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CHINESE-LANGUAGE MEDIA IN AUSTRALIA:

Developments, Challenges and Opportunities

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ISBN 978-0-9942825-6-9

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Overview

1. The Chinese-language migrant community media in Australia have undergone a profound transformation in the past decade or so, to the extent that the sector is no longer dominated by legacy media establishments catering to earlier Cantonese-speaking generations. What has emerged instead is a vibrant media sector catering mainly to a Mandarin-speaking migrant community from the People's Republic of China (PRC). This is largely due to the fact that the 'going global' expansionist initiatives of the Chinese state media have dovetailed with the business acumen of elite Chinese migrants in this country. Across the board, the Chinese-language media in Australia have had to shift their business strategies in order to cater to this Mandarin-speaking cohort, and thereby sustain the viability of their businesses. As a result, migrant Chinese media—and, for that matter, mainstream Australian media (e.g., Fairfax)—have been willing to lend their platforms as carriers of China's state media. Also for business reasons, some Chinese media may from time to time engage in a certain degree of self-censorship. As a consequence of these developments, there has been a clear shift from media representations of China that are mostly critical to representations that are sympathetic or even supportive. However, the full range of reasons for this shift are manifold and more complex than usually imagined. The view that much of this sector has now been 'bought off', 'taken over', or is owned or directly controlled, by China's propaganda authorities is simplistic, and insufficient alone to account for these complexities.
2. There is clear evidence that Chinese propaganda has moved offshore from the mainland and become to some extent integrated with Chinese media in Australia. But this does not necessarily mean that such 'localised' propaganda has a direct impact on Chinese-speaking audiences. This is due to several factors:

- > Chinese audiences, including migrants from the PRC, tend to harbour an innate scepticism or even simply an indifference towards Chinese state media propaganda
 - > better-educated Chinese migrants typically access news and current affairs from a range of sources, and Chinese media are at best only one of these sources
 - > The circulation of Chinese newspapers in Australia is relatively small, and Chinese-speaking migrants can easily access or be exposed to propaganda content from PRC media directly, so their exposure to it in diasporic Chinese-language media may be a marginal factor in the formation of their views.
3. However, while the impact of Chinese propaganda in general may not be as great as is generally feared, the possible impact on Australia's social cohesion of newly emerging online media outlets run by mostly student migrants may have been underestimated. While many PRC migrants in Australia may feel little more than apathy towards Chinese state propaganda in general, they mostly side with China if there is a potential clash between the two nations on matters of national pride, sovereignty and territoriality. On such occasions, Australia's Chinese media have been mostly utilised to articulate both the Chinese official position and populist sentiments, thereby tending to position the Chinese migrant community at odds with mainstream Australian society. Consequently, it behoves the Australian Government to pay attention to what is being said in these spaces, and to seek to understand the sentiments and points of view that underpin these statements. Only then can it harness this sector—not just for the purpose of explaining Australia's position but also, ideally, to get the Chinese community on board to rally behind it.
4. Chinese-language media, including social media, have played an increasingly important role in domestic politics. As 'ethnic minority' media, they have been particularly sensitive to multicultural and multiracial policy debates, especially on topics that potentially threaten the Chinese community's political and economic interests, or challenge their cultural values and traditions.

These media have been employed to lobby for—or against—major parties or particular policies during elections, at various levels of government. As a tool for making and shaping public opinion in a liberal democracy, this sector operates as a double-edged sword. It has the potential to contribute to the pluralism and diversity of Australia’s media ecology, but at the same time it may also inhibit the formation of an informed citizenry. Given that the Chinese migrant community is differentiated in terms of education level, media literacy and English proficiency, the segment of this community that has a relatively low level of English-language literacy are likely to rely mostly on Chinese-language media for news, current affairs and opinions on particular political issues.

5. Conflicting allegiances are sometimes demanded of Chinese migrant audiences in Australia. They are simultaneously targeted by state Chinese media, Chinese migrant media, the Chinese-language media provided as part of Australia’s multicultural media service (SBS), and mainstream English-language Australian media. In many cases, it may not be easy for audience members to identify the provenance of media content at hand. And sometimes they are confronted with conflicting or at least competing perspectives. The tensions and dilemmas facing individuals from the Chinese migrant community become at best a source of cultural anxiety and frustration, at worst a potential trigger for social disharmony. How to turn this challenge into an opportunity for building a more diverse and pluralistic media environment and to encourage rigorous, rational and respectful dialogue and debate has become a matter of pressing concern.
6. Chinese social media are extremely powerful tools for networking with Chinese business individuals, promoting Australian brand names and products, identifying trade and investment opportunities, and targeting the Chinese population in order to grow one’s business clientele. Chinese-language media, especially WeChat, are an extremely valuable platform for Australian businesses to engage with the Chinese community and potential consumers both in Australia and in China. Yet, due to cultural and linguistic barriers, the mainstream Australian business sector has been slow to take advantage of what WeChat

has to offer. Building an effective Chinese social media strategy is becoming indispensable in order to engage in e-commerce, facilitate sales and product promotion, increase visibility and build brand reputation, and maintain customer relations and service—not just with the sizeable Chinese population within Australia, but also with the vast, growing and hitherto largely untapped market in China.

Recommendations for government, business and mainstream media

Developing media policy and practices

1. Redefine and reposition migrant media so that they become integral parts of a genuinely multicultural, multilingual mainstream media landscape, rather than ‘ethnic media’ that exist in parallel silos to the English-language media. **(Government)**
2. Provide incentivising schemes aiming at encouraging bilingual content production, facilitating cross-cultural training and exchange for staff, and generating dialogue and debate. **(Government)**
3. Initiate collaborative cross-cultural publication and other media activities between English- and Chinese-language media. **(Media)**

Funding research

4. Commission, fund and facilitate research that sheds light on the culturally distinct ways in which the Chinese-language media, especially social media, are produced, used and circulated, and on how this knowledge can assist Australia in meeting key objectives. **(Government, Business, Media)**

Promoting public diplomacy with China

5. Establish a presence in locally available Chinese-language social media (in particular, WeChat), and ensure that accurate information about Australia is available in Chinese to counteract poorly informed opinion and understanding about matters of national importance. **(Government)**

6. Develop strategies for using Chinese-language media to generate good will within Australia's Chinese community, and to cultivate an understanding, if not acceptance, of Australia's national interests in relation to China. **(Government)**

Developing communication strategies in key areas of government and business

7. Recruit media relations specialists in key government sectors (e.g., taxation, health, education, employment, immigration, trade and business) to ensure the provision of accurate information about available social services and relevant policies, laws and regulations to Chinese residents who speak or read little English. **(Government)**
8. Participate in routine two-way interactions with Australia's Chinese community via Chinese social media, establishing a feedback loop whereby mechanisms of policy implementation and strategies for enforcing regulations can be constantly improved. **(Government)**
9. Target Chinese social media platforms (in particular, WeChat) to explore business opportunities and seek to expand clientele in the Chinese community (in both Australia and mainland China) by:
 - > recruiting bilingual staff
 - > engaging specialist consultants with relevant linguistic, cultural and technological skills and knowledge
 - > creating and maintaining business-oriented WeChat accounts. **(Business)**
10. Develop regular pathways of communication with Australia's Chinese community via Chinese-language social media platforms and websites, with the aim of 'crowd-sourcing' ideas and assistance for possible business, education, tourism, investment and trade initiatives in relation to mainland China. **(Government, Business)**

Transforming recruitment practices in mainstream Australian media

11. Implement media recruitment policies and strategies that specifically seek out employees with native or near-native Chinese language skills, knowledge of Chinese media/business/government practices, and an understanding of Chinese culture generally, with the aim of balancing the sometimes narrow Western perceptions of China when reporting on, analysing and critiquing China's activities at home and abroad. **(Media)**

Challenges and opportunities

1. The opaqueness of Chinese-language media to outsiders poses significant challenges to a range of stakeholders, including media regulators, the business sector, Government bodies and mainstream media establishments.
2. Newly emerging online media have the potential to undermine social cohesion and polarise the Australian Chinese community against mainstream Australian society.
3. The unregulated and relatively isolated nature of Chinese-language media in Australia may inadvertently undermine the formation of an informed citizenry in relation to those with very limited English-language competence, or with little interest in seeking perspectives and information from mainstream, non-Chinese sources.
4. Chinese migrant audience members face conflicting demands for allegiance from various sources ranging from state Chinese media to mainstream English-language Australian media, and may lack the information to navigate these challenges in an informed and balanced way.
5. Chinese-language media provide a rare space for the Chinese community to share news and views that mainstream media are not interested in covering. Fostering their growth and development in ways that complement mainstream media therefore creates

an opportunity to contribute to the pluralism, diversity and vitality of Australia's media ecology.

6. Chinese social media are potentially an extremely powerful tool for networking with Chinese business individuals, promoting Australian brand names and products, identifying trade and investment opportunities, and targeting the Chinese population in order to grow the client base of Australian businesses.

Pathways to future research

1. Undertake a systematic, detailed mapping of the frameworks, sources, subject matter and political/ideological positions of Chinese-language media outlets as they emerge and evolve in Australia, in order to assess the extent to which these have been reshaped by China's rise as an economic power, and by its initiatives in the sphere of media globalisation.
2. Undertake a fine-grained analysis of how mainstream English-language media—including both public broadcasters and commercial media—represent China and Chinese people in politics, business, foreign policy, education, sport, the arts and other realms, in order to identify the main frameworks, narratives and positions adopted, and to pinpoint any gaps and blind spots in these representations.
3. Initiate large-scale longitudinal research combining qualitative ethnographic investigation with quantitative data gathering, in order to generate an intimate and nuanced sense of how individuals in Australia's Chinese community use media and communication devices and technologies to negotiate competing national interests and allegiances and live out the resulting tensions on a daily basis.
4. Investigate the full range of implications of the widespread use of WeChat and other digital and social media among the Chinese migrant community, in order to deepen our understanding of the opportunities and challenges this creates for government, business and mainstream Australian media.

5. Identify and assess possible mechanisms and strategies for capitalising on the potential of diasporic Chinese-language media to function as de facto instruments of public diplomacy on behalf of Australia.
6. Explore ways to assist Australian businesses to overcome the cultural and linguistic barriers that may inhibit their effective use of Chinese social media for networking with Chinese business individuals and organisations, promoting Australian brand names and products, identifying trade and investment opportunities, and targeting the local and mainland Chinese population to grow their customer base.

INTRODUCTION

The size and demographic composition of the Chinese migrant community in Australia has changed dramatically over the past two decades, making the PRC the largest overseas birthplace after the United Kingdom and New Zealand. China has surpassed Japan to become Australia's biggest trade partner, in terms of both imports and exports. The past decade or so has also seen the rise of China in its increasingly articulate determination to contest and reshape international public opinion. Furthermore, technological developments, especially digital media and communication devices, are radically transforming the ways in which media businesses are run, news is produced, and media content is used. Chinese-language media are no exception. These factors have interacted to result in an exponential—and ongoing—growth in both the scope and quantity of Chinese-language media in this country. These media are also throwing up some major developments that are poised to transform forever the Chinese migrant community media sector.

The centrality of the Chinese press in the historical formation of the Chinese community in Australia has been well established (Sun et al. 2011a; 2011b; Gao 2006, 2013). So has the continued importance of Chinese-language media in the current political, cultural, social and economic life of the Chinese community (Sun 2006; Sun 2014; Fitzgerald 2015; Sun and Sinclair 2016). This importance manifests itself in various ways. First and foremost, the Chinese-language media reflect, represent, and often advocate on behalf of the political, economic, social and cultural interests of Chinese communities in Australia. Second, they play an irreplaceable role in the Australian Government's efforts to communicate crucial information—policies, rules, regulations—to Chinese-speaking citizens and residents. Third, and unsurprisingly, the Chinese media in Australia have the practical function of maintaining migrants' command of the mother tongue—in most cases Mandarin—through regular exposure to Chinese-language cultural products. Finally, they play an integral part in facilitating the identity formation of multicultural subjects in an increasingly pluralistic Australia.

Whereas these functions are widely documented, what is less understood is how, in recent years, the Chinese migrant media have helped shape Australia's domestic political life. Moreover, little attention has been paid to their potential for playing a role in negotiating Australia's political, strategic, economic, social and cultural relationships and partnerships with China in the era of China's rise. In fact, there is very little public knowledge of both the history and current status of Chinese media in Australia, and little discussion about the implications of recent developments; nor is there a clear understanding of the main challenges and opportunities that such developments pose within Australia's political, economic and social life.

This report takes an important step towards addressing these issues. Among other things, it will:

- > provide an up-to-date overview of Australia's Chinese-language media landscape, including both established and emerging media outlets, in a variety of forms and platforms
- > analyse a number of patterns and trends in Australia's Chinese-language media sector
- > advance several recommendations for Government, business and mainstream media in relation to this sector
- > identify key opportunities and challenges that emerge from the sector for the Australian Government, business, the community and mainstream Australian media
- > outline possible topics for future academic research.

HISTORY OF CHINESE MEDIA IN AUSTRALIA

The Gold Rush era

The Chinese media in Australia have a long and tortuous history. The *Chinese Advertiser* (英唐招贴), published by Robert Bell in Ballarat, Victoria, with a weekly circulation of 400 copies, emerged during the Gold Rush of the 1850s. This weekly publication, which operated for only a couple of years, is considered to be the earliest bilingual Chinese–English newspaper in Australia. Its main aim was to inform the Chinese gold-mining community about Government regulations. The first Chinese-language national newspaper, the *Chinese Australian Herald* (CAH), appeared in 1894; the second, the *Tung Wah News* (东华新报), came along in 1898; while the third, *Chinese Republic News* (民国报), emerged in 1913. The end of the 19th century saw the creation of various other Chinese-language trade-oriented and community-based publications, making the Chinese press the largest foreign-language media presence in Australia at the time (Kuo 2013).

The White Australia policy period

The *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, one of the first Acts to be passed by the newly formed Australian Parliament after Federation in 1901, formed the basis of the White Australia policy. Nevertheless, the first two decades of this policy saw the publication of a few republican newspapers—such as the *Chinese Times* (爱国报)—in support of the Nationalist Kuo Min Tang (KMT) in China (Fitzgerald 2007). On the whole, however, this inhospitable environment led to a dwindling of the Chinese press in Australia, although a few publications persisted in the 1950s and 1960s, including the *Australian Chinese News Weekly* (亚洲新报周刊), *Asian Monthly* (亚洲人) and *Qiaosheng Monthly* (侨声).

After the White Australia policy

Following the implementation of the Colombo Plan in 1951, but especially since the abolition of the White Australia policy in 1974, the Chinese-speaking population in Australia began to grow again, largely due to the arrival of Indo-Chinese refugees and business migrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan. This growth gave rise to a plethora of Chinese media outlets that still exist to this day.

These either were subsidiaries of newspapers in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Southeast Asia, or were owned and operated by migrants from these locations. In the print media sector, there are *Singtao Daily* (星岛日报), *Australian Chinese Daily* (澳洲新报), the *Daily Chinese Herald* (澳洲日报) and *The Independence Daily* (自立快报). Later arrivals included, in the radio sector, 2AC and 2CR in Sydney, both broadcasting in Mandarin and Cantonese, and in the television sector, TVB Australia.

Migration from the PRC—a game changer

Australia resumed direct immigration from the Chinese mainland in significant numbers in the late 1980s and early 1990s, largely as a result of the start of economic reforms in China in the late 1970s and the implementation of its open-door policy in relation to study abroad. As a direct result of Australia's greatly expanded intake of mainland Chinese migrants since the early 1990s, Australia has seen a rapid and considerable increase in the size of its Mandarin-speaking population. This dramatic change in the demographic composition of the Chinese community meant a number of things:

1. New migrants significantly boosted the dwindling readership of existing print media, as well as the number of practitioners working within the struggling Chinese media sector. In order to survive in this newly competitive market, old media establishments have had to make fundamental adjustments—linguistic, cultural and political—to attract new readers. They also started to actively forge partnerships with PRC media outlets. As a result of these developments in the late 1990s, a significant shift started to take place in Chinese language media in Australia in the last few years of the 20th century. A paper published in the *News Journalist* (新闻记者), a key media industry journal in the PRC, summarises this shift as follows: 'Prior to 1996, there was not a single Chinese newspaper in Australia that was owned or controlled by PRC migrants. The views in these outlets were almost always one-sided, and a positive voice in support of China was non-existent. But after 1997... and particularly since President Jiang Zemin's visit to Australia, close collaborations between Chinese migrant

media in Australia and domestic media started in earnest' (Chen 2005).

2. A new, vibrant and competitive Chinese media sector, catering to the needs of Mandarin-speaking PRC migrants, sprang up to contend with older media establishments with Hong Kong and Taiwan affiliations. In general terms, there are several distinctive features about this new Mandarin print media sector:
 - > Many of these publications are weekly or monthly, and are distributed free of charge outside grocery stores, restaurants and other business venues that are frequented by members of the Chinese community.
 - > These publications mostly make money from advertising placed by businesses and services that are owned by and cater to the needs of the Chinese community. There is intensive competition between publications for advertising revenue, and they typically cannot procure lucrative advertising deals, particularly from major mainstream business. These publications exist mainly as small business enterprises, or, in some cases, as a means of promoting the main business arm of the company in some field other than media. Many of them do not have a long life-span due to fierce competition.
 - > In most cases, not all these media outlets are owned and operated by trained media professionals, and many do not have designated media professionals on the staff as editors and journalists. Many media outlets generally employ volunteers, casual and part-timers, as well as students studying media and journalism. From time to time there have been allegations that some have exploited Chinese students as a source of cheap labour. For most free publications, making a profit from advertising is the main game; journalistic credibility is not their overriding goal.

The mushrooming of Chinese websites in the 2010s

A number of Chinese-language websites have begun to appear in recent years. These are mostly comprehensive websites with a news and current affairs component. Some—such as SydneyToday.com—are owned by locally based Australian Chinese media companies; others are subsidiaries of China-based companies. For example, WeSydney.com.au (<http://www.wesydney.com.au/>) is supported by the WeChat platform (to be discussed in greater detail later in the report), and is an Australian subsidiary of WeChat's parent company, Tencent.

Created in 2011, SydneyToday.com (<http://www.sydneytoday.com/>) was the first site of its kind and, to date, the most successful one. Such websites are usually owned, operated and staffed by young, mostly student migrants from the PRC with Australian university degrees in IT, business or media. Zhang Dapeng, the young man who started SydneyToday.com in 2011, is an IT graduate from UTS. The Media Today Group Pty. Ltd. is now an online Chinese media conglomerate that includes SydneyToday.com, MelToday.com (<http://www.meltoday.com/>), QldToday.com (<http://www.qldtoday.com/>), DomainToday.com.au (<http://www.domaintoday.com.au/>), TripDay.com.au (<http://www.tripday.com.au/>) and HealthDay.com.au (<http://www.healthday.com.au/>). According to their own claims, in 2011 SydneyToday.com had an Alexa ranking of 282 as measured against other Australian portals, meaning that Alexa's combined index based on the site's Unique Visitor and Pageview counts placed it in the top 300 most visited websites in the country during the survey period (<https://support.alexa.com/hc/en-us/articles/200449744-How-are-Alexa-s-traffic-rankings-determined->). In 2014, subscribers to SydneyToday.com via WeChat reached 50,000, with 95% of these subscribers based in Australia. (<http://www.sydneytoday.com/about/>).

Mostly financed through advertising revenue, these online media provide news and current affairs in Australia, in addition to a wide range of information across all aspects of everyday life, including employment, study, housing, finance, real estate, tourism, health, shopping and eating out. The news and current affairs component features stories—both serious and flippant—about mainstream

Australian society and Australia's Chinese community. News from China tends to be light and soft nature, usually eschewing serious and politically sensitive topics. Targeting mostly younger users and students, these outlets give disproportionate coverage to entertainment and celebrity gossip. Their tone is often strident, sensational or jovial, depending on the nature of the topic covered.

Another online entity that has experienced notable growth in the last couple of years is YeeYi.com, which claims to be the biggest and most comprehensive Chinese portal in Australia, with an integrated social media platform. Apart from daily news, YeeYi.com also produces its own weekly television content for its video feed component. YeeYi.com now claims to have 2 million subscribers, with a daily Unique Visitor count of 250,000, and daily Pageviews of one million (<http://www.yeeyi.com/bbs/thread-2002318-1-1.html>).

These media mostly do not generate news content from their own in-house journalists, but instead translate news and current affairs from a wide range of English-language media outlets, while providing links to the original stories. They usually do not feature serious op-ed pages, but the editors do pay close attention to hot-button issues that concern the Chinese community. For instance, on 23 August 2016, most major Chinese websites gave prominent coverage to the [ABC's report](#) about a petition against the Australian Government's Safe Schools program signed by 17,000 Chinese individuals being tabled in the New South Wales Parliament.

While these young media practitioners are not interested in simply being mouthpieces for China's propaganda, they are nevertheless staunchly nationalistic in favour of China. This means that while their websites usually avoid politically sensitive news about China, they may effectively give voice to the opinion of the Chinese community on certain controversial issues where China may be in conflict with Australia. They may also be effective tools for mobilising action on the part of the Chinese community over controversial issues that threaten to strain Australia–China relations.

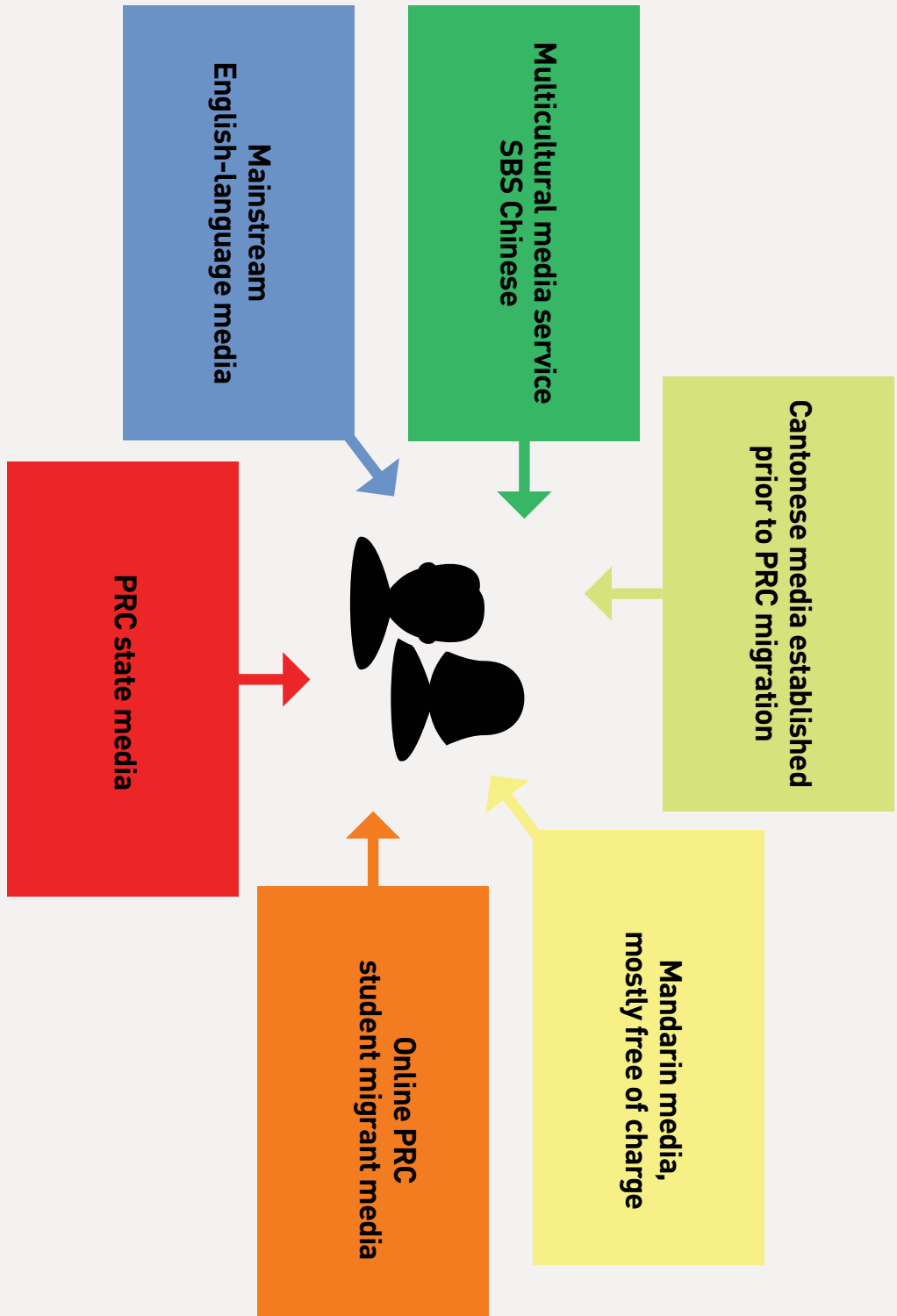
The penetration of China's state media

In the past few years, China's state media have made significant inroads into Australia's media landscape via a number of pathways, including:

- > increasing the number of offshore correspondents for major state media organisations such as Xinhua and People's Daily
- > expanding partnerships and content sharing with existing Chinese migrant media
- > securing business deals with mainstream English-language media organisations to carry Chinese state media content (e.g., Fairfax), or entering partnership agreements with mainstream media (e.g., the ABC's AustraliaPlus.cn has partnerships with China Daily, Beijing TV, CNTV and the Shanghai Media Group).

Adding the effects of these most recent changes to the earlier accretion of media forms and platforms, Australia's Chinese migrant community now finds itself at the centre of a multi-dimensional landscape of media influences that vividly recapitulates the history of Chinese-language media in Australia (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. MEDIA SECTORS CURRENTLY TARGETING CHINESE MIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA.



TRENDS AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SECTOR

In general and broad-brush terms, recent developments in the sector can be described as a series of *shifts* of different kinds, the most important of which are sketched in this section.

From print to digital media

The history of Chinese media in Australia goes back a century and a half, and despite the presence of radio and television for quite a few decades now, the ethnic Chinese media were, until quite recently, still predominantly print media. This long-standing association between an ageing readership and an even older print media is in the process of being undone very rapidly. For the first time, digital media, especially via various communication devices and platforms that focus on social networks, are poised to take over as the dominant, most influential and most far-reaching media forms.

From a single audience to a more diverse demographic

One well-established view of Australia's Chinese community media is that they mostly have a small but dedicated, middle-aged/elderly and predominantly Cantonese-speaking audience with little English. In recent years, however, the audience for these media has been greatly fragmented in terms of age, gender, dialect group, English language literacy and socioeconomic status as a result of several factors, including:

- > the arrival of young students and migrants from the PRC
- > the pressure on print media to develop an online and interactive presence and content delivery capacity
- > the ubiquitous uptake of social media by all segments of the Chinese population, especially WeChat.

From local to global reach

As with the Chinese migrant media in other countries, print publications and radio in Australia are still highly localised and mostly limited to just one city and state. In contrast, the emergence of digital media as the dominant form of production, content delivery, circulation and usage means that Chinese migrant community media are becoming increasingly transnational, linking Chinese migrants in Australia with the PRC, on the one hand, and Chinese migrant communities across the globe, on the other.

From single media outlet operation to conglomerates

Increasingly, Chinese-language media are owned by a few conglomerates, which either enjoy extensive cross-media ownership, or use media as the publicity arm of their main business, which might be something like property development or real estate. Apart from the Hong Kong based Singtao Media Group, which owns the Australian Singtao Daily, prominent conglomerates of this kind in Australia include the following:

Kingold Group

Kingold is owned by billionaire property developer and investor Chau Chak Wing. Kingold, in partnership with the Guangzhou-based *Yangcheng Evening News Group*, owns the *Australian New Express Daily* (新快报), one of the four nationally circulated Chinese-language dailies in Australia. Started in 2014, this is the 'sister paper' of a daily Chinese paper of the same name in Guangzhou. Kingold Media also publishes *Fortune Weekly* (财富一周) and *Lifestyle Monthly* (生活月刊).

Austar Media Group (CAMG)

Owned by Australian citizen and former PRC national Tommy Jiang, CAMG was previously known as the Austar International Media Group (AIMG). For 17 years after its first incarnation as Chinese-language radio station 3CW in Melbourne, AIMG (and later, CAMG) grew to be a media conglomerate consisting of Chinese-language radio stations in several major Australian cities (but not including Sydney); several Chinese-language periodicals, weeklies, and newspapers; and a

range of businesses and services in the field of cultural exchange and other areas. CAMG's website now boasts eight subsidiary companies globally in addition to its Australian operation, and delivers radio broadcasts in a dozen different languages in countries as diverse as Argentina, Afghanistan, New Zealand and Nepal (see <http://www.camg-media.com/en/index.php>). Riding on China's 'going out' initiative and soft power push through international media expansion, CAMG has been instrumental in bringing the state-owned international broadcaster China Radio International (CRI) to Australia.

Chinese Newspaper Group

The Chinese Newspaper Group (澳洲中文报业集团) was established in 1986 and claims to be the only privately owned company in Australia that specialises in publishing in Chinese. Its portfolio consists of nine publications in some of Australia's major cities, as well as websites, tablet and social media offerings including the online news website www.1688.com.au, and property website www.ozhouse.com.au. Its mastheads include the *Daily Chinese Herald* (澳洲日报).

Aust-China Group

The Aust-China Group (澳中集团), established in 1988 with its headquarters in Melbourne, owns *21st Century Chinese News* (澳洲侨报), which has a circulation of 22,000 and is published each Wednesday. The chief of the Aust-China Group, Jin Kaiping, is a native of Shanghai who came to Australia in 1987 and has made a fortune in real estate and property development. His autobiographies, written and published in China and detailing his 'rags-to-riches' experience in Australia, are promoted as motivational reading for Chinese readers. Jin enjoys extensive connections with Chinese business and Government bodies.

Nan Hai Media Group

Established in 2011, the Nan Hai Media Group (澳大利亚南海文化传媒有限公司) specialises in publishing Chinese-language media and hosting arts and cultural performance troupes from the PRC. In 2012 the group launched *City Weekly* (城市周刊), specialising in living in Sydney, and took over the monthly magazine *Citywalker* (乐城), while

in 2013 it launched the high-end fashion quarterly, *C Magazine* (尚城). Nan Hai also signed a partnership deal with Tencent, WeChat's parent company in China, and became WeChat's official representative in the Oceania region. The company claims to have partnerships with the China News Agency, Bank of China and Air China. Nan Hai also launched Australia Chinese TV (雪梨TV) in August 2016.

From mostly critical to mostly supportive media coverage of China

Both scholarly research and media commentaries have pointed to a discernible shift in Chinese language migrant media from a mostly critical to a mostly supportive stance in their coverage of China, the Chinese government and issues and topics that are considered to be politically sensitive in China. More importantly, sensitive news stories involving issues such as Tibet and Falun Gong are commonly dealt with through omission. For instance, Australia's Chinese-language media were mostly silent on the 25th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square pro-democracy movement (Fitzgerald, in Glenday 2014). In contrast, official visits to Australia and the PRC embassy by China's leaders, and the various initiatives and Chinese community activities of China's consuls general in Australia receive premium and welcoming coverage in the Chinese-language papers (Sun et al. 2011a). Also, through their transmission of radio content from CRI, Australia's Chinese-language radio stations report positively on key political events in China such as the National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (Sun 2014; see also the discussion of radio in the following section).

A comparison of how *Singtao Daily* covered the Tiananmen Square events in 1989, and then the Umbrella Movement in 2014, throws up a sharp contrast: the paper was staunchly critical of the Chinese Government in its 1989 coverage, but then turned its criticisms mostly against the student and scholarly pre-democracy movement in Hong Kong in 2014 (Sun forthcoming). Although this example says more about the changed stance of *Singtao Daily* in general rather than about its Australian edition, it nevertheless does indicate a shift towards a more friendly position towards the Chinese Government in the sphere of diasporic Chinese media, including in Australia.

MAJOR CHINESE MEDIA (BY SECTOR)

Daily paid newspapers

There are four paid nationally circulated dailies in Chinese in Australia. They are:

1. *Singtao Daily* (星岛日报)

Singtao Daily in Hong Kong started as early as 1938. The Australian edition was first launched in Sydney in 1982, with the Melbourne edition of the paper having to wait until September of 2005. While the targeted readership in earlier decades were Cantonese-speaking migrants from Hong Kong, the paper now mainly caters to migrants from the PRC, with smaller numbers from Hong Kong and a number of Southeast Asian countries. For Simon Ko, formerly the CEO of *Singtao* Australia, himself a Cantonese-speaking migrant from Hong Kong, the arrival of large numbers of PRC migrants 'brought new blood' to his readership and threw a lifeline to *Singtao* that it could not afford to ignore. *Singtao* has traditionally positioned itself as a middle-class newspaper, targeting middle-aged and older readers who have a sizeable disposable income. In recent years, it has experimented with various initiatives in order to attract younger readers. For example, it has shifted its printing style from vertical (top-to-bottom, right-to-left) to horizontal (left-to-right) to make it more reader-friendly to PRC readers. It also ensures that any uniquely Cantonese words and expressions are translated into Mandarin for the Australian edition. In addition, *Singtao* has formed several partnerships with PRC media. For instance, starting in 2002, the Australian edition of *Singtao Daily* has been carrying one page of content from *Wenhui Daily*, a popular and long-standing newspaper based in Shanghai. The current editor-in-chief of the Australian edition of *Singtao Daily* is K. C. Wong (黄继昌), and its general manager is Patrick Wong (黄宗荣), who was previously with TVB Australia for fifteen years as its founding general manager.

According to an in-house survey conducted by *Singtao* a few years ago, the paper enjoys the biggest slice (46%) of the daily market for Chinese-language papers, with its nearest rival, *Australian Chinese Daily*, on 38%, and the other two paid papers sharing the remaining 16% (Ko 2013).

2. *Australian Chinese Daily* (澳洲新报)

Hong Kong migrant Sandra Lau established *Australian Chinese Daily* in 1987. Initially using the traditional printing style (right-to-left, top-to-bottom), in 1990, like *Singtao Daily*, the newspaper reformed this to the left-to-right format, and adopted colour printing.

Australian Chinese Daily is considered to have played an instrumental role in assisting efforts to lobby the Australian Government to let Chinese students stay in Australia during and after the Tiananmen period (Gao 2013). To differentiate itself from *Singtao Daily*, the paper claims to be the first Chinese newspaper in Australia that is wholly produced and circulated in Australia. The paper's current editor-in-chief is Daniel Tong (唐德荣).

3. *Daily Chinese Herald* (澳洲日报)

Daily Chinese Herald was also established in 1987, and was initially operated by a non-PRC owner who then sold the business to PRC migrant operators. It started operation under its current title in 1998, and is now part of the Chinese Newspaper Group, which is owned by migrants from the PRC. The Group has nine publications in various parts of Australia, as well as online news (www.1688.com.au) and property (www.ozhouse.com.au) websites. The current editor-in-chief of paper is Huang Fengyu (黄丰裕), a native of Taiwan who was educated in the United States. His success in the media business in Australia has been favourably reported on in the Chinese media (China News 2011), and the *Daily Chinese Herald's* promotion of Chinese economic developments has been appreciated by Chinese propaganda officials and media (Chengdu Radio and Television 2015).

4. *Australian New Express Daily* (新快报)

The *Australian New Express Daily* started operation in 2004 and is a 'sister' paper of a Chinese daily of the same name in Guangzhou. The *Australian New Express Daily* is jointly owned by the Chinese Newspaper Group and the Kingold Group, both based in China.

Owned by Dr Chau Chak Wing, the paper has been described by Australian journalists as 'patriotic' towards China (Snow 2009) and 'Beijing-friendly' (Garnaut 2015). Its current editor-in-chief is Wang Jinchang (王进昌).

Appendix A contains a table of the major Chinese-language print publications in Australia, including mostly self-claimed circulation figures and distribution/frequency information.

Television

SBS Television broadcasts half an hour of news daily each morning from China Central Television (CCTV). CCTV and Chinese television from other PRC television stations can also be accessed through several other distributors by subscription (e.g., Fetch TV, Foxtel, Sky TV), or directly via the Internet.

TVB, the parent company of TVBA (TVB Australia; 澳洲TVB), is a global Chinese television network with its headquarters in Hong Kong. TVBA was established in 2000, and its offering is a mixture of content produced in Hong Kong and a small portion of local Australian content (mainly translated from news supplied by Channel 7, under an agreement between Channel 7 and TVBA). Initially set up to cater predominantly to Cantonese-speaking viewers in the older cohort of migrants, TVBA, and especially its Jadeworld Television service, quickly shifted its business strategy to cater to PRC migrants and Vietnamese viewers, without abandoning its original Cantonese-speaking viewer base. TVBA can be accessed in Sydney and Melbourne via a set top box.

Rainbow TV (RTV天和电视) was set up in 2010, and was the first 24-hour Mandarin broadcaster in Sydney. Viewers access it either via a set top box or online with Apple or Android software. Rainbow TV has extensive partnerships with television stations from the PRC, including many provincial television networks.

Radio

Older radio establishments are owned and operated by earlier-generation migrants from Hong Kong or elsewhere. Initially, they

catered mainly to Cantonese speakers, but increasingly they target both Cantonese and Mandarin listeners. Sydney has a number of Chinese-language radio stations, but the most active ones are 2AC and 2CR, both established more than 20 years ago, and both broadcasting in Cantonese and Mandarin. Although Sydney-based, they can also be accessed outside NSW via various AM frequencies.

Outside the Sydney market, the rest of the Chinese radio in Australia is produced by the Melbourne-based Astar Media Group (CAMG), with 3CW in Melbourne being the earliest station. CAMG, headed by PRC migrant Tommy Jiang, broadcasts mainly in Mandarin, and is a partner of CRI, China's state-owned international radio network. This partnership takes myriad forms, including carrying CRI content and receiving staff training.

All the content on these stations is accessible via the Internet, smart phone apps and social media platforms, in addition to via radio transmission.

Online media

Although Australian users can access Chinese-language media all over the world, online Chinese media in Australia include both the online component of Chinese migrant legacy media, and those online-only publications that have emerged in recent years and seem to be proliferating. Most online publications have a subscription account with WeChat, which enables their content to be delivered to mobile devices such as the smart phone and iPad. A WeChat user who subscribes to a particular online media outlet can receive notices of news stories in their 'Moments' feed, and can subsequently repost this to everyone in his or her group. The user-friendly WeChat app and the capacity for infinite reproduction of content through reposting ensures that, if they are smart in their use of the platform, such online media outlets can maximise their reach and impact.

The best-known of these websites include the following:

<http://www.6park.com/au.shtml>

<http://yeeyi.com/>

<http://www.oursteps.com.au/bbs/portal.php>

<http://www.ozchinese.com/2007/>

<http://austoday.com/>

<http://www.wesydney.com.au/>

<http://www.sydneytoday.com/>

<http://www.meltoday.com/>

<http://www.aoweibang.com/>

<http://www.1688.com.au/>

<http://www.xkb.com.au/>

<http://www.chinese.net.au/>

<http://www.chinatown.com.au/>

<http://www.freeoz.org/ibbs/forum.php>

<http://www.ozstudynet.com/index.html>

<http://www.21ccn.com.au>

<http://www.acnw.com.au>

<http://www.epochtimes.com>

<http://www.acnews.me>

<http://www.imcp.com.au>

<http://www.sachinese.com>

<http://www.ZaiAU.com>

<http://www.tascn.com.au/portal.php>

<http://www.taschinese.com/forum.php>

<http://www.rtvchannel.com.au/about.php?id=43>

<http://www.aucnln.com/>

<http://chinese.cinon.net.au/>

<http://www.cinon.com.au/>

<http://www.sameway.com.au/>

<http://www.unitedtimes.com.au/>

<http://www.yt.sctv31.com/>

<http://www.aus.tigtag.com>

ACCESS TO MAJOR CHINESE MEDIA OUTLETS (BY REGION)

National

<i>Australian Chinese Daily (M-F)</i>	澳洲新报
<i>Australian Chinese Daily (Sat)</i>	澳洲新报 (周六版)
<i>Australian Chinese Weekly</i>	澳洲新报 (周末版)
<i>Daily Chinese Herald</i>	澳洲日报
<i>Australian Chinese Times, The</i>	澳大利亚时报
<i>New Land Global Chinese Bulletin</i>	新天地：全球華人綜合雜誌
<i>Sameway Magazine (national)</i>	同路人杂志
<i>Singtao (M-F)</i>	星岛日报·澳洲版 (周一至五)
<i>Singtao (Sat)</i>	星岛日报·澳洲版 (周六版)
<i>Singtao Magazine</i>	星岛周刊
<i>TVBA—Octopus Monthly Magazine</i>	澳洲TVB—八爪娛 月报
<i>United Times (formerly Chinese Bridge)</i>	联合时报

NSW (primarily Sydney)

Print media

In addition to the national dailies, NSW readers have access to the following print publications:

<i>Aust Chinese News Weekly</i>	澳洲新闻在线
<i>Australian New Express Daily</i>	澳洲新快报
<i>Chinese Community News</i>	N/A
<i>Chinese Sydney Weekly</i>	雪梨周报
<i>City Weekly</i>	悉尼城市周刊
<i>Citywalker</i>	悉尼《乐城》
<i>Epoch Times (Sydney)</i>	悉尼大纪元报
<i>Fortune Weekly</i>	悉尼财富周刊
<i>Life Weekly</i>	悉尼生活周刊
<i>Lifestyle Asia</i>	品味亚洲月刊
<i>Oriental BQ Weekly</i>	东方-北京青年周刊 (悉尼版)
<i>Oz Weekly</i>	澳洲周刊

<i>The Chinese Investor</i>	中国投资客
<i>Vision China Times, The (NSW)</i>	看中国时报 (悉尼)
<i>Waiwai magazine</i>	喂喂雜誌 (月刊)

Television

Chinese viewers in NSW have access to:

- > limited free-to-air television content from CCTV on SBS
- > TVB Australia (Sydney), broadcast in Cantonese, Mandarin and Vietnamese, and accessed via set top box
- > PRC Chinese television through subscription to Fetch TV or Foxtel, and online via various websites.

Radio

Chinese listeners in NSW are serviced by the following Chinese-language radio stations:

- > Daily SBS Cantonese and Mandarin radio
- > Daily SBS Mandarin radio
- > 2AC (澳洲華人電台), in both Mandarin and Cantonese; in operation for 21 years
- > 2CR (澳洲中文广播电台), in both Mandarin and Cantonese; in operation for 22 years

Victoria (primarily Melbourne)

Print media

In addition to the four national dailies, Victorian readers have access to the following print publications:

<i>21st Century Chinese News</i>	墨尔本21世纪中文报
<i>Asian Multimedia</i>	澳洲讯报
<i>Australian Business Circle</i>	澳中商圈月刊
<i>Australian Chinese Age, The</i>	澳洲中文时代周报
<i>Australian Chinese News (Vic)</i>	大华时代周刊
<i>Chinese Commercial Weekly</i>	中文商业周刊

<i>Chinese Melbourne Daily</i>	墨尔本日报
<i>Epoch Times (Melbourne)</i>	墨尔本大纪元报
<i>Melbourne Asian News</i>	澳华导报
<i>Melbourne Chinese Post</i>	iMCP广告天下
<i>Pacific Daily</i>	大洋日报
<i>Pacific Times, The</i>	太平洋时报
<i>Pacific Weekend</i>	N/A
<i>Vision China Times, The (Vic)</i>	看中国时报 (墨尔本)
<i>Chinese Weekly, The</i>	华夏周报

Television

Chinese viewers in Victoria have access to:

- > Limited free-to-air television content from CCTV via SBS
- > TVB Australia (Melbourne), broadcast in Cantonese, Mandarin and Vietnamese, and accessed via a set top box
- > PRC Chinese television through subscription to Fetch TV or Foxtel, and online via various websites.

Radio

Chinese listeners in Victoria are serviced by the following Chinese-language radio:

- > Daily SBS Mandarin and Cantonese radio
- > 3CW (Melbourne AM 1341), in Mandarin, provided by CAMG
- > Stereo 974 (Melbourne FM 97.4), in Mandarin, provided by CAMG.

ACT

In addition to the national dailies, ACT readers have access to the following print publication:

<i>The Oriental City</i>	东方都市报
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Television

Chinese viewers in the ACT have access to:

- > Limited free-to-air television content from CCTV on SBS
- > PRC Chinese television through subscription to Fetch TV or Foxtel, and online via various websites.

Radio

Chinese listeners in the ACT are serviced by the following Chinese-language radio:

- > Daily SBS Mandarin and Cantonese radio
- > FM 88.0 (in Mandarin, provided by CAMG).

Queensland (primarily Brisbane)

In addition to the national dailies, Queensland readers have access to the following print publications:

<i>Asian Community News Weekly</i>	华友周报
<i>Australian Chinese Time (Weekly)</i>	澳华时代周刊
<i>Epoch Times (Brisbane)</i>	布里斯班大纪元报
<i>Migrants Mirror News Weekly</i>	昆士兰移民镜报周刊
<i>Qld Asian Business Weekly</i>	昆士兰华商周报
<i>QLD Chinese News</i>	生活情报
<i>QLD Chinese Times</i>	昆士兰日报
<i>World News</i>	世界周报 (布里斯班)

Television

Chinese viewers in Queensland have access to:

- > Limited free-to-air television content from CCTV on SBS
- > PRC Chinese television through subscription to Fetch TV or Foxtel, and online via various websites.

Radio

Chinese listeners in Queensland are serviced by the following Chinese-language radio:

- > Daily SBS Mandarin and Cantonese radio

- > AM 1197 (in Mandarin, provided by CAMG).

South Australia (primarily Adelaide)

In addition to the national dailies, South Australian readers have access to the following print publications:

<i>Adelaide Chinese Business Weekly</i>	阿德莱德中文商业周刊
<i>Adelaide Chinese iAge Weekly</i>	阿德莱德 i时代传媒 周刊
<i>Adelaide Chinese News</i>	阿德莱德新报
<i>Epoch Times (Adelaide)</i>	阿德莱德大纪元报
<i>South Australia Chinese Weekly</i>	南澳时报
<i>21st Century Chinese News</i>	墨尔本21世纪中文报

Television

Chinese viewers in South Australia have access to:

- > Limited free-to-air television content from CCTV on SBS
- > PRC Chinese television through subscription to Fetch TV or Foxtel, and online via various websites.

Radio

Chinese listeners in South Australia are serviced by the following Chinese-language radio:

- > Daily SBS Mandarin and Cantonese radio.

Western Australia (primarily Perth)

In addition to the national dailies, Western Australian readers have access to the following print publications:

<i>Australia Asia Business Weekly</i>	澳洲环球商报
<i>Australian Chinese Times W.A.</i>	澳大利亚时报
<i>Epoch Times (Perth)</i>	珀斯大纪元报
<i>Oriental Post WA</i>	东方邮报 – 珀斯

Television

Chinese viewers in Western Australia have access to:

- > Limited free-to-air television content from CCTV on SBS
- > PRC Chinese television through subscription Fetch TV or Foxtel, and online via various websites.

Radio

Chinese listeners in Western Australia are serviced by the following Chinese-language radio:

- > Daily SBS Mandarin and Cantonese Radio
- > FM 90.5 (in Mandarin, provided by CAMG).

Tasmania (primarily Hobart)

In addition to the national dailies, Tasmanian readers have access to the following print publication:

Tasmania Chinese Monthly 塔州华人报 《塔州华人》月报

Television

Chinese viewers in Tasmania have access to:

- > Limited free-to-air television content from CCTV on SBS
- > PRC Chinese television through subscription to Fetch TV or Foxtel, and online via various websites.

Radio

Chinese listeners in Tasmania are serviced by the following Chinese-language radio:

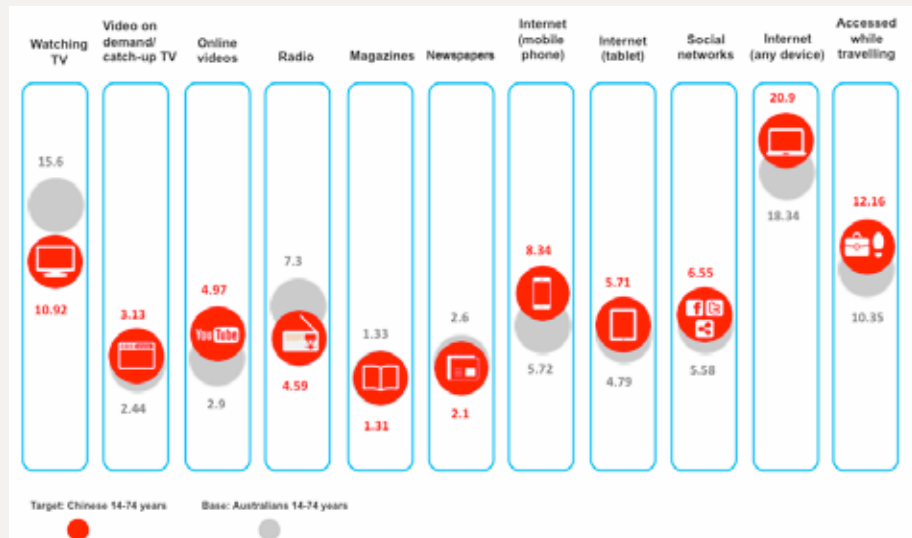
- > Daily SBS Mandarin and Cantonese radio.

PATTERNS OF MEDIA CONSUMPTION

The survey on which the following charts are based was conducted in 2015, and involved a sample of 999 participants who nominated Mandarin or Cantonese as the language spoken at home, and 44,594 participants from the wider Australian population. The Chinese-speaking sample was selected from an estimated population of some 515,000 Chinese speakers in Australia in the target age range (between 14 and 74 years), while the 'mainstream' sample was selected from an estimated population of 17,989,000 in that age range. Survey participants were not screened for their residency or citizenship status.

FIGURE 2. Time spent with media (hours per week) by Chinese in Australia aged 14-74 years, compared to overall Australian population.

Source:
iCCS 2015 (Australia)
(Roy Morgan Single Source,
12 months to September
2015 and Dentsu Aegis
Network proprietary
Consumer Connection
System study 2015)



The most striking difference in the weekly media consumption practices of the Chinese in Australia when compared with the overall Australian population, as revealed in the survey, is in their use of television: Figure 2 shows that while those 'mainstream' Australians participating in the survey watch a little over 15 and a half hours of television each week, the Chinese watch less than 11 hours per week—a difference of more than 4 and a half hours. However, in all other areas except radio and newspapers, the Chinese are either

similar to mainstream Australians in their use of media or—more commonly—more frequent users. In particular, they spend nearly 21 hours each week using the Internet, whereas the base population spends just over 18 hours—a difference of less than 3 hours.

Moreover, if we exclude print media (radio, newspapers and magazines) from consideration and focus on electronic media overall, the weekly number of hours is relatively similar across both groups. For example, considering just the amount of time spent watching either television, video on demand/catch-up television or online videos, the gap between Chinese and mainstream viewership drops from 4 and a half hours to less than 2 hours weekly, with Chinese consumers spending around 19 hours per week with these technologies, and the wider Australian population just under 21 hours per week. Moreover, if we add to this the time spent using the Internet, the media consumption of Chinese respondents exceeds that of mainstream participants: just under 40 hours per week for Chinese consumers, compared to just over 39 hours for the base population. This suggests—but not conclusively—that the discrepancy in television viewing occurs because of a lack of suitable content for Chinese media consumers rather than because the Chinese are abandoning television as a medium more rapidly than mainstream Australians (although the latter might be true as well). Whether this offers a genuine market opportunity for potential providers of Chinese-language television programs within Australia, however, would require further research.

FIGURE 3. Percentage of Chinese in Australia aged 14-74 years who use particular media, and their degree of use (Heavy, Moderate or Light).

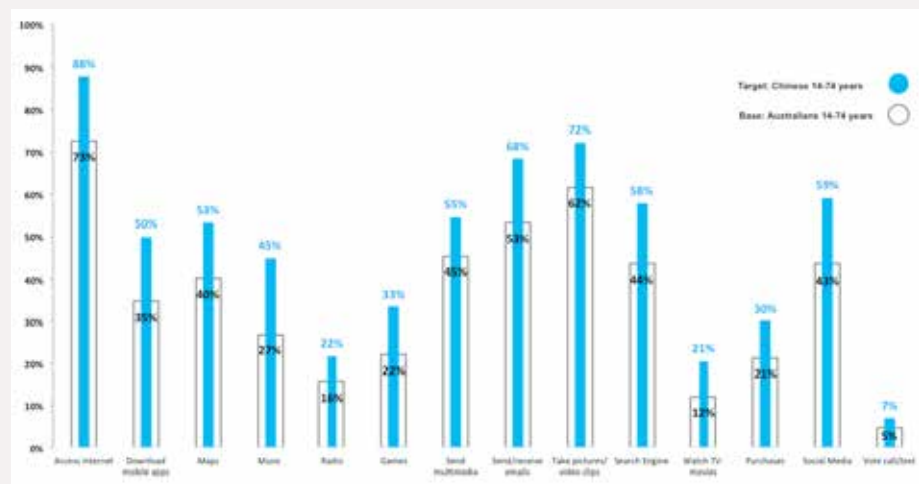


Source: iCCS 2015 (Australia) (Roy Morgan Single Source, 12 months to September 2015 and Dentsu Aegis Network proprietary Consumer Connection System study 2015)

While Chinese speakers’ viewership of television may be lower than that of mainstream Australians, Figure 3 indicates that almost all of the Chinese speakers who were surveyed (96%) watch television to some extent, with around 15% counting as Heavy viewers and 34% Moderate users. Perhaps unsurprisingly, 100% of those surveyed use the Internet, with 40% being Heavy users and a further 40% Moderate users. Curiously, while we saw in Figure 2 that Chinese speakers listen to the radio for less than 5 hours a week (compared to more than 7 hours a week for the overall population), 90% of the target group nevertheless do listen to the radio, with 19% of them being Heavy users and 34% Moderate users. Finally, it is interesting to note that more than one-quarter (26%) of the survey participants reported that they do not use video on demand or catch-up television services at all—by far the highest rate of non-users for all the media types under consideration. Again, this may indicate a lack of appropriate content on offer from these services, rather than an aversion to these media forms per se.

FIGURE 4. Percentage of Chinese in Australia aged 14-74 years who use a mobile phone for particular purposes each week, compared to overall Australian population.

Source:
iCCS 2015 (Australia)
(Roy Morgan Single Source,
12 months to September
2015 and Dentsu Aegis
Network proprietary
Consumer Connection
System study 2015)

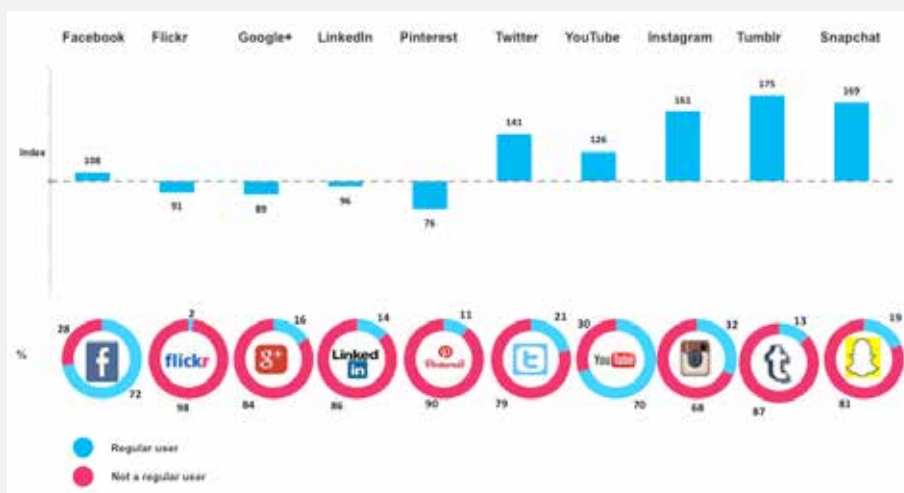


In every category of mobile phone activity summarised in Figure 4, Chinese respondents exceeded their mainstream counterparts—in many cases by a sizeable margin. For example, 88% of Chinese-speaking participants use their mobile phone to access the Internet, compared with just 73% of the base population—a gap of 15%.

A similar-sized difference exists between the two groups in categories as diverse as downloading mobile apps (15% difference), listening to music (18% difference), sending/receiving email (15% difference), using search engines (14% difference) and using social media (16% difference)—always in favour of Chinese-speaking respondents. Given the other data we have about respondents’ overall use of the Internet (Figures 2 and 3), combined with the fact that Chinese speakers are generally very heavy users of media technology while walking/travelling (Figure 3), and access media while travelling for longer periods each week than mainstream Australians (Figure 2), we might conclude that this is simply because they are better habituated to mobile usage than the general population, rather than because they have less access to non-mobile computer technologies. However, it is possible that they do have a lower rate of access than mainstream Australians to broadband Internet at home/work/study, although the data presented later (Figure 7) suggest that this is unlikely.

FIGURE 5. Percentage of Chinese in Australia aged 14-74 years who use particular social networking platforms, with index comparing them to mainstream Australian population.

(Index value of 100 = same level of use as base population; index greater than 100 = greater level of use; index less than 100 = lower level of use.)



Source:
iCCS 2015 (Australia)
(Roy Morgan Single Source,
12 months to September
2015 and Dentsu Aegis
Network proprietary
Consumer Connection
System study 2015)

Figure 5 reveals that, of those social media platforms included in the survey, Facebook and YouTube were the preferred outlets for most Chinese-speaking participants, with 72% of Chinese-speaking respondents using Facebook and 70% using YouTube. The index figure of 108 for Facebook indicates that the Chinese-speaking sample were only slightly (8%) more likely than mainstream Australians to use this platform, while the higher index of 126 for YouTube means that Chinese participants were 26% more likely to use YouTube than the base population. Even though only 21% of Chinese speakers use Twitter, these users are nevertheless 41% more likely than the typical Australian to do so. And of the 10 platforms considered in the survey, Chinese speakers were more likely than mainstream Australians to use 6 of them, only falling below typical Australian usage in relation to Flickr, Google+ LinkedIn and Pinterest. In some cases (Instagram, Tumblr and Snapchat) the Chinese respondents were substantially more likely (between 61% and 75%) than most Australians to take advantage of these forms of social media.

It is important to note that this survey did not include social media platforms that are primarily Chinese in their usage (e.g., WeChat, QQ, Sina.com); however, these platforms are discussed elsewhere in this report (see the following section).

FIGURE 6. Percentage of Chinese in Australia aged 14-74 years participating in online social networking for particular purposes, at certain times of day.

Source:
iCCS 2015 (Australia)
(Roy Morgan Single Source,
12 months to September
2015 and Dentsu Aegis
Network proprietary
Consumer Connection
System study 2015)

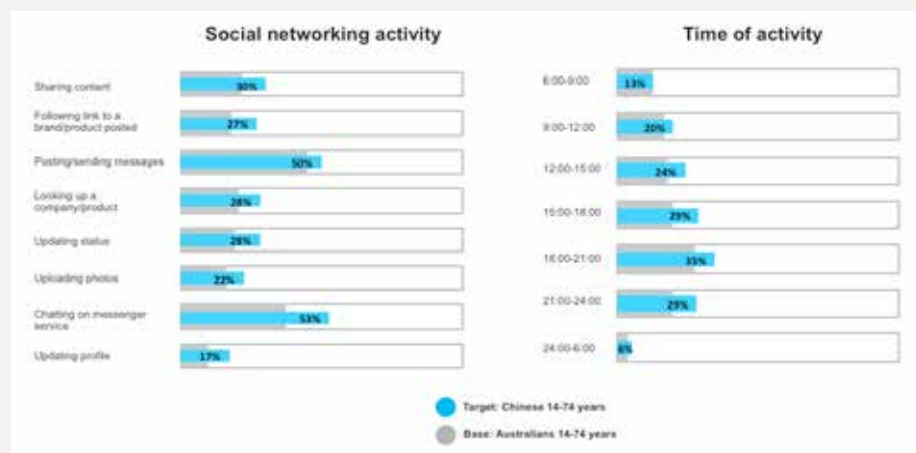
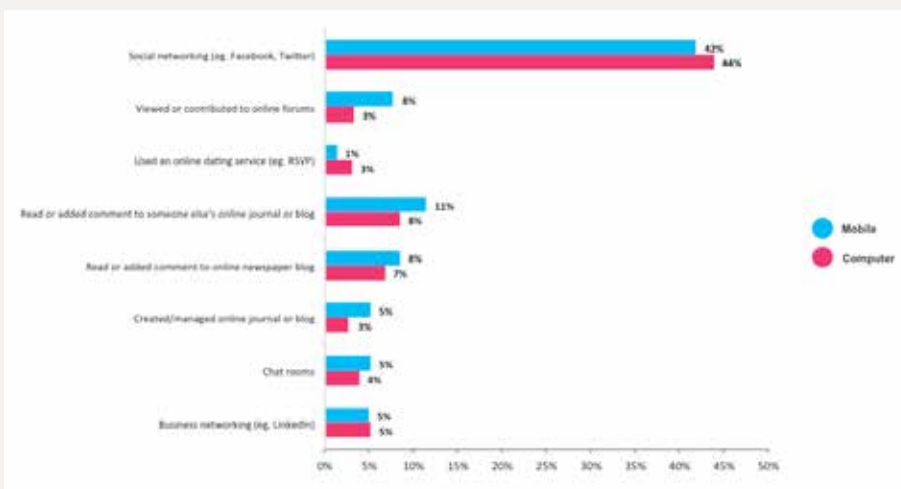


Figure 6 echoes the findings reported in earlier charts, showing that Chinese media consumers in Australia are generally more frequent users of social networking platforms, across all the categories of activity considered. This is most pronounced in their use of messenger services for chatting, with 53% of respondents reporting this activity, compared to only 37% of the base population. This is perhaps unsurprising, given the close ties that most Chinese maintain with family and friends 'back home'. While the second-highest activity for Chinese speakers was posting and sending messages, involving 50% of Chinese respondents, this was also where there was the smallest difference between Chinese speakers and the mainstream Australian population, with 45% of the base population reporting this activity.

FIGURE 7. Percentage of Chinese in Australia aged 14-74 years who had used a mobile phone or computer for social networking and related purposes, within the previous four-week period.



Source: iCCS 2015 (Australia) (Roy Morgan Single Source, 12 months to September 2015 and Dentsu Aegis Network proprietary Consumer Connection System study 2015)

While it is clear from data presented above that the Chinese in Australia tend overall to be more frequent media consumers than mainstream Australians, and particularly in their use of mobile phones to access a variety of media types, this does not mean that they consistently prefer the mobile phone to the computer for accessing social media. Figure 7 shows that while 44% of Chinese survey respondents had used a mobile phone for social networking within the previous four weeks, almost as many (42%) had used a computer for this purpose; moreover, in most of the

other categories of social media that are examined in this chart, their preferred mode of access was the computer. However, these other social media activities are relatively minimal by comparison with social networking, with only one of them reaching a double-digit percentage: 11% of respondents had used a computer to read or comment on a blog in the previous four weeks, with 8% using a mobile phone for this purpose. All the other categories of social media activity fell below this level.

A natural explanation for the preponderance of social networking over other forms of social media is that for most people—Chinese speakers and mainstream Australians alike—a considerable proportion of social networking involves direct communication with friends or family, while the other forms of social media surveyed—using a chat room, writing or commenting on a blog, etc.—typically involve a measure of distance or anonymity, and are therefore less likely to meet users' desire for a meaningful and intimate connection with others. Also, even when social networking platforms are not being used specifically for connecting with close friends and family, they lend themselves readily to playing a crucial role in supporting and shaping users' self-esteem and sense of self. We have no reason from these data to believe that Chinese speakers are any different from non-Chinese Australians in the extent to which these needs and desires drive the differences in their use of social media, although the unique features of their situation as a diasporic minority with a very distinctive cultural and social history make this a worthy subject for future study.

THE GROWTH OF SOCIAL MEDIA USE AND WECHAT

Savvy social media users

There are some 1.2 million Chinese social media accounts in Australia. WeChat, Tencent QQ and Sina.com each boasts a sizable audience here, and Sina Weibo estimates that around 2.1 million Weibo posts are published in Australia every month. Facebook reports that there are almost 400,000 users in Australia who have their language preference set to Chinese. (Source: Nielsen Digital Ratings, May 2016.)

WeChat

Launched in January 2011 and developed by Tencent in China, WeChat has become virtually ubiquitous among Chinese speakers and readers. Described by some commentators as a social media platform that bears no direct comparison with anything in the Western market, WeChat combines many of the functions and features of Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram and PayPal, and has, in the short period of five years, garnered over a billion accounts and 700 million active users; more than 70 million of these users are outside China.

Four things are worth noting:

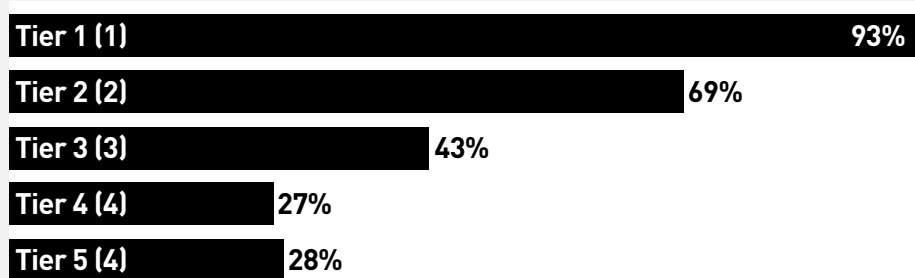
1. WeChat is transnational, linking Chinese speakers in Australia with the mainland Chinese population as well as with diasporic Chinese all over the world.
2. It is mostly used by mainland Chinese and migrants from mainland China, communicating in Chinese. Use of WeChat by Chinese speakers from Taiwan and Hong Kong is much less.
3. The content of most Chinese-language media outlets in Australia can be accessed via WeChat.
4. The content circulated within WeChat is subject to 'regulation' by the Chinese authorities, and the content of SBS's Chinese-language programs, which is regularly distributed via WeChat, has experienced censorship within that platform.

WeChat in China

Research on social media usage in China indicates that WeChat has the highest user penetration among all social media platforms (see below).

FIGURE 8. WeChat user penetration in China by city tier, September 2015 (% of population in each group).

Source:
Tencent, '2015 WeChat Life
report', 23 October 2015
www.emarketer.com



Note: also known as Weixin; (1) Beijing, Guangdong, Shanghai and Shenzhen and municipalities; (2) provincial capital cities; (3) other medium-to large-sized cities; (4) other small-sized and county-level cities

Data are also available on the percentage of WeChat users who engage in specific types of activity, which include the following:

- > Browsing and posting on Moments 58.0%
- > Sharing information (images, voice messages, video, etc.) 53.5%
- > Reading content via followed public accounts 39.8%
- > Sending/receiving money (e.g., Red Pocket) 33.9%
- > Making mobile payments 32.5%
- > Using stickers/emojis 25.3%
- > Using the 'shake-shake' feature 12.6%
- > Using WeChat sports 11.4%
- > Playing games 6.4%
- > Engaging in social commerce 6.4%
- > None of these 4.1%

Source: 2016 WeChat Impact Report, 21 March 2016 www.emarketer.com

WeChat supports a plethora of payment functions, including the following:

> Digital Red Pocket money	84.7%
> Making payments	58.1%
> Money transfer to contacts	56.9%
> Receivable	33.1%
> WeChat credit card	20.0%
> Pay off credit card	13.6%
> Splitting payment with friends (e.g., for restaurant bills)	12.8%
> None of these	9.0%

Source: 2016 WeChat Impact Report, 21 March 2016 www.emarketer.com

These data comes from research on WeChat usage in China, but it is nevertheless a fairly reliable indication of the prevalence of its use among the Mandarin-speaking Chinese community in Australia. Given that WeChat provides free, convenient and easy access to family and friends in China, the user penetration among migrants could be close to saturation. However, non-Chinese businesses in Australia are all but absent from WeChat, and it remains a seriously under-utilised platform for accessing the Chinese community from the point of view of mainstream Australian politics, business and media—notwithstanding the fact that it is used extensively by Chinese-speakers both within China and beyond, and WeChat users in Australia are typically in daily contact with users in China.

In addition to providing users the platform for personal purposes, WeChat also makes available two types of 'public account': subscription accounts and service accounts, which can operate in either 'verified' (for China-registered businesses) or 'unverified' mode (for account holders outside China). Subscription accounts are a good choice for companies or individuals for which content is the core service provided to customers: the ability to publish daily is a key feature, while other features provided by the account are more limited. Service accounts are more appropriate for companies aiming at providing a wider set

of services through WeChat: customer service, e-commerce, games or other interactive features. Content can be provided, but it is not the core service of this type of account. In addition to these public accounts, WeChat also offers 'enterprise' accounts, which are useful for communication and management within an organisation.

The use and under-use of WeChat in Australia

As the dominant form of China-oriented social media, WeChat has also been used effectively to spread information, influence opinion and mobilise action. However, in most cases, WeChat has helped to exacerbate rather than ameliorate the tension between mainstream Australia and the Australian Chinese community, and the extent and intensity of this goes largely unnoticed by monolingual English-speaking Australians. Some examples are included here for purposes of illustration:

> **Example 1:** *WeChat in pro-China rally on South China Sea dispute.*

WeChat and online Chinese media were also instrumental in organising and coordinating a pro-China rally in Melbourne on 23 July 2016, to protest against The Hague's verdict on the South China Sea, an event that was widely reported in both state Chinese media and Chinese media in Australia. The rally involved 169 Chinese community organisations, 15 Chinese-language media organisations, and some 3,000 participants. The event was also covered live on some Chinese news websites. According to the organiser, Mr Li Hai, and a few participants, the main purpose of the rally was to raise awareness among the Australian public of the 'fact' that the Americans were behind the Hague verdict, and to urge Australians not to toe the American line. They were also concerned that the Australian public should not be manipulated by 'misinformation' about the South China Sea issue and the Hague verdict. The rally was planned, organised, coordinated and promoted mostly online and via social media. (<http://www.yeeyi.com/news/index.php?app=home&act=article&aid=146765>)

> **Example 2:** *Mack Horton versus Sun Yang.*

Hours after winning the gold medal in the men's 400m freestyle final at the 2016 Rio Olympics, Australia's Mack Horton became a target on Chinese social media for calling his Chinese rival and runner-up, Sun Yang, a 'drug cheat'. The Chinese swim team issued a statement calling Horton's claims a 'malicious personal attack' on Sun. An online petition demanding an apology from Horton to Sun gathered more than 8,000 signatures within two days. (<http://www.yeeyi.com/news/index.php?app=home&act=article&aid=148419>)

> **Example 3:** *The Australian Census.*

On 9 August 2016, with the launch of the online form for the Census, it became clear that the Australian Bureau of Statistics had omitted—or removed—China from the list of named foreign countries of origin, leaving migrants from China to choose the 'Other' category for their place of birth—despite the fact that the PRC is the third-largest country of origin, behind the United Kingdom and New Zealand (which were listed) and ahead of nations such as India, the Philippines and Vietnam (which were also listed). This omission was widely reported in Chinese websites and reposted in Chinese social media. (<http://tw.112seo.com/article-2255528.html>)

At the same time, as has already been observed, China-focused social media—and especially WeChat—are extremely under-utilised for promoting Australia's political and economic interests, not to mention fostering Australia–China relations. The platform's potential for cultivating and expanding trade and business relations with China, pursuing Australia's public diplomacy interests, and facilitating a dialogue between the Chinese migrant community and the mainstream multicultural Australian public therefore lies largely untouched as a yet-to-be-explored prospective resource.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS AND MAINSTREAM MEDIA

Developing media policy and practices

1. Redefine and reposition migrant media so that they become integral parts of a genuinely multicultural, multilingual mainstream media landscape, rather than ‘ethnic media’ that exist in parallel silos to the English-language media. **(Government)**

The current ‘ethnic versus mainstream’ scenario has the undesirable effect of not giving ethnic media equal status with mainstream media, while also exempting them from Australia’s regulatory frameworks. New media policies are needed to encourage building bridges between these parallel universes. This has a number of potential benefits, including the following:

- > avoiding further ‘balkanisation’ with Australia’s media sector and achieving greater inclusion, diversity and dialogue between its various multicultural components
- > ensuring that all media—Chinese-language or otherwise—are subject to the same regime of regulatory frameworks
- > improving accountability and journalistic professionalism across the board.

2. Provide incentivising schemes aiming at encouraging bilingual content production, facilitating cross-cultural training and exchange for staff, and generating dialogue and debate. **(Government)**

Such schemes should recognise innovation by individuals and media entities in both mainstream English media establishments and Chinese-language migrant community media.

3. Initiate collaborative cross-cultural publication and other media activities between English- and Chinese-language media. **(Media)**

Given their ‘mainstream’ status, it is incumbent on Australia’s English-language media to take the initiative in seeking to bridge the gulf between mainstream and ethnic media.

Funding research

4. Commission, fund and facilitate research that sheds light on the culturally distinct ways in which the Chinese-language media, especially social media, are produced, used and circulated, and on how this knowledge can assist Australia in meeting key objectives. **(Government, Business, Media)**

Such research will ideally involve bilateral and multilateral collaborations involving Government, business and mainstream media, and will focus on such challenges as:

- > building social cohesion, sustaining the viability of multicultural social policy
- > facilitating the creation, development and promotion of business, trade, tourism and investment with China (see section below on future research)
- > ensuring a media ecology that features free and constructive dialogue and engagement between mainstream English language media and Chinese language media.

Promoting public diplomacy with China

5. Establish a presence in locally available Chinese-language social media (in particular, WeChat), and ensure that accurate information about Australia is available in Chinese to counteract poorly informed opinion and understanding about matters of national importance. **(Government)**

As is clear from this report, Chinese-language media in Australia have increasingly become an instrument of China's public diplomacy. In China's policy language, diasporic Chinese media are compared to a 'vessel that China can borrow to reach the wide open sea' (借船出海). Although there is little evidence that such pro-China sentiment has had the intended effect of flowing on to mainstream Australian society, there is ample, tangible evidence that the Chinese Government has made effective use of diasporic media to mobilise the Chinese migrant community. Additionally, the Chinese-language media provide vitally important clues to the feelings and opinions of

mainland Chinese migrant community members on a range of key issues, including:

- > their palpable frustration, even anger, with Australia's perceived tendency to follow the United States in its foreign policy towards China
- > their anxiety about the return of Pauline Hanson's One Nation in the domestic political context.

To have no countervailing presence in this space—no means of providing a balancing perspective on whatever matters may ignite users' concerns and fears—is to neglect an important opportunity to foster grassroots public diplomacy.

6. Develop strategies for using Chinese-language media to generate good will within Australia's Chinese community, and to cultivate an understanding, if not acceptance, of Australia's national interests in relation to China. **(Government)**

Building on recommendation 5, Chinese social media also offer a space in which the following goals might be effectively pursued:

- > harnessing the assistance of Australia's Chinese community in identifying business and trade opportunities in China
- > promoting and reinforcing a favourable image of Australia as an attractive destination for education, tourism and investment.

Developing communication strategies in key areas of Government and business

7. Recruit media relations specialists in key Government sectors (e.g., taxation, health, education, employment, immigration, trade and business) to ensure the provision of accurate information about available social services and relevant policies, laws and regulations to Chinese residents who speak or read little English. **(Government)**
8. Participate in routine two-way interactions with Australia's Chinese community via Chinese social media, establishing a feedback loop whereby mechanisms of policy implementation

and strategies for enforcing regulations can be constantly improved. (Government)

These two recommendations dovetail with the previous two dealing with public diplomacy, but are more focused on empowering members of Australia's Chinese community for more effective participation in and understanding of Australian domestic political, economic and cultural affairs.

9. Target Chinese social media platforms (in particular, WeChat) to explore business opportunities and seek to expand clientele in the Chinese community (in both Australia and mainland China) by:

- > recruiting bilingual staff
- > engaging specialist consultants with relevant linguistic, cultural and technological skills and knowledge
- > creating and maintaining business-oriented WeChat accounts.

(Business)

WeChat can most usefully be viewed by the Australian business sector as a yet-to-be-tapped business resource. While WeChat's current terms and conditions pose some obstacles for Australian (and other non-Chinese) businesses who wish to connect directly with potential customers in mainland China, there are third-party organisations and individuals who can assist non-Chinese Australian individuals and businesses to navigate these obstacles. In the meantime, the ubiquity of WeChat among Chinese Australians positions the platform as a ready-made business pathway into Australia's resident Chinese community. However, WeChat barely registers in the awareness of the vast majority of Australians, so it is unsurprising that such business opportunities have been all but overlooked by those outside the Chinese community to date.

10. Develop regular pathways of communication with Australia's Chinese community via Chinese-language social media platforms and websites, with the aim of 'crowd-sourcing' possible business, education, tourism, investment and trade opportunities in relation to mainland China. **(Government, Business)**

This recommendation proposes an innovative way in which active engagement with Australia's Chinese community may yield dividends, simultaneously fostering mutual understanding and acceptance, while also drawing on the experience and collective wisdom of that community to generate new initiatives in a wide range of areas that include, but are by no means limited to, the economic sphere.

Transforming recruitment practices in mainstream Australian media

11. Implement media recruitment policies and strategies that specifically seek out employees with native or near-native Chinese language skills, knowledge of Chinese media/business/government practices, and an understanding of Chinese culture generally, with the aim of balancing the sometimes narrow Western perceptions of China when reporting on, analysing and critiquing China's activities at home and abroad. **(Media)**

Australian media, marketing and public relations organisations stand to profit—literally and metaphorically—from implementing a recruitment strategy that sees cultural diversity in the workforce as a potential resource rather than an irksome gesture at tolerance and inclusion, or the result of a paucity of 'home-grown' candidates. Such a change in employment practices would lead to a more culturally informed media sector, which, in turn, would encourage identification with—rather than alienation from—Australia's Chinese community—not just for media practitioners themselves, but also, ultimately, for media consumers generally.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Opaqueness of Chinese-language media to outsiders

1. The opaqueness of Chinese-language media to outsiders poses significant challenges to a range of stakeholders, including media regulators, the business sector, Government bodies and mainstream media establishments.

The engine of China's media globalisation, turbo-charged by China's economic prowess, has made the Chinese-language media perplexingly complex to non-Chinese-speakers. Without insider language and cultural knowledge, it is difficult, if not impossible, for mainstream Australians to get a clear sense of the size, reach and possible impact of this complex network of media forms and platforms. It also makes it difficult to identify the provenance of certain content, practices and points of view that circulate across this network. This is because, on the one hand, the distinction between China's state media and Australia's Chinese media is becoming increasingly blurred, while on the other hand, the Chinese media in Australia are now increasingly part of a global diasporic media network. This issue is perhaps most pressing in relation to non-Chinese-speaking businesspeople and politicians, for whom this sector is either a still-unrealised resource to grow their business, or a golden opportunity to better understand one of Australia's largest migrant communities.

Newly emerging online media and social cohesion

2. Newly emerging online media have the potential to undermine social cohesion and polarise the Australian Chinese community against mainstream Australian society.

Although Chinese propaganda may not be as great a threat to Australia as some believe, the newly emerging strain of nationalistic online media run by student migrants in Australia, discussed in this report, seems not to have registered in either public or political consciousness as a possible challenge to social cohesion and informed public discussion. If patriotic education has predisposed student migrants towards pro-China nationalism, this sentiment only intensifies when they realise that the Australian media, which they had expected to

be more 'objective' than Chinese propaganda, seem to be equally impaired by their own cultural and ideological framework, leading to what many migrants perceive to be a routine process of demonising China. Moreover, many other diasporic Chinese individuals clearly share the feeling—and sometimes with justification—that they and their homeland are frequently represented unfairly and unjustly by the Western media (Sun 2015), and unsurprisingly, this sense of grievance fuels a grassroots reaction, with many loyal PRC migrants in Australia tending to side with China on issues involving national pride, sovereignty and territoriality.

Nationalistic sentiments ran high among the online Chinese community in response to the tabloid and commercial media's coverage of the Olympic Games in Rio in August 2016, ranging, for instance, from *The Daily Telegraph's* demonisation of Chinese swimmer Sun Yang (news.com.au 2016) to Channel 7's cultural insensitivity in its coverage of China during the Olympics (Faruqi 2016). On a more ongoing basis, a significant proportion of the Chinese community feel that the Australian media, greatly influenced by the US media and a Cold War mentality, tend to cover China within a narrow framework (Sun 2015). The recent Chinese rally in Melbourne was as much in response to The Hague's verdict on the South China Sea as an expression of frustration with Australia's official position and Australian media coverage of China on this issue (SBS 2016).

Unregulated and isolated nature of Chinese-language media in Australia

3. The unregulated and relatively isolated nature of Chinese-language media in Australia may inadvertently undermine the formation of an informed citizenry in relation to those with very limited English-language competence, or with little interest in seeking perspectives and information from mainstream, non-Chinese sources.

Chinese-language media, including social media, have played an increasingly important role in domestic politics. As one of numerous fields of ethnic minority media, they have been particularly sensitive to multicultural and multiracial policy debates, especially on topics and issues that potentially threaten the Chinese community's own political and economic interests, or challenge their cultural values

and traditions. These media, and especially social media, have been exploited to lobby for—or against—major parties or particular policies during elections, at various levels of government (Hendri 2016). Yet despite this crucial role, Chinese-language media, and particularly online publications and social media platforms, mostly exist outside the purview of media ethics, media law and journalistic codes of conduct. More problematically, this sector exists more or less as a discrete sphere of influence, separate from the mainstream English language-media, making scrutiny across sectors difficult, if not impossible. As a tool for making and shaping public opinion in a liberal democracy, the sector is therefore a double-edged sword: while it has the potential to contribute to the pluralism and diversity of Australia’s media ecology, it may at the same time inhibit or even actively undermine the formation of an informed citizenry, given that a certain segment of the Chinese migrant population has a relatively low level of English-language literacy and so may rely mostly on Chinese-language media for news and current affairs on particular political issues.

Conflicting allegiances demanded of Chinese migrant audience members

4. Chinese migrant audience members face conflicting demands for allegiance from various sources ranging from state Chinese media to mainstream English-language Australian media, and may lack the information to navigate these challenges in an informed and balanced way.

The Chinese migrant community in Australia are simultaneously targeted by state Chinese media, Chinese migrant media, the Chinese-language media provided as part of Australia’s multicultural media (SBS radio, television and Internet), and the mainstream English-language Australian media. As a consequence, they are sometimes—perhaps often—confronted with conflicting and competing perspectives on Australia, China or other relevant global affairs. For instance, the state Chinese media criticise the United States and Australia for meddling in the South China Sea dispute, whereas the mainstream Australian media criticise China for its aggressive behaviour in asserting sovereignty rights in the region.

The tensions and dilemmas facing individuals from the Chinese migrant community become at best a source of cultural anxiety and frustration, at worst a trigger for social disharmony. This can be particularly problematic when Australia's mainstream commercial/tabloid media display cultural insensitivity towards China, or even worse, pander to racist sentiments in their coverage of China or the Chinese in Australia. Anti-Chinese hostility, channelled by these media, may fuel negative and often visceral sentiments towards Australia on the part of Chinese migrants, and their consequent sense of grievance—sometimes expressed in emotionally charged terms—may incur further prejudice against them. How to turn this challenge into an opportunity—an opportunity to build a more diverse and pluralistic media environment and encourage rigorous, rational and respectful dialogue and debate—has become a matter of pressing concern.

Building cultural and media diversity

5. Chinese-language media provide a rare space for the Chinese community to share news and views that mainstream media are not interested in covering. Fostering their growth and development in ways that complement mainstream media therefore creates an opportunity to contribute to the pluralism, diversity and vitality of Australia's media ecology.

Government, business and media all share an opportunity—perhaps in some cases even a responsibility—to welcome, engage with and support the healthy proliferation of Chinese-language media in Australia. There are strong reasons for doing this just as good cultural citizens; but this report has highlighted the fact that there are also economic and political incentives and potential rewards for doing this.

Social media opportunities for Australian businesses

6. Chinese social media are potentially an extremely powerful tool for networking with Chinese business individuals, promoting Australian brand names and products, identifying trade and investment opportunities, and targeting the Chinese population in order to grow the client base of Australian businesses.

Chinese-language media, and especially WeChat, offer a valuable platform and vehicle for the Australian business sector to engage with both the Chinese community in Australia and Chinese consumers in China. However, because of the obvious cultural and linguistic barriers, mainstream Australian businesses have been slow to take advantage of what WeChat has to offer. Building an effective Chinese social media strategy is becoming an indispensable tool for engaging in e-commerce, facilitating sales and product promotion, increasing visibility, building brand reputation, and maintaining customer relations and service—not just with the sizeable Chinese population within Australia, but also with the vast, growing and hitherto largely untapped market in China.

PATHWAYS TO FUTURE RESEARCH

The growing presence of China's state media may concern those who worry about the potential ramifications of Chinese propaganda for social cohesion in Australia, and for mutually respectful and informed relations between the two nations—especially when such propaganda 'flies under the radar' of the majority of even very well-informed monolingual Australians. While crucially important in its own right, research now needs to be directed at addressing a set of more specific questions, the most important of which are detailed here.

Detailed analysis of content

1. Undertake a systematic, detailed mapping of the frameworks, sources, subject matter and political/ideological positions of Chinese-language media outlets as they emerge and evolve in Australia, in order to assess the extent to which these have been reshaped by China's rise as an economic power, and by its initiatives in the sphere of media globalisation.

While the Chinese-language media in diaspora struck a predominantly anti-Communist position throughout the Cold War decades, in recent years, especially since China has been accelerating its media globalisation initiatives and has achieved myriad forms of partnership globally with the migrant media sector, an anti-Communist stance among these diasporic media has been largely replaced by a spectrum of pro-China positions ranging from friendly but balanced, at one end, to unconditional support and allegiance, at the other. Building an accurate picture of this rapidly changing terrain is an increasingly important priority for Australia.

2. Undertake a fine-grained analysis of how mainstream English-language media represent China and Chinese people in politics, business, foreign policy, education, sport, the arts and other realms, in order to identify the main frameworks, narratives and positions adopted, and to pinpoint any gaps and blind spots in these representations.

The ways in which English-language media report on China has a direct impact on how Australia and Australia–China relations are

in turn represented in the Chinese-language media. However, we have only anecdotal and impressionistic knowledge of the dominant frameworks that inform the Australian media's coverage of China. A thoroughgoing examination of mainstream media—both public and commercial/tabloid—will be a crucial first step towards building bridges and facilitating dialogue between these two almost completely separate fields of operation.

Study of media uses

3. Initiate large-scale longitudinal research combining qualitative ethnographic investigation with quantitative data gathering, in order to generate an intimate and nuanced sense of how individuals in Australia's Chinese community use media and communication devices and technologies to negotiate competing national interests and allegiances and live out the resulting tensions on a daily basis.

How Chinese audiences in Australia respond to issues on which Australia and China are at odds—especially matters such as national security, defence, Sino-Australian relations, sovereignty, territorial disputes and human rights—is at best understood crudely, at worst not at all. Systematic comparisons are needed in order to chart the ways in which Chinese migrants access and use media, ranging from engagement with a multiplicity of both Chinese- and English-language sources, at one end of the spectrum, to an exclusive reliance on Chinese-language media, at the other.

The impact of social media

4. Investigate the full range of implications of the widespread use of WeChat and other digital and social media among the Chinese migrant community, in order to deepen our understanding of the opportunities and challenges this creates for government, business and mainstream Australian media.

This report has outlined some of the opportunities and challenges posed by Chinese media, particularly digital and social media, and has presented some preliminary recommendations relating to these media that may:

- > facilitate the growth of opportunities for Australian businesses within the local Chinese community and in China
- > provide the Australian Government with stronger pathways for two-way communication with Australia's Chinese community about matters of potential social, cultural and political importance.

However, it is far from clear what the full range of such opportunities and challenges might be. Further investigation is needed to flesh out the initial analysis presented here. For example, what are the implications of the widespread use of WeChat among the Chinese migrant community for politics, journalism and business? At present WeChat exists alongside, yet is mostly isolated from, mainstream (non-Chinese) Australian society and its media. However, it has the potential to unify Australia's Chinese community around certain issues—whether these be favourable or unfavourable to Australia's overall national interests. This issue alone warrants detailed study.

Media as instruments of public diplomacy

5. Identify and assess possible mechanisms and strategies for capitalising on the potential of diasporic Chinese-language media to function as de facto instruments of public diplomacy on behalf of Australia.

China has made it clear that Chinese migrant media are the vehicle with which they seek to engage in a two-phase process of communication: first, the state Chinese media set out to influence diasporic Chinese media; second, the diasporic media are expected to influence the mainstream host media. While we have seen evidence of the success of the first phase, there is little evidence to suggest success in the second. Can—or should—Australia engage in a similar two-phase communication process in the reverse direction, with Australian mainstream media (or even Government agencies) initially influencing Chinese migrant media, in the hope that these media would subsequently influence China's state media? What are the opportunities and challenges facing Australia, given that there may be an inherent tension between media in its role as the fourth estate and media as an instrument of public diplomacy?

More effective use of social media for the business sector

6. Explore ways to assist Australian businesses to overcome the cultural and linguistic barriers that may inhibit their effective use of Chinese social media for networking with Chinese business individuals and organisations, promoting Australian brand names and products, identifying trade and investment opportunities, and targeting the local and mainland Chinese population to grow their customer base.

With the exception of the real estate sector, which has started to tap into the potential afforded by WeChat (Lu Yueyang 2016), this social media platform is extremely under-utilised for promoting Australia's political and economic interests (Powell 2016). The main barriers that have been identified so far are cultural and linguistic. Future research needs to generate insights into how Australian businesses might deploy WeChat and other such platforms as an essential part of an effective media and marketing strategy, and use them to engage in e-commerce, enhance sales and product promotion, increase brand visibility and reputation, and maintain customer relations and service in an increasingly competitive globalised economy.

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APPENDIX A: CIRCULATION FIGURES (CHINESE-LANGUAGE PRINT PUBLICATIONS IN AUSTRALIA)

Below is a list of the title, place of production, frequency, and circulation figures of the major Chinese print publications in Australia, including dailies, weeklies, and monthlies, both paid and free. In most cases, these are publishers' figures. (Source: Dentsu Aegis.)

Publication	Title in Chinese	Distribution Day(s)	2015 Circulation	2016 Circulation	Frequency	Distribution Method
<i>21st Century Chinese News</i>	墨尔本21世纪中文报	Wed	21,900	21,900	Fortnightly	Free
<i>Adelaide Chinese Business Weekly</i>	阿德莱德中文商业周刊	Fri	8,000	8,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Adelaide Chinese iAge Weekly</i>	阿德莱德 i时代传媒 周刊	Fri	8,000	8,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Adelaide Chinese News</i>	阿德莱德新报	Fri	5,000	5,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Asian Community News</i>	华友周报	Fri	10,100	15,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Asian Multimedia</i>	澳洲讯报	Fri	15,000	15,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Aust Chinese News Weekly</i>	澳洲新闻在线	Fri	20,000	19,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Australia Asia Business Weekly</i>	澳洲环球商报	Thu	9,450	9,450	Weekly	Free
<i>Australian Business Circle</i>	澳中商圈月刊	1st	9,450	15,000	Monthly	Free
<i>Australian Chinese Age, The</i>	澳洲中文时代周报	Fri	13,000	13,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Australian Chinese Daily (M-F)</i>	澳洲新报	Mon - Fri	12,626	12,626	Daily	Paid
<i>Australian Chinese Daily (Sat)</i>	澳洲新报 (周六版)	Sat	31,142	31,142	Weekly	Paid
<i>Australian Chinese News (Victoria)</i>	大华时代周刊	Fri	19,995	19,995	Weekly	Free
<i>Australian Chinese Times (weekly)</i>	澳华时代周刊	Fri	10,000	10,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Australian Chinese Times W.A.</i>	澳大利亚时报	Wed & Fri	12,015	12,015	Weekly	Free
<i>Australian Chinese Times, The</i>	澳华时报	Thu	11,500	7,500	Weekly	Paid

Publication	Title in Chinese	Distribution Day(s)	2015 Circulation	2016 Circulation	Frequency	Distribution Method
<i>Australian Chinese Weekly</i>	澳洲新报 (周末版)	Sat	21,000	21,000	Weekly	Paid
<i>Australian News Express</i>	澳洲新快报	Mon - Sat	12,000	12,000	Daily	Paid
<i>Chinese Commercial Weekly</i>	中文商业周刊	Thu	22,824	22,824	Weekly	Paid
<i>Chinese Community News</i>	N/A	Sat	17,300	17,300	Weekly	Free
<i>Chinese Herald</i>	澳洲日报	Tue - Sat	15,000	15,000	Daily	Paid
<i>Chinese Melbourne Daily</i>	墨尔本日报	Tue - Sat	12,000	12,000	Daily	Paid
<i>Chinese Sydney Weekly</i>	雪梨周报	Fri	18,000	18,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Chinese Times, The</i>	澳大利亚时报 (澳奇网)	Fri	15,000	11,000	Weekly	Paid
<i>City Weekly</i>	悉尼城市周刊	Sat	10,000	10,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Citywalker</i>	悉尼《CITYWALKER 乐城》	5th of	56,000	56,000	Monthly	Free
<i>Epoch Times (Adelaide)</i>	阿德莱德大纪元报	Fri		4,990	Weekly	Free
<i>Epoch Times (Melbourne)</i>	墨尔本大纪元报	N/A		14,720	Weekly	Free
<i>Epoch Times (Perth)</i>	珀斯大纪元报	Sat		12,195	Weekly	Free
<i>Epoch Times (Brisbane)</i>	布里斯班大纪元报	Thu		8,995	Weekly	Free
<i>Epoch Times (Sydney)</i>	悉尼大纪元报	Sat		19,995	Weekly	Free
<i>Fortune Weekly</i>	悉尼财富周刊	Sat	20,000	20,000	Weekly	Paid
<i>Life Weekly</i>	悉尼生活周刊	Fri	8,000	8,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Lifestyle Asia</i>	品味亚洲月刊	1st	20,000	20,000	Monthly	Free
<i>Melbourne Asian News</i>	澳华导报、澳华导报	Fri	12,000	12,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Melbourne Chinese Post</i>	iMCP广告天下	Fri	12,000	12,000	Fortnightly	Free
<i>Migrants Mirror News Weekly</i>	昆士兰移民镜报周刊	Fr	15,000	15,000	Weekly	Free
<i>New Land Global Chinese Bulletin</i>	新天地: 全球华人综合杂志	1st	20,000	20,000	Monthly	Paid

Publication	Title in Chinese	Distribution Day(s)	2015 Circulation	2016 Circulation	Frequency	Distribution Method
<i>Oriental BQ</i>	东方-北京青年周刊 (悉尼版)	Fri	28,000	28,000	Weekly	Paid
<i>Oriental Post WA</i>	东方邮报 - 珀斯	Tues	15,000	15,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Oz Weekly</i>	澳洲周刊	Sat	15,000	15,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Pacific Daily</i>	大洋日报	Tue - Sat	5,000	5,000	Daily	Paid
<i>Pacific Times, The</i>	太平洋时报	Friday	21,800	21,800	Weekly	Paid
<i>Pacific Weekend</i>	N/A	Sat	8,000	8,000	Weekly	Paid
<i>Qld Asian Business Weekly</i>	昆士兰华商周报	Fri	10,100	10,100	Weekly	Free
<i>QLD Chinese News</i>	生活情报	Fri	12,000	12,000	Weekly	Free
<i>QLD Chinese Times</i>	昆士兰日报	Th & Sat	12,000	12,000	Weekly	Paid
<i>Sameway Magazine (national)</i>	同路人杂志	Fri	14,475	13,220	Weekly	Free
<i>Singtao (M-F)</i>	星岛日报·澳洲版 (周一至周五)	Mon - Fri	15,300	15,300	Daily	Paid
<i>Singtao (Sat)</i>	星岛日报·澳洲版 (周六版)	Sat	25,000	25,000	Weekly	Paid
<i>Singtao Magazine</i>	星岛周刊	Sat	26,600	26,600	Weekly	Paid
<i>South Australia Chinese Weekly</i>	南澳时报	Fri	8,000	8,000	Weekly	Free
<i>The Chinese Investor</i>	中国投资客	1st	6,000	6,000	Monthly	Paid
<i>TVBA - Octopus Monthly Magazine</i>	澳洲TVB - 八爪娱 月报	1st	20,000	20,000	Monthly	Free
<i>United Times (formerly Chinese Bridge)</i>	联合时报	Thu	12,000	12,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Vision China Times, The (NSW)</i>	看中国时报 (悉尼)	Sat	21,208	20,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Vision China Times, The (Vic)</i>	看中国时报 (墨尔本)	Sat	10,000	10,000	Weekly	Free
<i>Waiwai Magazine</i>	喂喂雜誌 (月刊)	1st	15,000	15,000	Monthly	Free
<i>World News</i>	世界周报 (布里斯班)	Fri	10,000	10,000	Weekly	Paid

ABOUT ACRI

For the first time in its history, Australia's most important economic relationship is with a nation very different in governance, politics and values. In the past, Australia's dominating economic relationships have been with the British Empire, the United States and Japan.

Today our most important economic partner is China.

China contributes now more to world economic growth than any other country. China absorbs 34 percent of Australian goods exports. By 2030, 70 percent of the Chinese population is likely to enjoy middle class status: that's 860 million more middle class Chinese than today.

In 2014 the University of Technology Sydney established the Australia-China Relations Institute (ACRI) as a think tank to illuminate the Australia-China relationship.

Chinese studies centres exist in other universities. ACRI, however, is the first think tank devoted to the study of the relationship of these two countries.

The Prime Minister who opened diplomatic relations with China, Gough Whitlam, wrote in 1973: 'We seek a relationship with China based on friendship, cooperation and mutual trust, comparable with that which we have, or seek, with other major powers.' This spirit was captured by the 2014 commitments by both countries to a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership and the 2015 signing of a Free Trade Agreement.

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