

(IN)VESTED INTEREST

VISIBILITY OF THE UYGHUR GENOCIDE IN DUTCH AND

BELGIAN MEDIA COVERAGE

By

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Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Political Science

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science

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Author's Declaration

I, the undersigned Rick Slootweg, hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language. This is a true copy of the thesis, including final revisions.

Date: 02/06/2022

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'R. Slootweg', with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Abstract

This thesis investigates to what extent economic relations impact the newsworthiness of foreign human rights abuses through a content analysis of six Belgian and Dutch newspapers on Uyghur repression between 2015 and 2021. Given that the Netherlands has significantly stronger economic ties with China than Belgium has in terms of trade and FDI, we expect that Dutch media are more interested Uyghur related stories than Belgian media. The findings indeed show that Dutch news coverage exceeded Belgian news coverage, that it was featured more prominently in newspapers, and that coverage was more sustained between 2015 and 2021. A significant share of Belgian news coverage was driven by either domestic developments or involvement by international actors like the EU or the UN, implying that Belgian news coverage of the Uyghur genocide is not determined by the extent of the human rights abuses but rather by the involvement of domestic actors and the international community. Furthermore, we show that Dutch newspapers published references to genocide both earlier and to a greater extent than its Belgian counterparts. These findings thus confirm that economic ties drive media's interest and awareness of partners' controversial issues such as human rights abuses.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank my supervisor, Dr. Robert Sata, for his guidance and invaluable advice throughout the thesis process. I also want to express my gratitude to my friends and CEU peers with whom I have had the privilege to study. Lastly, I want to thank my mother, my father and my brother for their support in the last two years.

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1. Introduction

The Uyghur population in the Chinese province of Xinjiang has been subjected to extreme levels of repression in the last decades, ranging from surveillance to disappearances and mass detainment. These human rights abuses have reached the extent that scholars and political leaders have increasingly started to classify this situation as a cultural genocide (Smith Finley, 2021). While several countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom have officially adopted the term genocide, others have been silent or have, in extreme cases even aided the Chinese government by sending back Uyghur refugees to China (Lavi & Lindenstrauss, 2016). This discrepancy in response can also be seen by the stark differences in the extent of media coverage regarding this issue across the world. For instance, while some western news outlets such as the BBC and CNN have produced many reports on mistreatment of Uyghurs in Xinjiang (CNN, 2021; BBC-A, 2021), Ezell (2021) notes how in the last decades there have been relatively few articles dedicated to Uyghur issues in media in the Middle East. The question arises why this discrepancy is the case. Why are some very vocal on this topic and others silent?

This question is part of a broader inquiry of what determines the extent and variation of foreign news coverage on human rights abuses. Which foreign events reach the news and get published is based on several factors that make up the news value of a story. Multiple studies (Maier, 2021; Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger, 1991; & Wu, 2000) have found that economic interaction, such as trade, was one of the most important determinants of a country being followed by the media, followed by cultural and geographic proximity and nation traits (GDP and population size). Human rights issues existing in the country are by themselves

weak predictors of foreign news reporting (Maier, 2021), and predominantly become news only in combination with other factors.

The rise of China over the last decades has increased its prominence in the international press. However, Zhang & Brown (2009) show that in the case of western media, human rights coverage does not reflect the human rights situation in China and they argue that these topics are systematically under-reported in favor of economic and business news stories. This is argued to be the case due to the fact that news value of economic events is considered higher than the news value of human rights topics. However, despite the lesser extent of coverage on human rights abuses, Willnat & Leo (2011) found that in terms of content, China was consistently portrayed by western media with frames focusing on human rights, besides political containment, and economic trade. This appears to support the idea of the domestication of foreign news, in which foreign news is linked to domestic issues or contextualized from a domestic perspective, resulting in the properties of the country involved to become less important (Chang et al. 2012).

Furthermore, it has been argued that media is embedded in larger political and economic structures and thus tend to reflect the political and economic interests of their country (Lee, Chan & Zhou, 2011). The available research on the issue seem to indicate that economic interests and relations have an impact on foreign coverage of human rights issues, such as Lee & Yang's (1996) observation of US and Japanese international news coverage on the Tiananmen Square protest being framed in line of their respective government's strategic interests. The strongest evidence is provided by Lee et al. (2011) who found a negative correlation between the amount of politicized news on the Beijing Olympics that mentioned China's human rights issues, and the country's trade volume with China. Yet, this study included countries with varying degrees of press freedom, as it also found that liberal countries featured more of these articles than less liberal countries. The question therefore remains

whether this negative relationship holds across countries with a high degree of press freedom, as in a competitive free press environment, the media and government will often have competing agendas and responsibilities. (Novais, 2007).

In light of the above, this thesis aims to answer the question whether economic relations impact the extent and content of European news reporting on foreign human rights violations. It specifically focuses on the Uyghur genocide given the severity and scale of the event and as well as the fact that it has been an ongoing event since the mid 2010's. This research is conducted using a content analysis of news articles from several newspapers in the Netherlands and Belgium between 2015 and 2021. The choice of these two countries is based on their vastly varying extent of Chinese economic relations in terms of trade and FDI on the one hand, and their similarities across a multitude of factors such as their media system, geographical proximity, and foreign policy on the other. With this thesis, the author hopes to further the understanding of human rights reporting in western media.

2. Literature Review

2.1 The Uyghur Minority in Xinjiang: From Conflict and Repression to Cultural Genocide

The resource-rich province of Xinjiang has been gradually incorporated by the Chinese Empire since the 17th century, becoming an official province in 1884 (Smith Finley, 2021). The province is home to the Uyghur minority who, as opposed to the Han Chinese, are predominantly Muslim and speak a Turkic language. The region has had a secessionist past, with an attempted breakaway from China in 1945 by declaring the short-lived East Turkestan Republic (Finnegan, 2020). The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) subsequently adopted assimilationist policies in the 1950's in an attempt to integrate the province and assimilate ethnic minorities (Ibid). In 1955, Xinjiang changed status from a province to an autonomous region and was renamed the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (XUAR). Unrest amongst the Uyghur population has been a recurring theme from the 1980's onwards and was attributed to religious and cultural differences as well as the discrepancy in socio-economic conditions between the natives and the Han-settlers. (Smith Finley, 2021). Furthermore, the wave of newly created states in central Asia after the collapse of the Soviet Union made the Uyghurs in Xinjiang the only "nation" in the region that was still under control of a colonizing state (ibid).

Tensions escalated in the 1990's in the wake of the "Baren incident". Accounts on what exactly happened varied, but it is known that it was an armed conflict between several hundred of Uyghurs and Chinese government forces in the Barin Township which lasted several days. The resulting violence and clashes between Uyghurs and the police and led to the increased framing of Uyghur unrest as terrorism and subsequent tightening controls on religion in the region (ibid). The trend of post-9/11 Islamic terrorism discourse has been argued to have been used as a justification of the CCP's repressive "strike hard" policies, as it argued that "illegal

religious activities” associated with the Uyghur minority constituted the roots of terrorism (Finnegan, 2020). This has led to state violence and a securitization of Uyghur social life, involving raids on Uyghur homes (Smith Finley, 2021). Policies of repression culminated in the new National Security Law, passed in 2015, which highlighted internal threats to state security. Alongside this law, a counter-terrorism law was implemented which specifically targeted the Uyghur population (Ibid).

In 2017, Chinese authorities in the region published the Xinjiang Autonomous Region Regulation on De-extremification, which mandated the creation of “transformation through reeducation” camps (later termed vocational training centers) which has facilitated the mass extra-judicial internment of Uyghurs in the region. In the same year, 21% of all arrests made in the country occurred in the XUAR, despite only consisting of 1,5% of the total population of China (Kanat, 2021). The number of detainees has been estimated to exceed a million (Raza, 2019), and harrowing reports of torture, rape and malnutrition have been published by a multitude of organizations (Amnesty, 2021 & CFR, 2021). Life outside of these camps has also drastically changed, with Chinese efforts to eliminate Uyghur culture, including its language, which has been virtually eliminated from schools. Kanat (2021) notes that Uyghur cultural practices have only become permitted in narrowly defined and tightly controlled situations, for either propaganda efforts or tourism. Outside of these situations however, repression goes as far as banning headscarves and beards. The author also mentions findings that suggest that nearly 65% of all mosques in the XUAR were either completely destroyed or damaged (ibid).

Even more alarming, it has been argued that the CCP under the leadership of Xi Jinping has instituted a policy of suppressing birthrates of Uyghurs by forced sterilization, family separation and mandatory birth control (Zenz, 2020). Smith Finley (2021) provides data that the city of Khotān in Xinjiang budgeted for enough sterilizations to cover more of a third of all women of childrearing age. All policies have had an effect on birthrates, in some areas falling

as much as 60% between 2016 and 2018 while the birthrate in the province as a whole fell by 25% in 2019 alone (ibid). Furthermore, there is evidence that children were forcibly separated from their parents and send to boarding schools (Zenz, 2019).

The suppression of Uyghur birthrates and culture (including language and religion) has led to calls condemning the situation as a genocide. Whereas some use more cautious wording such as a cultural genocide or a “creeping” genocide, it appears clear that at least some of the five criteria outlined the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide are applicable to China’s policies towards the Uyghurs, as Smith Finley (2021) shows. Besides policies aimed at preventing births (art.2 d.), the surveillance policies and extremely repressive regime in combination with the mass incarceration can be argued to fall under both article 2. b) and c), namely causing bodily and mental harm to the group and inflicting conditions of life on the group with the goal to bring about, in full or in part, its physical destruction (United Nations, 1948).

2.1.1 International Response

International concern on the human rights situation of the Uyghurs in the XUAR has existed since the early 2000’s, but the situation has only garnered greater attention in the mid-2010’s. As was mentioned earlier, the aftermath of 9/11 has led to a discourse and fear of Islamic terrorism in the world which has been used by Chinese authorities to justify repressive measures on the population. Having quickly voiced support for President Bush’s “war on terror”, it sought to frame autonomy movements in the region as terrorist movements threatening the security of China as well as neighboring countries. Already in 2004, a report by Amnesty International concluded that September 11 has had detrimental effects on the human rights situation in the province and shows Chinese efforts to pressure foreign states to take actions against the Uyghur diaspora (Amnesty, 2004).

The Chinese government's pressure on other countries to extradite Uyghurs has been successful to some degree, even after the human rights reports were public as countries such as Thailand, Egypt and Saudi Arabia have reportedly sent back many to China. Germany is also known to have deported a Uyghur refugee to China in 2006 (UHPR, 2011. p.31). However, the new XUAR security law in 2017 and the subsequent mass incarceration of Uyghurs in detention centers has led European states to reconsider their refugee status, and they have been protected from deportation in numerous countries, including Germany, since.

Increased awareness of the situation in Xinjiang following the 2017 security law has also prompted policy makers to address the concern of forced labor. A report from the Australia Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) has found that Uyghurs have been deported directly from detention camps to factories across China under conditions which has been argued to amount to slavery. This is only strengthened by the fact that XUAR officials were paid a price "per head" to "sell" Uyghurs to these factories. In total, it claimed that 82 well-known brands, such as Apple, Nike, Mercedes-Benz and Calvin Klein have possibly directly or indirectly benefitted from Uyghur forced labor across their supply chain (ASPI, 2020). As a response to these widely shared reports, the European Union and several states such as Australia, the UK and the US, have adopted resolutions and measures aiming to prevent their businesses' possible complicity with forced labor goods and have implemented sanctions on XUAR officials and certain suppliers (UHRP,2022).

In 2021, several parliaments, including the Dutch, Czech, Canadian and UK legislative bodies, officially recognized and classified the policies against the Uyghurs in Xinjiang a genocide. In the same year, the EU implemented the first EU sanctions on China since 1989, aimed at four XUAR officials who were believed to be involved with Uyghur human rights violations. The United States has also taken action against companies involved in this matter, such as the company Hikvision which facilitates the monitoring and surveillance of Uyghurs

in Xinjiang. Lawmakers have also been attempting to bring this matter to the international arena, as more than sixty MPs from 18 different countries have called upon the UN to launch a commission of inquiry regarding genocide and crimes against humanity in the Xinjiang region (UHRP, 2022).

However, many organizations have argued that the international response has been weak and ineffective overall. Whereas many states have issued condemnations, many have not implemented effective measures or sanctions, instead limiting their actions to symbolic gestures and measures (Baillie & Vandenbrink, 2020). Gallagher (2021) argues that countries should shift the narrative away from counterterrorism towards genocide and posits that “naming and shaming” the Chinese government, especially in the run up to the Beijing Olympics in 2022 could have been an effective tool, but also warned for a backlash.

In the United States, the Biden Administration has designated Uyghurs as a top priority for refugee resettlement, although reports have shown that no Uyghur refugees were admitted to the country in 2020 and 2021 (Aguilera, 2021). Furthermore, it appears that China will not be held accountable to internal law on the matter, as the accusations of genocide will not be investigated by the International Criminal Court (Hernández, 2021). The United Nations, having promised in 2021 that it would release a report on the human rights situation in the XUAR within matter of weeks, has been silent on it ever since, fueling accusations that China has been pressuring the UN not to release the report (Page, 2022). Some have placed hope in civil society and the international media, such as Waller & Albornoz (2021), who argue that they play a crucial role as catalysts in the international community which is, despite countries’ available methods at their disposal, unwilling to provide a meaningful response to these human rights abuses.

2.2 Economic Relations Between China and the World

The post-Maoist economic reforms that started in 1978 under Deng Xiaoping gradually transformed the country from a Soviet-style command economy to a system that has been termed “Socialism with Chinese characteristics”. In the first two decades, policies were implemented to allow foreign investment to enter the country, de-collectivize the agricultural industry and create the possibility for entrepreneurs to start a business. However, most enterprises were still state owned, despite some experiments with autonomous decision making on production, investment, and marketing matters. Only in the late 1990’s did the government give up control of small and medium state enterprises, while retaining control of the large state-owned enterprises in the energy and infrastructure sectors (Chow, 2004). These economic policies have been extremely successful, having created unprecedented growth of about 10% per year on average between 1978 and 2011 (Haltmaier, 2013), and has lifted about 600 million people out of poverty and has subsequently turned China into an upper middle-income country (Lin, 2013). They have become a leading manufacturer of goods, accounting for 28,4% of the total global manufacturing output in 2018 (Richter, 2020). This has been partially explained as a result of the shift from a heavy industry-oriented economy to that of a comparative advantage one, which favored labour intensive goods (Yue & Hua, 2002). This in turn rested on the political stability, the abundance of natural resources and the large skilled labour force in China (Sun & Heshmati, 2010).

These developments have also had an impact on trade. Their growth in international trade averaged at 16,6% per year and China’s trade dependence ratio (trade to GDP ratio) went up from 9% in 1978 to 50% in 2012 (Ibid). Sun & Heshmati (2010) show that international trade has been crucial in the success of the economy, allowing for the improvement of productivity in domestic industries and the advancement of technology. Imports have substantially increased, from \$18 billion in 1978 to \$1.9 trillion in 2013, and are currently

primarily coming from the European Union, ASEAN countries and South Korea (Morrison, 2014). By 2009, China had taken over Germany as the world's largest exporter of merchandise and the US as the second-largest merchandise importer (ibid). Exports have increased from \$14 billion in 1978 to \$2.2 trillion in 2013, and the primary destinations are Hong Kong, the US, and the European Union. The World Bank has estimated that China's share of global merchandise exports could reach as high as 20% by 2030 (ibid). However, concerns have been voiced of the over-reliance on exports (and related investments) as the main drivers of economic growth instead of consumption demand, and although the latter is increasing, it is still argued that China has some time to go before it can achieve a balanced economy (Wolf, 2018).

Furthermore, there have been discussions in the West on the negative consequences of Chinese imports, in particular the large US trade deficit, which has also seen as a partial reason for a trade war between the US and China. Whereas the Trump Administration pursued trade protectionism that led to conflicts with other countries such as Canada and Mexico, it took an exceptionally harsh stance towards China, directly setting high tariffs on Chinese goods (Park, 2020). However, these tensions are seen by many as not just caused by the supposed job loss of the US-China trade deficit but as a result of the larger geopolitical conflict between the two countries (Chen et al. 2020). Nevertheless, this trade war did not appear to have had a significant effect on the volume of trade between China and the European Union, as both imports and exports increased according to Eurostat data (Eurostat, 2022). Imports appear to have grown more substantially than exports, with almost a 47% increase between 2015 and 2022, and has subsequently increased Europe's trade deficit with China by 50% in the same period, to a balance of - € 248.9 bn. The largest EU importer of Chinese goods is the Netherlands, having imported €110 bn. of Chinese goods in 2021 which accounted for nearly

30% of all Dutch extra-EU imports (ibid). It was also the third largest EU exporter to China in 2021 (€15 bn), followed by France (€24 bn) and Germany (€104 bn).

In terms of goods, machinery & vehicles, chemicals, and other manufactured goods, appear to be the most traded between China and the EU in terms of both imports and exports, although the EU has a trade deficit in all three categories. Specifically, the largest deficits concerned telecom, ADP (Automatic data processing) and household equipment. On the opposite side, the EU does have a large trade surplus in aircraft equipment and medicaments (ibid). However, the COVID pandemic has exposed numerous dependencies on China, and in total 103 product categories have been identified in which the EU has a strategic dependency on Chinese imports, mainly in the chemicals, minerals/metals, and pharmaceutical sectors (Zenglein, 2020).

Besides trade and manufacturing, Chinese investments abroad and foreign investment in China have increased substantially since 1978. (Si, 2014). Having rapidly developed primarily from receiving foreign investment, outward Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) began to grow as GDP increased (Wang et al. 2012). Nevertheless, China remains the second largest receiver of FDI as well (Wang et al. 2020). Chinese outward FDI has peaked in 2016, and has seen a steady decline since, in line with the reduction in Chinese investments in Europe, which has declined to 2013 levels in 2019 (Kratz et al. 2020). This decline is attributed to measures introduced in 2016 which stepped up capital controls, effectively restricting overseas use of the RMB, but also the fact that host countries have increased regulatory scrutiny (Hanemann et al. 2019). Looking at the regional distribution of Chinese outward FDI in 2016, the vast majority is directed towards Asia (67%), primarily consisting of Hong Kong (57,5%). The second largest region is Latin America (15%) followed by Europe (6,4%) and North America (5,6%) (Wang & Gao, 2018 p.626). According to Völgyi, & Lukács (2021), the large share of FDI

going to Hong Kong can be explained by offshoring and round tripping activities which will redirect its investments to a third country.

Chinese outward FDI in Europe has traditionally focused on the “big three” (UK, Germany and France), with nearly 36% of the total FDI going to them. In contrast, Chinese FDI in the whole CEE did not exceed 2,5% in 2019 (Kratz et al. 2020). While there has been a period of increased investment in Southern Europe, Chinese FDI currently still focusses on Europe’s largest economies. Furthermore, in terms of the investor mix, the relative share of state-owned enterprises and the sovereign wealth fund has increased dramatically in relation to private investors, moving from 39% to 68% between 2016 and 2017 (Hanemann et al, 2018). Chinese outward FDI has primarily entailed greenfield (creation of subsidiary in host country and building it from the ground up) and joint venture investments, although mergers and acquisitions (brownfield investments) have been on the rise (Globerman & Shapiro, 2009). This can in part explain the growing concern over Chinese FDI in Europe and the US, given that brownfield investment is associated with little economic benefits in terms of job creation. It also allows the investing country to absorb technology from acquired companies and it can create worries over national security and the control of strategic industries (Chan & Zheng, 2017). Furthermore, Ebbers and Zhang (2010) show that brownfield investments have become the main Chinese investment type in Europe. Hanemann et al. (2018) estimate that 96% of Chinese FDI in Europe currently consists of acquisitions.

It has been noted that China has been making efforts to shift their focus to producing high-value-added goods with the in 2015 launched “made in China 2025” plan (Jindřichovská & Uğurlu, 2021). This has been seen as part of a wider idea termed “the Chinese dream”, which aims to greatly increase economic development and encompasses other large-scale plans such as the Belt & Road Initiative (Agarwala & Chaudhary, 2021). However, many have highlighted the challenges China faces, not only from the US and its allies, as these plans are seen to

challenge the status-quo (ibid), but also due to the domestic problems they face such as ageing, environmental degradation, and corruption (Kalha, 2015). Liu (2021) has highlighted the issues in the wake of the COVID pandemic, such as industrial overcapacity, rising leverage across all sectors and an inflating real estate market posing threats to the Chinese economy and financial system. The rampant speculation on a decoupling of the Chinese economy by (mainly) US policy makers in the last years has exacerbated the overall risk of investing and trading with China. In response to the latter, China has been devising strategies to overcome these problems, such as to further the economic relationship with other Asian countries through the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, and with the EU (Hu et al. 2021). However, efforts for an EU-China investment agreement appears to have stranded, in part due to increased tensions over Xinjiang and the reluctance of the Chinese leadership to condemn Russia's invasion of Ukraine (Yee, 2022).

2.3 Foreign News Coverage on China

Research has posited that the perception of China abroad is still largely shaped by international media as opposed to the Chinese media (Sun, 2009). Wasserman's (2016) work on the Chinese media's influence on South African editorial agendas shows that it faces significant challenges as journalists either did not read Chinese media or rejected its perspective on events. The resurgence of the Chinese propaganda system controlling all Chinese media outlets (domestic and abroad) has further exacerbated the issues of mistrust and incongruity regarding Chinese news coverage (Brady, 2017).

Therefore, relatively more research has been conducted on international media reporting on China. Peng (2004) has shown that US news coverage of China has increased significantly in the 1990's, but that articles often employed political and ideological frames

and were subsequently negative in tone. The view that US media has political biases in news coverage of China seems to be supported by Stone & Xiao (2007) who have observed increasingly negative reporting on China since the fall of the Soviet Union and that frames used on the Soviet Union were being applied to China, reflecting the shift from Russia to China as the biggest adversary of the U.S. Studies on European media coverage of China shows similar results. Lams' (2016) research on Belgian and Dutch media supports Willnat & Luo's (2011) view that they consistently portray China with frames of human rights, political containment, and economic trade. Furthermore, Griffiths (2013), has looked at *The Economist* and the BBC, finding that 83% of all coverage of China were either related to politics, the economy, national security, human rights, or the environment. More than half of all coverage was only on the first two topics and the author concludes that there is a narrow news agenda concerning China, and specific narratives dominate coverage.

A specific topic that is well researched is the coverage on the Belt & Road initiative, a global infrastructure development plan launched by China in an attempt to increase economic relations with the rest of the world. Arifon et al. (2019) looked at media discourse in the UK, France, Spain and Germany, and argued that European media coverage is dominated by geopolitical, strategic, economic and political concerns regarding this issue. Furthermore, comparing between US and EU media coverage of the Belt and Road initiative, Malik (2020) found that US media coverage of the issue exceeds that of EU countries. Moreover, while the US media focused more on political issues related to the project, EU media mainly highlighted economic issues. Looking at media coverage in the CEE region, Matura (2018) in his analysis of Hungarian and Slovak media, found that media reporting on the Belt & Road initiative was relatively low in comparison to general news of Chinese economic relations, which was predominantly focused on the China-CEE partnership (the 16 + 1 initiative). However, the

news that was published was heavily politicized, as media with close ties to the governments reported in a more favorable way than opposition media.

While western media coverage of China appears well studied, no research has been found that specifically looks at the coverage of the Uyghur genocide. Yet, other Chinese human rights violations have been looked at extensively, such as the 1989 Tiananmen square massacre and the Hong Kong protests in 2014 and 2019. Krumbein (2015) notes that human rights reports of US newspapers covering the events in 1989 reflected the human rights position of the state, and they subsequently published the same information as government reports. Kim (2000) goes even further by saying that US news coverage of the event was largely shaped by the government response to the movement and that its views coincided with that of the state. Wang & Ma (2021) strengthen this argument by looking at US coverage of the 2019 Hong Kong protests, and see concurrent results, making the bold claim that the American media is on its way to become as politically driven as Chinese media. It also does not only seem to be limited to the US media, as Veneti et al. (2016) see a similar phenomenon looking at a UK newspaper covering the 2014 Hong Kong protests and argued that coverage was reflexive to the British media system and its national standpoints.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 The Role of the Media

The question of the relationship between the media and society has been a topic academic debate, just as the question of what role the media (ought to) have. There is a general consensus on the existence of an interaction between the media and society, although its extent and direction are still contested (McQuail, 2006). However, wider literature on media has identified four main roles of journalism which can overlap: monitorial, facilitative, collaborative and a radical role (Ibid & Nordenstreng, 2006). The monitorial role encapsulates the informational function the media has. It has to “maintain a constant surveillance on the world [...] with relevance to the media’s own public, [...] acting as a conduit for information and views from a range of other sources in society (McQuail, 2006. p.55). The facilitative role refers to journalism as providing a line of communication between citizens and the government. The collaborative role journalism can have is argued to come up in situations such as disasters, crises, or war wherein media collaborates with other external agencies in order to cater to wider needs of society. Finally, the radical role is argued to be found primarily outside of mainstream media and encompasses media defending certain groups, issues, or ideological positions on normative grounds. A more specific and often-cited role of the media, which lies between the monitorial and radical role outlined by McQuail (2006), is their supposed watch dog function of government institutions by collectively keeping the government responsive and responsible (Whitten-Woodring & James, 2012).

The extent to which the media performs these different roles can be argued to be dependent on the specific system within which the media is located. Hallin & Mancini (2004) identify three models of media system development, the liberal, democratic corporatist and Mediterranean model, and argue that media plays a different role in politics in each of these

systems, based on the role of the state, the extent of political parallelism and professionalism amongst journalists. Media systems therefore appear to have a big impact on news reporting, both in terms of what is covered and how it is covered, and the emphasis on different roles of the media can arguably also result in varying considerations in news and topic selection.

3.2 News Values: Which Events Reach the News?

The various roles of the media can help to shed light on the question what factors determine stories and events reaching the news. The seminal work of Galtung & Ruge (1965) can be seen as having introduced the contemporary notion of news values. Having provided the basis for a new field of academic literature, a plethora of studies emerged, most notably Harcup & O'Neill's (2001) attempt to update Galtung & Ruge's model, as well as Joye et al. (2016) the books by Bell (1991) and Bednarek & Caple (2017). Aggregating the findings of these authors, one can identify the following general news values (table 1).

Building on the development of news values, scholars have introduced the concepts of deviance and social significance as theoretical dimensions that can be used to group these values in relation to foreign news coverage (Shoemaker et al. 1991; Shoemaker et al 1987). Deviance is based on the event in question and can either be normative in the sense that it breaks with domestic norms, or deviant in the sense that the event challenges the status quo in the country and the creates the potential to affect social change (Shoemaker et al, 1991). It appears to be a strong determinant of news, not only for the US print and television press, as it could also be seen in various European offline and online media as well (Wendelin et al. 2017). Furthermore, Diakopoulos & Zubiaga (2014) have also found that event deviancy is a strong news determinant on Twitter, suggesting that this is a wide-spread phenomenon and encompasses both traditional and new media.

Table 1. Aggregated Overview of News Values

News value	Meaning	Author
Frequency	Events occurring suddenly will receive more news coverage than long term trends.	Galtung & Ruge (1965)
Meaningfulness	Events that are closer related or relevant to audience will be more likely to be selected as news (e.g geographic proximity, cultural and economic ties).	Joye et al. (2016)
Conflict	Events involving conflict are more newsworthy than events lacking conflict.	Bednarek & Caple (2017)
Unexpectedness	Rarity and unexpectedness of events increase its news value.	Harcup & O’neill (2001)
Negativity	Bad news is considered more newsworthy than good news.	Bell (1991)
Unambiguity	Events which are easier to understand and oversee their implications are more newsworthy than “ambiguous events”.	Bell (1991)
Eliteness	Events involving “elite” nations or actors are considered more newsworthy.	Galtung & Ruge (1965)
Superlativeness	The larger the event, the higher chance it will be selected as news.	Bell (1991)

Building on the development of news values, scholars have introduced the concepts of deviance and social significance as theoretical dimensions that can be used to group these values in relation to foreign news coverage (Shoemaker et al. 1991; Shoemaker et al 1987). Deviance is based on the event in question and can either be normative in the sense that it breaks with domestic norms, or deviant in the sense that the event challenges the status quo in the country and the creates the potential to affect social change (Shoemaker et al, 1991). It appears to be a strong determinant of news, not only for the US print and television press, as it could also be seen in various European offline and online media as well (Wendelin et al. 2017). Furthermore, Diakopoulos & Zubiaga (2014) have also found that event deviancy is a strong news determinant on Twitter, suggesting that this is a wide-spread phenomenon and encompasses both traditional and new media.

The second dimension is social significance and can apply to both the event and the country. As for the event, Wendelin et al (2017) identify importance, consequence and impact of the event as important factors that create news value. Social significance of the country is

based on its general importance and the political, economic, and cultural significance between the domestic and foreign state (Shoemaker et al. 1991). Concerning social significance of countries, different indicators relating to these elements have been identified and can also all be placed in the “meaningfulness” and “eliteness” news value determinants in table 1. As for the country in question, GDP, military, and population size appear to be indicators determining the country’s news value (Maier, 2021). In terms of state relations, political relations encompass military alliances, economic aid, military presence, and general political ties, whereas economic relations include trade and FDI. Cultural significance has been denoted by ethnic and religious similarity (Shoemaker et al. 1991).

Research into the strength of each indicator has shown two things. First, deviancy and social significance are by themselves strong predictors of news coverage of a foreign event, even though it is still contested which element is stronger (Ibid & Wendelin et al. 2017). Secondly, it has also revealed that, besides the size of the country, economic relations are by far the strongest indicator that falls under the dimension of social significance in terms of state relations and applies to both traditional newspapers, television press, and new online media across all countries with a free press. Economic relations have been primarily looked at through the lens of trade. Wu (2000) has shown in his research of foreign news reporting in 38 countries that the extent of trade was the strongest predictor of news coverage. These results are corroborated by later findings by Wu (2007) on the US media and those by Maier (2021), as well as Golan’s (2008) work on US news coverage on African states and Cazzamatta’s (2018) paper on German news coverage of Latin America. To a lesser extent, the amount of FDI is also seen to positively correlate with foreign news coverage (Lee, 2007; Maier, 2021 & Wu 2000).

3.3 How Media Reports on Foreign News

The section above has outlined what determines the newsworthiness of foreign events and has put forth the claim that economic relations are a strong predictor of foreign news coverage. However, it does not answer the question *how* foreign events are covered and what factors can explain variation in this regard. One of those factors that explains the difference in the nature of coverage across states is simply the country itself. Many studies have shown a universal phenomenon whereby foreign news is “domesticated” in the sense that foreign events get covered from a national angle and logic (Eide & Ytterstad, 2011; Clausen, 2004 & Olausson, 2014). This domestication happens through a variety of ways, by for example highlighting the involvement of nationals or by discussing the implications of the foreign event to the domestic country. Therefore, as Clausen (2004) says, “global news is particular to each country” (p.27). Furthermore, it appears that domestication of foreign news does not only happen through selecting stories of an event that are relevant to the home audience, but also that it covers events through frames that are compatible with the culture and values of their society (Gurevitch & Levi, 2005). This is in part a result of the performing its monitorial and facilitative role, as these practices are argued increase the understanding and visibility of the foreign event by the domestic audience (ibid). Yet, there have also been arguments made highlighting the strong influence historical and cultural traditions, as well as the socio-economic and political environment, has on journalist reporting (Nossek, 2004). Some scholars, such as Chomsky & Herman (2002) go even further by showing the tendency of journalists to report events in favor of national interests, as they did in the Vietnam and Soviet-Afghan wars. This is supported by Riegert (2011), who also shows that foreign news reporting tends to reinforce the national perspective of events.

Another factor that is argued to influence not only how events are covered but also which events are covered, is the extent to which national news correspondents and journalists

are present in the country. Otto & Meyer (2012) have noted a systemic reduction in foreign news correspondents and regional bureaus and argued that this has harmed the ability of the media to uncover and report on humanitarian crises and security threats. The importance of having locally grounded journalists present in the country is also emphasized by Paterson et al. (2012), who saw the relationship between foreign journalists and local “fixers” as instrumental in the ability to provide news coverage of stories that go beyond the narrative of official sources. The trend of “parachute journalism”, by which foreign correspondents are dropped in complicated conflict areas and are thus not locally “grounded”, is argued to increase the chance that the reporting will miss facts and be over-simplified (ibid). The importance of individual journalists is also mentioned by Lams (2015), who saw in her study on Belgian and Dutch news coverage on China that individual correspondents had a large impact in how issues were covered. The presence of regional bureaus or permanent correspondents have in the last decades more and more been dependent on cost considerations and therefore news agencies will only invest in these if the country has enough news value, which is dependent on the factors discussed previously.

3.4 Expectations and Hypotheses

In sum, the literature mentioned in this chapter has given this thesis ample grounds for formulating expectations on the outcome of this research according to the theory. On the question of general news coverage on a foreign country, one can, following the theory of news values, expect more extensive foreign coverage of a state with which the media’s own country has stronger economic relations. This is because the news value of the country (and thus events happening in it) is higher due to these relations.

Furthermore, it has been consistently shown that the media attempts to domesticate foreign news events by focusing on the national relevance and reporting in accordance with national norms and values. Despite the apparent low news value of human rights violations by themselves, the argument can be made that the strong human rights discourse existent in many liberal democratic states during this study's timeframe, combined with domestic discussions regarding treatment of various minorities and the European refugee crisis in 2015, would increase the overall relevance of stories regarding human rights violations on ethnic minorities.

However, one can expect that news will focus on those events in countries that are more relevant to the domestic audience, as a selection needs to be made on which of the (numerous) foreign human rights violations will be featured. Given the importance of economic relations in predicting foreign news value, one can hypothesize that there will be more news coverage on Uyghurs in countries with stronger economic ties to China than in countries with weaker economic ties to China.

Moreover, one can expect that the increased news value of the country should lead to increased attention by journalists and could entail the placement of more permanent correspondents who can focus their reporting on longer term trends and issues. One can therefore, relating back to the research question at hand, expect that coverage on Uyghurs will be more sustained (i.e., more regular) and will have started earlier in countries with stronger economic ties to China than in countries with weaker economic ties to China.

Even though one can expect countries with weak economic ties to still report on the situation of the Uyghurs in Xingjian, one can expect that this will consist of relatively more short-term news value events, such as another, more relevant, country or entity getting involved. This can be considered as "elite" involvement, in Galtung & Ruge's (1965) words. An example could be U.S involvement in conflicts abroad, as Qian & Yanagizawa (2009) found that the strategic use of human rights reporting by the U.S government led to short term

news value. Furthermore, domestication theory posits that foreign news stories that include domestic involvement will often have a higher news value than news with no domestic angle. Therefore, given the lower news relevance of China by itself, one can formulate the hypothesis that countries with weaker economic ties to China will cover the Uyghur genocide to a greater extent in relation to domestic involvement and the involvement of elite actors.

It should again be emphasized that these expectations do not apply to every country, as media in non-democratic states can be argued to act differently than media in liberal democratic states, given the likelihood of censorship and government control. A liberal democratic system with a free press is therefore an essential qualifier for the expectations set. Having outlined these general theoretical expectations, this thesis can now formulate the hypotheses that will be tested in this research:

H1: There will be more news coverage on the Uyghur genocide in countries with stronger economic ties to China than in countries with weaker economic ties to China.

H2: Coverage of the Uyghur genocide will be more sustained and will have started earlier in countries with stronger economic ties to China than in countries with weaker economic ties to China.

H3: Countries with weaker economic ties to China will cover the Uyghur genocide to a greater extent in combination with domestic or elite involvement.

4. Methodology

The previous chapters have outlined the relevance of launching an inquiry on the question to what extent economic relations impact news reporting in European states on human rights violations against Uyghurs. We have formulated several hypotheses this thesis aims to test. This chapter outlines the methodology and research design. It starts with a section on the operationalization of the two main variables: economic relations and media coverage. The following section discusses the case selection, first justifying the reasons for looking at the Uyghur genocide as a human rights violations case and then identifying two case countries whose media will be researched, after which it justifies the use of newspapers and select specific outlets. Lastly, a section is devoted to data collection and the coding procedure.

4.1 Operationalization of Economic Relations and News Coverage

4.1.1 *Economic Relations*

In order to measure the economic importance of China to the case countries, this thesis uses the indicators employed by Lee (2007) regarding economic significance. These consist of the trade size between the two countries and the amount of FDI coming from China. In order to control for factors such as economic size and other trade relations, this thesis used received FDI relative to the country's Gross Domestic Product and assesses trade relations in terms of Import and Export partner share, which denotes the percentage of imports (exports) coming from (going to) a partner country of the total imports (exports) of the destination (source) country. The extent of these economic relations is assessed from the period of the 1st of January 2010 to 31st of December 2020. The reason for this timeframe is as to include enough years to gain an understanding of the extent of trade relations in the medium term. 2020 has been chosen as the last year given that it was the most recent date where specific data on import and export

partner share were available. Regarding trade, the average Import and Export partner share between 2010 and 2020 will be used. In terms of FDI, this thesis will use the total Dollar amount of received FDI in this period relative to the country's GDP in 2020.

Economic data was collected from various sources. First of all, this thesis uses “The China Global Investment Tracker” (CGIT) by the American Enterprise Institute in order to measure inward FDI originating from China. This tracker allows one to identify the exact amount of Chinese FDI per year and per country and for which specific projects money was invested. It is therefore a powerful tool to assess in detail the development of Chinese investments in this thesis' case countries. Secondly, data relating to trade is collected from OEC (Observatory for Economic Complexity) and GDP data has been found through World Bank Open Data.

4.1.2 Media Coverage

The analysis of media coverage is conducted through a qualitative content analysis. Firstly, it is necessary to research how much media coverage there has been of the Uyghur genocide in the countries this thesis has chosen to take as cases and how prominent articles were featured. This will be assessed by looking at the number of published articles, word count of those articles and where in the newspaper they have been published.

Secondly, the relevant news articles are analyzed in order to assess the actual content of these news stories and to look for similarities and differences between reports in different countries. Key elements regarding content are the topics which within Uyghurs are covered and whether the media sees the human rights abuses in Xinjiang as a genocide (cultural or otherwise). Given a lack of a clear pre-existing framework, an exploratory sample and

subsequent analysis of the sample was conducted to construct the bulk of the coding manual, which will be discussed in a subsequent section.

4.2 Case Selection

4.2.1 The Uyghur Genocide

Given China's Human Freedom Index ranking of 150, there have been multiple human rights violations in China that could have been used as a case in this study, such as the crackdown of the Hong Kong protests and repression in Tibet. However, the choice of selecting the repression of Uyghurs in Xinjiang as a case is warranted for several reasons. Firstly, it concerns a case that is ongoing and has lasted for more than a decade. It is an event that is not marked by large scale explosive clashes between people as was the case in Hong Kong, as instead these events take place gradually and outside of the public view. One can put forth the argument that the situation in the XUAR will be much more covered as a "true" human rights event as it will not be influenced by the "newsworthiness" of violent clashes as was the case with the 2019 student protests. Secondly, the situation in Xinjiang has been thoroughly reported on by NGOs such as Amnesty and Human Rights Watch over this period of time, which should increase the visibility of the issue to the media. Thirdly, the scope of these human rights violations is beyond what the world has seen in recent decades, including up to 12 million people living in the XUAR. The nature of these crimes is also extreme. Mass internment, surveillance, sterilization and stigmatization of a group of people based on ethnicity and religion are reminiscent of the darkest pages in the world's history and are therefore also universally condemned by European states. The treatment of Uyghurs is not a debate subject as it stands in clear opposition to EU norms and values regardless of ideological position, and one can therefore not expect news coverage to be influenced by ideological interpretation.

4.2.2. *Countries*

In selecting countries as cases for this study, it was deemed important to control for extraneous variables and keep cases as similar as possible besides the independent variable of interest according to a Most Similar Research Design. This design was opted due to the fact it is seen as a robust method in cases of deductive and variable-oriented research approach (Ancker, 2008). As was shown in the Theoretical Framework chapter, how the media functions is in large part also dependent on the existing media system in which it is located (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). It was therefore deemed important to include media system theory in the case selection process of this thesis, as is common in other studies relation to media coverage (Hallin & Mancini, 2017). Furthermore, this thesis has attempted to control for other variables that could affect foreign news coverage on the Uyghur genocide, such as country size, geographic proximity, language and other cultural factors, for example the number of Uyghurs residing in the country. Following this selection process, this thesis has chosen two countries: Belgium and the Netherlands. This section will outline the justification for this choice and why it will strengthen the research at hand.

First of all, the two countries are neighboring states and are both relatively small states within Western Europe. There is a close economic and political cooperation between the two, not only through the EU but also via the Benelux Union. Furthermore, they have a shared history, culture and (to a partial extent) language. They also have aligned security interests given their membership of NATO. There are also extensive links between the two populations, with many Belgians living in the Netherlands and vice versa. These links also extend to the media. Both countries are placed in Hallin & Mancini's (2004) Democratic-Corporatist model. Moreover, the shared language in Flanders and the Netherlands has also allowed the two media systems to be arguably one of the most interconnected ones in Europe given the extensive cooperation between news agencies. For example, Flemish Public news broadcasts often work

together with Dutch counterparts by for instance pooling foreign news correspondents (VRM, 2016). Newspapers also feature this cooperation and are also linked through company ownership. For example, DPG Media is a Belgian media group which owns Belgian quality newspaper “*De Morgen*”, but also owns two large Dutch national newspapers, *De Volkskrant* and “*Trouw*”. Subsequently, Belgian holding Mediahuis controls the Belgian “*De Standaard*” and Dutch “*NRC Handelsblad*” newspapers. As a result, some foreign news correspondents report for both Dutch and Flemish newspapers. Lastly, and more specifically related to the Uyghur case, there have been a relatively similar number of Uyghurs living in both countries, a 1000 in Belgium and 2000 in the Netherlands (IODE, 2022), translating to roughly 0,011% of the population in the Netherlands and 0,008% of the Belgian population.

However, a major difference of these countries is on the independent variable of interest, namely economic relations with China. The following table (Table 2) outlines the economic importance of China to the Netherlands and Belgium. Having controlled for GDP, one can see that the Netherlands gained a significant higher share of Chinese FDI compared to Belgium. Furthermore, China is a vastly more important trade partner to the Netherlands in terms of imports, being its second biggest import source with an import partner share averaging around 10% between 2010-2020, and its largest extra-EU importing source (Germany being first). In contrast, only 4% of all Belgian imports were sourced from China. Despite a similar export dependence on China, one can still discern that the Netherlands has had much stronger economic ties to China than Belgium has had in the timeframe. Furthermore, the data also shows a rising trend concerning Dutch trade relations with China, which cannot be seen in Belgium. A full overview can be found in Appendix 1.

Table 2. Aggregated overview Trade & FDI between China and Belgium/Netherlands

	GDP (2020)	Chinese FDI (2010-20)	FDI/GDP (2020)	Import Partner Share (2010-20)	Export Partner Share (2010-20)	Import Rank (2020)	Export Rank (2020)
Netherlands	912,2	15,71	1,73%	10,37%	2,21%	2nd	8th
Belgium	515,3	1,95	0,38%	4,1%	2,19%	6th	8th

Table 2. Aggregated overview Trade & FDI between China and Belgium/Netherlands. Own table: data collected from WITS, CGIT and World Bank Open Data. In USD (Billion).

4.2.3 Media and Newspapers

This thesis has decided to use traditional media, and in particular quality newspapers, for this analysis as it has been shown that “quality” or “elite” newspapers are still very important agenda-setting agents, both for national broadcasts, local, and non-elite media , and even for social media (Dotson et al. 2012). Furthermore, as they are bound by size, what articles get published and which place they get in the newspaper can clearly show which stories editorials find worthy to publish. Three newspapers will be analyzed per country and were selected on the basis of readership, ideological spread and on the criteria of being a “quality newspaper”. They also had to have daily publications. Regarding Belgium, one Francophone and two Dutch-language newspapers have been chosen given the importance of both languages in the country. The newspapers are outlined in table 3. *De Volkskrant* is a Dutch daily newspaper with catholic roots and is considered to have a centre-left political leaning as opposed to *NRC Handelsblad*, a paper with a liberal origin and which is argued to adopt a centre-right political stance. *Trouw* was originally an orthodox protestant newspaper published illegally during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands. It distinguishes itself from other Dutch daily quality newspapers by its increased focus on religion and philosophy. Turning to Belgium, *De Morgen* is a Flemish daily newspaper with socialist origins and is therefore also

considered to have centre-right leanings. *De Standaard* has catholic Flemish roots and is considered more centre-right. *Le Soir*, the only Walloon and francophone newspaper, was never part of a pillar or ideology, although it is currently considered to be a progressive centre-left news outlet.

Table 3. Newspaper Selection

Newspaper	Country	Owner
De Volkskrant	Netherlands	DPG Media
NRC Handelsblad	Netherlands	Mediahuis
Trouw	Netherlands	DPG Media
De Standaard	Belgium	Mediahuis
De Morgen	Belgium	DPG Media
Le Soir	Belgium	Rossel & Cie. S.A

Table 3. Newspaper Selection (Own table)

4.3 Data Collection

Data is collected from two databases, NexisUni and Gopress for Dutch and Belgian newspapers respectively. All articles on China by the aforementioned newspapers have been collected from January 1st, 2015, to December 31st, 2020. Using their search engines, search terms of “Uyghurs” and “Xinjiang” (in Dutch and French) were used to identify every newspaper article discussing Uyghurs, which were then put in a dataset for analysis. These keywords have been deliberately made broad enough to avoid what Soothill & Grover (1997) call “false negatives”, in their assessment of keyword analysis using LexisNexis, namely that the keyword is too specific and thus omits potentially relevant articles. In order to counter the

issue of false positives, i.e., irrelevant articles, due to the broad keyword search (ibid), this research has manually checked and assessed the relevance of each article in the dataset.

4.3.1 Coding Manual and Procedure

Having collected all the newspaper articles on China and having identified all articles on Uyghurs, this thesis built its coding manual used for the content analysis. From both the theory and common sense, several categories are already evident, such as publication date, specific newspaper, page and publication section, word count and author. Another category is whether the article refers to genocide. However, in order to develop topics that can be assigned to each article we conducted an exploratory analysis of 25 randomly selected newspaper articles from a pool of articles above 500 words that mention Uyghurs. This has been done to adhere to Hsieh & Shannon's (2005) approach of conventional content analysis and to inductively construct categories for the coding manual. Attention was paid developing topics that are easily identifiable from the article alone. In order to aid the reliability of conducting a coding exercise by oneself, each article in the dataset is given a unique number which, together with the plain article text, is the only data available when applying the coding manual to the newspaper articles, which were ordered randomly. After this procedure, the other relevant data hidden during the coding exercise became available during the interpretation of the results.

From this exploratory analysis, nine topics were developed (Appendix 2). These are: Human rights, terrorism, culture, domestic angle, foreign angle, Chinese response, politics and diplomacy, soft power, and companies. Articles are coded as having a human rights topic if the focus of the article is on human rights abuses, such as reports of mass detainment, religious repression etc. The terrorism topic is assigned to articles discussing Uyghurs as (potential) terrorists or articles discussing terrorist attacks with Uyghur involvement. Culture includes

articles whose main topic is on Uyghur cuisine or traditions. Articles are coded as having a domestic angle if the main topic is on a domestic element related to Uyghurs, such as the actions of national politicians, involvement of domestic companies or actions taken by Uyghurs living in the country. Stories with a foreign angle include articles which are about Uyghurs in countries outside of China, such as the Uyghur diaspora living in Turkey. Articles on the replies of China on criticism of Uyghur policies has been assigned “Chinese response”. The topic of “politics and diplomacy” is assigned to articles whose primary topic is on the involvement of the international political community, and includes stories on sanctions, summits etc. We assigned articles the “soft power” topic which discusses (the threat of) Chinese influence abroad. Lastly, all articles on specific companies have been assigned the “companies” topic.

5. Results

5.1 Distribution of News Coverage

5.1.1 National Differences

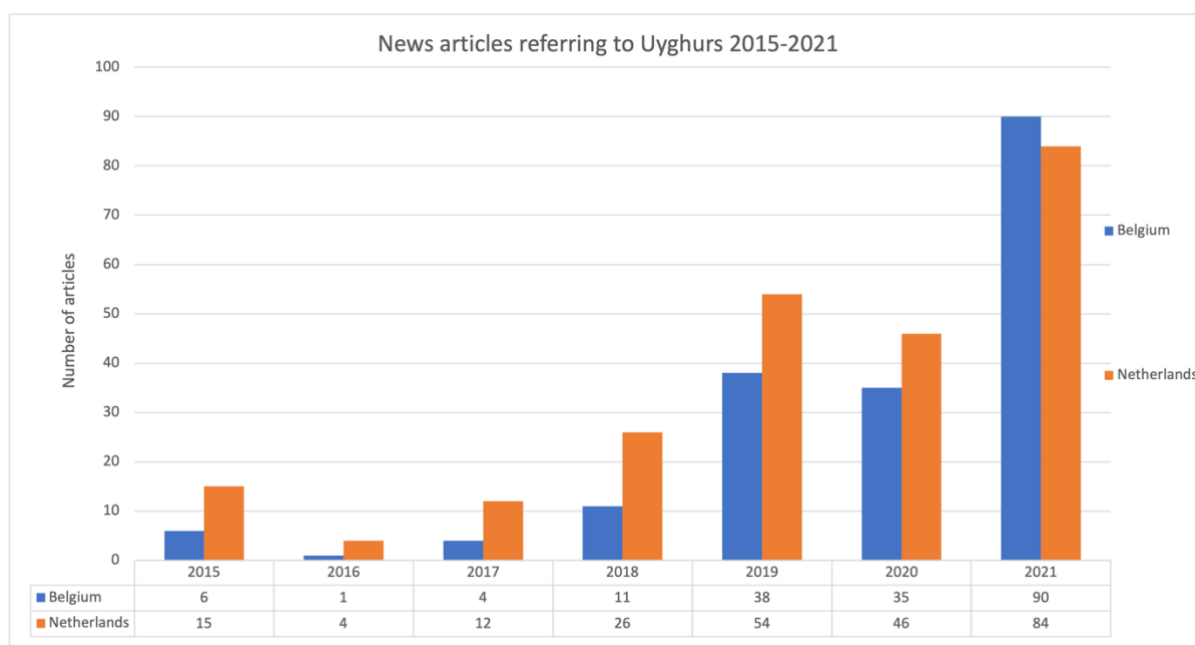


Figure 1. News articles referring to Uyghurs 2015 - 2021

Between the start of 2015 and the end of 2021, this research has identified 1011 news articles which include either the word “Uyghur” or “Xinjiang”, out of 41,509 articles which mention China (23,903 Dutch articles and 17,606 Belgian articles). Having eliminated doubles and irrelevant articles (articles whose main topic was not on Uyghurs, Xinjiang or an issue directly related to their repression), a total of 426 news articles were found. Dutch newspapers have published 241 articles whereas Belgian newspapers have published a total of 185 articles related to Uyghurs within the timeframe. In each consecutive year, except for 2021, Dutch news coverage exceeded Belgian news coverage in terms of individual articles published (figure 1). From 2015 to 2018, Dutch newspapers published at least twice as many articles devoted to Uyghurs than Belgian papers. Only from 2019, Belgian newspaper coverage started

to approximate the number of Dutch articles published, reaching 70% of Dutch coverage in 2019, 75% of Dutch coverage in 2020, after which the extent of Belgian newspaper articles exceeded Dutch ones with 90 to 84 articles respectively.

Moreover, looking at the word count of the news articles, we find that Belgian newspaper articles contained on average 601 words, whereas Dutch articles averaged at 678 words (appendix 3). Again, Dutch articles exceeded Belgian ones in this regard, even having a higher word count in 2021 despite Belgian papers having published more articles (figure 2). The relative difference in word count is also higher compared to the difference in individual articles published, with extremes in 2016, 2017 and 2018, where the number of words in all Belgian articles was around 60%, 90% and 85% lower compared to Dutch news coverage respectively. The difference lowered from 2019 onwards.

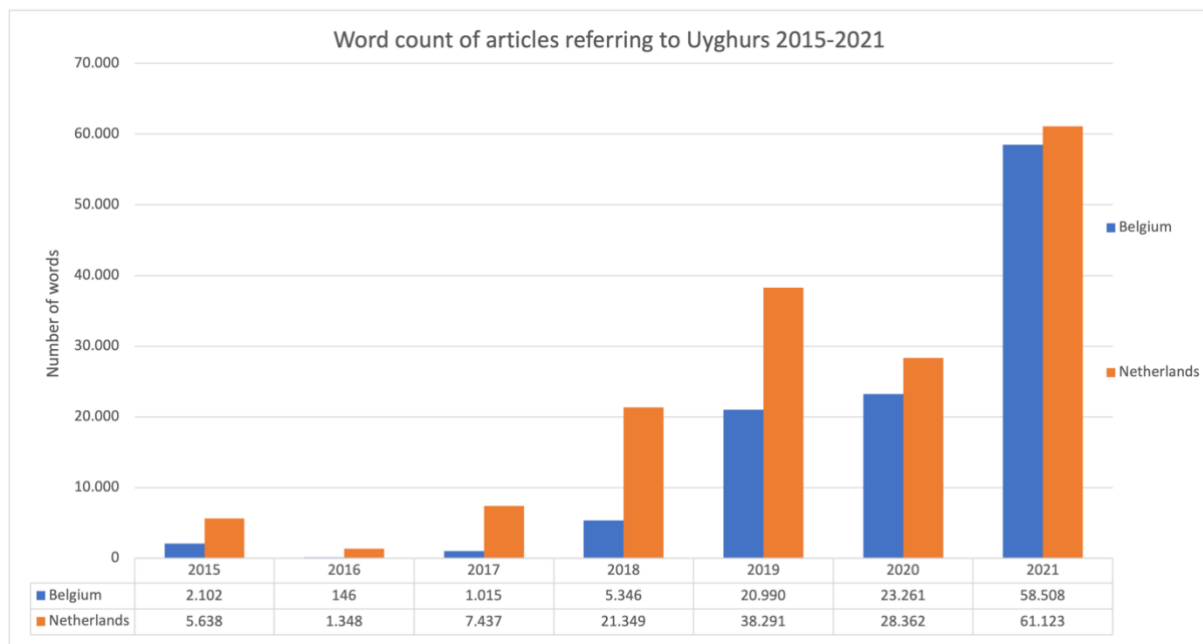


Figure 2: Word count of articles referring to Uyghurs, 2015-2021

We can also look at the positioning of articles, i.e., where articles were published in newspapers, as this can show the importance of topics. Almost 4% of all Dutch articles on the

topic have been placed at the front page, and nearly 6% on the second. Belgian newspapers have only positioned 1,6% of all articles on the front page, and just 1% on page 2 (figure 3). These findings seem to strengthen the previous expectation that Uyghurs have been a more important news topic for Dutch media than for Belgian media, as they produced not only more articles, but also dedicated more words to the topic and have even published more articles on the front page. Furthermore, Dutch media featured significantly more publications than Belgian media in the first four years of the timeframe (2015-2018), only starting to approximate Dutch coverage when the Uyghur issue gained more international attention.

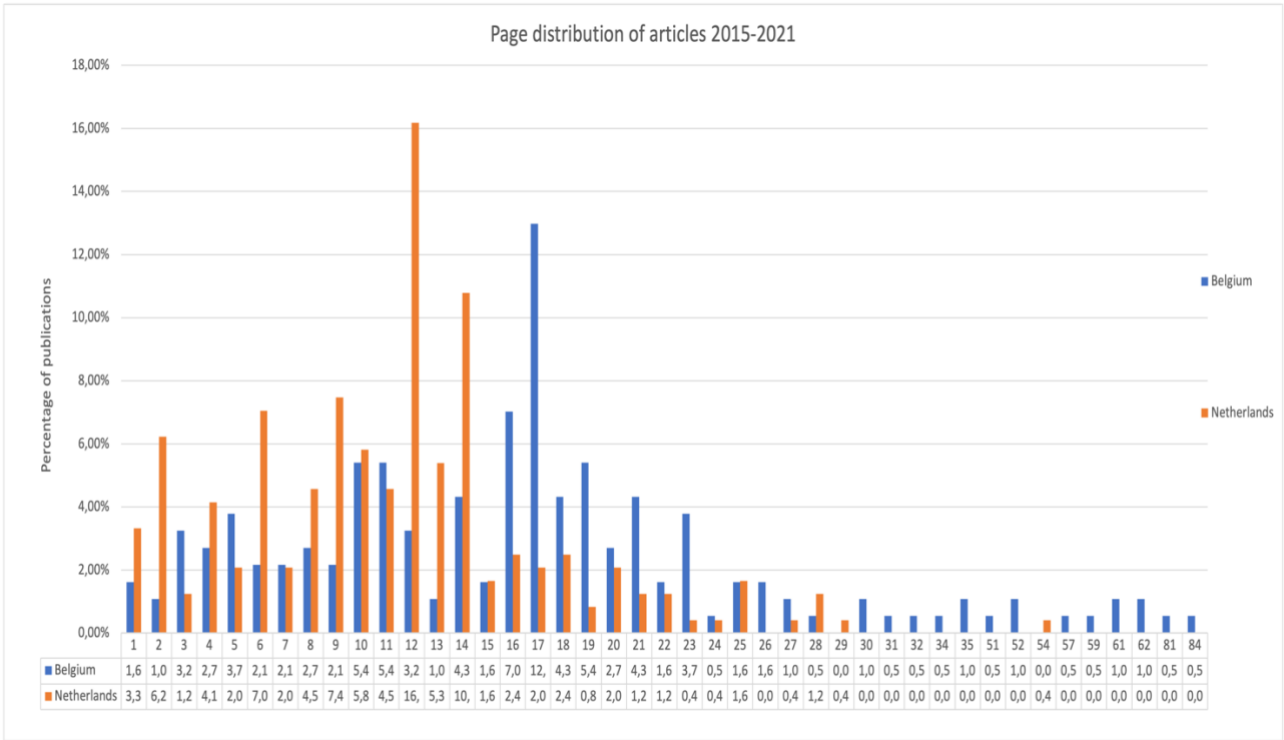


Figure 3: Page distribution of articles 2015-2021

This can also be seen by looking more closely at the distribution of coverage. The first four years (figure 4) are marked by more or less consistent coverage from Dutch newspapers, with news articles published in almost every quarter with the exception of Q1 2016. On the

other hand, Belgian newspapers have published far less consistently, with certain bursts of coverage at the start of 2017 and the latter half of 2018.

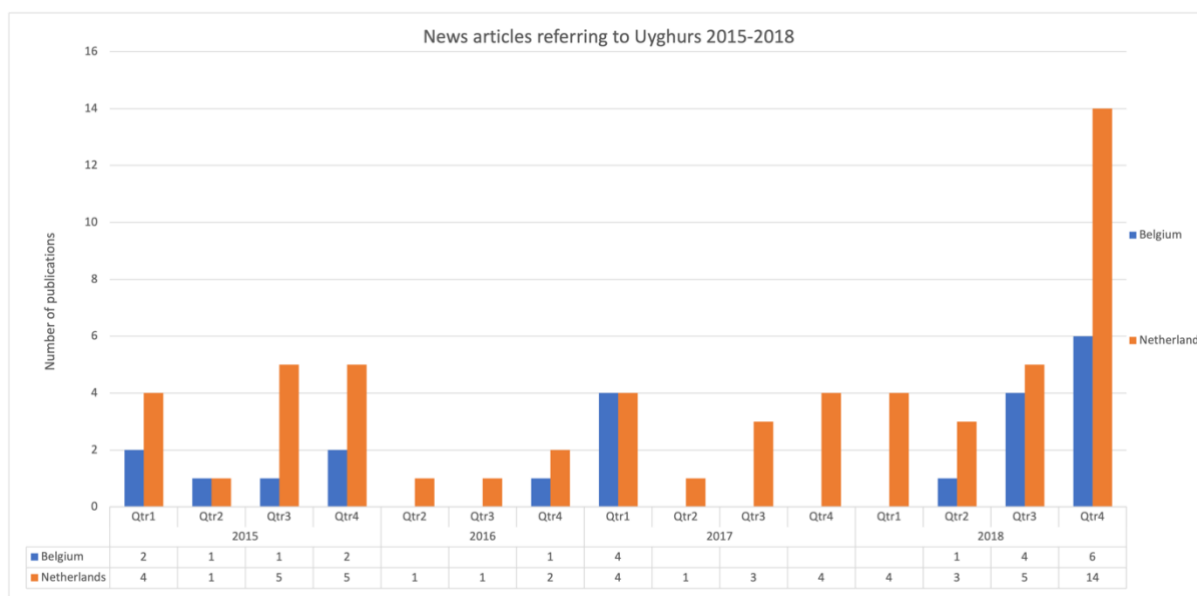


Figure 4: News articles referring to Uyghurs 2015-2018

We can see several things when we look at the articles published in the periods where Belgian coverage approximated Dutch article publications. First of all, 2015 stands out as it was a year where there was more news coverage in both countries on Uyghurs than in the subsequent two years. More than half of the articles published were on terrorism, with the majority discussing the Uyghur connection to the 2015 Bangkok bombing and Uyghur involvement with the Islamic State. The prominence of the terrorism topic in 2015 can be explained by the already strong interest in terrorism stories in European media as a result of the rise of ISIS and subsequent terrorist attacks such as the Charlie Hebdo shooting in 2015.

Belgian news coverage on Uyghurs became sporadic in the subsequent years until the second half of 2018. One exception is the first quarter of 2017, when both Dutch and Belgian newspapers published the same number of articles. Yet nearly all articles were on a single

event, namely on the introduced counter-terrorism legislation in Xinjiang making GPS systems compulsory in cars¹. These results become even more significant if we look at the number of words dedicated to the topic at hand, as we can see that its difference is much higher than by merely looking at the number of articles published (Figure 5). This again indicates that for the Netherlands, Uyghur related topics were apparently more “newsworthy” than was the case for Belgian newspapers, as Dutch editorials have allowed for a significantly higher word count dedicated to this.

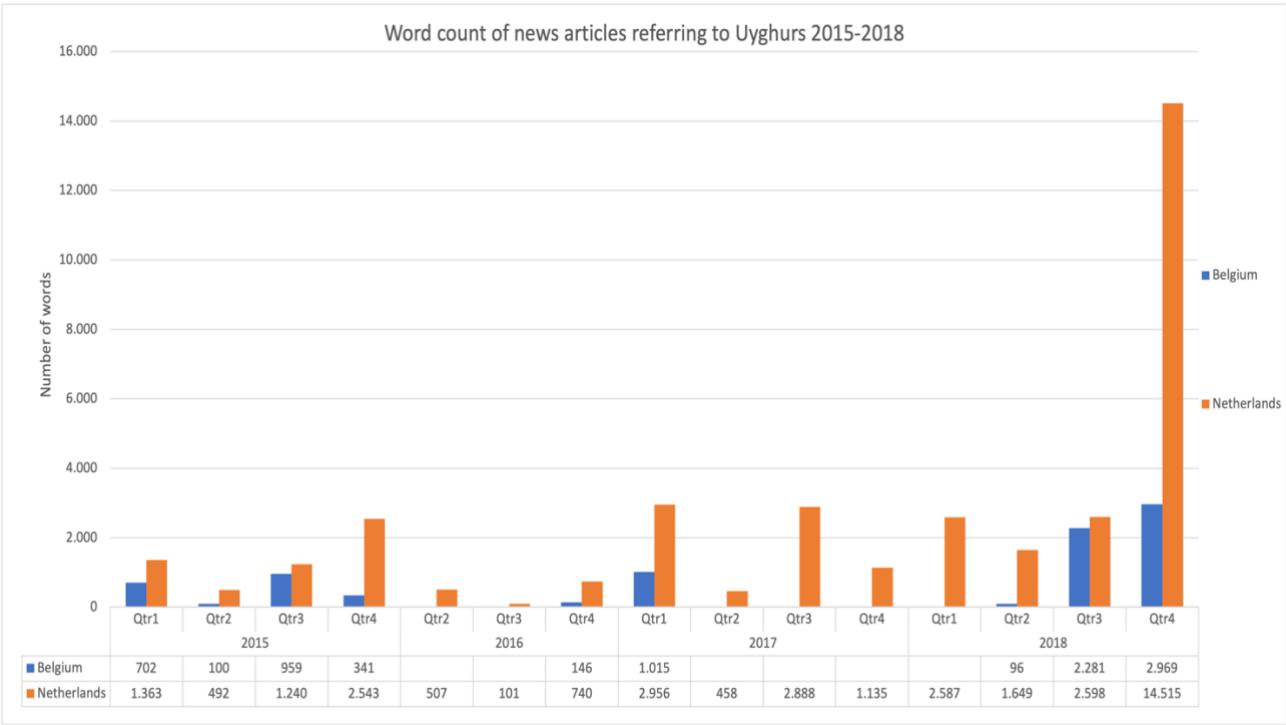


Figure 5: Word count of articles referring to Uyghurs 2015-2018

A different picture emerges if we look at the subsequent years (Figure 6). The second period from 2019 to 2021 is marked by highly consistent coverage of Uyghurs, with similar article publications in most quarters. The difference between the number of Dutch and Belgian

¹ Articles 29-33

newspaper publications is also significantly lower than in the previous period of 2015-2018. Furthermore, a check of the word count has also revealed no large differences in that regard during this timeframe (appendix 4). This suggests that the news value of Uyghur related topics has increased for Belgium newspapers to match that of Dutch newspapers. This can be explained by the increased international attention on the fate of Uyghurs in the XUAR, with NGO's publishing reports and sanctions being announced by other countries.

A finding that should be mentioned is that in 2020, Dutch and Belgian newspapers published less articles on the topic than was the case in 2019 and 2021. This could possibly be explained due to the COVID pandemic having diminished the importance of Uyghur human rights violations for both politicians and the media in that year.

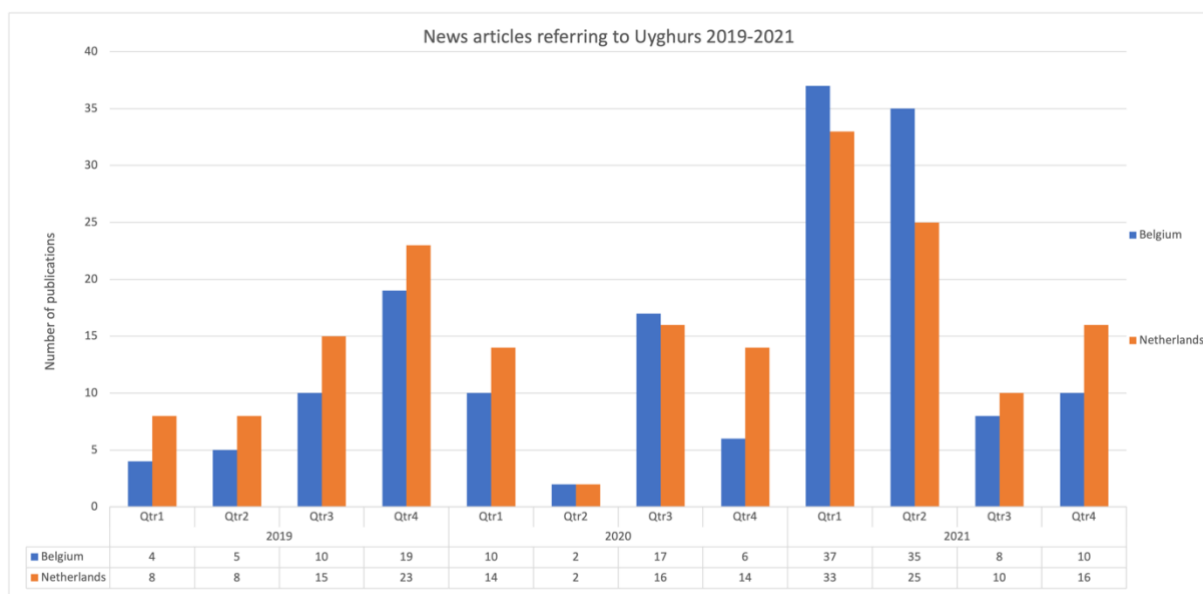


Figure 6: News articles referring to Uyghurs 2019-2021

5.1.2 Newspaper Differences

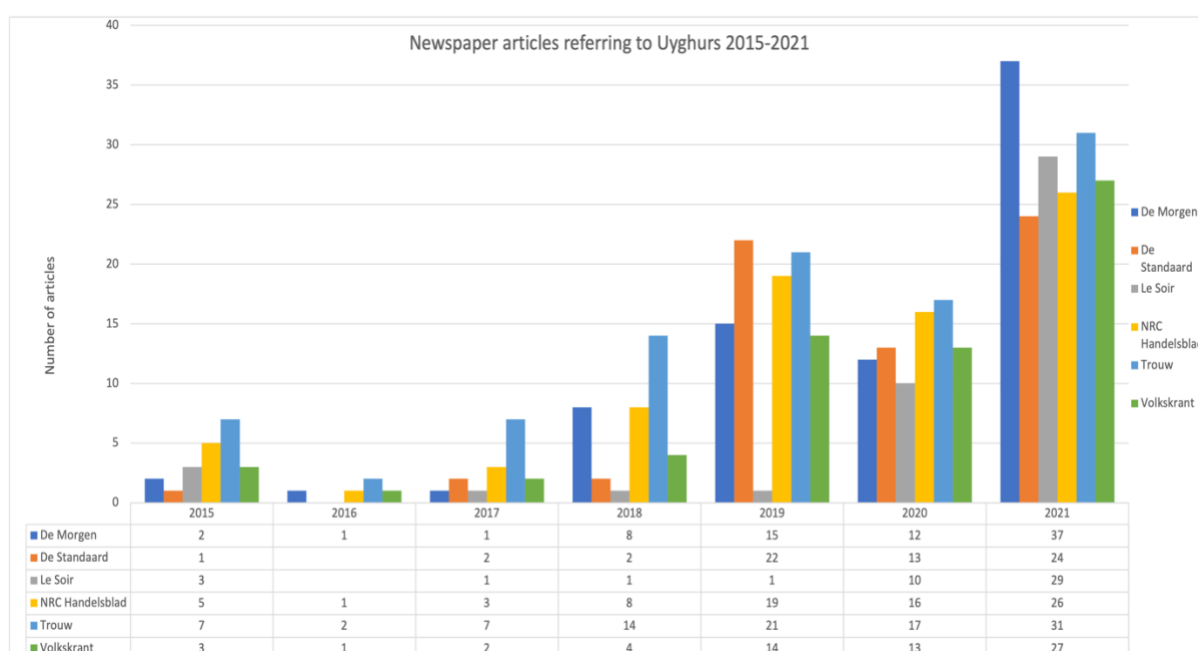


Figure 7: Newspaper articles referring to Uyghurs 2015-2021

Narrowing down the analysis to compare the extent of individual newspaper coverage, we find that it does not appear to be dependent on newspaper ideology. Looking at both individual articles produced (figure 7) and word count (figure 8), we can see large differences in coverage of newspapers that have the same political leaning. Nevertheless, the analysis yielded several findings which are important to mention.

Focusing on Dutch newspapers, we find that they appear to publish a relatively similar number of articles. *Trouw* has published the most articles on this issue, followed by *NRC Handelsblad*. However, looking at the word count one can see that there is no clear outlier in terms of news coverage, as the *Volkskrant* overtakes *Trouw* in several years despite publishing less articles (Figure 8). Nevertheless, it is clear that *Trouw* has covered the issue most consistently. A reason for this is possibly the weekly column on the Islam around the world called “In the shadow of the minaret” by Arabist and journalist Eildert Mulder, who has devoted several of his columns to the fate of the Uyghurs.

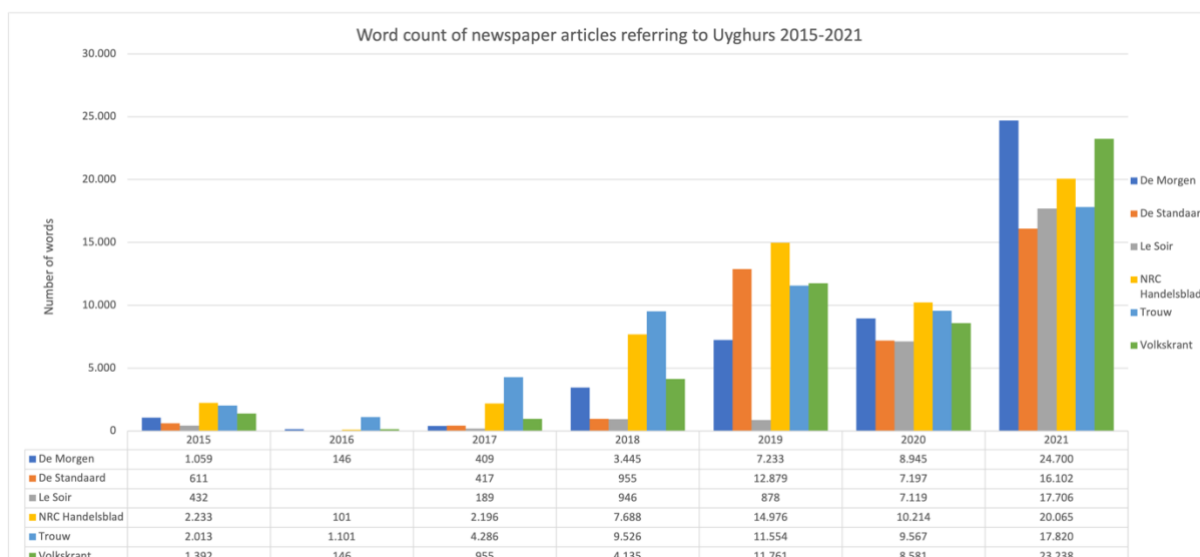


Figure 8: Word count of news coverage referring to Uyghurs 2015-2021

The frequent columns by Eildert Mulder can also explain the results showing that despite the extent of *Trouw*'s news coverage, relatively few articles were published on the first pages, instead the majority of articles being published in the middle of the newspaper between pages 9 and 15. Furthermore, none of their relevant article publications were placed on the front page. In contrast, nearly 20% of *NRC Handelsblad*'s news publications on Uyghur related topics were positioned on the front page or the second page. *De Volkskrant* has published five articles on the first and second page amounting to 8% of all articles they have published on the topic at hand (Figure 9).

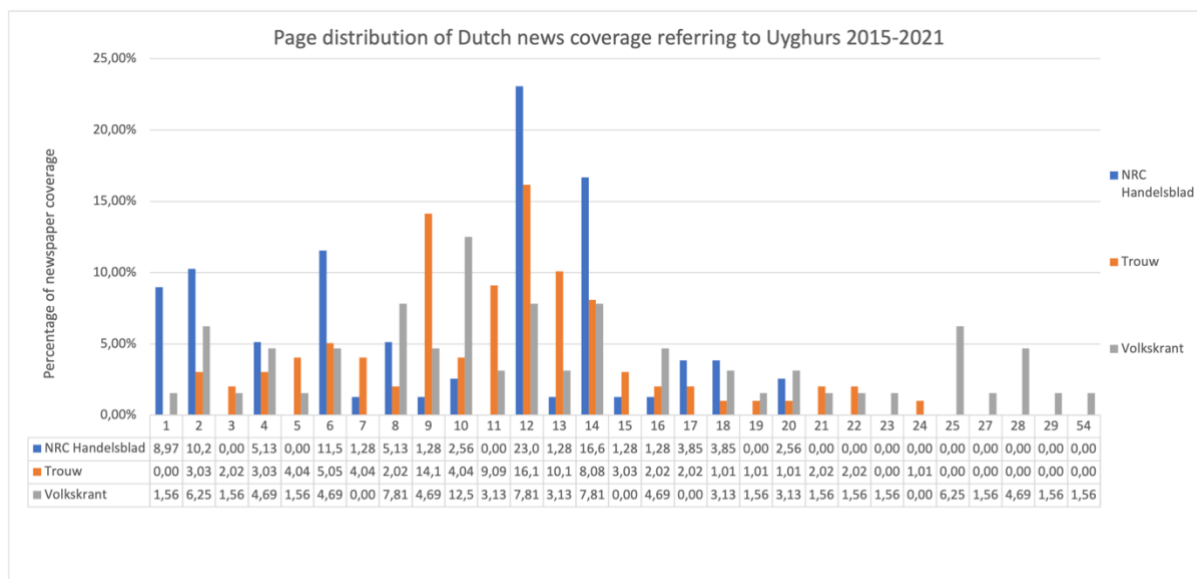


Figure 9: Page distribution of Dutch articles referring to Uyghurs 2015-2021

Turning the analysis to Belgian newspapers, larger differences can be observed. The main finding is the fact that *Le Soir* has published significantly less articles than its Flemish counterparts. Furthermore, *De Morgen* is the only newspaper to have published articles on Uyghurs in every single year, as the other two did not cover the topic at hand in 2016. A look at the word count yields similar results, with *Le Soir* at the bottom of the list. An interesting finding is that despite *Le Soir* publishing most articles in 2015, these consisted of very short articles, and they thus overtaken by the other two Belgian newspapers.

However, looking at the page distribution of articles we can see that *le Soir* has positioned nearly 8,5% of its published articles on the first two pages, whereas *De Standaard* has published nothing on the Uyghurs on its front page (figure 10). *De Morgen* has only published one article on its front page and no articles on the second page. Just as was the case with Dutch newspapers, the majority of articles are still located in the mid-section of the newspapers. Yet, if we look at the first five pages of the newspaper, *Le Soir* has published nearly 18% of all articles within these pages, followed by *De Morgen* with nearly 16%. *De*

Standaard has published the least in the front of the newspaper, amounting to slightly under 5% of all articles related to Uyghurs.

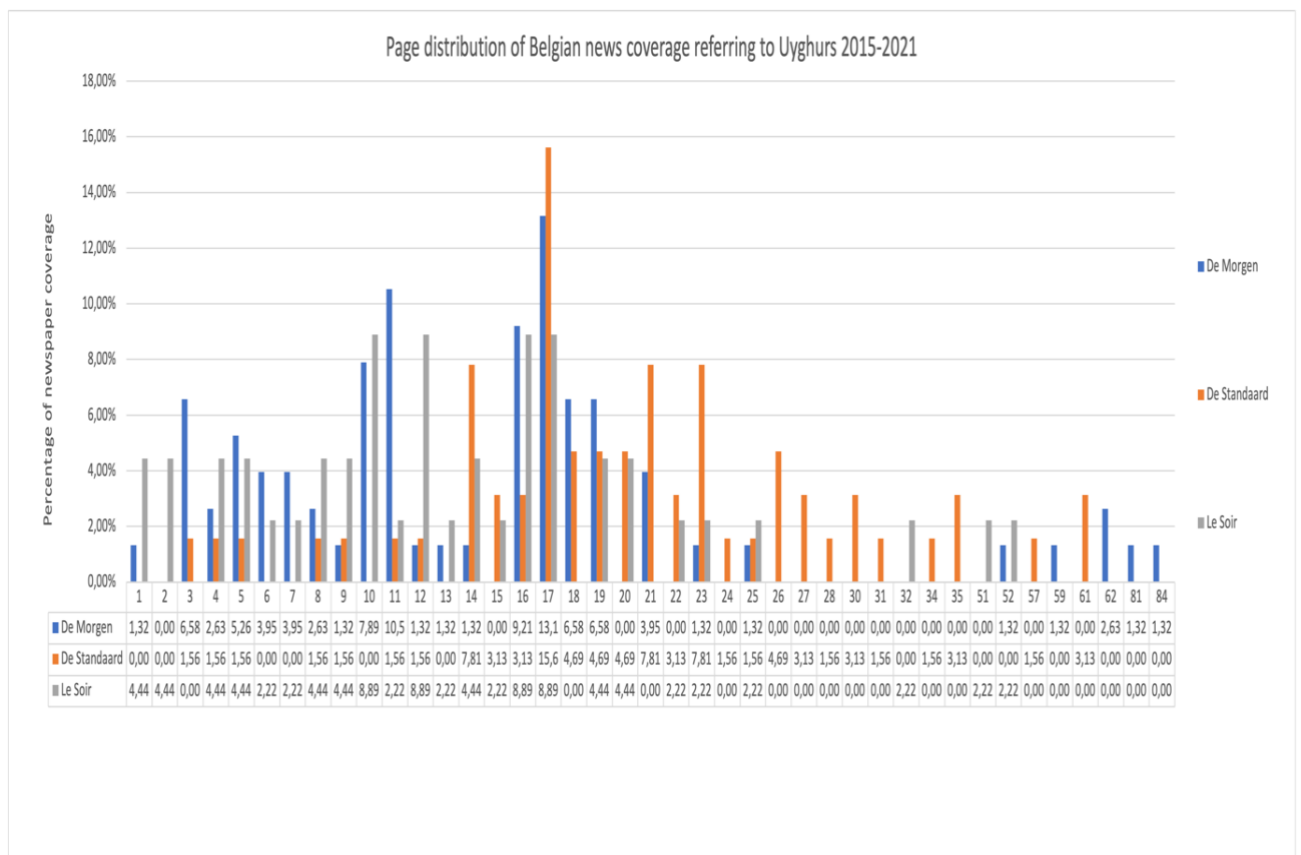


Figure 10: Page distribution of Belgian articles referring to Uyghurs 2015-2021

The results thus do not show any clear indication what causes a variation in distribution of news coverage between individual newspapers. Looking at ideological stance, we can see large differences between both *NRC Handelsblad* and *De Standaard* (considered as centre-right papers), and between *Volksrant*, *Le Soir* and *Trouw* (considered centre-left papers) in terms of articles published, word count and article positioning. The higher extent of news coverage by *Trouw* can be explained by its focus on religion and philosophy, as the argument can be made that from this framework, stories involving religious repression and human rights violations have a higher news value. However, we could not find an adequate explanation for the differences in the extent of coverage between the other newspapers. In particular, the

finding that *Le Soir* has published significantly less articles than its Flemish and Dutch competitors has been one of the most noteworthy results. Yet, an explanation for why this is the case cannot be reliably deduced from the available literature or analysis.

5.1.3 Authorship and Newspaper Ownership

It also appears that newspaper ownership does not impact the extent of coverage on Uyghurs, which has been seen by looking at the coverage between DPG Media, which owns *De Morgen*, *Volkskrant* and *Trouw*, and Mediahuis, which owns *De Standaard* and *NRC Handelsblad*. However, one important finding is that it appears that more authors publish in different newspapers from DPG Media than is the case for Mediahuis. In the former, eight authors were found that published articles in the other newspapers from the parent company. In the latter's case that was only two. Furthermore, looking at authors publishing for both parent companies we find that only one author has published one article for the competing company, indicating that there is no significant cooperation between the two parent companies. When we take a more thorough look at authors publishing in multiple DPG Media newspapers, we can see that many authors publish the same article in multiple newspapers with altered titles. Examples are the mandatory GPS tracker newspaper articles published by the same author in both *De Morgen* and *De Volkskrant*² and the same publications on forced labor in *Trouw* and *De Morgen*³. In total, this research has identified 11 pairs of nearly identical, slightly altered article publications from the same author within the newspapers of DPG Media⁴.

² Article 32;33

³ Article 77;78

⁴ Article pairs 142-144; 163-162; 169-170; 255-256; 259-260; 208-219; 291-297; 363-364; 374-381

5.1 Topic Distribution

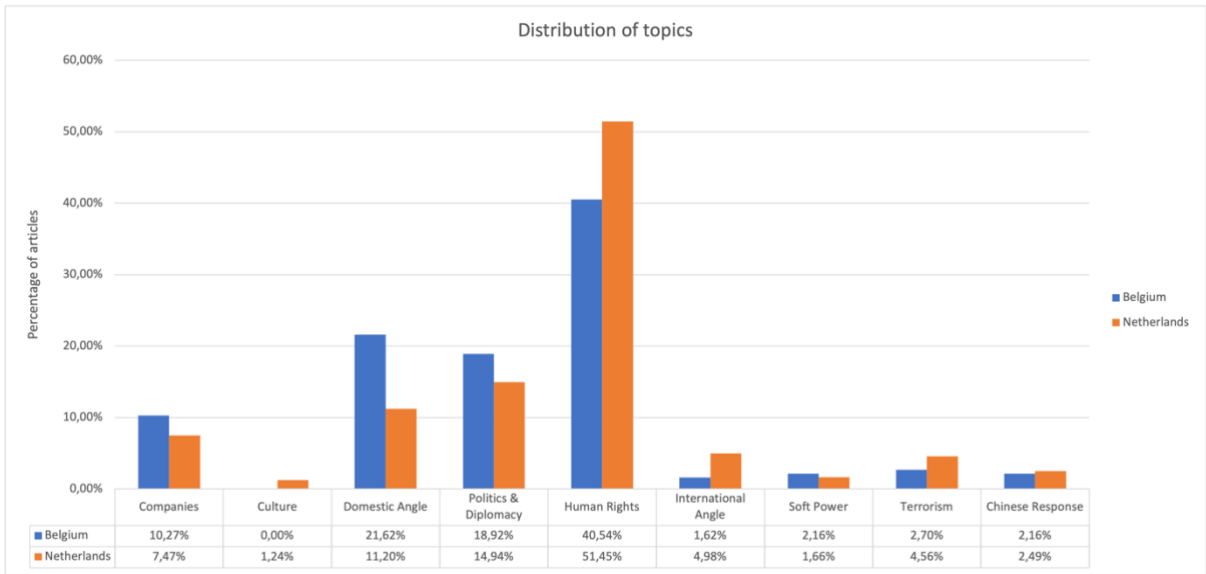


Figure 11: Distribution of topics

Within the dataset of articles on Uyghurs, nine broad topics have been developed during the exploratory analysis, with attention being paid to ensure mutual exclusiveness. The share of articles dedicated to each topic is depicted in figure 11. The first, and arguably most unsurprising finding, is that the highest share of news coverage in both Belgium and the Netherlands was solely focused on Uyghur human rights abuses, 40% and 51% respectively. The three most published topics in Dutch newspapers were, besides human rights, politics & diplomacy (15%) and domestic news (11%). Belgian newspaper coverage was even more concentrated on these three topics, with domestic news articles consisting of more than one-fifth of all their publications, followed by political and diplomatic news at 19%. This leads us to our second main finding, the relatively high share of articles covering Uyghurs from a domestic angle in Belgian newspapers. The fact that even Dutch newspapers published many articles from a national angle seems to confirm domestication theories. Furthermore, the fact that the share of articles on politics and diplomacy was also sizable can also be explained using

news values, given the increased newsworthiness of topics when elite actors such as the US and U.N start to get involved.

Another finding that should be mentioned is that Dutch newspapers published three articles whose main topic was Uyghur culture, a topic which completely lacked in Belgian newspapers. A closer look at these articles reveals that two discussed Uyghur cuisine and restaurants and the third was an interview with a Uyghur musician⁵. As it is the case that both countries feature Uyghur restaurants and a comparable number of Uyghur residents, the reason for this discrepancy cannot be explained. However, as this only consisted of three articles of the 426 in total, a further investigation is not warranted.

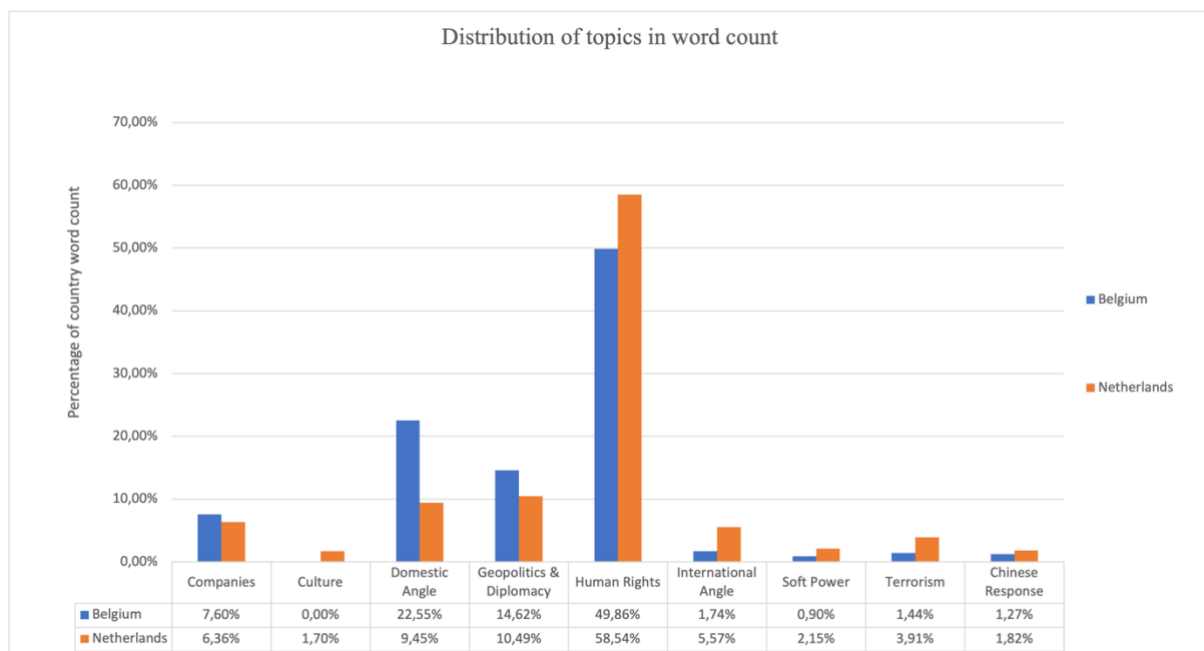


Figure 12: Distribution of topics in word count.

⁵ Articles: 16, 175, 403

If we instead look at the number of words dedicated to each topic we can see human rights is still the most written about topic and that its relative share is even higher than if we look at only individual articles (figure 12). It also appears that Dutch coverage seems to be slightly more spread out over topics as is the case with Belgian articles. The relative share of words dedicated to domestic articles in Belgium is also higher, reinforcing our previous finding that news appears to be more driven by domestic events in Belgian media than in the Netherlands. In the case of the latter, its relative share in word count was lower than in terms of individual articles, yet domestic issues remain the third most covered topic in the country's press.

Turning our analysis to individual newspapers, we can see some differences in coverage, although this, again, does not seem to be based on ownership or political stance (figure 13). For instance, *De Morgen*, *De Volkskrant* and *De Standaard* wrote a significantly higher share on the topic of politics than *NRC Handelsblad*, *Trouw* and *Le Soir*. However, one interesting aspect is that nearly one-third of all news coverage by *Le Soir* has been on domestic stories related to Uyghurs.

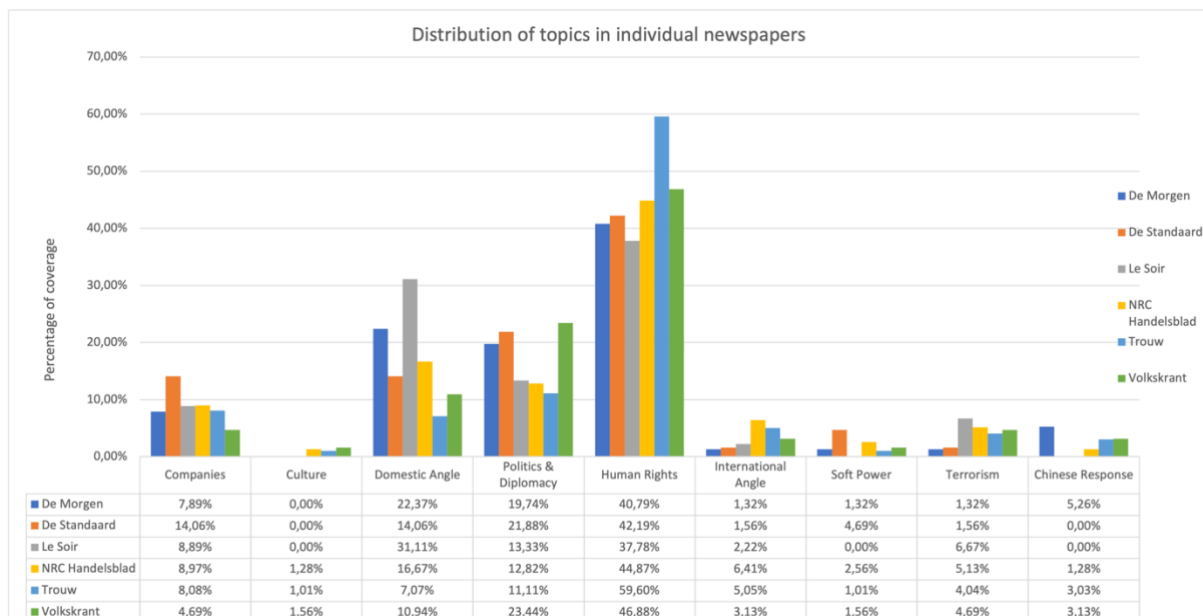


Figure 13: Distribution of topics in individual newspapers

Investigating the development of topic salience over time, the main finding is that we can observe a gradual downwards trend from 2018 onwards in terms of the relative share of the most salient topic that year, suggesting that coverage becomes more balanced in terms of subjects it discusses (table 4). Yet, human rights was the most salient topic by far in both countries between 2016 and 2020. The more balanced coverage in 2021 (and to a lesser extent 2020) can be explained by the growing infamy of Xinjiang, increased domestic and international concern and diplomatic conflict, which led to stories or events by themselves. An example can be the increased attention on the Belgian extreme left PTD/PVDA party given their refusal to vote for a resolution condemning the situation in Xinjiang and naming it a genocide⁶.

The analysis has thus far yielded interesting findings, appearing to support the hypotheses and expectations developed in this thesis that Dutch media would cover Uyghurs to a larger extent than Belgium media. Yet, what is even more interesting is that the investigation on article topics seem to suggest there are not only differences in how much Uyghurs are covered but also in what way they are covered. A subsequent assessment of two topics, domestic stories and articles related to politics and diplomacy, featured in the next sections of this chapter, indicates that Belgian news has been more driven by domestic events and international political events than was the case in Dutch media. Moreover, the last section will show that there even appear to be large differences between countries in how the situation in Xinjiang is assessed, by looking at the extent to which news outlets refer to the word “genocide” in their publications.

⁶ Article 350; 376; 331; 332.

Belgium				Netherlands		
Year	Most salient topic	Share of total articles	Share of word count	Most salient topic	Share of total articles	Share of word count
2015	Terrorism	50%	62%	Terrorism	53%	58%
2016	Human rights	100%	100%	Human rights	75%	93%
2017	Human rights	50%	70%	Human rights	92%	96%
2018	Human rights	64%	65%	Human rights	81%	85%
2019	Human rights	63%	72%	Human rights	65%	75%
2020	Human rights	51%	61%	Human rights	57%	57%
2021	Domestic angle	31%	31%	Politics and diplomacy	32%	22%

Table 4: Table outlining the most salient topic per year in Belgian and Dutch Newspapers 2015-2021

5.3 Domestic News Coverage

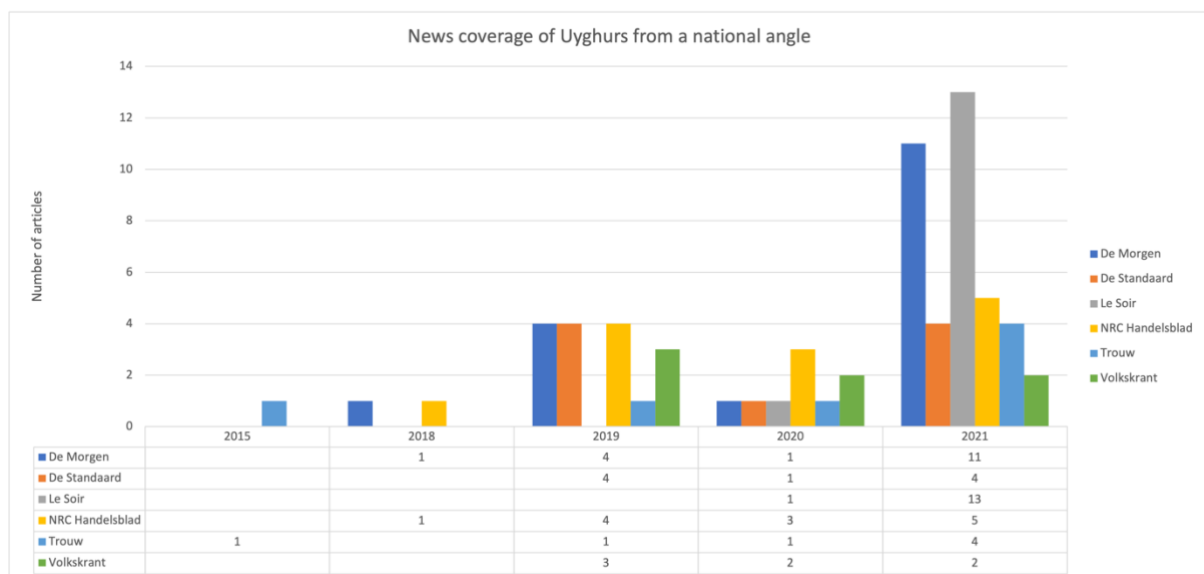


Figure 14: News coverage of Uyghurs from a national angle

We find that Belgian newspapers published more articles that covered Uyghurs from a national angle than Dutch newspapers did (figure 14). It can also be seen that coverage of Uyghurs which involves a domestic element only became substantial in 2019. *De Morgen* published the most articles (17) followed by *Le Soir* (14). Focusing on Belgian news coverage, we find that eight of the forty articles discussed a scandal in which the Belgian embassy in Beijing let a Uyghur woman get arrested after having requested family reunification with her husband who is a political asylum-seeker⁷. Interestingly enough, this story is completely absent in publications by *Le Soir*, even though they reported it on their website (Belga, 2019), suggesting that this was not considered an important enough topic to devote space in their newspaper to it. This story was also covered in the Netherlands by *De Volkskrant*⁸. The second most covered story (with seven articles), in this case published by all Belgian news outlets, was the debate and subsequent adoption of the resolution recognizing the risk of genocide in

⁷ Article 98; 101; 104; 112; 113; 120; 373; 377

⁸ Article 118

Xinjiang⁹. Another salient story was about an extradition treaty ratified by Belgium and China in 2021, and the concerns raised on how it might impact Uyghur refugees and dissidents. This was the main topic in four articles¹⁰. Whereas it is not the main focal point in any article published by *Le Soir*, the treaty has been mentioned three times in their articles on other topics¹¹. Other articles were about the supposed pro-China views by the political party PTB/PVDA and on the announcement of Chinese sanctions on a Belgian Member of the European Parliament.

We find that Dutch newspapers focused on stories involving export of knowledge and technology by both Dutch universities and companies to China, and how it had potentially helped in suppressing the Uyghur minority. Every newspaper published related stories, amounting to seven of the twenty-seven stories¹². Furthermore, we find a relatively high share dedicated to Dutch political responses (7), of which three were related to the Dutch Parliament's recognition of genocide¹³. Other articles were related to Uyghurs living in the Netherlands, covering stories relating to asylum policy, intimidation of refugees by the Chinese state and protests against the Uyghur genocide.

Despite the quite substantial share of coverage on domestic aspects regarding Uyghurs, it is the case that very few articles were featured at the front of the newspaper. Only three articles reached the front page, one from *De Morgen* and two from *Le Soir*, and only three Dutch news articles were published on the first three pages, as opposed to eight in Belgian newspapers (appendix 5). Again, these findings strengthen the view that domestic aspects related to Uyghurs have been the main drivers for Belgian newspaper editorials.

⁹ Article 269; 272; 274; 288; 376; 379; 387

¹⁰ Article 202; 257; 258; 302

¹¹ Article 305; 376; 387

¹² Article 117; 152; 160; 181; 225; 235; 318

¹³ Article 130; 229; 242; 283; 285; 287; 413

5.4 Political News Coverage

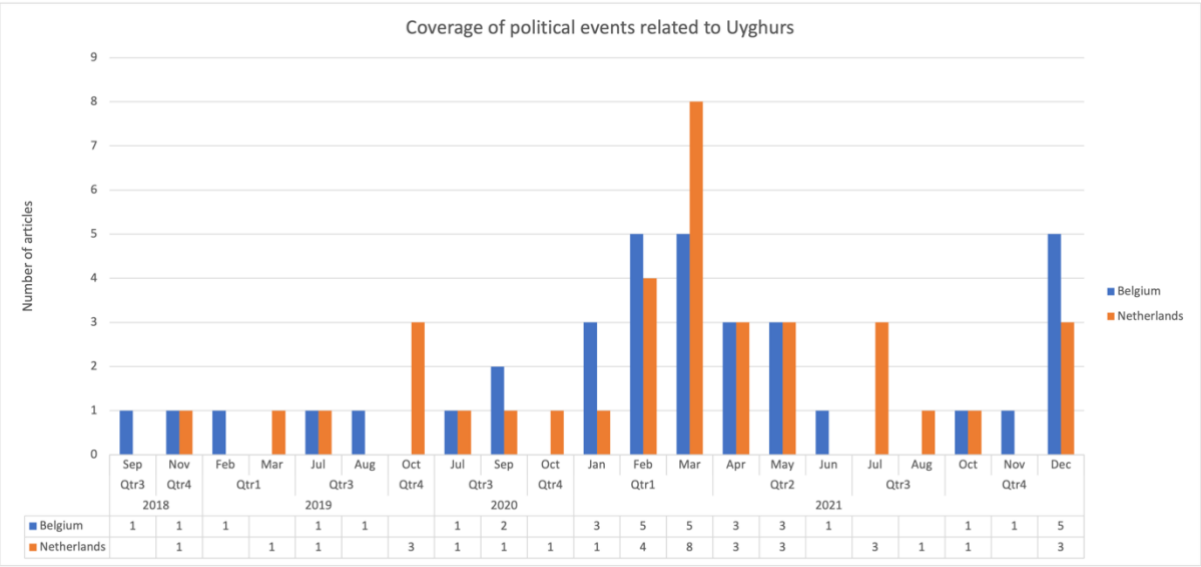


Figure 15: Coverage of political events related to Uyghurs

As was seen before, a substantial share of news coverage related to Uyghurs discussed political and diplomatic aspects of these human rights abuses. The Uyghur genocide has become an element in the much wider conflict between the West and China, and it has led to sanctions, condemnations from western leaders and it has been a prominent topic discussed during summits. Given that theory has established the high news value of international involvement (such as by the U.S and U.N), it comes as no surprise that there is very little variation in the extent of coverage between Belgium and the Netherlands (figure 15), both in articles produced as in word count (appendix 6). However, if we look more closely at which actors were the primary subject in the articles, we can see interesting discrepancies (figure 16).

First of all, we find that Belgian political news articles covered the EU to a very high extent. Again, this appears to support our expectations given that the most important EU institutions are in Brussels, and it thus seems that both eliteness of the EU as an actor and domestication complement each other. We also found that Dutch newspapers devoted

significantly more coverage to relations between China and the Taliban than Belgium did. However, this could be explained by the involvement of Dutch soldiers in combat missions in Afghanistan, which resulted in twenty-five losses, as opposed to the much smaller contribution of the Belgian military, and who have suffered no casualties in their mission. Furthermore, we can see that US involvement has a relatively high share of coverage in both Dutch and Belgian newspapers, fitting expectations. Interestingly enough, UN involvement has been covered substantially less in Belgium than in the Netherlands. This might be due to the fact that the International Court of Justice, a UN organ, is based in The Hague, which would confirm expectations set by domestication theory.

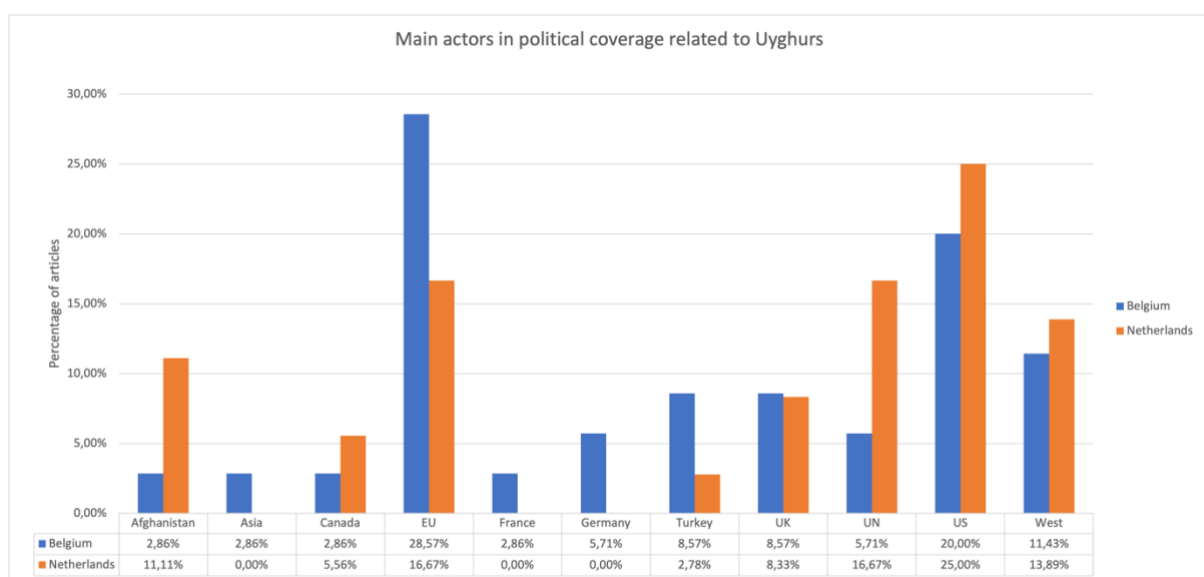


Figure 16: Main actors in political coverage related to Uyghurs

We also found a high discrepancy regarding individual newspapers (figure 17). *Le Soir*'s coverage comprised of 50% on EU responses, followed by articles on the UN, US and the west in general (16,75% each). *De Standaard* features a high share of articles on Turkey and its relations with China, a topic which only *De Volkskrant* covered too. We find that *De Morgen* covered nearly every country/international organization/regional reference, with the

exception of Turkey. Lastly, we conducted a subsequent assessment of article placement. It revealed that Dutch newspapers placed these articles in a more prominent place than Belgian newspapers did. Yet, this appears to be mainly the case due to *NRC Handelsblad*, who has placed nearly 40% of these articles on the first two pages (Appendix 7).

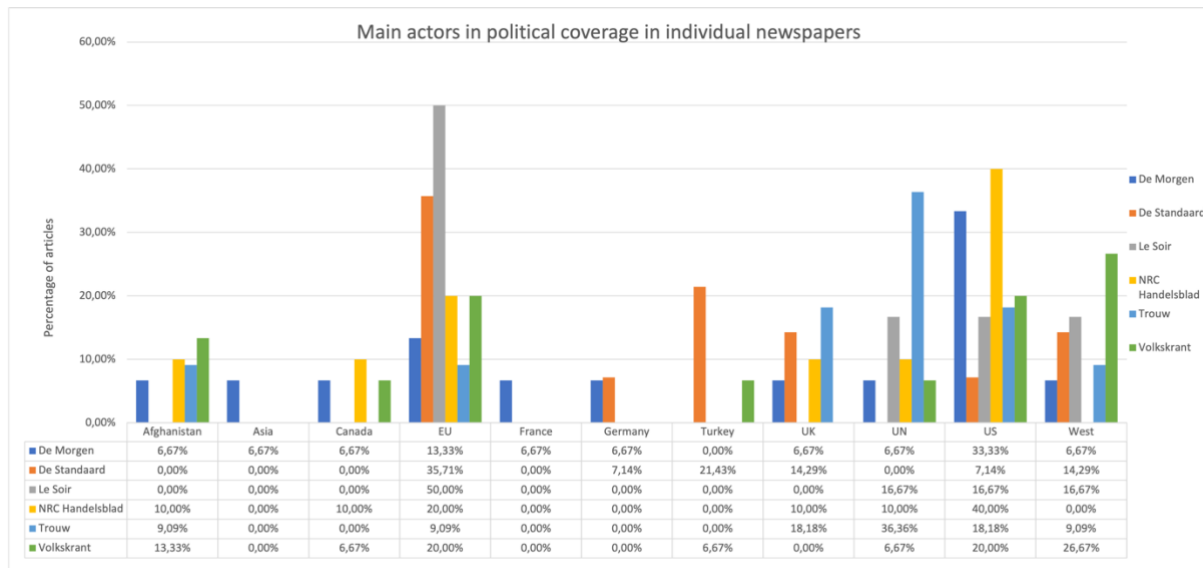


Figure 17: Main actors in political coverage in individual newspapers

5.5 References to Genocide in News Coverage

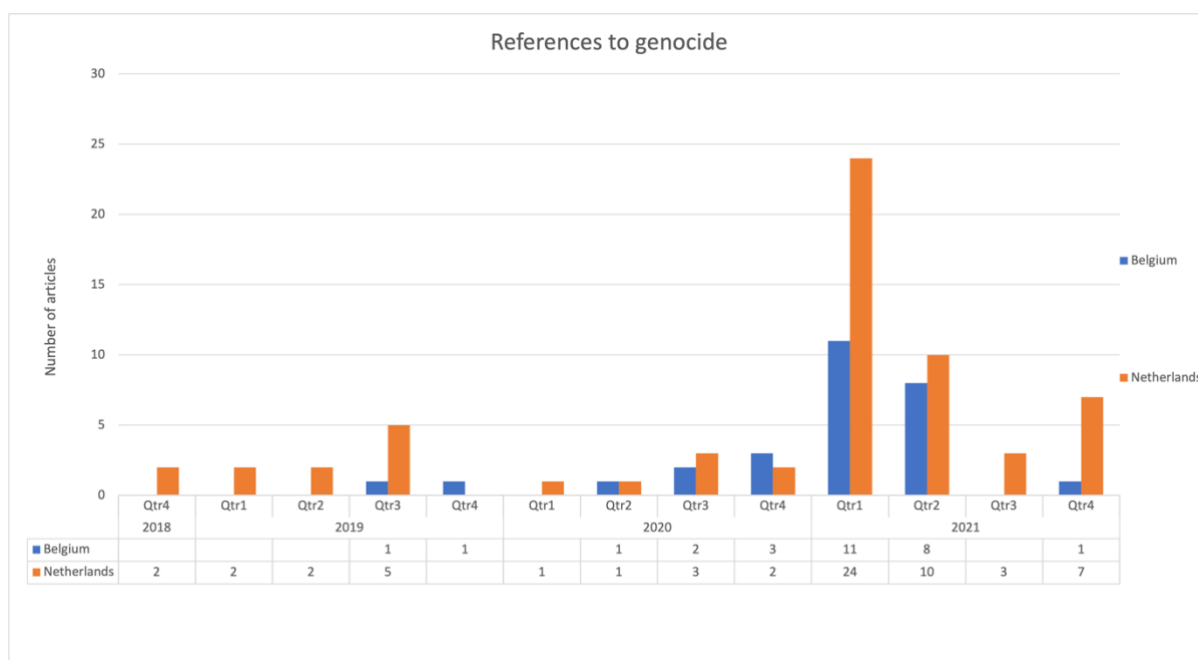


Figure 18: References to genocide

The analysis shows that Dutch newspaper have published significantly more articles in which genocide was referenced (figure 18). Of the 241 Dutch newspaper articles, 62 referenced genocide, a quarter of all Uyghur coverage. In contrast, only 28 of the 157 Belgian articles did so, amounting to only 15%. Furthermore, in each year, Dutch articles exceeded Belgian articles. Dutch articles also referenced genocide earlier, already in the last quarter of 2018, whereas Belgian newspapers only started referencing genocide in the second half of 2019. Moreover, Dutch newspapers have more consistently published articles, only missing one quarter in 2019 since it started referencing genocide. The last general finding is that no Belgian articles that referenced genocide were published on the front page, as opposed to the four articles published by *NRC Handelsblad* and *De Volkskrant*¹⁴.

¹⁴ Art 121; 291; 310; 369

If we focus on individual Dutch newspapers, we can see that *Trouw* has published not only the most articles referencing genocide, but it has also published in every quarter (except the last quarter in 2019). *NRC Handelsblad* published somewhat sporadically, featuring one article in 2018, four in 2019 to only start publishing a significant number of articles in 2021. *De Volkskrant* has published the least genocide-referenced articles and only started doing so in 2021. If we look at authorship of these publications, it was found that it was quite concentrated, as the two authors with the most publications referring genocide made up between 47% and 57% of all their newspaper's articles that referenced genocide. Another interesting element is that publications by the editorial (without a named author), made up a sizable proportion of this type of coverage, almost 20% in *Trouw* and nearly 15% in *de Volkskrant*.

If we look at Belgian papers (figure 19), the most striking result appears to be that *Le Soir* has only referenced genocide in only two articles, both published between April and June 2021. We can also see that news coverage by *De Morgen* features slightly more articles referring to genocide than *De Standaard*, with 15 to 11 articles respectively. If we look at the distribution, we can see that the latter paper published relatively more articles than the former in 2019 and 2020, although *De Morgen* has overtaken *De Standaard* in 2021. Focusing on authorship, we find that most articles referencing genocide were authored by the editorial in question (no published author), ranging from only 13% in *De Morgen* to 45% for *De Standaard*. However, each newspaper had just one journalist that published a significant share of the other publications referencing genocide. *De Standaard* has had just four authors, of which the most published one has written 26% of all genocide-referenced articles. In contrast, *De Morgen* has had ten different journalists reference genocide, although their most published journalist in this regard also makes up for 26% of all relevant articles. *Le Soir* featured only

two articles of which one was an editorial piece and the other published under a journalist's name¹⁵.

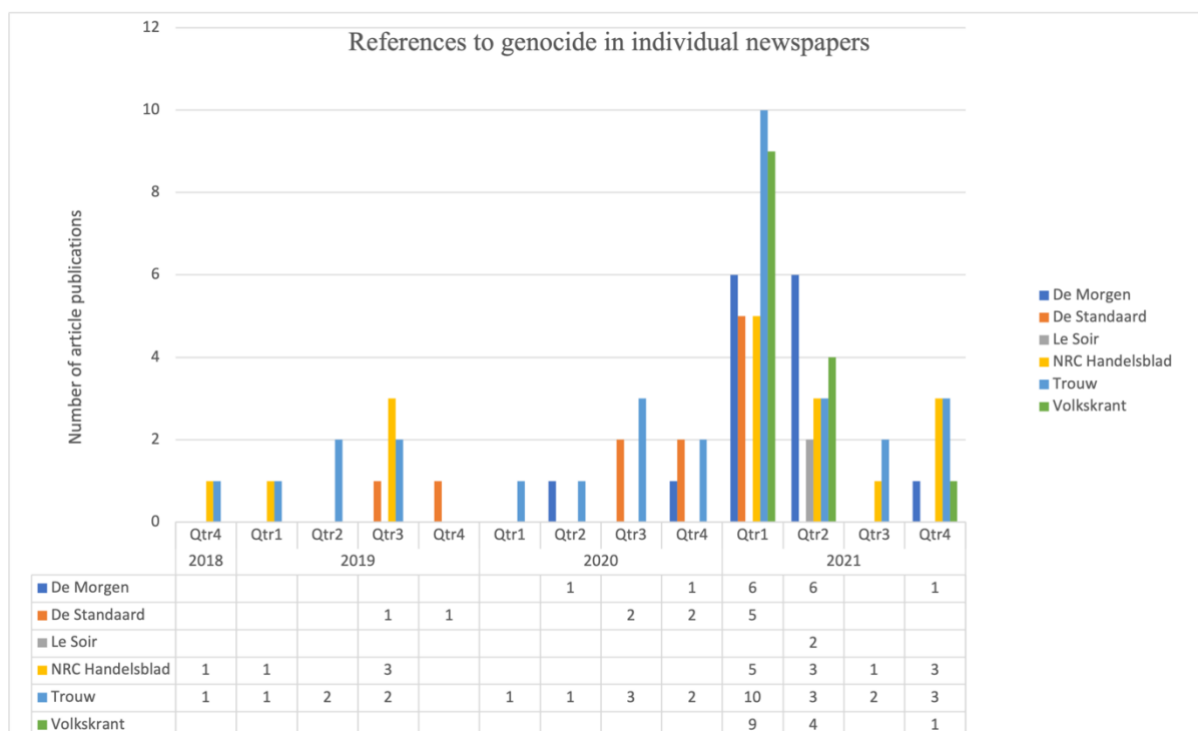


Figure 19: References to genocide in individual newspapers

Furthermore, following our assessment on which topics genocide was referenced, we find that most newspapers referenced genocide in articles focused specifically on human rights violations, such as in interviews with heads of NGOs¹⁶ or coverage due to a human rights report¹⁷ (figure 20). We also found that genocide was highly referenced in political coverage, which can be explained due to news on sanctions regarding the Uyghur genocide. An interesting finding is that we observed that genocide was more often referenced in coverage of domestic aspects in Belgium (nearly 30%) than was the case for Dutch newspapers (nearly 10%). We can also see that Dutch newspapers referenced genocide in every topic to some degree. A

¹⁵ Art 357; 356

¹⁶ E.g Art 457

¹⁷ E.g Art 339; 199

particularly noteworthy finding is that nearly 10% of all Dutch genocide references were placed in topics on companies. The six articles in total mainly discussed private company involvement in forced labour practices in Xinjiang¹⁸. This becomes even more relevant when we see that in the nineteen articles on companies in Belgian newspapers, the word genocide was never used.

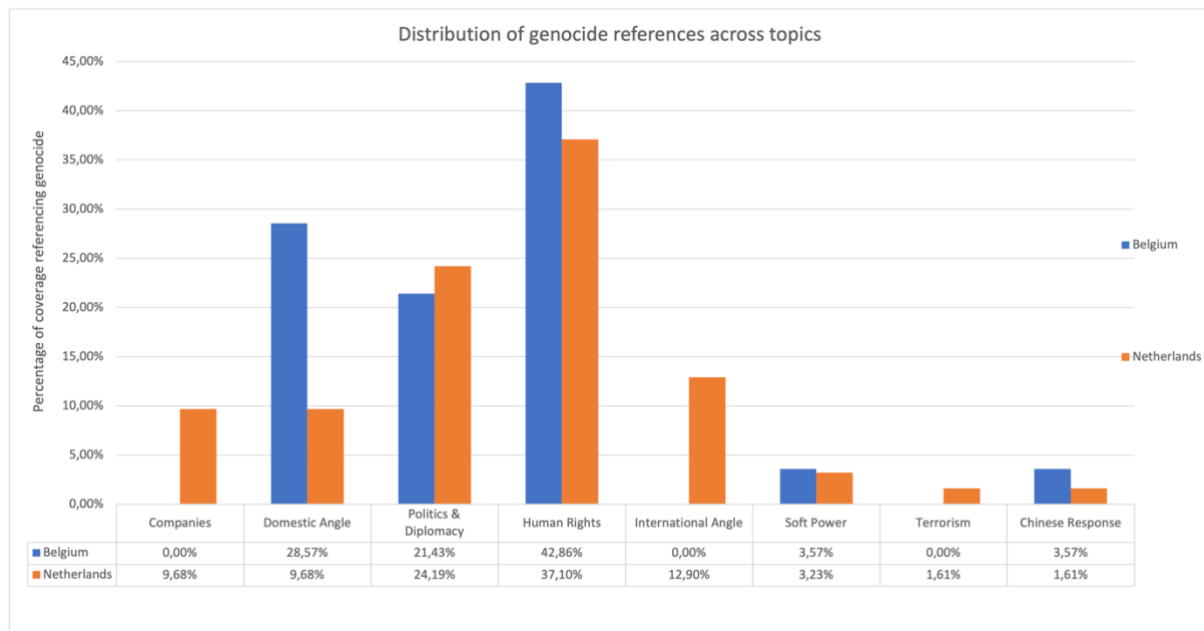


Figure 20: Distribution of genocide references across topics

Lastly, a look at individual newspapers reinforces the view that Belgian newspapers referenced genocide almost exclusively in human rights, politics and domestic topics, whereas Dutch newspapers referenced this in a broader range of topics (figure 21). *De Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad* has had less than 30% of their mentions of genocide in articles on human rights, instead being featured in articles with an international angle to the Uyghur genocide (of which all were about Uyghurs in Turkey¹⁹) and political news. We find that *Trouw* has referenced genocide in nearly every topic except for the terrorism topic. Related to the latter

¹⁸ Art: 313; 324; 382; 398; 426

¹⁹ Art 79; 82; 85; 275; 291; 325; 369; 384

topic, it is interesting that even in an article on the threat of Uyghur terrorism by *De Volkskrant* the term genocide is mentioned in relation to Uyghurs²⁰. The broad use of the term genocide in Dutch newspapers suggests that the awareness or recognition of the fate of Uyghurs as a genocide is much more prevalent in the Netherlands as it is in Belgium.

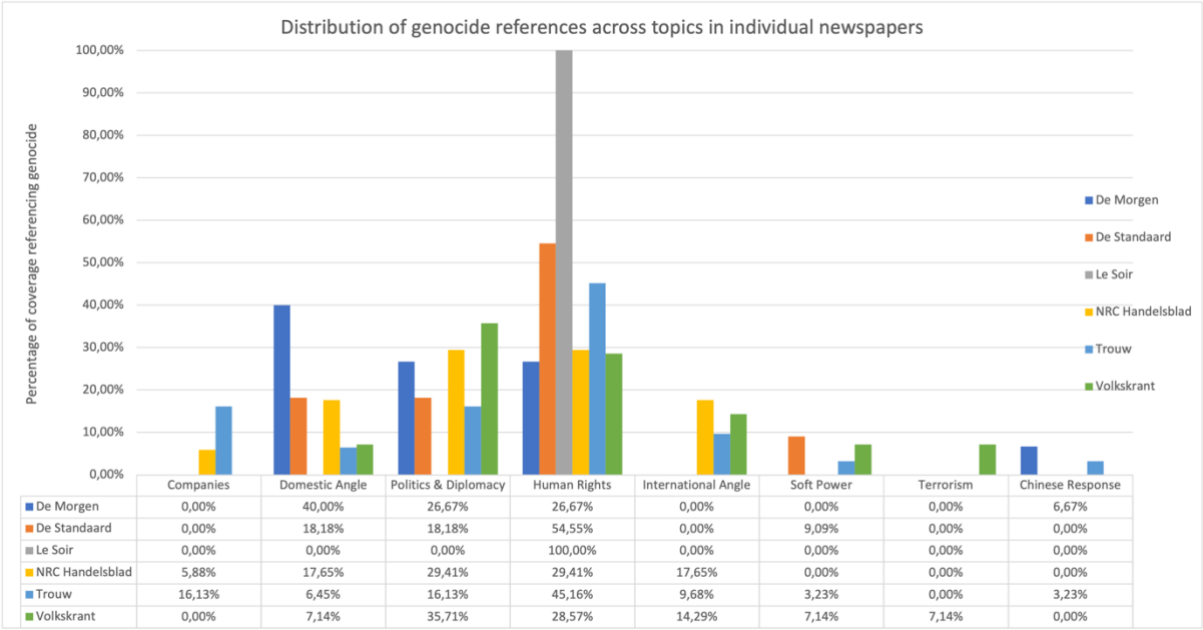


Figure 21: Distribution of genocide references across topics in individual newspapers

²⁰ Art 333

6. Discussion of Findings

The results outlined in the previous chapter thus appear to indicate with relative certainty that the extent of economic relations has a noticeable impact in how important foreign news events are considered by media outlets. Despite a common language, similar access to information, and even despite operating under the same parent company, there is a substantial difference in the extent of news reporting on Uyghurs between the Netherlands and Belgium. We find significant differences in the extent of individual publications and in word count, as well as in how prominently articles were featured within the newspaper. The fact that Dutch news coverage has been more consistent over time, and has started earlier, further strengthens the view that Uyghurs are higher on the agenda in the Netherlands than in Belgium. The findings therefore confirm H1, that stronger economic ties lead to more coverage of the Uyghur genocide, and H2, that stronger economic ties lead to earlier and more sustained coverage.

Moreover, the findings support general news value theory, given that events involving elite international actors like the US were given a high share of total coverage. In both countries, this was the second most published topic, and they also published nearly the same number of articles, which suggests that international political events relating to Uyghurs has had the same news value in both states. The reason why this topic featured a higher share in relation to total coverage in Belgium than in the Netherlands, is due to the fact that other topics appeared to have less news value for Belgium, leaving domestic and political news articles to represent more than a third of all Belgian coverage.

Furthermore, the analysis yields strong support for domestication theories, given that both Dutch and Belgian news coverage featured a high share of articles discussing domestic aspects related to Uyghur repression. The findings indicated that Belgian news coverage was more driven by these events than Dutch news coverage was, given that one-fifth of all Belgian

articles discussed stories related to domestic developments. Interestingly enough, support for domestication theory was also found looking at political news coverage, as we saw that both countries published more articles on international organizations which were (in part) based in their own country, such as the high share of articles on the EU in Belgium. This indicates that eliteness and domestication can complement each other. These results therefore confirm H3, that countries with weaker economic ties will cover the Uyghur genocide more through higher news-value stories involving international actors and/or domestic involvement.

What is perhaps the most striking finding is that many Dutch news articles named what is happening in Xinjiang a genocide, whereas this was featured to a far lesser extent in Belgian coverage. Not only did Dutch articles mention genocide much earlier, but they were also referenced in every topic related to Uyghurs. In contrast, most Belgian articles only mentioned genocide in news stories on domestic and international political actors who were either debating on or adopting a resolution specifically calling the situation a (risk of) genocide. This indicates that either Belgian newspaper authors did not see the situation in Xinjiang as a genocide to the same extent as their Dutch counterparts, or that the awareness of it is significantly lower.

This thesis finds no clear determinants of news coverage related to individual newspapers, suggesting that the ideological stance of the newspaper has no significant effect on coverage. The most surprising finding, namely the significantly lower extent of coverage by the francophone newspaper *Le Soir*, cannot be accounted for in the analysis or theory. Several options are possible, albeit that all remains mere conjecture and could only be thoroughly investigated in further research. The first, and most straightforward option, is that the coverage by *Le Soir* is just an anomaly in Belgian Francophone newspapers and that other newspapers, like *Le Libre Belgique*, feature the same extent of coverage than its Flemish counterpart. Secondly, a more speculative possibility is that Flemish news coverage is higher

than Francophone news due to the shared language with the Netherlands, which in combination with common ownership of newspapers leads to more interaction between Dutch and Flemish journalists, which in turn could spill over to how important the issue is considered as a news story. This could be investigated in further research.

7. Limitations

The theoretical framework and methodology used in this thesis were appropriate to investigate news coverage on Uyghurs in the Netherlands and Belgium. However, some limitations can be identified which should be considered in case of further research on the topic. First and foremost, feasibility requirements had the result that only one francophone newspaper could be analysed, as opposed to the two Dutch-language Belgian papers. This significantly reduced our ability to make robust claims on the difference between Walloon and Flemish newspapers. This was further problematized by the extremely low coverage of the French language paper chosen for the analysis, which also made it challenging to identify and justify trends in coverage. Secondly, feasibility has also limited the analysis to only two countries. Even though the case selection has been very robust, having selected two countries that are very similar but have a vastly different extent of economic relations with China, an expansion of cases would have benefitted the analysis to more precisely identify variables that influence news coverage of foreign human rights abuses.

8. Conclusion

This thesis has set out to investigate to what extent economic relations impact the newsworthiness of foreign human rights abuses in order to shed light on the specific determinants of news coverage on these issues. Whereas research has established that foreign human rights issues are generally under-reported in Western countries in favour of political and economic news, no enquiry has been launched on the question of what drives this coverage. Given that the literature has identified economic relations as being a strong predictor of general foreign news coverage, this thesis explored whether this also holds for news on foreign human rights abuses specifically. It has attempted to do so by investigating Dutch and Belgian news coverage on the Uyghur genocide between 2015 and 2021, given the varying extent of economic relations with China between those two countries. It was hypothesized that stronger economic relations would increase the news value of China, translating in more coverage on Uyghurs, and that coverage would be less driven by higher news value stories such as domestic involvement in the issue or involvement by important political actors.

Employing a qualitative content analysis, this thesis has collected all articles of six different newspapers on Uyghurs within the timeframe and has identified the main topic of those articles. It found that Dutch news coverage exceeded Belgian news coverage, that it was featured more prominently in newspapers, and that coverage was also more sustained over the timeframe. Moreover, a significant share of Belgian news coverage was driven by domestic developments or due to the involvement of international political actors like the U.S, implying that Belgian news coverage of the Uyghur genocide was not primarily driven by the existence and nature of these human rights abuses, but due domestic and international involvement. Furthermore, it found that Dutch newspapers published references to genocide both earlier and to a greater extent than its Belgian counterparts. These findings suggest that Dutch media's

interest and awareness of the issues in Xinjiang are far greater than in Belgium, and the argument can thus be made that China and subsequent news from China has a greater news value for the Netherlands. While further research involving other cases might expand our understanding of the precise mechanisms and specific elements of economic relations impacting human rights reporting, the results of this thesis suggest that the extent of economic ties is a strong predictor of coverage on human rights abuses.

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10. Appendixes

Appendix 1: Table outlining FDI and Trade Between China and Netherlands Belgium between 2010-2020

Netherlands

Year	GDP	Imports from China	Exports to China	Total Imp	Total Exp	Import Share	Export Share	Chinese FDI	FDI/GDP
2010	846,6	47,4	7,18	511	439	9,28%	1,64%	0,27	0,03%
2011	904,1	54,5	9,04	586	535	9,30%	1,69%	0,27	0,03%
2012	839	53,5	9,79	584	520	9,16%	1,88%	0	0,00%
2013	876,9	52,6	10,3	554	439	9,49%	2,35%	0,47	0,05%
2014	891	57,4	10,1	572	530	10,03%	1,91%	2,04	0,23%
2015	765,3	50,1	9,21	473	434	10,59%	2,12%	3,47	0,45%
2016	783,5	50,6	10,4	467	433	10,84%	2,40%	4,89	0,62%
2017	831,8	55,8	11,7	530	495	10,53%	2,36%	0,39	0,05%
2018	913,6	65,3	13,6	601	549	10,87%	2,48%	2,43	0,27%
2019	907,1	65,3	13,5	576	530	11,34%	2,55%	0,59	0,07%
2020	912,2	64,9	15,6	511	524	12,70%	2,98%	0,89	0,10%
					Mean	10,37%	2,21%		0,17%

Data collected from WITS, CGIT and World Bank Open Data. In USD (Billion).

Belgium

Year	GDP	Imports from China	Exports to China	Total Imp	Total Exp	Import Share	Export Share	Chinese FDI	FDI/GDP
2010	481	12,7	5,73	321	283	3,96%	2,02%	0	0,00%
2011	522,6	16,5	8,02	388	338	4,25%	2,37%	0	0,00%
2012	496,2	14,1	7,87	360	317	3,92%	2,48%	0,26	0,05%
2013	521,6	13,8	7,57	372	328	3,71%	2,31%	0	0,00%
2014	534,7	15,2	7,58	379	330	4,01%	2,30%	0,71	0,13%
2015	462,1	13,8	5,11	314	269	4,39%	1,90%	0,29	0,06%
2016	475,7	13	5,75	326	281	3,99%	2,05%	0	0,00%
2017	501,5	13,6	7,52	352	304	3,86%	2,47%	0,22	0,04%
2018	543,3	14,6	6,02	385	330	3,79%	1,82%	0	0,00%
2019	533,3	15,6	5,77	364	318	4,29%	1,81%	0,35	0,07%
2020	515,3	16,4	7,71	332	309	4,94%	2,50%	0,12	0,02%

					Mean	4,10%	2,19%		0,03%
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Data collected from WITS, CGIT and World Bank Open Data. In USD (Billion).

Appendix 2: Coding Manual

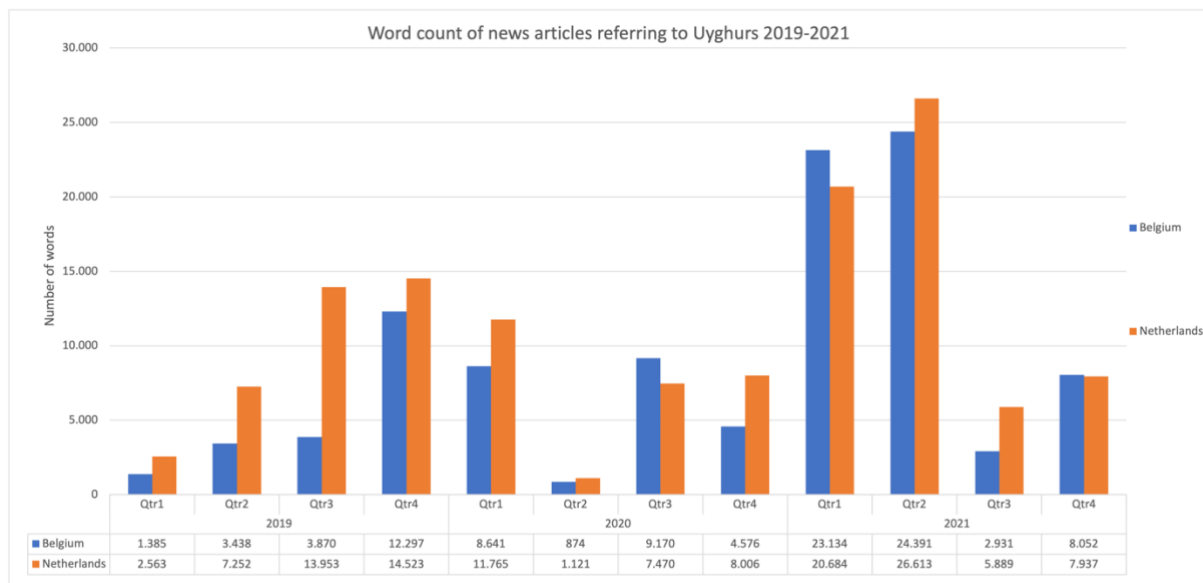
Code Number	Category	Content	Info
Basic Article Data			
1	Random Number	Eg: 1234	number to identify article.
2	Newspaper	Volkskrant, NRC, Parool, Trouw, De Morgen, De Standaard, Le Soir, Le Libre Belgique	
3	Country	Belgium, Netherlands	
4	Date of Publication	DD/MM/YYYY	
5	Author	Text	Full Name
6	Newspaper Section		
7	Word Count	Numerical	
Primary Data			
8	Newspaper Article Body	Text	Full article text retrieved from database
Content Analysis categories			
10	Chinese Response	Main focus of article on reactions by the Chinese Government	
11	Terrorism	Main focus of article on terrorists and terrorist attacks	
12	Culture	Main focus of article on Uyghur culture (traditions, music)	

13	Politics & Diplomacy	Focus of article on politics, summits, sanctions and boycotts.	Eg. Summits, sanctions, boycotts
14	Soft Power	Focus of article on Chinese influence and soft power	
15	Companies	Focus of article on specific companies	
16	Human rights	Focus of article on human rights abuses	e.g. internment, forced labour, surveillance and privacy.
17	Domestic Angle	Focus of article on domestic angle related to uyghurs	e.g. domestic protests, local political responses, local company involvement, response from domestic Uyghur diaspora
18	International Angle	Focus of article on Uyghurs in foreign countries (ex China)	e.g Uyghurs in Turkey

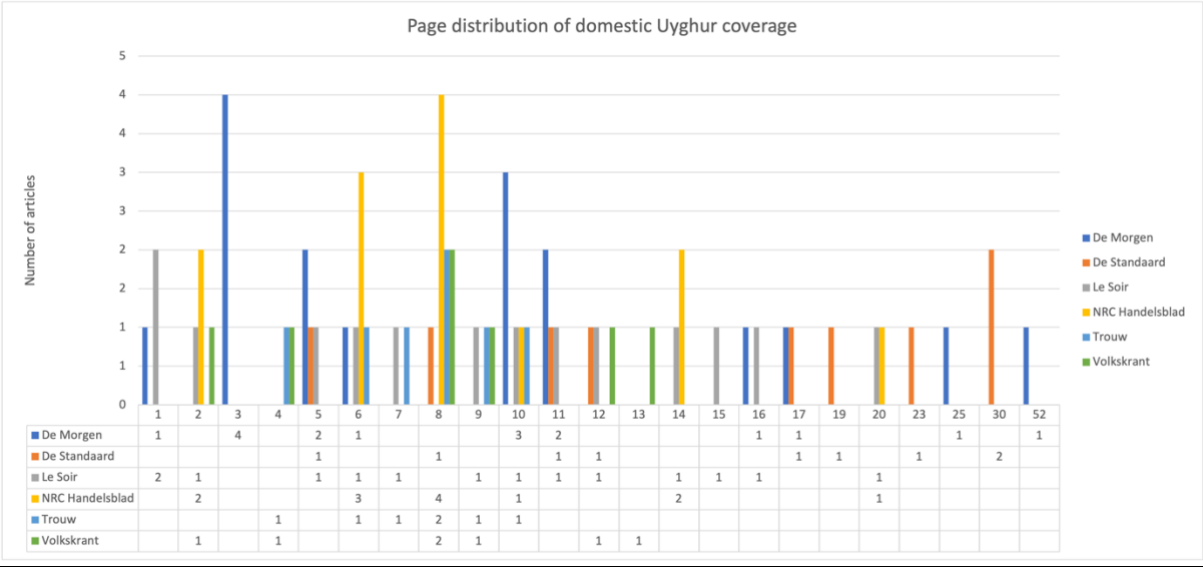
Appendix 3: screenshot confirming average word count per article in Dutch and Belgian newspapers

Column Labels 			
	Be	NL	Grand Total
Average of Words	601,9891892	678,6224066	645,342723

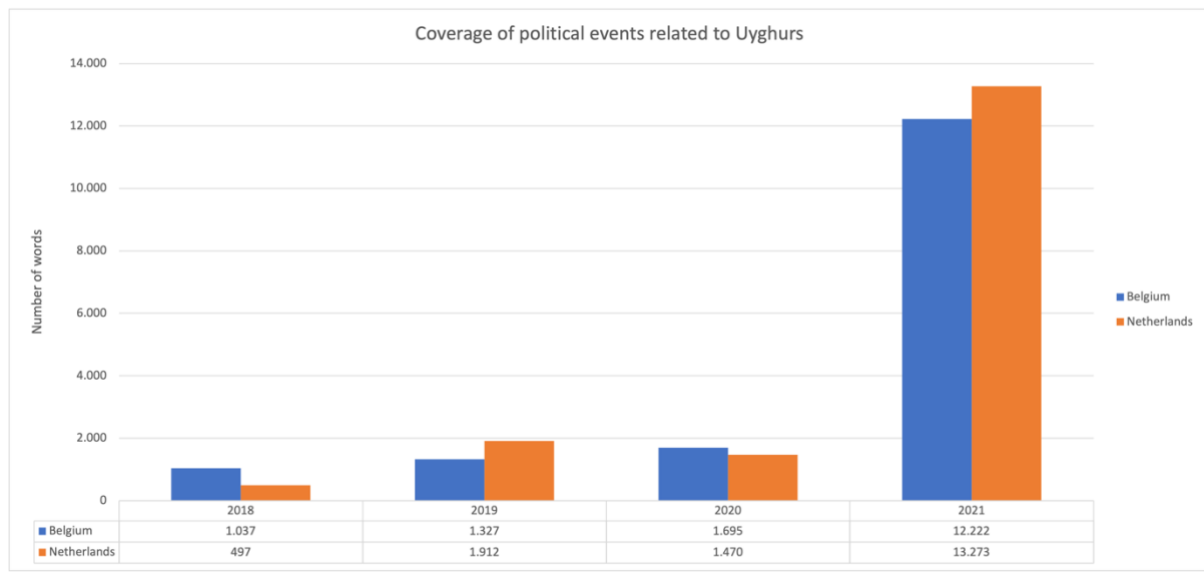
Appendix 4: Word count of news articles referring to Uyghurs 2019-2021



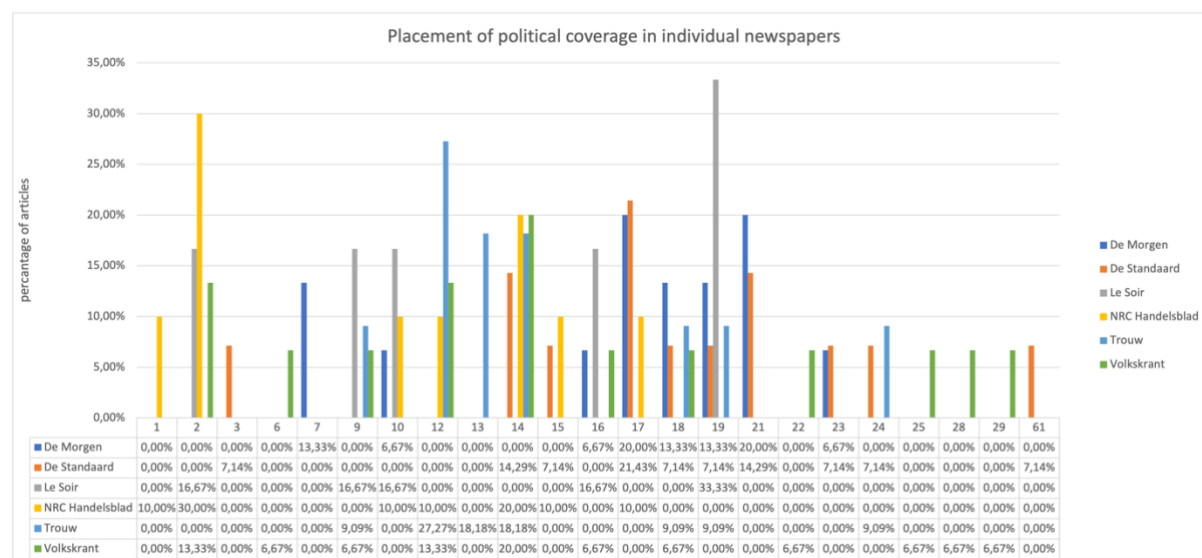
Appendix 5: Page distribution of domestic Uyghur coverage



Appendix 6: Coverage of political events related to Uyghurs in word count



Appendix 7: Placement of political coverage in individual newspapers



Appendix 8: Article Database (excluding text)

Number	Country	Language	Newspaper	Date	Author	Section	Page	Words	Title	Topic
1	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	06/02/2015	Fokke Obbema	Ten eerste	13	534	IS executeerd drie oigoerse medestrijders na vluchtpoging	Terrorism
2	NL	Dutch	Trouw	06/02/2015	red	wereld	11	301	Drie Chinese jihadisten in Irak gedood door IS wegens 'verraad'	Terrorism
3	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	25/03/2015	annelien de greef	Nieuws	26	611	China schenkt Oeigoeren geen genade	Human Rights
4	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	30/03/2015	red	In het nieuws	2	103	Oeigoeren Zes jaar cel voor dragen van baard in Chinese regio Xinjiang	Human Rights
5	Be	French	Le Soir	30/03/2015	red	monde	32	91	Beauté...	Human Rights
6	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	31/03/2015	David Oranje	Ten eerste	5	425	Chinese Moslim weigert baard te scheren. 6 jaar cel.	Human Rights
7	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	21/04/2015	ADB	Buitenland	8	100	De fotoprijs is gewonnen, maar de onderdrukking gaat door	Human Rights
8	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	19/06/2015	Oscar Garschagen	Buitenland	12	492	China tot Oeigoeren: eet door tijdens ramadan	Human Rights
9	NL	Dutch	Trouw	11/07/2015	red	Buitenland	13	79	Thailand stuurt Oeigoeren naar China	International Angle
10	NL	Dutch	Trouw	13/08/2015	anp	binnenland	8	89	Oeigoeren mogen voorlopig blijven	Domestic Angle
11	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	19/08/2015	Michel Maas	Buitenland	11	959	Bangkok krabbelt recht en gaat gewoon door	Terrorism
12	NL	Dutch	Trouw	10/09/2015	red	Buitenland	14	284	Verdachte van bomaanslag Bangkok erkent betrokkenheid	Terrorism
13*	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	14/09/2015	Oscar Garschagen	Buitenland	12	708	Oeigoerse connectie in Bangkok alarmeert China	Terrorism
14	NL	Dutch	Trouw	24/09/2015	anp	Buitenland	13	80	Agenten China gedood, daders lijken Oeigoeren	Terrorism
15	NL	Dutch	Trouw	02/10/2015	red	Buitenland	12	424	Staats-tv negeert bloedbad in Xinjiang	Human Rights
16	NL	Dutch	Trouw	06/10/2015	Tabitha Speelman	Buitenland	12	756	Oeigoerse Bob Dylan zingt spanningen tussen etnische groepen weg	Culture
17	Be	French	Le Soir	19/11/2015	afp	monde	23	187	Combats dans les Etats Shan et Kachin, au nord	Terrorism
18	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	20/11/2015	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	3	433	Chinezen onaangedaan	Terrorism

									door executie landgenoot	
19	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	20/11/2015	red	In het nieuws	2	103	aanslag Kolenmijn Chinese veiligheidsdienst en doden Oeigoeren als vergelding	Terrorism
20	Be	French	Le Soir	21/11/2015	afp	monde	22	154	Chine : vaste opération antiterroriste au Xinjiang	Terrorism
21	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	25/11/2015	Oscar Garschagen	Buitenland	12	827	China gebruikt harde vuist tegen Oeigoerse 'terroristen'	Terrorism
22	NL	Dutch	Trouw	12/05/2016	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	7	507	Klikken als je buurman niet meer rookt	Human Rights
23	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	30/08/2016	red	Buitenland	12	101	Kirgizië: Dode bij aanslag op Chinese ambassade	Terrorism
24	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	12/10/2016	Reuters/AF P	Ten eerste	4	146	Mensenrechtenpr ijs voor gevangen Oeigoer	Human Rights
25	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	26/11/2016	red	Buitenland	9	146	23 miljoen Chinezen moeten paspoort afgeven	Human Rights
26	NL	Dutch	Trouw	23/12/2016	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	594	China neemt z'n moslims te grazen	Human Rights
27	Be	French	Le Soir	06/01/2017	afp	monde	8	189	Les suspects arrêtés sont des Ouïghours	Terrorism
28	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	04/02/2017	red	nieuws	35	119	Treinen tegen radicalisme	Terrorism
29	NL	Dutch	Trouw	22/02/2017	red	Buitenland	12	448	China gaat auto's volgen in Xinjiang	Human Rights
30	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	22/02/2017	Oscar Garschagen	Buitenland	14	465	Chinese terreurbestrijding : verplichte gps in voertuigen	Human Rights
31	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	22/02/2017	red	nieuws	23	298	Verplichte gps in strijd tegen terreur	Human Rights
32	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	23/02/2017	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	16	497	Chinese provincie wil inwoners volgen via gps in alle auto's	Human Rights
33	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	23/02/2017	Marije Vlaskamp	Buitenland	13	409	Chinese provincie verplicht gps in auto's om ze te kunnen volgen	Human Rights
34	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	14/03/2017	Oscar Garschagen	media	1	1546	big brother meets big data	Human Rights
35	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	18/05/2017	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	16	458	China Bouwt aan enorme databank	Human Rights
36	NL	Dutch	Trouw	29/07/2017	Tabitha Speelman	Buitenland	12	1004	Overall beloerd door veiligheidskamer a's	Human Rights
37	NL	Dutch	Trouw	01/08/2017	Tabitha Speelman	economie	10	966	Religie als vorm van culturele weerstand	Human Rights

38	NL	Dutch	Trouw	07/08/2017	Tabitha Speelman	Buitenland	10	918	Wie jong is, droomt van het buitenland	Human Rights
39*	NL	Dutch	Trouw	06/10/2017	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	11	595	Koranverbod voor Chinese moslims	Human Rights
40	NL	Dutch	Trouw	21/11/2017	red	Buitenland	13	265	Oeigoeren ontsnapt uit cel	Terrorism
41	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	14/12/2017	red	Buitenland	12	185	Human Rights Watch 'Beijing dwingt inwoners Xinjiang DNA af te geven'	Human Rights
42	NL	Dutch	Trouw	14/12/2017	red	Buitenland	14	90	China verzamelt DNA van Oeigoeren'	Human Rights
43	NL	Dutch	Trouw	05/01/2018	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	7	598	China, geen land voor Oeigoeren	Human Rights
44	NL	Dutch	Trouw	20/01/2018	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	600	Onderdrukking via een app	Human Rights
45	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	28/01/2018	garrie van pinxteren	Buitenland	12	442	Waar is de fotograaf van China's omstreden schaduwzijden?	Human Rights
46	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	13/02/2018	eefje Rammeloo	Buitenland	12	947	China weet nu alles over zijn burgers	Human Rights
47	NL	Dutch	Trouw	15/05/2018	Leen Vervaeke	binnenland	11	579	Oeigoeren onder toezicht van logés	Human Rights
48	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	16/05/2018	garrie van pinxteren	Buitenland	14	477	Ligt er opeens een Chinese ambtenaar bij je in bed	Human Rights
49	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	17/05/2018	rw	nieuws	10	96	China stuurt ambtenaren uit logeren	Human Rights
50	NL	Dutch	Trouw	22/06/2018	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	593	Heropvoeden, daarna het WK	Human Rights
51	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	28/07/2018	Eildert Mulder	nieuws	11	592	De schaar tegen de jihad: kan het nog gekker?	Human Rights
52	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	14/08/2018	Ben van Raaij	Ten eerste	8	539	China ontkent vasthouden miljoenen oeigoeren	Chinese Response
53	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	14/08/2018	reuters/ap	Buitenland	12	104	Reactie op kritiek VN China: Oeigoeren niet in kampen	Chinese Response
54	NL	Dutch	Trouw	15/08/2018	red	vandaag	5	416	China moet strafkampen Oeigoeren verantwoorden	Human Rights
55	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	15/08/2018	Toef Jaeger	Buitenland	14	548	Wie een baard heeft, wordt hier heropgevoed	Human Rights
56*	Be	French	Le Soir	03/09/2018	veronique kiesel	monde	9	946	L'ONU dénonce la détention d'« un million » de Ouïghours	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
57	NL	Dutch	Trouw	04/09/2018	Leen Vervaeke	Buitenland	13	991	China sluit moslims in Xinjiang op	Human Rights
58	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	10/09/2018	pd	Buitenland	11	85	China brainwasht massaal moslims	Human Rights
59	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	13/09/2018	gizelle nath	nieuws	18	658	De staat heeft je DNA'	Human Rights

60	NL	Dutch	Trouw	12/10/2018	iris ludeker	Buitenland	12	444	China bevestigt Oeigoerse strafkolonies	Human Rights
61	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	12/10/2018	red	nieuws	17	297	China legitimeert straffkampen Oeigoeren	Human Rights
62	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	17/10/2018	Lotfi El Hamidi	In het nieuws	2	490	We hebben het over concentratiekampen' Column	Human Rights
63	NL	Dutch	Trouw	26/10/2018	Leen Vervaeke	Buitenland	13	958	Detentiekamp? Nee, trainingscentrum	Human Rights
64*	NL	Dutch	Trouw	30/10/2018	Leen Vervaeke	de verdieping	4	1525	De Oeigoer die geen spion wil zijn	Human Rights
65	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	31/10/2018	Hilde de Weerd	Opinie en Debat	25	768	Stop met zwijgen over Chinese repressie	Human Rights
66	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	31/10/2018	RED	Nieuws	25	746	Doorbreek de stilte over Chinese 'heropvoedingskampen'	Domestic Angle
67	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	03/11/2018	Eric C. Hendriks	Opinie en Debat	8	1339	Maak herrie voor de Oeigoeren	Domestic Angle
68	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	05/11/2018	Buitenland redactie	Ten eerste	10	2331	Wie niet huult op een begrafenis heeft een probleem	Human Rights
69	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	07/11/2018	Casper Luckerhof	Ten eerste	6	497	Westen haalt in VN hard uit naar China	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
70	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	09/11/2018	VK	Nieuws	10	1170	China voedt moslims op tot modelburgers	Human Rights
71	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	09/11/2018	red	Nieuws	10	91	Westen stuurt via VN krachtig signaal	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
72	NL	Dutch	Trouw	10/11/2018	eric brassem	letter en geest	15	590	Waarom Xinjiang zo weinig in het nieuws is	Human Rights
73	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	14/11/2018	red	uyghurs	12	80	China over kampen: 'Geloof roddels niet'	Chinese Response
74	NL	Dutch	Trouw	23/11/2018	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	599	Van moslims tot zombies	Human Rights
75	NL	Dutch	Trouw	28/11/2018	Gijs Moes	vandaag	2	279	Snuut voor de lens en eten maar	Human Rights
76	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	15/12/2018	steven derix	voorpagina	1	3341	China zegt: wij zijn met 1,5 miljard, jullie moeten ons gehoorzamen' Oeigoeren China's verborgen concentratiekampen in Xinjiang	Human Rights
77	NL	Dutch	Trouw	18/12/2018	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	11	605	Dwargarbeid voor Oeigoeren	Human Rights
78	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	19/12/2018	Gijs Moes	Nieuws	8	585	bijna miljoen oeigoeren zitten vast in werkkampen	Human Rights
79	NL	Dutch	Trouw	27/12/2018	melvyn ingleby	vandaag	5	749	Turkije laat Oeigoeren in de steek'	International Angle

80	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	10/01/2019	red	nieuws	17	98	Eerste toegeving voor moslims in detentiekampen	Human Rights
81	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	11/01/2019	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	9	227	China Laat Kazachen vertrekken Uit xinjiang	Human Rights
82	NL	Dutch	Trouw	11/02/2019	red	Buitenland	11	560	Erdogan deelt China nu wel een ferme tik uit om Oeigoeren	International Angle
83	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	11/02/2019	red	Buitenland	12	112	Etnische minderheid Turkije tot China: 'Oeigoer-kampen grote schande'	International Angle
84	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	11/02/2019	red	nieuws	17	466	Turkije roept China op om 'concentratiekampen' te sluiten	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
85	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	12/02/2019	garrie van pinxteren	Buitenland	12	888	Oeigoerse kwestie dient Turks belang	International Angle
86	NL	Dutch	Trouw	13/02/2019	red	Buitenland	13	88	Oeigoeren willen teken van leven	Human Rights
87	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	01/03/2019	red	nieuws	17	80	China begint lobbywerk bij moslimlanden	Soft Power
88	NL	Dutch	Trouw	07/03/2019	red	Buitenland	14	87	VN - commissaris wil naar Xinjiang	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
89	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	08/03/2019	gizelle nath	nieuws	16	741	Peking vreest God en geesten	Human Rights
90	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	11/03/2019	red	Buitenland	14	126	mensenrechten Kazachstan pakt prominente activist op die hulp biedt aan Kazachen in Chinese kampen	Human Rights
91	NL	Dutch	Trouw	19/03/2019	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	12	475	China meldt succes tegen terrorisme in Oeigoerse regio	Human Rights
92	NL	Dutch	Trouw	03/04/2019	Gijs Moes	de verdieping	2	1801	China wil ons vernietigen'	Human Rights
93	NL	Dutch	Trouw	03/04/2019	petra visser	vandaag	7	613	Onderdrukking Oeigoeren doet zich ook in Nederland voelen	Domestic Angle
94	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	06/04/2019	marcel aan de brugh	wetenschap	9	430	Xi's angstwekkende beschavingsideaal	Human Rights
95	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	19/04/2019	Bruno Struys	uyghurs	6	881	We moeten getuigen, anders stopt dit nooit'	Human Rights
96*	NL	Dutch	Trouw	08/05/2019	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	12	567	China verwoest moskeeën Oeigoeren	Human Rights
97	NL	Dutch	Trouw	31/05/2019	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	599	Hoe China gewoon zijn gang kan gaan	Human Rights
98	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	18/06/2019	Belga	Nieuws	11	200	Diplomaat checkt situatie Oeigoers gezin in China	Domestic Angle
99	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	18/06/2019	hanneke Chin A fo	Buitenland	14	749	Technologie voor surveillance is gewild	Human Rights

									Chineesexportpr oduct	
100	NL	Dutch	Trouw	19/06/2019	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	12	466	Inkijkje in Chinees opvoedkamp voor Oeigoeren verbijstert	Human Rights
101	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	22/06/2019	annelien de gref	nieuws	30	766	Gevlucht in Belgische ambassade, opgepakt door Chinese politie	Domestic Angle
102	NL	Dutch	Volkscrant	22/06/2019	Tom Vennink	Zaterdag	10	2027	Gevangen om een goed Chinees te worden	Human Rights
103	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	22/06/2019	annelien de gref	nieuws	31	1449	We kunnen niet meer gelukkig zijn'	Human Rights
104	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	26/06/2019	red	nieuws	5	142	Oeigoerse vrouw gelokaliseerd in Xinjiang	Domestic Angle
105	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	03/07/2019	red	nieuws	17	124	Stiekem spionage-app in gsm's toeristen	Human Rights
106	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	04/07/2019	gizelle nath	Nieuws	17	552	Van 'grote schande voor de mensheid' naar 'gelukkig samenleven in Xinjiang'	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
107*	NL	Dutch	Trouw	06/07/2019	Gijs Moes	vandaag	3	640	Chinese kostschool leert kind af Oeigoers te zijn	Human Rights
108	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	06/07/2019	gizelle nath	uyghurs	26	357	Kinderen weggesneden uit gezin'	Human Rights
109	NL	Dutch	Trouw	08/07/2019	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	5	597	Bidden met het hoofd naar Peking	Human Rights
110	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	09/07/2019	garrie van pinxteren	In het nieuws	4	833	Opdat ze hun cultuur vergeten	Human Rights
111	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	09/07/2019	garrie van pinxteren	voorpagina	1	1161	Oeigoeren Chinese politie nam Tursunsgezin mee Oeigoeren in China	Human Rights
112	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	10/07/2019	red	Nieuws	17	126	De Belgen lieten de politie komen'	Domestic Angle
113	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	10/07/2019	Bruno Struys	Nieuws	11	671	Aanvraag gezinshereniging kan eenvoudiger en veiliger'	Domestic Angle
114	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	10/07/2019	gizelle nath	Buitenland	17	570	Dreigt strafkamp voor vrouw Oeigoerse politieke vluchteling?	Human Rights
115	NL	Dutch	Trouw	11/07/2019	anp	Buitenland	12	104	Landen protesteren bij Verenigde Naties over lot Oeigoeren	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
116	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	12/07/2019	Bruno Struys	Uyghurs	5	225	België wil dat China stopt met opsluiten Oeigoeren	Domestic Angle
117	NL	Dutch	Volkscrant	13/07/2019	Laurens Verhagen	Ten eerste	13	486	Nederlandse software helpt	Domestic Angle

									gezichtsherkenn ing China	
118	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	13/07/2019	Sacha Kester and Castor van Dissen	Ten eerste	12	1322	wat ging er mis in de belgische ambassade?	Domestic Angle
119	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	16/07/2019	Erdal Balci	Opinie en Debat	21	737	De stem van Abdehurim Heyit is ons wapen	Human Rights
120	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	31/07/2019	Bruno Struys	Uyghurs	5	664	Oeigoers gezin bezocht, maar niet gesproken	Domestic Angle
121	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	10/08/2019	marc leijendekker	voorpagina	1	3349	Moeder stuurt emoji meteen bebloed mes 'Ze controleren alles' Onderzoek Oeigoeren buiten China worden bedreigd en geïntimideerd	Human Rights
122	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	10/08/2019	marc leijendekker	In het nieuws	6	422	China zet Oeigoeren in Nederland onder druk	Domestic Angle
123	NL	Dutch	Trouw	13/08/2019	eefje Rammeloo	Buitenland	10	953	Oeigoeren ingezet als goedkope textielarbeiders	Human Rights
124	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	13/08/2019	gizelle nath	uyghurs	21	309	Trouw aan China loont voor Turkije (in klinkende munt)	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
125	NL	Dutch	Trouw	14/08/2019	red	Opinie en Debat	17	448	Meer steun voor Oeigoeren nodig	Human Rights
126	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	15/08/2019	red	In het nieuws	2	130	Intimidatie Oeigoeren in Nederland doen aangifte tegen Chinese staat	Domestic Angle
127	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	31/08/2019	garrie van pinxteren	weekend	20	2173	Komt dat zien! Het exotische land der Oeigoeren!	Human Rights
128	NL	Dutch	Trouw	13/09/2019	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	598	De verhalen over Oeigoeren kloppen	Human Rights
129	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	24/09/2019	red	Nieuws	3	272	Triest lot Chinese Oeigoeren op YouTube	Human Rights
130	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	01/10/2019	stephane alonso	binnenland	8	538	Kamer: China-strategie van kabinet moet opnieuw	Domestic Angle
131	NL	Dutch	Trouw	04/10/2019	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	602	Staatsgestuurde orgaanroof	Human Rights
132	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	09/10/2019	Jonathan Witteman	Ten eerste	14	589	Met sancties treft Trump nu China's Paradepaardje	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
133	NL	Dutch	Trouw	09/10/2019	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	14	536	Trump beschermt Oeigoeren met sancties	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
134	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	09/10/2019	hanneke Chin A fo	economie	2	596	Sancties door VS om Oeigoeren	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
135	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	09/10/2019	Frederik Mahieu	Nieuws	23	360	In China is South Park vanaf nu taboe	Human Rights

136	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	25/10/2019	Casper Luckerhof	Ten eerste	18	382	Oeigoerse Mandela' Ilham Tohti hoort hopelijk over Sacharovprijs	Human Rights
137	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	25/10/2019	rik wassens	Buitenland	12	251	Oeigoerse intellectueel Tohti wint Sacharovprijs	Human Rights
138	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	25/10/2019	Marije Vlaskamp	Nieuws	5	341	Mensenrechtenprijs voor opgesloten Oeigoerse activist	Human Rights
139	NL	Dutch	Trouw	26/10/2019	anp	Buitenland	15	93	China boos op EU over Sacharovprijs	Human Rights
140	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	09/11/2019	red	Nieuws	11	613	Zeven maatregelen voor 'heropvoeding'	Human Rights
141	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	18/11/2019	red	Buitenland	14	194	Gelekt New York Times bezit geheime documenten over de onderdrukking van Oeigoeren in China	Human Rights
142	NL	Dutch	Trouw	19/11/2019	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	11	654	China: Campagne tegen Oeigoeren doet haar werk	Chinese Response
143	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	19/11/2019	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	11	852	Lek toont gemor Chinese leiding	Human Rights
144	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	19/11/2019	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	17	470	Onderdrukking van Oeigoeren? Volgens China is er niets aan de hand	Human Rights
145	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	26/11/2019	hanneke Chin A fo	Buitenland	12	851	Chinees overheidslek toontheropvoedingskamp Oeigoeren	Human Rights
146	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	26/11/2019	the guardian	Nieuws	16	1225	Laat niemand ontkomen'	Human Rights
147	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	26/11/2019	Belga & Reuters	Nieuws	4	338	Chinese richtlijnen over detentiekampen gelekt	Human Rights
148	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	27/11/2019	Remco Andersen	Ten eerste	10	1005	Opgepakt op last van een computer	Human Rights
149	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	27/11/2019	red	Nieuws	14	943	Hoe whatsapp me een maand strafkamp kostte'	Human Rights
150	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	27/11/2019	Remco Andersen	Nieuws	16	826	Computer bepaalt wie wordt opgepakt	Human Rights
151	NL	Dutch	Trouw	28/11/2019	Sylvain Ephimenco	vandaag	2	506	Zwarte Vrijdag	Human Rights
152	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	04/12/2019	Maarten Keulemans	Ten eerste	2	444	Geneticus erasmus mc werkte samen met chinese politie	Domestic Angle
153*	NL	Dutch	Trouw	05/12/2019	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	13	567	Peking gepikeerd over Oeigoerenwet Amerikaans Congres	Chinese Response

154	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	05/12/2019	senne starckx	Nieuws	9	955	Wegkijken kan niet meer'	Human Rights
155	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	05/12/2019	sander voormolen	In het nieuws	6	1025	Wat wil China met dna Oeigoeren?	Human Rights
156	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	05/12/2019	Bruno Struys	Nieuws	4	870	Welke rol speelt China in research naar DNA?	Human Rights
157	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	07/12/2019	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	10	1974	Beijings grote geheim stond op haar laptop	Human Rights
158	Be	French	Le Soir	07/12/2019	robert stephanicki	lena	51	878	Une Américaine de 17 ans dénonce la persécution des Ouïghours en se faisant les cils	Human Rights
159	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	07/12/2019	senne starckx	interview	28	1549	Technologie is niet neutraal'	Human Rights
160	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	07/12/2019	bart funnekotter	In het nieuws	14	535	Zeg maar eens nee tegen 'gratis' onderzoeker uit China	Domestic Angle
161	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	09/12/2019	red	opinie	17	613	Ook wetenschap mag geen mensenrechten schenden Commentaar	Human Rights
162	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	11/12/2019	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	6	523	Chinese Staatskrant stelt Oeigoerse activist gerust	Chinese Response
163	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	11/12/2019	Marije Vlaskamp	Nieuws	16	255	Geen represailles voor Oeigoer'	Human Rights
164	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	16/12/2019	nele van den broeck	column	11	764	Kerstschuld	Domestic Angle
165	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	16/12/2019	annelien de greef	sport	4	667	Zelfs een sterspeler valt onder China's censuur	Soft Power
166	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	17/12/2019	Sheila Sitalsing	Ten eerste	2	575	heropvoeding	Human Rights
167	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	17/12/2019	Belga	sport	17	180	China boycot Arsenal om mening van speler Özil	Soft Power
168	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	18/12/2019	red	Nieuws	15	129	Oeigoerse activist Ilham Tohti krijgt Sacharovprijs	Human Rights
169*	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	19/12/2019	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	14	618	Chinese Nelson Mandela krijgt de Sacharovprijs	Human Rights
170	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	19/12/2019	Marije Vlaskamp	Nieuws	16	427	Sacharovprijs voor opgesloten Oeigoerse activist	Human Rights
171	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	28/12/2019	red	Nieuws	57	507	Volkeren in nood	Human Rights
172	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	04/01/2020	hester van santen	economie	4	1312	Spor van tomatenpureleid t naar Oeigoeren	Companies
173	NL	Dutch	Trouw	06/01/2020	IFFET SUBAÄZI	religie en filosofie	6	924	Moeder der Oeigoeren: 'Niemand geloofde ons'	Human Rights
174	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	09/01/2020	DAAN HEERMA VAN VOSS	cultuur	18	2679	Minder seks en vooral geen moslims	Human Rights

175*	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	11/01/2020	Hiske Versprille	Magazine	54	1327	eet eens oigoers	Culture
176	Be	French	Le Soir	14/01/2020	veronique kiesel	monde	12	393	Quand Pékin fait de la pub pour les droits humains	Human Rights
177	Be	French	Le Soir	15/01/2020	veronique kiesel	monde	13	760	HRW dénonce l'offensive chinoise anti-droits humains	Human Rights
178	NL	Dutch	Trouw	15/01/2020	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	12	569	China laat landen en bedrijven zwijgen over mensenrechten'	Human Rights
179*	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	18/01/2020	Bruno Struys	Buitenland	6	554	Turkse extremisten kapen Oeigoers protest	International Angle
180	NL	Dutch	Trouw	21/01/2020	Seije Slager	Buitenland	12	475	Wil India dezelfde kampen als China?	International Angle
181	NL	Dutch	Trouw	30/01/2020	wendelmoet boersema	vandaag	4	344	Nederlandse technologiebedrijven in China gecheckt	Domestic Angle
182	NL	Dutch	Trouw	07/02/2020	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	597	De holocaust van Xinjiang	Human Rights
183	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	18/02/2020	Bruno Struys	nieuws	7	646	Reden voor opsluiting: baard	Human Rights
184	NL	Dutch	Trouw	19/02/2020	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	12	555	Naar het strafkamp vanwege een baard of hoofddoek	Human Rights
185	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	19/02/2020	hanneke Chin A fo	Buitenland	12	475	Een hoofddoek is al te veel	Human Rights
186	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	02/03/2020	red	Buitenland	12	98	China Oeigoeren verrichten in fabrieken grote merken dwangarbeid	Human Rights
187	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	03/03/2020	Sacha Kester	Ten eerste	14	325	China misbruikt oeigoeren	Human Rights
188	NL	Dutch	Trouw	03/03/2020	Gijs Moes	economie	14	537	Oeigoeren door China ingezet als dwangarbeiders'	Human Rights
189	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	03/03/2020	annelien de greef	Uyghurs	22	715	Oeigoeren ingezet als dwangarbeiders voor grote merken'	Human Rights
190	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	03/03/2020	Sacha Kester	Nieuws	17	308	Oeigoeren werken onder dwang voor Nike en Volkswagen	Companies
191	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	04/03/2020	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	10	891	medeschuldig aan dwangarbeid	Companies
192	Be	French	Le Soir	10/03/2020	veronique kiesel	monde	16	1651	« Nous, Ouïghours de Belgique, nous nous mobilisons pour notre culture et nos droits »	Domestic Angle
193	Be	French	Le Soir	10/03/2020	veronique kiesel	monde	16	321	Qui sont les Ouïghours ?	Human Rights
194	Be	French	Le Soir	10/03/2020	veronique kiesel	Nieuws	17	614	« Nous avons besoin du soutien des laïcs européens »	Human Rights

195	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	28/03/2020	Laurens Verhagen & Niels Waarlo	Boeken en Wetenschap	4	3336	U bent herkend en mag (niet) door	Human Rights
196	Be	French	Le Soir	28/05/2020	veronique kiesel	monde	12	631	droits humains Trump, héros à Hong Kong, à Taïwan et pour les Ouïghours	Human Rights
197	NL	Dutch	Trouw	26/06/2020	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	594	Hier is alles oké hoor, zegt China	Chinese Response
198	NL	Dutch	Trouw	30/06/2020	eefje Rammeloo	Buitenland	14	527	Oeigoeren in China gedwongen tot abortus of gebruik van anticonceptie	Human Rights
199	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	30/06/2020	red	Nieuws	16	243	China perkt aantal moslims in	Human Rights
200	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	01/07/2020	gizelle nath	china	23	567	Mogen Oeigoerse kinderen nog geboren worden?	Human Rights
201	NL	Dutch	Trouw	07/07/2020	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	12	621	China noemt roof organen grote onzin	Human Rights
202	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	08/07/2020	gizelle nath	Nieuws	8	725	België speelt Peking in de kaart met uitleveringsverdrag	Domestic Angle
203	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	09/07/2020	gvv	Nieuws	19	355	Uw extensions zijn mogelijk gestolen van een Chinese moslima	Companies
204	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	14/07/2020	belga	Nieuws	19	86	Chinese sancties tegen Ted Cruz en Marco Rubio	Chinese Response
205	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	16/07/2020	red	nieuws	21	80	De politieke invloed van Tiktok	Soft Power
206	NL	Dutch	Trouw	20/07/2020	marije van beek	religie en filosofie	6	562	Genocide of niet, het is vreselijk wat er gebeurt!	Human Rights
207	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	21/07/2020	Floris van Straaten	Buitenland	14	529	Forse kritiek VK op China om Oeigoeren	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
208	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	22/07/2020	Floris van Straaten	Uyghurs	17	466	VK uit forse kritiek op China om behandeling Oeigoeren	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
209	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	28/07/2020	Erdal Balci	Opinie en Debat	25	774	De nieuwe kleren van de keizer	Human Rights
210	Be	French	Le Soir	29/07/2020	veronique kiesel	Nieuws	10	615	l'experte « Que les multinationales ne soient plus complices du travail forcé	Companies
211	Be	French	Le Soir	29/07/2020	veronique kiesel	Nieuws	10	1039	Stérilisés ? Les Ouïghours en exil, sans nouvelles de leurs proches	Human Rights
212	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	06/08/2020	garrie van pinxteren	In het nieuws	6	627	Oeigoers model in Chinees strafkamp	Human Rights
213*	NL	Dutch	Trouw	20/08/2020	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	5	591	Laf Arsenal raakt in paniek van politiek	Soft Power

214	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	05/09/2020	Leen Vervaeke	Nieuws	14	805	Onze taal is het enige dat we nog hebben'	Human Rights
215	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	09/09/2020	Henk Bruning	Opinie en Debat	25	230	brief van de dag: stop het chinese rijk	Human Rights
216	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	09/09/2020	gizelle nath	Nieuws	20	631	Disney buigt voor Peking'	Companies
217	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	14/09/2020	annelien de greef	Nieuws	18	890	Chinese top flopt nog voor het startschot	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
218*	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	15/09/2020	michel kerres	In het nieuws	2	615	EU-leiders tot Xi:open markt en respecteer mensenrechten	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
219	Be	French	Le Soir	15/09/2020	veronique kiesel	Nieuws	2	339	L'UE a insisté sur le Xinjiang et l'accord d'investissement	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
220	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	17/09/2020	red	cultuur	16	222	Legt de donkere kant van China vast	Human Rights
221	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	17/09/2020	reuters	Nieuws	21	443	H&M breekt met omstreden Chinese fabrikant	Companies
222	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	17/09/2020	red	In het nieuws	4	274	Oeigoerse geleerde die het opnam voor zijn volk	Human Rights
223*	NL	Dutch	Trouw	18/09/2020	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	584	Disney , op het toneel van genocide	Companies
224	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	21/09/2020	red	Nieuws	16	338	Europese bewakingstechnologie voor China	Domestic Angle
225	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	22/09/2020	red	In het nieuws	8	196	Digitale surveillance 'Nederlandse tech naar China'	Domestic Angle
226	NL	Dutch	Trouw	22/09/2020	hans nauta	economie	14	769	Surveillance software te makkelijk naar China'	Human Rights
227	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	25/09/2020	red	Ten eerste	8	78	zeker 380 kampen voor oeigoeren in Xinjiang	Human Rights
228	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	25/09/2020	red	Buitenland	12	282	100 nieuwe kampen ontdekt inXinjiang	Human Rights
229	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	26/09/2020	Arnout Brouwers	Ten eerste	8	516	kamer wil actie tegen oeigoerse kampen	Domestic Angle
230	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	26/09/2020	anp	cultuur	16	273	Chinese Netflix onder politieke druk	Companies
231	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	26/09/2020	Chams Eddine Zaougui	opinie	61	762	Op kampen bouw je geen stabiel rijk	Human Rights
232*	Be	French	Le Soir	26/09/2020	Virginie Mangin	le figaro	52	756	« Mulan » : la tentative de Disney pour séduire la Chine vire à la catastrophe	Companies
233	NL	Dutch	Trouw	08/10/2020	red	Buitenland	13	326	39 landen veroordelen China om onderdrukken Oeigoeren	Geopolitics & Diplomacy

234	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	15/10/2020	Garrie van Pinxteren	Buitenland	14	1788	Ook de Nazi-cultuur is uiteindelijk niet opgewassen tegen Beijing	Human Rights
235	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	16/10/2020	marc hijink	economie	2	603	Wetenschappers willen Huawei niet als sponsor AI-lab	Domestic Angle
236	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	20/10/2020	Leen Vervaeke	Ten eerste	19	666	Chinese weeshuizen stromen vol	Human Rights
237	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	21/10/2020	Maurits Chabot	Opinie en Debat	23	134	The Handmaid's tale	Human Rights
238	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	02/11/2020	red	Buitenland	14	627	Over de hypocriete woede van de islamitische wereld Dwars	International Angle
239	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	09/11/2020	steven verseput	sport	1	1438	Mesut Özil , de sterspeler die uit beeld verdween Voetbal Mesut Özil is bij Arsenal om onduidelijke redenen van het toneel verdwenen	Soft Power
240	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	16/11/2020	sjoerd sjoerdsma and jan paternotte	opinie	18	882	Tijd voor een enquête naar de lange arm van Beijing	Soft Power
241	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	02/12/2020	red	In het nieuws	6	246	Bied hulp bij vertrekt China'	Domestic Angle
242	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	03/12/2020	red	kort	8	159	Kaag: nog niet hard tegen dwangarbeid oei goeren	Domestic Angle
243	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	09/12/2020	ANP	Nieuws	5	166	Huawei testte software tegen Oei goeren'	Human Rights
244	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	11/12/2020	anp	sport	28	76	Griezmann breekt met Huawei	Companies
245*	NL	Dutch	Trouw	12/12/2020	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	14	516	Oei goeren werken gedwongen als katoenplukker'	Human Rights
246	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	12/12/2020	red	Boeken en Wetenschap	27	69	nieuws	Human Rights
247	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	16/12/2020	helen davidson	(guardian)	20	822	Dwangarbeid in Xinjiang grootschaliger dan gedacht	Human Rights
248	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	16/12/2020	Jan stevens	Nieuws	18	2492	De Chinese regering is bezig met genocide'	Human Rights
249	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	17/12/2020	gizelle nath	economie	21	586	Ook met katoen uit Oezbekistan en Kazachstan is dwangarbeid gemoed	Human Rights
250	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	18/12/2020	red	correctie	35	33	correcties & aanvullingen	Human Rights
251	NL	Dutch	Trouw	21/12/2020	red	Opinie en Debat	20	476	Bloedkatoen ook een zaak van het Westen	Human Rights
252	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	31/12/2020	gizelle nath	Nieuws	19	477	Turkije staat onder druk om een uitleveringsverdr	International Angle

									ag met Peking te ratificeren, ten nadele van de Oeigoerse diaspora. China zou vaccins inzetten als drukingsmiddel .	
253	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	13/01/2021	dominique minten	Uyghurs	21	555	Britse sancties tegen Peking doen Europese Unie blozen	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
254	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	14/01/2021	Belga	Nieuws	19	91	Afschuwelijk jaar in China voor mensenrechten'	Human Rights
255	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	14/01/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	20	646	Huawei weer betraapt op maken spionagesoftware	Human Rights
256	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	14/01/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Achtergrond	11	595	Beter etnisch profileren dankzij Chinese tech	Human Rights
257	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	19/01/2021	Ben van Raaij	Nieuws	3	871	België gaat verdachten uitleveren aan China	Domestic Angle
258	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	21/01/2021	gizelle nath	Nieuws	19	702	Uitleveringsverdrag met China verdeelt Vivaldi	Domestic Angle
259	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	21/01/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	14	690	Waarom rept pompeo van Genocide op Oeigoeren	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
260	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	21/01/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Nieuws	18	432	Hoe gaat Biden om met 'genocide' in Xinjiang?	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
261	Be	French	Le Soir	22/01/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	17	304	Marks & Spencer coupe les liens avec le travail forcé	Companies
262	Be	French	Le Soir	22/01/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	17	193	Le cri des Ouïghours de Belgique	Human Rights
263*	Be	French	Le Soir	22/01/2021	camille leroy	monde	17	906	traité d'extradition L'inquiétude de la diaspora en Turquie	International Angle
264	Be	French	Le Soir	22/01/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	16	1148	Survivre au goulag du Xinjiang et le raconter	Human Rights
265	Be	French	Le Soir	22/01/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	16	839	l'eurodéputé « Face à Pékin, les Européens ont peur d'affirmer leur puissance politique, ce qui les conduit à leur perte »	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
266	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	03/02/2021	nico Tanghe	Nieuws	19	451	Juncker kraakt 'goedkope' Europese deal met China	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
267	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	04/02/2021	red	In het nieuws	6	621	Oeigoerse vrouwen systematisch verkracht	Human Rights

268	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	05/02/2021	ANP	Sport	25	96	Oproep tot boycot van Winterspelen Beijing	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
269	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	11/02/2021	Jeroen Van Horenbeek	Nieuws	10	475	Groenen: onderdrukking Oeigoeren is 'genocide'	Domestic Angle
270	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	11/02/2021	red	Uyghurs	14	273	Decennia spanning in Xinjiang	Human Rights
271	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	11/02/2021	gizelle nath	Uyghurs	14	1608	Zijn Oeigoerse straffampen ook echt 'concentratiekampen'?	Human Rights
272	Be	French	Le Soir	12/02/2021	belga	monde	9	156	Les Verts demandent la reconnaissance d'un « génocide »	Domestic Angle
273	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	12/02/2021	VK	Nieuws	18	469	Biden praat met Xi over Oeigoeren en Taiwan	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
274	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	17/02/2021	red	Nieuws	23	107	Erkent België als eerste in EU 'genocide'?	Domestic Angle
275	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	17/02/2021	toon beemsterboer	Buitenland	12	1086	Oeigoeren Turkije vrezen deportaties	International Angle
276	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	17/02/2021	gizelle nath	analyse	23	665	Peking krijgt alleen symbolische tegenwind uit het Westen	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
277*	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	23/02/2021	IÑAKI OÑORBE GENOVESI	Opinie en Debat	28	650	Democratieën zouden hypocriet zijn als ze sporters naar Beijing sturen. Maar ook als ze sporters niet zouden sturen'	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
278	NL	Dutch	Trouw	24/02/2021	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	13	783	Ook zonder slachting kan China de Oeigoeren uitwissen	Human Rights
279	NL	Dutch	Trouw	24/02/2021	red	Opinie en Debat	21	484	Oeigoeren verdienen echte aandacht	Human Rights
280	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	24/02/2021	Leen Vervaeke	Ten eerste	9	287	Aanpak Oeigoeren in Genocide, meent Canada	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
281	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	24/02/2021	frank kuin	Buitenland	12	331	Motie Canada: 'China pleegt genocide'	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
282	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	24/02/2021	Leen Vervaeke	Nieuws	17	613	China voert genocide uit, zegt nu ook Canada	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
283	NL	Dutch	Trouw	25/02/2021	red	binnenland	10	310	Genocide op Oeigoeren verdeelt minister en Kamer	Domestic Angle
284	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	25/02/2021	Belga	Nieuws	19	83	Frankrijk haalt uit naar China over Oeigoeren	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
285	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	26/02/2021	Raoul Du Pré	Ten eerste	9	288	China woest na motie Kamer	Domestic Angle

									over 'genocide op Oeigoeren'	
286	NL	Dutch	Trouw	26/02/2021	red	binnenland	8	214	Oeigoeren protesteren in Den Haag	Domestic Angle
287	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	27/02/2021	hanneke Chin A fo	In het nieuws	8	1190	Kamer ziet al wel genocide op Oeigoeren	Domestic Angle
288	Be	French	Le Soir	27/02/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	15	503	Dénoncer le génocide des Ouïghours ?	Domestic Angle
289*	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	02/03/2021	maxim februari	opinie	18	801	Totalitaire technologie gaat ons allemaal aan Column	Human Rights
290	NL	Dutch	Trouw	03/03/2021	anp	Buitenland	12	90	China staat open voor VN-bezoek Xinjiang	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
291	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	04/03/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	1	2378	Zitten de 50 duizend Oeigoeren in Turkije straks in de val?	International Angle
292	NL	Dutch	Trouw	05/03/2021	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	585	Zelfs Dante verzon de Oeigoerse hel niet	Human Rights
293	NL	Dutch	Trouw	06/03/2021	Gijs Moes	sport	24	392	Verplaats de Winterspelen, China doet aan genocide'	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
294	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	10/03/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	11	772	experts bevestigen oeigoerse genocide	Human Rights
295	NL	Dutch	Trouw	10/03/2021	fred sengers	Opinie en Debat	22	644	Alleen genocide verwijten heeft weinig effect	Human Rights
296	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	11/03/2021	Sacha Kester	Ten eerste	12	403	Wat China doet met de Oeigoeren, mag Nederland niet zomaar laten gebeuren	Human Rights
297	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	13/03/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Nieuws	62	2230	Zitten de 50 duizend Oeigoeren in Turkije straks in de val?	Human Rights
298	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	13/03/2021	ANP	sport	21	93	IOC pleit tegen boycot van Spelen in Peking	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
299	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	18/03/2021	SSB	Nieuws	11	233	marktplaats	Companies
300	NL	Dutch	Trouw	18/03/2021	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	13	400	EU legt China sancties op voor de onderdrukking van Oeigoeren	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
301	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	18/03/2021	anp	Nieuws	19	175	Eerste Europese sancties tegen China sinds 1989	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
302	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	20/03/2021	gizelle nath	Achtergrond	30	3089	Hoe België China nietsvermoedend hielp in zijn strijd tegen dissidenten	Domestic Angle
303	Be	French	Le Soir	20/03/2021	philippe regnier	monde	19	916	L'UE prête à sanctionner la Chine	Geopolitics & Diplomacy

304	NL	Dutch	Trouw	23/03/2021	christoph schmidt	vandaag	6	457	Kamerlid Sjoerdsma (D66) op sanctielijst China	Domestic Angle
305	Be	French	Le Soir	23/03/2021	veronique kiesel	interview	12	375	« Briser le silence complice envers Pékin » Groen/ecolo samuel cogolati	Domestic Angle
306	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	23/03/2021	Bruno Struys	Nieuws	3	434	Chinese sancties tegen Belgisch Kamerlid	Domestic Angle
307	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	23/03/2021	red	Nieuws	14	174	China zet kruis over investeringsverdrag	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
308	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	23/03/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	2	494	China slaat meteen terug als EU in het geweer komt tegen schenden van mensenrechten	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
309	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	23/Mar	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	12	885	Hoelang lukt het de EU nog om Beijing als partner te beschouwen?	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
310	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	23/03/2021	michel kerres	voorpagina	1	1135	Sanctiestrijd EU en China ontbrand om lot Oeigoeren Diplomatie EU kondigt sancties af om Oeigoeren, China slaat terug	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
311	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	23/Mar	gizelle nath	china beleid	14	834	EU pitst China en krijgt oorveeg terug	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
312	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	24/03/2021	Matthias Verbergt	portret	12	728	Het Ecolo-Kamerlid dat in het vizier van Peking kwam	Domestic Angle
313	NL	Dutch	Trouw	25/03/2021	anp	economie	16	159	H&M onder vuur in China om boycot	Companies
314	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	25/Mar	Belga	Nieuws	27	167	H&M bijt in het stof in China na kritiek op dwangarbeid	Companies
315	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	26/03/2021	garrie van pinxteren	In het nieuws	6	1573	Ook westerse bedrijven voelen Chinese woede	Companies
316	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	26/03/2021	pieter van Maele	uyghurs	22	659	H&M en Nike balanceren op slappe koord in China	Companies
317	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	26/03/2021	Leen Vervaeke	Nieuws	17	334	Chinese boycot: 'H&M niet langer in de mode'	Companies
318	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	27/Mar	bart funnekotter	In het nieuws	10	518	Chinese onderzoekers in Delft hadden band met leger	Domestic Angle
319	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	27/03/2021	nico Tanghe	mensenrecht en	34	654	Hoe China westerse bedrijven dwingt kant te kiezen	Companies
320	NL	Dutch	Trouw	27/03/2021	koos schwartz	economie	19	314	China: sancties na kritiek op	Geopolitics & Diplomacy

									behandeling Oeigoeren	
321	NL	Dutch	Trouw	27/03/2021	hans de bruijn	tijdsgeest	22	267	Twijfel zaaien	Human Rights
322	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	31/03/2021	Marcia Luyten	Opinie en Debat	29	741	Niet-islamitische landen kiezen voor de Oeigoeren, moslim-machten laten ze stikken	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
323	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	01/04/2021	red	Nieuws	3	79	Correspondent BBC moet China verlaten	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
324	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	02/04/2021	garrie van pinxteren	Buitenland	12	670	Dwangarbeid in Xinjiang ? 'Nepnieuws'	Companies
325	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	02/04/2021	red	kort	10	47	Protest in Istanbul tegen repressie oeigoeren	International Angle
326	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	03/04/2021	luuk van middelaar	Nieuws	61	999	De prijs van een schoon geweten	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
327	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	08/04/2021	DPA	Buitenland	17	153	Chinese president belt met Merkel na sancties	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
328	NL	Dutch	Trouw	08/04/2021	red	sport	18	373	VS willen praten over boycot Spelen in China	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
329	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	08/04/2021	garrie van pinxteren	sport	10	832	Boycot 'Beijing 2022' niet uitgesloten	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
330*	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	09/04/2021	Leen Vervaeke	Opinie en Debat	28	604	Een film die een Chinees La La Land moest worden om de onderdrukking van Oeigoeren te maskeren, flopt, ziet correspondent Leen Vervaeke	Soft Power
331	Be	French	Le Soir	09/04/2021	david coppi	voorpagina	1	215	Répression des Ouïghours : le PTB isolé et tendu	Domestic Angle
332	Be	French	Le Soir	09/04/2021	david coppi	monde	10	1499	Répression des Ouïghours : le PTB prisonnier de son ombre chinoise	Domestic Angle
333	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	10/04/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Zaterdag	10	2766	Voor Oeigoeren kan oorlog als lokroep klinken	Terrorism
334	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	12/04/2021	floris-jan luyten	opinie	18	798	Het Westen moet China tot de orde blijven roepen	Human Rights
335	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	15/04/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Nieuws	18	2672	Met woorden wordt ons volk niet bevrijd'	Human Rights
336	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	16/04/2021	arjen fortuin	gids	20	595	De nieuwe macht van Tim Hofman	Domestic Angle
337	NL	Dutch	Trouw	17/04/2021	eefje Rammeloo	vandaag	6	1018	Ook buiten Xinjiang zien fabrieken 'heropgevoede' Oeigoeren graag komen	Human Rights

338	NL	Dutch	Trouw	17/04/2021	hans nauta	economie	7	674	Modebranche vindt dwangarbeid een diplomatieke zaak	Companies
339*	NL	Dutch	Trouw	20/04/2021	Gijs Moes	Buitenland	12	533	Actie nodig tegen Peking om Oeigoeren'	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
340	Be	French	Le Soir	30/04/2021	julie zaugg	monde	20	846	Chine : les trolls téléguidés par le régime sèment le chaos	Human Rights
341	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	30/04/2021	eefje Rammeloo	Achtergrond	84	566	Moslims zie je hier niet veel	Human Rights
342*	Be	French	Le Soir	04/05/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	12	964	Forcée à enseigner dans un camp du Xinjiang : un témoignage choc	Human Rights
343	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	05/05/2021	Dario van Fleteren	Nieuws	3	496	Grote cyberaanval legt websites overheid plat	Domestic Angle
344	Be	French	Le Soir	05/05/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	6	468	Chambre Annulation forcée des auditions sur le Xinjiang	Domestic Angle
345	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	08/05/2021	red	economie	18	96	Boycotacties chinezen doen adidas geen pijn	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
346	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	12/05/2021	paul luttikhuis	Buitenland	14	1665	Zonnepanelen uit China zijn onontkoombaar	Domestic Angle
347	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	12/05/2021	garrie van pinxteren	In het nieuws	2	439	Mensenrechten in Xinjiang China verzet zich fel tegen VN-conferentie over steun voor Oeigoeren	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
348	NL	Dutch	Trouw	12/05/2021	eefje Rammeloo	vandaag	3	892	Een ongemakkelijke vraag voor Oeigoeren: Eet je?	Human Rights
349	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	14/05/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Buitenland	17	618	China kwaad om VN-focus op Oeigoeren	Chinese Response
350	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	15/05/2021	Bart Eeckhout	Achtergrond	52	1012	Het chinese oog van de PVDA	Domestic Angle
351	NL	Dutch	Trouw	15/05/2021	eefje Rammeloo	Buitenland	16	1066	De Oeigoeren dansen voor de Chinezen, maar niet van harte	Human Rights
352	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	17/05/2021	red	kort	10	323	Chinese zonnepanelen worden gemaakt door Oeigoerse dwangarbeiders	Human Rights
353	NL	Dutch	Trouw	17/05/2021	anp	economie	11	83	China buit Oeigoeren ook uit bij zonnepanelen	Human Rights
354	Be	French	Le Soir	18/05/2021	veronique kiesel	voorpagina	1	460	Ouïghours : et voilà le Parlement belge qui joue son rôle	Domestic Angle
355	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	18/05/2021	korneel delbeke	duurzaamheid	20	750	Dwangarbeid werpt donkere schaduw op onze zonnepanelen	Human Rights

356	Be	French	Le Soir	18/05/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	4	323	Il y a déjà eu de nombreux morts au Xinjiang	Human Rights
357	Be	French	Le Soir	18/05/2021	red	monde	4	355	Ce qui se passe au Xinjiang répond-il à ...	Human Rights
358	Be	French	Le Soir	18/05/2021	red	monde	5	522	quelles sont les justifications avancées par le gouvernement ...	Human Rights
359*	Be	French	Le Soir	19/05/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	11	724	A la Chambre, le témoignage puissant d'une rescapée ouïghoure	Domestic Angle
360	Be	French	Le Soir	20/05/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	14	712	Ouïghours : les députés face aux devoirs liés au droit international	Domestic Angle
361	Be	French	Le Soir	20/05/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	14	490	Nike, H&M : privilégier les droits humains ou le marché chinois ?	Companies
362	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	20/05/2021	Belga	Buitenland	17	178	Pelosi wil 'diplomatieke boycot' Winterspelen	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
363	NL	Dutch	Volkscrant	21/05/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	12	567	Brussel tegen China: sancties van de baan, anders gaat verdrag niet door	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
364	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	21/May	Marije Vlaskamp	Nieuws	7	184	Europa dreigt tegen China: sancties intrekken of geen investeringsverdr ag	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
365	NL	Dutch	Trouw	25/05/2021	eefje Rammelo	de verdieping	4	1774	Islam, maar wel zoals Peking het graag ziet	Human Rights
366	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	27/05/2021	nico Tanghe	Nieuws	24	749	Bocht Duits parlement over Oeigoeren doet bedrijfsleven huiveren	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
367	NL	Dutch	Trouw	02/06/2021	eefje Rammelo	de verdieping	6	1755	Het Oeigoerse volk is gebroken	Human Rights
368	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	04/06/2021	pieter van Maele	economie	25	562	Peking bant 'onveilige' producten van Nike en H&M	Companies
369	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	08/06/2021	hanneke Chin A fo	voorpagina	1	1273	Voor de Oeigoeren rest een surrogaat-rechtbank Oeigoer huilt bij rechter zonder macht	International Angle
370	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	11/06/2021	Leen Vervaeke	Nieuws	21	335	Nieuwe Chinese 'antisancietwet' tegen Westen goedgekeurd	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
371	Be	French	Le Soir	11/06/2021	stephane vande velde	monde	20	718	Quand les conflits internationaux débarquent au conseil communal	Domestic Angle

372	Be	French	Le Soir	11/06/2021	veronique kiesel	monde	25	912	Xinjiang : « Il faut mettre la Chine face à ses responsabilités »	Human Rights
373	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	12/06/2021	Bruno Struys	Nieuws	6	932	Erkend in België, vervolgd in China	Domestic Angle
374	NL	Dutch	Volkscrant	12/06/2021	Leen Vervaeke	Zaterdag	6	3342	Hoe China de Oeigoerse moskeeën verwoest	Human Rights
375	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	15/06/2021	ann de boeck	Buitenland	3	356	Vivaldi stuurt aan op strenger China-beleid	Domestic Angle
376	Be	French	Le Soir	16/06/2021	veronique kiesel	binnenland	5	495	Risque de génocide : résolution adoptée en commission à la Chambre	Domestic Angle
377*	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	17/06/2021	Jeroen Van Horenbeek	voorpagina	1	534	België handelde onverantwoord en onzorgvuldig	Domestic Angle
378	Be	French	Le Soir	17/06/2021	veronique kiesel	binnenland	2	665	Pékin menace les relations sino-belges	Domestic Angle
379	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	17/06/2021	Belga	Nieuws	10	178	Resolutie Oeigoeren: Wilmès verdedigt Kamer	Domestic Angle
380	NL	Dutch	Volkscrant	19/06/2021	Leen Vervaeke	Zaterdag	12	3842	Dit Fabriekswerk in Xinjiang kan je Niet weigeren.	Human Rights
381	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	19/06/2021	Leen Vervaeke	Achtergrond	62	2670	Waar zijn die minaretten gebleven?	Human Rights
382	NL	Dutch	Trouw	25/06/2021	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	586	Waar China een volk vermorzelt, plant Hilton een hotel	Companies
383	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	03/07/2021	red	economie	4	489	Frans onderzoek naar Zara en Uniqlo	Companies
384	NL	Dutch	Trouw	06/07/2021	tayfun balcik	Buitenland	12	829	Oeigoeren in Turkije voelen zich verraden	International Angle
385	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	08/07/2021	hanneke Chin A fo	Buitenland	14	521	Maker prenatale test werkt samen met Chinese leger	Companies
386	Be	French	Le Soir	08/07/2021	pauline hofman	monde	8	221	Reconnaître le génocide ouïghour, est-ce dévoyer ce terme ?	Human Rights
387	Be	French	Le Soir	09/07/2021	nicolo tissier	binnenland	7	241	La Chambre reconnaît le risque de génocide	Domestic Angle
388	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	09/07/2021	red	Buitenland	14	116	Sancties 'Chinese bedrijven op zwarte lijst om behandeling Oeigoeren'	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
389	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	10/07/2021	hanneke Chin A fo	big data	27	493	Gegevens van zwangere vrouwen kunnen in handen vallen van Peking	Human Rights

390	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	23/07/2021	ANNA DE HAAS, MARK MISÉRUS	Ten eerste	4	973	Arnhem snijdt band met Wuhan door	Domestic Angle
391	NL	Dutch	Trouw	23/07/2021	red	binnenland	9	102	Arnhem verbreekt stedenband met Wuhan	Domestic Angle
392*	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	23/07/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	2	695	Taliban en China beloven elkaar van alles, voorlopig	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
393	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	30/07/2021	garrie van pinxteren	Buitenland	15	667	China ziet Taliban als onvermijdbaar	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
394	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	02/08/2021	timothy garton ash	opinie	26	1148	De morele crash van Volkswagen	Companies
395	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	19/08/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	16	793	China staat welwillend tegenover Taliban...	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
396	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	30/08/2021	red	fashion	17	297	Chinese kledingapp Shein onder vuur voor discriminatie	Companies
397	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	07/09/2021	red	nieuws	18	203	Strafklacht tegen Aldi en Lidl over Oeigoeren	Companies
398	NL	Dutch	Trouw	08/09/2021	hans nauta	economie	15	704	Duitse bedrijven onder vuur	Companies
399	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	11/09/2021	red	Buitenland	59	37	Klacht tegen Aldi en Lidl	Companies
400	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	30/09/2021	Stavros Kelepoulis	Belangrijk Nieuws	10	291	China (opnieuw) woedend op Groen	Domestic Angle
401*	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	12/10/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Analyse	16	806	ook taliban hebben "oeigoers probleem"	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
402	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	19/10/2021	ANP	sport	22	56	Protest bij ontsteken olympische vlam	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
403	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	30/10/2021	petra possel	Amsterdam	7	702	Oeigoerse gerechten, enorm secuur bereid en verleidelijk Uit eten	Culture
404	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	06/11/2021	Maarten Rabaey	interview	81	3511	China houdt een strop om het Westen'	Human Rights
405	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	12/11/2021	anp	Nieuws	7	90	Topoverleg op komst tussen Biden en Xi	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
406	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	02/12/2021	hanneke Chin A fo	economie	6	880	Aangifte tegen C&A om Oeigoeren	Companies
407	NL	Dutch	Volkskrant	03/12/2021	Red	economie	20	271	Aangifte mensenrechtenclub tegen C&A en Nike om mogelijke dwangarbeid Oeigoeren	Companies
408	NL	Dutch	Trouw	03/12/2021	red	economie	17	459	C&A verkoopt producten gemaakt met gedwongen arbeid'	Companies
409	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	06/12/2021	Pauline Overeem, Martje Theuws en	opinie	17	408	Kledingindustrie Kledingbedrijven doen te weinig	Companies

					Joseph Wilde-Ramsing				tegen uitbuiting Brieven	
410	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	07/12/2021	Bert Lanting		17	634	China reageert furieus op boycot van VS	Chinese Response
411	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	07/12/2021	unknown	opinie	17	579	Grijp Winterspelen aan om aandacht te vragen voor lot Oeigoeren Commentaar	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
412	Be	French	Le Soir	07/12/2021	maurin picard	monde	10	750	Un boycott limité des JO d'hiver en Chine	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
413	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	08/12/2021	stephane alonso	In het nieuws	6	643	Knapen wil eerst met EU in gesprek	Domestic Angle
414	Be	French	Le Soir	09/12/2021	Philippe Vande Weyer	sport	19	786	Ces boycotts diplomatiques qui dérangent sans faire mal	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
415	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	09/12/2021	red	sport	21	308	Ook VK en Candaa boycotten China's winterspelen	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
416	NL	Dutch	Volkscrant	10/dec.	Red	Ten eerste	8	99	China schuldig aan genocide op Oeigoeren'	Human Rights
417	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	10/12/2021	hanneke Chin A fo	Buitenland	13	779	Tribunaal: China pleegt genocide	Human Rights
418	Be	Dutch	De Standaard	16/12/2021	nico Tanghe	economie	15	156	VS straffen Chinese techbedrijven	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
419	NL	Dutch	Trouw	17/12/2021	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	9	588	De Chinese huichelarij kent geen grenzen	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
420	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	17/12/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Nieuws	23	350	Weinig animo in Azië voor boycot van Winterspelen	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
421	NL	Dutch	Volkscrant	18/12/2021	Marije Vlaskamp	Ten eerste	14	434	VS verklaren producten Xinjiang 'besmet' vanwege dwangarbeid	Geopolitics & Diplomacy
422	NL	Dutch	NRC Handelsblad	18/12/2021	hanneke Chin A fo	economie	6	754	China maakt hersencontrolew apens'	Human Rights
423	Be	Dutch	De Morgen	22/12/2021	Bruno Struys	Achtergrond	17	661	Belg strijdt voor privacy DNA-onderzoek	Domestic Angle
424	NL	Dutch	Trouw	24/12/2021	anp	economie	21	91	Excuses Intel voor oproep Chinese boycot	Companies
425	NL	Dutch	Trouw	28/12/2021	eefje Rammeloo	vandaag	11	615	Peking zet nieuwe baas op provincie Oeigoeren	Human Rights
426	NL	Dutch	Trouw	31/12/2021	Eildert Mulder	religie en filosofie	11	579	Prima idee, een boycot van het Hilton	Companies

Numbers with (*) denote articles that were selected in the exploratory sample.