Sweden through China’s Migration Lenses
A Content Analysis of the People’s Daily’s News Reports on Sweden in Migration Contexts

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1. Abstract

This is a content analysis of the Chinese newspaper *People’s Daily (Renmin Ribao 人民日报)*. It examines articles published by the *People’s Daily* reporting about Sweden in migration contexts between January 1980 and September 2015. The purpose of the project is to investigate changes over time when it comes to agenda-setting, together with which other countries Sweden is mentioned and framing used in the articles. The topics of the articles are listed and a deductive frame analysis is carried out, showing clear signs of changes over time. The data shows that there has been a shift from reporting on international disputes to reporting on Europe’s migration issues. From investigating with which other countries Sweden is mentioned, a conclusion can be drawn that Sweden is portrayed as a country that collaborates with the other European countries to a great extent. The data also shows that there is a low usage of the *conflict* frame, but a high usage the *responsibility*- and *morality* frames in the *People’s Daily* which is evidence of letting the ideology of the authors shine through. The *People’s Daily* shows signs of political correctness by shifting from a high usage of *episodic* framing to *thematic* framing.
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2. Introduction

The ability to print texts for mass production has been integral to creating systems of communication. Sometimes it has been to convey orders, other times it was for the purpose of informing people of changes of legislature, and other it has been for the important purpose of spreading news to the populace, etc.

News media today play a large role in the lives of people all around the globe. It is what lets them keep up to date with what’s new, and to connect with their fellow citizens. According to researchers such as Shanto Iyengar & Adam Simon, Claes H de Vreese & Andreas R. T. Schuck, and Vincent Price, David Tewksbury & Elizabeth Powers, news media keep people on the same level in terms of public opinion and ideology. Their research includes examining the influence that media has on opinion forming and reinforcing ideologies.¹

The study of the influence that media has over forming public opinions and shaping peoples’ perspectives on the world is quite a new field of research, but it has already gotten a lot of attention from researchers. This power, that the media apparently has, is no doubt used as a tool by some to control or shape the thoughts of the populace. And in the hands of, say, a government that controls the media, such as China, that influence can have serious effect.

It is of great importance to conduct research on how media influences the forming of public opinion in order to understand the forces that shape society. With awareness of this, it is possible to take this into account when forming your own opinion, and to be source critical in order to make logical decisions.

2.1. Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this project is to try and see how a Chinese newspaper, namely the People’s Daily, has changed over time when reporting on Sweden in migration contexts. This project will also seek to figure out whether the People’s Daily has changed the way they portray Sweden over time.

The research questions in this project are:

RQ1: What are the main topics of the People’s Daily’s news articles reporting on Sweden in migration contexts published between January 1980 and September 2015?

RQ1.1: How has the usage of these main topics in the articles shifted over time between January 1980 and September 2015?

RQ2: What other countries are mentioned together with Sweden in the People’s Daily’s news articles reporting on Sweden in migration contexts published between January 1980 and September 2015?

RQ2.1: Is Sweden claimed to agree with, or disagree with, these countries regarding the matter reported on in the news articles?

RQ3: To what extent are the frames of conflict, human interest, consequence, morality and responsibility used in the People’s Daily’s news articles reporting on Sweden in migration contexts published between January 1980 and September 2015?

RQ4: How has the usage of episodic- and thematic framing changed over time in the People’s Daily’s news articles reporting on Sweden in migration contexts published between January 1980 and September 2015?

Since the migration situation around the world has changed over time, it is interesting to see how this is mirrored in Chinese news press. RQ1 seeks to investigate the agenda-setting function that the topics of the People’s Daily’s news articles has. The potential effects of this will be explored later on in the sections of 7. Results and Analysis and 8. Discussion and Conclusion.

It is of interest to see which other countries are mentioned together with Sweden because that is bound to influence how the Chinese people regard Sweden. Going to the extremes; people with a western mindset would argue that being compared to North Korea when it comes to human rights is a bad thing, and compared to Norway when it comes to living standards is a good thing. That makes RQ2 a good indication of whether or not the People’s Daily has changed the way they portray Sweden.

RQ3 investigates how the People’s Daily frames their articles for the Chinese populace to read, which ultimately influences their perception of Sweden as a whole. For that reason, RQ3 is a question of great importance. Shanto Iyengar & Adam Simon argued that framing mirrors the ideology, opinion and bias of the author², so detecting significant differences in the usage of these five frames in the articles would indicate that these shine through.

According to Iyengar & Simon, there is a big difference between reporting on an event or issue episodically and thematically when it comes to the way the reader interprets the text.³ Since this choice has influence on public opinion forming, it is of great importance to investigate how the People’s Daily uses this tool. RQ4 investigates the articles’ usage of episodic- and thematic frames.

³ Ibid. (379).
3. Background

During the time period examined in this project, a lot has happened in terms of globalisation, global migration and international politics. Thus it is important to know some background information regarding these topics in the context of Chinese-Swedish relations before delving deeper into the analysis conducted in this project.

3.1. The Migration Situation

The world is seeing an increasing trend of migration where people from poorer countries migrate to richer ones.\(^4\) There are a number of reasons as to why people do migrate; for example it can be because of relations with inhabitants of another country, work, or just in search for a better life.\(^5\)

Another aspect of migrating people is refugees. These are not migrants by choice, but are instead forced to flee their homes because of war, persecution, or other situations in which their lives are threatened.\(^6\)

The topic of migration into Europe has always been a hot one. On the one hand, there is the steady stream of migrants and refugees that come from all over the world, and on the other hand there are the victims of atrocities of certain crises which force large numbers of people to flee their countries as refugees. The most prominent events creating refugees in the last 50 years are the conflicts in the Balkans starting in the 1990’s\(^7\), and the Syria conflict starting in the 2010’s\(^8\), both of them creating immense numbers of refugees.

Immigrants have throughout the ages been thought of as having strange cultures and values that do not match those of the host country. They have been thought to “steal” jobs from the natives and to be a bad influence on the country’s culture and traditions and also on its economy.\(^9\) Research, on the other hand, shows different results. Many researchers, such as Borjas G. J., Freeman R. B., & Katz L. F., have shown that immigration is highly beneficial for the national economy, and that instead of reducing the number of jobs available for the natives, it actually increases them.\(^10\) And when it comes to culture, the newly arrived immigrants bring with them their culture, which the natives adopt if they find it appealing, or discard if they do not. That way, a natural selection occurs where the desired stays and the undesired just never sticks.

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3.2. Swedish Views on Migration

The Northern European country of Sweden has a history of acceptance when it comes to different cultures and religions. In modern times, the country has taken in a large amount of people fleeing disasters and other hardships. This, combined with a lot of money spent on the integration of the immigrants in the form of welfare supplements that goes to education, healthcare and housing etc., has created a multi-cultural society. Immigration has contributed to creating a stable and rising economy, and most of the Swedish citizens acknowledge this.

This, however, has changed recently because of an increasing fear of negative effects that immigration might have on the Swedish society. There are those who vigorously oppose immigration for that reason. Following the rising intake of migrants and refugees, extreme right-wing groups have gained more followers. Crimes committed against immigrants are not few in number, especially in recent years.

Other than the out-right neo-Nazi and fascist organisations that rallies in public places or persecute foreigners stealthily, many European countries have seen the rise of political parties with anti-immigrant policies. Sweden is no exception, but due to many people still opposing them, Sweden is one of few countries in Northern Europe where these parties have not yet been in government.

Due to an increased amount of asylum seekers entering Sweden recently, the politics of the country has changed to be more restrictive, not just when it comes to the right-wing parties such as Sverigedemokraterna (The Sweden Democrats).

According to Paulo Silva, former senior partner at the magazine New Republic, there is a discernible trend among a majority of the Swedish parties to adopt more restrictive immigration policies:

"Det är ett nytt politiskt läge nu där det finns alternativ även för dem som vill rösta på en mer restriktiv invandringspolitik. Sverigedemokraterna har upphört att vara den enda referenspunkten i migrationsfrågor."

[There is now a new political situation where there also are options for those

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12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
who want to vote for more restrictive immigration politics. The Sweden
Democrats are no longer the only point of reference in migration issues.]^{18}

3.3. Chinese Views on Migration

China is a country with very little immigration, and a very limited emigration.^{19} The country’s
policies on migration have ever since the founding of the People’s Republic of China been
highly regulated. Internal migration is limited through the use of the so called *hukou-system*,
a household registration system that is connected to residence permits and welfare.^{20}
Emigration from China has, up until recently, mainly occurred from the free market zones
during the more communistically controlled period of the People’s Republic of China.^{21} Even
then, emigration was not something that was encouraged. Recently, however, China is
seeing a more natural emigration from other parts of the country as well. China’s
immigration policy is one of the most restrictive in the world, making it nearly impossible to
obtain citizenship.^{22}

Being a foreigner in China nowadays makes you subject to both perks and discrimination.
Many people in China still hold resentment for previous wars fought with foreigners, such as
the Opium Wars^{23}, or are just not used to seeing different faces other than those of other
Eastern Asians. This causes foreigners to be treated differently from the natives in different
ways unless you are able to establish a connection with them such as being colleagues,
friends or otherwise on the same level.^{24} On the other hand, foreigners also have it much
easier to get well paid jobs by big, international companies.^{25}

3.4. Swedish -Chinese Diplomatic Relations

Sweden was the first country in Europe to recognise the newly formed People’s Republic of
China, and according to Anna Michalski, Sweden has since had strong diplomatic relations
with China.^{26} She claims that the early recognition of the PPC has granted Sweden a “special
relationship with the country”.^{27} The close connection between the two countries took a

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among Rural–Urban Migrants after Reform of the Hukou Registration System”. *J House and the Built Environ*,
Vol. 29, (615-636).


^{22} Ibid.


^{25} Ibid.

^{26} Michalski, A., (2013). “Europeanization of National Foreign Policy: The Case of Denmark’s and Sweden’s

^{27} Ibid.
turn for the worse, however, after the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989, and Sweden was one of the last European countries to resume diplomatic relations with China after that.\textsuperscript{28}

There have been many state visits between the two countries, and the two have praised each other on numerous occasions. For instance, the then vice-chairman Xi Jinping was very impressed by the eco-friendly actions taken in the community of Hammarby in Sweden.\textsuperscript{29}

There are several large corporations that bind Sweden and China in international business. For example, the Swedish car manufacturer Volvo was bought by China’s Geely in 2003\textsuperscript{30}, making it as much of a Chinese brand as a Swedish one.

Sweden has not seen a relatively large influx of Chinese immigrants, nor the other way around, but the cultures have had impact on each other nonetheless. Chinese restaurants are a common occurrence in Sweden, being a popular dining choice for many Swedes, and the Swedish furniture retailer IKEA has had huge success in China, spreading Swedish design into the Chinese households.

3.5. Chinese Press

Ever since the founding the People’s Republic of China, the press in the country has been heavily regulated. At first, all news agencies were owned and run by the government, and even when they allowed private agencies to open later on, they too were subject to strict regulations and censorship. There have been instances when news agencies were forced by the government to shut down and the people running them to pay fines, face incarceration or be subject to other punishments.

In May 1942, chairman of the newly formed CCP, Mao Zedong, held a speech on the role of literature and art in the People’s Republic of China. He stated that literature, art, and news press should all work towards promoting the ideology of the party, and that the rest should be censored.\textsuperscript{31}

Even though the press is far less regulated and censored today, the principal idea remains. During the spring in 2014, the Central Cyber Security and Informatization Leading Group (Zhongyang wangluo anquan he xinxi hua lingdao xiaozu 中央网络安全和信息化领导小组) was created with President Xi Jinping and the Premier of the State Council Li Keqiang as

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid. (889-890).
leaders. With the founding of this organisation, the Communist Party has gotten even more control over the media in China, seeing how its leaders also are leaders of the party.\textsuperscript{32}

It is therefore argued that the news media of China is still governed from the top, that is, by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).\textsuperscript{33} Their direct link to the news media agencies is the \textit{Xinhua News Agency (Xinhua Tongxunshe 新华通讯社).} Here they promote the party line, and this news agency reports a great deal about the government and government affairs. The rest of the news agencies may then copy what \textit{Xinhua News Agency} has written and publish it in their own papers.\textsuperscript{34}

3.5.1. \textit{People’s Daily (Renmin Ribao 人民日报)}

The \textit{People’s Daily} is the newspaper that is claimed to be “advocating the party’s belief”.\textsuperscript{35} A large percentage of the articles they publish are written by \textit{Xinhua News Agency}, and the editors-in-chief of the \textit{People’s Daily} have connections with the party.\textsuperscript{36} This means that the \textit{People’s Daily} is just as regulated, or more, into promoting the party’s agenda as the other official news paper agencies in China.

The \textit{People’s Daily} is a subscription newspaper, and is therefore not something sold in a normal kiosk. It is most often sent to public organisations and businesses, giving it more of an elite reputation. It is argued that this also makes it less susceptible to the commercialisation that newspapers need to go through in order to keep selling and generate profit, and this, in turn, lets it hold on to more of its original purpose – to be the voice of the Chinese Communist Party.\textsuperscript{37}

3.5.2. Censorship

China has not totally left the old ways of censorship behind; it is believed to still be a major force in the media today.\textsuperscript{38} But it is also difficult to measure the full extent of the censorship, mainly because of the fact that it is censored.

Not all censorship is carried out from above in the hierarchy of authority, much of it is self-regulated. Since the leaders of the news agencies know that writing about something that is not allowed can lead to punishments of different sorts, many of them perform a kind of self-
censorship in order to avoid this from happening. In a paper about self-censorship written by Zhang Zhi’an (张治安), self-censorship is explained by Yun Guoqiang (云国强) as “a combined result of personal psychological mechanisms and various codes of conduct set up by the journalist society” (geti de ziwu xinli jizhi he gezhong youguan qi xinwen shijian de shehui shezhi jizhi hel de jieguo 个体的自我心理机制和各种有关其新闻实践的社会设置机制合力的结果), rather than being forced upon the media agencies by the government. Then it is arguable whether the articles would have gotten censored or not in the first place, leading to great uncertainties when it comes to determining the extent of the systematic censorship from higher authorities.

4. Literature Review
The previous research on Chinese-Swedish relations and Chinese news media that has been conducted so far will be presented in this section. There is unfortunately not that many content analysis studies conducted neither on how Chinese news media portray Sweden, nor on the People’s Daily in general, but results from the projects that do exist can be compared to those of this analysis to reveal differences and similarities.

4.1. Chinese-Swedish Diplomatic Relations
As mentioned earlier, Anna Michalski writes that because Sweden was so quick to recognise the regime of the newly formed People’s Republic of China, the two countries have always had a “special relationship”. Ever since then, their bilateral cooperation has been active, with a slight dip during the Cold War and the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989. Michalski describes the influence that Sweden and Denmark’s Europeanization on foreign policy has had on their relation to China, and how that has affected their international relations. She concludes that Sweden might give the impression of being more cooperative since the Swedish policies are more open to the EU foreign policies, and that makes international relations easier even with China.

4.2. Chinese News Press
Zhuqing Cheng, Guy J. Golan & Spiro Kiousis have examined the way that Xinhua News Agency structures its articles, and also what mood or tone they have compared to those of western news papers. They found that the agenda-setting function of the Chinese news

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41 Ibid.
42 Ibid. (884-900).
44 Ibid.
agencies is substantial in the Chinese community, but has little to no effect on western media.

Several studies on Chinese news press are conducted by Lily Chen. She has examined the newspaper *China Daily* that reports Chinese news in English. Chen performed comparative discourse analyses between the *China Daily* and the *Times Magazine* and found some clear differences. Chen examines the news papers’ usage of evaluation, as formulated by William Labov, to pick out "the degrees of neutrality or bias which are inscribed in the choice of words which reporters make". Evaluation is the way a text is embellished to be more interesting to read and to capture the reader. Chen came to the conclusion that evaluation occurs to a higher extent in western news press, as they are more commercialised and need to sell papers. The *China Daily* does not have to rely as much on selling as they are mainly a subscription newspaper, and has previously received government funding.

Chen also investigated the *transitivity*, as formulated by Michael A. K. Halliday, in the articles published by *China Daily*. Transitivity is the way that the author’s opinion and bias shine through in the text through their word use. Or, as Lily Chen describes it: “It enables us to study the way speakers and writers encode their mental patterns of reality – and how they account for their experience of the world around them”. Chen found that the Chinese articles were using less negatively charged words compared to those of the *Times Magazine*, and that the words chosen when reporting on Chinese government officials were much more positively valenced than the average. Chen concluded that this particular news agency supports and praises the Chinese government because it is a government institution. The research indicates that Chinese media have a more positive tone in their coverage of political news in general. She claims that this causes government officials to gain more authority, making less people question their decisions. Chen has not conducted any research on articles written in Chinese in the *People’s Daily* yet, but it is arguable that her theory that China’s news coverage has a positive tone in general should apply to the articles written in Chinese as well. This theory is applicable to the *People’s Daily* since both newspapers are owned by the government and are considered government institutions.

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48 Ibid.
According to Per Wikman, the *People’s Daily* portrays Sweden quite positively.\(^{54}\) He writes:

“Den Sverigebild som gavs i Folkets Dagblad maj-november 2010 har tre utmärkande drag, den är positiv, stabil och endimensionell. […] I artiklarna föremälas en bild av att man i Sverige på ett föredömligt sätt bekämpar korruption, bygger miljövänliga städer och organiserar utbildningen.”

[The portrayal of Sweden given in the *People’s Daily* between May and November 2010 has three outstanding features; it is positive, stable and one dimensional. [...] The image of Sweden in the articles is that of fighting corruption in an impeccable way, building eco-friendly cities and organising education.]\(^{55}\)

5. **Theoretical Framework**

There are some basic terms that need to be understood in order to comprehend the analysis and results of this project. This section describes these terms and concepts that are investigated in the present project.

5.1. **Agenda-Setting**

The topics brought up most are the ones that will occupy the public’s attention the most, and with attention comes emotions such as worry and concern. This is how Simon Iyengar describes how agenda-setting influences public opinion and concern.\(^{56}\) He gave the example of when the public concern for drug usage went from being considered the top national problem facing Americans by 70% of the population, down to only 5% in a matter of 2 years. This was due to a new issue arising that occupied all the space in the news coverage.\(^{57}\) This shows that agenda-setting is a powerful tool in influencing public opinion, giving the news media control over what people should find important.

Iyengar claims that agenda-setting influences public opinion, but not the other way around.\(^{58}\) He also described how agenda-setting causes priming in the reader, i.e. how it makes the reader draw assumptions in different ways, since their opinion is shaped from what the author chooses to write about.\(^{59}\)

5.2. **Framing**

The name every framing researcher reference back to is Goffman. Erving Goffman formulated the notion of frames as underlying schemata of texts that shape the way the
In other words, it is proposed that frames are ways of writing about different types of topics and that they influence the reader’s interpretation.

Goffman describes frames as being connected to culture in the sense that they provide a way of interpreting texts. Thus, deeply ideological media frame their work in such a way that it conveys their ideology and influences the readers.

Robert Entman explains frames as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue.” He claims that frames are present in any produced texts, including texts in non-western languages such as Chinese, and are used to give the reader a “shortcut” to grasping the meaning of the text. Robert Entman defines framing as a way “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient.”

Research on the effects of frames has gotten a lot more attention recently, especially in news and media contexts. For example, Claes H. de Vreese investigated the effects of frames on the interpretation of political news regarding the enlargement of the EU and found that it has a great influence, and also how it affected public opinion on the matter together with Andreas R.T. Schuck.

According to Holli A. Semetko and Patti M. Valkenburg, five main frames of news media are clearly distinguishable. These are the conflict-, human interest-, consequence-, morality- and responsibility frames. These five frames provide schemata on how articles are produced, concerning different kinds of topics. The presence, and absence, of these frames give the researcher insight of what underlying mechanisms are at play such as ideology, bias and opinion. These five frames are described by Semetko & Valkenburg as follows:

The conflict frame: In this frame, conflict between individuals, groups or organisations are focused on the most. This frame is for example often used in electoral campaigns in the USA where they slander each other, taking stances that are opposite to that of the opponent.

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66 Ibid. (95-96).
According to Semetko & Valkenburg, this frame is also responsible “for inducing public cynicism and mistrust of political leaders.”

The human interest frame: This frame gives the text a personal touch by presenting an emotional angle. This is done by telling the reader about a person and the way this person’s life is affected by the issue written about in the text. The human interest frame is good for capturing the attention of the reader, often used by western news media according to Semetko & Valkenburg.

The consequence frame: This frame reports events and issues that will have consequence for individuals, groups or countries. These may be economic consequences, emotional consequences, physical consequences etc.

The morality frame: This frame is whenever the text conveys a message of religious- or moral prescription on how an issue should be solved, or event organised. Semetko & Valkenburg claim that objective journalists do not use this frame in direct reporting or direct speech, because it conveys a subjective prescriptive view, but instead they let it occur in indirect speech and in quotes. It is claimed to be one of the least used of the five frames.

The responsibility frame: In this frame, responsibility is assigned to individuals, groups or countries, either by the author in direct speech, or by someone being interviewed in indirect speech or quotes. Semetko & Valkenburg claim that this frame often comes naturally when reporting on an issue episodically, because then the reader reads about the people affected instead of the underlying systems themselves, and then assign responsibility to the individuals. Whereas reporting on it thematically highlights those systems, and no responsibility is assigned to the individuals.

According to Semetko & Valkenburg, the conflict frame is claimed by Neuman et al. to be the most commonly used in western news press. They argue that this is due to the need to produce dramatic texts so that people will be interested in reading them and then buy the newspapers, which gives the newspaper agency profit. They also claim that the morality frame is the least used in western news press as it has an aura of subjectivity.

5.2.1. Episodic- and Thematic Framing
Shanto Iyengar & Adam Simon claim that reporting using an episodic frame (reporting about a certain event or following a series of events) assigns responsibility to individuals and

67 Ibid. (95).
68 Ibid. (96).
groups, whereas using thematic framing (reporting about general issues or analyses of the situation as a whole) makes the reader assign responsibility to society and the system.\textsuperscript{71}

Framing an article episodically means writing about a specific person, a specific event or a specific period of time. Iyengar & Simon claims that “visually, episodic reports make for ‘good pictures’. The thematic news frame, in contrast, places public issues in some general or abstract context.”\textsuperscript{72} Framing an article thematically means reporting about for example faults in the system, general trends or future prognoses, without telling the story of individual cases.

This is a powerful ideological tool that would let the news media control whether the populace assigns responsibility to the government and society or to certain individuals, both being very dangerous in their own ways.

6. Data and Method

This section explains how the material was chosen, coded and analysed. It explains the process and discusses potential limitations and what impact those might have.

Note that all translations from Chinese to English given in this project are translated by the author of the present project.

6.1. Sampling and Data Collection

The sample used for this project consists of 37 news paper articles written by the Chinese news agency People’s Daily between January 1980 and September 2015. All articles are reporting, to some extent, about Sweden in migration contexts.

The search for the desired articles was carried out using the following search words in the two People’s Daily databases at the AsiaPortal\textsuperscript{73}:

1. Containing Ruidian 瑞典 (Sweden) in the headline and yimin 移民 (migration/migrant) in the body text.
2. Containing Ruidian 瑞典 (Sweden) in the headline and nanmin 难民 (refugee) in the body text.
3. Containing yimin 移民 (migration/migrant) in the headline and Ruidian 瑞典 (Sweden) in the body text.
4. Containing nanmin 难民 (refugee) in the headline and Ruidian 瑞典 (Sweden) in the body text.

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid. (369).
\textsuperscript{73} Asia Portal, \url{http://nias.ku.dk.libguides.com.resources.asiaportal.info/Resources} (accessed 2016-01-07).
Note that access to the databases requires special authorisation
The time period was determined by performing a search using the above mentioned search parameters, and then going back in time for as far as the limited timeframe of this project would allow. There were articles published from year 1957 up to present day, but 35 years back in time from 2015 when this study was conducted was selected as the examined period in order to keep the study possible to finish in the limited timeframe.

The search words were intended to find as many articles as possible reporting about Sweden in migration contexts. A total of 45 articles were found using the above mentioned search parameters.

The articles that were not about Sweden or migration were removed, a total of four articles, and duplicates of articles that appeared multiple times under different search words were regarded as one single article, but it was noted where they both were found. There were a total of four duplicates. With this done, 37 unique articles remained, all of them reporting on Sweden in migration contexts between January 1980 and September 2015.

6.2. Method

First of all, the articles were named after the following:

1. Chronologically from what year they were published (the oldest article is number 1, the newest is 37).
2. Using which of the above mentioned search words they were found (1, 2, 3 or 4).
3. And what chronological order they have within their respective search word groups.

That means that article 1 (1.1) is the oldest article, was found using the search words of Ruidian 瑞典 (Sweden) in the headline and yimin 移民 (migration/migrant) in the body text, and is the chronologically first article in that group. Sequentially, the second oldest article is named 2 (4.1) because it was the oldest article in group 4, that is, found using the search words nanmin 难民 (refugee) in the headline and Ruidian 瑞典 (Sweden) in the body text.

There were some articles that appeared in different categories. For example: article 5 (2.2/4.2). First, it is article number 5 chronologically, and it is the second article in category number 2, and also the second article in category number 4.

With this categorisation, it is easy to make diachronic comparisons between all articles at once, between the different search word groups, and also within the search word groups themselves.

For a full review of all of the articles, see 11. Appendix.

The articles were then coded by determining what they are about in order to answer RQ1. The topics reflect the agenda-setting as they determine what articles are available for the consumer to read.
After this was done, all relevant paragraphs were then selected: namely the ones mentioning migration, migrants or refugees in articles where Sweden was named in the headline, and paragraphs where Sweden was mentioned in articles where migration, migrants or refugees were named in the headline.

In every paragraph, data was retrieved by:

- Listing the countries mentioned together with Sweden, and then determining whether they are agreeing or disagreeing with Sweden in the issue reported on in the articles. (RQ2)
- Making note of the usage of the five frames listed by Semetko & Valkenburg\(^74\) mentioned earlier in section 5. *Theoretical Framework*. (RQ3)
- Coding the paragraphs as either episodic or thematic following Iyengar & Simon’s distinction\(^75\), also described in section 5. *Theoretical Framework*. (RQ4)

### 6.3. Transparency and Reliability

In any academic project, it is important that the study is reproducible and that it would yield the same results. This is done by clearly stating what material is used, defining terms and elements investigated in the study, and giving examples taken from the source material. Section 6.1. *Sampling and Data Collection* of this project describes the process in which the source material was found so that the same could be collected by someone else as well. The elements and terms searched for in this investigation are described above in section 5. *Theoretical Framework*, and will also be put into context as they are explained with the use of examples from the source material below in the sections of 7. *Result and Analysis* and 8. *Discussion and Conclusion*.

The sampling of this study is performed in such a way as to minimise subjectivity. All the different search parameters are designed to include as many articles as possible that report on Sweden in migration contexts during that time period. However, one of the search words used is the Chinese word for Sweden (Ruidian 瑞典). This word contains two characters, *Rui* 瑞 and *dian* 典, that together make up the word, but they also occur in other combinations to form other words. Sometimes in the Chinese language, the names of countries are abbreviated, in the case of the word for Sweden (Ruidian 瑞典) it is abbreviated to the first character: *Rui* 瑞. This character has not been used as a search word in this project due to the fact that it would yield many finds that do not relate to Sweden at all, but instead the other Chinese words containing the character *Rui* 瑞. In not including this search word, some articles reporting on Sweden might have been overlooked. This makes this project a sample investigation instead of a whole source investigation in the sense that there is a chance that it does not include every single article reporting on Sweden in migration contexts.

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Nonetheless, it is arguable that not that many articles are overlooked since if it only has the abbreviation in the title, it will most surely have the entire country name written out somewhere in the body text and then appear under one of the other search word categories.

RQ1 and RQ2, i.e. investigating the agenda-setting and what other countries are mentioned together with Sweden, are performed inductively. That means that the articles are read through, and all relevant findings are noted down for further discussion. This is a subjective way of retrieving data since what is found relevant is not objective. Nonetheless, the articles are accessible at the AsiaPortal\textsuperscript{76} for others to examine and make sure that the topics are noted down correctly.

RQ3 and RQ4, i.e. the different frame analyses, are all performed deductively. The frames searched for were all stated in advance, and noted down where they are present and where they are not. Using the descriptions and examples given in section 5. Theoretical Framework and in the sections of 7. Results and Analysis and 8. Discussion and Conclusion, others can find the same occurrences and this study has.

This kind of analysis has mostly been conducted on texts written in western languages, mainly English\textsuperscript{77}, so the analyses of this project have to be based on unexplored territory in the form of the original Chinese texts, using a translation into English translated by the author of the present project as guidance. As the author of the present project may lack the cultural insights, that for example a Chinese person would have, interpretations of a different author might yield different results. Nonetheless, it is arguable that having lived in China for some time, and having intermediate knowledge of the language and culture, gives this author sufficient knowledge to conduct this research.

One could argue that since this study applies methodology that is designed for texts written in western languages, it would not apply to texts written in Chinese. However, Robert Entman claims that frames are present in any produced text\textsuperscript{78}, hence frames are universal. Differences in the usage of frames lie only in differences in culture, norms and opinions or ideology between different authors, not in the language itself. It is therefore highly relevant to study the frame usage in any given source of material.

6.4. Limitations

Due to the limited timeframe provided in a bachelor’s project, the investigation could only include paragraphs from articles writing about a specific theme, that of Sweden in migration contexts. Investigating whole sample articles from the entire corpus of news articles ever written by People’s Daily, and conducting a content analysis of the entire texts, would most

\textsuperscript{76} Asia Portal, \url{http://nias.ku.dk.libguides.com.resources.asiaportal.info/Resources} (accessed 2016-01-07). Note that access to the databases requires special authorisation


definitely give a broader picture of how the framing of Chinese press has changed over time. Nonetheless, the limited data gathered by this project still engages in the theoretical and methodical issues from which a larger study would be based, and thus makes a valuable contribution.

7. Results and Analysis

This section presents the data collected regarding the agenda-setting and topics of the articles (RQ1), with what other countries Sweden is mentioned in them (RQ2), the usage of the five main frames of conflict, human interest, consequence, morality and responsibility in the articles (RQ3), and which articles are framed episodically and which are framed thematically (RQ4).

7.1. Agenda-Setting (RQ1 and RQ1.1)

All the data collected about the topics reported on in the articles is presented here. Since the choice of topic is what causes the agenda setting, as explained in section 5. Theoretical Framework, this section presents all data regarding RQ1: What are the main topics of the People’s Daily’s news articles reporting on Sweden in migration contexts published between January 1980 and September 2015? and RQ1.1: How has the usage of these main topics in the articles shifted over time between January 1980 and September 2015?

There are six discernible topics to be found in the People’s Daily’s news articles reporting on Sweden in migration contexts. These are: Swedish Society, European migration issues, international disputes, foreign aid, global migration issues, and global society.

The largest one by far (42%) is the topic of Swedish society, since it includes all of the articles from search word group 1, and one from search word group 2. This topic is found in 17 articles: 1 (1.1), 3 (2.1), 4 (1.2), 10 (1.3), 11 (1.4), 13 (1.5/2.5), 14...
(1.6), 15 (1.7), 18 (1.8), 19 (1.9), 20 (1.10), 24 (1.11), 25 (1.12), 28 (1.13), 31 (1.14), 32 (1.15) and 33 (1.16).

The second and third largest are *European migration issues* (22%) and *international disputes* (20%). The reporting on these two groups might seem quite similar, but when examining them chronologically, differences become clear. None of them are reported on at the same time period. The topic of *European migration issues* is reported on between the years 2002 to 2015, and *international disputes* are reported on between the years 1980 to 1998.

The topic of *European migration issues* is found in 9 articles: 21 (3.1), 22 (3.2), 23 (3.3), 26 (3.4), 30 (4.9), 34 (3.7), 35 (3.8), 36 (4.10) and 37 (4.11).

The topic of *international disputes* is found in 8 articles: 2 (4.1), 5 (2.2/4.2), 6 (4.3), 7 (2.3/4.4), 9 (4.6), 12 (2.4), 16 (4.7) and (2.6/4.8).

The frequency of the other topics reported on are as follows:
The topic of *foreign aid* (8%) is found in three articles: 5 (2.2/4.2), 8 (4.5) and 9 (4.6).
The topic of *global immigration issues* (5%) is found in two articles: 2 (4.1) and 29 (3.6).
The topic of *global society* (3%) is found in one article: 27 (3.5).

There are 3 articles that contain two topics each: 2 (4.1), 5 (2.2/4.2) and 9 (4.6). They are listed below:

Article 2 (4.1) has the title: “Representatives of a couple of countries pointed out on the U.N. Refugee Organisation Meeting that Soviet-Vietnamese hegemony is the root of the Arabian and Cambodian refugee issues” (“Yixie guojia daibiao zai lianheguo nanmin zuzhi huiyi shang zhichu, Su Yue baquanzhuyi shi A Jian nanmin wenti de genyuan” 一些国家代表在联合国难民组织会议上指出 苏越霸权主义是阿柬难民问题的根源”).

The two topics found in this article are the topics of *global migration issues* and *international disputes*.

Article 5 (2.2/4.2) has the title: “Retreating fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organisation arrive to Syria by land – Italy, Sweden and Norway provide aid to the Palestinian refugees” (“Cong lulu chechu de Bajie zhanshi daoda Xuliya – Yidali, Ruidian, Nuowei xiang Balesitan nanmin tigong yuanzhu 从陆路撤出的巴解战士到达叙利亚 意大利瑞典挪威向巴勒斯坦难民提供援助”).

The two topics found in this article are the topics of *foreign aid* and *international disputes*.

Article 9 (4.6) has the title: “The government of Thailand sends a letter to the Secretary-General of the U.N. condemning crimes committed by Vietnam – USA, Japan and six other countries donate money to help the Cambodian refugees in Thailand” (“Taiguo zhengfu zhi han lianheguo mishuzhang qianze Yuenan zuixing Mei, Ri deng liu guo juankuan yuanzhu Tai jingnei de Jianpuzhai nanmin 泰国政府致函联合国秘书长谴责越南罪行 美日等六国捐款援助泰境内的柬埔寨难民”).

The two topics found in this article are the topics of *foreign aid* and *international disputes*. 
7.2. Sweden and Other Countries (RQ2 and RQ2.1)

To answer RQ2: What other countries are mentioned together with Sweden in the People’s Daily’s news articles reporting on Sweden in migration contexts published between January 1980 and September 2015? and RQ2.1: Is Sweden claimed to agree with, or disagree with, these countries regarding the matter reported on in the news articles?, all the data concerning this is presented in this section.

In just under half of the 37 articles, more specifically 18 articles (48.6%), Sweden is mentioned together with other countries in the analysed paragraphs, and in these 18 paragraphs it is mentioned together with a total of 26 other countries (see Fig. 2). In one article, number 29 (3.6), Sweden is compared to the Economic and Monetary Union of the EU (the EMU). That particular article is about immigration’s effects on the unemployment rate of countries around the world.

![Fig. 2: Number of times mentioned in the same paragraph as Sweden.](image)

In total, Sweden was mentioned together with other countries in 75 instances. It is claimed to be agreeing with the other countries on the matters reported on in the articles in 84% of the cases (63 out of 75), and disagreeing with the other countries in 16% of the cases (12 out of 75).

To answer RQ2 and RQ2.1, the 10 countries mentioned the most times together with Sweden are worth looking a bit more closely on to see how they are compared to Sweden.

All top 10 countries are claimed to be agreeing with Sweden on the matter reported on in the article at some point, but not all are disagreeing (see Fig. 3). In all of the occurrences when the USA, France, Finland, Norway and the Netherlands are mentioned together with Sweden, they are agreeing with Sweden on the matter reported on in the article. Examples of this can be such as in article 8 (4.5) where they all agree to send foreign aid to Cambodian refugees:
China announced in a meeting that they will provide the Cambodian refugees by the Cambodian-Thai border with 100,000 USD in donation. Japan, Sweden, the UK, Italy, Canada, Finland, Greece and other countries will donate between 10,000 USD to 4,200,000 USD depending on the country to international organisations that are involved. New Zealand declares that they will donate 100 tons of milk and crackers. The USA and Malaysia express that they will announce the sum of their donations in a couple of days.

There are no apparent changes in frequency over time of being mentioned together with Sweden for a majority of the top 10 most mentioned countries. However, Germany, France, Spain and the Netherlands are all mentioned more in more recent times. These countries started appearing more in the articles after year 2000, whereas the other countries have been regularly mentioned from the start of the examined time period.

7.3. General Framing in the Articles (RQ3)
This section investigates the usage of the frames of conflict, human interest, consequence, morality and responsibility in the articles in order to answer RQ3: To what extent are the frames of conflict, human interest, consequence, morality and responsibility used in the People’s Daily’s news articles reporting on Sweden in migration contexts published between January 1980 and September 2015?
The analysis detects the usage of all five frames proposed by Semetko & Valkenburg\textsuperscript{79}, as mentioned in section 5, *Theoretical Framework*, in the 37 articles examined. The usage of frames was detected in a total of 71 occurrences. Note that an article may use multiple frames.

The *morality* frame stands for 29\% of the total occurrences of the frames, and is used in a total of 21 articles: 3 (2.1), 5 (2.2/4.2), 6 (4.3), 7 (2.3/4.4), 8 (4.5), 9 (4.6), 11 (1.4), 12 (2.4), 14 (1.6), 15 (1.7), 20 (1.10), 22 (3.2), 23 (3.3), 24 (1.11), 26 (3.4), 27 (3.5), 28 (1.13), 33 (1.16), 35 (3.8), 36 (4.10) and 37 (4.11).

Examples of signs of the *morality* frame, underlined in the following article:

**Article 22 (3.2)**

“预计，此次首脑会议后，欧盟在非法移民问题上的态度将整体趋硬，对地下非法移民团伙的打击也将更加严厉。欧盟此举引起不少人的忧虑。联合国的官员和欧盟的一些明智的政治家指出，解决非法移民问题的根本出路在于帮助穷国摆脱经济困难，坚决反对将打击非法移民与制裁移民来源国“挂钩”的做法。”

The estimation is that after this summit meeting, the EU’s stance towards illegal immigration will tend to become toughened in all aspects, and there will be even harder blows against gangs of illegal immigrants. This EU measure has given rise to worry in a lot of people. Officials of the UN and some sensible statesmen in the EU point out that the way of solving the source of the immigration issues lies in helping the poor countries get rid of their economic difficulties, and that they strongly oppose striking against illegal immigrants and sanctioning “established contacts” with the migrants’ origin countries.

The *consequence* frame stands for 26\% of the total occurrences of the frames, and is used in a total of 19 articles: 1 (1.1), 4 (1.2), 5 (2.2/4.2), 8 (4.5), 9 (4.6), 10 (1.3), 13 (1.5/2.5), 16 (4.7), 19 (1.9), 21 (3.1), 22 (3.2), 24 (1.11), 26 (3.4), 27 (3.5), 29 (3.6), 32 (1.15), 33 (1.16) and 34 (3.7).

Examples of signs of the consequence frame, underlined in the following article:
Article 24 (1.11)
“但是另一方面，瑞典由于长期实行高福利高税收的政策， [...]，企业竞争力逐渐被削弱。”
[But on the other hand, thanks to Sweden’s long-running implementations on policies with high taxes and high welfare, [...]，the competiveness of enterprises are gradually weakening.]

The responsibility frame stands for 22% of the total occurrences of the frames, and is used in a total of 16 articles: 2 (4.1), 5 (2.2/4.2), 6 (4.3), 7 (2.3/4.4), 16 (4.7), 17 (2.6/4.8), 24 (1.11), 25 (1.12), 26 (3.4), 28 (1.13), 29 (3.6), 30 (4.9), 34 (3.7), 35 (3.8), 36 (4.10) and 37 (4.11).

Examples of signs of the responsibility frame, underlined in the following article:
Article 26 (1.12)
“此次瑞典全民公决，支持欧元的人主要是瑞典政界、经济界的领袖，跨国企业雇员和外来移民等；而反对欧元的主要是一些左派政治人物、生态主义者、小企业主和退休人员等。”
[The main supporters of the euro zone in this Swedish referendum are among others leaders in the political and economical circles, employees of multinational enterprises and foreign immigrants; and the ones against the euro zone are mainly a couple of leftist politicians, environmentalists, small business owners and retired workers.]

The conflict frame stands for 14% of the total occurrences of the frames, and is used in a total of 10 articles: 2 (4.1), 14 (1.6), 16 (4.7), 17 (2.6/4.8), 19 (1.9), 21 (3.1), 23 (3.3), 28 (1.13), 30 (4.9) and 32 (1.15).

Examples of signs of the conflict frame, underlined in the following article:
Article 16 (4.7)
“美、英、法、瑞典等西方国家 4 日纷纷响应驻波黑的国际高级代表韦斯滕多普提出的建议，冻结与波黑的外交接触，以迫使波黑穆族、塞族和克族在驻外使节等问题上尽快达成协议。”
[USA, UK, France, Sweden and other western countries one by one answered to the proposal from the International High Representative stationed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Westendorp. They thereby froze direct diplomatic relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina in an attempt to force Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats to come to an agreement as soon as possible on matters such as diplomatic envoys.]

The human interest frame stands for 8% of the total occurrences of the frames, and is used in a total of 6 articles: 10 (1.3), 15 (1.7), 18 (1.8), 20 (1.10), 31 (1.14) and 37 (4.11).

Examples of signs of the human interest frame, underlined in the following article:
Article 20 (1.10)
“刚来瑞典时，在我学习瑞典语的班上，有一个来自墨西哥的移民，尽管他来瑞典的时间不长，但小伙子的妈妈是瑞典人，所以他的瑞典语
Having just arrived in Sweden, in my Swedish class there is an immigrant from Mexico. It wasn’t long ago that he came to Sweden, but the young guy’s mother is Swedish, so his Swedish is very good. I wonder why he doesn’t go out to find a job, but instead will study along with us new beginners.

(Percentage stated above is rounded to closest integer – 1% divergence on the sum of the percentage)

There does not seem to be any apparent change in usage over time, nor difference in number of occurrences in different search word groups.

The usage of these frames ranges from 1 to 3 per article, with an average of 1.9 frames per article.

7.4. Episodic- and Thematic Framing (RQ4)

All data regarding the usage of episodic- and thematic frames is presented in this section in order to answer RQ4: How has the usage of episodic- and thematic framing changed over time in the People’s Daily’s news articles reporting on Sweden in migration contexts published between January 1980 and September 2015?

In the 37 articles analysed, there are 20 occurrences of episodic framing, and 20 occurrences of thematic framing (note that some articles contain both episodic and thematic frames, but every article used at least one).

Episodic framing is found in articles: 2 (4.1), 3 (2.1), 5 (2.2/4.2), 6 (4.3), 7 (2.3/4.4), 8 (4.5), 9 (4.6), 11 (1.4), 12 (2.4), 14 (1.6), 15 (1.7), 16 (4.7), 17 (2.6/4.8), 19 (1.9), 21 (3.1), 22 (3.2), 23 (3.3), 25 (1.12), 28 (1.13) and 30 (4.9).

Examples of signs of episodic framing, underlined in the following article:

Article 7 (2.3/4.4)

“In Sweden, more than 2.000 people held a demonstration march in the capital of Stockholm on the evening of the 22nd, protesting against the Israeli criminal act of massacring Palestinian civilians in the western part of Beirut.”

Thematic framing is found in articles: 1 (1.1), 4 (1.2), 5 (2.2/4.2), 10 (1.3), 13 (1.5/2.5), 18 (1.8), 19 (1.9), 20 (1.10), 23 (3.3), 24 (1.11), 26 (3.4), 27 (3.5), 29 (3.6), 31 (1.14), 32 (1.15), 33 (1.16), 34 (3.7), 35 (3.8), 36 (4.10) and 37 (4.11).

Examples of signs of thematic framing, underlined in the following article:

“瑞典坚定地尊崇公民普遍的、平等的权利，教育政策的首要目的是确保机会公平，
Government proposes that all children should have access to primary education, and have the opportunity to study at a higher academic level. From primary school to higher education, all education is free.

"Sweden values the individual citizen and equality highly, the main purpose of the education policy is to ensure justice and fairness when it comes to opportunities, the government holds firm that every child is entitled to a secondary education that suits its general interest, and that everyone has a right to be able to study on higher academic levels, and that the education is to be free of charge from beginning to end."

Though the total number of occurrences is equal for both, there is a clear shift towards using thematic frames the closer we get to present day (see Fig. 5). Between the years 1980 and 1997, 72.2% (13 out of 18) of the frames were episodic, and 27.8% (5 out of 18) were thematic. Between the years 1997 and 2015, 31.8% (7 out of 22) of the frames were episodic, and 68.2% (15 out of 22) were thematic.

![Fig. 5: Percentage of episodic- and thematic frames used.](image)

8. Discussion and Conclusion

This section discusses the agenda-setting and topics of the articles (RQ1), with what other countries Sweden is mentioned (RQ2), and the frame usage of the articles, both general framing (RQ3) and episodic- or thematic framing (RQ4).

This analysis provides data that corresponds with that of previous research in the field of content analysis of Chinese news press, as is discussed below in this section. The evidence extracted from the data points towards some theories being true, but it is questionable whether they are conclusive or not due to the small sample of Chinese news press articles examined. It has nonetheless contributed to the larger field of content analysis of Chinese news press as it has discovered some trends that should be present when analysing the entire corpus as well. Subjectivity has been maintained through searching for frames in a deductive way following descriptions provided by previous researchers, and through stating examples so that the study can be reproduced.
8.1. Agenda-Setting (RQ1 and RQ1.1)

Deciding on which topics to publish articles, also known as agenda-setting, is argued to have close links with priming and bias, which in turn are signs of ideology.\textsuperscript{80} With this in mind, it is very interesting to see how the topics of the articles in the \textit{People’s Daily} have changed over time. This section answers RQ1: \textit{What are the main topics of the People’s Daily’s news articles reporting on Sweden in migration contexts published between January 1980 and September 2015?} and RQ1.1: \textit{How has the usage of these main topics in the articles shifted over time between January 1980 and September 2015?}

Between the years 1980 and 1998, the topic most reported on (except for \textit{Swedish society}) in the articles examined was \textit{international disputes}. The situation in the world then was tumultuous, with international disputes in south-east Asia, and conflicts in the Balkans\textsuperscript{81} and Middle East.\textsuperscript{82} Without a doubt, these conflicts caused many people to flee their countries, and also emigrate to Sweden and the rest of Europe, but this was not brought forth by the \textit{People’s Daily}. Instead, they wrote about the disputes themselves, and about the opinions and statements of different countries.

Between the years 1997 and 2015, on the other hand, this changed drastically. The \textit{People’s Daily} stopped writing articles that focused on the international disputes and conflicts completely, and started writing about the streams of migrants and refugees coming into Europe instead. Clearly, the focus had shifted from the cause of the issue, to the consequences that the issue has for Europe. This can be seen by the complete transition from reporting on \textit{international disputes} only up until 1998, to \textit{European migration issues} only after 2002, as mentioned in section 7. \textit{Results and Analysis}.

Examples of this contrast between topics can be seen in the last article reporting on international disputes published in 1998, and the first article reporting on European migration issues published in 2002:

Indications of the topic of \textit{international disputes} are underlined in the article:

\textbf{Article 17 (2.6/4.8): (1998-02-23)}

“瑞典外交大臣瓦伦今天在瑞典《每日新闻》报撰文表示，瑞典将在必要时支持对伊拉克动武并为此提供援助。

瓦伦在文章中说，如果伊拉克坚持在武器核查问题上不与联合国进行合作，瑞典“作为联合国和联合国安理会的成员将支持安理会通过决议对伊拉克采取军事行动”，并将为军事行动提供援助，但她未说明瑞典将以何种方式进行援助。”

[The Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs Lena Hjem-Wallén expressed today in an article in Dagens Nyheter that Sweden will continue providing \textit{assistance to the war efforts} in Iraq for as long as it is necessary.


Wallén wrote in her article that if Iraq persists in not cooperating with the U.N. in the arms examination issue, Sweden will “conduct military operations together with the U.N. and the member states in order to uphold the resolution passed by the U.N. Security Council”, and provide support to the military operation, but she didn’t express in what ways Sweden will provide this support.]

Indications of the topic of European migration issues are underlined in the article: Article 21 (3.1): (2002-06-24)

“此前，英国、西班牙、德国和意大利希望对那些在打击非法移民问题上不与欧盟合作的国家实施经济制裁。但法国总统希拉克则认为，欧盟对待这些国家应使用“胡萝卜”而非“大棒”。法国的主张得到瑞典、葡萄牙、比利时和卢森堡的支持。”

[Before this, the UK, Spain, Germany and Italy wanted to carry out economic sanctions toward the countries that wouldn’t cooperate with the EU when it comes to the question of striking against illegal immigrants. But the president of France, Jacques Chirac, on the other hand, thought that the EU should deal with these countries using “carrots” rather than “big sticks”. France’s position was supported by Sweden, Portugal, Belgium and Luxembourg.]

The international disputes of the world have not decreased, so why then has its coverage in the Chinese People’s Daily done so? It must not be forgotten that this project only analyses articles where Sweden and migrants/refugees are mentioned, not the entire news article corpus of the People’s Daily. Thus, since Sweden has played such a big role in handling the migration crisis in Europe in more recent years, it is not surprising that the coverage of Sweden is more extensive in articles about Europe’s migration issues than it is when it comes to international disputes.

When it comes to search word group number 1, where Sweden was mentioned in the headline and migrant/migration was written somewhere in the body text, all of the articles were about Swedish society. This was not, however, the case for search group number 2, where Sweden is mentioned in the headline and the word refugee is written in the body text. The articles in search word group number 2 were mainly published under the topic covering international disputes. This is not unexpected seeing how the word refugee implies there has been a conflict or international dispute that has caused these people to become refugees.

8.2. Sweden and Other Countries (RQ2 and RQ2.1)

This section answers RQ2: What other countries are mentioned together with Sweden in the People’s Daily’s news articles reporting on Sweden in migration contexts published between January 1980 and September 2015? and RQ2.1: Is Sweden claimed to agree with, or disagree with, these countries regarding the matter reported on in the news articles?

Seeing how Sweden is claimed to be agreeing with the other countries 63 times out of 75 in the articles, they present a clear image of Sweden as standing together with the other countries in the issues reported on in the articles, which might indicate a strong willingness to cooperate. Hence, it is arguable that Sweden is not portrayed as a trouble-maker in the People’s Daily’s articles, but rather the contrary.
When examining which other countries are mentioned together with Sweden, 70.4% of them are European, making Sweden and Europe seem as one united block of countries. Another possible explanation to this is that it has to do with geographical placement. However, when comparing Sweden to these other European countries, differences in opinion on the matter reported on in the articles are reported in a total of five articles: 17 (2.6/4.8), 21 (3.1), 23 (3.3), 35 (3.8) and 36 (4.10), which stand for 27.8% of all of the articles comparing Sweden with other European countries. Since the percentage is not that high, it can be argued that the People’s Daily is portraying Sweden as a country that is working closely together with the EU.

According to the analysis, Sweden and France agree on every matter when they are mentioned in the same paragraph. For example article 21 (3.1):

“但法国总统希拉克则认为，欧盟对待这些国家应使用“胡萝卜”而非“大棒”。法国的主张得到瑞典、葡萄牙、比利时和卢森堡的支持。”

[But the president of France, Jacques Chirac, on the other hand, thought that the EU should approach these countries using “carrots” rather than “big sticks”. France’s position was supported by Sweden, Portugal, Belgium and Luxembourg.]

The analysis shows that paragraphs where Sweden is mentioned together with other countries are present in all search word groups except for the first one: articles containing the word Ruidian 瑞典 (Sweden) in the headline, and yimin 移民 (migration/migrant) in the body text. This is to be expected since this group mostly writes about domestic Swedish issues. Although, it is surprising that not a single comparison with other countries occur in these articles. They are, however, present in the second search word group: articles containing the word Ruidian 瑞典 (Sweden) in the headline, and nanmin 难民 (refugee) in the body text. This is because many articles in this group write about donations and contributions to refugees from different countries, whereas donations and contributions are never sent to migrants (yimin 移民).

8.3. General Framing in the Articles (RQ3)
According to Semetko & Valkenburg, it is claimed by Neuman et al. that the conflict frame is the most commonly used in western news press. Since it is important for western news press to make profit, they need to produce an interesting text that many people will pay to read. In order to make it more interesting, they have to make the texts more dramatic, and one way to do that is to frame news through conflict. Chinese news press, on the other hand, which has a history of governmental funding and long-term subscriptions, does not

have the same need to produce dramatic articles that sell more. This is clearly demonstrated by their lower usage of the conflict frame compared to western media.

As mentioned earlier, Lily Chen claims that Chinese news press tends to write more about positive news than negative. This fact provides another example of why the conflict frame is so infrequently used in the People’s Daily as conflict frames “increase the use of competitive strategies”. The conflict frame gives the reader the impression that there is something wrong with the world and that it needs to be fixed, which in turn causes unrest and frustration. These are two things that the Chinese government are putting much effort into avoiding.

When reporting on Sweden in migration contexts, the three most common frames used, out of the five main frames searched for, in the People’s Daily are those of consequence, morality and responsibility, or in other words: what is done, why it is done and who has done it (see description of the frames in 5.2. Framing). This is a rather functional approach that gives very little time for the voice of individuals to be heard, as they would be through the use of the human interest frame (used only 8% of the times). Having used the human interest- and conflict frames more would have made for news articles that are more dramatic, and as stated above, drama is something that is avoided in Chinese news media.

Price, Tewksbury & Powers argued that framing is an indicator of ideology since it lets the publishers decide how the consumer will interpret the text. The data gathered from this analysis indicates the same. As mentioned above, the frames most used by the People’s Daily are the morality-, consequence- and responsibility frames. These three frames, particularly the morality- and the responsibility frames, are perfect for conveying ideologies. According to Semetko & Valkenburg, they tell you what should be done and by whom, as dictated by norms, philosophies and morals, and they tell you who is responsible for doing it. The responsibility frame is also used to put blame on certain countries, groups or individuals, which in itself is very subjective and influenced by ideology.

It is impossible to produce a text without showing underlying ideologies or values, but there are different degrees to it. The usage of certain frames more than others in the articles published by People’s Daily expresses an ideology that focuses more on assigning responsibility and morals than on producing drama. Their ideology shines through via usage

of the morality- and responsibility frames more than the conflict frame, and also through agenda-setting. The latter is especially apparent in their complete shift from writing about international disputes in the first chronological half examined, to not writing about that at all in the second half, but instead writing a lot about European migration issues.

8.4. Episodic- and Thematic Framing (RQ4)

To answer RQ4, the analysis shows that the Chinese news press recently (from 1998 until present day) uses more thematic frames than episodic frames. According to Shanto Iyengar & Adam Simon, thematic framing makes the reader assign responsibility to the system or society, whereas episodic framing makes the reader assign responsibility to individuals or groups. This is a theory shared by other researchers such as Price, Tewksbury & Powers. Since Chinese news media tend to frame their news in a way that does not assign responsibility to their government officials or the system, the results of this analysis implies that Chinese news press are more okay with using thematic framing when reporting on international news, since it does not assign any negative responsibility to their own society but to that of other countries.

From the older articles of this analysis, we can see that episodic frames were more frequently used than thematic, which shows a big difference from the usage in from 1998 up until present day. This could be evidence of a general trend of political correctness in Chinese news publications, meaning they do not assign responsibility to individuals or groups which could cause mislled criticism and blame. Instead they write more general articles describing the systems themselves.

9. Further Research

This project merely gives a hint of what could be found by performing a content analysis of the entire corpus of the People’s Daily’s news articles, or even better, including the corpuses of more of the Chinese news agencies. A content analysis like that would reveal even more significant uses of frames and agenda-setting, giving more evidence of a possible process of becoming more politically correct and/or commercialised.

There are more ways of analysing texts than just content analyses; a discourse analysis would yield evidence for the same theories, but within a different research area. For example, William Labov’s theory of Evaluation, adjusted for analysing Chinese news press

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by Lily Chen, would prove that the Chinese news press is commercialising their way of writing.

The results from this project have shown that the usage of the conflict- and human interest frames is not that high in the People’s Daily. It would be of great interest to see whether this corresponds with the process of becoming more commercialised and politically correct. It would then be possible to connect these two frames to these two processes.

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10. References

10.1. Papers and Articles


10.2. Websites


11. Appendix – Articles

Article name: 1 (1.1)
Publication date: 1980-12-04
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Gao Feng 高锋
Title: 瑞典的财政危机 (Sweden’s financial crisis)

Article name: 2 (4.1)
Publication date: 1981-10-20
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: n/a
Title: 一些国家代表在联合国难民组织会议上指出 苏越霸权主义是阿柬难民问题的根源 (Representatives of a couple of countries pointed out on the U.N. Refugee Organisation Meeting that Soviet-Vietnamese hegemony is the root of the Arabian and Cambodian refugee issues)

Article name: 3 (2.1)
Publication date: 1981-10-22
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: n/a
Title: 瑞典公布一批今年诺贝尔奖金获得者 (Sweden announces the Nobel Prize Winners for this year)

Article name: 4 (1.2)
Publication date: 1982-02-03
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: n/a
Title: 瑞典人口出生率锐减 (The Swedish population birth rate drops suddenly)

Article name: 5 (2.2/4.2)
Publication date: 1982-08-29
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: n/a
Title: 从陆路撤出的巴解战士到达叙利亚 意大利瑞典挪威向巴勒斯坦难民提供援助 (Retreating fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organisation arrive to Syria by land – Italy, Sweden and Norway provide aid to the Palestinian refugees)

Article name: 6 (4.3)
Publication date: 1982-09-20
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: n/a
Title: 阿拉伯和西方国家领导人发表谈话 必须制止以色列屠杀巴勒斯坦难民 (State leaders of Arab and western countries issue a statement – the Israeli massacre of Palestinian refugees must be stopped)
Article name: 7 (2.3/4.4)  
Publication date: 1982-09-28  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: n/a  
Title: 抗议以色列屠杀巴勒斯坦难民 美国丹麦瑞典群众示威 (Protests against the Israeli massacre on Palestinian refugees – People in USA, Denmark, and Sweden hold demonstrations)

Article name: 8 (4.5)  
Publication date: 1983-05-28  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: n/a  
Title: 中国和其它国家向柬埔寨难民提供捐赠 (China, among other countries, provide financial donations to Cambodian refugees)

Article name: 9 (4.6)  
Publication date: 1984-05-05  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: Wu Renshou 吴仁寿  
Title: 泰国政府致函联合国秘书长谴责越南罪行 美日等六国捐款援助泰境内的柬埔寨难民 (The government of Thailand sends a letter to the Secretary-General of the U.N. condemning crimes committed by Vietnam – U.S.A., Japan and 6 other countries donate money to help the Cambodian refugees in Thailand)

Article name: 10 (1.3)  
Publication date: 1985-05-02  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: Liu Xumin 刘绪民  
Title: 瑞典工人失业以后——记斯德哥尔摩劳动市场培训中心 (After Swedes have lost their jobs – workers’ market training centres)

Article name: 11 (1.4)  
Publication date: 1987-09-04  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: n/a  
Title: 瑞典数千人集会反对种族主义 (Thousands of Swedes rally against racism)

Article name: 12 (2.4)  
Publication date: 1988-02-08  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: n/a  
Title: 联合国秘书长呼吁释放被绑架联合国职员 瑞典和挪威首相对两国公民在黎被绑架表示不安 (The U.N. Secretary General appeals for the kidnapped U.N. employees to be released – The Prime Ministers of Sweden and Norway express the unease the number of kidnapped people has caused the citizens of the two countries)
Article name: 13 (1.5/2.5)  
Publication date: 1988-11-03  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: Gu Yaoming 顾耀铭  
Title: 瑞典给“过热的”经济降温 (Sweden cools down the “overheated” economy)

Article name: 14 (1.6)  
Publication date: 1991-11-18  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: Ding Gang 丁刚  
Title: 瑞典群众集会反对新纳粹势力 (The Swedish people rallies to oppose neo-Nazi forces)

Article name: 15 (1.7)  
Publication date: 1994-07-16  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: Ding Gang 丁刚  
Title: 瑞典队下一个目标——夺取铜牌 (The next goal of the Swedish team – to get the bronze medal)

Article name: 16 (4.7)  
Publication date: 1997-08-06  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: n/a  
Title: 波黑克族驱逐穆族难民西方数国冻结波黑外交 (Croatians in Bosnia-Herzegovina drive out Muslim refugees and many western countries freeze diplomatic relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina)

Article name: 17 (2.6/4.8)  
Publication date: 1998-02-23  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: Fu Quansheng 符泉生  
Title: 美在安南斡旋期间不停止备战 印度拒绝美国使用其领空 英意民众举行反战争示威 挪支持对伊军事打击 土拒绝向伊难民开放边境 (During Kofi Annan’s time in office, USA never stopped preparing for war. India refused letting USA use their territorial air space. People from UK and Italy hold anti-war demonstrations. Sweden, Denmark and Norway support military strikes against Iraq. Turkey refuses to open their borders to Iraqi refugees.)

Article name: 18 (1.8)  
Publication date: 1998-04-20  
Accessed: 2015-09-20  
Author: Zhang Niansheng 章念生  
Title: 瑞典失业去找职介所 (Swedish unemployed go to the unemployment agency)

Article name: 19 (1.9)  
Publication date: 1999-10-25
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Zhang Niansheng 章念生
Title: 瑞典声讨新纳粹 (Sweden denounces the neo-Nazism)

Article name: 20 (1.10)
Publication date: 2001-04-27
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Liu Zhonghua 刘仲华
Title: 瑞典高福利依赖高税收 (Sweden’s high welfare relies on high taxes)

Article name: 21 (3.1)
Publication date: 2002-06-24
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Feng Jian 冯坚 and Zhang Zhengdong 张征东
Title: 欧盟达成打击非法移民协议 (The E.U. reaches an agreement to strike against illegal immigrants)

Article name: 22 (3.2)
Publication date: 2002-06-25
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Yao Li 姚立
Title: 欧盟向非法移民亮红灯 (E.U. shines a bright red light towards the illegal immigrants)

Article name: 23 (3.3)
Publication date: 2002-09-03
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Zheng Yuanyuan 郑园园
Title: 移民问题挑战欧洲 (The immigration issue challenges Europe)

Article name: 24 (1.11)
Publication date: 2002-09-13
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Liu Zhonghua 刘仲华
Title: 瑞典大选雾里看花 (The general election of Sweden is “looking at flowers through the fog”)

Article name: 25 (1.12)
Publication date: 2003-09-17
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Liu Zhonghua 刘仲华
Title: 瑞典对欧元说“不” (Sweden says “No” to the euro)

Article name: 26 (3.4)
Publication date: 2006-10-13
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Zhang Niansheng 章念生
Title: 移民问题的长痛和短痛 (The long term pains and short term pains of the migration issue)

Article name: 27 (3.5)
Publication date: 2007-05-04
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Mang Jiuchen 莽九晨
Title: 从韩国“技工移民”说起 (Speaking of the “skilled worker immigration” from South Korea)

Article name: 28 (1.13)
Publication date: 2010-09-21
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Liu Huaxin 刘华新
Title: 瑞典执政联盟失去绝对多数地位 (Sweden – The ruling alliance government will definitely lose majority)

Article name: 29 (3.6)
Publication date: 2010-10-12
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Zhang Liang 张亮
Title: 生活境况恶化，穷国向富国移民转升为降——国际金融危机影响全球移民形势 (Living conditions are deteriorating, immigration from poor countries to rich ones shift between rising and falling. The international financial crisis influences the immigration situation around the world)

Article name: 30 (4.9)
Publication date: 2011-04-07
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Huang Peizhao 黄培昭, Jiao Xiang 焦翔, Wang Tian 王恬, Sun Tianren 孙天仁, Zhang Guangzheng 张光政 and Shi Kedong 史克栋
Title: 利比亚反对派指责北约行动不力 约旦派战机参与执行禁飞令 载有数百难民小船发生倾覆事故 (The Libyan opposition faction criticises that NATO is not taking as much action as they could. Jordan participate in implementing the no-fly zone. Capsizing accidents among small refugee boats filled with hundreds)

Article name: 31 (1.14)
Publication date: 2011-10-27
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Fang Kecheng 方可成
Title: 到瑞典留学不免费了 (Studying in Sweden is not free anymore)

Article name: 32 (1.15)
Publication date: 2012-01-06
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Liu Zhonghua 刘仲华
Title: 瑞典全国媒体网站过半限制读者匿名发言 “言论负责”提升网络言论质量
(More than half of the media websites of Sweden introduce restrictions on anonymous commentators with a so called “commentator’s responsibility” in order to promote quality in internet forums)

Article name: 33 (1.16)
Publication date: 2014-02-14
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Xue Eryong 薛二勇 and Li Tingzhou 李廷洲
Title: 瑞典教育分权有伤公平（环球走笔） (The distribution of power within the educational system of Sweden has an equality wound (global notes))

Article name: 34 (3.7)
Publication date: 2014-12-12
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Wang Di 王迪
Title: 非法移民加大欧盟国家负担（国际视点） (Illegal immigrants increases E.U. countries’ burden (International Viewpoint))

Article name: 35 (3.8)
Publication date: 2016-05-13
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Ren Yan 任彦
Title: 海难频发拷问欧盟移民政策 (Perils of the sea repeatedly send out questionings of the EU’s immigration policies)

Article name: 36 (4.10)
Publication date: 2015-05-16
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Han Bingchen 韩秉宸 and Huang Peizhao 黄培昭
Title: 欧盟想给成员国摊派难民指标（国际视点） (The E.U. wants to distribute refugee quotas over the member states (International Viewpoint))

Article name: 37 (4.11)
Publication date: 2015-09-17
Accessed: 2015-09-20
Author: Ma Baisong 马摆松
Title: 面对难民潮，欧洲有什么招？ (Facing the tide of refugees, what is Europe’s move?)