Chinese Digital Diasporic Media and The Shaping of Identity:

The Case of UKzone

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Abstract

The expansion of Chinese media's global influence has attracted many attentions around the world. When scholars focus on describing how the state-owned media extend beyond borders to reach audience around the globe, the long-existed Chinese diasporic media overseas are lack of discussion. How have they performed and shaped the imagination in-between China, host societies and transnational space? In the meantime, with the fast development of information and communication technology, Chinese diasporic media have transferred from traditional printed media to the digital version on social media platform. The thesis relied on content analysis of the case of UKzone. It took a social constructivist approach, applying concepts from Anderson's imagined community and Van Dijck and Poell's theory on social media to analyze how have Chinese diasporic media performed on WeChat and shaped the Chinese identities. It argued that UKzone was a service platform first to translate practical information in host societies to Chinese diasporas. During the process of translation, UKzone shaped the identity of model Chinese overseas based on the imagination of an ideological China-centered picture. To some degree, the role digital diasporic media chose to play was linked with the networked power structure of market, social media and media governance.

Keywords: China, Chinese media, Diaspora, Digital diaspora, WeChat

Preface

I would first express the depth gratitude to my supervisor Professor Marina Svensson at the Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies, Lund University. Thank you, Marina. You were always here to give me timely help and valuable advice whenever I was lost in the thesis or just needed a talk to get my brain clear.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

The People's Republic of China (PRC), henceforth referred to China, has expanded its global media influence greatly in recent years. The "going global" strategy began during the tenure of Chinese former president Hu Jintao and has accelerated since President Xi Jinping came into power. Xi Jinping has encouraged innovative propaganda approaches to suit the current internet environment. In his opinion, "wherever the readers are, wherever the viewers are, that is where propaganda reports must extend their tentacles" (Chai, 2016). New tactics have been developed. including establishing an international version of Chinese state-owned media, signing content sharing contacts with giant media groups of foreign countries, and restricting reports damaging China's image (Cook, 2013).

While Chinese media going global have been discussed by many scholars, the Chinese diasporic media organizations have not been paid much attention. In this paper, "diaspora" refers to people who move around the world and who settle in locations different from their origins (Safran, 1991; Clifford, 1994).

As a long existed cultural phenomenon related to Chinese migration history, Chinese diasporic media has become a global-scale, deterritorialized network (Nonini, Ong and Ong, 2003). Media groups from Hongkong and Taiwan found the potential business opportunities in migrant society first. In the 1960s, Hongkong based Sing Tao Daily and Taiwan based United Daily News entered North America, Australia, and Europe catering migrants for news happen between host countries and the homeland. Things have changed when the wave of migration from mainland China took off with the open-door policy after 1978 (Brandy, 2009). Three trends of Chinese diasporic media have emerged after the 1980s. First, the Hongkong-Taiwan centered diasporic media network has been replaced by media serving citizens from mainland China. According to the survey conducted by the European Federation of Chinese Organization, there are about 2.5 million mainland Chinese migrants and their offspring living in Europe (Li, 2013). Most of them are new immigrants from mainland China (Li, 2013). On February 9, 2002, the Hongkong-based

Sing Tao Daily changed its typesetting from a vertical style to a horizontal style. Three days later, the "World Daily" with a Taiwan background was also changed to a horizontal style to attract readers from mainland China. Another change is the population structure of overseas Chinese communities. Since the beginning of the century, more and more young Chinese have studied and worked abroad, and many of them are under 25 years old (Liu and Li, 2017). Third, many diasporic newspapers and magazines that appeared after the 1980s were founded by mainland journalists or people related to the media business, and the journalists and editors they hired were mostly overseas Chinese students (Liu and Li, 2017).

With the wave of migration from mainland China, the Chinese state has long sought to influence diasporic media among overseas Chinese-speaking communities. In the early 1990s, the Overseas Chinese Office of the State Council (OCAO) dispatched editorial personnel to found the Chinese-language TV broadcaster *SinoVision*, and the newspaper *Qiaobao* in the United States (Diamond and Schell, 2019, p.306). Chinese diasporic media are expected to become a platform to reach overseas Chinese and host societies. OCAO has organized the Chinese Language Media International Forum since 2001. In the forum 2019, the deputy director of the State Council Information Office, Guo Weimin stated that he expected Chinese language media to contribute to the communication, corporation, and connection between China and the world (China News, 2019). He also advocated Chinese language media abroad to take the responsibility of "telling objective and positive Chinese stories" (China News, 2019).

The expansion of the CCP's influence on global media has proposed an obvious question. What is the response of the Chinese diasporic media to this? It would be easy to presume that the diasporic media have been controlled and work as one of the China's toolboxes for gaining global media influence, which is also the position in many reports (Feng, 2018; Cook, 2013). However, one aspect that has not been paid much attention to is the development of cyber China and the rise of digital diasporic Chinese media. Chinese diasporic media have changed from traditional versions like a broadcast, TV station, newspaper to the digital version on social media like WeChat and Weibo. Diasporic media

outlets on WeChat has become the main information source (Sun, 2019). In Europe, around 100 traditional diasporic media companies have opened WeChat accounts (Chinaqw, 2019).

In this way, rather than trying to measure to what extent, diasporic Chinese media are connected with the CCP's propaganda model, perhaps the more important question is, what new media practice has emerged with the digitalize trend and influenced the mediasphere and identity formation of Chinese diasporas? A deeper understanding of everyday practice can help us see the relationship between Chinese diasporic media and the state.

1.2 Research focus and theoretical approach

Between the homeland and host societies, diasporic media inevitably play the role of retelling and translating stories and construct a shared imagination for identity formation (Tsagarousianou, 2004). Digital China has offered diasporic media a chance to redefine the identity of diaspora across borders (IP and Yin, 2015). Ever since Chinese migration history, a hybrid identity has been created as a mixture of Chinese habits and new cultural beliefs from host societies. As a media platform lives in a transnational place, how about the Chinese diasporic media and the images they created? The general aim of the research is to understand the way of presenting news and identity formation between China and host societies through the lens of Chinese diasporic media on the digital media platform.

Inspired by Georgiou's (2010) study of diaspora, the thesis takes a spatial perspective to analyze Chinese diasporic media in dynamic shifting space among "home", "the nation", and "transnational space", as well as the virtual media sphere. The main research question is, how have Chinese diasporic media performed on WeChat and shaped the imagination between the homeland and host societies?

This research takes UKzone, one of the most influential WeChat public accounts for diasporic Chinese, as a single case study. WeChat, as the most influential social media platform in China, is the main field for this thesis to study Chinese digital diasporic media. The study takes a social constructivist approach, applying concepts from Benedict Anderson's (2006) imagined community in chapter 6 and Van Dijck and Poell's (2013)

theory on social media in chapter 7 to analyze the role of diasporic media and the logic behind them in-between transnational space. Guided by the theoretical framework, there are three sub-questions. The first two questions deal with the specific case in-between home, nation, and host countries, the third one concerns the external logic and power relationship behind Chinese diasporic media.

(1) What kind of news does UKzone publish on WeChat?
   Living between the homeland and the host society, how do they distribute "geographically bounded" news and stories that happen in China? Understanding news content is the first step to know what matters to the whole community from a diasporic media perspective.

(2) How does UKzone report and frame news in China and the UK/Europe and reconstruct the imagination of Chinese diasporas?
   Diasporic media works as a translator from the host society to those who are not familiar with the local situations. During this translation process, it inevitably becomes a significant factor in shaping imagination and identities. How news is framed when it comes to events in China and host societies is the key point of understanding Chinese diasporic media and identity formation.

(3) What logic and power structures explain how UKzone produced news and shaped imagination?
   After examining the role of UKzone inside the Chinese diasporic community, another question is why it chooses such role to play? From an external perspective, is there any logic able to understand the transnational imagination that has been shaped?

After giving a brief introduction to Chinese diasporic media and the purpose of the thesis in chapter 1, chapter 2 explains the concept of diasporic media and presents previous studies on Chinese diasporic media. Chapter 3 examines the theoretical framework based on constructivism with a special focus on diasporic theories linking space, identity, and

media. Chapter 4 describes the research methods, case selection, and data collection procedure. Chapters 5 through 7 answers the three sub-questions respectively.

1.3 Methods and case selection

The thesis relies primarily on content analysis of news items written in Chinese. A single case study on UKzone is presented as the main research object. PDF versions of news items were stored, organized, and coded in Nvivo, a qualitative data analysis computer software, followed by a careful reading. Data and case selection will be further discussed in chapter 4.

1.4 Research value and delimitation

The literature on diasporic media has shed light on the production of news in the host country (Yin, 2015), on the sense of belonging and identity formation (Tsagarousianou, 2004), and the construction of discourse (Diminescu, 2008). When it comes to China, besides focusing on the topics mentioned above, there are three tendencies in diaspora research. Firstly, scholars tend to follow the propaganda model to analyze the role of the Chinese diaspora, or limit research between the origins and destinations. Secondly, scholarship centered on traditional media like TV, broadcast, and newspaper, whereas digital diasporic media on social media platforms (WeChat and Weibo), which is currently the main information source for overseas Chinese, have not been discussed many. Thirdly, Chinese diasporic media are often seen as text-and-image-based products, not as a commercial complex system with multiple functions and connections in broader society.

To fill the knowledge gap, this thesis takes a closer look into the juxtapositions of difference in Chinese diasporic media through their everyday posts. Firstly, it focuses on the Chinese social media platform – WeChat. In the age of digital media, instead of bonded by specific territories, diaspora can be reunited or recreated through a shared imagination and cultural mobility(Cohen, 2002), which calls for more research on digital diasporic media and identity formation. Secondly, this work plans to broaden the scope of studying Chinese media. Besides examining it as a news outlet inside the diasporic

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community, this thesis also pays attention to its role in a bigger media system and transnational space.

The topic of Chinese diasporic media on a digital platform is extremely broad and thus some narrowing down will be necessary. The thesis focuses on the Chinese language diasporic media on WeChat in Europe. The case of UKzone will be discussed in detail. Other types of digital platforms, including Weibo and websites, will not be the focus of the thesis. As this research focuses on the everyday practice of diasporic media itself, views from the audiences and news producers are not included.

This is also where the limitation of the research lies. One case study on Chinese diasporic media on WeChat can only provide some new insights and deeper understanding. Qualitative research based on a social media database and interviews with diasporic communities and news journalists are expected to get a fuller picture of this question.

1.5 Positionality, ethical consideration, and reliability of the data

The author, as a Chinese citizen studying in Europe, is influenced by both western media and Chinese diasporic media. She is also one of the targeted audiences of the Chinese diasporic media, which may influence her observations and analysis. However, this background and knowledge, and her working experience as a journalist, also enables her to understand the circumstances of diasporic communities and their media consumption and needs.

Scott (2014) provides four useful criteria for evaluating public documents: authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning. According to these guidelines, authenticity issues are difficult to ascertain in this case. The name of the editor or media itself is shown instead of the author in some cases, so it is hard to know who is responsible for the output. Credibility and representative are net issues as all data are drawn from the case I choose and the way of constructing credibility is part of the thesis. About "meaning", the author can fully understand all items, because they are written in her mother tongue.

In the coding stage, the author has invited another master student majoring in media and communication to code news items based on the same coding scheme. The author randomly picked the news items in May as a sample for the intercoder reliability check. According to Cohen's kappa statistic, the kappa statistic is 0.83, meaning nearly perfect agreement (McHugh, 2012).

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Conceptualizing Diaspora in the Context of Media

The term diaspora refers to groups like Jews and Armenians in the past. Nowadays, it is a wider concept describing the processes of uprooting and moving, voluntary migration, and global communication. Efforts have been made to define diaspora systematically to generalize ways of approaching it. Safran (1991) makes the earliest achievement to conceptualize the diaspora as people who are dispersed from their original place to foreign nations while retaining a collective memory of the homeland, who believe it is impossible to be accepted by host societies, and make efforts to restore the ancestral home. Similarly, Clifford (1994) refers diaspora to a "loosely coherent adaptive constellation of responses to dwelling in displacement". They are a group of people who are excluded from their host societies (Clifford, 1994). In this stage, the diaspora is a subordinate group of a nation or an ethnic community.

Descriptions of the diaspora are limited to the occasion revolving around the relationship between the vision of returning home eventually and a sub-category of host societies. Cohen (2002) proposes a typology of diasporas to expand this concept. He tries to move forward debates over diasporas from the hegemony community to a richer context. He argues that the phenomenon is caused by a different set of circumstances resulting from different social structures (Cohen, 2002). In his discussion, 'diaspora' is not just a new word describing transnational, but a process of producing tensions and constructing transnationality (Cohen, 2002).

Such attempts to define diasporas surely provide some useful insights into the connection of the homeland and host societies. However, one weakness of these discourses is that they neglect the complex and fluid formation of diasporas. Clifford (1994) points out that scholarships should drop thoughts on constructing "diaspora" as an "ideal type" because a concise definition cannot reveal the dynamic of both diaspora and the everyday politics they face.

When it comes to diasporic media, most of them are commercial corporations aiming at attracting as many audiences as possible to make profits (Bailey, Georgiou and Harindranath, 2007). They have now surpassed the stage of representing themselves and become a form of expression which is socially and politically relevant (Balibar, Wallerstein and Wallerstein, 1991, p.9). As a kind of transnational communication, they enable interactions across borders and shaping identities, culture, and politics in host societies, the homeland, and transnational space (Retis and Tsagarousianou, 2019, p.4). Examine the literature on diasporic media in details, scholars tend to discuss questions regarding diasporic media in different social contexts from different perspectives. Diasporic media research often fall within the field of media and communication studies, which means a focus on content, production, and audiences. For the content of diasporic media, they have shed light on the geographic focus of news items and the ways news is framed between two places (Yu, 2018). With respect to audience issues, many scholars have discussed identity formation, the imagination of new identities, and the sense of belonging (Ma and Cartier, 2003; Shih, 2007; Georgiou, 2006). Discussions on diasporic media production are linked with media and public space, the polarization, power, and the creation of alternative space for migrants (Diminescu, 2008; Rodrigo-Alsina, Pineda and García-Jiménez, 2019).

2.2 Diaspora and transnationalism

When talking about the concept of diaspora, transnationalism is another concept that is always connected with it. Although both are about the cross-border process and international migration, there are some differences between them. Faist (2010) concludes two dimensions of difference. Firstly, transnationalism is a broader term compared with the diaspora concept. The diaspora approach focuses on the relationship between the homeland and host societies, normally refers to national, religious, and ethnic groups (Faist, 2010). For transnationalism, it refers to all sorts of social formations, networks, and movements across borders (Bruneau, 2010). Thus, transnationalism is a broader concept, but not all transnational communities belong to the diaspora (Faist, 2010). Secondly, collective identities are more concerned with the diaspora approach, while the transnational approach cares more about cross-border mobility (Faist, 2010). The construction of "shared imagination" is directly connected with the relationship between the nation and the

diaspora, as the concept of diaspora mainly deals with the ties between the original place and the host counties (Kissau and Hunger, 2010). It engages more with the reproduction of collective memory. Although the transnational approach also has some connections with identity formation, it is commonly being recognized as a contribution to the mobility of individuals (Faist, 2010).

2.3 Home and away: identity formation and diasporic media

Diasporic media is linked closely with identity formation. For diasporas, their identities are not given by a nation or organization but a shared imagination relying on diasporic narratives, media representations, and communication (Tsagarousianou, 2004). Imagination, through mediation, translates abstractions of identity and community into a clear, familiar context (Anderson, 2006). It is also a product, producing by diasporic media between the homeland and host societies. When people share the same image of identity, an imagined community is formed.

Increasingly, imagination and mediation become tightly interlinked to the process of cross-border experiences of home and away. Several studies imply that the imagination of diasporic media is concentrated on creating an imagined return, analyzing diasporic media as a homeland project that encourages people to return (Safran, 1991; Falzon, 2003; King and Christou, 2011). To some extent, they all stress the linkage between the host societies and the homeland. Amin and Thrift (2002) invite more discussions to go beyond a focus on origins and destinations scope in the field of diasporic media research. The relationship between the homeland and host societies is not an "either/or", but a "neither/nor" situation that could combine multiple feelings in different spaces. Rather than just focusing on origins and destinations, a close look at what differences diasporic media could make in everyday life needs more attention. This is where this research plans to explore more.

2.4 Digital diasporic media

Digital media, or electronic media, have a significant impact on diffusing the sense of belonging. As Meyrowitz (1986) says, electronic media have created a sense of placeless. When this trend participates in diasporic media, the relationship between the homeland and

destination is mixed with the group identities of placelessness. Migration is not only a territorial dislocation but as the imagination on the move because of the coexistence of digital and embodied, as Appadurai wrote (1996). Anderson's (2006, pp.32-26) definition of the nation and imagined community has been extended to how information and communication technology re-defined the national territories and build new imaginations about them. When borders have been replaced by networks of flows, digital diasporic media have become the window of keeping up with the homeland.

A growing number of studies on digital diasporic media concentrate on new technologies and their impact on diasporic culture and identity formation. On the one hand, some research focus on suppressed or marginalized groups, and state that digital diasporic media empower subaltern voice and preserve their identities. Andoni Alonso and Pedro Oiarzabal (2010) study how social media help maintain Basque identity abroad and reconstruct a globalized community. Similarly, Horz (2019) examines Turkish migrants in Germany and argues that the diasporic television in the open online channel offers space for social-culture discussion in Germany. On the other hand, existing research also find that influence from digital diasporic media is still limited. Nedelcu (2019) finds in the case of the Romanian scientific e-diaspora, although information and communication technologies boost the transmission of capital and knowledge, bottom-up initiatives are more effective when facing top-down state-enabled control.

2.5 Diasporic media research on China

2.5.1 The role of Chinese diasporic media

For the Chinese diaspora, Chinese-language diasporic media are their main source of information (Sun et al. 2011). In Sun's study with Chinese diaspora members in Australia, news from diasporic media is special because it provides direct information about 'home right now' (Sun et al., 2011). The way of media consumption and acculturation depends highly on Chinese diasporas' English skill (Hwang & He, 1999; Sun, 2018).

Existing research on Chinese diasporic media are limited, primarily focusing on the case of traditional media impact and media history in a specific society. Many scholars have

discussed printed Chinese-language media, TV, and radio focused on news about China and North America, Europe, Southeast Asia, Africa, and Australia (Wu, 2012; Murphy, 2003; Li, 2005; Gao, 2009; Zhou and Cai, 2002). Some works highlight the emerging and re-emerging history of Chinese language media, as well as roles in the political movement and civil society (Hoon, 2009; Luan, 2009). Some provide the empirical material on the history of Chinese diasporic media and its interrelationship with migrants (Dai, 2015; Gong, 2015; Stenberg, 2015). Some works find diasporic Chinese media as a road connecting the first generation immigrants and this new country, as well as a guideline for newcomers (Zhou and Cai, 2002; Shi, 2009).

From these place-based research on Chinese diasporic media, Sun and Sinclair(2015) summarize three points when talking about the role of diasporic media in China. First, they represent the interests, cultural background, and political position of Chinese immigrants. Even if it is hard to understand how much influence they have. Second, they deliver information about daily life, politics, policies, and so on to Chinese-speaking communities in host societies. Third, they act as occasions where migrants can be exposed to the Chinese language environment and confirm identities in multicultural societies. But these findings are based on traditional Chinese diasporic media. Will there be some changes or new findings when one studies diasporic media on digital platforms? This is a question that this thesis focuses on.

2.5.2 Technology and diasporic media in a Chinese context

Rather than using a global social media platform, China has its own giant social network – WeChat. With more than 1.1 billion users, it has become the main platform and community for both digital diasporas and media. In Sun's (2018) survey in Australia, she finds that Wechat public account, a social media function on WeChat like media outlets, has become the most popular platform among the Chinese diaspora.

In China, scholars find that there are three key purposes for running a social media company: increasing the level of influence, increasing the number of users, and increasing revenues from advertisements (Stockmann and Luo, 2017). This also holds true for the

biggest Chinese social media platform WeChat. WeChat puts limitations on information dissemination. The WeChat public account can only post once per day, although there is no restriction on the number of articles. The business model of public accounts still follows the social media rule: more clicks, more money.

With the fast development of technology and social media, Chinese diasporic media show a tendency of going online and posting content on the social media platform. According to the 2013 Year Book of Global Chinese language media (Xia, 2013), there are over 100 media accounts on WeChat concerning Chinese diaspora life in Europe, and the majority of them having headquarters overseas.

From the existing literature, there are only a few that focus on the new media and technological impact on Chinese diasporic media. Most works analyze the usage of the Internet and how it changes the Chinese diasporic community online. Interview and ethnography are common methods in these works. A virtual community built on digital news digest in the Chinese language is treated as the approach of forming transnational cyber community (Yang, 2003; Sun, 2002). Sun and Sinclari (2015) study on the case of HUAREN website and CND website, showing that Chinese diasporic media still serve people who live in the host countries although they have gone online. The digital technology does not change the geographic focus and target group of audience. Chong (2015) examines Chinese diasporic newspapers (both printed and digital versions) in Netherland, presenting the hegemony discourse and politics of homeland. Yin's research on Skykiwi.com focuses on the transnational identity formation of the Chinese diaspora by interviewing audiences (Yin, 2015). Sinanan's ethnography of Chinese diaspora's life in Trinidad shows how they reconnect with the mediasphere in China by using video calls app like Skype and QICQ (Sinanan, 2015). For Chinese diasporic media on Wechat or other Chinese social media platforms, there is barely any relevant research.

2.5.3 Identity formation and Chinese diasporic media globally

Global diasporic media network and the discourse on identity formation is another key point. Looking through publications on the history and development of Chinese diasporic

media, it has generally been considered as independent from the Chinese media system. Although there are many stories on China importing from Chinese media, they are still mainly operated by Chinese diaspora themselves for commercial purposes. This network is place-based, diversifying, and independent (Nonini, Ong and Ong, 2003). Nowadays, few of them can still keep an independent position. Many Hong Kong and Taiwan based media have been out of markets because of financial issues, or adopt a more PRC-friendly position (Sun and Sinclair, 2015). In the context of "Chinese-language media going global", diasporic media increase their footprints around the world. 221 overseas Chinese media groups becoming Beijing's content partnerships in 2017, compared with 62 in 2000 (Feng, 2018).

From here, the formation of identity through the production and consumption of diasporic media has become an important issue. The question is whether they keep independent opinions regarding Chinese issues or they are impacted or participated in the construction of Chinese national discourse. Chong's research on the content of Chinese diasporic news in the Netherland finds that the Chinese national discourse has influenced the diasporic media report greatly (Chong, 2015). A similar conclusion is summarized by Ding. He examines the role digital diasporic media play in Chinese national image building and states that digital diasporic media have become the hidden dragon in integrating the image of "new China" to the global imagination (Ding, 2007). Yin's research in New Zealand finds that the cyber China-New Zealand media space has been shaped by media contents from the PRC (IP and Yin, 2015).

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This thesis draws on an interdisciplinary framework on social constructivism and the interrelationship among space, media, and identity through the lens of diaspora. Social constructivism works as a basic theory showing the assumption that society is built on interaction with others, and the reality is understood differently by various ways of interpreting. Based on this, this chapter revisits the concept of diaspora and space first, then adopts the cosmopolitan thoughts to develop a strategy that could portray how Chinese diasporic media shape identities switching space from the homeland, the nation, and transnational space. To deeper understand the interrelationship, Anderson's (2006) concept of an imagined community with an emphasis on how media participate in diasporic narratives and Dijck and Poell's (2013) thoughts on social media platform will be discussed.

3.1 Social constructivism

Social constructivism refers to the idea that human beings do not statically recognize and discover the world, but through the process of cognition and discovery, they constantly construct a new real world. Similarly, the social world obtains meaning through social behavior, interaction, and social practice, resulting in a set of social knowledge. In turn, the whole set of social knowledge will guide the daily behavior and practice of members of society (Burr, 1995; Hacking, 1999). In this way, diaspora identity is not given by nations or some transnational system but is constructed through discourse, social norms, and values. The theory lies in the interaction between individuals and society. It focuses on two main questions: (1) how do individuals obtain knowledge of society? (2) how do actors construct and interpret knowledge from the belief system they are within (Delanty, 1997, p.112)? Media can be seen as space where ideas are selected, organized, and produced to form the community diasporas live in.

3.2 Thinking through diaspora

As has been discussed earlier, the scope of diaspora has been broadened to almost all kinds of trans-migrant people, which calls for a concept that can include the different elements, experience, and cultural aspects from different places through the lens of diaspora. Debates

on the concept of diaspora have transformed from a category with several specific characteristics to a continuously changing community. As De Certeau (1984, p.117) concludes, space is "a practiced place" composed of "intersections of mobile elements", which captured the core qualities of media and diasporic community. Georgiou (2010) proposes a spatial approach to identity and mediation to study diaspora because it is a special case to capture human mobility and resettlement in this cosmopolitan world. The relationship between identity, media, and space can help understand some complexities in the diasporic community, such as the system of citizenship and belongings, the transnational connections, and the juxtapositions between the homeland and the host societies (Georgiou, 2010). Consistent with her idea, I examine the role of Chinese digital diasporic media through the relation of space, identity, and the media.

3.2.1 Space

Space is not singular, it brings together physical space and imagined space. It is dynamic, relational, and variable, especially when it connects with diasporas. Diasporas are not living in a bounded geographic place and with a single identity to a single nation, but in multiple flows and networks relating more to Appadurai's (1996) "scape" concept. Thinking through diasporas, one can categorize space as home, nation, transnational place, and media sphere. In this thesis diasporic media is treated as a space for articulations of identities, of contestation and of context for framing and reframing images of "homeland" and "host societies". Each space is attached to a collective memory or a sense of belonging, and the media creates another space for producing imaginations about them.

If we think diasporas as a community living in space that is changing constantly, the change of space can frame not only their own community and interconnection with places but also identities in transnational space, especially cultural and political spheres of representation (Harvey, 2000). This opens up opportunities to see the argument of Foucault that space is fundamental in any exercise of power (Foucault, 1984 cited in Harvey, 2000, p.538). The "relational power" shows various effects on actions through the process of switching spaces. This instability leaves room to see how diasporic media act differently in-between

home, nation, and transnational space. Space is not determined by original design, but alive with social construction. Media is one factor constructing it.

3.2.2 Identity

Diasporas present a unique challenge to the hegemony of the modern nation-state because of the feelings they engender toward groups and places located outside the borders of a given nation-state (Clifford, 1994; Kearney, 1995). The mixture of local, national, and transnational space made the diaspora identity extremely hard to describe. Media have long been recognized as a significant factor in shaping identity. According to Benedict Anderson (2006, p.61), printed capitalism constructs an imagined community of national state and a unified collective national identity. Borrowing from Benedict Anderson, Tsagarousianou (2004) argues that diasporas should not be seen as 'given identities', but rather as an ongoing 'imagined community'. Take the role of diasporic media into consideration, they create the diasporic narratives of imagining communities in both local and transnational contexts and are shaped by the market both in the host societies and the homeland. Cohen (2002, p.26) argues that the diaspora community can be reunited or reconstructed through the mind, the shared imagination, and other factors with the help of communication technology. With the intensified development of globalization, media, and the capital and technology behind it, play important roles in shaping the imagination of space (home, nation, transnational space) and identity (Appadurai, 1996).

3.2.3 Digital media and diaspora

There are criticisms against using Anderson's 'imagined community' or collective image concepts on discussions about discourse as a tool or epistemological sphere (2006). Some hold the view that these concepts have been abused as Anderson's work is a historical view of the formation of the nation and the national consciousness and trapped in summarizing religious communities as national communities. One of the leading scholars, Manuel Castells (2011, pp.9-11) argues that it is hard to believe that nation is constructed as an imagined community serving solely for power and being the product of a given history at the same time.

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Although the original thought of Anderson is applied to the study of nations, it is still appropriate to describe how the diasporic identity is constructed. He argues that the whole media system is a part of capitalism reproduction (Anderson, 2006, p.131). With the fast development of the new information and communication technologies, this industry has transformed from a 'printed capitalism' to a 'screen capitalism'. In old times, the printed media shaped a way of common discourse, now the digital media establish the norms of collective image, voice, and text, at the same time, it has been shared and transmitted by the Internet without the time and geographic limitation. In this way, Anderson's words become richer and more lasted than before. Not only does the national territory has been replaced by the network flow, the description of the nation as an imagined community across the borders also fits the world. People's perceptions towards country and identity have changed with the help of information technology and the new patterns of global interconnection created by it (Castells, 2011, p.9).

Diasporic media online has transferred the media space online. To some extent, digital media is a space not only for diaspora in that place but for all people who connect with the diasporic identity, even for citizens in the homeland who are interested in other places. The national borders have lost its former functions and have become a network itself (Castells, 2011, p.54). It plays a key role in constructing a sense of community not only in a specific place but also produces new places where diasporas' experiences hold together and become 'synchronized' (Georgiou, 2006). The availability of digital media enables it to be involved in identity formation, providing possibilities to connect with the diaspora's origin country easy and fast, compared with the earlier form.

This research examines Chinese diasporic media from two aspects: internal interaction and the external power structure. To be specific, first, the internal diasporic media space, which means, the topics and sources diasporic media select, how are the Chinese identities constructed by media contents. Second, the external power structure, which means the logic behind the news and information produced by Chinese digital diasporic media. Van Dijck and Poell's (2013) reflection on the logic of social media platform remind us how technological architectures of media platform influence users' activities from four elements

– programmability, popularity, connectivity, and datafication. The thesis analyzes the logic of WeChat based on this framework. Power structure from national-level to grassroots users will also be discussed. Depending upon this dual-function framework embedded in an identity, space and media structure, the research aims to capture the parallel discursive arena that enables Chinese diasporic media to produce content and the power structure consisted of technology and capital behind it.

Chapter 4: Research Methods and Data Collection

The thesis relies primarily on content analysis of news items written in Chinese. A single case study on UKzone is presented as the main research object. The qualitative data analysis (QDA) computer software package NVivo was used to organize, store, and analyze the collected data. PDF versions of news items were collected and stored in the software, followed by a careful reading of the collected materials. Data are collected from 327 articles posted by UKzone in 2019 and other relevant public documents.

4.1 Methods

According to Creswell (2013, p.97), the case study method is suitable for exploring "a real contemporary bounded system" through "in-depth examination, multiple sources of information, and detailed description". In this study, the research question and theoretical basement guide the research methods. As already mentioned, the existing research on Chinese diasporic media are mostly general descriptions or framed through a focus on propaganda and soft power. Instead of a one-dimension narrative on Chinese diasporic media, this thesis aims to examine the emerging role of WeChat and unravel the development of Chinese diasporic media in Europe. In this way, a single case study is a suitable method for a deeper understanding and detailed observation of this system.

Furthermore, as this thesis is based on news items produced by Chinese diasporic media and other related public documents and academic literature, content analysis is used as a technique for "the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952, p.18). The focus on content analysis is often on identifying themes and summarizing characteristics and key content among the text of many kinds systematically (Dahlgren, 1995). Meanings in the context, manifest, and latent content are all able to be examined through this method (Drisko and Maschi, 2015). This method can help us understand what news items of here (Europe) and there (China) are selected to cover and the pattern behind news items.

4.2 Case Selection

4.2.1 Why WeChat?

According to the data from Tencent(the parent company of WeChat), WeChat is now the dominant social media platform in China, surpassing Weibo(Chinese version twitter) and Tiktok (video-sharing social networking), with more than 1.1 billion active uses in 2019 (2019 WeChat Report, 2020). It is not just an online chatting tool, but more like a "super app" with functions from messaging to online shopping, from bill payment to deliver information (Repnikova and Fang, 2016; Harwit, 2017). To some degree, WeChat is part of Chinese people's daily digital life.

More importantly, social media only represents part of WeChat, it can also be seen as an information platform. The function of "public account" enables users to get everything they have interest from their subscription lists. Nowadays, almost all organizations like traditional media organizations, companies, and governments have their WeChat public accounts for posting information and interact with the audience. Public accounts target a broader audience. Individual users can then share the posted contents to their friends via individual WeChat accounts in their "friend circle". In 2019, there were over 20 million active official accounts on WeChat, and 80% of WeChat users subscribe to more than on account (Zhang, 2020). Digesting news via WeChat official accounts has become Chinese internet users' new habits, accounting for over 80% in a survey about news and information consumption (Zhu, 2019).

For traditional Chinese diasporic media, they also find great opportunities in attracting audiences via WeChat. In Europe, around 100 traditional diasporic media companies have opened WeChat accounts (Chinaqw, 2019). Therefore, WeChat public accounts offer a virtual public space for diasporic media to report on news in and between China and Europe. New questions like how diasporic media reframe the imagination between China and Europe on a digital platform facing domestic audiences are of great value for research.

4.2.2 Why UKzone?

The thesis is based on a single case study of UKzone. To answer the research question, the study needs a case which can offer a rich text for deeper analysis. In this way, the role of Chinese diasporic media can be understood through everyday practice on WeChat. UKzone is selected for three reasons.

First, UKzone is now one of the most popular WeChat official accounts concerning the Chinese diaspora in Europe. According to The "World Chinese language Media New Media Influence" project jointly conducted by the China News Service and Communication University of China (Chinaqw, 2019), Nouvelles d'Europe (The European Times), which is the media company UKzone belongs to, is the most influential diasporic media in Europe. Nouvelles d'Europe now owns six accounts covering information from lifestyle to politics in Europe, including Ukzone, GermanReport, oushitalia, euronews, Spainzone and Francezone. Among them Ukzone is the most popular one focused on diasporic Chinese life in the UK and Europe. According to the survey on the top 100 overseas WeChat official accounts, it attracts over 40,000 readers per article on average (Chinaqw, 2019).

Popularity is not the only reason. The news content of UKzone is very rich compared to other accounts, including reports about mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Sino-French bilateral relations, and local news, offering a broad and rich context. The conclusion comes from a previous search. The author has examined all other similar WeChat official accounts in Europe based on the 2019 Yearbook of World Chinese-language Media. Among existing digital media accounts, the majority of them are small media outlets concerned with specific issues, especially real estate and investment in Europe, which is similar to the survey conducted by the University of Hongkong in 2018 (Zhu, 2019).

Thirdly, it is an independent commercial diasporic media organization on WeChat. It is not just an online version of a currently existed media outlet. Although it is under the European Times media group, it has its own news production team and infrastructure. What's more, different from the diasporic WeChat public account with official background, Ukzone

provides a new perspective for us to explore the relationship between the Chinese diasporic media business, the state power, and the technological platform.

4.3 Data Collection

Following Neuman's (2014) six steps in doing content analysis, I conducted my data collection and coding. I examined headline articles published in 2019 on UKzone, from January 1st to December 31st as the unit of analysis. Three factors were taken into consideration. First, although UKzone was established in 2015, it took a long time to shift from an account reposting news from Europe Times and other media to post original stories on a daily base. It would be better to examine its content after this transformation. Second, considering the aim of the research is to understand the complexity of Chinese diasporic media through everyday practice. The contents for one year can reveal its content production more clearly on a daily base. Third, the amount of data is neither too big nor too small for a master thesis because WeChat public account can only publish one headline per day.

4.4 Coding Strategy

The data for this study comes from headline stories published in 2019 on UKzone, from January 1st to December 31st. 327 articles are collected. On the basis of multiple trials of coding, each news is coded according to a unified coding table. Another master student who majored in media and communication is invited to intercode news items based on the same coding scheme. According to Cohen's kappa statistic, the number is 0.83, meaning nearly perfect agreement (McHugh, 2012).

Coding categories:
1. The number of host societies news and homeland news
According to whether the news takes place at home or abroad, all news of "UKzone" is coded into two categories – news about host societies and news about the homeland. Despite UKzone is a WeChat public account belongs to The European Times (Nouvelles d'Europe) focusing on "Chinese life in the UK", I still define host societies as the UK and Europe. Since Brexit is still an ongoing event in 2019, the year the data come from, it is

hard to separate news related to the UK and to Europe clearly. Regarding news about the homeland, it refers to what happened in the People's Republic of China, since both UKzone and European Times target audiences from there. Among them, news is divided into "pure" Chinese news according to whether foreign factors or overseas Chinese are involved, and Chinese news with foreign participation (such as international students going back to China, international conferences held in China, etc.) Similarly, news about host societies is divided into "pure" host societies news, and host societies news with China's involvement.

2. Theme

According to the main content of the articles, they are coded for each theme(topic). The coding table divides content into 24 topics, such as politics, entertainment, practical information, and so on; each category is divided into several subcategories, such as elections under the theme of "politics". Since the news may contain more than one topic, like practical information, each news can allow up to three topics to be recorded in an important order.

3. News origins and sources

All news items are categorized as original work and imported news. The original work means news produced by staff writers in UKzone and Europe Times. With regard to imported news, they are subcategorized as news imported from foreign media, news imported from Chinese media, and other news (news organized with multiple sources).

Chapter 5: News about the Homeland and Host Societies

One of the specialties of diasporic media is that they provide news between the homeland and host societies, with translation (both culturally and literally) to those who depend on Chinese language media. Living between the homeland and host societies, how do diasporic media distribute "geographically bounded" news and events that happen in China? Understanding news content is the first step to know what matters to the whole community from a diasporic media perspective. The geo-storytelling way can be generalized from a content analysis of 327 articles in 2019 posted by UKzone.

5.1 Geographic Focus of News Items

Regarding the geographic focus of news, a central-periphery relationship is evident in the multilocality choice of news made by UKzone. UKzone is a more geographically grounded media focused on what happened in host countries. As all data come from the headlines posted on UKzone in 2019, the comparison between the quantity of news about China and news about Europe and the UK is in the same section. I categorized all collected articles into two categories: advertisements and news items. There are 51 advertisements and 276 news items in general. A content analysis of news items shows that 77% of the total news items are about host societies (the UK/Europe), and only 14% are about China. If I examine it more carefully, with respect to the news about host societies, there are 15% of news with Chinese involvement, which means they talk about topics like Chinese immigrants and Sino-EU cultural events. In the sector of homeland news, the proportion of "pure" news about China and Chinese news with foreign involvement is almost the same (see Table 5.1). While UKzone is an account anchored in Chinese diasporas, its main contents are still about the UK and Europe. Homeland news is secondary.

Table 5.1 Geographic focus of news items

News in host societies (in total)	213
Host societies with Chinese involvement	42
Pure host societies news	171
News about China (in total)	40

News in China with foreign involvement	17
Pure Chinese news	23
Other	23

It would be too easy to say that UKzone cares more about news in host societies only with geographic classification. The production efforts and resources of UKzone devoted to different kinds of news can be another perspective. For UKzone, the news is produced in three ways. Firstly, they are imported directly from external mainstream media, including BBC, China Daily and other WeChat accounts belong to the European Times media group. Secondly, they are original contents written by contributors in UKzone. Thirdly, they are news generated or edited from multiple news sources.

The proportion of original contents and imported news items can partly explain the labor and resource distribution of UKzone. UKzone's tendency towards homeland news and host societies news is evident. For original stories, which is the main sector needs media resource and money, 43% of contents written by staff writer concentrate on host societies, while only 32% of them are about China (see Table 5.2). The contributors in UKzone mainly write about the UK/Europe, while homeland stories are imported from external media sources, Chinese media in particular.

Table 5.2 News source by the geographic focus of news items

	Homeland News	Host societies news	Other
Imported from foreign media	6 (15%)	38 (22%)	3 (25%)
Imported from European Times media group	2 (5%)	18 (10%)	2 (17%)
Imported from multiple source	5 (12%)	37 (22%)	7 (58%)
Unknown	2 (5%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)

Original	13 (32%)	74 (43%)	0 (0%)
Imported from Chinese media	13 (32%)	4 (2%)	0 (0%)

*The percentage is the proportion of news source/geographic focus

5.2 News that matters to the Chinese community

With knowledge of news origins and contents, the next question is what news topics are available to the Chinese community? In other words, as the main provider of information for the Chinese diasporic community, how does UKzone gain popularity on WeChat?

This thesis generalizes articles posted on UKzone into 24 news topics. Considering some news can belong to several topics, like "how to register your student ID in the UK" can be coded with "practical information" and "Chinese students in the UK" at the same time, every news item can be coded under three topics at most. To make it easier for coding, general topics like local life and practical information will be discussed more later. Table 5.3 shows the frequently discussed topics.

Table 5.3 Number of news items by topics

	Total
Local life	64
Entertainment	49
Practical information	38
Politics	32
Royal Family	30
Fashion	24
Chinese students in the UK	18
Community (Chinese diaspora)	17
Culture	15
Contestation	14
Other	12

Travel	11
Festival	11
Ranking (like the top 10 universities in the UK)	9
Business/Economy	8
Education	7
Transportation	6
Technology	6
Health	5
Food	5
Environment	5
Crime/violence	5
Gender	4
Career	2

Other than regularly news topics like fashion, politics, and culture, there are some unique characteristics in topics mentioned by UKzone. The tendency to local news is obvious in the selection of news topics. Local life and gossips about the royal family attract readers' eyes. There is also an evident trend in reporting overseas Chinese communities. 35 articles are concerned with Chinese communities and student life in the UK, accounting for 9% in coding materials.

5.3 A Service Platform for Daily Life

From the collected data, it can be generalized that the first and foremost role UKzone plays is a service platform for information sharing and practical information. Local life, entertainment, and practical information are the top three topics that have been frequently mentioned. Combine data on news topics with news origins, they are also the top three in the category of the original content, which means they are not merely themes that are widely available to diasporic communities, but also themes that UKzone intends to draw attention.

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Under the "practical information" theme, UKzone provides answers to those most concerned questions between the UK and China (see table 5.4). Shopping advice, currency rate, and visa policy information are the three most frequently mentioned topics, accounting for 21%, 16%, and 16%. News about shopping advice includes present advice, promotion offers, and so on. Floating currency rates are normally bounded with political news, especially Brexit. The content orientation is changed to adapt to Chinese readers' needs. Although the original news sources are mainly about vote, election, or parliament reorganization, the translated headlines always put emphasis on the floating exchange rate from RMB to GBP. For example, when talking about members of parliament rejecting Theresa May's deal with the European Union for a second time, the news title is "The pound rebounded. Is England finished with Theresa May?" (*UKzone, 2019-3-13*). For visa information, direct translations on visa policies or security alerts by the British government are the main content. There are some tips on visa extensions written by other immigrants and the visa-free policy with Chinese passport. Job recruitments from Chinese entrepreneurs, suggestions from the Chinese Embassy, and restaurants recommendation are also showed in the headlines.

Table 5.4 Subtopics under "practical information" theme

Subtopics	Number of posts
Shopping advice	10
Security advice	5
House renting	1
Jobs	2
Visa and passports	6
Currency rate	6
Flight tickets advice	2
Other	6

Local life, another hot theme, covers almost every aspect of life in the UK, from the popular online dating app in Britain to why the British always say sorry. There are three ways of story-telling in local life. Firstly, stories are directly translated from external sources,

talking about local tips. Headlines include "36 Years Old, The Best Age Considered by The British" (*UKzone, 2019-1-6*) and "Why holiday in the UK are called bank holiday" (*UKzone, 2019-4-20*). Secondly, UKzone refers to external sources and invites Chinese diasporas to compare their life between Britain and China. The storytelling logic is "this is a British lifestyle, how about you". A major survey conducted by the BBC on seven social classes in the UK is interpreted as "Where are you in the seven classes in the UK?" (*UKzone, 2019-04-26*). The quality of life, the education system, and medical services are usually shown as competitors between the UK/Europe and China. Thirdly, it provides a platform for Chinese diasporas who have been in the UK for a long time to tell their own experience and give practical suggestions. Contents include cultural experience like "Experience: Why straight people love the LGBT parade? In London, Love is equal." (*UKzone, 2019-07-07*), romantic relationships like "My relationship with a guy from Eton College" (*UKzone, 2019-08-07*), and practical suggestions like "This is the last time I do haircuts in London. I swear." (*UKzone, 2019-04-09*).

Like most new media company, UKzone is not merely a news outlet, but a user-generated platform. The specialty is not how it cooperates with users to create content, although they do have many articles consisting of users' works, but how it opens a space for Chinese diaspora to build an online social network. The call for the network is a second-hand market. On the main page of UKzone, an information platform for selling secondhand items is opened only for Chinese diasporas. Every Monday, UKzone posts items for sale and check information reliability. 44 articles on second-hand trading were posted in 2019. Compared with the Facebook group, which depends on the function provided by the platform, the second-hand network is a self-governing community that is built by a diasporic media account, loosely bounded but specialized in trading items.

To sum up, as a more geographically grounded media focused on what happened in host countries, the main role UKzone plays is serving as an information platform for Chinese diasporas. UKzone has already become a "practiced place" composed of information from here and there. On one hand, the shift of contents and resources on posting public information, local life suggestions and geo-bounded news show its ambition on keeping

Chinese diasporas well informed. On the other hand, it has formed an embryo digital diaspora community through describing "the image of their community" participated by geo-storytelling on British life, practical suggestions, and the second-hand market (Anderson, 2006).

Chapter 6: An Imagined Space for Reconstructing Chinese Identity

With an overview of news items produced by UKzone, diasporic media work as the cultural translator from the host societies' text to those who are not familiar with the local situations. The emphasis of news selection is more delivering local news and international information to the community, rather than delivering Chinese news to a broader society. In this process, diasporic media inevitably play the role in the formation of identity through retelling stories to their audience. They integrate the imagination of "home", "nation" and "transnational space" together as a new identity for the diasporic community. How UKzone interprets news in China and Europe and how it presents an alternative way of storytelling becomes key questions when analyzing the news content. Anderson's imagined community provides a conceptual tool to study the formation of identity (Anderson, 2006). He defines imagined community as the space where even members of the smallest nation will never meet their fellow members, yet each has the same mind based on the imagination of the nation (Anderson, 2006, pp.5-7). In other words, communities are distinguished by imagination.

In this chapter, concerning UKzone, the thesis examines how UKzone frames the imagination of the UK/Europe and China to build an imagined community floating between home, the nation, and transnational space.

6.1 Home: Building a Collective Imagination

Home, as a real place and a symbolic imaginary, is where the initial and emotional beginning for identity formation takes place. To diasporas, home is always ambiguous and floating. Rather than a fixed and stable house, home is more like a collective memory construction focused on the homeland and extended cultural boundaries (Georgiou, 2010). As diasporas usually do not have a fixed home according to the ideal definition, they depend more on intersecting themselves in a wider context of relations, like nostalgia and shared experience to make a house a home (Massey, 1994). What is shaping different home images and build a shared experience? As Lipman pointed out in the "Public Opinion", the news plays an important role (Lippman, 1922). UKzone might be able to construct a collective home and a communal identity of the Chinese diaspora in multiple ways. The

logic that may explain why UKzone selects these approaches of building a collective home will be discussed in chapter 7.

6.1.1 Dependency on the Official Chinese News Source

The news system in China is a state of flux. It is hard to portray the exact picture or system of Chinese media between party journalism and commercialization (Zhao, 1998, p.10). However, if we put Chinese media under the context of the state and media, it has been described as a Soviet-Marxist media system that encourages media to report for the state (Zhao, 2012). There is a clear line between official media run by the state and non-official media, even if they are all market-oriented (Zhao, 1998, p.10). Although UKzone is a WeChat account under the European Times media group, an independent commercial media enterprise in Europe, it is still under the influence of Chinese official media, particularly in news about China. In the news imported from China, 94% are from Chinese official media, including Global Times, People's Daily, Xinhua News Agency, China Daily and CCTV (see Table 6.1). Only one post is imported from non-official Chinese media, which is Xinmin zhoukan. If the thesis compares news source with geographic focus of news items, 32% of homeland news are imported from Chinese official media organization.

Table 6.1 Chinese Media Source

	Global Times	5
Official Chinese media	People's Daily	1
	Xinhua News Agency	7
	China Daily	1
	CCTV	2
Non-official Chinese media	Xinmin zhoukan	1
In total	17	

6.1.2 Comparison between China and UK/Europe

The collective home is firstly built through the comparison between news in the UK and China. Comparison is a common narrative strategy when telling stories between China and the UK/Europe because they need to make sure that news is written in a culturally relevant style which Chinese people are familiar with. In the following the question how the imagination of the UK and China is presented through 'translation' is addressed.

Normally, the practice of journalism in mainland China always emphasizes "mainly on positive reports" to maintain "harmony and stability" in society (Zhou, 2010). Therefore, news about disaster and contestation is considered as negative news, which has long been suppressed (Zhou, 2010). Zhou (2010) examines how domestic news is linked with foreign news in his study of *Xinwen Lianbo,* a state-owned TV news program in China. He finds that there is more negative news when reporting news abroad, while the news is more positive-oriented when reporting on China (Zhou, 2010). Following his research methods, I identify reports on contestation and violence/crime as negative news. Comparing news topics with geographic focus, 4% of the news in host societies is about contestation, 2% is about crime and violence. While concerning homeland news, only 2% of news concerned with contestation, with no report on crime or violence accidents in China (see Table 6.2). It is the same with domestic reporting, UKzone tends to report more negative news in the UK/Europe than in China.

Table 6.2 News topics and geographic focus of news

	Host societies news		Homeland News	
Local Life	54	17%	3	7%
Entertainment	38	12%	5	11%
Royal	28	9%	0	0%
Politics	31	10%	1	2%
Practical information	24	8%	7	16%
Fashion	17	5%	2	5%

Community (Chinese diaspora)	13	4%	4	9%
Contestation	13	4%	1	2%
Education	13	4%	1	2%
Chinese students in the UK	12	4%	3	7%
Culture	12	4%	2	5%
Festival	9	3%	0	0%
Travel	7	2%	3	7%
Transportation	5	2%	0	0%
Other	5	2%	3	7%
Crime	5	2%	0	0%
Environment	4	1%	0	0%
Food	4	1%	1	2%
Business	4	1%	3	7%
Ranking (like the top 10 universities in the UK)	4	1%	0	0%
Gender	3	1%	1	2%
Technology	3	1%	3	7%
Health	2	1%	1	2%
Career	1	0%	0	0%

*The percentage is the proportion of news topics/geographic focus.

Although the quantity of reports on contestation and crime has shown some difference, it cannot fully explain the framing comparison between China and the UK/EU. To examine it deeper, I analyze all articles consist of comparison. 8% of the total are related to UK-China comparison, while 2% are advertisements. The way of producing content are called "selective editing", or zongbian (综编), in which elements from multiple news sources are picked out and reorganized to prove their own statement.

The data are classified based on the position UKzone takes. The first is "Europe/UK is similar to China" (15%), presenting some common issues that happened in both areas, such as "Is a black cat bad luck or good luck? The British are also superstitious!" (*UKzone, 2019-02-09*) or "The British share horror stories of nightmare mothers-in-law. Same with

China!" (*UKzone, 2019-01-03*). Secondly, "China is bad, but Europe/UK is worse" (11%). These posts admit the scandals or bad news in China, but emphasis on worse cases in the UK/Europe. For example, in a post titled "Reappearance of Chinese style looting? UK media should take an unbiased view on China" (*UKzone, 2019-02-28*), it criticizes foreign media's performance in reporting a customer fight in Chinese Starbucks over limited edition cat-claw mugs. In this post, the bad impact of customer fight is admitted first. Then it compared Chinese customers' behaviors with how foreigners rush into shopping malls and fight over discounted items on Black Friday. In the end, it concludes that the western world is not more civilized than China. Thirdly, "China is better than Europe/UK" (42%). In this category, over half of them are advertisements for Chinese businesses in the UK. It covers from telecommunication service provided by China Union and China Mobile to bank services provided by Bank of China and local food delivery business operated by Chinese immigrants. Besides that, technology development and the improvement of complementary infrastructure are themes that have been frequently mentioned. In general, UKzone refers to foreign media reports to endorse its statement and then gives more details on the comparison. The headline is like "BBC and Forbes: This is Harmony OS! Foreigners rush to get a new Huawei and throw the old iPhone" (*UKzone, 2019-08-10*).

Generally, UKzone stands with China's official position on international affairs and often falls into the established Chinese state narratives. By contrast, the image of a powerful country with a promising future is constructed through news happened in the host countries, rather than put China in the center of the stage directly.

6.1.3 Restrictions on Sensitive News

Starting from maintaining the existing political system and national stability, the Chinese official restricts certain issues because of the risk of influencing social instability. In the Provision on Ecological Governance of Network Information Content, it points out that "a network information content producer shall not make, copy or publish any illegal information containing jeopardizing national security, divulging state secrets, subverting the state power, or undermining the national unity" (Cyberspace Administration of China, 2019).

When examining the selected news topics in host societies and China, it seems that UKzone falls into the same narrative pattern as other domestic media in China. The scope of news theme is broader concerning news happening in the UK/Europe, while topics are very limited when talking about China. 24 news themes are covered by host societies news, while only 17 topics concerned with homeland news. One evident difference is the report on political news. Contents about politics occupy 10% of the total in host societies news, whereas only 1% in homeland news. There is only one post that is relevant to Chinese politics, titled "Supermodel Liu Wen cut ties with Coach and actress Yang Mi left Versace. Luxury labels must apologize!" (*UKzone, 2019-08-13*). It talks that a few luxury brands are suspected of designing clothing that defied the "One China policy". Brands including Versace and Dolce&Gabbana list Hongkong and Macau as a country rather than a city. In contrast, when talking about the UK and European politics, there is no limitation. News includes Brexit, the resignation of Theresa May (the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom), the parliament fight, rumors, and gossips related to Boris Johnson (the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom since 2019) and so on. The frame of contestation news shows the same pattern in the minimalization of sensitive news. Looking deeper into it, 18 news about contestation in the UK includes protests, strikes, and political upheavals. Referring to provisions on ecological governance of network information content, this kind of news faces strict control in domestic broadcasting (Cyberspace Administration of China, 2019). However, there seems to be no restriction on posting them publicly if they happened in host societies.

In addition to presenting a strong and confident Chinese imagination directly, UKzone builds an imagined China among diasporic Chinese through contrast and avoidance. The logic behind it might be like this – as long as they are the news of others, they will not affect the unity of the Chinese diaspora. From election and environmental protest to crime and parliamentary fight, negative and sensitive news which is restricted in China is popular in news reporting about the UK/Europe. In the meantime, as Castells says, "Ethnicity, religion, language, *per se*, do not suffice to build nations and nationalism, but shared experience does" (Castells, 2011, p.32). UKzone keeps posting articles on Chinese food,

traditional culture, and festival to bring diasporas back to share their common experience with friends from the same community.

In this way, a collective home centered on mainland China has been built. In the world constructed by UKzone, "home" is not a perfect place, but at least not as disappointing as the UK, sometimes even better. The extended media space in UKzone, including politics, entertainment news in the UK does not threat the stabilization of "home". By contrast, the extended media space makes it a more safe and fixed space that belongs to every diasporic Chinese. The news between the homeland and host societies is interrelated and has an impact on each other. This narrative framework draws us back to the scene of the 1999 Chinese Spring Festival Gala (Chunwan). Zhao Benshan, one of the most famous actors in China, performing this irony limerick on international relationship:

Outside getting darker,
Every day they slaughter,
When you see it higher,
We are truly better![1]

6.2 Nation: the Imagination of Sons and Daughters

The nation, as a symbol depends on ideologies and the definition of borders, is always asking for the formation of identity and community within its territory (Holton, 2011). On the one hand, the media and communication have become more and more transnational and decentralized, especially in the diasporic media, the nation is no longer bonded with identity. On the other hand, we live in a world where the national political bond has never been so reinforced before. In the case of UKzone, the deterritorialized and transnational media are combined with the politics of the homeland, being integrated into an "experimental space of the nation-state from within" (Beck, 2006, p.110). Thinking of Anderson's (2006) argument on the formation of the imagined community through national

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[1] The translation is from video uploaded by Aluren on bilibili.com. *Chinese people so niubi, bilibili*. 2019. Directed by Aluren. Available at: <https://www.bilibili.com/video/av40672186/> [Accessed 6 May 2020].

media, how does UKzone bring together Chinese diaspora into the imaginations of the nation?

Before examining the role of UKzone in bringing together Chinese diaspora, it is necessary to look back on the official discourse on overseas Chinese. In official discourse, *haiwai tongbao* (海外同胞) refers to overseas Chinese diaspora in general, which means people born of the same parents (Zhou, 2018, p.249). Focused on *haiwai tongbao*, the PRC's policies over the Chinese diaspora have experienced four stages from the open-door policy to the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Between the late 1970s and the 1990s, *haiwai tongbao* has been expected to bring investment opportunities back to China and promote economic development regarding international trade (Zhang, 2014). When President Jiang Zemin came into power from the 1990s to the 2000s, the policy on overseas Chinese shifted to technology opportunities. It encourages overseas Chinese to bring cutting edge technology to China and publicizes Chinese business opportunities to the world (Ren, 2013). From the 2000s to 2012 (President Hu Jintao was in office), *haiwai tongbao* was expected to become a significant strength in maintaining China's unification (Zhang, 2014). In 2012, President Xi Jinping emphasized the family's meaning of *haiwai tongbao*. He formally named the dream of the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation as the Chinese dream shared by the Chinese state, the Chinese nation and Chinese people (including overseas Chinese) (Zhao and Liu, 2013). To realize the Chinese dream, every Chinese people should contribute to it. Furtherly, President Xi Jinping refers overseas Chinese as members of the "Zhonghua big family" (中华大家庭) (All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, 2018).

In posts concerned with the Chinese diasporic community, the discourse on Chinese diaspora is consistent with the official discourse on *haiwai tongbao.* Combing all aspects of official discourse, an image of the model Chinese diaspora has been constructed in UKzone. They are successful entrepreneurs who "share the experience with young Chinese elite and seek cooperation between Norway and China" (*UKzone, 2019-10-17*). UKzone constructs the ideological Chinese diaspora as "being enthusiastic towards traditional Chinese culture" and representatives of "cultural ambassador between the UK and China"

(*UKzone, 2019-12-08*). Concerning China's unification conflicts like the independence of Taiwan and Hongkong, they are praised for "standing with the CCP central committee" and "firmly oppose the separatist forces" (*UKzone, 2019-10-02*). For the Chinese dream, they are encouraged to "making efforts to realize the great Chinese dream of the Chinese nation rejuvenation overseas" (*UKzone, 2019-10-02*). In other words, the Chinese diasporas are expected to become or are represented as a group of people who should make contributions to the Chinese dream. They are integrated into the whole national narrative, contributing to the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

What's more, the Chinese diaspora is not only being asked to stand with the nation but also being described as having a "blood" bond with the nation, or to say, as members of *Zhonghua big family* (中华大家庭). In one post talking about Hongkong protest and the extreme separatists, overseas Chinese are described as "sons and daughters of the Chinese nation" (*UKzone, 2019-08-20*). "Sons and daughters" should stand with the "motherland" to maintain the unification of the Chinese nation (*UKzone, 2019-08-20*). The family bonding is stressed emotionally in posts about the 70th National Day of China as a give-and-take connection. On one hand, for overseas Chinese, "wherever you are, you are always the sons and daughters of the motherland" (*UKzone, 2019-10-02*). Only when the motherland (China) is powerful, the overseas Chinese can share the achievement of Chinese development and have a bright future. On the other hand, the nation's success is achieved with efforts from every Chinese, including Chinese people overseas. Overseas Chinese should pay back the motherland for supporting them as a strong and successful backup. China, as the mother of billions "sons and daughters of the Chinese nation", has become a center for identity formation.

UKzone has generalized all Chinese diasporas into this "sons and daughters" community centered on the Chinese nation. Under this construction, the identity has become a feature shared by all overseas Chinese due to the blood bond and similar traditions. Being Chinese does not mean have relations with China but stand with the nation and stay as a part of national narratives (Sun and Sinclair, 2015). Siu develops the term "state involution" to describe the internalization process of the Chinese nation by the Chinese people (Siu, 1993,

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p.20). Through the "state involution", diasporic Chinese join into the imagination of the community and the hegemonic discourse on *haiwai tongbao*. For Chinese diasporas, who often experience a sense of loneliness, homeless and lost between the homeland and host societies, UKzone utilizes Chinese nationalism to reconstruct their identity and generate "powerful attachments to ideas of the homeland that seem more deeply territorial than ever" (Appadurai, 1996, p.177).

From the model Chinese diaspora to the "mother and son" bond, UKzone intends to insert "the nation of China" into the diaspora's identity. Taking the relationship between the nation and people as an unquestioned natural bond between mother and son, it successfully gathers all diasporic Chinese into a constructed sense of belonging. A sense of belonging based on the "presumption of internal ethnic sameness and external ethnic distinctiveness" (Ang, 2001, p.83). It also successfully integrates "home" with the "nation". With the family bond, Chinese diasporas are living in the same "home" with the motherland. The nation is home. The defense of home is both a defense for a private household with intimate social relationships and a defense for a symbolic home – the collective nation and community, as Silverstone (2004) states. In this way, the Chinese nation has become the fixed center of identity for all diasporic Chinese.

6.3 Transnational Space: the British Dream

Transnational space is a place allowing the co-existence of local, the nation and the homeland, while in the meantime offering possibilities to explain the social formation through the network behind it (Basch, Schiller and Blanc, 1994). In the context of diasporic media, transnational space is a key place for diasporic communities to position themselves across national boundaries, as well as form a diasporic consciousness surpassing all locations. For UKzone, it produces a transnational imagination through building a fantastic British dream.

Regarding the host societies, UKzone constructs the UK as an ideal destination for investment household, enjoying private health care and high quality of education. In 51 advertisements posted by UKzone, 11 advertisements (21%) advertise the attractiveness of

investing real estate in the UK. When advertising real estate of the UK, education (教育), health care（医疗）, being close to the world-famous universities (世界知名学府), the royal lifestyle and the increasing tendency of house price are most frequently terms that have been mentioned for attracting Chinese diasporas and potential investors. The general logic is that investment real estate in the UK is convenient for the future education of children and health care. Generally, the UK is described as a rich country with rich and high-quality educational resources by UKzone. 13 posts talking about education in the UK, accounting for 4% in the quantity of news about host societies. In the 13 posts, 4 posts focus on comparing top universities in China and universities in the UK according to university ranking from different news sources. The conclusion is that sending children to the UK is a better choice if they cannot be accepted by top schools in China. One post is about the future career for Chinese students in the UK, saying Chinese graduates from the UK university have achieved the highest average salary compared with other international students (*UKzone, 2019-04-27*). The rest are about the introductions on the British education system and the expense of studying in the UK. Unlike the exam-based Chinese education system, British education is seen as more international, "focusing on cultivating the ability of critical thinking and the royal elegance" (*UKzone, 2019-01-30*).

Through the lens of UKzone, the UK dealing with real estate investment and education is totally different from the UK under comparison with China. The fantastic British dream and the strength of motherland both offer a stronger sense of gain and happiness for the diasporic community. As Clifford (1997, p.257) states, diasporic consciousness is not only about being Chinese or extending their own culture in host societies, "it is also about feeling global". To some extent, the British dream is the imagination for Chinese diasporas, offering a common goal and a sense of attachment for a group of people come from the same origin.

To sum up, the role UKzone plays, as Clifford (1994, p.308) describes, is an alternated public sphere where roots and routes are bent together as forms of diasporic consciousness outside the national time/space to live inside, with a difference. In "home", "the nation" and "transnational space", UKzone constructs different kinds of imagination with various

methods. In the end, various imagination is integrated into one ideal identity - enjoying rich educational resources and making money through investment in the UK, at the same time, being a member of the model Chinese diasporas who contributing to the Chinese dream.

Chapter 7: The Logic and Power behind Chinese Diasporic Media

As discussed in this thesis, the Chinese diaspora is a community living in the continuing process of switching spaces. Online diasporic media, like UKzone, integrate space and work as the interpreter from host societies to the homeland. During this process, as Clifford (1994) argues, the diasporic community is not a "given identity", but a community based on a shared imagination provided by and through media and communication. This is how diasporic media works inside the community, including serving as an information platform, reporting on the homeland based on Chinese official media sources, taking overseas Chinese into the "mother-and-son" discourse, and building a British dream for transnational imagination and so on. However, if one analyses diasporic media from an external perspective, what is behind them? Why news in the UK and China are reported and framed like this? It is hard to find the direct answer, however, a structural reflection on diasporic media is helpful to get a fuller understanding of Chinese diasporic media and its media environment.

Although the headquarters of Chinese diasporic media is usually based overseas, like in the case of UKzone, they have to follow the Chinese media regulations if they want to apply for a WeChat public account. In this way, the power structure Chinese diasporic media face is not much different from Chinese domestic digital media. The transnationality only emerges in content production, but not in the media environment and regulations. In this chapter, I will leave the case of UKzone and pay more attention to the WeChat platform and power structure it relies on. Inspired by Van Dijck's framework on social media logic and Foucault's thought on the "relationship power" in the process of switching space (1984 cited in Harvey, 2000, p.538), this chapter examines the technology structure (WeChat) and the power relations behind the dynamic space.

7.1 WeChat, a new digital world

As scholars like Van Dijck (2013) and Christian Fuchs (2014) argue, social media platform is far more than a neutral platform for everyone, but have changed the way of communication, as well as the institutional structure and professional practice. Van Dijck

and Poell (2013) develop a framework of four elements to analyze social media logic – programmability, popularity, connectivity, and datafication. Borrowed from this framework, one can examine the logic behind WeChat public accounts (UKzone) from two dimensions, the popularity-driven platform, and the closed-door information sharing system.

WeChat is designed to maintain intimate social interaction between acquaintances, friends, and family members (Stockmann and Luo, 2017). It does so by providing several ways of chatting (group chat, video chat, audio message chat, memes chat, and so on) and putting a special design on connectivity. Connectivity refers to the social-technical design of social media to let users choose others to connect and connect users with the advertisements or contents they may have interest (Van Dijck and Poell, 2013). WeChat communication mainly focuses on peer-to-peer interpersonal communication, because every account is bounded with real names and telephone numbers, people tend to add acquaintances rather than strangers.

As Van Dijck and Poell (2013) argue, each social media platform treats boosting the popularity of users and content as their main tasks for attracting advertisements and other profit opportunities. With strong incentives and a great amount of user data, they can connect advertisements with users more precisely. It has been widely agreed that users 'pay' social media companies with permission to use their data created when they use the social media platform. The social media company can translate the data into commercial income through targeted advertisements. As a result, there are strong incentives to attract more users and clicks when designing the social media structure. In the case of WeChat, the popularity system is decentralized. There is no trending topic ranking like Twitter, but relying on the "friend circle" (a function that allows users to post content that can only be seen by their friends on WeChat) and friends sharing. To be simple, if one WeChat account wants to become popular, it needs users to share it in their friend circle, rather than being recommended by the algorithm. This leads to the next characteristic of WeChat – the closed-door information sharing.

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The information spreading on WeChat is mainly between WeChat friends in a closed-door information circle. The communication method of WeChat public account can be roughly divided into three types: subscription, inter-friend communication, and "friend circle" communication. Firstly, public accounts are able to deliver information to their subscribers directly. The list for public accounts is folded and users need to click to unfold it and choose which new posts they want to read. Each public account can only post once per day, although there is no limit on the number of articles each account can post per time (Sun and Chio, 2012). In this way, how to use the one chance per day and what to post to attract the subscribers to read it have become the first challenge for all public account owners. The second challenge is how to attract more people to subscribe to. The only way WeChat public accounts depend on is attracting original subscriber to share the post with their friends via chat or "friend circle". It can be assumed that WeChat prefers content on public accounts that is more suitable for sharing with a small circle of friends rather than the public, which has also been proved by some scholars (Zhang et al., 2017; Stockmann and Luo, 2017). In this way, the communication for sensitive topics or public discussions is more likely to be stopped at the subscription stage instead of being shared. This may be helpful to understand the role of UKzone in transnational space. As the thesis discussed in chapter 5, UKzone plays a role as a service platform that provides practical information, posts local experiences, and builds a second-hand market. A service platform for helping diasporas is consistent with the "maintaining the intimate social relationship" aim of WeChat. The large proportion of practical information and articles regarding host societies are worthy of discussion for the Chinese diasporic community rather than the public. In the case of UKzone, the structure of WeChat has an influence on its development as a service platform for diasporic communities.

7.2 Power structure behind Chinese diasporic media

WeChat's interactive structure is one factor that may influence the role UKzone plays. However, if one examines UKzone and WeChat within a bigger picture, the power relations behind them are likely to explain why UKzone constructs the imagination of China and the UK/Europe in the way it does. When UKzone switching from the WeChat platform to an account publishing content online in China, the power relationship has shifted from the

WeChat platform to the Party-state. The control of media production is generated from the state level to grassroots users. Rather than viewing communication and media politics in China solely as a top-down act by the state, the media governance is more like a networked system of hard and soft technics (Brandy, 2009; Shambaugh, 2017). Rogier Creemers (2016) names the networked system as a 'strategic nexus' between political agencies and enterprises enabling both sides to pursue their own interests, while the mutual connection with each other.

At the national level, a new Central Leading Group for Cybersecurity and Informatization was established early in 2014 (Creemers, 2017). This new group, chaired by Xi Jinping himself, emphasizes the realization of the informatization agenda as the key point of political and economic reform (Xinhua agency, 2014). Besides the central leading group, the Cyberspace Administration of China (CAC) was established to deal with online content regulation in particular (State Council of China, 2014). According to provisions on Ecological Governance of Network Information Content, the network information office in the Internet enterprises (like WeChat in this case) is responsible for responding to the national office (Cyberspace Administration of China, 2019). Then the Internet enterprise is responsible for accounts with wide influence (like UKzone in this case) and users (Cyberspace Administration of China, 2019). This structure is a special element of the Chinese media governance, as it outsources the responsibility for web administration and content censorship to private enterprise and users, which is the soft toolkit the Chinese government utilized (Creemers, 2016, pp.94-95). For private enterprises like WeChat, obtaining the Internet news information service license, and remaining their relationship with state official departments are key factors to compete with other companies in the market. The profit-driven environment gives them the incentive to devote themselves to the governance framework (Schneider, 2018, p.213). The private enterprises then use their technical resources to turn these abstract media regulations into a practical algorithm to monitor users. Furthermore, users, especially those own influential accounts on the social media platform, have to stay within the confines of terms of usage defined by the private companies, if they want to run their business on that platform continually (Schneider, 2018). The national-level administration makes rules, then transmitted to the private sector with

regulations transforming into practice, and finally, control the users. Political and commercial actors both form the networked power relationship behind diasporic media accounts on WeChat.

Under such power relationship, it is understandable that UKzone chooses to depend on Chinese official news sources and participate in the narrative on the Great Chinese Dream. On the one hand, standing with Chinese official news organization fits the cyber information regulation from the national level and can avoid the risk of censorship. According to the newly updated provisions on Ecological Governance of Network Information Content, "a network information content producer is encouraged to produce information publicizing the Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and contributing to presenting a true and comprehensive China to the world" (Cyberspace Administration of China, 2019). On the other hand, as a commercial media organization, UKzone exists under the power structure consisting of national regulation and media registered with public capital. According to the provisions for the Administration of Internet News Information Services, "non-public capital shall not intervene in the collecting or editing of Internet news information" (Cyberspace Administration of China, 2017). For diasporic media like UKzone, if they want to publish news about China, imported or edited news from Chinese official media organizations may be the best choice.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

From the examination on everyday practice of UKzone, some misconceptions on Chinese diasporic media have been cleared. They are not another propaganda tool for the Chinese official, neither should they be explained in the way that is similar to the global version of state-owned media like China Daily, as many reports presumed. The way they choose to frame the imagination between China and host societies is not controlled by the Chinese official but follows the official narrative and the networked power structure of market, social media and the media governance. As digital media live in transnational space, they have become media outlets for transporting and translating ideologies and cultural repertoires beyond bounded physical places (Sinclair, Jacka and Cunningham, 1996, p.11).

On one hand, in the case of UKzone, it works as a service platform to translated information in host societies to Chinese diasporic communities. The information they provided not only keeping Chinese diaspora well informed, but also suits the profit-increasing and information sharing logic of WeChat. On the other hand, the news and information have been well-organized in a way that is relatively homogenous with the Chinese official. The identity built by UKzone is centered on an imagined China which is not perfect, but at least better than the UK/Europe. The concept of home is linked with "the nation" through the discourse on "zhonghua big family" (中华大家庭) and "sons and daughters of Chinese nation". The Chinese identities has been reconstructed based on the "ideological China-centeredness", gathering all Chinese diasporas into a utopian media space, where diasporic Chinese are able to obtain rich education resources and making money through investment in the UK and share the achievement of the great Chinese dream (Ang, 2001, p.83). To maintain a sense of belonging to the unquestioned motherland, Chinese diasporas are expected to become the "model Chinese overseas", standing with the state and become the bridge between China and the world.

To some degree, the networked power from the interactive structure on WeChat to the media governance operated by outsourcing responsibility of web administration to private companies has led digital Chinese diasporic media to frame identities in a such way. This may be one of the best choices for diasporic media to attract as many audiences as possible

while being away from censorship and financial crisis. They are still independent media without any support from the Chinese official literarily, however, the incentive-driven platform, the limited information sharing rule, and the media governance have driven them to construct the ideological China-centered identity among diasporas (Ang, 2001, p.83).

With the help of social media platforms, digital diasporic media bring new opportunities for being in "two places at once" (Scannell, 1996, p.91), which means the place where people stay and the place where something happens. The reconstructed identity for Chinese diasporas is delivered, across platforms, borders, and networks by online practice. It is not only for diasporic Chinese in the specific host societies but for all Chinese diasporas, even citizens in China who are interested in the host society. Chinese diasporic media should not be seen as text-and-image-based products, on social media platform, they become a complex commercial system linked with users, market and technological logics.

Furthermore, the sense of being synchronized on digital diasporic media provides a fantastic perspective to examine questions like which media diasporic Chinese choose to trust and how diasporic media, local media and Chinese media deal with a common topic, for example, corona crisis.

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rankings   are   announced].   [online]   Available   at: <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/3HB7yx_f9Md-AyfeS0AtLA >.

Appendix

Data Collection

	Name	Collect Time
1	黑猫到底是吉是凶？英国人迷信起来，照个镜子都怕手抖！	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
2	鲍里斯放出大招，英镑开涨，腐国人却开始集体数数…	3/1/2020 4:58 PM
3	鲍里斯劈腿有夫之妇？~他给 1 万镑，来我公寓 5 到 10 次，可我们只是好朋友~	3/17/2020 1:43 PM
4	高贵的王室御用也滥大街，原来我们每天都在喝 2 块 5 女王同款	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
5	马东喊话英国首相，《奇葩说》英国海选决赛现场，这 4 人会被他带走吗？	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
6	非洲土豪竟然这样用英航炫富！飞机上的奇葩服务，看到德国又被辣眼睛了	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
7	那些中国人成山的伦敦景点，早把歪果仁逼成了吐槽十级	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
8	那些~爱 AJ~的男孩女孩，不是视鞋如命，而是黄牛成瘾。	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
9	迷倒女王妹妹，他死后 60 年还收割了 5 个男神 1 个女神	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
10	迪丽热巴才 50！英媒排名亚洲时尚脸，最帅男人竟长这样…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
11	这里，我曾走过最美的圣诞	2/4/2020 10:43 AM
12	这个恐怖小丑又回来了，今年还要逼我花钱吓自己多少次？	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
13	这 9 位华人将影响英国政坛：~我以我的中国血统而自豪！~	2/4/2020 10:53 AM
14	这 4 位华人当选英国地方官！他们都创下了哪些~第一次~？	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
15	这 32 个人，代表了英漂的嘴皮子功夫巅峰	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
16	过滤水防脱发？外媒告诉你这才是滤水壶的正确使用方式	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
17	跑了 5 天伦敦时装周，发现有路人穿得比 Burberry 模特还精彩…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
18	赚 13 亿的霉霉败给这些戏精：来欧美版百鬼夜行，穿正经就输了！	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
19	贫民出身，离婚后成欧洲首富儿媳，被酸~幸运~的她只想跟过去握手言和	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
20	豆瓣 9.6 还嫌低，BBC 又一神仙纪录片，比~权力的游戏~更残酷…	3/29/2020 9:09 PM
21	请来女王，英镑还是跌了！75 万人都拉不住鲍里斯，他可太会~玩~了…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
22	被英国人气笑的第 1008 天，我承认，他们是真作	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
23	被房东硬逼着看着他的结婚照入睡咋办？英国租房，一不小心就被坑断腿…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
24	蒋劲夫又家暴外籍女友：在一起 2 个月就要杀我！英国 200 万人也饱受欺凌…	2/19/2020 4:40 PM
25	莫文蔚伦敦演唱会明天开票！亲自宣布从此不再举办大型巡演	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
26	英镑飙到 9.47，刚刚他赢了！逼囧梅姨气走科尔宾，英国人真的累了…	2/4/2020 10:53 AM
27	英镑涨到 9.15，鲍里斯：脱欧妥了！可想翻盘还要斗过这帮工作狂…	3/17/2020 11:51 AM
28	英媒苦等 2 个月：学中国人开黑！今天被这家中国城新店刷新了认知	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
29	英媒乐疯！中国学生暴涨 30%，首超北爱尔兰本地人，哪些专业最吃香？	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
30	英国银行卡哪家强？来英前就能开户存钱，一不小心就躺着赚钱…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
31	英国货车的 39 具尸体都是中国公民？华人律师：罪犯可能被判无期徒刑！	2/19/2020 4:40 PM
32	英国签证又涨价！今年放过了学生签工签，除了旅游签还有啥变贵？	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
33	英国的母亲节为啥在 3 月？这是一场智斗山寨的好戏…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
34	英国版绝对色感挑战：不 瞎 算 你 赢	3/2/2020 12:05 AM
35	英国毕业生里中国人最会赚钱！最新收入排名公布，你的专业拖后腿了吗？	3/28/2020 10:53 PM

76	猫因擤鼻涕被捕，拿牛油果抢银行…2019 它们承包了我全年的笑点！	2/4/2020 10:43 AM
77	牛津没进前 2，UCL KCL 都跌惨！今天公布的卫报大学排名到底发生了什么…	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
78	牛津学霸瞒着爸妈学钢管舞：一不小心，开发出身体的新用法…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
79	爱她就逼她变态！杀死伊芙回归，要人命还这么时髦的也就她了	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
80	燃爆！今天伦敦被五星红旗淹没，留学生侨胞齐唱国歌，这才是热血中国人的样子！	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
81	满嘴 sorry 心里白眼算啥！英国人交友的不走心水平你怕是追不上…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
82	港澳台竟全被列为~国家~，福布斯，你为什么不回应？	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
83	活了 500 万岁，遇上人类它们差点在 100 年内灭绝，这种萌令人心疼…	3/27/2020 6:26 PM
84	没离完婚，鲍里斯和小 24 岁女友住进唐宁街！两人还要一起讨好它…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
85	没法生育的豪门女主人，到死都想不通 5 个白眼狼是谁杀了她…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
86	没有双臂的她成了著名艺术家，儿子却被霸凌，抑郁而死…	2/4/2020 11:52 AM
87	水果姐要当他后妈！继父亿万富翁，亲爹精灵王子，星二代中的杰克苏！	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
88	比起梅根儿子，心疼女王！以前王室小孩出生原来这么多人围观…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
89	比英国料理更黑暗的，是毛衣 ~ 克雷文街 40 号	2/4/2020 10:31 AM
90	比女王还能买！英国新首富戴森：懂花钱才是赚钱的必修课	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
91	每天 4 杯，女王竟是这样的酒鬼！但她的最爱 300 年前其实是穷酸酒…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
92	歪果仁纷纷跪求移民中国？竟是这些视频在文化输出…看到最后还是它赢了	2/4/2020 11:52 AM
93	歪果仁第一次吃月饼：为什么我不是中国人？	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
94	歪果仁真以为我们胆子小？KCL, 卡斯老师说，中国学生要学会这样怼！	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
95	欧阳娜娜留学伯克利竟然睡地上！英国留学生看完：这下心理平衡了	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
96	欧洲 40°C热到跳河，英国 6 月却~过成冬天~…哈哈哈可把英国人憋屈坏了！	3/27/2020 7:24 PM
97	梅根绕过凯特，成王室首个 Vogue 编辑！挑 15 人拍大片，还是~忘了~女王…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
98	梅根生了，是个男孩！哈里亲自宣布：~要我的命也值了~	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
99	梅根孕期疯狂撞衫凯特、卡戴珊，~最败家王妃~这样穿 H&M	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
100	梅根佛系 2 个月后回归~热搜刷屏~模式，果然憋大招去了！	3/27/2020 6:26 PM
101	梅根 3 天穿掉 97.8 万，置装费是凯特 6 倍！但女王才是最精明的生意人	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
102	梅姨惨到英镑回涨，今晚会再输一次吗？现在英国只剩 6 种结局	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
103	梅姨今天站华为，英媒坐不住了！这怕不是在反串黑…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
104	杨幂解约，刘雯道歉：疯狂越线的大牌们，终于怕凉凉了？	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
105	来英国千万别贪便宜！28 条中英直飞航线，今年又新开了哪几条？	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
106	未来 3 年抱京东大腿，过去 5 天的伦敦，被中国人轰炸式惊艳！	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
107	有钱人才过得起英国农村生活？这家人不信，结果半年就慌了…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
108	有 7000 多个包包的华裔~女魔头~，靠炫富把自己晒成了 ins 高管	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
109	月薪 2000+就算中等收入？对比中英美 3 国标准，我到哪儿都吃土…	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
110	最新胡润榜 213 中国富豪出局，前十仅马云李嘉诚逆袭，到底发生了什么？	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
111	最不待见中国大学的世界排名又来了！最高的都差点跌出前 60…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
112	春节不回家的海外党，心里都藏了什么话，只给自己说？	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
113	星爵再婚被骂渣男，前妻却想帮他公证婚礼？两段感情他都赢很大啊！	3/27/2020 7:24 PM
114	明天起，拿中国护照回国可当身份证用了！	2/4/2020 10:31 AM
115	明天腊八吃咸还是甜？不如学女王喝这些长寿黑暗粥！	3/29/2020 8:59 PM

195	准备好！英国全年最煎熬的一天就要来了	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
196	写出史上最变态悬案，可他的前半生比~黑色大丽花~更黑暗…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
197	再冷也要去的冬日最美旅行地，看到最后冰岛还是输了…	3/1/2020 5:15 PM
198	关掉滤镜的乔碧萝火上 BBC！3 天涨粉 55 万，94 个歪果仁想跟她约会…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
199	全球第 2 例艾滋病人治愈？38 年过去，人类离战胜~超级癌症~还有多远…	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
200	做完这 25 件事才算真的来过英国，你解锁了多少隐藏关卡？	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
201	你的大脑是男是女？剑桥研究证明：男性大脑挣钱多，女性大脑爱唠嗑	3/1/2020 5:15 PM
202	你们吐槽肖战像售票员，我却被 Gucci 家的包种草得一塌糊涂	3/17/2020 4:11 PM
203	住 6 亿豪宅、买 4000 只 Chanel 包包，看完她女儿才知道贝小七输了	3/2/2020 12:05 AM
204	伦敦警察上街捉~鬼~，2 天逮捕 541 人，交通持续瘫痪 12 天…	2/19/2020 4:40 PM
205	伦敦第一！2019 全球城市潜力与综合排名，中国上榜 26 城，有你家吗？	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
206	伦敦没进前 5！最新英国城市排名，流量黑洞都在哪？	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
207	伦敦樱花开了！花期就 7 天，今年不看是要攒到明年吗	3/29/2020 10:47 AM
208	伦敦地铁三大邪教，练到第三层，能不吐的都是真本事	2/19/2020 4:40 PM
209	他让麦当娜脱衣，捧红刘雯，拒绝纪梵希，这个 67 岁爷爷越老越精怪	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
210	他比特朗普还爱演，辣全世界眼睛，其实都赖他爸	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
211	从贝小七到乔治小王子，1 岁就穿 Chloé 的星二代，彻底开启了新产业…	3/27/2020 6:26 PM
212	从豹纹到红底，梅姨小高跟可比她首相当得精彩多了！	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
213	从留英第一天起收集掉发，回国前能织出一顶假发	3/17/2020 4:11 PM
214	从 200 斤小胖子到王家卫新片男主，这才是真正的背影杀	2/4/2020 11:52 AM
215	今年夏天没去这些地方，等于白来伦敦了！	3/27/2020 7:24 PM
216	今天鲍里斯向全英国疯狂示好，内阁大换血！从此 PSW 能不能恢复就看她…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
217	今天起留学生北京落户网上就能办！受理时长减半，学生卡可千万别扔…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
218	今天英镑 9.24！川普被英国人骂惨，可鲍里斯为啥老躲着他？	2/4/2020 11:52 AM
219	今天英航又崩溃了：127 趟航班取消，2 万人被困机场…遇到类似情况该怎么办？	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
220	今天英女王 2019 圣诞致辞视频，来听最美英音！	2/4/2020 10:31 AM
221	今天英国诞生首位华裔女议员：我们不参政是英国的损失	2/4/2020 10:53 AM
222	今天脱欧定了，英镑却跌了？英国人深夜冲上街头，和警察对峙…	2/4/2020 10:43 AM
223	今天王子带女王口讯、向 3000 人安利~英国茅台~！可他更喜欢这些中国礼物	3/2/2020 12:15 AM
224	今天梅姨辞职，边哭边说：~我绝不会是最后一个~	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
225	今天又去送川普上天，但这满地川普才真的是魔鬼啊！	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
226	今天去看摄政街圣诞点灯仪式，英国人提前把圣诞过成了春节！	2/19/2020 4:40 PM
227	今天去看女王 93 岁生日阅兵，有他在，梅根复出风头都被抢光了！	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
228	今天去华为荣耀 20 伦敦发布会，全场 4 次欢呼，歪果仁最爱哪一点？	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
229	今天伦敦跨年烟火视频！看完全世界，我还是最爱这儿！	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
230	今天他站上天安门，成唯一登楼观礼的欧洲华人：我打心底为中国骄傲！	3/17/2020 1:43 PM
231	今天 Whatsapp 又曝新漏洞，再不升级就晚了！玩手机如何保护隐私？	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
232	今天 70 万人在女王家门口过春节，花样多到年味比国内还浓！	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
233	今天 2018 支付宝账单刷屏朋友圈：赚着 3000 月薪，操着年入一亿的心	3/29/2020 9:09 PM
234	今天 10 万英国人冲上街头，深夜和警察对峙，哈里王子都躺枪…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM

235	今天，衰神附体的梅姨，终于把死对头也拉下了水	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
236	今天，王菲和国旗一起刷屏！网友：一听开头就热泪盈眶…	3/17/2020 4:11 PM
237	人肉字幕 rap、现场劈叉，奇葩说英国 16 强诞生，光靠嘴根本嫌不够啊！	3/27/2020 6:26 PM
238	亲历～为啥直男直女也爱 LGBT 游行？在伦敦，"骄傲"是共同的信仰	3/27/2020 6:26 PM
239	亚马逊在中国玩不下去了？挣扎 15 年，水土不服不只是刘强东说的这么简单	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
240	为男人花 2 个亿，分手还可以狠赚的欧美～楼王～霉霉都在伦敦买了啥？	3/1/2020 4:58 PM
241	为什么英国公共假期都叫 Bank Holiday？这些银行真的很行…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
242	为了留在英国，他们苦学代码、餐厅打工、简历投了 400 份…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
243	中国驻英大使：都 2019 年了，怎么还有人活在殖民时代？	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
244	中国驻英国大使馆招聘文职雇员	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
245	中国留学生持仿真枪～作死～，被判 8 个月监禁！在英国买把枪有多简单？	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
246	中国每分钟有 7 人确诊癌症，绝症离我们有多远？英国权威专家和患者这么说	2/4/2020 11:52 AM
247	中国护照又升值！2019 最新免签、落地签攻略，拎包就走！	3/1/2020 4:58 PM
248	中国大妈果汁换血火上 BBC，可歪果仁这样续命，能把秦始皇惊得坐起来…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
249	中国 5 城贵过伦敦！2019 全球生活成本排名，你过得还好吗？	3/27/2020 6:26 PM
250	世界首富出轨狗血剧又更新了！原配小三背后，竟还各有一个男人搅和…	3/29/2020 10:47 AM
251	与女王婚戒和阿斯顿马丁同台，今天～中国制造～让英国人都惊叹	4/12/2020 12:21 PM
252	不回国过年的英国留学生，就这样嗨成了 3 派…	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
253	下周见女王该怎么穿？永远不要低估穷讲究的英国人…	3/27/2020 7:24 PM
254	上海交大公布 2019 世界大学排名，学文科的还是别太当真…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
255	上帝给了我 3.5 双眼睛，我用来闪瞎全世界的眼睛	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
256	万幸！今天巴黎圣母院起火垮塌，但已抢救下主体结构！有些美好，从此只在回忆中…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
257	一集 3940 万的英国魔鬼综艺来中国，也没逃过被魔幻山城重庆绕晕的命啊！	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
258	一年花 386 万的梅根成全球带货王！甜茶第 2，Lisa 金小妹没进前 5…	3/1/2020 4:58 PM
259	一年花 20 亿镑，留学已成高成本竞赛！天下父母苦心都一样…	3/29/2020 10:47 AM
260	一年换了 5 家运营商，亲身经历告诉你，英国电话卡的那些坑！	3/27/2020 6:26 PM
261	一天～逛～完 182 个国家和地区，还是最喜欢中国！BBC、CNN 演播厅都搬来了	2/19/2020 4:40 PM
262	一只价值 10 万元的巨鼠，给吃的就玩命找地雷，已拯救上百万人	3/1/2020 5:15 PM
263	一到 20 就开始渡爸妈这道～劫～，他们毕生才华都用来催催催婚了吧！	3/26/2020 12:14 AM
264	一个代表避孕的符号，怎么就被用来秀恩爱了呢？	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
265	一下飞机就失联？在英国攒手机信号原来要靠人品…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
266	thank u 英国，next	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
267	Skyscanner 并非最低价？英媒揭露买机票省钱的真正秘诀	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
268	Selfridges 加入战局，哈罗德还挺着！现在去 summer sale 哪家最划算？	3/27/2020 7:24 PM
269	QS 发布～文凭含金量～排名！清华全球第 6，KCL 跌到 68…你给母校拖后腿了吗？	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
270	QS 2020 世界大学排名：清华首超耶鲁！你的母校排第几？	3/27/2020 7:24 PM
271	LV 包褪色怪中国水土不好？再看一遍工厂内幕，我们还要缴多少智商税…	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
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273	Dior 痴迷她 15 年，被霍金奉为女神，却为了演戏把自己糟蹋成这样…	2/19/2020 2:16 PM
274	BBC 马斯克都吹爆，中国人第一个～摸～到月球背面，到底牛在哪？	3/29/2020 8:59 PM

275	BBC 这样蹭流浪地球热度，让我怀疑起了英国人审美…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
276	BBC 跟拍半个世纪，一集等 7 年，最新集豆瓣 9.7	4/10/2020 4:53 PM
277	BBC 跟亚裔对撕，秋张、权游都卷进来了！但这真的是歧视吗？	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
278	BBC 记者卧底 PUA 组织：一年睡 300 个女生，5400 元量产渣男…	2/4/2020 10:31 AM
279	BBC 福布斯齐科普：这就是鸿蒙？歪果网友急得想把 iPhone 扔了	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
280	BBC 最新凶宅片，噗哈哈是我看错了你这个鬼剧！	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
281	BBC 把人划为 7 等，你在英国属于什么社会阶级？	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
282	BBC 团队~叛变~出了部豆瓣 9.8 的纪录片，3500 天拍 8 集，每一帧都是壁纸	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
283	BBC 又官方卖腐！豆瓣 8.8~神~剧，6000 多岁还这么窝囊不如投胎做人…	3/27/2020 6:26 PM
284	BBC：大兴机场一个顶我们 6 个！PKX 最全航线整理，你今年飞吗？	3/17/2020 4:11 PM
285	BBC：你每抹一次口红，就是在亲吻上万只昆虫尸体！	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
286	93 岁还骑马的女王，今天冒雨也要拖家带口去这儿赌一把	3/27/2020 7:24 PM
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288	90 后十年挑战：涠看一眼 09 呼，我们嘟佬了	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
289	61 所英国大学确定罢工时间，将影响超 114 万人！缺的课能补吗？	3/2/2020 12:05 AM
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291	3 名留学生亲历电信诈骗，一开口就是 70 万！这些套路要注意	2/19/2020 4:40 PM
292	36 岁，英国人认为最好的年龄。(2)	3/29/2020 9:09 PM
293	33.3℃成史上最热 8 月假期！不吹空调的英国人避暑花招也是多…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
294	2 天逮捕 290 人，伦敦交通~半瘫痪~到周五！碰瓷式环保让英国人怒了…	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
295	2797 亿，港交所收购伦交所？英媒疯狂八卦，可~八~字只有一撇…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
296	22 岁名媛豪宅丧命：生在肯尼迪家族，就是死亡倒计时…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
297	20 部~最强电影~，2020 年新片安排上了！	2/4/2020 10:31 AM
298	2020 没做完这些事，英国就等于白来了！	2/4/2020 9:35 AM
299	2019 在伦敦还有~钱途~吗？英国 8 家权威机构这么看	3/29/2020 8:59 PM
300	2019 全球护照排名，英美跌出前 5！这两个亚洲国家第一	2/19/2020 4:40 PM
301	2019 全球幸福指数排名，这个国家又是第一！英国中国排第几？	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
302	2019 全球宜居城市，它霸占第一名 10 年！中英 20 座城市上榜，有你家吗？	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
303	19 岁身价 8000 万被撕强掰直男，今年网红大战第一瓜真能吃到撑	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
304	16 岁留学，28 岁放弃博士转行房地产，25 年后获欧盟 6000 万给挪威造城	3/17/2020 11:48 AM
305	15 岁花 400 万来英国留学，就是为了上牛津剑桥吗？(2)	3/17/2020 11:48 AM
306	131 年经得起 254 次翻拍的，除了它没别人	3/17/2020 1:43 PM
307	12 月别急着回国！开溜前，这份伴手礼清单治好你的选择恐惧	2/4/2020 11:52 AM
308	12 个品种的英伦猫，哪只最戳中你的萌点？	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
309	10 年后苏珊大妈重返达人秀，当年豪赚 2200 万镑的她，为何突然消失？	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
310	10 个候选梅姨：承诺 PSW、~攀比~吸毒，谁能笑到最后？	3/27/2020 11:53 PM
311	10 万多人用过的金马桶放英国 2 天就被盗！网友却认为是川普干的…	3/25/2020 9:29 AM
312	100 道题：你对英国的了解，及格了吗？	3/28/2020 10:53 PM
313	"性感卡戴珊在线造星"，网友狂氪 2 亿，老佛爷和女魔头都要蹭流量 (2)	3/17/2020 11:48 AM
314	"啥是佩奇"在中国火到 BBC 都眼红，英国人春节要玩一票大的！	3/29/2020 8:59 PM