

China in Foreign Media: Assessing China’s Image in Online Editions of Nigeria’s Leading Newspapers in 2017

Uchenna Kingsley Anunne
Prof. Lifeng Yan (PhD)

School of Journalism and Communication, Xiamen University, China

Doi:10.19044/esj.2018.v14n35p165 [URL:http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/esj.2018.v14n35p165](http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/esj.2018.v14n35p165)

Abstract

China has witnessed huge economic growth in recent decades. The growth has come with its own challenges, namely the desire for more resources to not only sustain the growth but to attain greater heights. Many media houses abroad have faulted China’s approach towards meeting these demands. To many media houses, China is bullying its neighbors in pursuit of water and associated mineral resources. Its diplomatic and economic maneuvers in Africa have also attracted criticism from a section of international media who see the move as neo-colonialism and an attempt to entrap African countries with irredeemable debts. Most of the criticisms have come from western media that have heavy influence on Nigerian media. With its debt profile to China estimated at USD 10billion and Chinese firms handling multi-million dollar projects, Nigeria is one of the African countries where China’s presence has come under scrutiny. Using quantitative research method and content analysis of 420 editorial materials, this study assess the image portrayal of China in the online editions of Nigeria’s leading newspapers in 2017. But, did the studied newspapers see China as a positive force in Nigeria’s economic, social and political firmament or represent China negatively? Our findings show that Nigeria newspapers perceive China as a force for good.

Keywords: Nigerian newspapers, editorial content, image

Introduction

Nigerians are massively exposed to Western media. In southeastern Nigeria 30% foreign television viewers prefer CNN; while another 11% watch BBC World News, Nwabueze et al (2012). Onwumechili (2007) say the liberalization of Nigeria’s media industry in the late 1990s, means more Nigerians, including media professionals, access programmes from abroad

such as U.S. According to Abubakar (2013) more than 23 million Nigerians listen to BBC World Service weekly. Anatsui and Adekanye, (2014) posit that the local media's disposition towards self-censorship encouraged Nigerians to embrace Western media. This is oblivious of the philosophies behind many Western media which include to promote Western ideology, John et al (2017).

Many communication theories focus on media's influence on public opinion and public's understanding and interpretation of issues. As an emerging global power China has come under media scrutiny. How the public responds to China depends, largely, on what they make of this media scrutiny. Chinese government officials often protest against `unfair` reportage by Western press. In a *People's Daily* report, then Chinese Ambassador to Britain, Mr Fu Ying questioned the sincerity of some western media coverage of 2008 riots in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet Autonomous Region.

Foreign Policy, a US-based magazine in March 2015 quoted Mr Wang Qiu a legislature and head of China National Radio as saying most Western media were unfair in their coverage of China, particularly the country's economic growth.

Chinese authorities say many foreign media have inaccurately reported the South China Sea dispute. Government-run *Xinhua* news agency on 16 June 2016 echoed Beijing's displeasure and demanded more objective reporting.

The following headlines underline China's opinion about negative reports by Western media: `China's President Xi cements his grip on power for next five years and beyond at party congress`, *London Times*, 19 October 2017; `Chinese investment in Africa: Beijing's testing ground`, *Financial Times*, 13 June 2017; `Chinese Colonialism?` *BBC*, 19 July 2012'; `Why China is Trying to Colonise Africa`, *The Telegraph*, 31 August 2007.

This study investigates the extent which such stories influence the online edition of Nigeria's leading print media in their coverage of China. It covers the period January to December 2017.

Literature Review

In a study on China's global image, which involved 100 covers of leading magazines worldwide, Zheng and Denis (2012) concluded that the international media portray China as not open to dialogue or `hostile` with only 5 per cent media surveyed portraying China as being very open to dialogue.

Herman (2015) similarly juxtaposition South African media perception of China in western press with other BRICS member-countries. BRICS is an acronym for club of five leading developing countries, namely Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. The study covered the period 2009-2010. It concluded that China was not overwhelmingly negative, nor was

it positive, indicating balanced reportage, with 696 positive against 678 negative; and 522 neutral.

The study said the commercial press, with its predominantly elite audience could have shown closer allegiance to Western powers and therefore display a more critical view of perceived China's imperialistic ambitions in Africa. Peng and Peng (2006) in 'African's View of China' surveyed 32 mainstream media houses from 16 African nations: Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria, Zambia, Uganda, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal, Cameroun, Gabon, Cote D'Ivoire, Angola, Egypt, Sudan, Algeria. They concluded that African media perceive China as an ally rather than a re-colonizer. A 2016-2017 British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)-sponsored Globescan study of countries image perception found that though China's global image declined slightly, it remained strongly positive in Africa, particularly in Nigeria and Kenya where 83% and 63% of respondents rated it positive.

Similarly, (2012) in a study on Image of China: A Comparative Framing Analysis of Australian Current Affairs Programming found that from the political perspective, China was represented negatively, but portrayed neutrally from the economic and environmental dimensions. The study was based on the content analysis of Foreign Correspondent, a production of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation; and Dateline produced by Special Broadcasting Service. Li examined both frames and the framing patterns applied in the two programs in their coverage of China in the ten years preceding the study.

In their study titled China in the West: Media representations of Chinese attempt to invest in Saab, Xu and You (2012) concluded that China is represented by the Western media as a country with a strong and solid financial power; with a population that that is adaptable to circumstances and new environments. Relying on qualitative discourse analysis the study sought to answer the following questions: How did the western media construct the event of Chinese attempt to invest in Saab? Does this construction or part of it include stereotypes of China and Chinese? among other questions.

The study was based on materials sourced from leading western media houses such as *New York Times*, *British Broadcasting Corporation*, *The Sun*; and *Reuters*. The authors also found that some reports in the selected media saw Chinese investment in the company as a subtle attempt to gain access to the company's technology, a move they see as more of a threat to western technological development than a genuine attempt to invest in a firm.

In An Empirical Study of Stereotyped Images of China in American Media, Wu (2010) argued that American many leading media houses such as *CNN* have portrayed China in negative light through their construction of events concerning the China. The author canvassed that such media houses

should purge themselves of inherent stereotyping and their perspective about China. The author says by portraying China negatively, such media underestimate the potential of Chinese people and mislead Americans' perception of China. The scholar canvassed that American media should gravitate towards balanced and 'professional' approach to journalism.

Estupinan (2017) using content analysis examined the image of China in Latin America and found that newspapers there have increased their coverage of China over the years as China's influence in global politics rises. This increase in coverage of China by the Latin American media, the author says, has led to more knowledge about China and her importance in international politics and economy. However, he avers that in some instances, China's image has been portrayed in negative light as a result of the influence of western media on their South American peers arising from stereotypes by the western media. The author analyzed contents from the following newspapers; El Timpio (Colombia), El Comercio (Peru), El Universal (Mexico), El Diario de Hoy (El Salvador), and El nacione (Dominican Republic).

Objective and Significance of Research

This study research investigates China's image in the Nigeria print media. This is against the background of Nigeria media's heavy exposure to western media. It seeks to determine the image of China in the online edition of Nigeria's leading newspapers in 2017 vis-à-vis their exposure to Western press. This study will contribute media communication strategy as a tool for strengthening bilateral relationships and add to perception and media effects debates. It delves into media-to-media effects as opposed the more familiar media-to-individual effects.

Theoretical Framework

We carried out this study under framing and priming flanks of media effects theories. These theories seek to explain how media influence individuals' and societies' perceptions and actions. Li and Neran (2009) argue that the nature of media and public diplomacy activities are decisive in the formation and manipulation of portrayed media images. Media effects originated from to the 19th century hypodermic and magic bullet effect postulation of Harold Lasswell. Maxwell E. M and Donald L.S (1972) posit that news media have a substantial influence on the content of public agenda in the sense that what we know about the world is largely based on what they tell us.

Framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports influences the manner in which the recipient understands it Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: 16). News media can set the agenda for

public opinion and behaviour, according to McCombs and Reynolds (2002). This applies to the Nigerian public's perception of China. Priming, framing and other media effects when applied to politics refers to the effects of media content on people's political behavior, perception and judgment related to the content Eveland and Seo (2007).

Hypothesis.

We make the following assumptions:

1. China's image in western media is negative; same applies to Nigeria media because of their exposure to western media
2. Nigeria's print media professionals are influenced by their western counterparts; this influences their perception of China
3. Nigeria's print media take their position on international issues, including those involving China, irrespective of their exposure to Western media
4. Nigeria's print media professional are capable of forming their own opinion irrespective of their exposure to the works of their Western counterparts

Research Method and Design

Scope

We applied quantitative research method in this study covering politics, business/economy and culture. We administered 1768 questionnaires on some Nigerian journalists. Respondents cut across both reporters and editors with varying number of years in journalism. 1627 questionnaires were returned; nine of them were invalid. We matched the data generated from the questionnaire against the one generated from the content analysis. Foreign journalists accredited to Nigeria were excluded from the questionnaire.

Content Analysis

The following 16 newspapers were investigated: *The Punch, Vanguard, This Day, The Nation, Daily Trust, The Guardian, Leadership, The Sun, Daily Independent, Blue Print, People's Daily, Premium Time, Forefront, New Nigeria, The Tide* and *Nigerian Tribune*. We analysed 420 editorial materials about China. We excluded materials culled from foreign newspapers. Though we paid attention to headlines, nonetheless, we read entire materials to avoid flawed deductions from misleading headlines. We sought to establish if the materials portrayed China positively, negatively or if they were neutral.

Result and Data Analysis Content

The number of materials from each newspaper ranged from 54, representing 13% of the 420, being the highest from *The Punch* to *New Nigerian's* 6 representing 1% of the total.

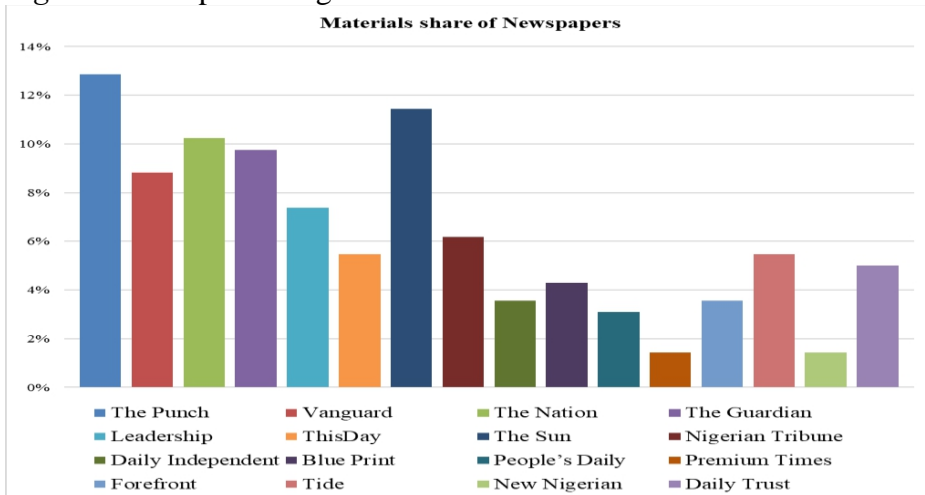


Figure 1: Materials share of newspapers

General Outlook

Results shows that 76% of the 420 materials are positive towards China as against 17% neutrals; 7% of the contents showed China negatively.

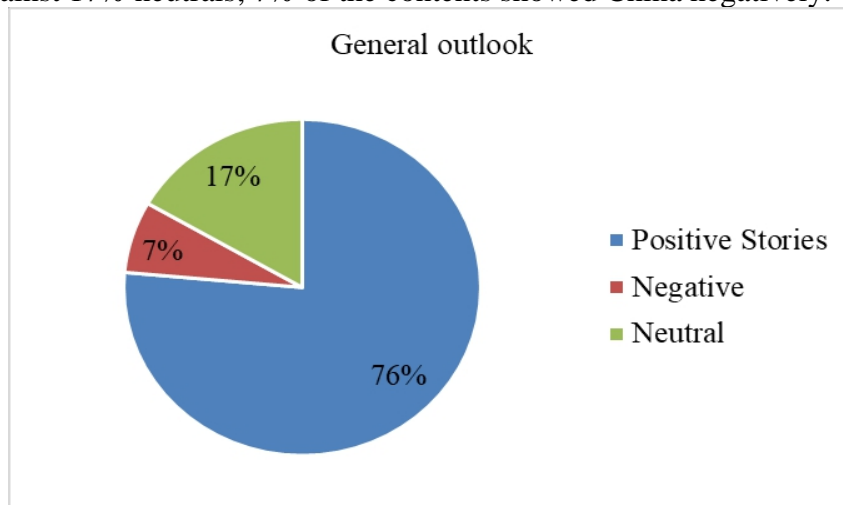


Figure 2: percentage representation of positive, negative and neutral 420 materials.

A total of 287 materials representing 68% are news stories. Article/opinions are 124 or 28% while editorials are nine, representing 2% of the total figure.

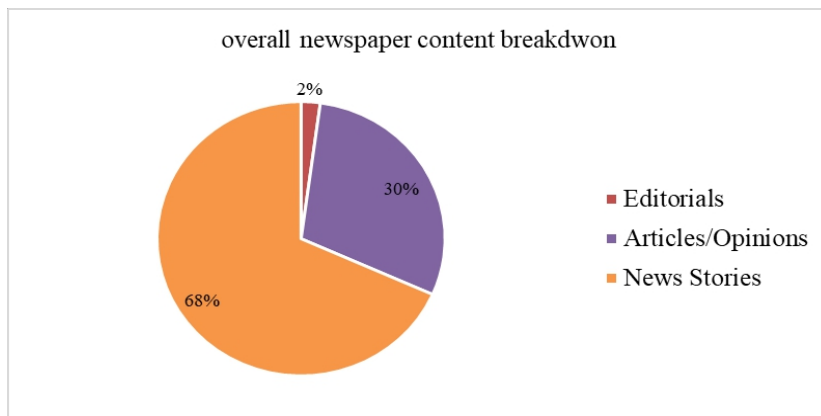


Figure 3: Overall newspapers content breakdown

Editorials

Our investigations show that 67% of editorials on China or where China was cited were positive. An example is 16 May 2017, *Leadership* editorial entitled 'China's one belt one road initiative' which celebrates China's economic success. Also 'Nigeria-China relations' published on 24 June, 2017 by *Leadership* appreciates China-Nigeria relations as political/cultural exchange-based relationship. *Blue Print* in a March 27, 2017 editorial: 'The challenges of African Union Commission', urges AU to leverage on opportunities presented by China to boost Africa's economic growth.

Some others include: 'Bribe as gold mine', *Leadership* 18 August 2017, which praised China's handling of corruption. See also, 'Local languages in our Schools', *Leadership*, 17 May 2017. It praised the use of indigenous language to teach in China.

Conversely, 33% of such editorials were negative. None was neutral. *The Guardian*'s 16 October editorial: 'China's curious engagement in Africa' alerts on negative implications of over-indulging China.

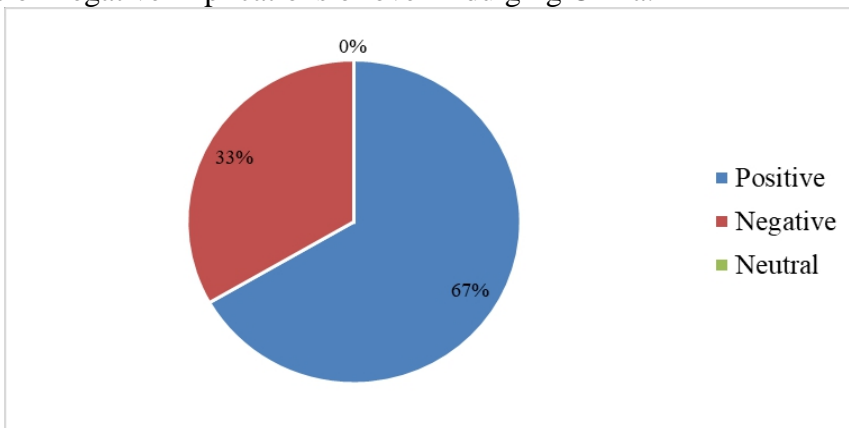


Figure 4 above shows positive, negative and neutral percentage of editorials

Articles and Opinions breakdown

Of the 124 articles/opinion, 78 representing 63% portrayed China positively and 34 or 27%, showed it negatively light; while 12 of the materials representing 10% were neutral.

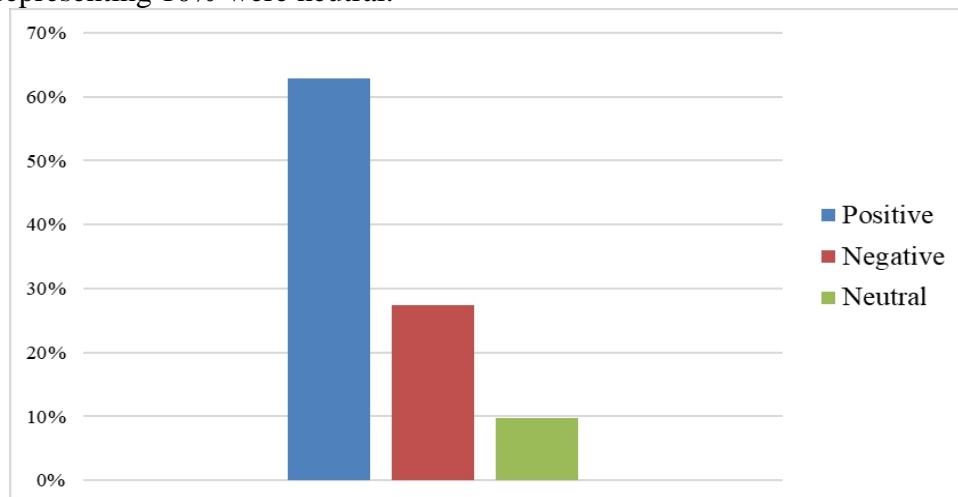


Figure 5, percentage distribution of articles and opinions

On corruption, for instance, the investigated media see a decisive step to punish graft rather than victimization of vocal critics. In a 2 April 2017 opinion in *ThisDay*: 'Why China is able to develop and Nigeria cannot', Bola A. Akinterinwa argued while China harshly punishes graft, Nigeria does not. On 26 August 2017 in the *Vanguard* under the headline: 'A witness account of the stunning similarities between China and Nigeria', Vera Onyagafu praised China's people-oriented socialism. In 'Is China Really Protectionist?' published in *The Guardian* on 6 September, Nonso Obikili questions allegations of trade protectionism against China. Mohammed Jamu Yusuf wrote in *People's Daily* of 22 August 2017 that keeping to one China policy remained the best option for Nigeria. See also: 'Driving diversification to check economic recession', *Forefront*, 8 January 2018; 'The Chinese prince and starving tiger', *ThisDay*, 21 September 2017; 'Nigeria-China cooperation advances to new frontier', *People's Daily* 15 August 2017; 'China's belt initiative and making of new world order', *The Punch*, 23 May 2017, 'Priority of Development, *The Guardian* on Sunday Magazine, October 1, 2017, among others.

Some of the articles and opinions, however see China negatively. In *The Nation*, 25 February 2017 Ode Ojekere, frowned at Nigeria's top football players joining Chinese Super League clubs. That piece was derogatorily entitled 'Made in China Eagles', an expression usually associated with fake products in Nigeria. *The Guardian* article on 'Po

licy activists and technology growth` published on 20, September 2017 accus ed China of anti freedom of expression activities.

See also: `Addressing Nigeria China trade imbalance`, *The Tide*, September 4, 2017; `How Chinese merchants almost killed kampala`, *The Sun*, 9 September 2017; and `How textile industry collapsed in northern Nigeria` *Nigerian Tribune*, 4 October 2017. See also, `Pains and gains of tin mining in Plateau` *Nigerian Tribune*, 13 September 2017. `China’s fresh \$40bn investment in Nigeria`, *The Blue Print* 17 January 2017 which cautioned Nigeria government against falling into the trap of China’s neocolonialism. In `Nigeria @57: des pair amidst uncertainties` *Forefront* 8 October 2017 alleges unethical practices such as tax avoidance among some Chinese firms doing business in Nigeria.

On the neutral side include: `Pomp as China celebrates 90th anniversary of People’s Liberation Army published in the August 2 2017 of *The Sun*; and Restructuring, growth and inclusion; *The Guardian* 28 September 2017.

News stories

This study showed that 146 or 51% of total 287 news stories were positive, while 92 or 32 % were in negative light. The remaining 49 or 17% were neutral as shown in figure 6 below.

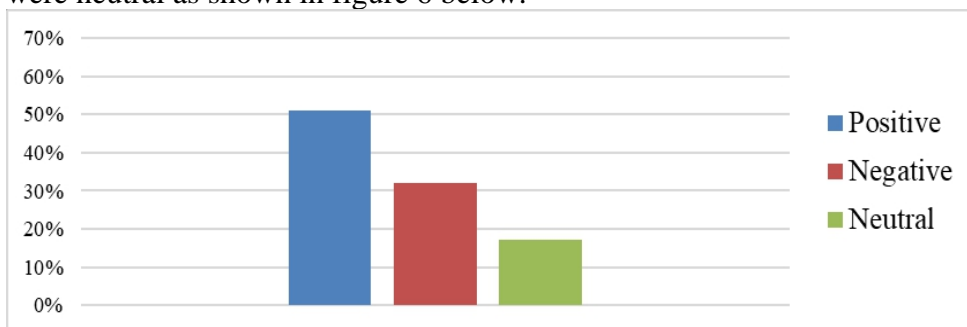


Figure 6, positive, negative and neutral distribution of news stories

News stories by sector

Our study indicates that 67% of the 287 news stories involved, are about business/economic while 30 % are political and 3 % were culture-related. It reveals that business stories not only dominate but also have the majority of the negative stories. The large number of economic stories might be connected to China’s export-oriented economy. While most of the stories portray Chinese businesspersons as honest and hardworking, some indicate otherwise.

‘Chinese Investment in Nigeria hits \$13b’, *The Nation*, 15 March 2017 did not represent Chinese as leeches on the Nigerian economy but investors. A similar story by *Leadership* on 28 August says a leading Chinese engineering firm’s plans to build a transport university in Nigeria, a rarity among multi-national firms operating in Nigeria. A *ThisDay*, 29 September 2017 story captioned: ‘China renews commitment to Nigeria’s industrialization’ shows China a development partner. On 23 May 2017 *The Blue Print* carried similar story entitled: ‘China major source of foreign investment in Nigeria’.

See also: ‘\$40b More Chinese investment coming’, *The Nation*, 12 January 2017; ‘Chinese venture partners FG to boost mechanized agriculture’, *Nigerian Tribune*, 13 July 2017; ‘China Exim Bank approves N406b for Lagos-Ibadan rail project’, *The Punch*, 30 January, 2017.

We also found that some reports portrayed China negatively. For instance, *The Nation* 14 September 2017 ‘Chinese docked over ‘Donkey Skin’ Fraud’; *Daily Independent* of 12 June 2017 ‘Police arrest three Chinese nationals with 474 iPhones’. Some other negative stories are: ‘Ogbeh raises alarm over adulterated imported honey from China’, *Nigerian Tribune*, 3 January 2017; ‘Nigeria releases eight Chinese held for illegal mining’, *Premium Times*, 25 August 2017. See also ‘Bayelsa seals Chinese firm...Over N109m tax liability’, *Tide*, 23 June 2017; ‘FG arraigns Chinese, Nigerian over N2.5bn fraud,’ *New Nigerian* 5 July 2017; ‘SON impounds fake China products in Anambra’, 30 March 2017.

Some of the reports are neutral. They include: ‘Nigeria, China to tackle low quality products imports’, *The Nation*, 30 August 2017. The headline indicates readiness to partner and fix fake challenge in Nigeria; ‘200 Chinese Investors to Invest in Nigeria’s Mining Sector’, *Daily Trust* 4 October 2017; ‘Chinese Firm to Build Shoe Factory in Aba’, *Vanguard* 17 April 2017. See also: ‘Nigeria, China trade hits \$9.5b’, *The Punch* 14 January 2017; ‘Nigeria, China reaffirm commitment to bilateral relations’, *People’s Daily*, 12 January 2017.

We found that investigated media closely follow political developments in China. They demonstrated their approval, disapproval or indifference through their headlines and language use. The 19th national convention of Communist Party of China (CPC) in 2017; and Belt and Road Initiative dominated the headlines with most of reports indicating approval for one China policy.

On April 1, 2017, *The Punch* reported Nigeria’s willingness to withdraw diplomatic privileges from Taiwan because it is not a country recognized under international law. On 11 January, 2017 *Vanguard* carried a similar story under the headline, ‘Nigeria, China, sign one China agreement’. A similar headline is ‘Nigeria to Consolidate One China Policy’, *Leadership*,

14 September 2017. In a report on 14 June 2017, entitled: `Panama cuts ties with Taiwan in favor of China`, *Blue Print* justified the action on long existing economic relationship between China and Panama. Some other positive political news story headlines include: `China boosts Aisha Buhari's pet project with N60m, *Vanguard*, 12 June 2017; and `Nigeria-China Governor's Investment Forum will trigger development`, *Vanguard* 12 April 2017. See also:

`President Buhari values relationship with China`, *The Guardian*, 13 August 2017; and `Nigeria-China strengthening relations for rapid ICT Dev.`, *Leadership*, 25 July 2017.

On 19 October, *Premium Times* reported that `China's Communist Party holds 19th National Congress. See also: `Buhari hails Nigeria, China relations`; *Premium Times*, 14 October, 2017; `Buhari congratulates Xi Jinping on re-election`, *The Guardian*, 27 October 2017. The reports see the meeting as meant to `chart a new action plan to guide the nation's development over the coming years' and elect a new leadership for the country', as reflected in one of *Premium Times* reports. On 18 September, 2017, *People's Daily* ran a story under the headline, `APC Partners China's ruling party`. Here China's ruling party is not represented as a `devil' but as a worthy partner.

However, investigations showed some negative stories. For example: `Death sentences: Nigeria ranked second after China—Amnesty International' *The Punch*, 11 April 2017 portrayed China as a serial extra-judicial secret executioner. Also, see: `Over 500 Nigerians rot in Chinese prisons, says official`, *Vanguard* 6 May 2017, a seemingly harmless headlines whose negative undertones are laid bare when the image of Nigerian prisoners being victimized in Chinese prisons sinks. Eleven days later, on 17 May *Daily Independent* reported that: `Youths protest secret execution of Nigerians in Chinese prisons`. It is difficult to divorce the protest from the *Vanguard* report.

We, however, found some neutral reports such as `Nigeria, China to enhance media Cooperation`, *The Punch*, 11 August 2017; `We want mutual trust from Nigeria`, *Daily Independent*, 21 April 2017; `Nigeria, China to raise bilateral cooperation`, *The Punch*, 28 April 2017; `China gives condition for Nigeria to receive more assistance`, *Vanguard* 18 April 2017.

We further found that majority reports on culture were positive. Here are some examples: `How Chinese herbal tea I bought online made me stop wearing glasses after 16 Years`, *The Nation*, 5 August 2017; `China thrives on historic relics`, *The Guardian*, 23 May 2017; and `Sichuan, where tourism drives development`, *Leadership*, 12 June 2017. Others include: `Are you a Chinese food lover?`, *Nigerian Tribune*, 26 August 2017. This story celebrates the healthy nature of Chinese cuisines; `Time to Tap from Tea Industry in Nigeria`, *Blue Print*, 17 July 2017; and `Beautiful China`, *The Sun*, 13 August 2017.

On The neutral side are: `Startimes entertains China with African pageant`, *The Punch*, 8 April 2017; `Nigeria-China partner On Infrastructural development boost tourism`, *The Sun*, 27 April 2017; and `Culture mix at Chinese New Year in Abuja`, *The Sun* 2 February 2017; `FG begins prisoner transfer arrangement with China`, May 25, 2017.

Conversely, among the negative culture stories are: `Chinese boss crippled Nigerian staff with Kung Fu Kicks`, *Vanguard* 16 June 2017. This story did not only fail to get the boss' angle as required by journalism ethics but concluded with an allegation that the said Chinese boss bribed the local police to cover up his 'crime'. Also see: `With Aso-Ofi Festival, Oyo moves to harness indigenous textile for global market`, *The Guardian*, 24 September 2017 where the author blamed the dwindling fortunes of the Aso-Ofi fabrics on Chinese.

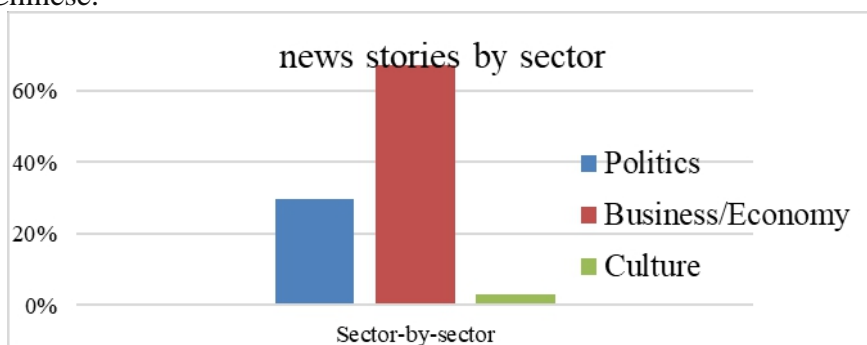


Figure 7 Percentage representation of news stories.

Survey

To reconcile the result from the content analysis to the opinions of journalists on the field by administering 1768 questionnaires on journalists across Nigeria out of which 1627 or 92 % were returned. Similarly, 141 of the questionnaires were not returned. This figure represents 8 % of the total number of questionnaires while nine or 1% of the returned questionnaires were invalid due to multiple answers by respondents.

Not returned	141	8%
Returned	1627	92%
Valid	1618	99%
Not valid	9	1%
Total	1768	100%

Table 1 Questionnaire distribution outlook

Designation spread

An analysis of the returned and valid questionnaires indicates that 1179 of respondents or 73 % are reporters while 439 respondents, representing 27 % are editors

Editors	439	27%
Reporters	1179	73%
Total	1618	100%

Table 2 designation spread of respondents

Thematic areas outcome

The questionnaire, as shown in figures 8, 9 and 10 indicates that Nigerian journalists considered China’s image positive in the three areas covered by the study. On politics, 62% of the journalists surveyed gave China positive image, while 58% gave it positive on business and economy segment; and 85% considered China’s image positive in the culture component of the study.

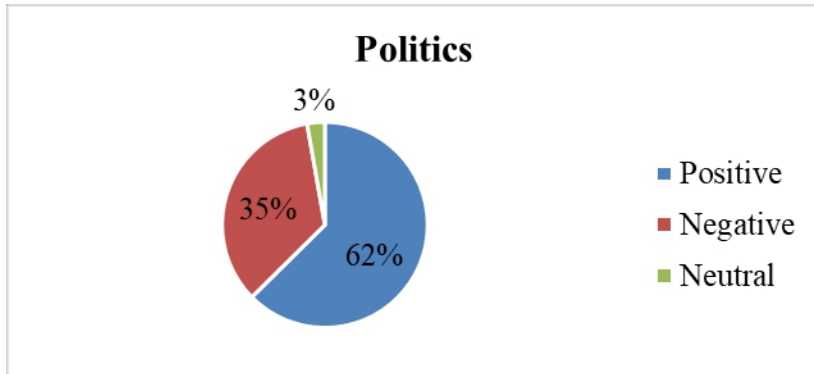


Figure 8. percentage representation of Political materials

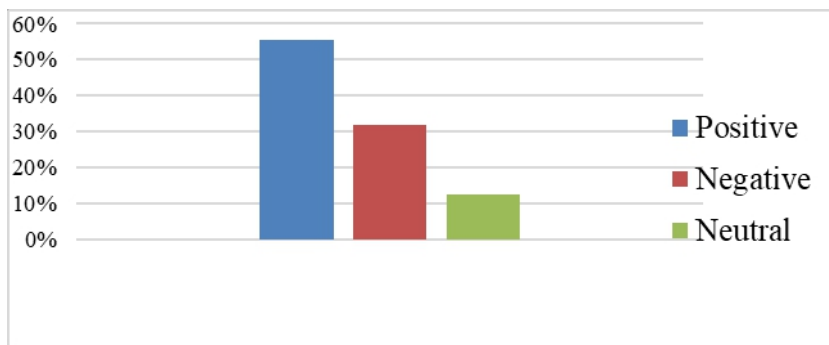


Figure 9 shows pie chat representation of Business and Economy materials

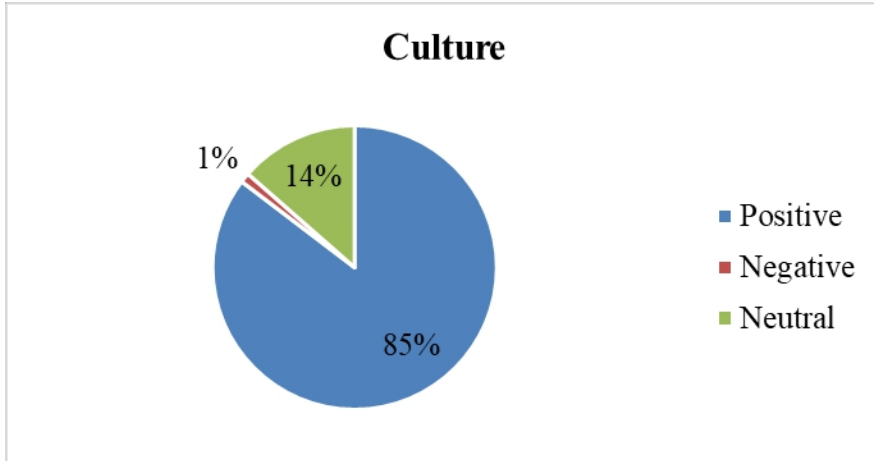


Figure 10 shows percentage representation of Culture materials

Factors Responsible for positive image

Top of the journalists' rating for factors responsible for China's positive image politically was good governance in China ahead China's policy of non-interference policy factor. Figure 11 provides details.

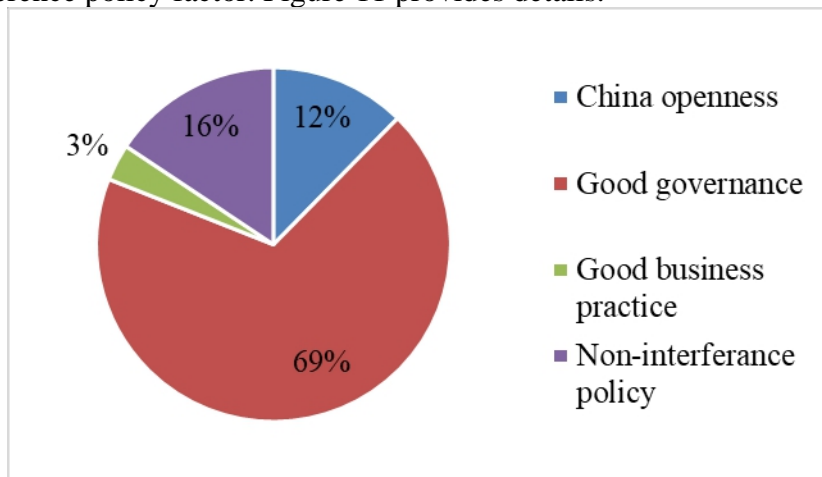


Figure 11 Percentage representation of factors responsible for positive image

Factors Responsible for negative image

Though our data shows that on a large scale China enjoys positive image, the respondents consider bad business practices among Chinese businesspersons in Nigeria as the leading factor for the negative image reported. This is followed by poor media coordination at the Chinese mission in Abuja.

China's communist political system	52	3%
inadequate media coordination at the Chinese mission in Nigeria	217	13%
Ignorance about China among Nigerian journalists	421	26%
Bad business practices	928	57%
Total	1618	100%

Table 2 Factors responsible for negative image

Conclusion and Recommendation

Conclusion

This research studied China's image in the online editions of Nigeria's leading print media vis-à-vis their exposure to western media. Results do not support hypothesis 1, which states that China's image in many western media is negative therefore same applies to Nigeria media because of their exposure to western media. This study also rejects hypothesis 2, which assumes that their western counterparts influence Nigerian print media professionals and this, in turn influences their perception and reportage of China. Our study support hypothesis 3, which states that Nigeria print media take their own position on international issues, including those involving China, irrespective of their exposure to the Western media. Also, findings also support hypothesis 4 which states that Nigeria print media professional are can form their own opinion irrespective of their exposure to the journalistic works of their Western counterparts.

The result of this study supports arguments such as from Entman (2009: 123) who contends that exposure to media does not always arbitrarily impose conclusions and reactions on the recipient, even as Gauntlett (1998: 120-130) says proponents of media effect theory do not sound convincing enough on how and why the media induce people to imitate their content. Our results agree with the views of Freeman and Berger (2011) who argue that in some cases, an active audience is capable making his own decisions in spite of exposure to media. This view is shared by De Fleur and Ball-Rokeach (1975: 258) who also question media's ability to arbitrarily impose effects on their audience.

References:

1. Abdullahi, H. (2017). 'APC partners China's ruling party'. *People's Daily*, 18 September. <http://www.peoplesdailyng.com/apc-partners-chinas-ruling-party/>. Accessed 10 November 2017.
2. Abubakar, T. A. (2013) Selective Believability: A perspective on Africans' interactions with global media. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 5:2, pp. 219-236.

3. Adamu, M. (2017), `The challenge of African Union Commission` . *Blue Print*. 27 March <https://blueprint.ng/the-challenge-of-african-union-commission/>. Accessed 15 December 2017.
4. Adeniyi, O. (2017) `The Chinese prince and the starving tigers` . *This Day*, September 21. <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/09/21/the-chinese-prince-and-the-starving-tigers/>. Accessed 12 January, 2018.
5. Adepegba, A. (2017), `One China Policy: Taiwan Snubs FG's directive to relocate` . *The Punch*. April 1. <http://punchng.com/one-china-policy-taiwan-snubs-fg-directive-to-relocate/>. Accessed 14 January 2018.
6. Adisa, T. & Oderemi, K. (2017), `Nigeria, the pains, the gains, the prospects` . *Nigerian Tribune*. October 1 <http://www.tribuneonlineng.com/nigeria-pains-gains-prospects/>. Accessed 10 January 2018.
7. Agba, D. (2017), `China's fresh \$40bn investment in Nigeria` . *Blue Print*. January 17 blueprint.ng/chinas-fresh-40bn-investments-in-nigeria/. Accessed 5 November 2017.
8. Agbeseina, F. (2017). `Time to tap from tea industry in Nigeria` . *Blue Print*. 17 July <https://blueprint.ng/time-to-tap-from-tea-industry-in-nigeria/>. Accessed 3 December 2017.
9. Ajelurou, A. (2017). `With Aso-Ofi festival, Oyo moves to harness indigenous textile for global market` . *The Guardian*. 24 September. <http://guardian.ng/art/with-aso-ofi-festival-oyo-moves-to-harness-indigeneous-textile-for-global-market/>. Accessed 17 December, 2017.
10. **Ajelurou, A. (2017)** `With Aso-Ofi Festival, Oyo Moves to Harness Indigenous Textile for Global Market` . *The Guardian*, September 24 . [://guardian.ng/art/with-aso-ofi-festival-oyo-moves-to-harness-indigeneous-textile-for-global-market/](http://guardian.ng/art/with-aso-ofi-festival-oyo-moves-to-harness-indigeneous-textile-for-global-market/). Accessed December 17, 2018.
11. Ajijah, A. (2017). `Nigeria Releases Eight Chinese Held over Illegal Mining` . *Premium Times*. August 25. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/241498-nigeria-releases-eight-chinese-citizens-held-illegal-mining.html>. Accessed 18 January 2018.
12. Akinterinwa B. (2017), `Citizen Diplomacy within the Framework of Nigeria-China Relationship: The Case of NICAF and CPAFFC` . *ThisDay*, 24 September. <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/09/24/citizen-diplomacy-within-the-framework-of-nigeria-china-relations-the-case-of-nicaf-and-cpaffc/>. Accessed 22 January 2018.
13. Akuki, A.(2017). `Police arrest three Chinese nationals with 474 iPhones` . *Daily Independent*, 12 June. <https://independent.ng/police->

- arrest-3-chinese-474-iphons-350000-sim-cards/. Accessed December 1, 2017.
14. Akuki, A. (2017). 'We want mutual trust from Nigeria—China'. *Daily Independent*, 21 April. <https://indepemdent.ng/want-mutual-trust-nigeria>. Accessed 12 December.
 15. Akuki, A. (2017). 'Youths protest secret execution of Nigerians in Chinese prisons'. *Daily Independent* 21 April. <http://independent.ng/youths-protest-secret-execution-nigerian-chinese-prisons/>. Accessed 19 October 2017.
 16. Allen-Ebrahimian, B. (2016). 'How China won the war against western media'. *Foreign Policy Magazine*. 4 March. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/04/china-won-war-western-media-censorship-propaganda-communist-party/>. Accessed 23 November 2017.
 17. Anatsui, T. C. & Adekanye, E. A. (2014) Comparative Analysis of Foreign and Local News Agencies: Public Relations Approach in Restoring the Image of the Local Media for National Development, *Developing Country Studies*, 4: 10. pp. 131-141.
 18. Ani, K. (2017). 'Are you a Chinese food lover?' *Nigerian Tribune*. 26 August. <http://www.tribuneonlineeng.com/chinese-food-lover-chicken-broccolis-stir-fry-will-wow/>. Accessed 6 December 2017.
 19. Anyagafu, V.S (2017). 'A witness account of the stunning similarities between China and Nigeria'. *Vanguard* 26 August. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/08/witness-account-stunning-similarities-china-nigeira>. Accessed 22 January 2018.
 20. Anyagafu, V.S. (2017). 'Over 500 Nigerians rot in Chinese prisons, says official'. *Vanguard* 6 May. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/over-500-nigerians-rot-in-chinese-prisons/>. Accessed January 30 2018.
 21. Asemota, V. (2017). 'Policy activists and technology growth. *The Guardian*. 20 September. <http://guardian.ng/technology/policy-activists-and-technology-growth/>. Accessed 12 January 2018.
 22. Awhotu, E. (2017). 'Nigeria, China reaffirm commitment to bilateral relations'. *People's Daily*. 12 January. <http://www.peoplesdailyng.com/nigeria-china-reaffirm-commitment-to-bilateral-relations>. Accessed 13 December 2018.
 23. Ayoola, G (2017). 'How Chinese merchants almost killed kampala', *The Sun*, 9 September 2017. <http://sunnewsonline.com/how-chinese-merchants-almost-killed-kampala-george->. Accessed January 27 2018.
 24. 'Bayelsa seals Chinese firm...over N109m tax liability'. *The Tide*, 23 June 2017. <http://www.thetidenewsonline.com/2017/06/26/bayelsa->

- seals-chinese-oil-firm-over-n109m-tax-liability/. Accessed 24 December 2017.
25. Blair, D. (2017) `Why China is trying of colonise Africa` *The Telegraph* 31 August. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view-3642345/why-china-is-trying-to-colonise-africa.html>. Accessed 21 January 2018.
 26. Bisiriyu, R. (2017). `China Exim Bank approves N406b for Lagos-Ibadan rail project`. *The Punch*. 30 January.. <http://punchng.com/china-exim-bank-approves-n408bn-lagis-ibadan-rail-project/>. Accessed 27 January 2018.
 27. `Bribe as gold mine` (2017). *Leadership*. 18 August 2017. <https://leadership.ng/2017/08/18>. Accessed December 26, 2017.
 28. `Buhari hails Nigeria, China relations (2017) Premium Times. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/246085-buhari-hails-nigeria-china-realtions.html>. Accessed December 2 2017.
 29. `China boosts Aisha Buhari's pet project with N60m`. (2017). *Vanguard* 12 June. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/06/aisha-buhari-pet-project-boosted-by-china/>. Accessed 19 December 2017.
 30. `China gives condition for Nigeria to receive more assistance (2017). *Vanguard*. 18 April. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/04/china-gives-conditions-nigeria-receive-assistance/>. Accessed 15 January 2018.
 31. `China, Nigeria to enhance media cooperation (2017). *The Punch*, 11 August. <http://punchng.com/nigeria-china-to-enhance-media-cooperation/>. Accessed 28 January 2018.
 32. `China's communist party holds 19th national congress'. (2017). *Premium Times*, 19 October. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/foreign/world-foreign/246618-china-communistp-party-holds-19th-national-congress.html>. Accessed 10 January 2018.
 33. `China's curious engagement with Africa` (2017). *The Guardian*. 26 October. <https://guardian.ng/opinion/chinas-curious-engagement-in-africa/>. Accessed 7 December 2017.
 34. `China's one belt one road initiative (2017). *Leadership*. 16 May. <http://leadership.ng/2017/05/16/chinas-belt-initiative>. Accessed 18 January 2018.
 35. `Chinese ambassador criticize biased reporting of Lhasa riot in western media. (2008). *People's Daily*. <http://en.people.cn/90001/90776/90785/6382282.html>. Accessed January 15, 2018.
 36. `Chinese Boss Cripples Nigerian Staff With Kung Fu kicks'. (2017), *Vanguard*. 16 June. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/06/chinese->

- boss-cripples-nigerian-staff-kung-fu-kicks/. Accessed 16 January 2018.
37. `Chinese venture partners FG to boost mechanised agriculture.` (2017). *Nigerian Tribune* 13 July. <http://www.tribuneonlineng.com/chinese-venture-partners-fg-boost-mechanised-agriculture/>. Accessed 9 January 2018.
 38. Daka, T. (2017). `Buhari congratulates Xi Jinping on re-election`. *The Guardian*, 27 October. <http://guardian.ng/news/buhari-congratulates-xi-jinping-on-re-election/>. Accessed 2 December 2018.
 39. `Death sentences: Nigeria ranked second after China—Amnesty International`. (2017). *The Punch*, 11 April. <http://punchng.com/death-sentence-nigeria-ranked-second-after-china-amnesty-international/>. Accessed December 18 2017.
 40. De Fleur, M.L and Ball-Rokeach, (1975) *Theories of Mass Communication* (3rd edition) New York: David McKay Company Inc.
 41. `Driving diversification to check economic recession`, (2017). *Forefront*. 8 January. <https://forefrontng.com/driving-diversification-to-check-economic-recession/>. Accessed 20 January 2018.
 42. Egbe, R. (2017) `Chinese docked over 'donkey skin' fraud` *The Nation*, 14 September. <http://thenationonlineng.net/chinese-docked-donkey-skin-fraud/>. Accessed 12 December 2017.
 43. Egbemode, F. (2017). `Beautiful China, whither Nigeria?` *The Sun*. 13 August. <http://sunonline.com/beautiful-china-whither-nigeria-2/>. Accessed 26 January 2018.
 44. Entman R.M. (2009), *Projections of Power: Framing and News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. University of Chicago Press.
 45. Enumah, A. (2017). `China renews commitment to Nigeria's industrialization`. *ThisDay*, 29 September. <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/09/29/china-renews-commitment-to-nigerias-industrialisation/>. Accessed 29 January 2018.
 46. Estupinan, J.D (2017). The Coverage of China in Latin American Press: Media Framing Study, *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 4: 1287319
 47. Eveland W. P Jr. and Seo M. (2007) News and Politics, in Roskos-Ewoldsen and Monahan J.L (eds.) *Communication and Social Cognition: Theories and Methods* (1st Edition). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
 48. Eze, M. (2017). `Culture mix at Chinese new year in Abuja`. *The Sun*. 2 February 2017. <http://sunonline.com/culture-mix-at-chinese-new-year-abuja/>. Accessed 12 November 2017.

49. `FG arraigns Chinese, Nigerian over N2.5bn fraud (2017). *New Nigerian*, 5 July 2017. <http://newnigeriannewspaper.com/fg-arraigns-chinese-nigerian-over-n2-5b-fraud>. Accessed 9 November 2017.
50. FG Arraigns Chinese, Nigerian Over N2.5bn Fraud. (2017, July 5). *New Nigerian*, Retrived from <http://newnigeriannewspaper.com/fg-arraigns-chinese-nigerian-over-n2-5b-fraud/>.
51. Fei, L. and Hao W. (2016). `Commentary: U.S. publicity campaign against china on South China Sea ill intentioned` *Xinhua*. , 17 June. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2016-06/17/c_13544642.html. Accessed 23 December 2017.
52. Freeman, M. and Berger, L. (2011) The Issue of Relevance of Agenda-Setting Theory to the Online Community, *Meta Communication*, 1:1, pp.1-22.
53. Gauntlett, D. (1998) `Ten Things Wrong with the Effects Model`, in Dickson, R. et al (eds.). *Approaches to Audience: A Reader*, London: Arnold.
54. Gloescan (2017). Sharp drop in world views of US. UK: Global Poll. <https://globescan.com/sharp-drop-in-world-views-of-us-uk-global-poll/>. Accessed 19 January 2018
55. Grammaticas, D. (2012). `Chinese colonialism` *BBC*, 19 July. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-18901656>. Accessed 28 December 2018
56. `How Chinese herbal tea I bought online made me stop wearing glasses after 16 years`. (2017). *The Nation*, 5 August. <http://thenationonlineng.net/how-a-chinese-herbal-tea-i-bought-online-made-me-stop-wearing-glasses-after-16-years/>. Accessed November 18 2017.
57. `How Chinese merchants almost killed kampala` (2017). *The Sun*, 9 September. <http://sunonline.com/how-chinese-merchants-almost-killed-kampala-george>. Accessed 12 December 2017.
58. Ijose, O. (2017). `Restructuring, growth and inclusion`, *The Guardian*, 28 September. <http://guardian.ng/opinion/restructuring-growth-and-inclusion/1>. Accessed January 7 2018.
59. Ikuomola, V. (2017) `Nigeria, China to tackle low quality products imports. *The Nation*, 23 August. <http://thenationonlineng.net/nigeria-china-to-tackle-low-quality-products-import/>. Accessed 7 January 2018.
60. Ikuomola, V. (2017). `Chinese investment in Nigeria hits \$13b`. *The Nation*, March 15. <http://thenationonlineng.net/chinese-invetments-nigeria-hit-13b/>. Accessed December 17 2017.

61. Ikuomola, V. (2017). `\\$40b more Chinese investment coming`. *The Nation*, 12 January. <http://thenationonlineng.net/40b-chinese-investment-coming/>. Accessed December 11 2017.
62. Isaac, N. (2017). `Nigeria-China strengthening relations for rapid ICT dev`. *Leadership*, July 25. <https://leadership.ng/2017/07/25/nigeria-china-strengthening-relations-rapid-ict-devt/>. Accessed 18 December 2017.
63. John, J.A. et al (2017), Influence of Foreign Television Programmes on the Westernisation of Nigerian Youths, *International Journal of International Relations, Media and Mass Communication Studies*, 3:1 pp.24-39.
64. Kalu, O. (2017). `Pomp as China celebrates 90th anniversary of People's Liberation Army`. *The Sun*, 27 July. [Sunonline.com/pomp-as-china-celebrates-90th-anniversary-of-peoples-liberation-army/](http://sunonline.com/pomp-as-china-celebrates-90th-anniversary-of-peoples-liberation-army/). Accessed 29 December 2017.
65. Komireddi, K. (2010). `The west must stand up to China`. *The Guardian*, 23 October. [https://www.theguardian.com/commnetisfree/2010/oct/china-west-expansionist-influence/...](https://www.theguardian.com/commnetisfree/2010/oct/china-west-expansionist-influence/) Accessed January 30 2018.
66. Kumolu, C. (2017) `Nigeria-China governors' investment forum 'll trigger devt. *Vanguard*. 12 April. <https://www.vanguardgr.com/2017/04/nigeria-china-governors-investment-forumll-trigger-devt/>. Accessed 2 December 2017.
67. Li, X. F (2012). Image of China: A Comparative Framing Analysis of Australian Current Affairs Programming, *Intercultural Studies*, Vol. XXI, 1; pp. 173-188
68. Li, X. & Naren C. (2009) Reframing national image, *A methodological framework conflict & communication online*, 8: 2, pp. 1-11.
69. Local Languages In Our Schools. (2017). *Leadership*. 17 May. <http://leadership.ng/2017/05/17/local-languages-schools/>. Accessed December 29 2017.
70. McCombs, M. and Reynolds, A. (2002) News Influence on Our Pictures of the World in Bryant. J and Zillmann. D. (eds.) *Media Effects, Advances in Theory* (2nd edition) New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
71. McCombs, M.E. & Shaw, D.L. (1972) The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36: 2, pp. 176-187.
72. Mohammed, J.Y. (2017). `Nigeria's adventure and one China policy`. *People's Daily*, 22 August 2017. <http://www.peoplesdailyng.com/nigerias-adventure-and-one-china-policy-3/>. Accessed 2 January 2018.

73. Mohammad, S. (2017). `How Textile industry collapsed in northern Nigeria. *Nigerian Tribune*, 4 October. <http://www.tribuneonline.com/textile-industry-collapsed-northern-nigeria/>. Accessed 28 December 2017.
74. Nnabuife, C. (2017). `Ogbeh raises the alarm over adulterated imported honey from China'. *Nigerian Tribune*, January 3. <http://www.tribuneonline.com/ogbeh-raises-alarm-adulterated-imported-honey-china-2/>. Accessed 17 November 2017.
75. `Nigeria, China partner on infrastructure development to boost tourism' (2017) *The Sun*, 27 April. <http://sunonline.com/nigeria-china-partner-on-infrastructure-development-to-boost-tourism/> . Accessed 31 December 2017.
76. `Nigeria China relations' (2017). *Leadership*, 24 June. <http://leadership.ng/2017/07/24/nigeria-china-relations/>. Accessed 26 December.
77. `Nigeria, China sign one China policy agreement (2017). *Vanguard*, January 11. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/01/nigeria-china-sign-one-china-policy-agreement/>. Accessed 11 November 2017.
78. `Nigeria, China trade hits \$9.5b' (2017). *The Punch*, 14 January. <http://punchng.com/nigeria-china-trade-hits-9-5bn/>. Accessed 25 January 2017.
79. Nwabueze, C. et al (2012) Satellite Television and Local Media Use Among Viewers in Satellite TV Households in the Southeast Geopolitical Zone of Nigeria, *Higher Education of Social Science*, 3:3, pp. 1-10.
80. Obikili, N. (2017). `Is China really a protectionist'? *The Guardian*, 6 September. <http://guardian.ng/business/is-china-really-protectionist/>. Accessed 30 December 2017 .
81. Odedapo, A. (2017). `General electric, CCECC to build university of transport in Nigeria...Amaechi. *Leadership*, 26 August. <http://leadership.ng.2017/08/26/general-electric-ccecc-build-university-transport-nigeria/>. Accessed 13 November 2017
82. Odukoye, T. (2017). `The priority of development.' *The Guardian*, 1 October <http://guardian.ng/sunday-magazine/ibru-ecuminal-centre/the-priority-of-development/>. Accessed 15 January 2017.
83. Ojeikere, A. (2017). `Made in China Eagles'. *The Nation*, 25 February 2017. <http://thenationonline.net/made-china-eagles>. Accessed 28 December 2017.
84. Ojugbana, V. and Taiwo I. (2017). `China thrives on historic relics. *The Guardian*, 23 May. <http://guardian.ng/features/china-thrives-in-historical-relics-international-trade/>. Accessed 18 November 2017.

85. Ogunsina, B. (2017). 'Nigeria to consolidate one China policy'. *Leadership*, 14 September. <https://leadershipng.com/2017/09/14/nigeria-consolidate-one-china-policy/>. Accessed 31 December 2018.
86. Ogunsina, B. (2017). 'Sichuan, where tourism drives development'. *Leadership*, 12 June. <http://leadership.ng/2017/06/12/sichuan-tourism-drives-development/>. Accessed 17 October 2017.
87. Okafor, T. (2017). 'SON impounds fake China products in Anambra', *The Punch*, 30 March. <http://punchng.com/son-impounds-fake-products-in-anambra/>. Accessed 26 November 2017.
88. Okoli, A. (2017). 'Chinese firm to build shoe factory in Aba'. *Vanguard*, 17 April. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/04/chinese-firm-build-1-5bn-shoe-factory-aba/>. Accessed 27 December 2017.
89. Okon, A. (2017). 'Nigeria, China to raise bilateral cooperation', *The Punch*. 28 April <http://punchng.com/nigeria-china-to-raise-bilateral-trade/>. Accessed 15 January 2018.
90. Onunaiju, C. (2017). 'China's belt and initiative and the making of new world order'. *The Punch*, 23 May. <http://punchng.com/chinas-belt-initiative-and-making-of-new-world-order/>. Accessed 12 November 2017.
91. Onwumechili C. (2007), 'Nigeria: Equivocating While Opening the Broadcast Liberalization Gates', in Blankson, I.A. and Murphy, P.D. (eds.), *Negotiating Democracy: Media Transformations Emerging Democracies, Global Media Studies Series*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
92. 'Panama cuts ties with Taiwan in favour of China' (2017). *Blue Print*, 14 June. <https://blueprint.ng/panama-cuts-ties-with-taiwan-in-favour-of-china/>. Accessed 23 December 2017.
93. Peng, C. and Peng J. (2006). 'How is China viewed in Africa?' <http://www.jackpeng.com/blog/2007/02/how-how-is-china-viewed-in-africa>. Accessed 16 December 2017.
94. Perlez, J. and Gladstone, R. (2014). 'China flexes its muscles in dispute with Vietnam'. *The New York Times*, 8 May. <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/09/world/asia/china-and-vietnam.html>. Accessed 29 January 2017.
95. Pilling, D. (2017). 'China's investment in Africa: Beijing's testing ground'. *Financial Times*. 13 June. <http://www.ft.com/content/0f534aa4-4549-11e7-8519-94ee97d996>. Accessed 28 December 2017.
96. 'President Buhari values relationship with China' (2017). *The Guardian*. 13 August. <https://guardian.ng/news/president-buhari->

- values-relationship-with-china-femi-adesina/. Accessed 18 December 2017.
97. Reef M.S. (2017). `Nigeria@57: Despair amidst uncertainties. *Forefront*. 8 October. <https://forefrontng.com/nigeria-57-despair-uncertainties/>. Accessed 31 January 2018.
 98. Scheufele, D. A. and Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication*, 57:1, pp.9-20.
 99. `Startimes entertains China with African pageant' (2017). The Punch, April 8. <http://punchng.com/startimes-entertains-china-with-african-peagant/>. Accessed 19 December 2017.
 100. Tang, D. (2017). `China's president Xi cements grip on power for next five year and beyond at party congress`. October 19. *The Times*. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/china-s-presideent-xi-cements-grip-on-power-for-next-five-years-and-beyond-at-party-congress-n5kmf0002> . Accessed 28 December 2017.
 101. Tukur, A (2017). `China major source of foreign investment in Nigeria'. *Blue Print*, 23 May. <https://blueprint.ng/china-major-source-for-foreign-direct-investment-in-nigeria-nipc/> . Accessed 24 December 2017.
 102. `200 Chinese investors to invest in Nigeria's mining sector' (2017). *Daily Trust*, 4 October. <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/200-chinese-invest-in-nigeria-s-mining-sector.html>. Accessed 5 December 2017.
 103. Wasserman, H. (2015) South Africa and China as BRICS Partners Media Perspectives on Geopolitical Shifts . *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 50 :1, pp. 109-123.
 104. Wu J, Q. (2010). An Empirical Study of Stereotyped Image of China in American Media, *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 913-917
 105. Xu S. N & You P.Z. (2012). Western Images of China, being a thesis for award of Master Degree by University West, Sweden
 106. Yatai, P. (2017). `Addressing Nigeria-China trade imbalance. *The Tide*, 4 September. <http://www.thetidewsonline.com/2017/09/04/addressing-nigeria-china-trade-imbalance/>. Accessed 6 December 2017.
 107. Zheng, B. and Denis P. (2012) `China's Global Media Image China as a Dialogue Partner`, 20 October. http://pamlin.net/other_documents/120418-Chinese-global-media-image-Brussels.pdf. Accessed January 7 2018.