

**An exploration of transcultural othering in the print
media: Asian Communities during COVID-19 in
Canada and the US**

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores the transcultural othering of Asian communities in the Canadian and American print media during the COVID-19 pandemic. Using content analysis, I analyzed 226 magazine articles published by Maclean's and Newsweek between February 1st, 2020 and April 30th, 2021. My analysis found 17 othering mechanisms were used against Asian communities. China was the most frequently discussed country within the data and contributed to a negative portrayal of Asians overall. Political articles were identified as the primary source of exclusionary othering towards Asians, whereas articles on COVID-19 were mostly inclusionary. This thesis contributes to the extant literature by further theorizing how and where transcultural othering occurs. It challenges established notions of the mainstream media scapegoating illnesses on transcultural communities during pandemics as a predominant source of exclusionary othering during COVID-19 and suggests that the print media's political coverage was a greater source of exclusion. Implications and limitations are discussed.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Western occidental nations have been the sites of growing intolerance, discrimination, and ideological polarization since the early 2000s (Petri & Biedenkopf, 2021; Kimball & Cross, 2007; Kamens, 2012). Emerging research has shown that the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated these trends through increased tribalism, greater outgroup hostility and the silencing of Others (Taylor, 2019; Bernacer *et al.*, 2021; Neumann, Kelm & Dohle, 2021). Many voices within the fields of diversity and inclusion, polarization, and communications have expressed that there is a need for more research to be conducted on how shifts within the mass media may have contributed to changes resulting in greater intergroup exclusion, intolerance, and hostility (Prior, 2013; Guerra *et al.*, 2013; De Nooy & Kleinnijenhuis, 2013). Specifically, there is a need to develop a greater understanding of how the mass media engages the process of othering through the construction and representation of outgroup identities in media narratives.

Othering is the process by which an individual or group is determined to be separate from and distinct to another group or individual (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Fürsich, 2010; Bozatsis, 2016). This is typically done on the basis of identity, values, norms, attitudes, beliefs and practices; but for all intents and purposes, othering can occur whenever there is something that is perceived to distinguish two parties as being distinct from one another. Frequently, othering is utilized as a means of distinguishing outgroup members, also known as *the Other*, as not belonging to a particular society's hegemonic ingroup (Fürsich, 2010). This process of othering can be mutual or non-mutual between groups, based on where the perception of difference is coming from (Caldas-Coulthard,

2003). Additionally, othering can either be inclusionary or exclusionary (Canales, 2000, Caldas-Coulthard, 2003, Fürsich, 2010).

Inclusionary othering is when the hegemonic group utilizes its established socio-political and cultural power to bridge the divide between outgroup members and hegemonic group identity, through the emphasis on mutual or desired attributes, traits, or goals (Canales, 2000; Akbulut & Razum, 2021; Powell, 2017; Tallarek, Bozorgmehr & Spallek, 2020; Hall, 1997; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). Inclusionary othering can lead to positive outcomes such as increased belonging or the recognition of the Other's lived experiences. However, it can also lead to negative outcomes such as the increased marginalization of the Other when the inclusion of a specific outgroup member is used to discount the lived experiences of the broader outgroup or contributes to the formation of new stereotypes regarding the identity or practices of the outgroup as a whole based on a specific individual (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003) (see chapter 2 for more details).

Exclusionary othering occurs when the hegemonic group utilizes its power to reinforce and emphasize the differences between the hegemonic group and a particular outgroup; often co-opting fear as a means of building psychological, social, and physical barriers that diminish the voice and visibility of the Other (Lirola, 2017; Breen, Haynes & Devereux, 2006).

1.1 The Role of Media on Othering

While there are several prominent theories regarding the media's influence and effects on the thoughts, attitudes and behaviours of individuals and groups, more research is still needed to fully understand the extent to which the media influences issues of intolerance, discrimination, and diversity and inclusion (McQuail, 2010).

The propaganda model of media communication suggests that mass media plays a fundamental role in the manufacturing of social consent by influencing public opinions and increasing the social cohesion of a society's hegemonic ingroup (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that this is done for the goals of the social elite to be more easily attained by removing barriers of social and cultural resistance. One way the mass media does this is through the manufacturing of a common enemy that audiences can collectively rally against, thereby unifying public opinion and discourse, and strengthening social ties amongst the hegemonic ingroup members through the establishment of a newfound commonality (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Since the turn of the 20th century, the "common enemy" manufactured by the media has mostly been that of the *transcultural Other* (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Bailey & Harindrinath, 2005; Breen, Haynes & Devereux, 2006). The transcultural Other specifically refers to individuals or groups who are perceived as being distinct from the hegemonic ingroup of a given society, based on possessing different regional, ethno-cultural and/or religious identities (Guttormsen, 2018; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Fürsich, 2010). The act of creating a transcultural Other within the media predominantly relies on the process of othering, as described above.

Developing a stronger understanding of the process of transcultural othering, along with where and how it occurs, is vital within the field of cross-cultural management to comprehensively address issues within the workplace related to diversity, inclusion, discrimination, and racism (Guttormsen, 2018).

1.2 The History of Pandemic Othering and COVID-19

In Steven Taylor's book, *The Psychology of Pandemics: Preparing for the Next Global Outbreak of Infectious Disease* (2019), he highlights that pandemics and the uncertainty that they produce often lead to greater intergroup hostility, prejudice and discrimination, due to increased tribalism. There is a longstanding history within western occidental nations of the media and members of the public scapegoating infectious diseases on immigrant populations and minority groups (Dionne & Turkmen, 2020; Dionne, Hayes, & Turkmen, 2021).

East and South East Asians have an extensive history of experiencing this form of othering and discrimination within Canada and the United States, which was first documented during the smallpox epidemic of 1892, and last documented during SARS in 2003 (Dionne & Turkmen, 2020; Fausset *et al.*, 2021). In these previous cases, we saw the media play into the tribalistic attitudes of society, contributing to an "us versus them" mentality at the detriment of the Asian communities in North America (Dionne, Hayes, & Turkmen, 2021). With the COVID-19 pandemic, we have seen the resurgence of old societal prejudices directed towards Asian communities that are deeply rooted in the histories of Canada and the United States (Dionne & Turkmen, 2020; Brumback & Wang, 2021; CSUSB, 2021; Kong *et al.*, 2021; Fausset *et al.*, 2021; Manojlovic, 2021).

The current trend of heightened discrimination targeting Asian populations in Canada and the US is concerning. During 2020, the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic, hate crimes targeting East and Southeast Asians rose by 301% year over year in Canada, and 149% year over year in the United States (Statistics Canada, 2021; CSUSB; 2021). Cities like New York, San Francisco, Atlanta, Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, have all

been hotspots in this growing wave of hate, discrimination and intolerance targeting Asians in North America (Brumback & Wang, 2021; CSUSB, 2021; Kong et al., 2021; Fausset *et al.*, 2021; Brumback & Wang, 2021). Vancouver in particular experienced the most significant rise in anti-Asian hate in North America during 2020 with a 717% year over year increase in hate crimes targeting Asians (Manojlovic, 2021; Kong et al., 2021; Statistics Canada, 2021). To juxtapose this to the US context, in Atlanta, we saw a string of mass shootings resulting in 8 dead in a targeted attack against Asians that was described as an “intersection of gender-based violence, misogyny and xenophobia” by State Rep. Bee Nguyen (Fausset *et al.*, 2021; Brumback & Wang, 2021).

The rhetoric of opinion leaders on social media and public figures like Donald Trump have been considered part of what has contributed to this increase in hate and discrimination targeting Asians (Gover *et al.*, 2020; Hswen *et al.*, 2021; Vidgen *et al.*, 2020). Despite this, more research must be conducted to understand how this trend in hate has risen so sharply. Furthermore, due to the established precedence of the media contributing to the othering and targeted discrimination of Asians during past pandemics, it necessitates an exploration into how the media is engaging in the othering of Asians during the COVID-19 pandemic (Dionne & Turkmen, 2020; Brumback & Wang, 2021; CSUSB, 2021; Manojlovic, 2021).

1.3 Thesis Goal, Objectives and Outline

For this thesis, my overarching goal is to explore the ways that the print media engaged in the transcultural othering of Asian communities in Canada and the United States during the COVID-19 pandemic.

To accomplish this, this study has three objectives:

1. Describe the ways that the print media engaged in the transcultural othering of Asian communities in the US and Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic.
2. Compare the depictions of Asians between the US and Canada.
3. Map trends in the representation of Asians in the media across the US and Canada.

I seek to achieve this by analyzing the representation of East and Southeast Asians during instances of transcultural othering within magazine articles published by Maclean's and Newsweek utilizing qualitative content analysis (Neuendorf, 2017; White & Marsh, 2006). Asians in this study refer to the ethno-cultural, regional and religious identities affiliated with; Brunei, Cambodia, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Macau, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, North Korea, Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Timor Leste, and/or Vietnam (World Bank, 2018). This list is based on the World Bank's (2018) regional definition of East Asia and the Pacific but omits countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and Pacific microstates due to possible irrelevancy to this study.

Magazine articles from Maclean's and Newsweek were selected as the data source for this study due to the two publications' comparable prominence in their respective countries, genre, political bias, perceived trustfulness and accuracy in reporting, and longstanding histories (Maclean's, 2021; Newsweek, 2021; Encyclopedia Britannica, 2021a, b; Media Bias Fact Check, 2021a, b). This comparability between the two publications allows for the minimizing of unwanted variables and helps to isolate the nuance involved in the national contexts of Canada (Maclean's) and the US (Newsweek) more easily. An advantage of comparing publications across two national contexts is that

it will provide this thesis with a more international focus, and therefore contribute to the overall meaningfulness of its findings, which is further discussed in Chapter 4. This thesis seeks to contribute to the extant literature on transcultural othering within the fields of cross-cultural management and diversity and inclusion, specifically by testing established notions of media scapegoating pandemics on minority groups and contributing to the early development of a coherent typology of othering mechanisms that accounts for both inclusionary and exclusionary forms of othering.

This thesis is organized as follows. Chapter two reviews the extant literature on transcultural othering in the print media, specifically seeking to familiarize the reader with the phenomenon of othering, recognize established othering mechanisms, and identify specific gaps within the literature that this study can address. Chapter three establishes social identity theory as the chosen theoretical framework for this study, describing how it enables us to understand the phenomenon of othering and why it occurs. Chapter four provides a description of the data, why it was chosen, how it was collected, and how qualitative content analysis was used as a methodology to analyze it. Chapter five reveals the findings of my analysis and is specifically centred around addressing the three objectives of this study. Chapter six concludes this thesis with a discussion of this study's contributions to theory and practice and identifies specific limitations and areas for future research. A glossary of simplified definitions for the terminology used within this thesis can be found in Appendix A1.

Chapter 2: Literature Review Othering in the Print Media

In recent years, there has been growing interest in the field of cross-cultural management on the interrelated phenomena of othering and otherness, especially as it pertains to diversity and inclusion, discrimination and belonging within the workplace (Guttormsen, 2018; Mahadevan, 2017). Othering is a culturally embedded process that relates to the formation, maintenance, and re-production of conceptual barriers that denote the distinction and difference between group or individual identities at intergroup or interpersonal levels (Guttormsen, 2018; Mahadevan, 2017; Fürsich, 2010). To put it more simply, othering is the process whereby the identities of individuals or groups are determined to be separate from or distinct to another particular group's. The result of othering is the ascribed quality of *otherness*, which relates to the state of non-belonging based on one's perceived identity and characteristics as being different from a specific ingroup's identity (Guttormsen, 2018).

Othering is a process that relies on the perception of specific attributes, characteristics, norms, behaviours, practices, and values, related to an outgroup's identity or way of life as being categorically different at an intergroup or interpersonal level (Guttormsen, 2018; Mahadevan, 2017; Fürsich, 2010; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). This process of categorization is largely informed by one's cultural background, especially as it relates to the differentiation of identities based on values, practices, and norms (Guttormsen, 2018). Othering often creates intrinsic barriers to belonging, through the discounting of the Other's lived experiences on the basis that they are categorically different from the experiences of one's ingroup (Powell & Menendian, 2017; Ore, 2013). This can lead to increased prejudice, tribalism, dehumanization, intolerance, persecution,

violence, and the creation and maintenance of systemic injustices intended to benefit the members of a particular ingroup while marginalizing Others (Ore, 2013; Abbink & Harris, 2019).

At its core, othering is the expression of socio-political and cultural power by a particular individual or group, used to disassociate themselves from members of a perceived outgroup (Ore, 2013; Abbink & Harris, 2019; Fürsich, 2010; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). This then enables the development of social, cultural, political, economic and/or physical barriers that maintain the status quo and distribution of power within a society to favour particular groups or individuals over others (Abbink & Harris, 2019; Lirola, 2017; Breen, Haynes & Devereux, 2006).

Deepening our understanding of othering is vital within the field of cross-cultural management as it relates to the process of how particular identities are being differentiated from one another (Guttormsen, 2018; Mahadevan, 2017). This is important for understanding how perceived differences may heighten workplace discrimination, create barriers for one's career mobility, and limits diversity and inclusion within organizations (Guttormsen, 2018; Mahadevan, 2017). If we can develop a stronger understanding of how, where and why identities are being differentiated from one another, managers may be able to better address bias within the workplace through the establishment of new policies, hiring practices, or programmes that provide improved training to employees on diversity related issues.

The literature review conducted here reviews academic journal articles and books on the topic of transcultural othering and related topics. These books and articles were published across multiple social science disciplines, from cross-cultural management, to

diversity and inclusion, public health and nursing, journalism, communications, psychology, sociology, philosophy and political science. This consists of a review of 20 academic articles specifically on the topic of transcultural othering within the print media, and 34 additional articles and books from interdisciplinary social-science fields. Reviewing an interdisciplinary set of research helps this thesis to better understand the current state of othering research and theory and will also provide a more comprehensive means of assessing the gaps within the extant literature that this thesis can help address.

2.1 Types of Othering

There are two prominent types of othering discussed within the extant literature, which are exclusionary othering and inclusionary othering. *Exclusionary othering* is a process in which a hegemonic group utilizes its socio-political and cultural power consciously or unconsciously to reinforce the perception of intergroup or interpersonal difference and non-belonging, leaving the outgroup members to be perceived as the Other (Tallarek, Bozorgmehr & Spallek, 2020). This process of exclusion is typically done by reducing the identity of the Other to be associated with problematic characteristics (e.g., violent tendencies, extremist beliefs, moral inferiority, etc.) regardless of who they actually are (Ore, 2013; Abbink & Harris, 2019). This process reduces the social desirability of association with the Other and can lead to increased discrimination and marginalization (Guttormsen, 2018).

Exclusionary othering is often maintained through distance by creating conceptual, social and sometimes physical barriers that leave the Other both unheard and unseen (Powell, 2017; Abbink & Harris, 2019; Lirola, 2017; Breen, Haynes & Devereux, 2006). The process of exclusionary othering often involves the co-option of fear by hegemonic

powers (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Tallarek, Bozorgmehr & Spallek, 2020). By making the hegemonic ingroup members fear the Other, it accelerates the process of exclusion by lowering empathetic responses to the Other and legitimizing the need for conceptual, social and physical barriers to increase the distance between the Other and the ingroup (Powell & Menendian, 2017; Abbink & Harris, 2019).

Inclusionary othering, on the other hand, involves the hegemonic group utilizing their social, political and cultural power to bridge the divide between the hegemonic group and members of the outgroup, often to foster relationships or coalitions (Canales, 2000; Akbulut & Razum, 2021; Powell, 2017; Tallarek, Bozorgmehr & Spallek, 2020). The process of inclusionary othering involves the search for cooperation at the intergroup or interpersonal levels through the participation of members from different groups in the search for mutual understanding, often involving the processes of empowering and demarginalizing the Other (Tallarek, Bozorgmehr & Spallek, 2020; Powell, 2017). It is important to note that inclusionary othering is not belonging (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). The Other is still being viewed as the Other during the inclusionary othering process.

There are a handful of nuanced areas where inclusionary othering can still be harmful to the Other (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). Perhaps the most significant issue with inclusionary othering is that the Other is being included on the terms of the hegemonic group, which suggests that there is still a power imbalance between the groups which may not be fully rectified (Tallarek, Bozorgmehr & Spallek, 2020). This enables inclusionary activities to be conducted under false pretences, typically with the purpose of appropriation or as a means of asserting dominance over the Other (Phelan, 2009). Further issues arise when only certain members of the Other are deemed to be worthy of inclusion, as it can

lead to the misrepresentation and further marginalization of the remaining members of the Other (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). Inclusionary othering may also lend itself to the processes of assimilation and appropriation, rather than recognition and belonging (Phelan, 2009).

Caldas-Coulthard (2003) and Hall (1997), both have described the process of inclusionary othering as involving a component of spectacle, as it may be something that is novel and is possibly captivating, but without the transformation into belonging, inclusionary othering may not be entirely helpful. In Caldas-Coulthard's case, she described how the inclusion of Brazilian culture in the UK's print media was largely based on Carmen Miranda, and Brazilian soccer players (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). The representation of Carmen Miranda, in particular, with a fruit basket headpiece was found to trivialize and misrepresent aspects of the Brazilian cultural identity by contributing to the formation of Brazilian stereotypes, giving the UK public a warped understanding of Brazilians (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). In this case, we see that while Carmen Miranda was being portrayed inclusively, her representation within the UK press did not translate to greater belonging or inclusion of other Brazilians within the UK. Instead it was found to contribute to a greater misunderstanding of the Brazilian identity as a whole amongst the UK public (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003).

Hegel first introduced the concepts of the Other, otherness and exclusionary othering (simply referred to as othering during that time) within his book *Phenomenology of Spirit* in 1807 (Hegel, Miller & Findlay, 1977). Since then, the study of exclusionary othering has transcended several different disciplines within the social sciences and humanities including philosophy, sociology, psychology, business, and history (Guttormsen, 2018; Fürsich, 2010; Mahadevan, 2017; Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Hogg, 2018).

Inclusionary othering, by contrast, is the younger of the two concepts. It was first formally introduced by Canales in 2000 within the context of public health and nursing (Canales, 2000; Akbulut & Razum, 2021; Tallarek, Bozorgmehr & Spallek, 2020). There is a clear need within the literature and the field of cross-cultural management to begin bridging the study of inclusionary othering into other social science disciplines beyond public health and nursing (Guttormsen, 2018; Akbulut & Razum, 2021; Tallarek, Bozorgmehr & Spallek, 2020). The contribution of inclusionary othering within the field of cross-cultural management, in particular, would provide us with a greater understanding of diversity and inclusion, marginalization and intergroup relations.

Where exclusionary and inclusionary othering overlap is at their most extreme, as they can both lead to the dehumanization of the Other (Powell, 2017; Powell & Menendian, 2017). An example of dehumanization in the context of exclusionary othering can be seen through the portrayal of Jewish people as rats in Germany during the Holocaust (Livingstone Smith, 2011; Sofsky, 1997). This act of portraying the Jews as *less* than human ultimately opened the doors to immense amounts of cruelty and ultimately genocide (Livingstone Smith, 2011; Sofsky, 1997). Whereas for inclusionary othering one commonly sees examples of dehumanization when looking at celebrities, athletes or religious figures (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). An example of inclusionary dehumanization from Caldas-Coulthard's (2003) article can be seen through the Brazilian soccer player Ronaldo being depicted as Christ the Redeemer overlooking Rio de Janeiro in the British press. This was determined to give Ronaldo a "Christ-like" depiction in which he is being portrayed as being *more* than human (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). In this case, however, it was found that despite Ronaldo's positive portrayal in the British press, it did not translate

to increased belonging or recognition of Brazilian communities within the UK and was instead used as a means of meeting diversity goals without having to represent the Brazilian or other transcultural communities (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). While the outcome of these two forms of dehumanization differs along the lines of the Other being represented as more or less than human, they both exhibit some loss of human quality or characteristics (Livingstone Smith, 2011; Sofsky, 1997; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003).

2.2 Transcultural Identities and Othering

Transcultural othering is a form of othering that occurs when groups or individuals are differentiated based on their ethno-cultural, regional and/or religious identities (Guttormsen, 2018). *Ethno-cultural identities* are defined by a set of shared characteristics that are unique to and recognized by a particular group (Government of Canada, 2005; Guttormsen, 2018; Salooje, 2003). According to the Government of Canada (2005), these characteristics typically include "... cultural traditions, ancestry, national identity, country of origin, and/or physical traits." Ethno-cultural identities are often about a particular group of people or organization but may also refer to external cultural artifacts produced by said ethno-cultural group (Guttormsen, 2018; Fürsich, 2010). Religion can be linked to one's ethno-cultural identity when the two identities are inextricably linked as defining characteristics of one another (Government of Canada, 2005). Ethno-racial identities are sometimes included in the definition of ethno-cultural identities based on the extent to which a visible characteristic (such as the colour of one's skin or another visible trait) defines a given group's identity (Government of Canada, 2005; Salooje, 2003).

Regional identities refer primarily to geographic places, localities, regions, or nation-states (Pohl, 2001). There is some overlap between ethno-cultural and regional

identities in so far as to how much a geographic location or place of origin is affiliated with an individual or collective's specific ethno-cultural identity (Government of Canada, 2005; Pohl, 2001). Regional-based othering may occur based on a specific country, region or locality, but may also occur when individuals are not affiliated with a specific geographic locality, as is the case frequently with the othering of migrants or refugees (Bailey & Harindranath, 2005; Batziou, 2011; Breen, Haynes, & Devereux, 2006; Lams, 2017; Le, 2017; Szymánska, 2017; Taylor, 2017).

Religious identities are related to a specific group's faith, spiritual practices and ethical beliefs (Etengoff & Rodriguez, 2020). They are frequently characterized by the intersection between group or individual behaviour and belief; specifically, when it comes to rituals, practices, and traditions which intersect with themes of morality (Etengoff & Rodriguez, 2020). Often those who share a specific religious identity follow a similar set of doctrines that help guide their everyday actions and understanding of ethics (Etengoff & Rodriguez, 2020). Like with regional identities, we see some overlap with the definitions of ethno-cultural identities and religious identities, in that religious identities consist of a shared set of characteristics that are unique to a specific group like with ethno-cultural identities (Government of Canada, 2005; Guttormsen, 2018; Salooje, 2003). The difference here though is that religious identities often can transcend one's ethnic or cultural background and is significantly more fluid as they can change over time (Etengoff & Rodriguez, 2020; Government of Canada, 2005).

There is an established notion within the literature that the media has historically blamed immigrant and transcultural communities as being the primary source of disease during pandemics (Dionne & Turkmen, 2020; Dionne, Hayes, & Turkmen, 2021). This is

especially true for Asian communities in Canada and the US, who have experienced this form of discrimination since the smallpox epidemic of 1892 (Dionne & Turkmen, 2020; Dionne, Hayes, & Turkmen, 2021). The COVID-19 pandemic provides a unique opportunity to further study this notion of media scapegoating to see under what criteria it may manifest itself, or whether changing social norms have caused this form of discrimination to no longer occur.

2.3 Summary of Othering Mechanisms in the Print Media

Othering mechanisms refer to the specific subcomponents of the othering process that enable othering and the formation of the conceptual barriers of difference between identities to manifest (Powell, 2017; Powell & Menendian, 2017). Within the literature reviewed, I identified 14 distinct othering mechanisms that were being commonly discussed with shared or similar definitions across multiple articles. I provide a list of these othering mechanisms along with simplified definitions for them in Table 1 below and elaborate in more detail below. Note that there is no formal or shared typology of othering mechanisms that has been established within the literature at this time that considers one or both types of othering. This thesis will therefore act as means of providing the first steps towards developing a verifiable typology of othering mechanisms for both inclusionary and exclusionary othering.

Table 1 Summary of Othering Mechanisms from the Literature Review

Othering Mechanism	Simplified Definition
Alienation	<i>The promotion of barriers that prevent or stop the Other from interacting or associating with the hegemonic group</i>
Assimilation & Appropriation	<i>The inclusion of the Other, often against their will, with the intended purpose of the hegemonic group taking something away from them</i>
Categorization	<i>The recognition and distinction of the Other as being different</i>
Competitive Victimization	<i>The portrayal of having one group appear as being more victimized than another</i>
Dehumanization	<i>The portrayal of the Other as lacking human characteristics or qualities</i>
Dramatization	<i>The exaggeration of the Other's particular characteristics, attributes or values, often in regard to a specific event</i>
Edification	<i>The portrayal of the Other as morally inferior to the hegemonic group</i>
Generalization	<i>When the portrayal of certain characteristics, beliefs or practices are suggested to be more common than they are amongst the Other</i>
Legitimization	<i>The portrayal of the Other's moral inferiority is legitimized</i>
Polarization	<i>The portrayal of the Other as ideologically inaccessible or incompatible with the hegemonic group</i>
Positioning	<i>The framing of the Other as being positive, negative, or neutral</i>
Radicalization	<i>The portrayal of the Other as being willing and able to cause harm onto the hegemonic group and society</i>
Recontextualization	<i>The process of constructing specific narrative, contextual or thematic affiliations for the Other to be associated with</i>
Reliability & Consistency	<i>The repetition of similar phrases or motifs when representing the Other</i>

2.4 Focal Othering Mechanisms in the Print Media

There are four focal othering mechanisms that exist within this list that are more critical to the othering process in the print media than others. These are categorization, recontextualization, positioning and reliability and consistency.

Categorization is the most important othering mechanism as without it othering cannot take place. Categorization is the othering mechanism whereby a specific group or individual identity is perceived as being distinct and different from another's (Canales, 2000). This most commonly occurs through the formation of conceptual boundaries that differentiate the identities based on particular characteristics, traits, attributes, values,

beliefs, or ways of being (Creutz-Kämppi, 2008; Guttormsen, 2018; Mahadevan, 2017; Fürsich, 2010; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). Without the perception of a difference between two identities, the othering process cannot take place, hence why it is the most important othering mechanism and why it will occur in 100% of othering cases. An example of a categorization along the lines of ethno-cultural identities may include Canadian, American, Chinese, European, Asian, etc. These are specific labels that distinguish some kind of categorical difference between group identities.

Recontextualization is the next most important othering mechanism within the context of the print media (Caldas-coulthard, 2003). It occurs after categorization and refers to the process of constructing specific narratives, contextual or thematic affiliations for the identity of the Other to be associated with. An example of this can be seen in Breen, Haynes, and Devereux's (2006) article whereby immigrants were being depicted as a source of crime and criminality within the Irish press media. While there is absolutely nothing inherent within immigrant identities that would suggest that they are more predisposed to commit crimes, the Irish press media recontextualized their identity to depict immigrants as being more likely to be criminals than the Irish hegemonic ingroup (Breen, Haynes, & Devereux, 2006). This in turn resulted in increased fear of immigrants within Ireland and had the effect of justifying Irish prejudice, discrimination and intolerance towards immigrant populations (Breen, Haynes, & Devereux, 2006). It is important to note here, that in this specific case there are several different othering mechanisms at play, building off of one another, that would enable this depiction and perception of immigrant identities to happen (Breen, Haynes, & Devereux, 2006). However, recontextualization plays a crucial role in enabling these secondary othering

mechanisms to come to fruition, as these lower-tier othering mechanisms are essentially enabled by the process of narrative construction, and therefore recontextualization (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Batziou, 2011; Bozatsis, 2016).

It should be said then that recontextualization will occur in 100% of instances of othering within the print media, as stories presented within the print media can be viewed as actively constructed narratives within which the representation of the Other may be embedded or associated (Ryan, 2004; Hall, 1997; Quayle & Sonn, 2009; Phelan, 2009; Delcour & Hustinx, 2017). Inherent within the construction of media narratives is the process of recontextualization, as, despite our best efforts, no news story will be able to grasp the full picture of events or be without bias (Ryan, 2004). Base reality is actively truncated within media narratives into digestible portions of information that audiences can comprehend and make sense of (Hall, 1997; Ryan, 2004; Herman & Chomsky, 1987). This act of whittling down base reality is an active process of narrative construction as evidenced by the elimination of information or the development of specific narrative frames through which the world can be observed within the confines of an article (Ryan, 2004; Ooi & D’Arcangelis, 2017; Mann, 2016).

Journalists, editors and media organizations play an active role in this construction of media narratives as evidenced by the time, resources, editing and various levels of sanctioning that any article may go through prior to publication (Ryan, 2004; Herman & Chomsky, 1987; Colorado State University; 2021). Therefore, when the identity of the Other is placed within the context of this actively constructed narrative it can be said that their identity has been altered in some way, shape or form, to varying degrees of severity from what it is in reality. Furthermore, it is the juxtaposition of this identity within media

narratives where additional othering mechanisms will occur (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Batziou, 2011).

To extend upon this, because the Other's identity will be somehow recontextualized when placed within a print media narrative, it can also be said that the identity of the Other will be depicted in some way connotatively whether it be positive, negative or neutral (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Batziou, 2011; Breen, Haynes & Deverux, 2006; Lams, 2017). This refers to the othering mechanism of *positioning*, which refers to the process of constructing cognitive frames that depict the identity of the Other to be perceived as being positive, negative or neutral (Derek, 2017; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Batziou, 2011). Positioning must occur when recontextualization takes place, as the act of recontextualization insinuates that the identity of the Other has been altered in some capacity through the association with a constructed narrative, context or theme (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Batziou, 2011; Derek, 2017; Hall, 1997). This is to say, positioning is another key othering mechanism that will occur 100% of the time when othering within the print media takes place.

Take this sentence as an example of positioning, "Thai Buddhists are kind and generous people." Here we have the categorization of 'Thai Buddhists' (an intersection of ethno-cultural and religious identities), their identity is being recontextualized within a narrative about who they are as people, and the positioning of Thai Buddhists would be positive due to the established connotations with the words *kind* and *generous*. This would also be an example of inclusionary othering because while the sentence distinguishes Thai Buddhists as distinct it isn't actively emphasizing difference but rather highlighting desirable characteristics or attributes, namely *kindness* and *generosity*.

Reliability and consistency, is the last of the focal othering mechanisms and refers to the use of similar phrases, motifs or themes used to cognitively frame the Other within media narratives reliably and consistently over time and between multiple articles (Hall, 1997; Lams, 2017; Derek, 2017; Phelan, 2019; Herman & Chomsky, 1987). Unlike categorization, recontextualization, and positioning, reliability and consistency will not occur 100% of the time when othering occurs, but rather enables a feedback process to form whereby the othering of a particular identity provides a platform for further othering to take place and evolve over time. The reason why reliability and consistency is a focal othering mechanism, is because it is what makes othering effective (Hall, 1997; Derek, 2017). It is unlikely that any one-off statement within the media regarding the Other will have a lasting influence on the perceptions of audiences towards the Other (Hall, 1997). However, when similar themes, motifs and phrases are repeated consistently over time regarding the Other, the perception of conceptual boundaries differentiating the audience's identity from the Other's will gradually become more reinforced, such that the embedded quality of otherness seems inherent to the Other's identity (Hall, 1997; Herman & Chomsky, 1987; Derek, 2017). I depict this process of othering within the print media in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1 Model of Othering in the Print Media

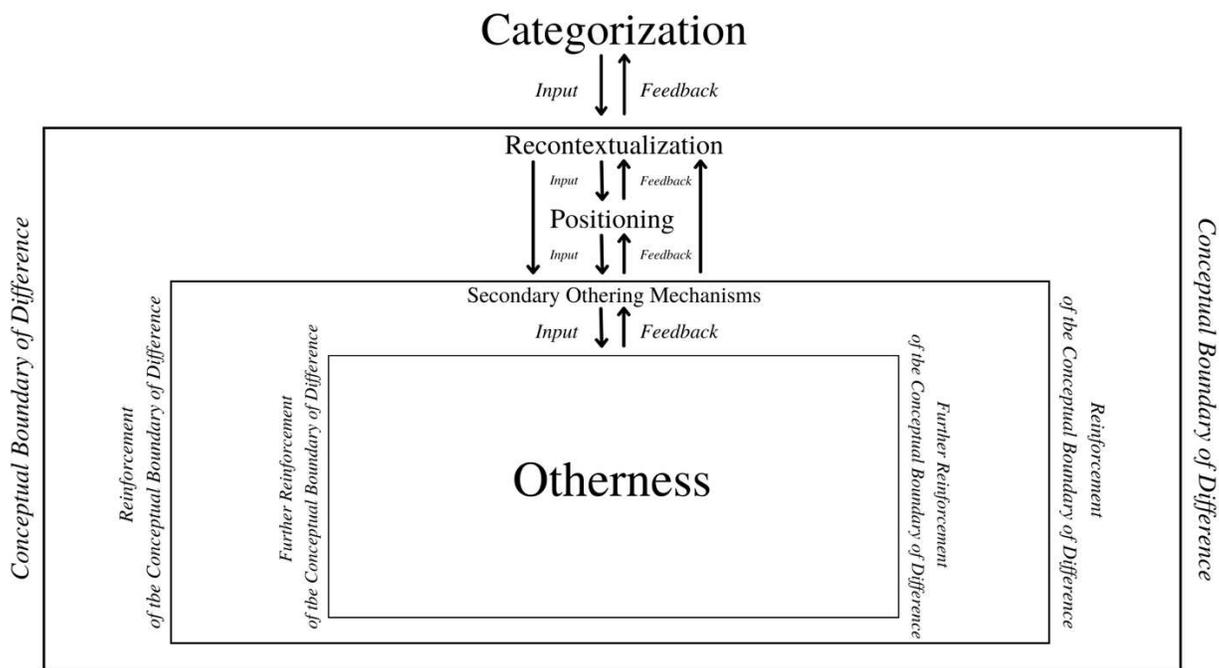


Figure 1 shows that the othering process begins with the othering mechanism of categorization, or the distinction of particular identity as being separate from one's own either at an intergroup or interpersonal level (Canales, 2000; Guttormsen, 2018; Mahadevan, 2017). This act of categorization creates the conceptual boundary of difference between identities (Guttormsen, 2018). The media will then recontextualize the identity of the Other through the representation of the Other within actively constructed media narratives (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Ryan, 2004; Hall, 1997; Herman & Chomsky, 1987). This has the effect of reinforcing the conceptual boundaries of perceived difference. This is done by justifying and normalizing the perception that the identity of the Other is somehow categorically different from another group's, typically the hegemonic group identity, through the use of narratives (Hall, 1997).

Due to the nature of media narratives and recontextualization of the Other, it can also be said that the representation of the Other will always take on some kind of tonal position whereby the identity of the Other is presented to be connotatively positive, negative or neutral (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Breen, Haynes, & Devereux, 2006). This is the othering mechanism of positioning, which is denoted by the process of constructing mental frames possessing specific connotations regarding how the Other should be perceived. The process of positioning also contributes to the reinforcement of the conceptual boundaries of perceived difference, as over time individuals will have specific connotative responses to specific identities whether it be good, bad or indifferent (Hall, 1997; Derek, 2017; Lams, 2017).

Once the conceptual boundaries of difference are reinforced, othering can be furthered through the use of secondary othering mechanisms (e.g., radicalization, edification, polarization, etc.) which over time can lead to the perception of other connotative responses (e.g. fear, moral superiority, ideological incompatibility, etc.) (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Ryan, 2004; Hall, 1997; Quayle & Sonn, 2009; Phelan, 2009; Delcour & Hustinx, 2017). These secondary othering mechanisms are all made possible due to recontextualization, which looks at how the Other is being represented within media narratives. These secondary othering mechanisms lead to the further reinforcement of the conceptual boundaries of difference and contribute to the degree of otherness ascribed to a particular identity, which refers to the specific quality of having one's identity being differentiated from a specific group's identity within society, which is typically the hegemonic group (Hall, 1997; Guttormsen, 2018; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Derek, 2017).

Otherness and othering can occur at differing degrees of severity resulting in different outcomes, with having one's identity be dehumanized being the most severe of these outcomes (Guttormsen, 2018; Canales, 2000; Derek, 2017; Livingstone Smith, 2011; Sofsky, 1997). This model also shows the process of othering feedbacks onto itself. This feedback loop is most commonly facilitated through the othering mechanism reliability and consistency, whereby the representation of the Other is narratively reliable and consistent such that the audiences of a particular media are able to make sense of the narratives being portrayed within the media more easily (Hall, 1997; Herman & Chomsky, 1987; Derek, 2017). It is this feedback, which is based on the ascribed quality of otherness and the othering mechanisms being used that contributes to the reproduction and maintenance of the conceptual boundaries that denotes the difference between identities and non-belonging (Hall, 1997).

2.5 Secondary Othering Mechanisms in the Print Media

As mentioned above, secondary othering mechanisms are primarily the by-product of recontextualization and contribute to how severe the othering process may be.

Generalization is a mechanism utilized in the media othering process where the actions, values, beliefs and circumstances of a few outgroup members are applied universally to conceptualize all the members of that particular outgroup (Hall, 1997; Lams, 2017; Mann, 2016). Generalization is rather common throughout the media othering process, as it relates quite strongly to Hall's (1997) sentiment of assigning meaning to particular people to facilitate audience understanding of media narratives. One of the most pervasive examples of generalization in our society today is the media's representation of Muslims as violent radicals since the 9/11 attacks (Silva, 2017). In this case, we see the

actions of 19 militant extremists, who happened to be Muslim, being generalized to 1.9 billion Muslims worldwide, especially those of Arabic descent (Silva, 2017; History Channel, 2010; Pew Research Center, 2018). The vast majority of Muslims are non-violent, kind, and generous people, however, the media has co-opted the narrative of jihadi terrorism, to make Muslims appear more dangerous and frightening than they are (Silva, 2017). Related to this example are the mechanisms of *radicalization* whereby the Other is depicted to be violent and dangerous or seeking to undermine society; and *dramatization* whereby certain features of the other are exaggerated within the media to make them appear more common than they are (Derek, 2017; Silva, 2017; Lams, 2017; Mann, 2016; Lirola, 2017).

Generalization is also regularly used in conjunction with other mechanisms such as edification, and legitimization. *Edification* refers to the media othering mechanism whereby the Other is depicted to be morally inferior to the ingroup (Ooi & D’Arcangelis, 2017; Lams, 2017). We see examples of edification in the US media’s depiction of China as a lawless bully when it comes to its relationships with its neighbouring countries, especially in the context of its many maritime disputes, which implies immoral behaviour (Ooi & D’Arcangelis, 2017). One of the outcomes of generalization and edification is *legitimization*, a mechanism where a generalized depiction of the transcultural Other as being morally is legitimized. This can be done through discourses of criminality or victimization, which we see examples of in the Spanish press in their discourse regarding immigrants as violent criminals (Lirola, 2017, Szymańska, 2017; Batziou, 2011).

This leads to the idea of *competitive victimization*, a mechanism whereby the media will attempt to depict a specific group as being more victimized than another (Baily &

Harindranath, 2005). This is often seen when the hegemonic ingroup tries to depict itself as being more victimized than the Other. This is a tactic that is used to delegitimize the claims of the Other and shift the blame onto a particular oppressor, which in many cases may also be the Other (Lams, 2017). Competitive victimization was a prominent feature in the Australian media's depiction of asylum seekers, whereby asylum seekers on a sinking ship were denied entry into Australian territory out of the government's fear that they would utilize their status as refugees to stay in Australia permanently (Baily & Harindranath, 2005). Therefore, the depiction of the asylum seekers within the Australian media was that they would unfairly punish the Australian population should they be allowed to land on Australian territory, hence providing a justification for the Australian government to turn their backs on them (Baily & Harindranath, 2005).

Polarization is another othering mechanism prominent within the media. Its function is to create and emphasize an ideological divide between the ingroup and the Other, such that the perspectives of the other appear to be inaccessible, unreasonable and extreme to the ingroup (Duran, 2020; Quayle & Sonn, 2009; Silva, 2017). By emphasizing difference, polarization increases the likelihood that the Other will be perceived as an existential threat to the identity and way of life of the in-group. ***Alienation*** is an othering mechanism that refers to the reinforcement of physical or social distance with the Other, often through the creation of new barriers (Mann, 2016; Lirola, 2017).

Assimilation and appropriation occurs when the similarities between the ingroup and the Other are emphasized and the media attempts to bring the groups together into one hegemonic group (Phelan, 2009). When the Other has something that the dominant ingroup wants, they may emphasize their similarity until their goals are met and then return to more

exclusionary othering processes. Assimilation and appropriation may present itself when there is a physical or cultural property that can be taken from the Other and depicted as belonging to the in-group all along (Phelan, 2009; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). We see an example of assimilation and appropriation in the New Zealand press when they tried to emphasize the similarities between the kiwis and Maori so that the New Zealand government could acquire seabed rights from the Maoris, which had been signed away in a treaty (Phelan, 2009).

Dehumanization is perhaps one of the most extreme othering mechanisms, as it occurs when the Other is depicted as no longer possessing human qualities, characteristics, values, or morals (Livingstone Smith, 2011; Sofsky, 1997). When it is exclusionary, dehumanization can lead one to believe that the Other is somehow less than human, as seen in the depiction of immigrants in the Irish press media as nothing more than undesirables, vagrants and criminals or asylum seekers coming to Australia as an unwanted burden (Breen, Haynes & Devereux, 2006; Baily & Harindranath, 2005). When it is inclusionary, dehumanization can lead one to believe that the Other is more than human, which can be seen from the previous example where Ronaldo is portrayed as being Christ the Redeemer (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). In either case, these are examples of dehumanization as they both present some form of loss in human quality or characteristics.

2.6 Identified Gaps and Expected Contributions

There are several gaps within the literature that I have highlighted during this literature review that I believe this thesis may be able to help address. I will summarize each of them briefly here and speak to the specific ways I believe my thesis can contribute to these gaps.

First, there is an expressed need within the cross-cultural management literature for more research to be conducted on othering and otherness (Guttormsen, 2018; Mahadevan, 2017). This thesis explores the ways that the print media engaged in the transcultural othering of Asian communities in Canada and the US during the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, this thesis is specifically concerned with how othering may be directed at the transcultural identities of Asian communities, which in turn will contribute to our understanding of the othering of ethno-cultural, regional, and religious identities. Furthermore, this thesis will be one of the first studies that look at othering as it happens across an entire region (East Asia and Pacific) and will be able to help identify which identities may experience more exclusionary othering than others and which groups lack a significant presence within the media. This should help managers direct their diversity and inclusion practices more precisely as a result of raising awareness for the othering of different identities.

Second, there is a significant need within both the transcultural othering in the print media literature and cross-cultural management, to study inclusionary othering more thoroughly in conjunction with exclusionary othering. As one will see within Table 2 below, only 4 of the 20 transcultural othering in the print media articles reviewed studied both types of othering. Therefore, it is vital for this study to include both an inclusionary and exclusionary othering perspective to understand the nuance of transcultural othering more thoroughly.

Table 2 Articles included in Transcultural Othering in the Print Media Literature Review

Transcultural Identity Being Studied	Article	Total Number of Articles	Data Source	Data Region of Origin	Data Country of Origin	“Other” of Focus	Type of Othering
Ethno-Cultural	<i>Delcour & Hustinx, 2017;</i>	2	<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>EUR</i>	<i>Belgium</i>	<i>Slovak Roma</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
	<i>Phelan, 2009</i>		<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>EAP</i>	<i>New Zealand</i>	<i>Maori</i>	<i>Both.</i>
Regional	<i>Bailey & Harindranath, 2005;</i>	7	<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>EAP</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Refugees/Asylum Seekers</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
	<i>Batziou, 2011;</i>		<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>EUR</i>	<i>Greece & Spain</i>	<i>Migrants</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
	<i>Breen, Haynes, & Devereux, 2006;</i>		<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>EUR</i>	<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Migrants</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
	<i>Lams, 2017;</i>		<i>Multiple Newspaper</i>	<i>EAP</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>USA & Japan</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
	<i>Le, 2017;</i>			<i>EUR</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>“Other” Europeans</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
	<i>Szymńska, 2017;</i>		<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>EUR</i>	<i>UK</i>	<i>Migrants</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
<i>Taylor, 2017</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>EUR</i>	<i>UK & Italy</i>	<i>Migrants</i>	<i>Excl.</i>		
Religious	<i>Creutz-Kämpfi, 2008;</i>	4	<i>Diasporic</i>	<i>EUR</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
	<i>Derek, 2017;</i>		<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>NA</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
	<i>Duran, 2020;</i>		<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>EUR</i>	<i>Spain</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
	<i>Mann, 2016</i>		<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>SA</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>Sikhs</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
Ethno-Cultural + Regional	<i>Botzatsis, 2016;</i>	5	<i>Magazine</i>	<i>NA</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>Greece & Greeks</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
	<i>Caldas-Coulthard, 2003;</i>		<i>Multiple</i>	<i>Multi</i>	<i>UK & Brazil</i>	<i>Multiple</i>	<i>Both</i>
	<i>Jaber; 2016;</i>						
	<i>Lirola, 2017;</i>		<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>EUR</i>	<i>Spain</i>	<i>Sub-Saharan Migrants</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
<i>Ooi & D’arcangelis, 2017</i>	<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>NA</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>China & Chinese</i>	<i>Excl.</i>		
Ethno-Cultural + Religious	<i>Quayle & Sonn, 2009</i>	1	<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>EAP</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Arab Muslims</i>	<i>Excl.</i>
All	<i>Fürsich, 2010</i>	1	<i>Multiple</i>	<i>Multiple</i>	<i>Multiple</i>	<i>Multiple</i>	<i>Both</i>

Third, there is an established notion within the literature that the media has historically scapegoated disease and pandemics on minorities and immigrant communities (Dionne & Turkmen, 2020). Asian communities in particular have historically experienced this form of discrimination extensively within both Canada and the US (Dionne & Turkmen, 2020; Dionne, Hayes & Turkmen, 2021). Therefore, it warrants further investigation to see if this pattern of historic discrimination and othering has occurred within Maclean's and Newsweek's publications. This will provide a better sense of the extent to which this phenomenon may occur, and if so, possibly under what circumstances it may occur.

Finally, there is no formal typology within the transcultural othering in the print media literature for othering mechanisms for one or both types of othering. Therefore, this thesis will act as a first step towards developing a formal typology of othering mechanisms for both inclusionary and exclusionary othering. The print media also provides an excellent platform to establish this typology of othering mechanisms, due to this form of data being highly accessible with different sources often following similar style and formatting conventions and provides researchers with a number of different contexts to be studied (Fürsich, 2010; Ryan, 2004). This means that researchers should be able to build off the work of one another more easily when utilizing the print media as data than perhaps with others, and therefore the print media may also act as an appropriate stepping stone to eventually expand this typology into other areas like digital media.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Social Identity Theory is a theoretical framework that seeks to explain how individuals make sense of who they are and where they fit within a society; particularly as it pertains to groups and group identity (Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Hogg, 2018). It analyzes the role of self-conception as it pertains to group affiliation, group functions, and intergroup relations (Hogg, 2018). The theory engages with an interwoven series of constructs and sub-theories focused on ideas of cognition, motivation, interaction, and various macrosocial aspects of living in a society, within and amongst groups (Stets & Burke, 2000). It has previously been used to explain phenomena such as; group cohesiveness, conformity, discrimination, prejudice, stereotyping, ethnocentrism, crowd behaviour, organizational behaviour, leadership, intergroup conflict, group polarization, and *othering* (Hogg, 2018).

Within this theory, groups are defined at the cognitive level, based on an individual's self-conception as a group member (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Specifically, it suggests that groups can exist psychologically when three or more individuals perceive themselves as possessing shared characteristics that make them collectively distinct from other people (Hogg, 2018). Tajfel and Turner (2004) suggest that individuals are primarily motivated to associate themselves with specific groups as a means of self-enhancement and to develop a positive self-concept. This is to say that individuals will associate themselves with the particular group or groups which they believe can contribute to the improvement of their social status and that will make them feel good about themselves.

When part of a group network, individuals will invest time and resources into improving their group's standing within society and bettering their position within their

specific group network (Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Hogg, 2020). Through the investment of time and effort, individuals will transform weak tie connections with other group members into strong ties, further strengthening the individual's commitment and perceived bond with the group via the development of social capital (Burt, Kilduff, & Tasselli, 2013). This process will continue so long as the group that they are a part of continues to provide opportunities for social enhancement and makes the individual feel good about themselves (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Under normal circumstances where the individual can no longer improve their position within the group or society, and the group no longer provides the individual with a positive self-concept, the individual will seek out other group affiliations to satiate those two needs (Hogg, 2018).

3.1 Othering and Social Identity Theory

Othering occurs when a particular individual or group is determined to be separate from, or unique to, another specific social group based on particular characteristics, values, and practices (Fürsich, 2010; Guttormsen, 2018). To simplify, othering is the perception of a particular individual or group as not belonging to another specific social group (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). Social identity theory provides a critical framework in addressing the motivational account for why othering occurs (Fürsich, 2010). A key question regarding othering is why are some people included where others are not? When this question is framed through the lens of social identity theory one sees that othering is a means of self-concept improvement as a result of ingroup and outgroup bias, which contributes to the development of greater ingroup social cohesion (Abbink & Harris, 2014).

Othering occurs largely based on socially constructed differences that are used to artificially define and label people, a process that has been mostly normalized due to our

current social-cultural zeitgeist (Ore, 2013; Jung & Lee, 2004). This process of artificially defining and labelling people is largely based on socio-cultural expressions of power, as it determines the sanctioning and prohibition of association and interaction with particular individuals, groups, or assigned identities (Ore, 2013).

The idea behind artificially defining certain members of the population as a socio-cultural Other enables the processes of ingroup and outgroup biases (Abbink & Harris, 2014). Specifically, it enables one to associate the Other with negative characteristics and connotations (Abbink & Harris, 2014; Ore, 2013). This gives heed to the idea of, “at least I am not *them*,” which in turn contributes to the association of one’s ingroup with more positive characteristics, which helps to enhance the self-concept of the individual (Abbink & Harris, 2014; Ore, 2013; Hogg, 2020).

If the ingroup can improve or maintain the positive self-concept of the individual, they will most likely dedicate more time to the development of social capital and stronger ties within the ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Hogg, 2020; Burt, Kilduff, & Tasselli, 2013). Therefore, the process of othering, as viewed through the lens of social identity theory, is a means of improving ingroup cohesion and the improvement or maintenance of the self-concepts of the ingroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Burt, Kilduff, & Tasselli, 2013).

3.2 Uncertainty Identity Theory

Uncertainty identity theory is a sub-theory within social identity theory that is relevant for this study due to the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and the widespread uncertainty the pandemic has produced (Hogg & Wagoner, 2017; Hogg, 2020). While social identity theory suggests that individuals will seek to identify themselves with groups

as a means of self-concept enhancement, uncertainty identity theory suggests that individuals under uncertainty will identify themselves with groups as a means of uncertainty reduction and improving self-concept clarity (Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Hogg, 2018; Hogg & Wagoner, 2017; Hogg, 2020).

This is to say that individuals under uncertainty will not associate themselves with groups to feel good about themselves but will instead identify themselves with groups as a means of understanding who they are (Hogg, 2020; Hogg & Wagoner, 2017). As such entitative groups (groups with well-defined identities) tend to appeal more to individuals under uncertainty than non-entitative groups (Hogg, 2020; Hogg & Wagoner, 2017). This means that groups whose identity possesses a clearly defined image and narrative are likely to appeal more to individuals under uncertainty, as they can more easily answer who they are, what they want, and where they are going (Hogg, 2020). Michael Hogg has shown over the course of his last 20 years of research that the groups that appeal to those under uncertainty are often more radical and extremist in nature (Hogg, 2020).

Uncertainty in uncertainty identity theory refers to, context-induced self-uncertainty, which typically manifests during transitory events in an individual's life (Hogg, 2020; Hogg & Wagoner, 2017). Events that may produce uncertainty may include, the death of a family member, moving to a new country, getting fired from a job, being sued, breaking up with a romantic partner, dropping out of school, *a pandemic*, amongst many other things (Hogg, 2020; Hogg & Wagoner, 2017). Uncertainty typically manifests itself as self-concept uncertainty affecting an individual's perceived identity or identities (Hogg, 2020; Hogg & Wagoner, 2017). The severity of the uncertainty is dictated by the importance of the identity being affected, whether more than one identity is being affected,

and the level of overlap between the identities being affected (Hogg, 2020; Hogg & Wagoner, 2017). The identities that may be influenced by context-induced uncertainty are the individual identity (how you perceive yourself), relational identity (how you relate to other people) and/or collective identity (the group you associate yourself with) (Hogg, 2020; Hogg & Wagoner, 2017).

Once uncertainty is introduced it will be either perceived as a challenge or a threat (Hogg, 2020). This is determined by the severity of the uncertainty affecting the individual's identity and their perception of whether they have sufficient resources, often in the form of social capital, to handle the uncertainty (Hogg, 2020; Hogg & Wagoner, 2017; Burt, Kilduff & Tasselli, 2013). Those with sufficient resources will perceive uncertainty as a challenge and will engage in self-promotive behaviours that will likely strengthen their current underlying identities (Hogg, 2020). Those with insufficient resources will perceive uncertainty as a threat and will engage in self-protective behaviours and may seek out new identities to latch onto (Hogg, 2020). Both of these outcomes are important to understand why tribalism and othering are increased during a pandemic.

3.3 Social Identity Theory and the Media

We can extend the framework of social identity theory and its sub-theories into the media by looking at media organizations as an extension of a particular ingroup (McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020). The media tends to contribute to several ingroup functions but most importantly it contributes to the proliferation and amplification of information within and beyond the ingroup, across society, as an information broker (McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020; Marantz, 2020). Key to this process is the media's role as the gatekeeper of information, within a particular group (the media's

target audience) and within a society (McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020; Marantz, 2020). This is to say, that the media can pick and choose which information they want their audiences and society members to see, and which specific parts of that information should be emphasized or diminished through specific narrative frames (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020; Marantz, 2020). This is incredibly important when it comes to defining group identities in the context of public narratives (Harwood, 2020).

An integral component of group identities is the establishment of a group narrative as means of explaining who the group is, where they come from and where they are going (Hogg, 2020). These types of group narratives are incredibly important for ingroup social cohesion, the establishment of ingroup hierarchies, the formation of values and ethics, group goal setting, amongst a number of other things (Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Hogg, 2020; Hogg, 2018). It is important to note that some groups will possess more well-defined group narratives than others, which directly correlates to how entitative, well-defined and salient a group's identity will be perceived (Hogg, 2020).

The media plays a fundamental role in constructing group identities and narratives, due to the media's size and scale as an information broker within society, as it is able to provide individuals with information about groups that they may otherwise never have contact with or know anything about (Hall, 1997; McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020; Marantz, 2020). Therefore, it is important that when the media is portraying outgroup identities and narratives within its content, that the information about these groups be accurate, as otherwise, it may cause audience members to be more inclined to believe in certain misconceptions about the specific outgroup especially if there are

limited opportunities for intergroup interaction (McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020; Hogg, 2020).

This accuracy in representing the outgroup's identity often does not occur to a high degree as media organizations tend to display a preferential bias towards their affiliated ingroup (McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020). This is to say that media organizations will frequently seek to frame their affiliated ingroup positively, whereas this may not be the case when it comes to outgroups (McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020). This is because by portraying the ingroup as positive it will promote ingroup members to have a positive self-concept stemming from their group identity (McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020). This positive self-conception translates into an improvement of ingroup social cohesion through increased commitment to the group by its members (McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020; Hogg, 2020; Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

By portraying the outgroup as being less positive than the ingroup, this will cause the ingroup members to perceive there to be fewer viable alternatives to their current ingroup (Hogg, 2020; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). This lack of perceived alternatives makes it less likely for ingroup members to disassociate themselves from their ingroup, even in the event of a diminishing positive self-concept (McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020; Hogg, 2020; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Therefore by portraying the outgroup as less positive than the ingroup in the media, it has the effect of increasing the commitment of members to the ingroup (McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Harwood, 2020; Hogg, 2020; Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

Furthermore, through the use of different types of othering, the media can dictate how certain groups relate to one another narratively (McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014; Herman & Chomsky, 1988). An example of this is the creation of a common enemy in the media that members of an ingroup can collectively rally against (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). This idea of the common enemy not only promotes ingroup social cohesion, as the perception of threat contributes to self-protective behaviours, but also gives way to new group goals, values, and norms (Hogg, 2020; Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

With all this in mind, social identity theory and its sub-theories are critical in understanding why othering occurs, especially within media, and are well equipped to provide deep insights into why social trends related to intolerance, tribalism and discrimination may be exacerbated during pandemics. As such social identity provides an ideal theoretical framework to help contextualize this study and will provide immense value for my analysis and discussion.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

My research project looks at the contribution of the Canadian and American print media on the transcultural othering of Asian communities, during the COVID-19 pandemic. The study utilizes Canadian and American magazines as its primary data source. The magazines used for this study were Maclean's (Canadian) and Newsweek (American), two centre-left publications that report on issues relating to society and politics (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2021a, b; Media Bias Fact Check, 2021a, b). In my study, I analyze articles published in Maclean's and Newsweek print-editions circulated between February 1st, 2020 and April 30th, 2021 using qualitative content analysis as my methodological approach. This chapter provides details regarding the process of data collection, a description of the dataset, and my analytical approach.

4.1 Data Collection

The magazines selected for this study needed to be comparable as to diminish any unintended variables in the data that may affect the findings (e.g., a differing political bias or genre) and to be able to capture the national contexts of Canada and the US. I settled on Maclean's and Newsweek magazines for this study due to their comparable prominence in their home countries, genre, political bias, perceived trustworthiness and accuracy in reporting, longstanding histories, and that the coverage of both magazines focuses on their respective national contexts (Maclean's, 2021; Newsweek, 2021; Encyclopedia Britannica, 2021a, b; Media Bias Fact Check, 2021a, b)

Maclean's is Canada's leading magazine in current affairs. Established in 1905 in Toronto, Maclean's has a long history of covering stories related to international relations, social issues, politics, and pop culture; all from a Canadian perspective (Maclean's, 2021;

Encyclopedia Britannica, 2021a). Maclean's is currently owned by their publisher St. Joseph's Communications. They publish in both print (monthly) and digital formats. Currently, Maclean's caters their content to an audience of 2.4 million readers per month on average (Maclean's, 2021). Maclean's has been frequently ranked as one of Canada's most reliable and trustworthy news sources and has been noted as having a slightly left-of-centre bias by independent fact-checkers (Media Bias Fact Check, 2021a).

Newsweek is one of America's three leading newsweeklies, alongside Time and US News & World Report (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2021b). Established in 1933 in New York City, Newsweek reports on the topics of international affairs, social issues, politics, and pop culture, from an American perspective (Newsweek, 2021; Encyclopedia Britannica, 2021b). It is worth noting, however, that in recent years Newsweek has tried to increase its coverage on entertainment and culture as a means of expanding upon its current audience of 30 million readers per month on average (Newsweek, 2021). Despite this development, politics and society remain their primary focus. Newsweek is currently owned by IBT Media. They currently publish in both print (47 times a year) and digital. Like Maclean's, Newsweek is frequently ranked as one of the most reliable and trustworthy news sources in the US and has also been noted for having a slightly left-of-centre bias by independent fact-checkers (Media Bias Fact Check, 2021b).

Due to their similarities, Maclean's and Newsweek are excellent sources to be juxtaposed to one another; as they enable the national contexts of Canada and the US to be compared while minimizing unintended variables. An advantage of this comparison between national contexts is that it provides this thesis with a more international focus, allowing for its findings to be possibly more applicable in broader international contexts.

When certain similarities or dissimilarities are identified between the publishers during this study's analysis, it will allow for more impactful conclusions to be drawn regarding the print media's engagement in the transcultural othering of Asian communities during COVID-19. This international focus between Canada and US will also allow me to more confidently assert whether the phenomenon being observed, and the conclusions being made, are country-specific or not; which would not be possible if I were to solely study a singular national context such as Canada for example. Therefore, a comparison between Maclean's and Newsweek is invaluable in improving the overall quality and meaningfulness of this thesis and its findings due to the publications' differing national contexts.

Two dissimilarities between the publications that are worth noting can be seen in the nominal value of their readership and their publication cycle. While the difference between 2.4 million and 30 million readers may seem large, Maclean's readership is about 6.5% of the Canadian population, whereas Newsweek's is about 9% of the American population, so they are somewhat comparable when adjusted proportionally for the population of their home countries (World Bank, 2021; US Census Bureau, 2021). Despite the difference in publication cycles, this had no significant impact on the final number of articles used in the analysis as described below.

A time period from February 1st, 2020 and April 30th, 2021, was selected as it allowed my analysis to study how the representation of Asian identities evolved during several media cycles within Maclean's and Newsweek. This range covers the time when COVID-19 would have been first reported in the North American print media, to exactly

one year following the first lockdowns in Canada and the US (Rodrigues, 2020; Stracqualursi, 2020).

4.1.1 Article Collection

The articles reviewed for this study were from print issues of Maclean's and Newsweek. This decision to select print issue articles was made due to their increased editorial scrutiny, the permanence of print versus digital articles and the link between legacy media and increased ideological polarization accentuating intolerance and discrimination (Colorado State University, 2021; Klinenberg, 2018; Klein, 2020; Gandour, 2016; Hogg, 2020). In 2020, the PEW Research Center demonstrated that legacy media preferences and trust were typically split along partisan lines creating an environment for heightened polarization (Jurkowitz *et al.*, 2020). While 40% of democrats or more were shown to collectively have trust in several media organizations, 40% of republicans or more were shown to collectively have trust in only one; Fox News (Jurkowitz *et al.*, 2020). This implies that consumers of legacy media typically receive their news from sources that cater to their pre-established world views, enabling the American public to grow more polarized through ideological echochambers (Jurkowitz *et al.*, 2020). These factors make it valuable to review how the print media contributed to the othering of Asians during the COVID-19 pandemic using print articles; as the representation of Asians within these articles are often subject to greater requirements of editorial sanctioning, the non-editability of print articles post-publication, and are typically being viewed by more polarized audiences (Colorado State University, 2021; Klinenberg, 2018; Klein, 2020; Jurkowitz *et al.*, 2020).

Articles from Maclean's and Newsweek's print magazines were collected from ProQuest databases. *PUBID(47976)* and *PUBID(1966348)*, were the specific ProQuest Database publication identification numbers used to access articles from Maclean's and Newsweek respectively. A date range from February 1st, 2020 to April 30th, 2021 was used to narrow down the results. This range produced 463 article results for Maclean's and 322 article results for Newsweek. These articles were then ordered from old to new and downloaded in batches of 100 (due to specific limitations with the number of files that can be downloaded per session on ProQuest). These files were first downloaded as Excel files which contained publication-specific information. The articles were then downloaded in batches of 100 as an RTF file, containing article titles, abstracts, body text, author names, as well as bibliographic and publishing information. All files were collected from ProQuest databases on August 6th, 2021.

4.1.2 Article selection

All 785 articles were then uploaded to NVIVO 12 where I utilized the word frequency tool to help develop a dictionary of potentially relevant words for this study. A query was run across all files for words that were three letters or more in length. This produced a list of 41,853 unique words, acronyms and numbers, that had been used in the articles at least once, along with their total number of occurrences and percentage frequency across the articles. This list was then exported into Excel where I manually reviewed each of the words for their potential relevance to this study. This process was repeated twice to ensure that no potential keywords had been missed. A list of 286 unique words was generated from this process, which is available in Appendix B1. These keywords were then used in NVIVO 12's text search function, to identify potentially

relevant articles. This process suggested that there were 180 and 145 potentially relevant articles for Maclean's and Newsweek respectively. Once the potentially relevant articles were flagged, they were uploaded to Dedoose for a manual read-through of articles and keyword coding.

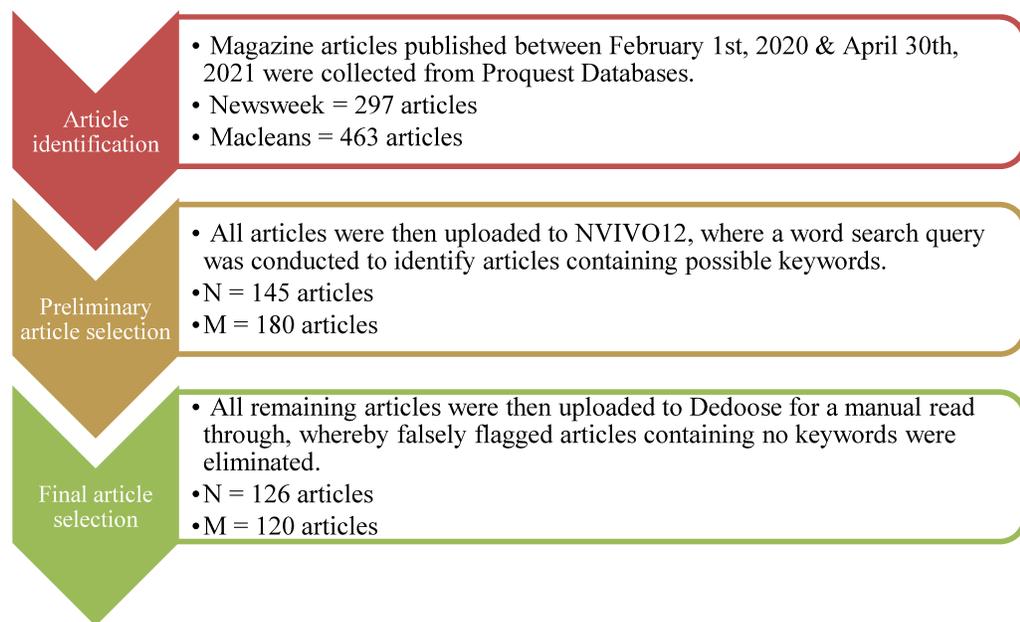
During this coding process, I also made sure that collections of words referring to a single item were coded as a singular keyword, these included words like Hong Kong, South Korea, Xi Jinping, the Chinese Communist Party, as a few examples. The final article counts after this process became 110 Maclean's and 116 Newsweek articles respectively. There were 393 unique words across 2841 keyword instances in total, which equates to 1173 and 1668 total keyword instances for Maclean's and Newsweek respectively. A final list of these words and their number of occurrences can be found in Appendix B2. The articles that were eliminated were often falsely flagged due to the author's name, a reference to South Asia, or a word present within the publication data but not the article's body text.

Articles were included in the final dataset provided that they contained at least one keyword relating to East or Southeast Asian transcultural identities within the article's body text. This included words, names, institutions, or concepts related to the ethno-cultural, regional or religious identities affiliated with Asian countries. For this study, I define Asian countries as including the following; Brunei, Cambodia, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Macau, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, North Korea, Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Timor Leste, and/or Vietnam (World Bank, 2018). This was determined utilizing the World Bank's regional definition of East Asia and Pacific as a guide (World Bank, 2018).

This list omits the countries of Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and several Pacific micro-states from the World Bank’s East Asia and Pacific definition on the grounds of either having too small of a population (ex. Palau, Tuvalu, Kiribati and other the Pacific microstates) or were likely to produce too many results on a group other than the target group of focus in this study (ex. Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea).

The process of article collection and selection is summarized in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2 Summary of Data Collection



4.2 Data Description

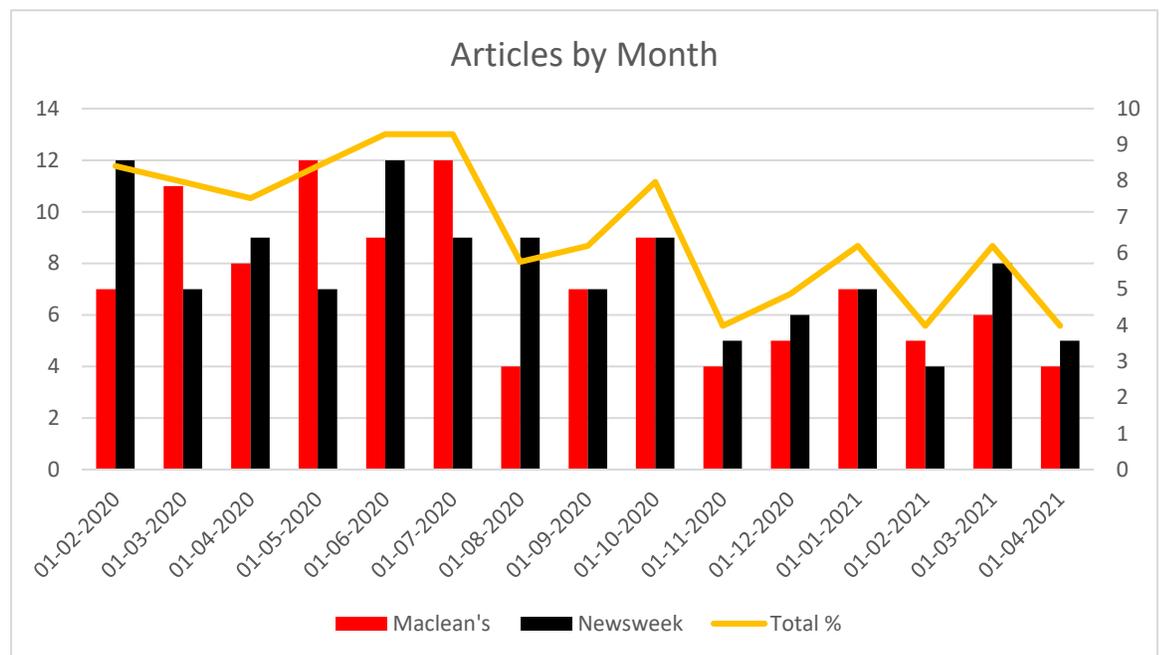
In this section I describe the final dataset, to give the reader a better idea of what the data looked like. All the coding here was conducted within Dedoose through the use of descriptors, which allow for articles to be coded as a whole, or base level coding of keywords (for identity and country affiliation).

4.2.1 Date of Publication

Due to the different publication cycles of Maclean’s and Newsweek, I decided that it was best to standardize the coding of publication dates to the month and year an article

was published. While some of the nuance involved in Newsweek’s nearly weekly publication trends is lost, standardizing it to the month and year allowed for a more meaningful and comparable analysis of Newsweek to be conducted with Maclean’s. The dates of publication were determined using the publication information downloaded from ProQuest and were cross-checked using the bibliographic information present within the articles themselves. Figure 3 highlights the number of articles published each month by Maclean’s and Newsweek between February 1st, 2020 and April 30th, 2021 containing some kind of discussion of Asian communities.

Figure 3 Article Publications by Media and Month



4.2.2 Article Length and Keyword Presence

Article length was determined by looking at the number of words contained within the body text of the article and did not include items such as the headline or author’s name. Likewise, keyword presence looked at the total number of keywords contained within the body text of the articles. Below, I provide two figures. Figure 4 demonstrates the average

article word count by publisher per month for the articles included in the final dataset.

Figure 5 shows the average number of keywords per article by publisher each month.

Figure 4 Average Article Word Count by Month

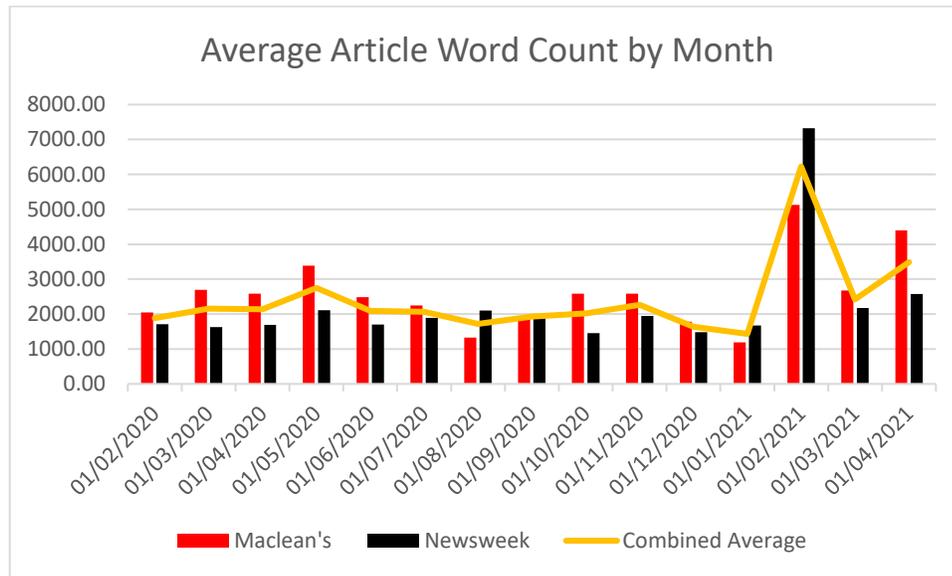
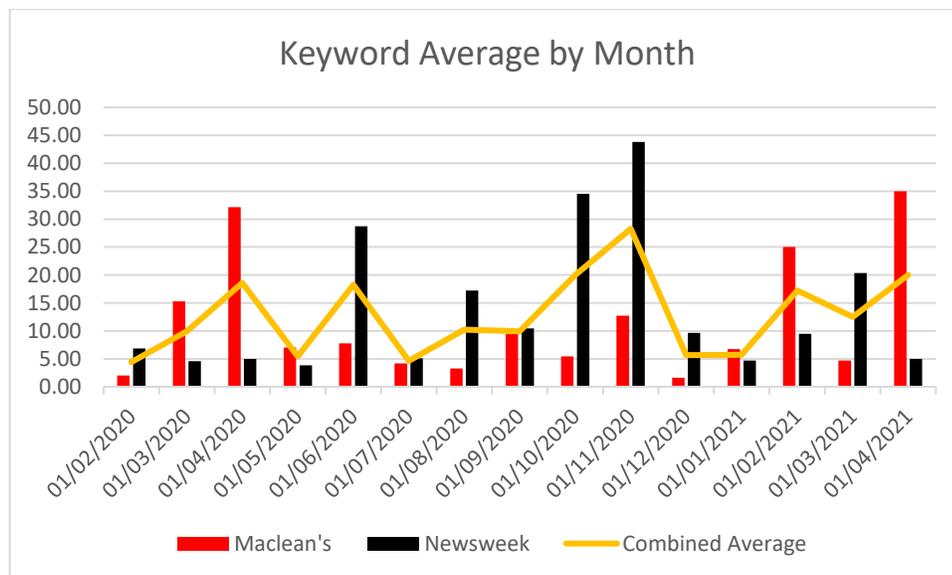


Figure 5 Average Keyword Count by Month



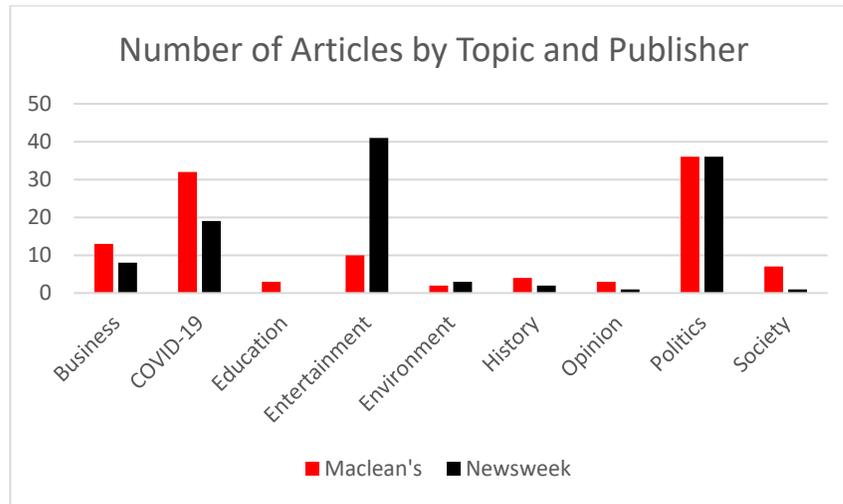
On average Maclean’s word count was 2571.72 words per article, whereas Newsweek’s word count was 2014.56 words per article. Maclean’s had the shortest article in the dataset at 122 words (which was an infographic about the spread of COVID-19), and

Newsweek had the longest article at 23472 words (which was an exposé on the January 6th insurrection). Maclean's had an average of 10.64 keywords per article, whereas Newsweek had an average of 14.24 keywords per article. Maclean's had 26 articles only containing one keyword, and Newsweek had 36. Newsweek had the article which contained the greatest number of keywords at 202. Newsweek also simultaneously had the highest and lowest density of keywords by article word count, with the highest density amounting to 8.51% of words contained within an article and the lowest being 0.004% of words contained within an article.

4.2.3 Article Topics

Article topic was coded inductively relying on personal observation of patterns and narratives in the text. These were cross-referenced with the article topics provided by the publishers within their bibliographic information downloaded through excel. The reason I did not use the publisher suggestion of topic was that both Maclean's and Newsweek often provided upwards of seven topics per any given article and the topics provided were not standardized between publishers. Therefore, this necessitated that I code the article topics inductively to have a standardized meaning across both publishers; allowing for a more comparative analysis between publishers to be conducted. Below, I display the number of articles by topic.

Figure 6 Number of Articles by Topic and Publisher



4.2.4 Keyword Identities and Country Affiliations

Each keyword was coded within Dedoose with both the word's associated transcultural identity and country affiliation. The distribution of these identities and country affiliations are displayed in Tables 3 and 4 below. Note that the generic affiliation of Asia was used in cases where specific keywords were not related to a specific country or could be referring to multiple countries (e.g. Asians, Asia, the South China Sea, etc.).

Table 3 Transcultural Identity of Keywords

Identity	Maclean's	Newsweek	Total
Ethno-cultural	565	686	1251
Regional	608	982	1590
Total	1173	1668	2841

Table 4 Keyword Country Affiliation

Affiliation	Maclean's	Newsweek	Total	Percentage of Total
Asia	57	80	137	4.82%
Cambodia	23	2	25	0.88%
China	773	1018	1791	63.04%
Hong Kong	107	115	222	7.81%
Indonesia	2	14	16	0.56%
Japan	77	178	255	8.98%
Laos	2	3	5	0.18%
Macau	4	1	5	0.18%
Malaysia	4	7	11	0.39%
Mongolia	0	1	1	0.04%
Myanmar	2	0	2	0.07%
North Korea	19	19	38	1.34%
Philippines	28	3	31	1.09%
Singapore	3	7	10	0.35%
South Korea	32	19	51	1.80%
Taiwan	16	143	159	5.60%
Thailand	9	10	19	0.67%
Vietnam	15	48	63	2.22%
Total	1173	1668	2841	100%

4.3 Data Analysis Approach

This study utilizes qualitative content analysis as its methodological approach to address its research goal of *exploring the ways that the print media engaged in the transcultural othering of Asian communities in Canada and the United States during the COVID-19 pandemic.*

Content analysis is a methodology that enables the analysis and transformation of large amounts of text data into an organized and succinct summary of replicable results (Neuendorf, 2017). This methodological approach concerns itself with the quantification and examination of keywords and concepts often based on their presence, meaning and relationship to one another within a given context (White & Marsh, 2006). Content analysis allows the researcher to synthesize the relationships between keywords and concepts, permitting the researcher to draw conclusions regarding intended messaging and discuss how it relates to the authors, the subject, the readers, the culture, or the time that the data is contextualized within (Neuendorf, 2017; White & Marsh, 2006).

Next to discourse analysis, content analysis is the second most popular methodological approach utilized within the transcultural othering in the print media literature (Batziou, 2011; Duran, 2020; Liu, 2019). An advantage of content analysis over discourse analysis is that it allows the researcher to look at how particular concepts are communicated within different contexts. The contexts within this study may include the COVID-19 pandemic, Canada and the United States, and Maclean's and Newsweek magazines. Content analysis also allows the researcher to identify correlations and patterns in how specific concepts (e.g. the transcultural othering of Asians) are communicated within their given contexts, allowing for a better understanding of the intentions of an

individual, group or institution (Neuendorf, 2017; White & Marsh, 2006). This is enabled through the methodological coding of text data, such that smaller categories emerge, enabling key themes, patterns and correlations to be studied (Gulanowski, 2018; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Given the nature of this study as one that is interested in contexts as much as content, and the pre-existing use of the methodology within the extant literature, qualitative content analysis provides an appropriate methodological approach for this research.

4.3.1 Units of Analysis

Keywords and thoughts were the two main units of analysis where the majority of coding took place. Keywords as previously described consist of specific words, or a collection of words referring to a specific thing related to Asian transcultural identities in some capacity. The othering mechanisms of categorization and positioning were coded at the keyword level, along with country affiliation and transcultural identity.

Categorization in the case of this study is represented by the keywords themselves, and positioning was coded at the keyword level to capture how specific words were being connotatively framed within the media's subtext. Positioning was coded inductively at the keyword level to adequately capture the feelings and emotions being portrayed regarding particular Asian identities. The process of coding positioning was very similar to that of sentiment analysis but in relation to specific words rather than broader sentence structures (Stephens-Davidowitz, 2017). I chose to code positioning manually to code keywords directly and avoid any possible issues regarding interpretations of subtext (Stephens-Davidowitz, 2017). This required looking for contextual clues, typically specific words,

within the data to identify the intended positioning of the keyword. Coding at the keyword level was the first level of coding to be conducted.

Thoughts are a more complex unit of analysis than keywords as they consist of sentences or paragraphs where some form of othering was taking place. The way thoughts were identified was by identifying where othering was occurring and capturing the complete idea behind that othering, such that no additional context from the article itself would be needed to fully understand the othering that had taken place. This process of coding for thoughts was conducted inductively. Thoughts are interchangeable with the othering mechanism of recontextualization, as it is at the thought level where narratives regarding the Other take place. Type of othering (e.g., exclusionary or inclusionary) and most othering mechanisms (e.g., radicalization, polarization, alienation, edification, etc.) were also coded at the thought level, as these are phenomena best observed within sufficient context. Coding at the thought level was the last level of coding to be conducted.

Maclean's contained a total of 557 thoughts and Newsweek contained a total of 598 thoughts where the transcultural othering of Asians occurred respectively. This indicates an average of 2.11 keywords per thought in Maclean's versus an average of 2.79 keywords per thought in Newsweek. The thoughts of Maclean's were 76.71 words on average and 66.57 words on average for Newsweek. What this implies is Newsweek is slightly more efficient than Maclean's at conveying context within their text, and that keywords instances are often clustered closer together in Newsweek than in Maclean's. Below, I provide a list of keyword affiliations and how many thoughts they appear in. Note that thoughts can contain more than one keyword country affiliation, as well as more than one othering mechanism.

Table 5 Keyword Country Affiliation Presence within Thoughts

Country Affiliation	Maclean's	Newsweek	Number of Thoughts Affiliation Appears In	Percentage of Maclean's Thoughts Affiliation Appears In	Percentage of Newsweek Thoughts Affiliation Appears In	Percentage of Thoughts Affiliation Appears In
<i>Asia</i>	50	66	116	8.98%	11.04%	10.04%
<i>Cambodia</i>	9	1	10	1.62%	0.17%	0.87%
<i>China</i>	360	414	774	64.63%	69.23%	67.01%
<i>Hong Kong</i>	79	78	157	14.18%	13.04%	13.59%
<i>Indonesia</i>	1	7	8	0.18%	1.17%	0.69%
<i>Japan</i>	57	76	133	10.23%	12.71%	11.52%
<i>Laos</i>	2	1	3	0.36%	0.17%	0.26%
<i>Macau</i>	2	1	3	0.36%	0.17%	0.26%
<i>Malaysia</i>	3	4	7	0.54%	0.67%	0.61%
<i>Mongolia</i>	0	1	1	0	0.17%	0.09%
<i>Myanmar</i>	1	0	1	0.18%	0	0.09%
<i>North Korea</i>	16	16	32	2.87%	2.68%	2.77%
<i>Philippines</i>	22	2	24	3.95%	0.33%	2.08%
<i>Singapore</i>	3	4	7	0.54%	0.67%	0.61%
<i>South Korea</i>	27	13	40	4.84%	2.17%	3.46%
<i>Taiwan</i>	14	58	72	2.51%	9.70%	6.23%
<i>Thailand</i>	7	4	11	1.26%	0.67%	0.95%
<i>Vietnam</i>	15	26	41	2.69%	4.35%	3.55%

4.3.2 Coding for Othering Type

Coding for the type of othering was done inductively at the thought level, which made it important to consider the intended messaging and purpose of the thought; particularly whether the intention was to emphasize difference and distance between the hegemonic group and Asian communities, or if it was trying to find common ground and platform members of Asian communities. Below, Table 6 shows the number of inclusionary vs exclusionary othering instances in Maclean's and Newsweek. Examples of

what these types of othering look like are provided in the subsequent chapter in Tables 9 and 10.

Table 6 Types of Othering

Othering Type	Maclean's	Newsweek	Total
Inclusionary	250	209	459
Exclusionary	307	389	696
Total	557	598	1155

4.3.3 Coding for Othering Mechanisms

A summary of the othering mechanisms, their definition, their origin and their frequency within data is shown in Tables 7 and 8 below. All 14 othering mechanisms from the literature review were identified within the data, and four additional othering mechanisms emerged from the data. Legitimization was merged with the othering mechanism of edification, as the two mechanisms were not well distinguished from one another in the literature and co-occurred during every instance of coding. I merged legitimization with edification as it was the more salient of the two ideas. Also, it is worth a reminder that the mechanisms of categorization, recontextualization and positioning occur during every instance of othering in the print media as discussed during the literature review. Categorization and positioning are equal to the total number of keywords, whereas recontextualization is equal to the total number of thoughts. Reliability and consistency was unable to be coded but I provide evidence of its existence in the data in the following chapter. Due to the merging of legitimization and edification, the final number of unique othering mechanisms was 17.

Table 7 Summary of Literature Review Othering Mechanisms Present in Data

Othering Mechanism	Definition	Code Lvl.	M#	N#	T#
Categorization	<i>The recognition and distinction of the Other as being different</i>	<i>KW</i>	<i>1173</i>	<i>1643</i>	<i>2816</i>
Positioning	<i>The framing of the Other as being positive, negative, or neutral</i>	<i>KW</i>	<i>1173</i>	<i>1643</i>	<i>2816</i>
Recontextualization	<i>The process of constructing specific narrative, contextual or thematic associations for the Other</i>	<i>TH</i>	<i>557</i>	<i>598</i>	<i>1155</i>
Radicalization	<i>The portrayal of the Other as being willing and able to cause harm onto the hegemonic group and society</i>	<i>TH</i>	<i>176</i>	<i>261</i>	<i>437</i>
Edification	<i>The portrayal of the Other as morally inferior to the hegemonic group</i>	<i>TH</i>	<i>172</i>	<i>187</i>	<i>359</i>
Competitive Victimization	<i>The portrayal of having one group appear as being more victimized than another</i>	<i>TH</i>	<i>157</i>	<i>144</i>	<i>301</i>
Generalization	<i>When the portrayal of certain characteristics, beliefs or practices are suggested to be more common than they are amongst the Other</i>	<i>TH</i>	<i>125</i>	<i>166</i>	<i>291</i>
Alienation	<i>The promotion of barriers that prevent or stop the Other from interacting or associating with the hegemonic group</i>	<i>TH</i>	<i>117</i>	<i>143</i>	<i>260</i>
Polarization	<i>The portrayal of the Other as ideologically inaccessible or incompatible with the hegemonic group</i>	<i>TH</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>126</i>	<i>233</i>
Dramatization	<i>The exaggeration of the Other's particular characteristics, attributes or values, often in regard to a specific event</i>	<i>TH</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>152</i>
Dehumanization	<i>The removal of human characteristics or qualities</i>	<i>TH</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>104</i>
Assimilation & Appropriation	<i>The inclusion of the Other, often against their will, with the intended purpose of the hegemonic group taking something away from them</i>	<i>TH</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>34</i>
Reliability & Consistency	<i>The repetition of similar phrases or motifs when representing the Other</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>N/A</i>

Table 8 Summary of Emergent Othering Mechanisms Present in Data

Othering Mechanism	Definition	Code Lvl.	Origin	M#	N#	T#
Comparison	<i>The juxtaposition of the Other with something else, emphasizing similarity or dissimilarity</i>	TH	Data	166	186	352
Platforming	<i>The process of giving certain members of the Other visibility and a public voice, where others are not</i>	TH	Data	154	167	321
Sanitariness	<i>A depiction regarding the cleanliness and/or /healthiness of the Other</i>	TH	Data	157	93	250
Foreshadowing	<i>A prediction of actions that the Other will take in the future and their consequences</i>	TH	Data	4	16	20

Chapter 5: Data Analysis and Findings

In this chapter, I present the main findings of my analysis. This chapter is organized in three distinct sections, with each focused on addressing one of the three objectives outlined for this study. Each of these sections begins with a brief summary of the findings, which are then followed up by an analysis of the refined data in tables and figures to demonstrate how I have arrived at my various findings. This chapter will be subsequently followed up by a discussion on the implications of my findings within Chapter 6.

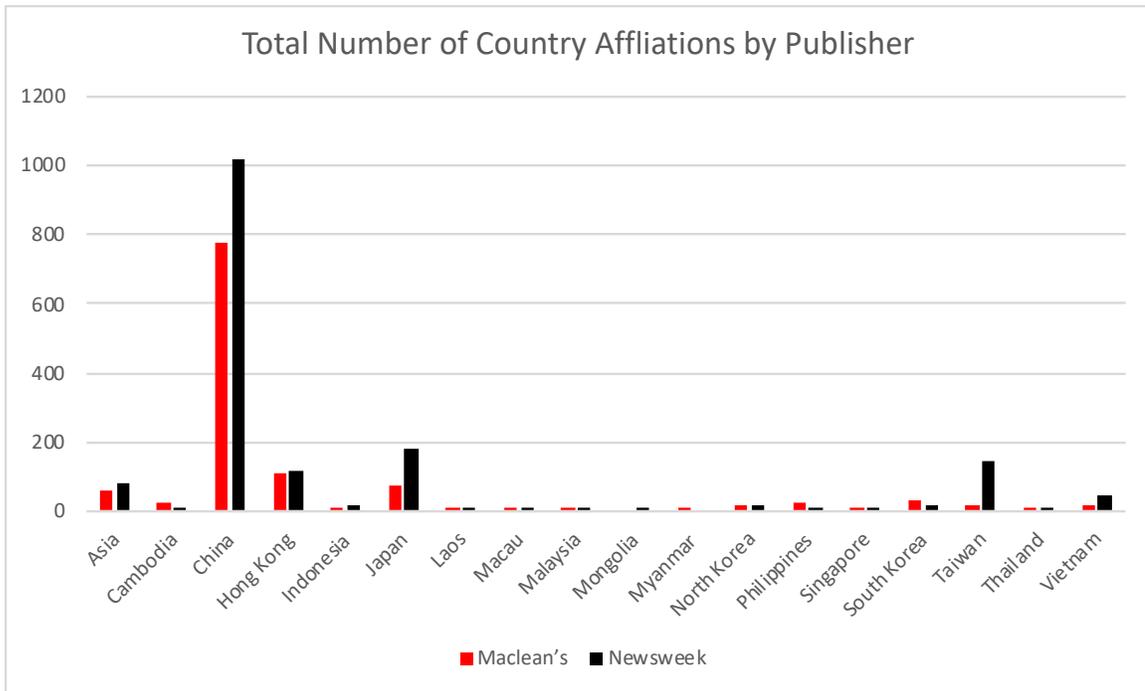
5.1 Findings for Objective 1:

Describe the ways that the print media engaged in the transcultural othering of Asian communities in the US and Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In addressing Objective 1, my analysis demonstrates that there is evidence within the data of Maclean's and Newsweek having engaged in the transcultural othering of Asians using 17 othering mechanisms (13 from the literature, and four that emerged from the data). My analysis also shows that China was the most represented Asian country affiliation within Maclean's and Newsweek; and as such the overall positioning of Asian communities was largely influenced by the positioning of China. 63.04% of all keywords in the data were affiliated with China. China was the third most negatively positioned affiliation, after North Korea and Cambodia, with 58.44% of appearances being negatively positioned collectively between Maclean's and Newsweek. This had the effect of skewing the overall positioning of Asian identities to appear negative. When China was removed from the dataset it was found that the overall positioning of Asian identities was generally neutral or positive. This section also finds that Newsweek tended to utilize more othering mechanisms when representing Asian identities in their articles than Maclean's.

5.1.1 Categorization

Figure 7 Total Number of Affiliation Appearances by Publisher



Before diving into how othering occurred, we must understand who was affected by the othering within Maclean’s and Newsweek. The data in Figure 7 answers this by displaying the frequency of keyword country affiliations. Here we see that China was by far the most prominent keyword country affiliation in both Maclean’s and Newsweek. If we were to combine the appearances of the next five most frequent country affiliations, which were Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Asia and Vietnam; they collectively made up less than half the total appearances of China. This emphasizes the fact that no other Asian country affiliation was truly comparable to China in terms of how often they appeared within Maclean’s or Newsweek between February 1st, 2020 and April 30th, 2021.

Based on this chart, we also see that neither Brunei nor Timor Leste received any appearances within Maclean’s or Newsweek, Mongolia received no appearances in

Maclean's, and Myanmar received no appearances in Newsweek. Every other affiliation contained at least one appearance within both publications.

5.1.2 Recontextualization and Secondary Othering Mechanisms

Here I present the reader with two tables that provide examples of the various othering mechanisms that Maclean's and Newsweek used when engaging in the transcultural othering of Asian identities. For each othering mechanism, I attempted to provide an example of both exclusionary and inclusionary othering. Table 9 provides the reader with a look at examples of the othering mechanisms that I had identified as part of my literature review, whereas Table 10 displays examples of othering mechanisms that had emerged from the data.

Table 9 Examples of Literature Review Othering Mechanisms

Mechanism	Quotes
Alienation	Exclusionary <i>"President Trump has already said the U.S. no longer considers Hong Kong autonomous, opening the door for restrictions on trade and even sanctions." NW 00174</i>
Assimilation and Appropriation	Inclusionary <i>"This is the final meaning of the Iwo Jima memorial: when an American soldier plants a flag on foreign soil it is not an act of domination, but of liberation." NW 00144</i>
Categorization	These are any keyword. The keyword, Chinese, is an example of categorization.
Competitive Victimization	Exclusionary <i>"The federal government can also do more to muster international support for our cause. Civilized countries do not kidnap each other's citizens, and every major nation has a stake in putting a stop to China's outrageous behaviour." MAC 00175</i> Inclusionary <i>"Here, seven Chinese Canadians share their experiences of racism during COVID-19... ... 'When my daughters listen to the news with me, I try to make sure they understand what's going on around the world. I explain that because the virus originated in Wuhan, some people believe Chinese people carry the virus. I want to make sure they stand up for those who face discrimination. When they go back to school in September, I worry other children will say You were the cause of the virus. This may affect how they feel about being Chinese Canadians. I tell them to stand up for themselves; to explain that it came from China, but that the virus doesn't choose based on race.'" MAC 00288</i>
Dehumanization	Exclusionary <i>"The Hong Kong community derisively refers to the provocateurs, mainly assumed to be Chinese international students, as "little pinks." Pink, as in: tinged by Communist Party red." MAC 00356</i>

	<p>Inclusionary <i>"I gave the president a picture of "Napalm Girl" and I told him that I had signed it and that Phan Thi Kim Phuc—everybody knows her as Kim Phuc—had signed it too." NW 00165</i></p>
Dramatization	<p>Exclusionary <i>"Beijing's position of respectability lends its ransom demand an aura of respectability: to meet it would legitimize hostage-taking in a way that would not be possible when meeting a ransom demand from outlaws such as drug cartels, pirate gangs or terrorist organizations. It would, that is, make hostage-taking look like a legitimate tool of foreign policy." MAC 00408</i></p> <p>Inclusionary <i>"South Korean leaders likened the effort to running a national relay race that everyone participated in, notes University of British Columbia public policy professor Heidi Tworek in a study of health communication responses to the pandemic." MAC 00331</i></p>
Edification	<p>Exclusionary <i>"But it is precisely because of the CCP's status—a thug in the guise of a recognized authority of a recognized state—that its ransom-for-hostages demand is not merely evil but intolerable, and its price—a violation of the rule of law in the guise of a civilized exchange of persons—not merely high but impossible." MAC 00408</i></p>
Generalization	<p>Exclusionary <i>"Tam was careful to emphasize that his business doesn't take an official position one way or the other: 'Hong Kong, we don't care—it's a Hong Kong problem, right? It's not in Canada.'" MAC 00356</i></p> <p>Inclusionary <i>"I think social solidarity is why the curve is so flat in traditionally collectivist East Asian societies, and rising so sharply in the United States." MAC 00113</i></p>
Polarization	<p>Exclusionary <i>"'Canadians need to stop thinking like they think when they try to understand China, and think about the way the Chinese think,' he says. 'Lives do not matter to Xi Jinping.'" MAC 0012</i></p>
Positioning	<p>Positive <i>"Since 1987, <u>Taiwan</u> has gradually and peacefully achieved the democratic, rule of law, human rights-protecting society for which it is now widely praised." NW 00058</i></p> <p>Neutral <i>"15,491; The number of Olympic (11,091) and Paralympic (4,400) athletes who were scheduled to compete in the 2020 summer games in <u>Tokyo</u>, now postponed until 2021" NW 00078</i></p> <p>Negative <i>"In Canada, a special parliamentary committee set up in late 2019 is driving a rethink on <u>China</u> relations amid charges of "brazen" interference." NW 00065</i></p>
Radicalization	<p>Exclusionary <i>"Hong Kong and Macau—the two semi-autonomous regions of China—are the only places in the country that have been allowed to mark an event the Party has tried to scrub from the national memory: the killing of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of pro-democracy activists by Chinese soldiers." NW 00174</i></p>
Recontextualization	<p>These are any thought. Any quote here is an example of recontextualization and a thought.</p>
Reliability and Consistency	<p>An example of reliability and consistency can be seen within the portrayal of China as hostage-takers in the case of Michael Spavor and Kovrig's arrests. This is seen in several of the examples provided here in this table and importantly appears across several different articles in Maclean's. While this is only one example, it shows that reliability and consistency is an othering mechanism that exists within the data.</p>

From the data above, we can get a clearer concept of the idea of thoughts, and what particular othering mechanisms from the extant literature looked like within the data. What is notable here, is that while there was the presence of all literature review othering mechanisms in both publications, I found that some of these othering mechanisms would only occur as one type of othering, either inclusionary or exclusionary, but not the other. While this does not definitively prove that certain othering mechanisms will only occur as either inclusionary or exclusionary othering, it does demonstrate that within the data some othering mechanisms appeared as only one type of othering.

In Table 10 below, I provide examples of four othering mechanisms that emerged from the data. These are the othering mechanisms of comparison, foreshadowing, platforming and sanitarieness. These othering mechanisms emerged inductively through the observations of specific patterns in the data. Following Table 10, I define each of these mechanisms more in-depth and describe their similarities and differences to the othering mechanisms identified during the literature review. I also demonstrate how each of these emergent othering mechanisms fills a theoretical gap about transcultural othering in the print media that is not sufficiently addressed by the pre-established othering mechanisms identified within the literature review.

Table 10 Examples of Othering Mechanisms that Emerged from the Data

Mechanism	Quotes
Comparison	<p>Exclusionary <i>“Sixty-six percent of Americans now have a negative view of China, according to a recent Pew Research poll. At the same time, in China, state-owned media and a government-controlled internet whip up nationalism and anti-Americanism to levels unseen since the U.S. accidentally bombed Beijing’s embassy in Belgrade during the Balkan wars in 1999..” NW 00011</i></p> <p>Inclusionary <i>“An important lesson of the pandemic is the success of the East Asian democracies. Taiwan, South Korea and Japan all did much better than we did.” MAC 00216</i></p>
Foreshadowing	<p>Exclusionary <i>“China-skeptics are coalescing in the face of Beijing’s unapologetically authoritarian march to superpower status, warning that what Hong Kong faces now is what others—Taiwan, among the first—may face in the future.” NW 00174</i></p> <p>Inclusionary <i>“The team is now testing blood samples and developing a plan to deploy the approach throughout Baltimore. He expects that the first filtered antibodies could be fielded by the beginning of April, in time for a “second wave” of patients to hit the hospitals. The approach, already in use in China, could become widespread in the U.S.” NW 00115</i></p>
Platforming	<p>Inclusionary <i>“She’s been dubbed the “world’s favorite artist.” But while images of her kaleidoscopic Infinity rooms are hot on Instagram, she’s no derivative newcomer to the art scene. This Japanese Pop-art icon has been creating fresh work since the 1950s, and her creative output hasn’t subsided over the decades. Now a nonagenarian who has voluntarily made a home for herself in a Tokyo psychiatric asylum, Yayoi Kusama continues to produce her signature larger-than-life polka-dotted pumpkins, reflective Infinity rooms and myriad other pieces that first captivated the world long before social media.” NW 00273</i></p>
Sanitariness	<p>Exclusionary <i>“He described the impact of “superspreaders,” like the South Korean woman who had infected dozens by attending a church service while symptomatic—a phenomenon that would, months later, become the focus of intense study.” MAC 00005</i></p> <p>Inclusionary <i>“Of the top 10 countries on that list—which included the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada—only Thailand and Australia actually stopped COVID.” MAC 00216</i></p>

5.1.2.1 Comparison

Comparison is an othering mechanism that emerged from the data that juxtaposes the Other with something else to emphasize the similarity or difference between them. This is often done to indicate some kind of inherent difference between the Other and the hegemonic group, whether the hegemonic group and the Other are being directly compared or not. Comparison was most frequently used by Maclean’s and Newsweek when

discussing Asian communities in the contexts of politics and COVID-19. Under inclusionary othering we frequently saw comparison being used to commend certain Asian countries for having superior COVID-19 responses than Canada and the US. Under exclusionary othering, comparison typically occurred in political contexts to make certain regimes or countries appear more immoral, aggressive or generally worse than Canada or the US.

While it is true that most othering mechanisms stem from some kind of implicit juxtaposition of the Other with words or phrases possessing specific connotative meaning, these do not fulfil the gap that the othering mechanism of comparison fills (Fürsich, 2010). Comparison is unlike the additional othering mechanisms in that it provides an explicit juxtaposition of the Other with a specific object, topic, or theme and assesses the quality of similarity or difference of said object, topic or theme with the Other. This is something that is not done by the additional othering mechanisms as they are frequently not explicit in their juxtaposition nor do they assess the quality of similarity or difference between the Other and particular thing it is being juxtaposed with.

Comparison was an othering mechanism that I was unable to find a discussion of during my literature review. Comparison describes a type of juxtaposition that is more direct and explicit that goes unfulfilled by any othering mechanism from the literature review. Therefore, comparison is valuable as an othering mechanism, as it furthers our understanding as to how transcultural othering may occur.

5.1.2.2 Foreshadowing

Foreshadowing is another othering mechanism that emerged from the data, it contributes to the process of othering by portraying a specific action or stance that the Other

may take in the future, that differentiates them from the hegemonic group on basis of their goals and motivations and their portrayed outcomes. This othering mechanism was often used in Maclean's and Newsweek's political articles to predict the future actions that certain Asian countries, regimes or peoples would take in the future. Within an exclusionary othering context foreshadowing was frequently used by Newsweek to argue that China would potentially try to invade Taiwan in the near future, and that the US must begin preparing itself to respond if such an action takes place. Within an inclusionary othering context, we saw foreshadowing used to portray how certain COVID-19 responses and treatments introduced by Asian countries and research teams could become valuable to the responses of Canada and the US going forward.

Foreshadowing can be related to several othering mechanisms but is most closely related to generalization, dramatization and edification. Foreshadowing is related to generalization as it seeks to generalize the intentions and goals of a group and project what they will do in the future (Harris *et al.*, 2015). It generally does not factor in the nuance that certain scenarios or context may change or that future actions of the Other may develop in a different direction than what has been originally projected. Part of the reason why this is the case is due to dramatization, as media organizations may over accentuate certain aspects of the Other's identity to make certain actions appear more likely to occur in the future than they may be. Foreshadowing is also attached to edification, as the projected future actions of the Other typically hold some kind of moral implication that the hegemonic group must respond to.

However, foreshadowing is not generalization, dramatization or edification, as none of these othering mechanisms inherently project on the future actions of the Other,

but rather they only function to emphasize the othering process associated with such a prediction of the Other's future. Foreshadowing extends beyond these othering mechanisms namely because it does not have to be generalized to an entire group, it does not have to overdramatize the likeliness that a particular event will take place in the future, and it does not have to possess moral implications. It simply has to project something that the Other may do something in the future and imply why that differentiates the Other from the hegemonic group.

I was unable to find a discussion of foreshadowing as an othering mechanism within my literature review on transcultural othering in the print media. Where it is particularly useful is that it helps to conceptualize that the hegemonic group can project that the Other's otherness will continue and extend beyond a particular moment in time, which is something that the additional othering mechanisms are unable to do. Therefore, it is worth considering foreshadowing as an othering mechanism.

5.1.2.3 Platforming

Platforming is another othering mechanism identified from the analysis of the data. It refers to the process of providing the Other with increased visibility within the media for them to express their experiences, perspectives and views. The Meriam Webster Dictionary (2022) defines the word platform as, "a means or opportunity to communicate ideas or information to a group of people." In this case, the platform that is being provided to the Other to communicate their ideas is the print media. For platforming, I was only able to find inclusionary othering examples. It was frequently used in the contexts of political, entertainment, and COVID-19 articles to provide the members of certain Asian

communities to discuss and describe their lived experiences or to highlight the achievements of certain Asian community members.

Where the differentiation of groups and individuals occurs with platforming is that only certain members of the outgroup are given a voice or visibility where others are not, and as such we see the hegemonic group differentiating members of the outgroup amongst one another through platforming. While platforming is predominantly inclusionary, it is a demonstration of the hegemonic socio-cultural and political power as the Other is provided with a platform on the terms of the ingroup, and therefore the platform that is being provided can be easily removed from the Other.

Platforming is most closely related to edification, as the act of providing an outgroup member, especially those who are a part of a traditionally marginalized group, with a platform that increases their visibility may provide one with a sense of moral satisfaction (Walschots, 2017). Platforming is not edification, however, because edification is predominantly focused on the emphasis morality whereas platforming is predominantly focused on increasing visibility (Caldas-coulthard, 2003; Derek, 2017). While the byproduct of increasing another group's, visibility may be moral satisfaction, the act of increasing another's visibility and voice does not necessarily have moral implications (Walschots, 2017; Caldas-coulthard, 2003; Derek, 2017).

Platforming is most unlike the othering mechanisms alienation and polarization, as platforming seeks to provide the Other with increased visibility and a voice to express their thoughts, ideas and lived experiences, whereas alienation and polarization seek to limit the voice and visibility of the Other (Ooi & D'arcangelis, 2017)

Platforming was an othering mechanism that I was unable to find being discussed within the extant literature but proves to be useful in conceptualizing inclusionary othering as it can explain why certain members of the outgroup may be included where others are not. Therefore, I believe that platforming is worth conceptualizing as an othering mechanism.

5.1.2.4 Sanitariness

Sanitariness is an othering mechanism that emerged from the data whereby the Other is differentiated based on the portrayal of how clean or how healthy they are. It was often found in articles where Asians were discussed in the context of COVID-19. The inclusionary othering variant of sanitariness would often see Asian communities commended for their ability to combat the COVID-19 virus through rigorous public health and safety measures, emphasizing their cleanliness and healthiness. On the other hand, when sanitariness was framed within the context of exclusionary othering, Asian communities were often depicted as a potential source of COVID-19 or not doing enough to prevent the spread of the virus, emphasizing uncleanliness and unhealthiness.

The idea of sanitariness can be connected to the othering mechanisms of edification and dehumanization (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006; Zhong, Strejcek, Sivanathan, 2010; Johnson, Cheung, Donnellan, 2014; Livingstone Smith, 2011; Sofsky, 1997). Sanitariness has been associated with the ideas of morality and ethics, as cleanliness has been generally perceived to be the byproduct of an individual's actions and values (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006; Zhong, Strejcek, Sivanathan, 2010; Johnson, Cheung, Donnellan, 2014). In religion, we often see the symbolic gesture of cleansing rituals, such as baptisms, as a means of "washing away one's sins" which is intended to provide the indoctrinated with a sense of

spiritual and moral purity (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006). The result of another's uncleanliness is often the emotion of disgust to demonstrate that the unclean individual has committed both a social and moral violation (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006; Johnson, Cheung, Donnellan, 2014). If someone is unclean they may potentially be placing themselves or their communities at risk for significant health consequences, such as disease or infection, which emphasizes the legitimate social and moral necessity of cleanliness (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006; Johnson, Cheung, Donnellan, 2014).

The disgust associated with uncleanliness can often lead to dehumanization, and the removal of human qualities and characteristics (Livingstone Smith, 2011). Uncleanliness has been shown to lead to social ostracism, intolerance, discrimination and violence (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006; Livingstone Smith, 2011; Sofsky, 1997).

Sanitariness is not edification nor is it dehumanization despite these overlaps. Despite its ties to morality, sanitariness is not always spoken about or conceived in a moral way (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006). This is to say that the idea of sanitariness possesses several social and physical implications whose nuance cannot be fully captured by limiting it to solely moral or ethical domains (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006; Johnson, Cheung, Donnellan, 2014). Furthermore, sanitariness does not always imply the moral inferiority of the Other, unlike edification, and therefore the two mechanisms are not the same (Derek, 2017; Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006). It is also not dehumanization, as dehumanization implies the loss of human qualities and characteristics (Caldas-coulthard, 2003; Livingstone Smith, 2011). While dehumanization can be paired with the idea of sanitariness, sanitariness itself is focused on the depiction of the cleanliness and healthiness

of the Other and may or may not contribute to the loss of human qualities or characteristics (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006). Therefore, sanitarness is not dehumanization.

I was unable to find a discussion of sanitarness as an othering mechanism within the transcultural othering in the print media literature review I conducted. Sanitariness as an othering mechanism contributes to our understanding of edification and dehumanization, and why certain aversions to associating with the Other may present themselves. As such sanitarness should be considered as an othering mechanism.

5.1.2.5 Othering Type by Othering Mechanism

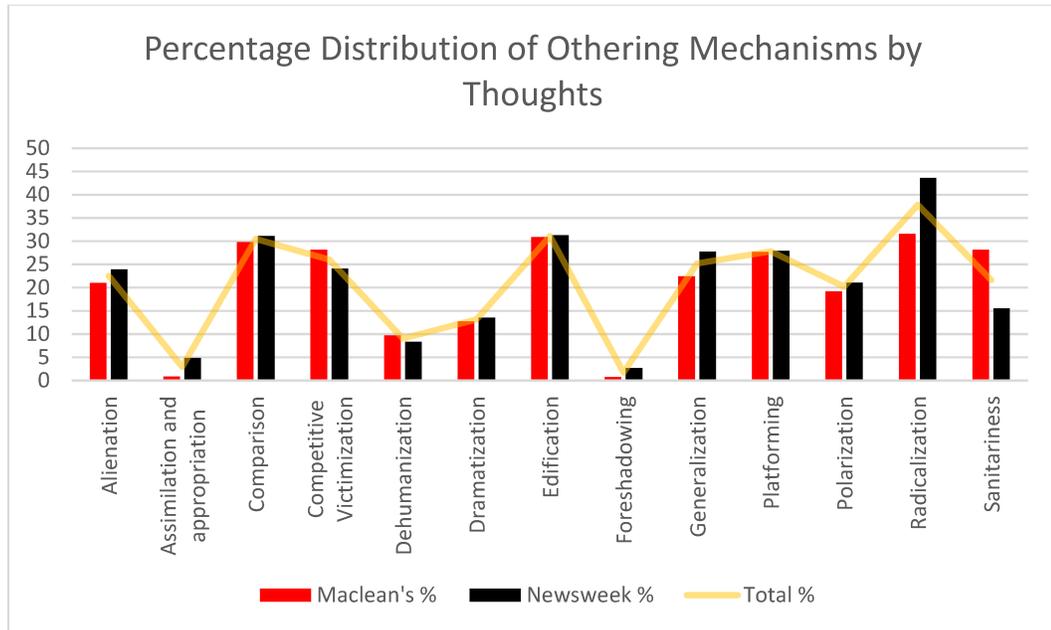
Table 11 Othering Type by Othering Mechanism

Othering Type	Inclusionary = 2	Exclusionary = 4	Both =10	Not Coded = 1
Othering Mechanism	Assimilation and Appropriation; Platforming	Alienation; Edification; Polarization; Radicalization	Categorization; Comparison; Competitive Victimization; Dehumanization; Dramatization; Foreshadowing; Generalization; Positioning; Recontextualization; Sanitariness	Reliability and Consistency

I also found that just like with the pre-established othering mechanisms, the othering mechanisms that emerged from the data sometimes only had examples for one type of othering or the other. This distribution of othering mechanisms by othering type is displayed in Table 11 above.

5.1.3 Distribution of Othering Mechanisms

Figure 8 Percentage Distribution of Othering Mechanisms by Thoughts



In Figure 8 we see the percentage of othering mechanisms contained within the total number of thoughts present within the articles of each respective publisher. Maclean's contained a total of 557 thoughts and Newsweek contained 590 thoughts. From this table, we can determine the prominence of particular othering mechanisms within the data, as well as, the similarities and dissimilarities between publishers in their use of othering mechanisms regarding their coverage of Asian identities. Here we see that radicalization, edification, comparison, platforming and generalization, are the five most prominent othering mechanisms used by Maclean's and Newsweek (outside of categorization, recontextualization, and positioning).

From this data, we see that Newsweek was much more likely to use the mechanisms of radicalization, assimilation and appropriation, and foreshadowing, than Maclean's.

Whereas, Maclean's was much more likely to use the mechanisms such as sanitarianism, competitive victimization and dehumanization than Newsweek.

Additionally, what is valuable here is that by juxtaposing Maclean's and Newsweek against one another, we see that all of the othering mechanisms identified within the literature and that emerged from the data appeared in both publications. This means that they occur and can be replicated across multiple national contexts, which allows us to say that these othering mechanisms are not country-specific or publisher-specific despite the aforementioned differences in total appearances.

Not included within Figure 8 are the mechanisms of categorization, positioning, recontextualization, legitimization, and reliability and consistency. The first three, categorization, positioning and recontextualization were not included as they are unique focal othering mechanisms that occur during every instance of othering within the print media, as discussed within the literature review. Legitimization on the other hand was a mechanism that lacked clarity within the literature and co-occurred during every instance of coding for edification due to their high level of conceptual similarity. As result, I chose to merge the coding of legitimization with edification, as edification had greater clarity as a concept than legitimization.

I was also unable to code reliability and consistency as it is an incredibly difficult mechanism to quantify and capture fully through manual coding. It is also an othering mechanism that would have to be represented differently from the other othering mechanisms. One way of representing it would be through the use of word trees, which would display the words both preceding and following particular keywords, displaying the prominence of each prior and subsequent word around a chosen keyword. This is beyond

the scope of this study and would not provide any critical insights which would alter the study's findings concerning its objectives. I did however demonstrate that the reliability and consistency did exist within the data through the example of Maclean's consistent portrayal of China as a kidnapper in relation to the Michael Spavor and Kovrig imprisonment situation with China. I discuss this issue more in-depth in the limitations section of this thesis.

In Appendix C, I provide additional tables that display the co-occurrences of country affiliations with each othering mechanism present in Figure 8 above. What we see here is that China was the most common country affiliation to co-occur with any othering mechanisms present in Maclean's and Newsweek. What this indicates is that China was the Asian country affiliation that experienced the most othering within Maclean's and Newsweek. This is emphasized by both the sheer volume of keywords affiliated with China, as well as the fact that China had the widest variety of othering mechanisms that it co-occurred with. There were a handful of othering mechanisms within the data that China would predominantly co-occur with. As examples, 85% and 82.6% of all thoughts that contained the othering mechanisms of alienation and radicalization respectively contained at least one keyword affiliated with China.

Likewise, we see that Hong Kong and Taiwan were the next two most prominent Asian country affiliations in terms of the number of othering mechanisms they co-occurred with. These are notable affiliations as they were often discussed within Maclean's and Newsweek articles juxtaposed to China. Therefore, unlike other Asian country affiliations, Hong Kong and Taiwan were more likely to co-occur with China in the same thought. This

finding emphasizes the prominence China had within the data and how important it was to the portrayal of Asian identities as a whole.

Newsweek contributed to the othering of Asians more than Maclean's. This was determined by taking the total number of othering mechanisms present in either publication and dividing them by the total number of thoughts. Categorization and positioning were each represented in the data by the number of keywords, and recontextualization by the number of thoughts. This amounts to a total of 4368 othering mechanisms for Maclean's and 5583 for Newsweek. When divided by the total number of thoughts, Maclean's thoughts contained 7.84 othering mechanisms on average, whereas Newsweek's thoughts contained 9.34.

5.1.4 Positioning

Figure 9 Overall Positioning with China

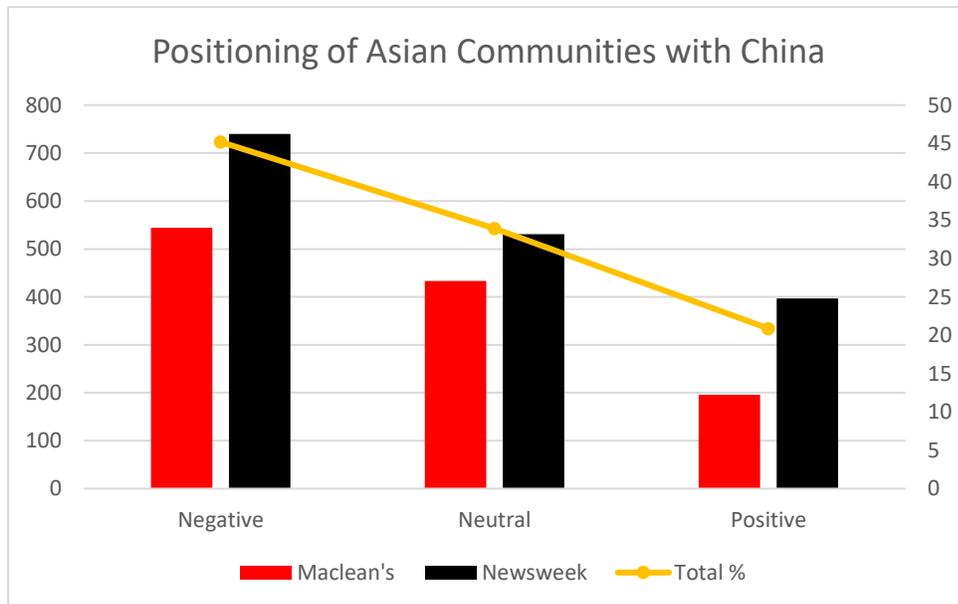
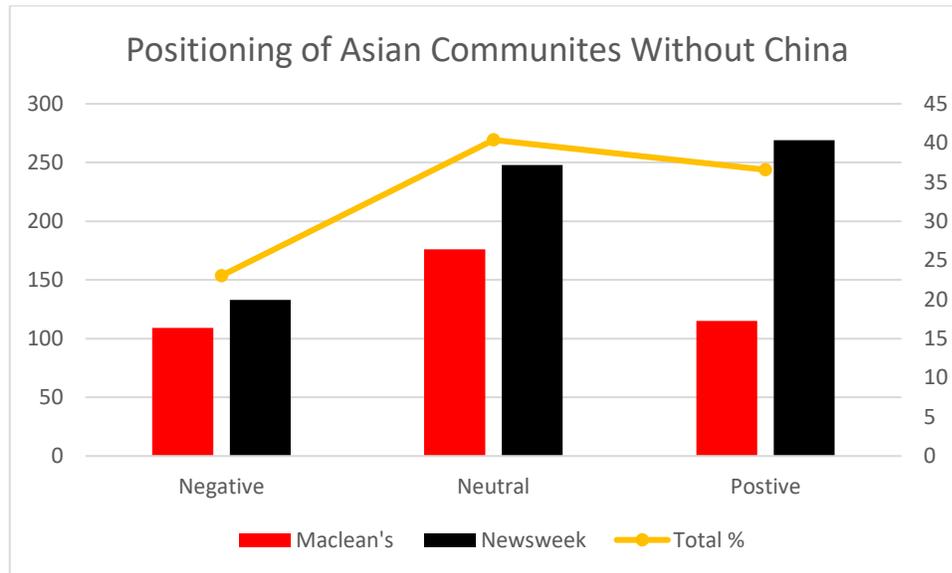


Figure 10 Overall Positioning without China



The figures above demonstrate the influence that China's positioning and prominence had on the overall positioning of Asian communities within Maclean's and Newsweek. When China was included in the analysis, I found that the collective positioning of Asian identities was predominantly negative for both publishers, whereby Asians were positioned positively within Maclean's and Newsweek's coverage only about 20% of the time. I also found that when China was included within the analysis that both Maclean's and Newsweek followed similar trends in their overall positioning of Asians in their coverage.

However, when China was omitted from the analysis, I found that the overall positioning of Asians in Maclean's and Newsweek's coverage was generally more neutral and positive, whereby the negative positioning of Asians occurred only about 23% of the time. I also found that Maclean's and Newsweek followed dissimilar trends in their positioning of Asians when China was eliminated from the analysis, whereby Maclean's positioning of Asians was predominantly neutral and Newsweek's positioning was slightly

more positive than neutral. I also found that Maclean's was almost equally as likely to position Asians positively as they were negatively.

Figure 11 Maclean's Positioning by Affiliation

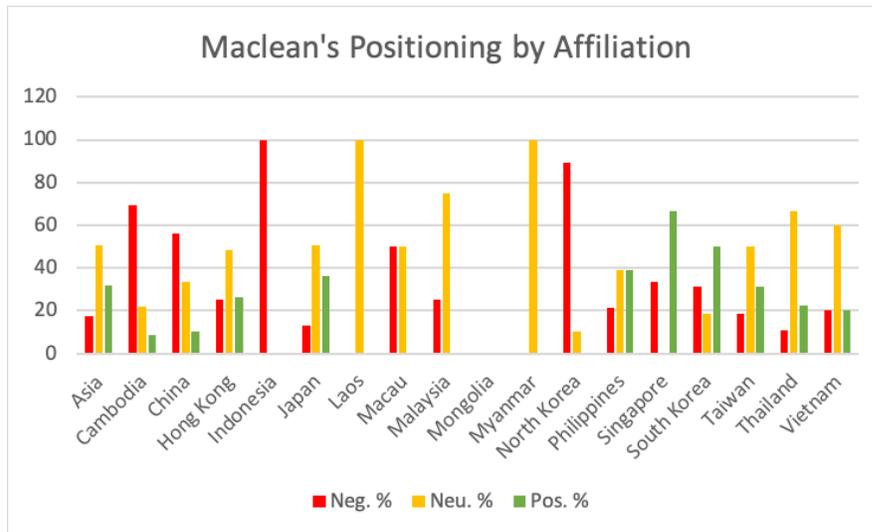
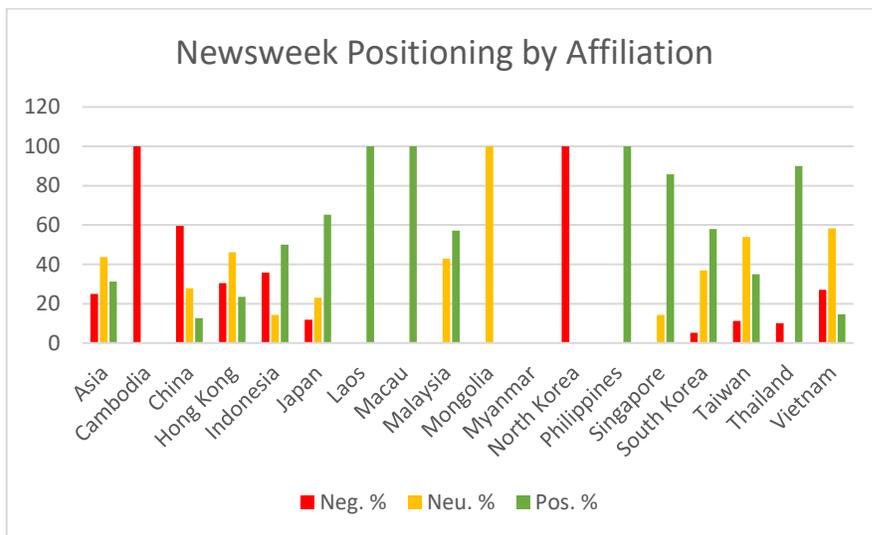


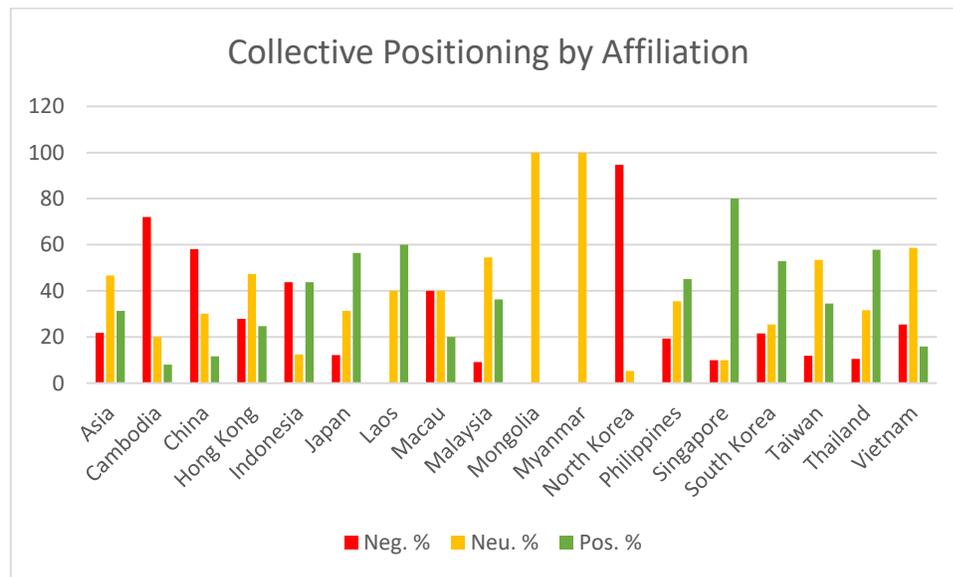
Figure 12 Newsweek Positioning by Affiliation



In these two charts, we see the differences and similarities in how Maclean's and Newsweek positioned each specific Asian country affiliation. I found that the positioning of China, Taiwan, and Asia, were the most similar between the two publishers. The biggest difference was that Newsweek was more likely to portray a wider variety of Asian country

affiliations positively than Maclean's. Maclean's positioned only two Asian country affiliations positively overall, whereas Newsweek positioned nine Asian country affiliations positively overall. I also found that Maclean's was slightly more likely to position a wider variety of Asian country affiliations negatively than Newsweek, as Maclean's positioned four affiliations negatively, whereas Newsweek positioned three affiliations negatively. Below in Figure 13, I display Maclean's and Newsweek's combined overall positioning of the various Asian country affiliations.

Figure 13 Overall Positioning by Affiliation



To summarize this section's findings, China was found to be the most prominent Asian country affiliation discussed within both Maclean's and Newsweek magazines, and its portrayal contributed the most to the negative positioning of Asians overall. I found the presence of 17 othering mechanisms utilized by both publications that contributed to the transcultural othering of Asian communities within their articles. Of these 17 othering mechanisms, four emerged from the data, which were comparison, foreshadowing, platforming and sanitarianess, and I provided descriptions of each while explaining why

they contributed to the theoretical understanding of othering in ways pre-established othering mechanisms did not. What is significant here is that these othering mechanisms were found to exist across national contexts and therefore are not country or publisher-specific; which should make these othering mechanisms applicable in future studies on transcultural othering in the print media.

5.2 Findings for Objective 2:

Compare the depictions of Asians between the US and Canada.

My analysis indicates that there were three focal topics where Asian communities were being represented in Maclean's and Newsweek; which were the topics of politics, COVID-19, and entertainment. Political articles contained the greatest amount of discussion regarding Asian communities and contributed the most to the exclusionary othering of Asians for both publications. By comparison articles on COVID-19 and entertainment contained more inclusionary othering of Asians than exclusionary, for both publications. One clear difference in the data was that Maclean's discussed Asians more in their COVID-19 coverage than Newsweek, whereas Newsweek discussed Asians more in their entertainment coverage than Maclean's. Newsweek was found to be about 10 percentage points more exclusionary of Asians than Maclean's which highlights that there is a difference in the type of othering of Asians between Canada and the US.

Figure 14 Total Keywords by Topic

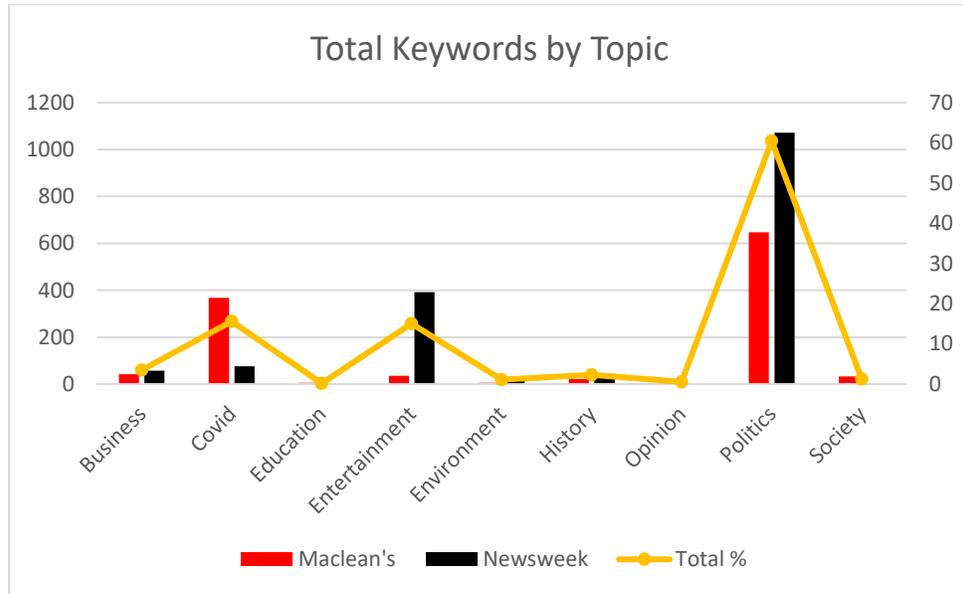


Figure 14 above demonstrates that the vast majority of keyword instances were contained within the topics of politics, COVID-19 and entertainment. Over 91% of all keywords related to Asian communities were contained within these three topics for both magazines. Politics was the topic that contained the greatest number of keywords for both publications. Of their respective keyword totals, approximately 55% of Maclean’s and 65% of Newsweek’s keyword instances were contained within articles on politics. This highlights that political articles were incredibly important when it came to the representation of Asian communities within both print publications. It also demonstrates that Newsweek was slightly more likely to talk about Asian identities within their political articles than Maclean’s.

In the same figure, we see that Maclean’s was more likely to discuss Asians in their COVID-19 reporting than Newsweek. The primary reason for the prominence of keywords in Maclean’s COVID-19 articles was due to their coverage of Dr. Theresa Tam, the Chief

Public Health Officer of Canada, who is a Hong Kong born immigrant to Canada and of Cantonese descent; along with the discussion of Canada's Cansino vaccine deal with China and multiple comparisons of Canada's COVID-19 response with several Asian nations. By comparison, when Newsweek's COVID-19 articles contained a discussion of Asian communities it was typically regarding healthcare research emerging from Asian nations regarding COVID-19. In this particular instance we see that the portrayal of national contexts in the media plays an important role in the representation of Asians in COVID-19 related articles; as the Canadian national context with COVID-19 was portrayed within Maclean's as being more intertwined with Asian communities than Newsweek's portrayal of the American context with COVID-19.

Conversely, we see that Newsweek discussed Asians far more often in their entertainment coverage than Maclean's. Comparatively, Newsweek had 41 articles on entertainment versus Maclean's ten; and was significantly more likely to discuss Asian travel, cuisine, art and culture within these articles than Maclean's. This makes sense when one considers that Newsweek editors have been pushing for more entertainment coverage recently, whereas this has not been the case for Maclean's (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2021b).

Figure 15 Maclean's Othering Type by Topic

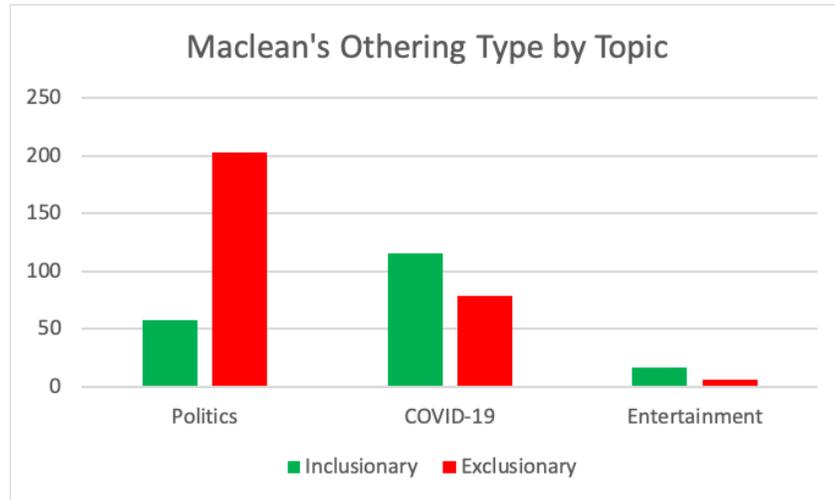
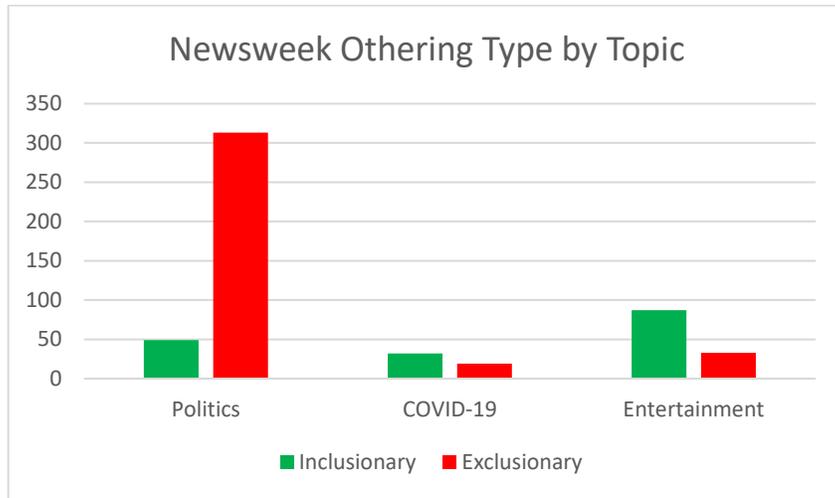


Figure 16 Newsweek Othering Type by Topic

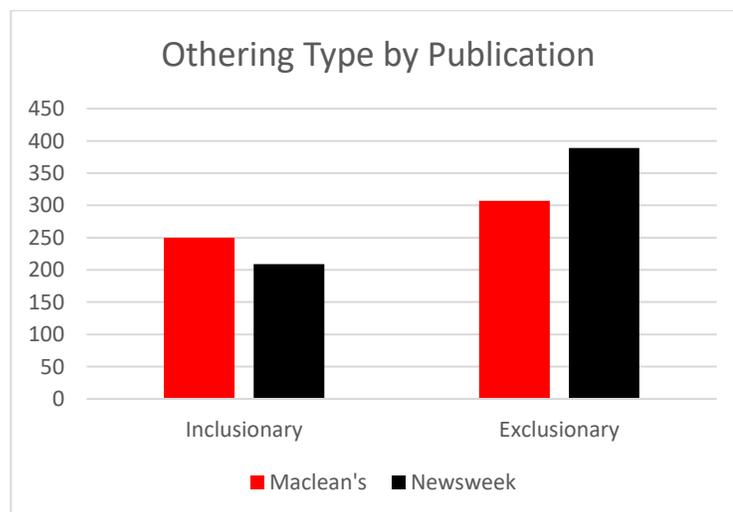


When reviewing the data for the types of othering that were present within the three focal topics, we can see that for both Maclean's and Newsweek that their political articles were the only ones where exclusionary othering of Asians was greater than inclusionary othering. This data suggests that politics was the topic that contributes the most to the exclusionary othering of Asian communities within both Maclean's and Newsweek. Approximately 77.8% of Maclean's thoughts and 86.5% of Newsweek's thoughts in

political articles featured exclusionary othering. Therefore, it can be said that Newsweek was more exclusionary of Asians than Maclean's in their political articles.

Articles on the topics of COVID-19 and entertainment contained more inclusionary othering of Asians than exclusionary othering, for both publications. Despite the difference in the total number of thoughts across these topics for the two publishers, the percentage distribution of inclusionary versus exclusionary othering within their COVID-19 and entertainment articles were within about 3% of one another; and were therefore quite similar. As such, it can also be said that the depictions of Asian identities within political articles had more of a difference between Maclean's and Newsweek than their depictions of Asians in their COVID-19 or Entertainment articles. How these differences manifested within the data was largely dependent on the nuance between the portrayed national contexts of the US and Canada within Newsweek and Maclean's respectively. In Figure 17 below, we see the distribution of exclusionary versus inclusionary othering between the two publishers for all topics. What we see here is that on average, Newsweek was more exclusionary of Asians than Maclean's by 10 percentage points.

Figure 17 Distribution of Exclusionary versus Inclusionary Othering by Publisher



In this section comparison between Maclean's and Newsweek provided a few valuable insights. First, it demonstrated that the discussion of Asians in the context of politics was the predominant source of exclusionary othering in Maclean's and Newsweek between February 1st, 2020 and April 30th, 2021. Second, my analysis showed that COVID-19 and entertainment articles contained more inclusionary othering than exclusionary othering of Asians, and that the percentage distribution of the type of othering for these topics was virtually the same between both publications. Third, there was a 10-percentage point difference in the distribution of othering types between Maclean's and Newsweek. This suggests that differing national contexts will produce different results in the type of othering particular groups will experience. This idea is further supported by the analysis in section 5.1 which found that Maclean's and Newsweek also differed on the distribution of the othering mechanisms that they were using.

5.3 Findings for Objective 3:

Map trends in the representation of Asians in the media across the US and Canada.

My analysis for Objective 3 shows that Maclean's and Newsweek followed different trends in terms of when Asian identities were discussed and how they were subsequently positioned within articles on politics, COVID-19, and entertainment, between February 1st, 2020 and April 30th, 2021. The positioning of Asian identities in articles on politics was the most consistently negative from month to month for both publishers. Articles on COVID-19 had the greatest amount of inconsistency in the positioning of Asians from month to month for both publishers. The positioning of Asians from month to month in entertainment articles displayed the greatest difference between the two

publishers, as Maclean’s positioned Asians fairly neutrally, whereas Newsweek positioned Asians fairly positively.

5.3.1 Political Coverage Trends

Figure 18 Politics Positioning Trends in Maclean’s

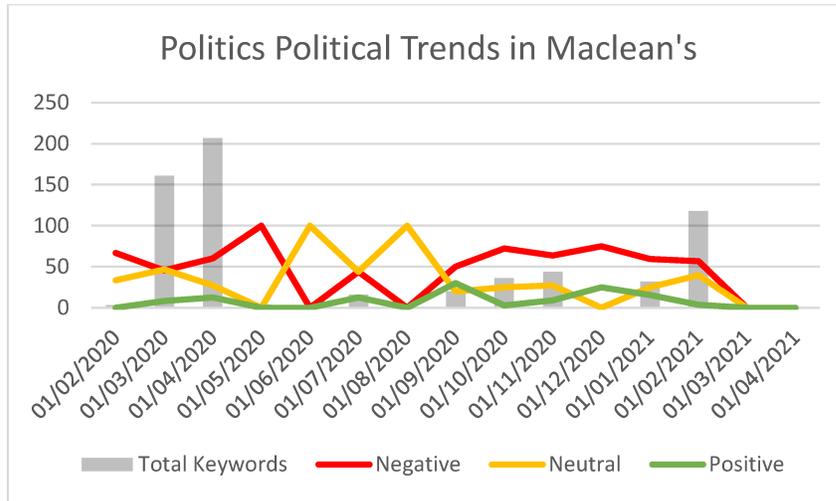
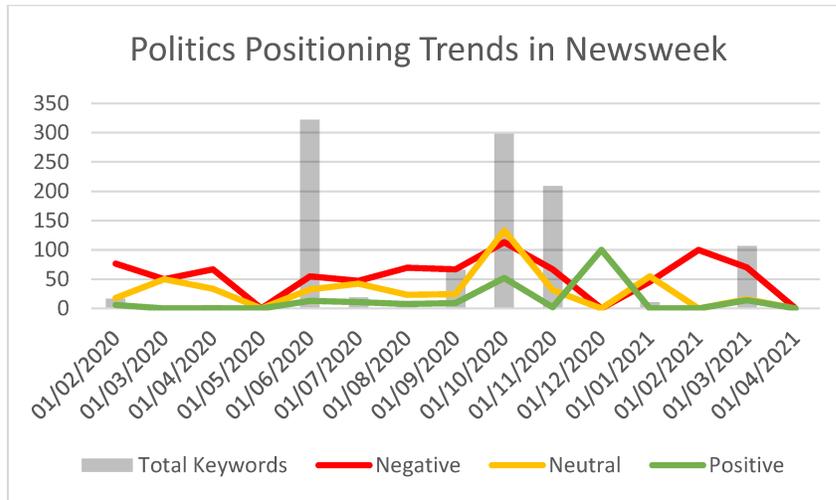


Figure 19 Politics Positioning Trends in Newsweek



From the data above, we see that both Maclean’s and Newsweek were very consistent in their negative positioning of Asians within their political articles from month to month. We see that there were only 2 months in Maclean’s and 3 months in Newsweek where non-negative positioning exceeded the negative positioning of Asians. While these

non-negative positions occurred at different times during the observed 14-month period for Maclean’s and Newsweek, political articles had the most similar positioning of Asians between the two publishers out of the three focal topics.

Despite this, we see East Asians were discussed within the context of politics at different times in Maclean’s and Newsweek. The one area where there was a small overlap between the publishers in the discussion of Asian communities can be seen between September to November of 2020, during the lead-up to the 2020 US Presidential Elections. Outside of this area where we see a small echo of the American news coverage in Maclean’s, the two publishers followed their own unique schedules when discussing East Asians.

5.3.2 COVID-19 Coverage Trends

Figure 20 COVID-19 Positioning Trends in Maclean’s

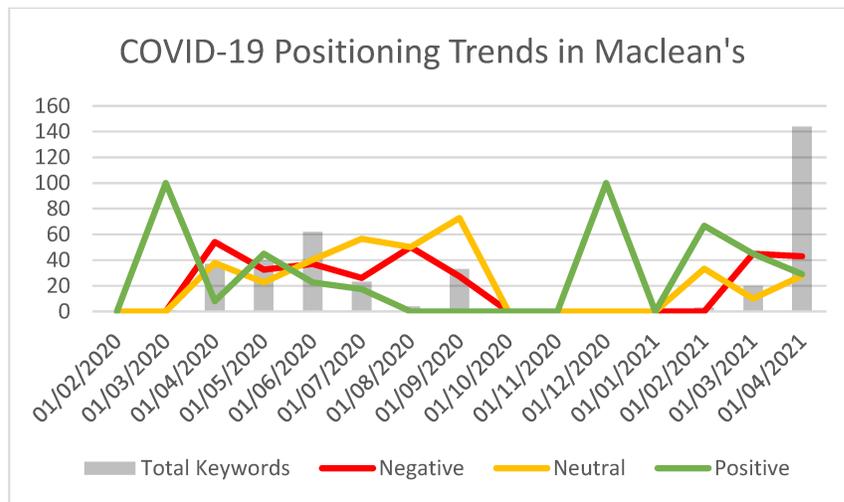
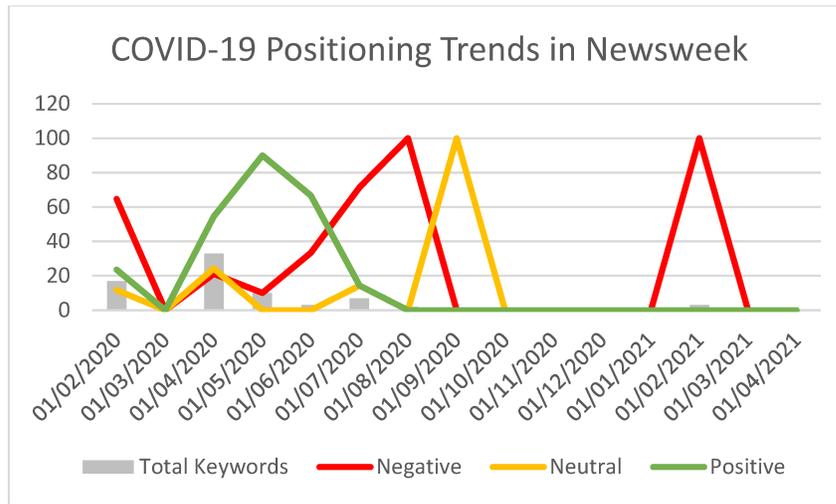


Figure 21 COVID-19 Positioning Trends in Newsweek



Articles addressing COVID-19 displayed the least amount of consistency in the positioning of Asians out of the three focal topics across both publishers. This demonstrates that there was a high level of dynamic representation of Asians for articles on the topic of COVID-19 in both Maclean’s and Newsweek. This characteristic of dynamic and inconsistent positioning would be the only similarity the two publishers had in how Asians were positioned within COVID-19 articles, unlike with the topic of politics.

We do see from these figures that Newsweek was significantly less likely to discuss Asians in the context of COVID-19 than Maclean’s. Like with articles on politics we see that the representation of Asians within COVID-19 articles occurred at different times within Maclean’s and Newsweek. Newsweek’s coverage of Asian communities in their COVID-19 articles occurred slightly earlier than Maclean’s and did not feature a significant spike in the discussion of Asian communities towards the end of the 14 months, which happened with Maclean’s due to a year-in-review article that looked at the response of Theresa Tam and the Canadian Government to the COVID-19 pandemic.

5.3.3 Entertainment Coverage Trends

Figure 22 Entertainment Positioning Trends in Maclean's

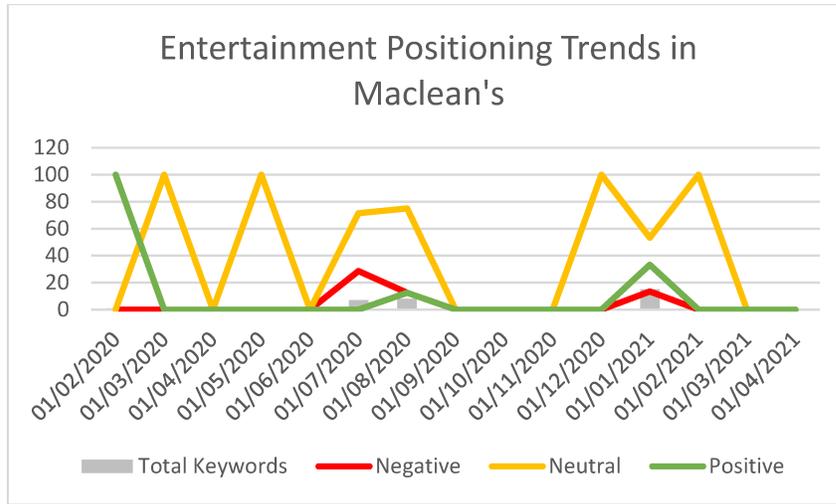
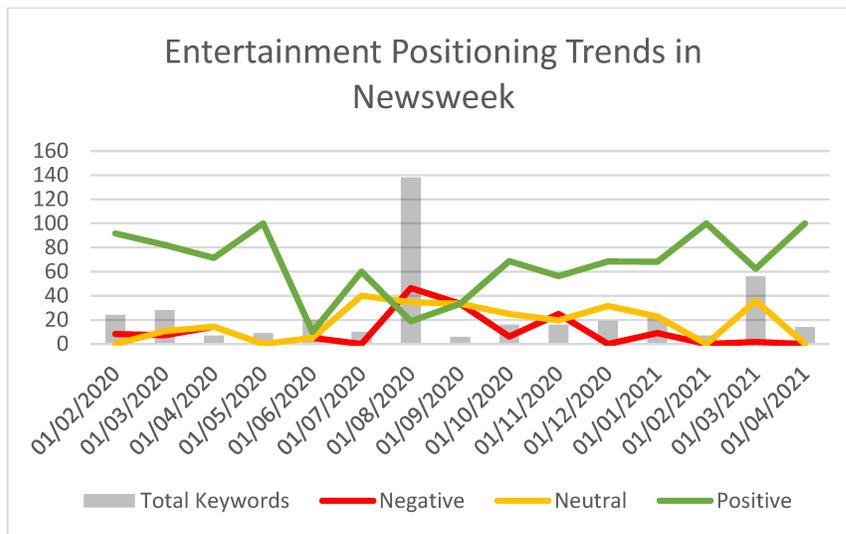


Figure 23 Entertainment Positioning Trends in Newsweek



From the data presented here, we see that Maclean's and Newsweek were relatively consistent in their respective positioning of Asians in their entertainment coverage, however, they were not similar to one another. Newsweek was consistently positive in their positioning of Asians in their entertainment coverage, whereas Maclean's was consistently neutral. We also see here that Maclean's rarely discussed Asian communities in their

entertainment coverage, whereas Newsweek was consistent in their coverage of Asian communities in their entertainment coverage throughout the year despite two significant spikes in August 2020, and March 2021. Newsweek's spike in August was due to an article on Chinese censorship of Hollywood films, and the spike in March 2021 was due to an article on Japanese artist Yayoi Kusama.

Like with the two other focal topics we see that there was no similar trend regarding when the two publishers discussed Asians in the context of entertainment. We see here as well that Entertainment was the most dissimilar of the three focal topics in terms of when East Asians were discussed and how they were positioned compared to the other topics.

To conclude this section, we see that Maclean's and Newsweek followed very different trends as to when Asian were discussed within their three focal topics; and were mostly independent of one another in that regard. Articles on Politics and COVID-19 were the most similar in terms of the consistency or non-consistency of how Asians were positioned. Entertainment articles by contrast were very dissimilar in terms of how Asians were positioned and when they were discussed. This idea that Maclean's and Newsweek are independent of one another also helps to provide more evidence that the othering mechanisms discussed in section 5.1 could be used to study transcultural othering in different print media publications.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

In my thesis, I explored the ways that the print media engaged in the transcultural othering of Asian communities in Canada and the United States during the COVID-19 pandemic, utilizing qualitative content analysis. I examined 226 magazine articles published in Maclean's (110 articles) and Newsweek's (116 articles) print-edition magazines between February 1st, 2020 and April 30th, 2021, to develop a better understanding of how the print media contributed to the transcultural othering of Asians in Canada and the US during the COVID-19 pandemic. I found supporting evidence within the data of 17 othering mechanisms used against Asian communities, 13 from the extant literature and four that emerged from the data (comparison, foreshadowing, platforming and sanitarianess). Newsweek was suggested to contribute more to the othering of Asian communities than Maclean's by utilizing a greater number of othering mechanisms, which were also more exclusionary than Maclean's overall.

The representation of China contributed the most to the transcultural othering and the negative portrayal of Asians within Maclean's and Newsweek, due to China's prominence and positioning within the data. When China was eliminated from the analysis it was found that the representation of Asians was more neutral and positive than negative, and significantly less transcultural othering of Asians took place. The vast majority of transcultural othering directed towards Asians took place in articles on the topics of politics, entertainment and COVID-19.

My analysis shows that the exclusionary othering of Asians within the print media was largely dependent upon the political contexts of Canada and the US with Asia, and more specifically with China. Politics was also the topic where the majority of the

transcultural othering of Asians took place within both publishers. Maclean's was more likely to engage in the othering of Asians than Newsweek within the context of COVID-19, however, the othering that took place in these articles was more inclusionary than exclusionary for both publishers. Newsweek was more likely to engage in the othering of Asians than Maclean's in the context of entertainment, where the majority of othering was inclusionary for both publishers.

Maclean's and Newsweek followed their own unique trends in terms of how and when they discussed Asian communities during the 14 months studied. This is a good indicator that the two publications were independent of one another and were not collaborating to promote a joint narrative about Asians communities. Political articles provided the most consistent negative positioning of Asian communities for both publishers during the 14-months. Articles on COVID-19 were the most sporadic in their positioning of Asian communities for both publishers, frequently changing the overall positioning of Asian identities every other month, which makes sense since COVID-19 during that time was a novel and developing situation. Entertainment had the greatest difference in terms of the positioning of Asian communities between Maclean's and Newsweek, namely because Newsweek had a greater focus on entertainment coverage than Maclean's.

6.1 Contributions to Literature

My thesis made several contributions to the extant literature on othering and diversity and inclusion. To begin, this study collected and studied 13 othering mechanisms identified within the extant literature, and proposed four additional othering mechanisms (comparison, foreshadowing, platforming, and sanitarieness) to help further our

understanding as to how transcultural othering occurs within the print media. By comparing Maclean's and Newsweek it provided this study with a more international focus, which helps to validate that the othering mechanisms identified within this study can occur across different national contexts and different publications. This study is important as it brings together the largest list of verifiable othering mechanisms based on the literature reviewed. By verifying the existence of particular othering mechanisms, it brings the literature closer to developing a comprehensive typology of othering mechanisms in the print media for both inclusionary and exclusionary othering, which would be a breakthrough in the literature. This same typology would likely be able to expand into other forms of legacy and digital media with some slight alterations for those specific media contexts.

Unquestionably, Asian communities have increasingly been targeted in terms of discrimination, hate, and violence as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic (Brumback & Wang, 2021; CSUSB, 2021; Kong *et al.*, 2021; Fausset *et al.*, 2021; Manjlovic, 2021). However, my analysis indicated that the representation of Asians within Maclean's and Newsweek in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic was more inclusionary than exclusionary, which suggests that at the very least these two publications are not significant sources for this increased discrimination. Inclusionary othering of Asian communities within the COVID-19 articles typically occurred in the form of platforming Asian research regarding the COVID-19 virus or the public health responses of select Asian countries.

While the exclusionary othering of Asians did occur within articles on COVID-19, comparatively it occurred to a significantly smaller degree than the exclusionary othering of Asians within both publishers' political articles. The exclusionary othering that did occur within the COVID-19 articles was predominantly directed towards China for their lack of

transparency during the early days of the virus, and issues revolving around the Cansino vaccine deal between Canada and China. Contrary to the extant literature which has written about the historic scapegoating and othering of Asian communities during past pandemics (Taylor, 2019; Dionne & Turkmen, 2020), it was found that Maclean's and Newsweek did not play into society's increased tribalistic attitudes in a significant manner, nor did they attempt to scapegoat the COVID-19 virus on Asian communities to a significant degree in their reporting (Taylor, 2019).

This may be indicative of a shift in the cultural mindset suggesting that such forms of scapegoating may be no longer acceptable. It may also be the result of both publications having a centre-left bias, and perhaps media with a more extreme bias to the left or the right would be more inclined to play into tribalistic attitudes or scapegoat the COVID-19 virus on particular groups. It may also be the case that other traditional media (e.g. television, radio, newspapers, etc.) or digital media (e.g. social media, streaming, online video platforms, etc.) may be more influential in terms of the transcultural othering process during pandemics than magazines.

It is worth noting that Newsweek really didn't discuss Asian communities in any kind of extensive way within their COVID-19 reporting. The only reasons why Maclean's coverage contained significantly more discussion of Asians was because of Canada's Cansino vaccine deal with China, and the fact that Theresa Tam, the Chief Public Health Officer of Canada, is a Hong-Kong born immigrant to Canada. Without these two points, it is unlikely that Maclean's coverage of the COVID-19 pandemic would have discussed Asians in any kind of extensive way. Here we see the contribution of this thesis in the challenging of established literature, specifically suggesting that there is a need to further

examine the media's role in transcultural othering during pandemics, as I found that Maclean's and Newsweek were not significant sources of exclusion, scapegoating or discrimination when portraying Asians in the context of COVID-19.

What the analysis does show is that political contexts are incredibly important when it comes to othering; especially exclusionary othering. We see that the majority of the exclusionary othering of Asian communities occurred as a result of the US or Canada's political contexts with Asia and the state of international relations with specific Asian countries. It is within the context of politics that we see the greatest amount of radicalization, edification, polarization, alienation and dehumanization of Asian communities, which contributes to the perception of fear and the desire for distance within the hegemonic group from the Other.

One must keep in mind that the pandemic began with the Hong Kong protests as a prelude. The implementation of the Hong Kong Security Law by Beijing was portrayed within Maclean's and Newsweek as a threat to Hong Kong's sovereignty and the rights of its citizens. It was largely portrayed as a frightening display of China's growing power and expansionism within East Asia. This narrative of worry and fear regarding the geopolitical actions of China was consistent within both Maclean's and Newsweek, especially as it pertained to the potential of foreign interference, espionage and corporate theft at the hands of the United Front Work Department, which is the organization responsible for some of China's security intelligence activities abroad. Uncertainty, especially as expressed concerning China, seemed to be a common theme within both publications, in Newsweek it specifically manifested in a question regarding the potential of China annexing Taiwan.

In Maclean's uncertainty primarily revolved around Meng Wanzhou, Huawei, and how to respond to China's portrayed kidnapping of the two Michaels.

The ultimate effect of these political articles was that it portrayed the relationship of Canada and the US with Asian communities, specifically Asian nation-states, as a zero-sum game, where there can ultimately only be one winner and one loser. We especially saw that this was the case with China, whereby the very state of cooperation was brought into question by both Maclean's and Newsweek and who both provided justifications as to why cooperation may not be feasible going forward.

What this suggests is that the representation of the Other within the context of politics in the media is incredibly important, as it can contribute to the construction and legitimization of barriers to interaction between groups. My analysis suggests that the reporting on political contexts is what contributes the most to the intolerance of the Other, and subsequently discrimination. This highlights that the politicization of the Other's identity may lead to an emphasis on exclusion over inclusion.

6.2 Practical Contributions

This thesis also makes several practical contributions. One of the key implications of this study is that the vast majority of Asian identities were underrepresented within Maclean's and Newsweek, outside of Chinese and possibly Japanese identities. The representation of identities affiliated with countries like Hong Kong and Taiwan were prominent but their prominence was largely the result of their association with China during the period of time that was studied for this thesis. This claim is supported by the fact that these identities affiliated with Hong Kong and Taiwan rarely appeared within the data without some kind of juxtaposition to China.

The underrepresentation of the wider breadth of Asian identities within the print media is indicative of a broader sub-narrative of marginalization, as Maclean's and Newsweek appear to be dismissive of any Asian identity that has not been somehow associated with the ongoing media fixation with China. From a diversity and inclusion standpoint, this lack of representation of the wider variety of Asian communities and identities is detrimental. If one were to gather their information on Asia and Asian communities solely from what they have read in the media, they would likely have an incredibly warped conception regarding notions of diversity amongst the communities, cultures, beliefs, and ways of life, related to Asia.

Furthermore, the fact that Maclean's and Newsweek contextualize Asian identities predominantly within political contexts and that these contexts were largely exclusionary towards Asian communities does not bode well for issues regarding diversity and inclusion and may potentially lead to heightened discrimination. This is a clear indication that Maclean's and Newsweek, and potentially other media organizations, need to review their organizational policies on how their reporting is conducted, especially in cases involving historically marginalized groups as to not further contribute to their marginalization.

This study also furthers our understanding of othering; particularly by identifying that the media can be a potent source of othering targeting transcultural communities. From a cross-cultural management perspective, it is vital to understand transcultural othering, as it can lead to increased intolerance, discrimination and marginalization of specific individuals and communities. By having a greater awareness regarding how the media engages in othering through the use of various othering mechanisms, managers can become more actively engaged in addressing issues stemming from media as a source of othering

within the workplace. In particular, this study may cause managers to be more cognizant of their own implicit biases that may have formed as result of their media consumption. This may cause them to reassess their media consumption habits and possibly their diversity and inclusion initiatives within their workplace.

By having an improved understanding of transcultural othering in the media, it may cause managers to develop new policies or codes of ethics, revisit their hiring practices, or provide improved diversity training to their employees. Furthermore, due to the polarization that is linked to legacy media (Jurkowitz *et al.*, 2020), and polarization's link to heightened intergroup conflict, discrimination and violence (Klein, 2020; Klinenberg, 2018), it is vital for managers to seriously consider the effects that legacy media and other forms of media may be having on themselves, their employees and their firm's diversity practices.

6.3 Limitations and Future Research

There are several limitations and challenges involved in this study that are worth mentioning. To begin with the methodology, the greatest limitation of qualitative content analysis is that it primarily employs inductive approaches, whereby the coding and analysis of the data involve some level of subjective interpretation. To minimize this, I sought to ground my research within the extant literature as much as possible by following pre-established conceptual definitions during my coding and analysis. I was also the sole researcher on this study, therefore by following the pre-established definitions or definitions that I produced (in the case of the four othering mechanisms that emerged from the data) I was able to maintain a consistent interpretation of the data. While it is true that if someone else were to conduct this same study that the exact results may vary, the same

general conclusion should be reached that the data supports the idea that the Canadian and American print media engaged in the transcultural othering of Asian communities during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In this study, I was unable to code the othering mechanism of reliability and consistency in any kind of dependable manner. This was because I was manually coding the data, and manually determining the similarity of certain phrases or framings of keywords would have been incredibly challenging and warranted a study of its own. I demonstrated that reliability and consistency did exist within the data with the example of Maclean's representing China as a hostage-taker in the two Michael's situation, however, to fully code all examples of reliability and consistency within the Maclean's and Newsweek's narratives, it would have likely required some form of machine learning or pre-established set of criteria that would limit the scope of the narrative being studied.

There is also the issue regarding whether reliability and consistency as a mechanism could have been represented alongside the data of the other othering mechanisms, as it would likely be difficult to represent quantitatively without the development of a secondary set of inductive codes; which would have made the analysis quite incoherent and messy. One possible way of demonstrating reliability and consistency could have been through the use of word trees based on particular keywords, as word trees would demonstrate the prominence of particular words preceding and following a selected keyword. This is likely undesirable however and would not have worked well with the main analysis of this study. These challenges and limitations involving the coding and representation of reliability and consistency as an othering mechanism present an opportunity for future research, to develop concrete methods for studying and analyzing this particular othering mechanism.

Maclean's and Newsweek are both centre-left publications, meaning that the rest of the media political bias spectrum went unrepresented within this study (Media Bias Fact Check, 2021). It may be the case that if one were to study the transcultural othering of Asian communities in the context of the far-left or far-right media, that the way these organizations engage in the othering of Asians may change. This presents a future research opportunity for those who wish to study it. The fact that Maclean's and Newsweek were both centre-left was beneficial for this study overall though, as it allowed for reporting on the national contexts of Canada and the US to be viewed with minimized external variables.

Another limitation of this study was that there was no easy way to identify whether the author of a given article is a member of the Asian community, the Canadian/American hegemonic groups, or another third-party group. This is a significant challenge, as this means that there is no way of knowing whether the author engaged in the process of othering towards Asian communities since there is no easy way of knowing how the author identifies short of speaking with them directly. The way that I justify that othering is still occurring is that regardless of the author each article published within the print-edition magazines of Maclean's or Newsweek goes through an extensive process of proofreading, editing and institutional sanctioning, at which point the articles themselves will have been passed around and received approval from multiple people (Colorado State University, 2021). Therefore, othering occurs at an institutional level regardless of whether the journalist themselves is engaging in othering, as neither Maclean's nor Newsweek are diasporic media organizations (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2021a, b).

In addition to the potential future areas of research I have already mentioned, there is the potential to compare how the print media in Asian countries engage in the mutual

transcultural othering of Canadians or Americans. One could also conduct a review of how Asian diasporic media in Canada and the US have made sense of their experiences during the COVID-19 pandemics, especially as it pertains to othering. There is also the possibility of going back through Maclean's and Newsweek's archives and reviewing similar pandemic contexts to the COVID-19 pandemic to see how the engagement of the media in transcultural othering during pandemics has evolved over time.

There is also a clear need within the literature for the development of a formalized typology of othering mechanisms. While there is a consensus regarding some of the mechanisms involved in othering, a more formalized list with methodologies for studying each of them is needed. This is especially the case for inclusionary othering.

Inclusionary othering remains perhaps one of the more underwritten topics within the othering literature at this time. It would appear to me, based on the literature reviewed and analysis conducted within this study, that inclusionary othering is incredibly nuanced; perhaps more so than exclusionary othering. The reason why I state this, is because inclusionary othering does not always lead to the increased inclusion of all group members and as such can deepen marginalization, and even when inclusion occurs it may not necessarily translate into belonging. There is a need, in my opinion, to develop a typology of the outcomes of inclusionary othering, to extend the inclusionary othering literature beyond primarily public health and nursing literature into more multi-disciplinary social science fields, and to develop an understanding of how inclusionary othering relates to group power dynamics. There is also a need to review how best to educate individuals, principally management and workers, on the role of othering in the enablement of discrimination and marginalization, to improve overall outcomes in diversity and inclusion.

From a cross-cultural management perspective, it will be important to expand upon this study with future research looking into whether the engagement of the print media in the transcultural othering of Asian communities during COVID-19 has affected the career trajectories and the work experiences of Asian identifying individuals, as well as the hiring practices of firms. There is the potential to frame such a study within the framework of sense-making, particularly looking at how Asian identifying individuals make sense of transcultural othering within the media and its impacts upon issues of social belonging, economic opportunities, and discrimination within the workplace. This type of follow-up study will be vital in determining whether there is a correlation between the media's engagement in transcultural othering and real-world consequences. It would also provide Asian communities with more of a say in how issues regarding diversity and inclusion stemming from the media should be dealt with going forward. This would not only help to potentially reform the policies and practices of media organizations, but also businesses, specifically working to improve the quality of diversity and inclusion and address key issues of discrimination.

6.4 Conclusion

To conclude, my desire for this thesis is to bring more attention to the phenomenon of transcultural othering, and how it contributes to issues of marginalization, intolerance, and discrimination. I hope that this thesis will contribute to the inclusion and belonging of Asian communities in Canada, the US and elsewhere, by helping to identify where and how particular barriers to belonging are formed, such that we can work together to fully dismantle them. We must learn to recognize that the mechanisms which differentiate groups and people from one another are artificial in nature and that we together can

overcome them. The media can and should do more to ensure that there is greater diversity in their coverage and that this diversity is represented fairly. I dream of a world where we can all one day live alongside one another without passing judgement, and for the media to no longer play into unjust systems of power that would seek to cause divisions within our societies and reinforce oppression. I hope that this work brings us all one step closer to seeing that become a reality.

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Appendices

Appendix A Glossary of Terms

Table 12 Glossary of Terms

Term (Alphabetically ordered)	Simple Definition
<i>Alienation (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The promotion of barriers that prevent or stop the Other from interacting or associating with the hegemonic group.</i>
<i>Asian Community</i>	<i>Asians communities in this study refer to the ethno-cultural, regional and religious identities affiliated with; Brunei, Cambodia, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Macau, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, North Korea, Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Timor Leste, and/or Vietnam (World Bank, 2018). This list is based on the World Bank's (2018) regional definition of East Asia and the Pacific but omits countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and Pacific microstates due to possible irrelevancy to this study.</i>
<i>Assimilation & Appropriation (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The inclusion of the Other, often against their will, with the intended purpose of the hegemonic group taking something away from them.</i>
<i>Categorization (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The recognition and distinction of the Other as being different.</i>
<i>Comparison (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The juxtaposition of the Other with something else, emphasizing similarity or dissimilarity.</i>
<i>Competitive Victimization (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The portrayal of having one group appear as being more victimized than another.</i>
<i>Dehumanization (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The portrayal of the Other as lacking human characteristics or qualities.</i>
<i>Dramatization (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The exaggeration of the Other's particular characteristics, attributes or values, often in regard to a specific event.</i>
<i>Edification (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The portrayal of the Other as morally inferior to the hegemonic group.</i>
<i>Entitativity</i>	<i>The clarity of an individual or group's identity (Hogg, 2020)</i>
<i>Ethno-cultural Identities</i>	<i>Ethno-cultural identities are defined by a set of shared characteristics that are unique to and recognized by a particular group (Government of Canada, 2005; Guttormsen, 2018; Salooje, 2003). According to the Government of Canada (2005), these characteristics typically include "... cultural traditions, ancestry, national identity, country of origin, and/or physical traits."</i>
<i>Exclusionary Othering</i>	<i>Exclusionary othering is a process in which a hegemonic group utilizes its socio-political and cultural power consciously or</i>

	<i>unconsciously to reinforce the perception of intergroup or interpersonal difference and non-belonging, leaving the outgroup members to be perceived as the Other (Tallarek, Bozorgmehr & Spallek, 2020).</i>
Focal Othering Mechanisms	<i>Focal othering mechanisms consist of categorization, recontextualization, positioning and reliability and consistency, as these mechanisms are the most critical to the othering process and are the most common othering mechanisms to occur within the print media.</i>
Foreshadowing (Othering Mechanism)	<i>A prediction of actions that the Other will take in the future and their consequences.</i>
Generalization (Othering Mechanism)	<i>When the portrayal of certain characteristics, beliefs or practices are suggested to be more common than they are amongst the Other.</i>
Inclusionary Othering	<i>Inclusionary othering is a process that involves the hegemonic group utilizing their social, political and cultural power to bridge the divide between the hegemonic group and members of the outgroup, often to foster relationships or coalitions (Canales, 2000; Akbulut & Razum, 2021; Powell, 2017; Tallarek, Bozorgmehr & Spallek, 2020).</i>
Ingroup	<i>The ingroup is the group that a specific individual identifies and associates themselves with (Tajfel & Turner, 2004).</i>
Keyword	<i>A keyword is specific word or collection of words referring to a particular item.</i>
Legitimization (Othering Mechanism)	<i>The portrayal of the Other's moral inferiority is legitimized.</i>
Othering	<i>Othering is the process by which an individual or group is determined to be separate from and distinct to another group or individual (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Fürsich, 2010; Bozatsis, 2016). Othering is a process that relies on the perception of specific attributes, characteristics, norms, behaviours, practices, and values, related to an outgroup's identity or way of life as being categorically different at an intergroup or interpersonal level (Guttormsen, 2018; Mahadevan, 2017; Fürsich, 2010; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003).</i>
Othering Mechanisms	<i>Othering mechanisms refer to the specific subcomponents of the othering process that enable othering and the formation of the conceptual barriers of difference between identities to manifest (Powell, 2017; Powell & Menendian, 2017).</i>
Othering Type	<i>Othering type refers to the specific process of ongoing process of othering which can be either inclusionary or exclusionary (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003).</i>
Otherness	<i>The result of othering is the ascribed quality of otherness, which relates to the state of non-belonging based on one's perceived identity and characteristics as being different from a specific ingroup's identity (Guttormsen, 2018)</i>
Outgroup	<i>The outgroup are groups that the individual does not identify or associate themselves with (Tajfel & Turner, 2004).</i>

<i>Platforming (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The process of giving certain members of the Other visibility and a public voice by providing a platform, where others are not.</i>
<i>Polarization (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The portrayal of the Other as ideologically inaccessible or incompatible with the hegemonic group.</i>
<i>Positioning (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The framing of the Other as being positive, negative, or neutral.</i>
<i>Radicalization (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The portrayal of the Other as being willing and able to cause harm onto the hegemonic group and society.</i>
<i>Recontextualization (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The process of constructing specific narrative, contextual or thematic affiliations for the Other to be associated with.</i>
<i>Regional Identities</i>	<i>Regional identities refer primarily to geographic places, localities, regions, or nation-states (Pohl, 2001).</i>
<i>Reliability & Consistency (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>The repetition of similar phrases or motifs when representing the Other.</i>
<i>Religious Identities</i>	<i>Religious identities are related to a specific group's faith, spiritual practices and ethical beliefs (Etengoff & Rodriguez, 2020).</i>
<i>Sanitariness (Othering Mechanism)</i>	<i>A depiction regarding the cleanliness and/or healthiness of the Other.</i>
<i>Secondary Othering Mechanisms</i>	<i>Secondary othering mechanisms are mechanisms made possible by recontextualization, and contribute to the severity of the othering by helping to reinforce specific conceptual boundaries of difference between identities.</i>
<i>The Hegemonic Ingroup</i>	<i>The dominant group within a particular society that possesses greater power and influence over others (Hogg, 2020).</i>
<i>The Other</i>	<i>The Other is a group, individual or thing that has been categorized as distinct or different from a particular ingroup or individual (Guttormsen, 2018).</i>
<i>The Transcultural Other</i>	<i>The transcultural Other specifically refers to individuals or groups who are perceived as being distinct from the hegemonic ingroup of a given society, based on possessing different regional, ethno-cultural and/or religious identities (Guttormsen, 2018; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Fürsich, 2010).</i>
<i>Thought</i>	<i>A thought is a specific sentence or paragraph where othering takes place that doesn't require additional context to understand.</i>
<i>Transcultural Othering</i>	<i>Transcultural othering is a form of othering that occurs when groups or individuals are differentiated based on their ethno-cultural, regional and/or religious identities (Guttormsen, 2018).</i>

Appendix B Keyword Dictionaries

B.1 List of Words Flagged in NVIVO

Table 13 List of Words Flagged by NVIVO Word Search Query

NVIVO flagged word	Maclean's	Newsweek	Total
<i>#ccpnotforme</i>	0	1	1
<i>#chinesevirus</i>	1	0	1
<i>#supportmulan</i>	0	1	1
<i>akita</i>	1	0	1
<i>angkar</i>	3	0	3
<i>anhui</i>	0	2	2
<i>anime</i>	1	0	1
<i>asia</i>	34	40	74
<i>asian</i>	29	35	64
<i>asians</i>	11	2	13
<i>bangkok</i>	1	0	1
<i>banh</i>	0	1	1
<i>bao</i>	1	1	2
<i>beijing</i>	52	164	216
<i>beijing'</i>	0	1	1
<i>beji</i>	0	1	1
<i>borneo</i>	1	1	2
<i>burma</i>	1	0	1
<i>burmese</i>	1	0	1
<i>cambodia</i>	4	2	6
<i>cambodian</i>	2	0	2
<i>cantonese</i>	8	1	9
<i>ccp</i>	6	10	16
<i>chai</i>	0	2	2
<i>chan</i>	63	1	64
<i>chang</i>	4	14	18
<i>chi</i>	1	1	2
<i>chiang</i>	0	9	9
<i>china</i>	371	522	893
<i>chinas</i>	0	2	2
<i>chinatown</i>	7	0	7
<i>chinese</i>	167	203	370

<i>chu</i>	2	3	5
<i>chugai</i>	0	1	1
<i>confucius</i>	0	1	1
<i>daihatsu</i>	1	0	1
<i>daishi</i>	0	1	1
<i>dandong</i>	2	0	2
<i>dao</i>	0	6	6
<i>darchen</i>	0	1	1
<i>deng</i>	3	7	10
<i>dharma</i>	1	0	1
<i>djinn</i>	0	1	1
<i>fukushima</i>	2	1	3
<i>fukuyama</i>	2	0	2
<i>fuyang</i>	0	1	1
<i>gao</i>	0	1	1
<i>genghis</i>	0	1	1
<i>ginkgos</i>	1	0	1
<i>goh</i>	1	0	1
<i>guangdong</i>	1	1	2
<i>guangzhou</i>	1	1	2
<i>hacikiri</i>	0	1	1
<i>haenyeo</i>	0	1	1
<i>hai</i>	0	1	1
<i>hainan</i>	1	0	1
<i>hangzhou</i>	1	1	2
<i>hanh</i>	1	0	1
<i>hann</i>	1	0	1
<i>hanoi</i>	0	1	1
<i>harajuku</i>	0	1	1
<i>hikikomori</i>	1	0	1
<i>hiroshima</i>	1	3	4
<i>hokkaido</i>	0	6	6
<i>honda</i>	5	0	5
<i>hong</i>	67	97	164
<i>hongkonger</i>	1	0	1
<i>hua</i>	4	3	7
<i>huanan</i>	2	0	2
<i>huang</i>	11	4	15
<i>huawei</i>	40	5	45

<i>huaxia</i>	0	2	2
<i>hubai</i>	0	1	1
<i>hubei</i>	2	0	2
<i>huiyao</i>	0	1	1
<i>hunan</i>	0	1	1
<i>hyosung</i>	1	0	1
<i>ijen</i>	0	1	1
<i>iko</i>	2	0	2
<i>ina</i>	0	2	2
<i>indochina</i>	0	2	2
<i>indonesia</i>	1	6	7
<i>indonesian</i>	0	1	1
<i>iwasaki</i>	0	5	5
<i>iwo</i>	0	7	7
<i>jakarta</i>	1	6	7
<i>japan</i>	52	67	119
<i>japanese</i>	16	22	38
<i>jeju</i>	0	1	1
<i>jeou</i>	0	1	1
<i>jian</i>	2	0	2
<i>jiang</i>	0	2	2
<i>jianwei</i>	0	4	4
<i>jiazhang</i>	0	1	1
<i>jima</i>	0	7	7
<i>jing</i>	0	1	1
<i>jinping</i>	13	22	35
<i>jintao</i>	0	2	2
<i>jiu</i>	1	0	1
<i>jiuzhang</i>	0	3	3
<i>jiwan</i>	0	1	1
<i>jong</i>	4	0	4
<i>joon</i>	2	0	2
<i>kao</i>	0	2	2
<i>kaohsiung</i>	0	1	1
<i>kaolin</i>	1	0	1
<i>karaoke</i>	3	1	4
<i>karate</i>	0	11	11
<i>katsura</i>	2	0	2
<i>kawashima</i>	6	0	6

<i>keelung</i>	1	0	1
<i>kenji</i>	0	1	1
<i>keqiang</i>	0	2	2
<i>khan</i>	18	1	19
<i>kinako</i>	2	0	2
<i>kindtii</i>	3	0	3
<i>koi</i>	1	0	1
<i>koichi</i>	1	0	1
<i>koizumi</i>	2	0	2
<i>komatsu</i>	1	0	1
<i>korea</i>	32	38	70
<i>korean</i>	17	8	25
<i>koreans</i>	2	0	2
<i>kuala</i>	2	0	2
<i>kuang</i>	0	2	2
<i>kung</i>	3	1	4
<i>kunimoto</i>	13	0	13
<i>kuomintang</i>	0	1	1
<i>kusama</i>	0	20	20
<i>kusamas</i>	0	1	1
<i>kwan</i>	1	2	3
<i>kwong</i>	2	0	2
<i>kyoto</i>	0	2	2
<i>lang</i>	5	5	10
<i>lao</i>	2	0	2
<i>laolao</i>	6	0	6
<i>laos</i>	0	3	3
<i>lei</i>	0	2	2
<i>lin</i>	2	2	4
<i>lui</i>	3	0	3
<i>macao</i>	1	0	1
<i>macau</i>	4	1	5
<i>makoto</i>	2	0	2
<i>malacca</i>	0	1	1
<i>malaya</i>	0	1	1
<i>malaysia</i>	4	4	8
<i>malaysian</i>	0	1	1
<i>manasarovar</i>	0	1	1
<i>manchu</i>	0	1	1

<i>manchurian</i>	0	1	1
<i>manda</i>	1	0	1
<i>mandarin</i>	9	1	10
<i>mandarinia</i>	2	0	2
<i>mandarins</i>	1	0	1
<i>manichean</i>	0	1	1
<i>manji</i>	1	0	1
<i>mao</i>	7	11	18
<i>maru</i>	4	0	4
<i>meng</i>	64	0	64
<i>michiko</i>	0	1	1
<i>miin</i>	1	0	1
<i>min</i>	2	1	3
<i>ming</i>	1	4	5
<i>mino</i>	0	1	1
<i>mitsubishi</i>	1	0	1
<i>mochi</i>	0	1	1
<i>momofuku</i>	0	1	1
<i>mongolian</i>	0	1	1
<i>motuo</i>	0	2	2
<i>muay</i>	1	0	1
<i>mulan</i>	0	1	1
<i>murakami</i>	1	0	1
<i>muri</i>	4	0	4
<i>mutsuki</i>	0	2	2
<i>nagasaki</i>	0	1	1
<i>nanjing</i>	0	2	2
<i>naoshima</i>	0	1	1
<i>nguyen</i>	1	2	3
<i>ninja</i>	3	0	3
<i>nintendo</i>	0	3	3
<i>nissan</i>	9	1	10
<i>obi</i>	0	2	2
<i>oda</i>	1	0	1
<i>oka</i>	2	0	2
<i>origami</i>	1	0	1
<i>osaka</i>	0	3	3
<i>osechi</i>	0	1	1
<i>osome</i>	0	3	3

<i>panda</i>	4	4	8
<i>pandas</i>	13	4	17
<i>pandas'</i>	1	0	1
<i>pang</i>	1	4	5
<i>pangolins</i>	0	3	3
<i>peeking</i>	1	1	2
<i>peiwu</i>	1	0	1
<i>peking</i>	0	1	1
<i>philippines</i>	18	1	19
<i>pyeongchang</i>	1	0	1
<i>qing</i>	0	1	1
<i>ryori</i>	0	1	1
<i>saba</i>	29	0	29
<i>sachiko</i>	1	0	1
<i>saigon</i>	0	5	5
<i>samsung</i>	1	2	3
<i>samurai</i>	0	1	1
<i>sana</i>	0	1	1
<i>seikei</i>	0	1	1
<i>seoul</i>	1	2	3
<i>seyhu</i>	1	0	1
<i>shang</i>	1	0	1
<i>shanghai</i>	1	11	12
<i>shangri</i>	0	1	1
<i>shen</i>	0	2	2
<i>shenzen</i>	0	1	1
<i>shida</i>	0	1	1
<i>shigeru</i>	0	2	2
<i>shikoku</i>	0	2	2
<i>shinjuku</i>	0	1	1
<i>shintoism</i>	1	0	1
<i>shinya</i>	1	0	1
<i>shiretoko</i>	0	1	1
<i>shiri</i>	1	0	1
<i>shuang</i>	1	0	1
<i>sinnoh</i>	0	1	1
<i>sino</i>	0	5	5
<i>sushi</i>	1	1	2
<i>tabuchi</i>	0	2	2

<i>taipei</i>	1	5	6
<i>taiwan</i>	14	114	128
<i>taiwanese</i>	2	13	15
<i>tanto</i>	7	0	7
<i>tao</i>	0	0	0
<i>taoiseach</i>	0	1	1
<i>tapioca</i>	0	1	1
<i>tensei</i>	0	1	1
<i>thai</i>	4	6	10
<i>thailand</i>	5	9	14
<i>tiananmen</i>	2	8	10
<i>tiankai</i>	0	2	2
<i>tianxia</i>	0	0	0
<i>tibet</i>	0	13	13
<i>tibetan</i>	0	3	3
<i>tofu</i>	2	0	2
<i>tokyo</i>	24	32	56
<i>toyama</i>	0	2	2
<i>toyota</i>	9	1	10
<i>trăng</i>	0	3	3
<i>tsai</i>	0	6	6
<i>tsang</i>	2	0	2
<i>tsayu</i>	1	0	1
<i>tsing</i>	0	1	1
<i>uighur</i>	6	1	7
<i>uighurs</i>	4	1	5
<i>uyghurs</i>	0	3	3
<i>viet</i>	1	1	2
<i>vietnam</i>	15	36	51
<i>vietnamese</i>	4	1	5
<i>wang</i>	4	6	10
<i>wangpi</i>	0	1	1
<i>wannan</i>	4	0	4
<i>wanton</i>	1	2	3
<i>wanzhou</i>	20	0	20
<i>wuhan</i>	45	20	65
<i>xiaoping</i>	1	7	8
<i>xinhua</i>	0	4	4
<i>xinjiang</i>	3	7	10

<i>yang</i>	0	18	18
<i>yaqiu</i>	0	1	1
<i>yayoi</i>	0	7	7
<i>yeongyang</i>	0	1	1
<i>yoko</i>	2	0	2
<i>yokohama</i>	1	0	1
<i>yoshino</i>	0	2	2
<i>yoyogi</i>	0	1	1
<i>yôga</i>	1	0	1
<i>yuan</i>	6	3	9
<i>yuen</i>	2	0	2
<i>yunnan</i>	0	2	2
<i>zedong</i>	1	6	7
<i>zemin</i>	0	2	2
<i>zhang</i>	3	0	3
<i>zhao</i>	0	2	2
<i>zhengfei</i>	3	0	3
<i>zhongnanhai</i>	0	1	1
<i>zhu</i>	5	0	5
<i>zuocheng</i>	0	1	1
<i>Total</i>	1564	1922	3486

B.2 Final List of Keywords

Table 14 Final List of Keywords

Keyword	Maclean's	Newsweek	Total
<i>#CCPNotForMe</i>	0	1	1
<i>#chinesevirus</i>	1	0	1
<i>1989 Tiananmen massacre</i>	0	1	1
<i>88-Temple Pilgrimage</i>	0	1	1
<i>Alliance Canada Hong Kong</i>	1	0	1
<i>Alvin Yeung</i>	0	1	1
<i>Angkar</i>	3	0	3
<i>Anhui Fuyang Second People's Hospital In China</i>	0	1	1
<i>Anhui Provincial Hospital</i>	0	1	1
<i>Asia</i>	16	25	41
<i>Asia's</i>	1	0	1
<i>Asian</i>	23	28	51
<i>Asian flu</i>	1	0	1
<i>Asians</i>	7	0	7
<i>Bali</i>	0	1	1
<i>Balinese Masks</i>	0	1	1
<i>Ban Ki Moon</i>	1	0	1
<i>Bangkok</i>	1	0	1
<i>Banh Chung</i>	0	1	1
<i>Beijing</i>	32	113	145
<i>Beijing Institute of Biotechnology</i>	1	0	1
<i>Beijing Mabworks</i>	2	0	2
<i>Beijing National Stadium</i>	0	2	2
<i>Beijing's</i>	7	26	33
<i>Belt and Road Initiative</i>	0	2	2
<i>Benesse House</i>	0	1	1
<i>Bento boxes</i>	0	1	1
<i>Bishan</i>	0	1	1
<i>Bong</i>	1	0	1
<i>Bong Joon Ho</i>	2	0	2
<i>Borneo</i>	1	1	2
<i>Bruce Lee</i>	0	1	1
<i>Buddhist</i>	1	2	3
<i>Bulacan</i>	1	0	1
<i>Burma</i>	1	0	1
<i>C.H. Li</i>	1	0	1
<i>Cambodia</i>	3	1	4

<i>Cambodian</i>	2	0	2
<i>Can Tho</i>	0	1	1
<i>Cansino</i>	8	0	8
<i>CanSino Biologics Inc.</i>	1	0	1
<i>Cantonese</i>	5	1	6
<i>Cantonese-speaking</i>	1	0	1
<i>Carrie Lam</i>	0	1	1
<i>CBA</i>	1	0	1
<i>CCP</i>	1	8	9
<i>CCP's</i>	1	1	2
<i>Cendol</i>	0	2	2
<i>Center for China & Globalization</i>	0	1	1
<i>Cha Siu Bao</i>	0	1	1
<i>Chen Din-hwa</i>	0	1	1
<i>Chen Zhu</i>	1	0	1
<i>Chiang Kai-shek</i>	0	1	1
<i>Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist</i>	0	1	1
<i>Chiang's</i>	0	4	4
<i>Chiang's Nationalists</i>	0	1	1
<i>China</i>	277	345	622
<i>China Daily</i>	1	1	2
<i>China Film Group</i>	0	2	2
<i>China Global Philanthropy Institute</i>	0	1	1
<i>China Media Capital</i>	0	1	1
<i>China party-state</i>	0	1	1
<i>China's</i>	31	58	89
<i>China's Communist Party</i>	0	2	2
<i>Chinas</i>	0	1	1
<i>Chinatown</i>	7	0	7
<i>Chinese</i>	158	167	325
<i>Chinese Benevolent Association</i>	2	0	2
<i>Chinese Civil War</i>	0	3	3
<i>Chinese Communist Government</i>	0	1	1
<i>Chinese Communist Party</i>	6	4	10
<i>Chinese Communist Party's</i>	0	3	3
<i>Chinese government</i>	0	1	1
<i>Chinese Health Organization</i>	1	0	1
<i>Chinese Muslims</i>	0	1	1
<i>Chinese New Year</i>	2	1	3
<i>Chinese People's Association for Friendship and Foreign Countries</i>	0	1	1
<i>Chinese president</i>	1	0	1

<i>Chinese soldiers</i>	0	1	1
<i>Chinese virus</i>	1	0	1
<i>Chinese-language</i>	0	7	7
<i>Chinese-speaking</i>	0	1	1
<i>Chugai</i>	0	1	1
<i>Ci Liwung River</i>	0	1	1
<i>Communist China</i>	0	1	1
<i>Communist China's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Communist Party</i>	3	5	8
<i>Communist Party of China</i>	1	2	3
<i>Communist Party red</i>	1	0	1
<i>Communist party's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Cong Peiwu</i>	1	0	1
<i>CPC</i>	0	11	11
<i>CPC's</i>	0	2	2
<i>Cui</i>	0	1	1
<i>Cui Tiankai</i>	0	2	2
<i>Daihatsu</i>	1	0	1
<i>Dandong</i>	2	0	2
<i>Darchen</i>	0	1	1
<i>Deng Xiaoping</i>	0	2	2
<i>Deng Xiaoping's</i>	1	2	3
<i>Dim sum</i>	0	1	1
<i>Din-hwa</i>	0	2	2
<i>Din-hwa's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Dragon Garden</i>	0	1	1
<i>East China Seas</i>	0	1	1
<i>Filipino</i>	8	0	8
<i>Filipinos</i>	2	0	2
<i>First Affiliated Hospital of University of Science and Technology of China</i>	0	1	1
<i>Forbidden City</i>	0	3	3
<i>Formosa</i>	0	1	1
<i>Formosa Boulevard MRT Station</i>	0	1	1
<i>Formosa Station</i>	0	1	1
<i>Fujifilm Toyama Chemical</i>	0	1	1
<i>Fukushima</i>	2	1	3
<i>Geng</i>	1	0	1
<i>Geng Shuang</i>	1	0	1
<i>Ginkgo</i>	0	2	2
<i>Ginkgophyta</i>	0	1	1
<i>Goodwin Liu</i>	0	1	1

<i>Guangdong</i>	1	1	2
<i>Guangzhou</i>	1	1	2
<i>Haenyeo</i>	0	1	1
<i>Hainan</i>	1	0	1
<i>Hainan Airlines</i>	1	0	1
<i>Hangzhou</i>	1	1	2
<i>Hanoi</i>	0	1	1
<i>Harajuku</i>	0	1	1
<i>Henro</i>	0	1	1
<i>Hiep Bui</i>	1	0	1
<i>Hikikomori</i>	1	0	1
<i>Himeji</i>	0	1	1
<i>Himeji Castle</i>	0	1	1
<i>Hiroshima</i>	1	2	3
<i>Hokkaido</i>	0	6	6
<i>Hong Kong</i>	51	71	122
<i>Hong Kong's</i>	1	16	17
<i>Hong Kongers</i>	7	4	11
<i>HongKonger</i>	1	0	1
<i>Hu Jintao</i>	0	1	1
<i>Hua</i>	0	2	2
<i>Hua Chunying</i>	0	1	1
<i>Huanan</i>	1	0	1
<i>Huawei</i>	35	3	38
<i>Huawei's</i>	4	2	6
<i>Huaxia Film Distribution Co.</i>	0	1	1
<i>Hubei</i>	2	1	3
<i>Hunan</i>	0	1	1
<i>I Tim Pad</i>	0	1	1
<i>Indochina</i>	0	1	1
<i>Indonesia</i>	1	3	4
<i>Iwo Jima</i>	0	3	3
<i>Jackie Chan</i>	0	1	1
<i>Jakarta</i>	0	5	5
<i>Jakarta's</i>	1	0	1
<i>Japan</i>	32	45	77
<i>Japan's</i>	8	7	15
<i>Japanese</i>	10	19	29
<i>Java</i>	0	1	1
<i>Jeju</i>	0	1	1
<i>Jiang Zemin</i>	0	1	1

<i>Jiazhang</i>	0	1	1
<i>Jimmy Lai</i>	0	1	1
<i>Jiuzhang</i>	0	2	2
<i>Junko Tabei</i>	0	1	1
<i>K-pop</i>	1	0	1
<i>Kaohsiung</i>	0	1	1
<i>Kawah Ijen</i>	0	1	1
<i>Keelung River</i>	1	0	1
<i>Kenji Yoshino</i>	0	1	1
<i>Kenzo Tange</i>	0	1	1
<i>Khmer Rouge</i>	1	0	1
<i>Kim</i>	0	7	7
<i>Kim Jong Un</i>	2	1	3
<i>Kim Phuc</i>	0	3	3
<i>Kobe</i>	1	0	1
<i>Kobo Daishi</i>	0	1	1
<i>Kora</i>	0	1	1
<i>Korea</i>	3	3	6
<i>Korean</i>	4	1	5
<i>Korean Peninsula</i>	0	1	1
<i>Korean War</i>	0	1	1
<i>Koreans</i>	1	0	1
<i>Kuala Lumpur</i>	1	0	1
<i>Kuang Si Falls</i>	0	1	1
<i>Kung flu</i>	1	0	1
<i>Kung Fu</i>	0	1	1
<i>Kuomintang</i>	0	1	1
<i>Kusama</i>	0	7	7
<i>Kusama's</i>	0	8	8
<i>Kyoto</i>	0	1	1
<i>Lam's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Lao</i>	2	0	2
<i>Laos</i>	0	1	1
<i>Larry Kwong</i>	1	0	1
<i>Lee</i>	0	1	1
<i>Lee's</i>	0	1	1
<i>LegCo</i>	0	4	4
<i>LegCo's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Li</i>	3	0	3
<i>Li Keqiang</i>	0	2	2
<i>Li Wenliang</i>	1	0	1

<i>Li Zuocheng</i>	0	1	1
<i>Little pinks</i>	1	0	1
<i>Lu Shaye</i>	1	0	1
<i>Luang Prabang</i>	0	1	1
<i>Ma</i>	0	1	1
<i>Ma Ying-jeou</i>	0	1	1
<i>Macau</i>	4	1	5
<i>Malacca</i>	0	1	1
<i>Malaysia</i>	2	4	6
<i>Malaysia Airlines</i>	1	0	1
<i>Manasarovar Lake</i>	0	1	1
<i>Manchu Qing emperors</i>	0	1	1
<i>Mandarin</i>	4	1	5
<i>Mandarins</i>	1	0	1
<i>Manila</i>	1	1	2
<i>Mao</i>	0	4	4
<i>Mao Zedong</i>	1	3	4
<i>Mao Zedong's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Mao's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Maya Bay</i>	0	2	2
<i>Meng</i>	24	0	24
<i>Meng Wanzhou</i>	16	0	16
<i>Meng Wanzhou's</i>	1	0	1
<i>Meng's</i>	15	0	15
<i>Ming</i>	0	1	1
<i>Ming dynasty</i>	0	1	1
<i>Ming Pao</i>	1	0	1
<i>Mitsubishi</i>	1	0	1
<i>Mochi</i>	0	1	1
<i>Moeun</i>	3	0	3
<i>Moeun's</i>	1	0	1
<i>Momofuku Ando</i>	0	1	1
<i>Mongolian</i>	0	1	1
<i>Mori Art Museum</i>	0	1	1
<i>Mount Kailash Kora</i>	0	1	1
<i>Mount Suribachi</i>	0	2	2
<i>Nagasaki</i>	0	1	1
<i>Nan-Fung Group</i>	0	1	1
<i>Nanjing</i>	0	2	2
<i>Naoshima</i>	0	1	1
<i>National People's Congress</i>	1	3	4

<i>Nationalist Party of Chiang Kai-shek</i>	0	1	1
<i>New Hong Kong Cultural Club</i>	1	0	1
<i>Nick Zhao</i>	0	1	1
<i>Noh Theater</i>	0	2	2
<i>North Korea</i>	7	12	19
<i>North Korea's</i>	0	3	3
<i>North Korean</i>	3	3	6
<i>North Korean dictator</i>	5	0	5
<i>Onsen</i>	0	2	2
<i>Onsens</i>	0	1	1
<i>Osaka</i>	0	2	2
<i>Osechi Ryori</i>	0	1	1
<i>Ota Fine Arts</i>	0	2	2
<i>Panda</i>	1	0	1
<i>Panda Diplomacy</i>	1	0	1
<i>People's Daily</i>	0	2	2
<i>People's Liberation Army</i>	0	1	1
<i>People's Republic</i>	1	2	3
<i>People's Republic of China</i>	2	8	10
<i>Phan Thi Kim Phuc</i>	0	1	1
<i>Philippines</i>	14	2	16
<i>Pol Pot</i>	8	0	8
<i>Pot's</i>	1	0	1
<i>PRC</i>	2	27	29
<i>PRC's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Pyeongchang</i>	1	0	1
<i>Qing</i>	0	1	1
<i>Rakuten</i>	1	0	1
<i>Ramen</i>	0	2	2
<i>Ren Zhengfei</i>	1	0	1
<i>Ren Zhengfei's</i>	1	0	1
<i>Republic of China</i>	0	4	4
<i>Republic of Taiwan</i>	0	1	1
<i>ROC</i>	0	9	9
<i>Rocket man</i>	1	0	1
<i>Rodrigo Duterte</i>	1	0	1
<i>Rohingya</i>	1	0	1
<i>Saigon</i>	0	5	5
<i>Seikei</i>	0	1	1
<i>Seoul</i>	1	2	3
<i>Seto Inland Sea</i>	0	1	1

<i>Shanghai</i>	1	10	11
<i>Shenzen</i>	0	1	1
<i>Shigeru Ban</i>	0	1	1
<i>Shikoku</i>	0	2	2
<i>Shinjuku</i>	0	1	1
<i>Shinya Yamanaka</i>	1	0	1
<i>Shiretoko</i>	0	1	1
<i>Shite</i>	0	1	1
<i>Sick man of Asia</i>	1	0	1
<i>Siem Reap</i>	0	1	1
<i>Sing Tao</i>	2	0	2
<i>Singapore</i>	3	7	10
<i>Sino</i>	0	4	4
<i>Sino-Japanese War</i>	0	1	1
<i>Sinovac Biotech</i>	1	0	1
<i>Sixth Hung Dynasty</i>	0	1	1
<i>Soneva Kiri</i>	0	1	1
<i>South China</i>	0	1	1
<i>South China Sea</i>	0	7	7
<i>South China seas</i>	1	0	1
<i>South Korea</i>	18	11	29
<i>South Korea's</i>	1	0	1
<i>South Korean</i>	3	1	4
<i>South Koreans</i>	1	0	1
<i>Stanley Kao</i>	0	1	1
<i>Su Bin</i>	2	0	2
<i>Su's</i>	1	0	1
<i>Taipei</i>	1	5	6
<i>Taiwan</i>	12	77	89
<i>Taiwan Relations Act</i>	0	1	1
<i>Taiwan Strait</i>	0	3	3
<i>Taiwan's</i>	0	12	12
<i>Taiwanese</i>	1	12	13
<i>Tam</i>	36	0	36
<i>Tang Yuan</i>	0	3	3
<i>Temple University</i>	0	1	1
<i>Tempura</i>	0	2	2
<i>TenCent</i>	0	1	1
<i>Thai</i>	3	0	3
<i>Thailand</i>	5	6	11
<i>The Front's</i>	0	1	1

<i>The Great Wall</i>	0	1	1
<i>The Party</i>	1	1	2
<i>The Strait</i>	0	4	4
<i>Theresa Tam</i>	3	0	3
<i>Thich Nhat Hanh</i>	1	0	1
<i>Tiananmen</i>	0	2	2
<i>Tiananmen Square</i>	1	2	3
<i>Tiananmen Square massacre</i>	0	1	1
<i>Tianxia</i>	0	1	1
<i>Tibet</i>	0	7	7
<i>Tibet's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Tibetan</i>	0	2	2
<i>Tokyo</i>	13	27	40
<i>TRA</i>	0	1	1
<i>Trăng Bàng</i>	0	3	3
<i>TransAsia Airways</i>	1	0	1
<i>Tsai</i>	0	4	4
<i>Tsai Ing-wen</i>	0	2	2
<i>Tsing Lung Tau</i>	0	1	1
<i>Tung Chee-hwa</i>	0	1	1
<i>Uighur</i>	6	1	7
<i>Uighurs</i>	4	1	5
<i>United Front</i>	2	16	18
<i>United Front Department</i>	1	0	1
<i>United Front Work Department</i>	0	2	2
<i>United Front's</i>	0	1	1
<i>University of Science and Technology in China</i>	0	1	1
<i>USTC</i>	0	4	4
<i>USTC's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Uyghurs</i>	0	2	2
<i>Victoria Park</i>	0	3	3
<i>Viet Cong</i>	0	1	1
<i>Vietnam</i>	11	23	34
<i>Vietnamese</i>	4	1	5
<i>Wang Huiyao</i>	0	1	1
<i>Wang Yi</i>	1	0	1
<i>Wang's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Wangpi River Valley</i>	0	1	1
<i>Weibo</i>	1	0	1
<i>West Kowloon Cultural District</i>	0	1	1
<i>Wu Ken</i>	1	0	1

<i>Wuhan</i>	39	12	51
<i>Wuhan Institute of Virology</i>	0	2	2
<i>Wuhan Shake</i>	0	2	2
<i>Wuhan virus</i>	2	0	2
<i>Xi</i>	3	11	14
<i>Xi Jinping</i>	10	11	21
<i>Xi Jinping's</i>	1	5	6
<i>Xi's</i>	2	1	3
<i>Xinhua</i>	0	3	3
<i>Xinjiang</i>	3	6	9
<i>Yalu River</i>	1	0	1
<i>Yamanaka</i>	3	0	3
<i>Yayoi Kusama</i>	0	3	3
<i>Yayoi Kusama Museum</i>	0	1	1
<i>Yayoi Kusama's</i>	0	1	1
<i>Yeongyang</i>	0	1	1
<i>Yeung</i>	0	4	4
<i>Yoko Ono</i>	1	0	1
<i>Yokohama</i>	1	0	1
<i>Yong Moeun</i>	1	0	1
<i>Yoshino</i>	0	1	1
<i>Yoyogi National Gymnasium</i>	0	1	1
<i>Yu Yingzeng</i>	1	0	1
<i>Yunnan</i>	0	1	1
<i>Zhao</i>	0	1	1
<i>Zhongnanhai</i>	0	1	1
<i>Zhu</i>	2	0	2
<i>ZTE</i>	0	1	1
Total unique keywords = 393	1173	1668	2841

Appendix C Code Co-occurrences

Table 15 Country Affiliation Co-occurrences with Othering Mechanisms

	Alienation	Assimilation and appropriation	Comparison	Competitive Victimization	Dehumanization	Dramatization	Edification	Foreshadowing	Generalization	Platforming	Polarization	Radicalization	Sanitariness
Asia	23	6	46	28	10	12	21	0	25	48	14	29	15
Cambodia	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	5	1	4	3
China	221	24	235	241	69	113	304	17	223	140	206	361	181
Hong Kong	39	9	47	45	29	19	47	7	44	40	55	67	34
Indonesia	0	1	0	2	2	0	1	0	1	4	1	1	0
Japan	13	4	47	17	9	15	22	1	19	68	5	26	17
Laos	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Macau	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	1
Malaysia	0	1	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	4	1	0	0
Mongolia	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
Myanmar	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
North Korea	19	0	19	12	6	9	20	1	4	1	6	29	1
Philippines	0	1	10	6	3	0	2	0	5	14	3	3	5
Singapore	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	2
South Korea	3	0	24	3	1	5	4	0	17	19	0	4	19
Taiwan	19	13	34	29	3	11	15	4	20	18	20	36	6
Thailand	2	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	1	7	1	0	4
Vietnam	1	1	16	10	5	6	4	0	6	16	1	11	6

Table 16 Country Affiliation Co-occurrences with Othering Mechanisms Maclean's

	Alienation	Assimilation and appropriation	Comparison	Competitive victimization	Dehumanization	Dramatization	Edification	Foreshadowing	Generalization	Platforming	Polarization	Radicalization	Sanitariness
Asia	7	1	23	16	5	5	6	0	12	21	1	5	9
Cambodia	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	5	1	3	3
China	97	4	101	130	36	54	149	3	95	68	89	150	107
Hong Kong	13	1	23	19	20	13	19	1	19	34	31	27	26
Indonesia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
Japan	9	0	24	8	2	6	8	1	8	19	0	8	13
Laos	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Macau	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Malaysia	0	0	1	3	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Myanmar	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
North Korea	9	0	8	5	1	4	10	0	1	1	2	13	0
Philippines	0	0	9	5	2	0	2	0	4	13	3	3	5
Singapore	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	2
South Korea	2	0	17	2	1	3	3	0	11	13	0	2	15
Taiwan	3	0	10	3	0	0	0	0	4	5	1	1	6
Thailand	2	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	1	3	1	0	3
Vietnam	1	0	6	2	2	2	1	0	2	3	0	1	3

Table 17 Country Affiliation Co-occurrences with Othering Mechanisms Newsweek

	Alienation	Assimilation and appropriation	Comparison	Competitive Victimization	Dehumanization	Dramatization	Edification	Foreshadowing	Generalization	Platforming	Polarization	Radicalization	Sanitariness
Asia	16	5	23	12	5	7	15	0	13	27	13	24	6
Cambodia	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
China	124	20	134	111	33	59	155	14	128	72	117	211	74
Hong Kong	26	8	24	26	9	6	28	6	25	6	24	40	8
Indonesia	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0
Japan	4	4	23	9	7	9	14	0	11	49	5	18	4
Laos	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Macau	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
Malaysia	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0
Mongolia	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
Myanmar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Korea	10	0	11	7	5	5	10	1	3	0	4	16	1
Philippines	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Singapore	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
South Korea	1	0	7	1	0	2	1	0	6	6	0	2	4
Taiwan	16	13	24	26	3	11	15	4	16	13	19	35	0
Thailand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1
Vietnam	0	1	10	8	3	4	3	0	4	13	1	10	3