every issue. For this reason, the

number of articles was low. To make the number of articles from each newsmagazine equal, 20 articles per newsmagazine were chosen due to the lowest number of articles available on Japan in *L'Express* in 1987. Further, it is also precisely due to the number of articles that the thesis did not make a distinction between editorials and news stories, which would have otherwise rendered analysis unnecessarily complicated.

3. Third, the author of this thesis is well aware that the perspectives of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel* do not fully represent the perspectives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany where they are headquartered, respectively. Precisely put, they reflect the perspectives of the individual newsmagazines. However, this thesis argues on the basis that the findings from the 160 articles provide an indicator of the perspectives of each of the Western countries on China or Japan.
4. Fourth, this thesis has merely examined the social actors in the headlines and lead texts of the 160 articles. In other words, the main texts were not subject to the application of van Dijk's macro-rules, van Dijk's ideological square, and van Leeuwen's socio-semantic inventory. However, given that the headlines and lead texts summarise the news text and express the semantic macrostructure (van Dijk, 1980, p. 53), a detailed analysis of the representation of social actors in the headlines and the lead texts provide an indication of the main arguments put forth by the articles of the four newsmagazines.
5. Fifth, the author has only adopted five of van Leeuwen's 22 representational categories (see Section 3.4.2) to examine the representation of social actors in the headlines and lead texts of the 160 articles. Although there may exist a certain subjectivity in the choice of the five representational categories and interpretation in the application of CDA in general, they have proven to be effective and relevant since they helped answer the research questions set forth in Section 1.4 in a structured and analytical manner. As Carvalho (2008, p. 162) explained, the theoretical and analytical value of CDA is in fact not diminished since the "interpretive work that CDA offers is closer to explanation than subjective understanding". Futhermore, the quantitative approach (representation of social actors in frequency and percentage) employed in each of the five categories ensures that the statistical findings are objective. For these reasons, the author

would still employ CDA and the five representational categories if he had to carry out the study again.

6. Finally, although the author is aware that culture and cultural identity could play an important role in shaping the way China and Japan were represented in the four Western newsmagazines, they were not explored in this thesis after careful assessment of the empirical data. The reasons were two-fold: Firstly, clashes over commerce in the form of trade wars are largely shaped by economic and political forces (Irwin, 2017, p. 1), and secondly, space constraint in this thesis.

8.6 The Road Ahead

First, this study examined the dominant ideological discourse and representation of the social actors in the headlines and lead texts of *Time*, *The Economist*, *L'Express*, and *Der Spiegel*. Therefore, the focus is not only on the discursal or representational aspects but also on the American, British, French, and German perspectives vis-à-vis the rise of China and Japan in 2010 and 1987, respectively. As Pan (2013, p. 12) explained, Western representations tell us less about China itself (as a text) than about China watchers (as a reader), their audience, and the social, cultural, and historical milieu. In this context, it would thus be useful to explore and understand the Chinese and Japanese perspectives on their countries' rise through the application of CDA. In addition to newsmagazines, newspapers could also be examined.

The second recommendation considers the state of political and economic affairs following the election of US President Donald Trump in 2016. Since the imposition of tariffs on Chinese products in the first half of 2018, the conflict between the Trump Administration and China has intensified (see Section 8.3.4). Therefore, it would be useful not only to examine the linguistic features, discursive strategies, and representational categories but also to perform a more comprehensive evaluation of the representations on the latest development of US-China trade. As Wiseman and Boak (2018) noted, the trade war involving the world's two largest economies could have wide-ranging consequences for consumers, workers, companies, investors, and political leaders.

The next recommendation is to conduct more CDA studies in association with other disciplines, in particular international relations and global economics. This will not only allow the field of CDA to be broadened beyond the realms of humanities and sociolinguistics but will also help the other disciplines to further improve their understanding of the academic fields they represent through the lens of CDA. Finally, future studies could also consider applying the concept of the 'discourse of harm' (Section 8.3.3.3) propounded by the author of this thesis in their research. This would undoutedly enrich the field of CDA.

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Appendix

Table 140: Prevailing topics of the lead texts (*Time*) – China in 2010

No.	Lead Texts	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words
A1C	It hasn't been a banner few weeks for U.S.-China relations. In mid-January, Google announced that it was contemplating pulling out of China because of repeated attacks on its network as well as censorship constraints. In the past week, the U.S. government authorized $6 billion in arms sales to Taiwan,	Deletion	US-China relations	49
A2C	Investors have recently focused on some of the problems potentially facing the Chinese economy, and they're getting worried. The concerns are that China might be facing a destabilizing property price bubble and rising bad loans at its banks due to last year's recession-busting credit boom. I've offered a word of caution myself.	Generalisation	China's collapse	52
A3C	A few days ago on Curious Capitalist, I asked whether China was headed for trouble due to the potential damage done to its banking system by the government's giant stimulus program. One of our readers, identified as tanboontee, was kind enough to write a very interesting comment.	Generalisation	China's collapse	47
A4C	At one moment during Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao's press conference on Sunday, it was easy to confuse whom he was criticizing when he denounced efforts by some countries to lower the value of their currency to boost trade.	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	39
A5C	So here we are, once again, in a nasty round of political bickering over China's currency, the yuan (also known as the renminbi). There is a widespread belief around the world that Beijing has been setting the value of the yuan at an artificially cheap level, which gives Chinese exports an unfair advantage in international markets.	Deletion	China's unfair trade practices	56
A6C	In yet another attempt by the U.S. to force China to change its currency regime, senators on Tuesday introduced legislation that would require the government to impose duties on goods from countries that don't address currencies deemed to be misaligned.	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	40
A7C	Few people would be surprised by Google co-founder Sergey Brin's bravado. After all, if you were a 36-year-old billionaire, you'd probably be forgiven a little audacity yourself. Even when it came to the implacable, muscle-flexing behemoth that is China.	Generalisation	American hero versus the big bully	39
A8C	When the global financial crisis erupted in 2008, one oft-cited fear was that factory layoffs in China would lead to social unrest. That didn't happen, in part because Chinese workers proved willing to endure stagnant wages and unemployment as the national economy slowed. But now that Chinese growth has rebounded, workers aren't so patient.	Generalisation	China's exploited workers	54

A9C	We've all by now learned about the dangers of too much debt. The U.S. is paying the price for an explosion of consumer debt. Europe is struggling with too much sovereign debt. Now one of the big questions facing China is whether or not Beijing's policymakers are about to get their own lesson in the perils of debt-driven growth.	Generalisation	China's collapse	59
A10C	Yes, it sounds like a ridiculous question. Especially since we found out on Thursday that GDP grew 10.3% in the second quarter of 2010 from a year earlier. That's a significant deceleration from 11.9% in the first quarter, but hardly worthy of concern.	Generalisation	China's slowdown	43
A11C	On Sunday, 20 U.S. and South Korean ships, more than 100 aircraft and some 8,000 personnel will take part in a four-day series of war games in waters off the Korean peninsula. There's little ambiguity about the purpose of these exercises, which are taking place in the shadow of a hostile North Korea that's allegedly responsible for the March sinking of the Cheonan, a South Korean warship.	Generalisation	Great power rivalry	67
A12C	Frustration in Washington is growing over China's contorted policy on its currency, the yuan. And for good reason. A so-called "reform" of the regime introduced in June, in which Beijing finally ended a de facto two-year yuan-dollar peg and permitted its currency to "float" in a narrow band, has proven to be a big yawn.	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	55
A13C	Asia's march to greatness sometimes has an inevitable quality about it. The center of economic gravity is relentlessly shifting from West to East. China will overtake the U.S. as the world's No.1 economy. India won't be far behind. We've heard these types of predictions so many times that we've come to accept them as undeniable fact. Yes, Asia is rising, the West is struggling. But that doesn't mean Asian nations won't suffer their share of setbacks on their way up the world's power rankings.	Generalisation	Great power rivalry	84
A14C	Forget that currency row over how China undervalues the renminbi. The real story is that China is now investing in its people	Generalisation	China's exploited workers	22
A15C	Tim Geithner could reveal today whether or not his Treasury Department will formally label China a "currency manipulator." There is mounting political pressure for the U.S. to take stronger action against China's currency policy. Being perceived as "soft" on China won't help the Democrats in upcoming November elections.	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	48
A16C	China is the Michael Jordan of emerging economies. Just as every up-and-coming basketball hopeful wanted to "be like Mike," every up-and-coming poor nation wants to "be like China." And why not? China has boasted an incredible record of alleviating poverty, building industry, creating jobs, and translating economic power into political power. The rise of China has made the West doubt the continued validity of its cherished principles of democratic, fee-market capitalism.	Generalisation	Western versus Asian growth model	71

A17C	Formally, at least, the U.S. and China have avoided fighting an all-out currency war. Beijing has attempted to appease anger in Washington over its undervalued yuan by allowing it to (very) slowly creep upward against the dollar.	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	37
A18C	As an American, I've always believed that democracy, capitalism and economic progress are all intimately connected, that you can't have one without the others. Such thinking is part of the philosophical DNA of the United States. But the economic miracle in Asia has consistently contested that notion.	Generalisation	Western versus Asian values	47
A19C	Is China making an unprecedented leap to the top of the global economic hierarchy? Yes, Martin Jacques asserts confidently in his buzz-generating When China Rules the World. He sees the country, which recently passed Japan to become the world's No. 2 economy, rising smoothly to the top spot by continuing to follow a thoroughly distinctive, Confucian-tinged development path. No, say China skeptics like economist John Markin and hedge-fund honcho James Chanos, with equal self-assurance.	Generalisation	Western versus Asian values	74
A20C	Beltway types are fretting about the comment dropped earlier this week by Admiral Robert Willard, the US commander in the Pacific, about a new ballistic missile developed by the Chinese that could blow American ships out of the water.	Generalisation	Great power rivalry	39
			Total no.	1022
			Average no. per headline	51.1

Table 141: Prevailing topics of the lead texts (*The Economist*) – China in 2010

No.	Lead Texts	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words
B1C	China's share of world markets increased during the recession. It will keep rising	Generalisation	China's global expansion	13
B2C	The similarities between China today and Japan in the 1980s may look ominous. But China's boom is unlikely to give way to prolonged slump	Generalisation	China's growth model	24
B3C	The European Union gets more realistic about China —and China gets more realistic about the EU	Generalisation	EU-China relations	16
B4C	Making room for a new superpower should not be confused with giving way to it	Generalisation	Great power rivalry	15
B5C	Who matters in the world's second-largest financial system is barely understood	Generalisation	China'a growth model	11
B6C	The Chinese case for a stronger, more flexible currency	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	9
B7C	America has dampened a currency row with China. Now Beijing must let the yuan rise	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	15
B8C	In the West people worry that developing countries want to copy "the China model". Such talk makes people in China uncomfortable	Deletion	China's growth model	21
B9C	They did not agree about North Korea, or much else. But at least they avoided a row	Generalisation	US-China relations over North Korea	17
B10C	China is slowing. That's good news	Deletion	China's slowdown	6
B11C	As the supply of migrant labour dwindles, the workshop of the world is embarking on a migration of its own	Generalisation	China's labour market	20
B12C	As China and India rise in tandem, their relationship will shape world politics. Shame they do not get on better	Generalisation	Great power rivalry	20
B13C	Japan is now the world's third-largest economy. Can its firms cope?	Generalisation	Japan's competitiveness	11
B14C	China grapples with a huge potential export: its currency	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	9
B15C	Keep calm, don't expect quick fixes and above all don't unleash a trade fight with China	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	16
B16C	China may not matter quite as much as you think	Construction	China's dispensable economy	10
B17C	And the world should stay open for business	Construction	Welcoming China's capital	8
B18C	What it feels like to be bought by a Chinese firm	Generalisation	Chinese acquisition	11
B19C	China and America are bound to be rivals, but they do not have to be antagonists	Generalisation	Great power rivalry	16
B20C	Living with China's rise will test America's diplomacy as never before	Generalisation	Great power rivalry	11
			Total no.	279
			Average no. per headline	14

Table 142: Prevailing topics of the lead texts (*L'Express*) – China in 2010

No.	Lead Texts	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words (EN)	No. of words (FR)
F1C	Pékin suspend ses échanges militaires avec Washington pour protester contre de nouvelles ventes d'armes à Taïwan. Un nouveau point de tension, après l'affaire Google. **Beijing suspends military exchanges with Washington to protest new arms sales to Taiwan. A new point of tension, after the Google affair.**	Generalisation	China's military threat	22	24
F2C	Quels sont les catactéristiques de la ville qui accueille l'Exposition universelle à partir de samedi? **What are the characteristics of the city hosting the Global Exhibition from Saturday?**	Deletion	Shanghai's characteristics	13	15
F3C	En moins de vingt ans, Shanghai s'est métamorphosée. A l'heure de l'Exposition universelle, la cité-vitrine affiche son ambition: devenir l'une des villes phares du monde. **In less than twenty years, Shanghai has undergone a metamorphosis. At the time of the Global Exhibition, the showcase city shows its ambition: to become one of the world's leading cities.**	Deletion	Shanghai, the showcase city	31	25
F4C	Biotechnologies, automobile, informatique, chimie... A Shanghai, la Chine joue de son fabuleux marché pour attirer les grands groupes étrangers dans des centres de recherche toujours plus performants. Le futur du high-tech s'écrit-il ici? **Biotechnologies, automotive, information technology, chemistry... In Shanghai, China is using its fabulous market to attract large foreign groups to ever more efficient research centres. Is the future of high-tech written here?**	Deletion	Shanghai, the high-tech city	31	33
F5C	Les entreprises françaises ont signé jeudi plusieurs contrats avec la Chine lors de la visite en France de Hu Jintao. Celui-ci promet son soutien à la présidence française du G20. **French companies signed several contracts with China on Thursday during Hu Jintao's visit to France. He promised his support to the French presidency of the G20.**	Generalisation	Franco-China trade relations	26	30
F6C	Les relations sino-japonaises sont tendues depuis plusieurs mois alors que la Chine a annulé des discussions avec le Japon sur une exploitation conjointe des ressources d'un l'archipel revendiqué par les deux pays. **Sino-Japanese relations have been strained for several months while China has cancelled discussions with Japan on a joint exploitation of the resources of an archipelago claimed by the two countries.**	Deletion	Sino-Japanese relations	30	32

F7C	Les relations entre les deux géants de l'Asie viennent de connaître leur pire crise depuis l'arraisonnement, le 8 septembre, d'un chalutier chinois par des patrouilleurs japonais. **Relations between the two Asian giants have just experienced their worst crisis since a Chinese trawler was arrested by Japanese patrol boats on the 8th of September.**	Generalisation	Sino-Japanese relations	27	26
F8C	Après les gouvernements du Japon et de l'Allemagne, le patronat allemand a exprimé mardi son inquiétude face au blocage des exportations chinoises de métaux rares qui affectent toutes les industries de pointe des pays développés. **After the governments of Japan and Germany, the German employers expressed on Tuesday their concern at the blockade of Chinese exports of rare metals that affect all high-tech industries in developed countries.**	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	32	35
F9C	Depuis la reconnaissance diplomatique de la Chine par de Gaulle en 1964, la France hésite entre fascination et réserve vis-à-vis de Pékin. **Since the diplomatic recognition of China by de Gaulle in 1964, France has hesitated between fascination and reserve towards Beijing.**	Generalisation	Franco-China relations	20	22
F10C	Paris déroule le tapis rouge au président chinois Hu Jintao, venu signer une série de gros contrats bilatéraux cette semaine. Une attitude qui n'honore pas la France, estime Marie Holzman, présidente de l'association Solidarité Chine. **Paris rolls out the red carpet to Chinese President Hu Jintao, who came to sign a series of major bilateral contracts this week. An attitude that does not honour France, says Marie Holzman, president of the Association of Solidarity China.**	Generalisation	Franco-China relations	40	35
F11C	Comac, le constructeur chinois a annoncé ce mardi les cent premières commandes pour son futur avion moyen-courrier, le C-919. Reportage à Shanghai où est conçu cet appareil. Avec un maximum de technologies occidentales. **Comac, the Chinese manufacturer announced this Tuesday the first hundred orders for its future medium-haul aircraft, the C-919. Report in Shanghai where this device is designed. With a maximum of Western technology.**	Generalisation	Made in China products	32	33
F12C	Premier partenaire de l'Afrique depuis 2009, la Chine a encore accéléré ses échanges avec le continent noir, en augmentation de 43,5%. **China, Africa's leading partner since 2009, has further accelerated its trade with the black continent, up 43.5%.**	Generalisation	Africa-China trade relations	17	21
F13C	Sur les onze premiers mois de 2009, les ventes chinoises à l'étranger se sont élevées à 1070 milliards de dollars contre 1050 milliards pour l'Allemagne. **Over the first eleven months of 2009, Chinese sales abroad amounted to 1070 billion dollars against 1050 billion for Germany.**	Generalisation	China's economic catch-up	20	25

F14C	Les pays émergents, au premiers rangs desquels la Chine, auront détrôné les pays développés en 2020, prédit une étude. Et l'Empire du Milieu deviendra la première puissance économique mondiale. Un scénario pas irréaliste mais peu plausible. **Emerging countries, first and foremost China, will have overtaken developed countries by 2020, predicts a study. And the Middle Kingdom will become the world's leading economic power. A scenario not unrealistic but implausible.**	Generalisation	China's economic catch-up	33	36
F15C	Un rapport de l'Union des fabricants (UNIFAB) pour le ministère de l'Economie dévoile que la contrefaçon a couté 6 milliards d'euros aux entreprises françaises en 2008. La Chine y est responsable pour 73% des entreprises interrogées. **A report by the Union des fabricants (UNIFAB) for the Ministry of the Economy reveals that counterfeiting cost French companies 6 billion euros in 2008. China is responsible for 73% of the companies surveyed.**	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	34	36
F16C	Le deuxième pays qui créé le plus de richesses dans le monde est aussi un pays pauvre. Il faudra attendre 30 à 50 ans pour que les Chinois approchent le niveau de vie des Américains. **The second wealthiest country in the world is also a poor country. It will take 30 to 50 years for the Chinese to approach the Americans' standard of living.**	Generalisation	China's economic catch-up	29	35
F17C	En moins de dix ans, l'empire du Milieu est devenu le premier producteur mondial de voitures. Un eldorado où se ruent les constructeurs étrangers mais aussi un marché lourd de menaces. **In less than ten years, the Middle Kingdom has become the world's leading car producer. An eldorado into which foreign manufacturers are rushing, but there are many threats in the market.**	Generalisation	China's economic potential and risks	31	31
F18C	Réunis ce week end à Washington, les grands argentiers mondiaux ne sont parvenus à aucune dàcision concrète pour éviter une "guerre des changes". Les États-Unis et la Chine sont bien placés pour la gagner. **Over this weekend in Washington, the world's finance ministers from the major countries have failed to make any concrete decision to avoid a "currency war". The United States and China are well positioned to win it.**	Generalisation	Currency war	36	34
F19C	De toutes parts, des voix réclament une réforme du système monétaire international. Nicolas Sarkozy en fait la priorité de sa présidence du G20. Alors que s'ouvre le sommet de Séoul, plusieurs pistes sont sur la table. **On all sides, voices are calling for a reform of the international monetary system. Nicolas Sarkozy makes it a priority during his G20 presidency. As the Summit in Seoul opens, several courses of actions are on the table.**	Generalisation	Currency war	38	36
F20C	Le gouvernement chinois a confirmé jeudi qu'il pourrait acheter des obligations émises par les États en difficulté de la zone euro. Décryptage d'un geste plus politique que financier. **The Chinese government confimed on Thursday that it could be buying bonds issued by the troubled states in the euro area. Decoding a gesture more political than financial.**	Generalisation	China's global expansion	28	28
			Total no.	570	592
			Average no. per headline	28.5	29.6

Table 143: Prevailing topics of the lead texts (*Der Spiegel*) – China in 2010

No.	Lead Texts	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words (EN)	No. of words (GE)
G1C	Um die Wirtschaft anzukurbeln, koppelt China seine Währung wieder an den Dollar. Diese Politik verschärft die globalen Ungleichgewichte - sie schadet aber auch dem Land selbst. **In order to boost its economy, China is once again pegging its currency to the dollar. This policy exacerbates global imbalances - and it also harms the country itself.**	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	29	26
G2C	Die USA und China sind schon heute die wichtigsten Mächte des Planeten. Als Allianz könnten sie das Weltgeschehen diktieren. Aber: Wollen sie das überhaupt? Beginnt jetzt das Zeitalter einer Doppelsupermacht? **The US and China are already the most important powers on the planet today. As an alliance, they could dictate world affairs. But, do they really want to? Is the era of the bipolar world now beginning?**	Generalisation	New world order	37	30
G3C	Der US-Kongress droht China mit Strafzöllen, falls das Land seine Währung nicht aufwertet. Hintergrund ist der Billig-Export aus der Volksrepublik, der die amerikanische Handelsbilanz belastet. Ein Senator sagte: "Wenn die Chinesen sich nicht bewegen, werden wir sie zwingen." **The US Congress is threatening China with punitive tariffs if the country does not want to appreciate its currency. The background story for this is the cheap exports of the People's Republic, which burdens America's trade balance. A senator said, "If the Chinese do not move, we will force them."**	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	50	38
G4C	Vorwärts Genossen, es geht zurück! Die kommunistische Regierung in Peking hat jahrelang dem Kapitalismus gehuldigt wie kaum ein anderes Land auf der Welt. Doch nun setzt China wieder auf den Staat: Die Planwirtschaft erlebt eine ungeahnte Renaissance. **Move forward comrades, we are going back! The Communist government in Beijing has paid hommage to capitalism for years like no other country in the world. But now China is returning to the state system: the centrally planned economy is experiencing an unexpected renaissance.**	Generalisation	State capitalism	44	37
G5C	Die Volksrepublik feiert sich mit der spektakulären Expo in Shanghai. Doch gerade die Weltausstellung zeigt die Widersprüche, denen sich die Supermacht gegenübersieht - selbst in ihrer Vorzeigemetropole, die wieder zur Weltstadt wurde. **The People's Republic is celebrating with the spectacular World Expo in Shanghai. But it is precisely the world fair that reveals the contradictions faced by the superpower - even within its model metropolis, which has once again become a world city.**	Generalisation	China's contradictions	41	32
G6C	Auf der Expo in Shanghai werden westliche Eisenbahnkonzerne für ihre Technik werben. Doch der Ausbau des Superschnellzugnetzes ist vor allem ein Lehrstück über Pekings Expansionslust. **At the World Expo in Shanghai, Western railway companies will be promoting their technology. But China's super-fast train network enlargement is above all a lesson about Beijing's desire to expand.**	Generalisation	China's global expansion	30	25

G7C	Eine Serie von Todesfällen hat die Manager von Foxconn verunsichert. Der taiwanische Konzern lässt in China Hunderttausende Menschen Geräte für westliche Hightech-Firmen fertigen. **A series of deaths has unsettled Foxconn's managers. The Taiwanese company has hundreds of thousands of people manufacturing equipment for Western high-tech companies in China.**	Generalisation	Exploitation of labour	25	23
G8C	Chinas Arbeiter zeigen Selbstbewusstsein: Ausgerechnet in der Volksrepublik erheben sich die Werktätigen, bei Honda und Hyundai streiken sie gegen Mini-Löhne und elende Unterkünfte. Die kommunistischen Behörden reagieren auf ihre Weise - und hetzen den Demonstranten Polizisten auf den Hals. **China's workers are showing self-confidence: Of all the people in the People's Republic, the worker at Honda and Hyundai are standing up, striking against low wages and miserable accommodation. The communist authorities are reacting in their own way - by sending policemen to hound the demonstrators.**	Generalisation	Repression of workers' rights	46	39
G9C	Gerade noch Euphorie, jetzt schon Ernüchterung: China hat den Wechselkurs seiner Währung zum Dollar nicht verändert. Noch am Wochenende hatte die Zentralbank eine größere Flexibilität des Yuan angekündigt - und damit die Hoffnung geweckt, einen der größten Handelskonflikte endlich zu lösen. **Euphoria not long ago, now already disillusionment: China has not changed the exchange rate of its currency to the dollar. Over the weekend, the central bank announced greater flexibility in the yuan - and thus raising the hopes of finally solving one of the largest trade disputes.**	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	47	41
G10C	Steuert China mit Volldampf in die Krise? Obwohl die Zentralregierung die Hürden für den Hauskauf immer höher baut, lässt sich der Crash des Immobilienmarktes nach Überzeugung des Harvard-Professors Rogoff nicht mehr vermeiden - seiner Überzeugung nach steht der Kollaps sogar kurz bevor. **Is China heading full speed into the crisis? Although the central government is creating more and more hurdles for home purchases, the crash of the real estate market, according to the conviction of Harvard professor Rogoff, cannot be avoided – he believes that the collapse is even imminent.**	Generalisation	China's imminent crash	47	42
G11C	Knebelverträge, Kommerz und Konfuzius: wie „sanft“ China die Welt erobert. **Unfair trade agreements, commerce and Confucius: how China is 'gently' conquering the world.**	Generalisation	China's global expansion	13	10
G12C	Der rasante Aufstieg im Reich der Mitte beschert der deutschen Wirtschaft ein Wachstumswunder - aber auch neue Risiken. Die Abhängigkeit vom Fernostgeschäft wächst, Pekings gelenkte Industrie entwickelt sich zum gefährlichen Rivalen. Wird aus dem Boom die China-Falle. **The rapid rise of the Middle Kingdom presents Germany with a growth miracle, but also new risks. The dependence on business from the Far East is growing, but Beijing's guided industry is developing to become a dangerous rival. Will the boom become a China-trap?**	Generalisation	China's global expansion	44	37

G13C	Die Regierung in Peking geht auf Abwerbe-Tour. Um ihre Staatskonzerne fit zu machen, wollen die chinesischen Behörden internationale Führungskräfte einstellen. Das Problem: Die ausländischen Top-Kräfte müssen sich politisch fügen. **The government in Beijing is going on a recruitment drive. In order to make their state-owned companies healthy, the Chinese authorities want to hire international management. The problem: the foreign top executives must toe the political line.**	Generalisation	China's global expansion	37	29
G14C	Der Wechselkurs entscheidet über das Wohl einer Volkswirtschaft, doch feste Regeln gibt es nicht. Deshalb eskaliert jetzt der Streit zwischen den USA und China. Auf den Devisenmärkten droht ein Abwertungswettlauf, der am Ende nur Verlierer kennt. **The exchange rate determines the well-being of an economy, but there are no fixed rules. That is why the dispute between the US and China is now escalating. There is a race to devalue the currency in the currency markets, where there are only losers.**	Generalisation	China's unfair trade practices	45	36
G15C	Die Finanzkrise hat der chinesischen Wirtschaft einen ungeahnten Schub verpasst: Die Unternehmen gingen auf Einkaufstour in der ganzen Welt. Begehrt waren vor allem Maschinenbauer. Der Technologievorsprung der westlichen Konkurrenz schrumpft damit weiter. **The financial crisis has given the Chinese economy an unexpected boost: companies went on a shopping spree around the world. Mechanical engineering companies in particular were in demand. The technological advantage of the West is thus set to shrink further.**	Generalisation	China's global expansion	40	32
G16C	Es war eine politische Katastrophe - jetzt wird klar, wie der Kopenhagener Klimagipfel vor einem Jahr so spektakulär scheitern konnte. Die enthüllten US-Botschaftsdepeschen verraten, dass die USA und China gemeinsame Sache machten. Die zwei größten Klimasünder hintertrieben alle Pläne der Europäer. **It was a political catastrophe - it is now becoming clear how the Copenhagen climate summit failed so spectacularly a year ago. The disclosed US cables reveal that the US and China are working together. The two largest climate offenders thwarted all the plans of the Europeans.**	Generalisation	US and China join forces against Europe on climate	47	41
G17C	Argwöhnisch beobachten US-Diplomaten Chinas Vormarsch in Afrika. Mit viel Geld und rauen Methoden sichert sich die zweite Weltmacht Rohstoffe und politischen Einfluss - ohne Rücksicht auf Arbeiter und die Natur. **US diplomats watch suspiciously China's advance in Africa. With a lot of money and harsh methods, the world's second-largest power is securing raw materials and political influence without any consideration for African workers or nature.**	Generalisation	China's global expansion	35	30

G18C	Die Chinesen nutzen die Schwäche Europas, um ihren Einfluss auf dem Kontinent auszubauen. Sie locken mit Investitionen und dem Kauf von Staatsanleihen angeschlagener Euro-Länder - und schaffen sich so Bundesgenossen innerhalb der EU. **The Chinese are using the weakness of Europe to develop influence on the continent. They attract with offers of investments and the purchase of troubled euro countries' government bonds - and thus create allies within the EU.**	Generalisation	China's global expansion	37	33
G19C	Investoren aus Fernost haben in Deutschland einen miesen Ruf. Doch für viele Firmen ist eine Übernahme durch Chinesen die Rettung: Die kommunistischen Kapitalisten erhalten Jobs und schaffen neue. Ein Besuch beim Maschinenbauer Schiess in Sachsen-Anhalt. **Investors from the Far East have a bad reputation in Germany. But for many companies, a takeover by the Chinese is their salvation: The communist capitalists get jobs and create new ones. A visit to the mechanical manufacturer Schiess in Saxony-Anhalt.**	Generalisation	China's global expansion	41	35
G20C	Die Volksrepublik, dein Freund und Helfer: China verspricht Krisenländern wie Irland und Spanien konkrete Hilfen im Kampf gegen die Schuldenkrise. Was dies genau bedeutet, ist bislang unklar. Doch der Einfluss Pekings auf den Kontinent dürfte massiv wachsen. **The People's Republic, your friend and helper: China promises crisis-hit countries, such as Ireland and Spain, concrete help in the fight against the debt crisis. What exactly this means is so far unclear. But Beijing's influence on the continent will grow massively.**	Generalisation	China's global expansion	42	37
			Total no.	777	653
			Average no. per headline	38.85	32.65

Table 144: Prevailing topics of the lead texts (*Time*) – Japan in 1987

No.	Lead Texts	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words (EN)
A1J	The decision did not increase military strength that much, but it was psychologically significant. After an eight-hour meeting of key officials last week, the government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone announced that its proposed new budget will raise defense spending to 1.004% of Japan's estimated 1987 gross national product. If adopted by the Diet, the outlays would exceed for the first time the 1% ceiling on defense spending that Japan has observed for the past ten years.	Construction	Japan's artificial display of military strength	77
A2J	Until recently Japan's two dozen known AIDS victims were either male homosexuals or hemophiliacs. Then came word that the first female patient had died on Jan. 20 of AIDS-related pneumonia in Kobe, a western coastal city on the island of Honshu. The victim, a prostitute, was unquestionably heterosexual. Fear rattled the country like an earthquake. Stock in condom manufacturers soared by as much as 500 points on the Tokyo exchange. A TV news special seeking to pinpoint the source of the problem, suggested darkly that foreign sailors frequenting Kobe's red-light district were to blame, and asked: "Can Kobe live down this...	Generalisation	Foreign-induced social problems	101
A3J	American chipmakers call for a crackdown on Japanese dumping	Construction	Japan's unfair trade practices	9
A4J	Japanese investors learn to love American real estate	Construction	Japan's new investment target	8
A5J	In most countries an unemployment rate of only 3% would be nothing short of nirvana. But in Japan it is cause for national anguish and alarm. Because of continuing woes in such industries as steel and even autos, Japan has reached the 3% jobless level for the first time since it began keeping monthly employment statistics in 1953.	Generalisation	Japan's unemployment rate	58
A6J	Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, an adroit political tactician, led his ruling Liberal Democratic Party to a sweeping victory last summer in both houses of the Diet, the Japanese parliament. For his historic win, he was rewarded with an unusual one-year extension in office, becoming the longest-serving Japanese Prime Minister in 15 years.	Deletion	Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone	53
A7J	Japan's modernist master architect wins the coveted Pritzker Prize	Deletion	Japanese architect wins Pritzker Prize	9
A8J	The U.S. fires protective tariffs at Japanese electronics products	Generalisation	American protectionism	9
A9J	A new current sweeps across Japan, but the old ways still die hard	Deletion	Old habits die hard	13
A10J	It is no larger than a few grains of rice, but it was big enough to cause one of the most serious episodes between the U.S. and Japan since the end of World War II. It is the tiny microchip, a sophisticated bit of silicon that is the indispensable heart of the techtronic age, the raw material for everything from talking teddy bears to personal computers to intercontinental missiles. After the Reagan Administration imposed trade sanctions against Japan in an attempt to protect American makers of microchips, it suddenly looked last week as if the U.S. and Japan were headed for...	Generalisation	US-Japan trade tensions	101
A11J	Nakasone is caught between the U.S. and the voters at home	Construction	Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone	11
A12J	How to sell autos to Japan	Generalisation	Selling to Japan	6

A13J	She is sharp, stylish and, at 29, the trusted confidante of business leaders and government finance officials. Armed with a Harvard M.B.A., she reports on Japanese business inroads in the U.S. and advises her boss on how to buy up a bank; meanwhile, she is carrying on a romance with a dashing economist. Sawako Matsumoto is the heroine in a hardcover, cartoon-style guide to economics that is published by Nihon Keizai Shimbun, Tokyo's largest business daily. The books sell for roughly $6.70 each and are a runaway hit in Japan.	Generalisation	The sophisticated Japanese heroine	90
A14J	What is killing off so many of Japan's corporate chiefs?	Generalisation	Death of Japan's corporate chiefs	10
A15J	The shocking conspiracy behind Toshiba's sales to the Soviets	Deletion	Toshiba's sales to the Soviets	9
A16J	Should an economic power as large as the U.S. get excited about the sale of a few thousand autos or tons of steel to a foreign country? Yes, indeed. For America in the 1980s, a modest export can represent a major industrial breakthrough. Cases in point: Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca announced in September that for the first time in nearly ten years, the automaker would begin selling U.S.-made autos in six West European countries -- and at prices lower than those of competitive models. Earlier this year the largest U.S. steelmaker, USX, sold 20,000 tons of hot-rolled bands to an Osaka	Generalisation	America's paltry exports	101
A17J	A trio of contenders putt for the prime ministership	Generalisation	Contest for Japan's prime ministership	9
A18J	Under pressure from allies, Tokyo changes tactics	Deletion	Japan changes tactics	7
A19J	Sony pays $2 billion for pacesetting CBS Records	Generalisation	Sony's acquisition	8
A20J	When Yozo Matsuoka was a manager at Honda's European operations in Brussels during the early 1980s, one of his neighbors was a Belgian pensioner. "This man lived a life beyond our imaging," recalls Matsuoka. "He owned his house, drove a nice car and rented a cottage in Spain for five months a year. I knew that they paid lots of taxes for the social-welfare system in Belgium, but I realized with envy the security they got in return."	Generalisation	Japanese envy of European welfare system	78
			Total no.	767
			Average no. per headline	38.35

Table 145: Prevailing topics of the lead texts (*The Economist*) – Japan in 1987

No.	Lead Texts	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words
B1J	So long as foreigners are excluded, Japan will have a costly and inefficient telephone service.	Generalisation	Japan's protectionism	15
B2J	In the Oriental zodiac, 1987 is the year of the rabbit. It does not really start until the lunar new year on January 29th, but Japan likes to get a head start by making it correspond with the western new year. Rabbit years are characterised by elusiveness, cleverness and fertility.	Generalisation	Japan's alignment with the West	50
B3J	Toyota is the motor industry's tortoise - the company that comes from behind to win by letting others set the pace. A stronger yen is forcing it change its cautious ways. Against its instincts, Toyota is now producing cars abroad and diversifying at home. Can it still win the race?	Generalisation	Japan's offshore strategy	50
B4J	Present ones are just about right. Including the dollar's. Don't let Mr Baker ruin this.	Generalisation	International exchange rates	15
B5J	The Osaka Securities Exchange is the world's third biggest stockmarket after Wall Street and Tokyo. Bigger than the London Stock Exchange, it is capitalised at around Y250 trillion ($1,600 billion); in trading value in 1986, it was worth more than Y25 trillion. There is no pride in being third. Osaka is more concerned at being second to Tokyo.	Generalisation	Osaka-Tokyo competition	58
B6J	Japan's businessmen have always shown a remarkable ability to bounce back from whatever external shocks have hit them. Now that they are buffeted by the rapid appreciation of the yen, they are turning to proven policies (cost-cutting, redesign of products) to see them through. But this time there is an important new element to their strategy. Manufacturers are moving production offshore. This could be the beginning of a fundamental change for Japanese companies.	Generalisation	Japan's offshore strategy	73
B7J	NTT remains a quasi-nationalised, quasi-monopoly	Generalisation	Japan's protectionism	5
B8J	In a superficial examination of today's global economy, Japan and West Germany appear to be the troublemakers, each amassing huge external surpluses at the expense of the world. Yet the foreign trade pattern of the two is completely different-which is somewhat surprising as neither is well-endowed with natural resources: while both buy sizeable quantities of raw materials, the Federal Republic also imports a large volume of manufactured goods.	Generalisation	Japan's unfair trade practices	68
B9J	Trade relations between America and Japan are at their lowest ebb in 40 years. Over semiconductors, telecommunications, fighter aircraft and the building of Japan's Kansai airport, the two countries are falling out. The Japanese are perturbed, and turning to anger-an emotion that policymakers in Washington have known for some time.	Generalisation	US-Japan trade relations	50
B10J	It does not take a keen ear to sense the thundering charge of approaching trade war. When stockmarkets heard the hooves this week, they turned and fled, sending share prices plummeting, currencies into new turmoil, American interest rates up. They should thereby have taught American and European politicians the simplest of economic lessons.	Deletion	Impending trade war	53

B11J	The trade rows that Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, the Japanese prime minister, and President Reagan met to defuse (see page 35) threaten to scare away the Japanese who are investing in America's economy. Such a retreat would be as dangerous as trade protectionism.	Generalisation	American protectionism	42
B12J	America at the end of the twentieth century has much in common with Britain at the end of the nineteenth. It has lost its economic pre-eminence. As a result, its commitment to free trade is under attack.	Generalisation	US-Britain economic pre-eminence	37
B13J	At the heart of the Japanese miracle lies a paradox. Its economy flaunts its rigidities almost as a matter of principle (consider the way MITI defends strict non-tariff barriers) and yet in the 1970s Japan was the most successful of the advanced industrial countries in adjusting to the three challenges of absorbing the oil price shocks, controlling inflation and moving industries out of old declining businesses into new competitive ones.	Generalisation	Japan's paradoxical economy	70
B14J	At this week's meeting of OECD ministers, Mr James Baker, America's treasury secretary, stepped up pressure on Japan and West Germany to expand their economies. So far, Japan has borne the brunt of America's wrath and, rather unfairly, will probably continue to do so at next month's economic summit in Venice.	Deletion	Japan bears the brunt of America's wrath	51
B15J	As Japan's exporters become more like West Germany's, trade tensions will ease.	Deletion	Trade tensions	12
B16J	Agricultural trade will be high on the agenda of the Venice economic summit next month. That should provide a convenient excuse for the Japanese government to push much-needed reforms of Japan's inefficient and protected farm industry.	Generalisation	Japan's protectionism	36
B17J	Copying America, the EEC is concluding that attack is the best means of defence in its strained trade relations with Japan. The time is past when the Community would wring its hands as Japanese exporters added another billion dollars or so to their country's trade surplus with the EEC and send a deputation to Tokyo to beg for voluntary export restraints.	Generalisation	EEC-Japan relations	61

B18J	For more than a year, pundits have picked Tokyo as the stockmarket likeliest to bust: absurd price/earnings ratios, crazy property prices and lots of share speculation by industrial companies all suggested the Japan Sea Bubble would pop first. How perverse, then, that when Wall Street first started to deflate, Tokyo swelled. Abundant Japanese cash, it was wishfully thought, would keep share prices moving up, especially as Japanese investors were becoming warier of foreign markets. The time had come, optimists said smugly, for the Tokyo and New York markets to their separate ways.	Generalisation	US declines, Japan rises	92
B19J	If patience is a virtue, few people can be more virtuous than the overbearingly patient Mr Noboru Takeshita, Japan's next prime minister. He may yet try the patience of the world.	Generalisation	The world is getting impatient with Japan	31
B20J	Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, due to hand over his job to Mr Noboru Takeshita on November 6th, said in his last press conference as Japan's prime minister that he had tried to get the world to see his country as a place interested in more than mere exports. It is. But if Japan's policy on the Gulf war is anything to go by, it is having a hard time working out what its other interests are and what it should do about them. It may be a long while learning.	Generalisation	Japan's vested interests in the Gulf	89
			Total no.	958
			Average no. per headline	47.9

Table 146: Prevailing topics of the lead texts (*L'Express*) – Japan in 1987

No.	Lead Texts	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words (EN)	No. of words (FR)
F1J	Les Américains laissent filer le dollar. Les Japonais tentent de le retenir. Les Allemands ne veulent pas intervenir. Les Français, eux, ne le peuvent guère. **The Americans are letting the dollar go. The Japanese are trying to retain it. The Germans do not want to interfere. The French can hardly do anything about it.**	Generalisation	International trade	29	25
F2J	Pour combler l'énorme déficit de ses échanges, la première puissance du monde passe à la contre-offensive commerciale. Encore doit-elle rendre sa compétitivité à une industrie déclinante. **To make up for its huge trade deficit, the world's leading power is going on a trade offensive. It still has to make one of its declining industry competitive again.**	Generalisation	America's trade offensive	30	26
F3J	Pour éviter les licenciements, les patrons paient des gens à ne rien faire : les madigowas. Mais le nombre des chômeurs atteint un seuil critique. **To avoid dismissals, bosses are paying people to do nothing: the madigowas. But the number of unemployed reaches a critical threshold.**	Generalisation	Japan's labour market	21	25
F4J	Quelles possibilités a-t-on de faire fortune aujourd'hui? La question se pose avec une acuité particulière en France, un pays enclin à voir les clefs de la richesse en dehors des frontières. Mais où l'environnement à cet égard s'est récemment amélioré : suppression de l'impôt sur les grandes fortunes, réduction de l'impôt sur les revenus et sur les bénéfices, assouplissement des contraintes réglementaires. **What opportunities do we have to make a fortune today? The question is particularly important in France, a country inclined to see the drivers of wealth outside its borders. But in this regard where the environment has recently improved: abolition of the tax on the super wealthy, reduction of taxes on income and profits, relaxation of regulatory constraints.**	Construction	France's creation of wealth	58	62
F5J	Les États-Unis ont perdu la suprématie dans l'industrie des semi-conducteurs et accusent le leader japonais de massacrer les prix. Tokyo a-t-il les moyens de riposter? **The United States has lost its supremacy in the semiconductor industry and accuses the leader, Japan, of massacring the prices. Does Tokyo have the means to fight back?**	Construction	America's trade offensive	28	25
F6J	Pourquoi le secrétaire américain au Trésor a rallié le camp de ceux qui veulent stabiliser le billet vert? **Why did the US Treasury Secretary join the camp of those who want to stabilise the greenback?**	Deletion	US dollar	17	18

F7J	La visite de M. Nakasone, Premier ministre japonais, à Washington intervient dans uns atmosphère de crise. Certes, ce ne sont pas les premières difficultés commerciales entre les États-Unis et le Japon. À propos du textile, de l'acier ou de l'automobile, les rapports entre les deux pays, dans le passé, se sont tendus, puis détendus par des compromis. Ainsi, les États-Unis acceptèrent d'importer des voitures japonaises, mais limitèrent leurs importations à 20% du marché. En cela, ils furent plus libéraux que les Européens, mais moins qu'ils ne veulent bien le paraître. **The visit of Mr Nakasone, Prime Minister of Japan, to Washington takes place in an atmosphere of crisis. Indeed, these are not the first trade difficulties between the United States and Japan. In the past, relations between both countries in the textile, steel and automotive sectors were strained and subsequently relaxed due to compromises. As a result, the United States agreed to import Japanese cars, but limited their imports to 20% of the market. The Americans were thus more liberal than the Europeans, but less than they wanted to appear.**	Generalisation	US-Japan trade tensions	90	90
F8J	La visite de M. Nakasone à Washington n'a rien réglé. Au moins n'a-t-elle rien compromis. La fièvre protectionniste n'a pas quitté la Chambre des représentants, et on voit mal le Sénat l'imiter, ou le Président ne pas y mettre son veto. Le Japon n'a pas obtenu la levée des sanctions douanières: tout est renvoyé à des discussions ultérieurs. Mais M. Reagan a reconnu qu'une nouvelle baisse du dollar aurait des effets négatifs pour tous. Il reproche à ses interlocuteurs l'absence d'engagement précis. Pourtant, le gouvernement japonais a décidé d'abaisser ses taux d'interet - ce qui va dans le bon sens - d'importer pour 1 milliard de dollars de gros ordinateurs et de consacrer 30 milliards de dollars, en trois ans, à l'aide aux pays pauvres. Et il peut rétorquer aux Américains qu'en matière budgétaire eux non plus ne prennent pas d'engagements précis. **Mr Nakasone's visit to Washington did not solve anything. At least it did not result in any compromise. The House of Representatives has not shaken off the protectionist fever and it is hard to see the Senate imitating it, or the President not vetoing it. Japan did not manage to get the trade sanctions lifted: everything has been postponed for further discussions. But Reagan acknowledged that a further decline of the dollar would have negative effects for everyone. He reproaches his interlocutors for the lack of precise commitment. Nevertheless, the Japanese government has decided to lower its interest rates - which is a step in the right direction - to import USD 1 billion worth of large computers and to spend USD 30 billion over a period of three years to help poor countries.**	Generalisation	US-Japan trade tensions	152	142

F9J	Le Japon va-t-il changer de trajectoire économique, en développant la consommation de ses 120 millions d'habitants? Ou maintenir une agressivité commerciale qui a conduit à un excédent record de 100 milliards de dollars en 1986? Christian Sautter, 47ans, polytechnicien, ancien pensionnaire de la Maison franco-japonaise à Tokyo, secrétaire général adjoint de l'Élysée de 1981 à 1985, et qui vient de publier "Dents du géant, le Japon à la conquête du monde", répond à L'Express. **Will Japan change its economic trajectory, by developing the consumption habits of its 120 million habitants? Or maintain a trade aggressivity that led to USD 100 billion surplus in 1986? Christian Sautter, 47, a graduate from the École Polytechnique, former member of the Franco-Japanese Cultural Exchange Centre in Tokyo, deputy general secretary to the French President from 1981 to 1985, and who has just published "Teeth of the giant, Japan conquers the world", reponds to L'Express.**	Generalisation	Japan's global expansion	76	74
F10J	La firme nipponne avait vendu du matériel interdit à l'U.R.S.S. Son P.d.g. démissionne. Pour apaiser la colère américaine. **The Japanese firm had sold prohibited equipment to the USSR. Its CEO resigned. To appease the anger of the Americans.**	Generalisation	Appeasing American anger	20	18
F11J	Les économistes en parlent, les financiers le redoutent…Jamais, depuis le célèbre « jeudi noir » de Wall Street, le spectre de la crise n'a été si présent. Non sans quelques raisons. **Economists talk about it, financiers fear it…Never has the spectre of the crisis been so present since the infamous 'Black Thursday' of Wall Street. Not without some reasons.**	Generalisation	Global financial crisis	28	29
F12J	Le Japon, premier partenaire de l'Afrique du Sud. Une place que Tokyo justifie par la hausse de sa monnaie. **Japan, South Africa's principal trade partner. A place where Japan can justify having a stronger currency.**	Generalisation	International trade	16	19

F13J	La télévision de demain sera-t-elle japonaise? Les constructeurs du Vieux Continent jouent la carte Eurêka. Mais, sur le marché du laser, la guerre s'intensifie. **Will tomorrow's television be Japanese? The builders of the Old Continent are playing the Eureka card. But the war in the laser market is intensifying.**	Generalisation	International trade	25	24
F14J	Le gouvernement espère ramener la semaine de travail à quarante heures…en 1995. Même les syndicats sont contre. **The government hopes to reduce the number of working hours per week to forty…in 1995. Even the labour unions are against it.**	Generalisation	Japan's labour market	22	17
F15J	Professeur d'économie à l'Université d'Osaka, Iwao Nakatani exprime depuis plusieurs mois ses craintes quant à une crise financière internationale. Dans une interview à L'Express, il appelle le Japon et la RFA à prendre leurs responsabilités. **Professor of Economics at Osaka University, Iwao Nakatani has been expressing his fears about a global financial crisis for several months. In an interview with L'Express, he calls on Japan and West Germany to take their responsibilities.**	Deletion	Global financial crisis	37	35
F16J	Wall Street l'a compris avant Reagan: cinq années de croissance ininterrompue masquaient, en fait, la fin de l'hégémonie américaine. **Wall Street understood it before Reagan: five years of uninterrupted growth, in fact, have hidden the end of the American hegemony.**	Deletion	End of American hegemony	21	19
F17J	Plus de mille milliards de dollars envolés. Mais qu'ont fait les trois grands - États-Unis, Japon, RFA - pour rétablir ensemble l'ordre dans l'économie mondiale? Rien ou presque. **Over a trillion dollars gone. But what have the big three - the United States, Japan, West Germany - done together to restore order in the global economy? Almost nothing.**	Generalisation	Global economic order	30	28
F18J	Quand Wall Street craque, tous les regards se tournent vers le Japon. Et vers sa formidable montée en puissance. Économique, financière. Le pays le plus riche de la planète peut-il aussi disputer à l'Amérique son rôle de leader? Le veut-il? C'est là l'ambiguïté d'une île qui « s'ouvre », mais se donne le plus insulaire des Premiers ministres... **When Wall Street crashes, all eyes turn to Japan. And towards its formidable rise in power. Economically, financially. Can the world's wealthiest country also compete for leadership in America? Does it want it? This is the ambiguity of an island that is 'opening up', but gives itself the most insular of prime ministers...**	Generalisation	Ambiguity of a rising economic superpower	53	58
F19J	Une insolente réussite économique a permis à Tokyo de conquérir les marchés financiers. Peut-il devenir le banquier du monde? **A brash economic success has enabled Tokyo to conquer the financial markets. Can it become the world's banker?**	Generalisation	Japan's economic rise	18	19
F20J	Ils ont triomphé des crises pétrolières. Pénalisés par la hausse du yen, ils investissent en force à l'étranger, s'adaptent pour rebondir. Quelle santé! **They triumphed over the oil crises. Penalised by the rise of the yen, they invest heavily abroad and adapt themselves for a rebound. How strong they are!**	Generalisation	Japan's economic rise and global expansion	27	23
			Total no.	798	776
			Average no. per headline	39.9	38.8

Table 147: Prevailing topics of the lead texts (*Der Spiegel*) – Japan in 1987

No.	Lead Texts	Macro-rules	Prevailing topic	No. of words (EN)	No. of words (GE)
G1J	SPIEGEL-Redakteur Tiziano Terzani über Selbstbewußtsein und Überlegenheitsgefühl der Japaner Sie halten sich für einzigartig und rassisch „homogen“. Sie glauben, besondere Nasen und ein besonderes Gehirn zu haben. Sie möchten die Welt nicht nur mit den Produkten Ihrer Wirtschaft, sondern auch mit ihrer Kultur beglücken: Die Japaner werden selbstbewußter und arroganter. Ihre Nachbarn sehen das mit Besorgnis. **SPIEGEL editor Tiziano Terzani on the self-confidence and superiority of the Japanese. They consider themselves unique and racially "homogeneous". They think they have special noses and a special brain. They want to make the world happy not only with the products of their economy, but also with their culture: The Japanese are becoming more self-confident and arrogant. Their neighbors are concerned.**	Generalisation	Japanese exceptionalism	61	56
G2J	Der Handelsstreit zwischen den USA und den Europäern spitzt sich zu. Präsident Reagan kann die Falken im Kongreß kaum noch stoppen. **The trade dispute between the USA and the Europeans is getting worse. President Reagan can hardly stop the hawks in Congress.**	Generalisation	US-Europe trade dispute	21	21
G3J	Mit seiner Währung dirigiert Amerika die Wirtschaft der Welt (I) **America rules the world economy with its currency (I)**	Construction	Dollar hegemony	9	10
G4J	Entsetzen in Japan: Die Auto-Konzerne müssen Mitarbeiter entlassen. **Horror in Japan: Car companies have to lay off employees.**	Generalisation	Retrenchment in Japan	10	8
G5J	Der japanische Autohersteller Honda will noch in diesem Jahr als erster einen Personenwagen mit Allradlenkung auf den Markt bringen. **The Japanese car manufacturer, Honda, will be the first to launch a passenger car with all-wheel steering on the market this year.**	Generalisation	Honda's new technologies	22	19
G6J	Mit zunehmender Verbitterung antworten die Amerikaner auf die Eroberungsstrategie japanischer Chip-Hersteller. **With increasing bitterness, the Americans are responding to the conquest strategy of the Japanese chip manufacturers.**	Generalisation	US reacts to Japanese conquest strategy	16	11
G7J	Zu spät erkannten die Japaner ihre Chancen im kommerziellen Raketen-Geschäft. Jetzt versuchen sie, den Vorsprung der Europäer und Amerikaner aufzuholen. **The Japanese realised their chances in the commercial rocket business too late. Now, they are trying to catch up with the Europeans and Americans.**	Generalisation	Japanese still catching up with the West	24	20

G8J	Erstmals seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg verhängten die USA Strafzölle gegen die Exportoffensive des befreundeten Japan. Nur ein Viertelprozent des Handelsvolumens ist betroffen, dennoch heizte sich über die Ausfuhr von Mikrochips in die USA der Konflikt zu einem Handelskrieg auf, in dem keine Stelle zurückweichen will. **For the first time since the Second World War, the USA imposed punitive tariffs on the export offensive of its ally Japan. Only a quarter of a percent of the trade volume is affected, but nevertheless the conflict heated up to a trade war due to the export of microchips to the USA, in which neither wants to step back.**	Generalisation	US-Japan trade dispute	60	45
G9J	Als Alternative zu komplizierten Allrad-Lenkungen hat ein Nürnberger Außenseiter eine Apparatur ersonnen, die es dem Fahrer erlaubt, engste Parklücken zu nutzen. **As an alternative to complicated all-wheel steering systems, an underdog from Nuremberg has devised a device that allows the driver to use the narrowest of parking spaces.**	Generalisation	New German technologies	27	21
G10J	Brüssel will die Anti-Dumping-Vorschriften, die sich gegen japanische Billig-Importe richten, verschärfen. **Brussels wants to tighten anti-dumping rules against cheap Japanese imports.**	Generalisation	Japan's unfair trade practices	10	11
G11J	Die Japaner legen gewaltige Vermögen im Ausland an. Sie kaufen das, was Gewinn und Ansehen verspricht: Wertpapiere, Immobilien, Kunst. **The Japanese invest huge sum of money abroad. They buy anything that promises profit and reputation: securities, real estate, art.**	Generalisation	Global expansion	20	19
G12J	Japans Marshall-Plan für die Dritte Welt: Mit Krediten sollen neue Kunden für japanische Produkte gewonnen werden. **Japan's Marshall Plan for the Third World: New customers for Japanese products are to be acquired with loans.**	Generalisation	Japan's trade practices	18	16
G13J	Sie haben es wirklich schwer, die Japaner. Niemand mag ihnen ihre Export-Erfolge gönnen, alle bezichtigen sie, einen Vernichtungsfeldzug gegen ausländische Rivalen zu führen. "Der japanische Halbleiter-Godzilla (eine japanische Horrorfilm-Figur - d. Red.) zerstört jetzt alles außer Tokio", beklagt US-Senator Pete Wilson angeblich ruinöse Praktiken japanischer Halbleiter-Produzenten. **It is really hard for them, the Japanese. Nobody likes them for their export successes, all accuse them of leading a campaign of annihilation against foreign rivals. "The Japanese semiconductor Godzilla is now destroying everything but Tokyo", complains US senator Pete Wilson of allegedly ruinous practices by Japanese semiconductor producers.**	Generalisation	Japan's unfair trade practices	50	46
G14J	SPIEGEL-Redakteur Tiziano Terzani über die neue Krisenstimmung der Japaner. **SPIEGEL editor Tiziano Terzani on the Japanese' new sense of crisis.**	Deletion	Japanese sense of crisis	11	9
G15J	Porsche wird wieder kleiner und feiner. Als erstes werden zwei Vierzylinder-Modelle aufgegeben. **Posche is getting smaller and finer again. First, two four-cylinder models are discontinued.**	Generalisation	New technologies	13	12
G16J	Ein zweiter Außenspiegel könnte Unfälle vermeiden helfen, doch deutsche Autohersteller liefern ihn meist nur gegen Aufpreis. **A second exterior mirror could help prevent accidents, but German car manufacturers usually deliver it for an extra charge.**	Generalisation	Extra charges for more installations	19	16

G17J	Kommt das konkurrenzfähige Kunststoff-Mobil in Großserie doch früher als gedacht? Neue Werkstoffe und Technologien lassen hoffen. **Is the competitive plastic mobile coming sooner than expected? New materials and technologies give hope.**	Construction	New technologies enhance competitivity	15	16
G18J	Wolfsburg überläßt den Japanern das Feld - das VW-Werk in den USA wird dichtgemacht. **Wolfsburg leaves the field to the Japanese - the VW plant in the USA is closed down.**	Generalisation	Japan wins the competition	17	14
G19J	Nach der Exportwelle rollt nun eine Offensive des guten Willens aus Japan. **After the export wave, an offensive of goodwill is now rolling in from Japan.**	Generalisation	Japan's goodwill offensive	14	12
G20J	SPIEGEL-Interview mit Matsushita-Vorstand Toshihiko Yamashita über japanische Handelspraktiken **SPIEGEL interview with Matsushita's board member Toshihiko Yamashita about Japanese trading practices**	Deletion	Japan's trade practices	12	8
			Total no.	449	390
			Average no. per headline	22.45	19.5