

การวิเคราะห์วาทกรรมวิพากษ์ภาพแทนของนักท่องเที่ยวจีนในหนังสือพิมพ์ ภาษาอังกฤษ ในประเทศไทย

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Chinese Tourists in Thailand's English-language Newspaper

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บทคัดย่อ

บทความวิจัยนี้ มีจุดมุ่งหมายเพื่อศึกษาตัวบทที่ประกอบด้วยภาษาภาพและภาษาเขียน ในหนังสือพิมพ์ฉบับภาษาอังกฤษที่ตีพิมพ์ในประเทศไทย ว่าได้สร้างภาพแทนของนักท่องเที่ยวชาวจีนโดยมีความคล้ายคลึงอย่างไรกับวาทกรรมที่มีอยู่เดิมในวรรณกรรมไทยเรื่องภาพแทนแบบคู่ตรงข้ามของ “คนจีนที่ดี” และ “คนจีนที่ไม่ดี” การศึกษาการสร้างภาพแทนที่ใช้ภาษาภาพและภาษาเขียนช่วยให้เกิดความเข้าใจทั้งนัยยะเชิงบวกและลบที่แฝงอยู่ในคำว่า “นักท่องเที่ยวจีน” และ บริบททางสังคมที่มีอิทธิพลในการสร้างและการให้ความหมายโดยนัยของภาพแทนดังกล่าว การศึกษานี้เป็นการศึกษาเชิงคุณภาพโดยใช้ การวิเคราะห์วาทกรรมวิพากษ์ เป็นกรอบทฤษฎีหลัก ซึ่งใช้ศาสตร์เชิงสังคม และ ชุดเครื่องมือทางภาษาศาสตร์ เป็นวิธีวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลตัวบท ผลการศึกษพบว่า ภาพแทนทั้งเชิงบวกและลบของนักท่องเที่ยวจีนถูกสร้างขึ้นจากทั้งภาษาภาพและภาษาเขียน โดยมีรูปแบบที่เฉพาะเจาะจงเพื่อแยกความแตกต่างระหว่าง “คนจีนที่ดี” และ “คนจีนที่ไม่ดี” นักท่องเที่ยวจีนที่เป็นภาพแทนของ “คนจีนที่ไม่ดี” ในบริบทสังคมสมัยใหม่นั้น ถูกนำเสนอว่าเป็น “ความเป็นอื่นที่เป็นปัญหา” อันเป็นภัยคุกคามชาติไทย ในทางตรงกันข้าม “คนจีนที่ดี” ถูกนำเสนอในแง่ การเป็นลูกค้าที่มีคุณค่า และเป็นผู้ปกป้องผลประโยชน์ของชาติไทย เมื่อนำมาเปรียบเทียบกับภาพแทน “คนจีนที่ดี” ที่รัชกาลที่ 6 สร้างขึ้น คนจีนที่ดีในสมัยโลกาภิวัตน์ที่อิงลัทธิบริโภคนิยม คือ กลุ่มคนที่ไม่จำเป็นต้องปรับเปลี่ยนเข้ากับวัฒนธรรมไทย แต่ต้องมีความสามารถในการบริโภคและสร้างรายได้ให้กับชาติไทย ซึ่งสิ่งนี้ได้สะท้อนความเสื่อมถอยของคตินิยมที่ได้ลากเส้นแบ่ง “ความเป็นเรา” และ “ความเป็นอื่น” รวมถึงการเติบโตของลัทธิบริโภคนิยมในยุคโลกาภิวัตน์ที่ผู้คนสามารถใช้อำนาจในฐานะผู้บริโภคสอดแทรกอัตลักษณ์ของตนเข้ากับสังคมหนึ่ง หรือสังคมอื่น ๆ ได้

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Abstract

This paper focuses on how multimodal texts in Thailand's English-language newspapers constructed the representation of Chinese tourists similar to the existing discourses of binary opposition between the "good" and "bad" Chinese in Thai literature. Examining visual and verbal constructions leads to understanding what positive and negative implications of the term "Chinese tourists" are, and how social contexts influence the construction and implications of their representation. This study is a qualitative research applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the main theoretical framework in which multimodal texts were analyzed by using social semiotics and linguistic toolkits. The result of the study revealed that positive and negative representations of Chinese tourists were verbally and visually constructed with specific features to distinguish "the good" from "the bad." Chinese tourists as the bad Chinese in the modern context were represented as "problematic Others" who were threats to the Thai nation. On the other hand, "the good Chinese" were represented as valuable customers and national benefit protectors. Compared with the good Chinese of King Vajiravudh, the good ones in consumerist globalization are a group of people who do not need to assimilate into Thai culture, but have the ability to consume and generate national revenues. This reflects the recession of nationalism, which draws the line between "us" and "the Other", and the rise of consumerist globalization where people can assert their identities into a society or other societies through their power as consumers.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Social semiotics, Social stereotypes, News articles, Chinese tourists

Introduction

The term "Chinese tourists" has recently appeared in the global mainstream media. The term is related to different types of news including tourism, crime or business news. In Thailand, Chinese tourists were brought into attention in the media as a group of uncontrollable tourists as well as a prominent source of national income. This "love-hate relationship" also reflects through news reporting in which the choice of words surrounding the term "Chinese tourists" and images of their activities have constructed the way Chinese tourists are portrayed as well as implied meanings of the term "Chinese tourists" leading to both positive and negative perceptions.

In the economic arena, Chinese tourists were reported as valuable customers whom Thai people should welcome and behave towards as good hosts. Statistics published by the Department of Tourism showed that the number of Chinese tourists visiting Thailand has increased continuously from 1.7 millions in 2011 to 8.76 million. In 2015, they spent US\$ 11,348,73 million, generating significant national income for Thailand. Consequently, they became the largest number of tourists arriving in Thailand. Thai media, especially economic news channels, usually reported the advantages of Chinese tourists with reference to Thai business or government sectors. For instance, the news article entitled “TAT Adjusted Strategy to Accommodate Chinese” revealed that the Tourism Authority of Thailand attempted to maintain its position as Chinese tourists’ top destination by adjusting and using marketing activities (Chinmaneevong, 2016b).

On the contrary, in tourism or local news Chinese tourists were normally brought to public attention as the problematic Chinese. In their article “Chinese Tourists: Mind Your Manners,” the official website of The Economist reported that the severe situation caused by Chinese tourists misbehaving had made the Chinese Government enforce the law to punish those travelers who had violated the law and brought shame to the nation (K.M., 2013). As quoted in the mentioned article, Section 13 instructs that “Tourists shall respect public order and social morality in tourism activities, respect the local customs, cultural traditions and religious beliefs, take care of tourism resources, protect the ecological environment and respect the norms of civilised tourist behaviours” (K.M., 2013, para. 6). In 2013, China’s National Tourism Administration published guidelines called “Civilised Travel Aboard” with such recommendations as “Do not pick your nose in the public,” “Do not have footprints on the toilet seat,” and “Do use shower curtains in a hotel” (Clarke, 2014, p. 7). Ironically, the recommendations were able to shape the stereotypes of the Chinese themselves.

Consequently, the research questions underlying this study are:

RQ1: How was the representation of “Chinese tourists” visually and verbally constructed in Thailand’s English-language newspapers?

RQ2: What are the positive and negative implications of the term “Chinese tourists”?

RQ3: How do social contexts influence the construction and implications of the way Chinese tourists’ are represented?

The Sino-Thai “Jek”: the Other Within

According to existing discourses, the notion of “problematic Other” with respect to the Chinese is not a new notion in Thai society. The negative representation of the Chinese in Thailand can be viewed through the term “Jek,” which Thais have used to refer to the Chinese with bias. The negative connotations of the term “Jek” stem from the way the Chinese are represented as “the problematic Chinese” in the essay by King Vajiravudh titled “Yiw haneng Buraphathit” or “Jews of the Orient” (Vajiravudh, 1917). In the article “Are We Them? Textual and Literary Representations of the Chinese in Twentieth-Century Thailand”, Chaloeontiarana (2014) claimed that the King depicted the Chinese as similar to the Jews in Europe who “...exploited the country where they resided to amass wealth, yet remained separate, aloof, and ungrateful—never to become good citizens” (p. 478). Moreover, the Chinese were accused of being parasites on the Thai economy. He mentioned the reason behind this was that Vajiravudh was aware of his throne’s instability. The discourse regarding the problematic Chinese was produced to promote nationalism in line with the concept “Nation, Religion, and King” as influenced by the King’s educational background in England. Apart from Thai people, the population of the Thai state (or Siam at that time) consisted of many races including Malays, Lao, Mon, Shan, Yuan, Indians, Europeans and others. Compared with other racial groups at that time, only the Chinese were targeted as “Internal Other.” As for this point, Chaloeontiarana (2014) noted that “Vajiravudh only targeted the recent arrivals from China who were mostly poor laborers from rural villages, ignoring the Chinese who had been absorbed into the bureaucracy and old merchant families that had close business and personal ties to the monarchy” (p. 481). In addition, it was stated that the Chinese were considered a threat because of “their growing numbers, especially in urban centers, their control of business and rising wealth, and their propagation of subversive ideologies arising from China itself” (p. 481).

From Vajiravudh’s writings, the depiction of the “good Chinese” and the “bad Chinese” can be obviously shown in his collection of letters titled *Huajai chainum* (literally means a young man’s heart) published a few years after *Jews of the Orient*. It was a collection of letters between two friends, Praphan and Prasert. Praphan was portrayed as a Jek who had assimilated to Thai culture and values. For examples, he did not like Chinese customs such as arranged marriage, and he would like to be a civil servant. According to the portrayal of the “good Jek” like Praphan, Chaloeontiarana interpreted that “Vajiravudh himself, like most Thai of that period, still considered the Chinese and their descendants as different but yet an integral

part of Thai society.” In addition, he emphasized that the king rejected only the “bad” Chinese as depicted in his essay *Jews of the Orient*, i.e., those who do not assimilate to Thainess and follow the concept “Nation, Religion and King” (p. 484).

Chinese tourists: the Problematic Other Jek

The Sino-Thai are not willing to be called “Jek.” However, the term “Jek” is used to refer to Chinese tourists in a news article on the website *Manager.co.th* in 2014. Nakthong (2014) used the term “Jek” referring to Chinese tourists in his headline as he adopted the name of “Ha jang Jek” (funny Jek) on a Facebook page created by a local in Chiang Mai with the purpose of making fun of Chinese tourists. In his article, he described the changes in Chiang Mai after being invaded by tourists from mainland China. In addition, he employed images from the aforementioned Facebook page to illustrate the misbehavior of Chinese tourists such as camping in Chiang Mai University without permission, throwing fruit peel on the ground after eating in the market, and engraving Chinese letters on the cement floor. The quotations from the interviews with locals who were not satisfied with their misbehavior and the results of a poll were also used to emphasize this unbearable problem. Practically, the entire news article was devoted to negative attitudes towards the travelers and calling for practical solutions from the government, who always asked for understanding on the grounds that they have different cultures and that they should be considered as valuable customers. There are only a few paragraphs describing a positive side to the Chinese arrivals.

Although the term “Jek” referring to Chinese tourists with negative attitudes was used only in the Thai-language media, verbal or visual texts of English-language content in Thai media also revealed the attitudes and perceptions of Thai people towards Chinese tourists. The term “Chinese tourists” is used synonymously with the term “Jek” with the same notion of “un-Thai” or “problematic Other.” It is obvious that English-language content in Thailand such as newspapers do not apply the term “Jek” when referring directly to the Chinese, but it is undeniable that the term “Chinese tourists” in newspapers went accompanied by terms and illustrations of Chinese misbehavior.

Methodology

There are two major publishers of English-language newspapers in Thailand, namely the *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation*. However, this study focused on news articles from the *Bangkok Post* (BKP), consisting of both images and written texts

reporting on Chinese tourists in Thailand. As for reasons of selecting only data from the Bangkok Post, most news articles that reported on Chinese tourists published in The Nation were dominated by verbal texts, and there were only a few images relevant to the contents. According to the website Postpublishing.co.th, the Bangkok Post claims itself to be “the leading daily English-language newspaper in Thailand-in terms of circulation, readership base, and advertising revenues – in both print and digital formats” (para 1). The data of this study focused on news articles from the database iQNewsClip which contain the term and images of “Chinese tourists” and were published from 2013 to 2016. The period of data collection was chosen because it was the year after the film *Lost in Thailand* was released in China, thereby implicitly promoting Thailand as a destination for Chinese tourists. By using the keywords “Chinese tourists,” 667 articles were found. These articles were classified by whether they consisted of both visual and verbal texts relating to Chinese tourists in Thailand. However, some of the texts were not relevant for the purpose of this study. For example, some news articles reported about Chinese tourists in other countries while others were only introductions or reviews of tourist attractions. Those irrelevant articles were excluded. Consequently, only 64 news articles were used for analysis in this study.

To find out the relationships between texts and society, Fairclough’s (1992) three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach as well as a theory applied in this study. Although the mentioned relationships can be found through three levels of CDA consisting of texts, discursive practice and social practice, CDA is not sufficient on its own. Consequently, specific tools were needed to analyze multimodal texts in newspapers. As for written texts, the linguistic toolkit, including lexical choice, metonymy, presupposition, modality, metaphor, transitivity, collocation, and neologism was employed. Visual texts, on the other hand, were interpreted by applying Kress and van Leeuwen’s grammar of visual design.

Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis Framework

The purpose of applying Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytical framework is based on the assumption that texts cannot be understood or analyzed separately without the relation between webs of other texts and social contexts.

For researchers who work with CDA, discourse is defined as “a form of social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 72). Critical discourse analysts believed that discursive practices produce and reproduce “unequal power relations between

social groups” such as the unequal power relations between genders or between ethnic minorities and the majority in each society. Moreover, discursive practices play significant roles in “constructing representations of the world, social subjects, and social relations,” and play beyond “the interests of particular social groups” (p. 63). Fairclough believed that detailed text analysis is not sufficient to find out the relations between texts and social and cultural processes and structures. Therefore, Fairclough’s three-dimensional approach aims to unite three traditions of studying discourse: detailed textual analysis within the linguistic field, macro-sociological analysis of social practice, and micro-sociological analysis (p. 66).

Fairclough claimed that there are three dimensions to every instance of language used in a communicative event, which is “an instance of language use such as a newspaper article, a film, a video, an interview or a political speech”: a text, a discursive practice, and a social practice. Texts include writing, images or the combination of both whereas discursive practices focus on the production and consumption of the text (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.68). However, texts cannot be understood on their own without the relation to other texts as well as social contexts. As for the interrelation between the three dimensions, it can be noted that discursive practice bridges the relation between texts and social practice. Through discursive practice, language is used to produce and consume texts; and texts shape and are shaped by social practice. In the meantime, production and consumption processes are influenced by the text or the formal linguistic features (p. 69).

The Grammar of Visual Design: A Social Semiotic Approach

In order to analyze multimodal texts systematically, the grammar of visual design, which is a part of social semiotics developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), was applied in this research as a descriptive framework for visual analysis. The concept of this approach claims that images or visual texts can be analyzed and described similar to verbal texts. In addition, the grammar of visual communication can be paralleled with the grammar of verbal communication as described, “how words are constructed in clauses, sentences or texts so their grammars of visual design will describe the way in which depicted elements –people, places and things – combine in visual ‘statements’ of greater or lesser complexity and extension” (p. 1).

This framework was developed from the ideas of three schools of semiotics: the Prague School of the 1930s and early 1940s, the Paris School of the 1960s and 1970s, and the movement of social semiotics beginning in Australia where

several works were inspired by Michael Halliday (p. 5). Because of their grammar based on semiotics involving “sign” and sign-making, terms used in semiology are adopted. For example, the term ‘signifiers’ refers to color, perspective, and line whereas ‘signifieds’ refers to meanings interpreted from signifiers (p. 7). Kress and van Leeuwen applied the theoretical notion of “metafunction” from Michael Halliday’s work in their grammar of visual design. In any semiotic system, there are three metafunctions: the ideational metafunction, the interpersonal metafunction, and the textual metafunction. In other words, any semiotic system has to be able to “represent objects and their relations in a world outside the representational system”; to be able to “project a particular social relation between the producer, the viewer and the object presented” and to be able to “have the capacity to form texts, complexes of signs which cohere both internally and the context in and for which they were produced” respectively (pp. 40-41).

According to the nature of the news articles as the multimodal texts used as the data of this study, the researcher adopted only three major parts of Kress and van Leeuwen’s grammar of visual design: narrative representations, conceptual representations, and representation and interaction.

Linguistic Toolkit for Text Analysis

Apart from Kress and van Leeuwen’s grammar of visual design, the researcher also systematically analyzed verbal texts by applying a linguistic toolkit for text analysis adapted from *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. Linguistic elements including lexical choice, metonymy, presupposition, modality, metaphor, transitivity, neologism and collocation were examined. This paper emphasized lexical choice in verbal texts because this linguistic feature dominated the majority of the data. Lexical analysis was applied in this study to examine how particular words were used in news articles and meaning of those words. All types of words, especially nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs convey direct as well as indirect meanings which are able to reflect attitudes of people and values of society (Richardson, 2007, p. 47).

Findings

The representation of Chinese tourists in English-language newspapers published in Thailand has been visually and verbally constructed on the binary opposition between the “bad” and the “good” Chinese. The negative implications of the term “Chinese tourists,” which took up most of the media, were constructed

through the notions of “Otherness” and “threats.” Consequently, the representation of Chinese tourists as the bad Chinese in the modern context was perceived as “problematic Others” similar to King Vajiravudh’s. On the other hand, the positive implications as the good one include their being valuable customers and national resource protectors.

Visual and verbal construction of Chinese tourists as the bad Chinese Bad Chinese as threats

While most images used in news articles frame Chinese tourists as a large group of people, lexical choices related to them depicting imaginary of colonization, invasion or natural disasters. It was found that the examples of metaphoric words and phrases used were “state of influx”, “millions on the move”, “influx of Chinese”, “flock”, “flooding”, “influx”, “unstoppable waves”, “the largest outbound human movements”, “en masse”, “Temple tourist mecca”, “overwhelming”, “swarm over” and “chaotic scene”. Moreover, verbal texts were constructed with words and phrases to depict the sense of frightening or fearful incidents. The words used to describe natural disasters such as “influx,” “flooding” and “unstoppable waves” were adopted to describe the phenomenon of Chinese tourists. In addition, some words depicted a large group of people like armed forces moving to colonize a country, for examples, “millions to move,” “the largest outbound human movements,” “en masse,” and “swarm over.” Moreover, some terms give a sense of being too many to control such as “Temple tourist mecca,” “overwhelming” and “chaotic scene.”

1) Chinese tourists as a physical threat

The news article “Chinese Visitors Alarm” (BKP#52) is an example from the data showing how multimodal texts were constructed to imply Chinese tourists are a physical threat. Figure 1 is a picture of a map embedded in the mentioned news. The red line establishes a vector from the verbal text “Kunming” to “Chiang Khong.” The vector creates the action as a movement from “Kunming” to “Chiang Khong.” The picture is divided into 3 parts by colors: blue, white and brown respectively. The word “CHINA” in the blue-colored part is made salient by capital letters as well as the words “THAILAND” and “LAOS.” As a result, it can be interpreted that Kunming is the subordinate of China whereas Chiang Khong is the subordinate of Thailand. The vector establishes a sense of invasion by a more powerful China visualized as the majority part of the image. The genre of country

map is used similarly to a map for a military strategy in news about war. The red color of the vector is salient similar to the heading “TOURIST HAZARDS” which is red and capitalized. Related to the verbal text, red is the color of blood and fire. With the word “hazards,” the red color can be interpreted as a danger. The verbal texts are blended with the image without framing. It states, “The 1,861-km Highway R3A, built in the hopes of boosting business and tourism, has led to a large influx of Chinese tourist vehicles to the north of Thailand, raising concerns about traffic accidents and wanton littering” (p. 1). In this sense, the movement of Chinese tourists from the mainland could harm the locals by car accidents as a physical threat. In the body of the news article, verbal texts also imply a sense of invasion as stated, “The concerns have been mounting after the Chinese New Year holiday early this month when a large number of camper vans and private vehicles from China were found entering the northern border provinces” (p. 1). Within the body of news article, several phrases with negative implications were used to depict them as a physical threat such as “local people have complained...” and “many Chinese tourists break rules.”

2) Chinese tourists as a cultural threat

Chinese tourists as cultural and social threats can be viewed through verbal and visual construction of Chinese tourists as the Others. Most images of misbehaving Chinese were represented with actions or behaviors going against the beliefs and social values of Thai society. Visually, images and illustrations were used to stereotype Chinese tourists as uncivilized, inferior, and in need of educating. For example, Figure 2 from the news article “State of Influx” (BKP#4) was the illustrations from an e-book entitled Pig On The Loose. They depict Chinese tourists in different actions considered as misbehaviors in different places such as on the airplane, in the public toilet, and the buffet restaurant. As for verbal texts, word choices with negative meanings were found throughout the article such as “unacceptable behavior,” “talking loudly” and “noisy.”

According to the grammar of visual design, the presented participant in Figure 3 is offered to viewers to examine her action which is against Thai values and norms (that it is rude to use feet instead of hands to hold things). Considering the gender of the represented participant, it is unacceptable for women to do that act in public, especially in the temple. As for verbal texts, linguistic tools including metaphor, modality, and transitivity were employed to represent inappropriate behaviors of Chinese tourists. The reporter played with an English idiom with bold

fonts, “Get smart, but don't put your foot in it.” According to dictionary.cambridge.org, the idiom “put your foot in it” means “to say something by accident that embarrasses or upsets someone.” The readers need presupposed knowledge to understand the negative implication of the idiom. In other words, the heading implies that the action of represented participant is unwise, embarrassing, and upsetting. Although the heading seems to be advice, it is actually a complaint. Although the mentioned act considered to be inappropriate for both genders, women are more criticized in Thai society. It is because Thai society expects women to be mothers and role models who reproduce cultural and social values in the next generations.

3) Chinese tourists as a threat to natural resources

Compared with Thai-language newspapers, images and news of explicit act as a natural resource threat were rarely found in the Bangkok Post. Thai-language sources usually reported news about Chinese tourists harming Thailand's natural resources. For instance, a Chinese tourist was arrested for catching baby parrotfish, or they left a ton of coral and seashells at the airport. Instead, the Bangkok Post reported this issue with an image that went viral on social media in the article



Figure 1. Tourist Hazards. The figure illustrates how visual and verbal texts construct the perception of Chinese tourists as a physical threat (POSTgraphics, 2016, p.1).



Figure 2. Illustrations in the book *Pig On The Loose*. The figure illustrates misbehaviors of Chinese tourists (Migullas, 2013, p.4).



Figure 3. A Chinese tourist using her feet to hold her cell phone. The figure reveals an unusual action judged by Thai people as an inappropriate behavior (Janthong, 2013, p.3).

“Chinese tourist influx seen as mixed blessing” (BKP#25). The embedded image is from an internet source and framed to make the viewers realize there is a large group of people in the picture. The background reveals the beauty of the setting or natural resources. As for verbal text, the news article in which this picture was embedded stated the issue, “Over the weekend, images of Maya Bay in Krabi, packed with Chinese tourists, went viral on social media....He expressed concern the unregulated influx of tourists may damage the natural beauty and ecology of the Maya Bay, beaches and sea in Krabi” (Prateepchaikul & Atthakor, 2015, p. 14). The rest of the data in that period rarely used visual texts to reflect this issue. However, there were comments in some articles. In the news article “Law Amendment Stirs Unease” (BKP#56), Chinmaneevong (2016a) expressed his concern about this threat as stated, “But we should think of their impact on our natural resources. Is it worthwhile for more Chinese arrivals?” (p. B5). Achakulwisut (2016) also mentioned this issue in the article “Outspoken Chinese Tour Leader Impresses Thais” that “The Chinese tour leader launched a lengthy monologue saying a Chinese tourist wanted to take home the driftwood even though another tour guide told her it is against the law to take anything from a tourist site” (p. 8).

The representation of Chinese tourists as an economic threat was related to the news articles, for example the news article “The tides of tourism” (BKP#64), reporting about illegal Chinese tour guides and “zero-dollar-tour”, which Chinese tourists pay a low price for their tour package, and they are pressured to buy

overpriced souvenirs and other items by the tour guides later (Karnjanatawe, 2016, p.5). As for verbal construction, phrases such as “invasion of the job snatchers,” “illegal foreign companies and workers,” “stealing jobs from Thais,” “using Thai nominees,” and “illegal foreign investors” were found in the news articles reporting about the mentioned issue. The lexical choices constructed the negative representation of the Chinese. As for transitivity, the locals were the actors who expressed their fear of this phenomenon whereas the passive voice was used to depict that they were threatened by the illegal Chinese tour guides and companies. Although Chinese tourists were not the real actors who did those illegal acts, the readers can presuppose that they were the root cause of this phenomenon. For instance, the article “Invasion of the Job Snatchers” (BKP#3) stated, “A massive surge in the number of Chinese tourists visiting Phuket in recent years has led to a corresponding demand for tour guides able to speak their language” (p. 5).

As for visual communication, Chinese tourists in Figure 4 as represented participants were framed in front of a banner literally stating, “Drive out illegal tour guides to protect our rights.” The banner was conferred to represented participants. Although Chinese tourists were not intended receivers of the message on this banner, they were related to the banner as an important part of this phenomenon. Visually, this image was captured with oblique and high angle photography. It portrayed the presented participants as interior Others in the viewpoint of the authorities. Verbally, the caption of this image states, “Chinese tourists walk past a banner put up by local tour guides protesting against illegal foreign tour guides in February. The ATTA wants the junta to tackle foreign tour operators who have Thai proxies” (Chinmaneevong, 2014, p. B3). When considering transitivity, Chinese tourists played as the actor of the sentence although they were not mentioned as the cause. However, the word “Chinese tourists” appeared with words containing negative implications such as “protesting,” “illegal tour guides,” “foreign tour operators” and “Thai proxies.” The term “The ATTA” was used as a metonymy to depict a group of Thai people affected by illegal tour guides. As a result, the term “Chinese tourists” was unavoidable to relate as the root cause of the economic threat affecting Thai tour guides.



Figure 4. Chinese tourists walk past a banner. The figure illustrates how verbal texts embedded in the image confer to Chinese tourists as the cause of the problem (Jinakul, 2014, p. B3).

Visual and verbal construction of Chinese tourists as the good Chinese

The representation of “Good Chinese” in verbal and visual texts has been circulated in discourses of valuable customers and national benefit protectors. Visual techniques and verbal texts constructed positive implications of Chinese tourists, especially in business news.

1) Good Chinese as valuable customers

As for lexical choices, verb phrases were used to construct positive implications of Chinese tourists; for example, “giving a boost to the country’s tourism revenue in the process”, “thanks in part to the success of the Chinese film *Lost in Thailand*”, “spend several billion baht nationwide”, “has more money to spend on travel”, “help compensate for the drop in European travelers”, and “to achieve its goal of 2 trillion baht in tourism revenue by 2015”. The visual construction tends to use a frontal angle to imply a close relationship or a lower angle composition to represent their superiority as valuable customers. In addition, the verbal and visual texts shape the identity of Chinese tourists as middle-class spenders and shoppers.

For example, the action process in Figure 5 showed the represented participants looking directly at the viewer as the “demand” image. The represented participants were represented as the actors of this action process. They require the viewer’s attention. As for framing, they were framed from the waist up. It could be interpreted as “far personal distance.” Compared with images constructing the bad Chinese and reflecting far social distance, the represented participants in Figure 5 tended to have a closer relationship to the viewer. With facial expressions and gestures in the image, their representation was positively perceived. The social relation was

also found in the verbal text as the caption stating, “More young Chinese than ever before are travelling to Thailand. From left, William Jen, Alice Cheng, Xian Wang and Xian Mi take in the sights in Bangkok” (p. B1). Compared with the visual construction of the bad Chinese, the relationship between the represented participants and the viewer was closer so that they could be distinguished by their names instead of a common noun “Chinese tourists” as stated in the caption. However, their value to Thai society was mostly described through verbal texts. This image was embedded in the news article entitled “Chinese lost in Thailand's charm” (BKP#1) which praised Chinese tourists who helped generate national income. The verbal texts were constructed on words and phrases with positive implications towards Chinese tourists as stated, “... As China, the world's most populous country, has developed into an economic superpower, its middle class has more money to spend on travel.... Chinese tourists will undoubtedly play a large part if the government is to achieve its goal of 2 trillion baht in tourism revenue by 2015” (p. B1, p. B6).



Figure 5. More young Chinese than ever before are traveling to Thailand. The figure illustrates that framing and vertical angle visual techniques are used to portray the closer relationship between represented participants and the viewer (Jarungirakiat, 2013b, p. B6).

2) Good Chinese as national benefit protectors

Although the word “Chinese tourists” propagated stereotypes regarding their misbehavior, a few news articles also represented the good Chinese as model Others who protected Thai cultural values and natural resources, in contrast to the bad Chinese. The significant characteristic of the good Chinese portrayed in news articles was that they were not afraid to blame or criticize other Chinese tourists even though they had the same nationality. According to the data, there were 2

pieces of news representing the Chinese who criticized their fellows. In the news article “State of Influx” (BKP#4), the news reporter interviewed Wei Yunmei or Echo Wan, a Chinese writer who published an e-book Pig On The Loose criticizing Chinese tourists with controversial illustrations stereotyping misbehaving Chinese tourists. Apart from verbal texts stating her personal information that she was studying an MBA in Thailand and her interview criticizing Chinese tourists, her images embedded in the article were captured with the frontal angle showing a closer relationship to the viewers.

Another example appeared in the news article “Outspoken Chinese tour leader impresses Thais” (BKP#57) from the column Pulse. It was a still shot from a video clip on Facebook. The framing of her close-up implied a close relationship between her and the viewers. With the caption beside the image, it was stated, “A Chinese tour guide leader has won praise from Thais for criticizing a fellow Chinese tourist who tried to take driftwood from a Thai beach back home” (p. 8). The verbal text portrayed that she was a model good Chinese who dared to speak out to protect Thailand’s benefits even though she had to blame her Chinese fellows or wish her fellows legally punished because of their misbehavior. As her quotation stated, “I told the tour guide to tell customs the tourist wanted to defy Thai authorities and laws” (p. 8). As for her action, it was reported that she was accepted as the good Chinese by Thai people as a Thai Facebook user commented on her Facebook page, “Thank you for protecting Thailand.” Both Wei Yummei and Bin Bin Ji were representations of the good Chinese who protected Thai social values and natural resources. They were portrayed as the Chinese who assimilated into Thai society.

Discussion and Conclusion

In order to answer the research questions, Fairclough’s three-dimensional model was employed to describe data analysis in three dimensions: text, discursive practice, and social practice.

Verbal and visual texts were used to construct the representation of Chinese tourists in Thailand’s English language newspaper. However, visual and verbal communication have their own limitations and advantages. As a result, skillful journalists have combined the advantageous elements of images and verbal texts for effective communication. In other words, visual and verbal texts do not only complement each other but also eliminate some limitations of both communication means. In addition, the positive and negative connotations of the term “Chinese

tourists” have been verbally and visually constructed by specific linguistic grammar and the grammar of visual designs. To interpret the implicit meanings in verbal and visual texts, the viewers and the readers have to apply their presupposed knowledge influenced by their personal experiences, social and cultural beliefs. According to the data analysis, journalists tend to convey more negative implications of Chinese tourists than the positive ones. It was found that the number of direct quotations with negative implications is 53 percent, whereas the number of negative implications analyzed by examining visual elements is 65 percent. In this sense, journalists tend to use more visual texts to convey negative implications than the verbal ones.

As for discursive practice, examining how visual and verbal texts were constructed reveals possibilities of how the viewers or the readers consumed or interpreted news articles reporting about Chinese tourists in Thailand. According to the data analysis, the producers have constructed positive and negative implications of Chinese tourists based on discourses of the good Chinese and the bad Chinese similar to the representations of Sino-Thai “Jek” constructed through the writings of King Vajiravudh. As for the bad Chinese, they were represented as problematic Others who were threats to the Thai nation. On the other hand, the good Chinese were represented as valuable customers and national benefit protectors. Furthermore, there are different perspectives towards Chinese tourists in specific types of news. Chinese tourists as the bad Chinese were normally found in the local news whereas the good ones were mostly mentioned in business and economic news.

When examined through social practice, it was found that the existence of Chinese tourists in Thailand as well as phenomena around the world has revealed how consumer culture has extended its territory over the barrier of traditional cultures, beliefs, and norms. In addition, it has revealed a dilemma between a clash of cultural differences and a consumer culture in which people have the right to consume in order to project their identities. In this context, Chinese tourists can be considered as the privileged Other similar to the term “the privileged” which Higgins-Desbiolles used to describe the relationship between tourists and the less privileged locals who perform as “servers” or “hosts.” As for negative implications of Chinese tourists, it reflects fear and unsecured feelings towards the privileged Others whom the locals see as threats.

On the other side, positive implications of Chinese tourists have been constructed on discourses of macroeconomy. Official and government sources were usually quoted to emphasize the importance of Chinese tourists for the Thai economy. In

this sense, acceptance of Chinese tourists is based on their consumption. Compared with the good Chinese of King Vajiravudh, the good one in consumerist globalization is a group of people who do not need to accept Thai values but have the ability to consume. Consequently, they can assert their identities into a society or other societies through their power as consumers. However, they are still the outsiders or the Others. Therefore, Chinese tourists are economically accepted as the good Chinese in the modern context while being rejected socially and culturally.

Recommendations for Further Research

Further studies would benefit by examining Thai language newspapers in order to find out cultural perspectives through language use. The study of lexical choices used in Thai news articles would cover in-depth understanding how the locals view Chinese tourists. In addition, the comparison of representations of Chinese tourists in both Chinese and Thai newspapers could be a future study reflecting two-side perspectives influenced by social and economic factors.

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Appendix

Table 1. Analysis of Direct Quotations

Code	Publication Date	Headline	Negative	Neutral	Positive
BKP#1	12-Jan-2013	Chinese lost in Thailand's charm			9
BKP#2	4-Feb-2013	Chinese New Year travel boom			2
BKP#3	26-May-2013	Invasion of the job snatchers	13		
BKP#4	24-Jun-2013	State of influx	15	5	3
BKP#5	1-Jul-2013	Get smart, but don't put your foot in it	1		
BKP#6	29-Aug-2013	The Round-Up: 2 tourists die in speedboat crash	2		
BKP#7	2-Oct-2013	China regulates zero-dollar schemes	10		
BKP#8	13-Oct-2013	Manners lost in translation	19	5	5
BKP#9	26-Feb-2014	Chinese invasion boosts Chiang Mai			4
BKP#10	5-Mar-2014	Maejo uni on tourist map	4		
BKP#11	5-Mar-2014	Thai tourists can be rude and loud, too.	6		
BKP#12	21-Mar-2014	Hong Kong back in the mix			5
BKP#13	31-Mar-2014	Millions on the Move	4	3	8
BKP#14	17-Apr-2014	Windmills, NOT WALLS	7	2	9
BKP#15	21-Apr-2014	MINORITIES OR STEREOTYPES?	1		
BKP#16	28-Apr-2014	Bridge boosts visitor numbers from China			3
BKP#17	17-Jun-2014	ATTA urges crackdown on proxies	4		
BKP#18	26-Jun-2014	Retailers ask NCPO's help in recovery			3
BKP#19	18-Jul-2014	Free visa for Chinese and Taiwanese for 3 months			6
BKP#20	7-Oct-2014	Action sought on illegal Chinese guides	6		
BKP#21	22-Nov-2014	Chinese arrivals up in October			4
BKP#22	23-Dec-2014	Trade deals with China bolster ties			1
BKP#23	3-Feb-2015	Airport undies cause stink	3		
BKP#24	24-Feb-2015	Police hunt temple bell-kicking tourist.	6		

Code	Publication Date	Headline	Negative	Neutral	Positive
BKP#25	24-Mar-2015	Chinese tourist influx seen as mixed blessing	6	1	2
BKP#26	15-Apr-2015	Sending up Red Flags	10	6	
BKP#27	23-Apr-2015	TAT in drive to attract wealthy Chinese	2		5
BKP#28	12-May-2015	Temple tourist mecca	4		
BKP#29	19-May-2015	Chinese tourists present industry challenge	4	2	2
BKP#30	10-Jun-2015	Chinese cop more flak	8		
BKP#31	30-Jun-2015	Lost in Thailand: New Chinese road signs	3	1	
BKP#32	6-Jul-2015	The Manchurian Candidate	2		5
BKP#33	10-Jul-2015	PM's fear of Chinese contagion			1
BKP#34	13-Jul-2015	WHEN CHINA SNEEZES	1	2	4
BKP#35	14-Aug-2015	Silver lining in yuan's fall	1		
BKP#36	21-Aug-2015	TAT: The roadshows will go on		1	1
BKP#37	23-Aug-2015	Faces of Tragedy: Remembering those killed in the Erawan Shrine bombing	1		
BKP#38	2-Sep-2015	TAT boss lays cards on table	1	1	
BKP#39	4-Sep-2015	RESILIENCE OF THAI TOURISM AFTER DISASTER STRIKES			1
BKP#40	13-Sep-2015	Big Demand on Campus	2	3	
BKP#41	13-Sep-2015	Chiang Mai Zooniversity: Crowd control on campus for tourists	2		
BKP#42	13-Sep-2015	You and Yuan are welcome (Just stay on the bus at the university)		1	
BKP#43	22-Sep-2015	Chinese still keeping the faith			1
BKP#44	24-Sep-2015	Windfall for Golden Week	1		
BKP#45	21-Oct-2015	TCT predicts foreign arrivals will hit 30m		1	
BKP#46	26-Oct-2015	Chiang Mai revels in year-round boom		1	
BKP#47	24-Dec-2015	2015 A YEAR FOR THAI TOURISM			
BKP#48	12-Jan-2016	Rise in visitors 'can offset export decline'			1

Code	Publication Date	Headline	Negative	Neutral	Positive
BKP#49	13-Jan-2016	TCT upbeat on Chinese arrivals			1
BKP#50	18-Jan-2016	OIL ROUT, CHINA WEAKNESS KEEP STOCKS ON BACK FOOT	2	1	
BKP#51	10-Feb-2016	Chiang Mai bloom has Chinese aroma			1
BKP#52	29-Feb-2016	Chinese visitors alarm	1		
BKP#53	31-Mar-2016	How to tackle uncouth Chinese tourists	1		1
BKP#54	15-Apr-2016	Operators concerned over backlash against Chinese	1		
BKP#55	26-Jun-2016	Picking up speed in a push for boat safety	2		
BKP#56	28-Jun-2016	Law amendment stirs unease	2		
BKP#57	10-Aug-2016	Outspoken Chinese tour leader impresses Thais		1	
BKP#58	18-Sep-2016	WINNER: Tourist industry	2		
BKP#59	1-Oct-2016	Zero-dollar curbs to hit Chinese arrivals	1		
BKP#60	10-Oct-2016	IN CHINA'S SHADOW	1		
BKP#61	22-Nov-2016	Help plea as zero-dollar crackdown hurts	2		
BKP#62	9-Dec-2016	AirAsia sanguine on Chinese drop-off	1		
BKP#63	22-Dec-2016	Chinese tourism to fall further	1	1	
BKP#64	29-Dec-2016	The tides of tourism	1		
Total			74	24	15
Percentage			65%	21%	13%