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Metaphorical Representations of China in the British Financial Press during and after the 2008 Financial Crisis

By:

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Abstract

Financial journalism would appear to have had a claim to be one of the more reliably fact-based areas of the news media. However, the recent inability of financial journalists to identify the major structural flaws in global financial systems has shattered much of the previous confidence in the authority of this expert discourse. Beyond the repair work necessary within the institutions of financial journalism there is another set of more fundamental issues relating to the structure of financial reporting itself. These relate to the regular use of metaphor as a short-cut to grasping complexities of the financial world within such a fact-dominated field as journalism. What are the implications for the future of financial journalism in its dependence on metaphorical language?

This research takes as its case study the metaphorical representations of China in the British financial press in the contemporary era and assesses the extent to which this coverage is based upon older stereotypes of China. The power of stereotypical metaphors of China lies in the adept utilization and application of our shared understanding and nationally specific imaginations of China. With the upsurge of Chinese nationalism boosted by economic growth, especially after the 2008 financial crisis, understanding of China in news discourse has shifted from exclusive “otherness” to a proximity to the cultural logic of Western ideologies. By identifying the source domain of the dominant metaphorical associations, this research found that metaphor within this fact-based discourse serves as a lazy deployment of tired and outdated stereotypes, emphasizing China’s role as an Orientalist continuum and a threat to the Western community. This research invites us to reconsider the representative power of metaphor as a process that perhaps in a subtle way undermines the facticity of news reporting in areas of global importance such as financial journalism.

Keywords: financial journalism, financial crisis, metaphor, China, Orientalism

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Introduction

With the upsurge of China's global influence boosted by its economic growth, especially after the 2008 Financial Crisis, Sinological understanding may have shifted from exclusive "otherness" to closeness to the Western ideologies. China has demonstrated an increasing capacity to integrate in the global economy and engage with the main institutions of global diplomacy (Legro, 2007; Chin and Thakur, 2010). On the other hand, the Western community views China as a potential threat that intends to wield its power to challenge the world order in a direction consonant with the priorities of its authoritarian ruling party in order to preserve its monopoly power without accountability (Friedman, 2009). These being such significant issues in global affairs, this research therefore asks how China is represented in the British financial press in a post-crisis era with ideological significance where the West has been in a funk and emerging markets continue to flourish.

This research is based on an empirical study of the metaphorical representations of China as a dominant financial-political player in the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* from the global financial crash in 2008 to the present. The major findings intend to provide an insight into how the journalistic representations of China are constructed with regards to the metaphor variation in terms of conceptual and thematic associations and how the metaphorical patterning is engendered and developed based upon the Western understanding of China.

The aim of this thesis is to make an original contribution to existing work in both journalism and Chinese studies by beginning to elaborate a consistent and coherent theoretical foundation which can be used to analyze the metaphorical patterns constructed by a variety of conceptual clusters and the tones, attitudes and stereotypical implications they constitute. The theoretical foundation is built upon a series of frameworks including Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the representation of Other in discourse as well as theories of Orientalism. This research intends to fill an extant research gap by exploring how metaphor is applied in financial news discourse towards ideological ends. This corpus-based research employs a hybrid of traditional

research methods that synthesize Critical Metaphor Theory (CMT), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and quantitative and qualitative corpus-linguistic approaches. This methodology provides possibilities to examine the proactivity of metaphorical choices in constructing a socially and ideologically shared representation of China and the discourse function of metaphors that permits us to uncover the ideological motivation of the textual choices. In addition, the choice of media is of particular interest as financial journalism is often viewed as more quantitative, more scientific than other more general forms of news and therefore the presence of metaphors will inform us not only about the primary research questions but also the place of metaphor in professionalized discourse on the global economy.

This introductory chapter will discuss the justifications behind the research foci chosen, the main research questions, an outline of the methodological framework and the organization of the thesis.

Why study China?¹

My primary interest is to find out the metaphorical patterns that journalists adopt in discourses during a specific time period with ideological significance. The chosen period is ideologically significant because it consists of representative events with unique features. Driven by heavy industry and infrastructure as well as cheap labour to manufacture and export low-end products (Overholt, 2010, p.23), China's spectacular economic growth has begun to reshape the world economy. China passed Japan in the second quarter of 2010 to become the world's second largest economy by GDP behind the US and overtook the US in 2014 to become the world's largest economy by purchasing power parity. China is also the world's largest exporter and second largest importer of merchandise goods in 2017. Since China launched the economic reform in 1978, it has showed a great capacity to socialize into global standards, rules and norms of modern international society (Chin and Thakur, 2010). After the outbreak of the 2008 Financial Crisis and 2009 European Debt Crisis, the deterioration of the economic

¹ Additionally, because of the quantity and quality of the dataset, an extensive focus on the cultural specificity of China is chosen for the thesis.

conditions in the US and Eurozone has often cast China as a potential saviour to help finance their mountainous debt and to perform as an active trade partner (i.e. Chin and Thakur, 2010; Steinbock, 2012).

On the other hand, although China's current transformation tends to integrate into the existing global economic order, its ultimate goal is to change both the structure of international institutions and norms of governance, domestically and globally (Breslin, 2010, p.53). The question of whether the rise of China as a major economic, political and military power will destabilize the international system and the regional security in the Asia-Pacific area has become highly topical. More recently, some analysts believe that China's impressive success in overcoming the 2008 Financial Crisis has increased its global power and changed the US-led transatlantic order (i.e. Chin and Thakur, 2010; Breslin, 2010, 2013). The "China Threat" perception has come to dominate the security agenda in the Asia-Pacific region, and now poses one of the biggest foreign policy challenges the Western community is wrestling with.

Furthermore, China's distinctive developmental model, which represents a synthesis of Western-style free market and authoritarian political system, involves long-term vulnerability. The Chinese political system is vulnerable to a high level of corruption, internal unrest and complex social stratification, which will affect its economic growth in the future (Nye Jr, 2010). Despite China's rising economic and political influence, the Western perception about China remains strongly yoked to the historical imagery which reinforces the backwardness and strangeness in China's political, economic and cultural environments. This thesis therefore utilizes Edward Said's (1979) Orientalist theory, which is a cultural-specific model framing the perceived contrast between the Orient and the West, as a supporting framework to study the symptomatic, age-long Sinophobic dimension identified in the metaphorical patterns in this sample corpus.

As China's global influence continues to rise, the global image of China continues to change and the world order becomes even more complex. It is an appropriate time to (re)consider how the press helps audiences to perceive the representational patterns of China. It is highly pertinent to question whether the British financial press will continue to deliver the representations of China as an extension of the older

stereotypical imaginations. It is hoped that this thesis will help to remedy a critical oversight in the field of journalism and Chinese studies to attend to the contemporary journalistic representations of China and their relations to historical imaginations of China in Western culture from a cognitive linguistic perspective. It is therefore important to study the news coverage of China both for what the journalistic representations reveal symbolically about the West's major concerns and for the potentially important role the press plays in the ideological construction of China as an outsider to the Western community. Previous research has studied the Western perceptions of China such as the "China threat" frame (e.g. Al-Rodhan, 2007; Friedman, 2009; Yang and Liu, 2012) from various theoretical perspectives and offered a range of critical insight and forecast of China's global status, but few have empirically examined the Western imagination of China through the lens of metaphor - a cognitive linguistic device. The following subsection will discuss the justifications for the choice of metaphor as an analytical tool.

Why use metaphor as an analytical tool?

Metaphors, as an indispensable heuristic device, are central to sense-making and the persuasion process. This thesis draws upon research inspired by the cognitive linguistic approach (Conceptual Metaphor Theory) introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) which suggests that metaphors, beyond a merely figurative, poetic function, are situated in the most general processes of human interaction with psychological reality. An important aspect of this theory is that abstract entities, or target domains, are understood in terms of other familiar source domains, providing a framework that demonstrates how values and identifications of China represented in news texts are brought together in ways that help to construct a concrete Sinological knowledge. Metaphor is a useful device in conceptualizing political and economic facts in news, bringing abstract entities down to an accessible level for public understanding.

Furthermore, metaphor does not only function as an evaluative and persuasive tool, but also provides a level of shared ideological associations which take on the full force of a social reality. Therefore, deploying metaphors as an analytical tool in this thesis

could help identify the socially shared ideological and cultural roots hidden in the metaphorical patterning in the financial press.

To be more precise with regard to the identification of metaphor, I adopt the definition of metaphor derived from contemporary metaphor research from the 2000s onwards (i.e. Charteris-Black and Ennis, 2001; Charteris-Black, 2004; Silaški and Đurović, 2010) which makes clear the difference between a metaphorical expression (or a linguistic metaphor) and a conceptual metaphor: a conceptual metaphor is a cognitive process in which one conceptual domain (e.g. China) is understood in terms of another conceptual domain (e.g. Dragon); on the other hand, a metaphorical expression is viewed as “a linguistic phenomenon in which a word or expression is used in a particular context” (e.g. “Measuring GDP: the dragon takes wing”; “China’s military rise: The dragon’s new teeth”) (Charteris-Black and Ennis, 2001, p.250). A “bottom-up” approach is adopted in this thesis in which metaphorical expressions are identified before conceptual metaphors are formulated (Krennmayr, 2013).

This thesis takes as its case study the metaphorical representations of China in the British financial news and assesses the extent to which this coverage is based upon older stereotypes of China. The idea of “older stereotypes” specifically refers to the negative national imaginations about China which are formed based on several aspects including cultural identity, history, political climate, economic environment, language etc. The older stereotypes, such as the nineteenth-century “Yellow Peril” discourse, highlight China’s role as an Orientalist continuum and a threat to the Western world. The power of metaphors with stereotypical implications lies in the adept utilization and application of shared Sinological knowledge in Western culture. Metaphors substantiating China as a prototypical exemplification of the “Other” in Western conceptualization are systematically associated with an ideological justification for China’s national representations in the British financial press. Therefore, metaphors may offer dynamic and constructive ways to interpret the relations between journalistic representations and Western conceptualizations of China. In this sense, the analysis of metaphors provides a set of tacit assumptions about how China and its out-group identity are constructed in news texts, and how the

financial press represents its interaction with both historical reality and contemporary changes within China.

Why choose the financial press as research focus?

The financial press was born to be a quantitative genre of news discourse (see CH1). It would appear furthermore to have had a claim to be one of the most reliably fact-based areas of the news media. However, the recent inability of financial journalists to identify the major structural flaws in global financial systems has shattered much of the previous confidence in the authority of this expert discourse (i.e. Tambini, 2010; Schifferes, 2014). Beyond the repair work necessary within the institutions of financial journalism there is another set of more fundamental issues relating to the structure of financial reporting itself. These relate to the regular use of metaphor as a short-cut to grasping the complexities of the financial world within such a fact-dominated field of journalism. The financial publications are important for elite opinion-forming. It is certainly a cause for concern if they are taking short-cuts to symbolic consensus through metaphors.

Taking China as the research subject, this thesis explores the implications within this fact-based discourse of metaphor's deployment as a purveyor of stereotypes of China as both threat and saviour. The thesis also discusses the assumptions that financial journalism should be less subject to stylistic ornamentations with Orientalist implications which could undermine the quality and facticity of financial news reporting in a subtle way.

In previous research, much attention has been directed to the role metaphor plays in mediating the process in which abstract knowledge of economic phenomena is constructed, communicated to and perceived by the audience (i.e. Charteris-Black, 2000; Koller, 2004; O'Mara-Shimek *et al.*, 2014). There is limited empirical research that has been done on the ideological underpinning of metaphor in representing

financial-political players in the financial world. This thesis expands the scope of metaphor studies in financial discourse by (re)considering how a social subject (in this case, China; see Section 3.2.2) could be ideologically and culturally constructed through the representative power of metaphor.

Objectives and research questions

This thesis examines the ways in which financial journalists use figurative language to construct the representations of China. My primary interest is to both quantify and qualify the metaphorical patterning of China and its associated metaphorical situations (or events) that journalists describe in discourses. This means that it is important to interpret metaphor based upon the contexts in which the metaphors are produced and encountered (i.e. Kovecses, 2009, 2014). Therefore, metaphor needs to be coded not only based on the textual content but also within the socio-cultural contexts where news events are embedded.

Furthermore, metaphor is an ideologically significant tool which can frame not only verbal or non-verbal expressions but beyond this structure our understanding and conception of broader social reality. The study of saliency of metaphorical associations and their relations to ideological underpinnings in Western imaginations of China is of great significance. My endeavour therefore is to conduct a discourse-analytical investigation of China's metaphorical images in order to fill an extant research gap by detecting the socially shared ideology within these linguistic phenomena.

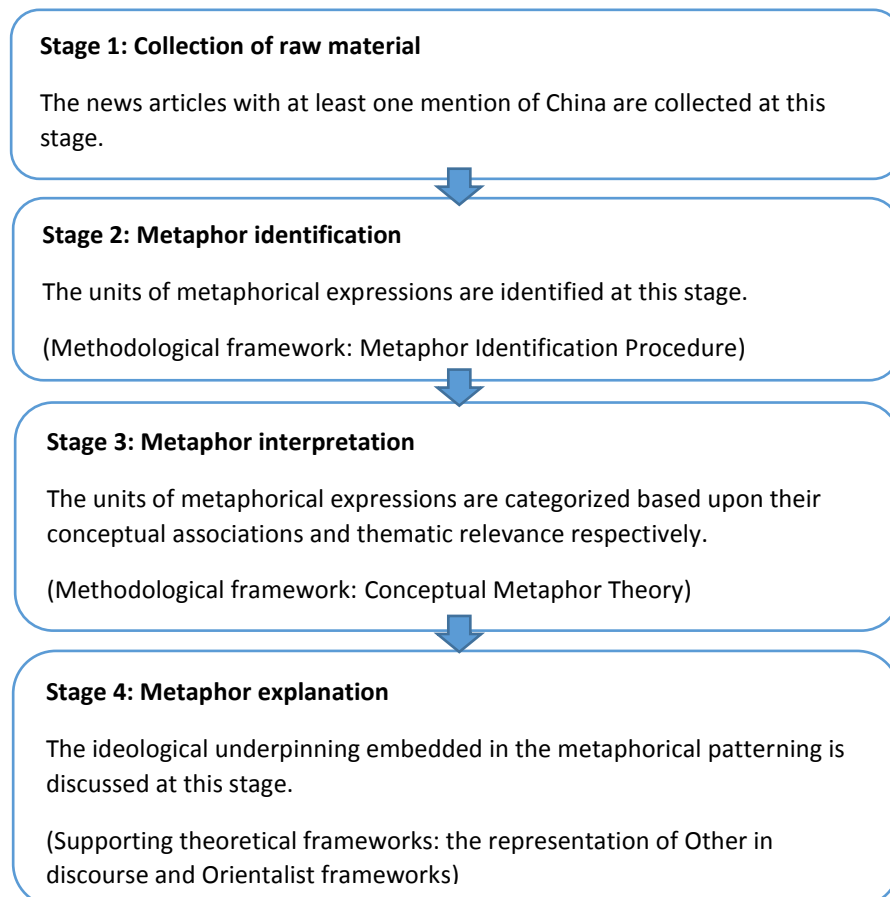
Three research questions are decided upon based on the broader research objectives above to constitute the systematic questioning of this thesis:

- 1) How did *The Economist* and the *Financial Times* construct the metaphorical representations of China during and after the 2008 Financial Crisis?
- 2) Do any metaphorical representations fit into the Orientalist frame which presents a general patronizing Western attitude towards the Oriental Other (Said, 1979)? How do these depictions conceptualize the image of China?

- 3) Do any metaphorical representations fit into Vukovich's (2012) "becoming-the-same" Orientalist frame which suggests that the West views China as inevitably moving toward a mirror image of the Western capitalism? How do these depictions conceptualize the image of China?

Methodological frameworks

The research subject is designated as metaphorical expressions related to the representations of China in *The Economist* and the *Financial Times* from the outbreak of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (15 September, 2008) to 28 February, 2015. To sketch and study the ideological elements in the metaphorical patterning of China requires a holistic, multi-stage approach to the linguistic units. Therefore, I synthesize and expand upon multiple theoretical and methodological approaches outlined in CH2 and CH3. This multi-stage critical approach to metaphor analysis is shown as follows:



This analytical approach applied at stage 2 to stage 4 is based on Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) which is supported by Critical Discourse Analysis, corpus linguistic approaches and Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Firstly, the method of metaphor interpretation engenders valid news items with metaphorical use for analysis. This stage involves a detailed, manual review of news texts. This is necessary as the mechanistic and pre-determined inventory approach of keyword searches in digital archives may produce validity and reliability concerns. Secondly, an inductive categorization of metaphorical expressions is performed based on their conceptual clusters in order to map sets of metaphorical associations at an underlying cognitive level. Moreover, at the stage of explanation, the rhetorical goal and ideological implications represented by metaphorical substantiations are discussed in terms of the socio-cultural contexts in order to provide an insight into the linkage between the representative and argumentative power of metaphor and the representations of Other in news texts.

Thesis overview

The thesis is organized into several parts: critical literature review, methodology, discussion of quantitative and qualitative findings and conclusion.

The literature review is divided into three chapters. **Chapter 1** is devoted to a theoretical discussion about the sociology of both journalism in general as well as financial journalism in particular and specifically how these may be related to the production of news texts. The chapter begins by providing a historical context to illustrate how the financial press developed from a numerical form to a specialized, self-sufficient genre of news. It then moves on to discuss factors which may affect the news production in general, such as news values, sourcing strategies, editorial process as well as those more pertinent to linguistic representations in this fact-based discourse, such as the professional norm of objectivity and the cultural environment. A number of factors which may undermine the facticity of financial news reporting,

especially in a time when financial journalism is suffering from a meltdown of public trust, are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Chapter 2 provides an outline of theoretical and methodological foundations for metaphor analysis. It begins by developing a cognitive paradigm in metaphor studies comprised by a series of critical approaches such as Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). The second half of this chapter reviews a body of previous research examining the use of metaphorical language in both general and financial news discourses, thus providing a guideline of how metaphors that are entrenched in news texts can be studied through corpus-based, cognitive approaches.

Chapter 3 focuses on two other major aspects to the metaphorical instantiations of China, both crucial to a deeper contextual understanding of the mediated metaphorical images. The first part highlights the role of the Other as a social subject, and the second introduces Edward Said's conventional Orientalist framework and Daniel Vukovich's "becoming-the-same" Orientalist framework, along with a historical overview of the Western understanding of China from the eighteenth-century Sinophiles-Sinophobes debate, the nineteenth-century "Yellow Peril" racist discourse, to an overview of China's modern history.

Chapter 4 explains the methodological design of the thesis. It details the main research questions of this thesis and the research design, including the institutional backgrounds of *The Economist* and the *Financial Times*, the sampling of data and the rationale for choosing methodological frameworks for metaphor analysis. This chapter is further supplemented by a pilot study.

The empirical part is divided into three chapters. **Chapter 5** elaborates on the quantitative findings to explore the metaphorical patterns in terms of frequency and form. The first part of this chapter charts the volume of metaphorical expressions concerning China and how the quantity fluctuates over time. The second presents an overview of the metaphorical groupings and the thematic groupings. The remainder

explores the similarities and discrepancies among the metaphorical patterns identified in different publications, time periods and themes.

Chapter 6 moves the discussion on to an elaborative analysis of how the metaphorical patterns outlined in Chapter 5 are manifested qualitatively in specific contexts. Across a range of metaphorical groupings including physical force, bestial, military, etc., the metaphorical conceptualizations of China are analyzed in terms of their socio-cultural contexts through the lens of Orientalist patterns of thinking.

Chapter 7 complements the quantitative and qualitative findings with a critical analysis of identified metaphorical patterning which questions how metaphor functions as a purveyor of imaginations of China as an Orientalist continuum or a follower of Western-style capitalism. This chapter also consolidates and expands the major findings revealed by the previous analytical chapters in order to provide a schematized version of metaphorical patterning of China as an incarnation of the Orient in the British financial press.

The final part concludes the study by summarizing the major findings presented in the previous chapters as well as highlighting the major contributions of the thesis. The conclusions intersect the interests of a variety of different research agendas, in particular research focused on the linguistic patterning in the financial press, Otherness in news discourse (especially from a cultural perspective) and the national images of China.

PART I LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter 1: Sociology of the Press and the Role of the Financial Press

1.1 Introduction

The chapter begins by providing a historical context to demonstrate how the financial press developed from a style that was limited to numerical information to a specialized, self-sufficient genre of news. The financial press did not develop separately from the mainstream newspapers, but in parallel with them. Therefore, it is important to consider issues central to the sociology of journalism in general, such as news values, sourcing strategies, editorial processes, as well as those more particular to metaphorical representations in this fact-based news discourse, such as objectivity as a professional norm and cultural influence on news production. This is followed by a section focusing on what factors may affect the production process of financial news in particular, especially after the 2008 Financial Crisis.

1.2 The historical importance of the financial press

The growth of trade, finance and commercial enterprises has always been dependent upon the circulation of information about financial affairs. The financial press is not a new phenomenon. The first economic and financial publications (e.g. the price currents), which appeared in the sixteenth century, were developed to serve elite readers with a special need for information about trade and business. During the following centuries, the financial press emerged intimately within this economic context. This section will focus on the historical importance of the financial press from the invention of “price currents” in the sixteenth century to the late twentieth century.

From numbers to ideas (from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century)

Arguably, price currents, a form of publication with price information of the local market, can be considered as the most primitive model of modern newspaper. Starting from as early as the sixteenth century, well before the arrival of political pamphleteering in the early seventeenth century, when the first price currents were published in Antwerp and Venice (1540-80), commercial and financial writings have been instrumental in publicizing the availability of their commodity price currents (in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Rotterdam, Middelburg and Venice) , exchange rate current (in Antwerp) and bills of entry (in London) (Parsons, 1989, p.12; McCusker, 2009). McCusker (2009, p.449) defined these types of early commercial and financial newspapers as follows: the “current” including “commodity price currents”, “exchange rate currents”, “money currents” and “stock exchange currents” provided information produced by the local market which was primarily price data such as the price of commodities, the price of foreign bills of exchange, the price of money and the price of securities. The second type of newspaper published information about shipping and trade: the “bills of entry” published the shipment of commodities imported and exported at a given port of entry and the “marine list” recorded information about the arrival and departure of cargo vessels at home and abroad (McCusker, 2009, p.449).

For instance, *Lloyd's List*, the first recognized marine list, was begun in 1734 by Edward Lloyd who was a keeper of a London coffeehouse (Black, 1987 p.45; McCusker, 2009). From the mid-seventeenth century, the coffeehouse became a fashionable place where information could be exchanged and newspapers could be read (Ellis, 1956). Merchants and marine insurers flocked to Lloyd's coffee house at the end of the seventeenth century and it soon became the news centre for the marine insurance industry. In order to meet businessmen's rising demand for regular and accurate commercial information, Lloyd published *Lloyd's List* which provided shipping news as well as the prices of commodities (Parsons, 1989, p.14). Lloyd could be considered as one of the founders of financial press in England, taking full advantage of the important time of economic change through which the London marine insurance business and its related activities grew up (McCusker, 1991, p.430).

With the development of commercial and financial journalism in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, early modern merchants were able to develop the kind of informal association that thrived in the eighteenth-century London coffeehouses. Currents, bills of entry and marine lists continued to be published for merchants throughout the eighteenth century with little economic commentary or opinion. However, early signs of utilizing newsprint as a disseminator of business opinion could be observed during the “penny sheet wars” over the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713² between two weekly newspapers - the *Mercator* and the *British Merchant* (Parsons, 1989, p.17). In 1713, the writing style in the financial press which typically took the form of lists and numbers was accompanied by a new type of political writing, often published as penny sheets; stylistically, this type of financial writing was a “polemical writing typical of the emergent political press”, relying on “declarative summaries of assumptions presented as common sense” (Poovey, 2002, p.19). The *British Merchant*, for instance, deliberately engaged in an exercise of public education by providing historical contexts as well as correspondence from readers which sometimes was critical of authorities on the wealth and trade of the nation (Slack, 2015, p.185).

From the late eighteenth century, the main dailies and weeklies became the central place in the development of the financial press. *The Times*, for instance, showed a keen interest in offering the trade and entrepreneurial communities critical reporting as they had accounted for a great part of its readership since its foundation in 1785 (Arrese, 2001; Parsons, 1989). The transition from the price currents to such publications as *The Times* established a foundation for the birth of a specialized economic and financial press in the nineteenth century.

The financial press has a long history of collective over-enthusiasm and a lack of scepticism toward market booms, which can be traced back to the Dutch tulip mania of the 1630s - the first recorded speculative bubble. Another early example was prior to the bursting of the South Sea Bubble of 1720 - the speculation mania that centred

² In the original content of the referenced book, the 1713 treaty was mistakenly labelled as the “Methuen Treaty”. The correct title of the treaty should be The Treaty of Utrecht which brought to an end the War of Spanish Succession between England and France.

on the fortunes of the British joint-stock company “South Sea Company”, when exuberant news from both the independent press and the specialized networks in coffeehouses – “fed the frenzied trading of speculators” (Dale, 2004, p.17). By the late eighteenth century newspapers had evolved as a medium for communicating and aggregating commercial opinion and sentiment and, sometimes, spreading panic (Parsons, 1989, p.18).

Specialized financial press in the nineteenth century

During the early decades of the nineteenth century the British press came to provide, for the first time, a medium for both market information and new ideas about how the market functions (Parsons, 1989). Due to the ideological battle between protectionists and free traders waged in Great Britain just before the middle-nineteenth-century, Britain became a fertile terrain for the emergence of the first specialized economic publications with the systematic construction of information on ideas, facts, judgements, opinions and data (Arrese, 2001, p.61).

The first issue of *The Economist* came out in 1843, and can be considered as the most distinctive journalistic initiative which became one of the paradigmatic models of the financial press. As stressed by the newspaper’s founder and first editor, James Wilson, all the arguments and propositions put forward in his paper should be based on fact and rational discussion (Edwards, 1995, p.26). *The Economist* thus pioneered a new type of economic journalism that aimed to provide its readership with high-quality factual reporting (Parsons, 1989, p.26). *The Economist* newspaper quickly became an important advocate for radical liberal views on political economy, educating the business community and the upper and middle classes on free trade (Parsons, 1989, p. 25–27; Edwards, 1995, p. 20). The writing style further evolved from lists of numerical information into a more narrative style with opinions which was popularised by Walter Bagehot, the editor-in-chief of *The Economist* from 1861 to 1878. Financial journalism thus became differentiated from its source materials in its adoption of the narrative form.

The financial press expanded in the latter part of the nineteenth century mainly due to the investment booms of the 1880s during which participation in the stock market became less exclusive to the wealthier middle-class Britain (as well as America) (Parsons, 1989, p.36). Following the first successful emergence of specialized financial publications, *The Financial News*, one of the two original papers of the *Financial Times*, was founded in 1884. As the pioneer of “New Financial Journalism”, it was intended to provide early accurate news of American mines and railroads alongside “daily telegraphic reports of transactions on the London and New York Stock Exchanges and the continental Bourses” (Porter, 1998, p.49). “The New Financial Journalism” was characterized by “crisp, and outspoken commentary, successful tips, and trenchant disclosures of financial fraud”; in contrast, conventional financial journalism was constructed with mere financial information without “embellishment, hint, or explanation of any kind” (Duguid, 1902, p. 101).

For the general news press in London, comparing to the “Old Financial Journalism” exemplified by *The Times*, *The Daily*, *The Morning Post*, and *The Evening Standard* which tended to present dry data and reports, “The New Financial Journalism” exemplified in the pages of the *Daily Chronicle*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and popular morning dailies such as the *Daily Mail* was more in line with specialized daily newspapers, publishing attractive articles highlighting comments and opinions about the current affairs of the market, and shared common features of the “New Journalism”: reporting and writing with breezy style and short paragraphs in order to cater to the insatiable appetite among the growing investing public for information, opinion, and gossip (Taylor, 2012, p.632). From the end of the nineteenth century, the financial press began to take on a modern form.

The economy as a public interest: from the early twentieth century to the oil crisis of 1973

Two London dailies, the *Financial News* and the *Financial Times*, merged in 1945 under the masthead of the *Financial Times*. After the consolidation, the decades of the 50s and 60s marked a golden period for the *Financial Times*. With a circulation of 170,000

copies at the end of the 60s, the *Financial Times*, in many cases, surpassed many quality dailies, thanks to its successful journalistic strategies such as broadening news coverage to all subjects of interests, monopolizing the diet of daily economic information in its target countries, and, most importantly, paying special attention to economic information abroad (Arrese, 2001). At the same time, *The Economist* continued dominating the UK field with even greater power, establishing a model of international economic weekly while preserving its nature as a genuine British publication.

As a turning point for the financial press, the oil crisis of 1973 was to pose an existential challenge for this specialized press that would force it into a new stage of development as complete national and international economic information systems (Arrese, 2001, p.173). From the 1970s onwards, economy became a global subject of interests for the public as a result of the oil crisis as well as the displacement of Keynesianism by neoliberalism as the dominant economic model. Historically, the business press was never meant to provide public interest reporting, and it is established in a historical tradition of offering information to investors and business people. *The Economist's* readership, for instance, is composed of the “transnational capitalist class” including managers, executives, politicians, bureaucrats and financiers (Starr, 2004, p.392). The audiences for the business and economic news are assumed to be financially literate (Doyle, 2006), and the business and financial sections are employed as a platform for political and financial elites to speak to each other nationally and internationally (Davis, 2007; Kantola, 2007). Since the oil crisis of 1973, the financial press has witnessed an increase in interest from a wider audience, not just the business elites, and the economic, business and financial issues have become an essential part of current affairs.

1.3 Theoretical background: The sociology of journalism

From the early eighteenth century, the financial news with numerical information and lists was gradually replaced by another type of writing which was accompanied by more political narratives, as discussed above. From that time to the present, the

financial press has evolved from a broad genre of financial writing which was essentially comprised of its source material - the lists of numbers - to a more specialized and complex discourse. The contemporary financial press aims to articulate the changing market economy and formulate a popularized way of demonstrating the financial market to a wider audience. At the same time, the financial press has become more and more intertwined with the institutional structure and the power exerted within it. In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the institutional complexities which may influence the construction of metaphorical underpinning in this specialist discourse, the literature review needs to be synthesized with a considerable body of research relating to the sociology of journalism in general. In this section, the sociology of journalism will be discussed in the context of general journalistic production in order to form a theoretical basis for the discussion of financial journalistic production.

The sociology of journalism is concerned with, firstly, “the impact of journalistic media on, and their contribution to, the workings of contemporary capitalist societies” and, secondly, “the social determinants of journalistic output – those features of social life and organization which shape, influence and constrain its form and content” (McNair, 1998, p.3). Zelizer (2004, p.45) concludes that the sociology of journalism is connected with “people, patterned interactions, organisations, institutions and structures”. More specifically, journalistic text, as the core focus of this research, is seen as a product structured by multifarious forces central to the sociology of journalism such as professional cultural, economic and political pressures and technology. Therefore, understanding the journalistic text requires analysis of “the social context within which it is produced and of the factors of production which determine the context” (McNair, 1998, p.3). Indeed, there is a wide variety of research focusing on the social determinants of journalism but it would be unfeasible to provide an overall mapping of all the related factors within the limits of this section. Hence, this section will only focus on two related aspects including “individual journalist” and factors in “news production”, intending to explore how journalistic texts in the financial press are constructed and shaped through the process of production.

1.3.1 The role of journalist

A variety of research has explored the professional identity of journalists and how journalism may be professionally understood to conform to its own specific professional criteria. In the quest to better understand how journalists contribute to news production, researchers are often drawn to journalists' educational backgrounds, personal experiences and beliefs and professional ideology. For instance, in the 1970s, Tunstall found that whilst all of the senior editors from seven national newspapers in the UK were university graduates, over half of the journalists had not achieved the minimum educational level required for university entrance (1971, p.97). In a different demographic context, Gans discovered that national journalists in the US were mostly upper-middle- class and university graduates (1979, p.209). In the 1990s, Henningham and Delano identified a significant rise of educational level among British journalists, which is one of the most significant changed elements in the profile of the British journalists (1998, p.149). Weaver conclude that the typical journalist is young, male, college-educated and comes from the established and predominant cultural group (1998, p.478). In a more recent study, Schudson finds that most journalists in the US are well-educated, however, "like other human beings, journalists most readily recognize and more eagerly pursue problems and issues that concern people like themselves rather than those beyond their social circle"; as a result, social issues of the minorities might be difficult for the profession as a whole to evaluate (2003, p.39).

Although the personal backgrounds, beliefs and political values of the news workers may be various, individual beliefs are still secondary to a professional ideology. In this sense, ideology is "a function of the discourse and of the logic of social processes" rather than an intention of individual journalists (Hall, 1982, p.88). In a cross-national research, Patterson and Donsbach (1996) discovered the existence of a weak relationship between the partisan beliefs of journalists and their profession and once they are in the business, their personal beliefs are clearly subordinated to a professional orientation. According to Deuze (2005), although journalistic practices may be understood and applied differently by news workers across all media types, they still share similar characteristics and carry a dominant professional ideology in the

context of their daily rituals. A journalist is characterized by “a passionate, almost compulsive - even if ambivalent - attachment” to his/her profession (Aldridge, 1998, p.111). The conceptualization of professional ideologies, associated with the values of objectivity, accuracy and other professional norms as well as institutional roles, is often granted universal status by journalists and scholars (Hanitzsch, 2007).

To fully perform their professional role, journalists modify their professional practices, and even personal values in accordance with the requirement of the news organization. The production of news is viewed as “the social production of reality”; on the other hand it can be considered as “social manufacture of an organizational product”, one that is similar to other manufactured goods (Schudson, 1989, p.273). Individual journalists who are defined and influenced by where they work mainly aim at reproducing the prevailing ideologies of dominant groups in their workplace and the society (McNair, 2009, p.24). Many journalists, especially those working for commercial media, seldom have the intention to “challenge readers’ preconceived ideas and prejudices or transcend readers’ present state of consciousness” (Chalaby, 1998, p.190-191). However, this is not because of the personal biases and conscious intentions of individual journalists. Their professional ideology is “self-serving, if not intentionally so, for it blinds them to the fact that they have ideologies, even if these are largely unconscious” (Gans, 1979, p.191-192). The media as a whole serve as the processor and deliverer of shared ideology and social consent - “shaping the consensus while reflecting it - which orientates them within the field of force of the dominant social interests represented within the state” (Hall, 1982, p.87).

Previous research about the occupational and social role of individual financial journalists has been limited. Tambini’s (2010) research, as an exception, particularly focuses on the role recognition of financial journalists in the system of corporate governance and the self-perception of financial journalists. Journalists often view their work as “the product of a *lack of organisation*” (Schlesinger, 1978, p.47, emphasis in original). Although financial journalists are similar to other types of journalists in that they sometimes deny their identity as part of an organized profession, despite having “a clear institutional role in the broader financial system” because their professional

practices are governed and shaped by the institutional framework comprised by law, regulation and professional norms (Tambini, 2010, p.171).

A body of research approaches the professional ideology of journalists from a discursive perspective, evaluating it as a shared system of values, norms and strategies (e.g. Zelizer, 1993; Deuze, 2005; Andén-Papadopoulos and Pantti, 2013). For instance, Deuze's (2005) research draws together earlier work (i.e. Golding and Elliott, 1979; Merritt, 1995; Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2001) examining shared journalistic identities in a global context, concluding that journalists feel that a shared occupational ideology gives legitimacy and credibility to their work. Deuze then categorizes the occupational ideology into five ideal-typical values: public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics (2005, p.447). The financial press would appear to have had a claim to be one of the more reliably fact-based areas of the news media. Fact-based and objective reporting is essential in disseminating information in this expert discourse. The financial press has a long history of being treated by both media scholars and its audience as a genre that is quantitative, fact-dominated and rarely subject to stylistic ornamentation. Hence, the following part of this subsection will be focusing on the ideal-typical value of objectivity.

The idea of objectivity is "the oldest, and still the key legitimating professional ethic of liberal journalism, it is a guarantee of quality control which asks to believe what is being said is valid and believable" (McNair, 1998, p.65). Objectivity had been taken as "the emblem", particularly of American journalism, by the 1960s (Schudson, 1978, p.9). Journalists, who are described as having the role of "authorized truth teller" or "licenced relayer of facts" (McNair, 1998, p.65), often define their professional guideline in compliance with objectivity. The intrusion of value into the transmission of facts jeopardizes objectivity and a journalist with deeply seated values interferes with the smooth procedure of the news production (Reese, 1990, p.394). Consequently, journalists often view bias and partisanship as disturbance contravening their occupational criteria. Patterson and Donsbach state that journalists are generally "partisan actors" and their partisanship affects the journalistic content (1996, p.456). Most of the non-objective reporting with partisan bias is the product of unconscious

judgement and selective perception rather than “the result of a conscious effort to take sides” (Patterson and Donsbach, 1996, p.466). The immense majority of opinions in the news appear unconsciously, “largely through the use of connotative, often pejorative, words and phrases” (Gans, 1979, p.199). Likewise, opinions in the news can enter unconsciously through the use of metaphorical language.

Additionally, the role perceptions of individual journalists have the substantial explanatory power to affect the implementation of objectivity norms (Skovsgaard *et al.*, 2013). In an era when the distinctiveness of the role of journalists is more than ever under threat, the British journalists often view themselves as outsiders to the society whose interests they intend to serve, isolating themselves and their practice from their audience (Conboy and Tang, 2016); therefore, as one of the research purposes, the level of objectivity reflected in the metaphorical patternings produced by the journalists in the post- 2008 crisis and post-Leveson periods is certainly worth assessing.

1.3.2 News production

The preceding section demonstrates the professional identity and collective character of individual journalists. Journalists are not solitary actors in the workplace, nor can their personal beliefs and values be autonomously injected in the final news product. This section is concerned with the organizational factors involved in the production of news content, based on the premise that “journalism is a complex production process requiring sophisticated organization” (McNair, 1998, p.61). Prior research in both general journalistic and financial journalistic production has found similar patterns in terms of the news outputs, news values, news sources, political economy and the audiences that are the consequences of shared organizational practices, rules, cultures and regulations. The following sections in the chapter constitute a good basis for the understanding of the internal process of news production from a socio-cultural perspective. As this research is concerned with journalistic texts in general, this section will put an emphasis on the matter of news values which indexes journalists’ practices in news writing as well as selection of angle, style, source quotation, etc.

From raw material to journalistic texts

Despite their different contexts, a succession of studies relating to the news production process (i.e. Tuchman, 1978, Gans, 1979, Tunstall, 1971, Schlesinger, 1978, Ericson *et al.*, 1987) revealed that there is little difference in news gathering and selection across the Western media. It is demonstrable that one of the most fundamental practices is regarded as the process of constructing the raw material coming into the newsroom and transforming gathered information into news stories. This process, at the primitive stage, would include adjustment of style and correction of grammar to accord with the professional guidelines (Golding and Elliott, 1979), as raw material, especially that originating from a specialist and expert field such as the financial market, is abstract and incoherent in nature. Ericson *et al.* also stress that “a larger component of maintaining a reputation is simply a matter of grammar, style and interpretative flair” and “each news organization develops its reputation through the use of words as *trademarks* of its distinctive discourse” (1978, p.312, emphasis in original). The monitoring of style in the news production process is tightly bound to the organizational standards and professional cultures.

There is a body of linguistic research on news discourse specifically focused on newsroom practice (e.g. Cotter, 2010; Perrin, 2013; van Hout and Burger, 2017). Journalists view themselves as “protectors” of the language which is “part of the professional discourse from textbook to trade publication” (Cotter, 2010, p.187). In Colleen Cotter’s book, *News talk: Investigating the language of journalism*, she takes a look at news style and standardization, arguing that the standardization in news language is discursive, involving the use of language appropriate to the style and concern of socio-cultural values of a specific community (2010, p.192). Cameron (1996) points out that media institutions typically have explicit policies to standardize the journalistic style which intends to inform reporting and editorial practices; and the journalists often follow the stylistic policy without questioning the ideological significance within it, and do not require reasoned arguments for writing in one style rather than another. Generally speaking, the flow of news, as an “arterial process”

from newsgathering, news-packaging to publication, “is a flow of standardization” (Tunstall, 1971, p.262).

All messages, including journalistic texts, have encoded into them a “preferred” or “dominant” meaning (Hall, 1980). Several studies are in favour of a view of news production as a process of “retelling, intertextuality, and, by extension, entextualization” (Catenaccio *et al.*, 2011, p.1844). Entextualization refers to a process by which circulable texts are produced by extracting (decontextualizing) from the original raw material and subsequently inserting (recontextualizing) into a new news discourse (van Hout and Geert, 2008). In this sense, news is regarded as a form of “reproductive writing”, a term that covers “all forms of writing which involve the use of other texts” (Jakobs, 2003, p.894), involving the shift from source material such as interview notes, press releases and financial statements, etc. to a news story with standardized narrative style.

Through the process of retelling, intertextuality and entextualization, the raw material is reconstructed and transformed into a news product which addresses their audiences in a language understandable by a particular public. This type of language, termed by Hall (1978) as “public idiom”, is often characterized by a fixed, standardized mode and style utilized by a particular newspaper (p.40). Fowler (1991) describes the translation from “institutional statements” (from the sources) to “public idiom” as a process of “*narrowing of a gap* between bureaucratic and personal discourse” which aims at achieving “a discursive norm” for “a sense of a *neutral* language embodying *normal* values” (p.47, emphasis in original). Santa Ana defines this idiom as “a particular version of the range of rhetoric that is comfortable, a set of recurring imagery that is expected and acceptable, and a shared stock of knowledge”, which constitutes the ideology of the newspaper (2002, p.56).

However, the use of “public idiom” and standardized patterns of reporting may hamper the flow of news, as to some extent, the process of “entextualization” means a job of simplifying the abstract raw material or complex “institutional statement” and making it accessible to the public. If an event which is to be reported carries a certain

complexity, and it is reported as being simpler than it really was, this oversimplification would distort the picture as a whole (Östgaard, 1965, p.45).

Newsgathering

Although this research primarily relies on a corpus of news texts and metaphorical language within the texts, rather than the mechanism of news production (e.g. news sourcing strategies), to make claims about the metaphorical patterning in the financial press, it is important to understand the intuitive nature of journalists' source selection and of source material utilization, as the relations between journalists and their sources determine the substantive construction of news texts.

A series of classic studies from the 1970s and 1980s has placed the journalist – source relations within the framework of the routinization of news work (Broersma *et al.*, 2013). Tunstall emphasizes the role of sources in the trade of information, arguing that newsgatherers are primarily oriented toward performers in their specialized fields (Tunstall, 1971, p.34). In other words, reporters are source-driven. Journalists are constrained by the sources and the source-journalist relationship is “a tug of war”, because journalists often struggle with the availability and suitability of sources while the sources attempt to ‘manage’ the news to promote their own interests or ideas (Gans, 1979, p.117). Furthermore, the gatherers are also restrained by news processors such as the editors and sub-editors. Interactions between reporters and editors within the bureaucratic hierarchy may determine what is identified as news received by the audience (Tuchman, 1978, p.25). The editor, as the first reader for the gatherer of information, decides whether a story will appear in the newspaper (Sigal, 1973). In this sense, it is the editor (news processor) who serves a mediating role between source and audience rather than the gatherers. Moreover, reporters are restricted by their workload, schedule and space, so they require well-resourced and organized sources to provide information on a regular and timely basis to meet deadlines. In this case, editors often assign reporters to places where information is available for the public on a daily basis, and furthermore, newspapers may establish a news territory, or a beat, assigned to a reporter to gather information on a certain

topic via either traditional platforms (e.g. parliament, a court of law) (i.e. Fishman, 1980) or electronic, virtual platforms (e.g. Twitter) (i.e. Broersma and Graham, 2012). Reporters are designated to seek facts from the source of information which has been centralized due to the commercial and organizational pressures (Tuchman, 1978, p.19). That is to say, news organizations establish stable sourcing patterns by assigning beats to reporters and developing relations with possible and desired informants. Consequently, reporters are “not free to roam or probe at will” (Sigal, 1986, p.16).

Hall *et al.* also outline the structured relationship between news sources and media. They define the news sources as “primary definers” of events; and during the news production process, the media play a “secondary role in producing the definitions of those who have access” and “stand in a position of structured subordination to the primary definers” (1978, p.59). This is because the sources provide the initial definition or primary interpretation of events (Hall *et al.*, 1978, p.58). Not only do sources have a representative role in the public domain, but they are accredited by their institutional power and position or expertise (Hall *et al.*, 1978).

A wide variety of research studying the patterns of news sourcing (i.e. Ericson *et al.*, 1989; Gans, 1979, 2003; Sigal, 1973, 1986; Manning, 2001) echoes the Hall *et al.*' idea that the general newsgathering practices promotes the interests of authoritative sources. However, Hall *et al.*' idea of “primary definers” has been criticized by scholars (i.e. Schlesinger and Tumber, 1994; Schlesinger, 1990) whose research focus is more sourcing strategy-oriented and less media centric, arguing that their formulation does not take account of argument between official sources in trying to influence how a news story is crafted; it “fails to register the well-established fact that news sources often try to influence the construction of a story by using *off-the-record* briefings in which the primary definers do not appear directly in an attributable form”; it neglects the inequalities of access among the privileged elite sources and the “long-term shifts in the structure of access”; and it oversimplifies that “the movement of information from power centre to media is a purely uni-directional way” (Schlesinger, 1990, p.65-67). Nevertheless, Schlesinger still approves the general tendency for reporters to gravitate to the authoritative sources (1990, p.69).

From the perspective of language and discourse studies, Fowler asserts that in deploying the same language as their sources from powerful institutions, newspapers reproduce the attitudes of the elite (1991, p.23). Gans (2003) points out that the dominance of top-down sources seems to be problematic as it reflects the perspectives from the powerful who tend to view the majority of the public as constituents and their society as a sphere where they gain knowledge from an elite perspective. Journalists tend to “follow the power” and “legitimate and even glorify the sources and strata from which they report” (Gans, 2003, p.47). The media reproduce and reinforce the viewpoints of dominant institutions as “central and obvious or natural” (Curran *et al.*, 1982, p.16). The media serve “to reinforce a consensual viewpoint by using public idioms and by claiming to voice public opinion” (Woollacott, 1982, p.106).

Some studies (i.e. Strömbäck and Nord, 2006; Reich, 2009; Strömbäck *et al.*, 2013) argue that while official, authoritative sources may play an important role in the phase of news discovery as they often fulfil journalists’ source considerations, during the phase of news framing (e.g. the selection of sources; the selection of angle; the process of news writing) journalists have greater power over the construction of news. Sources may provide the initiative for the news, and reporters and (sub)editors play a dominant role in the process in which news content is crafted. The next subsections will discuss the factors that influence the construction of news work.

News-processing

On an organizational level, British and American (Anglo-Saxon) print newsrooms are characterized by a high degree of division of labour (Esser, 1998). The most distinct divide is between “news gatherers” (e.g. reporters, specialists) and “news processors” (e.g. copy subeditor, design subeditor) (*ibid.*, p.381), which is regarded as “the major internal functional boundary within the occupation” (Tunstall, 1971, p.30). The conflict in goals and interests between gatherers and processors is exacerbated by the division of labour. If we presume that the flow of news is audience-oriented, it means that the

news texts not only should be produced as understandable for the audience, but should be made so as to attract more receivers (Östgaard, 1965, p.45). News processors are essentially oriented toward audience and revenue (Tunstall, 1971, p.30). The newsgatherers, in contrast, are source-oriented, as mentioned above. This clear distinction may lead to an underlying conflict centred on newsgathering and newswriting: newsgatherers are often criticized by the editors for being “over-involved” in their subjects; and the gatherers view the editors as “playing *down* to the audience” (Tunstall, 1971, p.30, emphasis in original). As a result, the initial news piece written by the reporters may be significantly different from the final news product refined by the (sub)editors without consulting with the reporters. Furthermore, Tunstall (1996) examines how the patterns of British national newspaper editorship changed radically during the 1980s and 1990s. A new form of entrepreneurial editorship emerged in the 1980s that allowed a higher degree of autonomy than the patterns of sovereign editors and editor-managers which had been the dominant newsroom management paradigm in the 1960s and 1970s. From that time, the entrepreneurial editors became more business-oriented and their personality traits often come to influence their approach to news.

Theoretically backed by social psychologist Kurt Lewin’s initial study on gatekeeping in 1943, White (1950) defines that the “channel”, through which the news flows, has many gates and each gate undertakes a certain part in a gatekeeping role. The “channel”, where scientific ideas and their audiences are mediated, is controlled by “organizations or persons who control the admission of manuscripts” (Braun and Dióspatonyi, 2005, p.854). Namely, they are gatekeepers who make decisions concerning “what is let *in* and what is kept *out*” (ibid., emphasis in original). Reporters, for example, are the initial gatekeeper as they have to make the first judgement on whether a story is newsworthy or not. The last gatekeeper is often known as the “wire editor” (White, 1950, p.384). The story meeting, where editors discuss the day’s news and decide news play, also has a gatekeeping function (Cotter, 2010, p.89). The gatekeeping model, as the cornerstone of the studies on editorial structures within the newsroom, sketches the continuous process of choosing and discarding news items, illustrating how editors select and reject news items from a highly subjective point of

view. The aspects of editing occur throughout the overall process of news making (Ericson *et al.*, 1987).

Schudson criticizes the term “gatekeeping” for being oversimplistic on mapping the news production process, because it only highlights the criteria for selecting which new items get through the gate while neglecting the fact that ‘news items are not simply selected but constructed’ (1989, p.265). In this sense, the gatekeeper metaphor describes neither the criteria for construction nor the “feedback loops” in which sources may predict the criteria of the gatekeepers on news-selecting in the efforts to get through the gate (Schudson, 1989). According to Shoemaker *et al.*, the gatekeeping process is “thought of as consisting of more than just selection, to include how messages are shaped, timed for dissemination, and handled” (2001, p.233). In this respect, gatekeeping can be considered as the process through which “social reality transmitted by the news media is constructed, and is not just a series of *in* and *out* decisions” (Shoemaker *et al.*, 2001, p.233, emphasis in original).

Gatekeeping, as a decision-making process which news processors use to select stories, is affected by a variety of factors, including news values, organizational routines, personal beliefs and experiences, and ideology (Hardin, 2005, p.65). The force of organizational routines and standards is considered as a vital factor: through content analysis and surveys on US newspapers’ coverage of about fifty Congressional bills, Shoemaker *et al.* (2001) discovered that the influence of the routine newsworthiness – the editors’ assessments of the newsworthiness based on judgements made at the routine level of the newsgathering process – is greater than the influence of reporters’ individual characteristics in the process of newspaper gatekeeping. Furthermore, through study on gatekeeping factors’ influence on coverage of women’s sport, Hardin (2005) finds that hegemonic cultural ideology may drive editors’ gatekeeping in ways they do not realize. Results show that many editors believe that females’ athletic potential is inferior to that of males, proving that gatekeepers in sports journalism are reinforcing a cultural ideology that men are, and should remain, superior to women in sport and, by extension, the culture (Hardin, 2005). The next subsection will discuss the factor of news value in detail.

News values

There is a general consensus in Journalism and Communication Studies literature (i.e. Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Golding and Elliott, 1979; van Dijk, 1988; Harcup and O'Neill 2001; O'Neil and Harcup, 2009) that news values are defined as criteria applied in the selection of events and stories or to choose the structure, order and style of reporting. News values can be seen as values that are construed in and through discourse (Bednarek and Caple, 2012, 2014). In the field of discourse analysis, van Dijk suggests that news values are “values about the newsworthiness of events or discourse, shared by professionals [...] and indirectly by the public of news media” (1988, p.119). Van Dijk's definition underlines the location of news values in social cognition.

Van Dijk (1988) points out that there are two types of news values: the first type is related to economic constraints within profit-oriented organizations (i.e. sales and subscriptions, budgets for news gathering, the amount of advertising; the second type of news values is tied to the social routines of newsgathering and news-processing (i.e. the periodicity of newspapers) (van Dijk, 1988, p.120). Golding and Elliot (1979) also put emphasis on factors concerning the organizational routines of news production. They suggest that news values are used in two ways: “criteria of selection from material available to the newsroom of those items worthy of inclusion in the final product”; and “guidelines for the presentation of items, suggesting what to emphasise, what to omit, and where to give priority in the preparation of the items for presentation to the audience” (Golding and Elliot, 1979, p.633). Although those criteria in news values seem as “a set of neutral, routine practices”, we need to consider news values as an “ideological structure” and to analyze these criteria as “the formalization and operationalization of *an ideology of news*”, suggests Hall (1973, p.235, emphasis in original).

Galtung and Ruge's (1965) landmark study on news values analyzes four Norwegian newspapers about three international crises to devise a list describing 'news values' including immediacy; familiarity; negativity; eliteness; amplitude; frequency; etc. Their theory argues that the more an event accessed these criteria the more likely it was to

be featured in the newspaper. The limitations of Galtung and Ruge's model were specified by scholars such as Tunstall (1971), Harcup and O'Neill (2001). Tunstall (1971, p.21) points out their model is event-centric, concentrating on three major crises, whereas neglecting the day-to-day coverage of lesser events, and it only concerns selected newspapers and regions. Harcup and O'Neill (2001) suggest that Galtung and Ruge's study puts forward a pattern of which events have been reported, but they do not provide a complete explanation of the characteristics that an event needs to have in order to be reported. They have neglected some irregularities in news composition, including economic and political factors (Harcup and O'Neill, 2001).

From a linguistic perspective, language can be considered as expressing, indicating, emphasizing or highlighting news values (i.e. Bednarek, 2006; Bell, 1991; Fowler, 1991; Conboy, 2006; Bednarek and Caple, 2012, 2014) and news values "become embedded in text" (Cotter, 2010, p. 67). As mentioned above, news values are ideological in nature (Hall, 1973). Bell (1991, p.156) believes that news values are not neutral, but reflect ideology concealed in society. Not only do news values reflect pre-existing ideology, but they are "ideological factors" in themselves which reinforce or establish "an ideology about what counts as news" (Cotter, 2010, p.67).

Bednarek and Caple (2012) provide a list of linguistic devices that may be used to construct news values. These devices, including evaluative language, references to emotion, metaphor, simile, intensification and quantification, negative vocabulary, intensification and quantification, comparison, are employed to make events more newsworthy, with a focus on attitude, evaluation and stance (Bednarek and Caple, 2012, p.105-06). Particularly, they point out that metaphor, as a linguistic device, constructs the news value of Superlativeness (the maximized or intensified aspects of an event), and of Consonance (the extent to which aspects of a story fit in with stereotypes that people may hold about the events and people portrayed in it) (ibid.). Fowler highlights the relations between news value and stereotypes: the formation of news values is a "reciprocal, dialectical process in which stereotypes are the currency of negotiation" (Fowler, 1991, p.17). Accordingly, the occurrence of a dramatic event will reinforce a stereotype, and reciprocally, the stronger the stereotype is, the more

likely are relevant events to become news (Fowler, 1991). In addition, in order to counter stereotypical and simplistic depictions in the coverage of non-elite people and nations, journalists should be encouraged to subvert the prevailing news values by other criteria: avoiding generalization; avoiding catastrophic images in favour of describing political, structural and natural root cause and contexts; providing background information on people's social, cultural, and economic and environmental contexts (O'Neil and Harcup, 2009, p.170-171)³.

³ Scholars (i.e. Atton, 2002; Harcup, 2003, 2005) point out the need to counter predominant news values which has been one of the factors behind the development of alternative media which differ from mainstream media in terms of their production, content or distribution.

1.4 The financial press in a post-crisis era

The section synthesizes prior research literature focusing on the study of the financial press, especially after the 2008 financial crisis, assessing the characteristics of the financial news product and factors influencing its production process. Although this research does not emphasize on exploring the journalistic representation of the 2008 Financial Crisis in general, it is important to (re)access the role of the financial press in a post-crisis era in order to understand what determinants are particularly relevant to the contemporary production of journalistic work in this specialist discourse.

“The most powerful frame for interpreting a contemporary crisis”, to quote from Schifferes and Roberts, “is the collective memory of the previous one” (2015, p.xvi). As mentioned in section 1.2, the history of regular reporting on speculative bubbles can be traced back to the Dutch tulip mania of the 1630s (Shiller, 2000, p.71). Although the financial press plays an important role in “setting the stage for market moves and in instigating the moves themselves” (ibid.), there is an evident tendency of the financial press’s inability to forecast the bursting of bubbles (i.e. Bow, 1980; Ojala and Uskali, 2006; Dyck and Zingales, 2003). For instance, Bow (1980) noticed that *The Times* failed to warn the public of the 1929 crash and presented a positive outlook more frequently than it was pessimistic. Similarly, a quantitative analysis conducted by Ojala and Uskali (2006) indicated that although there were “weak signals” in *The New York Times* prior to the stock crashes of 1929, 1987 and 2000, these signals were “vague in nature” and were usually “submerged by positive arguments” (p.2). Generally speaking, the news reporting is often “uncritical” and “over-exuberant” and the press tend to show both bullish and bearish views towards the economic future which contradict each other (Davis, 2011; Ojala and Uskali, 2006).

Despite their different contexts, a succession of works on the US media (i.e. Starkman, 2014; Usher, 2012), research relating to the Australian media (i.e. Knowles *et al.*, 2013, 2017), and study of the UK and Irish media (i.e. Marron *et al.*, 2010; Schechter, 2009) have revealed a similar pattern that the majority of coverage is positive rather than sceptical about the financial trends prior to the 2008 crash (Starkman, 2014), and

about the statements and actions of those in political and financial power (Marron *et al.*, 2010, p.273). Indeed, after the 2008 crash, the inability of financial journalists to identify the major structural flaws in global financial systems have shattered much of the public's confidence in the authority of the expert discourse. There are a few recent studies of audiences which show a "trust-meltdown" toward the financial press and a public view that the financial press is neither objective nor balanced, that it acts dependently and sometimes unethically (Schifferes and Coulter, 2012; Schifferes, 2014).

There has been much discussion about what factors might influence the performance of the financial press and the quality of its news work, and there is consensus in the literature that one important aspect is its ideological and cultural biases (Knowles *et al.*, 2017, p.324-325). As mentioned in section 1.1 and above, there is a persistent tendency for the financial press to be over-enthusiastic and less sceptical toward the booms. There is an ideological bias within the institution toward a spirit of "cautious optimism" during a booming time (Schechter, 2009, p.19-20). Such ideological and cultural biases, including "the segregated silos" the reporters sometimes present in their beats and "a bias against speculative 'this trend could be dangerous' stories" (Hamilton, 2009), might lead to a situation where financial journalists are reluctant to perform a whistle-blowing role.

The determinants that cause the irrational exuberance in financial news across centuries is not only the structural and cultural bias but the regimented professional routines and standards which have been exacerbated by increasing institutional and commercial pressures. Taking news sources as an example, scholars (i.e. Davis, 2002; Manning 2001, 2013; Powell and Self, 2003) point out that the elite-oriented sourcing strategy is an important factor weakening journalists' incentives to uncover and expose negative information, and thus impeding the ability to enact foresightful actions. A variety of research in sourcing strategies and patterns within the financial press, from the UK and elsewhere, shares a consensus on the dominance of financial and political elites in sourcing selection. The financial press has been criticized for being "captured" and "neutralized" by elite sources and pro-business agendas (Davis,

2002, p.17; Davis, 2011). In addition, researchers (i.e. Davis 2000; Manning, 2013; Tambini, 2000; Starkman, 2014) have identified the increasing prevalence of public relations materials in the financial press. For instance, Manning (2013) has found that reporters used to be able to approach senior contacts (i.e. chief executive) directly, but nowadays the 'information flow' is effectively controlled by the PR professionals. In a recent tri-nation (US, UK and Australia) content analysis of news reporting across three decades, Knowles *et al.* (2017, p.336) have noted that financial press is reliant on overarching narratives and official sources, including PR and other interested parties, to define events at a crucial level. The journalists' reliance on these news sources can also be identified in the mainstream media, which raises significant concerns over the journalists' role as a fourth estate and their claims to independence in the UK news media (Lewis *et al.*, 2008).

In a shared politico-economic and socio-cultural atmosphere, journalists operate "not only to maintain and repair their social relations with sources and colleagues" but also "their cultural image as journalists in the eyes of a wider world" (Curran, 1991, p.180). The cultural image and role perception of journalists have always been a productive area in Journalism Studies.

As mentioned above, public trust in financial press is declining, and one important reason is that financial journalists fail to warn the public of market malfunctions, to question public relations sources or to uncover corporate wrongdoings. Thus, scholars have begun to question whether or not financial journalists still perceive themselves as watchdogs that serve the public interest. The role of financial journalists, especially in a post-crisis era, has become increasingly pluralized, and, meanwhile, uncertain. In a UK context, after the Enron collapse in 2001, Doyle (2006) has discovered that most of the financial journalists do not "immediately recognise their role as embodying any broad public responsibilities" (p.450); namely, there is a definitional uncertainty of how they should perform as "watchdogs". Subsequently, Tambini (2010) has revealed a shared uncertainty among British financial journalists on their "watchdog" role and solution to the key challenges they face; that is to say, only a minority believe they have responsibility to serve a wider "public interest", and most restrict their

“watchdog” role to individual companies and corporate malfeasance, rather than toward the economy as a whole.

Starkman (2014) found that financial journalists became so increasingly embedded within the corporate information that they were incapable of manufacturing critical work. The financial journalism is driven by “access” to primary sources rather than “accountability” to the public (Starkman, 2014). Usher’s (2012) research, which resonates with Starkman’s (2014) and Tambini’s (2010), has identified a serious lack of media accountability and the need for clearer normative expectations for watchdog journalism. Knowles *et al.* (2017) conclude that journalists prefer to see their roles as “basic conduits of financial information, mouthpieces for the financial industry, proponents of free financial markets, or as prescribed watchdogs at best” rather than “watchdogs” for public interests (p.326).

While findings within some research argue that journalists have engaged well with audiences (i.e. Marron *et al.*, 2010, Schifferes and Coulter 2012), there is arguably much that could be done to improve the quality of financial reporting. In this respect, this research reconsiders the representative power of metaphor as a process that in a subtle way undermines the quality and facticity of financial news reporting.

1.5 Summary

This chapter has explored a number of factors pertinent to understanding the features of the financial press in the context of its historical development and the journalistic routines it follows, ideologies it shares, and the challenges it faces, especially after the 2008 Financial Crisis. This chapter highlights the following historical and empirical understandings:

- 1) The financial press developed its distinctive credibility to be a ‘quantitative’ and ‘fact-based’ genre of news discourse.

- 2) Historically speaking, although the readership of the financial press has always been elite-dominant, the financial press still tends to formulate a popularized way in which market events and economic ideas could be communicated through a common language for public debate.
- 3) There is a long track-record history demonstrating that the financial press tends to be over-enthusiastic and less sceptical about the market booms; and one of the ways that is manifested is through ebullient language.
- 4) By studying the sociology of journalism at both a micro-level (from a perspective concerning the production of news texts) and a macro-level (from a socio-cultural perspective), we are able to use the factors (i.e. cultural environment, news value, institutional routines etc.) discussed in the preceding sections in 1.3 to analyze news texts as culturally and ideologically constructed.
- 5) In a post-crisis era, the self-identity of financial journalists and their institutional routines are both in danger so that this could eventually undermine the facticity of their news work.

In light of the historical and theoretical backgrounds explored in this chapter, it is worth returning to consider the analytical tool - metaphor, how it is manifested within news texts, and to one of the core concerns of this research: through the news-making process, how has the general and financial press applied metaphor as a linguistic and cognitive device to communicate ideas, also to convey embedded ideologies?

PART I Literature Review

Chapter 2: Metaphor as an analytical tool

2.1 Introduction

The chapter is divided into two halves: in the first part, a brief overview of the traditional theories of the metaphor including the Aristotelian view and “interaction theory” is provided. It then presents an outline for Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) which is one of the most prevailing cognitive paradigms in metaphor studies, followed by a review of critical approaches to metaphor studies in discourse, namely Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and alternative critical approaches including “metaphor scenarios” theory and Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), which provide useful theoretical and methodological frameworks for further research. The second half of this chapter reviews the use of metaphorical language in both general and financial news discourses, which reveals how metaphors that are entrenched in journalistic texts have been studied through corpus-based, cognitive approaches.

2.2 Theoretical background

The major aim of this section is to trace the way in which the treatment of metaphor has shifted from a decorative figure of speech, “a sort of happy extra trick with words” (Richards, 1936, p.90) to an indispensable cognitive device connecting our cognitive and semantic domains of experience, a pervasive device in everyday communication and a powerful evaluative, persuasive and ideological tool. By reviewing the classic Conceptual Metaphor Theory, a theoretical framework viewing metaphorical reasoning as a cognitive process has been proposed, which illustrates how we produce and understand a metaphor in a dynamic way in which a familiar, concrete domain of knowledge is mapped onto another abstract domain. The discussion on this cognitive operation is then enriched by several critical approaches (i.e. Critical Discourse Analysis; Critical Metaphor Analysis; “metaphor scenario” theory), in addition to

presenting metaphor's ideological function in discourse studies from a clear critical perspective.

2.2.1 Definition of metaphor: a historical overview

The nature of metaphor has been an subject of ardent debate as far back as Aristotle (1982), who defined metaphor in terms of movement:

“Metaphor is the application of a strange [alien, allotrios] term either transferred [displaced, epiphora] from the genus and applied to the species or from the species and applied to the genus or from one species to another or else by analogy” (Aristotle, 1982, p.81).

According to this view, metaphor is not defined on the level of discourse or sentence but of words, or more specifically, the level of “name” (noun). Metaphor is something that happens, typically to the “name” and involves four possibilities of transference of a name from one domain to another: from genus to species, from species to genus, from species to species or by analogy. Aristotle's account has identified a clear distinction between the strange (alien, allotrios) and the ordinary (current, generally accepted, kurion) name(s). In this sense, metaphor is a rhetorical and ornamental device which is a substitute for literal language, focuses on a single word that is a “deviation” from the literal language and is the “violation” of common use of ordinary language, and aims to “produce a change of meaning that is based on similarities” (Johnson, 1981, p.6).

Aristotle clarified the principal cognitive and rhetorical task of metaphor, claiming that “metaphor sets the scene before our eyes” (in Ricoeur, 2003, p.38). That is to say, the actualization of thoughts and actions is best realized by metaphor – the trope with the crucial power of “bringing-before-the-eyes” (in Newman, 2002) –immediately before audiences, promoting insights and facilitating learning. “Bringing-before-the-eyes” has been considered as a central element in Aristotle's theory of metaphor and the connection to contemporary conceptual identification.

The Aristotelian theorization of metaphor is at the origin of the “substitution” and “comparison” views of metaphor: the “Substitution” view indicates that “a metaphorical expression is used in place of some equivalent literal expression”, and the “Comparison” view means that “a metaphor consists in the presentation of the underlying analogy or similarity”, therefore any “metaphorical statement might be replaced by an equivalent literal comparison” (Warner, 1973, p.397).

Metaphor was long treated as secondary to literal language, functioning as a trope, a basic figure of speech, for centuries a kind of decorative language mostly presented in poetry and literature (i.e. Cameron, 2003; Deignan, 2005; Steen, 1994; Leezenberg, 2001). It was not until the early twentieth century that what is generally recognized as the first significant break in metaphor studies appeared, with the publication in 1936 by I.A Richards of *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, followed by Max Black’s proposal of an “interaction theory” on metaphor analysis. The interaction view considers the operation of metaphor as primarily a cognitive process, rather than a linguistic or semiotic one. In this sense, metaphor meaning is motivated in an interaction of thoughts. Metaphor is no longer a dispensable ornament of language but an omnipresent principle of language (Richards, 1936, p.89).

Richards (1936) has presented a view contrasting with the classical conception of metaphor, defining metaphor as a matter of thought (p.51) and the “interaction of two copresent thoughts”, and in metaphor, “we have two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word, or phrase, whose meaning is a resultant of their interaction” (p.93). Richards argued that metaphor “fundamentally is a borrowing between and intercourse of *thoughts*, a transaction between contexts. *Thought* is metaphoric, and proceeds by comparison, and the metaphors of language derive therefrom” (Richards, 1936, p.94, emphasis in original)

Richards divides metaphor into two standard term: “tenor”, the principle subject, and “vehicle”, the figurative word of a metaphorical expression. Taking “A stubborn and unconquerable flame Creeps in his veins and drinks the streams of life” (Richards,

1936, p. 102) as an example: here “flame” is the vehicle and fever is the tenor; and the use of flame as vehicle introduces associations with one’s physical experience of fever as if one is on fire. There is also a secondary vehicle – “a stubborn and unconquerable” animal which “creeps in his veins”, which associates “flame-like” animal to the person experiencing fever. The metaphorical vehicle “flame” and associated secondary vehicle cooperate with the interpretation of the tenor to impact the “inclusive meaning” (Richards, 1936, p.119). The vehicles present here are to be construed as effecting, even governing the mode through which the tenor constructs (Richards, 1936, p.122). In this respect, the vehicles can be considered as delivering their metaphorical meaning from two thoughts that somehow interact with each other: “flame” as a physical object and a hidden physical and emotional state.

Inspired by Richard’s formulation, Black (1962) views metaphor as a distinct mental process that “suppresses” some details of the tenor (or frame, in Black’s definition), “emphasizes” others, and “organizes” our view of the tenor/frame (p.41). Black’s interaction theory renames Richards’ terms “tenor” and “vehicle” as “frame” and “focus” respectively. The interaction view of metaphor indicates that metaphor operates within a system of “primary subject”, subordinate subject and “associated commonplace” where patterns of implication are applied to the primary subject. Black argues that metaphor is the interaction of the “systems of implications to construct a corresponding system of implications about the principle system” (1962, p.41), which is similar to Richards’ notion of “interaction between two thoughts”. In the example of “Man is a wolf”, we see “man” from the perspective of our basic knowledge about wolves, consequently, evoking the “wolf-system of related commonplaces”. The principal subjects in the metaphor (“man” and the focus “wolf”) interact in such a way as to allow the one to be viewed through the eyes of the receivers. Indeed, the “interaction view” of metaphor uncovers the cognitive nature of metaphor. In the following section, the central ideas of Cognitive Linguistics in relation to metaphor studies will be provided.

2.2.2 An outline of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

Although linguistics and philosophers have indicated the versatility of metaphor, there seems to have been little progress since the time of Aristotle. Metaphor was considered as a marginal subject studied by literary critics due to its linguistic oddity (Steen, 1994, p.3). However, starting from “the ‘cognitive turn’ in metaphorology” (Steen, 1994, p.3) that began in the late 1970s with Ortony’s (1993) collection of studies, *Metaphor and Thought*, academic concentration has shifted to the presumed conceptual connections between related metaphorical expressions, binding the figure of speech and the figure of thought together.

In 1980, Lakoff and Johnson published their seminal work, *Metaphors We Live By*, which regards metaphors as being fundamental not only to language but human thoughts and experiences. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003), people’s “ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (p.3). The tie between metaphor and conceptual systems provides an access to look at linguistic metaphorical clusters from the perspective of human thought, and reveals what Lakoff and Johnson call “conceptual metaphor” (2003, p.7). Conceptual metaphors are manifested through metaphorical linguistic expressions.

The study of metaphor in cognitive linguistics works as “two-way traffic”: it can move from linguistic metaphor to conceptual metaphor, or vice versa (Gibbs and Steen, 1999, p1-2). Lakoff and Johnson demonstrate the move from language to thought by using a body of units of metaphorical linguistic expressions as a basis to sketch and infer the existence of conceptual metaphors. The central idea behind this two-way affair between linguistic metaphor and conceptual metaphor is that metaphor needs a “home base” (Gibbs and Steen, 1999, p.2). That is to say, the “home base”, or the origin of metaphor lies in our conceptual systems, rather than in the system of language as an abstract element (i.e. words, signs, or symbols).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003) outline the first framework for analyzing metaphor within the cognitive paradigm: Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). According to CMT, much of the metaphorical language we use reflects deeper conceptual correlations in our embodied experience (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.244-5, 1999). Metaphor is the process by which people utilize concrete aspects in our cognitive thinking (i.e. space, orientation, pressure) to conceptualize other indescribable, subjective experiences (i.e. time, love, anxiety) or abstract concepts with a deeper contextual meaning (i.e. democracy, economy, propaganda) (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999). More details about embodied experience will be given later within this subsection.

According to CMT, metaphor, or, more specifically, conceptual metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain. CMT has redefined what have been called the “tenor” and “vehicle” (see section 2.2) in traditional studies of metaphor (Richards, 1936) as the “target domain” and “source domain” which compose a conceptual metaphor. The target domain, which is more abstract and intangible, is understood in terms of a more concrete and delineated source domain. Kovecses identifies target domain as “abstract, diffuse and lack[ing] clear delineation” and “as a result they cry “out” for metaphorical conceptualization” (2002, p.20). Evans and Green (2006) state that source domains tend to be more “graspable” because comparing to the source domains, target concepts are “higher-order concepts” which relate to more abstract “experiential knowledge structures” (p.298). Generally speaking, source domains are concrete entities with a basic, physical sense (i.e. physical objects or movement) (Cameron, 2003, pp.72-3) or areas of human experience that have a more embodied foundation (i.e. height, space, pressure) (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999).

A conceptual metaphor is formulated as “conceptual domain X = conceptual domain Y”, and X, the “source domain” is applied to reason out Y, the “target domain”. It is noteworthy that in the view of CMT, metaphorical reasoning is unidirectional: metaphorical projection occurs only in one direction, which is from source domain to target domain (Evan and Green, 2006, p.296). The unidirectionality of metaphorical reasoning is different from Black’s and Richards’s interaction view which postulates

that the two metaphorical subjects interact and both influence each other (Black, 1993, p.1-18).

In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003) provide a range of linguistic evidence for a variety of conceptual metaphors that constitute the way people perceive of abstract concepts (i.e. MORE IS UP, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, IDEAS ARE OBJECTS). Taking a classic conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY as an example (*italics for metaphorical linguistic expressions*) (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.141; Kovecses, 2002, p.6):

LOVE IS A JOURNEY

Look *how far we've come*.

We're *at a crossroads*.

We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.

We can't *turn back* now.

I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.

Where are we?

We're *stuck*.

It's been a *long, bumpy road*.

This relationship is a *dead-end street*.

We're just *spinning our wheels*.

Our marriage is *on the rocks*.

We've *gotten off the track*.

This relationship is *foundering*

In this respect, LOVE is the target domains, while JOURNEY is the source domains; and expressions like "crossroads" and "dead-end street" are units of metaphorical linguistic expressions. Kovecses points out the nature of the relationship between the conceptual metaphors and the metaphorical linguistic expressions in the following way: the linguistic expressions (i.e. ways of talking) make explicit, or are manifestations of, the conceptual metaphors (i.e. ways of thinking) (2002, p.7). In other words, every single unit of metaphorical linguistic expressions serves to reveal the existence of the

conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphor and its relationship to linguistic expression is the central area for metaphor studies.

Metaphor is not simply a mechanical application of one domain onto another; it is a process with dynamic complexities. Metaphor functions as communicative and conceptual device; on the other hand, it is a process through which abstract knowledge is being constructed through embodied experience. In the view of Cognitive Linguistics, our knowledge is structured and organized in the form of image-schema. Johnson defines image-schema as “a recurrent pattern, shape, and regularity in, or of, these ongoing activities” (Johnson, 1987, p.29). Image schemas are “various patterns of our perceptual interactions, bodily actions, and manipulations of objects”, or “experiential gestalts” which “emerge during sensorimotor activity as we manipulate objects, seek orientation spatially and temporally, and direct our perceptual focus for various purposes (Gibbs *et al*, 2004, p. 1, 192). Image-schemas (e.g. CONTAINER, BALANCE, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, PATH, CYCLE, ATTRACT and LINK) are prevalent at the most basic level of human cognition. These image-schemas are simple, tangible conceptual units which build upon our daily experience. Many domains lack images (e.g. *thought* in Lakoff and Turner, 1989, p.94; *death and time* in *ibid.*, p.95). Domains that lack images are called “abstract” domains (Lakoff and Turner, 1989, p.94) and domains that present images are embodied (Johnson, 1987, p.19-23) or grounded (Lakoff and Turner, 1989, p.113). Johnson states that embodied domains refer to physical experience, specifically “our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions” (1987, p.29).

Metaphors are rooted in experience that serves to structure abstract domains. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), metaphors are based on “cross-domain correlations in our experience” rather than similarity, as claimed in the traditional theory of metaphor:

Metaphor is, in general, not based on similarity...Instead, it is typically based on cross-domain correlations in our experience, which give rise

to the perceived similarities between the two domains within the metaphor (pp.244-5).

Lakoff also argues that metaphor is “cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system” (1993, p.203). Metaphor is a structure, rather than simply attributes, which is mapped from one domain onto another. Lakoff explains this inherent structure mapping based upon the theory of “invariance principle”:

“Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain. What the Invariance Principle does is guarantee that, for container schemas, interiors will be mapped onto interiors, exteriors onto exteriors, and boundaries onto boundaries; for path-schemas, sources will be mapped onto sources, goals onto goals, trajectories onto trajectories; and so on” (1993, p.215).

In this sense, mappings are not “algorithmic processes” which move from source domain structure to target domain structure; they are processes based on “fixed correspondences” (Lakoff, 1993, p.215). In short, metaphorical mappings consist in systematic correspondences between the domains. In this dynamic process, image-schemas play a crucial role because they are the fundamental element that is preserved in the mapping. However, such mapping is not constructed equally based upon individual image-schemas, its degree of complexity depends on the source domains. For instance, when describing the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, Lakoff (1993) states that LOVE is an abstract feeling and JOURNEY is a complex source domain, entailing a variety of experiential knowledge (i.e. destination, people, obstacles, etc.). As a result, the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is composed by a set of “fixed correspondences”, such as difficulties in a relationship corresponding to obstacles in a journey. The identification and categorization of these metaphorical clusters are particularly important during the data collection.

These theoretical grounds are underpinned by a variety of experimental work in Psycholinguistics which helps validate the ubiquitous role and conceptual nature of metaphor in human thought. For instance, a succession of works carried out by Gibbs and his colleagues (Gibbs, 1992, 1994; Gibbs and O’Brian, 1990) demonstrate how idioms are processed within human thought, and thus suggest that people have strong conventional “mental images” and understandings for idioms and the “regularity” in their tacit knowledge of the images for idioms is due to the conceptual metaphors motivating the figurative meanings of idiom. There is also a growing body of psycholinguistic research which studies how the mental image or representation of an abstract concept is represented by a concrete term in support of CMT, such as for the metaphorical mapping *time is space* (Boroditsky, 2000; Casasanto and Boroditsky, 2008), *similarity is closeness* (Boot and Pecher, 2010; Casasanto, 2008), *good is up* (Meier and Robinson, 2004), *affection is warmth* (Williams and Bargh, 2008; Zhong and Leonardelli, 2008), and *categories are containers* (Boot and Pecher, 2011). In light of CMT, all of the research suggests that people represent abstract concepts in terms of concrete concepts by metaphorical mapping. That is to say, abstract or conceptual *thinking is constructed* systematically through *metaphorical* reasoning. More importantly, most of the above-mentioned psycholinguistic research suggests that we comprehend metaphorical meanings as quickly and as automatically as we comprehend their literal counterparts (Gibbs, 2002, p.482; Glucksberg, 2003, p.96), which means metaphor does not require a decoding process to convert it into a more primary literal meaning and people understand metaphor without first analyzing the complete literal meaning. In other words, metaphorical language is not inferior to literal language.

2.2.3 Critical approaches to metaphor studies

From Foucault to Critical Discourse Analysis

A text is not produced in a vacuum, and it is produced by certain people, in a certain way and for a particular purpose. Hence, metaphor analysis in news texts should be taken at a discourse level because discourse is “a complex communicative event that

also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes” (van Dijk, 1988, p. 2). Studying metaphor in news discourse requires the examination of not only the ways in which a variety of conceptual metaphors within an individual discourse are created by the discourse participants (e.g. news reporter), but also the contexts and motivations hidden behind these metaphorical representations across the whole discourse. Thus, the study of metaphor must recognize and deal with the situatedness of discourse. In this section, an introduction of the views on discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is presented in order to discuss why we should take a discourse perspective on metaphor.

Foucault claims that language is “a finite body of rules that authorizes an infinite number of performances” (1972, p.27) and discourse is a finite set of statements considered as “events”. Foucault points out the question raised by language analysis of some discursive fact or other is always: “according to what rules has a particular statement been made, and consequently according to what rules could other similar statements be made? The description of the events of discourse poses a quite different question: how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another” (1972, p.28). That is to say, in order to analyze language from a discourse perspective, one must look beyond a pure form of linguistic description to the “rules” that govern why a particular statement is made instead of another. This idea of discourse is essential to Foucault’s work (i.e. Foucault, 1972, 1975, 1976). Similar to Foucault’s view of “event”-centric discourse, Schiffrin (1994) also rejects a purely linguistic description of discourse analysis. Schiffrin (1994) puts emphasis on not only the linguistic forms that are applied by discourse participants, but also the reasons behind their choice of words and the social functions of that specific use of language. According to Schiffrin, “discourse is viewed as a system (a socially and culturally organised way of speaking) through which particular functions are realised” (1994, p.32).

Foucault (1972) further clarifies the aims of discourse analysis which differs from the traditional viewpoint as it is not concerned with any interpretation of underlying

relations between the statement and the overall “field of discursive events” (Foucault, 1972, p.28). He writes, “we must grasp the statement in the exact specificity of its occurrence; determine its conditions of existence, fix at least its limits, establish its correlations with other statements that may be connected with it, and show what other forms of statement it excludes [...] we must show why it could not be other than it was, in what respect it is exclusive of any other, how it assumes, in the midst of others and in relation to them, a place that no other could occupy” (Foucault, 1972, p.28). To be brief, the focus of discourse analysis is not on exploring what an individual’s intention is when he/she produces certain statement, but on discovering the relations between the production of the statement and a wider range of discourse in general. Foucault’s view on discourse provides a foundation for further development of socio-cognitive theories of discourse used in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Based on a critical discourse tradition, Fairclough, in his several influential works (i.e. *Language and Power*, 1989; *Discourse and Social Change*, 1992a; *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 1995), has proposed a systematic framework for Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough defines discourse as a view of “what people are doing on a particular occasion” (1989, p.23) and more specifically, “a mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world and especially upon each other, as well as a mode of representation” (1992a, p.63). One highlight in Fairclough’s study on discourse is how discourse actively constitutes social realities. According to Fairclough, “discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or ‘constitutes’ them; different discourses constitute key entities (be they ‘mental illness’, ‘citizenship’ or ‘literacy’) in different ways, and position people in different ways as social subjects (e.g. as doctors or patients), and it is these social effects of discourse that are focused upon in discourse analysis” (1992a, pp.3-4). Fairclough and Wodak also highlight the “constitutive” power of discourse: discourse “constitutes society and culture”; discourse is “a form of social action” and “does ideological work”, thus CDA is central to “addressing social problems” (1997, pp.271-280).

Fairclough (1992a) has proposed a “three-dimensional” approach (“social theory of discourse”) to discourse analysis: the first dimension is “text” which focuses on language analysis; the second dimension is “discursive practice” which specifies “the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation” (e.g. news production). The third dimension, “social practice”, emphasizes “issues of concern in social analysis such as the institutional and organizational circumstances of the discursive event and how that shapes the nature of the discursive practice, and the constitutive/constructive effects of discourse” (p.4-5).

Fairclough points out that Critical Discourse Analysis aims to explore underlying connections of “causality” and “determination” between “discursive practices, events and texts” and “wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes” (1993, p.135). In other words, CDA, as a discourse-based approach to social change, must be “critical” and “implies showing connections and causes which are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change” (Fairclough, 1992a, p.9). Furthermore, Fairclough puts emphasis on how discursive practices, events and texts are not only produced but also “ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power” (1993, p.135).

Van Dijk (1990) defines discourse as a “specific form of language use, and as a specific form of social interaction, interpreted as a complete communicative event in a social situation” and the meaning of discourse is “a cognitive structure” (p.164). Therefore, discourse analysis includes not only “observable verbal or non- verbal features, or social interaction and speech acts” but “the cognitive representations and strategies involved during the production or comprehension of discourse” (ibid.). Van Dijk describes Critical Discourse Analysis as “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit positions, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality” (2008, p. 85). CDA focuses primarily on “social problems and political issues, rather than on current paradigms

and fashions” and more specifically, “on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society” (van Dijk, 2008, p.86). In sum, van Dijk’s notion is in line with Fairclough’s view on the ultimate goal of CDA.

As suggested by van Dijk, Critical Discourse Analysis is particularly interested in “a variety of discursive structures and strategies [that] may be used to express ideological beliefs and the social and personal opinions derived from them” (1995, p. 157). The “strategy” here revolves around “positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation” (van Dijk, 1993) and deals with what van Dijk sees as the need to “relate properties of discourse with these underlying, socially shared, representations, which group members use as a resource to talk about (members) of other groups” (van Dijk, 2009, p. 78). Therefore, for my purpose, the Other-representation can be identified by exploring the “discursive structures and strategies” applied to metaphor choices in the financial press.

As mentioned above, discourse does ideological work and CDA seeks to reveal this ideological work done by discourse. This echoes what Conceptual Metaphor Theory claims, where the power of metaphor to structure reality lies in its ability to highlight some aspects of a concept while at the same time hiding others (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.10). This reflects that metaphor may function as an ideological tool. There are pervasive “latent ideologies” based on “conventional conceptual metaphors”, which “may be structuring and influencing our personal, social, environmental, and political behaviour” (Goatly, 2007, p.30). Metaphor is conceptual in nature and central to the construction of social realities: “a metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such actions will, of course, fit the metaphor. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 156). In this sense, metaphor, as “a conceptually significant, even central, cognitive mechanism”, matches the research interests of CDA to a large extent (Musolff, 2012, p.302). Within the framework of CDA, a growing number of socio-cognitively oriented CDA studies of metaphor (i.e. Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004, 2005; Deignan, 2005) have been published over

the past decades. These studies are, either explicitly or implicitly, enriched by a synthetic approach of Cognitive Linguistics, CDA and Corpus Linguistics. The following section will provide a brief overview of a critical approach to metaphor studies which highlights the ideological aspect of metaphor.

Metaphor as an ideological tool

A function of metaphor proposed frequently in Corpus Linguistics and discourse studies is evaluation and persuasion, which are fundamentally connected to metaphor's rhetorical purpose and ideological role. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory literature shares a consensus that metaphor is evaluative, persuasive and therefore potentially ideological (i.e. Koller, 2004, 2005; Charteris-Black, 2004). Rather than treat metaphor as the natural product of shared experiential knowledge, metaphor is an ideologically significant tool which can frame not only verbal or non-verbal expressions but also human thoughts about social issues, and therefore evoke emotions and construct evaluations. As stated by van Dijk (1998a), ideologies are "clusters of belief in our minds" (p.26), and "such beliefs are general, that is abstract and context-independent, as well as socially shared" (p.32). Ideology is understood here as a cognitive phenomenon, "(shared) conceptualization[s] of particular aspects of reality which include conventional conceptual metaphors alongside other long-term mental representations" (Semino, 2008, p.90). While treating discourse as linguistic phenomena, a particular way of expressing particular aspects of reality within particular social contexts and practices, the relationship between discourse and ideology can be viewed as a dynamic one, since "discourses reflect particular ideologies, but also contribute to shape them and change them; ideologies result from discursive and social practices but also determine and constrain these practices" (Semino, 2008, p.90).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observe that "metaphors [. . .] highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience [. . .] metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities" (p.156). As mentioned in the previous subsection, metaphor's function of "highlighting and hiding" particular features makes it possible

and feasible to identify and make sense of the production and application of metaphors from an ideological perspective. That is to say, metaphorical patterns adopted in a certain discourse perpetuate, or even construct ideologies within the particular discourse these metaphors have drawn upon. Therefore, one aspect of my research focus is to identify the “socially shared” ideology hidden in the conceptual metaphors present in the financial press.

Kress (1989) defines metaphor as “a potent factor in ideological contention, a means to bring an area into one rather than another ideological domain” (p.70) and “metaphorical activity occurs at sites of difference, in struggles over power,[...] whenever an attempt is made to assimilate an event into one ideological system rather than another” (p.71). In short, metaphor may function as “an indicator of discursive and, by extension, socio-cultural struggle” (Koller, 2004, p.72). Koller (2004, 2005) argues that Kress is among the few to recognize the ubiquitous and central role of metaphor in both linguistic and cognitive activity (p.72; p.205), and that much of the research on metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics does not take into account the socio-cognitive aspects (Koller, 2005, pp.201-202). The critical analysis of metaphor together with its cognitive nature have been marginalized until recently, when a number of studies started to critically engage with the social, pragmatic and cognitive aspects of metaphor; and this synthetic approach typically consists of cognitive theories of metaphor (i.e. Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Blending Theory) and discourse approach.

Charteris-Black’s Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), a corpus-based approach to the analysis of metaphor, is a guiding methodological framework for this research.

Charteris-Black (2004) argues that “metaphor can only be explained by considering the interdependency of its semantic, pragmatic and cognitive dimensions” (p.2); this approach thus incorporates “the linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic” dimensions in metaphor analysis and metaphor is then defined according to these three criteria (Charteris-Black, 2004, p.21):

1) At a linguistic level, the definition of metaphor is based on establishing the existence of semantic tension in a word or phrase through reification, personification or de-personification.

2) The cognitive dimension enables the image-schema structure to be decoded through a shift in our conceptual system, and this shift is based on “the relevance of, or psychological association between, the attributes of the referent of a linguistic expression in its *original* source context and those of the referent in its novel target context” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p.21, emphasis in original).

3) The pragmatic basis of metaphor is manifested through the motivations of the metaphor choice: “a metaphor is an incongruous linguistic representation that has the underlying purpose of influencing opinions and judgments by persuasion; this purpose is often covert and reflects speaker intentions within particular contexts of use” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p.21).

CMA takes metaphor analysis a step further by integrating the context of metaphors and their motivations. Charteris-Black’s (2004) research on the use of metaphor in politics, economics and sport reinforces the ideological significance of metaphor. For instance, in investigating the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor, he argues that there is the potential for relations between FOOTBALL and WAR to be reversed, and the wars are thus conceptualized as if they were football matches. This “ideologically persuasive possibility of reversing the domains of sports and war” may “minimize resistance to war”, because if war metaphors become the norm in sport reporting, then they may have a “subliminal role in creating the conceptual basis for actual wars to be presented as if they were ‘only’ sporting contests” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p.114).

Musolff (2016) provides a new “metaphor scenarios” approach which looks beyond the domain level. The “metaphor scenarios” approach, according to Musolff, is “a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about ‘typical’

aspects of a source situation, for example its participants and their roles, the ‘dramatic’ storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful” (2016, p.28). In short, the “metaphor scenarios” approach is a discursive analytical strategy with storylines and assumptions about typical participants and actions. The metaphor scenario enables speakers not only to “apply source to target concepts” but also “to draw on them to build narrative frames” to evaluate social issues, to capture attitudinal preferences and to “spin out” these narratives into emergent discourse trends that are characteristic of a particular community (Musolff, 2016, p.36).

Similar to other critical approaches (i.e. CDA; Critical Metaphor Analysis) to metaphor studies, Musolff’s (2016) “metaphor scenarios” approach to “socially situated discourse” aims at offering a conceptual connection between discursive and social practices or structures: “the analysis of source scenarios as focal areas of source domains provides a platform to link the conceptual side of metaphor to its usage patterns in socially situated discourse” (p. 36). He claims that the “metaphor scenarios” approach is powerful in modelling the cognitive background of metaphors: analyzing metaphors in specific discourse at a scenario level, rather than at general domain level which, CMT claims, makes the “attitudinal biases and political preferences of discourse communities become discernible” and the primary reason for this is that “scenarios provide a sufficiently rich conceptual structure to be argumentatively and rhetorically exploitable” (Musolff, 2016, p. 35). For instance, at a more specific scenario level “*LOVE–MARRIAGE*”, British media, in the public debates about the EU, often show a triumphant attitude toward the *marriage problems* of the Franco–German *couple*, which may lead to a *breakdown of the partnership* and potentially give Britain a chance to establish a *ménage à trois* (ibid., p.36).

Much research about how ideological loadings are conveyed through conceptual metaphors is conducted on political discourse. For instance, in a study of political speeches delivered by six politicians Charteris-Black (2005) identifies the following roles for metaphor: conveying and explaining political arguments, communicating ideology by creating political myth, provoking emotion and building the ethos of the

politician. By using the critical approach “Critical Metaphor Analysis”, Charteris-Black (2005) shows “how the metaphor of one social or political group may be taken over, exploited and developed by those of another for competing ideological ends” (p.29). He has proposed a range of synchronous functions of metaphors including persuasion and evoking emotion: for instance, the use of the verb “swamp” in relation to immigration – first by Enoch Powell, then by Margaret Thatcher – “arouses feelings of fear” and creates a myth that immigration is excessive and communicates the ideological argument that it should be stopped or reversed (Charteris-Black, 2005, p.23; Charteris-Black, 2006).

In a subsequent study, Charteris-Black (2006) contributes further to our understanding of how metaphors, in both written (media reporting) and spoken sources, were used in relation to the topic of immigration in right-wing political communication in the 2005 British election campaign. He identifies two main types of metaphor: “natural disaster” and “container”; and the “container” metaphor is highly persuasive in political communication because it implies that maintaining the security border, as a way of controlling immigration, will constrain social change, and as it evokes emotional fears over the penetration of a container (ibid.). Similar to a specific scenarios perspective, according to Musolff (2016), the SPACE-CONTAINER scenario, which implies that immigrants are *on the outside*, can reveal the political preferences on anti-immigration policies (pp.82-83, emphasis in original). Charteris-Black’s (2006) study also reflects the rhetorical, persuasive and, most importantly, ideological role of metaphor in political communication.

Instead of using a “bottom-up” approach without presuming a specific conceptual metaphor (Krennmayr, 2013), Lu and Ahrens (2008) adopted a “top-down” method, starting from a culture-specific conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING in presidential speeches in Taiwan, and then searching for metaphorical expressions that are compatible with that mapping. By analyzing two specific metaphorical patterns– BUILDING and RECONSTRUCTION, they find that the BUILDING metaphors function at two levels: at the conceptual level, BUILDING metaphors consist of FORERUNNERS ARE BUILDERS and PAST HISTORY IS FOUNDATION and RECONSTRUCTION metaphors

involve COMMUNISTS ARE DESTROYERS and THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IS DESTRUCTION. At the ideological level, the president of Kuomintang has applied BUILDING metaphors as rhetorical strategies to permeate a Chinese ideology; more specifically, A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING was framed by Chiang Kai-shek extensively in order to highlight the destruction caused by communism in China. However, Chen Shui-bian from the Democratic Progressive Party tries to use JOURNEY metaphor rather than BUILDING for the purpose of separating Taiwan from China and implying the journey to independence. Lu and Ahrens (2008) emphasize that these discursive strategies reflect the “manipulation of metaphors” by power elites that suits different ideological stances to achieve certain political goals.

2.3 Metaphor in news and financial news discourses

2.3.1 Metaphor in news discourse

Our world is pervaded by news language (Bell, 1991, p.1), and “there is probably no other discursive practice, besides everyday conversation, that is engaged in so frequently and by so many people as news in the press and on television” (van Dijk, 1991, p. 110). News language, as “a major element in our daily experience of language”, is a particularly important subject in studying the power of language in the “social construction of reality” (Fowler, 1991, pp.8-9; Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Perhaps social media has outstripped traditional news discourse in its penetration of everyday life; in the meantime, media texts, either mediated through traditional, unidirectional platforms or social media, remain attractive for discourse analysts.

News is not characterized as “a picture of reality, which may be correct or biased, but as a frame through which the social world is routinely constructed” (van Dijk, 1988, p.7). Thus, journalists operate within bureaucratic institutions and adhere to institutional rules (ibid.). Consequently, news does not neutrally reflect social reality or empirical facts; news is a “social construction”. Facts and events become important because they are selected by journalists who are bounded by a “culturally and

ideologically determined set of selection criteria” (Broersma, 2007, p.16). Journalists construct social reality through the style and form of news, framing the social world in a professional “performative discourse” (Broersma, 2007, p.xxviii). The “form and style” of news, rather than a simplistic idea referring to the news content, are linked not only to widely accepted organizational and institutional routines but also broader cultural discourses (Broersma, 2007, p.20). Although this research does not intend to explore news routines in general, it focuses on discovering and analyzing the linguistic patterns (more specifically, metaphorical patterns) adopted by journalists at both cognitive and discourse levels, which can fundamentally reflect the representation of the social world in a newspaper.

This representation of social reality is ideological in nature. That is to say, the reality is ideologically constructed by news, based on the meanings endowed by the “accredited sources” of journalists (e.g. the government), and news functions as a transmitter that helps reproduce and reinforce “preformulated” ideologies rather than a neutral, balanced mediator (van Dijk, 1988, p.11). As discussed in Section 2.2.3, metaphor is an ideologically significant tool in framing social issues, and being “among our principal vehicles of understanding”, metaphors “play a central role in the construction of social and political reality” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.159). In this respect, journalistic representation of social reality can be advantageously linked to the important insight from metaphor studies in Cognitive Linguistics that metaphor is a central element in reifying, even shaping ideologies.

It is noteworthy that the interpretation of metaphor is context-dependent, and there are a variety of contextual factors which play a role in the production of metaphor in news discourse (i.e. Kovecses, 2009, 2014). Conceptual Metaphor Theory suggests that metaphor, driven from our bodily experience, is rooted in our everyday patterns of thinking and reasoning, which suggests that people in a shared language community interpret most of the metaphors in similar ways. Moreover, a body of recent research argues that the choice and interpretation of metaphors are, by some means, attached to the participants’ social and cultural backgrounds (i.e. Kovecses, 2005), and to the

contexts in which the metaphors are produced and encountered (i.e. Kovecses, 2014; Leezenberg, 2001).

The role of context is essential in specifying the goal or the perspective of the metaphor interpretation (Leezenberg, 2001). In Kovecses' (2014) recent book, *Where Metaphors Come from: Reconsidering Context in Metaphor*, he provides a coherent account of the relationship between metaphor and context. He proposes that there are four types of contextual factors influencing the creation of metaphors: the situational factor which includes physical, social and cultural situations in which metaphor occurs; the discourse factor which can be viewed as the text where metaphor emerges; the conceptual-cognitive factor which refers to certain aspects in our conceptual system wherein metaphor is simultaneously produced; and finally the factor of bodily experience which is embedded in our social activity (Kovecses, 2014, pp.176-188).

Cameron (2003) also emphasizes the importance of taking account of "contextual frames that radiate outwards from any specific use of language" when dealing with the uses of metaphor in discourse (p.4). Cameron has listed five factors in contextual frames: the physical factor relating to the setting in which the discourse occurs; the social factor relating participants in discourse; the interactional factor which refers to interactions within discourse; linguistic factor relating to the uses of language, and conceptual factor which refers to the ways of thinking and understanding concepts. In sum, metaphor interpretation in discourse cannot proceed without considering the different types of contextual factors. The contextualized view of metaphor studies will contribute to evaluating such factors at the stage of discourse analysis in this research.

Newspaper language is very diverse since newspapers consist of different sections with a variety of purposes; news discourse is thus naturally a rich source for metaphor studies within different contexts. There is a variety of prior work on metaphor in news discourse either starting with specific news topics, such as war (i.e. Billig and MacMillan, 2005; Lule, 2004), immigration issues (Charteris-Black, 2006; Santa Ana, 1999, 2002); world-wide epidemics (e.g., Chiang and Duann, 2007; Wallis and Nerlich,

2005), scientific breakthroughs (Hellsten, 2000; Nerlich *et al.*, 2000); or focusing on a specific genre of news, such as financial news (i.e. Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004) and sports news (Charteris-Black, 2004); or starting with the general corpus to explore the metaphorical patterns in newspapers (Deignan, 2005; Krennmayr, 2015). Examples will be given in the remaining part of this section.

As discussed before, metaphor is a powerful tool for creating persuasive messages serving ideological purposes in the press (i.e. Charteris-Black, 2004; Santa Ana, 1999). Because metaphor, by its nature, inevitably highlights some aspects of a topic or a concept while hiding others (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.10-14), the representation of situations or events through any metaphor is “partial” and “flawed” (Deignan, 2005, p.23). Metaphor thus will “never give a completely accurate picture of its topic” (Deignan, 2005, p.23). In short, the case for metaphor as ideological is derived from the principle of metaphorical “highlighting-while-hiding”, representing the reality in a desired manner of a speech community.

For instance, Santa Ana (1999) studies the metaphorical representation of immigrants in the *Los Angeles Times* and finds that the negative representations of immigrants are constructed through the dominant metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS. He points out the “root power” of metaphor which most effectively influences the audience when it is conventionally used, translating the abstract target domain in a routine manner (Santa Ana, 1999, p.217). In other words, if a metaphor is conventionalized, rather than novel and in need of evaluating for its appropriateness and usefulness, then its intended meaning is already preserved in our conceptual system, automatically providing a conventional framework to interpret the issue (i.e. Bowdle and Gentner, 1999, 2005). In this sense, the receiver is often unaware that the metaphorical mapping “IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS”, which can be viewed as socially unacceptable argument, has been reproduced and is being reinforced, thereby perpetuating a racist world-view (Santa Ana, 1999, p.217).

Falk (2013) also studies the power of metaphor in hiding socially unacceptable world-views. Falk (2013) offers a Critical Discourse Analysis of the use of “playing-the-gender-

card” metaphor in US campaign news coverage, with a focus on its use in Hillary Clinton’s campaign for president in 2007. Falk (2013) argues that the media tend to use the “playing-the-gender-card” metaphor, firstly as a short-cut to articulate the political arguments in order to simplify or obscure the complexities involved in women’s position in politics; and as a disguise for the discussion about the residual of discrimination toward women in the US. In this sense, the “playing-the-gender-card” metaphor is applied to “obscure” or “hide” socially unacceptable and empirically unsupportable arguments (Falk, 2013).

It is worth mentioning that when a metaphor becomes conventionalized, there is a shift in the mode of processing, from “comparison” of novel metaphors to “categorization” of conventional metaphors (Bowdle and Gentner, 1999, 2005). This account, termed as the Career of Metaphor hypothesis which combines the comparison theory and categorization theory, claims that when a metaphor becomes conventional, it is interpreted as a categorization, which means that “the base concept is used to access or derive an abstract metaphoric category of which it represents a prototypical member, and the target concept is then assigned to that category” (Bowdle and Gentner, 1999, p.92). In this respect, the interpretation of conventional metaphor involves “sense retrieval”, while the interpretation of novel metaphor involves “sense creation” (ibid.). The conventional metaphors not only are persuasive by, for instance, reducing complexity in texts (i.e. Burgers *et al.*, 2015) but also may reinforce the negative representation which is also conventionalized and embedded in our shared ideology (i.e. Santa Ana, 1999).

Although a majority of metaphors in news seem to be used for reasons that are related to persuasion and ideological influence, in the discourse of scientific, complex and highly abstract subjects (e.g. finance), metaphor is often seen as a tool for communicating, explaining, mapping complex concepts, thus popularizing specialist knowledge. There are several types of metaphors in relation to comprehension, problem-solving and knowledge construction. To name a few, the “instructive metaphor” refers to “metaphoric information in a passage that improves problem-solving transfer” (Mayer, 1993, p.577). In educational discourse, the instructive nature

of metaphor is particularly important to build up students' understanding of scientific topics (e.g. modelling "radar" in terms of "a bouncing pulse") (Mayer, 1993, p.573-574). In addition, "theory-constitutive metaphor" is another irreplaceable type of metaphor employed by scientists as theoretical vocabulary to formulate and articulate theoretical claims (e.g. conceptualizing computer in terms of brain) (Boyd, 1993, p.486). However, the role of metaphor in the scientific news reporting seems more complex than in educational or academic contexts. Science news, which can be considered as a facts/concepts-based and professional type of genre, sometimes tends to use a non-objective, and even sensational metaphorical representation to fit into the popular myth, especially when popularizing novel events (Hellsten, 2000).

Hellsten's (2000) research is based on the case of Dolly, the cloned sheep in 1997, and she finds that the same conceptual metaphor, "CLONES ARE MASS PRODUCTS", is employed to both oppose and support cloning. In *The Times*, Dolly is represented as a symptom of Frankenstein's works and clones are inferior human copies. Popular myths like "mad scientists [are] exploiting living organs as factory products" or are harvesting organs to produce "human copies" are presented. In contrast, *Nature* magazine criticizes those myths, arguing that Dolly is the result of progressive science and clones are perfect products. Although journalists and scholars share the same basic understanding of the analogies between clones and mass products, they still work on different aspects of the metaphor for their own ends, serving their own agenda (Hellsten, 2000, p.219). Accordingly, the "situational context" (i.e. readership; institutional routine; commercial pressure) is surely one of the most fundamental factors in determining how and why a journalist uses a particular metaphor in a particular form or pattern. Thus, metaphors in science news may be used to "evoke powerful images and emotions, thus adding drama to the news" (Hellsten, 2002, p.23)

The ubiquity of metaphors in general news texts can be systematically studied using a quantitative corpus-linguistic approach. Krennmayr's (2015) research, focusing on the general patterns of metaphor used by journalists, shows the variability of metaphorical patterns in news, across word classes, different sections of newspapers and relative to other kinds of discourse (i.e. academic texts, fiction writing). For

instance, metaphors are more common in hard news than in soft and science news. Krennmary (2015) further suggests that “situational context” in which news occurs and in-depth discourse analysis are needed to reveal how metaphors function in larger discourse contexts and how journalists’ decision-making process is affected by the “contextual factors”. This offers an enlightening methodological framework for future research design and data analysis.

2.3.2 Metaphor in financial news discourse

The reason for the use of metaphor being so prevalent in an abstract discipline like economics may be that metaphor is “the omnipresent principle of language” (Richards, 1936, p. 92), “a highly revealing instance of the human capacity for making sense” (Steen, 1994, p. 3), and “the main mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform abstract reasoning” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 244). In other words, an important reason for this omnipresence is that metaphor can be utilized to ease the complexity in the process of economic reasoning because “each step in economic reasoning, even the reasoning of official rhetoric, is metaphoric” (McCloskey, 1985, p. 75). More specifically, the role of metaphor in economic discourse can be categorized into three types: as a textual decoration or a teaching device, as a central organizing principle of all language, and as a device for exploring specific economic problems and a basis for extending the domain of economic ideas (Henderson, 1994, p.110). In short, the role for sense-making, problem-solving and idea-generation indicates that metaphor is a useful tool to conceptualize specifically economic facts, bringing such abstract entities (i.e. market; financial system) and processes (i.e. transactions such as buying, selling, lending, borrowing, etc.) down to an accessible level for public understanding⁴.

⁴ Public understanding of finances is fundamentally an elite discourse. When it comes to long-term economic trends, the elite newspapers including the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* provide the overall sophisticated understanding that underpins political decision-making, and they provide the longer term tracking of these events that mainstream news media can tap into to search for understandings for their readers when a headline event (e.g. financial crashes) occurs. Therefore, in terms of public understanding, these elite newspapers have two influences: first, they directly inform representatives in parliament and decision makers in civil service and economic fields; secondly, they allow general media to access the long-term trends and act as conduits for public understanding.

The use of metaphor in the language of economics has been significantly researched. This type of research emphasizes either conventional metaphorical expressions originating from the domains of, for instance, CONTAINER (i.e. Alejo, 2010), PERSON (i.e. Silaški and Đurović, 2010), and GROWTH (i.e. White, 2003), or the general patterns of metaphors applied in the financial press (i.e. Boers and Demecheleer, 1997; Charteris-Black, 2004). For instance, in a corpus-based study conducted by Charteris-Black, financial reporting can be seen to rely heavily on bodily metaphor: two thirds of the total metaphors in the *Economist* corpus are conceptually related to the ECONOMY IS HUMAN conceptual metaphor, and this metaphorical representation seems highly conventional, featuring a variety of corporeal forms and functions (i.e. *illness, health*) (2004, p.140).

As a matter of fact, metaphors, especially with conventional source domains, in economic contexts at large play an indispensable role in interpreting abstract economic theories and phenomena (i.e. McCloskey, 1986; Charteris-Black, 2000). However, the patterns of metaphorical language are not fixed and standardized within a conventional paradigm and the cases in some specific contexts such as financial crisis or corporate malfeasance might promote more diverse, even novel ways to frame the economic situations. For instance, as mentioned in Section 2.2.3, the “Love-Marriage” metaphorical scenario, adopted by the British and German media in the reporting on EU politics and Euro currency issues, provides a detailed set of options for opposing views proposed by different interest parties. The British media tend to emphasize “the possibilities of their own national government’s *divorce* or *separation* from or an *end of the relationship* with the EU”, whereas the mainstream German press tends to be more cautious, suggesting a “*prolonged engagement* as regards the introduction of the *Euro* currency” (Musolff, 2006, p.35, emphasis in original). This type of “metaphor scenario”, embodied by a set of opposing political attitudes, offers “a sufficiently rich conceptual structure to be argumentatively and rhetorically exploitable” (Musolff, 2006). Similarly, Semino’s (2002) bilingual (English and Italian) research on the euro’s official introduction in 1999 concludes that conventional metaphors are often employed to explain and conceptualize the euro in the most fundamental and

universal ways (i.e. euro as a container or an entity in motion), while the more novel representations are used to sustain particular views, whether positive or negative, of the monetary union (Semino, 2002, p. 136).

Furthermore, much attention has been given to the presence and use of metaphor in the financial press in relation to the previous (i.e. White, 1997 on “The Currency Crisis” in 1992) and recent 2008 Financial Crisis (i.e. López and Llopis, 2010), aiming to show how metaphor functions as a tool to frame economic issues, and potentially serve political interests. For instance, Nerghes *et al.* investigate the expansion and evolution of the TOXIC metaphor (i.e. toxic assets; toxic loans) in the financial reports relating to the 2008 crisis debate, and find that there is a transition from “generic image-creating metaphors” to “financial-instrument-targeted metaphors” (2015, p.106). That is to say, the TOXIC metaphor has been subtly strengthened through the process of conventionalization by which the TOXIC metaphor instils itself into our conventional conceptual framework of understanding financial issues (Nerghes *et al.*, 2015, p.126). As a result, the TOXIC metaphor may produce a negative representation of the events through its persuasive function, which in turn may lead to, for example, market sentiment and overreaction (Nerghes *et al.*, 2015).

Nerghes *et al.*'s research is particularly relevant to the ideological role of metaphor in the financial press. McCloskey asserts that journalists use metaphors to persuade the audience and rationalize the opinions and theories; and through this process of persuasion, mappings between economic concepts and source domains originated from other discourse can make an “impressive ideology” (1995, p.216). Metaphor functions not only as a tool to translate specialized discourses and popularize or digest complex issues, but also ideologically to guide our interpretation of reality, to frame our visions and goals, and, most importantly, to socially construct the reality (Nerghes *et al.*, 2015, p.109). Conceptual Metaphor Theory builds a firm basis for exploring the ideological role metaphor plays, suggests O’Mara-Shimek *et al.* (2014). CMT emphasizes the persuasive and ideological role of metaphor through the entailments – the imparting of a characteristic of the source domain to the target domain by logical means, which provides additional features to the target domain (O’Mara-Shimek *et al.*,

2014; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Therefore, metaphor is able to inject ideologically promoted knowledge of the market into the language of financial news through the concepts that their entailments introduce that may ultimately guide policy actions (O'Mara-Shimek *et al.*, 2014, p.119).

The existing research has given some evidence of the ideological function of metaphor in the financial press. For instance, in a bilingual corpus-based study of metaphors comprising news in the British and Spanish newspapers about the Endesa takeover, which is a business battle with strong political and ideological implications, Negro Alousque (2011) highlights the ideological values that the metaphor conveys. The results of this research show a high degree of similarity in the metaphorical patterns of the British and Spanish newspapers. According to Negro Alousque (2011), the metaphorical mapping between the target domain of business and the source domains of WAR, SPORT, GAME and LOVE is ideologically significant in two ways. Firstly, the negative representation of the takeover promoted by the Spanish and British newspapers is reinforced by ideological components carried by the conceptual metaphors; for instance, the use of the WAR metaphor amplifies the hostile nature of the takeover, and a negative evaluation of the length of the process is presented through the BUSINESS IS A PLAY/SERIAL metaphor. Secondly, through the TAKEOVERS ARE MARRIAGES metaphor which implies Endesa's female role, a power imbalance between the participants has been subtly injected into the structure of the construal of reality in the press (Negro Alousque, 2011).

In another cross-cultural study of metaphors to describe euro trading in the British and German press, Charteris-Black and Musolff (2003) discover that two main conceptual metaphors are applied to characterize financial news in both English and German: UP/DOWN MOVEMENT and HEALTH. Similarly, in a cross-cultural study by Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001), financial news during the 1997 stock market crash from both English and Spanish sources describes the economy as an organism, market movements as physical movements, but more specially, they point out that sharp downward market movements tend to be portrayed in a more aggressive way using metaphors of natural disasters (i.e. hurricane, storm, overheating). Additionally,

Charteris-Black and Musolff's research on euro trading finds that news in the British press also applies PHYSICAL COMBAT metaphors, with expressions such as *hit, batter, blow, rally, and victory*, which can be seen as a superordinate term for war, boxing and other types of aggressive behaviour (2003, p.164). In this sense, the COMBAT imagery provides an alternative perspective of the currency "not only as an animate but also an active entity that can *hit* out as well *suffer blows* from opponents" (Charteris-Black and Musolff, 2003, p.174, emphasis in original). News in the German press, on the other hand, characterizes the euro in terms of STABILITY and HEALTH/WEAKNESS, with expressions such as *safe haven of stability*.

In sum, much attention has been given to the presence and application of metaphor in the financial news reporting across different social and cultural contexts, demonstrating how metaphor functions to communicate and construct not only knowledge but ideology, and how these ideologically-based choices of particular metaphors are made during the news production process. Yet the ideological role of metaphors is still under-researched, especially from a journalistic perspective rather than a merely linguistic one, and the existing literature does not fully integrate with the "contextual factors" of the financial press as a news genre. That is to say, factors such as cultural and ideological implications embedded in society should be taken into account to explore how and why such metaphorical patterns are constructed within this specialist discourse.

2.4 Summary

This chapter revisits metaphor in Conceptual Metaphor Theory and in critical approaches including Critical Discourse Analysis, Critical Metaphor Analysis, and "metaphor scenario" theory. It also reviews a body of literature relating to the interpretation and application of metaphor at a discourse level and sheds light on the theoretical and methodological frameworks guiding the future data collection and analysis of this research project. The chapter examines the role metaphor plays in the news generally and more specifically financial news discourse, summarizing previous research which explores some of the ways in which metaphor is used for

communicative and ideological purposes across different social and cultural contexts.

In addition, this chapter highlights the following aspects:

- 1) Metaphor is a dynamic mapping process, extending to highlight certain aspects while hiding others;
- 2) The selection of metaphors is ideologically motivated;
- 3) It is important to take into account the contextual factors which affect the interpretation and production of metaphor.
- 4) Critical Metaphor Analysis, a critical approach integrating contextual factors, enables us to discover the ideological motivation behind the adoption of the metaphorical patterns. More details on how this framework applies to relate metaphor use from a micro level to wider aspects of journalistic practice will be given in PART II: Methodology.

In light of these theoretical and methodological guidelines, the current research applies a similar critical stance to the analysis of metaphors in general. However, while much literature focuses on the representation of an abstract, generalized entity or issue (i.e. economy, Euro, crisis), without adopting a much narrower analytical and context-specific framework, this research intends to identify the representation of a specific market participant (in this case, China), incorporating other culture-specific aspects such as Orientalist conceptualization of the target domain.

PART I Literature Review

Chapter 3: Journalistic representation of the Other

3.1 Introduction

The first part of this chapter considers various aspects of the theoretical underpinning of the representation of the Other in discourse. This is approached firstly in terms of the definition of representation. In discourse analysis, representation is not only a linguistic pattern but also a manifestation of social practice as well as cultural work. The following subsection provides a brief illustration of social practice and social identity as a background against which the role of the Other as an important discourse participant can be assessed. The second part deals with Edward Said's conventional Orientalist framework and Daniel Vukovich's "becoming-the-same" Orientalist framework, which function as culture-specific models to study the asymmetrical relationship between Self and Other. In the last section, China's "Other" and "Orient" status is placed in a shifting global context. By analyzing contemporary studies relating to China's image in the Western media, a contrast between China as outsider, alien or stranger and China as a leading world power is established.

3.2 Self and Other representation

The concept of Other, as social subject or social actor, is the essential element in this research. This section establishes from the outset what the representational labels of Self and Other mean in discourse studies. Based on the notion which is put forward by sociological theories (e.g. social identity theory) that the image of the Other is closely intertwined with that of the Self, this section addresses the relation between Self and Other from a broader socio-cultural perspective.

3.2.1 What is representation?

In discourse analysis, representation often refers to the language used in a text or talk to invest meaning to social groups and their social practices (i.e. Fairclough, 1992a; van Dijk, 1989). This linguistic representation only reflects, rather than constructs, how we perceive reality (i.e. Fairclough, 1992b; Shapiro, 1988; van Dijk, 2002), and the ways in which linguistic representation is shaped by ideology are central to Critical Discourse Analysis. Van Dijk's (1998a, p.8) concentration on ideology is tied to the concept of social representations as he defines ideology as "the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group". The concept of social representations as socially shared beliefs is based upon Moscovici's social representations theory which is a "systematic social psychology" (Moscovici, 2000). Moscovici defines this approach as follows: "the relationship between Ego and Object is mediated through the intervention of another subject; this relationship becomes a complex triangular one in which each of the terms is fully determined by the other two" (2000, p.107). The triangle model bridges three essential aspects of social psychology: the individual, the Other and a social object (with a concern shared by the individual and the Other), forming a theoretical foundation for van Dijk's (i.e. 1993, 1995, and 1998b) concept of ideological relations between positive Self-representation and negative Other-representation.

The concept of representation can also be interpreted from the cultural perspective. The cultural scholar Stuart Hall (1997a) provides an approach known as cultural studies to research the media's role in society, arguing for a new view of the active role of representation in relation to the way in which people think and act within the world. Representations created by media are the central signifying practices for producing shared meanings, and such meanings cannot be fixed by representation (Hall, 1997b, p.270). Hall (1997b, p.270) identifies a strategy to analyze a dominant regime of representations through trans-coding: "taking an existing meaning and re-appropriating it for new meanings", which is a useful tool for understanding how representations are constituted and shaped over time. The representations of Other have become a focal point for critical cultural media studies and the following

subsection will discuss some of the theoretical basis for examining the Other as a social subject.

3.2.2 The *Other* as a social subject

Discourse and social practice

Social practice is a crucial aspect in discourse analysis. Although this research does not focus on the study of social practice in journalistic discourse in general, it deals with how a social subject (China, more specifically), as an element in social practice, is metaphorically represented in journalistic discourse. The notion of social practice as an important dimension in discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992a, p.4-5) has been briefly mentioned in Section 2.2.3, and a more detailed introduction to the integrational relation between discourse, social practice and its participants will be given in this subsection.

Since my work deals with the representations of China as a social subject, it is necessary to explain the meaning of the label “social subject” in relation to social practice. In critical discourse studies, scholars term the participants of discourse in different ways. For instance, Fairclough uses the term “social subjects”, while van Leeuwen (2008) uses “social actors” to describe participants in social practice. Fairclough views a social subject as a whole social person and he explains his choice of words in the following way: “the choice of terms here is not a trivial matter: I suspect the term ‘participant’ tends to imply an essential, integral ‘individual’ who ‘participates’ in various institutionally defined types of interaction without that individuality being in any way shaped or modified thereby. In preferring ‘subject’, I am emphasizing that discourse makes people, as well as people make discourse” (Fairclough, 1985, p.750). Fairclough’s treatment of social subjects is closely tied to their interpersonal relations to discourse.

Van Leeuwen’s treatment of social actors as discourse participants is constructed on a linguistic and semiotic approach to discourse analysis. In his recent study, van

Leeuwen (2008, p.26) provides a methodological framework focusing on the news texts representing discursive exclusion of social actors in immigrant discourse, which intends to investigate how social actors can be represented through linguistic and rhetorical realizations. For instance, the group of immigrants is often formed by “them” who are backgrounded, and either assimilated or aggregated (e.g. depicting them as a large “horde”), while the group of social actors who oppose or worry about immigrants is constructed by “us” who are less often backgrounded and working in relation to rational mental processes, rather than in relation to material and verbal processes, as in the case of the racists (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.55). Since there is no consensus in the description of participants in social practice, this study will still adopt the Fairclough label of “social subject” as the basis for representing Self and Other at a discourse level.

In his book *Language and Power*, Fairclough prioritizes the role of language in social practice by stating that “language as social practice determined by social structures” (2001, p.8). Chouliaraki and Fairclough also provide a narrow definition of social practice in relation to language: “all practices have an irreducible discursive aspect, not only in the sense that all practices involve use of language to some degree” (1999, p.26). In Fairclough’s view, discourse can be treated as an especially discursive practice which is a subset of social practice and deals with “text production, distribution and consumption” (1992a, p.78). This research follows Fairclough’s treatment of discourse as discursive practice, which puts a great focus on the social importance of language.

Discourse may be implicated in all types of social practices, which involve various orientations including economic, political, cultural and ideological, without any of the orientations being reducible to discourse (Fairclough, 1992a, p.66). In Fairclough’s book (1992a), *Discourse and Social Change*, the discussion of social practice, as the third dimension in his social theory of discourse (see Section 2.2.3), is tied to ideology and hegemony. Firstly, ideology is characterized by “relations of domination on the basis of class, gender, cultural group, and so forth” and human beings are naturally “capable of transcending ideology” (Fairclough, 1992a, p.91). Hegemony, as defined by Fairclough, “is leadership as much as domination across the economic, political,

cultural and ideological domains of society” and “is the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economic-defined classes in alliance with other social forces” (1992a, p.92).

Therefore, social practice is not neutral, and in this sense discourse is not neutral and it refers to power relations in society. In Foucault’s view, social interpretations are ways of elaborating justifications for the exercise of power rather than self-governing from ideology. Power relations, which are central to Foucault’s (1978) philosophical thinking, are viewed as an operation in day-to-day interactions between people and institutions (in Sergiu, 2010). Fairclough (2001, p.34) also supports the idea that power relations are not reducible to class relations, and can be manifested through the social practice of language via interactions between individuals. Fowler (1985, p.75-78) agrees that language, as a social practice, continuously constitutes the roles upon which people base their claims to maintain and exercise power.

Van Dijk’s (1989, p.19) discussion of social power of discourse focuses on discourse as a specific "textual" form of language use in the social context. He points out that discourse may directly enact power through directive speech acts and through directive texts such as law or regulations, and power may also be manifested indirectly as representation in the way of an expression, description, or legitimation of powerful social actors or their actions and ideologies (van Dijk, 1989, p.49). Van Dijk’s (1989) view highlights the concealed persuasive power of discursive practices, which functions as a strategy for the powerful to persuade, directly or indirectly, the powerless. In short, the use of language (through talk or text) plays a crucial role in the exercise and legitimization of power in society. A body of literature deals with the ways in which language encodes power relations in discourse analysis (i.e. Chaika, 1982; Kramarae *et al.*, 1984). The notion that power is enacted, expressed, described, concealed or legitimated by language (van Dijk, 1989) is essential to my research, because my discussion of China, a less socially dominant and less powerful participant in the view of the West, is formulated in terms of textual patterns (metaphorical patterns, more specifically) and constructed upon the persuasive power of language.

The dichotomy of Self and Other

Bauman (1991) believes that the concept of “Other” is an integral part of the way societies construct various “identity categories”. He proposes the idea that the identities of Self and Other are dichotomies: “abnormality is the other of the norm, deviation the other of law-abiding, illness the other of health, barbarity the other of civilization, animal the other of the human, woman the other of man, stranger the other the native, enemy the other of friend, ‘them’ the other of ‘us’, insanity the other of reason, foreigner the other of state subject, lay public the other of the expert” (Bauman, 1991, p.14). In this sense, the dichotomy of Self and Other represents a hierarchy in which some social groups are superior to Other groups.

Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), in social psychology, is a complementary approach to studying the Self and Other representation in journalistic texts. The ways in which the press polarizes the Self as in-group and Other as out-group have to be addressed within a broader context of Othering as a socio-cultural phenomenon. Rather than solely focusing on the identity and behaviour of different individuals, social identity theory examines the interplay between the perception of oneself as a unique individual and as a member of social groups. This theory supports the idea that individuals act as both individual persons and within social groups, thus both personal and social identities provide significant representations of Self in differing social contexts (Turner *et al.*, 1994, p.454). From a theoretical perspective, social identity is the Self-concept of an individual that comes from his/her understanding of the membership within a social group along with the experience, value and emotion attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63). This definition is the theoretical basis for studying social identity as multidimensional, assuming that three components may contribute to measure one’s social identity: a cognitive component (awareness of one’s group membership in social group), a group evaluative component (a positive or negative value attached to one’s group membership and group self-esteem), and an emotional or affective component (a sense of belonging with the group) (Cameron, 2004). Both the theoretical significance and the measures of social identity have assumed an increasingly important role in

research on group behaviour and in- and out-group relations (i.e. Brown *et al.*, 1986; Hinkle *et al.*, 1989; Jackson, 2002).

Notions of similarity and difference are central to the way in which we achieve a sense of identity. One common feature shared by any group is the recognition of out-groups (Jenkins, 2014, p,28). The identity of “self” or “we” is constructed based on the patterns of inclusion and exclusion (Gilroy, 1997, p.301-302). Such understanding of social identity provides tools for research on the perceptions and acts of group members in different contexts. For instance, in a study of discriminatory behaviour against out-groups, Perreault and Bourhis (1999) find that factors including ethnocentrism and perception of control over group ascription forecasts degree of in-group identification, which in turn, is positively related to discriminatory behaviour against out-groups. They also point out that under some specific ideological and socio-political conditions, individuals, despite their social status, can come to engage in both mild and extreme forms of discriminatory behaviour (Perreault and Bourhis, 1999, p.100). Their finding echoes the notion of social identity theory that in certain conditions where an in-group identity becomes salient, individuals will try to maintain, even reinforce their group identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1986).

The principles of social identity theory can also be linked to the interpretation of Self and Other representation in news coverage. For instance, Rivenburgh (1997, 2000) has conducted several projects which apply social identity theory to the study of international news. In a study investigating three national newspapers including *La Prensa* from Argentina, *The New York Times* from the US and *Berlingske Tidende* from Denmark, Rivenburgh (2000) finds that all three newspapers are significantly more likely to engage in news treatments that emphasize positive aspects and values of the nation and reflect favourably upon the national Self. On the other hand, there is only a limited range of evidence supporting that all newspapers seek to protect their national identities when the interaction with the international Others involves negative outcomes or actions (Rivenburgh, 2000).

The dichotomy of Self and Other representation is incorporated with national identity and the construct of the nation. Anderson defines the nation as “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (1983, P.15). He further explains the idea of nation in the following way: “it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 1983, p.15). Anderson’s concept of imagined communities provides a macro-level analysis of the national identity and how nationalism rises and spreads. Anderson (1983) stresses that print capitalism, which introduced mass-produced publications to the public, has been essential in creating an “imagined community” with shared identities. An imagined community is formed around its national print-language. A nation’s interaction with print-capitalism has a strong impact on the construction of self-identity within a nation, therefore it provides a cornerstone for analysis and debate in a variety of research on in/out group and national identity in media studies (i.e. Schlesinger, 1991; Schudson, 1994; Beetham, 2006).

Ethnosymbolist theory, developed by Smith (1986), explores the concepts of nation and national identity from a cultural perspective, arguing that the ethnic identity of modern nations should be studied in the context of their pre-modern forms of collective cultural identity. Collective cultural identity refers to “a sense of continuity” on the part of shared, heritable historical memories, cultures and ideologies which bind the generations together (Smith, 1991, p.25). As a result, the sense of sameness created by a cultural affinity is important in the formation of national identity (Smith, 1991, p.33). Perhaps the process of globalization has increased interconnection and interdependence between nations, cultures and social groups. However, the territorial limits of a nation still signal the self-identification both for an ethnic group and a nation, underlining the sense of “us” as opposed to “them” (Guibernau, 2004, p.138).

The cultural aspects of the Other representation have been studied in the context of media work. Many cultural studies in the media sphere, which have followed Edward Said’s (1979) work on the historical and cultural origins of Otherness, use media texts

to show evidence of this Othering. For instance, Hall (1997b) draws heavily on the conceptualization of Orientalism in his discussion on the nature of power, emphasizing how the form of stereotyping constituted by the Orient has helped the West in its exercise of control over the East. The next sections will discuss the origin and development of Orientalist frameworks more specifically in order to illustrate how these frameworks can be applied in the study of representations of Other in journalistic discourse more specifically.

3.3 Orientalism according to Edward Said

Orientalism, broadly speaking, is a term used in the study regarding the cultural and social domains of the East in order to make them ready for the West. Edward Said's work on Orientalism has advanced a comprehensive criticism toward the Western (particularly, English, French and American) conceptualization of the East, specifically focusing on the cultural representation of the Middle East from the eighteenth century to the modern day.

Edward Said, following Foucault's strategy on power and discourse, connects Orientalism to Western prejudices towards the East and argues that the West represents the East from the perspective of its own values, thus creating a distorted, stereotypical image of the East. Orientalism is a type of knowledge which relates to a broad political and cultural world of the West: "Orientalism is not only a positive doctrine about the Orient that exists at any one time in the West; it is also an influential academic tradition [...], as well as an area of concern defined by travellers, commercial enterprises, governments, military expeditions, readers of novels, and accounts of exotic adventure, natural historians, and pilgrims to whom the Orient is a specific kind of knowledge about specific places, people, and civilizations" (Said, 1979, p.203). Thus, as Joseph (1980, p.958) says in his review of Said's *Orientalism*, "Orientalism is not a mirror on the East but one on the West".

The dichotomy that emerges out of *Orientalism* is that between the Orient and the Occident. As Said (1979, p.2) says: "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an

ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'". Said (1979, p.57) articulates that the Orient is present within an imaginative geography: "a line is drawn between two continents. Europe is powerful and articulate; Asia is defeated and distant". For Said, Orientalism is a type of cultural hegemony. Said's (1979, p.7) discussion is built on Gramsci's (1971) idea of hegemony, a concept for understanding the cultural leadership in the industrial West. The notion of European culture being superior to the non-European counterparts is what made the European culture hegemonic in and outside Europe; as a result, this European hegemony has affected Orientalist understanding of the Orient, "reiterating European superiority over Oriental backwardness [...]" (Said, 1979, p.7). Said's definition of Orientalism has a great influence on post-colonial studies, but it has its flaws as well. Clifford (1980, p.208), for instance, argues that Said fails to provide a clear definition of Orientalism, "but rather qualifies and designates it from a variety of distinct and not always compatible standpoints".

Said's work draws heavily on the fear of Islamic culture, arguing that Islamic Orients have been viewed with fear by the Western world since the Islamic conquests during the Middle Ages. Consequently, the Islamic Orients are thought of as "terror, devastation, the demonic, hordes of hated barbarians" (Said, 1979, p.59). On the other hand, the East seems intriguing to the West: "[...]the Orient seems still to suggest not only fecundity but sexual promise (and threat) , untiring sensuality, unlimited desire, deep generative energies [...]" (Said, 1979, p.188). Said (1979, p.108) proposes this idea that modern Orientalist attitudes, which flood the press and the popular minds, is built upon these historical, stereotypical notions, although modern scientific treatment (i.e. anthropology, linguistics, biology, economics etc.) intends to reconstruct, or even demolish the perceived notions. For instance, people from the Middle-Eastern world, especially the Arabs, are represented through stereotypes. Said (1979, p.321) argues that the West views the East as static: "Arabs are presented in the imagery of static, almost ideal types, and neither as creatures with a potential in the process of being realized nor as history being made". The Arabs are persistently associated with "camel-riding, terroristic, hook-nosed, venal lechers whose underserved wealth is an affront to real civilization". The contemporary image of Arab,

especially after the 1973 Arab–Israeli War, is often linked with “lechery” or “bloodthirsty dishonesty”, and is seen as something more menacing (Said, 1979, p.285-286). In the book *Covering Islam: how the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world*, Said (1981, p.4) further emphasizes the Western imagination of the East as potential threat with destructive power: “ Such divisions always come about when one society or culture thinks about another one, different from it; but it is interesting that even when the Orient has uniformly been considered an inferior part of the world, it has always been endowed both with greater size and with a greater potential for power (usually destructive) than the West”. As Clifford (1980, p.207) comments, Said’s work “succeeds at least in isolating and discrediting an array of ‘Oriental’ stereotypes: the eternal and unchanging East, the sexually insatiable Arab, the ‘feminine’ exotic, the teeming marketplace, corrupt despotism, mystical religiosity”. The following table represents some of the features within these mutually exclusive categories of the East versus West dichotomy.

Said’s Orientalism

West (Us)	East (Them)
Civilization	Barbarian
Rationality	Irrationality
Maturity	Immaturity
Power	Weakness
Stability	Instability

Said’s (1979, p.36) theory is built upon Foucault’s concepts of knowledge and power, arguing that “knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control”. Based on this “knowledge is power” relation, the West develops a sense of supremacy over the East, considering itself as rational and civilized and the Orient as backward. The binary thinking is central to the study of Orientalism as a discourse of difference, and the Foucauldian concept of discourse is significant in identifying the systematic discipline of Orientalism: “without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily,

ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively [...]” (Said, 1979, p.3). One of the main charges levelled against Said’s Orientalist discourse is that this application of Foucauldian theories may seem imitative: “Said’s indictment of Orientalist texts for their Eurocentrism [is] merely a duplication of the Foucauldian project--which is to make Western man rigorously self-conscious about the furthest limits of his discourse” (Bhatnagar, 1986, p.4). Clifford (1980, p.210) also argues that Said’s humanist approach is questionable within the Foucauldian conception of discourse: “[...]the most constant position from which it attacks Orientalism is a familiar set of values associated with the Western, anthropological human sciences -- existential standards of ‘human encounter’ and vague recommendations of ‘personal, authentic, sympathetic, humanistic knowledge’”. Although Said attempts to “extend Foucault’s conception of a discourse into the area of cultural construction of the exotic”, these “humanist perspectives do not harmonize with his use of methods derived from Foucault who is, of course, a radical critic of humanism” (Clifford, 1980, p.212-3). Lewis (1982, p.17) criticizes that the guiding principle – “knowledge is power” – is oversimplistic: “as an explanation of the Orientalist enterprise as a whole, it is absurdly inadequate”, and the pursuit of power through knowledge may not be understood as the only or even prime motive in the study of Orientalist discourse.

The critique of Said’s binary thinking on West and East relation is shared by several scholars. Halliday (1993, p.163), for instance, argues that Orientalism could easily be read as constructing an irreconcilable polarization between West and East, thus undermining one of the features of the universalistic approach: “In normative terms, we have, perhaps, allowed the discussion to be too inflected by relativism and doubt as to the validity of universal standards, in the face of a mistaken, and often self-interested, critique of imperialism and Western norms”. Halliday (1993, p.163) claims that the study of the East should be “neither westoxification nor eastoxification”.

In the book *Defending the West*, Warraq criticizes Said’s built-in hostility toward the West as “intellectual terrorism”, because “it seeks to convince not by arguments or historical analysis, but by spraying charges of racism, imperialism, and Eurocentrism from a moral high ground” (2007, p.18). Warraq (2007) provides a different ideological

link between West and East, arguing that Said's highly selective and tendentious approach to identifying the Orient as "a victim of Western imperialism, dominance and aggression" is unjustified. Warraq (2007) also points out that the Western civilization is defined by values such as rationalism, universalism and self-criticism, as opposed to Said's claim that the Western values are racist, xenophobic and self-conceited in nature. On the other hand, Warraq's book has been criticized for being unbalanced (e.g. idealizing the West) as well as for a lack of factual basis (e.g. only focusing on the French intellectual field) (Varisco, 2008, p.178; Fahey, 2010, p.156).

Despite such critiques, however, Said's work offers a robust theoretical basis for this research with a schematized evaluation of the Orient in Western ideology. The following section will explore the Orientalist knowledge based on a Chinese context.

3.4 The image of China in Western thought: a historical overview

Regarding the long-term development of Orientalist thought as a complex intellectual field, this section will provide a brief overview of the Western understanding of China from Marco Polo to the present day. The discussion will be aided by a variety of research which interprets the knowledge of Orientalism based on historical significance. Supported by the historical background, the last subsection will discuss Vukovich's (2012) Orientalist theory situated in China and how it diverges from Said's thesis.

The image of China in the early modern Europe

Since Marco Polo's expedition to Asia in the late thirteenth century, China has become a place which is mysterious and intriguing in the Western imagination. In the *Travels of Marco Polo*, he described China's wealth and exotic features in detail: "the noble and magnificent city of Kin-sai ⁵[...] merits from its pre-eminence to all others in the world, in point of grandeur and beauty, as well as from its abundant delights, which might

⁵ The city of Kin-sai (or *Quinsai*) is known today as Hangzhou, the capital of Zhejiang Province, China.

lead an inhabitant to imagine himself in paradise” (Polo, 1997, p.xiii). Later, Europe’s enthusiasm for exploring the East rose significantly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries during the time of Portugal’s “Great Discovery”, “establish[ing] links between the Christian, Jewish and Islamic civilizations, purvey[ing] commodities and syncretiz[ing] religions and customs” (Barreto, 1989, p.7), but it was not until the end of the sixteenth century that Europe initiated a continuous, serious engagement with China, emerging in the accounts of a Jesuit mission which began with Matteo Ricci’s establishment of the first Jesuit Station in China (i.e. Gernet, 1985; Hung, 2003; Jones, 2001). Then the Jesuit writing on China, ranging from the doctrines of Confucianism, history to technology such as silk manufacturing, became a major source for disseminating knowledge about China in the eighteenth century (Hung, 2003, p.258). As a result, Sinophilic attitudes toward Confucius became central to how the European community viewed China as a source of knowledge, especially in political science: French physician and traveller François Bernier, for instance, argued that Confucian perception educated the prince to have “no other interest than that of his subjects, loving them, like the good father loves his own children”, and this notion would function as a practical principle and moral guidance for the Western rulers (in Jones, 2001, p.22). From the perspective of economic impact of China, in the view of the French economist and physician François Quesnay, China’s economic model, encouraging the development of agriculture and simplifying taxation, has doubtlessly influenced the further development of Western *laissez-faire* economics (in Davis, 1983, p.546; Jones, 2001, p.26-27).

After the mid-eighteenth century, the dominance of Sinophilic sentiment faded away and there was a shift toward an era of Sinophiles-Sinophobes debate due to Europe’s economic growth and imperial expansion into the rest of the world. That is to say, Europe began to be viewed as a progressive continent, tilting the power balance between the West and the East (Hung, 2003, p.263). More specifically, the notion of individualism and liberal democracy, capitalist expansion, and scientific progress promoted during the American Revolution (1765-1783), French Revolution (1789-1799) and Industrial Revolution (1760s – 1840s) challenged the European appreciation of Confucian rationalism (Jones, 2001, p.35). At the same time, the failure of Britain’s

endeavours (Macartney mission (1792-1794) and the Amherst mission (1816-1817), more specifically) to forge trading ties with the Qing China in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (1664-1911) all provided sources for reinterpreting China as “complacent about its self-containment and seclusion, with little appetite for British products” (Lung, 2016, p.37). As George Macartney, Britain's first envoy to China, claimed, China is “an old, crazy, first-rate Man of War” (in Hao, 2014, p.573). When William Amherst, Britain’s ambassador extraordinary to China in the late 1810s, arrived in China, the Qing dynasty’s decline had become increasingly evident through signs such as overpopulation, land shortage and constant rebellions (Hao, 2014, p.573). The observation of China’s backwardness comparing to Britain’s progress as well as the failure of diplomatic attempts for commercial interaction laid the foundation for the deterioration in Sino-British relations and led to the outbreak of the Opium War.

From the Opium Wars to the People’s Republic of China

In the prelude to the first Opium War (1840-1842), Sino-British relations became unclear: in a study investigating how the English-language newspapers, founded by American and British merchants and missionaries in Canton, covered debate over the failure of Lord Napier, British trade envoy to China, in the mission to expand British trade into inland China in 1834, Hao (2014, p.508-509) found that during the pre-Opium War period (1830s) the strategy of “show of force”, rather than open hostilities, was the most salient attitude, but this time frame should be seen as “a period of confused thinking with regard to Britain’s China policy, rather than a clear stage in the preparations for an open wars”. Trade dispute was the direct cause of Britain’s military action: triggered by the destruction of illegal opium seized from British merchants in 1839, the First Opium War, followed by the Second Opium War (1856-1860), the intrusion of the Eight-Nation Alliance (1901) and the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), opened up “the century of humiliation” from its outbreak to the triumph of the Chinese Communist Party in the Chinese civil war (1927-1949/1950) against Kuomintang in 1949. The Opium Wars “marked the beginning of China's century-long subjugation and slavish servitude to imperialistic Western powers” and were the most important events of China's modern history – “a cornerstone of Chinese nationalism

and xenophobia, which led directly to the triumph of Mao Zedong's Communist Revolution in 1949” (Vassilev, 2010, p.79).

In general, the eighteen-century Sinophilism completely dissolved during the Age of Revolution and the nineteenth-century Orientalist thought was formulated by Romantics, canonizing Oriental classics and religions (Hung, 2003, p266). In the field of social scientific studies, China was presented in a rather dark light. For instance, Shu (1990, p.123) found that the image of China in the Victorian literature was mainly associated with “an image of stagnation” mostly dominated by negativity. One major reason for this literary phenomenon could be the fact that the attention of most European intellectuals had been chiefly focused on religions (Confucianism and Taoism) and Chinese language, generating ideas about China from narrow and limited sources (Shu, 1990, p.123, 131). At the end of the nineteenth century, Orientalist understanding of China underwent a radical change, expressing hostility toward China. The reasons for this “racist turn” could be found in factors including the escalation of colonial expansion, the intensification of imperialism and ethnonationalism, the rising ideology of white supremacy, and the dominance of Darwinian evolutionism in hard science (Hung, 2003, p.268-272). On the other hand, the Euro-American assault on imperial China (Qing Empire) in the twentieth century provoked the emergence of Chinese nationalism and provided China with historical legacies that could be incorporated in a new national identity (Dirlik, 1996, p.106) evolving from a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society (1840-1919)⁶ to world power.

China after 1949: Awakening, arising and deconstructing

The modern history of China after 1949 is an era of awakening, arising and deconstructing: China has embarked on the developmental path as a socialist state from 1949, rising as a world power both politically and economically while maintaining its state power by deconstructing the dominant Maoist ideology (“de-Maoification”) in

² After the First Opium War in 1840, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. The 1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki with Japan and the Treaty of 1901 with the Eight-Nation Alliance completed China's transformation into a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society.

the post Mao era. This subsection will provide a brief overview of four events with ideological significance, namely the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961), Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), 1978 economic reforms and Tiananmen Square massacre (1989), which have been frequently utilized in the Western press as historical references in comparison to the current events.

In Maoist China (1949–1976), the desire to overtake western powers in industrial development was observed in the Great Leap Forward (1958–1961), an economic and social campaign designated by a series of development strategies aiming to maximize industrial capacity growth as rapidly as possible through extremely centralized planning activities (He and Sun, 2014, p.185). Mao declared the failure of the Great Leap Forward in 1962, and this failure, along with the Great Chinese Famine (1959-1961) caused by the Great Leap Forward, brought a range of damaging effects to the society, including the decline of social trust, the abuse of political power, suppression of intellectual freedom, tyrannical utopianism, and most importantly, economic regression (i.e. Shapiro, 2001; Dikötter, 2011; Zhou, 2012). The Great Leap Forward has had long-term effects on the economic development of China that linger even to the present day (He and Sun, 2014). The Great Leap Forward was viewed as what Shapiro (2001, p.1) called “Mao’s war against nature”, providing “an example of extreme human interference in the natural world in an era in which human relationships were also unusually distorted”. A core historical value of Maoism, “to catch up with and overtake America and Britain”, was presented during this period as “a proof of the superiority of socialism over Western capitalism – and the developmentalism of the 1980s state” (Shen, 2015, p.39).

The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), marking Mao’s regaining of power after the Great Leap Forward, was a socio-political movement whose stated goal was to renew the spirit of communism while purging the “bourgeois” infiltrators in the Communist Party who were advocating a path for economic recovery. Social chaos, exemplified by seizure of property, public humiliation, imprisonment as well as exclusive worship of the Cultural Revolutionary Mao cult, formed a tormented legacy which resonated in Chinese politics and society for a long period. Maoism and the Cultural Revolution not

only affected the Chinese society but the global environment. That is to say, the Cultural Revolution was an international phenomenon, and its socio-political reality constituted the global radicalism during the 1960s and 1970s in both the developed and developing worlds. The study of Maoism in a global context has received increasing attention in recent years (i.e. Ross, 2005; Wolin, 2010; Wang, 2015; Lovell, 2016). Lovell (2016, p.650), for instance, reviewed the Cultural Revolution fever in the late 1960s and connected it to the broader counter-culture rebellion over the past decades (e.g. Dadaist movement, Europe in the late 1960s; New Communist Movement, US in the late 1960s; Black Liberation Movement, US in the late 1960s), arguing that “[...] the Cultural Revolution’s legitimization of political violence served as the spark that lit a prairie fire – a fire that in some instances is still burning today”.

Comparing to the collectivism in the Maoism era, the economic reforms from 1978 to the present, termed “socialism with Chinese characteristics”, initiated by Deng Xiaoping have definitely resulted in positive changes in China. The dictum that Deng borrowed: “it matters not whether the cat is black or white, if it catches mice it is a good cat”, remarking on his market-oriented principles (e.g. Open Policy) signified the shift from the utopian pursuit of Maoist ideology to a more pragmatic approach including a series of industrial and market reforms (Jones, 2001, p.193). From the perspective of political change, White (1993, p.6), in the book *Riding the Tiger: The Politics of Economic Reform in post Mao China*, argued that this project of market socialism only involved change in the developmental aspect rather than the political domain. Nevertheless, the reforms since 1978 generally have succeeded in terms of both economic system reform and open market strategy at a global level (e.g. becoming a member of the World Trade Organization in 2001). China thus embarked on “a process of rapid change with a strategic decision to reform the state-owned economy in 1984⁷. Economic reform, in turn, has been transforming the structure and functioning of the Chinese state” (Chen, 2002, p.585). Chen termed this process “de-economicization” of the state, and stated that “a trend of de-economicization in the

⁷ In 1984 the state decided to speed up the urban reform in order to push forward an all-round reform across the country, thus a new model of economic system was formulated.

government caused by economic reform has been leading its way to more balanced development” (Chen, 2002, p.585).

The Tiananmen Square crackdown on June 4th 1989 was a pro-democracy movement that was eventually suppressed by the Chinese government troops, and it was commonly seen as one of the most important events in modern Chinese history. The Tiananmen Square massacre remains a taboo topic on which public and scholarly discussion are suppressed by the ruling Communist Party. The Tiananmen Square crackdown, in the Western thought, has become an ideological underpinning to view China as in opposition to Western liberal democracy. As Suettinger (2003, p.1) said, 1989 was the time when “the United States and other Western countries recoiled from China in horror and disgust, expelling it from the company of modern civilized nations through sanctions of various kinds,” and the time when “the relationship between the United States and China went instantly from amity and strategic cooperation to hostility, distrust, and misunderstanding”. There has been a body of research on how the Western press construct the Tiananmen Square massacre (i.e. Kim, 2000; Li and Lee, 2013; Song and Lee, 2015, 2017). The elite press in the UK and the US, for instance, continued to view the Tiananmen Square movement through the lenses of the lingering anti-Communist ideology, treating it as “a paradigmatic example of Communist human rights abuses and a moral touchstone in the post–Cold war era” (Song and Lee, 2017, p.16). The Tiananmen crackdown was ideologically framed as a story of “unfinished revolution” (Li and Lee, 2013, p.834).

The impact of this movement has spread not only to the political sphere but also to the economic reforms (Béja, 2011, p.10). Béja (2011, p.10) called the new capitalism of China, developed by Deng in 1990s, as “a product of June 4th”: “The economic system is now characterized by large central government corporations and local corporate bodies with strong political linkage, while the private and household sections remain weak”. The government’s tight control on strategic sectors and capital is still a major criticism regarding China’s arguably successful developmental plans during and after the outbreak of the 2008 Financial Crisis.

Nonetheless, China survived the political turbulence and international isolation in the wake of the Tiananmen crackdown. China has gradually increased its engagement with the global economic systems during the last two decades and risen to become a new global power. In the meantime, the West views “China’s rise” with anxiety. The idea of China as a threat to social well-being and political democracy can be traced back to the anti-Chinese racism in the late nineteenth century, exemplified by Yellow Peril⁸ discourse, with Fu Manchu⁹, a fictional villain character, as its incarnation. As Clegg describes (1994, p.4-5), “Fu Manchu is the powerful leader of a rebellious yellow mob [...] In him the qualities of being exotic and evil are bound together, connecting the characteristics of the Chinese with crime, vice and cruelty. He characterises the threat of the yellow hordes and links this with the lecherous impulses of ‘Chinamen’ towards white women. He also personifies the dangers of combining Western science with the ancient customs of the Chinese, for Fu Manchu is Western-educated [...]”. This Oriental evil stereotype is situated in the lineage of viewing China and Chinese as threats. The trepidatious view of “China’s rise”, echoed in Napoléon Bonaparte’s statement: “China is a sleeping giant. Let her sleep, for when she wakes she will move the world” (in Dirlik, 2017, p.539), lingers on in the Western thought.

Vukovich's “becoming-the-same” Orientalist framework

In the age of globalization and transnational capitalism, Vukovich argues that China is characterized not only as “Other”, but as “becoming sameness”, “a shift from the essential difference between the East and West to their – China’s – general equivalence: *a sameness structured by a hierarchical difference*” (Vukovich, 2012 p.3, emphasis in original). China would and will “become the same” as us and be “joining the normal world” (Vukovich, 2012, p.4). In this sense, this new Sinological-orientalism views China, or precisely the “real China”, as moving toward an open and modern society following the Western model (Vukovich, 2012, p.147). On the other

⁸ Yellow Peril, as a discourse that is integrated with Oriental racist ideology and xenophobic theory of colonialism, became popular in the Western press in the late nineteenth century, promoting an image of China and Chinese as threats to Western civilization.

⁹ Dr. Fu Manchu is a fictional character introduced in a series of novels, starting from *The Mystery of Dr. Fu-Manchu* in 1913 by British novelist Sax Rohmer.

hand, Vukovich claims that the “China threat” still looms not only in mainstream political thought, but in the media, academia and popular culture, and the modern-day Western anxiety about China is commonly associated with the demonization of Maoism (Vukovich, 2012, p.11).

Vukovich’s discussion on China’s Orientalist traits from both cultural and historical perspectives incorporates various themes including the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989, the demonization of Maoist discourse, the Great Leap Forward, Don DeLillo’s novel *Mao II*, Western studies on Chinese films, and China’s status in the new global economy. Vukovich (2012, p.142) then reaches the conclusion that the process of “Othering” which Said attributes to Western representations of the “Orient” cannot be considered as the only guiding principle in modern Chinese Studies. The paradox here is that China is characterised not only as the Other, but as becoming more like the West. Therefore, the West can take sides and decide who is “Our Chinese,” and who is not; who will lead China into “normality,” and who threaten to drag it back into the past.

Furthermore, the notion of “Sinological-orientalism” should be justified because it provides a “materialistic and historical” approach to examine China, with a specific emphasis on its position in global economy:

“This brute fact – the rise of China, the transformation of the Sino-West “love-hate” relationship into one great “intimacy” – ultimately explains the existence of Sinological-orientalism, and the necessity of its critique. It also helps us answer the question Why China? in a materialistic and historical way. Sinological-orientalism exists because it can. Orientalism, it should be recalled, is not simply about stereotypical thinking, or some Self/Other dialectic of identities, or simply prejudice or desire” (Vukovich, 2012, p.142).

In this sense, Sinological-orientalism functions as “socially valid, therefore objective” form of thought to produce knowledge about the encounter between Western and Chinese spaces, discourses and realities (Vukovich, 2012, p.149). However, the

objectivity of this approach may not be testified: As Mahoney (2014, p.346) points out, a “weakness of the book is its inadequate treatment of how some Chinese, through various policies and taboos (the failure to account for the Mao years, 1989, etc.), doubly aid and abet Orientalism, almost taking the role of cultural compradors in facilitating misunderstanding”. Within the “becoming the same” form of Orientalism, the representation of China and its underlying social practice cannot be fully legitimized without considering the internal factor of self-orientalization.

Nevertheless, Vukovich’s theory, while original, demonstrates a critical attitude toward Said’s Orientalist understanding. Therefore, this research will adopt both Said’s traditional Orientalism and Vukovich’s “becoming the same” thesis as critical evaluative frameworks, rather than idealized guiding principles, to materialize and contextualize the conceptual metaphors depicting China, and thus to answer the question whether the British financial press still live by the images inherent in stereotypical, Orientalist metaphorical conceptualizations of China.

3.5 Journalistic representation of the Other

With the rise of global connectivity, the increasingly diverse nature of the global media has opened up new challenges for understanding how journalistic representations structure our self-perceptions as well as the imagination of the Other. Drawing upon a series of researches, this section considers firstly how the trend of globalization has changed the ways in which the international Others are framed, then how the journalistic representation of China has been shaped in a global context in order to answer the question of whether the changing global realm nourishes a new form of visibility of the Other.

3.5.1 International Others in the globalized environment

In recent years, news production has become more deterritorialized.

Deterritorialization can be understood as a cultural process where the linkage

between space, stability and reproduction has been decoupled, the notion of community has been situated in a variety of locations, and the loyalties toward a shared system of knowledge within a social group have been fractured (Papastergiadis, 1999, p.117). Globalization can be viewed as a form of deterritorialization (Scholte, 2005; Elden, 2005). In the evolutionary process of globalization, the concept of global journalism has emerged (i.e. Berglez, 2008; De Beer, 2004; Hafez, 1999; Reese, 2004). With the rise of citizen interaction and global connectivity in the media sphere, the arena where news content is produced and shared has shifted to a broader socio-political network space: “this extends to the broader socio-political deliberative arena to which journalism contributes, a space now often loosely deemed a ‘networked public sphere,’ or even a ‘global networked sphere’” (Reese and Shoemaker, 2016, p.393). In this globalized environment, the role of journalists who work in the global media has been redefined: “Nor are they international journalists who cover foreign news from the perspective of one nation. The term ‘global’ relates to an increasing number of media workers who supply content to transnational media corporations and produce their content for a global market” (Fürsich, 2002, p.59).

One of the most researched aspects in global journalism is how the international Others are represented in the news and how their depictions play an important role in shaping the ways in which the global reality is represented throughout this “deterritorialized” process of news production. The news coverage of international Others in the Western press has *been widely researched*, for example, in relation to foreign policy (i.e. Reese and Lewis, 2009), cultural studies (Fürsich, 2002), distant suffering (i.e. Lule, 2001) and war reporting (Aday *et al.*, 2005). Despite the fact that the globalized media challenge the traditional news production which is largely affected by the domestic context, the above-mentioned research suggests that international news in a global context is still framed based upon the perspective of nation-states and continually creates and reinforces a certain socially and culturally shared ideology.

Since Galtung and Ruge’s (1965) study on news values in international reporting, research prior to the era of globalization (i.e. Peterson, 1979; Zaharopoulos, 1988;

Shoemaker *et al.*, 1991; Chang and Lee, 1992) has often proposed the idea that international news selections are bound to cultural proximity close to their audiences' perceived background, a preference for elite nations and persons, and a focus on negativity. Support for this can be found, for instance, in Gans's (1979) early insights: Ethnocentrism is one of the dominant news values which comes through most explicitly in foreign news, "which judges other countries by the extent to which they live up to or imitate American practices and values, but it also underlines domestic news" (Gans, 1979, p.42). That is to say, the US journalists report any event from a domestic view. Another study, carried out by Weaver and Wilhoit (1981, 1983), analyzing foreign news in AP and UPI wire services, suggests that the news about the Third World countries tends to focus more on negative aspects such as conflicts, crises and crime than news about more developed countries. In this sense, traditional news reporting has often been criticized for not being able to accomplish the task of covering the complexities of international events from various angles (Fürsich, 2010, p.118).

Since the 1990s globalization has become one of the most debated topics in political and social sciences (i.e. Beck, 2000; Hirst and Thompson, 1996; Robertson, 1992). There is a broad consensus in Journalism Studies that international news flow and coverage in global media have failed to overcome the geo-political hierarchies and eliminate the influence of the cultural frames and the nation-states. The Western press has been charged with being "glocalized", a sense of thinking globally while acting locally (Robertson, 1995), when dealing with foreign events, and creating a fixed pattern of hierarchical international news coverage, emphasizing a prioritized world status of the Western developed countries. A wide range of more recent research (i.e. Wu, 2003; Nossek, 2004; Stanton, 2007; Chang *et al.*, 2009; Himelboim *et al.*, 2010) supports this claim. For instance, in a research investigating the international coverage of political violence and terrorism in the newspapers from US, Britain and Israel, Nossek (2004) points out that the newsworthiness of an event depends on whether this event is "ours" or "theirs" according to the national frame, an addition to journalistic frame and cultural frame, employed by the journalist and the (sub)editors. Nossek (2004, p.363) emphasizes the role of national frame, especially in political

reporting, which “precedes all other frames and dictates which line the coverage will take and which other journalistic and cultural frames will be selected”. Journalistic decisions on international news selections are thus still largely affected by a cultural-domestic environment (Nossek, 2004).

In this respect, the representation of the international Others, especially those of the Third world countries, is routinely associated with strong Western worldview and cultural traditions (i.e. Curran and Park, 2000; Demers, 2002; Louw, 2004). This research will transfer these broad findings to a discourse level and reposition journalistic work based on insights from conceptual perception of news language in relation to cultural frameworks.

3.5.2 Journalistic representations of China in a shifting global context

As discussed in Section 3.4, the rise of China as an emerging great power has been widely perceived across the world. Based upon the general patterns of coverage on the international Others, China should have received similar coverage to any other non-elite and marginal nations, which means that coverage of China should be relatively infrequent and selective, and only elite and erratic events would be evaluated as newsworthy; however, there would also be a great deal more diverse coverage of China to be found in the press due to the growth of its economic and political power (Spark, 2010, p.349).

Statistically speaking, Zhang’s (2010) study on coverage of China in the *Financial Times*, *The Economist* and the *International Herald Tribune* between 1989 and 2005 finds that news coverage of China increased in general and the volume of coverage increased rapidly from 2003 in the *Financial Times* and *The Economist*. In general, the image of China as a rising power dominates the overall representation, while depictions such as “a reforming China”, “a societal changing China” and “a human rights violating China” seem less salient (Zhang, 2010, p.249). Additionally, the statistics indicate that the economic, trade, finance and business aspects of China have drawn the most attention from these newspapers, with the *FT* ranked at the top with 53.8%, closely followed by

The Economist and the *IHT*. China has been depicted as a place with opportunities for trade and investment while also as a market with fierce competition and other strategic issues (e.g. international dispute regarding raw material) (Zhang, 2010, p.246-8).

Seib and Powers' (2010) comparative study of China in BBC World News, CNN International, and Deutsche Welle indicates a relatively positive image of China in relation to its rising economic power. They have examined 40 news stories relating to China's economy, and find that 15% of the news articles frame China as a model or leader in the global economy, and only 4% view the economic growth of China as a threat. Deutsche Welle's coverage is decidedly positive, portraying China as an important partner in global economic development and emphasizing the interconnectedness and cross-cultural similarities between Germany and China (e.g. German appreciation for the Chinese New Year and for Chinese films).

In a research exploring the news coverage of China in the British national press (both elite and tabloid) during the calendar year 2008, Sparks (2010) finds that China received extensive coverage because a number of exceptional events (e.g. the Beijing Olympics, the Wenchuan earthquake) took place in 2008, but serious reporting which treated China at some length was relatively rare in most newspapers. "Bad news syndrome" still affects the news coverage (De Beer, 2004): large-scale, and frequently tragic, events (e.g. Wenchuan earthquake) are central in the representation of China. A closer analysis discovers that the populist *Daily Mail* tends to frame an explicitly negative picture of China as a cruel and threatening place where the people are "devoted to barbaric pleasures and disgusting food" (Sparks, 2010, p.362), while the *Financial Times* presents a more exuberant and nuanced coverage, framing China as an enjoyable place. Moreover, the *Financial Times* is capable of representing China through a frame inherited from the Cold War ideology, suggesting China as, for instance, "a source of potential instability", and the People's Liberation Army (PLA) as an emerging "potent force" (Sparks, 2010, p.362). Sparks (2010, p.364) concludes that the different readership is a major factor in causing such sharp distinctions: The upmarket *Financial Times* targets a group of audience who view China as "news they

can use”; it thus tends to use a more diverse and less negative frame to report China than its popular rivals.

There is also a body of research focusing on specific cases with ideological significance, and the case of the 2003 SARS epidemic is one of the most researched news events in terms of China as a distant Other in the mediation of suffering (i.e. Luther and Zhou, 2005; Zhang and Fleming, 2005; Chiang and Duann, 2007; Leung and Huang, 2007; Joye, 2010). In a content analysis of news coverage on the SARS outbreak with regard to China and Vietnam in five countries (US, UK, Australia, Canada and Singapore), Leung and Huang (2007) find that China’s coverage is mostly negative, sometimes even hostile, with frames which are fixated on China having deeply embedded political and social problems. China is represented as a battlefield for a power struggle between China’s political leaders. This finding echoes the Self-representation of mainland China and Taiwan, two regions heavily affected by SARS, which constructs SARS as a war or a disaster in a political sense (Chiang and Duann, 2007). Chiang and Duann’s study particularly focuses on the DISEASE IS WAR conceptual metaphor, demonstrating that all the metaphors represent SARS in terms of political discourse rather than medical discourse. The political significance of SARS is often linked to the West’s historical memories of China: the burden of the legacy of the Tiananmen Square movement in 1989 is regularly associated with the Chinese government’s behaviour (Chiang and Duann, 2007, p.690). Moreover, in another Critical Discourse Analysis of the SARS outbreak in Belgian broadcasting news, Joye (2010, p.597) finds that a positive representation of the West as “us” is achieved in emphasizing effective crisis management skills and government’s control over the situation, while China is represented as “passively undergoing misfortune and overpowered by a new, unknown force of nature”. Joye (2010) argues that such stereotypical imagery resonates with the Orientalist frame of civilized West versus barbarian Other.

Evidently, China no longer belongs among the marginal countries. While China might still be represented based upon stereotypical frames, especially during those occasions when China-Western national interests conflict or diverge, increasing diversity in the representation of China should also be discovered in the press.

3.6 Summary

This chapter begins with a discussion of the relationship between two discourse participants - SELF and OTHER, which lies at the base of the metaphorical instantiations of SELF and OTHER representations. This theoretical discussion is further supported by a body of empirical research which situates China in a global context. Furthermore, as supporting frameworks of this research, Orientalist theories are employed both theoretically and methodologically, epitomizing the “China versus West” dichotomy. This section deals with the Orientalist learning in Western knowledge production of China, ranging from the Sinophiles-Sinophobes debate, nineteenth-century “Yellow Peril” racist discourse, to a dissection of China’s modern history. This diverse collection of historical facts is held together by a postcolonial critique of Sinological-orientalism – in Vukovich’s term, arguing that this new type of Orientalism rests on both earlier Western Orientalism, Cold War ideologies and contemporary Western neoliberal discourse about the role of post-Maoist China in the global economy. The following aspects highlighted in this chapter should be taken into account:

- 1) To examine the discourse-level conceptual effects engendered by metaphor, the social identity of the Other and related social practice should be considered in the analysis of the conceptualization of Other.
- 2) It is important to integrate historical significance of China embedded in Western imagination into the discourse analysis as this research takes not only a cognitive but a situated (contextual) view of metaphor. In this sense, metaphor is not only a device that structures our understanding of economy as an abstract concept, but a conceptual element that works closely with national memory that is an integrated part within a broad socio-cultural domain.
- 3) The approach to discourse analysis is drawn from Edward Said (1979)

and Daniel Vukovich (2012) as this research considers Orientalism as the primarily external process of (re)defining the Other through the production of representations and knowledge related to its political and cultural environment and embedded ideology from the viewpoint of the West.

- 4) Vukovich's new Sinological-orientalism emphasizes China's "becoming the sameness" which is different from the earlier forms of Western colonial Orientalism that Edward Said emphasizes.

The previous chapter (Chapter 2) provides a series of theoretical frameworks to identify and analyze metaphor as a unit of conceptual structures, and this chapter (CH3) moves forward to sketch historical terrains and cultural environments in order to put the representation of China into context. It is impossible to reason out the complexities of Orientalist thinking generated across the journalistic discourse by using only methodological frameworks regarding conceptual metaphor. Therefore, the effective analysis of ideological implications behind metaphorical utilization in news texts requires synthesis of multiple theoretical frameworks through the varied, holistic approach outlined in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

PART II Methodology

Chapter 4: Methodology and Pilot Study

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology chosen in conducting this research and the rationale for decisions made in the process. The first section of this chapter discusses the decisions made on the collection of the datasets, including the selection of newspapers for analysis, the timeframe of news published, and the qualifying criteria and method for the datasets. In addition, the considerations included in the selection of newspapers are discussed based on their institutional contexts (e.g. readership, editorial viewpoint, consistency in writing style and attitude toward stylistic devices). The second section illustrates the key research questions which orientate the thesis. The third section of the chapter discusses the theoretical basis and the justifications behind the research method chosen, namely Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). CMA is an approach which synthesizes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), and both quantitative and qualitative corpus-linguistic approaches, in order to provide a complementary combination of their respective methodological strengths. In the last section, this chapter is supplemented by description of the pilot study conducted to examine the feasibility of this approach for use in the full-scale research.

4.2 Data Collection

4.2.1 Background

The approach selected for metaphor analysis is corpus-based, which presents a more accessible context for observing metaphorical patterns. A corpus-based approach provides quantitative and qualitative ways to examine metaphor use in news discourse. Both quantitative and qualitative aspects are associated with salience which is defined as “a function of the conventionality, familiarity and frequency of a sense” (Deignan,

2005, p.107). The salience of metaphorical groupings is one of the most important factors determining the overall mappings.

Charteris-Black (2004, p.31) defines a corpus as follows: “A corpus is any large collection of texts that arise from natural language use; in a linguistic context, it is in contrast to other types of text that were invented specifically for illustrating a point about language”. That is to say, a corpus is based on large and representative samples of texts, and the design of a corpus is determined by the research purpose. In this case, *The Economist (UK Edition)* and the *Financial Times (London/UK Edition)* were chosen as the research focus. The motivation behind the choice of *The Economist* and the *Financial Times* is discussed in the following paragraphs based on their institutional contexts.

The Economist is a weekly magazine-format newspaper, and the *Financial Times* is a daily newspaper. Both *The Economist* and the *Financial Times* position themselves as serious financial newspapers, reporting comprehensively on finance and business. *The Economist* and the *Financial Times* target similar audiences comprised of people who have a basic understanding of economics, including professional economists, business people and governmental officials. Furthermore, *The Economist* and the *Financial Times* both advocate free trade and are generally in favour of globalization. Generally speaking, the *Financial Times* adopts a socially liberal, pro-free market and pro-European editorial viewpoint (Bye, 2010). Similarly, *The Economist*, in its own words, supports “free trade, internationalism and minimum interference by government, especially in the affairs of the market”, and it claims itself to be a “radical centre” newspaper, standing in a position that is “neither right nor left but a blend of the two”¹⁰. Additionally, both newspapers adopt an extensive international focus, covering a wide range of geographical regions and concentrating on international affairs. *The Economist* and the *Financial Times* both have a sizable network of international reporters: about one-third of *The Economist*’s 75 journalists are based outside of the UK (The Independent, 2006), and approximately one-fourth

¹⁰ More details can be found on www.economist.com

of the 475 journalists employed by the *Financial Times* are international-based (Essvale Corporation Limited, 2008, p.42). Since this research focuses on the field of financial press, the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* are suited to be applied as sample publications for analysis due to their widely recognized authority in this expert discourse. Furthermore, both publications are expected to provide extensive and dynamic coverage of China because of their intensive focus on international affairs.

The writing in *The Economist* is characterized by an analytical reporting style (Becken, 2014, p.127). Starr (2004, p.379) also writes that *The Economist* aims at delivering for its audience a “thorough, complex treatment of analytically complex issues, assuming strong interest in evidence, facts, details and opposing points of view”. The news in *The Economist* is often written in “a conversational style and with dry or sardonic humour” (Becken, 2014, p.127). Peters (2010) emphasizes that *The Economist* often adopts “[a] sardonic tone on exotic subjects, like a constitutional referendum in Kenya and the history of the vice presidency in Brazil”. The use of puns is salient in *The Economist’s* news writing, especially in the headlines (Becken, 2014, p.127). According to *The Economist Style Guide* (2005), it prevents the use of bad puns in tone-setting while it does not restrain the use of puns at large:

*“headings and captions set the tone: they are more read than anything else, especially in a newspaper. Use them, therefore, to draw readers in, not to repel them. That means wit (where appropriate), **not bad puns**; sharpness (ditto), not familiarity (call people by their last names, not their first names); originality, not clichés”* (The Economist Style Guide, 2005, p.68).

The *Financial Times* has a more rigorous view on the use of puns. According to the *Financial Times Style Guide* (1993), it discourages the use of puns in general and sets a guideline for the use of puns in feature writing:

“On the whole we are hostile to puns. [...] It is unreasonable to expect all such puns to be banned from the pages of the FT, particularly in

features, in Weekend FT and on the Art pages. But think carefully before you commit yourself: is the pun apt? is it funny? Is it new?"
(Financial Times Style Guide, 1993, pp.96-97).

Both newspapers propose guidelines for metaphor use. According to *The Economist Style Guide* (2005), "every issue of *The Economist* contains scores of metaphors", and the use of both novel and dead metaphors is permissible: "A newly invented metaphor assists thought by evoking a visual image [...] while on the other hand a metaphor which is technically 'dead' (e.g. iron resolution) has in effect reverted to being an ordinary word and can generally be used without loss of vividness" (*The Economist Style Guide*, 2005, pp.92-93). However, journalists should be careful about the use of "tired metaphors" which are positioned between the novel and dead metaphors, because this will tire the readers (*The Economist Style Guide*, 2005, pp.92-93). *The Economist* does not ban the use of cliché in the context of metaphor, but advocates it is used only occasionally and only when it will have an effect:

"Such words should not be banned, but if you find yourself using them only because you hear others using them, not because they are the most appropriate ones in the context, you should avoid them" (*The Economist Style Guide*, 2005, pp.34-35).

The *Financial Times* prohibits the use of tabloid-style metaphors: "There is a tabloid world that does not concern the FT journalist" (*Financial Times Style Guide*, 1993, p.31). Journalists should avoid the overuse of metaphor: "Metaphors are to be encouraged but easily succumb to overuse. Some are so striking as to be unrepeatable" (*Financial Times Style Guide*, 1993, p.32). Comparing with *The Economist*, the *Financial Times* presents a more rigorous rule for the use of stylistic tools such as puns and metaphors.

4.2.2 Building Datasets

The news articles in the *Financial Times* chosen for analysis in the thesis were taken from the LexisNexis UK online database. The sampling period, starting from the

outbreak of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, ranges from 15 September, 2008 to 31 March, 2015. LexisNexis UK provides a search function which helps researchers to select the specific articles they require. On selecting "*Financial Times*" and choosing the specific dates from 15 September, 2008 to 31 March, 2015 and the keyword "China"¹¹ in the Advance Search option, the search engine automatically displayed all the articles in relation to China in the *Financial Times (London Edition)*. The total number of downloaded news articles was 14,298 (see Table 4.1).

The news articles in *The Economist* were extracted from two archives. The news articles from 15 September, 2008 to 31 December, 2014 were taken from *The Economist* Historical Archive 1843-2014. I inserted China in the keyword column and selected dates from 15 September, 2008 to 31 December, 2014, and the search engine automatically displayed the required articles. The news articles from 1 January, 2015 to 31 March, 2015, which *The Economist* Historical Archive 1843-2014 did not provide, were retrieved from the digital archive for print editions on www.economist.com. As this online database of *The Economist* (Print Edition) is not supported by a search engine with advanced options like the LexisNexis UK and *The Economist* Historical Archive 1843-2014, articles with at least one mention of China within the sampling period were firstly refined using a date search and then located by manual reading of every news article. The total number of qualifying news articles from the two archives was 5,685 (see Table 4.1). As this research focuses on metaphorical expressions, in the case of both newspapers news articles consisting of financial data and statistical figures about companies and markets were excluded.

	<i>Financial Times</i>	<i>The Economist</i>
Time Period	From 15 September, 2008 to 28 February, 2015	
Number of News Articles (with at least one mention of China)	14,298	5,685

Table 4.1 Number of news articles

The news articles referred to in Table 4.1 are raw material which consists of both *valid*

¹¹ I only chose China, not the combination of China and Chinese, as the keyword for two reasons: 1) the research subject is the country of China rather than Chinese which may refer to ethnicity. 2) If China is chosen to be one of the focus points and metaphorically described in a news article, at least one mention of the word China is a must, so there is no need to add Chinese into the keyword search.

items with at least one unit of metaphorical expression related to China and *invalid items* without any use of metaphors in relation to China. The invalid items would be screened out during the process of Metaphor Identification to establish a refined, valid dataset (see Section 4.4.1). In addition, the news articles of the *Financial Times* downloaded from the LexisNexis UK are in Word format which allows the automatic calculation of word count. *The Economist* Historical Archive 1843-2014 only provides news articles in scan image (JPEG format) with indication of word count for every single news article. Therefore, the total word count of *The Economist* sub-corpus was calculated manually based on the statistical information provided by the digital archive. The number and size (word count) of valid news items in the corpus will be provided in Chapter 5: quantitative findings.

4.3 Research Question

This research is oriented towards studying the representations of China in the financial press during and after the 2008 Financial Crisis. Importantly, this research comes in the form of conceptual metaphor-based analysis which seeks to place these representations in both linguistic and cognitive terms. My research aims at both quantifying and qualifying metaphorical language describing China in the financial press. The study of frequency, salience of source domains and themes related to metaphorical reasoning will enable conclusions to be made about how the metaphorical representations are constructed and how we may situate them in relation to cultural traditions which support the Western imagination of China. This research goal cannot be achieved without a solid corpus. This corpus-based research aims at answering the following research questions:

- 1) How did *The Economist* and the *Financial Times* construct metaphorical representations of China during and after the 2008 financial crisis?

The research question (1) will be answered at the stage of metaphor interpretation (see Section 4.4.2). The overall metaphorical patterns constructed by a variety of conceptual structures (or cross-domain mappings) provide general ideas about the

tones, attitudes, and, most importantly, stereotypical implications. In addition, investigating the differences/similarities of metaphorical patterns in different timeframes which are designed on a periodic basis or on an event-centric basis is intended to answer the question of how the metaphorical representations of China fluctuate over time.

- 2) Do any metaphorical representations fit into Said's Orientalist frames? How do these depictions conceptualize the image of China?
- 3) Do any metaphorical representations fit into Vukovich's "becoming-the-same" Orientalist frames? How do these depictions conceptualize the image of China?

The research questions (2) and (3) will be answered at the stage of metaphor explanation (see Section 4.4.3). By analyzing specific examples representing metaphorical associations and patterns identified in research question (1), the research will explore the implications within a fact-based discourse of metaphor's deployment as a purveyor of stereotypes of China as both threat and saviour, as an Orientalist continuum or a brave new version of Western-style capitalism.

4.4 Methodological Framework: Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA)

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), devised by Charteris-Black (2004), is a three-stage critical approach to metaphor analysis which synthesizes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), and both quantitative and qualitative corpus-linguistic approaches. According to Charteris-Black, CMA "aims to reveal the covert (and possibly unconscious) intentions of language users" (2004, p.34). In Section 1.3.1 and 1.3.2, I've explained that most of the non-objective news reporting with bias is the product of unconscious judgement which is often influenced by a set of institutional, cultural and ideological factors. As an extension of these observations, metaphor can also act within news discourse as an ideological tool which frames and constitutes social realities (in Section 2.2.3). In this sense, metaphor, as a type of the linguistic choices made by journalists, is based on unconscious judgement, and it is an

ideological process that conceals social and cultural implications (e.g. the Oriental stereotype). The method of CMA includes three stages: metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation, metaphor explanation.

According to Charteris-Black, his three-stage approach can be understood based on Cameron and Low's (1999) theorization of metaphor measuring. Cameron and Low (1999, p.88) describe the procedure of metaphor analysis in three steps: 1) collecting examples of linguistic metaphors used to talk about the topic, 2) generalizing from them to the conceptual metaphors they exemplify, and 3) using the results to suggest understandings which construct or constrain people's beliefs and actions. More specifically, I am dealing with the metaphorical patterns influenced by cultural paradigms that construct journalists' notions of China as an international Other.

This three-stage methodology of metaphor analysis is similar to Fairclough's (1995) model for Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough's model consists of three inter-related processes tied to the three-dimensional approach of discourse (in Section 2.2.3). As mentioned above, the three dimensions are: 1) text: the object of analysis, 2) discursive practice: the processes by means of which the object of analysis is produced and received, 3) social practice: the social, cultural and historical conditions that govern the processes. Each of these dimensions needs a different angle of analysis: 1) textual analysis which analyzes the linguistic description of the text, 2) processing analysis which interprets the relations between the discursive processes and the text, and how the text, as an end product of text production, is produced and received, 3) analysis of social practice which explains the relationship between discourse and social, cultural realities.

The discussion about Charteris-Black's Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) in Section 2.2.3 provides an outline of three criteria, linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive, for the definition of metaphor. The following illustration of the three stages is based on these three criteria. The following paragraphs (and subsections) will illustrate how CMA operates and how it will be modified according to the specific needs of this research:

- 1) Metaphor identification indicates firstly a close reading of a sample of texts to figure out the potential metaphorical keywords. The metaphorical keywords (or candidate/hypothetical metaphors, in Charteris-Black's terms) are examined in relation to the "linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive" criteria. Secondly, these keywords are further examined based on the corpus contexts in a qualitative phase in order to determine whether the use of keywords is literal or metaphorical. Charteris-Black (2004, p.37) stresses the importance of incorporating context in justifying the classification of a word as used metaphorically. Generally speaking, metaphor identification is a process of identifying potential metaphors in a small sample text through qualitative analysis, followed by a large corpus search facilitated by a specific computer software. However, in this particular research, selective sample reading and keywords-based searching cannot comprehensively delineate the overall metaphorical mapping, although automatic keywords searching is able to accelerate the process of identifying presence and frequency of metaphors in a large corpus. Therefore, a comprehensive sample reading and coding are adopted in order to achieve accuracy and integrity. All news articles with the mention of China in both publications are analyzed individually and metaphors are coded manually.

- 2) Metaphor interpretation is concerned with ascertaining a relationship between metaphors and the cognitive and pragmatic criteria that determine them, which involves the identification of conceptual metaphors. As mentioned in Section 2.2.3, a metaphor is defined by its pragmatic criteria, which means metaphor has a hidden persuasive purpose that reflects and transforms intentions of language users within particular contexts (Charteris-Black, 2004, p.21). A metaphor is also determined by a relevance or association between the source and target domains embedded in our conceptual system. In this sense, metaphor interpretation is a process of consolidating and grouping metaphor clusters identified at the stage of metaphor identification into conceptual metaphor based on similar pragmatic and cognitive factors. There is no fixed rule or guideline to determine pragmatic and cognitive factors, so the

only way of grouping metaphor clusters (or unit of metaphorical expressions) is through a qualitative analysis of the original source context and the ways in which the source context projects to the abstract target context.

- 3) Metaphor explanation intends to suggest the reasons why particular metaphors are chosen instead of others in a certain situation. According to Charteris-Black, Metaphor explanation is a stage that identifies the discourse function of a metaphor which allows us to find out its “ideological and rhetorical motivation” (2004, p.39), and such motivation originates from the corpus where metaphors occur rather than from the analyst’s intuition. There are underlying motivations and assumptions behind certain choices of metaphorical patterns, and these choices are ideologically driven. By studying the forms of metaphorical patterns in our conceptual system, we can discover an aspect of social practice and also the specific ideology embedded in it. That is to say, by explaining the discourse function of metaphorical patterns depicting the Other, we are able to find out how the journalistic representation of China may be affected by the conceptualization of Other entrenched in the Western ideology.

As will be argued, the research questions selected lent themselves particularly to the application of CMA, a multi-staged and multi-angled research method which systematically synthesizes both quantitative and qualitative methods. I will then list the main points that motivated my methodological choices:

- 1) CMA provides a systematic, streamlined procedure to code metaphorical expressions. It reduces confusion by coding metaphors at linguistic, conceptual and explaining levels separately. Categorizing the linguistic metaphors and then formulating the conceptual metaphors require the researcher to evaluate and compare different linguistic metaphors comprehensively. Therefore, it is important to identify and investigate the linguistic metaphors first before grouping the conceptual clusters.

- 2) CMA offers a directive approach to establish patterns of metaphorical representations. More specifically, during the stage of metaphor interoperation, the research approach operates to delineate the overall metaphorical images of China. This stage is particularly suitable for studying the quantitative features of the metaphorical construction because it helps to produce results with a systematic and statistical nature. The results that quantify the most salient characteristics of a large sample of news texts provide trends and patterns across a longitudinal timeframe, which can be used to make broader interpretations about the journalistic representations.

- 3) The examination of the qualitative features at the explanatory level can be understood as a version of Critical Discourse Analysis. In Section 2.2.3, I discuss why and how to adopt CDA as a tool to analyze ideological work done by discourse. The CDA aspect in CMA is well suited to be applied in this research which particularly studies the ideological implications behind metaphor use. The following subsections (4.4.1, 4.4.2 and 4.4.3) explain and illustrate how this three-staged procedure can be applied in relation to my research.

4.4.1 Metaphor Identification

Metaphor identification involves identifying the presence of metaphors in chosen texts and exploring a relation between a literal source domain and a metaphorical target domain. As mentioned above in Section 4.4, my procedure of metaphor identification differs from Charteris-Black's CMA approach in which the screening process starts from a close reading of preselected sample texts. My texts screening procedure is manual-based and requires a hand analysis of all news texts throughout the corpus. The reason why I choose the manual approach is that this research investigates the metaphorical depiction of China during and after the 2008 Financial Crisis at large rather than within a specific event or a discursive moment (e.g. the outbreak of the crisis). If I had only identified metaphors from a small sample of news texts (selected randomly, by a given time period, or by certain event), I could not have achieved the research goal which requires sorting the conceptual metaphors based on

their frequency in the overall use of metaphorical language, and consequently there would have been no way to obtain an overall metaphorical mapping to compare with the stereotypical image of China in Western imagination sketched in Section 3.3.

Specifically, when coding the dataset (raw material) of the *Financial Times*, I made the unit of metaphorical expression bold and highlighted the sentence (or sentences, if more context is required) in which the unit is positioned. I extracted all the highlighted parts and grouped them into a new Word document for the following step of metaphor interpretation. I then screened out the invalid news articles that contained no use of metaphor related to China, and formed a new dataset comprising only valid news articles for use as references for contextual meanings. When identifying metaphors in the raw material of *The Economist*, after reading through the scan image of the news provided by *The Economist* Historical Archive 1843-2014, I typed the identified unit of metaphorical expression (in bold), along with the sentence(s), into a Word document to build a valid dataset for metaphor identification. I recalculated the number of news articles with at least one metaphor related to China within this valid, newly built corpus. The following part sets out a guideline for metaphor identification in terms of coding criteria and the use of dictionaries.

In order to move away from merely intuitive work and thereby increase the consistency of coding and reduce the number of errors, there is crucial work being done on setting criteria for metaphor identification by hand analysis (i.e. Praggeljaz Group, 2007; Steen, 2007; Cameron and Maslen, 2010; Steen *et al.*, 2010). Low (1999, p. 49-50) names some of the dangers of metaphor identification based on a coder's intuition (or "unilateral identification", in Low's term): Firstly, there is always going to be a measure of subjectivity or randomness in the process of identification. Secondly, a high level of sensitivity to metaphors possessed by researchers who have been working within this field for a long period may lead to consistently *over-interpreting* expressions which are not, or only peripherally, related to metaphorical use in a particular context. Therefore, a systematic coding guideline is required. My approach to metaphor identification follows MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure). MIP details steps for coding metaphors at the textual level, showing how to determine

whether a word is metaphorically used by taking into account the basic and contextual meanings of each word.

MIP aims at determining whether a word may be considered as conveying metaphorical meaning in its context. There are two types of meaning which need to be specified in this procedure: 1) basic meaning which tends to be more concrete, more precise, easier to sense (in nouns), related to bodily action (in verbs) and historically older. 2) contextual meaning which indicates how the lexical unit is perceived in a given context. The operating process is demonstrated as follows by using an example taken from the corpus:

- 1) Read the entire text–discourse;
e.g. A clumsy **public battle** with Google could have all sorts of unpredictable consequences (*Financial Times*, January 14, 2010).

- 2) Determine the (boundaries between) lexical units in the text–discourse:
e.g. A/ clumsy/ public/ **battle/** with /Google/ could/ have /all/ sorts/ of/ unpredictable /consequences.

- 3)
 - (a) Establish the meaning of lexical units in context:
e.g. In this context “*battle*” indicates difficulty and lack of success in achieving a certain goal.

 - (b) Establish the basic meaning of lexical units:
e.g. The basic meaning of “*battle*” is a sustained fight between large organized armed forces.

 - (c) Decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be interpreted in comparison with it:

e.g. Yes, the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning and can be understood by comparison with it: abstract conflict or struggle can be understood in terms of physical fight between organized armed forces.

4) If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

e.g. The lexical unit “*battle*” is metaphorically used.

Furthermore, popular conventional economic metaphors¹² observed in the two corpora such as GROW, RISE and DEPRESSION were excluded, because my thesis was set on a cultural basis of the representation of Other, investigating the national imagination of China in the financial press rather than the explanation of economic conditions in China. However, some metaphorical expressions with a high degree of conventional use (e.g. appetite, bubble, surge) were included because they were associated with China in highly social and culturally specific ways. Examples are presented as follows:

- 1) The Australian dollar - supported by China's **voracious appetite** for its raw materials - dropped 1.5 per cent to Y82.91 against the yen and fell 1.6 per cent to \$0.9088 against the dollar (*Financial Times*, 08 January 2010).
- 2) However, the sharp rise in bank loans has prompted intense discussion within China on the risks of **fomenting bubbles** (*Financial Times*, 22 February 2010).
- 3) China will drive **a global surge** in energy demand over the next two decades, with the country expected to account for more than a fifth of world demand by 2035, according to the International Energy Agency (*Financial Times*, 16 November 2010).

It is important to keep linguistic and conceptual metaphor identification separate, because MIP does not deal with the cross-domain mappings. Thus, having identified a linguistic metaphor using MIP does not automatically provide its underlying

¹² Details about the types of metaphor including conventional and novel metaphors can be found in CH2.

conceptual structure (Krennmayr, 2011, p.37). For example, using MIP, it is easy to decide that the linguistic expression "fire the opening shot in a battle" is metaphorically used in the text-discourse "China Mobile, the world's largest mobile operator by subscribers, will fire the opening shot in a battle for high-value subscribers", but whether the underlying conceptual meaning is based on the source domain of Military or Physical Danger cannot be specified using MIP and needs further analysis at the following stage of metaphor interpretation.

Tool: the use of dictionaries

Several scholars highlight the advantages of using dictionaries as a research tool rather than one's intuition. Steen, for instance, points out that because coders have different linguistic knowledge backgrounds, it is thus "convenient to adopt a dictionary as a concrete norm of reference, so that you [the coders] have an independent reflection of what counts as the meanings of words for a particular group of users of English" (Steen, 2007, p. 97). Furthermore, MIP compares contextual meanings of metaphorical units to their basic meanings: a word is used metaphorically if the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it, as mentioned above. The identification of basic meaning is thus central to the MIP procedure, and Steen *et al.* point out the importance of using dictionaries to identify basic meaning: "a meaning cannot be more basic if it is not included in a contemporary users' dictionary" (2010, p.35). Krennmayr (2008, p.102) specifies the important function of dictionaries in terms of allowing checking and replicating of decisions. Using dictionaries in this research enables decisions on the metaphorical status of lexical units to be checked and confirmed, and consequently there is less need to rely on intuition, which makes the identification more transparent.

I followed the MIP by using the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (online edition)* as a research tool. There are several reasons for this choice:

- 1) The Macmillan Dictionary is based on a systematically processed corpus of 220 million words, which in corpus linguistic terms is considered adequate for

general language analysis (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 16).

- 2) The corpus is relatively recent (first published in 2002), and the aim of this dictionary is to provide a description of current English. This is important for my research since the news texts from *The Economist* and the *Financial Times* – to which I apply MIP – are all drawn from contemporary sources.
- 3) The corpora in this dictionary are well-sampled, containing language data from a wide range of general corpora and specialized corpora (e.g. The Macmillan Curriculum Corpus; corpus of Environmental Science).
- 4) The dictionary includes treatment specifically addressing the issue of metaphor. The *Macmillan English Dictionary* offers a specific feature called Metaphor Boxes¹³ which is influenced by Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory. According to www.macmillandictionary.com:

*“Macmillan Dictionary offers unique treatment of metaphor, showing how many ordinary familiar words and phrases have metaphorical meanings. The dictionary has over 60 special features on metaphor, called **Metaphor Boxes**, to help you reach a deeper understanding”.*

MacArthur (2015) and Deignan (2015) further stress the advantages of using learners' dictionaries like the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* in metaphor analysis rather than a native speaker dictionary (e.g. New Oxford English Dictionary). Deignan (2015, p.153) points out two reasons for the choice of learners' dictionary for MIP: 1) their corpora are the first to be built up on thorough analyses of contemporary linguistic data and updated on a regular basis, because publishers have invested substantially in the development of English teaching materials. 2) Dictionaries for English learners intend to provide central and typical patterns for language use:

¹³ Although I did not group the units of metaphorical expressions based on the groupings provided in the Metaphor Boxes, it indeed provided useful references to systematize my metaphorical groupings.

“Learners’ dictionaries [...] devote a large proportion of their space to describing the most frequent words of the language, carefully presenting each of their senses, typical collocates and grammatical patterns, with notes about connotation, style and register [...] A native speaker dictionary is much less likely to include a detailed analysis and description of the meanings of say, speak, light, or grasp, because its intended users already know how these words are used” (Deignan, 2015, p.153).

To conclude, I would suggest that *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* is an efficient and pragmatic tool to check a word’s basic and contextual meanings, offering a comprehensive illustration of the ways in which the words are used based on corpus evidence.

4.4.2 Metaphor Interpretation

As broadly laid out in Section 2.2.3 and Section 4.4, metaphor analysis operates at several levels – the linguistic level, the conceptual level and the processing (explaining) level. Metaphor interpretation intends to outline the cross-domain mappings at a conceptual level, then group the micro-metaphors (units of metaphorical expressions) based these mappings. An inductive categorization of micro-metaphors that have been gathered at the stage of identification is performed based on the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Detailed metaphorical groupings are introduced in the pilot study and following chapters.

At this Stage, firstly, I uploaded the valid datasets (see Section 4.4.1) into Nvivo 10. Then I performed the Coding Procedure which is the process of gathering and tagging material by conceptual meanings. For example, I firstly selected "**fire the opening shot in a battle**" as metaphor keywords in "*China Mobile, the world's largest mobile operator by subscribers, will **fire the opening shot in a battle** for high-value subscribers*", then coded the selected texts at the Node "Military Metaphor" (see image 4.1 below).

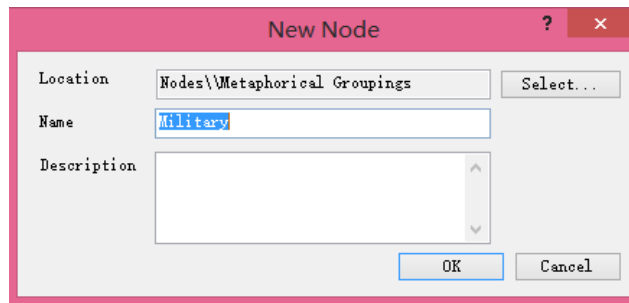


Image 4.1 Military Node

In addition, the tagged metaphor keywords were labelled and grouped into a new group of Nodes called Thematic Groupings according to their thematic meanings. Linguistic metaphors within those sources were coded based upon their own specific topic/theme which can be interpreted based upon their context. For example, I firstly selected "**fire the opening shot in a battle**" in "*China Mobile, the world's largest mobile operator by subscribers, will fire the opening shot in a battle for high-value subscribers*", then coded the selected texts at the Node "Local business: Investment environment".

Thematic groupings, in this case, are used to discuss how thematic contexts associate with the uses of certain conceptual metaphors. It is worth mentioning that the thematic contexts are mapped in a broad sense, because my thesis does not focus on how metaphors are used to explain and rationalize complex economic facts, and the thematic contexts such as *Economic rise* or *Governmental economic policy and practice* are only adopted to index the broad contexts in which the micro-metaphor is situated rather than to identify the economic rationale behind the choice of metaphor. The thematic groupings may further facilitate the qualitative analysis at the explanation stage. The association between thematic and metaphorical groupings is analyzed using the Matrix Coding function in Nvivo 10 (details are provided in the pilot study). An inter-coder reliability test is carried out after the procedure of metaphor interpretation has been done.

Inter-coder Reliability Test

Inter-coder reliability is an issue arising in language studies and is tested to assess the extent to which independent coders evaluate characteristics of text and reach the same conclusion. Inter-coder reliability is a critical component for both quantitative and qualitative research. In content analysis, the establishment of reliability is important because one of the goals of content analysis is to identify and record objective or inter-subjective characteristics of messages (Neuendorf, 2002, p.141). Kolbe and Burnett write that "inter judge reliability is often perceived as the standard measure of research quality. High levels of disagreement among judges suggest weaknesses in research methods, including the possibility of poor operational definitions, categories, and judge training" (1991, p.248). In quantitative analysis, the importance of intercoder reliability test has also been discussed extensively (i.e. Kurasaki, 2000; Tong et al.,2007; Burla et al., 2008). The methodology of my thesis can be viewed as a synthesis of quantitative and qualitative analysis. Therefore, an inter-coder reliability test needed to be carried out by a second coder to ensure the research quality.

Due to the large size of the corpus, it was impossible for the second coder to screen through every news item. Therefore, a sample sub-corpus consisting of 523 news articles taken from the pilot study was given to the second coder to perform an inter-coder reliability test. To help the second coder understand how the procedures of identification and interpretation were carried out, an example of a coded news article which marked the unit of metaphorical expression identified at the stage of metaphor identification, along with compiled lists of the conceptual metaphorical groupings and thematic groupings, was given to the second coder before conducting the test. The lists of metaphorical groupings and thematic groupings can be found in the following pilot study. I used the formula described in Miles and Huberman (1994, p.64) to estimate the inter-coder reliability rate:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{\text{number of agreements}}{(\text{number of agreements} + \text{disagreements})}^{14}$$

¹⁴ Number of disagreements is the number of units marked by the second coder which do not match my original coding in the sample texts.

The test was divided into two steps: Firstly, the second coder, following the step of metaphor identification, marked all metaphorical units in the sample sub-corpus. The inter-coder agreement rate was calculated as 81.3%. Then, the two coders worked together to match metaphors and cross-reference coding to reach a consensus on a final inter-coder reliability of 100%. The final agreed number of micro-metaphors was 197. The second step involved categorization of the 197 metaphorical units identified in the first step. Table 5.1 shows the inter-coder agreement rate for variables including metaphorical groupings and thematic groupings used to categorize the metaphorical units. Miles and Huberman (1994, p.64) suggest that in the initial stage of a research, an inter-coder reliability rate of 80% agreement between coders is sufficient agreement. Therefore, the reliability of the research methods has been testified.

Variable	Inter-coder Reliability Rate (Number of Agreements out of Total Codes¹⁵)
Micro-metaphors: Identifying metaphors in the sample	83.1% (197 out of 237) (IRR of 100% achieved during a following session aimed at cross-referencing the coding scheme)
Metaphorical Groupings	83.8% (165 out of 197)
Thematic Groupings: Group micro-metaphors based upon their thematic/contextual meanings	94.9% (187 out of 197)

Table 4.2 Inter-coder Reliability Test

4.4.3 Metaphor Explanation

Broadly speaking, the explanation of metaphor is a type of textual analysis based on qualitative findings that, beyond the manifest journalistic content, focuses on the implicit ideological and cultural assumptions of the text (Fürsich, 2009, p.240). The stage of metaphor explanation involves identifying the discourse function of metaphors that permits us to discover the ideological motivation of certain textual choices. That is to say, this phase involves the identification of the ideological purposes that could have motivated the choice of metaphors describing China in each financial publication. To examining the discourse function, metaphor cannot be understood

¹⁵ Total Codes = Number of Disagreements + Number of Agreements

merely based on textual content and textual pattern alone. Metaphor should be analyzed within its socio-cultural context (see Section 2.2 and 2.3). In the study of newspaper language, metaphor needs to be investigated as it occurs in news discourse rather than based on isolated examples, taking into account the context where news articles are embedded (Krennmayr, 2011, p.39). In this case, in order to answer the research questions (2) and (3), salient groups of conceptual metaphors are discussed based on socio-cultural contexts such as Said's and Vulkovich's Orientalist frameworks.

The stage of explanation starts from retrieving examples from the large corpus, and the examples are selected based on salience in metaphorical groupings, representativeness in thematic groupings or events with ideological significance (see Table 4.3). Specifically, the qualitative analysis at this stage deals with the top metaphorical groupings, their relationship with the thematic groupings, and comparison between different thematic groupings (e.g. local business: investment environment versus foreign business in China: investment environment). Furthermore, I analyze metaphors occurring in the retrieved examples by examining the context surrounding a given metaphorical expression. The collections of examples are treated as micro-corpora which present a variety of metaphorical patterns occurring across the large primary corpus. Examples of Dragon¹⁶ metaphors are presented below to give a brief overview of how a micro-corpus of metaphors is explained.

Metaphorical Grouping: BESTIAL

Label	Micro-metaphor
A	Dragon rising (<i>FT</i> , 18 December 2009).

¹⁶ The distinction between the concepts of metaphor and metonymy is difficult at both theoretical and practical levels. Simple expressions such as “dragon” can be considered as a metonymy as it is a well-known stand-in for China. However, expressions constructed by complex elements (e.g. “dragon with teeth”) are more difficult to be defined. Therefore, this research adopts the intermediate notion of “metonymy-based metaphor” which refers to “a mapping involving two conceptual domains which are grounded in, or can be traced back to, one conceptual domain” (Radden, 2003, p.93). Radden (2003) suggests that rather than always separating the two notions we may imagine “a metonymy-metaphor continuum with unclear or fuzzy cases in between” (p.93). Metonymy-based metaphors operate within the middle range of the continuum and may either be closer to the metonymic end or the metaphorical end of this continuum. For instance, “dragon with teeth” can be viewed as a complex metaphor with a metonymic basis: the metaphor is grounded in the “CHINA AS DRAGON” metonymy but the secondary metaphoric element – “teeth” that refers to military power pushes it to the metaphorical end of the metonymy-metaphor continuum.

B	Measuring GDP: The dragon takes wing (<i>The Economist</i> , 1 May 2014).
C	The dragon's deals: China's increasing influence in the developing world (<i>FT</i> , 24 April 2010).
D	These countries are benefiting from being on the ' dragon's doorstep ' and as such have a close relationship with China (<i>FT</i> , 27 November 2010).
E	Asia economies come to terms with power of Chinese dragon (<i>FT</i> , 21 January 2010).
F	Dragon 'aggressively' pursues Mauritius as Africa hub (<i>FT</i> , 26 January 2010).
G	China's green dragon fades to grey (<i>FT</i> , 18 June 2010).

As discussed elsewhere (Tang, 2017), when the dragon is “rising” and “tak[ing] wing”, it carries a positive connotation (A, B). The dragon’s increasing influence can benefit other developing peers who are “on the dragon’s doorstep” (C, D). Although sometimes the dragon shows a craving for dominance “aggressively” (F), Asian economies have to “come to terms with power of Chinese dragon” (E). On the other hand, the dragon imagery can be cast in a negative light when it is used to describe social issues resistant to Western ideas. For instance, social issues like air pollution may lead to the Dragon’s loss of power, exemplified by a colour-fading of the dragon (G). This set of dragon metaphors does not simply dehumanize China as unthinkingly Oriental or demonize China as a violent, bellicose enemy. China is metaphorically characterized as a mythological, cultural-specific animal with strength. Driven in part by China’s global ambition, the economic relations between China and Western countries have arguably become more intertwined today than at any other historical juncture. This geo-economic phenomenon culminates in the emergence of alarmist tones on China’s possible threat to the West. Apart from describing China as an immediate threat, the metaphorical term “dragon” suggests that China’s growing politico-economic influence is concomitantly ominous. The idea of China as potential threat with economic and political power is systematically established on a conceptual level, and consequently this builds up a coherent argument of a certain ideological configuration. The following section introduces the quantitative and qualitative results gained from the pilot study with more illustrations of metaphorical patterns.

4.5 Pilot Study

A pilot study based on a small sample corpus was conducted before looking into the whole corpora. The sample corpus consisted of two sub-corpora, FT_0708/2009 (*Financial Times*) and TE_0708/2009 (*The Economist*). Both sub-corpora were refined based on a specific sampling period, namely from 1 July 2009 to 31 August 2009. The two small-scale sample sub-corpora were selected in order to evaluate feasibility, improve upon research design, and capture a preliminary picture of the conceptual metaphors manifested in the financial press. The total number of valid news items in the sub-folder FT_0708/2009 was 63 and the total word count was 41,553 words (see Table 4.5). The equivalent TE_0708/09 figures were 39 news articles and approximately 42,026 words (see Table 4.3). Due to the different publication frequencies, the total number of news articles with at least one mention of China was significantly larger for the *Financial Times* (383) than *The Economist* (140). However, only 16.4% of the news in the *Financial Times* contained at least one use of metaphor relating to China, while for *The Economist* the percentage was 27.9%, which demonstrated that the use of metaphors describing China is more frequent in *The Economist*.

	TE_0708/2009	FT_0708/2009
Sampling period	From 1 July 2009 to 31 August 2009	
Total number of news items (with at least one mention of China)	140	383
Number of valid news items (with at least one use of metaphor related to China)	39	63
Percentage of valid items	16.4%	27.9%
Total word count	42,026	41,553
Average word count per valid news item	1078	660

Table 4.3 Introduction to sub-corpus TE_0708/2009 and FT_0708/2009

After sources for both corpora had been imported into NVivo 10, the screening process for the chosen news articles was carried out in order to filter out non-metaphorical uses. At the first stage, the metaphorical expressions of the two sub-

folders were highlighted. The news articles in both pilot corpora were investigated manually to identify the micro-metaphors related to China. At the second stage of interpretation, a closer reading of the passages containing the identified micro-metaphors was carried out in order to examine the types of source domains employed and thus the conceptual metaphors manifested to conceptualize the search word China in both corpora. By using NVivo 10, every micro-metaphor was labelled based upon its metaphorical and thematic meanings. For instance, the expression “riding on their success” was associated to the node of JOURNEY and the node of ECONOMIC RISE.

Metaphorical Grouping: JOURNEY

<Internals\\ FT 0708/2009 Pilot>

The Chinese authorities are trying to do just this and much is **riding on their success**.

Thematic Grouping: ECONOMIC RISE

<Internals\\FT 0708/2009 Pilot>

The Chinese authorities are trying to do just this and much is **riding on their success**.

Frequency counts of metaphorical and thematic groupings in the two pilot corpora were calculated and compared in order to explore the saliency of source domains and relating themes in these two corpora. After the screening process, there were in total 77 and 120 micro-metaphors related to China in FT_0708/2009 and TE_0708/2009 respectively. In order to compare the two sub-corpora on the same footing, the frequencies of these metaphorical expressions per 1,000 words were calculated (see Table 4.4). In every 1,000 words the total number of metaphorical expressions describing China was significantly different, with *The Economist* (2.86 instances) scoring higher than the *Financial Times* (1.85 instances). These metaphorical expressions were classified under metaphorical grouping and thematic grouping. Table

4.5 and Table 4.6 show the lists of categories and their respective frequencies in the two pilot sub-corpora. Overall, the most salient metaphorical groupings were Irrational (8.12%), Bestial (7.11%), Military (5.58%) and Physical force (5.58%). The top thematic groupings were Internal tensions (20.30%), International and regional relations (17.26%) and Economic issues (14.72%).

	Total number of micro-metaphors	Frequency per 1,000 words
FT_0708/2009 (<i>Financial Times</i>)	77	1.85
TE_0708/2009 (<i>The Economist</i>)	120	2.86

Table 4.4 Total number of micro-metaphors in pilot study

	Total number of micro-metaphors	Percentage
Irrational	16	8.12%
Bestial	14	7.11%
Military	11	5.58%
Physical force	11	5.58%
Diet	10	5.08%
Emotion and attitude	10	5.08%
Corporeal	9	4.57%
Journey	8	4.06%
Mechanical	8	4.06%
Water	8	4.06%
Fantasy	7	3.55%
Love-Hate relationship	6	3.05%
Disreputable behaviour	5	2.54%
Physical danger	4	2.03%
Sound	4	2.03%
Art and literature references	3	1.52%
Brightness	3	1.52%
Criminal	3	1.52%
Domesticated environment	3	1.52%
Gambling	3	1.52%
Game	3	1.52%
Historical references	3	1.52%
Medical	3	1.52%
Physical gesture	3	1.52%
Temperature	3	1.52%
Theatrical	3	1.52%
Aerial	2	1.02%
Botanical	2	1.02%
Breakage	2	1.02%
Bubble-related	2	1.02%
Disaster	2	1.02%
Fire	2	1.02%
Housekeeping	2	1.02%
Human behaviour	2	1.02%

Optical	2	1.02%
Physical disability	2	1.02%
Physical movement	2	1.02%
Verbal argument or rejection	2	1.02%
Architecture	1	0.51%
Darkness	1	0.51%
Dirt	1	0.51%
Fishing	1	0.51%
Gathering	1	0.51%
Geoscience	1	0.51%
Supernatural	1	0.51%
Teacher-student relationship	1	0.51%
Toxicity	1	0.51%
Total	197	100.00%

Table 4.5 Metaphorical groupings in pilot study

	Total number of micro-metaphors	Percentage
Internal tensions	40	20.30%
International (regional) relations	34	17.26%
Economic issues	29	14.72%
Foreign business in China- Investment environment	17	8.63%
Governmental economic policy and practice	12	6.09%
Politics and governance	12	6.09%
Description of political economic conditions	11	5.58%
Economic rise	8	4.06%
Global status	8	4.06%
Local business- investment environment	8	4.06%
Social issues	7	3.55%
Local business- overseas performance	5	2.54%
Economic downturn	4	2.03%
National memories	2	1.02%
Military construction	0	0.00%
Thematic grouping - Other	0	0.00%
Total	197	100.00%

Table 4.6 Thematic groupings in pilot study

Matrix Coding Queries

The function of Matrix Coding Queries was applied to reason out a wide range of questions about patterns in the data and to gain access to the content that shows those patterns. This research used Matrix Coding Queries to:

1. Identify the relations between the most salient metaphorical groupings and themes they emphasize;

2. Compare the differences and similarities between the uses of metaphorical expressions in the two publications;
3. Compare metaphorical groupings that appeared in different timeframes.

The relations between Physical Force, one of the most salient metaphorical groupings, and the thematic choices were discussed as an illustration for the application of Matrix Coding Queries. The first step was to add the node of Physical Force into the box of **Rows** in the Matrix Coding Query dialog box (see image 4.2 below), and then the second step was to insert **the node classification¹⁷ of thematic groupings** as a set into the box of **Columns**. The matrix coding results were generated based on the aligned datasets within the boxes of Rows and Columns.

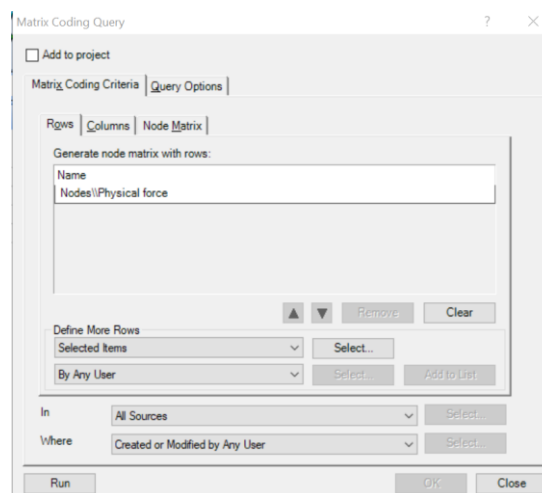


Image 4.2 Matrix Coding Query in pilot study

The result showed that the top themes related to the use of Physical Force metaphors were Economic issues and downturn (see Table 4.7). The typical use of Physical Force metaphors when describing economic issues and downturn tends to be universal in financial news writing. It can be seen as a gateway for the transfer of our understanding about physical force to a complex economic scenario that is in need of explanation. Metaphorical expressions like *“hit particularly hard by the collapse in exports”* (A) or *“but shaved almost three points off its growth”* (B) imply current

¹⁷ All nodes were categorized into two node classifications: metaphorical and thematic groupings.

economic difficulties that are the manifestation of contradictions that accumulated during the expanding hiatus in governmental economic activities.

Metaphorical Grouping: PHYSICAL FORCE

Label	micro-metaphor
A	[...] but shaved almost three points off its growth in the first half of this year.
B	Only in southern China, hit particularly hard by the collapse in exports, do prices remain below their prior peaks.

	Physical force metaphor	Percentage
Economic issues	5	45.45%
Economic downturn	2	18.18%
Governmental economic policy and practice	2	18.18%
National memories	1	9.09%
Politics and governance	1	9.09%
Total	11	100%

Table 4.7 Top themes in the metaphorical grouping of Physical Force

Matrix Coding function can also be applied to compare the differences between the uses of metaphorical expressions in different corpora. By inserting metaphorical groupings and a source corpus (FT_0708/2009 or TE_0708/2009) in Row and Column tab, lists of metaphorical groupings for the chosen source were generated for further analysis (see Table 4.8 on p.133). The most salient metaphors in the pilot corpus of the *Financial Times* were Mechanical (10.39%), Military (9.09%), Bestial (7.79%), Diet (6.49%), and Physical force (6.49%), while the top metaphorical groupings in the pilot corpus from *The Economist* were Irrational (10%), Emotion and attitude (6.67%), Bestial (5.00%), Corporeal (6.9%), and Fantasy (5.00%). Clearly, this pilot corpus does not amount to a representative sample. Therefore, I will not make any claims about the metaphorical patterns that generally appear in the financial press at this stage. A brief contextual analysis of the Mechanical metaphor, the most frequently used metaphorical expression in the pilot corpus from the FT, will be provided in the following paragraph for an illustrative purpose.

Unlike the aforementioned Physical Force metaphors which often carry negative implications, the grouping of Mechanical metaphors contains micro-metaphors with positive connotation. They depict China as a big driver of the economic upturn and its growth can be sustainable if China's appetite for natural resources is fully served. Instead of being a global workshop, China is also becoming a global powerhouse, and its economy is a new strong "growth engine" (A, B) which has been fuelled by its economic rise (C). This set of metaphorical groupings carries an explicitly positive message, but considering China's economy as machinery assumes that it is unable to think or perform based on self-evaluation. As a result, China's economy is upbeat because it works systematically and consistently as unthinking machinery without being derailed by Western liberal ideology.

Metaphorical Grouping: MECHANICAL

Label	Micro-metaphor
A	"With China seen as the global economy's main growth engine during the early stages of recovery [...]"
B	On the surface, therefore, China is fulfilling the long-standing demand of Western governments that it shifts its engine of growth from exports to domestic demand.
C	Already, China is Australia's biggest market for iron ore, to fuel its industrial expansion.

	FT_0708/2009	Percentage		TE_0708/2009	Percentage
Mechanical	8	10.39%	Irrational	12	10.00%
Military	7	9.09%	Emotion and attitude	8	6.67%
Bestial	6	7.79%	Bestial	6	5.00%
Diet	5	6.49%	Corporeal	6	5.00%
Physical force	5	6.49%	Fantasy	6	5.00%
Irrational	4	5.19%	Physical force	6	5.00%
Journey	4	5.19%	Water	6	5.00%
Corporeal	3	3.90%	Diet	5	4.17%
Disreputable behaviour	3	3.90%	Love-Hate relationship	5	4.17%
Domesticated environment	2	2.60%	Journey	4	3.33%
Emotion and attitude	2	2.60%	Military	4	3.33%
Human behaviour	2	2.60%	Brightness	3	2.50%
Medical	2	2.60%	Criminal	3	2.50%
Physical disability	2	2.60%	Gambling	3	2.50%
Physical danger	2	2.60%	Physical gesture	3	2.50%

Table 4.8 Top 15 metaphorical grouping of FT and The Economist in pilot study

4.6 Summary

This chapter introduces an adapted corpus-based methodology for the critical analysis of metaphors. The first stage is to collect and compile the news texts on the basis of the research subject and questions. The second stage integrates the procedure of MIP for identifying metaphorically used expressions into a modified version of the metaphor identification step within the main CMA methodological framework. The third stage involves the categorization of micro-metaphor data into groups of source domains, and the interpretation of conceptual metaphors. The last stage focuses on the explanation of how metaphors function ideologically in constructing the Western imagination of China. There are two additional highlights which need to be taken into account:

- 1) The chosen newspapers, *The Economist* and the *Financial Times*, hold different attitudes toward the use of metaphor in news writing: *The Economist* admits the pervasiveness of metaphorical language in their news work, assuming that the use of either novel or dead metaphors is acceptable, while the *Financial Times* seems more hostile toward metaphor, especially the tabloid-style, cliché-embedded metaphor.

2) Keeping the investigation of linguistic and conceptual metaphors separate at two independent stages adds rigour to the overall methodological framework in that it restricts the individual stages (i.e. metaphor identification and metaphor interpretation) to dealing with given criteria for defining metaphors separately (i.e. textual, cognitive and pragmatic). This approach simplifies the method for analysis of metaphors in a large corpus, while reducing confusion and uncertainty when interpreting conceptual metaphors.

PART III Findings and Discussion

Chapter 5: Quantitative findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the quantitative patterns of metaphorical frequency and form in the financial press coverage of China during and after the 2008 Financial Crisis. First, it examines how the quantity of micro-metaphors related to China changes over time across the two publications. Second, it addresses two elements in the metaphorical patterns: metaphorical groupings and thematic groupings. Micro-metaphors identified in the sample corpus are analyzed and classified according to the conceptual clusters and the thematic relevance. The third part of this chapter provides a comparison between the metaphorical patterns in the *Financial Times* and *The Economist*, assessing the similarities/differences of metaphor use in relation to journalistic focus and reporting style. In the fourth section, the metaphorical patterns across different time periods are compared to examine how the metaphorical representations of China fluctuate over time. Lastly, similarities and discrepancies of the metaphorical patterning reifying different themes across economic phenomena, the political environment and international relations are investigated. This chapter is therefore oriented toward answering the first research question of how the metaphorical representations are constructed as well as elaborating on the issues identified in the initial theoretical chapters.

5.2 Total number of micro-metaphors

This sub-section provides findings obtained at the stage of metaphor identification, which demonstrate how the number of micro-metaphors related to China changes during and after the 2008 Financial Crisis.

The total number of news articles with at least one mention of China was 14,110 in the *Financial Times* and 5,609 in *The Economist* (see Table 5.1). After the screening process, the valid dataset consisting only of valid news articles with at least one micro-metaphor describing China was established. The total number of valid news articles was 1,903 in the *Financial Times* and 1,576 in *The Economist*. There were in total 3,479 valid news articles which were utilized to identify, interpret and explain metaphorical expressions of the search word, China (see Table 5.1). As discussed in the Section 4.2.1 and Section 4.5, because of the different publication frequencies, the total number of news article with at least one mention of China was significantly larger for the *Financial Times* than *The Economist*¹⁸.

	<i>Financial Times</i>	<i>The Economist</i>	Total
Time Period	From 15 September, 2008 to 28 February, 2015		
Number of news items (with at least one mention of China)	14,110	5,609	19,719
Number of valid news items (with at least one micro-metaphor)	1,903	1,576	3,479

Table 5.1 Number of valid news articles

The total number of micro-metaphors was 6,252. In order to examine how the quantity of micro-metaphors changes over time, I grouped the valid news articles based on a bimonthly (every two months) basis and named the bimonthly sub-dataset as “unit of timeframe” (see Table 5.2 in Appendix 1). The findings have been illustrated using a line chart, and the visualization of the results can be seen in Chart 5.1. In order to make the chart easier to read, I labelled every unit of the timeframe based on chronological order. For instance, the unit “09 10 2009”, which represented the sub-dataset from 01 September, 2008 to 31 October, 2008, was tagged as “1”, and in a similar manner, the unit “11 12 2009” was labelled as “2”, and so on. There were 39

¹⁸ The comparison formulated based on raw counts of valid news items does not allow for direct comparison between the metaphor uses in the two publications. More detailed comparison will be provided in Section 5.5.

units in the timeframes in total, including 78 months of valid news articles from the two publications.

Overall, the trend of micro-metaphors was consistent. The number of micro-metaphors fluctuated but in general remained between 110 and 200 metaphorical expressions per unit over the 78 months. The average number of micro-metaphors was 160 instances per unit of timeframe. The figures contain peaks and troughs. The number of micro-metaphors peaked at several time slots including unit 7 (01 September, 2009 to 31 October, 2009), unit 9 (01 January, 2010 to 28 February, 2010), and unit 38 (01 November, 2014 to 31 December, 2014). The number of micro-metaphors fell to a low of 111 at unit 3 (01 January to 28 February, 2009). I would consider the “peaks and troughs” in metaphor use a natural phenomenon which is caused by common reasons, especially the shift of reporting focus in news coverage. For instance, the amount of metaphor use increased during the Sino-US trade dispute over tyre tariffs in September and October, 2009. A comparative analysis of metaphorical patterns that appeared in different time slots will be provided in Section 5.5.

In addition, Table 5.3 and Chart 5.2 (see Appendix 2) show the trend of micro-metaphors calculated on a basis of 5 units (10 months), which could provide a more general way of demonstrating how the quantity of metaphorical expressions changes within the sampling period. On the whole, the figures remained fairly stable, hovering at around 800 instances throughout the sampling period. The number of micro-metaphors reached a peak at 968 instances in the timeframe from 01 July, 2009 to 30 April, 2010, and the number hit a low-point of 689 in the timeframe of 01 March, 2011 to 31 December, 2011. As the above discussion attests, despite some fluctuations, the use of metaphorical expressions to describe China remained numerically stable throughout the 78 months.

The following section will provide findings obtained at the stage of metaphor interpretation, which explains how these micro-metaphors have been grouped under different categories.

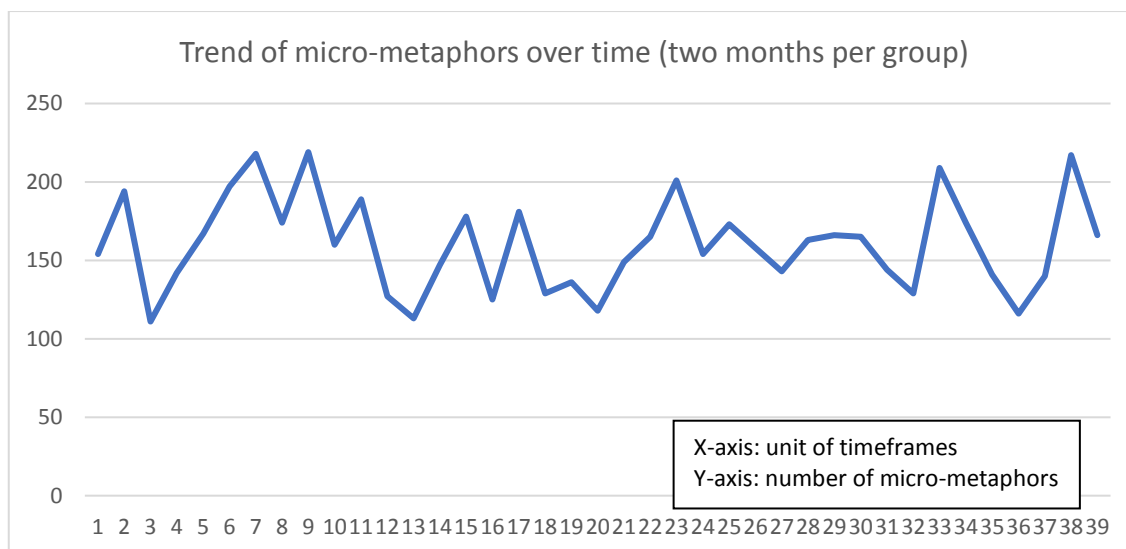


Chart 5.1 Trend of micro-metaphors over time (two months per group)

5.3 Metaphorical groupings

This section outlines how the micro-metaphors in the two publications throughout the sampling period have been categorized based on the conceptual clusters. This inductive categorization of metaphors enables further discussion in order to assess the extent to which the metaphorical patterns are constructed on a stereotypical imagination of China. Table 5.4 shows the list of categories and their respective frequencies, which gives a breakdown of the different groups of conceptual metaphors. There were 72 metaphorical groupings in total and the top 10 categories were: physical force (7.76%), bestial (7.65%), military (6.49%), corporeal (4.30%), diet (4.25%), mechanical (4.11%), journey (3.33%), emotion and attitude (3.33%), irrational (3.06%) and water (2.86%). In order to specify the meanings of these rather broadly named groupings in context, the following part of this section provides a brief explanation of the top metaphorical groupings with examples.

1) *Physical force*

The literal meaning of “physical force” is defined as follows: “an influence acting within the physical world”, “a force of nature”, “a mechanical force” and “physical strength used to coerce, constrain, or discipline, especially the use of armed power to

effect or prevent political changes”¹⁹. Physical force is related to power, pressure or violence directed against human bodies consisting in a physical act. For instance, the economic practices of the Chinese government are often conceptualized via physical force metaphors, demonstrating a tightening of the government’s control over the economy (see example 1). China's international relations are often substantiated by showing its power relations with others (see example 2). Besides, metaphors related to immediate danger caused by either an intentional/unintentional physical force or natural factors (e.g. natural disaster) were categorized under the grouping of physical danger instead of physical force (see example 3).

Example 1: The government entities that own majority stakes in most Chinese banks are all expected to maintain their levels of ownership in order to preserve **the state's grip on the sector** (FT, 16 Feb 2010).

Example 2: Such sums might give the impression that China has been **throwing its money around with abandon** (FT, 23 Jan 2010).

Example 3: [...] said they were "not going to be **a lethal blow**" to TV stations, but that they would hurt their ability to make money (FT, 29 Nov 2011).

2) Bestial

The grouping of bestial, or more generally, animalistic metaphors is a very culturally specific category of micro-metaphors describing China from various angles. Qualitative analysis (see CH6) examines the ideological implications of the interpretations of “nation state/political party/business body is an animal” (see example 4, 5).

Example 4: **Bulls in a China shock** (FT, 22 Jun 2011).

Example 5: The state and the economy: Re-enter **the dragon** (*The Economist*, 05 Jun 2010).

3) Military

China’s economic practices, market condition and international relations are often conceptualized in terms of warfare. Military metaphors reframe economic interactions

¹⁹ This definition is provided by Oxford Living Dictionaries (www.oxforddictionaries.com).

between different interested parties, (re)evaluating the performance of economic and political determinants in national and international affairs. Military metaphors are inherently power-based, masculine and violent (see example 6). In this case, interested parties, including nation states, regions, companies etc., perform as embattled participants, engaging in the militarization of their own roles. Additionally, weaponry metaphors which are found in the domain of weapons and armour have been placed in an individual grouping in order to provide a distinct discussion point for qualitative analysis.

Example 6: For two decades the **battle** for the modern Chinese stomach was **fought** between two American giants [...] (*The Economist*, 25 Oct 2008).

4) Corporeal

The relations between different economic or political institutions are often conceptualized through metaphors of body parts such as head, hands, upper and lower body, organs etc. (see example 7, 8). I treated micro-metaphors related to bodily functions (see example 9) as an individual grouping because this group of metaphors not only links to corporeal entities but also to changes in the way the body functions to enable a rapid physical response. Therefore, metaphors of bodily function have the effect of conceptualizing the dynamic changes in the economic and political environment.

Example 7: Corporate China has yet to show its **muscle** (FT, 05 Feb 2015).

Example 8: China's other **face**: The red and the black (*The Economist*, 03 Oct 2009)

Example 9: Ministry officials have repeatedly insisted that China has been able to "**absorb and digest**" high-speed train technology [...] (FT, 28 Jun 2011).

5) Diet

The group of diet metaphors refers to both food and human eating behaviour. Diet, as a topic of abiding interest to humans, has always been part and parcel of human interaction and communication. Not only is food biologically important to human

beings, but it is also charged with socio-cultural implications associated with a shared ideology. In this research, for instance, diet metaphors are often observed in the conceptualization of China's growing need for resources or global power (see example 10).

Example 10: China's **voracious appetite** for raw materials and a desire to diversify its vast holdings of foreign exchange reserves has led it to make its first investments in commodity-related exchange-traded funds (FT, 12 Feb 2010).

6) Mechanical

Mechanical process is often associated with rigid bodies (or solid subjects) formed to transmit and direct forces in a predetermined, systematic manner to accomplish a specific objective. In the case of this group, the economy is either reified as a machine or a vehicle which needs to operate as an engine and on a track (see example 11). Metaphors related to mechanical and industrial systems at large were also categorized under this grouping.

Example 11: Hornby's **China engine comes unstuck** on dollar strength (FT, 28 Jan 2009).

7) Journey

Journey metaphors structurally lay out a group of source domains which include a beginning, goals, destinations, possible obstacles, means of transportation, etc., leading on to the target domain of economic activity. In general, journey metaphors involve three modes of movement: by land, by water/sea and by air. In this research, however, the group of journey metaphors is rather narrowly defined in that the metaphorical grouping of journey only refers to “journey by land”, specifically by vehicle (see example 12). Micro-metaphors describing the general conditions of a journey (see example 13) were grouped under journey. “Journey by water” and “by air” were categorized as nautical metaphors and aerial metaphors respectively. I categorized micro-metaphors related to bodily activity and movement (see example 14) under the grouping of physical movement instead of journey, because it is methodologically convenient to discuss specific bodily actions individually.

Example 12: [...] economists in China said the increase in reserve requirements was not part of a decision to **slam the brakes on lending** (FT, 13 Feb 2010).

Example 13: [...] China was taking **baby steps** (FT, 03 Jun 2013).

Example 14: China suffers **biggest jump** since July 2008 (FT, 16 Apr 2011).

8) Emotion and attitude and 9) Irrational

Metaphors of emotion and attitude indicate the attribution of certain human emotions to a nation state, a business institution or other interested party (see example 15). The element of irrationality is associated with the force of emotion to make the rational Self see the world in a distorted way. Abnormal market conditions or economic behaviours are often conceptualized through metaphors of irrationality (see example 16).

Example 15: Chinese leaders chose not to **spoil the jolly mood** in Qingdao by talking about aircraft carriers (*The Economist*, 25 Apr 2009).

Example 16: Such attacks, many coming from China, have reached damaging levels of intensity, and are now **“high on the radar”** of leaders, it was reported (*The Economist*, 21 Jan 2010).

10) Water

Water metaphors are often used to refer to up/down or in/out liquid movement in a typical type of conceptual metaphor for describing changes in economic activity (see example 17). Two types of water-related metaphor have been excluded and placed in additional groupings with more specific indications, including nautical metaphors describing a journey on water (e.g. sailing, on a sea of credit) and disaster metaphors involving water (e.g. flood, drought).

Example 17: [...] it runs the risk that **China's financial river** will end up clogged with the detritus of too many bad experiments outside the banks (FT, 27 Nov 2013).

Table 5.4 Metaphorical groupings ²⁰

Metaphorical Groupings	Number of Micro-metaphors	Percentage
Physical force	485	7.76%
Bestial (Animalistic)	478	7.65%
Military (War and Conflict)	406	6.49%
Corporeal	269	4.30%
Diet	266	4.25%
Mechanical	257	4.11%
Journey	208	3.33%
Emotion and attitude	208	3.33%
Irrational	191	3.06%
Water	179	2.86%
Medical	149	2.38%
Game	147	2.35%
Love-Hate relationship (Affiliation)	140	2.24%
Physical movement	133	2.13%
Sound	128	2.05%
Disreputable behaviour	124	1.98%
Housekeeping	110	1.76%
Domesticated environment	104	1.66%
Fantasy	102	1.63%
Physical danger	99	1.58%
Religious	95	1.52%
Theatrical	92	1.47%
Historical references	87	1.39%
Meteorological	86	1.38%
Darkness	82	1.31%
Gambling	81	1.30%
Temperature	80	1.28%
Physical world	75	1.20%
Physical disability	75	1.20%
Weight	67	1.07%
Fire	60	0.96%
Breakage	60	0.96%
Sports	59	0.94%
Architecture	58	0.93%
Brightness	57	0.91%
Botanical	57	0.91%
Money and treasure-related	53	0.85%
Art and literature references	44	0.70%
Optical	44	0.70%
Verbal argument or rejection	43	0.69%
Cultural references	43	0.69%
Criminal	42	0.67%
Dirt	35	0.56%
Supernatural	35	0.56%

²⁰ Chapter 5 (Quantitative Findings) examines the quantitative patterns of metaphorical forms and it does not categorize the metaphorical groupings under the Orientalist frames. That is, Chapter 5 does not aim at assessing the level of negativity within these metaphorical groupings. The Orientalist frames are utilized to analyze particular examples/texts, rather than a whole grouping, in Chapter 6 (Qualitative Findings) in order to see how these metaphorical groupings are manifested qualitatively in contexts.

Teacher-student relationship	34	0.54%
Science and technology	33	0.53%
Bubble-related	32	0.51%
Nautical	32	0.51%
Toxicity	31	0.50%
Geoscience	28	0.45%
Gathering	28	0.45%
Physical gesture	28	0.45%
Bodily function	27	0.43%
Biological	26	0.42%
Agricultural	26	0.42%
Human behaviour	26	0.42%
Aerial	25	0.40%
Astronomy and cosmology	25	0.40%
Weaponry	23	0.37%
Handwork	20	0.32%
Disaster	18	0.29%
Masses	16	0.26%
Catastrophe	15	0.24%
Tool and Manufacturing	13	0.21%
Death-related	12	0.19%
Maternal	10	0.16%
Clothing	9	0.14%
Fishing	6	0.10%
Coverage	6	0.10%
Odour	5	0.08%
Time-related	4	0.06%
Physics	1	0.02%
Total	6252	100.00%

11) Other groupings

Table 5.5 provides additional explanation of some other metaphorical groupings in order to avoid confusion:

Table 5.5 Additional notes to metaphorical groupings

Metaphorical groupings	Explanation and additional notes	Examples
Medical	This group of metaphors includes both medical illness or disease and medical treatment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Occupation therapy</i> • <i>Swallow some of life's bitterest pills</i> • <i>Plaguing the industry</i>
Love-hate relationship	This group of metaphors is associated with interpersonal relationships including both romantic relationships and affiliations between friends.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Aim's love affair with China</i> • <i>Another go at being friends</i>
Historical references	Metaphors borrowed from historical references to China were singled out in order to highlight the link between assumed past knowledge about China and the current subject.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Middling Kingdom</i> • <i>Gang of five, unlike gang of four</i>
Human behaviour versus Physical movement	This group of metaphors are often associated with physical action with observable emotion attached, which is different from physical movement metaphors that primarily emphasize the bodily activity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Human behaviour: beg, bow, nod</i> • <i>Physical movement: jump, leap, run</i>

5.4 Thematic groupings

This section illustrates a breakdown of the thematic groupings of the identified micro-metaphors (see Table 5.6) in order to enrich their contextual meanings as well as provide a guideline for the following comparative analysis between two publications, time periods and events (see Section 5.5, 5.6, 5.7). The top five thematic groupings were: international (regional) relations (19.55%), politics and governance (12.76%), economic policy and practice of Chinese government (12.76%), economic issues (11.13%), the investment environment for foreign business operating in China (7.61%). Both publications put a major focus on the interconnectedness of China within the global environment. The two financial publications cover a wide range of topics ranging from economic environment, politics, to social life. Table 5.7 provides a brief description of the identified thematic groupings with examples of related events. More details about how these themes have been represented metaphorically are provided in Section 5.7.

Thematic groupings	Number of Micro-metaphors	Percentage
International (regional) relations	1222	19.55%
Politics and governance	798	12.76%
Governmental economic policy and practice	758	12.12%
Economic issues	696	11.13%
Foreign business in China- Investment environment	476	7.61%
Description of political economic conditions	404	6.46%
Social issues	336	5.37%
Internal tensions	283	4.53%
Local business- investment environment	279	4.46%
Economic rise	251	4.01%
National memories	185	2.96%
Global status	183	2.93%
Local business- overseas performance	151	2.42%
Economic downturn	130	2.08%
Thematic grouping - Other	70	1.12%
Military construction	30	0.48%
Total	6252	100.00%

Table 5.6 Thematic groupings

Thematic Groupings	Explanation and Examples
<i>International (regional) relations</i>	The theme of international and regional relations refers to a variety of events associated with interconnectedness of politics and economies among different nation states on a global level. Examples include trade war with the US, the territorial disputes in the South China Sea, China's aid and trade with North Korea, etc.
<i>Politics and governance</i>	The theme of politics and governance is a rather broadly defined grouping associated with the political processes of policymaking, the rise of issues related to political agendas, the operation of political organizations, political corruption, etc.
<i>Governmental economic policy and practice</i>	The theme of economic policy and practice of Chinese government covers the areas of government intervention in the economy including actions regarding taxation and spending as well as the money supply and interest rates.
<i>Economic issues</i>	This theme refers to the internal problems and threats associated with China's economy, i.e. domestic debt, poverty, negative impact of pollution, slowdown of housing and infrastructure construction caused by the tightening of financial and environmental regulations, etc.
<i>Foreign business in China- Investment environment</i>	This theme is associated with issues and developments in the domestic economy of China which have effects on the performance of foreign business bodies.
<i>Description of political economic conditions</i>	This theme refers to a general, neutral description of political and economic conditions in China.
<i>Social issues</i>	Examples of social issues include risks of public health, social inequality, age and gender discrimination, environmental hazards, etc.
<i>Internal tensions</i>	Examples of internal tensions within China include Hong Kong's political dispute with the Communist Party of China, the Xinjiang conflict, the Tibetan debate, etc.
<i>Local business- investment environment</i>	This theme is associated with issues and developments in the domestic economy of China which have effects on the performance of Chinese-owned business bodies.
<i>Economic rise</i>	The theme of economic rise is about general

	descriptions of economic growth such as the gross domestic product (GDP) growth, the increasing efficiency of labour productivity and energy consumption, the development of new types of goods and services, the positive impacts of trade openness, etc.
<i>National memories</i>	National memories refers to a group of historical events which have had great impact on modern China, including the Cultural Revolution, the Tiananmen Square Protests of 1989, Deng's economic reforms from 1978, etc.
<i>Global status</i>	Global status of China refers to a general description of its international position and influence, i.e. " workshop of the world", "world's factory floor ", "the world's engine of demand".
<i>Local business- overseas performance</i>	The theme of local business (overseas performance) refers to how Chinese-owned businesses (e.g. Alibaba, ZTE, Huawei) operate outside China.
<i>Economic downturn</i>	The theme of economic downturn refers to general descriptions of negative or very low economic growth, rising unemployment, low confidence of the investment environment, falling investment, etc.
<i>Thematic grouping - Other</i>	Examples include social life, scientific discovery, art industry, etc.
<i>Military construction</i>	Military construction is related to construction and development of any kind carried out with respect to a military installation.

Table 5.7 Explanation of the thematic groupings

5.5 Comparison between *Financial Times* and *The Economist*

The saliencies (or frequencies) per 1,000 words of the metaphorical expressions in the two publications are shown in Table 5.8. The frequency count was higher for *The Economist* (2.143 instances per 1,000 words) than for the *Financial Times* (1.787 instances per 1,000 words), demonstrating that the China-related metaphorical expressions were more salient in *The Economist*. However, in terms of frequency, the difference between the two publications was not statistically significant. Although there is no standardized measurement to evaluate whether the frequency counts can be considered as high or low in absolute terms, there was a noticeable regularity of metaphorical use around China. It is safe to say that neither of the publications presents hostility toward the use of metaphor.

	<i>Financial Times</i>	<i>The Economist</i>
No. of valid news articles	1,903	1,576
Total word count of valid news articles	1,546,827	1,627,522
No. of micro-metaphors	2,764	3,488
Frequency (number of micro-metaphors per 1,000 words)	1.787	2.143

Table 5.8 Frequency of micro-metaphors per 1,000 words

Percentage frequencies of the metaphorical groupings in the two publications were also compared (see Table 5.9). I listed the top 20 metaphorical groupings in the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* respectively in two sub-tables (see Table 5.10). By matching the two sub-tables, the overlaps and discrepancies were identified. The two sub-tables identified 17 matched groupings in the top 20 lists, and a similarity (or overlap) level of 85% between the two listed metaphorical patterns. Therefore, the construction of the metaphorical patterns in the two publications is similar in general terms, with some subtle differences in sort order and arrangement. The 17 overlapped metaphorical groupings are: physical force, military, bestial, mechanical, diet, journey, water, corporeal, irrational, physical movement, medical, game, housekeeping, sound, disreputable behaviour, love-hate relationship and fantasy.

In terms of sort order, the top 3 salient metaphors – bestial, physical force and military – were identical in the two publications. Physical force metaphors (9.23%) were ranked top in the list of metaphorical uses in the sub-corpus of the *Financial Times*, while bestial metaphors (7.86%) were identified as the most frequently used metaphorical expressions in *The Economist*. Furthermore, diet, irrational, medical, game, housekeeping, sound, disreputable behaviour and fantasy metaphors were observed in the two top 20 categories with similar respective frequencies (percentage difference $P \leq 0.5$). Metaphors of love-hate relationship (2.64%) were relatively more salient ($0.5 < P < 1.0$) in *The Economist* than the *Financial Times* (1.74%, $P=0.9$), while in the *Financial Times* physical movement frequency (2.57%) was 0.79% greater than in *The Economist* (1.78%). Moreover, for the metaphors of physical force (9.23%), military (7.45%), mechanical (5.5%), journey (4.05%) and water (3.62%), the *Financial Times* had a significantly larger percentage frequency ($P \geq 1.0$) in comparison to those in *The Economist*. On the other hand, the frequency of corporeal metaphors (5.05%) in *The Economist* exceeded that in the *Financial Times* (3.36%) by 1.69%.

In terms of their components, the metaphorical patterns between the two publications also exhibited some discrepancies. The use of emotion and attitude metaphors may be viewed as the most evident difference. This group served as an important component in *The Economist's* metaphorical patterning of China, ranking fifth (4.67%) among the 72 groupings. The percentage of emotion and attitude metaphors in *The Economist* (4.67%) was significantly greater than in the *Financial Times* (1.63%). That is to say, at least at a statistical level, *The Economist* tends to make more use of emotional attributes to dynamically influence how the image of China is constituted in news texts. More details about how these attributes are utilized are provided in CH6: Qualitative Analysis. Furthermore, metaphors of the domesticated environment were more salient in the *Financial Times* (2.21%, ranking: 13th) than in *The Economist* (1.23%, ranking: 24th), which means the metaphorical representations of China in the *Financial Times* are more closely associated with an image of a nation which is centrally controlled and relatively isolated from the global economy.

Table 5.11 presents a comparison between the 16 thematic groupings. Both publications showed a strong interest in reporting topics of international (regional) relations and economic issues. One of the most significant differences was the unbalanced distribution of attention to the topics of internal tensions and politics and governance. The percentage of politics and governance-related metaphors in *The Economist* was significantly greater ($P=5.76$) than in the *Financial Times* where only a small percentage of micro-metaphors (1.74%) were adopted to describe internal tensions in China comparing to *The Economist* (6.74%, $P=5$). Furthermore, the *Financial Times* tended to pay more attention to reporting governmental policy and practice ($P=6.68$) and the investment environment for foreign business in China ($P=6.55$) in comparison to *The Economist*. In addition, the themes related to economic rise ($P=3.90$) and downturn ($P=2.37$) appeared more frequently in the *Financial Times* than in *The Economist*.

In conclusion, despite the fact that both publications put a major focus on international (regional) relations and economic issues affecting China, *The Economist* tends to emphasize the political changes and issues as well as their influence on the economic environment in China, while a much more concentrated focus on the economic environment remains central in the *Financial Times*. One of the main reasons is that the news coverage in *The Economist* is more diverse, representing its editorial philosophy which aims at providing “a carefully selected global mix of stories”²¹, whereas the *Financial Times* is a newspaper with specific emphasis on business and finance (see Section 4.2.1).

The next section compares the metaphorical patterns in different time periods in order to examine how the metaphorical representations of China change over time.

²¹ More details can be found on “Editorial Practices” on www.economist.com.

Table 5.9 Metaphorical groupings in the Financial Times and The Economist

Metaphorical Groupings	Financial Times	Percentage	The Economist	Percentage
Bestial	204	7.38%	274	7.86%
Physical force	255	9.23%	230	6.59%
Military	206	7.45%	200	5.73%
Corporeal	93	3.36%	176	5.05%
Emotion and attitude	45	1.63%	163	4.67%
Diet	115	4.16%	151	4.33%
Irrational	84	3.04%	107	3.07%
Mechanical	152	5.50%	105	3.01%
Journey	112	4.05%	96	2.75%
Love-Hate relationship	48	1.74%	92	2.64%
Game	65	2.35%	82	2.35%
Medical	69	2.50%	80	2.29%
Water	100	3.62%	79	2.26%
Sound	52	1.88%	76	2.18%
Disreputable behaviour	50	1.81%	74	2.12%
Religious	29	1.05%	66	1.89%
Physical movement	71	2.57%	62	1.78%
Fantasy	46	1.66%	56	1.61%
Historical references	31	1.12%	56	1.61%
Housekeeping	54	1.95%	56	1.61%
Meteorological	32	1.16%	54	1.55%
Theatrical	43	1.56%	49	1.40%
Physical danger	52	1.88%	47	1.35%
Domesticated environment	61	2.21%	43	1.23%
Architecture	16	0.58%	42	1.20%
Gambling	39	1.41%	42	1.20%
Physical world	33	1.19%	42	1.20%
Criminal	1	0.04%	41	1.18%
Darkness	43	1.56%	39	1.12%
Money and treasure-related	14	0.51%	39	1.12%
Weight	31	1.12%	36	1.03%
Fire	27	0.98%	33	0.95%
Verbal argument or rejection	10	0.36%	33	0.95%
Breakage	28	1.01%	32	0.92%
Art and literature references	13	0.47%	31	0.89%
Physical disability	44	1.59%	31	0.89%
Toxicity	1	0.04%	30	0.86%
Botanical	28	1.01%	29	0.83%
Cultural references	15	0.54%	28	0.80%
Dirt	8	0.29%	27	0.77%
Brightness	31	1.12%	26	0.75%
Physical gesture	2	0.07%	26	0.75%
Temperature	54	1.95%	26	0.75%
Agricultural	1	0.04%	25	0.72%
Sports	34	1.23%	25	0.72%
Optical	20	0.72%	24	0.69%
Weaponry	0	0.00%	23	0.66%
Supernatural	13	0.47%	22	0.63%
Teacher-student relationship	14	0.51%	20	0.57%
Gathering	9	0.33%	19	0.54%

Nautical	14	0.51%	18	0.52%
Bubble-related	15	0.54%	17	0.49%
Bodily function	11	0.40%	16	0.46%
Science and technology	17	0.62%	16	0.46%
Human behaviour	11	0.40%	15	0.43%
Geoscience	14	0.51%	14	0.40%
Masses	2	0.07%	14	0.40%
Disaster	5	0.18%	13	0.37%
Aerial	13	0.47%	12	0.34%
Death-related	1	0.04%	11	0.32%
Astronomy and cosmology	15	0.54%	10	0.29%
Biological	16	0.58%	10	0.29%
Handwork	10	0.36%	10	0.29%
Catastrophe	6	0.22%	9	0.26%
Clothing	0	0.00%	9	0.26%
Maternal	1	0.04%	9	0.26%
Tool and Manufacturing	7	0.25%	6	0.17%
Coverage	1	0.04%	5	0.14%
Odour	0	0.00%	5	0.14%
Fishing	4	0.14%	2	0.06%
Time-related	2	0.07%	2	0.06%
Physics	1	0.04%	0	0.00%
Total	2764	100.00%	3488	100.00%

Table 5.10 Comparison of the top 20 metaphorical groupings between the FT and The Economist

Rank	Financial Times		The Economist	
1	Physical force	255 9.23%	Bestial	274 7.86%
2	Military	206 7.45%	Physical force	230 6.59%
3	Bestial	204 7.38%	Military	200 5.73%
4	Mechanical	152 5.50%	Corporeal	176 5.05%
5	Diet	115 4.16%	Emotion and attitude	163 4.67%
6	Journey	112 4.05%	Diet	151 4.33%
7	Water	100 3.62%	Irrational	107 3.07%
8	Corporeal	93 3.36%	Mechanical	105 3.01%
9	Irrational	84 3.04%	Journey	96 2.75%
10	Physical movement	71 2.57%	Love-Hate relationship	92 2.64%
11	Medical	69 2.50%	Game	82 2.35%
12	Game	65 2.35%	Medical	80 2.29%
13	Domesticated environment	61 2.21%	Water	79 2.26%
14	Housekeeping	54 1.95%	Sound	76 2.18%
15	Temperature	54 1.95%	Disreputable behaviour	74 2.12%
16	Sound	52 1.88%	Religious	66 1.89%
17	Physical danger	52 1.88%	Physical movement	62 1.78%
18	Disreputable behaviour	50 1.81%	Fantasy	56 1.61%
19	Love-hate relationship	48 1.74%	Historical references	56 1.61%
20	Fantasy	46 1.66%	Housekeeping	56 1.61%

Table 5.11 Comparison of thematic groupings between the FT and The Economist

Rank	Financial Times			The Economist		
1	International (regional) relations	520	18.81%	International (regional) relations	702	20.13%
2	Governmental economic policy and practice	438	15.85%	Politics and governance	534	15.31%
3	Economic issues	364	13.17%	Economic issues	342	9.81%
4	Foreign business in China- Investment environment	307	11.11%	Governmental economic policy and practice	320	9.17%
5	Politics and governance	264	9.55%	Description of political economic conditions	271	7.77%
6	Economic rise	171	6.19%	Social issues	252	7.22%
7	Description of political economic conditions	133	4.81%	Internal tensions	235	6.74%
8	Local business- investment environment	119	4.31%	Local business- investment environment	160	4.59%
9	Economic downturn	94	3.40%	Foreign business in China- Investment environment	159	4.56%
10	Social issues	84	3.04%	National memories	127	3.64%
11	Global status	82	2.97%	Global status	101	2.90%
12	Local business- overseas performance	73	2.64%	Economic rise	80	2.29%
13	National memories	58	2.10%	Local business- overseas performance	78	2.24%
14	Internal tensions	48	1.74%	Other	70	2.01%
15	Military construction	9	0.33%	Economic downturn	36	1.03%
16	Other	0	0.00%	Military construction	21	0.60%

5.6 Comparison between different time periods

In order to compare and contrast the metaphorical patterns presented in different time periods, I adopted a similar approach to that used to compare the two publications (see Section 5.4). Firstly, I divided the 78 months into five timeframes, with 16 months in each of timeframes 1 to 4 and 14 months in timeframe 5 (see Table 5.12 in Appendix 3). In order to calculate the total number for each timeframe on the same footing, an average number of micro-metaphors (160 instances) per two-month unit was added to the sum of micro-metaphors in timeframe 5 (calculation procedure can be found in Section 5.2). The totals of the micro-metaphors in each timeframe were within a very small range. Timeframe 1 had the largest number of 1358 instances, while timeframe 4 ranked the lowest with 1211 instances.

Secondly, I identified the overlaps and discrepancies in the five sub-tables. In terms of components, the metaphorical patterns among the five timeframes can be considered as similar, with 75% overlap. The 15 overlapped groupings were: physical force, bestial, emotion and attitude, military, corporeal, mechanical, diet, irrational, water, journey, medical, game, love-hate relationship, disreputable behaviour and physical movement. Chart 5.3 shows a comparison of values across the 15 categories, presenting a few highlights. Generally speaking, the trend of metaphorical patterns remained consistent over time. There was frequent use of physical force, bestial and military metaphors across the 78 months.

There are also a few noteworthy discrepancies²²: 1) metaphors of emotion and irrationality were more salient in timeframe 1 and 2, and especially in timeframe 1, the frequency count of emotion and attitude metaphors (5.6%) was much higher than the average percentage of 3.33% in the large corpus (see Table 5.4). 2) The use of mechanical metaphors was more frequent in timeframe 1 than in the other four timeframes. 3) Military metaphors were more frequently used in timeframe 3 and 5. 4) In timeframe 1 and 2, the percentage of bestial metaphors was relatively lower in

²² The discussed points were labelled in Chart 5.3 as Point 1), Point 2) and so on.

comparison to the other 3 timeframes. 5) The percentage of metaphors of physical movement in timeframe 2 was significantly greater than in the others.

Chart 5.4 shows a comparison of the 16 thematic groupings across the five timeframes, demonstrating a few significant discrepancies arising from changes in the focus of news reporting: 1) Themes related to internal tensions increased significantly in timeframe 1 (from September, 2008 to December, 2009). This is because the outbreak of the Xinjiang riots in July, 2009 drew much attention from the two publications. 2) Coverage of international (regional) relations rose sharply in timeframe 2 (From January, 2010 to April, 2011) when China was involved in a series of disputes with the US over trade and monetary policy, and when China received more global attention because of the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Liu Xiaobo. 3) *Three major national events* led to a significant increase in the theme of politics and governance in timeframe 3 (From May, 2011 to October, 2012) and 4 (From November, 2012 to December, 2013), including the downfall of Xilai, Bo, a former Chinese politician (from 2012 to 2013), the corruption case involving Yongkang, Zhou, a former senior leader of the Communist Party of China (from 2012 to 2013), and the accession of Jinping, Xi as the paramount leader of China in 2012. Those particular events are adopted as discussion points in qualitative analysis.

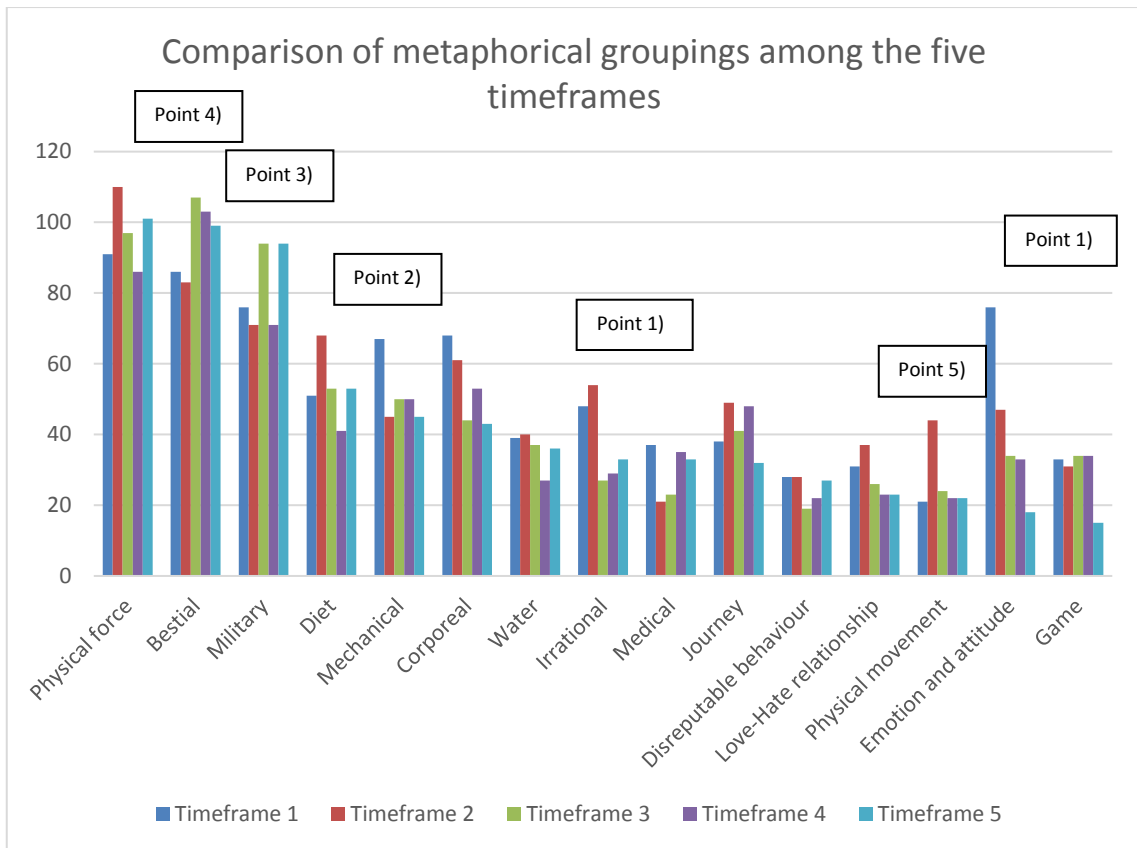


Chart 5.3 Comparison of metaphorical groupings among the five timeframes

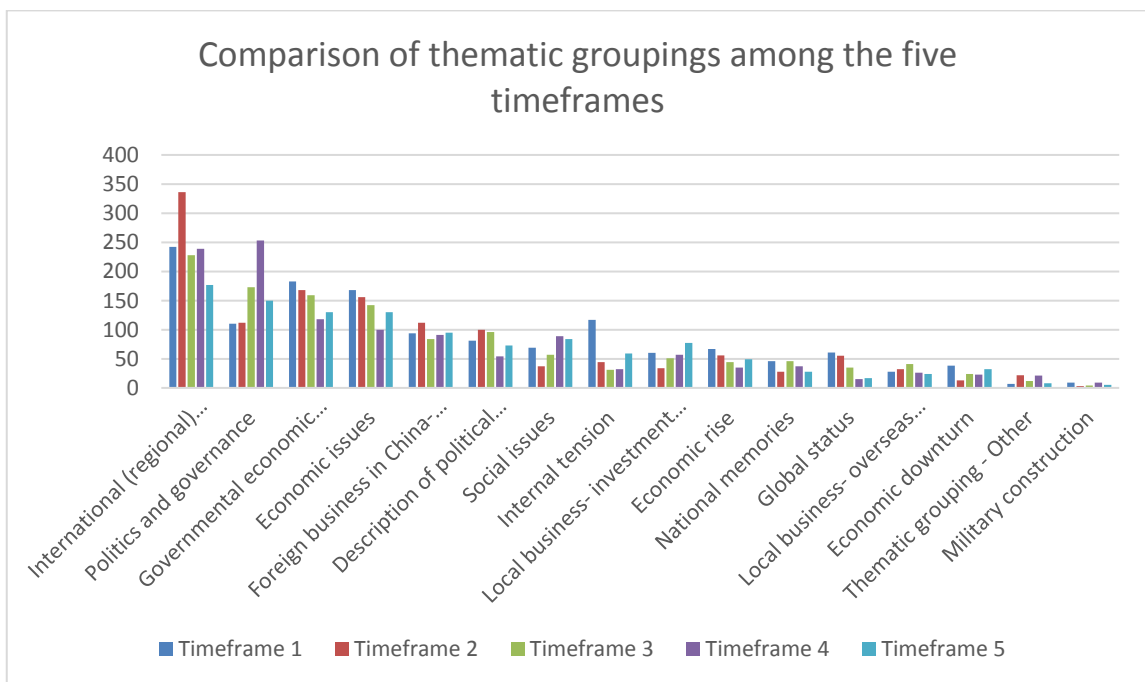


Chart 5.4 Comparison of thematic groupings among the five timeframes

5.7 Metaphorical patterns of themes

The metaphorical patterns of the five top-ranked thematic groupings including economic policy and practice, economic issues, international (regional) relations, politics and governance and investment environment for foreign business operating in China are analyzed in this section. The theme of local business operating in China is brought in as a supplementary source to compare and contrast with China's investment environment for foreign business. Another set of contrasting themes – economic rise and economic downturn – is also included to examine how a particular economic phenomenon is represented from a quantitative perspective.

Issues and policies

Table 5.13 (see Appendix 4) shows the metaphorical patterns of the theme related to economic policies and practices of the Chinese government. The top five metaphorical groupings representing economic policies and practices were: physical force (12.82%), mechanical (9.61%), bestial (8.68%), journey (6.94%) and military (4.41%). Physical force, bestial and military, the most salient metaphors within the large corpus, serve as important elements in the construction of the metaphorical pattern conceptualizing governmental policies. Mechanical metaphors tend to describe economic policies and practices as mechanical processes which are performed by discrete components with specific functions connected to each other in straightforward ways. The conceptual metaphor of journey lends itself to describing economic policies and activities, through expressions such as “slamming the brakes on its rail programme”, “rode to the rescue with a colossal stimulus package”, etc.

As shown in Table 5.14 (in Appendix 4), the top five metaphorical groupings in relation to economic issues were: bestial (9.07%), physical force (7.22%), medical (6.52%), irrational (5.52%) and water (4.67%). Medical metaphors, specifically metaphors of medical conditions (e.g. “symptom”, “plague”, “China's anaemic demand growth”), are favoured by journalists for getting to grips with the economic issues. The conceptual

metaphor of irrationality is often used to substantiate the abnormalities in the economy. The dangerous and destructive side of water is applied to different economic issues, through expressions such as “a drain on our synergy”, “a cascade of bad loans” etc.

International (regional) relations

According to Table 5.15 (in Appendix 4), the top five metaphorical groupings conceptualizing international (regional) relations were: physical force (9.10%), military (7.83%), love-hate relationship (5.85%), corporeal (5.78%) and bestial (5.06%). The conceptual metaphor of love-hate relationship is a particular element in the pattern, emphasizing the intensity of emotions involving love and hate between two interested parties. In this sense, a love-hate relationship often functions to reify complicated relations shaped by a composite of cultural, social, political and economic criteria. Corporeal metaphors are often utilized to visualize China’s growing international influence, through expressions such as “flexing its muscles”, “a more muscular China”, etc.

Politics and governance

According to Table 5.16 (in Appendix 4), the top five metaphorical groupings were: bestial (8.88%), military (8.62%), physical force (7.72%), corporeal (5.92%) and housekeeping (5.53%). The conceptual metaphor of housekeeping signifies the human efforts, often forcefully, to organize the political environment and maintain social order, with examples such as “purges of political rivals”, “brush off the constitutionalists”, “thorough clean-up of the party”, etc. Corporeal metaphors, which are associated with bodily attributes and sensory perception, reify political bodies and activities through emotive imagery such as “one hand tied behind its back”, “cutting one's wrist”, etc.

Investment environment in China for foreign and Chinese businesses

Table 5.17 (in Appendix 4) shows the top 20 conceptual metaphors conceptualizing the investment environment for foreign business and Chinese-owned business respectively. Metaphorical groupings of military, physical force and bestial are the most salient in both themes. Furthermore, metaphors of gambling and love-hate relationship are frequently used to frame foreign business operating in China, while the investment environment in China for local business is often associated with metaphorical imagery of diet and physical danger. In this sense, journalists who write about the investment environment in China for foreign businesses with the aid of gambling metaphors highlight the randomness of China's market, and furthermore question, both overtly and implicitly, the rationality and stability of the economic conditions in China. Yet the local businesses are tied up to metaphorical images of diet to conceptualize their growing need for economic initiatives in the local market.

Economic rise versus economic downturn

In addition to the investment environment for foreign and local businesses, there is another set theme consisting of two groupings diametrically opposite to each other. As shown in Table 5.18 (see Appendix 4), the top five metaphorical groupings in relation to economic rise were: physical movement (9.56%), bestial (8.37%), emotion and attitude (5.98%), corporeal (5.58%) and mechanical (5.58%), while metaphors of physical force (17.42%), bestial (7.58%), physical movement (7.58%), water (6.82%) and of emotion and attitude (6.06%) were the most frequently used to rationalize the topic of economic downturn. In both themes the metaphorical expressions reflecting upward/downward movement grounded in the human experience are salient in numerical terms. A set of contrasting bestial metaphors – bull and bear – with the particular cultural characteristics of China is another key source domain creating a reflection of economic phenomena, with examples such as “eloquent China bears”, “the most heated bulls”, etc.

In summary, as discussed in the above subsections, conceptual metaphors of physical force, bestial and military constitute a significant part of the metaphorical patterns

depicting a variety of themes across the economic environment, politics and governance and international relations. Some other metaphorical images abounding with cultural-specific attributes of China are also vital points of discussion for the next chapter.

5.8 Summary

The major foci of this chapter have centred on the volume of micro-metaphors and the presence of metaphorical patterns representing China in the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* in a quantitative account across a sampling period of 78 months during and after the 2008 Financial Crisis. A few highlights elicited from these quantitative findings are listed as follows:

- 1) In terms of the trend of micro-metaphors, the evidence indicates that there are no distinct fluctuations in the volume of micro-metaphors throughout the sampling period.
- 2) The metaphorical groupings of physical force, bestial and military function as key elements in regards to the metaphorical construction of China. The conceptual metaphors of physical force, bestial and military constitute a significant part of the metaphorical patterns depicting a variety of salient themes across the economic environment, politics and governance and international relations.
- 3) There was a regularity in the use of metaphors around China which indicates that neither of the publications presents hostility toward metaphors for reifying China in its news reporting. The construction of the metaphorical patterns in the two publications is similar in general, with some subtle differences in arrangement and emphasis.
- 4) In terms of the periodic fluctuations of the metaphorical representations, the data show that the metaphorical patterns across the sampling period can be

considered as similar, sharing a high percentage of consistency. There are also a few noticeable discrepancies arising from changes in the journalistic focus due to the outbreak of particular events which will be addressed in the next chapter as contextual factors.

Many of these quantitative findings require further investigation. A contextual analysis of those metaphorical groupings can be deployed to help understand to some extent how they function discursively in the financial press beyond the apparent extent. The next chapter therefore will focus on evaluation of the qualitative features of the dominant metaphorical groupings, incorporating the quantitative results with contextual factors.

PART III Findings and Discussion

Chapter 6: Qualitative Analysis

6.1 Introduction

China is a dominant financial-political player in the British financial press and yet its metaphorical image is very under-researched. The previous chapter has charted the quantitative features of metaphorical representations of China during and after the 2008 Financial Crisis. These findings invite elaborative analysis into how these metaphorical patterns are manifested qualitatively in particular contexts. The main research question posed in this chapter is whether metaphorical conceptualizations of China in the British financial press represent it as a rising global power or they instead tend to reinforce older stereotypical imaginations of China as the Other. Specifically, the discussion is viewed through the dimension of us/them binary and frameworks of stereotypical Orientalism and “becoming the sameness” Sinological Orientalism (Vukovich, 2012). It also questions assumptions that financial journalism should be more fact-based and less subject to stylistic ornamentation. Specifically, this chapter will focus on within the salient and distinct metaphorical groupings which will be examined individually based upon the thematic area they most frequently address, generating a suitably large corpus within which comparisons between examples with similar contexts may be made.

6.2 Physical force metaphor

A physical force schema includes elements of physical interactions such as direction, intensity, source and target of the force. In this section, metaphors of physical force are discussed based on the most frequently addressed themes: international (regional) relations (23.71%), governmental economic policy and practice (17.94%), politics and governance (12.37%) (see Table 6.1 in Appendix 5).

6.2.1 International (regional) relations

Example 1: Such sums might give the impression that China has been **throwing its money around with abandon**.²³

Example 2: [...] China is **throwing its weight around** in a way that is unfriendly.

Example 3: Mr Obama's riposte will be that America's diplomatic and military re-engagement in the region was an inevitable response to China's decision to **throw its weight around**.

Example 4: Asian countries are torn between looking to China for their wealth [...]. If China **throws its weight around**, they will vigorously resist.

Example 5: [...] that the swagger, bordering on arrogance, with which Chinese officials were **throwing their weight around** in the region and in the West in the depths of the financial crisis created unnecessary alarm.

Example 6: On top of this, a Chinese bid to **wrest** control of a sixth of Nigeria's proven crude reserves risks bringing matters to a head.

Example 7: By this misleading benchmark, most of those invited were against. Some, such as India, had to withstand concerted **Chinese arm-twisting**.

Example 8: It helps explain **China's push into India's backyard**, with roads, ports and pipelines, chiefly via Myanmar and Pakistan.

Example 9: When it comes to economic development, China has **trounced** India.

Physical force metaphors employed to address China's international strategies are highly cultural and specifically geo-political. For instance, its national and international fiscal policies, especially its credit expansion after the 2008 Financial Crisis, are depicted as "throwing money around with abandon", "throwing its weight around in a way that is unfriendly" (see Example 1, 2). China is "throwing its weight around" in Asia, bringing new challenges to the West and China's neighbours (Example 3, 4, 5). China's global expansion strategies are portrayed as "wrest[ing] control" over international resources (see Example 6). How China's growing ambition is afflicting China-India relations is depicted in terms of intrusive power and physical violence: "Chinese arm-twisting", "China's push into India's backyard", "China has trounced

²³ Dates for the examples are provided in Appendix 6.

India” (see Example 7, 8, 9). Evaluating China’s international relations with others through such physical force metaphors reinforces Said’s (1979) Orientalist stereotypes that would indicate that Orientals are barbarians, ruling by emotionality rather than rationality.

*Example 10: 19th-century China: **Clashing** with the foreign devils*

*Example 11: At the height of the Qing dynasty, back in the 1700s, China enjoyed a golden age. Barbarians were in awe of the empire and *rapacious foreigners* had not yet begun **hammering at the door**.*

*Example 12: **The China-bashing syndrome** [...] The fact that both parties are happy to portray China as *the bogeyman of globalisation* creates an impression of uniform hostility.*

*Example 13: **China syndrome**: Obama and Romney's **Beijing bashing** is cause for concern*

*Example 14: One of the new president's big jobs will be to stop a Democratic Congress from taking refuge in protectionism and **China-bashing** as the American economy slumps.*

The physical force metaphors can also be utilized to reinforce historical assertions of China’s physical weakness. A common theme repeated by the press as a historical reference is that of the “the century of humiliation” from the mid-nineteenth century which serves as “a cornerstone of Chinese nationalism and xenophobia” (Vassilev, 2010, p.79, also see Section 3, 4), hyping Sino-West rivalry and revealing the possibility for further alienation. For instance, the history of the foreign scramble for China from the First Opium War is described as China’s “clashing with the foreign devils” who “hammered at the door” (see Example 10, 11). In addition, a typical term of physical violence, “China-bashing”, also highlighting the Sino-US rivalry, is often used to map a modern US political tradition during presidential elections onto a Chinese context. It furthermore reinforces the “Orientals are evil” rhetoric by portraying China as “the bogeyman of globalisation” (see Example 12, 13). The British financial press often expresses concern about this “China-bashing syndrome” because with its anti-China strategy, the US might risk breaking a profitable partnership with China (see Example 14). Although much of the discourse signalled in Example 11, 12, 13 relates to US discussion of China and non-Chinese actors, the representation of physical

precariousness of China still explicitly refers back to an Orientalist view that the Orientals are weak.

Example 15: GSK's legal problems, however they turn out, are evidently not a simple case of **foreigner-bashing**.

Example 16: The state's crackdowns on big firms are not all about **bashing** foreigners.

Example 17: The comments followed a declaration by Google on Tuesday that a series of cyberattacks it had faced from China had forced it to confront the issue of Chinese censorship despite the risk of being **thrown out of the world's biggest internet market**.

Example 18: First, rising costs mean that bosses must shift from going for growth to enhancing productivity. This sounds obvious, but in China the mentality has long been "**just throw more men at the problem**".

Like the "China-bashing syndrome" of the US, China's syndrome of "foreigner bashing" is also presented as affecting the strategic relations with its major trading partners and investment environment for foreign businesses (see Example 15, 16). For instance, Google's confrontation with the issues of internet censorship in China puts itself at risk of "being thrown out of the world's biggest internet market" (see Example 17). The use of physical force metaphors with negative implications to describe the deterioration of business performance indicate how a soft investment environment, which comprises factors such as history, culture, political system etc., affects the operation and development of foreign enterprises both immediately and in the long run. In this sense, this type of micro-metaphors depicts China as a place unlike other liberal capitalist countries; its market operates on a cultural basis, representing logics that are viewed as bellicose and barbarian in their need to see outsiders yield to its dictates. Furthermore, investment culture, which is one of the defining factors of a soft investment environment, can also be conceptualized through physical force, showcasing the unruly characteristics of China's market condition in a metaphorical display. Rising labour costs in China have hit the foreign firms who are entangled with the traditional mentality of "throw[ing] more men at the problem" (see Example 18).

Example 19: A run on the dollar would be a **blow to China** itself, **slashing** the value of its stash of over \$800 billion in US Treasuries.

Example 20: Beijing's response to Washington's move is more than a **tit-for-tat blow** [...]

Example 21: On money matters, Mr Obama's foolish decision to **slap tariffs on Chinese tyres** has given dangerous encouragement to protectionists in America.

Example 22: Those in glassy waters shouldn't **throw stones**. Such plans suggest that though **China is getting all the brickbats**, downstream countries should face much closer scrutiny too.

Example 23: China **strikes back** at 'irresponsible' US

Example 24: Barack Obama made an obligatory stop at the Great Wall of China yesterday at the close of a three-day visit in which he also **bumped against the "great firewall" of China**.

Example 25: He has also delivered a nuclear-powered **slap in the face to China** [...]

With China's rising power, the potential for destructive clashes between China and Western countries seems unbounded. The China-West rivalry is often presented in a form of physical combat which may wreak havoc upon each participant. For instance, a run on the dollar's dominance in the global trading system might become "a blow to China itself, slashing the value of its stash" of US Treasuries (see Example 19). Mr Obama's decision to impose emergency tariffs on Chinese tyres ("slap tariffs on Chinese tyres") is viewed as a "foolish decision", and China's response to the move is "a tit-for-tat blow", fuelling a Sino-US war over trade (see Example 20, 21). In terms of environmental issues, critics are "throw[ing] stones" at China's hydropower plans, and China "strikes back" at the US for disparaging its commitment to tackling climate change (see Example 22, 23). Furthermore, China is a rival of the West not only in the dimension of power but also of ideology. For instance, Mr Obama "bumped against the 'great firewall' of China", pointing out the pressing need for internet freedom in China (see Example 24). On the other hand, the instability of alliances is also conceptualized through metaphors of physical violence. The relationship between

China and its long-standing ally North Korea may deteriorate because North Korea “delivered a nuclear-powered slap in the face to China” (see Example 25).

6.2.2 Governmental economic policy and practice

Example 26: The government entities that own majority stakes in most Chinese banks are all expected to maintain their levels of ownership in order to preserve **the state's grip on the sector**.

Example 27: Ulan Bator is concerned that China, which accounts for more than 90 per cent of the country's exports, could gain **an unhealthy grip over the pricing of minerals**.

Example 28: Beijing keeps **a tight grip on capital flows across its borders**, and foreign institutions that are seeking to buy stocks or bonds must obtain a special quota.

Example 29: Even if a huge swathe of loans go bad, the consequence is unlikely to be a Lehman-style financial collapse. For that, thank **the Chinese regime's vice-like grip on its financial system**.

Example 30: [...] as booming demand from countries such as **China squeezes supplies**.

Example 31: Concerns over monetary tightening in China **heavily dragged on the materials sector**.

As first suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphorical expressions are often created based on experiential connections with our own physical actions such as pulling, pushing or holding. Discussions of economic environment normally involve distinctive metaphors originating from our bodily experiences related to physical actions. In this particular case, one of the most salient metaphorical expressions used to describe the government's economic policies and practices in China is associated with tight control, through expressions such as “the state's grip on the sector”, “an unhealthy grip over the pricing of minerals”, “a tight grip on capital flows across its borders”, “the Chinese regime's vice-like grip on its financial system”, “China squeezes supplies” (see Examples 26 to 30). Physical force metaphors used to present governmental economic practices and policies point out the deep social and historical

roots behind China's economic rise. This group of metaphors naturally exclude China's economic system from the capitalist economies which emphasize the spontaneous order and human liberty in a secured economic environment. China's market economy, established at the end of the 20th century, is still only in partial form due to the state's monopolization of important sectors including oil, railway, and finance and the state's grip on the lifeblood of the national economy. Although China's development strategy may be benign judging from its economic growth, this group of metaphors implies a long-term problem that distinguishes China from liberal capitalist societies. For instance, examples such as monetary tightening that "heavily dragged on the materials sector" (see Example 31) reinforce the notion that although China has successfully transitioned from a Soviet-style planned economy to a socialist market economy after Deng's economic reform from 1978 and more autonomy is permitted in production and management, China's market economy is still plagued by residual problems emerging from the extensive growth development model imported from the Soviet Union in the early 1950s, which relied on large-scale state investment to shore up growth and tight macroeconomic control to counter economic issues.

Example 32: [...] which has already been **pummelled** by the 66 per cent drop in the Chinese stock market [...] China's leadership is "scared to death".

Example 33: [...] China **wrestles with slower growth**, and the outlook dims for the likes of Russia and Brazil.

Example 34: In his first state-of-the-nation speech since the global economic slump began **battering** China late last year, Wen Jiabao, the prime minister, painted a grim picture of the troubles ahead.

In addition, the use of physical force metaphors in describing economic issues and downturn tends toward the universal in economic and financial news writing. It can be seen as a gateway for the transfer of our understanding about physical force to a complex economic scenario that is in need of visualization. Metaphorical expressions such as "pummelled by the 66 per cent drop", "China wrestles with slower growth", "battering China" imply current economic difficulties that are the manifestation of contradictions that have accumulated during the expanding hiatus in governmental economic activities (see Example 32, 33, 34). The negative implications behind the

conventionally used physical force metaphors involving violence and conflict can serve as a basis for demonstrating the intensity of economic struggle generally. As discussed in Section 2.3.1, the use of conventional metaphors in news discourse may reinforce the negative impact of certain events (in this case, the severity of financial downturn) which is embedded in our human understanding (i.e. Santa Ana, 1999).

6.2.3 Politics and governance

Example 35: [...] President Xi Jinping [...] is **tightening his grip on power**, and with it his ability to achieve breakthroughs in economic and social reforms.

Example 36: Tightening the screws: Deaths in Tiananmen Square unnerve leaders before a crucial gathering

Example 37: [...] some of China's living artists are feeling **the squeeze of the state**.

Example 38: The party **tightens its grip** on the Catholic church

Example 39: Xi turns to Mao to tighten the **party's grip on the future**

When discussing China's control over the economy and civil society under Xi Jinping's presidency, the primary interest of news is how the party has become more assertive, reclaiming functions that the government carved out during decades of political and economic liberalization (see Example 35). China's pursuit of greater control for the Communist party and state over various aspects ranging from social unrest, art, literature and religion, is represented using expressions such as "tightening the screws" on social gatherings, "the squeeze of the state" for artworks, "tighten[ing] its grip on the Catholic church" (see Example 36, 37, 38). In this sense, "Xi turns to Mao" through seizing greater control over the civil society, thereby promoting conservatism and traditionalism of the authoritarian one-party rule and rehabilitating the history of Mao's era (see Example 39).

Example 40: One of best known stand-up comedians in China, Guo Degang, has been **lambasted** in the official press for his supposedly vulgar behaviour.

Example 41: Journalism in Hong Kong: **Beat the press**

Example 42: It is a past master at **squashing dissidents** and offering inducements to those who co-operate quietly.

Example 43: The history of the internet in China is one of give and take, of **punch and counterpunch**, where the authorities are often surprised by the force and speed of online interactions but determined to keep them under control.

Physical force metaphors referring to abstract political actions are frequently used to address issues related to press control. The Chinese government has kept tight reins on news media to maintain stability and avoid potential subversion of authority. These metaphors represent China's tactics of censorship over all media capable of reaching a wide audience, with expressions such as "lambast[ing] in the official press", "punch and counterpunch", "beat[ing] the press", "squashing dissidents" (see Example 40, 41, 42). In the meantime, the burgeoning internet space with more advanced technology and people's growing need for internet freedom is testing the government's control (i.e. MacKinnon, 2008, 2009). Metaphors such as "punch and counterpunch" in cyberspace represent an intensified relation between the government and the internet users in China, thus functioning as conveyers of emotions (e.g. anger, anxiety, fear) that are associated with physical violence (see Example 43).

Example 44: **Rock** the vote

Example 45: Less than two weeks later, on July 18th, the restive region in China's far west was again **rocked by violence**.

Example 46: Has China returned to the days of central planning? Or is it just **stomping** on anything that smacks of democracy?

Example 47: China is **gripped** by a sense that corruption has never been as bad as it is today and that it has started to **shake** the very foundations of the country's economic development.

Example 48: [...] Hu Jintao has stepped down not only as the Communist Party's general secretary, but also as head of China's army, was part of **the biggest shake-up of the party's leadership** in a decade.

Example 49: The spectacular downfall of Mr Bo, one of China's most powerful politicians, has **rocked the stability-obsessed ruling party**.

Example 50: The Bo Xilai case: **Shattering the façade**

Importantly, the physical force metaphors can also highlight instability: the instability of the Chinese government's forward-looking imaginations, on which they base their economic and political planning; the instability arising from social tensions between different ethnic groups; and the instability of China's internal political system resulting from the shift of leadership. For instance, rural activists may "rock the vote" and find some scope to seek justice in a rather isolated and underdeveloped area (see Example 44). Social stability has been "rocked by violence" in the Xinjiang riots (see Example 45). The shutdown of a TV show in which the audience vote for the winner is described as "stomping on anything that smacks of democracy" (see Example 46). Corruption remains endemic, and "has started to shake the very foundations of the country's economic development" (see Example 47). China's leadership transition in 2012 and 2013 is framed as "the biggest shake-up" in a decade, painting a murky picture of its domestic politics (see Example 48). China is reeling from the downfall of Xilai Bo, one of the most frequently discussed politicians, which "has rocked the stability-obsessed ruling party" and shattered Xi's façade (see Example 49, 50). The narrative of instability is viewed as one of the undercurrents that fuel the depiction of Orientals as dangerous, highlighting political instability as a major problem in China.

In sum, analysis of the metaphorical grouping of physical force points to the ways in which Orientalist frames relating to China work to reconstruct its image in the light of China's cultural-specific market economy and the potential danger behind its growth story. Within this metaphorical frame, disproportionate attention was paid to the ways in which China has failed to engage in market liberalization and the alleged irrationality behind its prosperous state-controlled economy. China's perceived economic threat, exemplified by its belligerent economic conduct, draws an old Orientalist gaze onto China's propensity as being incongruent with Western ideology (Tang, 2017).

Orientalist knowledge of China projected from the metaphorical grouping of physical force can be seen as "a form of paranoia, knowledge of another kind, say, from ordinary historical knowledge" (Said, 1979, p. 72-73), indexing China's economic

growth as being safeguarded by a mutant form of Soviet-style state machinery with an expansive, state-owned economy and an administrative socialist ideology. These depictions implicitly differentiate China from Western societies, “turn[ing] the appetite for more geographical space into a theory about the special relationship between geography on the one hand and civilized or uncivilized peoples on the other” (Said, 1979, p.216).

6.3 Bestial metaphors

The source domain of bestial behaviour is extremely prevalent in the corpus and most of these references are negative in implication, mainly highlighting China’s tight state control and growing global ambition. The top thematic groupings in which bestial metaphors were represented were: politics and governance (14.44%), governmental economic policy and practice (13.60%), economic issues (13.39%) and international (regional) relations (13.18%) (See Table 6.2 in Appendix 5). The following subsections will discuss these themes respectively.

6.3.1 Politics and governance

References to dogs

Example 51: They have no illusions about the catastrophes he **unleashed**, such as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.

Example 52: On the night of June 3rd-4th 1989 the Chinese army **unleashed** its tanks in the centre of Beijing to crush a protest that had begun seven weeks earlier against the Communist Party’s autocratic rule.

Example 53: It was 1967 and the height of the Cultural Revolution, the bloody chaos **unleashed** by Mao to purge the party and consolidate power.

Example 54: Ms Chen is playing her part in a **barrage of dream-themed propaganda unleashed** by the Communist Party.

Example 55: No sign of political reform as party chief signals next cohort of leaders will be on a **short leash** [...]

Example 56: China's own film producers are likewise kept on a **short leash**, as are book publishers.

Example 57: Deng's calls for market-oriented reforms sent central-planners scurrying and **unleashed** the entrepreneurial energy that has helped China to grow at giddy rates since.

Canine metaphors run through the whole corpus and suggest the role that is assigned to the Chinese government. The term “unleash”, which originated from the concept of a trained dog, is often presented in relation to the outbreaks of political movements (e.g. Cultural Revolution, 1989 Tiananmen Movement), implying that prior to the “unleashing”, intense public anger has already presented and unleashing of political control, often by violent means, is utilized to maintain social stability: “the catastrophes he unleashed”, “Chinese army unleashed its tanks”, “the bloody chaos unleashed by Mao” (see Example 51, 52, 53). Under the leadership of President Xi, “unleashing” is mostly used to describe the tightening of the ideological rein in terms of propaganda: “a barrage of dream-themed propaganda unleashed by the Communist Party” (see Example 54). The metaphor of “short leash” can also refer to situations in which a central political mechanism has a high degree of control over the political and social structures, with expressions such as the “next cohort of leaders will be on a short leash” or “film producers are likewise kept on a short leash” (see Example 55, 56). On the other hand, the use of “unleash” may be formulated in a positive way when describing strategies for strengthening economic freedom: “Deng’s calls [...] unleashed the entrepreneurial energy” (see Example 57).

Example 58: **The dog that didn't bark** -The curious silencing of China’s prime minister and his views on political reform.

Example 59: At home, the authorities' **bite is as bad as their bark**.

Example 60: Defensive and assertive in its words, China for the time being has a **bark** that is worse than its **bite**.

Example 61: As Hong Kong erupts, Mr Xi is trying to head off dissent within his own ranks by **pulling back the attack dogs** and reassuring the old guard [...]

Example 62: The attempt to **fling the public a bone** is not limited to Xinjiang.

Example 63: For now the party would rather deal with **angry underdogs** than with an embittered bourgeoisie.

“The dog that didn't bark”, an expression borrowed from a Sherlock Holmes mystery, can be interpreted as an analogy for the prime minister's “curious silencing” of political reform in China (see Example 58). There is a clear contrast between China's silence and its prompt bark. When dealing with organized protest and dissent at home or finger-pointing from the West, the government is very capable of promptly “barking” its disapproval and even “biting” the opponents (see Example 59, 60). In terms of internal tensions, President Xi's conservative strategy for dealing with the pro-democracy protesters in Hong Kong is described as “pulling back the attack dogs and reassuring the old guard” (see Example 61), and the government attempts to “fling the public a bone” in order to quieten down the popular outcry in restive regions such as Xinjiang and Tibet (see Example 62). The party also puts much effort into placating the “angry underdog” – the lower classes (see Example 63).

References to cat and mouse: censorship

Example 64: The machinery of control: **Cat and mouse**

Example 65: [...] has embroiled the Chinese authorities in a **long cat-and-mouse struggle**.

Example 66: China's internet: **A giant cage**

Example 67: Allowing a distinctly Chinese internet to flourish has been an important part **of building a better cage**.

Example 68: Outsiders often describe China's internet as an **ever-evolving game of cat and mouse** in which both parties keep getting cleverer. [...] The Chinese government has a strong interest in catching and silencing the troublemakers among the **mice** [...] But it has just as much interest in providing **a roomier and more attractive cage for all the mice** so that they might make less trouble.

Example 69: Of mice and Chinamen

A simple metaphor, the cat-and-mouse game, is frequently used to describe the continuing fight between government censorship, the cat, and the Chinese Internet users (see Example 64, 65). A variety of metaphorical extensions can be observed: China's internet is described as "a giant cage", and the government's strategic censorship, as "an ever-evolving game of cat and mouse", is "building a better cage" and "providing a roomier and more attractive cage for all the mice" (see Example 66, 67, 68). "Of mice and Chinamen", borrowing upon and extending the reference to John Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men*, illustrates an interlock between China's vulnerable netizens and ruthless censors (see Example 69). Such a powerful and pejorative image echoes the main themes – dream and isolation – in *Of Mice and Men*²⁴: the "mice" had dreamed of a freer internet and are now faced with the harsh reality of tight internet control. The popularized and oversimplified image of a cat-and-mouse game between censors and citizens signifies the strangeness in China's online environment, isolating it from Western community.

References to tigers: power struggle

Example 70: It helps the party claim, as Mr Xi and others like to say, that **high-ranking "tigers"** as well as **humble "flies"** are in the new leaders' sights.

Example 71: Captured in a **tiger hunt**

Example 72: Tussling with **tigers**

Example 73: **Tiger in the net**

Example 74: **The spider at the centre of a web** of corrupt patronage, he enriched himself, his family, his many mistresses and his cronies at vast cost to the government.

²⁴ The title of "*Of Mice and Men*" comes from the poem "To a Mouse, On Turning Her Up in Her Nest with a Plow" written by the Scottish poet Robert Burns in 1785.

Example 75: But Mr Xi apparently has his sights on **an even bigger beast**: a former chief of domestic security and one-time oilman, Zhou Yongkang.

Example 76: [...] both by **high-ranking “tigers”** as well as **the lowly “flies” buzzing around the dung heap of China’s public ethics**.

There are a body of “tiger and fly” references observed in the news articles related to China’s power struggle, originating from President Xi’s speech addressing the anti-corruption campaign: corrupt senior officials are “high-ranking tigers” and corrupt local cadres are “humble flies” (see Example 70). In a Chinese context, the anti-corruption slogan “strike tigers and flies together” emerges from a historically consistent narrative of the tiger as a ferocious and cruel creature, the elimination of which is thus viewed as “a daunting task that requires extraordinary strength and courage” (Jing-Schmidt and Peng, 2017, p.14). Therefore, the “tiger” metaphor is used to construct a political reality with “culturally inherited emotional associations with tiger-slaying heroism” (Jing-Schmidt and Peng, 2017, p.19). Unlike the entailment of the tiger metaphor in the Chinese context which is based upon the blending of the power and heroism domains, the metaphorical images of the tiger in the British financial press are often associated with the complex power struggle, adding to the pervasive sense of uncertainty in China’s political environment: “captured in a tiger hunt”, “tussling with tigers”, “tiger in the net” (see Example 71, 72, 73). The British press views the high-ranking tiger Yongkang, Zhou, one of the most frequently mentioned politicians in the corpus (see Section 5.5), as equivalent to other animate beings such as “the spider at the centre of a web” or “an even bigger beast” (see Example 74, 75). Additionally, the metaphors related to “flies” are often presented with dirt metaphors, highlighting the moral impropriety in China’s political system: “the lowly ‘flies’ buzzing around the dung heap of China’s public ethics” (see Example 76).

6.3.2 Economic aspects

Example 77: China must **empty the cages**, as the saying goes, to welcome new and more beautiful birds.

Example 78: "Keep the cage, but change the bird" - the province wants to replace inefficient low-cost and labour-intensive manufacturing with more high-tech and service companies and "greener" manufacturing.

The “bird-cage” economic theory, proposed by Yun Chen who was one of the most important contributors to China’s economic reform from the 1970s, helped ease the revival of the private sector after the Mao period. In Chen’s view, China’s socialist economy was the bird and the central planning capacity was represented by a cage. The cage should continually adjust itself to allow greater freedom for the bird, but without the cage, the bird will fly away – which is analogous to economic disorder (Coase and Wang, 2012, p.74-75). The “bird-cage” metaphor remains salient in the metaphorical image of China’s market conditions, with a range of extensions. For instance, a squeeze on lending hits China’s entrepreneurial heartland and the government must “empty the cages, as the saying goes, to welcome new and more beautiful birds” (see Example 77). A developing strategy, summarized as “keep the cage, but change the bird”, is adopted to push ahead with China’s new free-trade zones (see Example 78). Such expressions underline China’s economic vision that state control should be primary, supplemented by the market adjustment.

*Example 79: These require recipients of money from China's **mammoth** fiscal expansion to choose domestic suppliers [...]*

*Example 80: Ever since China **unleashed a mammoth credit-fuelled stimulus programme** at the end of 2008, investors have been braced for a rise in bad loans.*

*Example 81: After years in which **state behemoths** dominated China's corporate landscape, suddenly a whole crop of private companies have broken through.*

*Example 82: **China’s banking behemoths** are too beholden to the state. It is time to set finance free.*

*Example 83: Yet China’s soft power is undermined by a **beast** it is not good at fighting: resentment [...] Central Asia’s governments see China as a wealthy and willing partners, but on the ground little is*

being done to ease tensions between Chinese workers and their host communities.

China's up and coming economy is backed by an authoritarian-capitalist model, and the news articles have drawn upon a range of emotionally coloured hyperbole to convey the bestial metaphor in referring to the power of this development model. The portrayal of China's state-controlled economy as having abnormal physical power is realized through metaphorical expressions such as "China's mammoth fiscal expansion", "unleash[ing] a mammoth credit-fuelled stimulus programme", "state behemoths", "China's banking behemoths" (see Examples 79-82). In the meantime, state intervention confronts greater pressures and risks: the state-led "behemoths" are challenged by "a whole crop of private companies"; and too heavy a state hand through bureaucratic meddling in the banking system is creating an economy with distortions (e.g. rising debt), so "it is time to set finance free" (see Example 31, 32). In addition, China's border disputes can be conceptualized through an image of a powerful and violent animate being. For instance, China's soft power, which comes with a hard edge, may be undermined by conflict potential with Central Asia – "a beast it is not good at fighting" (see Example 83).

Example 84: So long as China remains a dictatorship, it will be **trapped** in a world of mass production and routine assembly [...]

Example 85: China is caught in a "**dollar trap**" and has little choice but to keep pouring the bulk of its growing reserves into the US Treasury

Example 86: The report warned China faces being **ensnared in a "middle-income trap"** [...]

Example 87: [...] China looks to be **caught in a nasty trap** of artificial and unsustainable growth driven by rapid credit growth and bubble psychology [...]

Example 88: [...] China's leaders have finally managed to **tame** what they refer to as the "**vicious tiger**" of inflation.

Example 89: China is **harnessing its hunger for electricity**, in other words, to increase its economic power.

Example 90: Beijing recently launched a set of extraordinary measures to **tame property prices** [...]

Example 91: Chinese financial reform: **Free-range banks** - China's banks gain a little more financial freedom.

Example 92: Tibet: **Taming** the west (Tibet's integration) - The Communist Party deepens Tibet's integration with the rest of the country.

Example 93: Inner Mongolia had long been regarded as among **the tamest** of China's ethnic-minority regions.

References to animal trapping which depict China as an animal to be lured or baited are negative in implication: China may be “be trapped in a world of mass production and routine assembly” or caught over a “middle income trap”, “dollar trap” or “in a nasty trap of artificial and unsustainable growth” (see Examples 84 to 87). The term “trap”, which has been used repeatedly in financial reporting, has come to dominate the discussions about economic policy agendas and China's economic future. The group of metaphors related to domestication also underlines problems in governmental practices and policies, especially conduct relating to tight state control expressed in terms such as “tam[ing] [...] the ‘vicious tiger’ of inflation”, “harness[ing] its hunger for electricity”, “tam[ing] property prices” (see Example 88, 89, 90). In addition, terms referring to husbandry where the animals can roam freely outdoors are used to represent financial liberalization, with expressions such as “free-range banks” (see Example 91). In addition, the government's control over the restive regions can also be conceptualized using domestication metaphors: “taming the west”, “the tamest of China's ethnic-minority regions” (see Example 92, 93).

Example 94: Finally, there's a **bull in a China shop**

Example 95: **Bulls in a China shock**

Example 96: [...] this notorious "**Bull in a China stock**" is not alone.

Example 97: China's interest rate rise on Tuesday unnerved the markets and could go some way to **cooling the ardour of the most heated bulls**.

Example 98: China's **nostalgic bulls** will have to do the same.

It is interesting to see how the generally positive metaphor “Bull”, representing investors’ confidence and positive expectations, is used to cast the rise of China’s market conditions in a negative light. The bull metaphors are reconstructed based on metaphorical idioms. For instance, “bull in a China shop” and “bulls in a China shock” imply that China should behave carefully in making financial decisions (see Example 94, 95). The story about “Bull in a China stock” was notorious (see Example 96). The bull seems problematic and China needed to “cool the ardour of the most heated bulls” (see Example 97). Although the confidence was bolstered by economic indicators showing the economy gaining strength, “China’s nostalgic bulls” can no longer retain the heady rates of 2010 (see Example 98).

Example 99: [...] or China, **the elephant outside the room**, with which America more or less openly competes for influence in Asia these days.

Example 100: When Shanghai unveiled its magnetic levitation train in March 2004 it was hailed [...] as **a white elephant** by many independent commentators.

Example 101: **The elephant that didn’t bark**

There is also a group containing the elephant metaphor that is borrowed from idiomatic usage. Because of its rising economic power, China is becoming not only an emerging troublesome elephant but “the elephant outside the room” and under the spotlight of competing with the US for influence in Asia (see Example 99). On the other hand, government extravagance such as the magnetic levitation train in Shanghai which reflects China’s rising economic power sometimes can be seen as “a white elephant”: useless, expensive to maintain, but good to swagger about (see Example 100). This depiction once again projects Said’s (1979) orientalist frame that Orientals are irrational. Additionally, China was also “the elephant that didn’t bark”, or more specifically, cannot bark about human rights issues or other Western liberal thinking

(see Example 101). This imagery employs a common frame – liberal individualism in which the West considers itself a democratic society compared to China, to criticize the Other of being uncivilized and immoral (Tang, 2017).

6.3.3 International (regional) relations

Example 102: Dragon rising

Example 103: Measuring GDP: The dragon takes wing

Example 104: That the Chinese dragon is spreading its wings is undeniable.

Example 105: Will it be enough to re-stoke the dragon's fire?

Example 106: These countries are benefiting from being on the 'dragon's doorstep' and as such have a close relationship with China.

Example 107: In turn European politicians regularly travel east in the hope of channelling the Dragon's largesse into their lacklustre economies.

Example 108: Do more to entice the dragon

Example 109: The idea that China might become a dragon ex machina, spending hundreds of billions of dollars on the bonds of troubled European governments, is fantasy.

In China, dragons, which are legendary creatures in Chinese mythology, have traditionally symbolized strength, auspicious powers and nobility. As discussed in Section 4.4.3, China's increasing economic and political powers are represented through expressions with positive implication such as "dragon rising", "the dragon takes wings", "the Chinese dragon is spreading its wings", "re-stoke the dragon's fire" (see Examples 102 to 105). China is metaphorically conceptualized as a cultural-specific animal with strength. As an emerging world superpower, China can benefit other developing neighbours who are "on the 'dragon's doorstep'" as well as the Western countries with "the hope of channelling the dragon's largesse into their lacklustre economies" and "do[ing] more to entice the dragon" (see Example 106, 107,

108). However, the possibility that “China might become a dragon ex machina” for the troubled European countries is often criticized as being “fantasy” (see Example 109).

Example 110: **Dragon** 'aggressively' pursues Mauritius as Africa hub

Example 111: China and Sudan: There be **dragons**

Example 112: China and jobs: Who's afraid of **the dragon**?

Example 113: [...] but the economic relationship between the superpower and **the dragon breathing down its neck** is fraught.

Example 114: China's military rise: **The dragon's new teeth**

Example 115: They would become, it said, **an unstoppable dragon**, “full of strength from head to tail”.

Example 116: **A dragon of many colours:** America will have to get along with China. But which China will it be?

Example 117: Don't pull the **dragon's tail**

On the other hand, dragons in Western culture have traditionally been a symbol of evil and malevolence, representing dark activities such as greed, lust and violence. When discussing how China is looking to exert its influence in the foreign policy area, the British financial press tends to adopt the more negative perspective on dragons.²⁵ The dragon image can be used to convey an ominous sign, implying China's possible threat to the West. The dragon shows a craving for dominance in the developing world (see Example 110, 111, 112), and the economic relations between US and China, “the dragon breathing down its neck” become more distressingly complex (see Example 113). “The dragon's new teeth” refers to China's rising military ambition which might foment disputes in its neighbourhood (see Example 114). Supported by China's rising military might, China would become “an unstoppable dragon, “full of strength from head to tail”” (see Example 115). Furthermore, there is a set of dragon metaphors depicting China as fractious and unstable: China has become increasingly irritated when it sees its rivals and adversaries “pull[ing] the dragon's tail” and meddling in its internal

²⁵ Although some of the bestial metaphors (e.g. dragon) can be considered neutral, the contextual meanings of these metaphorical manifestations are negative or radicalized (e.g. dragon's new teeth).

affairs. The US has to deal with “a dragon of many colours” and its unpredictable foreign policy experiment (see Example 116, 117). Without explicitly demonizing China as a bellicose enemy, the cultural implication behind this dragon imagery suggests the rise of China as a cause for concern and a recipe for conflict, triggering changes in the existing global structure.

Example 118: China once gave its pandas away as **cuddly ambassadors** [...]

Example 119: The West hopes that wealth, globalisation and political integration will turn China into a gentle giant, a **panda** rather than a dragon.

Example 120: How **panda** became cuddly currency

Example 121: **China's panda-hug**, meanwhile, looks irresistible.

Example 122: City folk will know the **panda** has genuinely landed when Chinese banks plant flags across the Square Mile in the tradition of expansionary Japanese predecessors in the 70s and 80s.

Since the 1950s, the panda has become synonymous with China, pushed by the Communist Party’s practice of “panda diplomacy”. The panda is viewed as a symbol of friendship and peace, sending propitious messages (Hartig, 2013, p.57). The panda is a “cuddly ambassador”, a diplomatic gift, a symbol of conservation and nation states invest them with positive meaning (see Example 118). As a salient contrast to dragon metaphors, the West appraises China as being “a gentle giant, a panda rather than a dragon” (see Example 119). Positive images may occur at a time when China-Western national interests converge: for instance, Western countries encourage the conception of Chinese currency as a panda that is “cuddly” and can be captive (see Example 120). “China’s panda-hug” is irresistible to Mongolia which is economically dependent on China (see Example 121). The image of the panda can also be used to describe optimistic attitudes toward the prospects for international cooperation: “the panda has genuinely landed” (see Example 122). Panda metaphors imply a major deviation from the classical Orientalism syndrome that stresses a difference in essence between the West and the Orient. This new Orientalist image emphasizes the West’s idealized

imagination of China as a peaceful, non-threatening country which is “becoming the same” as civilized “us”.

Across the bestial associations, China is routinely constructed within a range of metaphorical representations which highlight negative parameters. The presence of popularized metaphors such as “cat-and-mouse game” and “bird-cage” clearly remains central to these patternings of depicting China as an authoritarian country with tight control over its economic and political environment. The internal struggles are often conceptualized through references to animalistic strength and ferocity (e.g. “tiger”, “beast”, “behemoth”), illuminating the enormous hidden dangers in China’s economic and political system. Metaphorical representations including “dragon” are constructed in a very culturally specific way, highlighting China’s potential threat to the Western societies.

6.4 Military metaphor

This section discusses the military metaphor comprising a blend of subdomains such as military strategy, physical violence and military relations. According to Table 6.3 (in Appendix 5), the top three themes that military metaphors addressed were: international (regional) relations, politics and governance, the investment environment for foreign business operations in China. The following subsections are arranged based on these top themes with additional thematic groupings added as complementary sources.

6.4.1 International (regional) relations

Example 123: This bill would escalate tensions between China and America, and risk sparking **a trade war**.

Example 124: **The tyre wars:** Playing with fire

Example 125: But mainly it is because **picking a fight with an all-important trading partner** [...]

Example 126: Mr Romney mocks the suggestion that **he is gunning for a trade war** (let alone a conventional one). An undeclared conflict is already under way, he suggests, and China is *winning*.

Example 127: China's trade allies in US **losing fight with hawks**

Example 128: In spite of India's growing thirst for energy, it has been **lagging behind China in the battle** to secure energy resources.

The metaphor of warfare pervades the portrayal of China's role on the global stage. Expressions related to a state of armed conflict such as "war", "fight" and "battle" are salient in the military category. Generally speaking, the metaphorical view of international relations as "at war" is highly masculinized and characterized by extreme aggression, destruction and mortality. In the financial press which highlights the economic interactions between nation states, economic power plays an important role in determining whether a state is conceived as powerful or weak. For instance, in the trade wars with the US, China can be viewed as masculine, on an equal-footing with the US: "sparking a trade war", "the tyre wars: playing with fire", "picking a fight with an all-important trading partner" and "gunning for a trade war" (see Examples 123 to 126). In this sense, assuming China as an equal opponent of the US in trade and currency wars reflects that China is seen by Westerners as moving toward a mirror image of modern, liberal and capitalist societies, which points out that China is in a process of "becoming the same as us" (Vukovich, 2012). Those depictions represent how the world order may be reconstructed based on the outcome of the "war" between China and the US. Relations between China and others are conceptualized in terms of an asymmetrical power distribution. Power relations between China and others are unstable and can be determined based upon the outcome of battles. As power is relative, China can be seen as powerful though only as compared to those who are weaker: China lost its fight "with the hawks" in a trade war; but it won the battle with India over energy resources (see Example 127, 128). Fundamentally, the power relationship between China and the West is a battle between different political and economic ideologies, or in Foucault's term, a battle for "truth". In Foucault's conception, each society has its

particular politics and political economy of truth, so this battle around what constitutes “truth” is a battle of “the status of the truth and the economic and political role it plays” (in Rabinow, 2001, p.74).

Example 129: Mr Wang hesitated before looking up and replying:
“Most Chinese would say the US is the **enemy**.”

Example 130: Mr Xi, it was announced this week, will travel to America in September for his first state visit. It would help if he curbed his army’s tendency to portray America as **China’s arch-enemy**.

Example 131: So far, with the **main two combatants** in last year's conflict - the US and China - having quietened down for the moment, the tension has yet to rise again to anything like last year's levels.

Example 132: A hawkish Chinese strategist at the conference was unapologetic, growling that America was “**taking the Chinese as the enemy**”.

Example 133: ONE foreign-policy issue on which, in theory, China and the West stand **shoulder-to-shoulder** is *the fight against jihadist terrorism*.

Military metaphor downplays cultural components, emphasizes loss and gain and often misleads us by suggesting that the war is always zero-sum in outcome. Such a view constructs hostile relations between nation states of a strong, masculine in-group while excluding states of the weaker out-group, emphasizing the righteousness of the victors while playing down the role of the vanquished. Therefore, the opposed enemy state is often presented to conceptualize the competitive relationship between: “Most Chinese would say the US is the enemy”, “America as China’s arch-enemy”, “main two combatants”, “taking the Chinese as the enemy” (see Examples 129 to 132). Such expressions overlook coordination and cooperation between the assumed combatants, and simplify their relationship with little culture-specific variation. The only situation where the coexistence of competitors is accepted is when there is a convergence between the interests of China and capitalist societies: “[...] China and the West

stand shoulder-to-shoulder is the fight against jihadist terrorism” (see Example 133).

Example 134: CHINESE and American leaders have been **sniping at each other** in public again.

Example 135: The Chinese document **snipes back at the Americans**, saying their arms sales to Taiwan have been causing serious harm to bilateral relations and to peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

Example 136: US China envoy **fires parting shot**

Example 137: **Few casualties** after rare earth’s trade war peters out

Example 138: A China concerned about its economic future could behave **belligerently**.

Example 139: And it is made more dangerous by the fact that **China is steeped in a belligerent form of nationalism** and ruled over by men who respond to every perceived threat and slight with disproportionate self-assertion.

Military metaphors used to depict international relations create an image that allows us to cast cruelty and violence as requisite to deal with disputes. Intense conflictual forms of human interaction such as “sniping at each other”, “snip[ing] back at the Americans” and “fir[ing] parting shot” (see Example 134, 135, 136). Furthermore, the outcome of confrontations determines the rate of casualties: “few casualties after rare earth’s trade war peters out” (see Example 137). Such metaphors related to military activities once again show a blunt reduction of the complexity of international connectiveness while emphasizing the militaristic values that stress a struggle for superiority between competing nations. As a strong competing force, China is often described in terms of aggressive militancy: “behave belligerently”, “China is steeped in a belligerent form of nationalism” (see Example 138, 139).

Example 140: From the outside, **the battlelines in the renminbi** wars look quite simple: the US on one side, threatening *the heavy ordnance of currency legislation* unless the exchange rate is liberalised; China on the other, **threatening unspecified carnage if the artillery is fired**.

Example 141: On his view, quantitative easing - the Federal Reserve's creation of money to buy bonds - was a "**secret weapon**" to weaken the dollar, aimed mainly at China.

Example 142: [...] the sceptics on China's efforts to address climate change will **retain plenty of valid ammunition**.

Example 143: Power grows out of **the barrel of a gun**.

Example 144: But Huawei inspires fear too—and not just among its competitors. [...] They see the firm as **a potent weapon** in China's burgeoning **cyber-arsenal**.

Metaphors of firepower are employed to depict the tensions between two competing forces. China and the US perform as two equally masculine and determined combatants: the US is "threatening the heavy ordnance of currency legislation" and China is "threatening unspecified carnage if the artillery is fired" (see Example 140). The metaphorical expressions of arms and ammunition push the hostility to the extreme, arising from renminbi, the potentially explosive currency. The hostile belligerence of both communist and capitalist forces is characterized by metaphors of weaponry: the US employs a "secret weapon" against China; the Western countries "retain plenty of valid ammunition" toward China's nonfeasance in terms of climate change (see Example 141, 142). On the other hand, firepower metaphors such as "the barrel of a gun" and "a potent weapon in China's burgeoning cyber-arsenal" concretize China's military strength through an image of a violent assailant (see Example 143, 144), thereby highlighting the "China threat" perception in Western imagination which can be traced back to the anti-Chinese racism and Yellow Peril stereotype emerging from the late nineteenth century.

Example 145: The EU has also sought to **enlist** China in a campaign to increase the International Monetary Fund's capital base by EUR700bn, which would give it more firepower to battle the crisis.

Example 146: But anyone who imagines that China possesses the **immediate firepower** to haul the world out of recession should run some laboratory tests.

Example 147: **The defining battle** of the 21st century will be not between capitalism and socialism but between different versions of capitalism.

On the other hand, China may become a powerful ally possessing more financial firepower to bail out the endangered West from the crisis: “the EU has also sought to enlist China [...] which would give it [EU] more firepower to battle the crisis” while some others question China’s “immediate firepower to haul the world out of recession” that requires “some laboratory tests” (see Example 145, 146). Overall, China’s role, as either an equally powerful enemy or ally, is viewed as “becoming the same” as the liberal West, moving toward becoming a global power, driven by state capitalism rather than socialism (see Example 147).

6.4.2 Politics and governance

Example 148: The tale of a billionaire allegedly tortured in a local crime crackdown offers a rare glimpse into **infighting among the political elite** - and a hint of the country’s future path if a powerful princeling realises his leadership ambitions.

Example 149: Ideological debate: **Drawing the battle lines**

Example 150: In recent months the **battle lines** in China’s politics have become clearer. They are drawn between universalists, who believe China must eventually converge on democratic norms, and exceptionalists, who believe that China must preserve and perfect its authoritarianism.

Example 151: Now constitutionalism has come **under fire**.

Example 152: And the growing middle class appears more fearful of the great unwashed than of the depredations of a party that once was **at war with the bourgeoisie**.

Political struggle in China is often conceptualized in terms of war which is an ambiguously defined means to achieve an intensely sought objective. As discussed in Chapter 2, the “hiding” and “highlighting” quality of metaphor intensifies selected political perceptions of the press and ignores others, thereby helping the audience to concentrate on a set of desired premises and consequences of particular political events. Political struggle within the Communist Party often focuses on war among party elites as chaotic and unpredictable: “a rare glimpse into infighting among the political elite” (see Example 148). Although power struggles between political elites

are described as being a chaotic war zone with multiple forces and fronts, ideological debate within the Party is often simplified by a clear battle line, for instance, between universalists who believe in democracy and exceptionalists who are in favour of authoritarianism (see Example 149, 150), and Western political thought is the perceived ultimate enemy: liberal calls for constitutionalism have come “under fire”, “a party that once was at war with the bourgeoisie” (see Example 151, 152).

Example 153: In 1949 Mao Zedong said the party had “**the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism**”. We can “get rid of a bad style and keep the good”, he said, and in ensuing decades he made frequent use of the method.

Example 154: Mr Xi, **wielding the weapon again**, is unlikely to take it to such extremes.

Example 155: But troubling questions remain over whether this is a durable model for clean government in a one-party authoritarian state or whether the purge is ultimately just **a weapon in a battle for political power**.

Example 156: Mr Bo had been seen as a “**cannon**” used by members of this grouping to **attack enemies** and put forward its views on the national stage.

Example 157: Moreover, the case could become **a weapon in the complex factional battles**.

There is much discussion of China’s political control in relation to weaponry metaphors. Here “weapon” is a particular type of metaphor referring to central government’s destructive power, escalating the violence and evoking emotions of fear. For instance, President Xi intends to wield the anti-corruption weapon borrowed from Maoist ideology which suggests that the party was in possession of “the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism” against political malfeasance, but Mao’s weapon eventually degenerated into brutal political and social struggles for decades (see Example 153, 154), The downfall of the Yongkang Zhou, a frequently discussed corrupt party elite (see Section 5.5), may become “a weapon in a battle for political power”, and another corruption case of Xilai, Bo (see Section 5.5) is used by members of the conservative, elitist camp as a “cannon” to “attack enemies” (see Example 155, 156). In terms of human rights issues, the escape of Chen Guangcheng, a Chinese civil

rights activist, may become “a weapon in the complex factional battles” between proponents of political reform and conservatives (see Example 157).

Example 158: But their travails are trivial compared with those endured by Chinese journalists, who, unlike them, have to cope with **a barrage of directives** issued by the Communist Party's Propaganda Department.

Example 159: By **bombarding** people with images, the party is trying to recover some of the psychological power it once enjoyed under Mao.

Example 160: The middle class, **armed with the internet**, demands, and sometimes gets, redress for abuses of power by local governments.

Example 161: China has more users of the internet than any other country, yet its censors **battle** the medium, convinced that they can win.

Example 162: But as in China, cyberspace has become **a battleground** between free speech and censorship.

The Party's effort to court public opinion is militarized in terms of heavy fire of artillery and mass destruction: “a barrage of directives issued by the Communist Party's Propaganda Department”, “bombarding people with images” (see Example 158, 159). Propaganda is depicted as a form of legalized murder using “psychological power it once enjoyed under Mao”. Such weaponizing words victimize the civilians and demonize the government as an aggressive attacker, naturally suggesting an alienation between ordinary people and Party leadership. Furthermore, the dangerous nature of censorship is illuminated by an imagined battleground. For instance, government's hold on the internet is often conceptualized through battles between embattled ordinary people “armed with the internet” and censors “convinced that they can win” (see Example 160, 161, 162). These examples reflect a classic Orientalist view categorizing Oriental governance as tyrannical and lacking in individualism (Said, 1979).

Example 163: Wang Qishan, the Communist Party's new anti-corruption chief, met leading experts on **fighting corruption** and told them that the party's survival depended on the outcome of their efforts.

Example 164: **The fight against corruption:** Life and death struggle

Example 165: Without his clout, many residents believe that Chongqing would have found it far more difficult to **wage war on the mob**.

Example 166: [...] Mr Bo launched his "**sing red and smash black**" **crusade** - a catchy populist campaign combining mass (red) revolutionary singalongs with an attack on (black) underworld criminal gangs.

Example 167: Like all the other great powers, China faces a choice of **guns or walking sticks**.

Example 168: Indeed, to judge from its latest defence white paper, and from a continuing crackdown on its critics at home, China's government feels **besieged**.

The government's solutions to political, social and economic issues can all be perceived in terms of military activities, heightening the intensity with which the Chinese government mobilizes its effort to create, exploit or maintain social stability and economic opulence. For instance, fighting against corruption may seem like a "life and death struggle" and "the party's survival" depends on the outcome of the combat (see Example 163, 164). Attacks on criminal gangs can be described as "sing red and smash black" crusaders waging wars on the mob (see Example 165, 166). When confronting economic challenges, China faces a choice between maintaining military spending or meeting the demand for a better social welfare system, a choice between "guns or walking sticks" (see Example 167). Faced with external and internal critics looking to highlight incompetence and venality, the government may feel "besieged" (see Example 168).

Example 169: The government is trying to **defuse the bomb**. One experiment is the issuance of local bonds to replace these loans. Officials also published guidance in March pushing banks to roll loans over, in the hope that growth will solve the problem.

Example 170: [...] he [Mr Zhang] attacked the notion of a "China model" and called for political reform. The phrase of Mr Zhang's that made an impression was one describing China as "playing pass the parcel with a **time bomb**."

Example 171: [...] whether China is a **ticking time bomb** about to explode and endanger the west's supremacy [...].

Example 172: There is a **ticking time bomb** under the dollar. When it explodes depends not just on the US economy but also on policy actions in Beijing and Washington.

The bomb metaphor is regularly employed in the financial press as an argument to justify both internal and external issues of China. For instance, the bomb metaphor brings the audience into the equation by referring to bad loans as a ticking bomb the government is trying to “defuse” (see Example 169). Attacks on China’s current political system introduce a degree of irony into the bomb metaphor, describing China as “playing pass the parcel with a time bomb”, which suggests that the political issues, as a ticking time bomb, have been smouldering for about 60 years, from 1949, but the explosion seems inevitable (see Example 170). The metaphor presents a sign of a society that feels itself to be in danger and gives weight to China’s public panic over the political instability. Furthermore, the way of portraying Sino-US relations as “a ticking bomb” implies that their relationship is unstable and can be renovated by the dynamics of the Sino-US economic correlation (see Example 171). On the other hand, the surging political and economic power of China may function as the mechanism behind its “ticking” that will trigger the explosion and endangers the West’s supremacy (see Example 172). Overall, the metaphorical image of “a ticking time bomb” performs as an indicator of China’s instability, pushing the Orientalist narrative in the representations of China and signifying a major anxiety for both Chinese and Western societies.

6.4.3 Investment environment in China for foreign business

Example 173: For two decades the **battle for the modern Chinese stomach was fought** between two American giants [...]

Example 174: Multinationals in China: **Guardian warriors** and golden eggs

Example 175: Zara’s Japanese rival gears itself to **conquer** China

Example 176: They do not want to abandon what Samsung does best—making cutting-edge hardware—just because China is **on the warpath** or to chase Apple.

Example 177: China was already the world’s **fiercest battleground for global brands but local firms, long laggards in quality, are joining the fray.**

Example 178: THE term “**frenemies**” could have been invented to describe the seven-year relationship between Yahoo! and Alibaba.

The investment environment for foreign businesses operating in China is also militarized. Commonly we see the marketplace as a battlefield because business competition is conceptualized in terms of fierce fighting between interested parties. The military references can be considered as conventional metaphors in economic discourse in general, and their conventionality allows the audience to tap into a shared communal system of values, thus reinforcing existing ideologies (i.e. Charteris-Black, 2004; Semino, 2008).

The concept of China as a battlefield where international businesses fight for opportunities has become widely associated with the increasing importance of China in the global economy. China’s metaphorical depiction as a global market battlefield is reified by the dramatic shift in its attractiveness for foreign businesses: multinational as “guardian warriors” fights for “golden eggs” in China, “Zara’s Japanese rival gears itself to conquer China”, “the battle for the modern Chinese stomach was fought between two American giants” (see Example 173, 174, 175). Consequently, competition is heating up in “the world’s fiercest battleground” not only for the global rivals but local businesses that are “on the warpath” (see Example 176, 177). In addition, a strategic relationship between a foreign business and its local partner can be described in terms of bilateral military relations, with expressions such as “frenemies” (see Example 178).

Example 179: A clumsy **public battle** with Google could have all sorts of unpredictable consequences.

Example 180: The Chinese government’s harsh treatment of Google and other internet groups over the past six months has deterred Yahoo from attempting to **conquer this market on its own** [...]

Example 181: The only people to have displayed raw emotion have been Australian MPs opposed to **China's onslaught** on their country's mining assets.

Example 182: A sweeping consumer-protection law will come into force in March, possibly providing **a fresh line of attack on multinationals**.

Example 183: Foreign banks fear **crossfire** from China lending rules

Example 184: [...] but foreign banks, already struggling in China, fear they risk being caught in the **crossfire**.

Military metaphors describing how foreign businesses perform in China also highlight China's less liberal political and economic system. For instance, because of China's tight internet control, Google was involved in "a clumsy public battle" and Yahoo had to "conquer this market on its own" (see Example 179, 180). China's protectionism is viewed as an "onslaught" on the strategic partnership between China and Western businesses (see Example 181). Multinationals might be under "a fresh line of attack" arising from the consumer-protection law, and foreign banks fear being caught in the "crossfire" from China's lending rules (see Example 182, 183, 184). This group of metaphors indicates that China's market is challenging for foreign businesses because of the existence of Socialist ideology. Moreover, China's investment environment somehow instantiates strangeness and these images are reinforced by its exotic, Oriental quality.

In summary, the metaphorical associations of battlefield reinforce the binary opposition between China and West, intensifying the "China as threat" imagery. Military metaphors, in general, present a one-sided, partial explanation for the relationship between the competing forces, emphasizing the different Other as being "in a belligerent form of nationalism", or "a ticking time bomb about to explode and endanger the west's supremacy". Such expressions embody the Orientalist characteristics with a special form of fear and hostility. Although China is a powerful opponent with financial power, it has been "besieged" by political and economic instability arising from the unbalanced and unreasoned control of its own government.

6.5 Corporeal

The economic and political environment in China, as a form of abstract knowledge, is regularly conceptualized in terms of the human body, its structure and connection to

our experience. Table 6.4 (in Appendix 5) shows the top thematic groupings in which corporeal metaphors were represented: international (regional) relations (27.14%), politics and governance (17.47%), governmental economic policy and practice (11.90%). This range of corporeal metaphors will be discussed in terms of the most frequent thematic area they cover.

6.5.1 International (regional) relations

Example 185: China may be **flexing its muscles** in the world of accountancy but it is doing it in a low-key fashion.

Example 186: The Koreans cannot hope to rival **China's size and muscle**, as they saw when KNOG failed to bag Addax.

Example 187: [...] China was **using its military muscle** in a "provocative" way that would complicate the search for diplomatic solutions.

Example 188: [...] China is **flexing its muscles** at neighbours [...]

Example 189: It is unclear whether it is over some **silly local muscle-flexing**, or a deliberately engineered provocation.

Example 190: China's navy: Distant horizons: If you've got **muscle**, flaunt it

Example 191: Most fast-growing African nations hew closer to Western free-market ideas. In South Sudan, the one place where China has tried to **flex its diplomatic muscle**, it has achieved embarrassingly little. Attempts to stop a civil war that is endangering its oil supply failed miserably.

One of the most salient metaphorical expressions in the corporeal category explaining international and regional issues is the muscle metaphor. The military, political or financial power of a nation is frequently compared with muscle activity, implying that such power can be publicly demonstrated as a form of physical exercise, and can be trained and strengthened like muscle tissue. The term is handy for journalists as it is at once more vivid and emotive than if describing a nation's actual global status and is also distanced from explicit political positioning. The frequent use of the "muscle-flexing" metaphor visualizing China's increasing financial, political and military power accelerates the acceptance of China's growing global clout. For instance, China may be viewed as economically advanced "in the world of accountancy" (see Example 185),

and it could be rendered as a powerful rival to capitalist countries such as South Korea due to China's "size and muscle" (see Example 186). On the other hand, China's growing global influence could cause alarm abroad as it is constantly flexing its muscles "at neighbours" (see Example 187). China is worrying opponents including Japan and the US by taking a more assertive stance and "using its military muscle in a 'provocative' way" over the troubled South China Sea (see Example 188).

The muscle metaphor can also be used in a disparaging and sarcastic way. The public spat between China and the US over China's territorial waters could be sparked by "some silly local muscle-flexing" by China (see Example 189). China's military construction at sea is described as a "flaunt[ing]" behaviour which has sent alarm messages across China's neighbourhood (see Example 190). China's "diplomatic muscle" may be injured when it is applied forcibly as "growing African nations hew closer to Western free-market ideas", and consequently, China's action "has achieved embarrassingly little" and "failed miserably" (see Example 191).

Example 192: Development aid from authoritarian regimes: **An (iron) fistful of help**. China, Iran, Russia and Venezuela have been doling out largesse. Should Western democracies be worried?

Example 193: Wen Jiabao, the Chinese prime minister, travelled to Hungary, Britain and Germany, signing billions of euros' worth of trade and investment deals and promising that China would **lend a "helping hand"** to troubled euro-zone peripheral countries.

Example 194: Ms Kadeer is visiting Australia so Chinese diplomats have mounted **a ham-fisted campaign** to pressure Australia's National Press Club and Melbourne's city council into cancelling her speeches and the screening of her film, "The 10 Conditions of Love", at the Melbourne International Film Festival.

The rhetoric of a closed fist and an open hand could both be used to conceptualize China's foreign aid. Authoritarian regimes including China, Russia, Iran and Venezuela are using their financial power like an iron fist to gain influence abroad, which worries Western countries (see Example 192), while "troubled euro-zone peripheral countries" are seeking help from the open hand of China to bail them out through economic cooperation (see Example 193). In addition, China's diplomatic practice can be

described as “a ham-fisted campaign” which scores its points by non-rational means (see Example 194). In this sense, the open hand metaphor is associated with rational discussion and reasoned cooperation between two personified nations, while the closed fist can be considered as an embodiment of provocative, even irrational, activities performed by authoritarian governments which may endanger Western democracies. These statements offer a contrast between the sensual irrationalism of China and its occasional rational conduct which is often linked to the strategic cooperation when there is a convergence between the interests of China and the West.

Example 195: Hard as Chinese diplomats try to **wear a friendly face**, this would be a psychological jolt for Americans.

Example 196: Mr Wen addressed strained bilateral relations with the US yesterday by saying the two countries were like passengers in the same boat and everyone needed to **keep “cool heads”**.

Example 197: In recent days both China and India have called for **cool heads and warm hearts**.

Example 198: **Red faces** in Beijing over spies

Example 199: China's smile diplomacy **shows its teeth**.

Seeing China metaphorically as a person seeking a diplomatic solution resulting in peace can be cast in a positive light, with expressions such as “wear[ing] a friendly face”, “keep[ing] ‘cool heads’” and “call for cool heads and warm hearts” (see Example 195, 196, 197). However, the reciprocity represented by the metaphor of human face can be interfered with by official emotion on the international stage. For instance, China shows “red faces” from embarrassment over a string of spy cases committed by government and military officials of the Communist party (see Example 198). In an article titled “From the charm to the offensive”, China’s diplomatic strategy over the past decade is defined as a ritualistic smile diplomacy showing its teeth, which implies China’s hostility toward Western countries (see Example 199). This article views China’s diplomatic strategy as hemmed in by “puerile ritual” and “the historical indignity of the Opium War” (*The Economist*, 2010).

Example 200: Retired generals have started referring to the South China Sea - a body of water The Economist calls a "**great lolling tongue of Chinese sovereignty**" - as a core interest.

Example 201: On the South China Sea, for example, it is hard to know exactly what its claim is based on. Yet its ships sometimes treat the sea as a Chinese lake; its maps show **a great lolling tongue of Chinese sovereignty** stuck insolently out at the South-East Asian littoral states.

Example 202: This suggests another way of responding to China's poor relationships with its other neighbours: to recall that North Korea is an old ally—and as "**close as lips and teeth**" with China. It is likely to remain so, even if, for now, the **lips are pouting and the teeth are grinding**.

Example 203: China may no longer be quite "**as close as lips and teeth**" to North Korea, as Mao Zedong once put it, but it is still reluctant to allow any measures to be taken against its recalcitrant neighbour.

Example 204: Since the Kokang incident, Mr Phone has frequently appealed in the Chinese media to notions of **shared blood**.

Example 205: And Mr Abe may even consider the threats from South Korea and China fairly **toothless**.

Example 206: CHINA and Japan are sliding towards war [...] It is accompanying its campaign with increasingly **blood-curdling rhetoric**.

The "Strategic rivalry" between China and US continues to worsen as China is trying to follow the "expansionist road of old imperialist powers", seeking expansion of its interests by advancing its territorial claims and challenging the US primacy in the Asia-Pacific region (Zhao, 2015, p.377, 396). Viewing China metaphorically as a power-hungry person or creature seeking domination leads to a metaphorical conception of a tongue-lolling Chinese sovereignty. The South China Sea represents "a great lolling tongue of Chinese sovereignty stuck insolently out at the South-East Asian littoral states", and the image of a famished China with an outstretched tongue symbolizes a great appetite for power and a potential threat of China taking military control over its neighbours (see Example 200, 201).

The metaphorical representation of lip and teeth is prominently featured with China's affiliation with North Korea. As North Korea's largest trading partner and most important patron, the relationship between China and North Korea has been described

“as close as lips and teeth” from Mao’s era, but “for now, the lips are pouting and the teeth are grinding” due to North Korea’s nuclear ambition (see Example 202, 203). In addition, a yearning for a friendly relationship between China and Myanmar is corporalized by a sense of “shared blood” (see Example 204). The Sino-Japan relations, which have been mired in tension for a hundred years, are often conceptualized via physical abnormalities: On the South China Sea, China challenges Japanese control in a “blood-curdling” way, and Japan views threats from China as “toothless” (see Example 205, 206).

6.5.2 Politics and governance

Example 207: Remembering the Boxer Uprising: **A righteous fist**

Example 208: **An iron fist in Xinjiang** is fuelling an insurrection. China’s leadership must switch tactics.

Example 209: But **a heavy-handed government campaign** in the central province of Henan to restore farmland by flattening millions of these graves has been widely denounced.

Example 210: But, as Mr Clinton noted of China in 1999, “**a tight grip is actually a sign of a weak hand**”.

Example 211: His security portfolio was given to a Politburo member who is not on the standing committee, a sign perhaps that Mr Xi wanted to **keep it firmly under his thumb**.

Example 212: In the provinces police chiefs are being **put more firmly under the Communist Party's thumb**.

Example 213: Some of the powerful elders might have faded from the scene. Mr Xi and Li Keqiang might then have **a freer hand** to promote their own people, and perhaps more daring ones. If, that is, they manage to keep control until then.

The hand metaphor is one of the dominant metaphorical expressions used in the theme of politics and governance. As discussed above, the hand metaphors are analogies of the closed fist and the open hand. According to Corbett (1969), the open hand might signify “the kind of persuasive discourse that seeks to carry its point by reasoned, sustained, conciliatory discussion of the issues”, while the closed fist

characterizes “the kind of persuasive activity that seeks to carry its point by non-rational, non-sequential, often non-verbal, frequently provocative means” (p.288). For instance, the closed “righteous” fist may symbolize mass movements such as China’s Boxer Uprising, a violent anti-foreign and anti-colonial movement that took place between 1899 and 1901 (see Example 207)²⁶. Political events, especially the “fisted” Boxer Uprising, have shaped Western Orientalist views toward China, shifting from the passive portrayal to the aggressive, bellicose Yellow Peril image in the late nineteenth century.

In terms of the political environment in China, the political control by central government is often associated with the epitome of a closed hand, with expressions such as “an iron fist in Xinjiang” and “a heavy-handed government campaign”, and Western democracies view such tight control as “a sign of a weak hand” (see Example 208, 209, 210). Other expressions such as “keep[ing] it firmly under his thumb” and “being put more firmly under the Communist Party’s thumb” also represent the central government’s thirst for full control (see Example 211, 212). On the other hand, it is rare to read of the government acting with an open hand, with one exception: “Mr Xi and Li Keqiang might then have a freer hand to promote their own people”. However, this “freer hand”, which might become possible only if “the powerful elders have faded from the scene”, is depicted as wishful thinking of the press (see Example 213).

Example 214: China's other face: The red and the black

Example 215: In practice, of course, farmers will still be hostage to the whims of the collective and its often **ugly human faces**.

Example 216: Some observers think he might be sidelined to head a **toothless advisory body**.

Example 217: Making sure that China’s supreme legislative body is **toothless**.

²⁶ The metaphor of “righteous fist” describing the Boxer Uprising was categorized under the thematic grouping of national memories.

Example 218: An obvious one is the stream of petitioners who head to Beijing to visit government offices to seek redress for abuses of power in their hometowns, an imperial tradition that the Communist Party has, **through gritted teeth**, maintained.

Unlike the above-mentioned metaphor of “red faces” from embarrassment, China’s red face in Example 214 symbolizes the traditional colour associated with socialism and communism. However, the red face can be cast in a negative light when “the red” and “the black” collude as “communist mafia”, asserting how dysfunctional and corrupt the Chinese government has become. This allows China’s political system to be framed with emotional attachment while distanced from political extremeness. Furthermore, the negative parameters of collective ownership in China can be highlighted using the metaphor of “ugly human faces” (see Example 215).

Metaphorical teeth are often employed as measures of power and authority: a political leader might be placed in an inferior position such as “a toothless advisory body”, and China’s pragmatic authoritarianism is propped up by a “toothless” legislative body (see Example 216, 217). Teeth metaphors also carry emotions of anger and frustration: the petitioning system in China might be an undesirable model that is reluctantly maintained by the Communist Party, “through gritted teeth” (see Example 218).

6.5.3 Governmental economic policy and practice

Example 219: However, while an increase in consumer prices in China has **strengthened the hand of those officials** who think the currency should now rise, it is not clear that this argument has yet won over the country’s senior leaders.

Example 220: If China were to continue to prosper, **the dead hand of government** would have to be loosened in order to give private enterprise the space to create wealth.

Example 221: After this disappointing result, Wen Jiabao, the premier, warned in May that he would use an **“iron fist”** to meet the goal.

Example 222: Perhaps, however, a warning in May by the prime minister, Wen Jiabao, that an “**iron hand**” would be used to meet the target, has had some effect.

Example 223: The obvious concern is that although **heavy-handed government** meddling may be more effective than market-based tools to pull an economy out of a deep downturn, it comes at a cost.

Example 224: China has a **heavy-handed government** and an inflated property market.

Example 225: Pricking asset bubbles is never easy, but there is scant evidence that its efforts are too **heavy-handed**.

Example 226: Government's role in industry: **The long arm of the state**.

Example 227: [...] the government would adjust the regulatory standards applied to banks in the zone to give them a **freer hand to operate**, while also ensuring that external risks would not spread to China.

Example 228: Long the workshop of the world, China wants to be the **brains** as well.

The rhetoric of open and closed hands is prominent when describing economic policy and practice. China's tight state control over the economy is often associated with a closed hand or overstretched arm, with expressions such as “strengthened the hand of those officials”, “the dead hand of government would have to be loosened”, the use of “iron fist” of “iron hand” to meet the economic target, “a heavy-handed government” and “the long arm of the state” (see Examples 219 to 226), while references to the open, free hand which represents economic liberalism in this case, are rarely observed, with a few exceptions: the government gives “a freer hand” to the foreign banks operating in the Shanghai free-trade zone (see Example 227). Metaphor expressions such as “a heavy-handed government” and “a ham-fisted campaign” substantiate the Chinese government as clumsy, insensitive and lacking sufficient mental ability. On the other hand, metaphors referring to brainpower are seldom used across the whole corporeal grouping, and the infrequent use of brain metaphors often symbolizes China's changing global might, along with its growing appetite for power: “long the workshop of the world, China wants to be the brains as well” (see Example 228).

Example 229: In March he said that the state should **remove its hand** from many parts of the economy, even if doing so felt like **cutting its own wrists**.

Example 230: It will be very painful and even feel like **cutting one's wrist** [...]

Example 231: [...] it was the curbing of the state's reach that Mr Li likened to "**cutting one's wrist**". He was referring to a Chinese legend, in which a warrior who had been bitten by a snake cut off his hand to save the rest of his body.

Example 232: **This rubbed salt into China's open wound:** the loss of the mid-19th-century opium wars to Britain, which forced China to open its main ports and cement trading rights.

Example 233: The country was, as Mr Dikotter puts it, well down "the road to serfdom"—literally so for farmers. **All the landlord blood spilled** was supposed to empower peasants. But the upheaval had devastated the countryside.

Example 234: [...] China's most important conclusion from communism's ruin elsewhere was that an **ossified party-state** with a dogmatic ideology, entrenched elites, dormant party organisations and a stagnant economy was a certain recipe for collapse.

Example 235: If China is worried about the economic winter ahead, it should **fatten up its skeletal welfare programmes**, not its bloated banking system.

Example 236: Now the party appears less clear about exactly what the cells should be doing, though it often tries to present them as exemplars of **do-gooding in a boy-scout vein**.

A planned economic reform which aims at reducing the level of state intervention can be described as "cutting its own wrist" which is a reference quoted from China's prime minister (see Example 229, 230, 231). Such a "masochistic metaphor", as *The Economist* describes, is frequently used to underscore China's urgent need for economic reform. Furthermore, across all the corporeal manifestations, there is the occasional presence of references to bodily injury which are applied to depict the atrocities in modern Chinese history. The loss of the opium wars could be described as "rubb[ing] salt into China's open wound", and smashing the feudal/semi-feudal class in the land reform in the 1950s is concretized through the landlords' spilled blood (see

Example 232, 233). China's economic plight is often encapsulated through references to bones and orthopaedic diseases: "an ossified party-state with a dogmatic ideology", "fatten up its skeletal welfare programmes" (see Example 234, 235). Industrial issues emerging from extensive state control are emphasized by culture-specific references to blood such as "do-gooding in a boy-scout vein" (see Example 236). Those expressions, often in a sarcastic tone, imply that China is still plagued by the residual values from the Maoist period.

In sum, metaphorical associations of the human body, a well-established source of patterned symbolism, allow journalists to express emotional attachment to the object they report without showing any explicit political leaning. Metaphorical expressions such as "muscle-flexing" triggered by its growing might, "freer hand" of the government and "a helping hand" offered to haul the EU out of recession represent a strong and civilized China which has come to resemble the Western Self. On the other hand, a more dominant metaphorical image with negative implications is presented to reinforce the symbolic borders between China and Western democracies, with examples including "an iron fist" on state control, "a heavy-handed government" and a corrupted "black face". Frequent references to historical memories, especially from the Mao era, indicate that China, a powerful actor in the global economy today, has absorbed many influences from its turbulent history and has still remained essentially unchanged. This, obviously, is a classic Orientalist statement of oriental stagnation (Said, 1979). Although China is not a paragon of moral superiority according to its political environment, there are aspects of the metaphorical representations which are arguably one-sided in terms of judgemental attitudes from the West.

6.6 Metaphors of emotion/attitude and irrationality

The metaphorical images of emotion and irrationality represent China as a person and the body as a container for emotions. Table 6.5 (in Appendix 5) shows the themes in which the irrationality and emotion/attitude metaphors were represented: both groups of metaphor are frequently used to frame international relations of China with other countries. The economic conditions of China are more closely associated with metaphors related to irrationality, while its political environment is often conceptualized by a metaphorical display of emotion and attitude. The following discussion will focus on the thematic area the two groupings cover respectively. In addition, because there is no absolute definition to identify whether a type of emotion or attitude is normal or irrational, the two groups of metaphors are formed based on the event and its stimuli. For instance, a mental state accompanied by extreme feelings (e.g. frenzy) is categorized as irrationality.

6.6.1 International (regional) relations

Example 237: (Irrationality) The contrast between the display of such weaponry and China's rhetoric about harmony he calls “a bit of **schizophrenia**”.

Example 238: (Irrationality) Verbal sniping between India and China had been easing after last year's **frenzied** levels.

Example 239: (Irrationality) Rhetoric about “pivoting” and “rebalancing” towards Asia was meant to reassure America’s allies; instead it fed **Chinese paranoia**.

Example 240: (Irrationality) **Chinese paranoia** pervades a clash over peace prizes

Example 241: (Irrationality) For Americans, **the psychological tremors of a Chinese moon walk** could coincide with another shock.

Metaphors such as “schizophrenia” or “frenzy” almost invariably carry with them the frightening connotation of psychosis. Interpreting China’s international strategy based on mental disorders indicate an ultimate lack of control of the Chinese government and pushes readers further into de-civilizing images of China. For instance, the contrast between China’s hefty military forces and its alleged objective of peace and harmony oriented to the neighbourhood is described as “a bit of schizophrenia” (see Example 237). India and China grapple with rapid deterioration in their bilateral relations and their verbal sniping can be presented as “frenzied” (see Example 238). China’s growing ambition leads to “Chinese paranoia” and “psychological tremors”, intensifying the projective dimension of knowledge which involves imagining the Other and its related reality based on the delusion of persecution (see Example 239, 240, 241). In recent years, racist stereotypes of Yellow Peril have re-surfaced, perhaps not so blatantly, with China’s increasing economic prowess and military might (Siapera, 2010, p.135). The use of metaphors related to mental disorders, which represent China as aggressive, threatening, and with a hunger for world dominance, captures an anti-China sentiment and paints a picture of aggressive expansionism.

Example 242: Beijing is **furious** Mr Cameron was photographed with the Tibetan spiritual leader.

Example 243: China is likely to see the comments as a provocation as they echo remarks by Hillary Clinton, US secretary of state, last year that **infuriated Beijing**.

Example 244: Worse still is the obvious Chinese **huffiness** towards Mr Kim.

Example 245: **China's churlishness** shows strength of US-India relations

Example 246: Robert Gates, America's defence secretary, complained about **petulant rebuffs from China**, which at the time put up a cold front.

Example 247: It is a reminder, however, that for all the talk of friendship China can still get very **prickly**.

Example 248: [...] Chinese-American relations are typically prone to be **testy** in the first year of a new administration, as the two countries gauge each other's mettle.

Example 249: China will also be **vexed** by Mr Obama's encouragement of an Indian role as an East Asian power.

The language of anger has permeated discussion of China's international strategies, representing a constitutive dimension of the metaphorical image of China. For instance, China is "furious" or "infuriated" about the West's provocation toward its political issues, driving attitudes in the direction of aggressive actions or even punitive policies (see Example 242, 243). North Korea's political juggling act sparks "Chinese huffiness" toward North Korea, posing doubts about the value of the North Korean alliance (see Example 244). An ill-temper can easily be inferred in Sino-US relations: "China's churlishness", "petulant rebuffs from China", "China can still get very prickly", "Chinese-American relations are typically prone to be testy", "China will also be vexed" (see Examples 245 to 249). Such encounters reflect the government's blame-seeking tendencies that tend to vent anger and frustration toward its long-term enemy - the US - and such rhetoric, which may engage in biased processing, reinforces the stereotypical portrayal of the hypertension and hostility between China and US while overlooking the situational characteristics of each particular event. On the other hand, the metaphorical representation of China as emotionally unstable mirrors the Orientalist stereotype of "Orientals are emotional".

Example 250: But while China relishes the attention it commands at such gatherings, it is resisting the temptation to **swagger** in its dealings with America.

Example 251: He says it also indicates that, despite **China's greater swagger** on the world stage recently, it is “not ready for prime time”.

Example 252: Few believe that China would actually risk such a self-damaging tactic, but the airing of views like this suggests that some officials are acquiring **more swagger**.

Example 253: Confidently though China's leaders now **strut the world stage** [...]

Example 254: Meanwhile America’s navy, he calculates, needs to build an extra six ships a year to handle all the challenges it faces, including **an uppity China**.

Example 255: This time China is being **coy** about its intentions.

Example 256: Behind **China's smile**

Example 257: “**The smiling diplomacy is over,**” says Richard Armitage, deputy secretary of state under George Bush [...] speak of underlying suspicions and anxiety in their dealings with China.

When describing China’s global ambitions, the rhetorical strategy of conceptualizing China is often associated with the conceptual metaphor NATION ACTING AS A PERSON. For instance, the depiction of China as a person who acts ostentatiously or pretentiously not only animates simulations of an abstract, nonhuman nation for heuristic purposes but also allows the audience to use cognitive shortcuts, or even stereotypes to evaluate the complex situational factors influencing China’s international strategy. With its growing influence, China’s encounters with other countries are frequently substituted through metaphorical expressions such as “swagger in its dealing with America”, “China’s greater swagger on the world stage”, “acquiring more swagger”, “strut[ting] the world stage” (see Examples 250 to 253). Such flaunting of economic power and cultural greatness of “an uppity China” sparks concern about the competitive threat posed by its aggression in foreign policy (see Example 254). However, China is often being “coy” about the intentions of, for instance, diplomatic inroads (especially in Southeast Asia) and economic dominance, carving out a sphere of influence through a more nuanced approach which can be described as “a smiling diplomacy” (see Example 255, 257). Although the intention

“behind China’s smile” is not usually spelt out, its growing military and diplomatic clout may cause anxiety and pose a threat to the rest of the world, and particularly the US (see Example 256, 257).

6.6.2 Politics and governance

Example 258: Bloomberg suffers **Beijing's wrath** over Xi family wealth.

Example 259: The **furore** over corrupt officials has prompted the government to introduce a property register.

Example 260: The sage's appearance so close to the most hallowed ground of Chinese communism had **outraged hardliners**.

Our experience of anger is the most salient emotion expressed in metaphors describing China’s governance. In this sense, China’s political system is formulated as an emotion container and its political messaging is often conceptualized through metaphors of emotional experiences such as “wrath”, “furore”, “outrage” rather than rational thought processes (see Example 258, 259, 260). Anger, which is often linked to aggression, is elicited when the individual is certain about the unpleasant situation and its outcome (Tiedents and Linton, 2001, p.974). In this sense, such anger is the government’s response to a situation that is inhibiting or frustrating a relevant goal, implying how China aggressively seeks to rein in political risk in order to secure its long-term stability.

Example 261: (irrationality) Public reaction, expressed through **the country's frenzied online social media**, was scathing.

Example 262: (irrationality) The timing of this latest **internet frenzy** is awkward for the government.

Example 263: (irrationality) China's leadership has an enviable technocratic capacity to get things done - think of all those high-speed trains - but also **a deep-seated paranoia** about domestic political opponents that has been on full display this week.

Example 264: (irrationality) Wang Changjiang, a senior scholar at the party's top training academy for cadres, lamented in December that there was a “**phobia of political reform**” in China.

Example 265: (irrationality) **Control freaks** [...] the Communist Party sees as a threat to social stability, China's internet managers set in motion a rapid, massive and complex response.

Example 266: (irrationality) Democracy in China: **Control freaks**

In order to interpret how mental illness is utilized as a source of metaphors to conceptualize the political environment, the government should be interpreted as a body politic whose mental status is dependent on the social order; China could fall ill from furious online sentiment which is described as, for example, “frenzied online social media”, “internet frenzy” (see Example 261, 262). The rhetoric of mental disorder is often channelled through metaphors bringing the image of an ordered society into an uncivilized, chaotic one. Furthermore, metaphorical references to paranoia and phobia, which are psychological disorders driven by innate mechanisms, are applied to depict the government's delusions of persecution and persistent fear of internal instability. For instance, the Party's anxiety toward political instability can be conceptualized by expressions such as “a deep-seated paranoia about domestic political opponents” and “a phobia of political reform in China” (see Example 263, 264). Consequently, the Chinese government views public sentiment as a dangerous force that carries a potential threat to social order, thus encouraging it to exercise tighter control to maintain a sustainable system of one party rule. Such an assertion of discipline and compliance is described as being practised by “control freaks”, suggesting that its political leadership is conceptualized as ruled by fear and the need for security (see Example 265, 266).

6.6.3 Economic aspect

Example 267: (irrationality) [...] driven mainly by **overzealous** local governments rather than as a response to the genuine creation of value at the local level.

Example 268: (irrationality) China, though **a frantic builder of roads**, has little road culture.

Example 269: (irrationality) In China, two decades of **frenzied building** have produced a workforce experienced in handling steel and concrete.

Example 270: (irrationality) Transparency issues as China funds **go on a shopping spree**.

Example 271: (irrationality) [...] China's recent **investment spree** was driven by a “**credit frenzy**” which will turn into a painful “credit bust”.

Example 272: (irrationality) The cash calls come as Beijing tries to limit new lending to **the white-hot property market** and the investment vehicles of local governments.

Example 273: (irrationality) There is good reason for shares to rise, but **a manic market** is a policy headache.

Example 274: (irrationality) After losing almost three-quarters of their value between late 2007 and the end of 2008, shares have gone back **on the rampage**.

According to Berezin's research (2009) which explores the language of emotions representing the 2008 Financial Crisis, terms of fear, panic and stress deeply permeate the news reporting of the 2008 Financial Crisis. In this particular piece of research, by going through a small sample of micro-metaphors discussing economic issues in the two groupings of emotion and irrationality, I find that language of overexcitement and madness, rather than metaphors of fear and panic, dominates the description of challenges facing the Chinese economy. This highlights the irrationality behind China's overheating economy, hinting that some of the elements that have contributed to China's surging economy are now pulling it down. For instance, governmental practices, which are supported by easy access to capital from state-controlled financial institutions, may lead to the misallocation of capital. Frenzied attempts are conceptualized by metaphors such as “overzealous local government”, “a frantic builder of roads”, “two decades of frenzied building”, “go[ing] on a shopping spree” and “credit frenzy” (see Examples 267 to 271). An overheating economy is

characterized by “the white-hot property market”, “a manic market”, or stock markets which “have gone back on the rampage” (see Example 272, 273, 274). Such emotive language reifies complex economic facts, supplying them with the strength of common-sense thinking, but the emotional engagement the language arouses may cloud issues and obfuscate thoughts. Such phrases therefore delegitimize China’s current status as a rational economic superpower and reinforce a negative outlook of the country’s growth prospects.

Example 275: Previously crowded into a one-room apartment with her parents-in-law, the subsidised house was her family's only way on to China's **vertiginous property ladder**.

Example 276: That the **vertiginous rise** in mainland share prices accompanied a decline in the rate of growth for money in longer-term time deposits [...]

Example 277: China is a highly complex proposition influenced by a **dizzying** of cultural, political and historical factors.

There is a group of metaphors related to abnormal sensations which are used to reify the inexplicable irrationality in economic conditions. A good example is the use of vertigo (e.g. “vertiginous property ladder”, “vertiginous rise”) to reflect the enduring notion of China’s internal instability, influenced by a dizzying combination of cultural, political and historical factors, which ultimately corrodes the economic environment (see Example 275, 276, 277).

Example 278: (irrationality) French companies in China: **Francophobia**

Example 279: (irrationality) [...] by adding to foreigners' doubts about putting their industry in the hands of **an opaque, quixotic government**.

Example 280: (irrationality) **The frenzied competition** between the country's big three online operators is transforming inefficient sectors of the economy.

Example 281: (irrationality) Questionable business practices, such as kickbacks for online advertisements, add to the **competitive frenzy**.

Metaphors conceptualizing China's investment climate for the foreign business community mainly associate with foreigners' misgivings about a number of chronic political problems. For instance, the prospects for French companies in China become murky over French support for Tibet, nurturing China's anti-French sentiment - "Francophobia" in this deteriorating investment environment (see Example 278). Doubts also persist about the long-term stability of China's "opaque, quixotic government" (see Example 279). On the other hand, domestic businesses are more challenged by the internal competition rather than political risk in China, with metaphorical expressions such as "the frenzied competitions" and "add[ing] to the competitive frenzy" (see Example 280, 281).

In sum, the metaphorical image of China as beset with radical emotions constructs it as irrational and truculent, alluding to the perceived threat posed by China's growing influence. China's leadership is often characterized as emotionally unstable and "control freaks", placing it at the margins of civilization and painting a picture of totalitarian banality. Metaphorical language of overexcitement and madness dominates the description of China's economic environment, suggesting the fundamental problems underlying China's overheating economy.

6.7 Diet, mechanical, journey and water metaphors

6.7.1 Diet

Table 6.6 shows the top themes in which the diet metaphors were represented. The economic conditions of China are often conceptualized through the lens of diet, specifically illustrating how China's growing demand has become micro-economically meaningful to the global market. For instance, the description of China's demand for resources and commodities can be coloured by using adjectives such as "voracious", "ferocious" or "ravenous", and phrases such as "gobbling up energy contracts", "a huge guzzler of coal" (see Examples 282 to 287 below). Furthermore, the diet metaphors are adopted to conceptualize China's military and economic reach in Asia, implying an emerging Chinese regional hegemony. For example, China is depicted as consumer(s) which "take what they like" from Myanmar – "the Chinese takeaway kitchen and "leave us [Myanmar] with the rubbish" (see Example 288 below). In addition, the state companies can be depicted as consumers to "swallow struggling private competitors", highlighting the imbalance of power in its state-controlled economy (see Example 289 below).

China and its expanding economic influence can be conceived as food with cultural marks for the global market. For example, *The Economist* suggests that London should develop "an enticing menu of yuan securities" and a local name with specific cultural reference - "egg-fried bonds" (as similar to Dim sum bonds) to market its hub for trading in the yuan. Foreign businesses can be "salivating at Beijing's plans", or expecting "juicy profits from China" (see Example 288 below). On the other hand, China's political restrictions on the extent to which foreign companies can operate may become a major factor which makes the market "hard to swallow" (see Example 289 below).

Example 282: The Australian dollar - supported by **China's voracious appetite for its raw materials** [...]

Example 283: China, **a voracious consumer of commodities**, is already Glencore's biggest client and a big customer of Xstrata.

Example 284: Australia's economy barrelled through the global financial crisis, thanks in large part to China's **ferocious appetite for its resources** [...]

Example 285: **China's ravenous appetite for raw materials** has been the main driver of commodity prices in the past 18 months [...]

Example 286: [...] China is **gobbling up** energy contracts [...]

Example 287: For China, **a huge guzzler of coal**, setting a date for emissions to peak is a first, even though it is five years later than the Americans would have liked.

Example 288: Myanmar: **Chinese takeaway kitchen** [...] In the words of an old Burmese monk: **"We are China's kitchen. They take what they like and leave us with the rubbish."**

Example 289: China as state groups use their clout to **swallow struggling private competitors**.

Example 290: Now all it needs is a deep pool of yuan deposits, a generous swap line with the PBOC, **an enticing menu of yuan securities**, and a catchy, local name with which to market them. **Egg-fried bonds**, anyone?

Example 291: Like so many companies, Tesco is **salivating at Beijing's plans** to boost the private consumption habits of 1.3bn shoppers.

Example 292: Other western exchanges eager for **juicy profits from China** would do well to follow that example.

Example 293: Coca-Cola and China: **Hard to swallow**.

6.7.2 Mechanical

Example 294: One popular theory among economists and investors is that the People's Bank of China **engineered** the depreciation.

Example 295: The deal signed last week adds intensity to **China's ambitious drive** to sustain its economic boom by securing Africa's natural re-sources.

Example 296: Any investors would be betting primarily that the bureaucrats of Zhongnanhai continue to **steer** China's construction-led growth, and push up commodity prices.

Example 297: China's readiness to use **fiscal lubrication** is the best reason for hoping that **its economic motor will not stall**.

Example 298: [...] the announcement this week of a massive fiscal-stimulus package suggests the government does intend to do what it can to **keep its own economic engine purring**.

Example 299: If China is **the world's most efficient workshop**, perhaps it does not also need to be the world's most cutting-edge laboratory.

Example 300: **"World's factory floor"** to raise minimum wage.

Example 301: That has caused some alarm because China was acting as **the engine of global growth**.

Example 302: As ruler of **the world's new economic powerhouse**, Mr Xi will follow his recent predecessors in trying to combine economic growth with political stability.

As a frequently used metaphor in economic texts, the mechanical metaphor highlights an interpretation of the economy as a system which works with rationality and is governed by rules and built-in mechanisms (Oberlechner *et al.*, 2004, p.140).

Therefore, conceptualizing China's economy and its related policies as a machine implies rational interactions, with expressions such as "engineered the depreciation", "China's ambitious drive to sustain its economic boom", "steer China's construction-led growth", "China's readiness to use fiscal lubrication", "its economic motor will not stall" and "keep its own economic engine purring" (see Examples 294 to 298).

Furthermore, the global status of China is often structured based on mechanical

metaphors. For instance, China has been described as “the world's most efficient workshop”, “world’s factory floor”, “the engine of global growth”, “ the world’s new economic powerhouse” (see Examples 299 to 302). These mechanical metaphors often carry a positive message, detaching China’s economic environment from irrationality and immaturity and highlighting its capability of gaining knowledge and expertise about the inner mechanism of the global market. However, the mechanical associations are sometimes formulated as a stereotypical image (e.g. workshop) to create contrast between its economic progress and, for instance, deficit in homegrown innovation or political instability (see Example 299, 302).

6.7.3 Journey

Example 303: But to prevent bubbles and crashes, capital-account liberalisers should remain in the back seat while the domestic reformers keep **pedalling**.

Example 304: In 2009, the economy barely paused for breath, racking up 8.7 per cent growth. This year, Beijing's challenge is to prevent overheating **without slamming on the brakes too hard**.

Example 305: But, recalling those epochal reforms of 30 years ago, it is worth remembering that they too tended to come in **baby steps rather than great leaps**, and often were formulated retrospectively.

Journey metaphor is another common conceptualization of financial operations (i.e. López and Llopis, 2010; Esager, 2011). Financial processes can be conceived as a series of operations carried out to achieve certain economic goals, and this understanding constructs the basis for the conceptual metaphor *A FINANCIAL PROCESS IS A JOURNEY OR A TRIP TO DESTINATION* (López and Llopis, 2010, p.3305-3306). A large number of expressions in my corpus conceptualize the government’s practices in crisis based on the structure of a journey and a vehicle, emphasizing the role of the government as a strong force to intervene in the market, with expressions such as “liberalisers should remain in the back seat while the domestic reformers keep pedalling”, “prevent[ing] overheating without slamming on the brakes too hard” (see Example 303, 304). In addition, collective memories such as the Great Leap Forward are sometimes retrieved

to contrast the current approach to land reform (“they [the government] too tended to come in baby steps rather than great leaps”) (see Example 305), which suggests that the deconstruction of Maoist shibboleths may lead to a timid approach to an issue of burning concern for Chinese farmers.

Example 306: As **China's economic bandwagon rolls on**, it is only natural - if not self-evidently desirable - for it to seek more regional influence.

Example 307: Australia's two-track economy: **Hitched to the China wagon**.

Example 308: Undaunted, Yum! says “**it is full steam ahead**” for further investments in China.

Example 309: **China in the driving seat:** Porsche and BMW reported healthy rises in first-half profits [...]

Example 310: Global miners have sidelined China, their biggest customer, in the annual iron ore price negotiations because of **political gridlock** over the resource in the industry [...]

Example 311: **The rocky road** to revival: The region ponders the policy of China's new leaders over disputed waters, and shudders.

Example 312: There are also **big political hurdles**.

Example 313: How a Sino-Lao special economic zone **hit the skids**.

The expressions structured based on journey and vehicle are used in both positive and negative senses. China's economic progress can be described as “China's economic bandwagon rolls on”. China's rise can also benefit the foreign businesses; Australia “hitched to the China wagon” as China's insatiable demand for iron ore and coal has fuelled Australia's prosperity; the healthy rises in profit drive more investment from foreign companies, which can be depicted as “‘it is full steam ahead’ for further investment” and “China in the driving seat” (see Examples 306 to 309). On the other hand, the financial news can make use of elements associated to obstacles which activated a negative image of events relating to international cooperation, such as “political gridlock”, “the rocky road”, “big political hurdles” and “hit the skids” (see Examples 310 to 313). The conceptualization of international cooperation as a

trajectory with obstacles is often based on criticism toward authoritarian characteristics in China's political and economic system.

6.7.4 Water

Example 314: China's "increasingly market-driven economy" may **sink** more quickly than new funds can be deployed [...]

Example 315: [...] and it runs the risk that **China's financial river will end up clogged** with the detritus of too many bad experiments outside the banks.

Example 316: The supply of cheap unskilled labour, once seemingly limitless, has started to **dry up**.

Example 317: So much, then, for China's Lehman moment. The country's corporate woes look more like **a slow, managed wave of deleveraging**.

Example 318: Instead of taking the froth off the property market, Beijing has **drained it dry**.

Example 319: China's leaders know this, and are **pouring billions of dollars** into research and development.

Example 320: To lure such superstars back, the Chinese government is **pouring pots of money** into a scheme called 1,000 Talents, which offers generous subsidies and other perks.

Water is another salient set of metaphors which mainly conceptualizes China's economic environment (see Table 6.7). Water is one of the most important and frequently used conceptual metaphors substantiating finance and economy (i.e. Oberlechner *et al.*, 2004; Esager, 2011). Money or market is an abstract concept that can be understood from multiple aspects such as currencies, shares and credit. The water metaphor highlights certain aspects of the market; expressions such as "current", "tide", "swamp" and "stream" entail a set of implications on the mechanism of market, highlighting its unpredictable and indeterministic nature (Oberlechner *et al.*, 2004). In this sense, the working of the market is based upon the unrestricted liquidity. In such times of crisis, it may happen that

“China's ‘increasingly market-driven economy’ may sink more quickly”; “China's financial river will end up clogged”; “The supply of cheap unskilled labour [...] has started to dry up” (see Example 314, 315, 316). These expressions indicate the self-sustaining, unmanageable power of the market, while implying that the market participants, whose influence is marginal, often act as bystanders.

On the other hand, water metaphors adopted to structure the market conditions in China often embed a different set of implications into some crucial market dimensions, especially the role of the government. For instance, when dealing with the surge of debt levels, the Chinese government's strategy which supports the state-owned companies while allowing ailing private businesses to fail can be metaphorically described as “a slow, managed wave of deleveraging” (see Example 317). China's economic policies contrast with those in the capitalist countries, where it is beyond the remit of independent central banks to tame asset prices; The government adopts an extreme approach to deal with the property bubbles by “drain[ing] it dry” (see Example 318). The Chinese government is “pouring billions of dollars” or “pots of money” into the scientific and technological field (see Example 319, 320), emphasizing the state's strength in controlling investments and spending which is a unique feature of its socialist open-market economy.

The next chapter will utilize the quantitative and qualitative results to discuss the functionality and ideological significance of metaphor use in the financial press.

PART III Findings and Discussion

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has been concerned with studying the linguistic aspect of the way in which the British financial press has represented China during and after the 2008 Financial Crisis. The rationale for this research is formulated upon the ideological importance of metaphor as an analytical tool for conceptualizing China, thus justifying and contextualizing the research. The following discussion which is based on the quantitative and qualitative findings intersects the concerns of a number of different research agendas, in particular research focused on the ideological role of metaphor in the financial press as well as metaphor's deployment as a purveyor of stereotypes of China.

7.2 Metaphor as an ideological conveyor in financial press

According to the quantitative findings, we can observe that the two specialized financial publications cover a range of topics related to China including not only economic policies and practices but also the political environment which potentially affects the performance of daily business (see Section 5.5). As discussed in Chapter 1, despite the elite-dominant readership, the financial press still tends to adopt a popularized way to communicate both economic and political ideas through a common language for public understanding. In this sense, metaphor, functioning as an important mechanism for sense making, can facilitate thought by providing an experiential framework with popularized language within which abstract concepts can be accommodated (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Across the different metaphorical groupings, we may observe that all of the identified metaphorical language, serving as illustrative devices, provides perspectives on how political and economic knowledge about China is to be organized and perceived. Furthermore, metaphors pervade the

financial press, in the process of modelling reality. For instance, diet metaphor (e.g. “appetite”, “hunger”) is a conventional way of describing national interest and needs. The portrayal of China’s growing needs, mostly “voracious”, “insatiable” and “ferocious”, is used as a metaphorical resource to not only transfer a familiar context of physical eating to an abstract context but also to create dramatic tensions when discussing China’s international strategies. This type of metaphorical representation in relation to China’s global status becomes a part of the political and cultural contexts of communication in the British financial press and plays a major role in the legitimization of the respective ideologies of those who construct such representations.

The qualitative analysis shows that the ideology embedded in the metaphorical representations of China is represented through a variety of stereotypical Orientalist frames such as “China as a threat”, “China as irrational” and “China as unstable”. Such metaphorical distinctions made in the journalistic representations of China may highlight the Otherness and hide progressiveness, moving perceptions along the path of Orientalist values. This finding puts forward a metaphorical patterning of China that can construct a covert, but consistent argumentation in journalistic discourse. Metaphorical language in news reporting is able to transfer news text, which is “a configuration of descriptive and narrative structure”, into a covert argumentative structure, constructing ideological stance and social realities at will (Kitis and Milapides, 1995, p.585). The covert argumentative structure, or “crypto-argumentative structure” (Kitis and Milapides, 1995) which has laid the foundation for the metaphorical images of China reflects a more fundamental issue relating to the structure of financial reporting itself. This relates to the regular use of metaphor with negative implications as a short-cut to grasping the complexities in China’s political and economic environment within such a fact-dominated field of journalism. This implicit argumentative structure acts to background the subjectivity of the evaluations, interpretations and expectations by which each financial news item is shaped and which it reflects. With the dramatic political, social and economic changes that have taken in place in China during the post-crisis period, the dependence on stereotypical depictions of this emerging world power is challenging the public trust in the authority of financial press as an expert discourse. The following section will discuss the

comprehensive metaphorical representations of China in conjunction with the respective ideologies.

7.3 China as the Oriental Other

My findings correspond with those from previous studies on the journalistic representations of China in suggesting that the overall tone of news remains consistently negative across time (i.e. Peng, 2007). The results also show that the Orientalist stereotypes representing China still exist in the British financial press, framing China's political and economic environment with ideological biases. This finding is accordance with Wirman's (2015) study on Sinological-orientalist representation of China's gaming business in Western media which points out that the barbarizing, racist stereotypes still dominate, and China's gaming environment has long been reported from the viewpoint of sensation and strangeness. Although there is fluctuation of metaphorical representations during different events (see Section 5.5), the prevailing focus remains persistent, carrying a strong ethnocentric imagination toward interpreting China through Western standards of market economy and liberal democracy.

He (2010) points out that there are two separate forms of Othering in news media: Orientalism and liberal democracy, and the essential difference is that the frame of Orientalism underlies the characteristics of exoticism and barbarism while the frame of liberal democracy serves as a way of measuring, and then criticizing China's level of democracy. In the following discussion I will only employ the Western model of liberal democracy, along with the model of market economy, as a reference point rather than an individual framework in contrast to Said's Orientalist thesis. In this sense, I would rather view the model of liberal democracy and market economy as a modern variation of the traditional Orientalist thinking, because it still functions as a process of Othering identifying differences between East and West and is constructed upon the central thinking of Orientalism that is "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (Said, 1979, p.2).

Overall, the metaphorical representations with negative implications could be categorized into two specific forms: “China as a threat” and “China as being threatened”: the West imagines China as a threat due to its non-democratic political system, rapid global expansion, power-seeking military strategies, etc. while as being threatened by issues including internal tensions, overheating economy, political instability.

The qualitative findings show that, in most circumstances, the metaphorical images of the socio-political environment in China are more likely to be negative in implication. The metaphorical representations are often associated with China’s failure to meet the democratic standards in relation to its socio-political issues (e.g. political corruption, online censorship, human rights, and ethnic tensions). For instance, political power struggles are often conceptualized through metaphors of warfare (e.g. “infighting among the political elite”) and bestial metaphors (e.g. “tussling with tigers”). The issues related to censorship are materialized using the classic reference to “cat-and-mouse game”, physical violence metaphors (e.g. “beat the press”) and military metaphors (e.g. “a battleground between free speech and censorship”). Metaphorical associations of irrationality representing China’s political issues (e.g. “control freaks”) signify the disordered and irrational characteristics in China’s political system. Those metaphorical images are imbued with negative attributes either explicitly or by implication, highlighting the opaqueness and uncertainty in the Chinese political environment, and thus reinforcing an imaginary boundary between an authoritarian society and a more ordered and rational democratic society. Peng (2007, p.64) argues that the negative journalistic representations of China, apart from the political and diplomatic factors, can be attributed to ideological and cultural differences. For instance, the basis of accusations of a lack of internet freedom through metaphors with negative connotation is rooted in the shared ideology that the Chinese internet behind the Great Firewall of China is isolated from the global internet. Therefore, through military associations such as “ ‘Great Firewall of China’ is actually shot through with holes”, an ideologically established perception that China’s

isolated online public sphere is chaotic and unstable is presented in the news coverage, framing the intensified relationship between Chinese people and government.

Furthermore, the Western model of market-oriented economy, although the globally hegemonic model, is often used as the yardstick against which to judge China's economic system in relation to the role of government involvement. Despite the overall representations being tainted with negativity, there is a group of metaphors which are employed operationally to highlight economic strength or stability, thus constructing a favourable image of China. China's positive presence is based mainly, if not only, on its economic achievements, especially when the strong development is driven by strengthening of market-oriented economic policies. Metaphorical expressions such as China performing as "a fast developing powerhouse" for start-ups and business builders are examples of how the British financial press adopts the capitalist model of development, characterized by a free market economy regulated by competition, as the dominant yardstick to measure whether or not China's economic growth is sustainable. In this sense, the news reporting about the development of China's market economy seems to approach a new cultural logic where the focus has shifted from identifying differences toward the aspects China shares with the Western economic systems. This finding is in line with Daniel Vukovich's (2012) Sinological Orientalism: the Oriental "Others" are no longer determined by means of embedded "differences" in Western culture but based upon similarities, competitiveness and potentials.

However, controversy has been brewing in those positive representations. A large number of coded news articles indicate that the economic policies are not aimed at pushing China's reform into a market economy. The government rather supports and protects the state-owned enterprises, thereby promoting "state capitalism" instead of a market-driven economy (i.e. Herrala and Jia, 2015). The rise of state capitalism in the emerging economies (especially in China, Russia, Brazil and India) constitutes one of the significant changes in the global economy. As *The Economist* (2012) says, "The defining battle of the 21st century will be not between capitalism and socialism but between different versions of capitalism". Although China's economy is viewed as

embracing capitalistic characteristics, this statement does not simply conceptualize China's economic model of development as heading on the inevitable path to becoming the same as the West; it serves foremost to construct an identity of the Self (the West) in contrast to the Other (the emerging economies), highlighting the chasm between state capitalism and market capitalism. The metaphor of "defining battle" points out today's global contest which is increasingly over the norms and practices of state involvement in capitalism. Therefore, I would argue that the rising economic power of China can be metaphorically presented in terms of the "becoming the sameness" framing, but such metaphorical images are very limited both in number and range of extensions.

The "becoming the sameness" frame, which views China as moving toward an open society following the Western model, always coexists with, is even challenged by, the traditional interpretation of Self/Other dichotomy which explicitly or implicitly upholds forms of oppression and reinforces institutionalized power disparities. The risks of China's state capitalism, criticized by both financial publications for propagating an unsustainable model, are often associated with closed hand metaphors (e.g. "a heavy-handed government"), physical force metaphors (e.g. "an unhealthy grip over the pricing of minerals") and metaphors of irrationality (e.g. "a frantic builder of roads"). I would argue that this type of metaphorical representation, although it does not directly conceptualize China through stereotypes of "inferior" or "barbarian", can be considered as a modern variation of Said's Orientalist framework, because the metaphorical reasoning, which eases the complexity in China's economic policies and practices for the audience to grasp (see Section 2.3.2), follows the traditional process of Othering that reinforces and reproduces a position of domination and superiority of the Western model of the free market.

Moreover, the West's perception of "China as a threat" is an important ideological/cultural root that constitutes the negativity in China's metaphorical representations. The negativization mainly arises from the ideological incompatibility of China with the Western value orientations. Most of the metaphorical representation proposing a "China as a threat" implication is constructed based upon

China's rising geo-political and geo-economic influence. Dragon metaphor is an interesting example which substantiates the "China a threat" thesis: on one hand, China, as a "rising dragon" with great power in size, becomes an increasingly important and influential country in international affairs; on the other, growing global ambition may drive China, "an unstoppable dragon" with "teeth", into a course of clashing with the capitalist countries, especially the US. Such metaphorical representations imply China as a revolutionary power that is threatening the global structure, reflecting a Sinophobic sentiment that stems from the fear of military expansion, economic competition, and, most importantly, ideological and cultural intrusion.

7.4 Summary

Through an analysis of contemporary accounts of China in the British financial press, the research results present the connections between Orientalist framing and the rising global influence of China. In particular, this research explores how Orientalist cultural knowledge about China is (re)constructed through metaphors within financial news discourse. In addition, the financial press's dependence on metaphors with stereotypical implications is analyzed. The following key points should be taken into account:

- 1) The strategy of Othering through the evocation of "China as a threat", one of the most salient forms of negativization, can be considered as an indication of Orientalist stereotypes.
- 2) The metaphorical representations associated with "China as being threatened", another dominant form of negativization, are often presented through China's resistance to the Western style of liberal democracy, thus causing socio-political instability.
- 3) There is a general shift from interpreting China as outsider to the global economy to a new era where China plays an influential role. China's journalistic

representations seem to approach a new cultural logic: the “becoming the sameness” Orientalist thinking, which views China as moving toward an open modern society following the Western model, becomes visible especially when national interests of China and the West converge. However, the “becoming the sameness” frames are limited in number and scope.

The following chapter will provide a summary of the purpose, methodology, and results as well as a further discussion on the implications of the research findings. Conclusions will be discussed based on insights gained regarding findings, contributions and limitations.

Conclusion

This chapter will offer a brief overview of the key issues covered in this thesis and a summary of the main contributions I hope to have made to this field of research. It will then pose two limitations of the thesis and conclude by stressing the implications for future research.

This thesis has been concerned to study the representations of China in the British financial press during and after the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, particularly through the use of metaphor. The thesis started by exploring the institutional, ideological and cultural factors which underpin news production. The rationale for this thesis, in accordance with these constraining factors, is predicated upon the theory that news is ideologically and culturally constructed and as a consequence the formation of news texts is influenced by not only the organizational routines but the broader system of social principles that organize underlying ideologies. Chapter 1 contested journalists' self-professed claims of objectivity and fact-orientation with implications for the financial press in its dependence on figurative, stereotyping language.

Chapter 2 established the necessity for applying metaphor as an analytical tool. I firstly gave an overview of existing research in metaphor studies, specifically concentrating the discussion on cognitive approaches to metaphor (e.g. Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Critical Metaphor Analysis). In the second half of Chapter 2 I turned to a discussion of metaphor use in news discourse. It argued that metaphor is a central element in constructing the conceptual architectures of news products. The analysis of textual patterns in this thesis therefore examined the conceptual structures promoted by metaphor in news discourse as well as the ways in which metaphor interacts with the ideological contexts of both the active (e.g. journalists) and the passive discourse participants (e.g. readers). This chapter also put a particular emphasis on the ideological role of metaphor which extends to maintaining, or even constituting social representations.

It was for this reason that in Chapter 3 I turned to a discussion of social representation of the Other. It introduced the meaning of the labels of Self and Other representations in discourse studies and analyzed the relations between Self and Other from a socio-cultural perspective. The social representation of the Other is based upon a specific socio-cultural form of beliefs held by members of a community. This chapter then moved to position this form of shared beliefs in a real-world social and cultural context, emphasizing how the form of Otherness can be justified by socio-cultural criteria of truth in the Western community. This chapter also established a theoretical basis for the study of Orientalism which is a process of symbolically excluding the Oriental Other from the Western community through the production of organized ideological clusters. On the other hand, there might be a new Orientalistic interpretation at work which views China as closer to the cultural logic of capitalism (Vukovich, 2012).

Chapter 4 introduced the methodological framework adopted to identify and classify micro-metaphors (metaphorical expressions) as well as explain the organized metaphorical groupings. It also discussed the institutional backgrounds of the selected newspapers. In terms of the use of metaphor, *The Economist* admits the pervasiveness of metaphorical language in its news work, assuming that the use of either novel or dead metaphor is permissible, while the *Financial Times* proposes a more rigorous view toward metaphor, especially the tabloid-style, cliché-embedded variety.

Chapter 4 also outlined the key research questions which were related to the metaphorical patterns of China in terms of frequency and form: how have the images of China been characterized by structures of conceptual metaphors? What has the thematic profile of the representations of China been? What are the differences/similarities of metaphor use in the two publications? How have the metaphorical patterns been constructed discursively over time? How have the stereotypical implications been communicated qualitatively in these metaphorical patterns? How has the cultural logic of “becoming-the-same” with the West been negotiated? I will now reiterate the major quantitative and qualitative findings in these terms, and discuss their implications.

How have the research questions been answered?

RQ 1) How did *The Economist* and *the Financial Times* construct the metaphorical representations of China during and after the 2008 Financial Crisis?

In charting the quantitative features of metaphor variation in Chapter 5, this thesis afforded an opportunity to form an overall picture in which China is depicted symbolically over a sampling time period of 6 years and 6 months during and after the 2008 Financial Crisis. The trend of metaphor use remained consistent throughout the sampling period in regards to the volume of micro-metaphors as well as the form of metaphorical patterns. There was a regularity of metaphor use around China which indicates that neither of the publications presents hostility toward metaphorical language.

In terms of conceptual structures, the metaphors of *physical force*, *bestial*, *military* and *corporeal* constituted a significant part of the metaphorical patterning. The components in the metaphorical patterns of the two publications were similar in general with some subtle discrepancies in arrangement and emphasis. There was one substantial difference which illustrated that more metaphorical attributes of emotions were injected in *The Economist's* depiction of China, because the percentage of emotion and attitude metaphors in *The Economist* was significantly greater than in the *Financial Times*. Furthermore, the most salient themes the metaphorical groupings have addressed are international (regional) relations, politics and governance, economic policy and practice as well as economic issues. Economic topics remain central in the *Financial Times*, while *The Economist* presents a much more concentrated focus on the broader political changes and issues as well as their influence on the economic environment of China.

In providing quantitative and qualitative analysis of metaphorical images of China in the British financial press, this thesis affords an opportunity to constitute a broad retrospective about China's depiction in elite media. To recapitulate: China is routinely

constructed within a range of negative parameters with conventional Orientalist implications, framing China's political and economic environment with ideological biases. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Western perception of China has evolved over time. China has gone from a nation of miracles and mysteries in the late thirteenth century and a refined culture in early modern Europe, to become a country without progress since the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (e.g. Dirlik, 1996; Martínez-Robles, 2008; Hung, 2003). The findings emphasize that the journalistic writing on China is unable to distance itself from the resources adopted in the stereotypical representations of China that the West has come to perceive since the Enlightenment. The journalistic representations of China are fed by Orientalist stereotypes and blended with various cultural imaginations, predominately producing images of irrationality, immaturity and a "China threat" resonating with historical perceptions of China by outsiders.

RQ 2) Do any metaphorical representations fit into Said's Orientalist frames? How do these depictions conceptualize the image of China?

The qualitative analysis enriched the discussion by incorporating socio-cultural contexts into metaphor analysis, examining the Orientalist tropes presented in the metaphorical associations in relation to the highly charged areas of political and economic issues where the Othering of China was perceptible. I categorized the strategy of Othering into two frames: "China as a threat" and "China as being threatened". These depictions were also compared with a new version of Orientalist frame - "becoming the sameness". The three frames will be discussed separately in the following answers.

China as a threat

One primary finding of this thesis is that the Sinological understanding substantiated by metaphors has relied heavily on producing images of China as being irrational and violent. For instance, dragon metaphors (e.g. "a dragon ex machina", "the dragon's new (military) teeth") not only conceptualize China's economic and military strengths

but substantiate the perception of threat and intensify a Sinophobic sentiment. China's continuously growing ambition is depicted in terms of physical violence and abusive power with metaphorical expressions such as "throwing money around with abandon" and "throwing its weight around in a way that is unfriendly". China's international strategy is often viewed through the lens of irrationality using metaphors of mental disorders (e.g. "schizophrenia"). A cynical, reductive view toward a rising China can be identified in these metaphorical reifications: China's expanding capabilities in both economic and military spheres, which generate a deepening sense of threat, may erode global stability and challenge the existing world order.

Consequently, a discernible "out-group" identity has been reinforced through the reification of negativity in China's metaphorical image as an imminent source of threat. China is viewed as incapable of learning the Western norms of market and domestic governance, which makes it susceptible to accusations of irrationality, of animality. For instance, the intensive internet control is routinely constructed through cat-and-mouse metaphorical associations with derogatory implications (e.g. "Of mice and Chinamen"). The destructive power possessed by the central government can be conceptualized using weaponry metaphors (e.g. "a 'cannon' used by members of this grouping", "bombarding people with images"), highlighting China's authoritarian concentrations of power. This corresponds with the analytical framework of threat perception proposed by Rousseau (2006) and Rousseau and Garcia-Retamero (2007): the sense of threat should increase if a foreign country is identified as both a strong military power and diverging from values of democracy and market economy. In this respect, these depictions with implications of "China as a threat" fundamentally arise from China's incompatibility with the Western value system.

China as being threatened

The metaphorical images of China can be contextualized through determinants of economic, political and social instability (e.g. overheating economy, social unrest, factional disputes). For instance, bull references such as "bull in a China shop" represent a sign of irrational exuberance in the Chinese market which may harm

entrepreneurial confidence. The political instability can be materialized through metaphors such as “(China is) playing pass the parcel with a time bomb”. Social stability may be “rocked by violence” in turbulent regions such as Xinjiang. These metaphorical conceptualizations are moulded into an argument that China has been threatened by opacity and uncertainty in the Chinese economic and political environment. The issue of instability that threatens the authoritarian regime is often attributed to China’s failure to meet the Western standards of democracy and market economy. In depicting China as economically and politically unstable, the state of inferiority and backwardness of China’s economic and political system is legitimized. The metaphorical depictions are consonant with China’s national imagination of being a full autocracy which is an ideological rival against the democratic society.

RQ 3) Do any metaphorical representations fit into Vukovich’s “becoming-the-same” Orientalist frames? How do these depictions conceptualize the image of China?

There is a general shift from interpreting China as an outsider to the global economy to a new era where China plays a major role. There is a group of metaphors that present China’s rising power based on the frame of “becoming the sameness”. These metaphorical associations, which construct a favourable, civilized image of China, illuminate a new cultural logic where the Oriental Others are no longer determined by “differences” but “sameness”, competitiveness and potentials. China’s presence with progressive connotations is mainly constructed on its economic progress driven by reformist, market-oriented economic policies (e.g. “Deng's calls for market-oriented reforms [...] unleashed the entrepreneurial energy”). That is to say, a sense of shared value leads to the positivization in China’s metaphorical representations.

However, such metaphorical representations are very limited both in number and range of extensions. There has yet to be a radical overhaul in the practices and ideologies of financial journalism in the UK relating to China, and the presence of repetitions of older tropes representing China as a threat clearly remains central to the contemporary metaphorical patternings. The journalistic representations of China still

follow the discursive patterns that rely on the us/them binary framework which inscribes paternalism, radicalization and negativization into news reporting.

Implications of the research findings

This section concludes what the metaphorical analysis tells us about persisting perceptions of China in the elite media and its complex relationship with the West, and what they add to the field and our understanding of contemporary financial journalism and their implications. It answers whether metaphor is a tool for better comprehension of complex patterns of finance or a lazy deployment of tired and outdated stereotypes.

Broadly speaking, this thesis mainly discusses whether the dependence on metaphorical language in the financial press is problematic. On the one hand, metaphor performs as a useful tool for better understanding of complex facts presented in the financial press, facilitating comprehension by providing an experiential framework with popularized language within which abstract concepts can be accommodated. This thesis reinforces the findings of other studies on the use of metaphors in the financial and economic texts (e.g. McCloskey, 1985, 1990; Partington, 1995; Charteris-Black, 2004), which demonstrates that the fact-centred financial news writing is fundamentally supported by metaphorical reasoning. In this sense, financial journalism, as an elite, specialist news genre, still tends to adopt a popularized approach in which both economic and political ideas can be rationalized and communicated through a common language to reach a wider audience.

On the other hand, metaphorical expressions identified in this research not only reflect the role of metaphors in the improvement of comprehension but also in the reasoning that leads to the adoption of certain positions, ideologies and decisions on economic, political and social issues. The research findings suggest that the financial press is not able to distance itself from the stereotypical frameworks of analysis. The discussion on China is dominated by a cultural-specific logic which highlights China's administrative socialist values and ways of control, symbolically isolating China from

the Western community. By holding on to their own liberal and pro-free market editorial views, the *Financial Times* and *The Economist* invoke a moralistic perspective to criticize China's economic policies and political governance. The British financial press tends to follow the national imaginations inherent in the discourse produced on China to criticize China being essentially an authoritarian regime as opposed to Western democracy and free market.

The consistent set of stereotyping articulations is surely a cause for concern, especially in an era when the authority of financial journalism is more than ever under threat. The ubiquitous use of metaphors with stereotypical implications helps construct and reinforce the news values of "Superlativeness" (the intensified aspects of an event) and "Consonance" (the extent to which aspects of a story fit in with stereotypes) (Bednarek and Caple, 2012). That is to say, a news event could be made newsworthy through maximizing selective aspects using metaphorical languages referencing stereotypes. The use of populist rhetoric and production of stereotypes presents a sign of overgeneralization, demonstrating that the financial reporting about China is a fixed product that is institutionally and culturally constructed within restricted parameters of procedures and practices. This finding resonates with Tzogopoulos's (2013) study on the Greek financial crisis, which also points out that some of the coverage in Western media shows signs of inaccuracies and overgeneralization, and the overgeneralization can be explained by factors such as day-to-day journalistic practice. The use of stereotypical language can be viewed as a convenient alternative, especially when the journalists are under time pressure and space limitation and do not have the time or access to closely monitor news events of foreign places like China. The elite-dominated sourcing strategy can be considered as another important factor that drives the linguistic (metaphorical, more specifically) patternings in the news work to be geared around a set of consistent views of the business and political elites, which leads to either neutralized, overgeneralized or unbalanced reporting (i.e. Davis, 2000; 2011). It has become increasingly apparent that we have yet to achieve a consensus on what would be "better", "balanced" and "objective" metaphorical use in news reporting. After the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, the financial press has received a good deal of attention in the field of journalism studies on aspects including journalists' practical

work (e.g. Davis, 2011; Manning, 2013) and self-perceptions (e.g. Tambini, 2010), but little research questions language use within this journalism and its implications. This research has provided empirical evidence that highlights the importance of the discursive construction of financial news writing and illustrates how metaphorical images may implicitly distort views on the Oriental Other.

More specifically, by studying journalistic practices through metaphor use, the degree of correspondence between journalistic assertions and realities can be assessed. The research findings demonstrate that there are a large number of metaphorical associations that follow the oversimplifying and stereotyping patterning, overlooking the more complex aspects of social realities and strengthening the fixation on conflicts, dramas and sensationalism. That is to say, the irresistible presence of metaphor in the financial press acts as a lazy deployment of tired and outdated stereotypes. Metaphor performs in such a way that the realities interact with it through a particular ideological frame, and the use of metaphor allows the criticism toward China to be framed in terms which are at once more emotive than if describing a communicative process and also distanced from any explicit emotional attachment. In this sense, metaphorical substantiations can flex to fit certain news agendas and allow for amplifications of socially shared ideologies (e.g. self/other divide).

Due to the “Hiding in plain sight” nature of metaphor, one of the primary purposes of metaphors is to frame how we view or understand news affairs by eliminating alternative points of view. In this sense, metaphors are used to highlight negative and positive representations of out-groups and of in-groups respectively (Charteris-Black, 2005, p.31-32). The dominant groupings of conceptual metaphors identified in this research (i.e. Military, Physical force, Bestial) display particular highlighting-and-hiding effects, depicting, to list a few, a combative understanding of China’s global strategies, a hostile investment climate in China, colliding interests between China and the capitalist societies. Hidden by these expressions are, for instance, factors such as partnership, mutual benefit, cooperation, etc. Consequently, the metaphorical expressions produce textual patternings on an ideological level and assign particular roles to the social subjects in discourse. In this sense, the metaphorical images of

China with negative, Orientalist implications become routine, commonsensical conceptualizations in news discourse, which are not only fed by but feed upon the knowledge production and cultural logic in contemporary Western perceptions of China. The press uses such metaphorical representations to transfer a set of readily available Orientalist knowledge associations in order to achieve its own evaluative and persuasive goals, selectively imposing stereotypical characteristics on China depending on its perceived threat and strangeness. Even within the metaphorical representations that highlight China's economic progress, the rapid swings in sentiment between "becoming-the-same" with the West and "essential differences" are in evidence. Despite the rise of China's global status and the transformation of the China-West relationship into one of greater intimacy, China is still dominantly conceptualized through the stereotypical national imaginations that reinforce the image of China as an Oriental Other.

Despite China's recent economic resurgence, its relationship to Western capitalism has a very specific history and it is a tradition which is rooted in cultural and political assumptions that China is the inferior Other and a Communist outsider. This thesis examines the confluence of representations of China which are metaphorically archaic, and the metaphors are mapped onto a very different China when contrasted to its contemporary position. Therefore, the idea that China might become an economic threat to the West may be glossed over the idea that China is lacking the mechanism of economic control. In this sense, this thesis is looking at confluence of history in metaphor within contemporary political reality. Moreover, Said's theory is constructed on a moral perspective that Orientalism allows the West to have a politically and culturally superior attitude. However, this thesis does not deal with that moral aspect; it aims at analyzing how these outdated, and possibly unhelpful, metaphors are rooted in news practice. The press might be letting down the West in rooting the perception of China in outmoded ways, because these metaphors prevent us from getting into the heart of what enables an authoritarian dictatorship to become the world's most successful economy during and after the 2008 financial crash. Rather than taking Said's moral standpoint, the core is to identify and analyze the inability of these

symbolic representations with outdated Orientalist views to engage with a rapidly changing China.

Contributions

Based on the above findings, I shall restate that this thesis has made significant empirical contributions to the knowledge in both Chinese and journalism studies. A major originality lies in its exclusive focus on metaphorical representations of China that are still unexplored in the field of Chinese studies. So far, the existing literature on China which contributes to the critical analysis of metaphor is often event-centric and based upon metaphorical language that can be attributed to a small selection of source domains (e.g. Chiang and Duann's (2007) study on SARS), while little scholarly work has been done to map a schematized version of metaphorical images of China based on a large corpus. This thesis therefore intends to fill the gap by researching a database annotated for all metaphorical expressions related to China regardless of source domain, metaphor form and context. The list of conceptual metaphors (source domains) particularly depicting China obtained from a corpus consisting of 3,479 news items provides a more complete picture of China in news discourse. Furthermore, the analysis of metaphor variation offers empirical support for the cultural field of Orientalism. Through a qualitative analysis of the dynamics in these metaphorical representations, this thesis makes a unique contribution to metaphor variation representing the national imaginations of China in Western ideology.

Furthermore, there is little scholarship which has been directed to the role that metaphor plays in the financial press from a cultural perspective. The ideological and cultural underpinnings of metaphors representing key political-financial players such as China in the financial press are under-researched. This is an important omission as the financial press, which often drives elite political and economic opinion and is key to high-level decision-making, could both reflect and influence the production of cultural and sociological knowledge. This thesis has expanded the scope of journalism studies in financial discourse by considering how an important political-financial player could be ideologically and culturally constructed through metaphors. By investigating

metaphors to evaluate the cultural basis, this thesis not only provides insights into the metaphorical substantiations of social subjects in the financial press but more particularly aids our understanding of the underlying ideologies behind the textual choice in this specialist discourse. The corpus thus offers, broadly speaking, empirical evidence for exploring how news products may be constructed in a specific “cultural air” (i.e. Bennett, 1982; Curran, 1991).

Limitations and further research

In despite of the contributions of this thesis, two major limitations have to be acknowledged. The first limitation has to do with the reliability of the metaphor analysis methodologies. The adapted procedure applied in this research to determine whether a linguistic expression is metaphorically used and in which grouping a metaphorical expression should be situated may be considered as methodological issues due to the subjectivity involved in the identification and interpretation. It was impossible for the quantitative findings to reach an absolute state of error-free objectivity as the corpus was manually screened by only one researcher. Although an inter-coder reliability test was conducted to ensure the research quality, due to the size of the corpus only a small sample of coding was cross-referenced between the first and second coder.

The trustworthiness of findings is a common criticism in the field of metaphor studies. The method of determining the conceptual metaphors based on the interpretation of linguistic metaphors has been questioned by scholars (e.g. Ritchie, 2003; Koro-Ljungberg, 2004). One of the most considerable challenges posed to metaphor classification centres around the one-to-one correlations from target domain to source domain. That is, a fixed set of ontological correspondences, which represents how a single conceptual metaphor is assigned to a specific linguistic metaphor, may be partial. The classification of metaphors cannot be guaranteed to be universally accepted because the meanings of particular metaphorical expressions which are situated in specific socio-cultural contexts are not universally constructed or understood

(Armstrong *et al.*, 2011). I would argue that it is important to acknowledge, accept and utilize the subjective nature of metaphor analysis. To quote from Schmitt:

“Naturally, the process of assessment, in being able to see one aspect of a metaphor as ‘highlighting’ and another as ‘hiding,’ requires a subjectivity that is able to draw on a culture that has been lived in and is understood. It is therefore dependent on the discriminatory ability of the person undertaking the interpretation” (Schmitt, 2005, p. 377).

The second limitation concerns the analytical angle and scope of the qualitative findings. In order to refine the discussion points, the qualitative findings are mainly analyzed based on a narrow theoretical basis regarding the cultural aspect of news production, i.e. frameworks of Orientalism. Such Orientalist thinking in Western ideology is only a small element of the cultural and ideological atmosphere that influences metaphor choices in news texts. In light of this limitation, a broader analytical approach and more contextual grounding are needed to supplement the qualitative analysis and expand the research scope. A future direction of research could be to embark on a comparative analysis between the metaphorical conceptualizations of *Other* and *Self* in order to provide more empirical evidence on the internalized mind-set of how the West views itself as opposed to its view of the East. Furthermore, this contemporary schematized conceptualization of China can be compared to its historical presence in news discourse in order to enrich the aforementioned snapshot of China’s journalistic representations. Such research, like other work in journalism studies, is consequentially holistic and thus interdisciplinary. It is this multifariousness and the inclusiveness that comes with it, that makes the exploration of journalistic representations, incorporated with Chinese and metaphor studies, a dynamic field for future research.

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Appendices

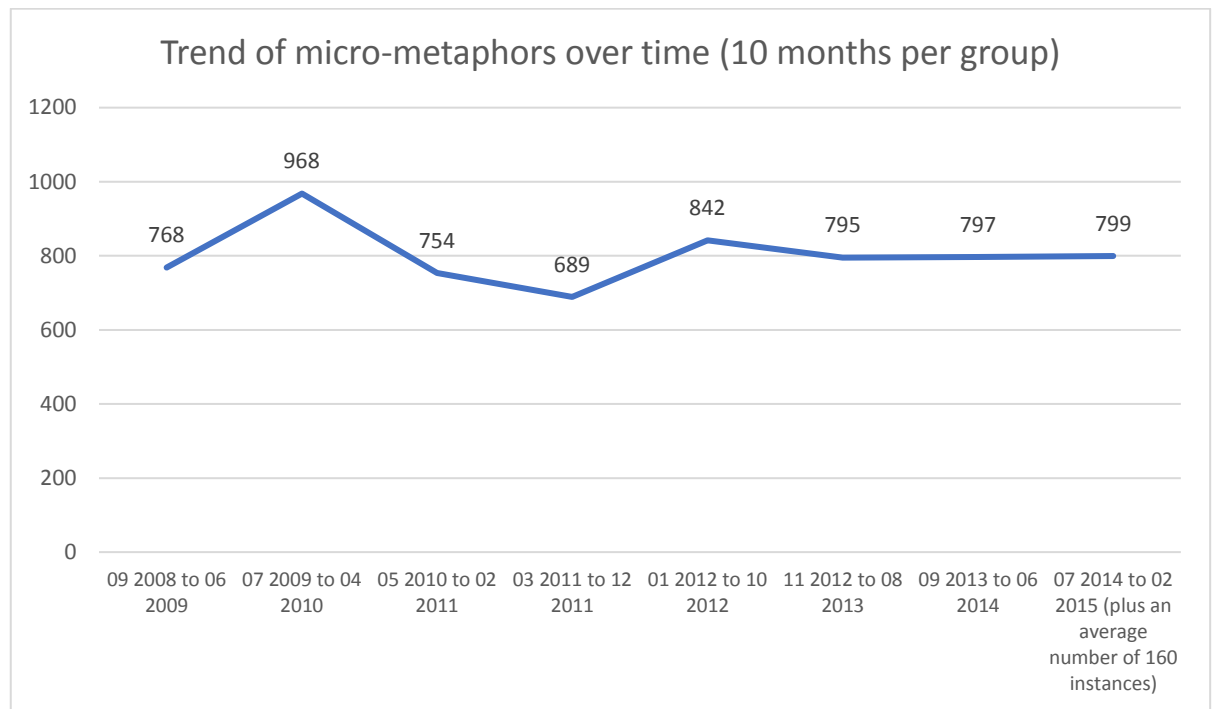
Appendix 1: Number of micro-metaphors in different units of timeframes

Unit of timeframe	<i>Financial Times</i>	<i>The Economist</i>	Total number of micro-metaphors
1. 09 10 2008	45	109	154
2. 11 12 2008	59	135	194
3. 01 02 2009	41	70	111
4. 03 04 2009	63	79	142
5. 05 06 2009	49	118	167
6. 07 08 2009	77	120	197
7. 09 10 2009	109	109	218
8. 11 12 2009	74	100	174
9. 01 02 2010	109	110	219
10. 03 04 2010	99	61	160
11. 05 06 2010	65	124	189
12. 07 08 2010	44	83	127
13. 09 10 2010	60	53	113
14. 11 12 2010	69	78	147
15. 01 02 2011	80	98	178
16. 03 04 2011	58	67	125
17. 05 06 2011	56	125	181
18. 07 08 2011	56	73	129
19. 09 10 2011	61	75	136
20. 11 12 2011	64	54	118
21. 01 02 2012	70	79	149
22. 03 04 2012	96	69	165
23. 05 06 2012	106	95	201
24. 07 08 2012	83	71	154
25. 09 10 2012	73	100	173
26. 11 12 2012	74	84	158
27. 01 02 2013	61	82	143
28. 03 04 2013	59	104	163
29. 05 06 2013	74	92	166
30. 07 08 2013	63	102	165
31. 09 10 2013	63	81	144
32. 11 12 2013	68	61	129
33. 01 02 2014	96	113	209
34. 03 04 2014	87	87	174
35. 05 06 2014	65	76	141
36. 07 08 2014	53	63	116
37. 09 10 2014	81	59	140
38. 11 12 2014	80	137	217
39. 01 02 2015	74	92	166
In total	2764	3488	6252

Table 5.2

Appendix 2: Trend of micro-metaphors over time (10 months per group)

Chart 5.2



5 units of timeframe	Number of Micro-metaphors
09 2008 to 06 2009	768
07 2009 to 04 2010	968
05 2010 to 02 2011	754
03 2011 to 12 2011	689
01 2012 to 10 2012	842
11 2012 to 08 2013	795
09 2013 to 06 2014	797
07 2014 to 02 2015 (plus an average number of 160 instances)²⁷	799

Table 5.3: Trend of micro-metaphors based on 5 units of timeframe

²⁷ Due to the volume of the overall corpus this group only contains 4 units (8 months) of timeframes. Therefore, an additional presumptive unit with an average number of micro-metaphors per unit (160 micro-metaphors, see Section 5.2) was added to the total number of micro-metaphors in this group in order to compare these groups on the same footing.

Appendix 3: Comparison among metaphorical groupings in 5 timeframes

Table 5.12 (continue on next page)

Timeframe 1 From September 2008 to December 2009			Timeframe2 From January 2010 to April 2011		
	Number of micro- metaphors	Percentage		Number of micro- metaphor	Percentage
Physical force	91	6.70%	Physical force	110	8.26%
Bestial	86	6.33%	Bestial	83	6.24%
Emotion and attitude	76	5.60%	Military	71	5.33%
Military	76	5.60%	Diet	68	5.11%
Corporeal	68	5.01%	Corporeal	61	4.58%
Mechanical	67	4.93%	Irrational	54	4.06%
Diet	51	3.76%	Journey	49	3.68%
Irrational	48	3.53%	Emotion and attitude	47	3.53%
Water	39	2.87%	Mechanical	45	3.38%
Journey	38	2.80%	Physical movement	44	3.31%
Medical	37	2.72%	Water	40	3.01%
Game	33	2.43%	Love-Hate relationship	37	2.78%
Love-Hate relationship	31	2.28%	Sound	32	2.40%
Sound	29	2.14%	Game	31	2.33%
Disreputable behaviour	28	2.06%	Physical danger	31	2.33%
Fantasy	26	1.91%	Disreputable behaviour	28	2.10%
Gambling	23	1.69%	Fantasy	24	1.80%
Theatrical	23	1.69%	Domesticated environment	22	1.65%
Housekeeping	21	1.55%	Medical	21	1.58%
Physical movement	21	1.55%	Sports	20	1.50%
Total number of 72 groupings	1358	100%		1331	100%

Table 5. 12: Comparison of metaphorical groupings in 5 timeframes (continue on next page)

Timeframe 3 From May 2011 to October 2012			Timeframe 4 From November 2012 to December 2013		
	Number of micro- metaphors	Percentage		Number of micro- metaphors	Percentage
Bestial	107	8.81%	Bestial	103	8.51%
Physical force	97	7.98%	Physical force	86	7.10%
Military	94	7.74%	Military	71	5.86%
Diet	53	4.36%	Corporeal	53	4.38%
Mechanical	50	4.12%	Mechanical	50	4.13%
Corporeal	44	3.62%	Journey	48	3.96%
Journey	41	3.37%	Diet	41	3.39%
Water	37	3.05%	Medical	35	2.89%
Emotion and attitude	34	2.80%	Game	34	2.81%
Game	34	2.80%	Emotion and attitude	33	2.73%
Domesticated environment	30	2.47%	Sound	31	2.56%
Irrational	27	2.22%	Temperature	30	2.48%
Love-Hate relationship	26	2.14%	Irrational	29	2.39%
Housekeeping	24	1.98%	Water	27	2.23%
Physical movement	24	1.98%	Theatrical	25	2.06%
Medical	23	1.89%	Historical references	23	1.90%
Darkness	22	1.81%	Love-Hate relationship	23	1.90%
Historical references	21	1.73%	Disreputable behaviour	22	1.82%
Religious	21	1.73%	Physical movement	22	1.82%
Disreputable behaviour	19	1.56%	Meteorological	21	1.73%
Total number of 72 groupings	1215	100%		1211	100%

Table 5.12: Comparison of metaphorical groupings in 5 timeframes

Timeframe 5		
From January 2014 to February 2015		
	Number of micro- metaphors	Percentage
Physical force	101	8.88%
Bestial	99	8.71%
Military	94	8.27%
Diet	53	4.66%
Mechanical	45	3.96%
Corporeal	43	3.78%
Water	36	3.17%
Irrational	33	2.90%
Housekeeping	33	2.90%
Medical	33	2.90%
Journey	32	2.81%
Disreputable behaviour	27	2.37%
Physical world	26	2.29%
Sound	24	2.11%
Love-Hate relationship	23	2.02%
Physical movement	22	1.93%
Physical danger	20	1.76%
Religious	19	1.67%
Emotion and attitude	18	1.58%
Meteorological	16	1.41%
Total number of 72 groupings	1137 (hypothetical number of 16 month: 1297)	100%

Appendix 4: Metaphorical patterns in relation to the themes

Table 5.13 Metaphorical pattern of governmental economic policy and practice

Governmental economic policy and practice		
	Micro-metaphors	Percentage
Physical force	96	12.82%
Mechanical	72	9.61%
Bestial	65	8.68%
Journey	52	6.94%
Military	33	4.41%
Corporeal	32	4.27%
Water	32	4.27%
Irrational	22	2.94%
Physical movement	22	2.94%
Diet	21	2.80%
Domesticated environment	19	2.54%
Housekeeping	17	2.27%
Emotion and attitude	16	2.14%
Game	15	2.00%
Disreputable behaviour	14	1.87%
Physical world	11	1.47%
Botanical	10	1.34%
Weight	10	1.34%
Medical	9	1.20%
Sound	9	1.20%

Table 5.14 Metaphorical pattern of economic issues

Economic issues		
	Micro-metaphors	Percentage
Bestial	64	9.07%
Physical force	51	7.22%
Medical	46	6.52%
Irrational	39	5.52%
Water	33	4.67%
Military	27	3.82%
Physical disability	24	3.40%
Corporeal	20	2.83%
Diet	20	2.83%
Mechanical	20	2.83%
Bubble-related	17	2.41%
Physical danger	17	2.41%
Darkness	16	2.27%
Journey	16	2.27%
Sound	16	2.27%
Temperature	15	2.12%
Weight	15	2.12%
Meteorological	14	1.98%
Breakage	13	1.84%
Emotion and attitude	13	1.84%

Table 5.15 Metaphorical pattern of international (regional) relations

International (regional) relations		
	Micro-metaphors	Percentage
Physical force	115	9.10%
Military	99	7.83%
Love-Hate relationship	74	5.85%
Corporeal	73	5.78%
Bestial	64	5.06%
Emotion and attitude	64	5.06%
Disreputable behaviour	49	3.88%
Journey	40	3.16%
Temperature	36	2.85%
Verbal argument or rejection	36	2.85%
Irrational	35	2.77%
Diet	35	2.77%
Game	35	2.77%
Theatrical	34	2.69%
Domesticated environment	33	2.61%
Meteorological	30	2.37%
Sound	23	1.82%
Teacher-student relationship	22	1.74%
Fire	19	1.50%
Physical gesture	18	1.42%

Table 5.16 metaphorical pattern of politics and governance

Politics and governance		
	Micro-metaphors	Percentage
Bestial	69	8.88%
Military	67	8.62%
Physical force	60	7.72%
Corporeal	46	5.92%
Housekeeping	43	5.53%
Mechanical	30	3.86%
Historical references	28	3.60%
Emotion and attitude	22	2.83%
Theatrical	20	2.57%
Sound	19	2.45%
Religious	16	2.06%
Irrational	15	1.93%
Disreputable behaviour	14	1.80%
Game	14	1.80%
Physical danger	14	1.80%
Botanical	13	1.67%
Criminal	13	1.67%
Diet	13	1.67%
Journey	13	1.67%
Domesticated environment	12	1.54%

Table 5.17 Metaphorical patterns of investment environment in China

Foreign business in China			Local business- investment environment		
	Micro-metaphors	Percentage		Micro-metaphors	Percentage
Military	45	9.49%	Military	32	11.47%
Physical force	43	9.07%	Bestial	23	8.24%
Bestial	32	6.75%	Physical force	19	6.81%
Gambling	25	5.27%	Diet	11	3.94%
Love-Hate relationship	22	4.64%	Physical danger	11	3.94%
Diet	21	4.43%	Irrational	10	3.58%
Journey	21	4.43%	Gambling	9	3.23%
Domesticated environment	17	3.59%	Medical	9	3.23%
Game	14	2.95%	Botanical	8	2.87%
Emotion and attitude	13	2.74%	Journey	8	2.87%
Medical	13	2.74%	Religious	8	2.87%
Corporeal	12	2.53%	Corporeal	7	2.51%
Fantasy	11	2.32%	Emotion and attitude	7	2.51%
Mechanical	11	2.32%	Game	7	2.51%
Sound	11	2.32%	Water	7	2.51%
Water	11	2.32%	Brightness	6	2.15%
Irrational	10	2.11%	Love-Hate relationship	6	2.15%
Money and treasure-related	8	1.69%	Meteorological	6	2.15%
Physical disability	7	1.48%	Science and technology	6	2.15%
Weight	7	1.48%	Mechanical	5	1.79%

Table 5.18 Metaphorical patters of economic rise and downturn

Economic rise			Economic downturn		
	Micro- metaphors	Percentage		Micro- metaphors	Percentage
Physical movement	24	9.56%	Physical force	23	17.42%
Bestial	21	8.37%	Bestial	10	7.58%
Emotion and attitude	15	5.98%	Physical movement	10	7.58%
Corporeal	14	5.58%	Water	9	6.82%
Mechanical	14	5.58%	Emotion and attitude	8	6.06%
Sound	14	5.58%	Weight	8	6.06%
Physical force	12	4.78%	Darkness	6	4.55%
Water	12	4.78%	Mechanical	6	4.55%
Brightness	11	4.38%	Physical disability	6	4.55%
Fantasy	10	3.98%	Medical	4	3.03%
Journey	10	3.98%	Physical danger	4	3.03%
Irrational	9	3.59%	Sound	4	3.03%
Darkness	9	3.59%	Diet	3	2.27%
Sports	9	3.59%	Fantasy	3	2.27%
Aerial	7	2.79%	Temperature	3	2.27%
Game	5	1.99%	Architecture	2	1.52%
Military	5	1.99%	Botanical	2	1.52%
Diet	4	1.59%	Journey	2	1.52%
Historical references	4	1.59%	Military	2	1.52%
Agricultural	3	1.20%	Religious	2	1.52%

Appendix 5: Thematic distribution in the metaphorical groupings

Table 6.1 Thematic distribution in metaphorical grouping of physical force

	Micro-metaphor	Percentage
International (regional) relations	115	23.71%
Governmental economic policy and practice	87	17.94%
Politics and governance	60	12.37%
Economic issues	51	10.52%
Foreign business in China- Investment environment	43	8.87%
Economic downturn	23	4.74%
Local business- investment environment	19	3.92%
Description of political economic condition	16	3.30%
Internal tensions	13	2.68%
Social issues	13	2.68%
Economic rise	12	2.47%
Local business- overseas performance	12	2.47%
National memories	10	2.06%
Global status	8	1.65%
Thematic grouping - Other	2	0.41%
Military construction	1	0.21%
	485	100.00%

Table 6.2 Thematic distribution in metaphorical grouping of bestial

	Micro-metaphors	Percentage
Politics and governance	69	14.44%
Governmental economic policy and practice	65	13.60%
Economic issues	64	13.39%
International (regional) relations	63	13.18%
Description of political economic condition	33	6.90%
Foreign business in China- Investment environment	32	6.69%
Internal tensions	24	5.02%
Social issues	24	5.02%
Local business- investment environment	23	4.81%
Economic rise	21	4.39%
Global status	19	3.97%
Local business- overseas performance	14	2.93%
Economic downturn	10	2.09%
National memories	10	2.09%
Military construction	4	0.84%
Thematic grouping - Other	3	0.63%
	478	100.00%

Table 6.3 Thematic distribution in metaphorical grouping of military

	Military	Percentage
International (regional) relations	90	22.17%
Politics and governance	67	16.50%
Foreign business in China- Investment environment	45	11.08%
Social issues	41	10.10%
Governmental economic policy and practice	33	8.13%
Local business- investment environment	32	7.88%
Economic issues	27	6.65%
Internal tensions	27	6.65%
Local business- overseas performance	14	3.45%
Description of political economic condition	9	2.22%
Global status	7	1.72%
Economic rise	5	1.23%
National memories	4	0.99%
Economic downturn	2	0.49%
Thematic grouping - Other	2	0.49%
Military construction	1	0.25%
	406	100.00%

Table 6.4 thematic distribution in metaphorical grouping of corporeal

	Corporeal	Percentage
International (regional) relations	73	27.14%
Politics and governance	47	17.47%
Governmental economic policy and practice	32	11.90%
Social issues	21	7.81%
Economic issues	20	7.43%
Economic rise	14	5.20%
Foreign business in China- Investment environment	12	4.46%
National memories	12	4.46%
Description of political economic condition	10	3.72%
Internal tensions	8	2.97%
Local business- investment environment	7	2.60%
Military construction	5	1.86%
Global status	3	1.12%
Thematic grouping - Other	3	1.12%
Economic downturn	1	0.37%
Local business- overseas performance	1	0.37%
	269	100.00%

Table 6.5 Thematic distribution in metaphorical grouping of emotion/attitude and irrationality

	Irrational			Emotion and attitude	
Economic issues	39	20.21%	International (regional) relations	62	29.81%
International (regional) relations	35	18.13%	Internal tensions	22	10.58%
Governmental economic policy and practice	22	11.40%	Politics and governance	22	10.58%
Internal tensions	15	7.77%	Governmental economic policy and practice	16	7.69%
Politics and governance	15	7.77%	Economic rise	15	7.21%
Description of political economic condition	10	5.18%	Economic issues	13	6.25%
Foreign business in China- Investment environment	10	5.18%	Foreign business in China- Investment environment	13	6.25%
Local business-investment environment	10	5.18%	Social issues	11	5.29%
Economic rise	9	4.66%	Description of political economic condition	9	4.33%
Local business-overseas performance	8	4.15%	Economic downturn	8	3.85%
National memories	8	4.15%	Local business-investment environment	7	3.37%
Social issues	8	4.15%	Global status	3	1.44%
Thematic grouping - Other	3	1.55%	Military construction	3	1.44%
Economic downturn	1	0.52%	Thematic grouping - Other	2	0.96%
Global status	0	0.00%	Local business-overseas performance	1	0.48%
Military construction	0	0.00%	National memories	1	0.48%
	193	100.00%		208	100.00%

Table 6.6 Thematic distribution in metaphorical grouping of diet

	Micro-metaphor	Percentage
Description of political economic condition	100	37.59%
International (regional) relations	34	12.78%
Foreign business in China- Investment environment	21	7.89%
Governmental economic policy and practice	21	7.89%
Economic issues	20	7.52%
Politics and governance	13	4.89%
Local business- investment environment	11	4.14%
Local business- overseas performance	11	4.14%
Internal tensions	8	3.01%
Social issues	8	3.01%
Economic rise	4	1.50%
National memories	4	1.50%
Thematic grouping - Other	4	1.50%
Economic downturn	3	1.13%
Global status	3	1.13%
Military construction	1	0.38%
Total	266	100.00%

Table 6.7 Thematic distribution in metaphorical grouping of water

	Micro-metaphor	
Economic issues	33	18.44%
Governmental economic policy and practice	32	17.88%
Description of political economic condition	21	11.73%
International (regional) relations	13	7.26%
Economic rise	12	6.70%
Foreign business in China- Investment environment	11	6.15%
Politics and governance	10	5.59%
Economic downturn	9	5.03%
Internal tensions	7	3.91%
Local business- investment environment	7	3.91%
Social issues	7	3.91%
Local business- overseas performance	6	3.35%
National memories	5	2.79%
Global status	3	1.68%
Thematic grouping - Other	2	1.12%
Military construction	1	0.56%
	179	100.00%

Appendix 6: Reference list for news examples

No. of example	References
1	<i>Financial Times</i> , 27 January 2010
2	<i>Financial Times</i> , 16 March 2010
3	<i>Financial Times</i> , 13 January 2011
4	<i>The Economist</i> , 02 December 2010
5	<i>The Economist</i> , 12 August 2010
6	<i>Financial Times</i> , 28 September 2009
7	<i>The Economist</i> , 16 December 2010
8	<i>The Economist</i> , 06 June 2009
9	<i>Financial Times</i> , 18 March 2011
10	<i>The Economist</i> , 17 February 2011
11	<i>The Economist</i> , 23 June 2011
12	<i>The Economist</i> , 14 July 2012
13	<i>Financial Times</i> , 23 October 2012
14	<i>The Economist</i> , 06 November 2008
15	<i>The Economist</i> , 20 July 2013
16	<i>The Economist</i> , 24 August 2013
17	<i>Financial Times</i> , 13 January 2010
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