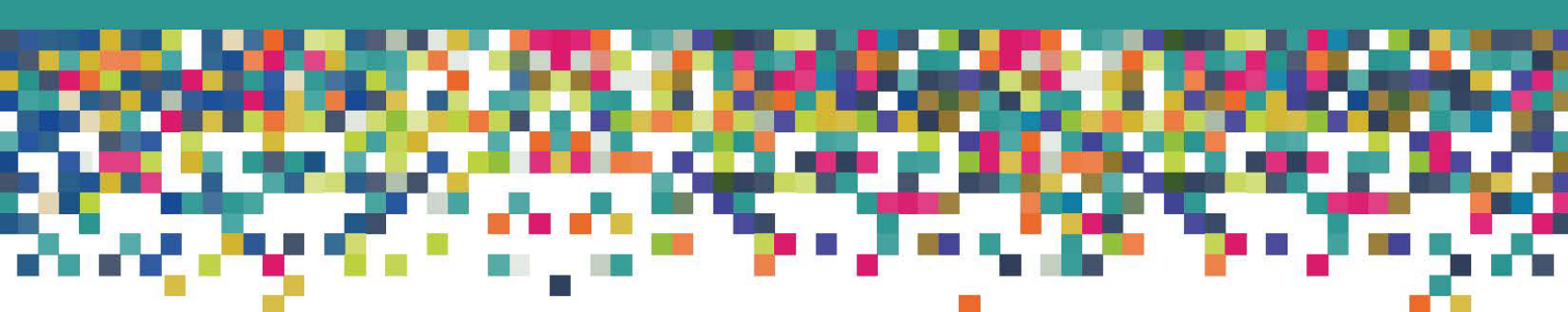




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## **EXAMINING THE WESTERN MEDIA'S REPRESENTATION OF PRESENT-DAY CHINA THROUGH THE LENS OF ORIENTALISM**

A critical discourse analysis on BBC News' coverage of the 2022  
Beijing Winter Olympics

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## ABSTRACT

*This dissertation aims to explore the utility of the concept of orientalism in explaining the representation of China in Western media, with a particular focus on the United Kingdom (UK)'s BBC News. It incorporates discussions of both Western and Eastern scholars' works and introduces the concept of global-orientalisation, which complements orientalism and is compared through a conceptual table. The empirical topic of investigation is the recent global sporting event, the 2022 Beijing Olympics, and the textual coverage of this event by BBC News will be examined. To better address the research question, three sub-questions have been formulated, which serve as categories for the analysis. These sub-questions aim to assess the differences in the presentation of China and other countries in the news coverage, the extent of positive or negative representation of China, and the portrayal of the West as the dominant and admirable global power. The research method employed for this analysis will be critical discourse analysis using Fairclough's three-dimensional framework. This approach allows for the examination of the presence of conceptual points according to the three sub-questions, providing insights into the two core concepts, orientalism, and global-orientalisation. The findings demonstrate that the binary concept of orientalism (Western/Eurocentric vs. Oriental/non-Western/Eastern) and the portrayal of the West as the dominant and admirable global power continue to play a fundamental role in explaining how China is represented in Western media. However, with the influence of technology and capitalism in the era of globalisation, it is argued that relying solely on orientalism is insufficient to fully comprehend the BBC's media portrayal of China. Therefore, China's representation in Western media is argued to be a result of the interplay between the concept of orientalism and the aspects of globalisation mentioned.*

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## INTRODUCTION

It is recognised that the development of each country, in comparison to one another, has been different. For example, China, which used to be considered as a developing country, has experienced significant development, as evident from the trade war between the United States (US) and China (Kwan, 2020), and among other topics (Harvey, 2005; Crum, 2015). China's development is reflected in media, particularly in global media outlets, due to globalisation and technology, as mentioned in academic concepts such as the network society (Castells, 1996). Additionally, it's crucial to acknowledge the dominance of Western news outlets in the global media landscape (Huntington, 1991; Ray, 2012).

The concept that relates to China, situated in the Orient in relation to the West, is orientalism as discussed by Said (1978). This idea portrays China as the opposite of the West's developed and liberal society, representing it as undeveloped and strict. It is known that the Western media model inherits the ideology of liberalism, leading to more critical opinions compared to communism approaches of China (Reich and Hanitzsch, 2013; Sjøvaag, 2013). While this bias evoked by orientalist ideas can at times go unseen textually in the media, at other times quite the opposite is true. For example, Western news has been known to praise China's technology while also combining it with criticisms (Vukovich, 2012; Roh, Huang, and Liu, 2015). Therefore, there seems to be a potential outdatedness of orientalism in media portrayals. Consequently, it is essential to examine the current Western media production through the lens of orientalism to understand the extent of bias corresponding to this concept.

With the changing global position of China, the discussion extends beyond Said's orientalism to encompass various combined concepts within globalisation, resulting in an adjusted concept of orientalism. It is essential to consider that orientalism was developed by Said before the discussions of globalisation emerged in the 1990s (Albrow and King, 1990). Therefore, any analysis should incorporate the influence of globalisation as well. Moreover, criticisms of the West's binary discourse (Western/Eurocentric or Oriental/non-Western/Eastern) have been extensively discussed and recognised by Arab and Islamic scholars (Ayish, 2003; Behdad and Williams, 2010; Gunaratne, 2010; Ventura, 2017; Altwaiji and Alwuraafi, 2021), including Said (1978) himself from the last century to the present. However, there has been comparatively

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less discussion on China in this context. Considering the West's liberal ideology, which often involves being critical of events, especially as reflected in news outlets, it becomes crucial to conduct a detailed analysis of empirical media content. This analysis would help in identifying orientalism more clearly and logically in relation to the definition of orientalism and other updated new orientalist literature, particularly in the context of China.

In summary, with an awareness of the West's potential changing perception of orientalism due to the influence of globalisation, the lack of approval of orientalism within the Chinese context, and the identification of the West's ideology of liberalism, particularly in media, there is a pressing need to conduct thorough research. This research aims to address the above research gap and provide clarity through detailed explanations. The literature mentioned will be further expanded and critically examined to serve as the foundation for the research analysis that follows.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The literature review (LR) will critically discuss orientalism and its connection to various theories of power, including hegemony, colonialism and imperialism. Additionally, it will explore the relevant perspectives of globalisation, technology, capitalism and nationalism, under the emerging academic concept of global-orientalisation. These concepts will be further examined within the field of media, particularly under the theory of representation, encompassing Western media models and news. Towards the conclusion of the LR, the empirical study of the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic Games and the UK news outlet BBC News will be presented. To aid in the analysis and discussion section of the dissertation, a table will be included to compare the concepts of orientalism and global-orientalisation.

## **ORIENTALISM**

The concept of orientalism and its manifestation of power

In Said's (1978) seminal work on orientalism, he delves into a hegemonic discourse that glorifies the West as the dominant and admirable power, while simultaneously depicting Eastern countries as underdeveloped and uncivilised. This binary perspective becomes

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particularly apparent when comparing the Western liberal model to the stringent authoritarian ruling model of the Communist Party in China. The Western portrayal of the Orient as a mysterious and inaccessible realm served the purpose of enlightening English citizens and perpetuating generalisations (Behdad and Williams, 2010). Furthermore, Said (1979: 30) strongly connected orientalism to Gramsci's concept of hegemony (1971), which represents the prevailing power of the West at the top of the global hierarchy. Hegemony involves one group exerting control over another, often through the support of norms or legitimate ideas. Ueno (2002) also references Said's notion (1979: 223) that the orient exists only as long as the West has a need for it, as it brings the West's project into focus. Said (1978: 7) concurs with the idea of hegemony by mentioning the concept of 'positional superiority,' placing the orient in a position that can never challenge the West. Ueno (2002) and Vukovich (2012) both provide analyses that criticise orientalism as a result of Western knowledge creation and Western hegemony. Ueno (2002) further argued that dismissing mainland Chinese intellectuals' perspectives as nativist or nationalist is unjustified.

Moreover, Said (1979: 144) also addressed orientalism as a discourse that was influenced by colonialism and imperialism, specifically referring to the binary distinction. Imperialism claimed to bring civilisation to the colonised. Brennan (2014) recognises colonialism as the historical world system that has hindered China's contribution to the production of knowledge pertaining to Chinese history, language, and culture. Vukovich (2012) and Zhang (1988) acknowledge that Western cross-cultural studies in Chinese literary analysis have been heavily influenced by a political agenda, surpassing empirical evidence. Barmé (1996) and Vukovich (2012) further agree that an anti-liberal, uncivilised and underdeveloped portrayal of China do not align with reality.

Furthermore, when discussing the binary perception and China's accomplishments, finding academia that truly recognises the profound, multifaceted and positive nature of the Chinese revolution is a challenging task (Vukovich, 2012). In the past, China achieved an egalitarian economy during the Mao era, advancements in gender and social equality, worker's rights, and widespread literacy. However, Hegel (1991: 13) and Vukovich (2012) argue that the West has been disingenuous and ignorant in portraying Chinese history, particularly neglecting the positive aspects of knowledge production. They fail to recognise China's contributions to its

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own evolution and progress within its authoritarian framework, instead depicting China as passive and unable to embrace Western modernity independently. Referring back to Said (1978: 11), the West has exerted control over the non-West in various realms, including politics, sociology, military affairs, ideology, science, and imagination, particularly since the 19th century. These discourses mandated the transformation of the 'other' into the 'same', portraying orientalism as a missionary and civilising discourse, without considering China's distinct system of governance.

### Criticisms to the concept of orientalism

There are also other scholars like Schwarz (1997) and Güven (2019) who criticised the concept of orientalism. They view it as an outcome of Said's own historical and geographical understanding, reducing it to no more than an ideology that refrained from consulting modern sciences such as technology, as well as failing to take into account the nuanced histories of the West and the East, intertwined with the notion of progress mentioned. Some scholars support Said's assertion, stating that orientalism does not imply bias or othering, but rather highlights the unequal knowledge production among the Western countries and the rest of the globe, where scholars from the East simply have not produced sufficient literature (Brennan, 2014; Leow, 2018). Additionally, Zhang (1992) critically concluded that Said's orientalism exhibited support for the feared communist regime and was politically conservative. Critics argue that China, as highlighted by Vukovich (2012), often fails to provide data for the West to consider. Hallaq (2018: 8) criticised orientalism as an ideology with such extensive and profound problems that the entire discipline, along with its emerging critiques and defenses, has served as a discursive mask to conceal serious Orient crises in late-modern knowledge. Hallaq (2018) further critiqued Said's orientalism (1978), suggesting it also corresponds to the biased claims of Western academia.

Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge that stereotypical ideologies concerning the Orient and China undergo transformations due to various discourses and shifting power dynamics between China and the West. Said's (1978) influence has been significant; however, there have been critiques questioning the relevance of his concept in the modern context. Scholars such as Vukovich (2012) have introduced new China-related perspectives on orientalism, while Li (2020) explores orientalism in a global context, and Roh, Huang, and Niu (2015) focus on

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orientalism in relation to technology. The following paragraphs will delve into these new approaches to orientalism, particularly in the aspect of globalisation, as I consider it as the most comprehensive and specific concept based on the aforementioned perspectives.

### GLOBAL-ORIENTALISATION

The concept of globalisation intertwined with orientalism

Vukovich (2012) explains that since the 1970s, China studies has been characterised by the challenging concepts of modernisation and opposition to communism. Albrow and King (1990) first started relating orientalism with the concept of globalisation, explaining that the increasing interconnectedness of cultures and economies was due to global transformations. Importantly, in 1995, Said's later work also acknowledged the emergence of globalisation, updating his concept of orientalism. As the world has progressed into the era of globalisation and technology, scholars argue that a new form of orientalism has emerged (Behdad and Williams, 2010; Vukovich, 2012; Li, 2020). According to this perspective, the West portrays China as moving in the same developmental direction, yet always falling short of reaching the same level as the West, creating a constant gap of difference, with the West serving as a template and model for the Orient to aspire to. This more comprehensive portrayal is argued to bring about less superficial empirical observations of the Orient by the West (Behdad and Williams, 2010).

Globalisation plays a significant role as it triggers 'new forms of order and intensity' in the world (Appadurai, 1990: 1; Magdoff, 1992). It explains the way countries and regions come together and collaborate more freely, establishing various agreements concerning language, cultural beliefs, and more. This updates the concept of orientalism, wherein the West seeks to gain power through diverse social, cultural, and at times, political collaborations and alignments (Li, 2020). Globalisation highlights the importance of fostering positive relationships between nations to enable individual countries to thrive. However, criticisms of globalisation, in relation to orientalism, arise from the fact that it also provides opportunities for countries to critique one another. For example, Castells (2006: 60) mentions that while globalisation may be advantageous in economic terms, it can be detrimental to the



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environmental and human health. The next section will discuss the further development of globalisation through globalised culture and global public goods.

### The emerging political economy intertwined with technology

Vukovich (2012) demonstrates that the rise of new orientalism encompasses the oversight and control of the area for cultural-symbolic, political and economic benefits. The production of diverse representations of China holds significant influence, as exemplified by the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, an international event with the slogan 'one world, one dream' (Olympics, 2008). The concept of unity promoted by China is argued to have been recognised by the world, as evidenced by the official motto of the Olympics, 'Faster, Higher, Stronger - Together' (IOC, 2021). Globalisation, as articulated by Castells (2006), can be comprehended as an outcome of the political-economic system, encompassing aspects that hold monetary value while excluding others. However, scholars such as Marx (1967) and Harvey (1990) argue that production itself is a cultural process, with Harvey (2005) further emphasising the extensive and interconnected economic relationships between the US and China through Chinese labour.

The increase in the Western portrayal of China can be attributed to the growing cooperation between the West and China, particularly following China's Open Door Policy in 1978, which aimed to attract foreign investment. This idea finds support in Castells' (2006) concept of globalised culture as 'global public goods' with shared objectives. Furthermore, the United Nations (2013) recognises the interdependence of nations, thereby emphasising the significance of their dynamics in achieving mutual success. With the emergence of economic competitiveness intertwined with orientalism, the dynamics between China and the West have worsened. The Asian 'other' is now under the spotlight, subject to the critique and scrutiny of the West, as China rapidly narrows a developmental gap that not long ago was considered unclosable (Crum, 2015: 51). This dissertation will primarily focus on the cultural aspect, emphasising that the process of enhancing citizens' knowledge and memory is fundamental to the progression of the political-economic landscape between China and the West, particularly in the context of 'technology' discussed below.

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More recently, Castells (2006) has placed emphasis on the impact of globalisation facilitated by the rise of technology, highlighting that globalisation is an objective phenomenon. As a result, it is believed that globalisation provides a better explanation for the existing differences in how the West portrays oriental countries today. Within the context of globalisation, Castells (1996) argues that technology, particularly Information Communication Technologies, enhances the connectivity across various regions of the globe through online communication and negotiation. This idea is also reflected in Ueno's (2002) notion that the dominance of the Orient in global technology is primarily a result of the belief that people can share information across borders, stemming from the effects of globalisation. Roh, Huang, and Niu (2015: 7) provide a specific discussion on the emergence of Chinese technology in relation to the concept of orientalism. This discussion symmetrically addresses the West's recognition of China's technological development, yet paradoxically reinforces biased thinking that portrays China merely as a labour force using its technological advancements to serve Western inventions, thereby further affirming the West's centrality.

Examining orientalism from a technological perspective presents a broader, bidirectional, and frequently paradoxical range of images that encompass advancements in both the East and the West. It recognises that the Orient is undergoing rapid economic and cultural transformations, influenced by the flow of trade and capital driven by technology. Unlike the hegemonic premise of orientalism, which assumes Western authority in representing the East, the discourse of technologically-driven orientalism is mutually constituted by global information capitalism. Ueno (2002: 228) reached the inference that if the West formulated the concept of the Orient, then the sphere of information capitalism was responsible for the formation of the techno-orient. This highlights the West's fear of being overtaken and subsequently instrumentalised in its pursuit of technological dominance. Therefore, it becomes crucial to examine the aspect of online media, including news reporting, in order to determine whether the notion of orientalism in the context of technology is gaining prevalence in Western cultural consciousness.

### The global-orientalisation intertwined with nationalism

With the discussion of globalisation refining and adapting the concept of orientalism, the above concept can now be concluded as global-orientalisation. This will be further examined

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through the following perspectives, including the significant factor of nationalism present in both orientalism and globalisation. Gellner (1983: 1) defines nationalism as the 'principle that the political and national unit should be congruent.' As discussed earlier, it is argued that the West maintains their national identities as part of the intention behind orientalism. McAlister (2005) further explains that the national gaze of superiority is created based on the West's development and its dominant 'interest' in the Orient, driving cultural production, and stabilising national identities among its citizens. Livingstone (2003) and Kaldor (2004) assert that the current wave of nationalism, including transnational cultural dimensions, should be understood as a response to globalisation. The production of cultural knowledge on nationalism is viewed as methodological nationalism (Beck, 2002; Wimmer and Glick-Schiller, 2002), and its execution is exemplified in the context of globalisation, as discussed later.

Castells (2006) acknowledges the potential for change and the construction of new identities within globalisation. Li (2020) further highlights that Said (1993: 55) later includes globalisation as 'a system by which a small financial elite expanded its power over the whole globe.' Vukovich (2012) also asserts that orientalism and globalisation stem from the same perspective of post-colonialism. Globalisation not only portrays nationalism with the nation and state working together but also distinguishes between the nation and state (Hackett and Zhao, 2005). The combination of the two allows countries with similar interests to form groups and promote their interests through globalised culture (Castells, 2006). However, Plender (2022) argues that globalisation is not immune to geopolitical risks. In fact, it leads to more intense political relationships between states and countries from the start. This viewpoint is supported by Flew (2020: 19), who contends that global interconnectedness results in discrete and competing political-economic parties or countries. Nevertheless, practical elements also contribute to the changing ideology of orientalism, such as language, which previously contributed to the perceived 'difference' in orientalism. Now, globalisation helps bridge the gap between countries (Burney, 2012), reflected in culture also through media representation, as discussed below.

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## THE PROCESS OF GLOBAL-ORIENTALISATION IN MEDIA SYSTEMS, NEWS, AND REPRESENTATION

It is crucial to highlight that both globalisation and orientalism are not media theories, but the following analysis will apply these theories in the context of media. Rantanen (2010) links methodological nationalism (Beck, cited by Rantanen, 2005: 257) with media by discussing its execution in news and how states are closely associated with nations. Media also plays a role in generalising diverse state situations into a singular national identity. Livingstone (2003: 480, cited by Rantanen, 2010: 27) further agrees that the media treats the nation as a unit when conducting cross-national comparisons. International communication encompasses areas such as globalisation, media imperialism, media and development and international propaganda (Boyd-Barrett, 1977: 16-21; Sreberny, 1996: 178-179; Sparks, 2007: 3, cited by Rantanen, 2010: 25). For instance, different forms of nationalism are presented and methodologically compared in media by states, governments, or media outlets representing the nation. In this case, international communication serves as the foundation for delivering such ideologies.

Orientalist and eurocentric binary biases (Gunaratne, 2010; Ray, 2012; Waisbord and Mellado, 2014) are also evident in the dominant models of media systems: 'Four Theories of the Press' (Siebert *et al.*, 1956) and 'Three models of media systems' (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). These models attempt to socially construct all media systems in the world based on Western democratic models and have political consequences (Voltmer, 2011; Rantanen, 2017). Huntington (1991) and Ray (2012) additionally assert that Western media theories insufficiently clarify the circumstances of culturally unique non-western nations, ultimately falling within the orientalist paradigm (Voltmer, 2011; Waisbord and Mellado, 2014). Moreover, the US and the UK are primarily connected with the western media, with additional European countries and Japan holding a secondary position (Li *et al.*, 2022). This dynamic contributes to the development of orientalism from a Western perspective across all fields of social science (Gunaratne, 2010). However, scholars have critiqued orientalism in popular culture and mainstream media, based on the tendency of the West being referred to as professionals across the globe (Nguyen and Tu, 2007; Chun and Joyrich, 2009). Reich and Hanitzsch (2013) and Sjøvaag (2013) contend that in Western democracies, journalists have

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more editorial autonomy compared to non-Western contexts. Yet, Hamada *et al.* (2019) argue that the extent of journalistic autonomy also depends on the society, such as China allowing press freedom at a local level despite being non-democratic, while Israel imposes restrictions on press freedom.

In relation to the previous discussion on media systems and news representation, it is closely tied to Hall's theory of encoding (1973), which primarily focuses on higher-status individuals exerting power by imbuing meanings through various forms of texts and conforming to national and international norms. Rojek (2009) acknowledges that Hall (1973) takes a more contemporary approach, drawing from Marx's concept of class (1967) and Gramsci's theory of hegemony (1971). Thus, Hall's ideas provide a better framework for analysing examples of globalisation with orientalism, particularly by examining the discourses within news coverage that depict globalised events between China and the West. Kamp (1981) agreed with Hall (1973) that discourse should be studied within the context of representation structure to grasp its meaning. This view is endorsed by Foucault (1981), and the methodology section will further elaborate on the explanation of discourse.

Furthermore, when considering the contemporary practice of international news, which reflects the relationships between countries, it becomes evident that relevant news coverage expands in volume as globalisation advances (Hannerz, 2004; Rantanen, 2010). However, news is also criticised by Bourdieu (1998: 8) for presenting a picture filled with ethnic conflicts, racist animosity, violence, and crime. Song, Lee, and Huang (2021) along with Esser (2013) contend that the involvement of nation-states plays a pivotal role in shaping global news, with global events often being framed and presented through shared perspectives. As previously indicated, the impact of colonialism on Western intellectual-political culture, generated by predominant knowledge authorities from the West, plays a role in shaping the representation of global occurrences in the media, including events like the Olympics. This aspect will be explored in greater detail in the subsequent discussion.

## **EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON THE OLYMPICS AND BBC NEWS**

The Olympics is an internationally funded and participated competitive event, regarded as one of the most recognisable and largest societal products of globalisation. It is also often

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referred to as the 'United Nations of sports' (Cottrell and Nelson, 2010; Sugden and Tomlinson, 2012). The Olympics represents one of the most intense forms of international competition. The regulation falls under the purview of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), which operates as a non-governmental sports organization under the jurisdiction of Switzerland's civil code. The IOC, to some extent, represents the state, highlighting the separation between states and nations that participate in the Olympics, which aligns with the principles of globalisation. Sugden and Tomlinson (2012) note that the IOC, in its gatekeeper role, holds significant influence and has the ability to impact state behaviour. The Olympics reveals unequal power structures both among countries and within countries. However, the IOC (2021) promotes the idealistic notions of equality and peace among nations with the inclusion of the word 'together' in the slogan 'Faster, Higher, Stronger - Together'. Perryman (2012) further argues that successful individual athletes in the Olympics serve as affirmations of their countries' power and potential, rooted in nationalism. As a result, it becomes vital to explore the representation of these renowned athletes in connection with their respective countries.

In existing research, there are arguments presented involving the Olympics held in the UK and China. For instance, Sugden and Tomlinson (2012) heavily criticised the 2008 Beijing Olympics in their book 'Watching the Olympics: politics, power and representation', highlighting how London approached the Olympics differently by promoting diversity, unlike Beijing, which was perceived as strict towards Muslim individuals. This critique is seen as an expression of orientalism. Naduvath (2014) and Song, Lee, and Huang (2021) further suggest that in the media, the focus on socialisation is often portrayed for political purposes in Western news, revealing shared news framing. Furthermore, Cottrell and Nelson (2010) demonstrated that the Beijing Olympics took place amid political conflicts related to a range of matters, such as human rights, Tibetan autonomy, and product safety. These issues prompted calls for a boycott of the games. Shifting to the more recent 2022 Olympic games, UK media outlets once again portrayed the event with a significant focus on political issues and calls for a boycott (BBC News, 2022c; The Guardian, 2022; The Independent, 2022; The Telegraph, 2022).

Therefore, to obtain a qualitative review on the changing aspects of orientalism in UK news outlets, BBC News was selected for analysis. BBC News is part of the BBC, the UK news

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organisation established in 1922 that is funded and governed by the state (Ofcom, 2020). BBC News offers free access and had a monthly audience of 38.1 million in the UK in 2023 (Statista, 2023). While the BBC has faced criticism regarding its political leaning and bias (Robin, 2013; Cole, 2017; Newman, 2022), BBC News, regulated by Ofcom, the official authority in the UK, is arguably recognised as the most impartial news channel in the country (Statista, 2021). Upon reviewing the coverage titles on the 2022 Beijing Olympics, it is evident that BBC published some positive news articles about the event (BBC News, 2022c). Although the majority of the coverage about China in the Olympic games still had a negative political tone, considering the current trends of globalisation encompassing culture and environmental and human health (Castells, 2006), it is important to examine how the UK represents China through Olympic games news that covers these globalised topics.

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The research is strategically motivated by two aspects. Firstly, it is driven by the criticisms within and of orientalism, and secondly, by the extensive discussion between orientalism and global-orientalisation originating from Islamic and Asian scholars. The first aspect can be explained through the critique of the stereotype of orientalism by scholars such as Hegel (1991), Vukovich (2012), Roh, Huang, and Niu (2015), Li (2020), as well as Western criticisms that argue for the objectivity of the concept of orientalism and advocate for following the Western model of modernity (Zhang, 1992; Schwarz, 1997; Brennan, 2014; Leow, 2018; Hallaq, 2018). Consequently, it becomes necessary to bring together scholars with divergent viewpoints and incorporate empirical studies to examine these controversies. Secondly, I discovered that the majority of criticisms regarding orientalism and the new concepts of global-orientalisation, including those by Said (1978; 1979; 1993; 1995; 1998) himself, primarily focus on the context of Arab and Islamic cultures (Ayish, 2003; Behdad and Williams, 2010; Gunaratne, 2010; Ventura, 2017; Altwaiji and Alwuraafi, 2021), and pay less attention to the West's knowledge production of China. Hence, it is imperative to analyse the context of China, especially considering its previously mentioned growing economic position (Vukovich, 2012). Furthermore, considering the representation in media, Vukovich (2012) criticises the neglect of challenges and issues pertaining to political theory and discourse construction within the practices of postcolonial societies.

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This dissertation will make a critical contribution to the research area concerning the modern Western perspective towards China, focusing on the concepts of orientalism and globalisation. The study will explore various factors including power dynamics within hegemony, colonialism, imperialism, as well as nationalism and technology. To enhance comprehension regarding the distinctions and intersections between the concept of orientalism and global-orientalisation, as outlined in the aforementioned analysis, I have compiled a table (Table 1), which will be presented below. The subsequent CDA and discussion of the empirical coverage sample will be conducted in accordance with the table.

**Table 1: Orientalism vs Global-orientalisation (by the author)**

<b>Orientalism</b> (Said, 1978)	<b>Global-orientalisation</b> (Behdad and Williams, 2010; Vukovich, 2012; Li, 2020)
China is the opposite of the West in liberalism and modernity (binary) (Said, 1978)	China in the process of becoming liberal and modern like the West (Giddens, 1990; Appadurai, 1996; Vukovich, 2012), but still behind (Huntington, 1991)
More superficial empirical observations by the West (Hegel, 1991; Behdad and Williams, 2010; Vukovich, 2012)	Less superficial empirical observations by the West (Behdad and Williams, 2010)
Mysterious and inaccessible space of eroticism (Behdad and Williams, 2010)	Global interconnectedness (Sparks, 2007; Flew, 2020) through technology
Nationalism (Gellner, 1983) with a close linkage of the nation and the state, e.g. Methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Schiller, 2002)	Less linkage between the nation and state (Hackett and Zhao, 2005)
Practical elements such as language contribute to the ideology (Vukovich, 2012)	Practical elements such as language have less contribution towards the ideology of orientalism (Zhang, 2012); supported by Sparks (2007: 135) that the common language are better understood as a development of the imperialism paradigm
Post-colonialism (Vukovich, 2012) with hegemonic premise of the West's representation authority over the east	Post-colonialism (Vukovich, 2012) but more expansive and bidirectional (Roh, Huang and Liu, 2015)
China's technology is less developed (Roh, Huang and Liu, 2015)	Technology proximity between China and the West (Roh, Huang and Liu, 2015)
Orient is invented by the West (Said, 1978; Roh, Huang and Liu, 2015)	Techno-orient is invented by the world of information capitalism (Roh, Huang and Liu, 2015)
Less political relationships since it was developed before globalisation (Said, 1978)	Intense political relationships (Plender, 2022)
Ahistorical (Güven, 2019)	



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Have the purpose of educating English citizens (Behdad and Wiliams, 2010)
Making generalisations (Behdad and Wiliams, 2010)

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research is centered around delving into the concept of orientalism to assess its relevance in analysing the BBC's media coverage of the 2022 Beijing Olympics. The goal is to determine how the components of orientalism and global-orientalisation are evident within the coverage. The research question can be found below. Moreover, the discussions surrounding orientalism focus on power dynamics, binary conditions, and the evolving dynamics between China and the West due to globalisation. As a result, three sub-questions have been formulated to provide more comprehensive and profound insights into the research question presented below. The three sub-questions provided three conclusive themes for categorising the points listed in the table in the discussion.

The sub-questions were ordered according to the LR results to explore the changing dynamics between China and the West, while acknowledging the underlying discursive dominance of Western power. The first and second sub-questions examine the representation of countries, particularly focusing on China. It's worth highlighting that, according to the identified positive and negative dynamics between the West and China, the second question concerning China's presentation has been further specified into 'positive' and 'negative' categories, creating a stronger connection to the LR. The extent of the 'positive' and 'negative' will be justified in the analysis according to each selected text. Lastly, the sub-question addressing power dynamics has been placed at the end, considering that the previous literature review illustrated the presence of positive dynamics between China and the West, rather than solely focusing on the binary concept. Additionally, the observation is made that BBC news coverage does not directly portray China in a negative light. Consequently, it is more appropriate to analyse this question last, potentially utilising the findings and discussion from the first two sub-questions as well. These sub-questions will be analysed using the three-dimensional framework of CDA (Fairclough, 1995), which includes textual, discursive and societal dimensions. The methodology chapter will provide further explanation of this framework.

#### **Research question:**

# EXAMINING THE WESTERN MEDIA'S REPRESENTATION OF PRESENT-DAY CHINA THROUGH THE LENS OF ORIENTALISM

To what extent, if any, is the concept of orientalism useful in analysing the BBC News' coverage of the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics?

## Sub questions:

1. To what extent, if any, are the dynamics between China and other countries represented in the coverage?
- 2 (a). To what extent, if any, is China represented positively in the coverage as a country?
- 2 (b). To what extent, if any, is China represented negatively in the coverage as a country?
3. To what extent, if any, is the West represented as the dominant and admirable global power in the coverage?

## METHODOLOGY

### RESEARCH STRATEGY

#### Theory of discourse within globalisation

Discourses encompass various methods of constructing aspects of the world, encompassing all manners of verbal communication, ranging from structured to casual, along with diverse forms of written materials (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: 7; Fairclough, 1995). This idea is supported by Foucault (1972), who refers to practices as discourses, highlighting that meanings are constantly invested in material practices through textual status. According to Fairclough (1995), critical discourse analysis (CDA) focuses on social injustices, such as unequal relations. Furthermore, Fairclough (1995) specifically highlights the usefulness of critical discourse in uncovering the transformation of concepts like capitalism. Since this research aims to explore the transformation of the concept of orientalism under globalisation, which has been discussed as influenced by capitalism, CDA's analysis of unequal power relations within ideological portrayals helps recognise the biased and non-transparent nature of societal processes (Fairclough, 1995).

Regarding the dynamics between the UK and China during the Beijing Olympics and China's other issues reported by the BBC mentioned in LR, it is crucial to recognise that the coverage

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is not impartial but instead heavily influenced by political agendas, as argued by Zhang (1992) and Cottrell and Nelson (2011). Additionally, since China represents non-Western ideologies, the analysis should consider the context of China's dynamics with the West and China itself. As mentioned in the LR, China has a distinctly different authoritarian ruling system compared to the West's liberal system, emphasising the importance of understanding the context in order to avoid bias in the analysis. According to Chilton *et al.* (2010: 490), researchers examining discourse in China should consider the 'social and historical factors' that could influence changes in the discourse. Nevertheless, it is recognised by Foucault (1980), Parker (1990), Fairclough (1995), and Ghazali (2007) that discourse (knowledge) and power are effective in both directions, and discourse reproduces power relations through the production of ideologies. This concept will be linked to the discussion of discourse within globalisation below.

Fairclough (1999: 72) specifically emphasises the relationship between discourse and globalisation, stating that discourse is 'an irreducible part of globalisation.' Building on the above analysis, the BBC, as a global news network, serves as a valid example of processing globalisation through the interaction of transnational and interregional cultural discourses (Fairclough, 1995; Jessop and Sum, 2001; Jessop, 2004). Additionally, Fairclough (1995) notes that the flow and interconnections within globalisation are highly diverse. In the case of this study, it would involve the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and various governments (as seen in the boycott of the Beijing Winter Olympics mentioned in the LR). According to Cameron and Palan (2004), discourse plays a crucial role in bringing about substantial causal impacts in the development of social construction, a notion that aligns with Fairclough's understanding of globalisation above.

Turning to the role of news organisations as decision-makers of news coverage, Hacker *et al.* (1991) provide a strong analysis on the deconstruction of news, acknowledging the central power held by news institutions in shaping news content. In conclusion, considering Fairclough's focus on ideology and power, Fairclough's (1995) CDA with three dimensional framework emerges as the most relevant method to examine the existence of the concept of orientalism in the age of globalisation through BBC text news reporting.

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## SAMPLING

### Selection of data and limitation

The author previously conducted a quantitative content analysis (QCA) on BBC's coverage of the 2022 Beijing Olympics (submitted to the module MC4M1) to identify relevant discourses for further qualitative analysis based on the LR (Neuendorf, 2017). The analysis involved searching BBC's official website ([www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk)) using the keyword '2022 Beijing Winter Olympics' to control the genre for the CDA. Moreover, LexisNexis, a news research platform is also used for searching corresponding BBC news coverage, to ensure that all, if not most of the relevant BBC news coverage is identified for selection. Thomas and Antony (2015) along with Vincent *et al.* (2018) have also acknowledged textual news as the primary source for analysing the Olympics, so textual coverage was chosen as the sample, covering the six months before the start of the Olympics until the closing ceremony to align with the research angle on the portrayal of the Beijing Olympics. Out of the twenty text coverage samples, four were identified as having a clear positive portrayal of the Beijing Olympics (see appendix 2). One of these was a short coverage of 269 words, while the other three had an average word count of 1000. After conducting QCA on the four coverage samples, it was found that three of them included the highest number of topics categorised in the QCA essay, depicting both positive and negative aspects (see appendix 3 and 4). These topics included 'human rights including cultural and religious freedom', 'restrictions of COVID-19,' 'UK team performance', and other complaints and compliments about China or 2022 Beijing Olympics (see appendix 3). The short coverage primarily focused on illustrating the gender gap situation of the 2022 Beijing Olympics, along with 'UK team performance' (see appendix 3), and was also selected for analysis to examine how the BBC portrayed China positively.

However, it is important to note that the sampling is limited to four samples selected from a total of forty pieces regarding the 2022 Beijing Olympics. Considering the amount of analysis required for Fairclough's three-dimensional model (to be explained below), the time constraints of the study, and examples from Media@LSE Dissertation (LSE, no date), these four coverage samples were deemed sufficient for this dissertation. If time constraints and research limitations were not a factor, a comprehensive analysis of all forty pieces of BBC

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coverage related to the 2022 Beijing Olympics would be conducted in testing the existence of 'global-orientalisation' considering the critical nature of CDA and the need to explain the underlying content. Additionally, a critical analysis of the reporting on the 2008 Beijing Olympics could be conducted to draw a comparison with the 2022 Beijing Olympics and observe any changes in the implied concept of orientalism.

### RESEARCH DESIGN

#### Three-dimensional framework of analysis

As discussed theoretically earlier, discourses play a crucial role in shaping the concepts of orientalism and globalisation. From a technical standpoint, discourses possess inherent contradictory and indirect meanings and even non-linguistically (Foucault, 1980; Billig *et al.*, 1988: 23). CDA conducts analysis at multiple levels, delving into the language itself and the discursive forces that underlie it. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) recognise that the mentioned Fairclough's three-dimensional analytical framework (1992a) is the most developed and systematic, which enables it to effectively streamline the process of analysis. Therefore, this study will adopt the three-dimensional model, which encompasses 'description with text analysis, interpretation with discursive analysis, and an explanation with social analysis' (Fairclough, 1992b: 213).

The first dimension of the model involves identifying the genre of the text, including sentence structure, the use of direct and indirect quotes, and the selection of words (Fairclough, 1995). The second dimension examines intertextuality and the interrelationships between words, as it is crucial to consider how discourses correspond to one another (Fairclough, 1992a; Banton *et al.*, 1985: 16). In the third dimension, which operates at the social level, dialectical relations will be analysed, exploring the underlying structures such as the concepts of hegemony and capitalism. This analysis will be applied to the 2022 Beijing Olympics, the impact of COVID-19, and the position of BBC News. By understanding the West-East relations within the context of the Beijing Olympics event and drawing upon historical and temporal factors (Parker, 1990), insights into rationality and individual responsibility from leaders to citizens can be gained (Fairclough, 2005).

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Furthermore, BBC News' coverage of the Beijing Olympics aligns with Fairclough's notion of a comprehensively controlled genre, as all selected samples follow similar patterns of composition found in textual news coverage. This makes it more effective and conducive to analysis when employing CDA (Fairclough, 1992b; Rogers, 2004). By incorporating the first and second dimensions of the texts, a more comprehensive understanding can be achieved as they draw upon each other, facilitating the analysis and conclusion of the third dimension. This approach maximises the comprehension of phrasing, which, as noted by Hall (1980), may be encoded differently. The analysis of the third dimension will be conducted based on the concepts identified in the literature review, as summarised in the table.

### RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

#### Ethics and reflexivity of using CDA

CDA inherently encompasses subjectivity, including that of the analyst. Alcoff (1991: 6) and Gill (1996) argue that analysts' reflexivity in analysis cannot be detached from their own beliefs and imperatives and will bring their ideological perspectives into the interpretation of discourses, resulting in subjective research (Parker, 1990; Fairclough, 1992a: 28). Ainsworth and Hardy (2004: 168) further recognise that researchers' own academic personas are also intertwined in the investigation of discourse.

Turning to my own objectivity as the researcher, as an individual of Chinese origin who has resided in the UK for nine years, I am aware of the potential interpretational biases when analysing the power dynamics between China and the UK (West) within the framework of orientalism and global-orientalisation. Nevertheless, every effort has been made to ensure impartiality and ethical conduct in this research. The news analysed is publicly available on the BBC news website. Furthermore, my academic identities critically engage with various scholars discussed in the literature review, and the analysis will draw upon their insights (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2010: 9). The media department at LSE has confirmed that there are no ethics issues concerning my research, resulting in the determination that 'no approval is required.'

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Nonetheless, the method of CDA itself contains subjectivity and is not considered comprehensive as a standalone study. Grant *et al.* (2004: 14) have observed that a single research endeavor cannot fully capture the 'complexity of language and discourse.' CDA primarily focuses on analysing content to gain insights into how current ideologies and concepts are manifested in the representation of China by the BBC. While discourse analysis can examine what is explicitly stated, it does not explore the interactions individuals have with the text, in this case the underlying thoughts of the news organisation and its production or the audience's reception and impact (Fairclough, 1995: 15; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2010: 7).

### Rejection of other methods

Regarding the limitations of CDA in analysing only the content, Hansen (1998) and Jensen (2002) have demonstrated that understanding the production and impact of content can be achieved through interviews with news producers or audiences. By analysing the content in relation to the contextual review, it is possible to minimise the author's bias in CDA. However, in the context of exploring the practice of orientalism and globalisation, individuals' behaviours and actual thoughts may vary depending on societal circumstances (Festinger and Carlsmith, 1959). Additionally, BBC's influential position as one of the world's leading public service broadcasting channels makes it challenging for news producers to provide genuine insights into their intentions. As for the audience, Hacker *et al.* (1991) have noted the difficulties faced by news readers in explaining biases they have identified. Moreover, considering the extensive audience reach of BBC News (Newman, 2022), extracting audience perspectives within the given time constraints becomes more challenging. This underscores the importance of researching the context alongside the coverage to better understand the content's meaning. Nonetheless, the CDA research the author conducts can contribute to the discourse on global-orientalisation and lay the groundwork for future studies exploring the possibilities mentioned above.

Furthermore, discussing QCA as another method to analyse content, it also enables the researcher to understand the discursive trends employed by BBC News in portraying China and the 2022 Beijing Olympics, with the added verification of a second coder (Neuendorf, 2017). The substantial amount of quantitative data can be persuasive in establishing the

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presence of the concepts under exploration. However, the research's objective is to examine the specific shift from one concept (orientalism) to a more developed concept (global-orientalisation). Hence, it is crucial to analyse the particular 'discourses' closely related to the concept being investigated. Nevertheless, QCA contributed at the outset by identifying specific trends that align closely with the topics mentioned in LR before the conduction of CDA.

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings will be presented and discussed using the conceptual framework table, starting with the three sub-questions. They will then be concluded by addressing the main research question. As mentioned in the last chapter, to analyse and discuss each sub-question, Fairclough's three-dimensional framework (1995) will be adapted. The textual and discursive dimensions will be applied to the findings, while the societal dimensions will be employed in the discussion, which will be based on the conceptual framework table derived from LR presented above. Any unexpected findings will also be reflexively discussed in relation to the LR and the methodology. Some analysis and discussion may overlap between the two sub-questions, and these overlapping aspects will be discussed under the more relevant sub-question and ultimately summarised in the context of answering the research question. Lastly, the chapter will conclude with a discussion of the implications of the findings concerning existing literature and future research opportunities.

The four BBC News articles are labeled below with the titles for easier reference. The articles' links can be found in appendix 2. All quotes from the sample will be in indented block texts to distinguish them clearly in the analysis.

1. Beijing 2022: China readies for Winter Olympics as pressure grows (2021a)
2. Beijing 2022: Winter Olympics hit by deluge of complaints from athletes (2022a)
3. Winter Olympics: Beijing 2022 will have lowest-ever gender gap (2021b)
4. Beijing 2022: Life inside the Winter Olympics bubble (2022b)



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## SUB-QUESTION 1: TO WHAT EXTENT, IF ANY, ARE CHINA AND OTHER COUNTRIES REPRESENTED DIFFERENTLY IN COMPARISON TO ONE OTHER?

BBC News applies methodological nationalism by mentioning the home countries of individual athletes. The coverage includes comparisons between the representation of China and other countries, involving cities and individuals mainly from Japan (in the context of the Tokyo Olympics) and Western countries. The author acknowledges that these comparisons highlight a national-level dynamic between China and other countries. When describing athletes from other countries, the evolving relationship between the nation and the state is referred to as 'strong', as depicted in text 1 abstracted from coverage 1:

Beijing-based Canadian winter sport specialist Justin Downes has been advising Games organisers. He says local officials have been studying how Tokyo managed coronavirus risks for athletes and the decision there to not have crowds.

### **Text. 1. Source: BBC News (2021a)**

From the societal dimension, this text mentions three places: Canada, representing the West as the commentator and adviser; Tokyo, the capital of Japan, serving as the model for Olympic games; and China, referred to as 'Beijing-based', seen as a place to be advised according to Japan and the West's standards. The comparison between these three places also appears three times in coverage 4, highlighting China's stricter COVID-19 control during the Olympics. Furthermore, the texts 'the compulsory testing and mask wearing were also in place in Tokyo', 'but that's where the similarities end' (BBC News, 2022b) are consistent with the discussion in the LR, which indicate that Japan aligns more with the West's liberal ideology and is globally recognised for its modernity in comparison to China (Li *et al.*, 2022). In relation to the research question, China is compared as an idea-needed place, reflecting the concept of global-orientalisation of China in the process of becoming liberal and modern like the West (Giddens, 1990; Appadurai, 1996; Vukovich, 2012), but it is still perceived to be lagging behind (Huntington, 1991).

The emphasis on othering is evident in the samples through the comparison of China with other countries. This aligns with the opening phrase in coverage 1, where orientalism is

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portrayed as binary thinking, positioning China as the opposite of the West: 'as they had before' (BBC News, 2021a). Discursively, the use of 'they' instead of mentioning China directly emphasises the othering, extending the societal implications. Furthermore, BBC News made a connection between China's criticisms and Australia, highlighting the competition between the two countries for hosting rights for the 2000 Olympics below:

It had already lost its bid for the 2000 Games which was awarded to Sydney just four years after the bloody crackdown in and around Tiananmen Square in 1989.

### **Text. 2. Source: BBC News (2021a)**

On the societal dimension, these instances once again exemplified two conceptual ideas of orientalism: first, that China is portrayed as the opposite of the West in terms of liberalism and modernity (Said, 1978); and second, the notion of post-colonialism with the hegemonic premise of the West's representation authority over the East (Vukovich, 2012). Furthermore, considering that the events mentioned occurred around the year 2000, one could argue that the concept of orientalism remained valid, especially prior to the intense discussions of global-orientalisation that mostly concluded in the LR after 2000.

Coverage 2 further mentioned the suffering of athletes, along with their respective countries, reflected the diversity of nations (Perryman, 2012). BBC News integrates this information with states' call on measures, as seen with the example of the Swedish delegation (representatives), illustrating the classic orientalism's concept of nationalism with a close linkage between the nation and the state (Gellner, 1983), which reflects methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Schiller, 2002). The examples are shown below:

The Swedish delegation called for cross-country skiing events to be held earlier in the day to protect athletes from freezing temperatures – after Swedish athlete Frida Karlsson was seen shaking and close to collapse at the end of her women's 7.5km+7.5km skiathlon on Saturday.

Earlier last week, Belgian skeleton racer Kim Meylemans posted a tearful account on Instagram, alleging that she had been bounced from one isolation facility to another.

Separately, Russian biathlon competitor Valeria Vasnetsova expressed her frustration with the food provided in isolation, posting on Instagram of what she said was 'breakfast, lunch and dinner for five days already'.

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## Text. 3. Source: BBC News (2022a)

At the textual and discursive levels, BBC News used short but strong wording to describe the athletes in direct quotes to criticise China's measures, each within one sentence, such as 'tearful', 'shaking', and 'close to collapse'. This presentation contradicts with Beijing's initial 'promise' of the Olympics being 'streamlined, safe, and splendid' (BBC News, 2022a). Societally, the portrayal of the suffering of Western athletes reflects the admiration of the West's liberal ideology in more countries compared to China's authoritarian measures reflected in Olympics, therefore emphasising the binary concept (Said, 1978). Moreover, the overall portrayal of China's suppressing measures also aligns with the idea of emotionally educating English citizens and perpetuating generalisations about China (Behdad and Williams, 2010), depicting it as the opposite of the West in terms of liberalism (Said, 1978).

## SUB-QUESTIONS 2

Sub-question 2(a). To what extent, if any, is China as a country represented positively in the coverage?

BBC News presented China positively in the sample individually but also combined it with negative portrayals. For example, in coverage 1, while discussing the COVID-19 controls, the conversation and illustration between the Canadian specialist and the BBC journalist emphasised China's well executed adaptations for the Olympics, using 'certainly' and 'no question' twice in two phrases below:

But certainly the games will be well-supported by spectators from China: no question,  
There is no question Beijing will be ready in terms of venues for the competitions

## Text. 4. Source: BBC News (2021a)

On the societal level, it also aligns with the conceptual idea of orientalism, portraying China as having authoritarian control, in contrast to the West's liberalism and modernity (Said, 1978). However, following the second 'no question', they added China's specific measures with numbers, incorporating more positive illustrations with the direct quotes, such as 'hundreds of workers', 'thousands more electricians', and 'at multiple sites'. Additionally, strong positive words and phrases like 'spectacular', 'no doubt impress', 'space-age looking' and

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'beauty' were used textually to enhance the positive portrayal. The corresponding extract can be seen below:

1. In fact, all of the competition venues are already ready and they've already hosted test events.

Across the road from the newly built high-speed train station outside the mountains of Beijing, I speak to Mr Downes as we pass hundreds of workers finishing off the supporting infrastructure around a medal presentation area. There are thousands more electricians, welders and the like at multiple sites nearby.

They're all racing to build food and beverage areas, temporary stands and hotels in time. The spectacular locations will no doubt impress a global audience - from the space-age looking ski jump facility to the beauty of the ski runs.

2. Meanwhile, others have praised China's determined efforts to ensure a relatively virus-free games, including deep-cleaning of sleep pods between users, regular spraying of disinfectant and deploying robots in kitchens and bars for food preparation and distribution.

### **Text. 5. Source: BBC News (2021a)**

On the societal dimension, the abstract strongly depicts China's path towards modernity (Vukovich, 2012), aligning with the conceptual ideas of global-orientalisation. Discursively, in the text, BBC News links 'high-speed train station' and 'mountains of Beijing' together, showcasing the process of China's technological development harmonising with nature. However, on the contrary, the paragraph also mentions the number of people contributing in a suppressing manner and the glamorous results, leading to China being perceived as the opposite of the West in liberalism, within the concept of orientalism (Said, 1978). This piece of text also exhibits a hint of the mysterious and inaccessible space of eroticism (Behdad and Williams, 2010) derived from orientalism, with the mention of the game only being certain to be 'well-supported by spectators from China' (BBC News, 2021a). The positivity reaches its peak in coverage 3, where the description strongly asserts that the Beijing Olympics are 'the most gender-equal Games ever' and 'have the lowest-ever gender gap' (BBC News, 2021b). At the textual level, them as the first sentence and the title of the coverage emphasise a direct complement. The praise is further illustrated as a global achievement, with historical data

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from other Olympics reflecting the gender gap. The involvement of other Western countries, including France, Norway, and Great Britain in the gender gap data, showcases BBC News' strong illustration of the idea of global-orientalisation, suggesting that China is undergoing a transformation towards becoming liberal and modern like the West (Appadurai, 1996; Giddens, 1990; Vukovich, 2012), and even slightly ahead with less gender gap compared to the historical achievements of the West.

On the other hand, in most samples, the BBC extensively compliments China's technology in various ways, employing an impressive tone that makes China's achievements sound unbelievable. Examples include phrases below:

China's technical wizardry has also created some novel tools aimed at reducing human-to-human contact, newly built high-speed train station, deploying robots in kitchens and bars for food preparation and distribution, temperature-controlled sleep pods and disinfectant everywhere

**Text. 6. Source: BBC News (2021a) (2022a) (2022b)**

The phrase 'temperature-controlled sleep pods and disinfectant everywhere' is particularly noteworthy as it serves as the opening sentence of coverage 4, highlighting the theme of the coverage. Based on the overall tone of the BBC's critique of China's Olympic measures, the mentions of technological development showcase the proximity of technology between China and the West (Roh, Huang, and Liu, 2015), and the global interconnectedness through technology (Sparks, 2007; Flew, 2020). Regarding the purpose of the positive portrayal, it aligns with the idea that global-orientalisation is shaped by the information capitalism of technology (Roh, Huang, and Liu, 2015).

To conclude, the BBC presented China with clear positive illustrations supported by valid numbers and other evidence. However, it is evident that these positive portrayals were relatively brief and often combined with unverified doubts or shifts in topic. For example, coverage 3, which directly portrayed the Beijing Olympics as having the least gender gap, consisted of only 269 words, compared to the volume of other samples ranging from 664 words to 1466 words. Additionally, within coverage 3, 25% of the content was not even related to the gender gap but focused on predictions of team GB's performance. Furthermore, considering the sampling fact that only 4 out of 40 instances of Beijing Olympics coverage

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portrayed China in a clear positive light, the recognition of China's positive aspects remains limited. Nevertheless, the positive perspectives revealed by the BBC centered around technology, wealth, and the controlled COVID-19 conditions of the Beijing Olympics.

Sub-question 2(b). To what extent, if any, is China as a country represented negatively in the coverage?

China is negatively represented in terms of its strict COVID-19 controls for the 2022 Olympics and its human rights issues. These representations encompass China's national problems of the autonomous regions, the living conditions of foreign athletes during the Olympics, the circumstances of ordinary Chinese citizens.

In coverage 1, BBC News illustrated China's COVID-19 problems and measures in the following ways:

pursued a goal of full elimination, threatening China's status of having the virus controlled, officials remain on alert to guard against any new clusters, threatening the Games with several measures in place

### **Text. 7. Source: BBC News (2021a)**

Societally, the two uses of the term 'threat' depict not only China's dominant power in defending against the virus but also its potential influence in addressing other matters that pose a threat to the nation. This portrayal can be seen as negative according to the LR, reflecting BBC News' depiction of China's authoritarian ruling scheme in opposition to the West's liberalism (Said, 1978). Furthermore, BBC News (2021a) links the Chinese officials' goal of 'zero domestic COVID infections' to the creation of 'a major impact on the look and feel of the Olympics'. Societally, while China is striving to control COVID-19, BBC News emphasises that the experience of the Olympics within this strict control is non-liberal.

The main focus of BBC News in representing China negatively was on the human rights problems. Coverage 1 deliberately mentioned the controversial liberal issues of the previous Olympics China held in 2008 in relation to the 2022 Olympics, along with other human rights problems that China faces. The appearance of words below highlighted these concerns:

human rights pressures, bloody crackdown, press freedom, Journalists report being harassed, followed and recently threatened with violence

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### Text. 8. Source: BBC News (2021a)

On a discursive dimension, these words are perceived as strong anti-liberal expressions. In relation to society, they strongly illustrate the classic orientalism critique, depicting other countries negatively to demonstrate the superiority of one's own country. China, in this context, is portrayed as the opposite of liberalism and modernity. Furthermore, on the textual and discursive dimensions, BBC News contrasts the issues illustrated with Western liberal depictions, mentioning 'protest parks' and providing a detailed illustration of the protesting story below.

Two grandmothers in their 70s took the government at its word and tried five times to get permission for a protest over a controversial housing development.

Not only were they never allowed to protest but they were given a year's 're-education through labour' sentence for being troublemakers. After an international outcry, that punishment was later withdrawn.

### Text. 9. Source: BBC News (2021a)

By textually illustrating the protesting story of 'two grandmothers in their 70s', which societally aligns with the West's value of democracy, and together with the result of 'after an International outcry, that punishment was later withdrawn' (BBC News, 2021a), it eventually shows the power of the international authorities, specifically the West. This information is presented right after BBC's compliments of Beijing Olympics being well prepared with its technology and infrastructure. However, this human rights controversy is not directly relevant to Beijing's infrastructure mentioned earlier; instead, it becomes meaningful when discussing the common interests of the West, which fits the shared conceptual idea of educating English citizens and making generalisations (Behdad and Williams, 2010). Moreover, this finding does not seem to correlate with the shared conceptual idea of both orientalism and global-orientalisation being ahistorical (Said, 1978) in the broader global societal context. However, it could be argued that BBC News does not fully explain China's history in this regard, indicating a lack of comprehensive understanding of China's societal context. Consequently, the coverage remains ahistorical, as it only focuses on the negative outcomes of Chinese history.

The negativity is also evident when BBC directly mentions politics. 'In China the olympics becomes political. There's no getting away from it' (BBC News, 2021a). Societally, this

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illustrates how BBC News portrays the concept of global-orientalisation, depicting the intense political relationships (Plender, 2022) between China and the West in terms of the ideology of liberalism. BBC News also portrays the conditions of ordinary Chinese individuals with less emphasis on politics. In coverage 1, after criticising China's extra strict control and measures on its citizens for the 2022 Beijing Olympics, BBC used direct quotes from Chinese citizens to illustrate their positive attitudes about the event. Quotes such as 'It's a huge event. I'm very proud' and 'We had great success here with the Summer Games. The world saw it.' (BBC News, 2021a) were included to showcase their positive sentiments about the Beijing Olympics. This is evident in how BBC News portrays the difference in attitudes with the tone they use to depict China's strict measures, creating a strong linkage between the nation and state (Gellner, 1983). This further illustrates China's suppression of its citizens, using positive aspirations as a means of educating them.

Additionally, BBC News draws a contrast between the friendliness and genuineness of Chinese citizens and China's suppressions, as human rights constitute a significant focal point in the representation of China in the news (Cottrell and Nelson, 2010). This idea finds substantiation in statements from BBC News and English Olympics reporters. These sources present a detailed and seemingly authentic portrayal of local workers, acknowledging their 'dedication', while also highlighting the strict restrictions they faced in sharp contrast to the favorable conditions enjoyed by athletes. An example of this coverage is represented in coverage 2, as shown below.

As always, the dedication of local workers is appreciated, particularly at a Covid Games where athletes have limited spectators and very little opportunity to engage with locals.

It's called a 'closed loop' for a reason - there is no way out. I'm still getting used to it but at least the buses run on time and everyone seems friendly.

Local volunteers are also around to give directions and help. They don't live in the bubble's flashy hotels, but in dormitory-style accommodation.

**Text. 10. Source: BBC News (2022a)**



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This depiction further distinguishes China from its citizens separately in the concept of nation and state (Hackett and Zhao, 2005), positioning it as a byproduct of globalisation and facilitating further criticism of China as a nation.

Moreover, BBC News consistently focused on human rights situations while portraying China's technological and modern advancements with examples in coverage 4 below. Together with the former Chinese citizens expressing positive opinions, this further echoes the non-liberalism of China (Said, 1978).

BBC teams inside Olympics: Everyone also undergoes a PCR deep-throat swab test every day which has to be recorded with the Games' My2022 health app.

BBC producers: the counter-Covid measures are extraordinary, the other day I asked for a little repair in my room and a man in a bio-hazard suit turned up to do it.

**Text. 11. Source: BBC News (2022b)**

Sub-question 3. To what extent, if any, is the West represented as the dominant and admirable global power in the coverage?

**Table. 2. Source: BBC News (2021a)**

Nation	State
a full-scale nationalist rally	Tibet's Communist Party Secretary Zhang Qingli: Tibet's sky will never change and the red flag with five stars will forever flutter high above it. We are certainly going to smash the splittist schemes of the Dalai Lama clique
a group of activists, reading 'Free Tibet' in huge letters	at the base of the newly-constructed China Central Television Tower
Ethics Uyghurs and other minority groups in Xinjiang	the construction of a network of 're-education' camps
Hong Kong's year	under China's controversial law, the draconian state security law in Hong Kong

In coverage 1, when describing China's human rights issue, BBC News made a societal contrast between the Chinese state's approach in Tibet, Xinjiang and Hong Kong and the corresponding nation's approach, which is textually and discursively concluded in the table above. Its presentation of a separate, if not lesser linkage between China's nation (seeking for freedom) and state (controlling the nation) (Hackett and Zhao, 2005), strongly helps BBC

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News promote the West's power as admirable and dominant through the textual portrayal below.

diplomatic boycott: Governments are being asked by human rights groups not to send representatives to the Olympics. This call has been supported by votes in the UK and European parliaments.

Many Olympic observers would say that, these days, it (the protests) might not have made any difference. (regarding China's strict controls on autonomous regions)

### **Text. 12. Source: BBC News (2021a)**

On the societal dimension, both texts above demonstrate the approach of the West's post-colonialism but in a global-orientalisation sense (Vukovich, 2012), exhibiting a more expansive and bidirectional perspective (Roh, Huang, and Liu, 2015).

BBC News also expresses the West's commentary and examination as the global dominant and admirable power through various sources such as the 'Beijing-based Canadian winter sport specialist Justin Downes', 'the International Ski Federation rules', and the US data company Gracenote (BBC News, 2021a; 2021b; 2022a). For example, in coverage 1, BBC News (2021a) reflects the West as the dominant power when commenting on China's strategy, 'the strategy is always the same'. Societally, this could be debated as every approach should have slight differences, but BBC News concludes them with fewer references and relies more on themselves. This aligns with the concept of orientalism that there are more superficial empirical observations made by the West (Hegel, 1991; Behdad and Williams, 2010; Vukovich, 2012). In coverage 4, BBC News (2022b) states that 'The 2022 Beijing Games are likely to be the most controlled international sporting event held to date'. The use of 'are likely' implies uncertainty, and this reflects BBC News' opinion. Additionally, the phrase 'China - wealthy, powerful, and determined' (BBC News, 2022b) is discursively seen to be deliberately added before illustrating China's COVID-19 measures. This phrase appears after a brief description of the Tokyo Games in Japan, illustrating a comparison to show the differences in China's approach. As discussed earlier, Japan is regarded within the liberal ideology along with the West, which strongly contrasts with China's binary ideology in comparison to the West's liberalism and modernity (Said, 1978). Furthermore, this textually positive portrayal of China also exemplifies the global-orientalisation concept, wherein the current situation of

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stereotyping is perpetuated by the world of information capitalism (Roh, Huang, and Liu, 2015), showcasing China's economic strength in a de-liberal, opposite-West manner.

However, BBC News not only quoted negative comments towards China but also provided fair direct comments, such as from the Canadian specialist mentioned, '...But, from a winter sports perspective, they (China) tested all of these protocols in Europe last year.' (BBC News, 2021a) This discursively shows positive opinions from a Western specialist, with China's Olympics measures aligning with the West's. Societally, it suggests that China is undergoing a transformation towards becoming liberal and modern like the West (Giddens, 1990; Appadurai, 1996; Vukovich, 2012), but still lags behind (Huntington, 1991). In coverage 3, the American sports data service company Gracenote, as an examining power, also complemented China's achievement in reaching the 'lowest-ever' gender gap, providing significant positive data such as:

with 52.75% of events for men and 47.25% for women, women will have nearly four times as many events to participate in as they did in 1980, the number of events for women has almost quadrupled

**Text. 13. Source: BBC News (2021b)**

### OVERALL OBSERVATION OF THE THREE SUB-QUESTIONS

Although it has been analysed that BBC News mostly presents China negatively and critically, it is important to recognise that the BBC provides evidence when discussing China's strategies and implementations for the Olympics, such as controlling COVID-19. This makes the claims of China's strict controls more reliable while also acknowledging China's developed infrastructures and technology. Additionally, BBC News effectively uses numerous direct quotes from various sources, including the Beijing-based Olympics adviser from the West and ordinary Chinese citizens. However, the selection of these quotes is still questionable in terms of representativeness and objectivity. BBC News (2022a) partially acknowledges this by stating, 'according to one translation' and 'The BBC has been unable to verify these claims' after some direct quotes, further highlighting the Western media's liberal perspective (Reich and Hanitzsch, 2013; Sjøvaag, 2013). This association of BBC News with the West aligns with

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Behdad and Williams (2010)'s idea that the West tends to make less superficial empirical observations under global-orientalisation.

Additionally, by focusing on using translations of direct quotes from non-English speakers, BBC News was able to include opinions from Chinese Olympic officials, ordinary citizens, and athletes from other countries in its coverage comprehensively. This aligns with the conceptual idea of global-orientalisation, where practical elements contribute less to the ideology of orientalism (Zhang, 2012). Nonetheless, the use of a common language can be better understood as a development of the imperialism paradigm (Sparks, 2007).

### RESEARCH QUESTION: TO WHAT EXTENT, IF ANY, IS THE CONCEPT OF ORIENTALISM USEFUL IN ANALYSING THE BBC NEWS' COVERAGE OF THE 2022 BEIJING WINTER OLYMPICS?

The findings and discussions above will be concluded in terms of the conceptual framework of LR to answer the research question. The table of conceptual points can be found in table 1 at the beginning of the chapter. The discussion reflects the extent to which the news content aligns with the conceptual points.

Most of the points in the conceptual framework table are present in the coverage. However, certain points were not apparent in the coverage, such as the concepts of 'post-colonialism but more expansive and bidirectional' (Vukovich, 2012; Roh, Huang, and Liu, 2015), 'intense political relationships' (Plender, 2022). Among these non-apparent conceptual points, it becomes evident that some representations, initially viewed as positive from the textual dimension, actually end up portraying China in a negative light when societal dimensions were applied in relation to the LR. Therefore, it is crucial to emphasise that these points can only be discovered through a more in-depth analysis of the content using societal dimensions, with many of them being related to global-orientalisation. Nonetheless, in accordance with the LR, considering the dynamics between the UK and China as less economically and politically conflicting compared to the US and China (McAlister, 2005), and recognising the BBC as a UK state-funded and ruled news channel (Ofcom, 2020), such findings would be deemed reasonable.

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It is also worth mentioning that the texts in the sample were mostly not regarded as being in between the corresponding different conceptual ideas of orientalism and global-orientalisation. Instead, they could be largely distinctly classified under one of the two conceptual ideas, which also indicates that the conceptual framework was clear enough in analysing the existence of the shift from orientalism to global-orientalisation using CDA. However, there were some conceptual points that were not presented in the sample, and most of them belonged to the conceptual ideas of orientalism. For instance, these included statements such as 'practical elements such as language contribute to the ideology of orientalism' (Vukovich, 2012) and 'China's technology is less developed' (Roh, Huang, and Liu, 2015). This emphasises BBC's intention to correspond to the opposite of such conceptual points, aligning with the notions of global-orientalisation.

To conclude, from a societal perspective, I argue that BBC News correlates midway between the concept of orientalism or global-orientalisation. Moreover, in terms of objectivity, the historical events connected by BBC News are predominantly, if not exclusively, associated with the Western ideology of liberalism. When considering the linkage between capitalism and liberal ideology, China is viewed as a binary counterpart in the absence of capitalism. However, with the introduction of capitalism, China is making significant progress and may even be positioned as potentially or already ahead. As a result, one can argue that these connections underscore the fundamental concept of orientalism, which portrays China as the reverse of the West in terms of liberalism and modernity (Said, 1978). It could be contended that while the classic foundational concept of orientalism remains highly influential, its manifestation within societies has become more flexible and discursive, largely influenced by the impact of capitalism.

When discussing future research, it becomes evident from the comprehensive concept of orientalism presented by the West in BBC News that further investigation should be directed towards examining other news outlets whose countries maintain relationships with China's technological advancements. Therefore, it can be compared to the focus of BBC News in praising China and the existing literature discussed in LR, to facilitate a clearer understanding of the correlation between capitalism within globalisation and orientalism. Considering the geographical aspect, it is important not to confine the analysis solely to Western news outlets.

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Drawing upon the comparison between Japan and China presented in the provided example, conducting a comparative CDA of news outlets based on their technological ties with China, and the extent to which these outlets are influenced by Western liberal ideology, would be beneficial.

### CONCLUSION

The dissertation explored the representation of the concept of orientalism between the UK and China within the media news outlet BBC, focusing on the empirical topic of the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics. After the discussion in LR, the author discovered the concept of globalisation and orientalism (referred to as global-orientalisation) with modern media practices incorporating elements of technology and capitalism. The CDA was conducted, referring to the conceptual table differentiating orientalism and global-orientalisation (see table 1), which highlighted slight differences and several similarities. To answer the research question, the findings and discussion present a balanced reflection of BBC's ideas, encompassing both orientalism and global-orientalisation. This shows that the concept of orientalism is fundamentally useful in understanding the BBC's coverage, alongside other perspectives on the influence of globalisation. Particularly noteworthy is the discovery of capitalism's increasing involvement, leading to the transformation of orientalism into global-orientalisation. Additionally, the dissertation analysed two fundamental concepts of orientalism influencing most of the text in the coverage sample: the binary idea between China and the West (Said, 1978) and the West's dominant power as the world's admired liberal ideology (Said, 1978; Vukovich, 2012).

Building on this, for future research, the balanced reflection of ideas demonstrated in the analysis underscores the necessity for further exploration, encompassing more of the liberal-led news outlets and delving into topics concerning technology and capitalism within globalisation. The analysis of CDA, utilising the three-dimensional framework (Fairclough, 1995), conducted in this research can serve as a criterion for comparison and reference. Furthermore, given that CDA has the capability to draw detailed conclusions distinguishing between orientalism and global-orientalisation, it should also be considered for application in future related research. Nevertheless, given the research gap and the aim of studying

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stereotypes and biases in this dissertation, as mentioned in the LR and methodology chapter, it is crucial to further explore China's self-approach to capitalism within globalisation under its one-party ruling authoritarian regime in future research too. This aspect may also contribute to the concept of global-orientalisation, particularly concerning China's measures for the 2022 Beijing Olympics exposed in this dissertation.

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## APPENDICES

**Appendix 1: the annotation example of the news articles [*abridged from publishment*]**

**Appendix 2: the links of the sample of 4 news articles**

Coverage 1: BBC News (2021a) *Beijing 2022: China readies for Winter Olympics as pressure grows*, BBC News. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-58196467> [Last consulted 20 July 2023].

Coverage 2: BBC News (2022a) *Beijing 2022: Winter Olympics hit by deluge of complaints from athletes*, BBC News. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-60298184> [Last consulted 20 July 2023].

Coverage 3: BBC News (2021b) *Winter Olympics: Beijing 2022 will have lowest-ever gender gap*, BBC News. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/winter-olympics/59741191> [Last consulted 20 July 2023].

Coverage 4: BBC News (2022b) *Beijing 2022: Life inside the winter olympics bubble*, BBC News. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-60225463> [Last consulted 20 July 2023].

**Appendix 3: The topics the chosen coverage are included [*abridged from publishment*]**

**Appendix 4: Topics identified from all pieces of BBC's 2022 Beijing Olympic coverage [*abridged from publishment*]**